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**A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ARGUMENTS AND MODIFIERS  
IN ENGLISH AND MANDINKA**

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## DEDICATION

*In memory of:*

- *My late father Mamadou Fall Ali SARR whose untimely death has been a shock to me.*
  
- *My late beloved grandmother Alimatou SARR, who gave me all her love.*

*May God the Almighty have pity on their souls and welcome them to His everlasting Paradise. Amen*

*I also dedicate it to:*

- *My incomparable mother Amy SARR without whose ability to deal with difficult situations, I would not be able to pursue my studies.*

*May she be a long-lived mother and may God the Almighty grant her His protection. Amen*

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*“Móo mún búka hadamadiñolu tentu, wo nene te Ala tentu la”*

*A person who does not thank human beings will never thank God*

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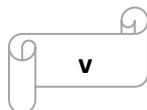
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**PRAISE BE TO GOD!**



## **ABSTRACT**

This work, based on data that are mostly derived from different types of interviews we have conducted in the field both in Senegal and the Gambia, and some data taken from some credible and reliable documents we have read, examines the distribution of arguments and modifiers in English and Mandinka in a contrastive way. On this subject, we have conducted our analysis in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) that takes into consideration the interaction existing between linguistic branches such as syntax, semantics and pragmatics, for we believe that the delineation of languages should not be limited to the formal properties of grammatical structures. Thus, this thesis deals with the communicative functions of arguments and modifiers in the two languages, from simple RPs to complex constructions.

**Keywords:** arguments, macroroles, modifiers, operators, pragmatics, semantics, subordination, syntax, thematic relations.

## **RÉSUMÉ**

S'étant fondé sur des données que nous avons principalement obtenues de différents types d'entretiens que nous avons menés sur le terrain à la fois au Sénégal et en Gambie et certaines données que nous avons prises de certains documents crédibles et fiables que nous avons lus, ce travail étudie la distribution des arguments et des modificateurs en anglais et en mandinka de façon contrastive. A ce sujet, nous avons conduit notre analyse dans le cadre de la Grammaire du Rôle et de la Référence (RRG) qui prend en considération l'interaction existant entre les branches de la linguistique telles que la syntaxe, la sémantique et la pragmatique car nous croyons que la description des langues ne devrait pas se limiter uniquement aux propriétés formelles des structures grammaticales. Ainsi, cette thèse traite des fonctions communicatives des arguments et des modificateurs dans les deux langues, des références nominales simples aux constructions complexes.

**Mots-clés:** arguments, macroroles, modificateurs, operateurs, pragmatique, sémantique, subordination, relations thématiques, syntaxe.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

A: Actor

A: Answer

ADJ: Adjunct

ADJE: Adjective

ADV: Adverb

ABSTR: Suffix used to focus the abstract quality of words

ADVM: Adverb Marker

AG: Agent

AUXV: Auxiliary verb

BEN: Benefactive

C: Complementizer

CAUS: Causative

CLM: Clause linkage marker

COMP: Comparative

CONJ: Conjunction

CONTR: Contrast

COPV: Copula verb

CORE<sub>R</sub>: Argument in the core of the Reference Phrase

DET: Determiner

DUM: Dummy element

EMPH: Emphasis

FOCM: Focus Marker

GER: Gerund

H: Hearer

HAB.NEG: Habitual Negative

HAB.POS: Habitual Positive

IDCOP: Identificational copular

INF: Infinitive

INFL: Inflection

INFM: Infinitive marker

KM: Kinship Marker

LCOP: Locative copula

LDP: Left-detached position

LSC: Layered Structure of the Clause

M: Modifier

MODV: Modal verb

N: Noun

NCOP: Negative Copular

NEGM: Negation marker

NONMAC: Non-macrorole

Nuclear<sub>R</sub>: The head that is modified by an adjective in the RP

OBLM: Oblique Marker

OP: Operator

PASTP: Past participle

PART: Particle

PF: Predicate Focus

PF.NEG: Perfective negative

PF.POS: Perfective positive

PL: Plural

PLM: Plural marker

PM: Predicative marker

PoCS: Post-core slot

POSTP: Postposition

POSTPP: Postpositional phrase

POT: Potential



PP: Postpositional phrase

P-questions: Partial questions

PrCS: Pre-core slot

PREF: Prefix

PRET: Preterite simple

PRIV: Privative

PRON: Pronoun

PROG: Progressive

PSM: Present simple marker

QUANT: Quantifier

Q: Question

QW: Question word

RDP: Right-detached position

RES: Resident

RP: Reference Phrase

RPIP: Reference phrase-initial position

R-word: Relative word

S: Speaker

SF: Sentence Focus

SUB: Subordinator

SUBJ: Subjunctive

SUF: Suffix

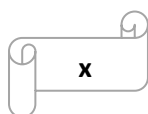
TNS: Tense

U: Undergoer

\*: Ungrammatical/odd/unacceptable

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## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### 0.1 Background of the study

In this dissertation, we would like to explore the distribution of arguments and modifiers in English and Mandinka with the aim of finding similarities and differences between the two languages. In doing so, we see it very important to give careful attention to syntax, semantics and pragmatics, for we believe that describing a language amounts to the analysis of the communicative functions of different grammatical structures of that language. Having noticed that most previous works related to the description of Mandinka do not virtually rely on the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics, with this research, we would like to underscore the different ways in which arguments and modifiers are used in English and Mandinka in order to convey meaningful and complete information. Actually, we are inspired to conduct the research of this like because we do opine that there should be an acceptable framework through which both English and Mandinka native speakers can get knowledge about the communicative functions of the grammatical structures of one another's language while taking into consideration various linguistic branches.

Even if some linguists have made investigations on the Mandinka language, one must recognize that special attention has not been given to arguments and modifiers which can be contrasted in interesting ways. As far as English is concerned, this is a language on which much research has been conducted; as such, it is hard to capture any aspect of this language without repeating what other people have already dealt with. But what makes the particularity of this thesis is that it contrasts aspects of these two languages by using Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) that is a reliable linguistic theory one can use to capture and explain different grammatical systems of any language, especially languages with diverse structures. Then, before showing the background to this research and giving some essential ideas about arguments and modifiers, we see it very important to identify each of the two languages briefly.

English is an Indo-European language, Germanic and Anglo Saxon by origin. Nowadays, this language has become a global lingua franca. At present, it is the first language for the majority of the population in several countries including the United States, the United Kingdom,

Ireland, Australia, Canada, a few Caribbean nations and New Zealand. Contrasting this language with any other language is of prime importance because it is read and spoken all over the world.

Mandinka is one of the local dialects of a language that is generally known as the Mandingo language. Among the other dialects of this Mandingo language, there are Bambara, Malinke, Djoula, Diaranke, and so forth. All these dialects are very close to one another that we can consider them one language that is spoken in countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, the Gambia, and Senegal. Now considered as a language on its own, Mandinka is spoken in countries like the Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Senegal. As a matter of fact, contrasting aspects of English with those of this language while being interested in the communicative functions of those aspects may be useful to a large number of people.

Investigations have been conducted on both English and Mandinka, but one must recognize that little research has been devoted to contrasting these two languages so far. At Cheikh Anta DIOP University, especially at the department of English, there are many contrastive studies carried out between English and some Senegalese local languages such as Wolof, Sereer, Pular, and so on, but few works are available on capturing similarities and differences between English and Mandinka. In this sense, after we have written our Master dissertation on these two languages, once again, we would like to contribute to their existing literature by exploring the distribution of arguments and modifiers. Our attention is also drawn to the fact that dissertations devoted to describing the structures of Mandinka alone are very rare at Cheikh Anta DIOP University. On this account, this thesis lies within a literary, academic, sociological and linguistic context.

Having noticed that there are a lot of works dedicated to linguistic branches like phonology, morphology or syntax alone, we are among those who think that when describing languages, one must give a lot of attention to the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics at once. By the way, believing in this ethos, it is in this sense that we have written our Master topic “A contrastive analysis between English and Mandinka: the predicative systems”. We should pinpoint that we have made out some areas that are not that explored with works on Mandinka; these are among others the ways some constituents are used to complete or modify the meanings of other constituents, but also how these notions of argumenthood and modification can



contribute to the interpretations of constructions produced at different levels. Even if Chomsky (1957) puts “Colorless green ideas sleep furiously” to show the importance of syntax, one should not overlook the semantic aspects of grammatical structures, for Langacker (2008) argues that “portraying grammar as a purely formal system is not just wrong but wrong-headed. I will argue, instead, that **grammar is meaningful**” (p. 03). We believe that research conducted at Cheikh Anta DIOP University on English and Senegalese local languages should be more directed towards the communicative functions of language, and in order to develop such a model, one cannot favor one linguistic branch while neglecting another.

We have noticed that significant research has been conducted by Creissels and Sambou (2013) on the Mandinka language by making the description with the use of the French language, but as far as English is concerned, we think that it is high time researchers at the department of English were interested in not only using the English language to capture salient features about Mandinka but also contrasting these two languages so that a large number of people can be aware of the similarities and differences they appear with as far as various dimensions are concerned.

Researchers working on African languages in general and on Mandinka in particular must give more attention to the interactive dimensions of data they analyze, and they could not really succeed in doing so if they are not interested in linguistic theories that are related to the way the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems can be best described. By the way, this is what motivates our choice of RRG whose general perspective is to maintain that “the communicative functions of language are central to the analysis of its structure” (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 82).

The argument-modifier distinction has been given special interests by some linguists (Lehmann 1985; Van Valin & Lapolla 1997; Barker 1995; Partee 1997; Grimshaw 1990; and so on), particularly at the RP level where this distinction is less clear in various languages. Then, our curiosity is awakened to direct our research towards not only the similarities and differences between arguments and modifiers in each of the two languages, but also to show the important roles such notions play in the transmission of meaningful and complete information. On this account, before embarking on any analysis, one may need to know how we understand and define the notions of argumenthood and modification.

In fact, since arguments and modifiers are often associated with both reference phrases and predicative constructions, one can define an argument as a word, phrase or clause that is necessary to complete the meaning of a given expression or phrase. An argument is usually licensed by its head; therefore, it forms an integral part of the element whose meaning it completes. Linguistic theories may deal with the notion of arguments in different ways. In this sense, RRG identifies, in particular languages, different types of arguments such as direct core arguments, oblique core arguments, clausal arguments, and so forth. For instance, at both the reference phrase and the core or clause levels, one can interestingly capture different types of core or clausal arguments (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997).

Another aspect within the framework of which our study will be conducted is the notion of modification. Sometimes, it is not easy to make the difference between an argument and a modifier in particular languages. A modifier is a word, a phrase, or a clause that is used to modify the meaning of its head. Most modifiers are optional; this means that their occurrence within constructions is not essential, the number of modifiers a given head may have is not predictable from its logical structure. Modifiers appear with meanings that have influences on the syntactic and semantic interpretations of constructions hence dealing with them in different languages is of paramount importance. Modifiers are of different types and each type conveys some semantic contributions that usually give the hearer or the reader some useful information about reference phrases or predicative constructions. Following Van Valin (2005) and Van Valin and Lapolla<sup>1</sup>, one can classify modifiers into two main groups: grammatical modifiers (e.g. operators) and lexical modifiers (e.g. adjuncts). In addition to the notion of arguments about which we have already given some explanations, these are also types of modifiers we shall try to underscore about the two languages with the aim of finding similarities and differences between them.

## 0.2 Research questions

In linguistics, the notions of argumenthood and modification are so intricate that demonstrating each one of them in a comprehensive way is the subject of meticulous research. Dealing with such notions in particular languages is tantamount to addressing questions that are

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

underscored by linguists in various ways. If some linguists attach importance to syntax, others are interested in semantics. Thus, after being absorbed in different documents on the distribution of these two notions, several essential questions have arisen in our mind. These questions will be those whose answers we shall try to seek with this contrastive analysis. Then, being aware of the fact that there are still questions we need to tackle about arguments and modifiers in Mandinka, we have made our mind to contrast this language with English as far as such notions are concerned with a view to add to the existing literature of the two languages. In this connection, with this dissertation, we would like to find answers to the following research questions:

- What is the distribution of arguments and modifiers at the reference phrase level?
- How are arguments and modifiers distributed in simple sentences?
- What are the types of arguments there are in the two languages and what makes the particularity of each one?
- What are the similarities and differences between arguments and modifiers?
- How can one construe the semantic properties of the verbs of the two languages with regard to the notion of argumenthood?
- What are the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of arguments and modifiers in English and Mandinka?
- What are the different types of modifiers and what are the striking features of each type in each language?
- Can one talk about the syntactic aspects of arguments and modifiers without dealing with the semantic ones at once?
- How are arguments and modifiers distributed in regard to information structure?
- How are arguments and modifiers distributed in English and Mandinka complex sentences?

Here are essential research questions whose answers we would like to give and explain in a minute and pertinent way in English and Mandinka with the aim of finding similarities and differences between the two languages. Then, before embarking on answering these research questions, it is of prime importance to provide a critical review of the literature.

### 0.3 Hypotheses

- Arguments and modifiers are interestingly distributed in the simple and complex RPs of English and Mandinka with some syntactic and semantic similarities and differences.
- There are some syntactic, semantic and pragmatic similarities and differences in the distribution of English and Mandinka core arguments and grammatical and lexical modifiers.
- Arguments and modifiers are described in regard to information structure.
- English and Mandinka clauses can also appear as either arguments or modifiers depending upon different constructions.
- Grammatical and lexical modifiers contrastively play an important role in the interpretation of both the simple and complex constructions of English and Mandinka.

### 0.4 Literature Review

To carry out a work of quality, every researcher must know the different important documents that have dealt with the field they want to explore. This is relevant inasmuch as it helps the researcher know what has been said about the said field so far, what is left out, and what their critical view of those documents is. Thus, the researcher will know how to carry out their study after taking into account all the criteria aforementioned.

Williams (2015) deals with both the syntactic and semantic aspects of arguments. In this book, one can realize the complexity of arguments that have some features that often coincide with those of modifiers, for, if most modifiers are optional, there are also optional arguments. Besides the different types of arguments he has described (e.g. implicit arguments, external and internal arguments), he has also elaborated a part through which there is an analysis of argument relations that is centered on thematic relations. In the section entitled “Arguments in syntax”, the reader is also provided with some useful information on the notion of adjunct that constitutes another type of modification. To show the importance of syntax and semantics when dealing with arguments, Williams also shows the correspondence of syntax and semantics.

In their bulky book on Mandinka grammar, Creissels and Sambou (2013) try to capture the Mandinka arguments with regard to interesting aspects. They deal with different types of verbs that obligatory or optionally co-occur with elements that can be analyzed as arguments and modifiers. They also discuss the case of modifiers such as adverbs, negation, and so on, in interesting ways from which we can draw inspiration in order to conduct this research successfully. Even if this book presents many aspects about the Mandinka language that is non-overtly contrasted with French to some extent, we think that we need to capture arguments and modifiers meticulously with regard to branches like syntax, semantics and pragmatics at once.

Huddleston and Pullum (2005) demonstrate information packaging constructions that depart from the most elementary syntactic structures in order to package information in a special way. This work presents among others a delineation of the syntactic differences between constructions indicating information structure. Thus, our reading of such a book has given us an inspiration from which we would like to explain the role of arguments and modifiers in information packaging. Likewise, Lambrecht (1994) has awakened our curiosity by establishing an interesting relationship between syntactic structures and information structure. He considers information structure as that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors.

Leech and Svartvik (1994) propose a useful discussion on the communicative aspects of the English grammar. In this sense, not only do they deal with different types of arguments but also with modifiers which subsume prepositional phrases, adverbs, adjectival constructions, and so forth. Even if, in such a book, we have the description of the communicative functions of arguments and modifiers, Leech and Svartvik seem to overlook the structural approach without which language description could not be effective.

Comrie (1993) makes an important discussion about argumenthood. He considers the sentential elements that are licensed by verbs and those that are not, hence there is a distinction between arguments and adjuncts. This work that includes mathematical notions can help the reader to discover some distinctive features about arguments and adjuncts. Comrie compares the linguistic notion of argument to an independent mathematical variable labelled as argument. Like

a mathematical function, a predicate may appear with one or more arguments in particular languages.

In his interesting discussion, Noonan (1985) addresses important notions about complementation while showing striking features related to argumenthood. In this sense, he demonstrates the morphology, syntax and semantics of arguments. Even if he has briefly dealt with these aspects, his discussion is all the same a springboard for any researcher who would like to embark on studies on the distribution of arguments.

Parsons (1980) considers different types of modifiers subsuming categories such as adverbs, adjectives and prepositional phrases. With this work, one can identify some features about prepositional phrases they can interpret in terms of thematic relations. Actually, adverbs and adjectives play a very important role in modification insofar as they may be used to change the semantic information conveyed within both reference phrases and predicative constructions.

Dramé (1981) explores the syntactic aspects of Mandinka transitive constructions. In doing so, he presents various patterns of Mandinka verbs that are constructed with different elements intervening in the domain of predication of the said language. Instead of putting the focus on the communicative functions of the grammatical structures being studied, Dramé centers his work on transformational rules that are about syntactic rules. The fact of devoting one's description of language to syntactic rules on their own may have some flaws, for to describe particular languages in useful ways, one should take into consideration the important role the interaction of syntax and semantics plays in the comprehension of the meaningful constructions speakers make.

About Mandinka complementation in complex constructions, Dramé<sup>2</sup> shows that this language has two types of complementizers. The first group of complementizers (five complementizers) is known as clause-initial complementizers. They are *kó* “that”, *fo* “if, whether, that”, *níj* “if, when”, *kabiríj* “(ever) since, when”, and *janníj* “before”. The second group is composed of non-initial complementizers; these are *ñáamíj* “how”, *dáamíj* “where”, and *tumámíj* “when”. As we shall see in this thesis, these elements Dramé calls complementizers play important roles in signaling Mandinka clauses labelled as arguments or modifiers depending

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

upon constructions. Thus, examples similar to the data<sup>3</sup> below taken from Dramé will be given a different analysis in this dissertation.

- (2) a. Músáá ye a loŋ kó kídoo soso ta le.  
Moussa TA<sup>4</sup> it know that gun-SP<sup>5</sup> load TA CL<sup>6</sup>  
Moussa knows **that the gun is loaded.**
- b. Músáá ye ŋ ñiniŋkaa fó kídoo soso ta le  
Moussa TA me ask if/whether gun-SP load TA CL  
Moussa asked me **if the gun was loaded.**
- c. I la samatóó wurəŋ janniŋ í ka duŋ búŋo kóno.  
You of shoe-SP take off before you TA enter room-SP inside  
Take off your shoes **before you enter the room.**
- d. Músáá ye a loŋ lúntáŋo táá ta ñamíŋ.  
Moussa TA it know visitor-SP leave TA how  
Moussa knows **how the visitor left/went.**
- e. Músáá ye a loŋ lúntáŋo táá ta tumámiŋ.  
Moussa knows **when the visitor left.**
- f. Músáá ye a loŋ lúntáŋo táá ta dámiŋ.  
Moussa knows **where the visitor went.**

Dramé puts the focus on the syntactic aspects of complementation by indicating, for example, the different positions in which Mandinka “complementizers” can appear. What one can add to his description are the semantic aspects of those “complementizers”. It does not seem to be useful to explain most syntactic phenomena without dealing with semantics at once, for words are mostly used in such or such a position for some semantic motivations.

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<sup>3</sup> These data are not adjusted, we have just reproduced what is written by Dramé

<sup>4</sup> TA stands for Time Aspect in Dramé’s abbreviation

<sup>5</sup> SP stands for Specification in Dramé’s abbreviation

<sup>6</sup> CL stands for Cleft Marker in Dramé’s abbreviation

Among the given sentences collected from Dramé, there are some one can discuss inasmuch as unlike the label of complements Dramé has given them, they seem to be adjuncts. For instance, in *I la samatóó wuraj janníy í ka duy búyo kóno* “Take off your shoes **before you enter the room**” the clause *janníy í ka duy búyo kóno* “**before you enter the room**” seems to be an adjunct rather than a complement. If one recalls the definition that consists in saying that an adjunct is an optional element that modifies, comments on or expands the circumstances of an event, and which cannot render the sentence meaningless or ungrammatical when it is discarded, one could look upon *janníy í ka duy búyo kóno* “**before you enter the room**” as an adjunct, for if it is removed from the sentence *I la samatóó wuraj janníy í ka duy búyo kóno* “Take off your shoes **before you enter the room**” this does not impinge at all on the completeness and meaningfulness of the said sentence. Besides, it is not predictable from the logical structure of the verb *wuraj*. This substantiates that, sometimes, it is not easy to identify adjuncts in some languages. Nevertheless, we would like to consider Dramé’s description of Mandinka complementation as a springboard in order to be able to tackle the argument and modifier systems of this language with regard to syntax, semantics and pragmatics at once.

Rowlands (1959) provides the reader with useful information on Mandinka modifiers such as adjectives, adverbs and postpositional phrases without insisting on the notion of modification as such. For instance, in his chapter devoted to adverbs, he prefers directing his description towards phonology and meaning. He demonstrates, for example, a class of words whose actual sounds are “expressive of the meaning”. Such types of adverbs can be seen in examples like *a bòyita pitim* “it fell with a thud”; *a finta le mùl* “he is jet black”; *a bòyita pùram* “it fell with a splash”, and so forth. The description Rowlands makes about such constructions is really interesting but this would be much more interesting if one considers their syntactic aspects. Rowlands describes Mandinka tenses we shall also discuss in this thesis, for RRG takes tense (an operator) as a type of modifier.

Rosenbaum (1957) deals with the grammatical aspects of English predicate complement<sup>7</sup> constructions. He describes certain types of sentential complementation in the English language. These are noun phrase complementation, verb phrase complementation and complementation in adjectival constructions. About the noun phrase complementation, we can see that there are three

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<sup>7</sup> It is important to note that Rosenbaum makes no difference between complementation and argumenthood.



distinct instances among which there are object complementation, subject complementation and oblique complementation. With verb phrase complementation, Rosenbaum puts the focus on different types of verbs with the use of which there is the delineation of different types of complements.

- (1) a. The little boy took **the book** → **Noun phrase complementation**
- b. Everyone preferred **to remain silent** → **Verb phrase complementation**
- c. I am **scared of leaving home at this time** → **Complementation in adjectival construction**

Rosenbaum's work is interesting because it is devoted to the analysis of the grammar of complements. If there are interesting aspects that are not given special attention by Rosenbaum, these are the semantic and pragmatic ones. Semantics plays an important role in the interpretation of complements, for most grammatical structures are used in order to contribute to the creation of meaning. The descriptions made by Rosenbaum can be compared to Dixon's (1992) approach to arguments that is largely based on semantic grounds. Dealing with the semantics of arguments is of paramount importance because which argument a given verb may accept is importantly determined by the logical structure of the verb in use.

Since we need reliable data on which our analysis must be based in order to get more information on the distribution of arguments and modifiers in the two languages, let us specify, in the following section, methods we have opted for for the collection of our data.

#### 0.5 Data collection methodology and processing

This part is of paramount importance because a study of this like cannot be correctly conducted if we do not have a body of data on which we can base our analysis. Earlier before starting the collection of data for our Master thesis, we have learned from Samarin (1967) that "Knowing what constitutes a good linguistic corpus is certainly a first step to successful field work, but one must also know how to obtain it. The techniques a person uses will determine the nature and quality of what he acquires" (p. 75). In this way, having understood that this research

requires a good and abundant corpus, we have used techniques that permit us to make our data and analysis as reliable as possible. In this manner, our corpora include both primary and secondary data.

Our primary data come from recordings we have done in the field both in Senegal and the Gambia by using various techniques. There are a lot of texts we have obtained from personal interviews, for we are aware of the fact that getting data by interviewing good informants is a very reliable method. In doing so, we work in the field with our cell phone. On the recommendations of native speakers, we choose informants who are said to be proficient, knowledgeable, good conversationists or storytellers in order to ask them about various topics. Then, after recording the informants' voices, being back home, we use our laptop to listen and transcribe each recording by the means of the piece of software **Elan**. This piece of software is very important because it helps the field worker transcribe recordings in consideration of different linguistic branches such as morphology, syntax, and so forth. Elan is so pertinent and efficient that after processing the data with it, the analysis becomes easier to the researcher.

Another technique we have used in our collection of primary data is elicitation that is clearly explained by Samarin<sup>8</sup>. This technique is paramount because if it is done correctly, it can help the researcher to work on some grammatical structures of the target language. As such, some of the data provided in this thesis are derived from translation eliciting that is a technique the field worker can use to have valuable information about the grammar of a language. By the way, it is for this reason that the following practical translation eliciting plan can be considered:

When you are investigating the grammar, you will need to find out how a range of additional information is encoded in the simple sentence, such as how peripheral semantic roles are expressed. You will therefore need to present English prepositional and adverbial phrases for translation [...]. Finally, you will be able to move on to the elicitation of a range of complex sentence constructions. You would therefore start asking for the equivalents of relative clauses [...] or other kinds of subordinate clauses. (Crowley, 2007, p. 100)

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 106

This type of eliciting technique is useful for this dissertation because it has permitted us to have information about some grammatical structures related to both simple and complex sentences. In addition to translation eliciting, we have also had recourse to the corrective elicitation. With this technique, we give constructions to our informants and ask them to make corrections in case they think that those constructions are ungrammatical. This technique may be very helpful to the field linguist because it may contribute valuable clues to them.<sup>9</sup> We have also opted for paraphrasing by asking informants to say, in different ways, sentences we give them while keeping the same meanings. With the use of this technique, the field worker's attention can be drawn to, for instance, the various syntactic structures a single sentence may have. In brief, in our collection of primary data, we have used different techniques in order to vary the content of our Mandinka corpus.

Our corpora include secondary data as well. We have taken into consideration the characteristics to which Khotary (2004) draws the researcher's attention before their using secondary data. We have attached great importance to the reliability, suitability and adequacy of the secondary data we have collected. The English data used in this thesis are derived from reliable books on the grammar and linguistics of this language. There are also data we have obtained from some reliable websites. Our Mandinka corpus subsumes some secondary data we have got from two books<sup>10</sup> and a linguist<sup>11</sup>. In actual fact, even though our corpora (English and Mandinka) are composed of both primary and secondary data, one must note that the Mandinka data given as examples in this dissertation are chiefly taken from our primary data. Secondary sources are important but we believe that primary sources are the most authentic sources of information for a field linguist.

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<sup>9</sup>op. cit., 117

<sup>10</sup> These are about Denis Creissels and Pierre Sambou, *Le Mandinka: Phonologie, Grammaire, Textes* (Paris: Khartala, 2013), and Mallafé Dramé, *Aspects of Mandingo Grammar* (Doctoral thesis in Linguistics: University of Illinois, 1981). There are few sentences we have taken from these books.

<sup>11</sup> During our stay in the Gambia, besides our interviews, there are useful texts we obtained from a Gambian linguist in Serekunda Talinding.

## 0.6 Significance of the study

At a moment when Western languages are more and more spoken in African countries, we see it very pertinent to fight for the survival of African languages that are pregnant with interesting linguistic structures. Not only should African intellectuals teach African languages, but they must also write on them for future generations. In this connection, we would like to write again on English and Mandinka with the aim of finding similarities and differences between the two languages. The reader will be provided with much information on the way syntax, semantics and pragmatics relate to one another in order to make the meaningful interpretation of arguments and modifiers possible.

Another area that shows the relevance of our study is that Mandinka linguistics is known by few intellectuals throughout the world; therefore, with the study of this like we would like to deepen our knowledge on the language by making constant investigations on it in order to explain its structures to future generations by putting useful written documents at their disposal. Nowadays, it is not easy to find as many documents as possible on Mandinka; on this account, we believe that with this work we will add to the existing literature of the language. The work of this like will help our brothers and sisters have more linguistic information available on Mandinka in case they want to carry out research on this language.

English is today's lingua franca; therefore, writing on this language is of prime importance inasmuch as our work might be advantageous to a large number of readers. Using the English language in order to underscore salient aspects of the arguments and modifiers of the Mandinka language is a way to give the opportunity to a myriad of English linguists to know more about the structure of this language to some extent.

Knowing about English linguistics is very important insofar as this language is read and spoken all over the world. Becoming an English linguist amounts to being able to understand other people around the world but also communicating and sharing with them what we have the best about English linguistics, for English is now a language that is needed in various areas of knowledge. In most prestigious colleges and universities in the world, English is the primary language of instruction. This language is becoming more and more important in career development, and for this reason, embarking on studies on a topic related to the structure of this

language is a great asset for every intellectual. Otherwise, with this topic, we will also deepen our knowledge of the English language.

Another aspect that shows the significance of this study is related to the content of our topic. It is often difficult to distinguish an argument from a modifier in particular languages, for there are similarities and differences between the two notions. In this respect, we have made our mind to write on these two aspects in order to master each one of them, to find out the syntactic and semantic differences between them but also to make the understanding of each one of them easier to a myriad of future English or Mandinka linguists that will be interested in carrying out research on the said aspects.

In a nutshell, the fact of making a contrastive analysis between English and Mandinka within the framework of arguments and modifiers appears with several useful things that show the significance of our study. This research topic is so important that we must opt for a linguistic theory that can allow us to achieve our main goals. Accordingly, we shall devote the section below to the theoretical framework.

## 0.7 Theoretical framework

To delineate a language, one needs to choose a theory in which they can conduct their analysis without creating confusion with concepts and labels, for the different linguistic theories may use different terms to refer to linguistic phenomena. On this subject, to help the reader get more information about the theory within the framework of which this research is conducted, not only shall we provide them with some theoretical information they need to comprehend this doctoral thesis, but we shall give an overview of the said theory as well.

### 0.7.0. General Considerations

In this thesis, we have decided to work in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) that is a theory that is used to describe languages in consideration of different linguistic branches such as syntax, semantics and pragmatics. RRG is used to explain and capture the way

in which these different levels of representations interact in particular languages; this is what makes it interesting and special vis-à-vis some other theories.

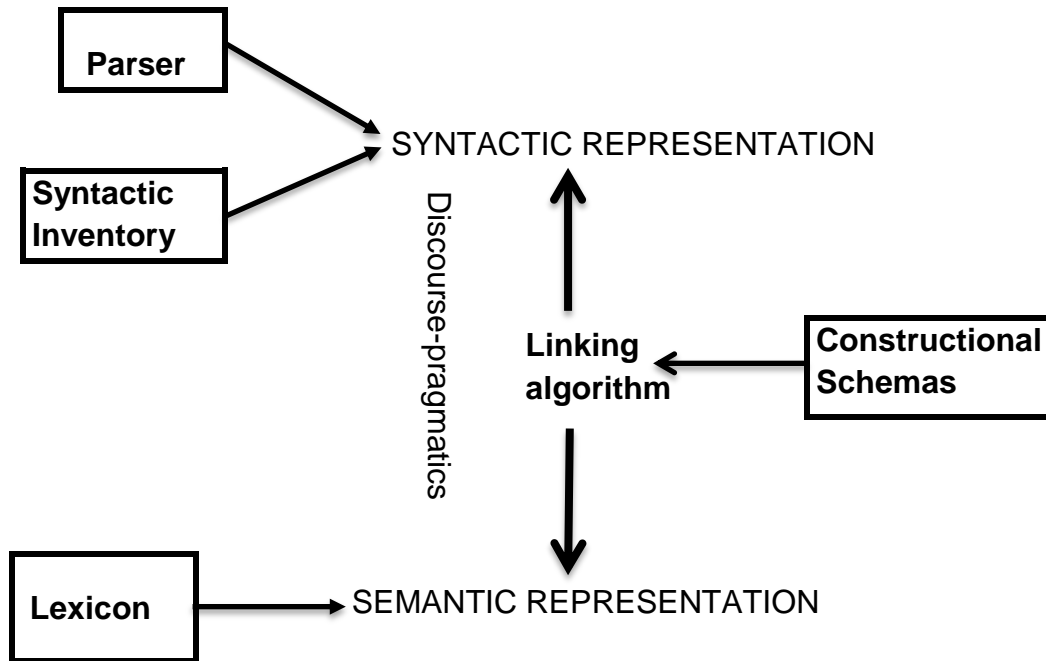
RRG is a monostratal theory that posits the actual form of the sentence as the only level of syntactic representation. It is a real functionally driven framework that takes semantics as a starting point for the analysis of clause structure. It does not posit any abstract underlying syntactic representations; the real occurring form of a sentence is the same as its syntactic representation. Being a theory that is applicable to many languages to the same degree, RRG also looks upon language as a system of communicative social action. This means that one cannot understand and explain grammatical structures without taking into consideration the reference of their semantic and communicative functions.

RRG takes language to be a system of communicative social action, and accordingly, analyzing the communicative functions of grammatical structures plays a vital role in grammatical description and theory from this perspective. Language is a system, and grammar is a system in the traditional structuralist sense; what distinguishes the RRG conception is the conviction that grammatical structure can only be understood with reference to its semantic and communicative functions. Syntax is not autonomous. In terms of the abstract pragmatic and syntagmatic relations that define a structural system, RRG is concerned not only with relations of co-occurrence and combination in strictly formal terms but also with semantic and pragmatic co-occurrence and combinatory relations (Van Valin, 1993a, p. 02)

RRG presents an organization that includes syntax, semantics and discourse pragmatics, three branches that may go hand in hand for the understanding and description of grammatical structures in any language. Each of these branches has a grammatical representation, and these representations are the syntactic and semantic representations, and information structure. There is an interaction between these three representations. The links between semantic and syntactic representations are explained with the linking algorithm that is bi-directional. Pragmatics may come into play and affect the linking process. Following Van Valin (2005), other elements that play important roles in the linking algorithm are the lexicon, the syntactic inventory and the parser. The lexicon is where is put the semantic representation of a sentence, and the said representation is based on the logical structure of the predicator. The lexicon is of paramount

importance because it influences the argument structure of the predicate. As far as the syntactic inventory is concerned, it stores syntactic templates that refer to the syntactic representation that is, in fact, created by the parser. Still within the linking algorithm, we also have the constructional schemas that help represent cross linguistic generalizations while expressing language-specific properties of grammatical constructions with regard to syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

To make the understanding of the general structure of RRG easier, let us show the following Figure:



**Figure 0.1.** Organization of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin, 2005, p. 134)

After giving a general idea of what RRG is, we would like to underscore the levels of representations this theory takes into account when describing grammatical structures. In this manner, we see it very important to explain the levels of representations like syntactic and semantic representations, information structure, but also the structure of complex sentences. Then, let us start by exploring the syntactic representation.

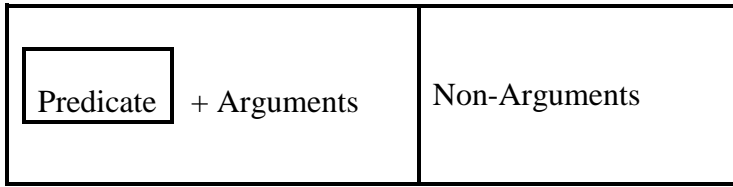
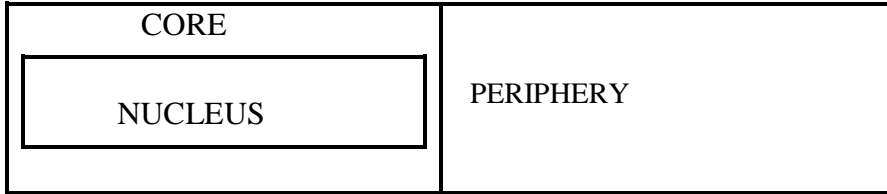
### 0.7.1 Syntactic Representation

In RRG, syntactic representation is captured in a functionally-based theory known as the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC). Unlike the X-bar theory, RRG syntactic representation corresponds carefully to the actual realized form of the sentence. The Layered Structure of the Clause is used to discover the aspects of clause structure that all human languages appear with. The LSC is composed of elements such as the NUCLEUS, which contains the predicate (usually a verb); the CORE, which contains the nucleus and the arguments of the predicate; and the PERIPHERY, which subsumes the adjunct modifiers of the core such as locative phrases, temporal phrases, and so on. The syntactic structure subsumes the structure of clauses, adpositional phrases and reference phrases hence the notions of argumenthood and modification come into play.

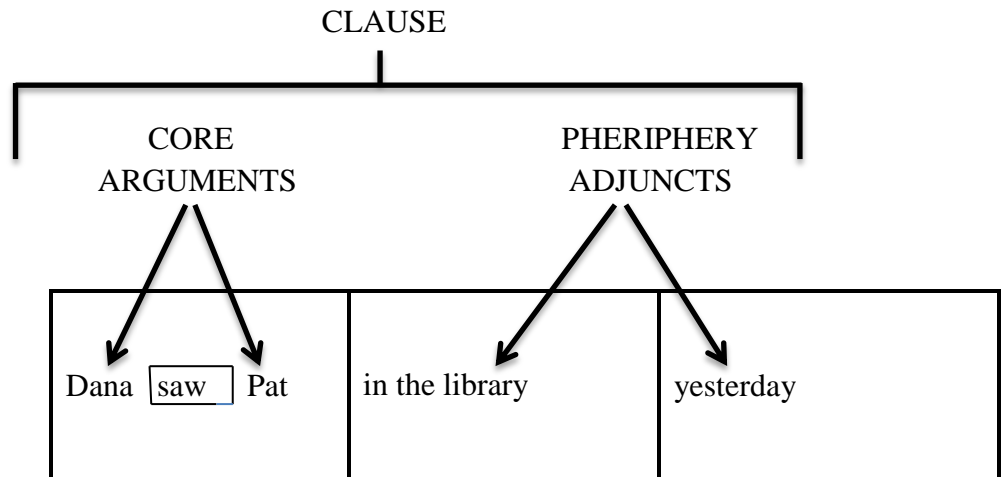
The LSC appears with a structure that helps see obvious differences between the predicate and non-predicating elements; in the non-predicating elements also, there is a contrast between arguments and non-arguments. These elements that constitute the LSC may occur in any order depending on the structural organization allowed by a language. The grammatical functions of the syntactic arguments are directly mapped from the semantic arguments in the logical structure of the predicate. The hierarchical structure of the clause is semantically motivated; this means that there are semantic units that underlie the syntactic units of the Layered Structure of the Clause. The figures and table below show the components of the Layered Structure of the Clause.



CLAUSE



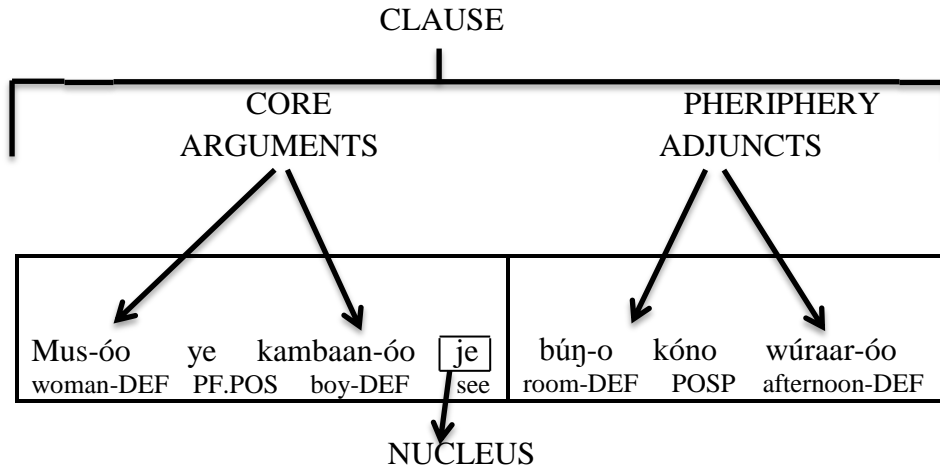
**Figure 0.2.** Universal oppositions underlying clause structure (Van Valin, 2005, p. 4)



**Figure 0.3.** Components of the layered structure of the clause in English.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Let us apply the same box diagram to Mandinka.



The woman saw the boy in the room in the afternoon.

**Figure 0.4.** Components of the layered structure of the clause in Mandinka

**Table 0.1.** Semantic units underlying the syntactic units of the layered structure of the clause<sup>13</sup>

Semantic element(s)	Syntactic unit
Predicate	Nucleus
Argument in semantic representation of predicate	Core argument
Non-arguments	Periphery
Predicate+Arguments	Core
Predicate+Arguments+Non-arguments	Clause (=Core+Periphery)

As we can see in Figures 3 and 4, for the two languages, there are different components such as core arguments and peripheral elements such as adjuncts. The structural organization

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 5

between these two layers, on the one hand, and between elements of the same layer, on the other hand, needs explanations that could not be sound if great consideration is not given to the semantic aspects of grammatical structures. There are arguments that are required by the predicate and others that are not; from this, there is a distinction between the predicate and its arguments and elements that are not arguments of the predicate. As far as **Table 1** is concerned, this shows that there is a correspondence between semantic units and syntactic ones in the layered structure of the clause.

RRG theory of syntactic representation helps us to distinguish universal aspects of the Layered Structure of the Clause and non-universal aspects. On the one hand, the universal aspects are the nucleus, the core, the periphery and the clause. On the other hand, there are the non-universal aspects that include the PRE-CORE SLOT (PrCS), a position for WH- words, and the POST-CORE SLOT (PoCS); the LEFT DETACHED POSITION (LDP), which is the position of the pre-clausal element in a left-dislocation construction; the RIGHT DETACHED POSITION (RDP) that is a position for the post-clausal element in a right-dislocation position. These aspects are very easily captured by the RRG syntactic representation that does not impose any features on any language, for it endeavors to satisfy the two following requirements (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 22).

### (3) General considerations for a theory of clause structure

- a. A theory of clause structure should capture all of the universal features without imposing features on languages in which there is no evidence for them.
- b. A theory should represent comparable structures in different languages in comparable ways.

Another important component of the theory of clause structure RRG presents is the theory of operators. Operators are grammatical categories that modify different layers of the clause; they are different from entities such as predicates and their arguments. Depending on the language, operators can be coded by either free morphemes or bound morphemes such as affixes.

According to Van Valin and Lapolla, operators are in a number of eight that are tense, aspect, negation, modality, status, illocutionary force, and less familiar categories such as directionals and evidentials. They define these grammatical categories in the following ways:

**Tense** is a category which expresses a temporal relationship between the time of the described event and some reference time, which, in the unmarked case, is the speech time.

**Aspect** tells us about whether the event is complete or not, or whether it is ongoing or it happens again or many times.

**Negation** is a category that is expressed in English by words such as *not*, *never* and so on, and in Mandinka by elements like *máŋ*, *nene*, *te*, etc.

Another category of operator is **modality**. It is about the relationship between the referent of the subject RP and the predicative action.

**Status** includes epistemic modality, external negation and categories like realis (this is about whether the event described is real or hypothetical) and irrealis. This helps us see that the basic difference between epistemic and deontic modality is necessity and possibility versus obligation and ability, there is a slight semantic difference between them. For instance, in English, *is obliged to* can be used to replace *must*. Status is occurred, to some extent, through the paraphrase of deontic or root modals.

**Illocutionary force** is a universal operator that is of paramount importance. The types of illocutionary force are related to the question whether an utterance is an assertion, a question, a command or an expression of a wish. It is important to bear in mind that even if the illocutionary force is an operator that occurs in all languages, languages might not use the same syntactic elements and realizations to construct the different types of illocutionary force.

The last categories of operators, Van Valin and Lapolla also mention are **directionals** and **evidentials**. Directionals refer to elements that indicate either the direction of the action itself or the direction of motion of one of the core arguments. Evidentials refer to the origin of the main information conveyed in a given utterance. It indicates the way the speaker has got the information, meaning the way they have known what they are saying.

RRG gives a very important role to operators that are of different types (clausal, core and nuclear operators) that modify different layers of the clause. To understand more about the different levels operators modify within the layered structure of the clause, one can consider the following figure.<sup>14</sup>

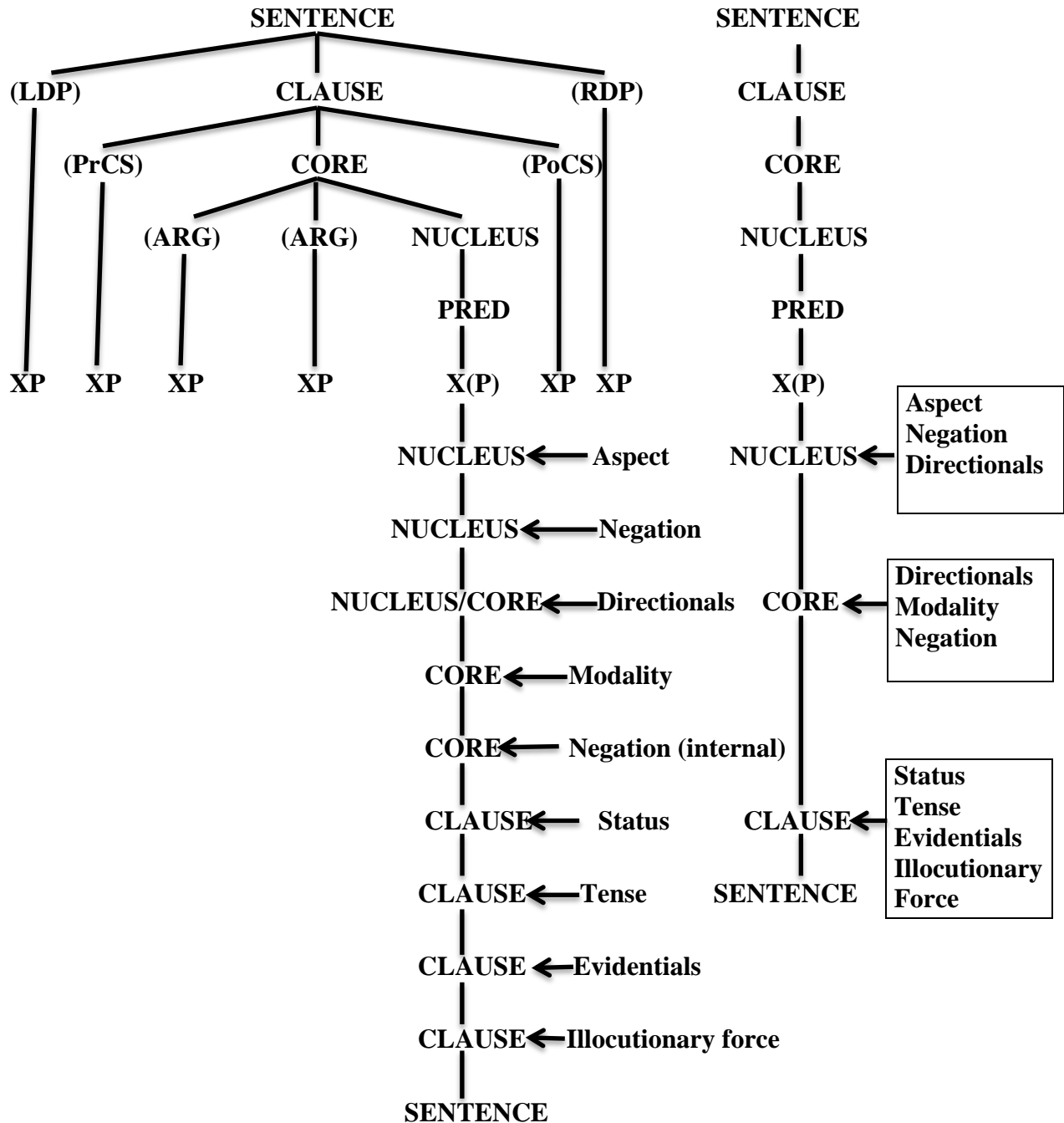


Figure 0.5. The LSC with constituent and operator projections

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 49

From this figure, we can see the scopes the different operators may have on the different layers of the clause. Nuclear operators subsume aspect, negation, and directionals. In Mandinka, for instance, the progressive marker *be.....la*, *be.....kaŋ* are examples of nuclear operators. Core operators include directionals, modality and internal negation. The negators like *not* in English and *máŋ* in Mandinka are examples of core operators. Clausal operators subsume status, tense and illocutionary force. Status includes epistemic modality, clausal negation and categories like realis and irrealis markings.

The creation of meaning in any language does not usually come from syntax on its own; it also comes from the interaction between syntax and other levels like semantics and pragmatics. We could not talk about argumenthood and modification without dealing with all these dimensions at once. Then, in the following section, we are going to review the way semantics is represented in RRG.

### 0.7.2 Semantic Representation

This is based on the lexical representation of a predicator that can either be a verb or a predicating element. The delineation of the predicator is of prime importance because it allows us to see the semantic relationships that occur between the latter and its arguments.

RRG semantic representation is a decompositional one that is based on the Vendler's *Aktionsart*<sup>15</sup> theory that classifies verbs into states, achievements, accomplishments and activities. Besides, RRG uses a modified version of the representational scheme proposed in Dowty (1979) to capture these distinctions. In addition to the classes above, another verb class that is proposed by RRG is the semelfactives (punctual events with no result state). There is also a derivational class that is called active accomplishments; this is the telic use of activity verbs. Examples of English verbs belonging to the different classes are shown in the following:

- (4) a. States: *be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe, have*  
b. Achievements: *pop, explode, perish, shatter* (the intransitive versions)

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<sup>15</sup> *Aktionsart* is a term that is used to describe the inherent temporal properties of verbs.

- c. Accomplishments: *melt, freeze, dry* (the intransitive versions)
- d. Activities: *march, walk, roll*, (the intransitive versions), *swim, think, snow, write, drink*
- e. Semelfactives: *flash, cough, tap, glimpse*
- f. Active accomplishment: *eat, march, paint*

The characterization of these classes can be made in features like [ $\pm$  static], [ $\pm$ dynamic], [ $\pm$ telic] and [ $\pm$ punctual]

- (5) a. State: [+static], [-dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]
- b. Activity: [-static], [+dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]
- c. Achievement: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [+punctual]
- d. Semelfactive: [-static], [ $\pm$ dynamic], [-telic], [+punctual]
- e. Accomplishment: [-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]
- f. Active accomplishment: [-static], [+dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]

In the features above, there is the difference between telic and non-telic verbs, on the one hand, and there is also a distinction that is made between dynamic and non-dynamic verbs, on the other hand.

The static verbs are those that code a non-happening, whereas the non-static verbs code a happening. For example, in the Mandinka sentence, *Musuntajo dunta bujo kono* “the bachelor entered the room”, *dunta* is [-static], whereas *be* in *Karamo be sáasaariŋ ne* “Karamo is sick” is [+static].

A verb is labelled [+dynamic] when it involves an action that can be modified by adverbs such as *violently, vigorously, actively, strongly and energetically*. The non-dynamic feature is used to describe a verb that does not involve any action that can be used with the adverbs aforementioned. For instance, *ñori* “push” is [+dynamic] in *A ye daa ñori níŋ sembóo la* “he/she strongly pushed the door”, and *mu* is [-dynamic] in *Landiŋ mu Abibatu keemaa le ti* “Landing is Abibatou’s husband”.

The telic feature denotes a state of affairs with an inherent terminal point. The non-telic feature lacks inherent terminal points; it does not refer to any temporal limit. In the English sentence, *The boy headed for the restaurant*, *head* is [+telic], whereas *elapse* is [-telic] in the

sentence *Time is elapsing*. In these two examples, *head* has a terminal endpoint, whereas *elapse* does not have any.

The last feature to be explained is the punctual one. It tells us about whether an event has an internal duration or not. A verb is labelled [+punctual] when it has an internal duration and it is labelled [-punctual] when it lacks an internal duration. For instance, some English verbs such as *dry*, *freeze*, *melt*, and so on, are [+punctual].

RRG analyzes verbs in terms of a lexical decomposition representation and this representation is known as the logical structure. Lexical decomposition is the depiction of the lexical meanings of verbs. In this sense, state and activity predicates are considered as basic and the other classes are taken from them. The semantic relationships that are held between a verb and its arguments or between two verbs in complex sentences are defined by the logical structure. To better understand the very lexical meaning of verbs, RRG posits some representations of the logical structures with regard to the different verb classes. Let us look at these representations in the following table:

**Table 0.2. Logical structures** (Van Valin, 2005, p. 45)

<i>Aktionsart</i> classes	Logical structures
STATE	<b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y)
ACTIVITY	<b>do'</b> (x, [predicate (x) or (x, y)])
ACHIEVEMENT	INGR <b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y), or INGR <b>do'</b> (x, [predicate (x) or (x, y)])
SEMELFACTIVE	SEML <b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y) SEML <b>do'</b> (x, [ <b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y)])
ACCOMPLISHMENT	BECOME <b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y), or BECOME <b>do'</b> (x, [ <b>predicate'</b> (x) or (x, y)])
ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT	<b>do'</b> (x, [ <b>predicate</b> <sub>1</sub> ' (x, (y))]) & INGR <b>predicate</b> <sub>2</sub> ' (z, x) or (y)
CAUSATIVE	α CAUSEβ, where α,β are logical structures of any type



As we can see from the table, each class of verbs has its own logical structure based on the difference between states and activities. State verbs are represented by **predicate'**, whereas activity verbs appear with **do'**. Then the other classes are represented either by a state or an activity followed by an operator depending upon the type of verb that is dealt with. These operators are INGR (ingressive) for achievement verbs, SEML (semelfactives) for semelfactive verbs, BECOME for the accomplishments, INGR for active accomplishments with activity verbs, and CAUSE for the causative verbs. To show how to apply these logical structures to the different verb classes, let us present the following examples of some English and Mandinka verbs:

(6) a. STATES

English: Christine is a teacher. **be'** (Christine, [**teacher'**])  
 Kirisitini COPV INDEF karandirilaa  
 Kirisitini mu karandirilaa le ti.

Mandinka: Sana be Ñáamina. **be-in'** (Ñáamina, Sana)  
 Sana LCOP Ñaamina  
 Sana is in Ñáamina.

b. ACTIVITIES

English: Mary danc-ed. **do'** (Mary, [**dance'** (Mary)])  
 Mari dóŋ-PRET  
 Mari ye í dóŋ.

Mandinka: Musó-o ye kuccaa dómo **do'** (Musóo, [**dómo'** (Musóo, kuccaa)])  
 Woman-DEF PF.POS sorrel eat  
 The woman ate sorrel.

c. ACHIEVEMENTS

English: The balloon popp-ed. INGR **popped'** (balloon)  
 DEF fúunundi teyi-PRET  
 Fúunundóo teyita.

Mandinka: Motóo feten-ta. INGR **fetenta'** (Moto)  
 car explode-PF.POS

The car exploded.

d. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

English: The snow melt-ed. BECOME **melted'** (snow)  
 DEF nesi yóoy-PRET  
 Nesóo yóoyita.

Mandinka Fáanó-o jaa-ta le. BECOME **jaata'** (fáanóo)  
 Loincloth-DEF dry-PF.POS FOCM  
 The loincloth is dry.

e. ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

English: Kim ran to the shop. **do'** (Kim, [**run'** (Kim)]) & INGR **be-at'** (shop, Kim)  
 Kimu bori.PRET P DEF kunfáa  
 Kimu borita kunfáa to.

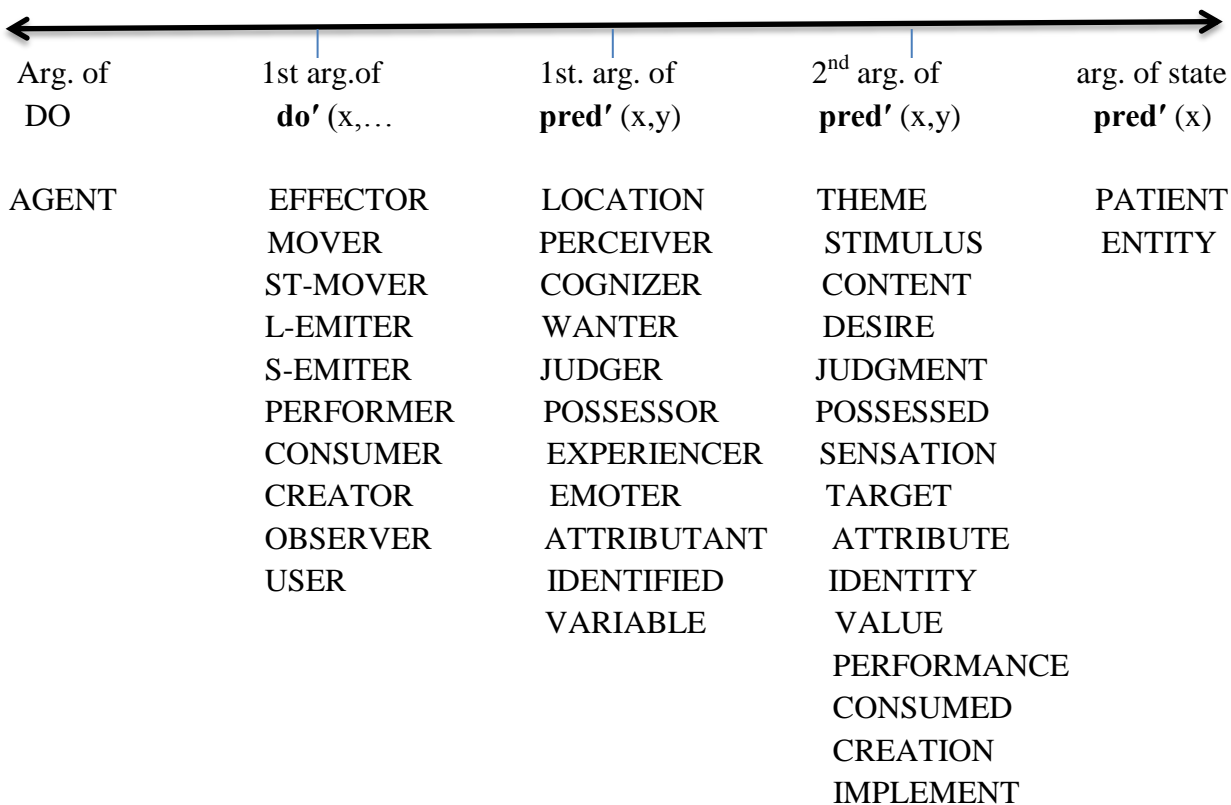
Mand. : Malaŋ ye dúuto-o dómo. **do'** (Malaŋ, [**dómo'** (Malaŋ, dúuta)]) & INGR **consumed'** (dúuta)  
 Malang PF.POS mangoe-DEF eat  
 Malang ate the mangoe.

g. CAUSATIVES

English: The police terrifi-ed Mike. [**do'** (police, Ø)] CAUSE [**feel'** (Mike, [**afraid'**])]  
 DEF póolísi kijóoboo-PRET Maayiki  
 Póolísi ye Maayiki kijóo boo le.

Mandinka: Máafode ye dínđiŋ-o barama. [**do'** (Máafode, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **barama'** (dínđiŋo)]  
 Máafode PF.POS child-DEF wound  
 Máafode wounded the child.

Besides the logical structure, RRG also recognizes two types related to the semantics of arguments. These levels are the thematic relations (Fillmore 1968), on the one hand, and the semantic macroroles (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005), on the other. These two types of semantic roles are of prime importance in RRG linking system. In this theory, thematic relations are defined in terms of argument positions with regard to two types of predicate like states and activities from which many subtypes derive. Among the thematic relations, RRG makes only five distinctions based on the position of arguments in the logical structure. The following figure shows this very clearly (Van Valin, 2005, p. 58):

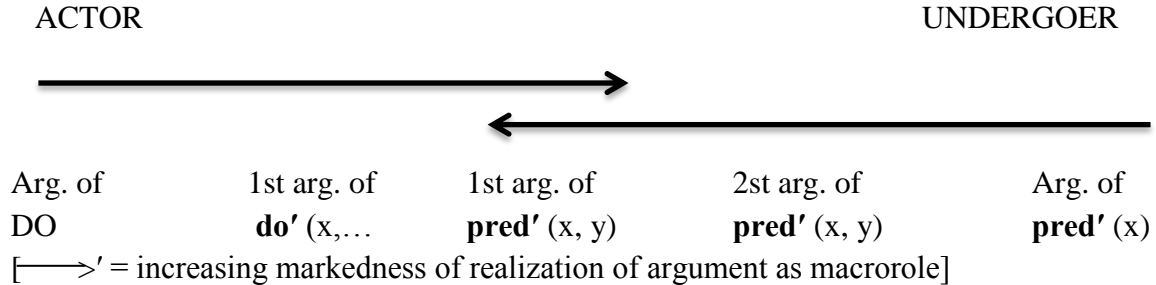


**Figure 0.6.** Thematic relations continuum in terms of logical structure argument positions

Thematic relations are important inasmuch as they show the subclass of the predicate, meaning the argument positions in the logical structure of the predicate. Even though the fact of recognizing thematic relations is useful, this does not mean that they express the relevant semantic properties of the verbs. Having no independent status, they are just mnemonics for argument positions in the logical structure. In RRG, all the thematic relations are subsumed in two generalized semantic roles labelled as macroroles.

Besides the thematic relations, the second type of semantic role recognized by RRG coincides with the macroroles. Unlike the former, macroroles play a central role in this theory, for they behave as the most important interface between the logical structure and the syntactic representations. There are only two macroroles, ACTOR and UNDERGOER. Agent is the prototype for Actor, and Patient is the prototype for Undergoer. Each of these macroroles includes a number of particular thematic relations. For example, Agent, Effector, Experiencer and Perceiver refer to different thematic relations but may all be described as Actor in certain

constructions. The relationship between macroroles and the logical structure of argument positions is demonstrated in the following figure labelled as the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy:



**Figure 0.7.** Actor–Undergoer hierarchy (Van Valin, 2005, p. 61)

This hierarchy indicates that the leftmost argument is the Actor and the rightmost argument is the Undergoer. As we can see, this representation is exactly done in the same order as that of thematic relations along the continuum shown within Figure 0.7.

To make the distinction between an Actor and an Undergoer easier at some levels or to find the number of macroroles in a given construction, RRG presents some helpful principles known as the default macrorole assignment principles.<sup>16</sup>

(7) Default Macrorole Assignment Principles

- a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its logical structure.
  - 1. If a verb has two or more arguments in its logical structure, it will take two macroroles;
  - 2. If a verb has one argument in its logical structure, it will take one macrorole.
- b. Nature: for verbs which take one macrorole,
  - 1. If the verb has an activity predicate in its logical structure, the macrorole is Actor.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 63

2. If the verb has no activity predicate in its logical structure, the macrorole is Undergoer.

Being very crucial in RRG semantic representation, macroroles are treated with respect to transitivity that conveys some important information about the patterns of verbs. RRG does not define transitivity in terms of the number of core arguments a verb takes but rather in terms of the number of macroroles this takes, hence a difference is made between syntactic transitivity (S-transitivity) and macrorole transitivity (M-transitivity). For instance, when a verb appears with the two macroroles at once, it is labelled [MR 2] (transitive); [MR 1] is the feature for verbs taking one macrorole (intransitive); and [MR 0] is for verbs with no macrorole (atransitive). It is important to bear in mind that, in RRG, there is no third macrorole that would correspond to the third argument of a ditransitive verb. This is considered by RRG as not being universal; accordingly, it is described as a non-macrorole core argument. Another linguistic aspect that is given a great consideration in RRG is information structure.

### 0.7.3 Information Structure

Information structure is about the pragmatic aspects of information. This is related to the way information is packaged. Being based on Lambrecht (1994), RRG information structure is taken to be a central factor in the way sentences are formally structured; the theory considers this to be a component of grammar. One can define this level of representation as follows:

- (8) INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in a given discourse context. (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 5)

Lambrecht posits that information structure includes two basic categories that are the mental representations of entities in a discourse and the information structure category. As such, he recognizes PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION and PRAGMATIC ASSERTION.

(9) PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION: The set of propositions lexicographically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time of speech.<sup>17</sup>

PRAGMATIC ASSERTION: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered.<sup>18</sup>

To explain these notions, we should bear in mind that we talk about PRAGMATIC ASSERTION or simply ASSERTION when, in a communicative context, a speaker makes a statement that is pragmatically structured. In fact, information structure includes both the topic (the 'old' information) and the presupposition that is related to the topic but also the comment about the topic (the 'new' information). The PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION is all the set of assumptions about the 'old' information that the utterance evolves, which renders the understanding of the utterance necessary.

So far as the pragmatic relations are concerned, two primary information statuses related to referring expressions can be identified in utterances; these are the TOPIC and the FOCUS. About the TOPIC, Lambrecht identifies the pragmatic category TOPIC and the grammatical category TOPIC EXPRESSION. He defines these two categories and the FOCUS as follows:

(10) TOPIC: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent.

TOPIC EXPRESSION: A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent.<sup>19</sup>

FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 52

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 131

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 213

Still about information structure within the framework of which RRG carries out its analyses, Lambrecht also proposes the focus structure that permits to show the contrast between the extent of an assertion in an utterance and the pragmatic presupposition. He describes it in the following way:

- (11) FOCUS STRUCTURE: The conventional association of a focus meaning [distribution of information] with a sentence form.<sup>21</sup>

The focus structure is explored in RRG in consideration of the focus structure types that are mainly put in contrast. This main contrast is made between narrow focus and broad focus. In narrow focus, the extent concerns one constituent only, whereas in broad focus it includes more constituents. The broad focus is further divided into two types such as predicate focus and sentence focus. If the narrow focus serves to identify the referent, the predicate focus comments on a topic and the sentence focus presents a new discourse referent.

The predicate focus is the type that is universally unmarked and it can be defined as:

- (12) *Predicate focus structure*: Sentence construction expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which the subject is a topic (hence within the presupposition) and in which the predicate expresses new information about this topic. The focus domain is the predicate phrase (or part of it). (Lambrecht, 2000, p. 615)

As far as the sentence focus structure is concerned, Lambrecht gives the following description:

- (13) *Sentence focus structure*: Sentence construction formally marked as expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The focus domain is the sentence, minus any topical non-subject arguments.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 222

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 617

To make the understanding easier, let us give the following representations of information structure from English<sup>23</sup>:

Predicate focus structure

- (14) English:            Sentence:            My car broke DOWN  
                               Presupposition:    ‘Speaker’s car is available as a topic for comment x’  
                               Assertion:            ‘x= broke down’  
                               Focus:                ‘broke down’  
                               Focus domain:      Verb plus remaining post-verbal core constituents

Another focus structure is the sentence focus structure; it is different from the predicate focus structure inasmuch as its focus domain is the entire sentence, which means that both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The examples below show this kind of construction.

Sentence focus structure

- (15) English:            Sentence:            My CAR broke down.  
                               Presupposition:    None  
                               Assertion:            ‘Speaker’s car broke down’  
                               Focus:                ‘Speaker’s car broke down’  
                               Focus domain:      Clause
- Mandinka:                Sentence:            Yír-óo   boyi-ta   sílóo   kaŋ ne  
                               Presupposition:    None  
                               Assertion:            ‘Yír-óo   boyi-ta   sílóo   kaŋ’  
                               Focus:                ‘Yír-óo   boyi-ta   sílóo   kaŋ’  
                               Focus domain:      Clause

<sup>23</sup> For the English Example, see Knud Lambrecht, (2000). “When subjects behave like objects: a markedness analysis of sentence focus constructions across languages”, in *Studies in Language* 24:611–82 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 226.



Now, let us deal with the final focus type that is the narrow focus. As is mentioned, with this type, the focus structure is put on one constituent that can be a subject, an object, an oblique or even a verb. The examples below show this.

Narrow structure

(16)	English:	Sentence:	It was MY CAR that broke down
		Presupposition:	‘Speaker’s x broke down’
		Assertion:	x=‘car’
		Focus:	‘car’
		Focus domain:	RP
	Mandinka:	Sentence:	Yiróo le boyita silóo kaŋ
		Presupposition:	‘x le boyita silóo kaŋ’
		Assertion:	x= Yiróo
		Focus:	‘Yiróo’
		Focus domain:	RP

Depending on the position where the narrow focus falls, Lambrecht (1986) also makes the contrast between the marked narrow focus and the unmarked narrow focus. A narrow focus is unmarked when it falls on the final constituent in the core, whereas this is said to be marked when the narrow focus falls on the left or right side of the final constituent in the core. This label is mainly done depending on the word order of the language that is being explored. If in SVO languages, the unmarked narrow focus is the final constituent in the core, this can vary with SOV, VOS languages, and so on. For instance, with some verb-final languages such as Mandinka, the unmarked narrow focus position is immediately before the verb.

The syntactic domain in a sentence in which the focus occurred is called the focus domain. In doing so, Van Valin (1993a) proposes the notions of Potential Focus Domain [PFD] and the Actual Focus domain [AFD] to explain the difference there is between the broad and narrow uses of an unmarked focus structure. The Potential Focus Domain is looked upon as a feature of the grammar of a language, whereas the Actual Focus Domain is contextually determined.

We believe that information structure is a very important aspect in the delineation of any languages inasmuch as there are pragmatic explanations that should be related to some grammatical aspects. Following Van Valin (2005), discourse pragmatics can strongly affect the word order in some languages (p. 175); this is one of the reasons why, in this thesis, it will be of paramount importance to explore the distribution of arguments and modifiers from the angle of information structure. Another linguistic phenomenon to which RRG gives great importance is the structure of complex sentences.

#### 0.7.4 The structure of complex sentences

RRG analysis of the structure of complex sentences derives from the layered structure of the clause whose components are the nucleus, the core and the clause. These turn out to be the three fundamental building blocks of complex sentences. There is a theory between the different units; and this is known in RRG as the theory of **juncture**. The juncture theory is about the combination of nuclei with nuclei, cores with cores, clauses with clauses, or sentences with sentences. From this point of view, there are levels of juncture such as nuclear juncture, core juncture, clausal juncture and sentential juncture. The representation below shows the three primary types of juncture one may find in languages (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 442):

- |      |   |                  |
|------|---|------------------|
| (17) | a. [CORE...[NUC...]+...[NUC...].]           | Nuclear juncture |
|      | b. [CLAUSE...[CORE...]+...[CORE...].]       | Core juncture    |
|      | c. [SENTENCE...[CLAUSE...]+...[CLAUSE...].] | Clausal juncture |

The unmarked pattern for the construction of complex sentences requires that the same level combines, this means that there are combinations like nucleus with nucleus, core with core, clause with clause, and so on.

Nuclear juncture is about one single core in which there are many nuclei as we can see with the examples below from English:<sup>24</sup>

- (18)        John   forc-ed    open the door. [Two nuclei *force* and *open* in the same core]  
                Jóni   forisee-PRET   yele   DEF   daa  
                Jóni ye daa forisee to yele.

In a core juncture, there are two cores and two different nuclei; each core has its own nucleus as we can see in the following example from Mandinka:

- (19)        Maámalaŋ   ye    ñóoborinnaa   ñori   a   boyi-ta   dúuma.  
                Mamalang   PF.POS   wrestler        push   3SG   fall-PF.POS   down  
                Mamalang pushed over the wrestler.

In the Mandinka example above, we have two cores with two different nuclei; *Maámalaŋ ye ñóoborinnaa ñori* is a core and *a (ñóoborinnaa) boyita dúuma* is a core as well; hence there is an occurrence of a core juncture. RRG also identifies another type of juncture called a clausal juncture. In this kind of juncture, there are complete clauses that are joined, and these may be independent clauses.

The syntactic relations between units are called nexus relations in the RRG theory of complex sentences. There are three possible relations among the units in the juncture: these are subordination, cosubordination and coordination. Each nexus type is possible at the level of juncture, which means that there are nine nexus types in universal grammar.

It is important to specify that RRG has found an additional juncture type known as sentential juncture. This involves the linking of whole sentences. Among the nexus types mentioned above, one should bear in mind that the cosubordination is impossible at the sentence level. Accordingly, at this level, there are only sentential coordination and subordination. Sentential subordination is about clauses or sentences that occur in the Left-Detached Position (LDP) or the Right-Detached Position (RDP), whereas sentential coordination is related to the

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<sup>24</sup> The English example is taken from Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. and Randy J. Lapolla, *Syntax: structure, meaning and function* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 442.

linking of complete sentences by a coordination conjunction. For instance, the following example is a sentential subordination involving the fronting of a peripheral adverbial clause.

- (20)                   After she arriv-ed at the party, Kim   saw   Pat.  
                           Kóolaa 3SG naa-PRET P   DEF paati   Kimu jé.PRET Paati  
                           Kimu naariṅó patiyó to kóola, a ye Paati jé le.

Now turning back to the explanation of each of the nexus relations mentioned above, subordination is subdivided into parts such as daughter subordination and peripheral subordination; the former is about an embedded clause that is the daughter node of the core, whereas the latter is related to an embedded clause that is an adjunct modifier appearing in the periphery. Peripheral subordination subsumes adverbial subordinate clauses modifying different levels of the juncture. If the subordinate clause modifies the matrix core while occurring in the periphery<sub>CORE</sub>, there is what is called ad-core subordination. Unlike ad-core subordination, ad-clausal subordination is about an adjunct clause that is not an object of the predicative construction; this is not in the periphery<sub>CORE</sub>, it appears in the periphery<sub>CLAUSE</sub> instead. For instance, in English this involves adverbial clauses marked by *because*, *if* or *although*. Ad-core subordination expresses notions such as the spatial or temporal setting of the event expressed by the core, whereas ad-clausal subordination is related to notions like reason, condition, etc., expressed by the clause as a whole.

The final peripheral subordination is ad-nuclear subordination. Van Valin (2005) avers that there is a periphery modifying the nucleus of the clause (p. 196). According to him, there are subordinate modifiers in the periphery<sub>NUCLEUS</sub> that are verbs used as aspect markers in some languages. By taking an example from Lakhota, he explains that, in ad-nuclear subordination, there is a non-predicating nucleus used as a nuclear modifier. This occurs in the periphery<sub>NUCLEUS</sub>.

Cosubordination is mainly a tight and dependent coordination; its dependence is operator dependence, which means that the units mandatorily share one or more operators at the level of juncture. In cosubordination, the non-matrix units must be dependent on the matrix unit for the

expression of at least one operator at the level of juncture; it is very important to remember that the sharing of the operator(s) is compulsory in such a construction. Let us give the following examples<sup>25</sup> to show cosubordination at different levels of the juncture:

- (21) a. Max seem-ed tired. Nuclear cosubordination  
 Makisi ké ko-PRET korita  
 Makisi ka ké kó a korita le.
- b. Ted tri-ed to open the door. Core cosubordination  
 Teedi kata-PRET P yele DEF daa  
 Teedi ye a kata ka daa yele.
- c. Pan ran down the hall laugh-ing loudly. Clausal cosubordination  
 Pani bóri.PRET dúuma DEF hoolóo jele-GER ADV  
 Pani jele to baa borita hoolóo kóno la.

In coordination, the units have their own syntactic independence; they can stand on their own outside of a chain of sequences. Each unit can independently be modified by an operator in this kind of construction. Verbs in coordination nexus can receive different grammatical markings in a clause.

Another thing that is worth mentioning about RRG complex constructions is that these are governed by a basic principle known as the unmarked linkage involving units at the same level of juncture. If this principle is respected in a construction, there is the occurrence of what is called a symmetrical linkage; if this is not the case, the construction obtained is termed an asymmetrical linkage. Unlike the symmetrical linkage that is about the occurrence of junctures such as nuclear with nuclear, core with core, clause with clause, and sentence with sentence, in an asymmetrical linkage, a larger unit is linked to a smaller one. Dealing with asymmetry may be crucial in a contrastive analysis context because, to resolve this, languages appear with various methods.

In RRG, operators are considered both in simple and complex constructions. If they are essential in simple reference phrases and sentences, they also play a crucial role in the interpretation of complex constructions. In complex constructions, RRG very often deals with obligatory sharing or non-obligatory sharing of operators between the different units or levels of

<sup>25</sup> These examples are taken from Robert D. Van Valin, Jr., *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 198.

juncture, which, for example, helps make the distinction between cosubordination and coordination. For example, following Van Valin and Lapolla, in *John must try to wash the car*, the deontic modal *must*, a core operator, has scope on both cores; this means that not only is *John* obliged to *try to wash the car*, but he is also obliged to just *try*. In this example, the operator *must* is shared by both cores, whereas in an example like *John must tell bill to wash the car*, this is not the case. In the last example, *John* is obliged to *tell Bill* but *Bill* is not obliged to *wash the car*, which means that *must* has scope on the first core only.

In short, one should bear in mind that the semantically complex operators posited by RRG are tense, aspect, modality and illocutionary force. The distribution of these operators in complex constructions is often done in particular languages differently. RRG presents many principles on which linguistic analyses can be based, but, in this section, we should specify that we have touched on general ideas whose understanding may be paramount for the analysis of the topic we are dealing with.

## 0.8 Overview of chapters

Chapter zero of this thesis provides the reader with a general introduction. Its content subsumes some essential information related to the aims, the scope and the background of the research. It also gives useful information about the methodological and theoretical frameworks.

Chapter one deals with the types of arguments and modifiers one can identify within the RP systems of the two languages. Not only does this chapter describe the modifications operators such as determiners, quantifiers, negation and adjectives make at the RP level but also the types of core<sub>R</sub> arguments one can capture at the said level of the two languages. At the level of complex RPs, this chapter also shows the syntactic and semantic aspects of modifiers like RP relative clauses and some types of complex core<sub>R</sub> arguments such as core<sub>R</sub> subordination and core<sub>R</sub> cosubordination.

Chapter two discusses the distribution of arguments and modifiers within simple sentences while paying attention to the M-transitivity of different types of verbs. It also subsumes

the notions of thematic relations that are often associated with the semantic interpretations of core arguments. Besides, this chapter addresses the case of peripheral elements like phrasal and non-phrasal adjuncts that may be used to give different semantic modifications. It is also about the meaningful changes grammatical modifiers like illocutionary force, tense, aspect and negation make within the simple sentences of the two languages.

Chapter three demonstrates some pragmatic aspects that can be associated with the distribution of modifiers and arguments. In this connection, not only does this chapter show how the notions of topic and focus can coincide with both arguments and modifiers but also the role these play in the interpretation and comprehension of utterances. This part also addresses the way in which arguments and modifiers are differently clefted in the two languages while making some changes in the interpretation of constructions. Moreover, it elaborates both the foci (on arguments and modifiers) expressed through the use of passive constructions and some focus particles.

In chapter four, there is a discussion on the syntactic and semantic aspects of modifiers such as relative clauses and some peripheral adverbial clauses that are used to modify either the core or the clause constructions of both English and Mandinka. It also captures the syntactic and semantic interpretations of subordinate clauses acting as either core or clausal arguments. And finally, the last section provides the general conclusion of the thesis; it summarizes and reflects on the whole research.

## **CHAPTER ONE: ARGUMENTS AND MODIFIERS IN REFERENCE PHRASES**

### 1.0 General considerations

This chapter deals with the types of arguments and modifiers there are in the distribution of reference phrases in both English and Mandinka. It demonstrates how grammatical modifiers such as determiners, quantifiers, negation and adjectival modifiers are used to modify reference phrases in the two languages. It also captures the occurrence of some modifiers (e.g. relative clauses) and clausal arguments at the complex RP level.

### 1.1. RP Operators

The RP operators include both grammatical and lexical modifiers; they are used with nouns to contribute to their semantic interpretations. Following Van Valin and Lapolla (1997), the RP operators subsume determiners (articles, demonstratives and deitics), quantifiers, negation and adjectival modifiers (p. 56).

#### 1.1.1. Determiners

The use of determiners with nouns in a grammar of operation is given meticulous analyses inasmuch as these provide additional information that modifies the meaning expressed by bare nouns. Determiners can modify the semantic contents of nouns in various ways depending on the type of modifier a bare noun appears with. Then, to see more clearly the use of determiners with nouns in the two languages, let us start our analysis by articles.

Articles are generally divided into two different types: the definite and indefinite articles. Depending on the particularities of languages, articles are used in different ways in the layered structure of the RP so as to give some semantic contributions. The following examples taken from English and Mandinka will tell us more:

- (22)                      a. The man  
                                    DEF kee  
                                    Keó



b. A man  
 INDEF kee  
 Kee

c. Mus-óo  
 woman-DEF  
 The woman

d. Musu  
 woman  
 A woman

As we can see from the examples above, English uses both the definite article *the* and the indefinite article *a* (or *an* when used before a vowel sound) in the RP initial position; this position of articles in the layered structure of the English reference phrase is of prime importance because if this changes, it affects the meaning of the latter. For example, it will be meaningless and ungrammatical to put in this language something like \**man the*, \**manthe*, \**mana*, \**man a*. The position of the operators *the* and *a* plays an important role in their interpretations vis-à-vis their head nouns. This shows the significance of the interaction that exists between syntax and semantics in the creation of meaningful constructions.

In (22a), the definite article *the* is used to give to the reference phrase a semantic modification that gives the hearer an understanding that is different from that given by the bare noun *man*. The operator *the* indicates that the referent of the noun *man* the utterance is about is known by the addressee; this meaning cannot be conveyed by the noun on its own. The absence of the modifier does not render the phrase meaningless but when it is used it does give another orientation in terms of interpretation. One should bear in mind that through the use of the English modifier *the*, we generally understand that the element that is talked about has a referent that is specified or known. In this way, there is the expression of uniqueness in the speaker's or addressee's mind.

As far as *a* (or *an* before a vowel sound) is concerned, it gives another semantic modification to the reference phrase. In this connection, let us analyze the use of this operator in (22b). With this example, the article *a* is used to give another understanding of what the word *man* refers to. The modification brought by *a* is that the choice is open, so to paraphrase

Adamczewski and Gabilan (1992), who put that with the use of *a*, the choice is made among other choices, meaning no one knows the exact referent of the noun it is used with; the idea that is presented is that this is about one element that is not specified (p. 110).

Another semantic contribution that is given by *a* in *a man* is that the noun *man* is countable, *a man* refers to one *man* not more, which also gives another piece of information in the interpretation of the utterance. The same modifier can also be used with a noun to present new information. For example, *a man* can be used in an utterance when it is presented to the addressee for the first time. Then, after the first introduction of the utterance with the modifier *a*, the second one within the same context appears with the definite article *the* to indicate that that piece of information is already known by the addressee.

Since there are different classes of nouns, we also see it very important to deal with the case of English proper nouns with the articles *the* and *a*. Including the names of people, places and even objects, English proper nouns “do not normally<sup>26</sup> take a preceding determiner or modifying element (\*the Jack, \*a Sarah), nor a plural ending (\*the Janets)” (Aarts, 2001, p. 30). This is explained by the fact that a proper noun generally refers to a referent that is already known by the participants in a particular context of discourse. Aarts writes that if proper nouns are called *Referring Expressions*, it is “because when they are uttered in a particular context, they uniquely refer to one individual (or place or object) in the world of discourse”.<sup>27</sup>

Contrary to English, the modification of Mandinka reference phrases by the use of articles conventionally occurs in two forms. Among these forms, there is one that can play functions that can be compared to those conveyed by both the English articles *the* and *a* depending on the context in which an utterance is produced. For example, in (22c), the noun *Musóo* “the woman or a woman” appears with the *-o* suffix form, whereas this is missing from (22d) where there is the realization of *Musu* “woman” that represents a bare noun. The *-o* suffix in *Musóo* may give to this noun a modification that plays an important role in the interpretation of the meaning of the utterance. With the presence of the *-o* suffix, the Mandinka noun *Musóo* can be grasped as either *the woman*, *a woman* or simply *woman*. Then, there is no fixed rule that can tell us which specific interpretation to give to this. The most important thing that can help one decide is the context in

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<sup>26</sup> The word “normally” is used here because the author has specified that in certain circumstances, this is possible.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

which this occurs. In Mandinka, when a bare noun ends in long vowels like *aa* and *oo*, it is the accent pattern that shows whether this is specified or not.

It is a little bit confusing to deal with the *-o* suffix in (22c) while *Musóo* ends in double *-oo*; the question that arises here is where does the other *-o* come from? It is important to specify that when a Mandinka bare noun ends in a short vowel, the *-o* suffix becomes *-oo* as we can see in the examples below:

- (23)
- a. *i + o*      *falí* “donkey”    + *o*    → *falóo*
  - b. *u + o*      *bulu* “arm”        + *o*    → *bulóo*
  - c. *a + o*      *kaba* “bottle”    + *o*    → *kabóo*
  - d. *e + o*      *kelé* “fight”     + *o*    → *kélóo*

In Mandinka, when a bare noun ends in *ɲ*, you simply add the *-o* suffix to this. For example, this is the case in:

- (24)
- a. *siɲ* “foot” + *o*    → *siɲo*
  - b. *kuɲ* “head” + *o*    → *kuɲo*
  - c. *saɲ* “sky” + *o*    → *saɲo*
  - d. *kúlúɲ* “boat” + *o*    → *kúlúɲo*

When a bare noun ends in one of the following long vowels: *ee*, *ii*, *uu*, *aa*, the *-o* suffix form becomes respectively *-eo*, *-io*, *-uo*, *-aa*, as is illustrated in the examples below:

- (25)
- a. *kée* “man” + *o*    → *kéo/kewó*
  - b. *nii* “soul” + *o*    → *nio/niyó*
  - c. *suu* “horse” + *o*    → *sùo/suwó*
  - d. *kaccaa* “talk” + *o*    → *kaccaa*

Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), one should notice that bare nouns ended in short vowels combine with the *-o* suffix to give specified forms whose final part is *-oo*, whereas the distinction between bare nouns ended in long vowels is not affected by the affixing of the determination marker (p.173). With stem forms ended in long vowels such as *-aa* and *-oo*, one should be aware of the fact that the bare noun is not distinguished from the specified form; in this case, the only clue that helps to know whether a noun is modified by the *-o* suffix or not is the syllable final tone. In such a situation, one is at least sure of the direct correspondence of the Mandinka specifier to the English noun phrase modifier *the* without relying on the context.

- (26)
- |        |          |
|--------|----------|
| a. baa | goat     |
| b. báa | the goat |
| c. doo | job      |
| d. dóo | the job  |

Now let us turn to the bare noun itself, another form that is also worth analyzing. In Mandinka, it is very rare to see a bare noun occurring on its own. The context in which this is possible is when the noun is used as the name of a person. For example, you can put *Musu* “woman” as a name you use to address somebody or to put the emphasis on the character of a person or that of an animal in animal stories, so to paraphrase (Rowlands, 1959, p. 37).

In this language, proper nouns usually behave like bare nouns; they do not appear with the so-called *-o* suffix definite article marker. If Mandinka proper nouns cannot be modified by the *-o* suffix, it is because they give semantic contents whose referents the participants are already aware of in the real world. Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), an occurrence that would affect the meaning of Mandinka proper nouns is related to the pitch that is put on the final syllable (p. 48).

One should remember that contrary to English that clearly makes the distinction between the two types of operators at the simple reference phrase level (the definite and indefinite articles), Mandinka mainly uses an *-o* suffix that can coincide either with the English modifiers *the* or *a* depending upon the context in which the utterance occurs. In English, the RP modifiers *the* and *a* are used to express definiteness and indefiniteness, respectively. In Mandinka, whether the noun taking the *-o* suffix receives a definite interpretation or an indefinite reading depends on

the context of communication. Since there are many types of determiners in particular languages, let us now deal with the case of demonstratives RRG looks upon as another type of RP operators.

Diessel (1999) puts that demonstratives are place or spatial deictics that show the relative distance of an object, location or person vis-à-vis the deictic center (p. 36).<sup>28</sup> He distinguishes “two demonstratives that are deictically contrastive: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic center and a distal demonstrative denoting a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center”.<sup>29</sup> Then, English and Mandinka have demonstratives that are used, at the reference phrase level, to serve some specific syntactic and pragmatic functions while characterized by specific semantic features. Both English and Mandinka make a two-way distinction between demonstratives.

English demonstratives are *this, that, these, those*. Each of these demonstratives is used at the reference phrase level to convey some information that modifies the semantic content of the utterance to some extent.

- (27)
- a. This book  
Ñíŋ kitaabu  
Ñíŋ kitaabóo
  - b. That house  
wo súu  
Wo súwo
  - c. These teacher-s  
ñíŋ.PL karandirilaa-PLM  
Ñíŋ karandirilaalu
  - d. Those car-s  
wo.PL moto-PLM  
Wo motóolu

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<sup>28</sup> He defines the deictic center as being usually associated with the location of the speaker.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 2

In (27 a, b, c and d), we can see that English uses all its four types of demonstratives in the RP-initial position. It is ungrammatical to say, in this language, something like *\*book this*, *\*house that*, *\*teachers these* or *\*cars those*. This ungrammaticality is caused by the fact that English demonstratives cannot be put in the RP final position, and if this happens, they fail to play their functions. For example, in *\*book this*, one can understand the semantics of *book* on its own but it is very difficult to construe the sense of the demonstrative *this* that is put in the final position of the phrase. Accordingly, the position of demonstratives is crucial in the interpretation of the English RPs so to agree with Van Valin and Lapolla (1997), who write that, in English, when demonstratives “occur as NP modifiers, they occur in the NP-initial position” (p. 62).

The modifier *this* in (27a) indicates that the referent *book* is near the reference point<sup>30</sup>, this means that it locates the *book* in a place that is not far from the speaker in terms of space or time. *This book* can be contrasted with *That house* in (27b) that appears with another semantic modification. As far as *That* in (27b) is concerned, it locates the referent *house* in a different place if we compare it to the element *book* that is preceded by *this* in (27a). *That* shows that the referent *house* is far from the interlocutor in terms of space or time. What is interesting about this linguistic phenomenon is that with the use of the English operators *This* and *That*, the two RPs *This book* and *That house* have different interpretations vis-à-vis the reference point.

Examples (27c and d) containing the demonstratives *these* and *those* are nothing else than the derivative forms of *this* and *that*, respectively. Being the plural forms of the latter, there is no semantic difference between them in terms of location. This means that *this* refers to a referent that is near the reference point and *these* refers to referents that are near the reference point as well. *That* indicates that the referent is far from the reference point and *those* shows that the referents are far from the reference point too. In fact, if the operators *these* and *those* are used in the RP initial position instead of *this* and *that*, the difference is at the level of the number that specifies that there is more than one referent. In English, this change in the choice of operators is what triggers the suffixation of an *-s* at the end of the core<sub>R</sub>.

Another notion that seems to be conveyed by demonstratives is that of definiteness even if we should pinpoint that Van Valin and Lapolla consider articles as being “pure operators inside

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<sup>30</sup> The reference point is usually the interlocutor; for more information, see Van Valin and Lapolla (1997).

the core, while (adnominal) demonstratives are treated as independent pronouns<sup>31</sup> that may ‘occur as NP modifier’ outside the core”.<sup>32</sup> We have shown earlier that the English indefinite article *a* is used with a noun to present new information and that when it comes to re-using that piece of information within the same speech, the operation is done with the use of the definite article *the*. This process seems to be the same as that that occurs between *this* and *that*, hence there is an indication of the speaker’s assumption about the identifiability of the referent by the hearer.

Like English, Mandinka also uses two main demonstratives *ñíŋ* and *wo* with respectively their plural forms *ñinnu* and *wolú* that are used in interesting and contrastive ways vis-à-vis their English counterparts.

- (28)
- a. Ñíŋ    kuf-ôo  
       DEM   bag-DEF  
       This bag
  - b. Wo    jat-óo  
       that   lion-DEF  
       That lion
  - c. Ñin-nu  
       this-PLM  
       These ones
  - d. Wo-lú  
       that-PLM  
       Those ones

Mandinka uses its demonstratives *ñíŋ* and *wo* in the RP-initial position. In doing so, they are used to modify the RP as a whole. Dramé (1981) demonstrates that *ñíŋ* “this” is used to indicate closeness to the speaker, whereas *wo* “that” is used to indicate remoteness from the speaker (p. 32). In RRG terms, we will go further by putting that *ñíŋ* shows that the referent it is used with is near the reference point, whereas *wo* indicates that the referent is located at some

<sup>31</sup> Van Valin and Lapolla opine that demonstratives are pronominal in nature and this is the reason why, here in this thesis, we are not interested in their different types (adnominal demonstratives and pronominal demonstratives).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

distance from the reference point. In this sense, *ñíŋ* and *wo* play similar roles as their English counterparts *this* and *that*.

Both in *Ñíŋ kufôo* in (28a) and *Wo jatóo* in (28b), the operators *Ñíŋ* and *Wo* express the location of the referents vis-à-vis the reference points. In doing so, there is an interaction between syntax and semantics. For instance, if one puts something like *kufôo ñíŋ* and *\*jatóo wo*, the former gives another meaning, whereas the latter becomes meaningless. The difference in interpretation found in *kufôo ñíŋ* and the ungrammaticality presented in *\*jatóo wo* are explained by the fact that, like English, Mandinka demonstratives *ñíŋ* and *wo* occur in the RP initial position and not in its final position.

If *ñíŋ* is put at the RP-initial position, it still functions as a determiner but with a different meaning according to Creissels and Sambou (2013), who explain that *muróo ñíŋ* means “the knife in question” (p. 194). In this sense, they capture *ñíŋ* as an anaphoric determiner. In this manner, it is important to keep in mind that if the Mandinka demonstrative *ñíŋ* is put at the RP-final position, it means something like “is about” or “in question”; as such, it helps place a kind of emphasis or focus on the noun it follows.

In Mandinka, the demonstratives *ñíŋ* and *wo* usually co-occur with the *-o* suffix within the same RP. The *-o* suffix is put at the end of the core noun and not at the end of the demonstrative itself. This phenomenon can be seen in *ñíŋ kuf-ôo* “\*this bag the” and *wo jatóo* “\*that lion the”, something that is impossible in the English language. Being in the framework of an RP, demonstratives never take the so called definite article *-o* or the Mandinka plural marker *-lu* as is attested by the ungrammaticality of the following data:

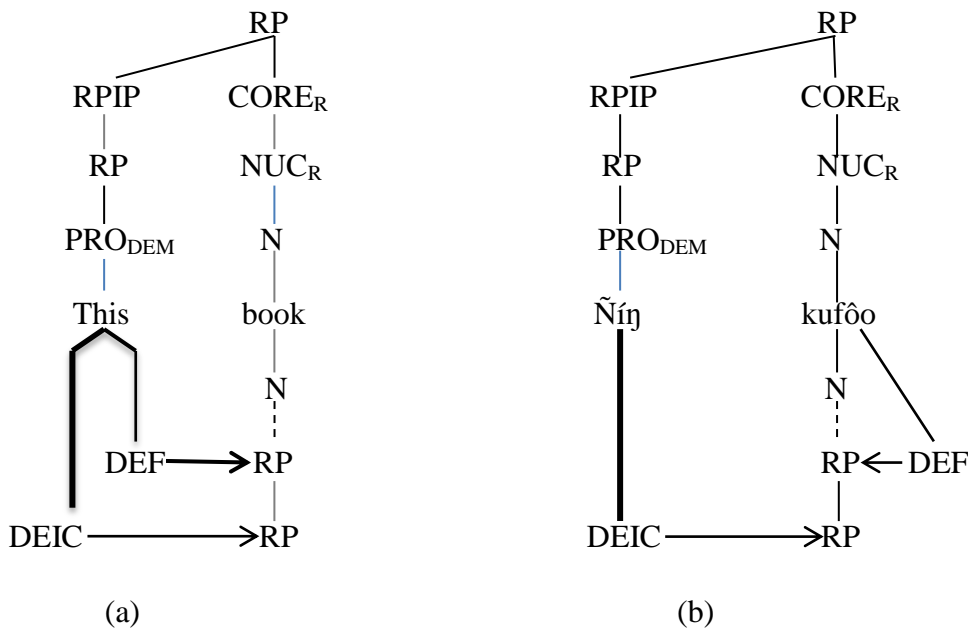
- (29)
- a. \*Ñíŋ-o / wo-o fal-óo  
This-DEF/ that-DEF donkey-DEF  
\*This the / that the donkey
  - b. \*Ñín-nu / wo-lu fal-óo-lu  
This-PLM / that-PLM donkey-DEF-PLM  
These/those donkeys

A case in which *ñíŋ* and *wo* take the plural marker *-lu* is when they occur alone, meaning when they do not co-occur with any head noun. This is what is shown in (28c and d). We should



specify that this occurrence is possible with the plural marker *-lu* but as far as the *-o* suffix is concerned, it cannot be added to neither the demonstrative *ñíη* nor *wó* in such a use. Not only can *ñinnu* and *wolu* stand alone but each one of them can also be used as subject within a core. Whether they are used within a core, in an RP or alone, what is interesting to bear in mind is that *ñinnu* and *wolu* indicate respectively referents that are located near the interlocutor and those that are located at some distance from the “deictic center”.

In a nutshell, let us say that English and Mandinka have two deictically contrastive demonstratives that can both be put in the plural form. The difference is that Mandinka demonstratives can be pluralized if and only if they do not co-occur with a  $core_R$ ; when the latter is present, it has the property of taking the plural marker *-lu* that is always preceded by the *-o* suffix. Mandinka demonstratives co-occur with the so-called definite article marker, the *-o* suffix placed at the end of the head noun, whereas English does not allow this to its articles *a* and *the* with its demonstratives. The two languages use their demonstratives in the RP-initial position except for the Mandinka *ñíη* “this” that can also appear in the RP-final position with a change in meaning. The demonstratives of the two languages can be treated as independent pronouns inasmuch as they can stand alone. To give general ideas about the structure of Mandinka and English demonstratives at the simple RP level, let us give the following figure:



**Figure 1.1.** Demonstratives in English and Mandinka

In addition to the operation of English and Mandinka demonstratives, to trigger modifications at the simple RP level, one can also consider quantification and negation that constitute other types of RP operators whose description may appear with interesting similarities and differences between the two languages.

### 1.1.2. Quantification and Negation

Like determiners, quantifiers also are RP modifiers that can either precede or follow head nouns depending upon the particularity of the language in use. We use quantifiers when we want to show how much or how many a referent is about in a speech context. In English, the choice of the right quantifier seems to depend upon the speaker's understanding of the distinction between mass and count nouns, whereas Mandinka does not seem to give much importance to this in its quantification with nouns. We shall also deal with negation in this section, for following Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) "Negation and quantification interact in intricate and complex ways" (p. 58). Both negation and quantification can be looked upon as  $core_R$  modifiers in RRG. This being said, in the following paragraphs, we shall explore the way quantification and negation are realized in the reference phrase systems of the two languages.

In their section devoted to RPs, Van Valin and Lapolla write that "Quantification is expressed through the grammatical category of number and lexical expressions like numerals and quantifiers".<sup>33</sup> Thus, we are going to capture this notion at the RP level of the two languages in consideration of the different aspects it subsumes. Quantification is either shown through numerals or other quantifiers, and to classify these two types of quantifiers, Alexander (1988) distinguishes definite quantifiers from indefinite quantifiers (p. 89). In his discussion, definite quantifiers are about cardinal numerals that express the exact quantity of an entity while indefinite quantifiers include elements that do not tell us exactly how many or how much something is. Then, let us start our analysis by the use of cardinal numerals with English nouns.

English cardinals are words like *one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten*, and so on. Even if they can occur independently, they are also used with nouns in order to modify

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

them quantitatively. With such a usage, in English, great attention is paid to the distinction between nouns before one's using the cardinal numeral with the right noun about which one must know whether it is a singular or plural noun, a mass or a count noun. This is crucial because the meaning of a noun can limit our choice of quantifiers. In English, cardinals are not normally used with mass nouns; this is the reason why it is of paramount importance to distinguish them from count nouns. To make this distinction easier, one can consider the following statement:

A count noun generally denotes a **class** of individual entities of the same kind. The count noun *table*, for example, denotes the whole class of tables (*one table* provides a way of referring to a single member of the class, *two tables* talks about two members, and so on). An individual member of this class cannot be divided into smaller entities of the same kind as itself. That is, a table can be chopped up into smaller parts, but those parts are not themselves tables. Likewise, if you cut a loaf in half, what you have is not two loaves, but two halves of a loaf. Non-count nouns typically have the opposite property. A good number of them denote physical substances that can be divided into smaller amounts of the same kind. If you cut up some bread, the pieces can still be described by the non-count noun bread. If you take some wood and cut it into shorter lengths, these can still be referred to by means of the non-count noun wood - the same noun is applicable to the same stuff in smaller quantities. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005, p. 87)

Once the distinction between the different types of nouns is made, one should always remember that mass nouns are usually invariably singular<sup>34</sup> and this is the reason why they cannot combine with numerals directly.

(30)

a. One day

Kíliŋ luŋ

Luŋ kíliŋ

b. Three book-s

sabá kitaabu-PLM

Kitaabu sabá

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<sup>34</sup> We should make it clear that there is a small number of English mass nouns that are invariably plural but these cannot combine with numerals.

c. The two apple-s

DEF fulá pomu-PLM

Pomu fulóolu

d. Those three book-s

Wo.PL sabá kitaabu-PLM

Wo kitaabu sabóolu

e.\*One furniture

kíliŋ bunkonofeŋ

Bunkonofeŋ kíliŋ

The RP (30a) is composed of two elements (a modifier and a head noun) that are compatible with each other. This is important in English because if the cardinal is not compatible with the core noun, it cannot modify its semantic content. For example, the ungrammaticality of (30e) emanates from the fact that the cardinal *one* cannot modify the referent *furniture* whose smaller parts should still be referred to as *furniture*. This is a mass noun that cannot directly be preceded by a cardinal number.

In each of the examples above, the cardinal is found in the RP-initial position, which is paramount in conveying the exact quantity of a referent in the world of discourse. For instance, in (30b), the cardinal *three* gives us a piece of information that indicates that the head noun *books* refers to an element whose count is identified; consequently, the participants have no question about this. This means that, with such a type of RP, we can easily understand that the use of the quantifier curbs any possible question the addressee would wonder by putting, for instance, **how many** the referent *books* is.

Since the occurrence of the plural marker *-s* at the end of *books* is triggered by the cardinal number *three*, we would say that there is, somewhat, an agreement between these two elements. For this reason, it is odd to hear something like *\*three book*, whereas it sounds good to hear *one book*. The quantifier *one* describes a countable entity as being identified as only one among a type of things, animals or people, whereas the referent is said to be more than one with the other cardinals.

In example (30c), if both the definite article *the* and the quantifier *two* co-occur, it is because these two operators can appear with their own modifications within the same RP. These modifications are possible if and only if they are premodifiers whose order goes from *the* to *two* and not the reverse. Accordingly, it is meaningless to have an order like *\*two the apples* in the English language. In this sense, Leech and Svartvik (1994) affirm that English “determiners always precede the noun they determine, but they have different positions relative to one another” (p. 206). Then, in their explanations, they write that CENTRAL DETERMINERS<sup>35</sup> such as articles, demonstratives and possessives normally precede POSTDETERMINERS like cardinals, ordinals, etc.

Within the RP *the two apples*, each of the two modifiers *the* and *two* appears with its own semantic contribution. The operator *the* modifying the RP as a whole conveys a semantic contribution that tells the participants about the definiteness of the *two apples*, which means that the latter is described as being specific. Then, the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what particular *two apples* are referred to, for this definite RP has been properly introduced in the world of discourse. So far as the operator *two* is concerned, it modifies the core<sub>R</sub> “apples” of the RP by enlightening the addressee about the quantity referred to in the outside world. If *the* modifies *two apples* while *two* modifies the noun *apples* only, it is because operators like articles and demonstratives modify the RP as a whole, whereas quantity operators modify the core<sub>R</sub> of the RP.

In English, when demonstratives co-occur with cardinals, they are put in the same position as articles; this is the reason why, for example, *\*two the apples* is as meaningless as *\*three those books*. In *Those three books* in (30d), the demonstrative *Those* occurs where the English articles occur, as such it modifies the RP as a whole as we have already mentioned about demonstratives. Thus, the element *Those* gives the whole RP a semantic contribution that expresses the location of the quantified noun *books* vis-à-vis the reference point in terms of space, time or environmental features, whereas the quantifier *three*, like any cardinals, expresses the exact quantity of the core<sub>R</sub>.

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<sup>35</sup> Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik have identified determiners in three groups: PREDETERMINERS (when combined with central determiners, they occur before them); CENTRAL DETERMINERS (they are the most important determiners, they may be preceded by PREDETERMINERS and/or followed by POSTDETERMINERS); POSTDETERMINERS (they follow any CENTRAL DETERMINERS, they include cardinals and ordinals and various quantifiers). POSTMODIFIERS are given this name because they are preceded by the other determiners.

Like English, Mandinka also uses special words labelled as cardinals to express the exact quantity of a referent within an RP. Then, this language uses elements such as *kíliŋ* “one”, *fulá* “two”, *sabá* “three”, *náani* “four”, *lúulu* “five”, *wóoro* “six”, *wórówulá* “seven”, *sáyí* “eight”, *konónto* “nine”, *tâŋ* “ten”, and so on. Even though they can occur independently, Mandinka numerals are also used with nouns in interesting ways to create some semantic contributions. Unlike English, Mandinka does not seem to give importance to the distinction between mass and count nouns in the choice of quantifiers as we shall illustrate it in this section.

- (31)
- a. Koloŋ kíliŋ  
well one  
One well
  - b. Móo sab-óo(-lu)  
person three-DEF-PLM  
The three people / Three people
  - c. Ñíŋ kunsaa ful-óo(-lu)  
This twin two-DEF-PLM  
These two twins
  - d. Jíi kaba náaní  
water bottle four  
Four bottles of water

In Mandinka, cardinals are used in the RP-final position if not they present no semantic contribution within the reference phrase. For instance, reference phrases like *\*kíliŋ koloŋ*, *\*fulá koloŋ*, *\*sabá koloŋ*, etc., are meaningless. Unlike English, Mandinka does not use neither the definite article marker, the *-o* suffix, nor the cardinals in the RP-initial position. To demonstrate this, Creissels and Sambou (2013) have identified three different ways of using the *-o* suffix with nouns used with numerals (pp. 221-222). According to them, these different ways are: the *-o* suffix appearing at the end of the numeral while the plural marker *-lu* is missing, e.g. *díndíŋ fulôo* “the two children”; the *-o* suffix being at the end of the numeral is followed by the plural marker, e.g. *díndíŋ fulóolu* “the two children”; the *-o* suffix appearing at the end of the head noun and the numeral at once while the plural marker is put at the end of the noun by following the *-o* suffix, e.g. *díndíŋolú fulôo* “the two children”.

The use of the *-o* suffix within RPs including cardinals helps convey meanings that are, somewhat, different from those expressed through RPs appearing with no *-o* suffix. For example, in (31a), there is only the expression of the exact quantity of *Koloŋ*, which is held by the modifier *kiliŋ* that appears with no definite article marker. In doing so, the participants are aware of the quantity of the core<sub>R</sub> *Koloŋ* that is *kiliŋ* and not more, but they may not know which *Koloŋ* this is about in the outside world. To identify this, the *-o* is put at the end of the cardinal modifier. Thus, depending on the context, *Koloŋ kiliŋo* may mean either “the single well” or “the other well”. The occurrence of the *-o* suffix at the end of the cardinal is interesting inasmuch as its semantic contribution is combined with that of the said cardinal to modify the RP as a whole. We would say that, in Mandinka, if the cardinal modifies the core<sub>R</sub> on its own, the *-o* suffix occurs at the end of the cardinal to modify the whole RP.

If the use of cardinals with count nouns, except for *one*, requires the occurrence of a plural marker in English, this is not necessarily the case in Mandinka. Following Creissels and Sambou, the plural marker *-lu* does not semantically give anything in RP constructions whenever the numeral is used, and its occurrence depends only on the presence of the *-o* suffix.<sup>36</sup> To demonstrate this, for example, in (31b) *Móo sabóolu* the plural marker *-lu* has no semantic influence because when it is missing from the RP, this still conveys the same meaning; as such, *Móo sabóolu* means “the two people”, *Móo sabóo* means “the two people” as well. The literally translations of these two counterpart RPs are respectively “\*person three the and \*people three the”. In such a Mandinka RP, both the definite article marker and the plural marker are successively put at the end of the cardinal modifier that usually occurs in the RP-final position. The cardinal quantifier and the *-o* suffix are extremely important in such a construction because each one of them contributes in its own way to the modification of the information as we have already explained it.

Each of the demonstratives *wo* and *ñíŋ* can be used in the same RP as cardinals. In doing so, the demonstrative is put in the RP-initial position while the cardinal is placed in its final position as is given in *Ñíŋ kunsaa fulóo(lu)* in (31c). In this kind of construction, the position of the core<sub>R</sub> is in between the demonstrative and the cardinal. What is interesting to remember here is that even with the presence of the demonstrative *Ñíŋ*, the plural marker *-lu* has no influence on

<sup>36</sup> Generally speaking, in Mandinka, the plural marker cannot occur without the presence of the *-o* suffix that always precedes.

the number of the core<sub>R</sub>. This should be explained by the fact that cardinals are sufficient to indicate the number of a referent in Mandinka, which is not the case in English. In *Ñiŋ kunsaa fulóo*, the quantifier *fulá* (without the *-o* suffix) is sufficient to show that the referent is about more than one while indicating the number at once.

Mandinka does not seem to pay much attention to the difference between count and mass nouns. What draws a little bit our attention is the use of cardinals with water or water like referents. When indicating the count of water or water like referents, the context is paramount for the addressee to understand the speaker's utterance. Most of the time, water like referents are quantified by choosing either the content-container, the content, or the container on its own, and then each choice is made with the co-occurrence of a quantifier that appears on the right side of the RP in use.

In *Jíi kaba náaní*, we have *Jíi* "water" (the content), *kaba* "bottle" (the container) and *náaní* that is the quantifier whose scope is over the compound noun *Jíi kaba*. Either *Jíi náaní* "\*four waters" or *kaba náaní* "four bottles" is possible depending upon the context in which the utterance is produced. By saying *Jíi náaní*, the speaker uses the modifier *náaní* to refer to the exact quantity of *Jíi* needed through a container that is defined by the context while in *kaba náaní* it is the container itself that is used to refer to the content *Jíi* (this is defined by the context as well) quantified by the cardinal *náaní*.

One should bear in mind that even if Mandinka does not seem to make any distinction between mass and count nouns, this language often presents a way to help quantify water or water like referents drawn within particular containers. *Ñaa* is an element that is quite used when it is about containers with which one can easily draw water or water like referents. For example, *Jíi paani ñaa kíliŋ* "one bucketful of water" and *tulu póoti ñaa sabá* "three potfuls of oil" both appear with the element *ñaa* that is used in between the constituents *tulu póoti*, and the modifier *sabá* expressing the exact quantity of *tulu* "oil". If English has special constructions in which its mass nouns are quantified with cardinal numerals, Mandinka seems to use most of its nouns with numerals without necessarily having recourse to any classifiers and the like. After exploring the interesting aspects about English and Mandinka cardinals, we shall now turn to the analysis of "indefinite quantifiers", as is labelled by Alexander (1988), within RPs.



There are many “indefinite quantifiers” the English language uses within RPs to modify core<sub>R</sub> arguments. On this subject, the choice of the quantifier depends on the head noun that may be either a mass or count noun. This is tantamount to saying that if some quantifiers are especially used with mass nouns, the others’ use is devoted to count nouns even if, we should specify that, there is also a number of quantifiers whose use is possible with both types of nouns. In this section, we will be dealing with “indefinite quantifiers” whose use within the RPs of the two languages can be interestingly contrasted. As such, we shall explore, in the following paragraphs, RPs including “indefinite quantifiers” used with count or mass nouns. These are about quantifiers like *many, much, each, every, some, most, a lot of, few, little, all*, and so forth.

- (32) a. Many people drive too fast.  
 Jamáa móo.PL boríndi ADV tariyaa  
 Móo jamáa ka motóo boríndi tariyaarinké báake.
- b. He drink-s much water.  
 3SG míŋ-PSM jamáa jíí  
 A ka jíí jamáa le míŋ.
- c. She has few friend-s.  
 3SG soto dantaŋ téeri-PLM  
 A ye téeri dantaŋ ne soto.
- d. He has little time for other thing-s.  
 3SG soto ndíŋ wáati P dóo feŋ-PLM  
 A ye wáati ndíŋ ne soto púrú ka feŋ dóolu ké.
- e. Some car-s can go fast-er than other-s.  
 Dóo moto-PLM MOD taa tariŋ-COMP CONJ dóo-PLM  
 Motóo dóolu le ka borí noo tarinké motóo dóolu ti.
- f. Most problem-s have a solution.  
 Jamáa porobulemu-PLM soto INDEF feere  
 Feeróo sotota porebulemu jamáa la le.
- g. All car-s have wheel-s.  
 Bee moto-PLM soto siŋ-PLM  
 Motóolu bee ye siŋó soto le.

- h. Every sentence / Each sentence must have a verb.  
 QUANT kalama / QUANT kalama ñanta soto INDEF weriba  
 Kalama bee / kalama wó kalama ñanta weribóo soto la le
- i. There isn't any milk in the fridge.  
 PRON AUXV.NEG QUANT lee P DEF firika  
 Lee te firikóo kóno.
- j. No problem is insoluble.  
 NEGM porobulemu COPV ADJ  
 Porobulemu jarabalí te kériŋ.

In the reference phrase *Many people* in (32a), the quantifier *Many* does not give us the exact quantity of *people* being referred to, but it expresses the fact that the core<sub>R</sub> *people* is in a large number. The usual position of *many* modifying a head noun is usually the initial position of the RP, and this is the same as quantifiers like *some, most, all, few, every, each*, and so on. *Many* modifies a core<sub>R</sub> that is “countable” and plural at the same time, this is the reason why the head noun *people*, the plural of person (a living, a self-conscious being, as distinct from an animal or thing), that is an irregular plural form agrees with *Many* in meaning and number. As we can see, the core<sub>R</sub> *people* is meaningful on its own insofar as it has a referent in the outside world.

Like any other quantifiers, *Few* also is a modifier that is used in an RP to contribute to the semantic interpretation of the core<sub>R</sub>. It is used with plural count nouns to indicate that what the referent of the RP is about is in a small number and that it also agrees in number with the core<sub>R</sub> it modifies. Murphy (2004) shows that *little* and *Few* “are negative ideas (=not many/ not much) (p. 174), which means that *Few* is tantamount to the meaning of *many* being modified by the negation marker *not*. For instance, in (32c), *Few* shows that there is more than one *friend* while suggesting that there is a small number of *friends*. Consequently, it focuses our attention on the smallness of the quantity of *friends* referred to in the real world.

The quantifier *Few* is often preceded by the indefinite article *a* with which it combines to modify the core<sub>R</sub> by conveying meanings like *some, a small number*. In this sense, Murphy<sup>37</sup> states that *a few* has a positive meaning, whereas when *a* is missing from the RP, there is the expression of a negative idea.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

*Many* is used with count nouns, whereas *Much* modifies mass nouns; this is one of the reasons why English does not allow constructions like *\*Much people*, *\*Many waters*. The use of *Much* does not trigger the adding of the plural marker at the end of the core<sub>R</sub>. In affirmative contexts, *Much* is occurred to express that the core<sub>R</sub> is interpreted as being in a “large / considerable / substantial amount” while *Many* tells us that this is about a “large / considerable / great / substantial number” (Hewings, 2005, p. 100). With the RP *Much water*, the quantifier *Much* shows that there is a considerable amount of the referent of the entity *water* that cannot be counted. In the outside world, utterances like *\*one water*, *\*two water*, *\*three water* and the like are not produced by English speakers.

*Few* and *little* are not used with the same nouns but they are both analyzed to denote smallness vis-à-vis their referents. *Little* modifies a mass noun while *few* modifies a count noun. In example (32d), the modifier *little* denotes that the mass noun *time* is in “small amount” not in “small number” as is expressed by *few* used in the initial position of an RP headed by a count noun. Through the semantic contribution of *little*, we understand that there is *not much* time, hence it conveys a negative idea. The situation in which *little* expresses a positive idea is when it is followed by the indefinite article *a*. On this account, *a little time* merely refers to “some time” or “enough time”. In fact, even if the participants are told about the smallness of the amount denoted by the reference phrase *a little* + core<sub>R</sub>, they do not normally interpret this in a negative sense.

*Some* is among English quantifiers whose use is possible with both mass and count nouns. It can be used with a noun that is either in the plural or the singular form depending upon the speech context. On this subject, Hewings states that “When we can’t say exactly which person or thing we are talking about because we don’t know, can’t remember, or want to emphasize that it is not important, we can use **some** instead of **a/an** with a singular noun”.<sup>38</sup> In (32b), *some* is used to modify the core<sub>R</sub> *cars* that is in the plural form. In the outside world, the bare noun *car* refers to a vehicle with an engine, four wheels, and seats. And now when the plural marker *-s* is added to this, there is an expression according to which the number of the type of vehicle in question is more than one. The semantic modification conveyed by *some* is that the reference is not about all

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 96

the *cars* but a number of *cars* that is not specified. This implies that there are other cars left in the entity *car*.

Another “indefinite quantifier” whose use seems to be interesting in a contrastive framework is *most*. *Most* modifies the head noun by telling the participants that the core of the utterance is about almost all of a group of people, animals or things. In (32c), *Most* indicates that the head noun *problems* is considered in a general way even if it does not refer to the referent of the word *problems* in its entirety. The plural marker *-s* at the end of the core<sub>R</sub> *problems* shows that the quantifier *Most* agrees with this inflectional element. Standing alone, the element *problem* refers to a difficult situation that needs to be dealt with; as such, *most* is used with this element to indicate that the pluralized form *problems* is addressed in its generality not in a particular way. From this perspective, we can see that, in English, if the quantifier *Most* is directly followed by the core<sub>R</sub> it modifies, it orients the meaning of the latter to the notion of generality.

The semantic modification expressed by *most* is different from that it conveys when it is followed by the preposition *of* that is in turn followed by determiners like *the, this, that, these, those, my*, and so forth. This difference in meaning can be explained by the fact that there is a combination of the meanings carried by *most* and *of*, which has a scope on the core<sub>R</sub> while the modification borne by the determiner is on the whole RP. For instance, following Murphy<sup>39</sup>, in constructions like *Most of the problems we had; Most, of and the* joined together give semantic contributions that tell us that the RP *Most of the problems* is tantamount to a specific group of *problems* and not *problems* in general as is expressed by *Most* that is directly followed by the core<sub>R</sub>. Unlike numerals, *most* and *some* are also among English “indefinite quantifiers” that precede determiners<sup>40</sup> like articles and demonstratives when they are followed by the preposition *of*.

According to Alexander (1988), the modifier *all* refers to “the whole number of people, things, etc.” (p. 99); this semantic modification carried by *all* is what it presents in the RP construction in *All cars have wheels* in (32d). First, the entity *car* standing alone is meaningful

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 176

<sup>40</sup> For more details, see Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvic, *A Communicative Grammar of English* (London: Longman, 1994), 260-261.

inasmuch as it is given a referent in the real world. Now when this entity is followed by the quantifier *All*, not only may it change in number through the pluralization triggered by the said quantifier, but it is also given another interpretation. *All* appearing in the RP-initial position indicates that the head noun is described as referring to all the types this subsumes. In this sense, the entity *All cars* refers to the whole number of cars without any exception.

In English, *All* can co-occur with the definite article *The* in the same RP, and if this happens, there is a combination between two modifications that have scope on the head noun. This combination is what makes the difference in meaning between, for example, *All cars* and *All the cars*. In *All the cars*, we can understand that there is the presence of the meaning borne by the article *the* that expresses the notion of definiteness. Thus, the RP *All the cars* is about specific *cars* in a specific situation and not all *cars* in general. In constructions like this, the quantifier *All* precedes the definite article *the* for the RP not to trigger ungrammaticality.

The use of *All* with singular count nouns is occasional in the English language, and on this subject, when it comes to using *All* with a “singular countable noun”, people preferably use *The whole* instead (Leech & Svartvic, 1994, p. 207; Hewings, 2005, p.102). It is important to bear in mind that even if *All* is mostly used with plural count nouns, it also co-occurs with mass nouns as is shown by examples like *All the cake*, *All this rice*. In terms of syntactic position, both English articles and demonstratives are closer to the head noun than the quantifier *All*. This phenomenon is totally different from what happens in Mandinka. For instance, in the English language the construction *\*The all cake* is as ungrammatical as *\*This all rice*.

The negation marker *not* is used next to the quantifier *all* to make it lose its modification vis-à-vis the head noun to some extent. In doing so, it precedes the quantifier *all* whose semantic content it negates in relation with the core<sub>R</sub>. In such an RP, *not all* means only “some but not all” (Alexander, 1988, p. 100). In an example like *Not all the seats were taken*, the negation marker *Not* in the initial position of the RP *Not all the seats* shows that some *seats* were there while some others were taken. Even if *Not* negates the semantic contribution of the quantifier *all*, it is important to be more specific about the fact that both elements modify the core<sub>R</sub>.

*Every* and *Each* also are quantifiers whose modifications, we think, are important to be analyzed in this section. Both used in the RP-initial position, *Every* and *Each* appear with a small

difference in meaning. In (32h), when the core<sub>R</sub> element *sentence* stands alone, it is meaningful, for it refers to a group of words, usually containing a verb, that conveys a complete idea. Now, when it is preceded by *each* or *every*, its content is modified depending upon the semantic contribution that is given by the modifier it is used with. For this reason, *Each* in (32h) indicates that the head noun *sentence* is not referred to as a whole, but rather individually in a group of sentences; each sentence is considered separately from the other ones. Regarding *Every*, its meaning tells us that the core<sub>R</sub> element *sentence* should not be construed in distinct pieces, but rather as a block. In this respect, to explain the meanings of *every* and *each*, Murphy (2004) writes that “We use **each** when we think of things separately, one by one”, whereas “We use **every** when we think of things as a group. The meaning is similar to **all**” (p. 182).

According to Alexander<sup>41</sup>, the negation marker *not* can be used “in front of *every*, but not in front of *each*”. This means that the meaning conveyed by *not* can affect the modification carried by *Every* vis-à-vis the core<sub>R</sub> while it cannot do that with *Each*. For instance, in constructions such as *Not every child is intelligent*, *Not* occurs before the quantifier to express negation in relation to what this indicates about the core<sub>R</sub> *child*. *Not* affects the semantic content of the quantifier but they (not and every) are two operators whose meanings modify the core<sub>R</sub>. It is important to point out that even if *Every* is used to show a group of people or things, it does not trigger the adding of the plural marker at the end of the head noun it immediately precedes.

The interpretation of negation is very crucial in the RRG theory because it can occur either at the RP or clause level. In examples (32i and j), the negation markers *Any* and *No* occur at the RP level and each one of them has a scope on the core<sub>R</sub>. In English, *Any* is generally used to modify a head noun that occurs in a construction that is negative or considered as a question. When used in a negative construction, *Any* is contrasted with *Some* that is normally used in a positive construction. Generally, the core<sub>R</sub> modifier *Any* used in positive constructions means *one* or *each* of a particular kind of person, animal or thing, especially when it is not important which one the referent of the core<sub>R</sub> is about. This is what is expressed in an example like *Any book will do*. In this connection, Thomson and Martinet (1986) show that *Any* “can mean ‘practically every’, ‘no particular (one)’” (p. 46).

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<sup>41</sup> Op.cit., 102

According to Eastwood (1994) “*Any* means that the quantity may be zero” (p. 226). Consequently, in (32i) *any milk* means that there may be “zero milk”; the quantifier *any* indicates that there is the presence of no white liquid known as *milk*. In this sense *any* seems to do the same modification as the negation marker *No*, the difference is that *Any* usually co-occurs with other negative markers, whereas *No* does not need to co-occur with any other negative elements to modify its core<sub>R</sub> meaningfully. On this subject, in (32j) *No* modifies the head noun *problem* without the co-occurrence of any other negation marker while in (32i) *any* co-occurs with another negative word even if they do not share the same RP.

As we have mentioned it, *Any* can also appear in an RP subsumed by a construction signaling the interrogative illocutionary force. In this case, *any* modifies the core<sub>R</sub> in such a way that a typical answer is expected. In this connection, Longman (1988) expresses that we use *Any* in a “question when we are not sure about the answer or expect No” (p. 93). For example, in *Have you got any wood?*, *any* indicates that the speaker’s expectation in the addressee’s answer is that they do not have any hard material referred to as *wood*. Although *Any* and *No* do not occur within the same structure, they can share the expression of negation in common in their modifications of head nouns. In English, the modifications of core nouns through quantification and negation have shown many aspects that are very significant in the interpretation of RPs. In this way, we shall see in the following paragraphs what happens in Mandinka RPs as far as quantification and negation are concerned.

Unlike English, Mandinka’s use of “indefinite quantifiers” is not necessarily defined according to the distinction between mass and count nouns. English “indefinite quantifiers” seem to be more numerous than Mandinka’s ones; this is explained by the fact that Mandinka tends to express notions like quantification and negation at the predicative level. In Mandinka, the most common “indefinite quantifiers” are words like *jamáa* “many/much/most”, *dántán* “few”, *dóolu* “some”, *bée* “every/all”, *-ndín* “a little”, *-báa* “much”.

- (33) a. Moo jamáa be jee le.  
           person many LCOP there FOCM  
           There are many people there.

b. Mus-óo-lu jámáa ye i la fúd-óo-lu siti.  
 woman-DEF-PLM many PF.POS 3PL GEN bundle-DEF-PLM tie  
 Most women have tied their bundles.

c. Luntaŋ dántáŋ ne naa-ta beŋ-ó to.  
 Foreigner a few FOCM come-PF.POS event-DEF POSTP  
 A few foreigners came to the event.

d. Díndíŋ dóo-lu kulúuta báake le.  
 child some-PLM polite-PF.POS very FOCM  
 Some children are very polite.

e. Kambaan-óo bée máŋ níñaa.  
 boy-DEF every PF.NEG handsome  
 Not every boy is handsome.

Creissels and Sambou (2013) show that the first meaning of *jamáa* is “crowd” and that it can marginally be used as a verb even if they have also stated that its usual use refers to the French word that corresponds to *many* (p. 225). Then, in this section, we are interested in the use of *jamáa* as a quantifier used to modify head nouns within RPs.

Contrary to the English quantifiers *Many* and *Much*, *jamáa* is used at the RP-final position. Depending upon the speech context in which the RP is produced, it can mean “a large amount of” or “a large number of”; it usually expresses that the core<sub>R</sub> is about a lot of people, animals or things. *Jamáa* that is tantamount to the English quantifiers *Many* and *Much* is generally used to modify a Mandinka bare noun. For instance, in (33a), *Moo*, the core<sub>R</sub> of the RP is a mere bare form that indicates an indefinite human being in the real world, and whose semantic content is modified by *jamáa* that expresses the notion of multiplicity. This quantifier does not specify that the head noun it modifies is identified by the speech participants; it is then indefinite like the bare noun itself.

There are contexts in which *Jamáa* modifies a head noun at the end of which both the *-o* inflection and the plural marker *-lu* are suffixed. In this kind of use, even if the occurrence of the plural marker *-lu* is essential in indicating the number of the core<sub>R</sub>, one should bear in mind that it never occurs in Mandinka without the *-o* suffix preceding it. In (33b) for example, the suffixes *-o* and *-lu* have been added to the head noun *Musu* “woman” to help the quantifier carry the



modification with a special meaning. The combination between these three different grammatical elements would underpin the interpretation of the RP as referring to “most women” rather than “many women”. The presence of the plural marker *-lu* seems to be of prime importance in this kind of construction because the only adding of the *-o* suffix to the end of the core<sub>R</sub> and the occurrence of the mere quantifier *Jamáa* is not sufficient for the RP to be given such a meaning. According to Rowlands (1959), another fact one can capture about the quantifier *jamáa* is that it occasionally takes the plural marker *-lu* without bringing any change in the meaning of the latter (p. 70). This is what happens in an RP like *Musu jámáalu*.

*Dántán* is an “indefinite quantifier” that has roughly the same semantic content as the English quantifier *few* preceded by the indefinite article *a*. It tells us that the referent is in “a small number”. *Dántán* is placed in the final position of the RP and does not take any suffix form when modifying the core<sub>R</sub>. Following Creissels and Sambou<sup>42</sup>, *Dántán* can be combined with the bare form of a noun or constitutes on its own the nominal term of a construction. So far as we are concerned, we are interested in its use with the bare noun. On this subject, in example (33c) both the quantifier *dántán* and the bare noun *Luntaŋ* have no suffix form. It would be ungrammatical to put things like *\*Luntaŋo dántán*, *\*Luntaŋ dántaŋo*. Accordingly, the semantic content conveyed by *Dántán* is sufficient to give us a particular interpretation of the bare noun it is used to modify. That is to say that *Dántán*, on its own, indicates that the head noun refers to more than one even if this is not in a large number.

Unlike English, Mandinka does not use its quantifier *Dántán* in the RP-initial position because this renders the RP meaningless and ungrammatical as can be seen in an example like *\*dántán luntaŋ*. Because of the change in the order of the constituents, no one can have an idea about what *\*dántán luntaŋ* indicates in the outside world. These meaninglessness and ungrammaticality provide facts which prove that there is a significant interaction between syntax and semantics. If a language does not allow such and such an order, mostly, this consequently affects the comprehensibility of utterances.

Rowlands demonstrates that there are three usages of the Mandinka lexical item *dóo* “other” and that the third one “is to place *dóo* or *dóolu* in apposition after a noun in its *-o* suffix

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 226

form (always in the singular). This corresponds to ‘a, a certain’ and *doolu* to ‘some, certain’<sup>43</sup>. The latter is what draws our attention because in some contexts it seems to make the same modification as the English “indefinite quantifier” *Some*. We can see this in example (33d) where *doolu* is used to modify the bare noun *Díndíŋ* that is indefinite. What is even interesting in this kind of RP is the occurrence of the plural marker *-lu*, for if this does not occur at the end of *dóo*, either the RP gives another meaning or becomes meaningless. For example, *Díndíŋ dóo* means another child while *\*Díndíŋolu dóo* “\*children another” is an ungrammatical construction. Like the Mandinka indefinite quantifiers we have already mentioned, the modifier *dóo* is put in the RP-final position, which means that if it is placed in the RP-initial position, it underpins oddity in the interpretation of the meaning of the RP in use. In *Díndíŋ doolu*, the referent *Díndíŋ* with its own meaning is semantically changed by the modifier *doolu*. The use of *doolu* makes the speech participants construe the said RP as indicating that the entity *Díndíŋ* is not referred to in a general way but rather in a particular way.

We see it very important to say that if one wants to know whether the quantifier *Bée* refers to the English quantifier *Every* or *All*, they would need to pay attention to the structure of the core<sub>R</sub>. The presence of the plural marker *-lu* at the end of the head noun seems to be a clue that indicates that the modifier *Bée* corresponds to the English modifier *All*. For example, in (33e), the RP *Kambaanóo bée*, with no plural marker at the end of its head noun, should be understood as conveying the same meaning as the English quantifier *Every*. Now, when *-lu* is added to the head noun, *bée* seems to have the same meaning as *All*. In this sense, in *Kambaanóolu bée máŋ níĩnaa*, the RP *Kambaanóolu bée* by itself is tantamount to “All the boys”. What is interesting here is that *-lu* is not suffixed to the quantifier *bée*, it is rather put at the end of the core<sub>R</sub>. RPs like *\*Kambaanóo béelu* and the like are not correct in the Mandinka language. To be short, *Kambaanóo bée* must be interpreted as “Every boy” while *Kambaanóolu bée* refers to “All the boys”. The realization of the plural marker *-lu* is crucial because it does underpin the difference in interpretation.

*Bée*, usually placed in the final position of an RP, indicates that the head noun is about all the parts that constitute a whole collection that is considered in its individuality. It is also used to give the core<sub>R</sub> a reference with a general meaning; in doing so, it is the whole amount of

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit., 70

something that is indicated. *Bée* is not used with a bare noun; it usually modifies a noun that has either the *-o* suffix only or the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu* at once. Then, the internal structure of the head noun and the position of the “indefinite quantifier” *Bée* within the RP are very essential in the interpretation of a meaningful and grammatical RP construction. In this sense, RPs such as *\*Bée kambaanóo*, *\*Bée kambaanóolu*, *\*Kambaani bée*, are all nonsensical.

English can use negation markers such as *No*, *Not*, and so on, to modify its RPs while Mandinka negation tends to be more predicative than anything else. The situation in which negation seems to be expressed at the RP level is when the core<sub>R</sub> is bare and that the RP it heads is produced in a sentence whose predicate is in the negative form. This is what Creissels and Sambou (2013) explain through their example *Kee máŋ kodóo díi musóo la* (p. 408). Thus, in this construction, we understand through the bare noun *Kee* “man” the meaning of “No man”.

Mandinka seems to have no “indefinite quantifier” that would express the same negative ideas at the RP level as the English negative markers like *No*, *Not*, and so on. The presence of the numeral *Kíliŋ* “One” in an RP produced in a negative sentence can be given a “No + N” interpretation. This is the case in *Musu kíliŋ máŋ naa* “lit. One woman has not come” where the RP *Musu kíliŋ* refers to “No woman”. We can explain this by the fact that if the negation marker excludes the existence of the referent of *Kíliŋ* in the real world, this implies that there is “Zero”, meaning there is “No”. Besides this analysis we have just made, Creissels and Sambou<sup>44</sup> also show that the use of the indefinite *wo* in a negative context can be given the same value as the French word “Aucun”, which corresponds somewhat to the English negation marker “No”. This is what they demonstrate with the RP *Moo wó moo* “No one” in the sentence *Moo wó moo máŋ a faamâa dindimmâa lón* “No one knows their father when he was a child”.

In this section, we cannot give as much information as possible about Mandinka indefinite quantifiers and RP negation markers insofar as these linguistic occurrences are slightly limited at the RP level; they are more frequent at the predicative level. One should bear in mind that Mandinka “indefinite quantifiers” are placed in the RP-final position, whereas in English these occur in the RP-initial position. In English, the choice of “indefinite quantifiers” is importantly based on the distinction between mass and count nouns while Mandinka uses most “indefinite

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

quantifiers” without any real distinction between nouns. Most English “indefinite quantifiers” trigger the adding of the plural marker at the end of the core<sub>R</sub> while this is not the general rule in Mandinka. To make sense, most Mandinka “indefinite quantifiers” do not need to agree with the core<sub>R</sub> by triggering the occurrence of the plural marker. Even if they may appear in particular languages in different ways, one should always remember that RP operators such as “definite and indefinite quantifiers” contribute somehow or other to the semantic interpretations of the head nouns they are used to modify. Still about the analysis of RP operators, we shall continue with adjectival modification in the section below.

### 1.1.3. Adjectival Modification

Rijkhoff (2008a) puts that “Qualifying modifiers relate to more or less inherent objective or subjective properties of an entity, typically expressed by adjectives-if a language has them”. Both English and Mandinka have adjectives that are used somehow or other to modify the nuclear<sub>R</sub>.<sup>45</sup> Our analysis, in this section, is about the way adjectives modify nouns in the two languages with regard to some morphological and syntactic structures that are semantically based. Adjectives typically denote properties related to age (*old, young*), size (*big, small*), shape (*round, flat*), weight (*heavy, light*), color (*black, blue*), and so on (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005, p. 112). Since there are many types of adjectival uses with nouns, here we would like to deal with general questions through which we can see contrastive realizations between the two languages. First, let us start by English adjectival modification before exploring Mandinka’s one.

- (34)
- a. The tall woman didn’t see me.  
 DEF jaŋ musu máŋ jé 1SG  
 Musú jaŋó máŋ ń jé nuŋ.
  - b. A very beautiful spring has start-ed.  
 INDEF ADV díímaa N AUXV kumaasi-PASTP  
 Wáati díímaa báa le kumaasita

<sup>45</sup> Van Valin and Lapolla, *Syntax*, 58, write that adjectival and nominal modifiers are also nuclear<sub>R</sub> operators, in that they express distinctive qualities of the referring expressions.

- c. The men present were his supporter-s.  
 DEF kee.PL ADJ COPV 3SG faabandilaa-PLM  
 Móolu minnu maabeeta, wolu múŋ a la faabandilaalu le ti.
- d. The people involved were reported to the police.  
 DEF móo.PL ADJ AUXV.PRET boole P DEF poolíisi  
 Móolu minnulu be jee, i ye i bóole pólíisi ya le.
- e. He is an un-beat-able fight-er.  
 3SG COPV INDEF PREF-busa-SUF kele-AG  
 A mu kelelaa busabalóo le ti.

About the distributional characteristics of English adjectives, one can consider the statement below.

Adjectives typically occupy two positions in English: *the attributive position* or *the predicative position*. When an adjective precedes a Noun Phrase, it is said to occur in attributive position. [...] When an adjective follows a so-called linking verb or copula it is said to occur in predicative position. (Aarts, 2001, p. 33)

In the RP *The tall woman* in (34a), the adjective *tall* is used in the RP-initial position to modify the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *woman*. The salient features about English adjectives are that they do not take any endings like the plural or gender marker. In this way, it is ungrammatical to put RPs like *\*The talls woman*, *\*The talls women*, *\*Beautifuls spring*, and the like. The nuclear<sub>R</sub> is sufficient to signal the notion of gender on its own; the number also is indicated at the nuclear<sub>R</sub> level and not at the level of the adjective.

In the RP *The tall woman*, the adjective *tall* is used attributively, which is essential in terms of modification of the meaning of the head noun *woman*. When an adjective is labelled predicative, it does not seem to convey the same meaning as when it is looked upon as an attributive one. The attributive adjective *tall* describes an inherent characteristic of the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *woman*; this means that the referent *woman* is *tall* by nature and that this is about a stable personality or trait. To be concise, this adjective tells us what the referent of the head noun *woman* is like, so to paraphrase Rijkhoff<sup>46</sup> who demonstrates that descriptive modifiers specify properties of the referent of the RP or clause in notion of Quality (how it is). It is very important

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<sup>46</sup> Op. cit., 64

to bear in mind that through the modification provided by an attributive adjective, we are given some information about the inherent property, nature or character of a referent noun. Thus, *tall*, in our example, is used to describe the nature of the constituent *woman* that is already specified by the article *The* in terms of height.

As is already mentioned, the frequent position of English adjectives, when modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub>, is the RP initial position and this tends to be usual in this language. When preceding their head nouns, adjectives are captured by some linguists as premodifiers. It is pertinent to specify that in English there are also some other contexts in which adjectives can meaningfully be used in the final position of RPs, and this is the case in examples (34c and d). To explain the occurrence of adjectives in such a position within RPs, Leech and Svartvik (1994) tell us that if an adjective follows the item it modifies, it can usually be regarded as a reduced relative clause (p. 174). Following their explanation, we can understand *The men present* as *The men (who were) present* and *The people involved* as *The people (who were) involved*. As such, if we pay attention to the syntactic and semantic interpretations of the two constructions, the presence of the linking verb (be) is most of the time implied somehow or other.

In (34c and d), we should say that the two different adjectives (*present* and *involved*) are used to tell us about properties that indicate the state or condition of the referents *men* and *people*. The adjectives *present* and *involved* express the notion of identification vis-à-vis their head nouns insofar as, through their modifications, we can understand that the referents *men* and *people* are considered each one as a group of similar type. The use of the adjective in the RP-final position merely helps to identify the referent noun through delineation. This helps show a property that is related to a contingent or temporary character, so to repeat what is said by Langacker (2008), who explains that post-head modifiers are most typically used for contingent circumstances and temporary situations (p. 320). Adjectives that directly follow the nuclear<sub>R</sub> are known as postmodifiers according to some theoretical labels.

In English RP constructions, some adjectives are essentially attributive while others are significantly predicative even if it is important to make clear that most predicative adjectives do not appear at the RP level but rather at the clause level. The positions of adjectives tend to coincide with the semantic contributions they bear vis-à-vis their head nouns. For instance, adjectives like *chief* (*my chief complaint*); *main* (*my main concern*); *only* (*the only explanation*);

*particular* (my particular aim); *principal* (the principal reason); *sole* (my sole interest) cannot be used predicatively (Alexander, 1988, p. 111), while others such as *asleep*, *awake*, *alive*, *afraid*, *ashamed*, *alone*, *alike*, *upset*, *fine*, *unwell*, and so on, are predicative but not attributive (Eastwood, 1994, p. 254).

Another fact about some English adjectival modifiers is that, while modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub>, they can themselves receive modifications from word categories like adverbs. In doing so, the adverb precedes the gradable adjective that, in turn, follows the head noun. This is the case in (34b) where the adverb *very* is used to modify the adjective *beautiful* whose modification scope is on the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *spring*. The use of the adverb *very* permits to emphasize or intensify the meaning provided by the adjective *beautiful*. Following the example of the adverb *very*, many English adverbs can be used in RP constructions to modify gradable adjectives they usually precede. The order of constituents is of prime importance in these kinds of constructions because it is not possible to realize, in English, constructions like \**A beautiful very spring*, \**A spring beautiful very* or \**A beautiful spring very*.

There are also other groups of adjectives in English that cannot be modified by adverbs like *very*, *too* and the like. Those adjectives modify the nuclear<sub>R</sub> but they cannot themselves receive any modifications from adverbs. If it is impossible to say, for instance, \**A very dead person*, it is because the adjective *dead* denotes a semantic content that cannot undergo any modification from any adverb. The use of forms indicating the superlative is impossible with non-gradable adjectives while this is possible with gradable adjectives. The meaning conveyed by a non-gradable adjective makes us understand that there is no idea of less or more degree described about the quality of the nuclear<sub>R</sub>, this means that the adjective expresses a quality that is not measurable. On this subject, the presence of the superlative marker *-est* at the end of the adjective in \**The deade<sup>st</sup> person* renders the RP meaningless while it modifies the adjective *big* in the RP *The biggest village*. The adding of the *-est* ending at the adjective *big* denotes that this can have different degrees that can be considered, if need be, from up to down and vice versa.

Let us give more attention to the use of the superlative markers *most* with adjectives of more than two syllables and the *-est* ending that is usually suffixed to adjectives of two syllables or less. In the framework of an RP, it is worth underlining that the superlative marker in use modifies the adjective which modifies in turn the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. For instance, in *The most important*

*decision*, the element *most*, significantly preceded by the definite article *The*, is used to modify the adjective *important* whose scope is on the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *decision*. This form is used before long adjectives to express that the nuclear<sub>R</sub> is about the greatest quality, a quality that is above everything denoted by the entity referred to. *Most* precedes long adjectives while the *-est* form is suffixed to adjectives of two syllables or less. Whatever the choice may be between *The most + Adj + Nuclear<sub>R</sub>* and *The + Adj-est + Nuclear<sub>R</sub>*, the two superlative markers make the same semantic contribution vis-à-vis the adjective whose modification is on the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. This means that both structures are used to show that a referent has the greatest amount of a quality.

Another inflection that can be put at the end of an English adjective while modifying this is the *-er* suffix. The *-er* suffix is put at the end of an adjective of two syllables or less to orient the interpretation of the adjective toward another meaning; in doing so, the adjective can be importantly preceded by the indefinite article *a*. With the appearance of the indefinite article *a* before the adjective and the suffixing of *-er* at the end of the said adjective, there is a quality said about the referent and this is considered to be greater than the referent of another entity or a group of entities. By way of illustration, in *A brighter future*, the *-er* inflection implies that there may be another *future* that is simply *bright* or less *bright*.

In English, it is also possible to use the indefinite article *a* alongside the comparative marker *more* with adjectives of more than two syllables to give the same semantic contribution as the presence of *a* and *-er* with adjectives of two syllables and less. This is the case in an RP such as *A more interesting life*. In this kind of construction, one should remember that the realization of the indefinite article *a* is not to be neglected because it is of paramount importance for the modification of the RP to become meaningful. A mere substitution of the indefinite article *a* by the definite article *the* renders the RP ungrammatical. In this sense, it is uncommon to produce RPs like *\*The brighter future*, *\*The more interesting life*, etc.

In English, the presence of a simple affix can make a big difference in the semantic contribution carried by an adjective. Depending on the meaning of a suffix or prefix, notions such as negation, possibility, impossibility, privation, and so forth, are very crucial in the interpretation of adjectival modifications. Example (34e) goes in this sense. The affixes *un-* and *-able* in the RP *an unbeatable fighter* indicate the impossibility of defeating the referent of the element *fighter*; we understand through the modifications of these affixes that it is in the quality of the referent of



the noun *fighter* not to be in the possibility of being defeated. The only absence of the prefix *un-* totally changes the meaning of the RP. A *beatable fighter* does not have the same meaning as an *unbeatable fighter*, the former indicates a *fighter* that can be beaten while the latter is about a *fighter* that cannot be beaten.

One should keep in mind that the realization of English adjectival modification is possible when the adjective is put either at the initial or final position of the RP. Some adjectives meaningfully modify the noun if and only if they precede this while others render the RP meaningless when they are used in such a position. There are adjectives that can take either position with a change of interpretation in their semantic contribution. In English, the use of adjectives in the initial position of the RP seems to be more common than that in its final position. The case in which an adjectival modifier appears in the RP final position is when the RP is the result of a reduced relative clause as is shown by Leech and Svartvik. There are some predicative adjectives that make sense if and only if they are interpreted at the clause level and not at the RP level; in this sense, they accept no reduced relative clause choice.

When modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub>, English prototypical adjectives can be modified in turn by adverbs preceding them. Adjectives that cannot be modified by adverbs are non-gradable adjectives, they present a meaning that cannot be considered as different degrees; their meaning is rather understood as a stable condition and the like. Unlike prototypical adjectives, non-gradable adjectives cannot take neither the superlative nor the comparative form. They appear with meanings that do not allow modifications emanating from superlative or comparative markers. Another remarkable fact about English adjectives is that they do not take any plural marker whatever the number of the nuclear<sub>R</sub> may be. Let us now go on to explore what occurs in Mandinka in terms of adjectival modification.

Being aware of the fact that dealing with Mandinka adjectives<sup>47</sup> is subject to a long discussion inasmuch as these have many patterns in common with categories like verbs and nouns, in this section, we would like to deal with aspects that are relevant for the modification of

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<sup>47</sup> For more details on the formation of Mandinka adjectives, see E. C. Rowlands, *A Grammar of Gambian Mandinka* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1959).

the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. For convenience sake, we shall deal with aspects that are shared by most Mandinka adjectives<sup>48</sup> when they occur at the RP level.

- (35)
- a. A ye jíi senúŋ-o bóŋ.  
1SG PF.POS water clean-DEF pour  
He poured the clean water.
  - b. Musu kónomaa yé tabiróo ké.  
woman pregnant PF.POS very do  
The pregnant woman cooked.
  - c. Dindíŋ kulúu-bal-óo búka síimaayaa.  
child polite-PRIV-DEF HAB.NEG long life  
An impolite child does not live long.
  - d. Móo hábúríŋ-o búka sene-yaa.  
Person greedy-RES-DEF HAB.NEG clean-ABSTR  
A greedy person is not clean.
  - e. Falí taríŋ taríŋ-o le be Kajáali búlu.  
Donkey fast fast-DEF FOCM LCOP Kajáali hand  
Kajáali has got a very fast donkey.

In Mandinka RP constructions, adjectives usually appear in the RP-final position to describe qualities about their head nouns. If constructions like *\*senúŋo jíi* “The clean water”, *\*kónomaa musu* “The pregnant woman”, *\*kulúubalóo dindíŋ* “The impolite child” are not understandable in the Mandinka language, it is because the adjectives modifying their head nouns do not occur in the usual position. This is different from what happens in English where the occurrence of adjectives modifying nouns is possible in both positions with a possible difference in interpretation.

A striking feature about Mandinka adjectival modification is that the nuclear<sub>R</sub> does not take inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker; it is the adjective that takes them instead. This is the case in (35a) where the adjective *senúŋo* modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *jíi* appears with the *-o* suffix. If need be, the plural marker *-lu* is added to the adjective as well, and on this

<sup>48</sup> For further information on Mandinka adjectives, see Creissels and Sambou, *Mandinka*, 229

subject, it always follows the *-o* suffix. What is interesting is that such suffixes are added to the adjectives but their modification scope is on the head noun; they indicate both definiteness and the number of the head noun. Unlike English, Mandinka adjectives do not take any prefixes. For example, in English, negation can be expressed through adjectives by the adding of some prefixes, whereas Mandinka often expresses such a notion through the suffixation of *-bali*. The Mandinka language does not have any affixes available to indicate the gender of a nuclear<sub>R</sub>, this can only be understood through the semantic meaning borne by the referent noun; a lexical item on its own can refer to a male or female entity.

Creissels and Sambou (2013) underline that, in Mandinka adjectival modification, nothing can be inserted between the head noun and the adjective (p. 229). We do share this insofar as we have realized through our analysis that the insertion of any lexical items between the adjective and the nuclear<sub>R</sub> creates meaninglessness. It is even impossible to put an adverb between the two constituents as is attested by the ungrammaticality of *\*Jii báake senúño* “Lit.\*Water very the clean”. In Mandinka, more than one adjective can co-occur in an RP construction to describe the head noun. In doing so, the remarkable fact is that inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu* are added to the rightward adjective. For example, if it is meaningless to say *\*Moo sutúño taríj*, it is because the *-o* suffix does not occur in its normal place that is the end of the rightward adjective that is here *taríj* “fast”. Whatever the number of the adjective may be, it is crucial to highlight that in Mandinka adjectival modification it is the rightmost constituent that usually takes inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu*. To summarize this structural organization, Dramé (1981) says that “In a string of nominals formed by a noun and any number of descriptive adjectives, only the last adjective in the string can bear the specifier and the plural marker, if this string is to be assigned a single-NP reading” (p. 36).

Mandinka has particular inflections that are added to adjectives to serve as special clues that are, sometimes, paramount in the interpretations of RPs. This is the case for *-máa* in *Musu kónomáa*, *-bali* in *Díndíj kulúubalóo*, *-riñ* in *Moo hábúríño*, and so forth. All these suffixes can appear at the end of an adjective that is used to modify the semantic interpretation of the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. In Mandinka, an important fact to remember vis-à-vis this is that the presence of such suffixes at the end of the rightward adjective does not prevent the occurrence of the *-o* suffix in

the same place in the final position. This occurrence can be done through accentuation with some adjectives as it can easily be seen at the end of other adjectives.

In (35b), the presence of the suffix *-máa*<sup>49</sup> at the end of the noun *kóno* “belly” is crucial inasmuch as this changes the said noun into an adjective in order to describe the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *Musu*. The noun + *-máa* adjective usually describes the head noun as having a property that comes from the meaning of the noun with which *-máa* is combined. In this sense, Rowlands (1959) explains that *-máa* added to a bare noun helps form an adjective that is usually translated into English by a prepositional phrase such as with + noun (p. 50). As such, our example *Musu kónomáa* can literally be translated into “The woman with belly”. In this kind of RP, the nuclear<sub>R</sub> is usually described as being with the reference of the noun with which *-maa* is combined. Another case in which *-maa* can give the adjective another interpretation in the modification of the nuclear<sub>R</sub> is when it appears at the end of a real adjective<sup>50</sup>. Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), the use of the *-maa* suffix at the end of an adjective modifying a nuclear<sub>R</sub> implies a matter of choice within a group where the referent noun is said to be “the most.....” (p. 235). This use of *-maa* implies that the referent noun is unique in the group to have the property expressed by the adjective as it can infer that this shares the said property with one or several other possible referents that are considered to be inferior in terms of degree. Thus, the example *Ninsi kóyímáa* “the white cow” implies that the speaker refers to a white cow within a group of cows among which some have a different color.

The presence of *-balí* at the end of an adjective modifying a nuclear<sub>R</sub> can also be of prime importance in the interpretation of adjectival modification. Its use at the end of an adjective indicates that the referent noun is deprived of the quality expressed by the said adjective. This is the case in *Díndíŋ kulúubalóo* where *-balí* receiving the *-o* suffix indicates that the nuclear<sub>R</sub> *Díndíŋ* does not have the property *kulúu* “polite”. In the constructions of the adjectives in *-balí*, there is usually a combination between a bare noun and *-balí* that importantly modifies the meaning of the referent noun. The nuclear<sub>R</sub> *Díndíŋ* on its own is meaningful inasmuch as, in the outside world, it refers to a person who is not an adult yet; the adjective *kulúubalóo* with the *-o*

<sup>49</sup> One should not mix up the *-maa* we are dealing with here with *-maa* that appears at the end of some nouns to indicate relationship between people. In this sense, it indicates possession.

<sup>50</sup> We call real adjective every Mandinka bare lexical item that is used to describe noun qualities. These are among others adjectives such as *sutúŋ* ‘short, small’ *kéndé* ‘kind, honest, good’ *kútá* ‘new’, *kénséŋ* ‘empty, naked’ etc. It is important to bear in mind that there are some real adjectives that cannot combine with *-maa*.

suffix is used to describe this referent *Díndíŋ* while modifying its semantic interpretation. In Mandinka adjectival modification, one should always pay attention to the ending of the adjective because sometimes this can be very telling in terms of interpretation.

Sometimes, in Mandinka RPs, both the adjective and the nuclear<sub>R</sub> can co-occur without taking inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu*. For example, in Mandinka, it is possible to have RPs like *Díndíŋ kulúubali* “an impolite child”, *Moo hábúriŋ* “a greedy person”. If there is no *-o* suffix at the end of the adjective, this expresses the indefiniteness of the referent noun as is exactly suggested by the presence of the indefinite article *a* in the English translation. While uttering these kinds of constructions, the pitch of the voice at the end of the adjective is paramount because its being high contributes a lot to the expression of the notion of indefiniteness of the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. In such constructions, the speaker may mostly imply their belief in how high the degree of the quality expressed through the adjective modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub> is. Then, the RP *Díndíŋ kulúubali* may suggest how *kulúubali* “impolite” the child is! The situation in which this interpretation does not seem to be sound is when an RP is produced within a sentence whose illocutionary force signals negation.

The presence of the suffix *-riŋ* at the end of certain adjectives is also essential for the interpretation of the RP. The *-riŋ* suffix at the end of an adjective indicates a quality that may be looked upon as a condition about the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. In this connection, the RP *Móo hábúriŋo* in (35d) may be interpreted as *A person that is greedy*; it can then be given a predicative reading in English. The use of the *-riŋ* suffix shows that either the quality expressed by the adjective is a state expressed about the nuclear<sub>R</sub>, or the latter has gone through or done an action to reach such a state finally. In *kiní móoriŋo* “a cooked rice”, for instance, *móoriŋo* is used to show that *kiní* “rice” has become *moo* “ready to eat” after undergoing the action of cooking.

Unlike English, Mandinka can use the same adjective twice to modify the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. In this sense, the second use of the adjective is done to intensify the quality given to the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. Example (35e) is a perfect illustration of this. In *Falí tariŋ tariŋo* “A very fast donkey”, the second use of the adjective *tariŋo* at the end of which appears the *-o* suffix permits to emphasize its first use *tariŋ*. To make the degree of the quality higher in such a construction, we can add to the adverb *báa* “very”; then, *Falí tariŋ tariŋ báa* may be literally translated into “\*A fast fast donkey big”. In English, it is ungrammatical to say things like *\*A fast fast donkey*; in this

language, there are some adverbs that are available to emphasize or intensify the semantic contents of adjectives.

In Mandinka, we have found no typical comparative or superlative marker at the RP level. The only situation in which the idea of superlative may be understood through an RP is when there is the *-maa* suffix at the end of certain adjectives modifying the nuclear<sub>R</sub> as we have already suggested in the paragraph devoted to the interpretation of the adjectives in *-maa* through the example *Ninsi kóyímâa*. Not every RP whose adjectival modifier appears with *-maa* should be given this reading; there are many other adjectives in *-maa* that are interpreted in a different way.<sup>51</sup>

To recapitulate, one should remember that in English RP constructions, the adjective can appear in both the initial and final positions of the RP, whereas Mandinka usually uses its adjectives in the final position. We have found that adjectives in both languages do not indicate gender of the head nouns they modify. The remarkable difference is that Mandinka adjectives can take inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu*, whereas English adjectives take no inflection showing the number of the nuclear<sub>R</sub>. Both comparative and superlative markers can appear in the English RP constructions while modifying adjectives, whereas we have found, in Mandinka, only one case that is about the use of the suffix *-maa* that seems to express something similar to the notion of superlative in certain speech contexts.

Adjectival modification is easier to capture in English than in Mandinka insofar as there is no clear-cut demarcation between Mandinka adjectival forms and the forms of its other categories such as verbs and nouns. English adjectives may appear with both prefixes and suffixes that are very crucial in terms of interpretation, whereas Mandinka adjectives take only suffixes. In Mandinka, both the nuclear<sub>R</sub> and the adjective can occur in the bare forms while making sense, but if we take the case of English, this language mostly requires the use of articles in its RP constructions or the indication of a plural marker at the level of the head noun. We have also found that, in Mandinka, an adjective modifying a nuclear<sub>R</sub> can occur twice in the same RP while the second one intensifying the first one. English mainly uses some adverbs to emphasize the

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<sup>51</sup> For this, go back to the paragraph devoted to the modification of the adjectives in *-maa*.

meaning of certain adjectives; it is ungrammatical in this language to use an adjective twice successively for some emphatic reasons, and the like.

## 1.2. Possessive Phrases

In this section, we shall deal with the possessive form of nouns, which may also be called the genitive. Even if languages may form the genitive in different ways, the objective is always to express possessive relationship between two entities that are about a “possessor” and a “possessed”. To distinguish whether the possessor is an argument or a modifier, careful attention should be given to the types of dependency relations that occur, for we espouse the idea according to which there is an inherent connection between the semantic interpretation of the possessive relationship and the meaning of relational nouns. Thus, following Seiler (1983a), the dependency relations in possessive phrases subsume inherently relational nouns and their (argument) possessors<sup>52</sup> and inherently non-relational nouns and their (modifier) possessors.

Then, before going further, we see it important to remember what Van Valin demonstrates about the logical structure of possessive RP constructions, for this is of prime importance in terms of interpretation within the framework of RRG.

Possessive NP constructions involve a possessive predication within the NP. Possessive predications are based on **have'** (x, y), e.g. **have'** (woman, book) for *The woman has a book*, and the corresponding alienable possessive NP *the woman's book* would be presented as **have'** (woman, book), with the head underlined. In a possessive predication, the first argument of **have'** is the possessor and the second argument the possessed [...], and therefore within the NP the possessed is normally selected as the head of the NP. It is possible, however, to choose the possessor as the head, i.e. **have'** (woman, book) yielding *the woman with the book*. Certain types of NP adjuncts receive a similar representation, e.g. the NP *the table in the library* would have the representation **be-in'** (library, table). Inalienable possession is represented by **have.as.part'** (x, y), e.g. **have.as.part'** (woman, arm) for *the woman's arm* or *the arm of the woman*. Kin possession is expressed by

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<sup>52</sup> This dependency type is mainly about nouns denoting kinship and body parts.

**have.as.kin'** (x, y), as in **have.as.kin'** (woman, sister) for *the woman's sister* or *the sister of the woman*. (Van Valin, 2005, p. 52)

We shall start by exploring the way alienable possessive constructions are realized in the two languages. First, let us start by English alienable possessive constructions.

- (36)                      John'-s    car  
                              Jóni GEN    wotóo  
                              Jóni la wotóo.

In alienable RP possessive constructions, English usually uses the genitive marker -'s to express a possessive relationship between animate beings and inanimate things, this is what is also known as contingent possession. In such constructions, the possessor appears in the RP-initial position while the possessed is placed in the final position. In our example, with the use of the genitive marker -'s, there is a relation according to which, *John*, an animate being, owns the object *car*, hence the logical structure **have'** (John, car). In the framework of possessive construction, the presence of *John's* is obligatory but this does not mean that when it is removed from the construction this renders the head noun *car* ungrammatical. When the head noun *car* stands on its own, it is meaningful insofar as whenever it is mentioned the speech participants think of an identifiable referent in the outside world. The possessor *John* taking the genitive marker -'s is placed in the RP-initial position to modify the meaning of the utterance by turning it into a possessive relationship.

In English, the use of the inflected genitive is more frequent with possessors that are animate beings than with inanimate being possessors as can be understood in the following statement.

The main factor governing the choice of one or the other genitive is the animate, or rather personal quality of the modifying noun. Nouns denoting persons, whether proper names (*John's car*) or ordinary count nouns (*the student's car*), can always take the inflected genitive. It can also be used with animals... *the dog's life*. (Quirk et al., 1972, p. 198)



We should always remember that, in English, the inflected genitive is chiefly used with nouns denoting animate beings even if, sometimes, it is also possible to use some inanimate nouns with this to modify head nouns. To clearly show this, Quirk et al.<sup>53</sup> give examples such as geographical names (*Africa's treasures*), locative nouns (*The moon's surface*), temporal nouns (*Yesterday's work*), nouns of special interests to human activities (*The game's history*), and so forth.

One should also remember that the use of the genitive marker -'s is not the only possibility through which one can realize alienable possession in English. With most inanimate possessor nouns, this language mainly has recourse to the possessed + of + possessor structure. And it is also noticeable to see some possessed + of + possessor alienable possession where the possessor is animate even if we should specify that this use is criticized by some grammarians. The following RPs are some examples whose possessors are inanimate: *the name of the street*, *the name of the book*, *the price of the laptop*, and so forth. Let us now turn to the notion of inalienable possession.

According to Van Valin and Lapolla<sup>54</sup> "Inalienable possession involves a part - whole relation between the possessor and the possessed, e.g. a table and its legs, a bird and its wings, a car and its wheels." Like alienable possession, inalienable possession also may be expressed through the use of the genitive marker -'s put at the end of the possessor as it can be used with a possessor that is preceded by *of*. There are many other cases in which inalienable constructions can be noticed in the English language but for convenience sake, here, we would like to focus on body parts and kinship terms.

- (37) a. The boy -'s head  
 DEF kambaane GEN kúnŋ  
 Kambaanóo Kúnŋo.

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 198-201

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 90

b. The leg of the table

DEF siŋ GEN DEF táabulu

Táabulóo siŋo.

c. Kim - 's sister

Kimu GEN diŋ músu

Kimu diŋ musóo

In inalienable possessive constructions, there is a relationship that expresses that a possessed is part of a possessor that is considered as being much larger or bigger. This is the case in (37a) where *The boy*, the possessor, is understood as having a body (a whole) of which the *head* is part. In this kind of construction, there is an inherent relationship between the possessor and the possessed, which makes the possessor an argument instead of a modifier. The head noun *head* being placed in the RP-final position is what the constituent *The boy* taking the inflected genitive is used to complete. Once again with this kind of possessive construction, the structural order of constituents is very important here because this inherently interacts with the semantic features. The usefulness of this interaction is what underpins the grammaticality of such a construction. For instance, a simple change in the structural order renders the RP *\*The head's boy* ungrammatical. We have the occurrence of the same constituents as in (37a) but a mere change in their order makes a big difference. Thus, the logical structure of (37a) is **have.as.part'** (boy, head).

Another way to express inalienable possessive construction is noticeable with the use of *of* + possessor. In this kind of construction, the possessed occurs in the RP initial position while the possessor is realized in its final position, and *of* is put in between them. English mostly uses the *of* + possessor when the latter is not an inanimate thing. Like with the inflected genitive, with the *of* + reference phrase also we can indicate that something is an inherent part of a whole. What is the difference between the two types of possessive constructions is that the *of* + noun phrase seems to be usual with inanimate possessor nouns while the inflected genitive - 's is chiefly used with animate possessor nouns. To give the main cases in which the use of the *of* + noun phrase is more noticeable, Thomson and Martinet (1986) state that this is used for possession either when

the possessor noun is followed by a phrase or clause, or with inanimate possessors, except for some vehicles of transport such as boats, ships and so forth (pp. 20-21).

Then, in (37b), the possessor *table* occurring in the final position of the RP is an inanimate thing that is used to complete the meaning of the head noun *The leg* appearing in the initial position of the RP. We have inalienable possession in this inasmuch as the big entity *The table*, the possessor, is taken to be a whole of which the small entity *leg* is a part. We understand through this construction that, somewhat, *The leg* exists as a natural and basic part of *the table*. Then, this relationship between the possessed and the possessor is represented in the logical structure as **have.as.part'** (house, door).

Kin possession also is another semantic interpretation we can have with some English inalienable possessive constructions. This helps identify a relationship that signals kinship, that the referents of a possessor and a possessed noun are relatives. This is what is expressed in (37c) whose logical structure is **have.as.kin'** (Kim, sister). The possessed *sister* is the head noun whose meaning the possessor *Kim* is used to complete with the help of the genitive marker - 's. *Kim*, the possessor is considered to have an inherent relationship with the possessed *sister*. The structural order of most part-whole and kinship relations is almost the same. The only slight difference is at the level of the interpretation, which explains the small difference at the logical structure level as well. In RRG, Kin nouns are not given the same interpretation as some other possessive constructions, for they “do have the property of taking arguments, e.g., the old sister of Mary, a property usually associated with deverbal nominal.”<sup>55</sup> Because of the inherent relationship they bear, nouns denoting kinship terms and body parts are often related to as items having arguments in RRG.

Still about possessive constructions, sometimes, we should be very careful about the type of possession that occurs because not every possessive construction is given the interpretation according to which an element X owns an element Y or an element X is an inherent part of an element Y. For example, to construe some possessive RP constructions correctly, we need to take into account some pragmatic aspects that make the understanding of the meaning clearer; if not we may be mistaken in terms of interpretation. To clarify this, let us give the following citation:

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<sup>55</sup> See Van Valin and Lapolla, *Syntax*, 190

The possessive or genitive case shows possession, using the word 'possession' in its widest sense. Thus, the possessive form 'John's father' does not mean that John possesses his father, nor does 'Shakespeare's death' mean that Shakespeare 'possessed' death. The genitive form is used to indicate not only possession in the strict sense of the word but something signified by another noun, which appertains to the person. (C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley, 1960, p. 46)

The explanation aforementioned shows what the notion of possession should also cover, especially when it is about understanding the meaning of certain words constituting certain constructions. It suggests that the label "possession" is somewhat misleading sometimes, for most people unconsciously think that when you talk about possession, you exactly refer to the very idea of ownership or belonging.

The expression of definiteness and indefiniteness in English possessives is also something that is worth analyzing. In English, if the element taking the genitive marker appears in the RP initial position, there is the expression of the notion of definiteness. To demonstrate this, let us take an example like *One child's bag*. With the presence of the genitive marker that would express the notion of definiteness, we understand that the head noun *bag* is a specified one. In this sense, *One child's bag* does not refer to *A bag of one child* but rather to something like *The bag of the child*. This demonstration joins the statement below:

In English, the genitive NP in the NP-initial position cannot co-occur with a determiner; both \*the [Fred's book] and \*the [the enemy's destruction of the city] are ungrammatical. [...] English NPs containing a genitive NP in the NP-initial position are interpreted as definite, and therefore the possessor phrase does double duty; it is part of the constituent projection signaling possession and part of the operator projection signaling definiteness. If a possessed NP is indefinite, the possessor phrase occurs after the possessed noun, as in e.g. *a book of Fred's*. (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 61)

As is mentioned by Van Valin and Lapolla, the situation in which it is possible to express the notion of indefiniteness is when the possessor taking the genitive marker occurs in the final position of the RP. In short, we should say that when a genitive element is placed in the RP-initial position, it plays a dual function that is about definiteness and possession.

Another interesting linguistic phenomenon English has within the framework of its possessive RP constructions is the use of the double genitive; this is the realization of two genitive markers within the same RP. It is possible to have in English the occurrence of both the genitive marker -'s and the *of* + reference phrase. This is the case in *A brother of Ram's* where the modifier *Ram* is placed in between the possessive preposition *of* and the genitive marker -'s. In this kind of construction, it is the possessor that seems to be definite, meaning that this is usually about an identified person the speech participants already know. In *A brother of Ram's*, *Ram* is at the same time personal and definite, which means that the participants are aware of whom it refers to. The double genitive construction *A brother of Ram's* may also be understood that *Ram* has one brother and that it is that very *brother* that is referred to in the world of speech. Such a construction does not have the same meaning as *One of Ram's brothers*.

In English, it is possible in some contexts to see the occurrence of the possessor noun taking the genitive marker -'s without the syntactic realization of the possessed noun in the final position. In this kind of construction, it is very essential to take into account the context in which the said possessor noun taking the genitive marker -'s is produced if not this may be meaningless. In a construction like *My car is better than John's*, there is, in the entity *John's*, an omission that does not affect the semantic interpretation; it is the modifier *car* that is omitted from the RP *John's*. This is what is called in the literature the elliptical use of the genitive. People usually have recourse to this to avoid repetition. There are many ways to express the notion of possession in the English language, not only can it be constructed with the help of elements such as the genitive marker -'s and the preposition of possession *of* but also with some pronouns labelled as possessive pronouns.

English also uses some pronouns to express a possessive relationship between different entities. Unlike Mandinka, English has special elements known as possessive pronouns which are used with head nouns to indicate possession. Being aware of the fact that through the literature they are given different labels<sup>56</sup>, here we are going to use the term possessive pronouns or pronominal elements as umbrella terms. Then, English possessive pronouns are elements such as *my, your, his/her, its, our, their*, etc. Depending on the reference of the head nouns they are used with, they express either alienable or inalienable possession.

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<sup>56</sup> In the literature, the use of possessive pronouns and possessive adjectives is what is frequent.

- (38) a. My car  
           1SG moto  
           ń na motóo
- b. Her arm  
           3SG búlu  
           A búlóo
- c. His father  
           3SG faa  
           A faamáa

In English, there are typical pronominal elements that are used with possessed nouns to play exactly the same role as nouns labelled as possessors in a possessive RP construction. For example in (38a), we understand that the *car*, the possessed, belongs to the person that produces the utterance, for *My* signals that the possessed is looked upon as owned by the first personal pronoun *I* hence the logical structure **have'** (1sg, car). Since there is no inherent relation between the head noun *car* and the modifier *My*, accordingly, there is an alienable possession as is shown by the logical structure. Like the other possessive pronouns, *My* is placed in the initial position of the RP; it occupies the same position as the possessor noun it is used to represent.

In possessive RP constructions with pronouns, the meaning expressed by the head noun is of prime importance because it helps a lot to know the kind of possessive relationship that is realized. When in *My car*, we understand that *car* is an object that cannot have an inherent relation with the possessive pronoun *My*, in (38b) *arm* signals that it exists as a natural and basic part of its possessor. As such, the logical structure of (38b) will be **have.as.part'** (3sg, arm); this is an inalienable relationship insofar as it expresses a body part term. Being the reference point, *Her* represents a whole of which the entity *arm* is part. Another thing that is interesting in this is that the pronominal element *Her* conveys information such as number and gender; not only does it indicate that the possessed appertains to a female but it also tells us that this is singular. Replacing a noun that denotes an inherent part of the possessor's body, *Her* also should be

construed as completing the meaning of the head noun *arm* to which the represented possessor noun is inherently related. In English, the possessive pronoun and the head noun are juxtaposed as is demonstrated by the following discussion:

The prototype structure within the technique of juxta-position shows a POSSESSOR represented by a person-differentiated pronoun (personal or possessive) and a POSSESSUM represented by a noun, and such a construction is predominantly "inalienable". (Seiler, 1981, p. 28)

With the use of English pronominal elements with head nouns, we can also have the expression of kinship terms. This is the case in (38c) where the head noun *father* is put in a kinship term with a reference point represented by *His* that signals that the possessor is a male and that it is singular. This is inalienable possession inasmuch as the meaning of *father* denotes that it has a natural relationship with what the possessor element *His* refers to. There is an agreement between the pronominal element and the noun this is used to replace; this means that if the reference is a female, it is ungrammatical to use *His*; and *Her* cannot be used to refer to a male possessor noun either. Expressing a kinship possession, the logical structure of *His father* should be **have.as.kin'** (3sg, father).

English boasts some pronominal elements that can convey by themselves the information expressed by both the possessor and the possessed. In doing so, the speech context helps to identify the combination (possessor noun and possessed noun) the pronominal element in use refers to. These elements are *mine*, *yours*, *his/hers*, *ours*, *theirs*. They may stand alone in a construction while referring to a possessor and a possessed noun the speech participants are aware of. For instance, in *Their house is older than yours*, the pronoun *yours* bears the meaning of two entities at once; these are *your* and *house*, for the complete construction would be something like *Their house is older than your house*. From this perspective, *yours* signals a possessive relationship denoted by a possessor and a possessed that should be identified by relying on the context in which the utterance is produced.

The notion of possession is also expressed in English by the structure noun (object) + noun (object); noun (object) + gerund but also by the structure gerund + noun. According to Thomson and Martinet (1986), some ways in which these combinations can be used are when the second

noun belongs to or is part of the first one (e.g. shop window); the first noun can indicate the place of the second (e.g. city street); the first noun can indicate the time of the second (e.g. summer holiday); the first noun can state the material of which the second is made (e.g. steel door); the first noun can indicate the purpose of the second (e.g. coffee cup, reading lamp), and so forth (pp. 20-21). Since languages may present either similarities or differences in the way they realize linguistic phenomena, we are then going to see in the following paragraphs the distribution of arguments and modifiers in Mandinka possessive constructions with regard to syntax and semantics.

Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), Mandinka has two variants of possessive constructions (p. 241). From their reasoning, we understand that, first, there is a possessive construction where the possessor is separated from the possessed by a *la* element. In the second possessive construction, there is what they call *N + N* possessive construction. Otherwise in this kind of construction, the possessed immediately follows the possessor. These Mandinka possessive constructions are of pivotal importance insofar as they show possessive relationships that are not interpreted in the same way.

- (39)
- a. Suŋ-ó ye Faatu la níns-oo súuñaa  
 thief-DEF PF.POS Fatou GEN cow-DEF steal  
 The thief stole Fatou's cow
- b. Saalifu ye táabul-óo siŋ-o kuntu  
 Salif PF.POS table-DEF leg-DEF cut  
 Salif cut the leg of the table
- c. Síyaaka baa-máa la béŋ-o  
 Siyaka mother-KM GEN program-DEF  
 Siyaka's mother's program

Mandinka mainly boasts two types of possessive constructions; these are the possessive construction in which the possessor and the possessed nouns are juxtaposed, and the one in which



these are separated by the genitive marker *la*. In Mandinka, alienable and inalienable possessive constructions seem to be manifest.

In (39a) *Faatu la nínsoo*, there is the possessor *Faatu* that comes in the initial position of the RP while the possessed *nínsoo* occurs in the final position; and the genitive marker *la* is put in between. In such a construction, the presence of the possessive marker *la* is extremely important because its absence will render the RP ungrammatical. It will be impossible to put in this language an RP like *\*Faatu nínsoo*, not only is this difficult to understand but it does not give any possessive idea either. In Mandinka, the possessive construction in which *la* appears is used when “in the speaker’s judgment or to his knowledge, the possessed stands as an experience to or is owned by the possessor” (Dramé, 1981, p. 80). In this relationship, the possessed is controlled by the possessor. The *la* element is grammatical in this construction inasmuch as it helps convey a specific meaning that is crucial for the understanding of the message transmitted by the whole RP.

In possessive constructions where the genitive marker *la* is used, there is generally the expression of alienable possession. With the use of *la* possessive construction, there is no inherent relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun. This is the case in example (39a) where there is no natural or basic relationship between *Faatu* and *nínsoo*. The possessed is interpreted here as a non-relational noun, meaning it merely denotes that it is in the availability of the possessor who legally owns it. Since at the cognitive level, *nínsoo* is not looked upon as an intrinsic part of the possessor *Faatu*, one could interpret it as a modifier if we espouse the following idea:

[...] there are two different kinds of dependency relations. Assume there is a dependency relation in which X controls Y; then if Y occupies a slot of X, it is a relation of government, whereas if X occupies a slot of Y, it is a relation of modification. Put differently: a governor is a relational controller of dependency, a complement being an element dependent on a relational element; whereas a modifier is a dependent relational element, a modificatum being an element controlling a relational element. (Lehmann, 1985, p. 77)

In Mandinka alienable possessive constructions, the occurrence of the possessor or possessed in a position that is not the usual one results in a meaningless construction. For instance, \**Nínsoo Faatu la* and \**Faatu nínsoo la* are all nonsensical constructions. In this sense, one should bear in mind that Mandinka does not allow any change of position between the head noun and the modifier in its alienable possessive RP constructions; the usual structure is Possessor N + *la* + Possessed N. In the real world, the possessed *nínsoo* is looked upon as something that can be separated from the possessor *Faatu* without resulting in any abnormality or change in her body or the relationship she has with the possessed. Then, the logical structure to *Faatu la nínsoo* is **have'** (Faatu, nínsoo).

A Mandinka alienable possessive construction is structurally different from its inalienable possessive construction. In the body part possessive relationship, there are usually two elements that are juxtaposed; the possessor noun occurs first and then the possessed noun is realized in the RP-final position. The noticeable difference between this and alienable possession is the absence of the genitive marker *la*. In body part possessive relationships, the fact of putting the *la* element between the two nouns results in ungrammaticality. The intrinsic relationship between the two nouns is so significant that one can say that this is the reason why, structurally, the realization of any element would not be acceptable between them.

In example (39b), *táabuloo siŋo* is an inalienable possessive construction because the possessed *siŋo* is considered as a small entity that is part of another entity *táabuloo* that is bigger; *siŋo* is construed as denoting an inherent part of the possessor's body, *táabuloo*, to be more specific. Being an inherently relational noun, following Seiler (1983a), the possessor *táabuloo* should be analyzed as an argument instead of a modifier; semantically, the head noun *siŋo* encodes a relational idea that entails the occurrence of the possessor *táabuloo*. As we have already mentioned it, it would be ungrammatical to separate the two elements structurally by putting, for instance, the element *la* between them inasmuch as they are inherently linked at the semantic level. Expressing a part-whole relation, the logical structure to *táabuloo siŋo* is **have.as.part'** (*táabuloo*, siŋo). The head noun *siŋo* is an inherently relational noun that requires the possessor *táabuloo* as a core<sub>R</sub> argument. The fact of dealing with the notion of relationality in Mandinka joins Fillmore (1968), who writes: "Every language, one can be sure, has nouns which express concepts that are inherently relational" (p. 61).

Through our analysis of data, we have found that if the genitive marker *la* is inserted in an RP construed as an inalienable possessive construction, the only possible interpretation is done with an alienable possessive reading. For instance, in *Karamo la kúŋo* “Karamo’s head”, *kúŋo* “head” is interpreted as something that merely belongs to *karamo* without being part of his body. Depending upon the context, this may mean, for example, the head of an animal belonging to *Karamo* but not Karamo’s head as such. This interpretation seems to be possible if and only if the possessor is animate. In the Mandinka language, it would be meaningless to produce an RP like *\*Táabuloo la siŋo* “the table’s leg” insofar as apart from its inherent *leg*, a table could not have a separated leg on which it has power in terms of ownership. Thus, if English possessive constructions like *John’s leg*, *Mike’s head*, and so on, may be ambiguous if the hearer does not have enough contextual information about the very utterance produced, in Mandinka, the use of the genitive marker *la* with body part terms helps avoid such an ambiguity.

Mandinka has a special way to express the notion of kinship. We have identified that when it is about expressing kin possession in this language, there is the possibility of using a special suffix put at the end of the head noun. In doing so, the possessor and the head noun are juxtaposed; the possessor noun occurs in the RP-initial position while the possessed noun is realized in its final-position. This is the suffix *-máa*. The suffix *-máa* can be used with nouns expressing interpersonal relationships such as kind terms (Creissels & Sambou, 2013, p. 16). Then here, what we are interested in is its use within a possessive RP construction with relational nouns.

In example (39c), as we can see, *Síyaaka báamáa* is a possessive RP that expresses the notion of kinship between *Síyaaka* the possessor and *báamáa* the possessed or the head noun. Like in part-whole possessive relationships and alienable possessive constructions, in kin possession, the possessor appears in the initial position of the RP while the possessed is placed in its final position. Mandinka kin possessions do not allow the use of the *la* genitive marker either; on this subject, it is ungrammatical to say, for instance, *\*Síyaaka la báamáa*.

It is important to specify that, in Mandinka, it is also possible to realize the notion of kinship without having recourse to the suffixation of the element *-máa* at the end of the head noun. This means that *Síyaaka báa* “Siyaka’s mother” has the same meaning as *Síyaaka báamáa* “Siyaka’s mother”. They both indicate the notion of kinship existing between the possessor and

the possessed, hence the logical structure to both choices may be **have.as.kin'** (Síyaaka, *báa*). As is mentioned, *Síyaaka* should be analyzed as an argument instead of a modifier because Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) write that it is clear that relational nouns like *father*, *friend* and *sister* can take what could be analyzed as arguments (p. 53), an assertion they reiterate later by saying that kinship nouns do have the property of taking arguments.<sup>57</sup>

Within the framework of Mandinka kin possession, we have noticed the co-occurrence of the possessed *musu* “wife” and the *la* genitive marker. As such, the *la* element is put between the possessor and the possessed noun *musu* as is done in alienable possessive constructions. One should bear in mind that the Mandinka genitive marker *la* is essentially used to indicate that the term of kinship is established through some kind of effort on the part of the possessor; then the referent of the possessor noun has some kind of power or control relation vis-à-vis the referent of the possessed noun. Even if it is possible to realize the possessed *musu* in kin possession with the kinship marker *-máa* as is attested by *Fode musumáa* “Fode’s wife”, it is also possible to say *Fode la musóo* with no difference in terms of interpretation.

In the Mandinka culture, the referent *musu* is interpreted to be possessed in the same way as some alienable possessed elements the possessor referent can own or free himself from. For example, a man can sell a car he owns as he can divorce a woman he has married; in either case, we no longer have the notion of possession between the referents. If a man divorces his wife, the wife is no longer the man’s wife as if a man sells his car, that car is no longer his. This possession is different from that that occurs between a father and his son, a relationship one cannot exclude under any circumstances. From this perspective, we should say that if Mandinka allows the use of the genitive marker *la* with the kin noun *musu*, it is possibly due to the fact that there is some kind of power, control, or effort in terms of getting the referent of the possessed noun, and besides the separation is possible under certain circumstances.

When it is about expressing a possessive relationship related to a possessor noun whose referent is inanimate, Mandinka usually makes a direct juxtaposition between the possessor and the possessed. In such a construction, the possessor and the possessed are juxtaposed as is shown in examples like *bii béño* “today’s event”, *saatéwo kúlúño* “the boat of the village”, *síraño dâa*

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 190

“the price of the chair”, and so forth. In this kind of possessive construction, if the possessed is a non-relational noun, one can analyze this as a modifier instead of an argument insofar as it does not denote any inherent meaning vis-à-vis the inanimate head noun. For example, in *bii béño* “today’s event”, the head noun *béño* is neither a body part nor a kin term; we merely construe it as something that appertains to the modifier *bii*. We can easily understand the absence of the genitive marker *la* in such constructions because it is obvious that an inanimate possessor cannot have any control or any kind of power on the possessed referent. We should specify that there are some exceptions in which the *la* element is present, and to demonstrate this, one can give an example of RP like *Boyiṅkandiróo la káróo to* “As far as mugging is concerned”.<sup>58</sup> About this possessive RP, Creissels and Sambou signal that the phrase *la káróo to* invariably behaves like the head noun of an alienable possessive construction.

Another aspect of Mandinka possessive construction we would like to give our attention to is the notion of definiteness. In Mandinka inalienable possessive constructions with common nouns, the *-o* suffix captured as expressing definiteness appears at the level of the possessor and possessed at once. In doing so, definiteness seems to be expressed twice within the same possessive RP as it seems to be the case in (39b) where both the argument *táabuloo* and the head noun *siño* appear with the *-o* inflection. This can be translated into English as “**the** leg of **the** table”. In such a construction, the presence of the *-o* suffix is important at both levels because if it is absent from one level, the RP ends up either in ungrammaticality or is given another interpretation. If the possessor noun bears the *-o* inflection while it is missing at the head noun level, the inalienable possessive RP becomes ungrammatical; this is the case in *\*Táabuloo siṅ* “\*table leg”. The absence of the *-o* suffix at the head noun level seems to affect the expression of any possessive idea, which means that the appearance of the definite marker at this level is of prime importance in the construction of a meaningful possessive RP.

As is the case in inalienable possession, in alienable and kin possessions also, the *-o* suffix is present at both the possessor and possessed levels. Proper nouns bear by themselves the notion of definiteness because they are used to refer to specific referents. Whether the possessor is a common noun or a proper noun, it is usually definite. And the appearance of the head noun in a bare form renders the RP meaningless as we can see in *\*Faatu la nínsi* “\*Faatu’s a cow”, *\*Binta*

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<sup>58</sup> Op. cit., 244-245

*dij* “\*Binta child”. One should bear in mind that definiteness plays a very crucial role in Mandinka possessive constructions, especially at the level of the head noun.

Other possible ways of expressing possession in a Mandinka RP is the situation in which a personal pronoun standing for a possessor noun and a possessed noun are juxtaposed. Even if some linguists use the notion of possessive pronoun and possessive adjective in this language, after our analysis of data, it seems that Mandinka does not have typical possessive pronouns and possessive adjectives that would exactly correspond to what we have in English. For example, in the possessive RP *ɲ siŋo* “my leg”, the element *ɲ* does not mean *my* but it is rather derived from the Mandinka possessive construction that consists in putting, side by side, two elements that are in a possessive relationship. The personal pronoun, the possessor, occurs in the RP-initial position and the possessed noun that immediately follows is placed in the RP-final position. From this reasoning, *ɲ siŋo* literally gives *\*I leg* and not *my leg*. This is valid for all the Mandinka personal pronouns that are used in such a way. Accordingly, one could not talk about possessive pronouns in this use. For more elaboration, let us give the following table in order to make our explanation more understandable:

Persons	Personal Pronouns	Examples of so-called possessive constructions	Literally translations into English
1SG	ɲ	ɲ siŋo	*I leg
2SG	í	í siŋo	*You leg
3SG	A	A siŋo	*He/She leg
1PL	ɲ	ɲ siŋolu	*We legs
2PL	Ál	Ál siŋolu	*You legs
3PL	I	I siŋolu	*They legs

**Table 1.1.** So-called Mandinka possessive adjectives

From this table, we understand that the Mandinka language does not have typical elements one would call “possessive adjectives”, but it rather uses this kind of construction in order to indicate the same role played by the English “possessive adjectives”.

Person	Personal Pronoun	Noun	Combination	Emphatic Form	English
1SG	Í	Táa	ń táa	ń -té táa	Mine
2SG	Í	Táa	Í táa	Í-té táa	Yours
3SG	A	Táa	A táa	A-té táa	His/Hers
1PL	Ɔ	Táa	η táa	η-télu táa	Ours
2PL	Ál	Táa	Ál táa	Ál-télu táa	Yours
3PL	I	Táa	I táa	I-télu táa	Theirs

**Table 1.2.** So-called Mandinka possessive pronouns

This table shows that the Mandinka language does not have typical elements that are used to refer to possessive pronouns but this language uses such a combination in order to transmit the meaning conveyed by English possessive pronouns when they are used with possessed nouns.

Besides juxtaposition, in Mandinka, it is also possible to insert the genitive marker *la* between a personal pronoun (the possessor noun) and the possessed noun. Before opting for juxtaposition or the insertion of the genitive marker *la*, one should usually try to identify the type of head noun that occurs. When the head noun is a relational noun, there is juxtaposition, whereas when this is non-relational, the genitive marker *la* appears. With possessive RPs having personal pronouns as possessors, one should usually pay attention to the kind of head noun they have in order to know whether this is about an alienable, inalienable, or kin possession. On this subject, *A la falóo* “his donkey” is alienable and its logical structure may be **have'** (3sg, *falóo*); *ń sɪŋo* “my leg” is inalienable and its logical structure may be **have.as.part'** (1sg, *sɪŋo*); *Í báamáa* “your mother” is kinship and its logical structure can be represented as **have.as.kin'** (2sg, *báamáa*).

About this section, we should highlight that the notion of possession is interestingly dealt with in the two languages. Mandinka mainly constructs its alienable possession by putting the genitive marker *la* between the possessor and the possessed, whereas English generally puts between these two entities the genitive marker -'s. In the two languages, we have analyzed the possessor as a modifier rather than an argument insofar as it does not denote any inherent meaning vis-à-vis the possessed referent. In Mandinka, the presence of *la* usually signals that the

possessor is animate while, in English, this can be inanimate under some circumstances. With alienable possession, the possessor and the possessed occupy the same positions in the two languages. Another way in which English can demonstrate alienable possession is when it has recourse to the possessed + *of* + possessor structure with as usual the possessor referred to as an inanimate referent. In this kind of possessive RP, we have a structural order that is different from what generally happens within every Mandinka alienable possession inasmuch as the possessed is put in the RP-initial position while the possessor appears in the final position, something the Mandinka language does not allow.

To construct part-whole and kin relations, generally English has recourse to the same elements appearing in alienable possession; these are the genitive marker - 's and the possessed + *of* + possessor structure whose choice mainly depends on whether the possessor is animate or inanimate. Mandinka expresses part-whole relation through juxtaposition and besides it boasts a special inflection (-máa) that is put at the end of the possessed noun to indicate kin terms. When it is about part-whole relation with as possessor an animate referent, the use of the Mandinka genitive marker *la* can move away any ambiguity that is often raised by some English part-whole terms such as the possessive RP *John's leg* and so forth. In the two languages, with part-whole and kin relations, we have captured possessors as arguments inasmuch as they are inherently connected to their head nouns, the possessed nouns. It is possible to use double genitive in English while we have found nothing similar to this in Mandinka.

Definiteness is expressed through the possessive RPs of both languages. But one should remember that in English if the genitive marker is realized in the RP-final position, the possessed is usually indefinite, whereas in Mandinka the presence of the -o definite marker seems to be crucial both at the level of the possessor and the possessed. Whatever the structure of the possessive RP may be, in Mandinka, definiteness seems to interact with possession inherently because the deletion of the definite marker -o, at any level, affects any possessive RP reading in a significant way.

In English, in some contexts, it is possible to use the possessor and the genitive marker - 's without the syntactic realization of the possessed. With such a construction, it is very important to take into consideration the context in terms of interpretation, for it helps grasp the missing possessed. The Mandinka language does not seem to allow this whatever the context may be, for



in the possessive RPs of this language, the essential elements importantly interact to convey any possessive information.

English has typical elements known as possessive pronouns which are used in possessive RPs to play the same role as possessor nouns they replace. Mandinka does not have any special elements one could label as possessive pronouns. This language has recourse to its personal pronouns that are juxtaposed with the possessed nouns when an inalienable possession occurs, or the personal pronouns and the possessed nouns are separated by the genitive marker *la* if there is an alienable possession. In the two languages, the question of whether a possessive pronoun is a modifier or an argument mainly depends on the type of head noun that occurs. If the head noun is relational, the pronoun can be analyzed as a  $core_R$  argument, and if it is non-relational, the pronoun can be construed as a modifier.

### 1.3. Deverbal Nominals

Nominalization is a linguistic phenomenon that interacts interestingly with the nominal possessive construction. In this sense, before dealing with such an aspect, one needs to grasp the usage of possession in some particular languages. Thus, after inquiring into possession in the previous section, here, we shall deal with deverbal nouns in a framework that can help us find similarities and differences between the two languages. On this account, we would like to specify that our intention is not to describe the way verbs are nominalized in the two languages but rather to find out whether there are arguments and modifiers at the level of deverbal nominal constructions. About the framework in which we will be conducting our analysis, we should say that not only shall we be interested in deverbal nominals with regard to transitivity and intransitivity but we shall also try to find the types of thematic relations or macroroles that are associated with different deverbal constructions of the two languages.

- (40) a. The destruction of the city  
 DEF tiñaa P DEF tubáabukúnda  
 Tubáabukúndaa la tiñáa

b. Ram'-s arrival

Ram GEN naa

Ram la naa

c. Yesterday'-s destruction of the city

kúnúŋ GEN tińaa P DEF tubáabukúndaa

Tubáabukundaa la tińaa kúnúŋ

d. An admirer of linguistics

INDEF kànulàa P "linkisitiko"

"Linkisitikoo" kanulàa

There is a direct correspondence between deverbal noun arguments and verbal arguments. Following Nunes (1993), the argument structure of a deverbal noun is directly connected to the argument structure of the verb from which the said deverbal noun originates. Unlike some possessive constructions, deverbal nouns are considered as having the property of taking arguments. One should bear in mind that to analyze the use of a deverbal noun, we should refer to the logical structure of the source verb.

Thus, to analyze the distribution of arguments in the RP *The destruction of the city* in (40a), one should look into the elements the source verb licenses. Emanating from a transitive verb (*destroy*), the head noun *destruction* licenses the presence of the core<sub>R</sub> argument *city*, which is at the same time the Patient. It is also the Undergoer if we analyze it in consideration of the macrorole level. Because of the important role it plays, the absence of the core<sub>R</sub> argument *city* from the RP *The destruction of the city* renders the latter incomplete; \**The destruction* on its own is an incomplete idea vis-à-vis which the hearer would wonder *The destruction of what?* This substantiates Nunes' position that shows that English deverbal nouns are inherently M-intransitive, which means that they require the meaningful realization of a core<sub>R</sub> argument within the *of*-marked RP. As far as the Agent is concerned, this may be realized in a possessive form as it can appear in the *by* phrase form in the RP-final position. What is important is that in either case, its presence is not compulsory for the RP to be complete. To show this, we do know that *The army's destruction of the city* is grammatical but *The destruction of the city* also is grammatical even if the Agent (*army*) is not syntactically realized; *The destruction of the city by*

*the army* is meaningful, and even if the *by*-phrase containing the Actor *the army* is missing from the construction, we still have a meaningful RP. As such, we should aver that in both constructions *The army's destruction of the city* and *the destruction of the city by the army*, the Actor *army* is a modifier whose presence is not obligatory to convey meaningful and complete information. In English *of*-marked RPs with deverbal nominals derived from transitive verbs, one can bear in mind that the Actor can be a modifier while the Undergoer can usually be a core<sub>R</sub> argument.

In addition to the distribution of arguments and modifiers with deverbal nominals deriving from transitive verbs, one can also address the case of intransitive verbs. With (40b) *Ram's arrival*, there is a deverbal nominal whose source verb is *arrive*, an intransitive verb. In this example, when the deverbal noun *arrival* occurs alone, it is an incomplete piece of information which requires the presence of another element to make sense, hence the mandatory realization of the possessive *Ram's*. If the second entity is not realized, like (40a) some questions could arise from a lack of understanding of the whole message on the part of the hearer. In *Ram's arrival*, the occurrence of the Actor *Ram* is compulsory unlike the Actor *army* in *The army's destruction of the city*. The difference between the two actors within the two RPs would underpin from the fact that the two deverbal nouns emanate from two different groups of verbs (transitive and intransitive). Something the two deverbal nominal constructions have in common is that they both require the realization of one core<sub>R</sub> argument.

Depending upon the type of construction that occurs, the arguments of English deverbal nouns can be realized in the RP-initial position in a possessive form as they can occur in the RP-final position if they appear in the *of*-marked phrase. For example, some English speakers will indifferently utter *The arrival of Ram* or *Ram's arrival*, and *The city's destruction* or *The destruction of the city* even if the use of the genitive marker -'s with inanimate possessor nouns is rejected by some grammarians.<sup>59</sup> Another important thing about the deverbal noun *arrival* is that its source verb is an action verb hence the possibility of interpreting its core<sub>R</sub> argument as an Actor and not an Undergoer. To give some examples, this is also the case in the RPs with deverbal nouns from activity verbs like *The rotation of the wheel<sub>A</sub>*, *The barking of the dog<sub>A</sub>*, *The*

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<sup>59</sup>See for example, Serge Berland Delépine, *La Grammaire anglaise de l'étudiant* (Paris: OPHRYS, 2000), 385.

*attack of the killer bees*<sub>A</sub>, and so forth. With English deverbal nouns denoting activity, even if it is frequent to interpret the direct core<sub>R</sub> argument as the Actor argument, there are also some cases in which the Undergoer can be the direct core<sub>R</sub> argument as is expressed in (40a). We should also mention that an English deverbal noun whose source verb is [+static] takes a core<sub>R</sub> argument in the *of*-RP that is usually construed as an Undergoer.

With deverbal nominal constructions, in English, it is possible to express some temporal information by putting the possessive phrase containing the said temporal information in the RP-initial position as is given in (40c) *Yesterday's destruction of the city*. In such an example, the possessive phrase *Yesterday's* is neither an Actor nor an Undergoer, it merely locates the event *The destruction of the city* in time, meaning the very day when the action of destroying the city happens. In this sense, *Yesterday's* should be interpreted as a modifier and not as an element whose presence is required by the deverbal noun *destruction*.

In (40d) *An admirer of linguistics*, the element *linguistics* is a core<sub>R</sub> argument inasmuch as its presence is triggered by the deverbal noun *admirer* whose source verb is *admire*, a transitive verb. The morphological element that is of prime importance at this level is the deverbal marker *-er*. Deverbal nouns like *admirer* and the like are known as agent nominalizations, and their structure is *verb + -er*. At the macrorole level, these kinds of derived nominals are construed as Actor while the elements that appear in the *of* phrase are interpreted as Undergoer. And since *admirer* derives from a transitive verb as is aforementioned, Van Valin and Lapolla argue that there are two possible realizations of the Undergoer argument with regard to the general rule for agent nominalizations. In examples such as *a drinker of beer*, *a painter of houses*, *a hunter of ducks* or *a killer of cops*, this may appear as a direct core<sub>R</sub> argument marked by *of*, or it may be incorporated into the derived nominal, creating *beer-drinker*, *house-painter*, *duck-hunter* or *cop-killer* (1997, p. 188).

In the English language, it is possible to prepose the core<sub>R</sub> argument. This amounts to saying that the core<sub>R</sub> argument and the deverbal noun are put side by side, and as such the former occurs first while the latter is placed in the RP-final position. This is what we can see in examples of RPs like *Story teller*, *city destruction*, *English teacher*, and many others. In these kinds of examples, the core<sub>R</sub> argument is placed in the RP-initial position while the deverbal nominal is put in its final position. In these constructions, we also notice that both the *of* element and the *-s*

genitive marker are not realized. Following Van Valin and Lapolla, we should note that when occurring with deverbal nominal constructions, the *of* marker does not license any argument and besides it is semantically empty.<sup>60</sup> It does not mark any particular semantic relation, let alone grammatical functions such as the subject and the direct object.

The case of deverbal nominals is a very interesting topic that may be dealt with in particular languages in different ways. Then, after giving special attention to the case of English, we shall inquire into the co-occurrence of Mandinka deverbal nominals with different constituents in the following paragraphs. Dealing with Mandinka deverbal nominals is not an easy task. The verbs of this language do not have any typical forms that would differentiate them from nominals. And this is what is expressed in the following:

Verbs are perhaps the most controversial and contested constituent type in Mandingo and this is for various reasons (i) their morphology is strikingly similar to that of nominal, and (ii) other than in the area of syntax and semantics, verbs have very few features that dissociate them from nouns and adjectives. It was mainly for these two reasons that linguists such as Creissels (1979), who did one of the most extensive studies on the morphology of Mandingo, suggested that verbs<sup>61</sup> be considered as a subcategory of nominals. (Dramé, 1981, pp. 45-46)

Being aware of this problem of making a clear-cut division between verb forms and nominal forms in the Mandinka language, then, we shall follow Dramé's distinction between two nominalized forms (NT1 and NT2) while paying attention to transitivity, intransitivity, thematic relations or macroroles at once. NT1 category subsumes verbs that are nominalized by taking the *-o* suffix; these verbs can be intransitive and static transitive verbs. As far as NT2 category is concerned, this is about verbs that are nominalized by taking the *-ri* suffix. In this sense, it is useful to specify that not only may active transitive verbs take the *-o* suffix but they can also appear with the *-ri* form. "When the transitive active verb is preceded by a direct object argument, it must assume an NT1 form but when its direct object position is empty it must be nominalized by NT2."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 54-55

<sup>62</sup> For the quotation but also the main ideas we have developed about NT1 and NT2, see Dramé, *Aspects of Mandingo Grammar*, 86.

- (41)
- a. *Karambúŋ-o-lu soróŋ-o*  
 School-DEF-PLM close-DEF  
 The closing of schools
  - b. *Mansa la saféer-óo*  
 King GEN write-DEF  
 The king's writing
  - c. *Kew-ó la kunúŋ táam-óo*  
 man-DEF GEN yesterday walk-DEF  
 The man's walk
  - d. *Súnkút-óo la mír-óo*  
 girl-DEF GEN think-DEF  
 The girl's thought
  - e. *Buŋ-lóo-láa*  
 room-build-AG  
 (Lit. A room builder)  
 A bricklayer

In Mandinka, the notion of inalienable possession does not seem to hold water in deverbal nominal RPs. For instance, in (41a), we cannot say that there is a natural or basic relationship between the argument *Karambúŋolu* “schools” and the deverbal noun *soróŋo* “closing”, *Karambúŋolu* cannot be considered as an inherent part of the deverbal noun *soróŋo*. Therefore, the kind of relationship there is between the two elements is merely meaning related. In this sense, in (41a), the deverbal noun *soróŋo* requires the presence of the core<sub>R</sub> argument *Karambúŋolu* to convey meaningful information. The core<sub>R</sub> argument *Karambúŋolu* can be analyzed here as the Patient because of the following reasons; there is no occurrence of the *la* marker between the two entities, and besides the deverbal noun *soróŋo* is in the NT1 form, a form that is given a passive reading when a deverbal noun occurs on its own. We should highlight that with Mandinka deverbal nominal RPs, if the *la* marker is not realized and that the deverbal nominal is in the NT1 form, the core<sub>R</sub> argument can usually be interpreted as Undergoer.

With the NT2 form, one can note that the deverbal noun whose source verb is transitive takes a single core<sub>R</sub> argument that can mostly be construed as Actor and not as Undergoer. Emanating from an active transitive verb, the said deverbal nominal takes an argument that

should be interpreted as Actor as it seems to be suggested by Dramé<sup>63</sup>. In (41b) for example, because of the form of the deverbal nominal *saféeróo* that is NT2, one could not interpret the core<sub>R</sub> argument *Mansa* as Undergoer, it is rather an Actor because it is regarded as the entity that has performed the action of writing. This can also be comprehended as Agent if the analysis is conducted at the thematic relation level. The role of the suffix *-ri* is essential in this kind of interpretation because its presence at the end of the nominalized verb usually signals the possibility of considering the single core<sub>R</sub> argument occurred as Actor. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou (2013) demonstrate that the suffix *-ri* is actually an antipassive marker and that it never combines with verbs whose only use is intransitive (pp. 90-91). From this perspective, one can say that most intransitive verbs can be nominalized by the choice of NT1 instead of NT2.

Whenever the NT2 form is produced in this language deverbal nominal RPs, the Undergoer seems to be always missing. In Mandinka, it is ungrammatical to put a construction like *\*Mansa la káyítóo saféeróo* “lit. the king’s paper writing”. The situation in which it is possible to produce a meaningful RP with this kind of construction is when the *-o* suffix appears in the place of the *-ri* suffix. For instance, if the RP *Mansa la káyítóo saféo* “The king’s writing the paper” is grammatical, it is because there is the presence of the *-o* suffix at the end of the deverbal nominal instead of that of the *-ri* suffix.

What has drawn our attention about the RP *Mansa la káyítóo saféo* is the co-occurrence of the two constituents that are *Mansa* and *káyítóo*. In such a construction, we have both an Actor and an Undergoer; *Mansa* is construed as Actor and *káyítóo* is regarded as Undergoer. Since if we remove the entity *Mansa la* from the RP, we still have a complete and meaningful construction, we should interpret the Actor *Mansa* as a modifier. *Káyítóo saféo* “the writing of the paper” is a grammatical construction that can be comprehended as having its Actor absent from the said construction. Thus, *káyítóo saféo* seems to have a passive reading through which we grasp that the Actor is not syntactically realized.

About Mandinka RP constructions with deverbal nominals, one must note that the core<sub>R</sub> argument chiefly precedes the deverbal nominal that is usually placed in the RP-final position as is substantiated by (41a, b, c, d and the example *Mansa la káyítóo saféo*). In this language, one

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 86

should essentially remember that the  $core_R$  argument is interpreted as Actor if the deverbal nominal is in the NT2 form, whereas when the latter is in the NT1 form, the former is construed as Undergoer. Something important to which one must pay attention is the presence of the postposition *la* in the NT2 constructions and its absence from the NT1 RPs, especially between the  $core_R$  argument and the deverbal nominal, for this is paramount in identifying the kind of macrorole the single  $core_R$  argument the deverbal nominal appears with is. We have also found that like English, Mandinka deverbal nominals seem to be inherently M-intransitive, which means that they require the mandatory occurrence of a single  $core_R$  argument. With the NT1 form, the Actor is mostly optional, whereas with the NT2 form, it is the Undergoer that is necessarily missing from the construction. This substantiates that in either case, there is the presence of one obligatory element that completes the meaning of the deverbal nominal. The presence of such a single  $core_R$  argument is the reason why the construction in each case must be labelled M-intransitive.

With Mandinka verbs that have only an intransitive use, the  $core_R$  argument is chiefly Actor and the realization of the postposition *la* is crucial to establish such a relationship between the deverbal nominal and its argument. For instance, in *Kewó la kúnúnj táamóo*, the deverbal nominal *táamóo* derives from the source intransitive verb *táama* “walk”, *Kewó* being the only  $core_R$  argument present in the construction is interpreted as Actor. Besides, if the postposition *la* is removed from the RP, this ends up a meaningless utterance as is attested by the ungrammaticality of *\*Kewó kúnúnj táamóo*. The constituent *kúnúnj* in (41c) is a temporal element that locates the RP event in the past, it gives us optional information. This is a modifier that can be used in Mandinka RP constructions to convey additional information about the utterance.

With Mandinka static transitive verbs, the  $core_R$  argument can be construed as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the type of construction that occurs. If the use of the *la* postposition is allowed in an RP whose head is a deverbal nominal emanating from a static transitive verb, the  $core_R$  argument can be regarded as Actor. The absence of the *la* element from such a construction and the realization of the NT1 form signal that the  $core_R$  argument must be interpreted as Undergoer. In (41c) *Súnkúntóo la míróo*, if *Súnkúntóo*, the  $core_R$  argument, is looked upon as an Actor, it is because there is the presence of the *la* postposition. In *Súnkúntóo míróo* from which the *la* postposition is missing, *Súnkúntóo* is interpreted as an Undergoer because we understand



that there is a non-overt Actor that thinks of the referent of the core<sub>R</sub> argument *Sújkúntóo*. In addition to the static deverbal nominal *míróo*, other static deverbal nominals that allow the use of the *la* postposition are *kanóo* “love, like”, *laahidoo*<sup>64</sup> “promise, commitment”, *sotóo* “have, assets”, and so on. Most deverbal nominals derived from static transitive verbs are in the NT1 form when they occur in RP constructions.

To demonstrate that somebody is a doer of something, Mandinka uses the agent nominalization marker *-láa* it suffixes at the end of the deverbal noun. Unlike English, Mandinka agent nominalization is a little bit intricate. With regard to agent nominalization, what English can express by using two or three different separated constituents or more, Mandinka can do it within the same lexeme to convey the same idea as English. This is what we understand through the example *Mandinkakanfooláa* “lit. Mandinka language speaker” (Creissels, 2006e, p. 4). Following Creissels, we recognize three lexemes in *Mandinkakanfooláa*, *Mandiŋ*, “Mandé<sup>65</sup>”; *Káŋ* “neck, voice, language”; *fó* “say, speak”; and the two derivatives *-nka* “originating from...” and *-láa*, the marker of agent nominalization.

In (41d), the lexeme *Buŋlóláa* is composed of the noun *buŋ* “room”, the verb *lóo* “build”, and the agent nominalization marker *-láa* that plays the same role as the *-er* in English. With this kind of construction, we can grasp the idea of Actor and Undergoer through a single word. In *Buŋlóláa*, *buŋ* can be analyzed as an Undergoer inasmuch as it is this very referent that is built by a bricklayer; and through *lóo* and *-láa* we understand the expression of the action a bricklayer does and the expression of the idea of Agent, respectively. In constructions like this, the structural order is either *noun + -verb + -láa* or simply *verb + -láa* in certain contexts. For instance, the deverbal nominal *bóriláa* “runner” is composed of the verb *bóri* and the Agent marker *-láa*, it refers to the idea of Agent.

The Mandinka deverbal nominal system is more complex than that of English because if in English we can easily distinguish nouns from verbs, this is not the case in Mandinka. Through our analysis, we have found that the deverbal nominal RPs of the two languages are inherently M-intransitive insofar as their deverbal nominals require the obligatory occurrence of one single

<sup>64</sup> This deverbal nominal seems to be used within an RP where the presence of the *la* postposition is compulsory.

<sup>65</sup> This is a term that is used to refer to the linguistics family known as Mandingo Mandinka is part of. Mandinka, Bambara, Maninka, and “Dioula” all come from the Mandingo family.

core<sub>R</sub> argument. The two languages also boast agent nominalization markers that help express the notion of Agent or Actor. Within a single lexeme, Mandinka can put together different constituents through which one can understand the idea of Actor and Undergoer. This seems to be uncommon in English.

For the order of the constituents with deverbal nominal whose source verbs are intransitive, we have found that the core<sub>R</sub> argument of the deverbal nominal in both languages is the Actor. Within the framework of transitivity, depending upon the type of RP, the core<sub>R</sub> argument can be Actor or Undergoer; in the case of Mandinka, one can give careful attention to the NT1 and NT2 forms and the presence or absence of the *la* postposition to identify the type of thematic relation or macrorole an RP subsumes. As far as static deverbal nominals are concerned, in Mandinka, the core<sub>R</sub> argument can be interpreted as an Actor if the *la* postposition is present or Undergoer if this is missing from the RP, whereas the core<sub>R</sub> argument is usually an Undergoer in English. It is also possible to insert modifiers expressing temporal information in the deverbal nominal RPs of the two languages.

About the positions of core<sub>R</sub> arguments, one can essentially note that English uses the core<sub>R</sub> argument in both the RP-initial and final positions, whereas Mandinka chiefly places this in the RP-initial position while its deverbal nominal occurs in the final position. Even if in Mandinka there are lexemes that express the idea of Undergoer and Actor at once, we have noticed that in terms of internal structure of such lexemes, the core<sub>R</sub> argument interpreted as Undergoer is the element that occurs first. Another thing related to the internal structure of deverbal nominal is the use of the Agent nominalization markers; vis-à-vis this, we have seen that for both languages, Agent nominalization is done through suffixation.

Dealing with modifiers and arguments within simple noun phrases is interesting inasmuch as this helps analyze certain small units in order to see clearly the way arguments and modifiers are distributed syntactically, semantically and even pragmatically. It is very important and necessary to understand the operation of certain linguistic elements at a lower level because this can help understand and capture the possible realization of those elements within complex units very clearly. Then, after exploring some essential aspects related to the distribution of arguments and modifiers at the level of simple RPs, in the next section, we shall try to see what mainly happens in both English and Mandinka complex RPs.

#### 1.4. Arguments and Modifiers in Complex RPs

Here, we would like to look into arguments and modifiers that are used in the complex reference phrase constructions of English and Mandinka. These kinds of RPs may appear with clauses, infinitives and adpositional phrases as constituents one can capture in various ways. In this connection, we shall talk about the phenomena of  $core_R$  arguments, RP relative clauses and the case of adpositional phrases in the complex RP constructions of the two languages. At this level, one may identify subordinate clauses that are either interpreted as arguments or modifiers. On this subject, we shall address the case of  $core_R$  subordination and  $core_R$  cosubordination in the two languages.

##### 1.4.1. $Core_R$ Subordination

In English, the *that*-clause appearing in RPs can be construed as  $core_R$  arguments as one can see in the example below.

- (42)
- a. Michel'-s belief that her husband would succeed  
 Miseli-GEN líimaaniyaa kó 3SG keemáa MODV kututee  
 Miseli la líimaaniyaa kó a keemáa be kututee la le
- b. The rumor that Mack was kill-ed at the restaurant  
 DEF ηunuηunu kó Maki AUXV fáa-PASTP P DEF paasiyon  
 Maki la fáa paasiyonó to ηunuηunóo

In the RP *Michel's belief that her husband would succeed*, the *that*-clause *that her husband would succeed* is the  $core_R$  argument of the noun *belief*. One must bear in mind that the  $core_R$  argument is used to complete the meaning of the noun *belief* that allows the occurrence of such a type of constituent. In actual fact, not every English noun can require the presence of this kind of clause. In this respect, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) state that English *that*-clauses act as the  $core_R$  argument of nouns like *story*, *rumor*, *opinion*, and so forth (p. 494). The *that*-clause behaving as a  $core_R$  argument always appears on the right side of the noun whose meaning it is

used to complete. In this sense, in this language, it is impossible to produce an RP like *\*that her husband would succeed, Michel's belief*.

English *that*-clauses used as core<sub>R</sub> arguments subsume various constituents among which one may notice prepositional phrases conveying information related to place, time, and so on. In (42b), the core<sub>R</sub> argument *that Mack was killed at the restaurant* is composed of constituents among which there is the prepositional phrase *at the restaurant* that gives us some information about the place where the event of *Mack's* death happened. The piece of information expressed by this prepositional phrase does not modify the very noun the *that*-clause is about, but it rather modifies the core<sub>R</sub> argument. The prepositional phrase expresses a piece of additional information that can be discarded from the *that*-clause without rendering its sense ungrammatical as one can notice in *that Mack was killed*.

Unlike English, we have found that the Mandinka core<sub>R</sub> argument *kó*-clause appears in reference phrases where the deverbal nominal, the said clause is about, normally co-occurs with the genitive marker *la*. In doing so, the *kó*-clause may include postpositional phrases in its final position.

- (43) a. kalífa la fo-r-óo kó Peresidaŋ-o be medaay-óo le díi la a la  
 Kalifa GEN say-ANTIP-DEF that President-DEF FUT medal-DEF FOCM give OBL 3SG BEN  
 Kalifa's saying that the President will give him a medal
- b. A la a míir-óo kó boor-óo le ye a saasaa-ndi  
 3SG GEN 3SG think-DEF that medicine-DEF FOCM PF.POS 3SG sick-CAUS  
 His thinking that the medicine made him sick
- c. Náali la a kalamut-óo kó a faa-máa naa-ta le bíi  
 Naly GEN 3SG know-DEF that 3SG father-KM come-PF.POS FOCM today  
 Naly's knowing that her father has come today

In this language, some nominalized verbs combining with *la* may have on their right position a *kó*-clause that may be composed of various constituents as is the case in English. With this kind of reference phrase, the nominalized element the core<sub>R</sub> argument is constructed with normally derives from an M-transitive verb. For example, in (43c), the noun *kalamutóo* is derived

from the verb *kalamuta* that is M-transitive, which means that this requires the co-occurrence of two core arguments in order to be complete. In this way, in the RP *Náali la a kalamutóo kó a faamáa naata le bii*, one would wonder *Náali la múŋ kalamutóo?* “Naly’s knowing what?” if the core<sub>R</sub> argument was missing. In some Mandinka RP constructions, there may be coreference between a pronoun (*wo* or *a*) and the *kó*-clause. This is what happens in (43b and c) where the pronoun *a* is in coreference with the *kó*-clause. As such, in *A la a múróo kó booróo le ye a saasaandi*, both the pronoun *a* and the clause *kó booróo le ye a saasaandi* refer to the same thing in the outside world. With this type of coreference, the head noun occurs in between the pronoun and the *kó*-clause. This phenomenon does not seem to be usual with English reference phrases.

Mandinka RP constructions subsuming a *kó*-clause core<sub>R</sub> argument are often composed of constituents among which there may be both phrasal and non phrasal adjuncts expressing temporal information. On this topic, the adjunct occurring in the RP final position directly modifies the *kó*-clause and not the noun the said *kó*-clause is related to. In (43c), the non phrasal adjunct *bii* occurring in the RP final position gives a modification whose scope is on the clause *kó a faamáa naata le bii* and not on the noun *kalamutóo*; consequently, it is the event of Naly’s father’s arrival that is located in *bii* “today”. Interestingly, one can keep in mind that at the Mandinka RP level, there may be a *kó*-clause labelled as a core<sub>R</sub> argument that is composed of different elements that have different labels. Another type of linkage including a core<sub>R</sub> argument one may talk about at the complex RP level of particular languages is core<sub>R</sub> cosubordination.

#### 1.4.2 Core<sub>R</sub> Cosubordination

In this kind of complex RP construction, there is the occurrence of an infinitive that is used to complete the meaning of a head noun. Following Van Valin and Lapolla, in English, this type of core<sub>R</sub> linkage “includes infinitival complements to nouns like *attempt*, *order*, *request* and *promise*”.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 494

- (44) a. John'-s promise to wash the car tomorrow  
 Jóoni-GEN laahidóo INF kúu DEF moto sáama  
 Jóoni la laahidóo ka motóo kúu sáama
- b. Mary'-s request to leave  
 Mari-GEN daaniróo INF taa  
 Mari la daaniróo púrú ka taa

In these types of complex RP constructions, “there is a shared core<sub>N</sub> argument between the deverbal nominal and the infinitive.”<sup>67</sup> As a matter of fact, in an example like *John’s promise to wash the car tomorrow*, not only is the deverbal nominal *promise* related to *John*, but the infinitival phrase *to wash the car tomorrow* also is related to the same element. In other words, one can say that *John promises that John will wash the car tomorrow*. These two entities share in common the element *John*. It is the same situation that happens in *Mary’s request to leave*. As we have illustrated about (44a), in this RP, the deverbal nominal *request* and the infinitive *to leave* have in common the element *Mary*. We have also found this type of dependence at the Mandinka complex RP level. This usually co-occurs with the genitive marker *la* as is the case with this language core<sub>R</sub> subordination we have already talked about.

- (45) a. Menten na laf-óo ka futúu  
 Menteng GEN desire-DEF INF marry  
 Menteng’s desire to get married
- b. Alikaal-óo la son-ó ka beŋ-ó kumandi  
 chief-DEF GEN agreement-DEF INF meeting-DEF convene  
 The chief’s (of the village) agreement to convene a meeting

In each of the two examples above, both the *ka*-clause marking the infinitive and the noun whose meaning this completes are related to the same element; accordingly, there is a shared core<sub>R</sub> argument. In *Menten na lafóo ka futúu*, the infinitive *ka futúu* is said about *Menten* and the entity *na lafóo* is related to *Menten* as well. It is this same situation that occurs in *Alikaalóo la sonó ka beŋó kumandi* where both *sonó* and *ka beŋó kumandi* are about the element *Alikaalóo*. This type of phenomenon is what is known in RRG as cosubordination. The usual position that is occupied by the *ka* infinitive in reference phrases is the right side one, whereas in sentences

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

composed of two clauses, the clause introduced by the element *ka* may appear in the left-detached position. In doing so, it is in coreference with a pronoun in the matrix clause (Creissels & Sambou, 2013, p 128). In Mandinka, the infinitive in *ka* is interchangeable with the infinitive in *la*; the only difference between them is position related. *Ka* is placed in the initial position of the infinitival clause while *la* is put in its final position.

In both English and Mandinka, core<sub>R</sub> cosubordination may occur with infinitival complements. In the two languages, the infinitive markers *to* and *ka* occupy the same position, for they introduce clauses that start from a head noun to the final position of an RP. In Mandinka core<sub>R</sub> cosubordination, there is interestingly the occurrence of the genitive marker *la*, which is not usually the case in English. What the two languages have also in common is that, with such a phenomenon, there is always a core<sub>R</sub> argument. Now let us go on to talk about the use of relative clauses in reference phrases.

#### 1.4.3. RP Relative Clauses

At the RP level, relative clauses are used to modify head nouns. Then, in the following paragraphs, we shall try to look into the way this is done in the distribution of reference phrases in the English and Mandinka languages. First, let us consider the case of English before exploring that of Mandinka.

- (46)
- a. The two car-s which were sold yesterday  
 DEF fula moto-PLM múŋ AUXV.PRET sáŋ.PASTP kunúŋ  
 Motóo fulóolu mennu santa kunúŋ
- b. Chris, who love-s soccer  
 Kirisi múŋ lafi-PSM futubali  
 Kirisi múŋ lafita futubalóo la
- c. The man Bill saw  
 DEF kee Bili jé.PRET  
 Bili ye kee múŋ jé.

In English, there may be the occurrence of restrictive relative clauses in reference phrases. On this subject, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) state that “the prime example of NP subordination is restrictive relative clauses. In such a construction, a clause is used as a restrictive modifier of an NP; it is part of the periphery<sub>N</sub> of the NP, since it is an optional modifier, not a core<sub>N</sub> argument” (p. 497). In (46a), the relative clause *which were sold yesterday* is used to modify the head noun *car* by giving essential information which helps to determine the reference of the latter. The clause introduced by a relative marker always appears on the right side of the head noun it modifies when the reference phrase in use signals the declarative illocutionary force. This means that it will be ungrammatical to put, for example, reference phrases like *\*which were sold yesterday the two cars* and *\*which were sold yesterday, the two cars*.

Another type of relative clause we can identify at the RP level in English is a non-restrictive relative clause. This is what occurs in (46b) where the clause *who loves soccer* is described as a non-restrictive relative clause that modifies the nominal nucleus *Chris*. This gives the addressee extra information about the noun it modifies. With this type of RP relative clause, the head noun and the non-restrictive relative clause are always separated by a comma that corresponds to a pause in speech. In terms of internal structure, one can note down that RP restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are almost the same “but their structural relationship to the head noun is different” (Van Valin, 2005, p. 221). In a nutshell, even if both types of clauses modify their head nouns, it should be drummed out that if the one helps give essential information, the other is used to convey non-essential information. After this description about different relative clauses identified in English RPs, one may wonder what occurs in Mandinka reference phrases. Then, we shall now look into the distribution of relative clauses in Mandinka reference phrases.

One cannot talk about Mandinka RP relative clauses by distinguishing restrictive from non-restrictive clauses, for according to Cresseils and Sambou (2013), Mandinka does not have any restriction to the accessibility of nominal expression to relativization (p. 461). At the RP level of this language, Mandinka relative markers may occupy different positions depending on the type of reference phrase that occurs. As such, let us consider the following examples:



- (47)
- a. Móo múŋ ye a faŋ-ó tooñee  
 Person who PF.POS 3SG him/herself-DEF offend  
 The one who offends himself
- b. Waat-óo múŋ na a be sín-óo la  
 moment-DEF REL OBL 3SG COPV sleep-DEF PROG  
 The moment when she/he was sleeping
- c. Karandiŋ-ó-lu mén-nu be ŋ na musulimu karambuŋ baa to  
 student-DEF-PLM who-PLM LCOP 1PL GEN moslim school big POSTP  
 The students who are at our big moslim school
- d. Múŋ ye kod-óo súuñaa  
 who PF.POS money-DEF steal  
 The person who stole the money

In each of the examples above, the relative clause is used to modify a head noun by adding to this a piece of information that can permit the addressee to know more about the said noun. At the RP level, in Mandinka, there is no comma or pause that would separate a nominal nucleus from its modifying relative clause. Besides, the modified head noun always precedes the element introducing the relative clause.

In this language, the relative marker *múŋ* can change meanings depending on the type of head noun it is related to. In this sense, in example (47a), *múŋ* is related to a noun whose referent is a person, whereas in (47b) it is about a noun that refers to time. *Múŋ* is flexible because its position within a reference phrase is dependent on the position of the head noun it is related to. Sometimes, it can even occur in a reference phrase from which the head noun it is related to is missing; in doing so, it introduces the reference phrase in use as is the case in (47d). With this kind of RP, *múŋ* may stand for the head noun and the relative marker at once, as is suggested by the English translation “The person who stole the money”.

To recapitulate the main points of this section, one can keep in mind that if the English RP relative clauses are dealt with with regard to the notions of restriction and non-restriction, this is not the case in Mandinka where it seems to be impossible to separate a head noun from a

relative clause by a comma or a pause.<sup>68</sup> If English changes relative pronouns depending upon the referent of the head noun the relative pronoun in use is related to, Mandinka mostly relies on its relative marker *múŋ* that is compatible in meaning with various referents.

Underscoring what happens at the RP level in terms of distribution of arguments and modifiers is of prime importance because if this level is well understood, it can pave the way for an easy and clear description of simple and complex sentences. Thus, in the next chapter, we shall explore the use of arguments and modifiers in the simple sentences of the two languages with the aim of finding similarities and differences.

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<sup>68</sup> We should specify that unlike Mandinka RPs, this separation seems to be possible within complex sentences including relative clauses as we shall see in section 4.1. This section provides the reader with more useful information on the relative clause constructions of the two languages.

## **CHAPTER TWO: ARGUMENTS AND MODIFIERS IN SIMPLE SENTENCES**

### 2.0. General considerations

This chapter is about the major clause patterns that are related to the properties of both English and Mandinka verbs. In this connection, we shall describe the kinds of constructions required by different types of verbs with regard to syntax and semantics. We would also like to discuss the syntactic and semantic aspects of modifiers such as phrasal and non-phrasal adjuncts within such clause patterns of the two languages so as to seek similarities and differences between them.

### 2.1. Major clause patterns

In this part, we shall deal with core arguments the use of different types of verbs are associated with to convey complete and meaningful information. Then, we will be dealing with transitivity with great respect to the inherent meanings of verbs but also to macroroles and participant roles that are subsumed by those macroroles. RRG distinguishes between “Syntactic transitivity” (S-transitivity) and “Macrorole transitivity” (M-transitivity) (Narasimhan, 1998). S-transitivity is defined as the number of core arguments a verb or predicating element takes while M-transitivity is about the number of macroroles a verb or predicating element licenses. This distinction being made, RRG gives great importance to the notion of M-transitivity because this is compatible with the description of a large number of languages.

#### 2.1.1. M-Intransitive verbs

We would like to start our analysis by intransitive verbs as is suggested by Mithun and Chafe (1999), who argue that to conduct an analysis related to transitivity within individual areas of grammar, one might begin by examining the single arguments of clearly intransitive verbs (p. 592). Thus, since in this section, we are going to deal with M-intransitivity, it is useful to specify

that, in the framework of RRG, prototypical intransitive verbs are verbs that mostly require the presence of one single macrorole to produce a complete utterance.

- (48) a. Mary arriv-ed.  
       Mari naa-PRET  
       Mari naata le.
- b. The thief di-ed in the night.  
       DEF sùŋ fáa-PRET P DEF súuto  
       Suŋó fáata súutóo la.

About the interpretation of (48a), we should say that the English verb *arrived* is an intransitive verb used in the active voice. Its single core argument *Mary* is the privileged syntactic argument (PSA). The logical structure to this construction is **do'** (*Mary*, [**arrive'** (*Mary*)]). Being an activity verb, the single core argument (*Mary*) of the intransitive verb *arrived* is interpreted as the Actor. From this perspective, one can say that, in English, intransitive activity verbs require the presence of a single core argument that must be virtually construed as Actor. M-intransitive verbs are not normally used in the passive voice in this language.

The presence of the core argument *Mary* is obligatory for the construction to be a complete message. *Arrived* on its own is an incomplete utterance the speech participants will find difficulties construing, for there is a gap that should be filled by the Actor that carries out the action. It is also important to say that the adding of any other core argument to the construction will render this meaningless or ungrammatical. For instance, if it is odd to produce an utterance like *\*Mary arrived the house*, it is because, apart from its PSA that is the Actor at the same time, the intransitive verb *arrived* is incompatible with any other argument that would be interpreted as Undergoer. Accordingly, like most prototypical intransitive verbs, about the semantic valence of *arrived*, one should bear in mind that the number of argument this takes is one (1). This idea of completeness related to the realization and the non-realization of arguments is what is expressed through the Completeness constraint below:

All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence. (Van Valin, 2005, p. 233)

As is expressed within the logical structure **do'** (Mary, [**arrive'** (Mary)]) corresponding to the sentence *Mary arrived*, there is no argument position that should be filled by a missing element. Like most intransitive activity verbs, *arrived* is M-intransitive because it licenses a single macrorole. If the analysis is conducted with regard to thematic relations, the macrorole Actor *Mary* corresponds to the thematic relation the Agent. The presence of the Agent signals that the action is under control while the absence of a possible Undergoer shows that this is about the description of an action that does not happen to something or someone. With regard to some M-intransitive constructions, it is also important to mention that in the image of *arrive*, activity verbs denote the feature “dynamic”.

With some English M-intransitive verbs, it is also possible to interpret the single core argument that occurs as an Undergoer. This is possible when “the verb has no activity predicate in its LS” as is expressed by the macrorole assignment principles.<sup>69</sup> In (48a), the verb *died* denotes no action as can be seen in its logical structure BECOME **dead'** (thief). The M-intransitive verb *died* is an accomplishment verb that implies the interpretation of the core argument *thief* as an Undergoer. This substantiates that, in English prototypical M-intransitive verb constructions, the single core argument that completes the meaning of the verb can be interpreted as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the semantic interpretation of the intransitive verb that occurs. If a consideration is given to the thematic relation this Undergoer corresponds to, one can say that *The thief* is the Patient insofar as there is a change of state or condition from being alive to death.

With English prototypical M-intransitive verb constructions, we can have recourse to the precore slot (PrCS) for some pragmatic grounds. As such, there is a change of illocutionary force, for with the realization of the precore slot, the construction in question becomes an interrogation which asks about the referent of the missing argument. In this sense, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) argue that “an argument in the semantic representation of the verb need not appear as a

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<sup>69</sup> See Van Valin and Lapolla, *Syntax*, 152.

syntactic core argument but may appear in the pre- or postcore slot” (p. 38). For example, in *Who arrived?* Or *Who died in the night?*, there is the *wh*-word *who* that occupies the position of the missing argument it is used to ask about. The *wh*-word *who* signals that the missing argument the question is about refers to a person, which is not the case with the use of *what* that is used to ask about an argument whose referent is a thing, object, and the like.

One can note that with most English M-intransitive verbs, the S-transitivity corresponds to the M-transitivity, which means that the number of syntactic argument (one core argument) is the same as the number of macrorole (one macrorole). Both in (48a and b), syntactically, there is the realization of one single core argument and it is this very argument that is construed as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the semantic interpretation of the intransitive verb in use. This correspondence between S-transitivity and M-transitivity is different from what happens with English three arguments verbs and M-atransitive verbs.

As far as the position of the core argument is concerned vis-à-vis the verb, we would say that with English M-intransitive verb constructions, the PSA (that can be either the Actor or the Undergoer) usually precedes the verb, something that is important in the production of the message. For instance, if both *\*arrived Mary* and *\*died the thief in the night* are meaningless, it is because the PSA in either sentence does not occur in the normal position. In this sense, we would say that the positions of constituents are of prime importance in the creation of meaning in English; this is tantamount to saying that the word order plays a crucial role in the distribution of arguments. An argument seems to be able to complete the meaning of a construction if and only if it occupies the right position the language in question accepts.

In the English language, besides some verbs whose use is exclusively M-intransitive, there are also verbs that can be both M-intransitive and M-transitive depending upon the context. This means that, in certain situations, such verbs may require the presence of two macroroles while in others they take only one macrorole. These are verbs like *continue*, *return*, *grow*, *move*, *change*, *close*, *open*, *stop*, *start*, and so on. For instance, it is possible to say both *the situation changed* (M-intransitive) and *Writers changed the situation* (M-transitive). In the former, *the situation*, the single core argument required by the verb can be analyzed as an Undergoer, whereas in the latter there are two macroroles with as Actor the *Writers* and Undergoer *the situation*. The noticeable thing in this is that the same constituent *the situation* is construed as

Undergoer in both constructions, which seems to be the case with most verbs aforementioned. After giving careful attention to the analysis of English M-intransitive verb constructions, now, we would like to devote the following paragraphs to the case of Mandinka M-intransitive constructions.

- (49) a. Deenaan-óo *ɲunuma-ta*.  
           baby-DEF      crawl-PF.POS  
           The baby crawled.
- b. Landiɲ mbolaɲ ban-ta      le séruɲ.  
           Landing      finish-PF.POS FOCM last year  
           (Lit. Landiɲ mbolaɲ was finished last year.)  
           Landing mbolaɲ died last year.

Like English, Mandinka prototypical M-intransitive verb constructions also appear with one single core argument that is essentially construed as Actor when the M-intransitive verb is an activity verb. The verb requires the presence of one core argument that is chiefly placed in the initial position of the construction, and the adding of the *-ta* suffix to the M-intransitive verb is obligatory if the illocutionary force of the said construction is declarative. In this language, it is nonsensical to produce utterances such as *\*ɲunumata deenaanóo* “\*crawled the baby” or *\*ta deenaanóo ɲunuma* “Did the baby crawl?”. If these constructions are not understandable, it is because according to Dramé (1981), “there is a strict ordering between the subject, the intransitive verb and the tense/aspect marker” in the Mandinka language (p. 57). In Mandinka M-intransitive constructions, there is a strict order between the different elements (the core argument and the verb in *-ta*) and if this order is not respected, it is often difficult to convey meaningful information. The core argument always occurs in the initial position of the sentence while the verb taking the *-ta* inflection is placed in the final position.

As is indicated by the logical structure **do'** (Deenaanóo, [**ɲunuma'** (Deenaanóo)]), the M-intransitive verb *ɲunuma* does not react upon any other element that would be construed as Undergoer. In this situation, the verb asks only one core argument that is the external one, which can also be labelled as an Agent from a thematic relation perspective. Contrary to the M-transitive verbs, with Mandinka prototypical M-intransitive verbs, the fact of adding an element

upon which the Agent would react would make the sentence meaningless or odd. For instance, in this language, one cannot produce an utterance like \**Deenaanóo bánkoo ηunumata* “\*The baby the ground crawled”, this is impossible inasmuch as the verb *ηunuma* “crawl” is a verb that requires only one core argument. It is impossible to use two macroroles with such a verb, especially when there is the presence of the *-ta* suffix at its end. In (49a), there is a situation that involves action hence the verb *ηunuma* denotes the feature dynamic. In the image of *ηunuma*, this is the case for most Mandinka prototypical M-intransitive verbs denoting actions and appearing with the *-ta* suffix.

Like English, Mandinka also boasts M-intransitive verbs that can be labelled as Undergoer. This is the case with the intransitive verb *baη*<sup>70</sup> that can be called an accomplishment verb when it refers to the English verb “die”. Then, the logical structure to (49b) is **BECOME dead’** (*Landiη mbolaη*). As such, if it takes two macroroles, the construction becomes nonsensical as is the case in, for instance, \**Mansóo ye Landiη mbolaη baη* “\*God has finished *Landiη mbolaη*”. In the sense of “die”, *baη* does not allow the presence of an Actor; it requires the occurrence of one single core argument interpreted as Undergoer, and which is usually placed in the initial position of a simple sentence. The situation in which the verb *baη* can have an M-transitive reading is when we want to convey the idea of X finishing Y. In this sense, it takes both an Actor and an Undergoer as is shown in *Musóo ye kínôo baη* “The woman has finished off the rice” where *Musóo* is the Actor while *kínôo* is the Undergoer. In (49b), *Landiη mbolaη* the single core argument whose realization is required by the M-intransitive verb *baη* can also be interpreted as a Patient. To recapitulate, one should note that with Mandinka M-intransitive constructions, the single core argument required by the verb is either interpreted as an Actor like in (49a) or an Undergoer as is the case in (49b), depending upon the context or the semantic interpretation that is given to the verb in use.

In Mandinka, it is possible to see the realization of the PrCS with M-intransitive verbs. As such, the illocutionary force signals that the modified utterance is rather interrogative. In doing so, the question word normally appears in the position of the missing core argument it is

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<sup>70</sup> The Mandinka verbs *baη* and *fáa* both refer to the English verb “die” but they are slightly different. *Baη* is normally used to talk about the death of a childless person, whereas it is *fáa* that is normally used when it is about the death of a person who has got a child or children. Unlike *baη*, *fáa* means “kill” when it is used within a construction where both the Actor and the Undergoer appear.



used to ask a question about. This interrogative word can be *jumáa* “who” or *múŋ* “what”; the former is used in the PrCS when the missing argument the question is about refers to a person, and the latter is chosen when this is about a thing, object, and so forth. With such interrogative constructions, it is important to specify that the interrogative words *jumáa* and *múŋ* go obligatorily with the element *le* used for focus. This element is always put at the very right of the question word it goes with. For example, in *Jumáa le naata?* “Who has arrived?”, if the focus marker *le* is missing from the interrogation, this becomes odd. The question word *Jumáa* is distributed here as a core argument because it occupies the position of the missing element that would play here the role of subject (Actor). With Mandinka M-intransitive constructions denoting interrogative illocutionary force, it seems to be impossible to put the question words (*jumáa* and *múŋ*) replacing a core argument in the post-core slot (PoCS). This is the reason why constructions such as *\*Díndíŋo naata múŋ?* “\*the child has come what?”, *\*Sunjó fáata jumáa* “\*The thief died who?” are ungrammatical.

Creissels and Sambou (2013) demonstrate that, as a general rule, most Mandinka M-intransitive verbs become M-transitive when they take the suffix *-ndí* permitting so to express the notion of causative to some extent (p. 399). And they show that the exception to this is *sáa*<sup>71</sup>. This is what they demonstrate through the examples *Jíyo fajita* “The water has boiled” and *Musóo ye jíyo fájíndi* “The woman brought water to the boil”; *Kewó jaŋkáríta* “The man has fallen ill” and *Dómórí jáwóo ye kewó jaŋkarindi* “The bad food has made the man ill”. We should specify that for one reason or another, one must essentially bear in mind that it is impossible to realize a transitive use of most M-intransitive verbs with the appearance of the *-ta* suffix that importantly serves to mark the intransitivity of such verbs. This means that to have a transitive use of such verbs, the *-ta* suffix has to be deleted if not the construction in question ends up an ungrammatical utterance. If constructions such as *\*Musóo ye jíyo fájítandi*, *\*Musóo ye jíyo fájíndita*, *\*Dómórí jáwóo ye kewó jaŋkartaindi*, *\*Dómórí jáwóo ye kewó jaŋkarindita* are meaningless, it is because the suffix *-ta* is an important element that indicates that the verb

<sup>71</sup> Besides *fáa* and *baŋ*, Mandinka also uses the verb *sáa* in the sense of “die”. Therefore, it is important to specify that this verb is usually an M-intransitive verb if there is no change in its form. Unlike Creissels and Sambou, we have found that in certain contexts, especially when the Undergoer is not a person or an animal, *sáa+ -ndi* taking two macroroles is possible in this language. As such, the Undergoer can be, for instance, a plant, a tree, some body parts, and so on.

requires one direct core argument for the construction to make sense, especially when the illocutionary force signals declarative.

To recapitulate, we can say that with both English and Mandinka M-intransitive verbs, the single core argument required by the verb can be interpreted as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the semantic interpretation of the verb used in the construction. In the two languages, the single core argument is placed in the sentence initial position while the verb occurs in the final position; the realization of any other core argument in the final position of the sentence renders this ungrammatical. When the illocutionary force is about an interrogation, both English and Mandinka M-intransitive verbs go with a pre-core slot to ask about the referent of the missing core argument whose referent is possibly unknown by the speaker.

Unlike English, Mandinka uses a suffix (*-ta*) that serves to mark the intransitive use of verbs. In this language, the *-ta* suffix at the end of a verb chiefly indicates that the said verb needs the presence of one single core argument to convey meaningful information. If, in English, there are some verbs that are both M-intransitive and transitive, in Mandinka, the presence or the absence of the *-ta* suffix at the end of verbs makes a big difference. After devoting paragraphs to the analysis of the characteristics of the core argument used with English and Mandinka intransitive verbs, let us turn to the case of M-transitive verbs.

### 2.1.2. M-Transitive verbs

Transitivity is about an activity that is “carried-over” or “transferred” from an Agent to a Patient (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 251). As such, not only do we have two participants that are necessarily involved but there is also the expression of an action that is typically effective in some way. As such, in RRG terms, M-transitive verbs are verbs that normally require the presence of two core arguments to convey a complete message. These core arguments that are interpreted at the macrorole level as Actor and Undergoer may be realized in particular languages in similar or different ways depending upon the logical structure of the different M-transitive

verbs. Then, in the following lines, we shall devote our analysis to the case of English before that of Mandinka.

- (50)           The man   hit     the   ball.  
                   DEF   kew   fayi.PRET DEF   Kaati  
                   Kewó ye kaatóo fayi.

In this English active sentence, *The man* is the Actor and the entity *the ball* is the Undergoer. Since *The man* is the purposeful instigator of the action, then, this corresponds to the Agent when the analysis is conducted at the thematic relation level. Then, *The man* is the PSA of the sentence inasmuch as it is the participant that carries out the action told by the verb *hit*. The M-transitive verb *hit* is a very important element in the semantic interpretation of the whole sentence. It tells us about what the PSA must have as properties. For instance, saying *\*The man hit the lesson* is meaningless because the verb *hit* has a semantic content that is not compatible with the referent *the lesson*. To convey meaningful information, the Actor (The PSA) has to encode a semantic content that is compatible with the properties presented by the verb. For example, *\*The lesson hit the ball* shows that the choice of the type of Actor is pivotal to create meaning. The verb mainly dictates what kind of element it combines with to convey a meaningful message. If the sentence *\*The man hit the lesson* is not acceptable, it is because the meaning conveyed by the verb makes it impossible to label *the lesson* as an Undergoer. On this subject, Rothstein (1983) argues that “when the lexical meaning of an argument is not compatible with the ‘thematic role’ it receives, the sentence in question is semantically anomalous” (p. 56), and the example she has given, *\*Sincerity admires John*, goes in this sense of semantic oddity.

In the M-transitive constructions whose voice is active, the presence of both the Actor and the Undergoer is compulsory to comprehend the very content of the message, meaning who or what does what and who and what undergoes what. The omission of one argument or the other renders the construction incomplete. *\*The man hit* is an incomplete idea that would push the hearer to wonder the participant that is *hit*, for there is an empty position that has to be occupied by a missing core argument interpreted as Undergoer at the macrorole level. This compulsory realization of the Undergoer is also valid for the Actor because if this is missing from the

construction, there is either an ungrammatical or modified sentence. This can be considered as a modified construction with a different illocutionary force signaling imperative if there is at the same time a change of intonation as we can grasp with *hit the ball*. If this is not the case, one must note that the absence of the Actor renders the construction incomplete in the framework of a declarative sentence.

Another thing that is important about the use of arguments is the different positions they have to occupy in the sentence. In English M-transitive constructions, not only is the realization of the core arguments coinciding with the Actor and Undergoer compulsory, but one must remember that the structural organization also plays an important part in the creation of a complete and meaningful message. If the sentence *The man hit the ball* is meaningful while constructions such as *\*hit the man the ball*, *\*hit the ball the man*, *\*the man the ball hit*, *\*the hit man the ball* are nonsensical, it is because English does not allow its constituents to occur in a sentence randomly. If the structural organization is violated, it is even difficult to identify the different macroroles, one cannot clearly tell who or what does what and who and what undergoes what. Therefore, English words are not randomly grouped to create meaning; they follow a logic that makes the message complete and understandable.

In English, with most M-transitive verbs, the syntactic valence corresponds to the semantic valence, which means that the number of core arguments occurring in the sentence corresponds to the number of macroroles (the Actor and the Undergoer). As such the Actor is the leftmost element while the Undergoer is the rightmost one as is indicated by the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy in figure 2.1 (AUH) below. To show this, in *The man hit the ball*, *The man*, the Actor is the leftmost argument while *the ball*, the Undergoer, is the rightmost argument.



As can be seen in (51a), the occurrence of the Actor *He* and the Undergoer *book* is paramount, for both *\*wrote a book* and *\*He wrote* are incomplete constructions. This is not the case in (51b) that has a different voice. Unlike what occurs in (51a), the realization of the Actor is not paramount in (51b). The fact of leaving it out does not affect the meaning of the sentence; it only serves as optional information that can be used for modification sake. *A book was written* is a grammatical and meaningful sentence even if the Actor is missing from the said sentence. The entity representing the Actor conveys additional information without which the message is complete and comprehensible. Then, unlike the Actor that refers to a core argument in the active voice, the Actor is an oblique adjunct in the passive voice. Being the PSA in the passive voice, the Undergoer is importantly realized in the initial position of the sentence; its occurrence in the final position renders the sentence anomalous. Contrary to grammatical functions (the subject and the direct object), English thematic relations remain unchanged regardless of the voice of the sentence. In this sense, Bok-Kim and Sells (2007) state that “Different grammatical uses of verbs may express the same semantic roles in different arrays” (p. 45). It must also be noted that through passivization, there is another semantic motivation that is aimed at.

We should put that, with passivization, the Actor of the active voice becomes the object of the passive voice, whereas its object (Undergoer) becomes the subject of the passive voice. This is explained by the fact that there is a pivotal importance that is given to the role played by the Undergoer in the interpretation of the message. For instance, in the passive form (51b) *A book was written by him*, the entity whose role is put into focus is the Undergoer *A book* (direct object) of the active voice (51a). In this case, the speaker wants to draw the hearer’s attention to the fact that there is nothing else that *was written* but *A book*. On this subject, Delépine (2000) states that, with passivization, the presence of the actor is not essential in most cases because in English if one wants to specify the doer of the action, they use the active voice (p. 213). As we have already mentioned it, this statement by Delépine corroborates the fact that the *by*-phrase chiefly serves as additional information. While it is impossible to turn M-intransitive constructions into the passive voice, M-transitive constructions are normally put in the passive voice with a different semantic motivation. Thus, after looking into the structural and semantic aspects of arguments that are required by English M-transitive verbs from different perspectives, we shall devote the following paragraphs to dealing with Mandinka M-transitive constructions.

As is the case with English M-intransitive constructions, with Mandinka M-transitive constructions also, there is a strict order in the syntactic organization of constituents. It is important to note that it is possible to use M-transitive verbs intransitively with a passive reading in this language. In doing so, the *-ta* suffix is added to the verb and the single core argument this takes is virtually construed as Undergoer.

(52) Active voice: a. Laamini ye boor-óo kúnuŋ.  
 Lamine PF.POS medicine-DEF swallow  
 Lamine has swallowed the medicine.

Passive voice: b. Boor-óo kúnuŋ-ta.  
 Medicine-DEF swallow-PF.POS  
 The medicine has been swallowed.

c. Salifu ye man-óo kuntu.  
 Salif PF.POS road-DEF cut  
 ( Lit. \*Salif cut the road. )  
 Salif crossed the road.

Like what occurs with M-intransitive constructions where there is no core argument that is realized after the M-intransitive verb in *-ta*, with M-transitive verbs also there is no core argument realized after the verb, this means that no argument is allowed to occupy the final position of the simple sentence. Both the Actor and the Undergoer are realized before the M-transitive verbs. Since the word order is fixed in this language, it is ungrammatical to make constructions such as *\*Laamini ye kúnuŋ booróo* “\*Swallowed Lamine medicine”, *\*Ye Laamini kúnuŋ booróo* “\*Let them swallow Lamine medicine”, *\*Ye booróo kúnuŋ Laamini* “\*Let them swallow medicine Lamine”. Then, if words do not occur in their normal positions in a sentence, this impinges on the semantic interpretation. It is quite difficult to find out the Actor and the Undergoer in a clear way inasmuch as the sentence in use has violated some syntactic rules.

In the Mandinka language, with M-transitive constructions, the core argument standing for the Actor is mainly placed in the initial position of the construction while that representing the Undergoer is usually separated from the former by the operator *ye* that chiefly signals a transitive construction. As for the verb, it occurs in the final position of the sentence, meaning no core

argument can follow the verb. In *Laamini ye booróo kúnuy*, *Laamini* is the Actor placed in the initial position of the sentence and it is separated from the Undergoer *booróo* by the operator *ye*; then, the verb *kúnuy* follows the two mandatory macroroles it requires.

Another important aspect about an M-transitive construction is that the meanings conveyed by both the Actor and the Undergoer have to be compatible with what the verb denotes, if not, the construction ends up a meaningless one. Languages can use the same verb in different ways, which means that the meaning of a verb can be compatible with an argument in a particular language while this argument may be rejected by another language with the same verb. For example, with the Mandinka M-transitive construction *Salifu ye manóo kuntu* “lit. \*Salif cut the road” (Salif crossed the road), the Mandinka M-transitive verb *Kuntu* “cut” is compatible with the argument *manóo* “road” while, in this sense, the English M-transitive verb “cut” is incompatible with the argument “road”. Then, to find the English corresponding verb that conveys the same idea as *kuntu*, one will use “cross” instead of “cut”.

With Mandinka M-transitive verbs, the absence of the core argument without the presence of the suffix *-ta* at the end of the verb in use renders the construction either ungrammatical or conveys an idea similar to *let X be + verb*. For instance, *Salifu ye kuntu* and *\*Laamini ye kúnuy* mean “let Salif be cut” and “let Lamine be swallowed”, respectively. As such, the single core argument appearing in the sentence initial position is construed as Undergoer and could not be labelled as Actor any longer. This interpretation is possible if and only, from the M-transitive construction, the argument called Undergoer is removed from the construction. One should note that when the Undergoer is deleted from an M-transitive construction, the Actor at the start becomes the Undergoer as is the case with *Salifu* in the modified construction *Salifu ye kuntu* that derives from *Salifu ye manóo kuntu*. Then if we compare the two constructions, we can easily understand that they are virtually different in terms of interpretation.

If the core argument corresponding to the PSA is missing from the construction, we usually have an ungrammatical construction unlike what we may have when the core argument corresponding to the subject is removed. As such, *\*ye manóo kuntu* “\*crossed the road”, *\*ye booróo kúnuy* “\*swallowed medicine”, and so forth, are incomplete sentences because there is the position of the PSA (the Actor) that is the sentence initial position that has to be filled. The core argument that must occupy this position must be linked to an argument position in the



logical structure. With the absence of the PSA from Mandinka active M-transitive constructions, there is some violation of the Completeness Constraint governing the linking between syntax and semantics.

(53) Completeness Constraint

All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence. (Van Valin, 2005, p.233)

The missing core argument (the PSA), when it is added, must be compatible with the meaning denoted by the verb in use, if not the sentence will remain ungrammatical. If both \**Ye manóo kuntu* and \**Kólojo ye manóo kuntu* “\*The well crossed the road” are meaningless, it is because if the former is incomplete, the latter has a so-called Actor whose meaning is not compatible with the action of crossing. It is impossible in a real world for a *well* to walk, let alone *cross* a road. For the sentence to convey meaningful information, the core argument that is syntactically realized must be interpretable with regard to the meaning of the verb. Then, *Salifu ye manóo kuntu* is a correct sentence which does not violate any syntactic or semantic rules. Thus, the logical structure to this sentence is **do'** (Salifu, [**kuntu'** (Salifu, manóo)]). As we can see from the logical structure, all the arguments explicitly realized in the semantic representation are syntactically realized in *Salifu ye manóo kuntu*.

The notion of passivization is a complex one in the Mandinka language, for there is no specific operator that can help construct it. Therefore, putting a sentence in the passive form amounts to having recourse to the *-ta* suffix added to the end of the passivized verb. In this process, the Actor disappears and the construction in question includes the structure O of the active construction + Verb *-ta*. Following Dramé (1983), if the direct object is always present, it is because the Mandinka transitive verbs are strongly transitive in terms of O requirement (p. 70). To put this in another way, we would say that Mandinka transitive verbs are strongly M-transitive in terms of Undergoer requirement insofar as even if the M-transitive verb is used intransitively, the single core argument it requires is construed as Undergoer. Besides, even if the M-transitive construction is in the active voice and that if the Undergoer is removed from the said sentence,

the argument standing for the Actor becomes Undergoer as is already explained with the example *Salifu ye kuntu*.

From example (52b), we realize that it is possible to do passivization in this language. The same *-ta* suffix that helps make the intransitive construction appears again to help make passive constructions with the M-transitive verbs of this language. This is the reason why some linguists aver that Mandinka transitive verbs are used both transitively and intransitively. Actually, this is true but we must be aware of the fact that the kind of relationship that exists between the PSA and the predicate makes us understand whether there is a real M-intransitive verb or an M-transitive verb used intransitively with a passive reading. If the latter is the case, the single core argument that is realized is always construed as an Undergoer that has been affected by an action carried out by an Actor that is not syntactically realized.

What is remarkable with Mandinka passivization is that the passive construction does not faithfully convey the meaning embodied by the active construction. On that subject, Dramé (1981) states that “The difficulty in incorporating these meaning differences into the transformational apparatus led to the speculation that may be there is no passive transformation in this language” (p. 99). The passivized sentences appear with meaning differences from the active voice constructions they derive from, and one will not be unaware of that after comparing the two examples *Laamini ye booróo kúnunŋ* and *Booróo kununŋta*.

To sum up, Mandinka passive sentences are not faithful to the active sentences they are derived from. If there is any element that seems to be essential in Mandinka so-called passivized sentences, this is the *-ta* suffix. By the help of this *-ta* suffix added to the passivized verb, one understands that the single core argument required by the passivized verb usually undergoes the action expressed by the verb. As such, the Actor is obligatory missing from the passive voice; it cannot even be realized in the form of an oblique adjunct. Given that the *-ta* suffix is of prime importance in the passive reading of M-transitive verbs, its absence may affect the relationship there is between the single core argument and the verb in use. If the *-ta* suffix is missing from a passivized verb, the only framework in which it is possible to interpret the sentence meaningfully is related to the imperative illocutionary force. For example, depending upon the pitch of the voice, one can understand *Booróo kúnunŋ* as a recommendation that a speaker is giving to an addressee.

About the M-transitive constructions of the two languages, one can essentially bear in mind that the two core arguments required by the M-transitive verbs are construed as Actor and Undergoer. In doing so, the verb occurs in the final position of the sentence in Mandinka, whereas it is the core argument standing for the Undergoer that occupies this position in English active sentences. Then, Mandinka is known as an SOV language, whereas English is called an SVO language. As such, in Mandinka, there is always the operator *ye* that is importantly inserted between the subject (the PSA) and the object (the undergoer) when the construction signals a declarative illocutionary force. If English boasts prototypical M-transitive verbs and verbs that are both M-transitive and intransitive, all the Mandinka M-transitive verbs can virtually be used intransitively with a passive reading, and the *-ta* suffix is the element that is used to make such a change.

When English M-transitive constructions are passivized, the *by* phrase including the Actor can be realized in the form of an oblique adjunct. This serves as additional information whose occurrence is not necessary for the construction to make sense. In Mandinka, when M-transitive constructions are given a passive reading, it is impossible to have the presence of the Actor in the form of an oblique adjunct. With the passive reading of Mandinka M-transitive verbs, only the context could help know the missing Actor that is considered as being unimportant from the speaker's point of view. The absence of the Undergoer with English prototypical M-transitive verbs renders the construction incomplete, whereas this can underpin a change of illocutionary force in Mandinka with certain M-transitive verbs. As such, the sentence in use can be given an imperative like reading in the framework of which the element labelled as Actor at the start becomes an Undergoer; this would be impossible in English. In the M-transitive constructions of the two languages, the subject usually occurs in the sentence initial position and its deletion renders the sentence incomplete. In addition to the case of M-transitive verbs, there are also some verbs that require the presence of three arguments in order to convey complete information.

### 2.1.3. Three-argument verbs

These are verbs that take two macroroles and one non-macrorole. Since RRG recognizes only two macroroles, the third argument required by the three-argument verbs is then called a non-macrorole. Three-argument verbs have three core arguments in their logical structure; typically, they involve three entities that are commonly known as subject, indirect object and direct object. Thus, let us start our analysis by English three argument verbs before turning to those of Mandinka.

The case of the English three transitive verbs is of pivotal importance in the English predicative system. Downing and Locke (2006) state that “Ditransitive patterns contain a three place verb (give, offer, rob, blame). Semantically, they express situations in which three participants are involved, encoded syntactically as the subject and the two objects” (p. 90). To say this in another way in consideration of the macrorole level, we would say that the subject corresponds to the Actor, the direct object stands for the Undergoer, and the indirect object represents the non-macrorole. To say more about this phenomenon, let us consider the following example including the verb *give*:

- (53) The child gave money to his mother.  
 DEF dínđin díi.PRET kódi P GEN baa  
 Dínđiño ye kódoó díi a baamaa la.

Here if we observe the sentence *The child gave money to his mother*, we realize that the verb *gave* requires three obligatory arguments. At the macrorole level, these are the Actor, the Undergoer, and the non-macrorole. The Actor occurs in the sentence initial position, the Undergoer *money* comes immediately after the verb *gave*, whereas the non-macrorole *his mother* is preceded by the preposition *to*. If we change the position of the Undergoer and the non-macrorole and put, for instance, *The child gave his mother money* we see that we still have a grammatical sentence in which there is the disappearance of the preposition *to* that precedes the non-macrorole *his mother* that is placed just after the head verb. The Undergoer *money* is put at the end of the sentence while keeping the values it has when it is placed just after the head verb. Saying, for example *\*The child gave to money his mother* or *\*The child gave his mother to*

*money* are ungrammatical and meaningless. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the Undergoer *money* cannot be preceded by the preposition *to*; the constituent that can be preceded by the preposition *to* is the non-macrorole *his mother*. In English, even if it is meaningful to have the Undergoer-non macrorole order with three argument verbs, one can note that the most frequent order is that there is the realization of the non-macrorole before the Undergoer as is the case in *The child gave his mother money*.

If the analysis is conducted in consideration of the thematic relations, in (53), the Actor corresponds to the Agent inasmuch as the entity *The child* is the purposeful instigator of the action of giving. The Undergoer *money* is the Patient and the non-macrorole *his mother* is the Beneficiary. From this, we can see that the Actor macrorole subsumes the notion of Agent while the Undergoer macrorole includes the notion of Patient. When the construction is in the active voice, the core argument corresponding to the Actor (agent) is usually realized in the sentence initial position. In the English language, it is impossible to put constructions like *\*gave the child money to his mother*, *\*gave money the child to his mother*, *\*gave money to his mother the child*. From these constructions in which the core argument standing for the Actor is placed in positions other than the sentence initial one, we can see that this impinges on the meaning of the whole sentence that becomes odd. Not only is the syntactic realization of core arguments of paramount importance in the creation of complete information but also the position they occupy in the syntactic domain. In the passive voice, there is a change in terms of what can become subject, direct object, or oblique adjunct in the passive voice. One should bear in mind that the macrorole and non-macrorole interpretations remain unchangeable.

(54) a. He gave me the book.  
 3SG dǐi.PRET 1SG DEF kitáabu  
 A ye kitáábóo dǐi ń na.

b. He gave the book to me.  
 3SG dǐi.PRET DEF kitáabu P 1SG  
 A ye kitáábóo dǐi ń na.

c. I was given the book by him.

1SG COPV dǐi.PASTP DEF kitáabu P 3SG

A ye kitáábóo dǐi ń na.

d. The book was given to me by him.

DEF kitáabu COPV dǐi.PASTP P 3SG P 3SG

Kitáábóo dǐita ń na.

The most noticeable thing about three argument verbs is that they appear with two core arguments in the passive voice. They can be called two argument verbs because the entity (the *by* phrase) including the Actor becomes optional, it is an oblique adjunct whose presence is not necessary for the sentence to make sense; it only serves as additional information. In case it is syntactically realized, the *by*-phrase is usually placed in the sentence final position to tell us the participant that carries out the action. The positions of the Undergoer and the non-macrorole can vary depending upon the speaker's semantic motivation. For example, in (54c), the Undergoer is realized in the sentence initial position, whereas in (54d), it is the non-macrorole that occupies that position. There is a meaningful construction in either case, the only semantic difference is that if the importance is given to the non-macrorole *I* in (54c), this is given to the Undergoer macrorole *The book* in (54d). It is interesting to look into the case of three argument verbs in particular languages, for they can appear with distinctive features in the creation of complete ideas. Then, let us continue our analysis with the case of Mandinka.

In declarative and interrogative sentences, Mandinka three argument verbs also appear with the operator *ye*. What is remarkable with these verbs is that they are used with postpositions that usually appear in the final position of the sentence. With most Mandinka three argument verb constructions, the structure is either: S + *ye* + O + V + IO + POSTP or S + *ye* + IO + V + O + POSTP. There would not be any Mandinka three argument verb whose construction is possible with both structures. If some are used abiding by the rule where the indirect object comes after the main verb, others make sense when they are used respecting the structure where the indirect object precedes the main verb. For instance, verbs such as *dǐi* "to give", *saŋ* "to buy", *náati* "to bring", etc., respect the structural organization S + *ye* + O + V + IO + POSTP. Changing the order of elements in this situation will underpin the construction of an anomalous and incomprehensible sentence. This means that it is not possible to convey a meaningful message

with those verbs if they follow the structural order S + ye + IO + V + O + POSTP. If there is this strict organization between the different constituents within the two groups, it is because following Dramé (1981) “Similarly to single-object and intransitive constructions, double-object constructions generally have a fixed word order” (p. 59).

- (55)
- |                                      |   |        |   |         |   |     |   |               |   |       |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------|---|---------|---|-----|---|---------------|---|-------|
| S                                    | + | ye     | + | O       | + | V   | + | IO            | + | POSTP |
| ↓                                    |   | ↓      |   | ↓       |   | ↓   |   | ↓             |   | ↓     |
| Maarifaŋ                             |   | ye     |   | níns-óo |   | saŋ |   | a faa-maa     |   | ye.   |
| Marfang                              |   | PF.POS |   | cow-DEF |   | buy |   | 3SG father-KM |   | POSTP |
| Marfang has bought his father a cow. |   |        |   |         |   |     |   |               |   |       |

The structural organization S + ye + IO + V + O + POSTP is possible with some other verbs which, in turn, do not accept the structural order undergone by the first group of verbs we have given. Then, the second group includes verbs such as *n̄ininkaa* “to ask”, *so* “to give”, *joo* (used in the sense of paying somebody money) etc. In fact, these verbs make sense if they appear within the structure S + ye + IO + V + O + POSTP while they become meaningless when they are used in the structural organization S + ye + O + V + IO + POSTP. Let us give the following examples to see this clearer.

- (56)
- |                                      |   |        |   |           |   |      |   |           |   |       |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------|---|-----------|---|------|---|-----------|---|-------|
| S                                    | + | ye     | + | O         | + | V    | + | IO        | + | POSTP |
| ↓                                    |   | ↓      |   | ↓         |   | ↓    |   | ↓         |   | ↓     |
| a. Kew-ó                             |   | ye     |   | kód-oo    |   | d̄ii |   | mus-óo    |   | la.   |
| man-DEF                              |   | PF.POS |   | money-DEF |   | give |   | woman-DEF |   | POSTP |
| The man gave the money to the woman. |   |        |   |           |   |      |   |           |   |       |

- |                                   |   |        |   |           |   |      |   |           |   |       |
|-----------------------------------|---|--------|---|-----------|---|------|---|-----------|---|-------|
| S                                 | + | ye     | + | IO        | + | V    | + | O         | + | POSTP |
| ↓                                 |   | ↓      |   | ↓         |   | ↓    |   | ↓         |   | ↓     |
| b. Kew-ó                          |   | ye     |   | mus-óo    |   | so   |   | kód-oo    |   | la.   |
| man-DEF                           |   | PF.POS |   | woman-DEF |   | give |   | money-DEF |   | POSTP |
| The man gave the woman the money. |   |        |   |           |   |      |   |           |   |       |

From these two examples, we can clearly see that there are two structural orders that are somewhat different. First in example (56a) whose structural order is S + ye + O + V + IO + POSTP, it is not possible to opt for the other choice. A Mandinka native speaker will be amazed at hearing a sentence like \**Kewó ye musóo díi kódoó la* “Lit. \*The man gave the woman to the money”. This sentence is semantically odd, and if it is so it is because it violates one of the syntactic rules we have given above. In fact, example (56b) also remains in the same logic. Putting example (56b) in the S + ye + O + V + IO + POSTP order will make the latter completely incomprehensible, for the structural rule it has to follow is S + ye + IO + V + O + POSTP. Any Mandinka native speaker will consider \**Kewó ye kódoó so musóo la* “Lit. \*The man gave the woman to the money” as a gibberish.

At the macrorole level, what we can say about these two different groups of three argument verbs is that apart from the position of the Actor that occurs sentence initial, the Undergoer macrorole and the non-macrorole argument do not occupy the same positions. With the first group of verbs (*díi, saŋ, náati*, and so on), the Undergoer (or O) precedes the verb that is, in turn, directly followed by the non-macrorole argument (or IO). Then, there is the Actor-Undergoer-non macrorole logic. As far as the second group of verbs (*ñininkaa, so, joo, fuu*, and so forth) is concerned, this subsumes verbs that directly follow the non-macrorole (or IO) while directly preceding the Undergoer, hence one may refer to the Actor-non macrorole-Undergoer logic.

Thus, with Mandinka three argument verbs, there is usually the realization of two direct core arguments (Actor and Undergoer) and the non-macrorole (that may be an oblique or a direct core argument depending on the type of verb that occurs). With the first group of verbs such as *díi, saŋ, naati*, and the like, the non-macrorole argument is presented as an oblique core argument, as can be seen in (56a) where *musóo la* is an oblique core argument indicating the non-macrorole argument at once. This is different from what happens with the second group of verbs with which it is the Undergoer that is realized as an oblique core argument; this is what *kódoó la* substantiates in (56b). By the way, this possible interpretation is what Dramé (1981) seems to express when he argues that “If the beneficiary surfaces in DO position, it will be interpreted as the DO” (p. 59). Then, the correspondence between the Undergoer and the oblique core argument



is paramount because this seems to be a striking distinctive feature of some Mandinka three argument verb constructions.

To recapitulate, Mandinka three argument verbs can be divided into two different groups. There are verbs such as *dii* “to give”, *saŋ* “to buy”, *karaj* “to read”, *naati* “to bring”, etc. that can be captured following the logic Actor + ye + Undergoer + V + Non-macrorole + POSTP, and then there are verbs like *ñininkaa* “to ask”, *so* “to give”, *joo* “pay somebody cash”, *fuu* “to lend”, etc. that follow the logic Actor + ye + Non-macrorole + V + Undergoer + POSTP. Accordingly, violating one of these structural organizations by switching round the Undergoer and the non-macrorole leads to the construction of an anomalous sentence. It is also important to bear in mind that with most Mandinka three argument verbs, the postpositions that appear at the end of the construction are usually *la* and *ye*. The POSTP *ye* is generally used to refer to the English preposition *for* while the POSTP *la* is used to refer to the preposition *to* or *with* that helps to form the thematic relation known as Instrument.

When dealing with the so-called passivization of Mandinka three argument verbs, one should take into consideration the two types of groups we have already mentioned in the foregoing. It is important to know that with either group, we have the appearance of two arguments, and besides there is the obligatory presence of the *-ta* suffix at the end of the passivized three argument verb in use.

(57) a. Active voice: Sarata ye Salifu ñininkaa tasal-óo la.  
 Sarata PF.POS Salif ask kettle-DEF POSTP  
 Sarata asked Salif the kettle.

Passive voice : Salifu ñininkaa-ta tasal-óo la. Hence IO + V-ta + O + POSTP  
 Salif ask-PF.POS kettle-DEF POSTP  
 Salif was asked the kettle.

b. Active voice: Kew-ó ye kanj-óo saŋ mus-óo ye.  
 man-DEF PF.POS okra-DEF buy woman-DEF POSTP  
 The man bought the woman okra.

Passive voice: Kanj-óo saŋ-ta mus-óo ye. Hence O + V-ta + IO + POSTP  
 okra-DEF buy-PF.POS woman-DEF POSTP  
 Okra was bought for the woman.

With the first group subsuming verbs like *díi*, *saŋ*, *kaŋaŋ*, and so on, the two arguments the verb is constructed with are a direct core argument and an oblique core argument, respectively. This means that the direct core argument corresponds to the Undergoer while the oblique core argument indicates the non-macrorole argument. This is different from what happens with the second group that includes verbs such as *ñininkaa*, *so*, *joo*, *fuu*, and so forth. With the passive use of such verbs, there is mainly the direct core argument that corresponds to the non-macrorole and the oblique core argument that refers to the Undergoer, which is different from what happens with the first group.

In (57b), the direct core argument *Kanjóo* is analyzed as Undergoer because it is the constituent upon which the action of *saŋ* “buying” is carried; by the way, this passive reading is importantly triggered by the *-ta* suffix. The participant for whose benefit the action of *saŋ* is performed is *musóo* that is realized in the form of an oblique core argument with the presence of the *la* postposition; the entity *musóo* is then called the Benefactive if the analysis is conducted while taking into account the thematic relation. This situation is different from what occurs with (57a) in which *Salifu* placed in the sentence initial position is the non-macrorole while *tasalóo* used with the *la* postposition is construed as Undergoer; this is also labelled as an oblique core argument. The normal position of the oblique core argument is core final. The noticeable thing with either group is the absence of the Actor. The occurrence of the Actor in the passive reading of such verbs renders constructions anomalous as is illustrated by *\*Salifu ñininkaata tasalóo la Sarata* “\*Salif was asked the kettle Sarata”; *\*Kanjóo saŋta musóo ye kewó* “\*Okra was bought for the woman the man”. With Mandinka constructions signaling a passive reading, the context can be the key for the hearer to know the Actor of the passive constructions. Sometimes, it is not even possible to know the Actor through the context, for the speech participants may not give any importance to it.

To recapitulate the main points about the constructions of three argument verbs in both English and Mandinka, it is important to show the similarities and differences we have found between the two languages. With the three argument verbs of the two languages, in the active voice, there is usually the co-occurrence of three arguments in order to have complete information. In Mandinka, the two arguments are usually direct core arguments while one is chiefly an oblique core argument. As far as English is concerned, this language can appear with

three direct core arguments or two direct core arguments and one oblique core argument depending upon the type of construction the speaker has opted for. With the active voice systems of the two languages, the core argument standing for the Actor is placed in the initial position, whereas the positions of the other core arguments can change according to the circumstance. What makes Mandinka particular is that the verb is usually put in between the direct and oblique core arguments.

Another remarkable thing that makes the two languages different from each other is that Mandinka boasts two groups of three argument verbs that follow different structural organizations that can directly impinge on the semantic interpretation in case there is any violation. Besides, this language may present an oblique core argument one can virtually interpret as Undergoer as is the case in *Sarata ye Salifu ñininkaa tasalóo la*. In any Mandinka three argument verb construction, there is obligatorily the occurrence of either the postposition *la* or *ye* for the construction to become complete.

About passivization, in English, the entity denoting the Actor can be realized in the form of an oblique adjunct, whereas Mandinka does not allow any of its passivized constructions to convey a message with the realization of the entity subsuming the Actor. This means that in English, there may be the Undergoer, the non-macrorole and the Actor (oblique adjunct), whereas Mandinka appears with the Undergoer and the non-macrorole only. It is also important to specify that like in any Mandinka passive reading, in that of three argument verbs also, there is the presence of the *-ta* suffix that is paramount insofar as its absence affects the relationship between the different arguments. Unlike Mandinka, English does not have any special suffix that would be used to mark three argument verbs in the passive voice. This is also valid for the other types of verbs whose passivization we have already dealt with. Whether there is active or passive voice, it must be pointed out that verbs play a crucial role in conveying meaningful information in that they importantly select or license their arguments. The type of verbs that constitutes a particular case in language description is the M-transitive verbs we are going to explore in the following section.

2.1.4. M-atransitive verbs

These are verbs whose syntactic valence does not correspond to their semantic valence; their syntactic valence is one (1), whereas their semantic valence is zero (0). M-atransitive verbs are verbs that have no determinate macrorole. When talking about M-atransitive verbs in some particular languages, linguists often refer to the idea of dummy elements. Thus, the notion of dummy is defined as follows:

A term used in linguistics to refer to a formal grammatical element introduced into a structure or an analysis to ensure that a grammatical sentence is produced. Apart from their formal role, **dummy elements** have no meaning – they are semantically empty, e.g. *there* in *there were many people at the club*, *it* in *it's raining*. (Crystal, 2008, p.158)

To make constructions with these M-atransitive verbs, different languages may use different means. Thus, in the following lines, we shall try to look into these verbs with regard to the syntactic and semantic interpretations they can be given in both English and Mandinka. In most languages, M-atransitive verbs are chiefly related to weather verbs.

- (58)
- a. It rain-ed  
3SG samaa-RET  
Samaa kéeta.
  - b. There is a meeting  
PRO COPV INDEF bétj  
Béño sotota.

In English, weather verbs are different from most English verbs that take one, two, or three arguments. With such verbs, there are usually constructions that have expletive subjects that cannot normally be interpreted as thematic relations or macroroles. For example, unlike what happens with elements that are associated with M-intransitive verbs, M-transitive verbs, and three argument verbs, the dummy element *It* in (58a) could not be construed as Actor or Undergoer, it is semantically empty. It does not correspond to any thematic relation either.

In *It rained*, no one can identify the referent of the element *It* occupying the subject position. Here we cannot have the understanding according to which the fact of raining is triggered by the dummy element *It*, the essential information the hearer is given is carried by the

verb *rain* bearing the tense inflection at once. It is somewhat difficult to identify through the utterance who or what does what. If we go on the mere utterance produced, we mostly have some difficulties finding out the referent of the element *It* in the outside world.

English dummy subjects such as *It*, *There*, and the like, have no semantic value, they are virtually used to fill a syntactic gap. For instance, in both (58a and b) if the dummy elements are removed from the constructions, they become ungrammatical. If it is syntactically incomplete to say *\*rained*, *\*is a meeting*, it is because there is the subject position that needs to be filled. With English M-atransitive verbs, the syntactic valence is not the same as the semantic valence; the former is one (1), whereas the latter is zero (0). This amounts to saying that, syntactically, the verb obligatorily requires an element that is placed in the sentence initial position. Even if the dummy elements do not convey meaning on their own, it is important to bear in mind that they are used to make it possible the semantic interpretation of constructions in which they appear. With such elements, it is difficult to make a link between syntax and semantics inasmuch as they do not correspond to any semantic arguments; they are syntactically realized to help convey meaningful information. Thus, to explain the use of dummy elements, Newson and Szécsényi (2012) argue that “dummy is a meaningless element which serves only for grammatical purposes” (p. 80).

With weather verbs like *rain*, *snow*, *hail*, and the like, the position of the dummy element is paramount to convey a meaningful message. If constructions such as *\*rained it*, *\*is a meeting there* are nonsensical, it is because, in either case, the dummy element is not placed in the right position. The notion of compatibility also is crucial with these verbs; they do not take any element that could control the event told by the verb. Constructions such as *\*Mike rains* or *\*Leslie rains* are odd because a person could not normally rain in the outside world. In the image of most weather verbs, *rain* does not accept the co-occurrence of an identifiable referent in order to make sense. Even with the idiomatic expression *It is raining cats and dogs*, one cannot interpret the verb *rain* in connection with the referent *cats* and *dogs* in the outside world.

Besides weather verbs, in English, verbs such as *be* and *seem* also can be M-atransitive in certain constructions. In example (58b), *is* is associated with the pronoun *There* that is semantically empty; it is used to fill a syntactic position that cannot be left unoccupied. It is very difficult to interpret the pronoun *There* as Actor or Undergoer in that it does not have any referent

that may be considered as acting or being affected. As far as the case of *seem* is concerned, one can easily grasp that in *It seems that Mat is mad*, *seem* is preceded by an element that cannot be given any thematic relation, let alone a macrorole interpretation. Whether it be *It* or *that Mat is mad*, no entity can be assigned Actor or Undergoer, hence *seem* can be captured as M-atransitive, meaning it appears with zero (0) macrorole. After giving paragraphs to the case of some English M-atransitive verbs in the foregoing, let us now turn to that of Mandinka in the following lines.

It is important to note that weather verbs may appear in particular languages in various forms. Depending upon the particularity of the language in use, the weather verbs may be M-intransitive, transitive, or M-atransitive. Then, as far as Mandinka is concerned, unlike English, the weather related verbs of this language do not seem to be generally M-atransitive; they seem to be M-intransitive instead, as we can see in the following examples:

- (59) a. Foñ-óo fée-ta.  
           wind-DEF blow-PF.POS  
           (Lit. Wind was blown.)  
           It was windy.
- b. Samaa ke-ta.  
           rain make-PF.POS  
           (Lit. Rain was made.)  
           It rained.
- c. Sumayaa dun-ta.  
           cold enter-PF.POS  
           (Lit. Cold has entered)  
           It is cold.

As we can see in the examples above, Mandinka does not use its weather related verbs in the same way as English. In this language, a weather related verb usually takes a core argument that can be interpreted at the macrorole level; the said argument is obligatorily placed in the initial position of the construction, this means that it occupies the subject position. If the single core argument is put in a different position, the construction becomes meaningless as can be seen in nonsensical examples such as *\*dunta sumayaa*, *\*keta samaa*, *\*féeta foñoo*.

The presence of the *-ta* suffix at the end of the verbs in (59a and b) signals that the said verbs have a passive reading. This means that one could analyze the single core argument required by the verb as Undergoer. In *Foñóo féeta*, the argument *Foñóo* is construed as undergoing the action of *fee* that is caused by an unknown force or Actor; *Foñóo* is then an Undergoer instead of a dummy element. This analysis is also valid for the core argument *Samaa* in (59b). With such constructions, the syntactic and semantic valences correspond to each other.

Another remarkable fact we have found is that unlike examples (59a and b), there is (59c) whose core argument may be construed as Actor. The element *Sumayaa* is associated with a verb that has both a transitive and intransitive use with different meanings; *dúŋ* “wear” is M-transitive while *duŋ* (enter) is M-intransitive. In *Sumayaa dunta*, the argument *Sumayaa* may be interpreted as Actor insofar as this is considered as the element that causes the speaker’s feeling cold until they produce such an utterance. In this language, another possible way of saying *Sumayaa dunta* is *Sumayaa naata* “Lit. The cold has come” through which we can easily capture *Sumayaa* as Actor as we have already talked about it in (59c). In Mandinka, we should talk about weather nouns and weather related verbs instead of weather verbs simply, because, in this language, certain verbs are related to weather if and only if they co-occur with a weather noun.

In Mandinka, a verb that is associated with weather may require a core argument that is interpreted as Actor or Undergoer depending on the context in which the utterance is produced but also on the semantic interpretation that is given to the weather related verb in use. For example, if one can analyze *Foñóo* in *Foñóo naata* as Actor, it is because the meaning conveyed by the weather related verb is paramount. By the way, this is the reason why one weather noun is interpreted as Actor in one context while it is given an Undergoer interpretation in another one. Not every verb can be used with weather nouns; accordingly, it is important to bear in mind verbs such as *fee*, *ké*, *duŋ*, *naa*, *boyi* “fall”, and so on; as such, these verbs always appear with the *-ta* suffix.

Besides the case of weather related verbs, it is very hard to find a verb whose use is exclusively M-atransitive in the Mandinka language. Following Creissels (2015), the only Mandinka verb that has the particularity and the ability to occur in an impersonal construction is *tú* “remain / leave” (p. 25). As such, he argues that, functionally, the impersonal construction of

*tú* is identical to English “there is X left”. For instance, in the construction *A tútá jee musukéebáa fula la* “There were two old women left”, no one can identify the referent of the element *A* in the real world. This is an element that is semantically empty; it cannot be given any macrorole interpretation. One can add to this some verbs like *ké, mulúnj* in the sense of “it seems that...” as is the case in *A ka ké kó a naata le* “It seems that he has come” where *A* is a dummy element.

To sum up, one should essentially note down that if English weather verbs are generally M-atransitive, Mandinka importantly uses some weather related verbs that are M-intransitive. In Mandinka, the weather noun can be interpreted as Actor or Undergoer according to the semantic interpretation of the verb in use, whereas, in English, the verb is usually constructed with an element that is semantically empty. With English weather verbs, the syntactic and semantic valences are most of the time 1, 0, respectively, whereas the rule seems to be 1-1 in Mandinka. Another noticeable fact is that English has special verbs labelled as weather verbs which usually appear with dummy elements, whereas Mandinka boasts weather nouns that are significantly used with weather related verbs. If one can easily find M-atransitive constructions in English, this does not seem to be the case with Mandinka weather related verbs.

## 2.2. Copular constructions

A Copular construction is about the use of copular or linking verbs to say something about the PSA. To convey a precise message, different languages may make copular constructions in similar or different ways. Thus, before looking into the syntactic and semantic interpretations that can be given to different constituents associated with such constructions in both English and Mandinka, we see it important to make it clear what the term “copular” means. This is:

A term used in grammatical description to refer to a linking verb, i.e. a verb which has little independent meaning, and whose main function is to relate to other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement. In English, the main **copular** (or **copulative**) verb is *be*, e.g. *She is a doctor*, and the term is often restricted to this verb; but there are many others which have a similar function, e.g. *She feels angry*, *That looks nice*, *He fell ill*. (Crystal, 2008, p. 116)



It is important to specify that, in the framework of RRG, copular verbs are analyzed as M-intransitive because if we follow Van Valin and Lapolla (1997), the second argument of such verbs is always a predicate, not a referring expression (p. 156). They argue that even if such verbs have two argument positions, they are necessarily M-intransitive. As such, the single macrorole that is available is construed as an Undergoer.

In English, the main copular verb is *be*. This is used as a linking verb to indicate different situations. It is used to describe a state in which the referent of the PSA is. Even if *be* is looked upon as the English principal copular verb, one should remember that this language has verbs like *appear, remain, keep, smell, stay, seem*, etc., that are also considered as linking verbs. Here, as far as we are concerned, for convenience sake between the two languages, we shall center our analysis on the different uses of the English copular verb *be* before inquiring into what happens in Mandinka.

- |      |  |                  |
|------|--|------------------|
| (60) | <p>a. John is tall.<br/>Joóni COPV jaŋayáa<br/>Joóni jaŋayáata le.</p>   | Attributive      |
|      | <p>b. Dave is a teacher.<br/>Deevi COPV INDEF karandiriláa<br/>Deevi mú karandiriláa le ti.</p>                                | Identificational |
|      | <p>c. Chris is the winner.<br/>Kirisi COPV DEF kañeeláa<br/>Kirisi le kañeeta.</p>   | Specificational  |
|      | <p>d. Tom-'s father is Jane-'s brother.<br/>Tomu-GEN faa COPV Jaani-GEN kotookee<br/>Tomu faamáa mú Jaane kòtoo kee le ti.</p> | Equational       |
|      | <p>e. She is in Paris.<br/>3SG COPV P Paris<br/>A be Paris le.</p>   | Locational       |
|      | <p>f. The book is on the table.<br/>DEF kitáabu COPV P DEF táabulu<br/>kitáabóo be táabulóo kaŋ.</p>                           | Locational       |

g. I	am	at	home.	Locational
	1SG	COPV	P súw	
	ŋ	bé	súu.	

In the English language, the copular verb *be* is used to talk about different situations. It can be used to describe or indicate something that is inherent in the referent of the subject. As is shown by the logical structure of (60a) that is **be'** (John, [**tall'**]), with the attributive predication of this language, the second argument position within the logical structure can be an adjective. As such the said adjective is an element whose presence is compulsory to have a complete utterance. For example, if it is not possible to construe *\*John is* as a meaningful declarative construction, it is because as is indicated by the logical structure, there is an argument position that has to be filled. Although the occurrence of that element is obligatory to create an understandable message, it does not have any other referent that is different from the subject; it is not referential in itself. *Tall* in (60a) is used to express an attribute about the subject *John* but it does not refer to any other different entity one can find in the outside world.

In *John is tall*, the copular verb *be* is an M-intransitive verb, for *John* is the only argument that can be given a macrorole interpretation; with the use of *be* as a static verb, this is construed as an Undergoer. At the thematic relation level, this can also be interpreted as Location if we follow Schwartz (1993). Following her explanation, we can say that the attribute of tallness is something that is located<sup>72</sup> in the referent *John* that is an individual. Outside of the sentence *John is tall*, it is impossible to construe the adjective *tall*. If one simply produces *\*tall* as a declarative sentence, this is nonsensical because no one can tell the element it is linked to. To make sense, it has to be connected with a referential argument.

We should also mention that the positions of the different constituents are of prime importance, for these help have an interaction between syntax and semantics. Whether we have attributive, identificational<sup>73</sup>, specificational, or equational predication, the positions of constituents are crucial to form meaningful sentences. If the position of a constituent is violated, the construction in which it is used becomes ungrammatical. Accordingly, constructions like

<sup>72</sup> Schwartz (1993) makes the difference between this type of location and concrete location.

<sup>73</sup> The reader should note that attribute and identificational predications correspond to what is called as predicational sentences by Francis Roger Higgins, *The pseudo-cleft construction in English* (New York: Garland, 1979)

\**John tall is*, \**Dave a teacher is*, \**Chris the winner is*, and the like, are not acceptable in the English language. Not only is the distribution of the different arguments in the right positions paramount but their presence also is compulsory to have a connection between syntax and semantics. Unlike some languages, it is not possible to leave out the copular verb in English copular constructions. This language does not allow examples like \**John tall*, \**Dave a teacher*, etc.

Another kind of construction in which the English copular verb *be* can be found is identificational predication. With such a type of predication, the second argument position is filled by a nominal element. In (60b), the entity *a teacher* that is used to say something about the subject is an indefinite noun; this is related to the occupation or function of the referent of the subject in the outside world. The use of the indefinite noun *a teacher* makes it possible for the hearer to identify what the subject is. It is important to note that in English it is the copular verb *be* that is used to identify a person vis-à-vis their occupation.

Like attributive predication, identificational predication also appears with two argument positions as we can see by the indication of the logical structure of (60b) that is **be'** (Dave, [**a teacher'**]). The first position corresponds to the subject, whereas the second position indicates an argument that refers back to a variable of the subject; this amounts to saying that the second argument in the logical structure does not refer to any other entity that would be different from the subject. As such, the only core argument that can be given a macrorole interpretation is that that stands for the subject. Having *be* as a static verb, the subject is then normally construed as an Undergoer and not as an Actor. In the example *Dave is a teacher*, there is no so-called action *Dave* would perform upon the entity *teacher*; there is merely the expression of a situation in which something is said about *Dave*. Not only is the copular verb *be* non-dynamic but it is also atelic insofar as it makes no reference to a temporal boundary.

The English copular *be* is also used to express specificational predication. Pavey (2004) argues that “in terms of communicative intent, a noun phrase is specific if the hearer interprets it as signifying that the speaker has a particular single referent or set of referents in mind” (p. 11). From this perspective, one can understand that with specificational predication the speaker and

the hearer have a particular unique entity in mind; the “description given in the noun phrase is tied to a particular entity in the mind of the speaker”.<sup>74</sup>

In (60c), the linking verb *be* is used for specificational predication. The entity *the winner* is specific here because the hearer can understand that the speaker has a particular individual in mind. In English, the particularity of such a copular construction is that sometimes if we change the positions of the subject and the second argument, we still have a meaningful sentence. In this sense, DeClerck (1988) states that English specificational sentences are “reversible”, for the variable RP can turn up as subject as well as the predicate nominal (p. 09). Thus, *Chris is the winner* is a meaningful utterance and *The winner is Chris* is a meaningful utterance too. Even though the realization of the two arguments in either the initial or the final position is not paramount here, one cannot create a complete message if one argument is missing from the sentence. For example, utterances such as *\*Chris is*, *\*The winner is* are incomplete in the English language.

With Equational predication, there are constructions in which two entities are equated with each other. As such, the copular verb is placed in between the two entities. For example, in (60d) the entities *Tom's father* and *Jane's brother* are found on the two sides of the copular verb *is*, respectively. This construction makes us understand that if the referent of the element that follows *Tom* is presented as a *father vis-à-vis Tom*, the referent of this very element is also presented as a *brother vis-à-vis Jane*. In English, to convey such an idea, we usually have recourse to the copular verb *be*. The notion of semantic compatibility is crucial because if we use other verbs instead, we may produce either nonsensical utterances or utterances that have nothing to do with equational predication. This can be illustrated by constructions like *\*Tom's father goes Jane's brother*, *\*Tom's father gives Jane's brother*, *\*Tom's father calls Jane's brother*, and so forth.

In this dissertation, we also see it very important to deal with another identifiable copular construction we consider to be a case that needs particular attention as well. This type of copular construction is known as locational predication; this is related to the use of the copular verb *be* with a prepositional phrase to talk about the “concrete location” of an Undergoer so to use

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 09

Schwartz (1993)'s terms. In English, with such constructions, there is usually a prepositional phrase that helps locate the Undergoer in space or in time. The type of location that occurs depends upon the type of preposition that heads the prepositional phrase in use.

In terms of location, the copular verb *be* can co-occur with a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *in* that generally indicates that somebody or something is located inside somebody or something else. For instance, in *She is in Paris* the prepositional phrase *in Paris* shows us the location of *She*. The preposition *in* is very precise in this sense, *She* is not outside, towards or around *Paris* but *She* is inside *Paris*. According to Downing and Locke (2006), these kinds of constructions refer to the notion of containment (p. 548), in other words *Paris* contains *She*. In constructions like this, the prepositional phrase is not a modifier, its use cannot be optional insofar as its absence renders the sentence incomplete as is attested by *\*She is* that cannot be a declarative sentence. The logical structure of (60e) is **be-in'** (Paris, 3sg) with Paris=LOCATION, She=THEME (or Undergoer).

Another spatial preposition that can head a prepositional phrase necessarily realized with the copular verb *be* is *on*. In the case of the *on*-phrase, the Undergoer is located on a surface.<sup>75</sup> Unlike the *in*-phrase, the *on*-phrase is obligatory required by the copular verb *be* if we want to locate something on a surface. Here in example (60e), the element *book* is construed as being on a surface and not inside something. The presence of both the Undergoer *book* and the prepositional phrase is compulsory in order to construct a meaningful sentence. *\*Is on the table* is incomplete and *\*The book is* is incomplete too. Then, the logical structure of *The book is on the table* is **be-on'** (table, book), *table* = LOCATION, *book*=THEME (or Undergoer)

In example (60f) *I am at home*, *at home* signals locational predication. It tells us about the place where the referent of the subject *I* is located in space. The phrase that expresses the notion of LOCATION is headed by the preposition *at* that is paramount in terms of understanding the type of LOCATION that occurs. If we cannot say *\*I am on home* or *\*I am in home*, it is because each of the spatial prepositions (*at*, *on*, and *in*) is not randomly chosen to contribute to the semantic interpretation of the sentence in which each one is used. Following Downing and

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Locke<sup>76</sup>, *at* is chosen in such a situation when we want to talk about a “point in space”. In reality, this is what we have in example (60g). While talking about *home*, we are referring to a point that is located in space.

Whatever the type of copular construction may be, the use of the copular verb *be* is very essential to comprehend the message meaningfully. This verb cannot work on its own, it goes hand in hand with elements without which there is no message or complete idea. The mere realization of the different constituents is not sufficient, the positions they occupy within the construction are of prime importance as well. Even if when talking about meaning linguists automatically think of semantics, one must remember that generally there could not be any possible semantic interpretation if the syntactic rules of particular languages are violated. Something that is accepted by one language may be rejected by another one. Thus, languages may make different choices to convey the same information. Then, if, in English, there are different copular constructions in which there is virtually the same copular verb *be*, it will be very interesting to go on to inquire into the case of Mandinka in the following lines.

Creissels and Sambou (2013) have identified two copular verbs in Mandinka; these are *bé* ~ *bí* and *mú*. According to them, there is no semantic difference between *bé* ~ *bí*, the fact of choosing one or the other is related to individual or dialectal preferences (p. 137). With regard to the distribution of the arguments these verbs are associated with, in this doctoral thesis, we shall show the different types of copular constructions that are realized in the Mandinka language.

- |      |   |                  |
|------|---|------------------|
| (61) | <p>a. Ansumana mú mans-óo le ti.<br/>                 Ansumana COPV king-DEF FOCM OBLM<br/>                 Ansumana is a king.</p>       | Identificational |
|      | <p>b. Faafode le mú num-ôo ti.<br/>                 Faafode FOCM COPV blacksmith OBLM<br/>                 Faafode is the blacksmith.</p> | Specificational  |

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| <p>c. Betenti mú Jáamíndori le ti.<br/>         Bettenty COPV Jáamíndori OBLM FOCM<br/>         Bettenty is Jáamíndori.</p> | <p>Equational</p> |
| <p>d. Díndíŋ-o be búŋ-o kóno.<br/>         Díndíŋ-DEF COPV room-DEF in<br/>         The child is in the room.</p>           | <p>Locational</p> |
| <p>e. Mur-óo be táabul-oo kaŋ.<br/>         Knife-DEF COPV table-DEF on<br/>         The knife is on the table.</p>         | <p>Locational</p> |
| <p>f. Mus-óo be koloŋ-ó to.<br/>         Woman-DEF COPV well-DEF at<br/>         The woman is at the well.</p>              | <p>Locational</p> |

As we can see from the examples above, unlike English, Mandinka does not seem to have any copular construction whose second argument position would be filled by an adjectival predicate. Both the Mandinka copular verb *be* and *mú* are not compatible with an adjectival predicate. For instance, it is not acceptable to produce constructions like *\*Karafa be kíliyaata le*, *\*Karafa be kíliyaa*, *\*Karafa mú kíliyaata*, *\*Karafa mú kíliyaa* in the sense of “Karafa is jealous”; these sentences are nonsensical. If English can use its copular verb *be* with an adjectival predicate to indicate attributive predication, this is not possible in Mandinka that usually has recourse to a construction in which the adjective is verbalized with the help of the *-ta* suffix. This is, for example, the case in *Karafa kíliyaata le* “Karafa is jealous” where we do not have the presence of any copular verb. As such, the information conveyed by the English copular verb *be* in such a construction is held by the *-ta* suffix; its suffixation to the adjective is compulsory if not we will have an odd utterance as is attested by *\*Karafa kíliyaa* “\*Karafa jealous”.

As is exemplified by (61a), it is possible to realize identificational predication in Mandinka. On this subject, speakers usually use the copular verb *mú*. The mere use of this verb is not sufficient to produce a meaningful predication, for it importantly co-occurs with the focus marker *le* whose position is paramount within the construction. Thus, the focus marker is placed after the second argument and before the oblique marker *ti*. This position of the focus marker is what helps make the difference between this type of predication and specificational predication.

With the latter, the focus marker *le* is placed in different position vis-à-vis the second argument as we shall see in this section.

In (61a), the argument *Ansumana* is the element that is identified with the use of the copular verb *mú* and the focus marker *le*. At the macrorole level, *Ansumana* is construed as Undergoer because it is used with a static verb whose meaning does not allow an Actor reading. The second element *mansóo* cannot be given a macrorole interpretation; it is just used to refer to the subject *Ansumana* which it identifies at once. With such a construction, even if there is the appearance of the *-o* suffix at the end of the element *mansóo*, the position of the focus marker *le* helps convey the same idea as the English indefinite nominal predicate.

It is important to bear in mind that the entity *mansóo le ti* constitutes a block from which the absence of any of the three elements will impinge on the incompleteness or meaninglessness of the whole construction. This is the case in constructions like *\*Ansumana mú mansóo ti*<sup>77</sup>, *\*Ansumana mú mansóo le*, *\*Ansumana mú le ti*, and the like. What is valid for these elements is also valid for *Ansumana*, for if this is removed, we cannot form a meaningful or complete sentence as is attested by *\*mú mansóo le ti*. Thus, the copular verb *mú* needs the presence of both the Undergoer and the entity standing for the non-macrorole element to form a complete idea.

In Mandinka, there may be the use of the same copular verb (*mú*) to make both identification and specificational predications; the only difference between them seems to be the position of the focus marker *le*. For specificational predication, this is placed just after the subject and before the copular verb. This is what we can see in (61b) *Faafode le mú numôo ti* where the *le* element appears between *Faafode* and *mú*. The element that importantly helps form cleft constructions is *le*, and it should not be surprising if this appears in such a position for specificational predication sake, for DeClerck (1988) argues that cleft sentences are the most typical instances of specificational sentences.

In (61b), the use of the focus marker right after the subject draws the hearer's attention not only to the subject but also to the definiteness of what the latter refers to. Unlike what occurs in (61a), in *Faafode le mú numôo ti*, *numôo* "the blacksmith" is definite, something that is crucial

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<sup>77</sup> This example can be meaningful if the context prepares the hearer for it. For example, when the speech is considered as a chain and that something has already been said.



to focus on the subject. Chomsky (1971) argues that the value part is the “focus” and the variable part is the “presupposition” of the sentence. Thus, in *Faafode le mú numôo ti*, *Faafode* is the focus, and *numôo* is the presupposition. As such, the position of *le* is very important, for if it is placed just after the second argument, there may be identificational predication instead. In this sense, *Faafode le mú numôo ti* can be understood as “Fafode is the blacksmith”, whereas *Faafode mú numôo le ti* can be construed as “Fafode is a blacksmith”.

The distinction we can make between identificational and equational predications is mainly told from the meaning the second argument presents vis-à-vis the first one. The second argument usually expresses sameness or identity vis-à-vis the first one, and vice versa. Following DeClerck (1988), equational sentences are types of the form “NP be NP” (p. 110), this means that they can be given a reading that can be paraphrased as “NP<sub>1</sub> is the same (person/object) as NP<sub>2</sub>”.

With Mandinka equational predication, there is virtually the copular verb *mú* that co-occurs with the focus marker *le* that occupies the same position as what happens with identificational predication. In our example (61c), there are *Betenti* and *Jáamíndori* that are interpreted as being the same. *Betenti*, NP<sub>1</sub>, is the same as *Jáamíndori*, NP<sub>2</sub>. When one talks about *Betenti* they refer to *Jáamíndori* at the same time, for these two names are identical. In this sense, we can equally say *Betenti mú Jáamíndori le ti* or *Jáamíndori mú Betenti le ti*.

In Mandinka, equational predication can be confused with specificational predication, for, by rule, in this language, the focus marker *le* is usually used to put an emphasis on the element it immediately follows. To avoid making confusion, one can try to see whether the fact of specifying the value for the variable is virtually similar to enumerating items on a list, if this is the case, the construction can then be strongly specificational, or “NP<sub>1</sub> is the same (person/object) as NP<sub>2</sub>”, if this happens instead, the copular construction can be considered as equational. This confusion seems to arise if and only if the focus marker occurs after the second argument, for if this appears just after the first argument, one can take the construction as specificational. If the second argument is not a proper noun or a proper noun like, the interesting thing is that the appearance of the focus marker right after the first argument seems to interact with the definiteness of the second argument, whereas its occurrence after the second argument seems to interact with the indefiniteness of the latter.

Mandinka uses a copular verb known as locative copular; this is *be*, which is different from the copular verb *mú* that is used in identificational, specificational, or equational predication. Like *mú*, the locative copular *be* takes two arguments, and if one among these arguments is missing from the construction there is an incomplete utterance as is shown by examples like \**Díndíño be*, \**be táabuloo kaŋ*, \**Musóo be*. The *mú* copular constructions appear with the focus marker *le* and the oblique marker *ti*, whereas the locative copular *be* co-occurs with a postpositional phrase from which the focus marker is missing. Unlike English, Mandinka uses postpositional phrases with its locative copular verb to express the concrete location of the referent of the subject in the outside world.

To locate the referent of the subject in space, Mandinka usually has recourse to the combination of nouns related to the names of places and postpositions such as *to* (at), *kóno* (in), *kaŋ* (on), and so on. In doing so, the copular verb *be* needs both the presence of the subject and the postpositional phrase to convey complete information. For instance, in (61d), *be* needs both the realization of the direct core argument *Díndíño* and the postpositional phrase *búño kóno* to make sense. In this example, the postposition *kóno* is paramount because not only is its presence compulsory, it also refers to the idea of containment. The type of location that is realized here is not abstract, it is rather concrete. The hearer understands that the referent of the argument *Díndíño* is located inside the referent of the entity *búño* in the outside world. The logical structure of *Díndíño be búño kóno* is **be-in'** (*Díndíño*, *búño*).

The subject is the Undergoer insofar as it is considered as the element whose referent is located in the referent of the entity *búño*. The latter and the postposition *kóno* constitute a non-macrorole, for they cannot stand for the Actor. Therefore, even if the Mandinka locative copular *be* requires the occurrence of two arguments as is indicated by the logical structure, it is important to know that it is M-intransitive. For the structural organization of constituents, the first argument precedes the copular verb, whereas the second argument used with the postposition in the final position follows it.

Still with locational predication, we can understand the location of the referent of the entity subject vis-à-vis the referent of the second argument in a way that is different from the idea of containment. Instead of presenting the first referent of the copular construction as being inside the second referent, the speaker can choose a different postposition to express location in a

different way. Within Mandinka locational predication, one can notice as second argument the combination of a noun and the postposition *kaŋ*. It must be noted that with this, we do not refer neither to a point in space nor to the idea of containment, but rather to the fact that a referent is captured as being on the surface of something else that can be either low or high.

With *Muróo be táabuloo kaŋ*, the location of *Muróo* is not understood in the same way as *Díndíŋo be búŋo kóno*. In *Muróo be táabuloo kaŋ*, the location of the entity *Muróo* is rather on a surface, and the single element that helps make such an interpretation is the postposition *kaŋ*. When this element occurs on its own right after the copular verb *be*, it is meaningless. No one can say what the meaning of a construction like *\*Muróo be kaŋ* is. Postpositional phrases may be used with certain verbs as modifiers but they appear with the Mandinka locative copular *be* to complete the meaning of constructions. The logical structure **be-on'** (*Muróo, táabuloo*) clearly shows that either *\*be táabuloo kaŋ* or *\*Muróo be* is incomplete. With locational predication, the postpositional phrases are not additional elements, they are rather arguments.

Another type of postposition that plays crucial role in locational predication is *to* “at”. Within copular constructions, the use of the element *to* signals that the location of the Undergoer is viewed as a point in space. For instance, in *Musóo be kolonó to*, if *kolonó* is considered as a point in space, it is because this is told from the postposition it is used with. If the M-intransitive verb *be* helps locate the Undergoer *Musóo*, the non-macrorole argument *kolonó to* gives us information such as what this concrete location is like and how the Undergoer is captured vis-à-vis this.

To recapitulate, one should remember that English has one main M-intransitive verb (*be*) which can occur in constructions like attributive, identificational, specificational, equational, and locational predications. Apart from attributive predication that cannot be expressed with the use of Mandinka copular verbs, unlike English, this language boasts two copular verbs that are *mú* used for identificational, specificational, and equational predications, and *be* that is especially used for locational predication. The second argument of the locative copular is mainly a postpositional phrase, whereas this is usually a prepositional phrase in English. In the two languages, the copular verbs require the occurrence of two arguments, an Undergoer and a non-macrorole, to convey complete information.

With the copular constructions of the two languages, the verb and the non-macrorole occupy the same positions, unlike what happens within their M-transitive constructions. Then, they appear with the structure U + COPV + NONMAC; the only difference is that the entity standing for the macrorole is not structured in the same way in the two languages. For example, with locational predication, the non-macrorole argument is presented by a prepositional phrase in English, whereas Mandinka uses a postpositional phrase instead. The second argument of the copular constructions is not construed as a macrorole but the two languages do not allow its absence; this means that they do not accept the structure U + COPV. Even if, in particular languages, verbs appear with arguments that are essential to form complete messages, it is also important to bear in mind that languages use other elements known as non-arguments or modifiers which play interesting role in communication.

### 2.3 Modifiers in simple sentences

Since this study is conducted in the framework of RRG, it must be signaled that, in this section, we shall deal with two types of modifiers: adjuncts and operators. Knowing that their use is paramount in communication, we shall examine their distribution in consideration of some syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic dimensions.

#### 2.3.1 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are optional; they are additional information used in discourse to modify the semantic contents of constructions. An adjunct is different from an argument in that the realization of the latter is required by the main verb, whereas the use of the former is not obligatory. Thus, Cristal (2008) defines an adjunct as “A term used in grammatical theory to refer to an optional or secondary element in a construction: an adjunct may be removed without the structural identity of the rest of the construction being affected” (p. 12). Unlike an adjunct, an argument is used to complete the meaning of a construction. Adjuncts appear in the periphery of

the clause; they are not arguments of the predicate. Adjuncts are normally divided into two groups which are phrasal adjuncts and non-phrasal adjuncts.

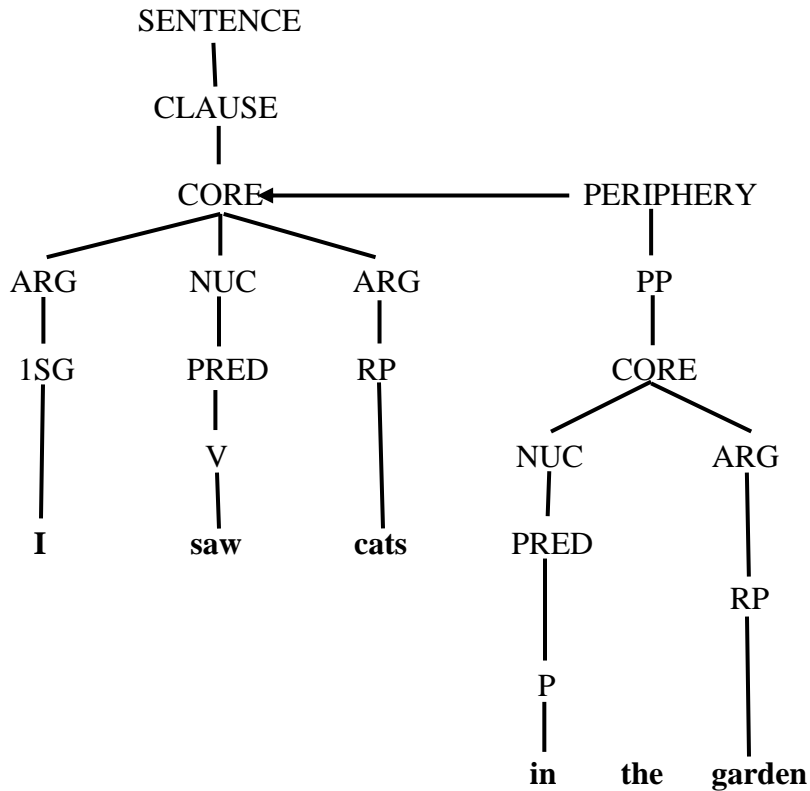
### 2.3.1.1 Phrasal adjuncts

A phrasal adjunct is usually looked upon as an entity that contains additional information without the presence of which the remaining elements still constitute a meaningful utterance that can be analyzed in terms of thematic relations. As we have already mentioned it above, phrasal adjuncts usually appear in the periphery of the clause. They do not really participate but they form part of the setting of the event. In many languages, phrasal adjuncts may be chiefly considered as adpositional phrases used in constructions to give some semantic contributions to core sentences. Then, in this section, we shall inquire into the use of elements that can be analyzed as phrasal adjuncts in both English and Mandinka.

- (62) a. I saw cat-s in the garden.  
 1SG je.PRET ñankuma-PLM P DEF kankaŋ  
 ń́ ná ñankumóolu je kankáŋo kóno.
- b. Tom will come on Monday.  
 Tom FUT naa P teneŋ  
 Tom bé naa la teneŋ lúŋo.
- c. I open-ed the door with a knife.  
 1SG yèle-PRET DEF dàa P INDEF múru  
 ń́ ná dáa yele múroo la.

As we can see from the different examples above, the absence of the entity that appears in the periphery of the clause does not affect at all the creation of a complete and meaningful message. For instance, the absence of the prepositional phrase *in the garden* from the construction *I saw cats* does not prevent this from being complete, meaningful or grammatical.

This is used in the construction to serve as additional information; it is not part of the core as we can see in the following figure.



**Figure 2.2.** Syntactic representation of an English phrasal adjunct

In this figure, only the elements *I* and *cats* are core arguments, if one among them is absent from the construction, this conveys incomplete information. The prepositional phrase that is left appears in the periphery that constitutes a different layer that is used to modify the content of the core by adding to this additional information. As is demonstrated by Figure 2.2., in English, the prepositional phrase is placed in the final position of the sentence. It can also appear in the initial position depending on the type of construction that is made.

In English, it is possible to realize the prepositional phrase in the left-detached position (LPD). For example, *In the garden, I saw cats*, the nucleus and the core arguments are separated from the other elements constituting the prepositional phrase by a comma. What is impossible in

English is the occurrence of a prepositional phrase within the core as is the case with the core arguments. For instance, in the English language, sentences such as *\*I saw in the garden cats*, *\*I in the garden saw cats* are unacceptable. This ungrammaticality is the reason why Van Valin (2005) argues that “English does not allow phrasal adjuncts to occur among constituents of the core” (p. 21). Not only is the phrasal adjunct *in the garden* a non-argument in the core but its occurrence inside this layer makes it difficult to produce an understandable message as well.

It is true that the phrasal adjunct is regarded as conveying additional information vis-à-vis the core, but if this prepositional phrase is analyzed alone, one realizes that it may subsume at least an element that is normally construed as an argument. Like the nucleus in the core, the nucleus in the periphery also needs to be used, at least, with one argument to be meaningful or to be able to modify the core. In this sense, one realizes that if *in* stands alone, it does not refer to anything precise in the outside world as is the case with the nucleus *saw* as well. Then, you just need to attach an argument to this preposition to have an idea even though this is not a complete one. If one says *in the garden*, the utterance is incomplete but the addressee has at least a place in mind, which is not the case if *in* stands alone. In fact, in the image of *in*, with English prepositional phrases, the preposition mostly needs at least the presence of an argument to be able to convey some additional information modifying the core.

We can interpret English phrasal adjuncts as thematic relations. Depending upon the type of preposition that heads the phrase, the concrete location can be interpreted in different ways. For example, the *in* prepositional phrase is about a location that is related to the notion of containment. In *I saw cats in the garden*, thanks to the meaning conveyed by the preposition *in*, the hearer’s mind is focused on the inside of the referent *garden* in the outside world. This additional information may prevent the hearer from asking a possible question related to the place where *cats* were seen.

Besides spatial information, English phrasal adjuncts can also be used to modify the core by expressing temporal information as is said by Van Valin, who writes that “PP adjuncts modify the core when they express temporal features of the state of affairs coded by the core”.<sup>78</sup> This means that instead of locating the core information in a given place, the use of the phrasal adjunct

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 19

may help locate it in time. This is the case in (62b) where the prepositional phrase *on Monday* tells us about the time when the action of coming will happen. This piece of information is not essential for the comprehension of the message, but it may be all the same important for the hearer to know. Unlike example (62a) whose verb requires two core arguments, the verb in (62b) is used with one single core argument. From this, we see that even though the core appears with one argument, the absence of the prepositional phrase does not impinge on the completeness of the construction. *Tom will come* is a meaningful utterance because, even if the lexical verb is M-intransitive, it does not rely on the semantic contribution of a phrasal adjunct to form a complete message. Whether there is a lexical M-transitive or intransitive verb construction, it is important to note that the phrasal adjunct plays exactly the same role that is modifying the information conveyed by the core elements.

In English, a phrasal adjunct can also be construed as Instrument. As such, the prepositional phrase in use is headed by the nucleus *with*. This is what is exemplified in (62c) through which the entity *with a knife* gives us some information that consists in knowing with the help of what the Actor *I* carried out the action of opening the door. In the phrase *with a knife*, it must be noted that the element *knife* is not argument in the core but it is so in the periphery, and this can be understood in the oddity of the incomplete idea *\*with a*. With the absence of the element that is an argument in the periphery, the preposition cannot modify the core on its own as is illustrated by the incomplete example *\*I opened the door with*.

In reality, if we split up the constituents that stand for the thematic relation Instrument, we realize that any idea of Instrument is deconstructed, for the preposition *with* cannot bear this alone and the reference phrase *a knife* cannot do this either. Actually, the typical preposition that goes with an inanimate noun to express the notion of Instrument in English is *with*. The situation in which the preposition *with* disappears is when the Instrument is a subject core argument. In this sense, the Instrument is construed as Actor if the analysis is conducted at the macrorole level; besides, its occurrence is compulsory in order to get a meaningful construction. For instance, there is no *with* in *The knife opened the door* where *The knife* is Instrument (or Actor at the macrorole), though. *\*Opened the door* is not acceptable in English because the subject position that has to be occupied by the Instrument *The knife* is not filled.



English allows the co-occurrence of more than one phrasal adjunct within the same clause. For example, in this language, there can be the realization of two phrasal adjuncts modifying the core by adding to this additional information related to space and time at once. This is the case in the example *Tim will arrive in England on Sunday* in which the two prepositional phrases *in England* and *on Sunday* help the speaker to locate *Tim*'s arrival in space and time at once. Whatever the number of phrasal adjuncts may be, it is important to keep in mind that the deletion of any of them does not affect at all the completeness of the clause. For instance, the fact of deleting the spatial or temporal information *in England* or *on Sunday* appearing in the periphery from the construction *Tim will arrive* does not prevent this from being complete and meaningful. The expression of phrasal adjuncts may be done in languages in different ways, if it is realized in some languages by the use of prepositional phrases, others may have recourse to postpositional phrases. Thus, in the following paragraphs, we shall continue our analysis with the case of Mandinka phrasal adjuncts.

To understand the notion of phrasal adjuncts in Mandinka, one needs to understand the way postpositions work within the periphery of the clause of this language. If English can use prepositional phrases to modify its core constructions, Mandinka makes a different choice.

- (63) a. Amadu ye daa yele Síidi ye múr-óo la.  
 Amadu PF.POS door unlock Sidi POSTP knife-DEF POSTP  
 Amadu unlocked the door for Sidi with the knife.
- b. Kambaan-óo taa-ta kolón-o to.  
 Boy-DEF go-PF.POS well-DEF POSTP  
 The boy went to the well.
- c. Malaŋ ye sub-óo dómo búŋ-o kóno.  
 Malang PF.POS meat-DEF eat room-DEF POSTP  
 Malang ate meat in the room.

In Mandinka, it is possible to make the co-occurrence of more than one phrasal adjunct giving different semantic contributions. In (63a), the postpositional phrase *múróo la* is optional; it is used to modify the core by conveying some semantic information that can be construed at the thematic relation level. This entity is realized in the periphery of the clause, more precisely in the final position. Being a language that is considered as having a fixed word-order, Mandinka does not seem to allow its phrasal adjuncts like this one to occur in the left-detached position. For example, it is odd to use the phrasal adjunct *múróo la* in the left-detached position when it co-occurs with the constituents example (63a) subsumes. In this sense, it is uncommon to find in this language a construction like *\*Múróo la, Amadu ye daa yele Sidi ye*, and so forth.

Mandinka phrasal adjuncts may express different thematic relations depending upon the meaning of the verb in use but especially the semantic information held by the postposition that heads the phrasal adjunct. For instance, to construct the notion of Instrument, this language usually combines a noun and the postposition *la*. On this subject, in (63a) *Amadu ye daa yele Síidi ye múróo la*, *múróo la* is the Instrument, and it is composed of a noun and the postposition *la*. What is important about the formation of this thematic relation is that neither the noun nor the postposition *la* can stand alone to stand for such a relation. Thus, one can easily see that the constructions *\*Amadu ye daa yele Síidi ye múróo* “\*Amadou unlocked the door for Sidi the knife” or *\*Amadu ye daa yele Síidi ye la* “\*Amadou unlocked the door for Sidi with” are meaningless. To have the Instrument as a thematic relation in the final position of a clause, we need the crucial co-occurrence of the noun *múróo* and the postposition *la*. The presence of the Instrument as a thematic relation is not obligatory in the clause but its presence helps the hearer or the reader get further information. Besides this possibility, it is also important to specify that, in some Mandinka varieties, one may also use the structure *níŋ* (with) + *noun* + *la* to signal the thematic relation Instrument.

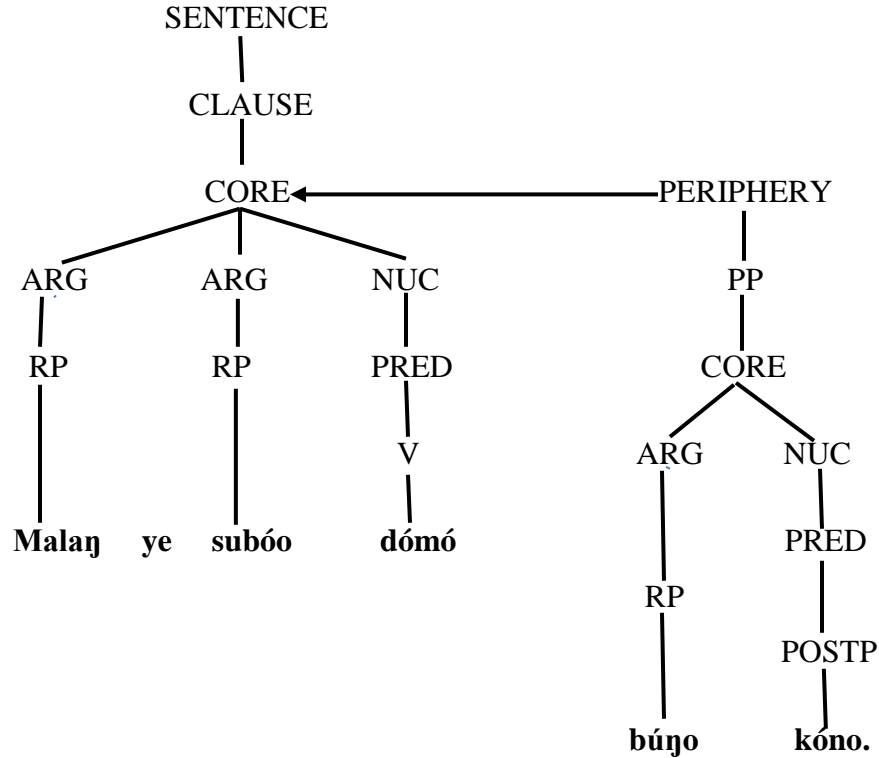
It is worth mentioning that the subject core argument can be Instrument in Mandinka. On this subject, in the initial position of the clause, there is the occurrence of an entity from which the postposition *la* is missing. This is the case in, for example, *Múróo ye daa yele* “The knife opened the door”. With this construction, *Múróo* “the knife” is at the same time Instrument and the subject core argument. At the macrorole level, this is interpreted as Actor. The use of this kind of Instrument is not optional in Mandinka, for its presence is importantly required by the

verb if not there will be a nonsensical construction as is the case with \**ye daa yele*. In such a clause, the Instrument corresponds to a direct core argument.

In Mandinka, the Benefactive relation also may refer to a postpositional phrase whose occurrence is not compulsory in the clause. With this thematic relation, there is the combination of two elements, a noun and a postposition. To have the Benefactive relation, the Mandinka language usually uses a noun followed by the postposition *ye*. This is the case in example (63a) *Amadu ye daa yele Síidi ye múróo la* where *Síidi ye* is the entity that benefits from the action or event denoted by the predicate. The postposition *ye* is the element that is used to show that *Síidi* is the one who is the Beneficiary. The absence of this postposition from the sentence totally deconstructs any idea of Benefactive while affecting the semantic information held by the postpositional phrase vis-à-vis the clause. As such, the overall meaning of the clause can be even affected by such an absence. For example, the absence of the postposition *ye* from a construction like \**Amadu ye daa yele Síidi* “\*Amadou unlocked the door knife” makes this odd.

It is possible to have in Mandinka a phrasal adjunct that is normally interpreted as Goal at the thematic relation. This is expressed through the combination of a noun and the postposition *to*. An entity is assigned Goal when the action denoted by the verb expresses a motion from one place to another. For the phrasal adjunct to be assigned Goal, we must have a verb of motion, if not, the Goal relation may be mixed up with the locative relation. For instance, in (63c) *Kambaanóo taata kolóño to*, if the entity *kolóño to* is assigned Goal, it is because the lexical verb *taa* “go” is a verb of motion, if not, there may be the location instead. In this construction, the use of the postpositional phrase can be left out without impinging on the meaningfulness of *Kambaanóo taata*. The only difference is that the postpositional phrase *kolóño to* is used to give us further information related to the destination of the Actor *Kambaanóo*.

A Mandinka phrasal adjunct can also be used to convey temporal information. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou (2013) argue that Mandinka generally uses the element *to* as spatial postposition (p. 270). Actually, this language combines the postposition *to* with a noun to indicate the concrete location of the core information in space. In doing so, the phrasal adjunct including the postposition *to* is realized in the periphery of the clause and not in the core as we can see in Figure 2.3.:



**Figure 2.3.** Syntactic representation of a Mandinka phrasal adjunct

Like English, Mandinka does not allow the postpositional phrase to occur among its core arguments. This is what can be seen within ungrammatical constructions such as *\*Malaŋ ye subóo búŋo kóno dómó*, *\*Malaŋ búŋo kóno ye dómó subóo*. The usual position of the Mandinka phrasal adjunct expressing spatial information is the sentence initial position as we can see from Figure 2.3. Thus, the appearance of this in any other position may create semantic oddity. The nucleus in the periphery, the postposition, is an element that is paramount in conveying the meaning that modifies the core. This helps the hearer grasp the way the content of the core is presented vis-à-vis the location. For example, the way a hearer understands a phrasal adjunct whose nucleus is *kóno* “in” is different from the way they do with a phrasal adjunct headed by the postposition *káŋ* “on”. Actually, whatever the semantic content held by the nucleus may be, there is the expression of the thematic relation, the Location. Another thing that is worth mentioning about the periphery is that, with the use of the phrasal adjunct, the postposition is constructed with an argument it usually follows.

To recapitulate, one must note down that English phrasal adjuncts are chiefly prepositional phrases that add to the core additional information related to space, time, and so on. In Mandinka, additional information related to space can be expressed through phrasal adjuncts but as far as temporal information is concerned, this language tends to use non-phrasal adjuncts instead. As a nucleus in the periphery, the preposition or postposition conveys semantic information that is paramount in focusing the speaker's mind on something specific. It is important to note that the two languages do not allow phrasal adjuncts to occur among core arguments. In English, phrasal adjuncts can appear in the periphery in two different positions: the left-detached position and the final position of the clause. Unlike English, Mandinka does not normally use its phrasal adjuncts in the left-detached position. Wherever its position may be, a phrasal adjunct can be removed from a construction without affecting its meaning. Both English and Mandinka allow the co-occurrence of more than one phrasal adjunct conveying different additional semantic information. Another important thing about the two languages is that they have different ways of structuring their phrasal adjuncts. If Mandinka uses postpositional phrases, English uses prepositional phrases instead. In the peripheral construction of the two languages, the adposition chiefly requires the occurrence of at least an argument to be able to modify the core. Let us now turn to the case of non-phrasal adjuncts.

### 2.3.1.2 Non-phrasal adjuncts

Non-phrasal adjuncts are non-arguments that are not adpositional phrases. Like phrasal adjuncts, the fact of removing them from constructions does not alter any idea of grammaticality or completeness. In this section, we shall deal with the case of adverbs that are considered in RRG as non-phrasal adjuncts. Unlike phrasal adjuncts that usually occur in the periphery, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) declare that “adverbs are not restricted to the periphery and may modify any layer of the clause” (p. 162). Thus, in the following paragraphs, we are going to analyze the distribution of non-phrasal adjuncts like adverbs in both English and Mandinka, successively.

- (64)
- a. Paul wrote a letter yesterday.  
 Póoli safee.PRET INDEF leetari kúnuŋ  
 Paul ye leetaróo safee kúnuŋ.
- b. She walk-ed slow-ly.  
 3SG taama-PRET domandiŋ-ADVM  
 A taamata domandíndomandiŋ.
- c. He always do-es his work.  
 3SG ADV ke-PSM 3SG dookúu.  
 Wáatí wo wáatí a ka a la dookúwo ké le.
- d. Sam slept here yesterday.  
 3PL síno.PRET jáŋ kúnuŋ  
 Sam sínota jáŋ ne kúnuŋ.

One should note down that non-phrasal adjuncts such as adverbs usually give us extra information about the action, happening, or state captured by the rest of a construction. With the help of adverbs, we can be told about the placement of something in space, time, or the way in which something happens. For instance, in (64a), the non-phrasal adjunct *yesterday* is used to express the placement of an event in the past. Its modification scope is on the core that is considered as conveying information that is related to the past time. In doing so, the non-phrasal adjunct is placed in the final position of the clause, and precisely in the periphery. Like English phrasal adjuncts, English adverbs expressing temporal information can be used both in the final position of the clause and the left-detached position. In this sense, the two constructions *Paul wrote a letter yesterday* and *Yesterday, Paul wrote a letter* are all grammatical constructions; the only difference is that the non-phrasal adjunct *yesterday* is placed in two different positions.

English adverbs of time usually act in accordance with the tense marker that can be expressed through either an inflectional morpheme, an auxiliary, or a modal verb. Such adverbs significantly interact with the operator tense. Even though both adverbs and operators are captured in RRG as modifiers, this does not mean that any violation on their possible interactions would leave the constructions unaffected. If it is odd to produce utterances such as *\*I will do the work yesterday*, *\*Paul wrote a letter tomorrow*, it is because there is no agreement between the

adverb modifiers and the tenses expressed within the two constructions. For each of these constructions to be interpretable, the adverb of time modifying the core by adding extra information to it should be compatible with the time the tense in use refers to.

The extra information is represented in (64b) by the adverb of manner *slowly* that is placed in the final position of the sentence just after the M-intransitive verb. This adverb is used to describe the way in which the action of walking is instigated by the Agent *She*. *Slowly* is used in the construction just to modify the semantic content of the action verb *walk*. It can be used in different positions (initial position, middle position, or final position) with some slightly different semantic modifications. For example, for the use of adverbs in the initial position of the sentence, C. E. Eckersley and I. M. Eckersley (1960) aver that an adverb which “does not normally have front position may have it, usually for emphasis” (p. 263). This means that if English adverbs naturally occur in the final position, it is also possible to have them in the initial position of the sentence. When an English adverb is placed in the left-detached position, its modification scope is generally on the entire sentence. It is then called a “sentence modifier”<sup>79</sup>.

Most English adverbs used to express the Manner are constructed from *ADJ + ly* as is said by Adamczewski and Gabilan (1992). These two linguists draw our attention to the fact that there are few words in *-ly* that are not adverbs in English. This is the case of “friendly”, “princely” but also “early” and “fast” that can be adverbs or adjectives (p. 88). Actually, the Manner as a thematic relation is formed with the help of adverbs of Manner that are mostly adverbs in *-ly*. These adverbs in *-ly* that are modifiers are assigned Manner in order to show the way in which such or such an action has been carried out.

As is already mentioned, besides the initial and final positions, English can also place some adverbs in the middle position before or after the verb. For example, some adverbs of frequency can be used in such a position to describe how often something occurs. In *He always does his work*, the adverb *always* is inserted within the construction before the main verb to tell us about how often the Actor *He* does the job that is considered as being under his control.

Some English adverbs are used to express the notion of definiteness or indefiniteness. In this language, adverbs such as *monthly*, *yearly*, *today*, *tomorrow*, *yesterday*, *tonight*, *weekly*,

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 261

*daily, now*, and the like, are used to refer to things that happen within a particular period in a definite way. Unlike adverbs expressing the notion of indefiniteness, when these adverbs are additionally used in constructions, they indicate that the number of time something happens is specified. In *Mike is paid monthly*, the use of the adverb *monthly* helps the hearer know that the period of time when *Mike is paid* is well defined. As a modifier, the fact of deleting the adverb *monthly* from the construction does not affect its well-formedness but leaves *Mike's* payment indefinite in terms of period of time. Some English adverbs that can optionally be used within constructions to give some modifications in an indefinite way are *sometimes, seldom, normally, generally, never, soon, eventually, usually*, and so forth.

In English, sometimes it is possible to use two adverbs immediately one after another. In doing so, the adverb that precedes is used to modify the one that follows. For example, in *Mat speaks very loudly*, the adverb *very* is used to modify *loudly* so that the hearer can understand that *Mat's* speech is to a great degree of sound. A possible deletion of these two adverbs does not prevent the construction from being grammatical or meaningful. The only difference between *Mat speaks* and *Mat speaks very loudly* is that, because of the addition of the non-phrasal adjuncts *very* and *loudly*, the latter is somewhat more informative than the former.

Not only can some English adverbs modify other adverbs, they can also intensify some adjectives. In this manner, it is possible to modify the meaning of an adjective used in attributive predication by intensifying it. With such constructions, the use of an adverb is optional but the occurrence of the adjective is essential to have a complete utterance. This is the case with *He is extremely handsome* in which the adverb *extremely* is a non-phrasal adjunct, whereas the adjective *handsome* is an argument whose absence will underpin incompleteness. As such, *He is handsome* is complete, whereas *\*He is extremely* is incomplete and nonsensical. Actually, the fact of demonstrating that English adverbs are used to modify different constituents within the clause should be captured in the framework of the position of Van Valin (2005) who avers that adverbs may in fact modify all three layers of the clause (p. 19).

Despite the fact that Mandinka is known as having a fixed word order, the adverbs of this language cannot be given a fixed position in the LSC; they can be realized in different positions depending upon the type of adverb in use. Mandinka adverbs do not have special forms that would make them different from categories such as nouns. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou



(2013) state that most of the deictic and interrogative adverbs have some behavior that is similar to that of nouns (p. 311).

- (65)
- a. *Ñinánj tiy-óo máŋ siyaa báake.*  
 This year peanut-DEF PF.NEG many very  
 Peanut is abundant this year.
- b. *Móo ka kum-óo fó le bíi, sáama a ye a baayi.*  
 person HAB.POS Word-DEF say FOCM today tomorrow 3SG PF.POS 3SG give up  
 One says something today and gives up tomorrow.
- c. *A ko ɲ ɲá í kóntonj a yé kéndé kéndéke.*  
 3SG say 1SG PF.POS 2SG greet 3SG BEN ADV ADV  
 (Lit. He told me to greet you very very well.)  
 He told me to give you his kindest regards.
- d. *A fó Máalaŋ yé a ye í danku a faa-máa la sáayinj sáayinj.*  
 3SG say Malang BEN 3SG PF.POS 3SG answer 3SG father-KM OBL ADV ADV  
 (Lit. Tell Malang to answer his father now now.)  
 Tell Malang to answer his father right now.
- e. *A tú teŋ!*  
 3SG leave ADV  
 Leave it like this.
- f. *Kun-óo tíi-ta fir.*  
 Bird-DEF fly-PF.POS swiftly  
 The bird flew swiftly.
- g. *Jíy-o kandi-ta wíj!*  
 water-DEF hot-PF.POS ADV  
 The water is very hot.

In Mandinka, adverbs of time such as *kínunŋ* “yesterday”, *bíi* “today”, *síninj* “the time to come”, *sáama* or *sóoma* “tomorrow”, *séruŋ* “last year”, *ñinánj* “this year”, *jáari* “next year”, *sáayinj* “now” etc., can occur either in the initial or final position of a clause. In doing so, their modification scope seems to be on the whole clause they introduce or end. For instance, example (65b) can be divided into two clauses, *Móo ka kumóo fó le bíi* and *Sáama a ye a baayi*. In each of

these entities, the adverbs *bíi* and *sáama* occupy the initial and final positions, respectively. With such types of constructions, one could not limit the scope of the modification to one single element; they are rather about the whole constructions. It is the same situation that also happens in (65a) where the adverb *Ñínáŋ* modifies the whole construction in the initial position of which it is realized. In doing so, what *tiyóo máŋ siyaa báake* refers to is located in *Ñínáŋ*. Within the same clause, there is also the realization of the adverb *báake* that modifies the adjective *siyaa* it immediately follows. Like adverbs of manner such as *ndínke* “a little”, *kéndéke* “very well, well”, *bétéke* “well, very well”, *jáwúke* “badly”, *kúuke* “correctly”, etc., the adverb *báake* can be used to modify either a verb or an adjective. In (65a), it is the adjective *siyaa* that *báake* modifies by emphasizing it. Unlike the English adverb *very*, *báake* always follows the element it modifies.

In Mandinka, the same adverb can be immediately duplicated for emphasis sake. With the reduplication of adverbs of manner ended in *-ke*, the first adverb may appear without this ending while the first one obligatorily takes it. In this connection, example (65c) includes the adverb *kéndéke* that is used twice immediately the one after the other. The first form appearing without the *-ke* morpheme permits to put more emphasis on the modification carried by the form taking this inflection. Then, in terms of meaning interpretation, there is more emphasis in *A ko ń ńá í kóntonŋ a yé kéndé kéndéke* than in *A ko ń ńá í kóntonŋ a yé kéndéke*. If English can often use an adverb to modify another adverb, Mandinka opts for adverb reduplication. On this account, besides the adverbs of manner ended in *-ke*, most Mandinka adverbs can be duplicated for emphasis sake. Even the adverbs of time used to modify entire constructions can undergo such a phenomenon. This is what also happens in (65d) where the adverb of time *sáayinŋ* is duplicated to insist on the very moment when the event of *danku* is located. Instead of using postpositional phrases to indicate time, Mandinka chiefly opts for adverbs of time.

It would be very difficult to assign an argument Manner in Mandinka. To capture a core argument Manner, it must normally play the role of either the subject core argument or the object core argument, and what is special about Mandinka adverbs of manner is that they cannot play such a role. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou (2013) state that, unlike adverbs of place and time, the Mandinka adverbs of manner are never capable of playing the roles of the subject and object core arguments. They go on saying that the Mandinka language boasts one deictic adverb of manner that is *teŋ* “like this” (p. 314).

Mandinka have also some typical adverbs that are specialized in modifying specific types of verbs. Thus, according to Creissels and Sambou, some of these categories of adverbs are used to give force or emphasis to the elements they modify; others add more precision to the sense of the verbs they combine with.<sup>80</sup> The particularity of these types of adverbs is that they are not compatible with every type of verb. Most of these types of adverbs are some kinds of onomatopoeias that usually follow the verbs they modify.<sup>81</sup> In (65f and g), the adverbs *fir* and *wíj* are not interchangeable, each one is specific for the type of verb it combines with; as such, it will be odd to make some changes in (65f and g) and say things like *\*Kunóo títa wíj* and *\*Jíyo kandita fir*. *Fir* in (65f) modifies the verb *títa* with respect to its sound, whereas *wíj* in (65g) is related to the heat of the referent *Jíyo*. In the way that most often happens, these types of adverbs follow the verbs they modify.

In short, one should bear in mind that adverbs are not given a fixed position in both English and Mandinka. In the two languages, adverbs are used to modify verbs, adjectives, a whole construction or other adverbs. On this account, if Mandinka opts for reduplication to modify adverbs, English may use one adverb to modify another adverb. If there are some English adverbs that end in *-ly*, there are also adverbs that are ended in *-ke* in Mandinka. The particularity of Mandinka is that it boasts an inventory of onomatopoeias like adverbs whose meanings are compatible with some specific types of verbs they modify.

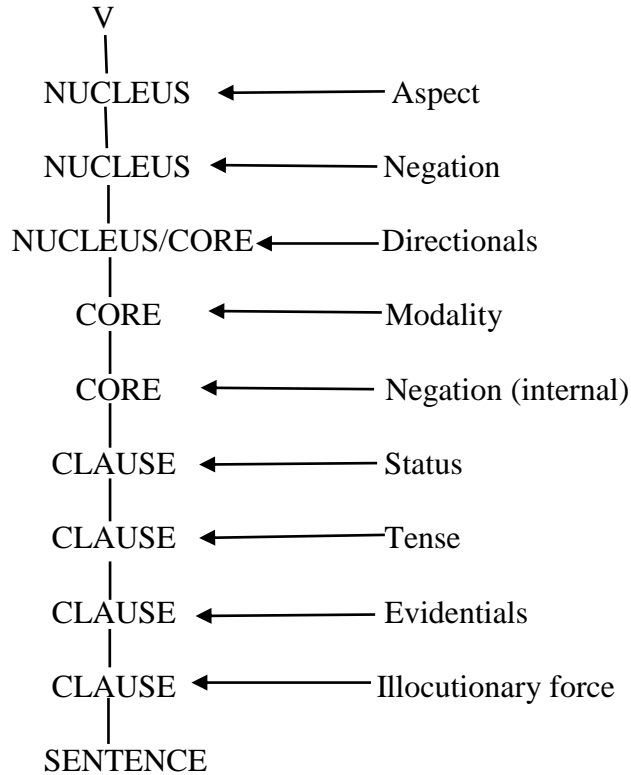
### 2.3.2 Operators in Simple sentences

Operators are grammatical categories like illocutionary force, tense, aspect, negation, and so forth. In RRG, operators constitute a group of modifiers that are used to modify different levels of the clause. Depending upon the type of operator that appears within a construction, different levels such as the nucleus, the core, or the clause may be modified in particular languages as is illustrated by the following figure.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 323

<sup>81</sup> For an inventory of such Mandinka adverbs, see Creissels and Sambou, *Mandinka*, 324-325-325



**Figure 2.4.** Operator projection in LSC<sup>82</sup>

The modifications of these different levels should be understood as follows: nucleus operators modify the action, event or state itself without reference to the participants; core operators modify the relation between a core argument, normally the Actor, and the action; clausal operators modify the clause as a whole. The illocutionary force is an example of operator that may be used to modify the clause (Van Valin, 2005, pp. 8-6).

### 2.3.2.1 Illocutionary Force

In this section, we would like to be interested in the modifications expressed by the different types of illocutionary force of the two languages and the way constituents are syntactically distributed within different types of constructions. Then, before we start dealing with the notion of illocutionary force in both English and Mandinka, let us consider the following definition:

<sup>82</sup> See Van Valin and Lapolla, *Syntax*, 47.

Illocutionary force is an extremely important and universal operator; it refers to whether an utterance is an assertion, a question, a command or an expression of a wish. There are different types of illocutionary force, which means that we can talk about interrogative illocutionary force, imperative illocutionary force, optative illocutionary force and declarative illocutionary force. Every language must have illocutionary force as an operator, because it must be possible to make statements, ask questions and give commands in all languages. (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 41)

Thus, we should clarify that, in this section, we will be dealing with general categories of illocutionary force such as the interrogative illocutionary force, the imperative illocutionary force and the declarative illocutionary force. These types of illocutionary force are pragmatic categories which are concerned about the way the speaker uses the construction when uttering it in a particular context. For instance, if someone utters the clause *Has Mat arrived?*, they have performed the illocutionary act of asking a question to an addressee in the outside world. As such, let us start our analysis by English interrogative clauses.

The interrogative illocutionary force is basically used in particular languages to ask for information even if these languages may have recourse to different constructions. Then, the modification of the interrogative illocutionary force can be captured in English in very interesting ways. Before delving into its analysis, it is very important to specify the types of interrogative illocutionary force that are realized in English. English has basically two types of interrogatives: *yes/no* questions and *wh*-questions. To explore these two types, first, let us give prototypical examples of each one:

- (66)
- a. Did John eat an apple?  
 AUXV Jóoni dómo INDEF pomu  
 Jóoni ye pomoo dómo le baŋ?
  - b. Are your parent-s at home?  
 COPV GEN wuluulaa-PLM P súw  
 Í wulúuláalu be súwo kóno le baŋ?
  - c. When will you leave?  
 Muntuma MODV 2SG taa  
 Muntuma le í be taa la?

d. What did you eat?  
 mũŋ AUXV 2SG dómo  
 Í ye múnne dómo?

Being a *yes/no* question, example (66a) appears with a very interesting structural organization. The simple declarative clause from which it derives is *John ate an apple*. Therefore, the new word that is added to the clause in order to modify it so that it can become interrogative illocutionary force is the element *did*, the past form of the auxiliary verb *do*. Then, *did* is placed in the initial position of the clause to modify the latter's meaning; this means that both the subject *john* and the entity *eat an apple* are preceded by the conjugated form of this auxiliary. When the conjugated form of the auxiliary verb *do* appears to help form a question, the notion of tense is shifted from the lexical verb *eat* and when it disappears the lexical verb gets back the notion of tense while there is a change of illocutionary force.

In (66a), *Did* is an auxiliary verb, for it has been used to help the lexical verb *eat* to put a question or to signal interrogative illocutionary force. With such constructions, the auxiliary *do* is needed to help the lexical verb modify the clause so that the speaker can understand that this is mainly about asking for some information. The position of the different constituents remains the same as in declarative illocutionary force; the only difference is that the operator *do* is put at the beginning of the interrogative sentence while taking the notion of tense from the lexical verb. Besides, the question mark is put at the end of the clause. The structure we have with English simple interrogative illocutionary force with lexical verbs is: the conjugated form of the AUXV *do* + A + M-transitive verb + U + question mark. The structure we have with M-intransitive verbs is: The conjugated form of the AUXV *do* + A + M-intransitive verb + (ADJ) + question mark. The (ADJ) can be an adverb phrase, or a prepositional phrase.

The auxiliary verb in example (66b) may represent all the modal and primary verbs and their behavior when they appear in constructions whose illocutionary force signals interrogative. Therefore, while studying sentence (66b), we are exploring the behavior of all the modal and primary auxiliary verbs within the framework of the interrogative illocutionary force. In example (66b), we see that the conjugated form of *do* is missing and there is interrogative illocutionary force, though. Here the copular verb that is considered the main verb undergoes an inversion to signal interrogative illocutionary force instead of declarative illocutionary force.

With the declarative illocutionary force, we may have *Your parents are at home* in which the subject *Your parents* is normally put in the initial position while the nucleus *are* appears in the middle position. The copula verb *are* (often called an auxiliary verb) and the subject are inverted because as is shown by Galasso (2002), in English, “Auxiliary verbs (and modals) can undergo” such a movement, whereas lexical verbs cannot. To go further, when a modal or auxiliary verb is used with a lexical verb, the element that undergoes the inversion is the modal or primary verb while the lexical verb keeps its position. For example, the interrogative illocutionary force of *You can remember their phone number* is *Can you remember their phone number?* And the interrogative illocutionary force of *She is wearing a new hat* is *Is she wearing a new hat?*

If a modal verb is used with a primary verb, the modal verb is the element that undergoes the inversion while the primary verb keeps its position. To show that, the interrogative illocutionary force of *He can be cruel* is *Can he be cruel?* It is important to note that the appearance of operators in the initial position of the clause signals interrogative illocutionary force. To still continue with the analysis, we would like to go on to talk about the second type of prototypical interrogative illocutionary force that is related to the pre-core slot.

The salient feature with the *wh*-questions is that they are formulated by a variety of *wh*-words (*who, what, where, when, why, which, and how*). “The *wh*-question is identical to the *yes/no* formation except for the one additional element of the *wh*-word”.<sup>83</sup> In fact, the remarkable structural difference existing between the two types of interrogatives is that in a *wh*-question the first element that begins the interrogative sentence is a *wh*-word. After the *wh*-word, there is the same organization as that that occurs in the *yes/no* questions. This is just as well valid for the case of a lexical verb used with the operator *do* as a modal or primary verb used with a lexical verb. To go beyond Galasso’s affirmation, the other difference we can mention is that with the *wh*-question there is an argument that is missing from the construction, whereas this is not the case in the prototypical *yes/no* question. Let us explore examples (66c) and (66d) to see more clearly.

In example (66d) *What did John eat?*, not only does a *wh*-word begin the interrogative clause but there is the occurrence of *do* as well. The pre-core slot usually refers to the element

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

about which the speaker asks information; it may refer to an argument or a non-argument. In the case of example (66d), the pre-core slot involving *what* is used to ask about the referent of an argument and not a non-argument. Then, one would put in the coinciding declarative illocutionary, *John ate something*. In this sense, the element *something* that comes after the M-transitive verb *ate* will be interpreted as a core argument. Unlike (66d), the pre-core slot of (66c) is related to a non-argument.

In English, the pre-core slot may chiefly correspond to a non-argument when this is about some *wh*-words such as *where*, *when*, *how*. With these kinds of *wh*-words appearing in the pre-core slot, the reference is made to a piece of information that will serve as a modifier in the utterance given as answer. With examples like *When will you leave?* and *When did he finish his studies?*, the pre-core slot *When* is used to ask for some information that will be expressed by the realization of an adjunct in each coinciding declarative illocutionary force. Then, the temporal information that will be considered as the answer corresponding to this *wh*-word will be an optional constituent in the declarative illocutionary force.

Like English, Mandinka boasts two types of questions: *yes/no* question and what we call *P*-questions. What is remarkable about Mandinka interrogative illocutionary force is that whatever the type of construction may be, the constituents never appear with an order that is different from that they appear with in declarative sentences (Creissels & Sambou, 2013, p. 435). Therefore, first, let us start exploring the way constituents are organized to indicate interrogative illocutionary force by analyzing the following sentences.

- (67)
- a. Aramata ye máan-óo túu.  
Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound  
Aramata pounded the rice.
  - b. Aramata ye máan-óo túu le bánj?  
Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound FOCM Q  
Did Aramata pound the rice?
  - c. Fó Aramata ye máan-óo túu le?  
Q Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound FOCM  
Did Aramata pound the rice?



- d. Kori Aramata ye máan-óo túu?  
 Q Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound  
 Did Aramata pound the rice?
- e. Kori Aramata ye máan-óo túu ko?  
 Q Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound Q  
 Did Aramata pound the rice?
- f. Muna Aramata ye máan-óo túu le?  
 Q Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound FOCM  
 Did Aramata pound the rice?
- g. (Muna) Aramata ye máan-óo túu le bán?  
 Q Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound FOCM Q  
 Did Aramata pound the rice?
- h. Aramata ye máan-óo túu le ?  
 Aramata PF.POS rice-DEF pound FOCM  
 (Lit. Aramata pounded the rice?)  
 Did Aramata pound the rice?

We have found seven basic ways of asking *yes/no* questions in Mandinka, although Dramé (1981) has mentioned five (p. 95). What is remarkable is that whatever the way of forming a *yes/no* question may be, the order is not different from what happens when the illocutionary force signals declarative. To put a *yes/no* question, we usually need both a question morpheme such as *kori*, *Muna*, *bán*, *fó*, and the *le* element for focalization. The element *le* obligatorily goes with question morphemes such as *Muna* and *Fó* etc., while it is necessarily left out with the *kori* questions. To go straight to the point, we shall see how each of these different question morphemes is used to modify clauses.

In (67b), both the element *le* used for focalization and the question morpheme *bán* successively occur sentence-finally. The picture we form of this phenomenon is that if we combine both the role played by the element *le* and the question morpheme *bán* we get to understand that there is an emphasis about knowing whether the total action expressed by the elements *ye máanóo tuu* has been performed or not by the subject *Aramata*. With this kind of Mandinka interrogative illocutionary force, it is the whole clause that is modified.

About example (67c), we can see that the question morpheme *Fó* occurs sentence-initially, whereas the element *le* used for focalization occurs sentence-finally. In this process, both the subject and the predicating elements are put in between *Fó* and *le*. In Mandinka, if the element *le* is put at the end of the sentence, it shows that the emphasis is on the entire clause. The Mandinka question morpheme *Fó* hints at the fact that what the announcer had as thought or information is different from the message conveyed by the very interrogative illocutionary force. If one turns *Aramata ye máanóo tuu* into an interro-negative question where the *le* disappears, they will better understand what we have just explained. For example, in *Fó Aramata maŋ máanóo tuu?* “Didn’t Aramata pound the rice?”, one should understand through this kind of question that the speaker thought that maybe *Aramata had pounded the rice before* but much to his/her surprise the action does not seem to be accomplished. To be clearer, with the Mandinka *Fó* question, the speaker seems to have a second opinion about the realization or the truthfulness of the message they put into question.

It is important to specify that if the element *le* for focalization that co-occurs with *Fó* is realized sentence-finally, it is because its emphasis is on the whole clause. Its position can be changed depending on the element (it is put at the very right of this element) one wants to consider as the focus of the question, and this movement of *le* is noted in many Mandinka interrogative constructions where it occurs. For example, if we put a question such as *Fó Aramata le ye máanóo tuu?* “Was it Aramata who pounded the rice?”, it is *Aramata* that is put into focus in the question.

*Kori* is a question morpheme that is usually used sentence-initially. We have the *kori* questions in examples (67d and e). In (67d), it is the only question morpheme present in the sentence, whereas in (67e), it co-occurs with the question morpheme *ko* that is realized sentence-finally. According to Dramé (1981), “the presence or absence of *ko* sentence-finally does not bring about any major difference in the meaning” of the *kori* interrogative illocutionary force (p. 96). He goes on saying that *kori* never occurs with the element *le*. These two elements cannot co-occur to modify a clause. Syntactically *kori* takes the position of the subject, the latter follows it and the predicating elements follow the subject. The subject and the predicate have the same structural order as is the case in declarative sentences. Semantically, *Kori* interrogative illocutionary force requires a positive answer according to Dramé.

*Muna* is found in two kinds of interrogative forms in Mandinka. First it goes with the question morpheme *báŋ* that always occurs sentence-finally. With this kind of interrogative illocutionary force, the subject and the predicating elements are put in between *Muna* and *báŋ*. *Muna* is always put in the sentence initial position but its presence is not obligatory, it can be left out while *báŋ* still stays in the sentence final position. In the same construction, another element whose presence is remarkable is the element *le* used for focalization. The occurrence of *le* in a *Muna* question is obligatory but it does not have a fixed position in the clause.

*Muna* can also be used in interrogative illocutionary force where the question morpheme *báŋ* that occurs sentence-finally is left out. In doing so, both the subject and the predicate are preceded by the question morpheme *Muna*. Thus, we have the structure *Muna* + subject + predicate + question mark. For the element *le* used for focalization, we have mentioned that its position usually depends on what the announcer wants to put into focus with the interrogative illocutionary force. In an interrogative construction where *Muna* is used without *báŋ*, if we delete the element *Muna*, we get to have another kind of question in which only *le* is present. It is this kind of question that is realized in example (67h). When asking this type of question, the role of the pitch of the voice is of paramount importance, for this is raising first and falling while ending the question.

Besides the *yes/no* questions, the Mandinka language has a second type of question we call here *P*-questions. As is the case with the *yes/no* questions, in Mandinka *P*-questions, no reordering of the constituents is noted. To better understand this phenomenon, Dramé shows that “If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative words questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an inversion rule” (Greenberg cited by Dramé, 1981, p. 98)<sup>84</sup>.

Mandinka is no exception to this rule, for whatever the type of question may be in Mandinka, there is no change noted from the positions of core arguments. Syntactically, there is virtually no difference in the construction of the *yes/no* questions and the *P*-questions in Mandinka. The difference between the two types is rather a semantic one. The interrogative

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<sup>84</sup> It is derived from Greenberg’s *Universals of Language*, more precisely in the section entitled “Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the order of Meaningful Elements.”

words that help have the *P*-questions are different from those that are used to construct *yes/no* questions. These interrogative words are *jumáa* “who”, *múŋ* “what”, *mintóo* or *muntóo* “where”, *ñáa-díi* or *díi* “how”, and so forth. In these kinds of questions, an interrogative is used to ask about something we do not know and that we want to know, and which the interrogative word refers to in the question. Then, the pre-core slot may refer to an argument or a non-argument in different sentences.

- (68)
- a. Níns-óo ye Saadibu barama a kuŋ-o to.  
 cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 The cow injured Sadibou at his head.
- b. Múŋ ne ye Sadibu barama a kuŋ-o to?  
 what FOCM PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 What injured Sadibou at his head?
- c. Níns-óo ye jumáa le barama a kuŋ-o to?  
 cow-DEF PF.POS who FOCM injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 (Lit. The cow injured who at his head?)  
 Who did the cow injure at his head?
- d. Níns-óo ye Saadibu barama a muntóo le?  
 cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG where FOCM  
 (LIT: The cow injured Sadibou his where?)  
 Where did the cow injure Sadibou?

To see clearer about what we have said about the position of the interrogative words that are used to modify clauses, let us take the examples we have just given and compare each one to the declarative illocutionary force in (68a). In example (68b), *Múŋ* (used to replace objects and animals) is put at the subject position because it is used to replace the element *Nínsóo* that is the subject of the declarative sentence and which becomes the target of the interrogative illocutionary force. From this, we can see that there is no structural difference between the two sentences. With this kind of interrogative illocutionary force, *Múŋ* usually co-occurs with the focus marker *le* (transformed into *ne* because of the regressive assimilation caused by the consonant *ŋ*) that always follows interrogative words immediately. The *le* element used for focalization obligatorily co-occurs with the interrogative words *jumáa* “who”, *múŋ* “what”, *mintóo* or *muntóo* “where”, *ñáa-díi* or *díi* “how”, and it is always put at the very right of these interrogative elements.

In Mandinka, question morphemes such as *ñáa-díi*, *mintóo* are often used to ask about non-arguments. They may refer to elements whose presence is not obligatorily required by the predicate. For example, in *A ye kinóo dómo ñáa-díi le?* the question morpheme *ñáa-díi* and the focus marker *le* co-occur in the post-core slot to ask a question about an adjunct that would be realized in the same position in a construction signaling declarative illocutionary force. In this language, it is important to remember that both the question morphemes *ñáa-díi* and *mintóo* co-occurring with the focus marker *le* can be used in the post-core slot while referring to non-arguments that would express spatial information or information related to the way in which something has been done. In (68d) also, the post-core slot including *mintóo* corresponds to an adjunct in declarative illocutionary force. Thus, if elements such as *ñáa-díi le*, *mintóo le* are deleted from the interrogative illocutionary force, this is left grammatical and meaningful; the only difference is that there is a change of illocutionary force inasmuch as this becomes declarative.

In terms of structural organization of the different constituents within constructions, there is no difference between declarative sentences and interrogative ones in Mandinka. If with the *yes/no* questions the positions of most question morphemes are fixed (either sentence initial position and sentence final position), in P-questions, most of the interrogative words are movable depending on the position of the element of the declarative sentence that becomes the target of the interrogative illocutionary force. In Mandinka constructions signaling interrogative illocutionary force, besides the question morphemes, there is also the occurrence of the focus marker *le* whose presence is paramount in the modification of the clause.

To recapitulate the main points about the interrogative illocutionary force of the two languages, it is important to bear in mind that English *wh*-questions usually appear in the pre-core slot, whereas this is not always the case with some Mandinka question morphemes. In English, *wh*-words like *when*, *how*, and *where* can occur in the pre-core slot while referring to non-arguments, whereas Mandinka chiefly uses question morphemes such as *mintóo*, *ñáa-díi* to ask about non-arguments or adjuncts. Unlike English, in Mandinka, question morphemes co-occurring with the focus marker *le* can occupy different positions within constructions, especially when these are P-questions. One must also remember that if sometimes English uses some auxiliary verbs in the initial position of the sentence to signal interrogative illocutionary force,

this is impossible in Mandinka. The most important thing to know is that whatever the syntactic choices of the two languages may be, there is the whole clause that is modified with the use of the interrogative illocutionary force.

The notion of illocutionary force is an operator that is also related to whether an utterance is a command. In doing so, following Aarts (2001), “Imperative sentences are sentences that are normally interpreted as *directives*, i.e someone is telling someone else (not) to do something” (p. 60). From this definition, we can see that the idea of imperative illocutionary force may often interact with another operator known as negation. Thus, English and Mandinka may modify clauses by expressing the imperative illocutionary force in similar or different ways. The imperative illocutionary force signals the intention the speaker has to get someone else to do/not to do something. We shall start our analysis by dealing with ways in which English modifies its clause with the expression of this type of illocutionary force before inquiring into the case of Mandinka.

- (69)
- a. Clean the room.  
Fita DEF búŋ  
Búŋo fita.
  - b. Write.  
Safee  
Safeeróo ke.
  - c. Don't speak loudly.  
AUXV.NEG diyáamu ADV  
Kána diyáamu báake.
  - d. Shut the door, John.  
Biti DEF daa John  
Daa biti, John.

In English, one can recognize the imperative illocutionary force by the absence of the subject from constructions as can be seen in examples (69a, b, and c) above. The absence of the subject core argument from constructions contributes a lot to the modification of the clause when the illocutionary force signals imperative, an absence that underpins ungrammaticality when there is declarative illocutionary force. When the illocutionary force signals declarative, English

does allow, for instance, constructions like *Clean the house*; *Write*; *Don't speak loudly*; and so on, because of the emptiness of the subject position. When the analysis is conducted at the macrorole level, one must note that the missing element that makes the emptiness of the subject position is the possible Actor. In this language, in addition to the non-realization of the element construed as Actor, the constituent that is interpreted as Undergoer may be left out as well.

In example (69b), *Write* appears with no core argument and it is meaningful, though. To modify this so that it can become a meaningful utterance, one needs to utter it while taking into consideration the stress and intonation. Actually, stress and intonation are very telling inasmuch as they indicate whether the speaker is, for example, friendly, polite, angry, and even aggressive to the addressee. Normally, a construction whose illocutionary force signals imperative is not uttered in the same way as the other types of illocutionary force.

Sometimes when giving a directive to someone, we can put their name in the left-detached position. This helps the speaker to be more specific about the addressee. In an imperative sentence, the missing subject usually refers to *you* that is a person different from the speaker; this can often create confusion when the directive is given in a context where there is more than one addressee. In this sense, we may put the addressee's name in the left-detached position to be more precise. For example, in (69d), *John* is used in the left-detached position to show that this is certainly the person that is being addressed. Thus, the element appearing in the left-detached position is the possible Actor.

In English, the imperative can combine with negation to show that the speaker tells someone not to do something or at least they do not recommend it. To express such an idea, either English mainly has recourse to the operator *do* that is combined with the negation marker *not* or it simply uses a negation word that is usually placed in the clause initial position as is the case with *never*. Under some circumstances, the negation can also follow a lexical verb as is the case in John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address where he urges the American people "Ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country"<sup>85</sup>. In this famous quote, instead of putting *Don't* before the lexical verb *ask*, President Kennedy opts for *Ask not* to draw the addressees' attention.

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<sup>85</sup> John F. Kennedy is the 35<sup>th</sup> President of the United States; his inauguration was held on Friday, January 20, 1961 in Washington, D.C., at the eastern portico of the United States Capitol.

The combination of the operator *do* and the negation marker *not* is put in the initial position of the construction. It is important to note that the combination *do not* cannot follow the lexical verb. Thus, English does not allow a construction like *\*Speak don't*. Another choice that renders a construction ungrammatical instead of modifying it while signaling imperative illocutionary force is the fact of placing the possible Undergoer in the initial position of a construction, or in between the element *don't* and the main verb. In this sense, it is unacceptable to produce utterances such as *\*Spaghetti eat*, *\*Don't Spaghetti eat*, and so forth.

Following Biber and al. (1999), English imperative clauses are also characterized by the absence of tense and aspect markers (p. 220). In fact, with such a construction, the modification is impossible when the main verb appears with an inflection signaling tense or aspect. If tense and aspect are operators that modify some clauses, they render an imperative clause ungrammatical. For instance, among the given examples in (69a, b, c, and d), there is no example whose main verb appears with tense or aspect markers. Their taking such inflections makes them nonsensical as is illustrated by *\*Have cleaned the room*, *\*Writes*, *\*Didn't speak loudly*, *\*Shuts the door*, *John*, and the like.

Instead of telling someone else to do something, the speaker may give directives whose execution they intend to take part in. With such imperative clauses, English chiefly uses the element *Let* it combines with the pronoun *us* it places in the clause initial position. In doing so, according to Eastwood (1994), "*Let's* suggests an action by the speaker and the hearer. *Let's sit outside* means *we* should sit outside" (p. 23). Like what happens with the other types of imperative constructions, it is possible to express the idea of negation with *let* constructions as well. The negation marker *not* is placed just after *let's* so as to indicate that both the speaker and the hearer are required not to do something. The example *Let's not procrastinate* is an imperative clause through which the speaker makes us understand that they should not procrastinate. The negative to the imperative use of *Let* can also be *Don't let's* as is the case in *Don't let's waste any time*. English can use *Do let's* for emphasis, a notion that is conveyed within the example *Do let's get started*.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.



Not only is the imperative illocutionary force looked upon as an operator that is used to modify clauses, but it is important to remember that sometimes constructions related to it appear with adjuncts that are used for modification sake as well. This kind of modification can be done by a phrasal or a non-phrasal adjunct. For example, in (69c), the non-phrasal adjunct *loudly* is used in the clause final position to modify the meaning expressed by the verb *speak*. Because of the semantic contribution carried by the adverb *loudly*, one can understand that the speaker does not prevent the addressee from speaking but rather they would like him or her to do it with a certain degree. The difference in meaning made by the modification of the optional element *loudly* makes that, in the outside world, a hearer would not react in the same way to the imperative clauses *Don't speak* and *Don't speak loudly*. With the former, the speaker asks the addressee not to speak at all, whereas with the latter, speaking is not forbidden but it should be done in a low or moderate degree. Even if the use of adjuncts is optional within clauses, it should be kept in mind that they give additional information that can make a big difference in terms of the addressee's comprehension of the message. After inquiring into some important aspects of English imperative clauses, let us now turn to Mandinka imperative illocutionary force that also presents particular features.

- (70)
- a. Níns-óo biti.  
Cow-DEF milk  
Milk the cow.
  - b. Naa jaŋ!  
Come ADV  
Come here!
  - c. Ali táa wul-óo kóno.  
2PL go brush-DEF POSTP  
Go to the bush.
  - d. Deenaan-óo súusundi, Alimatu.  
Baby-DEF breastfeed Alimatou  
Breastfeed the baby, Alimatou.
  - e. Kána kin-óo dómo.  
Don't rice-DEF eat  
Don't eat the rice.

- f. Í kána duŋ búŋ-o kóno.  
 2SG don't enter room-DEF in  
 Don't enter the room.
- g. Naa baŋ!  
 Come M  
 Come, please!
- h. ŋ ná taa bantáŋ-o kóto.  
 1PL PF.POS go kapok tree-DEF POSTP  
 Let's go under the kapok tree.
- i. Ali ŋ ná alimáam-ôo batú.  
 2PL 1PL PF.POS imam-DEF wait  
 Let's wait for the imam.

Unlike English, what is noticeable with some Mandinka imperative clauses is that the core argument interpretable as Undergoer is usually put in the clause initial position. The main verb expressing the kind of directive the hearer is required to follow is always placed after the possible Undergoer core argument as is the case in the examples above. For instance, in *Nínsóo bití*, the core argument *Nínsóo* that is looked upon as a possible Undergoer precedes the main verb *bití*. In Mandinka, if it is unacceptable to have constructions like *\*Bití nínsóo*, *\*Ali wulóo táa kóno*, *\*Súusundi deenaanóo*, *Alimatu*, *\*Dómo kana kinóo*, and the like, it is because when the illocutionary force signals imperative, the main verb cannot normally precede the core argument interpreted as possible Undergoer.

With some Mandinka constructions signaling imperative illocutionary force, it is important to keep in mind that there is a clause in which there is either a verb only, or a verb constructed with an adjunct that can be phrasal or non-phrasal. For example, in (70b) the verb *Naa* is used with a non-argument that just serves as additional information, which means that it is grammatical to have imperative illocutionary force with the verb *Naa* on its own. This choice is possible because the verb *Naa* is a prototypical M-intransitive verb when it signals declarative illocutionary force. With the use of such verbs in the imperative, it is impossible for the speaker to tell the addressee to react upon a so-called core argument that would be construed as possible Undergoer. An imperative clause constructed with a verb that is normally interpreted as M-

transitive in declarative clauses has in its initial position a core argument that is grasped as possible Undergoer, especially when there is no negation and that the addressee is singular.

As is demonstrated by Creissels and Sambou (2013), it is worth mentioning that in Mandinka imperative clauses, there is virtually no operator the main verb is used with when the construction has no negation (p. 75). Whether the directive is given with the use of an M-transitive or intransitive verb, one should always remember that the co-occurrence of elements such as *ye* and the *-ta* suffix underpins ungrammaticality. With Mandinka imperative clauses, there is a total absence of elements like *ye* and *-ta* that would be captured as tense or aspect markers. Accordingly, one cannot signal imperative illocutionary force with nonsensical constructions such as \**Ye nínsóo biti*, \**Naata jaŋ*, and so forth. The situation in which it is possible to have an operator in an imperative clause is when the speaker wants to tell someone not to do something as is illustrated by example (70e), or when the speaker puts himself or herself in the possible implementation of an action they want to do together with one addressee or more than one addressee.

In (70e), *Kána* expresses negation. It signals to the addressee that the speaker prevents them from doing something in a specific situation. In fact, in Mandinka, the element that is used to express negation with imperative clauses is *Kána*. It can be used both with verbs co-occurring with one core argument and verbs appearing only with adjuncts. For instance, in *Kána kinóo dómo*, *dómo* co-occurs with one core argument, whereas in an example like *Kána taa* “don’t go”, *taa* does not appear with any argument, the only elements that are used with such types of verbs are usually captured as adjuncts. In Mandinka, the speaker can use the element *Kána* to locate the prohibition either at the time of speaking, in a near future, or in a relatively remote future. As such, the context in which the utterance related to the prohibition is given usually helps the addressee to know whether what they are told not to do is about the time of speaking or not. For example, whether (70e) *Kána kinóo dómo* is located at the time of speaking or in the future is well defined by the context in which this utterance is produced. *Kána* expresses prohibition with imperative clauses but it does not seem to be crucial in terms of tense indication.

Unlike English, in Mandinka imperative clauses, when the speaker gives directives to more than one addressee, there is the compulsory realization of the second person plural

pronoun.<sup>87</sup> This is the reason why example (70c) *Ali táa wulóo kóno* has the pronoun *Ali* in its initial position. The occurrence of such a pronoun is obligatory inasmuch as it makes it possible to give directives to more than one addressee at once. In fact, the absence of the second person plural pronoun from the initial position gives such imperative clauses an interpretation that consists in taking the addressee as the second person singular pronoun. When the addressee corresponds to 2SG, the absence of the pronoun from the clause is an obligation if not its presence underpins ungrammaticality. In this sense, examples (70a, b, d, and e) become nonsensical when they appear with the second person singular pronoun in the initial position.

With Mandinka imperative clauses, sometimes, the speaker can put emphasis on the command they give to the addressee. As such, they virtually show their will to see the addressee carry out the action they want them to do. Such an emphasis from the speaker can be made both when the imperative clause is about to do or not to do something. For example, in the case of negation, we can exceptionally<sup>88</sup> put the second person singular pronoun in the initial position of an imperative clause to insist on the command given. In (70f), the pronoun *Í* is realized just to better draw the addressee's attention to the fact that they are firmly asked not to enter the room. The use of the pronoun *Í* in the initial position of negative imperative clauses like *kána duŋ búŋo kóno* is significant because the stress it expresses would be stronger than any other stress. Then, both *Í kána duŋ búŋo kóno* and *kána duŋ búŋo kóno* are correct imperative clauses, the only difference between them is made by the use of the pronoun *Í* in the subject position for stress sake. With the non-realization of the pronoun *Í*, it is worth specifying that the *kána* negative imperative clause can also be stressed by the speaker's way of uttering the message that can indicate, for example, respect, honor, anger, or friendship vis-à-vis the addressee.

Another element that can help to put the focus on an imperative clause is *báŋ*. In this sense, Rowlands (1959) argues that this element “occurs at the end of sentences which are either commands or questions. After an imperative, its effect is to add an element of encouragement or coaxing” (p. 137). In reality, *báŋ* is sometimes used in the final position of a positive imperative clause to indicate that the speaker gently and persistently tells someone to do something. This is

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> The second person singular pronoun does not occur with positive imperative clauses but it can be used with negative imperative clauses from which its absence does not cause any ungrammaticality, it is only used for emphasis sake.

the case with example (70g) where the use of *báy* in the final position helps modify such a clause by indicating that the speaker is being friendly while telling the addressee *Naa*. The use of the modifier *báy* in the final position of some imperative clauses can also show that the speaker looks forward to seeing the addressee carry out what they are told to do.

In Mandinka, the speaker has also the possibility to give a directive whose execution they take part in. As such, they can show their will to carry out the action with either one addressee, or more than one addressee. When the speaker commands himself or herself together with one addressee to do or not to do something, in this language, there is usually a construction that is a little bit different from that that occurs when the speaker tells more than one addressee to do or not to do something. These are the different types of constructions that are exemplified in (70h and i).

In (70h) *ŋ ŋá taa bantáŋo kóto*, both the speaker and the addressee are represented by the pronoun *ŋ* that is normally limited in such a construction, this means that it is normally used to refer to only two people, not more. With a construction like this, the pronoun *ŋ* being always placed in the initial position is followed by the predicative marker *ŋá* whose occurrence is crucial in terms of modifying the meaning of the main verb. This operator is meaningless when standing alone; its use is just for modification sake. We virtually have the realization of the same element with the other type of imperative clause where the given directive concerns the speaker and more than one addressee as can be seen in example (70i). In Mandinka, if the speaker wants to give a directive that concerns himself or herself and more than one addressee, they normally start the imperative clause by the second person plural pronoun *ali* that is then followed by the first person plural pronoun *ŋ*, as is the case in *Ali ŋ ŋá alimáamôo batú*. It is important to keep in mind that the main modification making the difference between the two types of imperative clauses is carried by the pronoun *ali* that is missing in the first type while it is present in the second one.

To sum up the main points, what one should bear in mind is that, in both English and Mandinka, when the illocutionary force signals imperative, the possible Undergoer is not put in the same position. On this subject, the position that is acceptable for the possible Undergoer in Mandinka underpins ungrammaticality in English. English never starts its imperative clauses by a core argument that is possibly construed as Undergoer while this is something noticeable in

Mandinka. About the expression of negation in imperative clauses, if English chiefly uses the auxiliary *do* it combines with the negation marker *not*, Mandinka boasts *kana* that helps express the idea of negation. *Don't* usually appears in the initial position of the clause, whereas *kana* is put in such a position if and only if the addressee is interpreted as the second person singular pronoun. Unlike English, in Mandinka, the second person singular pronoun is never used in the initial position of positive imperative clauses, whereas the occurrence of pronouns such as 1PL and 2PL is compulsory in the initial position for the constructions not to create confusion.

We should also remember that with the imperative clauses of the two languages, we do not have the realization of elements that would really express information related to tense and aspect. Stress and intonation are given a very important place in both languages because they allow the hearer to identify the temper with which the directive is given by the speaker. It is possible with the imperative constructions of these two languages to put the possible Actor in the right-detached position to be more specific about whom the addressee is. We have also demonstrated that a single verb can be used in both languages to help give directives without creating any ungrammaticality. On this subject, the verb being used without any core argument can co-occur with modifiers like phrasal or non-phrasal adjuncts, something that is unacceptable when the illocutionary force of the two languages signals declarative.

In some Mandinka imperative clauses, the speaker can use the modifier *bány* in the final position of a construction to attest encouragement, coaxing, emphasis, and so on, vis-à-vis the addressee. Unlike English, Mandinka can exceptionally place the second person singular pronoun in the initial position of a negative imperative clause to give a command that does warn the addressee not to do something. Another thing that is a particular feature of the Mandinka language is that when the directive concerns both the speaker and more addressees, in the initial position of the clause, there is the use of the second person plural pronoun and the first person plural pronoun, respectively. But to indicate that the directive concerns only the speaker and one addressee, the second person plural pronoun is normally missing from the construction that is then made with the use of the first person plural pronoun followed by *ńá* that also precedes the other constituents. English has its own way of expressing directives that concern both the speaker and their addressees as we have demonstrated by the examples including *let's*.

Imperative clauses are not the same as declarative clauses. A clause is considered as signaling declarative illocutionary force when it is a statement or it declares something that is a piece of information the speaker gives to the addressee(s). Thus, to distinguish English imperative and declarative constructions, these two important grammatical differences can be taken into consideration:

DECLARATIVE

- i a. You are very tactful.
- ii a. They help me prepare lunch.

IMPERATIVE

- b. Be very tactful.
- b. Help me prepare lunch.

The imperative [ib] has a different form of the verb, *be* as opposed to *are* in [ia]. (With other verbs the forms are not overtly distinct, as evident in [ii], but the fact that there is an overt difference in [i] is a clear distinguishing feature.) While *you* is overly present in [ia], it is merely implicit or 'understood' in [ib]. *You* is called the **subject**. It's a major difference between the constructions that subjects are normally obligatory in declaratives but are usually omitted in imperatives. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005, pp. 08-09)

After highlighting the main differences one can identify between these two types of English clauses, we shall go on inquiring into the characteristics of English clauses signaling declarative illocutionary force before exploring those of Mandinka. In the two languages, in terms of usage, declarative clauses seem to be more common when compared with the other types of clauses, for language users' utterances usually correspond to statements or to the transmission of information. The declarative illocutionary force also is looked upon as a type of modification because the speaker's choosing it will impinge on the hearer's interpretation of the received message. A hearer always construes a message with regard to the type of illocutionary force that message signals. To go straight to the point, let us discuss the main features of English declarative clauses in the following paragraphs.

- (71)
- a. We saw John Smith yesterday.  
 1PL jé.PRET Jóoni Simifu kúnuŋ  
 ŋ há Jóoni Simifu jé kúnuŋ.
- b. I don't speak English.  
 1SG búka fó Ankale  
 í búka Ankalekáŋo fó.

In English, we can syntactically recognize different types of illocutionary force as is the case with the declarative illocutionary force. In this sense, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) demonstrate that English has core medial-tense to indicate declarative illocutionary force (p. 42). In examples (71a and b), the fact that *don't* and *saw* appear in the middle position of the core while expressing tense shows that these constructions are declarative clauses. In fact, in English, the appearance of elements expressing tense in the initial position of constructions is unacceptable. If examples like *\*Saw we John Smith yesterday*, *\*Don't I speak English* are nonsensical declarative clauses, it is because the elements bearing tense do not occur in the normal position. An element expressing tense is meaningfully placed in the initial position of an interrogative clause, whereas this underpins ungrammaticality in the declarative illocutionary force.

Unlike imperative clauses, the subject position cannot be empty in declarative clauses. From this perspective, one should understand that what helps modify an imperative clause creates oddity when a clause signals declarative illocutionary force. For example, it is impossible to construe constructions like *\*Saw John Smith yesterday*, *\*Don't speak English* as meaningful declarative clauses. As far as the last ungrammatical example is concerned, it is important to specify that the syntactic structure is not the only means that renders this unacceptable, we also need to take into consideration the prosody that plays a crucial role in the production of most imperative clauses.

Being defined as the making of statements or the transmission of information, declarative clauses can also express denial. This means that the speaker is told about the fact that something is not right or has not happened. Example (71b) is used to illustrate the expression of negation within a declarative clause. Through the clause *I don't speak English*, the hearer comprehends that the speaker is trying to make them understand that between the fact of *speaking English* and



himself or herself represented by the grammatical subject *I*, there is no affirmation. As we have already mentioned about tense, one must note that in English when a construction including negation indicates declarative illocutionary force, the negation marker also normally occurs in the middle position. As such, there is a combination between the element expressing tense and the negative marker.

In English declarative clauses, we may have the left-detached position for pragmatic purposes. On this subject, for example, a phrasal or non-phrasal adjunct can appear in the left-detached position to draw the addressee's attention to something specific while giving the information. For instance, in *Yesterday, we saw John Smith*, the non-phrasal adjunct *Yesterday* is put in the left-detached position to signal emphasis. As such, the addressee receives the information while being well aware of the fact that the speaker is talking about something that did happen *Yesterday*, and not on any other day.

Besides, the left detached position, sometimes, we also have the right-detached position within English declarative clauses. This is the case, for instance, when the speaker places the addressee's name in the right-detached position while giving a piece of information. When a declarative clause is produced in a context where there is more than one hearer, the speaker can choose their addressee by putting their name in the right-detached position. This is what is shown in an example like *She is my daughter, Paul*. Being optional in the right-detached position, the element *Paul* is used to give additional information. Actually, with the use of the addressee's name in such a position, there is the expression of focus, respect, or affection from the speaker.

In terms of structural organization within declarative clauses, in English, we mainly have the structures Actor + Verb + Undergoer + (Adjunct) for the M-transitive verbs; Actor + Verb + Undergoer + Non-macrorole + (Adjunct) for the three argument verbs; Actor / Undergoer + Verb + (Adjunct) for the M-intransitive verbs; or Non Macrorole + Verb + (Adjunct) for the M-atransitive verbs. Depending on the clause pattern, the position each constituent occupies is a significant contribution to the transmission of meaningful information. The speaker's statement could not be effective if they do not put the constituents in positions that do not violate syntactic rules. Actually, English declarative clauses appear with features that can make them striking or particular not only vis-à-vis the other types of constructions but also vis-à-vis the declarative clauses of other languages as we shall see in Mandinka in the following lines.

- (72) a. *Seeni báa-máa ye diŋ saaba le wúlúu.*  
 Seni mother-KM PF.POS child three FOCM give birth  
 Seni's mother has given birth to three children.
- b. *Mus-óo-lu táa-ta lóo-ñin-óo la.*  
 Woman-DEF-PLM go-PF.POS wood-look-DEF POSTP  
 The woman has gone to look for wood.
- c. *Kew-ó máŋ saajíi sáŋ.*  
 Man-DEF PF.NEG sheep buy  
 The man does not buy any sheep.
- d. *Kúnuŋ, móo máŋ táa jée.*  
 Yesterday person PF.NEG go there  
 Yesterday, no one went there.
- e. *Lúntáŋ-o-lu naa-ta le, Karafa.*  
 Stranger-DEF-PLM come-PF.POS FOCM Karafa  
 The strangers have come, Karafa.

Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), Mandinka does not have any specific element whose only use is to signal declarative illocutionary force (p. 427). To find the characteristics of Mandinka declarative illocutionary force at the syntactic level, one can compare this to the other types of constructions like the interrogative illocutionary force and the imperative illocutionary force. Mandinka does generally not allow any word movement in its clauses; thus, it does not accept any inversion process in its declarative clauses. Unlike imperative clauses, it is also important to remember that the position of the subject cannot be empty in Mandinka declarative clauses as is illustrated by the ungrammatical constructions *\*ye diŋ saaba le wúlúu*, *\*táata lóoñinóo la*, *\*máŋ saajíi sáŋ*.

In Mandinka, declarative clauses usually appear with operators that convey information related to tense, aspect and negation. The elements conveying such information never appear in the sentence initial position when the illocutionary force signals declarative. In this language, the type of predicative marker used to modify a declarative clause always tells us whether the

construction is positive or expresses an idea of negation. For example, in *Seeni báamáa ye diŋ saaba le wúlúu* and *Kewó máŋ saajii sáŋ*, we can see that the elements used to signal a positive declarative clause or a negative declarative clause are *ye* and *máŋ* which express the notion of tense at the same time. In Mandinka, it is impossible to realize a negative declarative clause with the operator *ye* used with M-transitive verbs. *Ye* cannot co-occur with the negation marker *máŋ* either; the co-occurrence of these two predicative markers within the same clause underpins meaninglessness. To illustrate this, a Mandinka speaker will have problems understanding the meanings of clauses such as *\*Kewó máŋ ye saajii sáŋ* and *\*Seeni báamáa ye máŋ diŋ saaba le wúlúu*.

We should keep in mind that in Mandinka declarative clauses, we do not have the realization of the same predicative markers when the main verb has an M-transitive reading or an M-intransitive one. With positive declarative clauses whose main verbs are M-transitive, we have the use of the predicative marker *ye* while the M-intransitive verbs take the *-ta* suffix appearing at the end of *táa* in (72b). As far as the negative marker *máŋ* is concerned, it is used to modify both M-transitive and intransitive constructions. For example, in *Kewó máŋ saajii sáŋ*, the M-transitive verb *sáŋ* co-occurs with *máŋ* that is also used to express negation with M-intransitive constructions as is the case with the example *Kúnuŋ, móo máŋ taa jée*. Except for the *-ta* suffix that is put at the end of verbs whose reading is M-intransitive, it is important to note down that the predicative markers like *ye* and *máŋ* always appear in the middle position of the clause, precisely just after the subject core argument.

For some pragmatic motivations, one should be aware of the fact that Mandinka can have recourse to the left-detached position in some declarative clauses to draw the addressee's attention to the very day when something happens. This is what is exemplified in (72d) *Kúnuŋ, móo máŋ taa jée* where the non-phrasal adjunct *kúnuŋ* is placed in the left-detached position to put an emphasis on the very temporal information related to the happening of the action *táa*. Pragmatically, there is a slight difference between a clause where the adjunct *kúnuŋ* appears in the left-detached position and that in which it is put in the clause final position. As such, both *Kúnuŋ, móo máŋ taa jée* and *Móo máŋ taa jée kúnuŋ* are correct declarative clauses, the only slight difference is that, in the former, the speaker puts an emphasis on *Kúnuŋ*, whereas, in the latter, the same element is used for temporal information without any emphasis on it.

Like English, in Mandinka declarative clauses, it is possible to make the realization of the right-detached position to be more precise about the person to whom the speaker wants to give the information. As such, this kind of right-detached position can help the speaker to choose their addressee when there is more than one hearer. It can also indicate affection, respect, and the like, to the speaker as we have already mentioned about English. For instance, the declarative clause *Lúntáñolu naata le, Karafa* is an illustration including the element *Karafa* appearing in the right-detached position. The presence of this element is not obligatory; it is used for pragmatic purposes.

Depending upon the type of verb that occurs, Mandinka has different types of syntactic structures that may signal declarative illocutionary force. In this sense, we chiefly have structures like Actor + PM + Undergoer + Verb + (Adjunct) for the M-transitive constructions; Actor / Undergoer + Verb in *ta* + (Adjunct) for the M-intransitive constructions. The fact of respecting these different structures is paramount, for any syntactic violation may cause difficulties producing a meaningful declarative clause. In this sense, if it is difficult to grasp the meaning of constructions like *\*Seeni báamáa diñ saaba le wúlúuye*, *\*Kewó sán mán saajii*, *\*Seeni báamáa wúlúuye diñ saaba le*, *\*Kewó mán sán saajii*, it is because they do not respect any of the structures we have already demonstrated.

To show the similarities and differences between the two languages within the framework of declarative illocutionary force, we should keep in mind the following main points. The declarative clauses of the two languages appear with the core medial tense. The difference between the two languages is that English tenses are often expressed through inflectional morphemes, whereas, except for its *-ta* suffix, Mandinka usually uses free morphemes (predicative markers) to modify its declarative clauses. As far as the positions of constituents are concerned, English does not accept the realization of the Undergoer between the Actor and the main verb, whereas this creates meaningfulness in Mandinka. Both English and Mandinka use detached positions such as the left-detached position and the right-detached position to express additional information.

In the declarative clauses of the two languages, there may be an overt or non-overt interaction between different operators, which can modify clauses in a significant way. The expression of negation in English declarative clauses is generally done through the combination

of an auxiliary verb (*do*) and a negative marker (*not*), whereas Mandinka boasts a special negative marker (*mán*) that conveys some information related to the notions of tense and negation at once. In particular languages, tense does not interact with negation only, it can also interact with aspect to modify the semantic interpretation of utterances. Thus, in the following section, we are going to explore the tense and aspect operators of the two languages and the modifications these give to different layers of the clause.

### 2.3.2.2 Tense and Aspect

The modifications the operators tense and aspect bring to the different layers of the clause are of prime importance, because if tense helps give utterances a point of reference in the here and now, aspect tells us about the way the speaker sees the action, this means their judgment. Before going further about the analysis of these two operators in both English and Mandinka, we see it very important to evoke the following insightful explanations:

Tense is a category which expresses a temporal relationship between the time of the described event and some reference time, which, in the unmarked case, is the speech time. In the simplest case, tense indicates the temporal relationship between the time of the event and the time of the utterance describing the event. In *John sang*, 'John' did his singing before the sentence was said. If we say *John is singing*, then 'John' is singing at the same time that we are speaking. And, of course, if we say *John will sing*, that means his singing is to be at some future time. Therefore, tense expresses a relationship between the time of the described event and some reference time. This reference time is normally the speech time, though it is not necessarily so. Aspect, another category related to temporality, does not express this temporal relationship between event time and speech time. Instead, it tells us about the internal temporal structure of the event itself. In other words, is the event completed or not? Is it ongoing or recurring? Does it happen all in one moment, or is it extended in time? The main categories which we find in languages are notions like completed/non-completed (usually known by the terms 'perfective' and 'imperfective'), progressive (which is ongoing) and perfect (which is related to perfective but involves the additional notion of 'current relevance'). (Van Valin & Lapolla, 1997, p. 40)

Languages may express tense and aspect in similar or different ways. Depending upon the particularity of a language, these operators may be expressed through the realization of either

some free or inflectional morphemes. To go straight to the point, we shall start our description by English before inquiring into the case of Mandinka.

- (73)
- a. She go-es to school.  
3SG táa-PLM P karaṅbúṅ  
A ka táa karaṅbúṅ to le.
  - b. He phon-ed yesterday.  
3SG kúmandí-PRET kúnuṅ  
A ye kúmandíróo ké kúnuṅ.
  - c. I have clean-ed the bath-room.  
1SG AUXV fitá-PASTP DEF kuu-dúláa  
íṅ ná kuudúláa fitá le.
  - d. He is open-ing the gate  
3SG AUXV yele-PROG DEF dáa  
A be dáa yelóo kaṅ.
  - d. I will tell you the truth.  
3SG FUT fó 2SG DEF tooñáa  
íṅ be tooñáa fó la í ye le.

In fact, English forms its present simple with the lexical base (verb without to) except for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form that normally appears with an *-s* that is an agreement triggered by a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular subject. When the clause signals the interrogative or negative form, there is the occurrence of the elements *do*, *do not* or *does*, *does not* depending upon the case. Actually, the speaker's choosing such a tense helps obtain some modifications that make the addressee comprehend the message in specific ways. Then, to give the different interpretations of the English present simple, Persec and Burgué (2003) argue that the present simple is mainly used to say something about the subject apart from particular situations. In this sense, they demonstrate that depending on the context, it may express habit, a general truth, a permanent characteristic related to, for instance, occupation, appearance, preferences, and so forth; it is also used for new information without any comment, or involvement from the speaker (p. 10).

To locate an event or a situation in the present or past time, English mostly uses some inflections whose occurrence is essential in the speaker's comprehension of the message. The use

of these inflections is of prime importance insofar as they give significant modifications to the clause. In example (73a), the *-es* inflection is put at the end of the verb *go* to indicate that the action is located in the present time. If it is impossible to consider *She goes to school* as expressing something that is completely in the past, it is because the tense operator does not give such a piece of information; what it rather does is help us to understand that *She goes to school* is an utterance used to describe a state of affairs where *she* regularly or habitually *goes to school*. It is important to note that with this present form, the speaker gives a piece of information without their commenting on it.

In English, a specific inflectional form of the verb can also be used to refer to a past action while modifying a clause. To locate something in the past, some English verbs take the *-ed* inflection whose appearance does not depend on whether the subject is plural or singular as is the case with the *-s* inflection signaling the present tense. In example (73b) *He phoned yesterday*, if it is possible to construe the action of calling as being located in the past, it is because this is signaled by the *-ed* form and the time marker *yesterday*; the deletion of the *-ed* form from the verb will cause ungrammaticality as is attested by the odd utterance *\*He phone yesterday*.

Another thing that is also interesting is that the non-phrasal adjunct *yesterday* agrees with the reference of the tense inasmuch as they both refer to a past time that is located on the day before the time of speaking. Most English adjuncts expressing temporal information do not normally co-occur with tense they do not agree with. If *\*He phones yesterday* is as ungrammatical as *\*He will phone yesterday*, it is because there is no agreement between the two tenses and the time marker *yesterday*. They do not have the same reference that is the past. As such, it should be noted that while agreeing in terms of meaning, both the tense and time markers modify the clause in significant ways.

When dealing with the modifications some English tenses bring to the clause, sometimes one cannot help referring to aspect at once, for a speaker may choose tense in consideration of the way they view the situation they want to talk about. One cannot comment on a situation that is located in the past by making a clause whose tense signals future, for there should be a meaningful interaction between the notions of tense and aspect to some extent. In an example like (73c) *I have cleaned the bathroom*, the use of the auxiliary verb *have* and the inflectional morpheme *-ed* help to give a semantic modification from which one can view that the *bathroom*

is clean and that the action of cleaning is considered as being complete. As far as the location of the event is concerned, this is located in the present time but it is important to specify that the action has begun before the speaker produces the utterance; this means that the action of cleaning is not happening at the time of speaking. This is about a period of time that continues from the past until now; and as such, the result is obvious in the present time.

The elements bearing the English tense markers appear in different positions depending upon the type of illocutionary force that is realized. With a construction signaling interrogative illocutionary force, the operator tense may appear in the initial position of the clause as is the case in the closed interrogative *Did John eat an apple?*. Unlike interrogative clauses, an element taking a tense marker cannot appear in the initial position of a clause signaling declarative illocutionary force. About the English clauses signaling imperative illocutionary force, we cannot talk about any position related to tense insofar as these kinds of clauses do not normally have tense operators. Examples like *Clean the room; Write; Don't speak loudly* all appear without any inflection that would express tense. With imperative clauses, there is implicitly or explicitly the expression of time that is the present time.

In English, the *-ing* inflectional morpheme is used with the element *be* to express the continuous aspect. In the types of constructions it is used, the conjugated form of the copular verb *be* heads the predicate while the *-ing* inflectional morpheme it co-occurs with is suffixed to the lexical verb. Together, these two elements help the main verb convey the continuous aspect by modifying its meaning. The English continuous tense expresses that the action *was, is, will be* in progress at a specific point of time or over a period of time. Thus, the use of these two elements modifying the nucleus can be given different interpretations departing from the speaker's point of view.

In example (73d), *He* is the subject and *is opening the gate* is what is said about the subject. We cannot help dealing with constructions like this without highlighting the role played by the two elements *be* and *-ing* insofar as they play the semantic function of modifying the meaning expressed through the bare lexical verb. The use of such forms implies that not only does the speaker give a piece of information but also they comment on it at the same time. Then, because of the usage of the progressive aspect markers, the speaker's views of the state of affairs can be understood in different ways depending upon the context. If the tense markers *be + ing* did



not modify the verb, it would be impossible to construe the clause *He is opening the gate* as something the reference of the subject *He* is in the middle of doing if we follow Murphy (2004), who states that “We use the continuous for things happening at or around the time of speaking” (p. 6). Sometimes, the appearance of this form also demonstrates that someone has started doing something they have not finished yet as is the case in the clause *I am reading a book*. This clause may be interpreted as either the reference of the subject *I* is in the middle of doing the action of reading, or they are not reading at the time of speaking but they have rather started reading a book they have not finished yet.

Another case in which we may find the realization of the English form *be + -ing* is related to the phrase *be going to* whose use shows particular features in the English language. Actually, the co-occurrence of the elements *be + -ing* with the lexical verb *go* triggers different interpretations within different English clauses. In this respect, C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley (1960) argue that the construction *be going to* is used to express intention, strong probability, or the speaker’s certainty that something is going to happen (pp. 166-167). To illustrate these different possibilities of interpretations, one can consider examples like *I am going to write a book*, *It is going to rain today* and *My wife is going to have a baby* that express intention, strong probability, and the speaker’s certainty, respectively.

In English, the meanings of most static verbs are not compatible with the progressive aspect. In fact, a verb takes the form *be + -ing* if and only if it encodes a meaning that refers to a dynamic state of affairs in which a participant does something. If most static verbs do not normally co-occur with the form *be + -ing*, it is because they are used to describe non-dynamic states of affairs. In this sense, English does not allow examples of constructions like *\*I am knowing Tom*, *\*John is being tall*, *\*People are believing in God*, and so on. The nuclei of these constructions cannot be modified by the *-ing* form inasmuch as the speaker cannot consider their meanings as being ongoing or progressive. For instance, in the outside world, English considers it odd to analyze the fact of knowing something or somebody as something one can be in the middle of doing; you either know something or somebody, or you do not know them at all but you cannot progressively know them.

English can use different operators to refer to future actions or facts. English does not have specific ways to locate something in the future time. Besides the well-known future time

marker *will*, both the form *be +V -ing* and the present simple marker are often used to refer to actions that are located in the future time as is the case in the examples *I am leaving next week* and *The train arrives at 8 p.m. tomorrow*. In reality, even if there are many ways to express future actions, it is important to pay attention to the fact that different clauses appear with different interpretations that should be done departing from the speaker's point of views.

Example (73d) includes the operator *will* that is used to modify the said clause. The use of *will* in *I will tell you the truth* helps the speaker to establish, between the two entities *I* and *tell you the truth*, a predicative relation according to which we understand that the referent of the subject *I* is determined or willing to tell the addressee *the truth* at some point in the future. When referring to clauses like this, we often talk about a decision making on the part of the referent of the grammatical subject at the time of speaking, which denotes determination. With such a use of *will*, the determination is in the speaker's (I) mind if we follow C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley who also state that “*Will* is used to express willingness, promise or determination, and it is with this meaning that *will* with the first person is most commonly used.”<sup>89</sup> The use of *will* can also give a clause a modification from which we can come to the conclusion that the referent of the grammatical subject is compatible with the predicative relation.

The modification tense makes within a clause is significant, for with the absence of the markers expressing temporal information, one cannot normally succeed in locating a situation in either the past, or the future. For instance, if constructions like *I phone* and *I tell you the truth* do not refer to either future or past happenings it is because, following Dudman (1985a), “The tense is a piece of temporal information and it is always one of the message's ultimate informational factors, even when the message is a denial” (p. 194). In fact, even when a message is a denial, tense may importantly interact with negation as well. For instance, one may talk about the non-happening of things while referring to their temporal placement. Then, after giving careful attention to the modifications both tense and aspect make vis-à-vis English clauses and nuclei, we shall now turn to the case of Mandinka before showing the similarities and differences between the two languages.

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 165

- (74) a. Kabíríŋ a be Tùbàabùdùu, a ka a báadíŋ-o-lu máakoyi le.  
 When 3SG LCOP Europe 3SG HAB.POS 3SG relative-DEF-PLM help FOCM  
 When he was in Europe, he helped his relatives.
- b. ń ka naa le.  
 1SG PROG come FOCM  
 I am coming.
- c. Betenti-ŋk-óo-lu ka baa le tee.  
 Bettenty-RES-DEF-PLM HAB.POS sea FOCM cross  
 Bettenty people cross the sea.
- d. ń fáa-máa ka búŋ-o-lu le loo.  
 1SG father-KM HAB.POS house-DEF-PLM FOCM build  
 My father builds houses.

To locate a happening that is repeatedly done in the present time, Mandinka commonly uses the operator *ka* about which Rowlands (1959) has written that “In main clauses, it usually has the habitual or frequentative meaning referring either to present or to past time” (p. 80). Actually, the modification this operator makes is not limited to the present time only, when it occurs within sentences referring to past events, it also indicates that something regularly happened in the past as is the case in example (74a). Rowlands has also shown that in some situations, the use of the *ka* operator “may indicate action in progress”<sup>90</sup>, which we have exemplified in (74b) that is about an action the speaker is in the middle of doing. To know whether an utterance including the *ka* operator has a progressive use or a present simple interpretation, one may often need to take into consideration not only the overall meaning of the clause but also the context in which the said utterance is produced.

Even if the *ka* element has different uses in Mandinka, it should be kept in mind that it is commonly known as the marker of what coincides with the English present simple. This element can modify both M-transitive and intransitive verbs; in M-transitive constructions, *ka* following the Actor is separated from the nucleus by the Undergoer while in M-intransitive constructions, it directly follows the nucleus to which the *-ta* suffix cannot be added as is evidenced in a construction like \*ń *ka naata le*. The predicative marker *ka* also appears in clauses from which

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

the Mandinka copular verbs *mú* and *be* are missing, for the co-occurrence of each one of them with such a predicative marker causes meaninglessness.

When it has a present simple usage, the *ka* element is used to express repeated actions such as routines and habits, things that happen repeatedly. It is also used for a fact, general statement or truth. For example, in (74a) *Betentiŋkóolu ka b́aa le tee*, the use of the *ka* operator indicates that the action of *tee* is looked upon as an action that is done repeatedly, for, to travel, islanders usually cross the sea. Unlike the use of the Mandinka predicative markers like *ye* and *-ta*, with the use of *ka* in constructions like (74c and d), the speaker is not interested in whether something is complete or not; they are rather interested in the regular or habitual happening of something. Contrary to what happens in English with the position of the present simple marker with different illocutionary forces, the position of the *ka* element remains unchangeable in Mandinka. This appears in the middle position of declarative and interrogative constructions even though an interrogative construction appears with additional elements such as the pre-core and post-core slots. For instance, in *Juḿaa le ka búŋolu loo?*, the *ka* element occupies a position it would occupy in a declarative construction.

The Mandinka language does have predicative markers that express notions like tense and aspect but it is crucial to pinpoint that the use of such elements within most clauses is not somewhat sufficient to make the addressee understand whether a happening is considered as being completely located in the past or it has some results in the present time. Unlike English, Mandinka operators do not make such a distinction, they are often helped in this function by adjuncts expressing temporal information as is the case in (74a) where we are informed about the location of the event in the past thanks to the use of the non-phrasal adjunct *ḱunuŋ*. Mandinka can also use the past marker *ńuŋ*, which is different from predicative markers, to indicate that an event or situation is located at some point in the past. In doing so, *ńuŋ* usually appears on the right side of the predicate according to Creissels and Sambou (2013), who agree that the expression of the past is barely grammaticalized in Mandinka (p. 82).

- (75) a. Suŋ-ó ye Faatu la níns-óo suũaa kúnuŋ.  
 thief-DEF PF.POS Fatou GEN cow-DEF steal yesterday  
 The thief stole Fatou's cow yesterday.
- b. Foode ye beeyaŋ-o barama.  
 Fóode PF.POS animal-DEF injure  
 Fode injured the animal.  
 Fode has injured the animal.
- c. Aminta táa-ta kúnk-oo to.  
 Aminta go-PF.POS field-DEF POSTP  
 Aminta went to the farm.  
 Aminta has gone to the farm.

As we can see in the examples above, the element *ye* and the *-ta* suffix are not essential in specifying whether the predicative relation is totally located in the past or it has some results or effects in the present time. When they are used with lexical verbs, it should be kept in mind that the context or the use of some temporal adjuncts can play an important role in helping the hearer decide whether the tense of the clause in use should be considered as the past simple or the present perfect. With clauses like (75b and c), we are only told about the happenings of something considered as complete but in reality we are not told about the very locations of those happenings in time. It must be noted that in the choice between the past simple and the perfective tense, time expressions mainly adverbs of time can play an important role. For instance, if we add the adverb of time *serúŋ* “last year” to example (75b), we see that this refers to the simple past. Thus, if the clause *Fóode ye beeyaŋo barama serúŋ* “Fode injured the animal last year” is also considered a past event, it is because this is clearly indicated by the non-phrasal adjunct *serúŋ*.

Mandinka usually uses a special postposition that is put in the clause final position to give a progressive aspect interpretation to the nucleus. This is the postposition *kaŋ*, and it always co-occurs with the locative copula *be* (*te* in the negative) to indicate that something is happening at the time of speaking. With this kind of construction, the locative copular *be* “to be” heads the predicate and the verb it co-occurs with is nominalized through a specification process. Thus, the said nominalized element becomes a verbal noun and describes an action that corresponds to the verb from which it has been derived.

- (76) a. A be safeer-óo kaŋ.  
 3SG LCOP write-DEF PROG  
 He is writing.
- b. ǰ be líiburóo karaŋ-o kaŋ kúnun talaŋ sáyí.  
 1SG LCOP book read-DEF PROG yesterday hour eight  
 Yesterday at 8 a.m., I was reading the book.
- c. I te dúut-óo-lu dómo kaŋ.  
 3PL NCOP mango-DEF-PLM eat PROG  
 They are not eating mangoes.

Depending upon the types of constituents that occur within a clause, the progressive marker *kaŋ* can function both as a past and present progressive marker. It may be used in all kinds of constructions: M-transitive, M-intransitive, affirmative or negative. When *kaŋ* is used with M-intransitive verb constructions, the most striking phenomenon we can notice is that the *-ta* suffix is always missing from those constructions, for it cannot co-occur with the locative copular *be* in such clauses. In fact, the meaning encoded by *kaŋ* is essential in constructions expressing the progressive aspect inasmuch as when it is removed, the notion of progressive disappears and the construction seems to remain anomalous. In this sense, if it is difficult to comprehend the real meanings of clauses like *\*I te dúutóolu dómo*, *\*ǰ be líiburóo karaŋo kúnun talaŋ sáyí*, it is because the progressive marker *kaŋ* is removed from them. It is also important to note that the progressive markers *kaŋ* and *la* following the main verb do not usually precede adjuncts expressing temporal or spatial information. On this subject, it is meaningless to produce clauses like *\*ǰ be líiburóo karaŋo kúnun talaŋ sayi la*, *\*ǰ be líiburóo karaŋo kúnun talaŋ sayi kaŋ*.

Besides the *kaŋ* progressive construction, it should be specified that Mandinka has also another way of marking the progressive aspect. On this subject, this language simply replaces the postposition *kaŋ* by another postposition that is *la*. For instance, (76a) is equivalent to *A be safeeróo la* “He is writing”; (76b) has the same meaning as *ǰ be líiburóo karaŋo la kúnun talaŋ sayi*; (76c) corresponds to *I te duutoolu domóo la*. Like the *kaŋ* progressive construction, with this kind of construction also, the presence of the specification on the verb is of prime

importance, for this helps make the difference between the future and the present progressive. On that subject, Dramé (1981) states that “the only major difference between the present progressive and the future tense is the presence or absence of specification on the verb” (p. 47).

- (77)
- a. A     be   kín-óo   tab-óo   la.  
       3SG  LCOP rice-DEF cook-DEF PROG  
       He is cooking the rice.
- b. A     be   kin-óo   tabí la.  
       3SG  LCOP rice-DEF cook  FUT  
       He will cook the rice.

To show that a situation or an event is located in the future, Mandinka uses the locative copular *be* which normally co-occurs with the base form of the main verb in use, and the element *la* is placed in the final position of the clause. The absence of any *-o* suffix form or sound from the main verb plays a crucial role in the modification of the clause as a construction referring to a future happening. Within such a construction, a small change can make a big difference because, as we have already mentioned it, the presence of any *-o* suffix form or sound at the end of the main verb modifies the clause which ends up an utterance expressing the progressive aspect as is evidenced by *A be kinóo tabí la* that is different from *A be kínóo tabóo la* in the presence or absence of the *-o* suffix.

About the similarities and differences found between the two languages on tense and aspect, we should essentially bear in mind a certain number of things. In fact, both English and Mandinka use different means to express that something happens repeatedly or regularly. If Mandinka commonly uses the predicative marker *ka*, English uses either the base form of the verb or adds the *-s* inflectional morpheme to this. As far as the past tense is concerned, Mandinka does not have any element that can totally help locate an event in the past, whereas English boasts the *-ed* inflection whose modification helps interpret the clause as expressing a past event. Mandinka predicative markers expressing temporal information do not virtually specify by themselves whether an event is located in the past or present time, only the use of certain elements, especially some adverbs of time can help make the difference. English chiefly uses the

form *have -en* to show that an event starting in the past has a link with the present time, whereas it is Mandinka's predicative markers *ye* and the *-ta* suffix that usually express such an idea. In terms of expressing future actions, it is also important to remember that if English has more than one use to locate a happening or a situation in the future time, Mandinka has mainly one usage.

As far as aspect is concerned, it is important to note about the two languages that they express this notion through the use of different means. For instance, to show that an action is ongoing, English uses the *be -ing* form, whereas Mandinka uses either the element *kaŋ* or *la* that importantly interacts with the specified form of the main verb in use. With the use of the *have -en* form with both M-transitive and intransitive verbs, an English speaker often focuses on the result of a complete action in the present time. With Mandinka M-transitive constructions, it is the predicative element *ye* that helps highlight the result of a complete action, whereas with its M-intransitive constructions, it is *-ta* that is used to play such a role. Mandinka focuses on aspect more than English, for the use of its common elements *ye* and *-ta* usually indicates the completion of events whose starting points are not specified throughout time by the said predicative markers.

Besides the operators tense and aspect, another relevant operator whose use gives some modifications to the clauses of the two languages is negation. In fact, this modifier appearing with some striking features will be the subject of study of the section we shall deal with in the following part.

### 2.3.2.3 Negation

Like the other types of operators, negation is also a modifier whose use within a clause gives the latter negative polarity. About the layers negation modifies, Van Valin (2005) shows that this operator is the only one “that occurs at all three levels: nuclear negation has only the nucleus in its scope, core negation has one or more core arguments (and possibly also the nucleus) in its scope, and clausal negation has the entire clause in its scope (p. 9). Particular languages may express negation in similar or different ways. As such, we shall inquire into the use of negation as a type of modification in both English and Mandinka constructions.



- (78)
- a. She do-es not live here any longer.  
 3SG DUM-PSM NEGM tara jáŋ ADV  
 A máŋ tara jáŋ kótéke.
- b. John did not read a book, he read a magazine.  
 John PRET NEGM karaŋ INDEF kitáabu 3SG karaŋ INDEF makasini  
 John máŋ kitáabu karaŋ, a ye makasínóo le karaŋ.
- c. He is un-happy.  
 3SG COPV NEGM-kontaane  
 A máŋ kontaane.
- d. Alfred is home-less.  
 Alfred COPV súw-PRIV  
 Alfred máŋ súw soto.
- e. She told Tim nothing.  
 3SG fó.PRET Timu PRON  
 A máŋ féŋ fó Timu ye.
- f. Don't be honest.  
 AUXV.NEGM COPV tilíŋ  
 Kána tilíŋ.

In English, the use of negative markers can be done to modify not only the whole clause but also some of the constituents it is composed of. In this language, negation is marked by elements such as *not*, *no*, *never*, and so on, or by affixes like *un-*, *-less*, *non-*, *dis-*, and so forth. Depending upon the type of negation that occurs within a construction, sometimes it is the content of a whole clause that is negated with the use of a negative marker. This is the case in example (78a) through which we understand that it is the main information expressed by *She does not live here any longer* that is being negated. The use of the negation marker *not* significantly interacts with the phrase *any longer* so as to express negative information that modifies the clause as a whole. Then, it should be noted that in the case of (78a), there is a denial between the subject *She* and the predicative elements *live here*. While interacting with the

negative marker *not*, *any longer* helps give a piece of information according to which one can comprehend that the referent of the subject *She* lived in the place referred to as *here* throughout time but at the moment of speaking this is no longer the case. When the phrase *any longer* is removed from the clause (78a), the latter presents a different interpretation that can be understood through *She does not live here*; this may mean that even in the past the referent of *She* didn't live in the place the element *here* refers to.

If it is possible to modify the whole clause with the use of negative markers, it is also possible to modify some core arguments. As such, the scope of the negation is not on the whole clause but rather on one single core argument. Thus, in the case of (78b) *John did not read a book, he read a magazine*, the negation scope is only on one core argument that is here the rejected Undergoer *book*. The thing the negative marker *not* is used to negate is neither *John* nor the nuclear *read* but rather the element *book*. Following Van Valin and Lapolla (1997), this kind of negation called core negation is also known as narrow scope negation or internal negation (p. 45). In addition to the use of *not* negating a core argument as is the case in (78b), English can also use the negative marker *no* to realize internal negation. The element *no* is placed right before the core argument it negates as can be seen in *She bought no books*. This is a meaningful construction in which the modification scope of the negation is on the element *books* whose buying is described as being rejected and besides there is the total absence of any other negative marker whose occurrence would cause ungrammaticality. For example, in English, it is ungrammatical to produce an utterance like *\*She didn't buy no books*.

Besides clausal and core negation, English also boasts nuclear operators that are mostly realized as derivational negatives. The element expressing such a negative idea can appear either in the form of a prefix or a suffix. These affixes are used within words to express negative ideas whose scope is limited to the words to which those affixes are added. For instance, in a construction like *He is unhappy*, it is the nuclear *happy* that is modified by the adding of the prefix *un-* that helps convey an idea that is similar to that expressed by *not*; *unhappy* means the fact of not being happy. If there is a prefix that is used in (78c) to negate the nuclear *happy*, it is a suffix that is used to modify the nuclear *home* in (78d). This means that in English it is possible to negate nuclei through the use of affixes which do not virtually make the whole clause negative.

Contrary to clausal and core negations that are somewhat syntactic, one should bear in mind that English nuclear negation is essentially morphological.

In the expression of negation, we make a further distinction between verbal and non-verbal negation. In this sense, to show the difference between these two types of negation, Huddleston and Pullum (2005) state that “The grammatical significance of the distinction between verbal and non-verbal negation is that verbal negation requires the insertion of the **dummy auxiliary do** under certain conditions, whereas non-verbal negation never does” (p. 152). In fact, unlike verbal negation, non-verbal negation is expressed by different negative words we do not normally use with verbal negation. In (78e), the element *nothing* cannot directly combine neither with the operator *do* nor with the lexical verb as is attested by the ungrammaticality of constructions like *\*She toldnothing Tim*, *\*She does nothing tell Tim*. In English, the use of most elements marking non-verbal negation is not compatible with the use of the *not* negative marker. For example, English does not allow clauses such as *\*She does not tell Tim nothing*, *\*I have not never taught Spanish*.

Another particular type of negation in which we are interested is related to imperative clauses. It is important to keep in mind that it is the dummy element *do* that is required in imperative verbal negation. Used in the initial position of the clause, this operator combines with the negative marker *not* in order to tell someone not to do something. Whether there is the use of an auxiliary or a lexical verb in an English clause, there is usually the realization of *do*, something that is not always the case with the other types of illocutionary forces such as interrogative and declarative constructions. In (78f) *Don't be honest*, the element *don't* including the negation co-occurs with the copular verb *be*, a co-occurrence that seems to be unacceptable in both interrogative and declarative clauses. It would be ungrammatical, for instance, to produce utterances like *\*I don't be honest* and *\*Don't I be honest?*.

In English, the element *not* marking verbal negation may occupy different positions depending upon the type of illocutionary force in use. It mostly appears in the middle position of declarative clauses as is the case in *John did not read a book, he read a magazine*; the situation in which it is exceptionally put in the very initial position of such clauses is when there is the narrow scope negation of a word like *everybody* at the start of a construction. In this regard, a speaker would produce *Not everybody can speak good English* instead of *\*Everybody cannot*

*speak good English*. In both English prototypical closed interrogative constructions and imperative clauses, the negative marker *not* is practically placed in the same position that is the end of the first element that occurs in the clause initial position. Whatever the type of illocutionary force may be, it is important to keep in mind that negation is an operator that is used in English to modify different layers of constructions in interesting ways that may be morphologically, syntactically or semantically similar or different from what happens in Mandinka. Thus, we shall devote the following lines to exploring the way Mandinka uses negation to modify different layers of constructions.

(79)

a. A máŋ kayír-óo soto kotéké.

3SG NEGM peace-DEF have ADV

He / She does not have peace any longer.

b. Musu té súw-o kóno.

Woman NEGM home in

There is no woman at home.

c. Aláají búka mon-óo míŋ.

Alhaji NEGM porridge-DEF drink.

Alhaji does not eat porridge.

d. Aminata síina máŋ díŋ wúlúu.

Aminata co-wife NEGM child give birth

Aminata's co-wife does not give birth to any child.

e. Sáajo néné máŋ táama.

Sadio never NEGM travel

Sadio has never travelled.

f. Alamuta mú dookuu-laa kódí-ntaŋ-ó le ti.

Alamouta COPV work-AG money-PRIV-DEF FOCM OBL

Alamouta is a moneyless worker / Alamouta is a poor worker.

g. Bannaa mú musu karam-bál-óo le ti.  
 Banna COPV woman study-PRIV-DEF FOCM OBL  
 Banna is an illiterate woman.

h. Ñíŋ dínđíŋ kúlúu-bálí-yáa-ta le.  
 DEM child educate-PRIV-ABSTR-PF.POS FOCM  
 This child is impolite.

i. Í mán ké féŋ ti.  
 2SG PF.NEG be thing OBL  
 You are nothing.

j. Kána sélé!  
 don't go up  
 Don't go up!

Mandinka mainly expresses negation related to the predicate by using some predicative markers we have already described. In fact, to express denial, this language generally uses elements such as *mán*, *té*, *búka* that may co-occur with others negative elements such as *kotéké* “no longer, any longer, no more, any more”, *néné* “never”, *féŋ* “nothing”, *túusi* “nothing at all”, *féréŋ* “not at all”, and so forth. Mandinka uses the operators *mán* and *búka* with both M-transitive and intransitive verbs, whereas its operator *té* is used to modify the Mandinka locative copular verb *be*. Besides the use of these three predicative markers interacting with possible negative elements, it should also be noted that this language has suffixes such as *-bálí*, *-ntán* that convey negative ideas.

To negate a whole clause, Mandinka uses some of its operators that may combine with elements expressing negative ideas as is illustrated by example (79a). It is important to note that with the use of the modifier *mán* that importantly interacts with the negative idea *kotéké*, it is the essential idea conveyed by the whole clause that is negated. Then, in *A mán kayiróo soto kotéké*, one cannot limit the scope of negation to only one core argument or to the nucleus. Being compatible with the predicative marker *mán*, the adverb *kotéké* makes a modification that suggests that the referent of the subject *A* had had *kayiróo* previously but this is no longer the case. From this point of view, *kotéké* helps make a contrast between the situation or event we had before and that we have at the time of speaking. As such, any removal of the modifier *kotéké*

from (79a) eliminates such a contrast insofar as *A máŋ kayíróo soto* could be construed as *A* has not got *kayíróo* from some point in the past until the time of speaking.

The Mandinka copular verb *be* is not negated in the same way as the other types of verbs. It has a special negative form, the element *te* it does not share with any other verb whose use refers to the present time. With a present time reference, this single operator is not used to modify a clause whose nucleus is exclusively an M-transitive or intransitive verb, let alone the identificational copular verb *mú*. One cannot, for example, negate constructions like *Kalíifa mú ń báadiŋo le ti* “Kalifa is my relative” by saying *\*Kalíifa te ń báadiŋo le ti*, and *A máŋ naa* “He / She has not come” by *\*A te naa*, respectively. As far as *A te naa* is concerned, it is important to know that this is acceptable if and only if it is related to the positive clause *A be naa la le* “He / She will come” that refers to the future time. In fact, the use of the operator *te* is noted with M-transitive or intransitive verbs when these denote actions that refer to the future time. As such, the use of *te* in the negative clause is justified by the co-occurrence of the copular verb *be* and a lexical verb in the positive clause.

There is a special element that is used in the Mandinka language to express denial vis-à-vis an event that is described as happening repeatedly or frequently. This is the element *búka* which makes a modification according to which something does not happen habitually. The form *búka* is available to express negation within a clause whose positive construction will compulsorily include the *ka* operator which signals habit in Mandinka. Then, *Aláají búka monóo míŋ* corresponds to the positive clause *Aláají ka monóo míŋ ne* “Alaji eats porridge”; if *ka* denotes positive polarity, *búka* signals negative polarity. Whatever the illocutionary force may be, the two predicative markers, like most Mandinka predicative markers, appear in the middle position of the clause, right after the subject.

About Mandinka clausal modification, it is always important to remember that the negative marker significantly interacts with the specification of the direct object through the adding of any *-o* suffix form or sound. In this sense, in *Aláají búka monóo míŋ*, the specification of the direct object *monóo* is important because it helps put the scope of negation on the whole clause. Actually, the interaction of a negative marker and the non-specified form of either the subject or the object triggers narrow scope or internal negation. And this is what Creissels and Sambou (2013) seem to suggest when they argue that Mandinka bare nouns in sentences

including a negative predicate are interpreted as the negation of existential quantification (p. 408). Thus, in example (79d) *Aminata sīna mán dīŋ wúlúu*, the bare noun *dīŋ* is construed as the very core element over which the scope of the negation is put. The co-occurrence of the negation marker *mán* and the core argument *dīŋ* signals narrow scope or core negation inasmuch as it is only one core argument that is negated and not the whole clause.

Mandinka does not seem to have what is known in English as non-verbal negation. In reality, this language has elements like *kotéké*, *néné*, *féŋ*, *túusi*, *féréŋ*, etc. that express negative ideas but it must be understood that these elements obligatorily co-occur with the predicative markers helping to negate clauses in different ways. For instance, if it is nonsensical to produce an utterance like \**A féŋ fó*, it is because *féŋ* needs the presence of the predicative marker *mán* to be able to negate the clause meaningfully. If, in English, the counterparts of such elements trigger ungrammaticality when they are used with other negative markers, this is not the case in Mandinka where *kotéké*, *néné*, *féŋ*, *túusi*, *féréŋ* usually require the realization of a negative marker with which they interact to modify the clause. In (79e) *Sáajo néné mán táama*, if the negative marker *mán* includes notions such as tense, aspect, negation and polarity, it should also be noted that the element *néné* makes a modification through which we comprehend that *Sáajo* has travelled at no time. In (79e), both *mán* and *néné* express negation.

Another type of negation we can capture about Mandinka is related to the use of a nuclear operator. Unlike English whose nuclear operators can be either prefixes or suffixes, Mandinka has no prefix that is interpreted as nuclear operator, it has only suffixes. Thus, in this language, we chiefly have the suffixes *-bálí* and *-ntáŋ* which are used to form adjectives with a privative meaning from verbs and nouns, respectively.<sup>91</sup> To illustrate this, in examples (79f and g), *kódí-ntaŋó* “moneyless” is an adjective that derives from the noun *kódí*, whereas *karambálóo* is formed from the verb *karáŋ* “to study”. Unlike English adjectives, it is also important to know that when Mandinka adjectives are used with nouns, they are the elements that take morphological inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu*. For example, in both (79f and g) the *-o* suffix appears at the end of the adjective instead of the end of the noun the former is used to describe. And in case the described noun is interpreted as plural, this is also

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 114-117

signaled at the end of the adjective by the presence of the plural marker *-lu* that follows the *-o* suffix.

In fact, the suffix *-bálí* and *-ntán* are not used to negate the whole clause, they are rather used to negate verbs and nouns, respectively, while changing these into adjectives. With the element *karambálóo* in (79g), the scope of the negation expressed through the suffix *-bálí* is over the verb *karán* with which it is used to have an adjectival use in order to describe the bare noun *musu*. As far as the adjective *kódintańó* in (79f) is concerned, it is paramount to note about this that the suffix *-ntán* negates the noun *kódí* to which it is added so as to say something about the noun *dookuulaa*. The use of such inflectional morphemes does not make it possible to denote a clause negative polarity but they virtually modify the meaning of single elements at the ends of which they appear.

Unlike English, Mandinka can verbalize its adjectives in *-bálí* and *-ntán* by adding to them the suffix *-yaa*<sup>92</sup> (used to focus on the abstract quality of words), and the *-ta* operator that appears at every Mandinka verb whose use is M-intransitive. As such, it is important to keep in mind that the scope of the negation is not only on the verbalized adjective but this can even be extended to the subject it is used to say something about. For example, in (79h) it is true that the scope of the negation expressed by the suffix *-bálí* is over the whole verbalized element *kúliúbálíyáa* but one should not forget that the denial expressed through such an element with the use of the *-ta* operator is related to nothing else but the subject *Ñín dindín*.

If the locative copula *be* has its own negative form (*te*), it should be kept in mind that to express denial within a clause whose nucleus is the identificational copular *mú*, Mandinka has usually recourse to the elements *mán ké*. This is interestingly the co-occurrence of the negative marker *mán* used to express negation with M-transitive and intransitive lexical verbs, and the verb *ké* that means “exist or be”. In reality, the copula verb *mú* does not have its own negative form as is the case with *be*, and the simple use of the negative marker *mán* cannot combine with it either. On this account, it is nonsensical to produce a negative clause like *\*Í mán mú féń ti*

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<sup>92</sup> One should understand that if the *-yaa* suffix only is added to such elements in *-bálí* and *-ntán*, we must refer to them as nominalized elements, whereas the presence of the *-ta* suffix at their ends gives them an interpretation related to adjectives that are verbalized.



“\*You have not be nothing”. As we can see, since the copular verb *mú* is not compatible with *máŋ*, in the place of *mú*, this language uses *ké* that conveys the same meaning.<sup>93</sup>

To modify a clause whose illocutionary force signals imperative, Mandinka presents a special operator that is the element *kána*. This can be used with both M-transitive and intransitive verbs. As far as the two copular verbs are concerned, their imperative constructions are made with *kána ké* for *mú* and *kána tará* for *be*. For instance, we will say *Kána ké náafikóo ti* “Don’t be a double-faced person”, *Kána tará a la kafóo kóno* “Don’t be in his / her group” and not \**Kána mú náafikóo ti* “\*Don’t is a double-faced person” or \**Kána be a la kafóo kóno* “\*Don’t is in his / her group”. It is paramount to bear in mind that the use of the negative form *te* is unacceptable in imperative clauses, we use *kána tará* “be located” instead. In Mandinka constructions, it seems impossible for negative markers and copular verbs (*mú* and *be*) to co-occur, especially when the illocutionary force signals imperative.

Negation is a very important operator that is used to make interesting modifications that play crucial role in the semantic interpretation of utterances produced in particular languages. Thus, we have found that English and Mandinka use negation to modify different layers of the clause in similar and different ways. Both languages make clausal, core and nuclear negation even if they appear with structural differences at different levels. Generally, English uses the negative marker *not* that may interact with other elements to negate a whole clause, whereas Mandinka has *máŋ* that may combine with other elements expressing negative ideas to negate a whole clause. English uses the negative markers *no*, *not any*, and so on, to express core negation, whereas to put the scope of negation on one core argument in Mandinka, the negative markers *máŋ*, *búka*, *té*, etc., importantly interact with the bare form of the very core element on which the negation is centered. So far as the negation related to nuclear operators is concerned, we should essentially note that if English has both prefixes and suffixes that can help negate a nucleus, Mandinka has only suffixes that are mainly *-bálí* and *-ntáŋ*.

Unlike English that also uses the element *not* for its copular verb *be*, Mandinka has special negative markers for its two copular verbs *be* (this is *té*) and *mú* (this is the phrase *máŋ ké*). Mandinka has also a special negative marker (*búka*) to indicate that something does not

<sup>93</sup> In reality, *ké* as a lexical verb means *make* or *do*, and it is in this sense that it is mainly used in Mandinka. It is also often given the meaning of *be* or *exist* as is the case within our study.

happen repeatedly, whereas to do so in English there is practically the appearance of the same general negative marker *not*. In negative imperative clauses, if English uses *don't* which can co-occur with the copular verb *be*, Mandinka has recourse to the element *kána* that is not compatible with copular verbs such as *be* and *mú*.

Actually, operators play a very important role in the modification of different layers of the clause in both English and Mandinka. In doing so, there is an interesting interaction between syntax and semantics in the fact that if there is some violation at one level, this impinges on the other level as is attested by the nonsensical constructions we have shown. Besides syntax and semantics, pragmatics also is often given an important part in the interpretation of utterances. From this perspective, we shall deal with information structure that is related to the interaction of discourse functions and syntactic structures in the transmission of meaningful messages.

### **CHAPTER THREE: THE DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS AND MODIFIERS IN INFORMATION STRUCTURE**

#### 3.0 A synopsis of RRG information structure

Information structure has been investigated through the history of linguistics from different perspectives with the use of similar and different terminologies. In order to avoid confusion in the use of labels and the meanings they are given in this thesis, one must comprehend the way information structure is established by RRG in order to describe languages from this perspective. Talking about information structure in RRG is about dealing with the interaction of discourse functions and syntactic structures in order to capture the process of information flow. RRG's information structure is chiefly based on Lambrecht (1994), who considers this as a component of grammar, more precisely sentence grammar. In this sense, he defines this level of representation as:

**INFORMATION STRUCTURE:** That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 5)

Following Lambrecht, with information structure, there is a correlation between different constituents and the mental representations interlocutors have as interpretations of those constituents (which may be arguments, modifiers, and so on). As far as the component of information structure is concerned, Lambrecht distinguishes two essential types that are the mental representation of discourse referents subsuming important notions such as “presupposition” and “assertion”<sup>94</sup>, and the pragmatic relations including the notions of “topic” and “focus”.

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<sup>94</sup> To get the definition Lambrecht (1994) has given to “pragmatic presupposition” and “pragmatic assertion”, see the paragraphs devoted to information structure in chapter zero.

### 3.1 Topic and Focus

In RRG, it is important to remember that the notion of information structure is based on the distinction Lambrecht (1987) has made between the notions of topic and focus. In the theory developed by Lambrecht, information structure is mainly composed of two statuses in which informational units may be. From this point of view, one can understand that depending upon the construction that occurs, an informational unit corresponding to an argument, a predicate (including constituents such as arguments and modifiers), or a prepositional phrase (possibly a modifier) can be the topic or the focus of a sentence. Whether an element is topical or focal may be defined by either some syntactic, morphological or even prosodic information depending on the language in use.

The notions of topic and focus can be understood in the following ways: “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 131). And so far as focus is concerned, he has argued that this is “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”<sup>95</sup>. Still to clarify what a focus is, Jackendoff (1972) also defines it as “the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer” (p. 230). In fact, the focus of a construction is construed as a piece of information that is added or changed, and which is in contrast to what is already in the speaker’s mind, whereas the topic of a sentence is a piece of information that is presupposed to be already shared by both the speaker and the addressee. As such, we shall inquire into the question of whether elements conveying focal or topical information can coincide with arguments or modifiers in English and Mandinka.

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 213

### 3.2.1 Topic constructions in English and Mandinka

It is important to remember that different languages may express or mark topic in similar or different ways. Then, to realize topic, languages have recourse to means such as word-order, morphological marking, prosody, and so forth. In this sense, in the following paragraphs, first, we shall start by exploring the kinds of constituents (especially arguments and modifiers) that coincide with the notion of topic in English before analyzing what happens in Mandinka.

- (80)                   The dog bit a           cat.  
                           DEF wulu kíj INDEF ñaŋkúma  
                           Wulóo ye ñaŋkúmôo kíj.

In the example above, the element about which something is said is a core argument placed in the clause initial position, and if the analysis is conducted with regard to the macrorole level, this same core argument is also construed as Actor. This means that in English, not only can the topic (a core argument) coincide with the subject but also with the Actor if the analysis is conducted from different angles. Actually, within example (80), the hearer’s attention is drawn to the specified core argument *dog* about which some new information is provided. The referent of this core argument is the presupposition insofar as it conveys a piece of information that is shared by both the speaker and the hearer. As such, the subject *The dog* uttered with a rising intonation expresses “old information” about which “new information” expressed through the predicate *bit a cat* that can also be looked upon as a comment as is argued in the statement below:

The stereotypical expression of topic (in English at any rate) is as a subject NP carrying its own intonation contour. The stereotypical information structure in English divides the sentence into the topic, consisting of the subject, and the *comment*, consisting of the verb phrase (or predicate). The topic introduces what the speaker is talking about and the comment says what there is to say about it. (Jackendoff, 2002, p. 412).

In reality, the usual position of an English core argument interpreted as topic is the construction initial position and the fact of placing such an element in certain positions may impinge on the possibility of conveying any topical information. For instance, in the ungrammatical construction *\*bit the dog a cat*, if it is difficult to identify the element about which something is said, it is because there is a syntactic violation in it. Furthermore, we have even a problem finding out the topic of the construction. To understand information structure, one must importantly take into consideration the order in which different constituents occur in the clause, for the fact of using a constituent in a position that is not accepted by the syntactic rules of a particular language impinges on the hearer's understanding or interpretation of the message. The usual position of the topic is the sentence initial position as seems to be pointed out by Halliday (1967), who argues that the topic (theme in his terminology) is basically what comes first in the clause; it is what is being talked about, the point of departure for the clause as a message (p. 212).

Following Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) "Topics either name a topic referent in the discourse, or they are simply involved in the expression of a semantic relation between a topic referent and a predication" (p. 204). From this point of view, we can say that even if the topic of a construction usually corresponds to the grammatical subject in English, this does not mean that there is no other possibility of topic expression. The truth is that the topic does not always coincide with the subject, and besides it is not an obligation for a topic to be in a direct relationship with the verb. For example, in English, it is sometimes possible to have a modifier as topic. In doing so, this modifier is realized in the left-detached position of the construction in use as is exemplified in (81) below.

- (81)           As for Bill, I will like him.  
           ADV P Bill 1SG FUT láfi 3SG  
           ń be láfi la Bill wo la le.

In the example *As for Bill, I will like him*, the left-detached position *As for Bill* introducing the construction is the element about which something is said; this entity is the topic. What is also interesting to mention about such a construction is that *Bill* appearing in the *as for* entity has the same referent as *him* placed in the final position of the clause. Jackendoff (2002) states that "the clearest expression of topic in English is the *as for* phrase that introduces a sentence" (p. 412). This is true inasmuch as, sometimes, a subject can be focal rather than topical. Following

Jackendoff, with an example like *PAT went to the party*, one cannot take *PAT* as topic because this is focal rather than topical. In fact, with cases like this, it is important to take into consideration the prosodic feature that can help the addressee decide whether a core argument is rather about the topic or the focus. The fact of interpreting the core argument *PAT* as receiving a narrow focus is paramount inasmuch as this helps to convey an idea according to which no other person went to the party but *PAT*.

The difference between constructions like (80) and (81) is that when the former signaling a declarative illocutionary force appears without the entity construed as topic, the remaining entity becomes an ungrammatical utterance, whereas the absence of the topic element in the latter does not cause any oddity in terms of making sense. As such, *\*bit a cat* signaling a declarative illocutionary force is a meaningless construction without any core argument available for topical interpretation. Now, when it comes to leaving out the modifier *As for Bill* from (81), we realize that this does not affect at all the ungrammaticality of the remaining entity that is *I will like him*.

Besides the *as for* phrase, it should be specified that there are also other expressions such as *regarding*, *speaking of*, *talking of*, marking topic in English. This is the case in an example like *Regarding the course, I will cancel it*. As is the case with the *as for* phrase, with these kinds of elements also, “the constituent containing the topic-expression functions syntactically as adjunct” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1371). Then, the use of *Regarding the course* in the initial position of the clause is something optional insofar as *I will cancel it* is meaningful and complete on its own. Therefore, being the topic of the utterance, the phrase *Regarding the course* is also used to modify the whole utterance.

When used with an element construed as topic, the English definite article *the* plays an important role in the expression of presupposition (old information). This article is compatible with the notion of presupposition because either it is often used to signal something that has already been mentioned in discourse, or it is related to something known by both the speaker and the hearer. English uses most constituents expressing old information with definiteness, whereas new information may go with indefiniteness. For example, with *The dog bit a cat*, the speaker uses the definite article *The* before the element *dog* in order to indicate that this is known. As for the assertion *bit a cat*, this includes an indefinite article that is also used to present new information. In *The dog bit a cat*, both *the dog* (the topic) and *a cat* (a constituent of the focus)

are core arguments. To recapitulate, even if in English the topic correlates with the subject (a core argument), one should also keep in mind that this language can use adjunct modifiers as topics. Thus, to know about what happens in Mandinka, let us devote the following paragraphs to exploring the types of constituents the topic of this language coincides with.

Mandinka is a language in which the movement of words is not something frequent. This language usually places its grammatical subject interpretable as topic in the initial position of constructions so as to say something about such an element. Then, even if the word order of this language is fixed with most constructions, it is also important to keep in mind that a speaker can often choose to realize certain constituents in detached positions for some pragmatic motivations. As we have demonstrated it with English, we shall also try to capture, in the following lines, the kinds of constituents (whether an argument or a modifier) that may coincide with a topic in the Mandinka language.

(82)

a. Mus-óo-lu            ye    mǎríséw-o lóo.

Woman-DEF-PLM   PF.POS   market-DEF   build

Women have built a market.

b. Kew-ó    ye    yír-óo boyi.

Man-DEF   POS.PF   tree-DEF   fell

The man has felled the tree.

c. Sunkut-óo ñiŋ, a    be    kaccaa kaŋ wo    le    la.

girl-DEF   DEM 3SG COPV   talk    on   DEM FOCM OBL

(Lit. That girl, he/she is talking about)

That girl is whom she/he is talking.

d. Ka duwáa móo-lu    ye,    wo    mu    kúu kend-óo    le    ti.

INF   pray   person-PLM   BEN   DEM   IDCOP   thing good-DEF   FOCM   OBL

(Lit. Praying for people, this is a good thing.)

Praying for people is a good thing.



As is the case with English, Mandinka's topic may coincide with a core argument that appears in the clause initial position as is the case in (82a). In such a construction, the core argument *Musóolu* has a referent that can be identified by both the speaker and the addressee. With the use of the constituent *Musóolu*, the speaker believes that the addressee has the accessible information available to them to know the referent of this core argument. In examples (82a and b), not only does the topic correlate with the subject but it can also be interpreted as Actor at the macrorole level. In fact, *Musóolu* expresses "old information" about which "new information" is given; to be specific, the assertion is expressed through the entities *ye mǎríséwo lóo* and *ye yíróo boyi* in (82a and b), respectively.

Mandinka clearly makes the difference between the expression of the idea of topic and that of focus insofar as the topic may not need the occurrence of the focus marker *le*, whereas this is compulsory if the speaker wants to draw the addressee's attention to a piece of information. It seems that the absence of the focus marker *le* from constructions like (82a and b) helps the speaker say something about the subject core argument without drawing the hearer's attention to any other constituent in the clause. For example, the fact of putting the focus marker *le* just after such a core argument will allow the hearer to construe this as being more narrow-focused than topical, for, according to Creissels and Sambou (2013), Mandinka marks focus without any change in the order of constituents by placing the focus marker *le* after the focal element (p. 419). In this sense, both the speaker and the hearer will interpret *Musóolu* in *Musóolu le ye mǎríséwo lóo* and *Kewó* in *Kewó le ye yíróo boyi* as focal elements rather than topical elements. Even if with the occurrence of the core arguments *Musóolu* and *Kewó* we still have the notion of presupposition, it is important to understand that the use of the *le* element after such core arguments interpretable as topic seems to reverse things in the minds of both the speaker and the addressee.

As we have already demonstrated it about English, it is also paramount to note that the notion of definiteness significantly interacts with the notion of topic expression in Mandinka as well. Even if one should admit that Mandinka usually presents new information by using core arguments that chiefly appear with the *-o* suffix, it must be kept in mind that the appearance of such a suffix at the ends of subjects construable as topics helps express definiteness without which it would be impossible to convey any idea of presupposition. For instance, in *Kew ye yíróo*

*boyi* (a man has felled the/a tree) the absence of the *-o* suffix from the core argument *kew* interpreted as subject seems to make it impossible to create the pragmatic presupposition that has the function of naming the referent the assertion *ye yíróo boyi* is about.

In Mandinka, it is possible to have as topic an adjunct appearing in the left-detached position. In doing so, the element that is talked about is repeated in the matrix clause by the use of another element. This is the case in an example like *Sunkutóo ñiη, a be kaccaa kaη wo le la* where both the noun *Sunkutóo* and the demonstrative *wo* have the same referent. In fact, the noun phrase *Sunkutóo ñiη* is the topic in so far as the speaker believes that this is accessible information to the addressee. The deletion of the element *Sunkutóo ñiη* does not impinge at all on the meaningfulness of the clause *a be kaccaa kaη wo le la*.

Mandinka also uses the infinitive in *ka* in the left-detached position as topic. In this sense, this kind of adjunct also is referred back in the matrix clause by the demonstrative *wo* as is the case within example (82c). This type of topic expression is what we have exemplified in (82d) where *Ka duwaa móolu ye* being the topic of the construction is syntactically realized in the form of an adjunct. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou (2013) argue that a verb phrase can appear as topic in the left-detached position while it is repeated in the clause by a pronoun (p. 418). They have also demonstrated that even a clause can be topic in Mandinka.<sup>96</sup>

As is the case with English, it is important to keep in mind that Mandinka uses both arguments and modifiers in the expression of topic. In the two languages, if the subject is the prototypical core argument that correlates with the notion of topic, it is also important to drum out that modifiers such as adjuncts also can appear in the left-detached position in order to introduce an assertion that is normally construed as the focus of the utterance. In the two languages, it is possible to use a pronoun whose referent is the same as the constituent occurred in the left-detached position. After exploring the correlation of topic and arguments and modifiers in this section, let us now turn to that of focus that is also a pragmatic relation which may coincide with different constituents in both English and Mandinka.

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

### 3.2.2 Focus types

After inquiring into the use of the world's languages, Lambrecht (1994) comes up with a taxonomy of different types of focus structure. He makes the difference between two types of focus structure which are the narrow focus and the broad focus. There is narrow focus when a single constituent is focused, whereas broad focus occurs when the focus is about more than one constituent. Broad focus is further divided into predicate focus and sentence focus; the predicate focus includes all but the topic, whereas sentence focus is about the entire sentence. These different focus types having different communicative functions are expressed with the realization of different constituents such as arguments and modifiers. Then, we shall discuss these types of focus structures in the following sections while trying to capture the correlation they possibly have with arguments or modifiers.

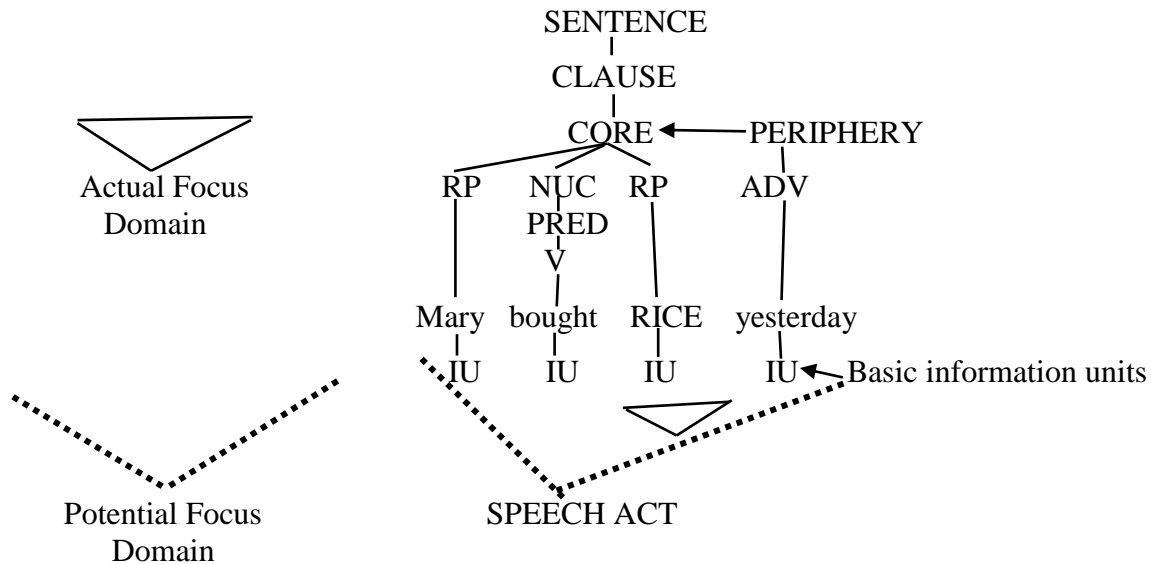
#### 3.2.2.1 Narrow focus

Languages have recourse to different grammatical means to signal focus in different constructions; these are about morphology, syntax and prosody. Particular languages seem to appear with a very interesting interaction between these means in order to package information. For example, if an argument or a modifier occurs in a position that is not accepted by the syntactic rule of the language in use, this obligatorily impinges on the expression of focus. Although there might be an interaction between the various grammatical means, it should be drummed out that a language may favor the use of a means to indicate that there is focus on a constituent. As such, let us start our analysis by English before dealing with Mandinka.

- (83)
- a. Mary bought RICE yesterday.  
Mari sáŋ.PRET máani kúnuŋ  
Mari ye máanóo le sáŋ kúnuŋ.
  - b. Mary bought rice YESTERDAY.  
Mari sáŋ.PRET máani kúnuŋ  
Mari ye máanóo sáŋ kúnuŋ ne.
  - c. Armanda told the TRUTH.  
Arimanda fó.PRET DEF tooñaa  
Arimanda ye tooñaa le fó.

d. ARMANDA told the truth.  
 Arimanda fó.PRET DEF tooñaa  
 Arimanda le ye tooñaa fó.

In the expression of focus, it is important to note that English attaches great importance to prosody. Besides, it is also important to take into consideration the choice of the illocutionary force. For example, in a construction whose illocutionary force signals declarative, depending upon their need, a speaker may put the focus on any constituent in any position in the clause. In *Mary bought RICE yesterday*, for instance, there is narrow focus on the core argument *RICE*. In doing so, the speaker utters this word with high stress to draw the hearer's attention to its importance in the interpretation of the message. The fact of putting the stress on the core argument *RICE* tacitly tells the addressee that there is no other thing the referent of the grammatical subject *Mary* bought but *RICE*. One must understand that, in English, there is an interesting interaction between prominence and meaning. This means that in the information structure of this language, intonational prominence modifies meaning to some extent. As such, focus can help give different interpretations to the same clause without any change in its word order.



**Figure 3.1.** Narrow focus in an English declarative clause

When the illocutionary force signals declarative in English, there can be a narrow focus on either a core argument or a modifier without any change in the word order. As such, if the core

argument *RICE* has the narrow focus in *Mary bought RICE yesterday*, it is the peripheral constituent *YESTERDAY* that is stressed in *Mary bought rice YESTERDAY*. Unlike the core argument *RICE* that is selected by the verb *buy* in (83a), the element *YESTERDAY* on which there is a narrow focus in example (83b) is a modifier; it is not licensed by the verb but it is used to add additional information to the clause. The fact of placing the focus on such a constituent helps the speaker specify the very placement of the event in time. Thus, in *Mary bought rice YESTERDAY*, the use of a narrow focus suggests that the event did not happen on any other day but *YESTERDAY*. In both (83a and b), there is the same word order, but the only difference in terms of information packaging is prosody related.

With regard to the position in which the focus falls, Lambrecht (1994) makes a distinction between marked narrow focus and unmarked narrow focus. In this sense, for example, if there is a narrow focus on the core argument occurring in the final position of two or three argument verb constructions, this is labelled unmarked focus. (83d) is an illustration of unmarked focus inasmuch as there is intonational prominence on the core argument *TRUTH* construed as a direct object occurring in the final position of the core. Besides the unmarked narrow focus, there is the marked narrow focus English generally realizes in the initial position of constructions. For instance, in English, if the speaker places narrow focus on the core argument introducing the clause, this is construed as marked narrow focus. Thus, in (83d) *ARMANDA told the truth*, *ARMANDA* is the marked narrow focus coinciding with the core argument regarded as the subject that usually occurs in the initial position of English constructions.

Following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), narrow focus can also occur in particular languages when, for example, somebody is answering a question, they produce an utterance that is correct except for one inaccurate constituent (p. 208).

- (84) S:a. I heard your motorcycle broke down.  
 1SG móyi.PRET 2SG masíŋmáa tiiña.PRET  
 íj ŋa a móyi ko í la masíŋmáa tiiñata.  
 H:b. My CAR broke down.  
 1SG moto tiiña.PRET  
 íj na motóo le tiiñata.

S: c. I was told that Ram arrived last night.

1SG AUXV fó.PRET C Ramu náa.PRET labán súutoo

ń ná a móyi le ko Ramu náata kúnuṅ súutoo le.

H: d. No, he arrived YESTERDAY MORNING.

PART 3SG náa.PRET kúnuṅ somandáa

Háni, a náata kúnuṅ somandáa le.

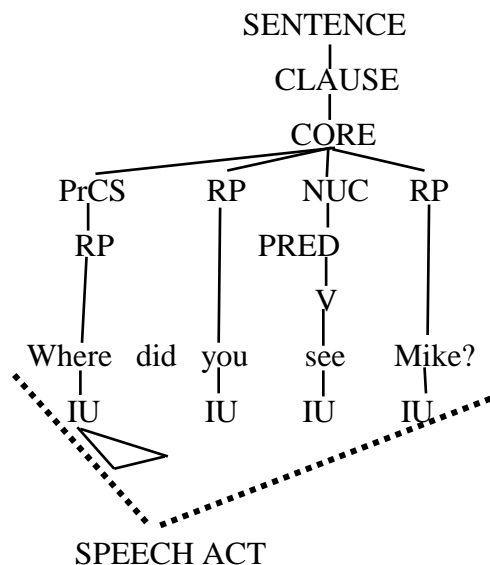
With such a situation, the addressee replies to the speaker by correcting the constituent that does not refer to their ownership that *broke down*. To draw the speaker's attention to the right constituent that is here a core argument, the addressee has recourse to narrow focus. Then, with this type of focus on the core argument *CAR*, the speaker realizes the very element that *broke down* instead of that they have chosen as focus in their inquiry. Depending upon the situation chosen by the speaker, it is important to understand that the wrong element corrected by the addressee may coincide with a core argument or a modifier. In (84S:c.), the speaker makes an erroneous statement on the constituent modifier *last night*, and to make the correction, the hearer chooses another constituent modifier *YESTERDAY MORNING* by placing intonational prominence on this in order to draw the speaker's attention to the very moment when the referent of the core argument *Ram* arrived. In the expression of information structure in English, one should remember the crucial role played by prosody. In most constructions, without changing the order of constituents, the simple fact of having recourse to prosodic means can make a big difference in terms of interpretation.

In addition to the use of prosodic devices to express narrow focus, English also uses word order to indicate that there is intonational prominence on an element. In this sense, an example of situation in which constituents such as arguments and modifiers may occupy different positions while packaging information is when the illocutionary force signals interrogative<sup>97</sup> as is the case in the following examples.

<sup>97</sup> For the use of word order to express the notion of focus, see also the section entitled Cleft-constructions.

- (85) Q: a. Who taught you last year?  
 Wh-word karandí.PRET 2PL ADJ sáŋ  
 Jumáa le ye ali karandí séruf?
- A:b. KIM taught us last year.  
 Kimu karandí.PRET 1PL ADJ sáŋ  
 Kimu le ye ŋ karandí seruf.
- Q: c. Where did you see Mike?  
 Wh-word OP 2SG je Maayiki  
 Í ye Mayiki je mintóo le ?
- A:d. I saw him AT THE MARKET.  
 1SG je.PRET 3SG P DEF mátiséw  
 ŋ ŋa a je mátiséwo le to.

With an interrogative question, a speaker always wants to know something their question is about; this means that a question is usually a request for an answer. As such, there is narrow focus in both the question and the answer. For example, with *wh*-questions, one should understand that there is always narrow focus on the *wh*-word that is used to ask something about the referent of either a core argument or a modifier. In example (85Q:a.) *Who taught you last year?*, it is the *wh*-word *Who* in the precore slot that has narrow focus, for it is the very element whose referent the speaker wants to know. This is used to correspond to a core argument in the answer that will be given by the addressee because we can understand that (85Q:a.) is about a referent that will be represented by the subject in the answer. As such, as an answer to *Who taught you last year?*, we have *KIM taught us last year* with narrow focus on the core argument *KIM* to which the element *Who* used in the speaker's question corresponds. It is important to note that with a question, a speaker usually puts the focus on the constituent with which they target an answer on the part of the addressee, and to come up to the speaker's expectation, while answering, the addressee stresses the constituent expressing the very piece of information requested. The fact of interpreting a constituent as a core argument or a modifier contextually depends on the type of construction the speaker has opted for.



**Figure 3.2.** Narrow focus in an English interrogative clause

If in example (85Q:a.), the *wh*-word is used to ask about a piece of information that is answered through the use of a core argument by the addressee, it is also paramount to write that the use of a *wh*-word in the precore slot of certain constructions may trigger the addressee's putting the focus on a modifier when answering the speaker's request. This is the case in (85A:b) whose answer is (85A:b). In *Where did you see Mike?*, the speaker uses the *wh*-word *Where* to ask for some spatial information related to the state of affairs. In this sense, the addressee goes by the speaker's construction to come up to the latter's expectations by answering their question while putting the focus on the phrasal adjunct *AT THE MARKET* that correlates with the element *Where* appearing in the precore slot of *Where did you see Mike?*. In both constructions (the question and the answer), the two elements that constitute the narrow foci are closely related to each other. To package information whose structure signals interrogative illocutionary force, it is important to comprehend that there is always mutual understanding between the speech participants if one wants to make effective communication. As such, the use of the modifier *AT THE MARKET* by the addressee in their answer is motivated by their understanding of the speaker's using the focal element *Where* in their request.

It should be specified that with *yes/no* questions also, focal elements can either be analyzed as arguments or modifiers. Whether a focal element is a modifier or an argument does not depend on the type of interrogative in use, but rather on the logical structure of the verb the

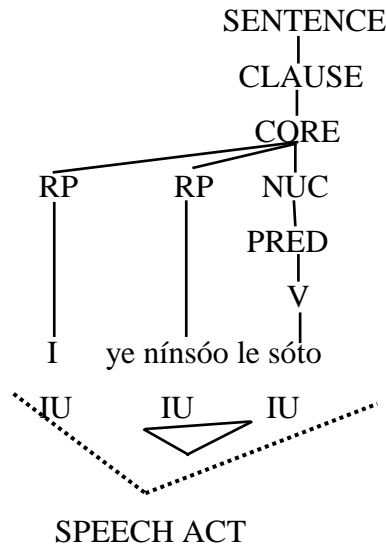


participants have chosen to produce their utterances. For example, the utterance *No, he arrived YESTERDAY MORNING* can be chosen as an instance of answer to a *yes/no* question. In such an answer, the focus is placed on a constituent that is analyzed as a modifier expressing temporal information. This constituent *YESTERDAY MORNING* does not belong to the same category as *BILL* in *No, BILL did* answering the question *Did John buy the book?*; the element *BILL* is labelled as a core argument that signals marked narrow focus. Actually, in English, with the crucial role played by prosody, a narrow focus may fall in any position in the clause. Since the expression of narrow focus may vary across languages, let us now turn to the ways in which Mandinka narrow foci coincide with arguments and modifiers.

Unlike English, Mandinka does not virtually use prosodic means to realize narrow focus, even though one should recognize that prosody plays a crucial role in the expression of such a language in general. And as is demonstrated by Creissels and Sambou (2013), Mandinka marks narrow focus without making any modification in the order of the major constituents (p. 419). Actually, in this language, when a speaker wants to draw an addressee's attention to a constituent through the use of narrow focus, there is a special focus marker *le* they importantly put just after the focal element. The realization of *le* just after the focal constituent seems to be practically sufficient for the speaker to show that it is this or that very element they want the addressee to pay their attention to.

- (86)
- a. I ye níns-óo le sóto.  
3PL PF.POS cow-DEF FOCM have  
They have a COW.
  - b. I ye níns-óo fáa wul-óo le kóno.  
3PL PF.POS cow-DEF kill bush-DEF FOCM POSTP  
They killed the cow IN THE BUSH.
  - c. Tafáa le mu baadíŋ jaw-ó ti.  
Tapha FOCM IDCOP relative malicious-DEF OBL  
TAPHA is a malicious relative.

The expression of narrow focus in Mandinka is morphosyntactic and not prosodic. This language usually uses the focus marker *le* to show that there is narrow focus on a preceding element that can be an argument or a non-argument. For example, in (86a), the appearance of *le* just after the core argument *nínsóo* indicates that there is narrow focus on such an element. As such, the addressee's awareness is activated on the fact that the very element owned here is nothing else but *nínsóo*. The realization of the focus marker *le* is so important that its absence from such constructions goes away with any notion of narrow focus. If *I ye nínsóo sóto* is a simple declarative construction denoting any narrow focus idea on the part of the speaker, it is because no focus marker occurs in it. Besides, the fact of producing intonational prominence on either the core argument *I* or *nínsóo* does not play any role in terms of focus indication. In fact, in Mandinka, the production of a core argument or a modifier with intonational prominence might express astonishment instead of focus indication. An utterance like *I ye NÍNSÓO sóto* with a strong stress on the core argument *NÍNSÓO* would indicate that the speaker is somewhat astonished that the ownership of the referent *NÍNSÓO* from the referent of the core argument *I* becomes a truth.



**Figure 3.3.** Narrow focus in a Mandinka declarative construction

In Mandinka declarative illocutionary force, it is up to the speaker to decide to choose the constituent they manifestly want to put the focus on by placing the focus marker *le* just after this. If in example (86a) there is narrow focus on a core argument, *nínsóo*, it is noticeable that in (86b) *I ye nínsóo fáa wulóo le kóno* this is placed on the postpositional phrase *wulóo kóno* interpreted as a modifier. What is striking vis-à-vis this type of narrow focus on postpositional phrases is that the focus marker *le* occurs in between the noun and the postposition. This occurrence of *le* in such a position helps the speaker highlight that the event did not happen anywhere else but in the bush. It is also possible to draw the speaker's attention to a postpositional phrase while actually insisting on the postposition instead of the noun. This is the case in an example like *I ye wulóo kóno le mala* "Lit. It is in the bush that they set fire to" where the speaker draws more attention to the inside of *wulóo* "the bush" rather than to something else. As such, the addressee is enlightened about the very placement of the event that is pinpointed by the speaker with the use of the focus marker that helps stress the postposition whose meaning is significantly combined with the noun.

Following the distinction Lambrecht (1994) makes between marked and unmarked narrow foci, we should say that in Mandinka the unmarked narrow focus position is the immediate preverbal position as can be seen in (86a) *I ye nínsóo le sóto* where it is the core argument *nínsóo* that stands for the unmarked narrow focus. The element *nínsóo* corresponding to the direct object occurs just before the verb. Unlike English whose unmarked narrow focus is postverbal, it is important to keep in mind that Mandinka's unmarked narrow focus is preverbal. What the two languages share in common is the position of the marked narrow focus. As we have already demonstrated about English, in Mandinka, the subject labelled as marked narrow focus usually appears in the clause initial position as well. Whether a constituent is regarded as marked or unmarked narrow focus, Mandinka always signals this not only by the position of the constituent but also by the crucial use of the focus marker *le*. In the example *Tafáa le mú baadíŋ jawó ti*, the subject *Tafáa* introducing the clause is the marked narrow focus and this is made possible by the occurrence of *le*.

(87) S: a. I ko í la sáajiy-óo le ye naak-óo bée ñími.

3PL say 3SG GEN sheep-DEF FOCM PF.POS garden-DEF ADV chew

I was told that your SHEEP chewed all the garden crops.

H: b. Haní a maŋ ke ŋ' na sáajiy-óo ti de, ŋ' na báa le ye a ke.  
PART 3SG NEGM be 1SG GEN sheep-DEF OBL FOCM 1SG GEN goat FOCM PF.POS 3SG DO  
No, it is not my sheep, my GOAT did it.

S: c. Karamóo ye fal-óo sáŋ kúnuŋ súut-óo le.  
Karamo PF.POS donkey-DEF buy yesterday night-DEF FOCM  
Karamo bought a donkey LAST NIGHT.

H: d. A ye a sáŋ bíi le.  
3SG PF.POS 3SG buy today FOCM  
He bought it TODAY.

In Mandinka, while producing an utterance, a speaker can put the focus on a wrong constituent that is captured either as a modifier or a core argument. In this sense, depending upon the hearer's presupposition, they can correct the speaker by placing the narrow focus on the very constituent that should be used in the place of the wrong one used by the speaker. In the case of example (87S:a), there is narrow focus on the core argument *sáajiyóo* rejected by the hearer that uses another core argument instead. Then, to signal to the speaker that they have chosen an erroneous argument, the hearer has put a narrow focus on the right core argument by placing the focus marker *le* just after this. In such a situation, the occurrence of focus is paramount insofar as it helps the speaker be aware of their mistake while activating something new.

We should also mention the fact that Mandinka often uses the element *de* at the end of cores or clauses to express the notion of focus. The occurrence of *de* does not prevent at all that of the focus marker *le* which is particular in the fact that it can appear in different positions within a construction according to the location of the very constituent that receives the narrow focus. *De* is usually realized in construction final, which means that even though it co-occurs with *le*, the latter always precedes. Thus, the use of *de* in (87H:b) has somewhat helped the hearer to insist on the wrongness of the core argument *sáajiyóo* before narrow focusing on the right argument *báa* through the use of *le*.

Correcting a narrow focused constituent described as a modifier is also possible on the part of the hearer. This is what is exemplified in (87H:d) where there is narrow focus on a modifier

that is used to substitute an erroneous modifier that has been used by the speaker. From the hearer's point of view, the event of *fali sáŋ* is not wrong as such but rather the modifier *kínunŋ súutóo* expressing the temporal information that is associated with it. Then, to make the speaker activate the real piece of information related to the placement of this event in time emphatically, the hearer has chosen another modifier that is narrow focused and which expresses, like the first one, some temporal information even if they are different from each other in terms of reference. Actually, if English can use both prosodic means and word order to show focus, one should understand that Mandinka favours the use of the single usual element *le* labelled as a focus marker that helps put narrow foci on both arguments and modifiers of this language that is described by Dramé (1981) as having a strict word order.

If with Mandinka declarative constructions the position of the focus marker *le* depends on that of the focal element, it is important to know that when the illocutionary force of a construction signals interrogative, most question words are chiefly followed by the focus marker *le*. In this sense, Creissels and Sambou (2013) argue that the use of the focus marker *le* is compulsory with question words such as *jumáa* and *múŋ*. They go on saying that even if the presence of the focus marker *le* next to the question word is not absolute constraint, the specific relationship there is between question words and the focus marker makes that it is impossible to combine *le* with another constituent other than the question word within the same construction (p. 437).

- (88)
- a. **Níns-óo** ye Sáadibu barama a kuŋ-ó to.  
 cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 The cow injured Sadibou at his head.
- Q:b. **Múŋ ne** ye Sáadibu barama a kuŋ-ó to?  
 what FOCM PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 What injured Sadibou at his head?
- A:c. **Níns-óo le** ye a barama a kuŋ-ó to.  
 Cow-DEF FOCM PF.POS 3SG injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 It is the cow that injured him at his head.

Q:d. Níns-óo ye **jumáa le** barama a kuŋ-ó to?  
 cow-DEF PF.POS who FOCM injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 (LIT: The cow injured who at his head?)

Who did the cow injure at his head?

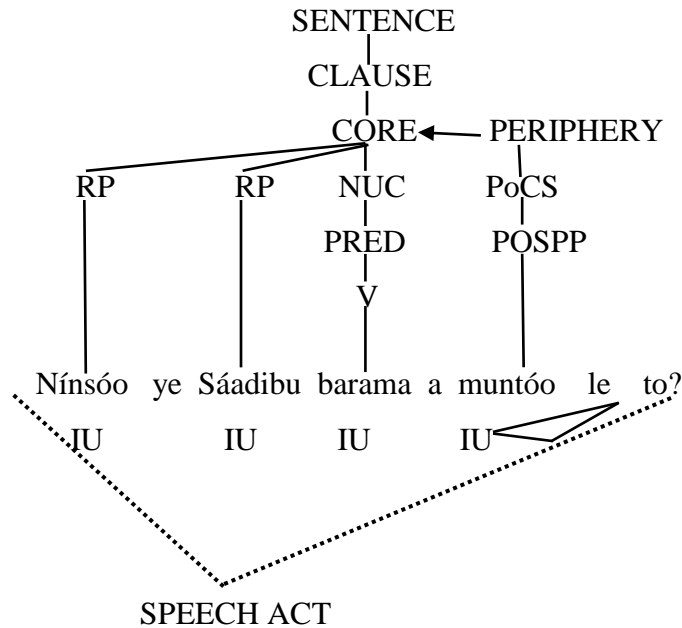
A:e. Níns-óo ye **Sáadibu le** barama a kuŋ-ó to.  
 Cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou FOCM injure 3SG head-DEF POSTP  
 The cow injured SADIBOU at his head.

Q:f. Níns-óo ye Sáadibu barama **a muntóo le to?**  
 cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG where FOCM POSTP  
 (LIT: The cow injured Sadibou his where?)

Where did the cow injure Sadibou?

A: gg. Níns-óo ye Sáadibu barama **a kuŋ-ó le to.**  
 Cow-DEF PF.POS Sadibou injure 3SG head-DEF FOCM POSTP  
 The cow injured Sadibou at his HEAD.

As we can see from the examples above, when it is about asking for information about the referent of a core argument or modifier, Mandinka significantly combines most of its question words with the focus marker *le* in order to draw the speaker's attention to the very elements about which questions are asked. Whether a question word should be captured as a core argument or a modifier chiefly depends upon the kind of relationship the element it substitutes has with the nucleus. Interestingly, in the different questions aforementioned, one can clearly see that the syntactic positions of the question words and the very elements coinciding with them remain the same in both the speaker and the addressee's constructions. For example, in (88Q:b and A:c) the narrow foci elements *Múŋ* and *Nínsóo* both appear in the initial positions of the two constructions. The movement words often undergo in the interrogative constructions of the English language is not noticeable in Mandinka, for this language appears with the same word order with both its declarative and interrogative constructions.



**Figure 3.4.** Narrow focus in a Mandinka interrogative clause

To find out whether a question word substitutes a core argument or a modifier, one needs to analyze the kind of relationship that question word has vis-à-vis the nucleus of the construction in use. In this sense, one can say that, in (88Q:a.), **Múŋ** is construed as substituting a core argument the verb *barama* interestingly selects for there to be a complete utterance, for “The interpretation of an argument depends, first and foremost, on the verb or predicating element it occurs with [.....]” (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 113). Thus, in (88Q:a) the speaker has chosen to narrow focus a question word which is analyzed as a core argument so as to draw the hearer’s attention. And since there should be mutual understanding between the speech participants with utterances denoting questions, then the addressee’s answer also includes a narrow focused core argument referring to the question word used by the speaker.

In examples (88Q:f and A:g), the elements on which there are narrow foci are all modifiers; they constitute some information that is not selected by the nucleus but which is contextually very important from the point of view of both the speaker and the addressee. This importance that is attached to them is the reason why they receive narrow focus, which means that they express some information that is the speech participants’ main interest. In *Nínsóo ye*

*Sáadibu barama a muntóo le to?*, the speaker insists on inquiring about the location of the injury *Sáadibu* is victim of, and having understood this, the addressee comes up to the former's expectations by laying emphasis on *a kuŋó le to* in *Nínsóo ye Sáadibu barama a kuŋó le to*. In the same vein, the truth is that there are narrow foci on elements that are compatible with each other. The compatibility and mutual understanding are of prime importance in these kinds of constructions, because to a question like *Nínsóo ye Sáadibu barama a muntóo le to?*, an addressee could not give answers like *Nínsóo le ye Sáadibu barama a kuŋó to*, or *Nínsóo ye Sáadibu le barama a kuŋó to*. Even if such answers include the elements coinciding with the question word *muntóo*, the problem is that the speaker's attention is drawn to other things that do not underpin the question they have put.

In English, if the expression of narrow focus is prosody related with *wh*-words and constituents corresponding to the latter in the speaker's answer, one must keep in mind that Mandinka combines both its *wh*-like question words and their corresponding answers with the focus marker *le* without giving any consideration to intonational prominence. With the focus constructions of this language, the occurrence of the element *le* is so important that its absence from a construction eliminates any idea of emphasis on different constituents. For instance, the deletion of *le* from an answer like *Nínsóo ye a barama a kuŋó to* may mean that the speaker is not answering a question but they are rather giving a mere piece of information without drawing anyone's attention to anything specific.

With Mandinka open interrogatives if the expression of narrow focus is usual with the significant role played by the focus marker *le*, it seems to be unfrequent to notice the occurrence of *le* with some closed interrogatives; hence it would be difficult to talk about narrow focus with the different constituents such constructions include. On this subject, according to Dramé (1981), the only question word that always requires *le* in the construction in which it occurs is *muná*, whereas a question word like *korí* never co-occurs with *le* (p. 96).

O

- (89) a. *Muná Samba ye í jáabi le?*  
 Q Samba PF.POS 2SG answer FOCM  
 Has Samba answered you?



- b. Korí Sana lafi-ta máan-óo la bíí?  
 Q Sana want-PF.POS rice-DEF OBL today  
 Does Sana want rice today?
- c. Mutumut-óo le ye í kíŋ?  
 Sandfly-DEF FOCM PF.POS 2SG bite.  
 Did a SANDFLY bite you?
- d. Bí le Mata náa-ta bánŋ?  
 Today FOCM Mata arrive-PF.POS Q  
 Did Mata arrive TODAY?

In Mandinka, a *muná* interrogative construction is meaningless if the focus marker *le* is missing from it. And this is attested by the ungrammaticality of \**Muná Samba ye í jáabi?*. In (89a), the occurrence of *le* in the clause final position is important for the utterance to become meaningful but we do not have any idea of narrow focus insofar as the focus seems to be significantly on the whole construction. To realize narrow focus, it is possible to see *le* change positions instead of occurring in the final position as is the case in *Muná Samba ye í jáabi le?*. In this sense, a speaker may ask a question like *Muná Samba le ye í jáabi?*. Unlike what happens in *Muná Samba ye í jáabi le?*, with *Muná Samba le ye í jáabi?*, the occurrence of *le* on the very right of the core argument *Samba* shows that there is narrow focus on such an element instead. Even if with the *muná* interrogative constructions, the focus marker may appear in a position that is different from the final one, one should know that this never follows the *muná* question word immediately as is the case with question words denoting open questions. Another particularity of *muná* is that its usual position is clause initial, and besides it does not correlate with any specific constituent within the speaker's answer. \**Muná le Samba ye í jáabi* is nonsensical and \**Samba muná le ye í jáabi* is nonsensical as well.

It seems to be impossible to talk about narrow focus with Mandinka *korí* type questions. This could be explained by the fact that with such a question construction the speaker's expectation is for the addressee to answer by *no* rather than *yes*. This means that these types of questions are not put with regard to a specific element the addressee should choose to focus on when answering. Unlike the *muná* questions, the *korí* questions never include the focus marker *le*.

This is the reason why constructions like *\*Korí Sana le lafita máanóo la bii*, *\*Korí Sana lafita máanóo le la bii*, *\*Korí Sana lafita máanóo la bii le*, and so on, are semantically odd. In such constructions, there is no constituent that can be narrow focused. And as we have mentioned it about *muná*, *korí* also coincides with no constituent in the addressee's answer. Besides, both question words occur in the initial positions of closed questions.

In a Mandinka *yes/no* question where there is the possibility of putting narrow foci on both arguments and modifiers is related to a construction that does not include any question word, or a construction subsuming *báŋ* that occurs clause final. With or without the presence of *báŋ* in such a construction, the focus marker *le* can be used in different positions in order to help put narrow foci on constituents such as arguments and modifiers. For example, in (89c) *Mutumutóo le ye í kíŋ?*, there is narrow focus on the core argument *Mutumutóo* and this same element is also focused by the use of *le* in *Mutumutóo le ye í kíŋ báŋ?* without creating any semantic oddity. In this example, the occurrence of *le* just after the core argument *mutumutóo* helps the addressee get an interpretation from which they will answer while focusing on the same element (*mutumutóo*) as an Actor triggering *kíŋ* or even presenting another core argument that replaces that the speaker has narrow focused. For instance, to reply to a question like *Mutumutóo le ye í kíŋ báŋ?*, an addressee may say *Súusúuláa le ye í kíŋ* "It is a mosquito that bit me" with as focal element *Súusúuláa* that is labelled as a core argument in such a construction as is the case of *Mutumutóo* in the construction made by the speaker.

By the same token, example (89d) indicates that it is also possible to put a narrow focus on a modifier appearing in the type of closed question aforementioned. The modifier *Bii* occurring in the initial position of the clause expresses temporal information on which the speaker insists so as to draw the addressee's attention. In Mandinka, focal elements conveying temporal information can occur either in the clause initial or final position. In this sense, both *Bii le Mata náata báŋ?* and *Mata náata bii le báŋ?* are meaningful with as focal element *bii*. Whether the focal element is a modifier or an argument, it is important to note that not only does the absence of the focus marker *le* impinge on the meaningfulness of *báŋ* type questions but it also disappears with any expression of narrow focus as we can see in the oddity of examples like *\*Bii Mata náata báŋ* and *\*Mutumutóo ye í kíŋ*.

In a nutshell, one should understand that narrow focus is mainly realized in English through prosody and word order, whereas Mandinka has a special focus marker *le* it uses in different positions within clauses in consideration of the elements that are narrow focused. In the two languages, focus is interestingly expressed in connexion with the type of illocutionary force a clause signals. For example, in English interrogative constructions, *wh*-words are always captured as focal core arguments or modifiers, whereas in Mandinka, the obligatory occurrence of the element *le* just after such similar question words demonstrates that there is narrow focus on either a core argument or a modifier. The marked narrow foci of the two languages are realized in the initial positions of clause, but as far as the unmarked narrow foci are concerned, one must keep in mind that Mandinka's unmarked narrow focus coinciding with the direct object (a core argument) is preverbal, whereas this is postverbal in English. Unlike a Mandinka *yes/no* question where the question word *korí* cannot co-occur with any focus marker denoting narrow focus on any element, it seems that with English *yes/no* questions we do not have a constraint of this like triggered by a question word. With such English interrogative constructions, the expression of narrow focus seems to depend upon a speaker who may choose to draw an addressee's attention to a specific constituent their question includes.

Information structure is not related to the focus of one single constituent, it also encompasses the focus of broader entities such as the whole sentence and all the elements of a construction except for the topic. Actually, particular languages often choose to focus on larger entities that possibly include both arguments and modifiers. To center our analysis on such aspects, let us explore broad focus in the following section.

### 3.2.2.2 Broad focus

As is already mentioned, following Lambrecht (1994), there are two types of broad focus one can interestingly capture about particular languages. These are predicate and sentence foci. Predicate focus coincides with the topic-comment distinction made within traditional grammar; this is about a construction whose predicate receives the focal stress, which means that the core argument interpreted as subject is not concerned by the focus. As far as sentence focus is

concerned, this is a topicless construction which is entirely focused. Thus, to describe the broad foci of the two languages with regard to arguments and modifiers, first, let us devote the section below to the use of predicate focus which Lambrecht considers to be a universally unmarked type of focus.<sup>98</sup>

### 3.2.2.3 Predicate focus

As is the case with some narrow focus constructions, English also uses prosody to indicate that there is focus on the predicate. As such, the speaker's attention is not drawn to the core argument construed as subject. Thus, Lambrecht (2000) defines this type of focus as "Sentence construction expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which the subject is a topic (hence within the presupposition) and in which the predicate expresses new information about this topic. The focus domain is the predicate phrase" (p. 615).

(90) Q: b. What happened to your car?

Wh-word ké.PRET P 2SG moto

Mún̄ ne kéta í la motóo la.

A: a. It broke DOWN.

3SG tíñaa.PRET

A tíñaaata le.

As we can see from the answer and the question above, the phrase *broke DOWN* represents new information vis-à-vis the topic *car* that is not here the interest of both the speaker and the addressee. This is something that is available as topic for comment, and this comment is made on the part of the addressee through the use of the predicate *broke DOWN*. In fact, the actual focus domain (AFD) of predicate focus concerns the verb and the remaining post-verbal

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 296

core constituents. This means that besides the verb, at least, there may be a core argument and a modifier falling within the scope of the focus. For example, in the case of *broke DOWN*, there is the presence of some modifiers the predicate focus includes. As such, not only is the element *DOWN* a modifier that is importantly used with the verb, but also the use of a tense that marks the preterite is paramount inasmuch as this modifies the predicate as well.

With predicate focus, the core argument interpreted as subject is excluded from the comment of the speaker and the hearer, for it is not part of the elements the predicate is composed of. The subject is an external argument so to borrow a terminology used by a generativist like Chomsky (1957) according to whom this core constituent is an argument which is external to the predicate, whereas the object that appears in it is an internal argument. With predicate focus, the stress must fall on the whole predicate, for its falling on a single core argument or modifier ends up narrow focus. As such, to give a more precise explanation about predicate focus, let us consider the following statement:

In English (as in many other languages), a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for PF construal is the presence of a point of prosodic prominence within the predicate portion of the sentence. If the sentence is intransitive, the main sentence accent will fall on the verb (or some postverbal adjunct) by default. If the sentence is transitive, the accent will by necessity fall on the object (unless the object is a ratified topic or is non-referential or referentially vague). The O is thus the unmarked focus argument. (Lambrecht, 2000, p. 616)

In English, there is always a verb that introduces the predicate. This means that it is impossible to talk about predicate focus if a predicating element precedes the verb as can be seen in the oddity of a construction like *\*It DOWN broke*. It is very difficult or even impossible to talk about predicate focus if a predicating element does not occur in the right position allowed by the main verb of the construction in use. In this sense, with the meaningless example *\*It DOWN broke*, the appearance of the modifier *DOWN* before the main verb *broke* makes it difficult to express predicate focus. The fact of falling intonational prominence on the predicate has no importance if there is some violation in the word order; a syntactic problem may impinge on both semantics and pragmatics, for interpreting most utterances amounts to dealing with the interesting interaction between syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

Besides English declarative clauses in which there may be the expression of predicate focus, it is possible that constructions signaling the imperative illocutionary force also appear with predicate focus. With canonical imperative clauses, the absence of the core argument labelled as subject shows that it is not contextually important for the speaker to draw the addressee's attention to such an element. Since with an imperative clause, the main interest of the speaker is to tell someone to do or not to do something, then they produce the whole predicate with some intonational prominence that can even help the addressee understand somewhat the type of command they are receiving.

Depending upon the type of imperative clause in use, a verb may be the only element to appear in the actual focus domain as it can co-occur with other constituents such as core arguments. For example, a construction like *Go!* does not appear with any argument or modifier, whereas with *Do your homework!*, the actual focus domain encompasses not only the verb *do* but also the core argument *homework*. When a predicate is headed by an M-transitive verb, the predicate focus may include a core argument, whereas there is not virtually the occurrence of any core argument with an M-intransitive verb construction.

It seems to be difficult to talk about the notion of predicate focus with the use of the Mandinka focus marker *le*. In this language that relies on the use of the movable modifier *le* in order to indicate focus, it seems to be difficult, to some extent, to realize predicate focus by placing *le* just after the head verb. Then, even though Dramé (1981) argues that the particularity of focus expression in Mandinka is probably its application to finite verbs (p.94), we are inclined to favour the oddity of such an application vis-à-vis some of which some questions have cropped up in terms of interpretation or understanding on the part of most Mandinka speakers.

(91) a. A ye mbúur-óo domo le bíi.  
 3SG PF.POS bread-DEF eat FOCM today  
 He ate bread today.

b. \*Salímata ye a la worot-óo díi le kalíifa la.  
 Salimata PF.POS 3SG GEN sickle-DEF give FOCM Kalifa OBL  
 Salimata HAS GIVEN HER SICKLE TO KALIFA.

- c. \*A son-ta le a teeri-maa ma.  
 3SG agree-PF.POS FOCM 3SG friend-KM with  
 He AGREED WITH HIS FRIEND.

In fact, one should be very careful about the appearance of the focus marker *le* just after a verb that ends a construction, for, according to Creissels and Sambou (2013), with such a usage *le* marks the end of the rhematic entity (this means the assertion, as is labelled in RRG) while expressing an emphasis that is on the whole construction. Sometimes the focus marker may immediately follow a verb while preceding an adverb which ends the clause without our having any ungrammaticality. What seems to be remarkable about Mandinka adverbs expressing temporal and spatial information is that when they appear in the final position of clauses, the fact of placing the focus marker on the right side of such adverbs helps signal narrow focus rather than sentence focus. In this sense, within a construction like *A ye mbúuróo domo bii le*, the scope of the focus marker *le* is clearly on the modifier *bii* rather than the whole construction. Accordingly, with constructions like this, if one wants to focus the whole construction, the focus marker must occur just after the verb while preceding the adverb conveying temporal or spatial information.

In examples (91b and c), the appearance of the focus marker *le* seems to create some problems in terms of meaning interpretation, which seems to demonstrate that the fact of placing *le* just after a verb whose other argument occurs sentence final could not help put the entire predicate into focus; this causes awkwardness instead. Then, even if the constructions *\*Salímata ye a la worotóo díi le kalífa la* and *\*A sonta le a teerimaa ma* are somewhat understandable, just the same, they may arise some questions on the part of the addressee in terms of interpretation. Accordingly, the occurrence of the focus marker just after a verb which has on its left side certain constituents could not help signal predicate focus in the declarative constructions of Mandinka. Whether there is an M-transitive or intransitive verb, the appearance of the focus marker just after the verb presents the same reality as we can see from the odd examples we have just mentioned.

Another important thing is that the predicative operator *ye* used with Mandinka M-transitive verbs cannot be followed by the focus marker immediately. Mandinka syntax does not allow a construction like *\*Salímata ye le a la worotóo díi kalífa la*. The fact that *ye* is captured as

an element encoding values such as tense, aspect, and the like, which cannot immediately precede *le* seems to be another proof that the entire predicate could not be put into focus in this language when a construction signals declarative illocutionary force. Actually, the direct object *worotóo* “sickle” and the indirect object *Kalifa* within the predicate can be put into focus but not the entire predicate, for there is not a devoted position in which the occurrence of *le* can help to do that.

Besides M-transitive verb constructions, predicate focus does not seem to be possible with the use of the focus marker *le* with M-intransitive constructions either. And in this sense, the emphasis cannot be placed on neither the values encoded by the suffix *-ta*, nor the action expressed by the verb in use. For instance, in a meaningful construction like *A sonta le*, the scope of the focus marker *le* occurring finally and just after the M-intransitive verb *sonta* is not limited to the predicate *sonta* but it rather concerns the entire construction including, of course, the core argument *A* labelled as subject. This difficulty of putting the focus on the entire predicate in declarative constructions disagrees with Dramé (1981), who states that, in Mandinka, “a finite verb is clefted by inserting *le* immediately at its right, except when the verb is followed by postverbal future or past tense marker (in which case the TA marker precedes *le*)” (p. 94). In fact, when the focus marker meaningfully appears just after a verb (that normally occurs sentence final), it virtually puts the focus on an entity that is broader than the predicate.

As is impossible with the *ye* element used with M-transitive constructions, it should also be drummed out that *le* cannot be used in between the *-ta* suffix and a lexical M-intransitive verb. As such, *\*taa le-ta* is impossible in this language. One must keep in mind that not only cannot an entire predicate be focused with the use of *le* with an M-transitive construction signaling declarative illocutionary force, this cannot happen with an M-intransitive construction either. The constituents that can be modified through focus with both constructions are the subject, the direct object, the indirect object and a group of modifiers conveying, above all, spatial and temporal information, and so on.

In our section entitled illocutionary force, we have demonstrated that there can be overt foci with imperative clauses. These are especially expressed through the use of *ban* at the end of imperative clauses but also through the use of the second singular pronoun within the negative forms of such constructions as is exemplified in the constructions below.



- (92)
- a. Í kána dúŋ  
 2SG don't enter  
 Don't enter.
- b. Borí bán!  
 Run M  
 Run, please!
- c. Buŋ-ó fita bán!  
 room-DEF clean M  
 Clean the room, please!

Actually, the kind of focus that occurs in (92a) cannot be analyzed as predicate focus insofar as with such a type of construction, the pronoun whose presence signals focus is captured as a core argument, which suggests that it would be logical to consider this as a type of narrow focus instead of predicate focus. In Mandinka, the case that seems to express predicate focus is related to topicless imperative constructions having *bán* at their ends as is demonstrated by (92b and c). This kind of predicate focus can fall on the verb on its own as it may concern the verb and the constituents it co-occurs with. In doing so, if with *Borí bán!* there is the realization of a single verb on which *bán* is used to focus, in *Buŋó fita bán!* the predicate focus is on the verb *fitá* and the core argument *Buŋó* occurring in the initial position. What must importantly be kept in mind about such an imperative construction is that the element *bán* is not movable as is the case with the *le* focus marker; its usual position is construction final. Its appearance in any other position different from this causes some nonsense one can easily see in ungrammatical constructions like *\*Buŋó bán fita*, *\*Bán buŋó fita*, *\*Bán borí*, and so on.

Instead of giving great importance to predicate focus, Mandinka favours narrow focus on deverbal nominals. If a Mandinka speaker wants to put the focus on the action denoted by a verb, they rather opt for the nominalized form of that verb which is immediately followed by the focus marker *le*. For instance, in a construction like *Kibiróo le diyaata a ye* “What he/she likes is bragging”, it is the deverbal noun *Kibiróo* that is narrow focused. This comes from the verb *kibirí* “to brag, to boast” which, as a finite verb, would be difficult to focus on in a declarative

construction without affecting the core argument labelled as subject, or both the subject and the possible core arguments captured as objects.

In miniature, predicate focus can easily be expressed in English, whereas this does not seem to be the case in Mandinka with the use of the focus marker *le*. Unlike English, the type of predicate focus we have identified in Mandinka is related to imperative constructions which have the element *báŋ* at their ends. In fact, if English can use stress to express predicate focus, it should be drummed out that the use of the focus marker *le* before the Mandinka predicative markers (*ye*, *ta*) or M-transitive and intransitive verbs does not seem to help signal predicate focus in this language. One must bear in mind that, in Mandinka, if a speaker wants to draw the addressee's attention to the action denoted by a verb, they choose to fall narrow focus on the nominalized form of that verb by placing *le* just after this instead of trying to predicate focus. Accordingly, unlike English, Mandinka favours two focus types; narrow focus and sentence focus.

#### 3.2.2.4 Sentence focus

Another type of broad focus RRG identifies is sentence focus structure. According to Lambrecht (2000), this type of focus is "Sentence construction formally marked as expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The focus domain is the sentence, minus any topical non-subject arguments" (p. 617). With this kind of focus structure, there is no specific element whose focus can be noticed on the part of the addressee inasmuch as both the subject and the predicate are in the same level of focus. The speaker chooses sentence focus in order to place emphasis on the whole sentence which they consider as being informative. The speaker's decision is that "the main burden of the message lies" in both the entity subject and the predicate, so to follow Halliday (1967), who argues that "Information focus is one kind of emphasis, that whereby the speaker marks out a part (which may be the whole) of a message block as that which he wishes to be interpreted as informative" (p. 204). Unlike the other types of focus constructions, with sentence focus structure, we cannot identify a single constituent (whether it is an argument or a modifier) we can consider as being the focal element. The focus domain is the entire sentence.

- (93) Q: a. Why didn't Mary come to work today?  
 Wh-word máŋ Mari náa P dóokúudúlaa bíi  
 Muŋ ne ye a tinna Mari máŋ náa dóokúudúlaa to bíi?
- A: b. Her husband is sick.  
 3SG kee COPV sáasáa.ADJ  
 A keemáa le sáasáata.
- d. HE is sick.  
 3SG COPV sáasáa  
 A sáasáata le.
- c. It is rain-ing.  
 3SG AUXV samáa-PROG  
 Samáa be ké kaŋ.

The reply (93b) to the question (93a) is an instance of English sentence focus in which we have difficulties making the topic-focus distinction if we focus on the prosodic information with which the addressee produces their utterance. In fact, in English, sentence focus constructions are not uttered exactly in the same way as the other types of focus structure, if not this can create confusion in terms of interpretation. Thus, to indicate the way prosody is used in sentence focus structure, Lambrecht argues that “In English, and in other languages relying on prosodic focus marking, a SF construction is minimally characterized by the presence of a pitch accent on the subject and by the absence of prosodic prominence on the predicate portion of the sentence.”<sup>99</sup> An important thing one should bear in mind about the use of prosody in sentence focus is that there is a minimal pitch accent on the core argument labelled as subject while the entity captured as predicate does not receive any intonational prominence. When uttering the core argument subject, there should not be prosodic confusion, for if there is real intonational prominence on the subject, this may end up narrow focus.

Another option that may help express narrow focus in English instead of sentence focus is when the subject argument is coded in pronominal or null form according to Lambrecht, who states that “An important constraint on SF sentences is that their subject argument must be coded

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<sup>99</sup>Op.cit., 617

lexically”.<sup>100</sup> For instance, the fact of accenting the pronoun *HE* in *HE is sick* denotes narrow focus instead of sentence focus because the subject argument must be lexically coded. Following Lambrecht, pronouns cannot be used in sentence foci insofar as they are necessarily activated or express old information.

It is important to note that constructions including English weather verbs do not formally indicate sentence focus structure either. These are verbs that are mainly used with dummy subjects that are not lexically coded. In English, the subject argument weather verbs are constructed with *is* usually the pronoun *it*. This is semantically empty insofar as it does not refer to any identifiable referent in the real world. Accordingly, the use of such a pronoun with weather verbs does not denote the presence of any macrorole expression. This kind of weather verb construction is what is exemplified in *It is raining* which can rather be construed as predicate focus if the speaker places intonational prominence on the predicate. Then, after dealing with sentence focus structure, we shall go on to explore Mandinka sentence focus structure in the following paragraphs.

To indicate that there is focus on the whole sentence, Mandinka uses the focus marker *le* it usually places in the final position of most constructions. Unlike English, in this language, it seems that there is no prosodic information that could signal that there is focus on a specific constituent, let alone on the entire sentence.

- (94)
- a. Ñew-ó sutura-ta le.  
Fish-DEF secret-PF.POS FOCM  
Fish is secure.
- b. Alikáal-óo diŋ-ó ye sutur-óo sotó le.  
Chief-DEF son-DEF PF.POS secrecy-DEF get FOCM  
The son of the chief of the village is secretive.
- c. Jiy-ó jáa-ta le.  
Water-DEF dry-PF.POS FOCM  
The water has dried up.

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 618

- d. Foñ-óo      fée-ta      le.  
 wind-DEF blow-PF.POS FOCM  
 The wind has blown.

As is argued by Creissels and Sambou (2013), in Mandinka, the use of the focus marker *le* following immediately a verb, or a postpositional phrase in the final position of a sentence serves to place emphasis on the entire construction; hence one must talk about sentence focus. As such, (94a, b, c, and d) above are instances of sentences in which *le* is used to draw the addressee's attention to the overall meaning conveyed by each of the said constructions. For instance, in *Ñewó suturata le*, it is difficult to say that the scope of the focus is on the finite verb *sukurata* only, let alone on the core argument *Ñewó* labelled as subject; it is rather on the whole sentence. In such constructions, apart from the use of the focus marker whose position is crucial, one should bear in mind that there is no intonational prominence on a particular constituent (whether it is an argument or a modifier) which signals sentence focus.

With *Alikáalóo diñó ye suturóo sotó le*, there is no specific core argument to which one can limit the scope of *le*. This means that the focus encompasses not only the two arguments *Alikáalóo diñó* and *sukuróo*, but also the verb *sotó* and the tense encoded by the predicative marker *ye*. The occurrence of each of these elements is of prime importance inasmuch as the presence of *le* is not sufficient to express focus meaningfully. If we can talk about information structure, it is because on the one hand there is the realization of some constituents on which focus may fall. This is the reason why the fact of omitting important constituents affects the information structure of most constructions. As such, this importance of different elements can be shown through the oddity of ungrammatical examples like *\*Alikáalóo diñó suturóo sotó le*, *\*ye suturóo sotó le*, *\*Alikáalóo diñó ye sotó le*, *\*Alikáalóo diñó ye suturóo le*, and so on.

Contrary to English weather verbs that are described by Lambrecht (2000) as a class which “does not count as belonging to the formal category ‘SF construction’”, in Mandinka, verbs used to talk about weather do not virtually prevent the focus marker *le* from occurring in different positions. (94d) is an instance of sentence focus that expresses weather information. As we have demonstrated in the section entitled M-atransitive verbs, in the Mandinka language, these kinds of verbs are used with core arguments that can be interpreted at the macrorole level as

either Actor or Undergoer. In a similar vein, for instance, in *Foñóo féeta le*, the core argument *Foñóo* is interpreted as Undergoer.

In brief, one must remember that, as is the case with the other types of focus structure, English also uses prosody to express sentence focus. This is different from the sentence focus system of Mandinka which is mostly signaled by the use of the focus marker *le* that occurs sentence finally. The constructions with most English weather verbs are considered as not belonging to the formal category “SF construction”, whereas verbs related to weather can be used in sentence foci in Mandinka. Mandinka weather related constructions usually include a subject core argument that is normally interpreted as Actor or Undergoer. This interpretation is impossible in English where weather verbs are mostly constructed with dummy elements that are not recognized at the macrorole level, for they are semantically empty.

### 3.3 Cleft constructions

In this section, we would like to explore what is known in English as cleft constructions before trying to deal with the types of constructions Mandinka opts for to convey such ideas. The usual types of cleft constructions in English are *it-cleft*, *wh-cleft*, and *inverted wh-cleft*. With these different kinds of cleft constructions, it is important to specify that the focus is put on different constituents that may correspond to arguments or non-arguments. To go straight to the point, let us consider the following examples:

- (95)
- a. Tom took the money.  
Tomu taa.PRET DEF kódi  
Tomu ye kodóo taa.
  - b. It was the money that Tom took.  
3SG AUXV DEF kódi COMPL Tomu taa.PRET  
Tom ye kódoole taa.
  - c. What Tom took was the money.  
múj Tomu taa.PRET AUXV DEF kódi  
(Lit. \*Tom ye muj taa le mu kodóo ti).  
Tomu ye kodóo le taa.

- d. The money was what Tom took.  
 DEF kódi AUXV muŋ Tomu taa.PRET  
 (Lit. \*Kodóo le mu Tomu ye muŋ taa).  
 Tomu ye kodóo le taa.

First with the *it-cleft*, we see that there is a structure that is different from that that occurs in (95a). The core argument *money* that is the object in (95a) has become the focal element in (95b); it has changed its position in order to precede the subject *Tom* before it is preceded by the conjugated form of *be* that is preceded in turn by the dummy *it* that begins the sentence. The structure is then: *it + the conjugated form of be + XP + subordinate clause*. To be clearer, after the dummy *it*, the auxiliary verb *be* is conjugated in the tense required by the context in which the sentence is. The X phrase is the constituent that is put into focus. Even if, in English, this constituent may be a prepositional phrase, or an adverb phrase, in our examples above, it is a core argument. The subordinate clause is headed by *that*, *who* or *which* depending upon the context. With English *it-cleft* constructions, it is important to know that the focal constituent cannot be a verb phrase, or an adjective phrase as is shown by Kim and Sells (2007). In the *it-cleft* constructions, both the subject and the verb may be preceded by the focal core argument object, whereas this is not the case in English simple declarative sentences where the object usually follows the subject and the verb. Let us now go on to discuss the second canonical type that is the *wh-cleft* construction.

Unlike the *it-cleft*, in the *wh-cleft*, the focal constituent is separated from the *what phrase* by the core argument labelled as subject and verb. The *what phrase* is separated from the focal element by the copular verb *be* as is the case in *What Tom took was the money*. The canonical structure of the constituents can be presented as follows: *What phrase + subject of the original sentence + predicate of the original sentence + the conjugated form of be + Object of the original sentence* (the focused constituent in the *wh-cleft*). With this kind of construction, the element *what* and the conjugated form of *be* are used to bring a modification to the construction by drawing the addressee's attention to one element that is in our example, here, the core argument *money*.

Following Kim and Shells, it is important to bear in mind that the focal constituent can be something other than a core argument. For example, this can be an adverb phrase, a predicate, a

simple sentence, or a *wh*-clause. In this sense, it is correct to say *What Tom teaches is in this book*, or *what Tom teaches is easily understood*. The difference that exists between a core argument (being the focused constituent) and an adverb phrase or a prepositional phrase (being the focal element) is the difficulty there is in finding the original sentence. Actually, when a core argument is focused, we can easily find the matrix clause. For instance, in *What Tom took was the money* we recognize the matrix clause that is *Tom took the money*, whereas it is usually difficult to find it with the adverb phrase or the predicate (being the focused element). If we take the example *What Tom teaches is in this book*, we have real difficulties finding the matrix clause; *\*Tom teaches in this book* cannot be the matrix clause and is by the way an odd construction. The last type of English prototypical cleft construction we would like to deal with is *the inverted wh-cleft*.

As we can see in example (95d), this kind of cleft construction puts the element that is into focus in the subject position. In this prototypical cleft construction, the copular verb *be* marks the end of the phrase that is into focus and the beginning of the relative clause. Still following Kim and Sells (2007), the relative clause can be headed by all the *wh*-words except for *which*.<sup>101</sup> So, depending on the relation of the constituents within the domain of predication the relative clause can be headed by *what*, *who*, *where*, *when*, and the like. For example, we can say *Dakar was where I went*. The difference there is between the *what clause* and the others that are *who*, *where*, *when* is purely semantic. For some semantic clarifications, optional elements (some modifiers) can be put in between the copular verb *be* and the *who*, *where*, or *when* clause. We can say, for instance, *Dakar was the place where I went*, *9'O clock was the time when I came* or *Tom was the person or the one who came*. In contrast, it would be odd to say *\*The money was the thing what Tom took*, we do not need the possible modifier *the thing* in the construction. Accordingly, we can aver from this way of thinking that the *inverted wh-cleft* is more accurate with *what* than with the other *wh*-words such as *who*, *where*, *when*. Then, the structure of the *inverted wh-cleft* can be presented as: *the focal core argument at the subject position + the conjugated form of be + (NP) + wh-word clause*.

In the different examples (95a, b, c, and d), there is the realization of narrow focus inasmuch as the focus is put on the single core argument *money*. This does not mean that this is

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 262



the only type of focus we can have with the cleft constructions aforementioned. In English, it is also possible to have broad focus with cleft constructions. As such, the construction that is focused may include both arguments and modifiers. For example, in the clause *What Dan said yesterday in the kitchen is not true*, there is the *wh*-word *what* that is used to replace a constituent that would be a core argument in a simple declarative clause while both the non-phrasal and phrasal adjuncts *yesterday* and *in the kitchen* are optional elements that modify the clause that is into focus. In fact, with some English *wh*-cleft constructions, the broad focus that occurs may include more than one modifier as is attested by the example we have just dealt with.

What is important to note about the three canonical types of cleft constructions is that there are usually additional elements that are used to bring some modifications to clauses by drawing the addressees' attention to different constituents that can be either arguments or non-arguments. Starting from the matrix clause *Tom took the money*, in each of the cleft constructions we have given, there are new words that have been added to the same example with a movement noted at the level of most constituents so as to make the focus possible on one constituent. For instance, in the example with the *it*-cleft, *It was the money that Tom took*, the elements *it*, *was*, and *that* have appeared with a change at the level of the word order. With such a construction, a core argument like *money* being into focus appears in the middle position of the clause while this is placed in the final position in a clause like *Tom took the money*. Thus, clefting is a syntactic phenomenon through which changes are observed in the word order of the English language.

Mandinka boasts a focus marker *le* that helps put the focus on different elements within a sentence. To express the different types of cleft constructions noted in English, Mandinka also uses the same element that appears with the other types of focus expression we have already talked about. As such, this focus marker *le* can appear either within the external argument or in the framework of the predicate; as is said, its position is not fixed in the domain of predication. On this account, Rowlands (1959) says that *le* "can occur once in any one sentence but at various points in the sentence and it has the effect of focusing the attention on the element which immediately precedes" (p. 138). In reality, in order to make the types of cleft constructions known in English, the Mandinka language always uses the movable element *le* just after different constituents. This means that *le* is immediately put on the right of the element or phrase that is put into focus as is the case with the other types of focus structures.

- (96)
- a. Móo-lu le ye lond-óo ñiniŋ báake.  
 person-PLM FOCM PF.POS knowledge-DEF look for a lot  
 It is people who have looked for knowledge a lot.
- b. Alikáal-óo dúŋ-ta búŋ-o le kóno.  
 chief-DEF enter-PF.POS room-DEF FOCM POSTP  
 It was the room that the chief of the village entered.

The focus marker *le* can appear in the predicate putting the focus on a phrase or a single word as it can appear in the framework of the subject while laying emphasis on an element of the subject or on the whole subject. With clefting, Mandinka words do not move in the domain of predication, the element that does move is *le*. Beyond the elements controlled by the verb within the predicate, the focus marker *le* can even place emphasis on elements such as Benefactives, Locatives and Instrumentals that are also mentioned by Dramé (1981). For instance, in example (96b) *Alikáalóo dúŋta buŋo le kóno*, we see that *le* is between the noun *buŋo* “room” and the postposition *kóno* “in” in order to put into focus the Locative modifier *buŋo kóno*.

In a nutshell, if English uses different types of cleft constructions (*it-cleft*, *wh-cleft* and *inverted wh-cleft*) that help put the emphasis on different types of constituents, Mandinka has a special focus marker (*le*) that is always placed right after the focal element. There is generally a change in the word order of English cleft constructions, whereas there is no change in that of Mandinka. This means that, unlike English, constituents such as arguments and modifiers do not move for some focal motivations in Mandinka. In this language, the only element that changes positions depending upon the focal constituent is *le*.

Besides the case of cleft constructions, there is also the occurrence of some particles (some modifiers) that serve to express focus in particular languages. As such, these modifiers will be our subject matter in the following section.

### 3.4 Focus particles in English and Mandinka

Dryer (1994) mentions two types of focus phenomena which are free focus and bound focus. The free focus has been differently captured by many linguists in terms of presupposition and assertion, whereas the bound focus being associated with labels like focus words or focus particles involve differences in truth-conditional meaning. Having already dealt with the first type of focus known as free focus, in this section, we shall explore the case of bound focus particles in the two languages. These are actually lexical elements such as adverbs that are used to modify the semantic interpretations of constructions. For instance, in English, these focus words include adverbs such as *only*, *even*, *also*, and so on. To classify these focus particles crosslinguistically, König (1991) identifies two subclasses of focus words such as additive and exclusive particles. Following König, “‘additive’ or ‘inclusive’ particles include some alternative(s) as possible value(s) for the variable of their scope; ‘restrictive’ or ‘exclusive’ particles imply that none of the alternatives under consideration satisfies the relevant open sentence” (p. 33). On this subject, in the following paragraphs, first, we shall explore these two types of focus words in English before looking into what occurs in Mandinka. In doing so, we shall try to capture focus words whose contrastive analysis seems to us to be paramount.

(97)

a. Only John came.

PART John naa.PRET

Jóoni dammáa le náata.

b. Fred also bought a new car.

Feredi fanaa sáŋ.PRET INDEF kutayáa motóo

Feredi fanaa ye motóo sáŋ ne.

c. Even the guard-s were asleep.

Hani DEF kantarílaa-PLM AUX.PRET ADJ

Hani kantaríláalu sínoóta.

d. Q: Did John do anything odd that I should know about?

PRET Jóoni ké kúu maneeríŋ C 1SG MODV lóŋ P

Fó Jóoni ye kúu manee le ké η' máŋ muŋ kalamuta bán?

A: Yes, he only gave MARY A BOOK.

Háa 3SG ADV díi.PRET Mari INDEF kitáabu

Háa, a ye kitáabóo dammáa le díi Mari la.

- e. He can even speak French.  
3SG MODV ADV fó faránsikaṅó  
A ka háni faránsikaṅó fó noo le.

In English, the element *only* is an exclusive particle that is used to give modification to different constructions in interesting ways. Its use in an utterance indicates the truth of two propositions. In fact, the hearer interprets the proposition in two ways among which there are the truth of the construction in use and that of the context. For instance, with the use of *Only* in (97a) *Only John came*, not only is the addressee informed that *John came*, but also they may comprehend through the meaning of the proposition that *John* was the only person who came; this means that there is the exclusion of the coming of any other person than *John*. As such, the construction explicitly conveys some information whose interpretation implies the truth of another proposition.

The position of a focus word in a construction is crucial, for this can help place the focus on different constituents which do not occupy the same syntactic positions. The modifier *only* may precede the constituent it is used to put the focus on. For instance, in *Only John came*, the focus is put on the core argument *John* labelled as the grammatical subject of the construction, for following König (1991), “A particle preceding the subject can only focus on that constituent or some part of it” (p. 21). Since the element on which there is focus is the subject core argument which denotes presupposition, therefore, we can aver that it is on this notion that there is focus. By the way, it is this focus that makes it possible to make an interpretation according to which the coming of anybody other than *John* is excluded. With the use of *only* in (97a), there is narrow focus because the focal element is the core argument *John* and not the whole sentence. Unlike focus words (modifiers) such as *even* and *also*, the modifier *only* affects the meaning of the construction containing it. As such, *Only John came* and *John came* are two constructions whose difference in interpretation lies in the occurrence and non-occurrence of the modifier *only*. This can be better understood in the following explanation:

The word *only* radically affects the meaning, however, in that the assertion of a sentence with *only* is completely different from that of the assertion of the corresponding sentence without *only*, the assertion of the sentence without *only* being the presupposition of the

sentence with *only* and the assertion of the sentence with *only* being the denial of the existence of other individuals with the property in question. (Dryer, 1994, p. 12)

The element that is semantically associated with the English focus particle *only* may be different from the constituent that is stressed within the same construction. In this sense, there may be two foci within the same sentence; this means that not only is the speaker's attention drawn to the constituent that is semantically associated with the focus particle but also to the element that receives intonational prominence. This is the case in an example like *Yes, he only gave MARY A BOOK* where the core arguments *MARY* and *BOOK* are the two foci. Following Dryer, with such types of constructions, the focal element that is semantically associated with the focus particle *only* is that that occurs sentence final.<sup>102</sup> As such, within the example we have just given, the addressee's attention is drawn to the element *BOOK*, for this is the very element that is associated with the focus particle *only*. The only thing that is given here is the *BOOK* and not *MARY*.

Still following Dryer, with for instance three argument verbs, the positions in which the two focused core arguments occur are paramount, for this can help change the element that is semantically associated with the modifier *only*. For example, if in *Yes, he only gave MARY A BOOK*, it is the *BOOK* that is semantically associated with *only*, in an example like *Yes, he only gave A BOOK to MARY*, it is rather the nonmacrorole core argument *MARY*. With such a type of construction, *MARY* occurring in the final position of the construction is the main interest or focus, not the core argument *BOOK* that also receives intonational prominence.<sup>103</sup>

Another focus particle whose use is paramount in information structure is the modifier *also*. The use of this element in different constructions helps convey a piece of information according to which there is an addition to something else. For instance, with the use of *also* in an example like *Fred also bought a new car*, an addressee can construe that *Fred* is not the only one to buy a new car. There is narrow focus insofar as *also* is used to draw the addressee's attention to the core argument *Fred* it immediately follows. Then, it is *Fred* that is the focal element, and not any other element. With the use of such a modifier, there is not the expression of any notion

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 16

<sup>103</sup> For further information, see Matthew S. Dryer, "The Pragmatics of Focus-Association with *only*." (Unpublished paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, 1994*)

of denial within the context proposition. This means that the utterance *Fred also bought a new car* implies that there is at least somebody else who bought a new car.

With the use of an additive focus particle like *also*, it should be noted that the location of the stress is of paramount importance. For instance, the fact of stressing the object core argument instead of the subject core argument may help give different interpretations. In this sense, according to König (1991), utterances such as *FRED also bought a new car* and *Fred also bought a NEW CAR* appear with difference in meaning thanks to the location of the stress that is not the same within the two constructions (p.29). The core argument object being the focal element that is semantically associated with the focus particle, the sentence *Fred also bought a NEW CAR* is given an interpretation according to which, in addition to a *NEW CAR*, *Fred* has bought something else or some other things.

As far as the position of *also* is concerned, one should remember that even if this can occur in various positions within different constructions, it may, for instance, follow a single constituent in order to express narrow focus. This is the case in (97b) where *also* focusing on the core argument *Fred* directly follows the said core argument coinciding with the subject. In English, with such a focus particle, it is very hard to produce intonational prominence on any other element different from the one that is semantically associated with *also*. As such, it would be odd to produce an utterance like *\*FRED also bought A NEW CAR* inasmuch as there should be only one focal accent whose location must coincide with the inclusive focus particle *also*, not two or more. On this subject, Dryer argues that:

[...] Even if it is never possible for the element associated semantically with *also* or *even* to be distinct from the element that receives focal accent, this is only because the semantics of these words is such that the element associated with these words semantically always happens to be the element that is focus according to general pragmatic principles of free focus.<sup>104</sup>

Still about the different positions occupied by the adverb *also*, one should keep in mind that this can appear in the front position of a construction as well, more precisely in the left-detached position. In doing so, it introduces a new piece of information it does focus on at once.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., 13

The use of *also* in the front position may signal sentence focus. This is the case in an example like *It is very humid. Also, you can easily get sunburnt*. In such a construction, the scope of the focus expressed by *also* is not limited to a single specific constituent, but rather to the whole construction. In English, the use of *also* in the final position of a sentence is something unusual; as such, we use *too* or *as well* instead.

Another adverb modifier that is also used in English to indicate focus is *even*. Even if this is a type of inclusive focus in addition to *also*, one can keep in mind that the particularity of *even* is that it is used to signal something that is surprising or unexpected. This can better be illustrated by example (97c). In the sentence *Even the guards were asleep*, the modifier *even* occurring in the initial position of the construction is used to narrow focus on the core argument *the guards* whose being *asleep* is looked upon as something that is surprising, very special, or unusual. In English, the use of *even* in the initial position of most sentences seems to express narrow focus inasmuch as its focus usually concerns one constituent that is a core argument in (97c).

The position in which the focus particle *even* occurs is of paramount importance, for this may trigger a change of focus type within the same construction. For example, if the fact of placing *even* in the initial position of a construction may signal narrow focus, it is also possible to express sentence focus when such a focus particle appears between the core argument subject and the main verb, or after the modal verb or first auxiliary verb. On this subject, with a construction like *He can even speak French*, the scope of the focus cannot be limited to one single constituent; this is rather put on the whole construction.

As is the case with the adverb *also*, *even* does not presuppose any notion of denial. This means that the fact that *the guards were asleep* is a true proposition, and the fact that at least someone else was *asleep* is a true proposition as well. With the use of *even* within a construction, the truth of the context proposition is considered by the speaker as something that is not special or unusual, whereas they look upon the proposition expressed within the sentence as something extraordinary. By using the element *even*, the speaker seems to give quality or importance to something in reference to something else they may usually evoke presuppositionally.

The use of focus particles appears with very important features insofar as this permits to give significant semantic contributions to different constructions. In doing so, the occurrence or

the non-occurrence of a focus particle usually makes a big difference in the semantic interpretation of a sentence. Not only may the positions and forms of focus particles vary within the same language but also from one language to another. Thus, after dealing with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic notions about some commonly used English focus particles, in the following paragraphs, we shall continue our analysis with the case of Mandinka focus particles.

- (98)
- a. Adama dammáa le be jáŋ.  
 Adama ADV FOCM LCOP here  
 Adama is the only person here.
- b. Í fanáa bo-ta Banjunu le.  
 2SG ADV come-PF.POS Banjul FOCM  
 You are also from Banjul.
- c. Ñiŋ laahid-óo-lu be ke la a taa le ti fanáa.  
 This promise-DEF-PLM LCOP be FUT 3SG go FOCM OBL also  
 These promises will also be yours.
- d. Iburayima fanáa dammáa le naa-ta.  
 Ibrahim also only FOCM come-PF.POS  
 Ibrahim also is the only one who came.
- e. I fanáa-lu faa-ta jee.  
 3PL also-PLM die-PF.POS there  
 They also died there.
- f. A ka táa bor-óo la le hání súutóo fájó.  
 3SG HAB.POS go run-DEF OBL FOCM ADV night-DEF itself  
 He goes running even at night.
- g. Mamina faa-máa dúŋ naa-ta le báj?  
 Mamina father-KM CONTR come-PF.POS FOCM Q  
 What about Mamina's father, has he come?

Unlike English focus particles, Mandinka focus particles can be classified into three main types: exclusive particles, additive particles, and one well known contrastive particle. Adverbs like *dammáa*<sup>105</sup>, *dóróŋ* are subsumed in exclusive particles, whereas elements such as *hání*,

<sup>105</sup> Some speakers may use *dammaŋ* instead of *dammáa*.



*háni*.....*fanó*, *fanáa*<sup>106</sup> stand for additive particles. The focus particle *dúŋ* is used in Mandinka to signal contrast.

The use of the Mandinka focus particle *dammáa* usually helps have the possibility of interpreting two propositions. The one is comprehended from the very utterance that is produced while the other proposition is presupposition related. In this sense, with the expression of an utterance such as *Adama dammáa le be jáŋ*, one should grasp that not only is the proposition *Adama le be jáŋ* true, but the context proposition *No one other than Adama is here* is true as well. The only difference between the two propositions is that the former affirms the fact that *Adama* is the only one to be there, whereas the latter denies the presence of any other person than *Adama*.

The position in which the exclusive particle *dammáa* occurs is of prime importance because this significantly interacts with the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the construction in which it is used. It is usually realized just after the constituent it is used to put the focus on. In an example like *Adama dammáa le be jáŋ*, the core argument *Adama* preceding *dammáa* is the focal element. This is a narrow focus because *dammáa* is used to draw the addressee's attention to one single constituent that is the core argument *Adama*. What is also interesting about this focus particle is that it importantly co-occurs with the focus marker *le* we have already dealt with within this chapter. It is virtually difficult to use *dammáa* within a construction from which *le* is missing. If it is odd to produce utterances such as *\*dammáa Adama le be jáŋ*, *\*Adama be dammáa le jáŋ*, *\*Adama le be jáŋ dammáa*, it is because the focus particle *dammáa* usually follows the constituent on which it is used to narrow focus. As for the element *le*, it is important to know that this occurs just after the focus particle *dammáa*.

Another focus particle that seems to be similar to *dammáa* in meaning is the modifier *dóróŋ* which is also an exclusive focus particle. According to Creissels and Sambou (2013) these two particles are not completely equivalent semantically (p. 255). Even if *dammáa* and *dóróŋ* are mostly interchangeable, one must remember that they may often appear with a slight difference in terms of interpretation and distribution. In this connection, *dammáa* can take the plural marker *-lu*, whereas this seems to be impossible with *dóróŋ* whatever the context may be.<sup>107</sup> In fact, if *-lu* is added to *dammáa*, this may mean something like “among themselves or between themselves”.

<sup>106</sup> Depending upon speakers, we can also have the form *fánánj* instead of *fánáa*.

<sup>107</sup> For some examples of constructions including *dammáalu*, see also Creissels and Sambou, *Mandinka*, 255.

For instance, the meaning conveyed by *dammáa* in a construction like *Díndíjólú dammáalu le kéleta* “The children fought between themselves” cannot be conveyed by *dóróŋ* in any context. In Mandinka, a speaker may use *dammáalu* to indicate that the pluralized noun this immediately follows has referents that are related or relatives. So, with the utterance *Díndíjólú dammáalu le kéleta*, an addressee may construe from the semantic contribution of the pluralized focus particle *dammáalu* that the focal element *Díndíjólú* “the children” are relatives who fought.

Even if unlike *dammáa*, *dóróŋ* is usually used in the sense of *only*, one should keep in mind that there are certain features these two particles share in common. Like *dammáa*, *dóróŋ* is chiefly followed by the focus marker *le* and besides it does not precede the constituent on which it is used to narrow focus. In (98a), *dóróŋ* can be used in the same position as *dammáa* without any difference in meaning. As such, both *Adama dammáa le be jáŋ* and *Adama dóróŋ ne be jáŋ* mean “Adama is the only one to be here”. The appearance of *dóróŋ* in any position other than that that is realized just after the focal element may cause oddity within a construction. In this sense, it is difficult to construe nonsensical utterances like *\*Dóróŋ Adama le be jáŋ*, *\*Adama le dóróŋ be jáŋ*, *\*Adama le be dóróŋ jáŋ*. The position occupied by both *dóróŋ* and *dammáa* is of prime importance insofar as this significantly contributes to the semantic and pragmatic interpretations at once.

An aspect that is also paramount to mention about the two exclusive particles is that they can co-occur within the same construction. In doing so, *dammáa* and *dóróŋ* immediately follow each other. Even if the co-occurrence of these two exclusive particles serves to express an additional focus, we should specify that Creissels and Sambou have argued that this has no effect on the semantic interpretation of the construction in which this happens.<sup>108</sup> For example, *ŋ já íte dammáa dóróŋ ne kanu dúníyâa kóno*<sup>109</sup> “You are the only one I love in the world” has the same interpretation as *ŋ já íte dóróŋ ne kanu dúníyâa kóno* “You are the only one I love in the world”.

*Fanáa* is an additive particle. It indicates that there is addition to something or to what is being talked about. With such a focus particle, the propositions conveyed by both the context and the sentence are considered to be true. The speaker produces their utterance while taking into consideration the truthfulness of the context proposition. In this connection, example (98b) *Í*

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

*fanáa bota Banjunu le* presupposes that there is at least someone who is from *Banjunu*, and it is in addition to this proposition that the sentence proposition is produced. As such, the very element that is the speaker's interest is the referent of the core argument subject *Í*. This is a narrow focus because the focus is about one single constituent.

Unlike the two exclusive particles we have just dealt with, the additive focus particle *fanáa* is not immediately followed by the element *le*. It is never possible to associate this type of focus marker with *fanáa*. In this sense, in Mandinka, it is unacceptable to produce utterances like *\*Í fanáa le bota Banjunu*. It is also impossible to associate the focus marker *le* with the constituent that is focused by *fanáa*. In (98b), the core argument *Í* that is focused by *fanáa* cannot be focused by the element *le* at the same time; this means that with the use of such a focus particle, two foci cannot be realized on the same constituent within the same construction.

Like the exclusive focus particles *dammáa* and *dóróŋ*, *Fanáa* is mainly used just after the constituent it is used to put the narrow focus on. This position occupied by such a particle is of prime importance, for if this is violated it affects the semantic and pragmatic interpretations. *Fanáa* cannot be used in the sentence initial position or directly follow a constituent it is used to put the focus on, it cannot be used just after a verb that does not occur in the final position either. This is the reason why constructions like *\*Fanáa Í bota Banjunu le*, *\*Í bota fanáa Banjunu le* are not interpretable. The position of *fanáa* is not fixed within a construction, therefore, one can chiefly keep in mind that it can be placed both just after the core argument subject, the object, or the indirect object. It can also be used to focus on modifiers such as adverbs by directly following them as is the case with core arguments. The occurrence of *fanáa* in the sentence final position expresses a focus that seems to be on the whole sentence. This is the case in (98c) *Ñiŋ laahidóolu be ke la a taa le ti fanáa* in which the scope of the focus particle is on the entire sentence. With such a type of construction, there is no specific constituent to which one may limit the focus expressed by *fanáa*.

Another important aspect about the use of *fanáa* is that it can also co-occur with the other focus particles such as *dammáa*, *dóróŋ*, *dúŋ*, and so on. In doing so, it can be usually put just before *dammáa* and *dóróŋ* while it is immediately placed before or after the contrastive focus particle *dúŋ*. For instance, in *Iburayima fanáa dammáa le naata*, the two elements *fanáa* and *dammáa* are used to modify the constituent *Iburayima* they both follow successively. In fact this

same constituent receives the semantic contributions of both the additive focus particle *fanáa* and the exclusive focus particle *dammán* without causing any problem at the level of the interpretation. Accordingly, one may note that *Y fanáa dammáa* obligatorily presupposes *X dammáa*; this means that *Iburayima fanáa dammáa le naata* could not be normally produced if the speaker does not have in mind that someone *dammáa le naata*.

Like the exclusive particle *dammáa*, one must note that the element *fanáa* also can take the plural marker *-lu*. This normally happens when the constituent on which it narrow-focuses is in the plural form. The presence of this inflectional morpheme does not seem to make any difference in the overall meaning of the sentence insofar as it can disappear from the focus particle without changing the interpretation of the said sentence. Thus, the two constructions *I fanáalu faata jee* and *I fanáa faata jee* are exactly construed in the same way. What is unacceptable about the occurrence of the plural marker is that it cannot be added to *fanáa* if the constituent it is used to put the focus on is not in the plural form. This ungrammaticality can be illustrated by an example like *\*A fanáalu faata jee* “\*He/She also died there”.

In addition to *fanáa*, Mandinka also uses the inclusive focus particle *hání* to draw attention to a constituent in special ways. About this element, Rowlands (1959) argues that “This word resembles le/ne in that it can modify various sections of the sentence, but it is placed in front of the word or phrase it modifies” (p. 145). Unlike the other types of focus particles we have already dealt with, *hání* precedes the constituent on which it puts narrow focus. It is important to keep in mind such a position because this inclusive focus particle never follows the element it puts the focus on as can be seen in the oddity of *\*A ka táa boróo la le súutóo hání fájó* in which *hání* does not occur in the right position. The co-occurrence of *hání* with *fájó* permits to put a stronger focus on the constituent that appears in between them. For instance, in *A ka táa boróo la le hání súutóo fájó*, the modifier *súutóo* expressing temporal information and appearing in between *hání* and *fájó* receives the focus of both elements. *Hání* is also used to express focus without the occurrence of *fájó*. This is the reason why a speaker may opt for *A ka táa boróo la le hání súutóo* instead of *A ka táa boróo la le hání súutóo fájó*; the only difference is that, in the first example, the modifier *súutóo* is focused by one element, whereas there are two elements that focus on it in the second example.

As is the case with *even* in English, the Mandinka focus particle *hání* also may be used to signal that something is unusual, unexpected, or exceptional. Thanks to the modification of *hání* and *fáńó* in (98f), the modifier *súutóo* is interpreted as something unusual or unexpected. The fact of focusing on such an element presupposes that the activity of going to running in the morning or the afternoon is something true which is considered as usual, whereas this same activity is considered to be unusual or unexpected in the night. As such, *A ka táa boróo la le háńi súutóo fáńó* presupposes *A ka táa boróo la le somandáa/tilibulóo* “He/She goes running in the morning/afternoon”.

In addition to exclusive and additive particles, Mandinka boasts another type of focus particle that Creissels and Sambou (2013) capture as a contrastive particle. This is the focus particle *dún*. Like *dammáa*, *dórón* and *fanáa*, *dún* usually follows the constituent it puts the focus on. Such a particle chiefly occurs in interrogative sentences as is illustrated by *Mamina faamáa dún naata le bán?* in (98g). In this example, not only is *dún* used to focus on *Mamina faamáa* but also to put this in contrast with at least another element that may be contextually defined. Depending upon the context, *Mamina faamáa* may be contrasted with someone else’s father or with something else that is presupposition related. *Dún* cannot be pluralized; it cannot take the *-o* suffix either. The element that can take such inflectional morphemes is that that is focused by *dún*.

In miniature, both English and Mandinka have exclusive and inclusive particles they do not use in the same way. What makes the particularity of Mandinka is that it boasts a third type of focus particle known as the contrastive particle *dún* English does not have. Besides, some Mandinka focus particles such as *dammáa* and *fanáa* can be pluralized, whereas this is impossible with any of the English focus particles we have dealt with. In Mandinka, the two exclusive focus particles *dammáa* and *dórón* may co-occur within the same construction by following each other, whereas English seems to have no phenomenon similar to this. To some extent, when pluralized, *dammáa* may give a pragmatic contribution its counterpart *only* cannot convey. Depending upon different constructions, it is frequent to express narrow focus with the use of different focus particles in the two languages. One striking thing to mention is that Mandinka can use *fanáa* in the final position to put the focus on the whole sentence, whereas English may place *also* in the initial position to signal the same type of focus. Actually, focus

particles are of prime importance in particular languages inasmuch as they give significant semantic and pragmatic contributions to different constructions by modifying them. As such, exploring such elements within the scope of information structure may help decipher the way information is packaged to a certain extent. Another aspect that is also dealt with within the scope of information structure is the system of passive voice.

### 3.5 Passive voice

In the literature, some linguists<sup>110</sup> have inquired into passive constructions with regard to the packaging of information. The system of voice is an interesting aspect because not only can it be used to describe the ways syntactic functions are aligned with thematic relations but also the pragmatic relations we can associate with different constituents, especially arguments and modifiers. As such, we shall try to capture the voice systems of both English and Mandinka while dealing with some pragmatic notions at once.

Passive constructions which may include topic or focus are not applicable to every construction in English. For instance, intransitive verbs cannot be passivized in this language. Following Rothstein (1983), in English “[...] passivization applies only to verbs with an external argument and an internal ‘patient argument,’ [...]” (p. 112). If the object argument is deleted from the passive sentence, we can note a similarity between the latter and an M-intransitive construction. The only structural difference is that with a passive construction the presence of the core argument object is optional, whereas with the M-intransitive construction its absence is essential, for the verb does not require any.

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<sup>110</sup> See, for instance, Michael A. K. Halliday, “Notes on transitivity and theme in English”, (*Journal of Linguistics* 3: 37-81 (pt. I), 199-244 (pt. II), 1967); Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum, *A Student’s Introduction to English Grammar*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)



meaningful construction. This kind of sentence is somewhat similar to M-intransitive constructions in simple active sentences, for it has no core argument construable as object.

We can say that with the passivization of M-transitive lexical verbs there is usually the absence of the entity including the Actor. This lets us see the predication hold between an Undergoer (subject) and a predicate headed by an auxiliary verb with the optional absence of the Actor. As such, the Undergoer introducing the construction may be interpreted as topic when it expresses “old information” or presupposition. For example, with an example like *The lion was wounded*, the core argument *The lion* is considered as presupposed information.

The passive construction with the English auxiliary verbs is of paramount importance in the English predicative system. The English auxiliary verbs behave differently from lexical verbs in various respects. To show their behavior within the predicative system, we shall talk about the case of the modal auxiliaries such as *will, shall, can, may, must*, and the like. These modal auxiliaries behave in the same way in the domain of predication. The structure of these modal auxiliary verbs in the simple active sentences is S + AUXV + LV + (O), whereas in the simple passive sentences it is S + AUXV + be + V-en + (by + O). To delve into an overall study of the case of the English modal auxiliaries, we can consider the following example with *will*:

(100) Active form a. I will help you.  
 1SG FUT maakoyirí í  
 ñ be i máakoyi la le.

Passive form b. You will be help-ed by me.  
 2SG FUT AUXV maakoyi-PASTP P 1SG  
 ≈ Í be máakoyi la le.

In the passive sentence (100b), the two entities are the core argument *you* (presupposition) and the assertion *will be helped by me* corresponding to the predicate. The pronoun *you* may be interpreted as topic, because as a pronoun, its referent is necessarily activated in the addressee’s mind. Here the referent is no one else other than the one being addressed. As far as the assertion is concerned, this is headed by *will* that is followed by the auxiliary verb *be* which precedes the



past participle of the verb *help*. What is ordinary with the modal auxiliary verbs in the English passive construction is that they are always followed by the primary auxiliary verb *be* that is followed by the past participle of the lexical verbs they go with. Contrary to the M-transitive lexical verbs, the modal auxiliary verbs precede the primary auxiliary verb *be* in the passive sentence.

In fact, the English passive voice system appears with interesting operations. This involves a remarkable change in the word order (direct object becoming subject, and subject becoming object), it also involves some additions (the verb is expanded by the addition of the auxiliary verb *be* and the past participial ending *-en*; the preposition *by* also is added). The passive construction optionally allows a deletion operation (deletion of the *by* prepositional phrase construable as Undergoer). To see whether there is the same phenomenon in Mandinka, we shall explore, in the following paragraphs, how information is distributed with Mandinka so-called passive constructions with regard to the central role played by different constituents.

The passive voice system is a complex one in the Mandinka language, for there is no auxiliary verb that can help convey accurate information with such a system. Therefore, putting a sentence in the passive voice amounts to having recourse to a *-ta* suffix added to the end of the passivized verb. In this process, the core argument construable as Actor disappears, which means that we have as structure Undergoer (core argument object) + Verb in *-ta*. Following Dramé (1983), if the direct object is always present in Mandinka constructions, it is because the transitive verbs of this language are strongly transitive in terms of O requirement (p. 70). The direct object of the M-transitive verbs becomes the subject of the passive construction, whereas with the three argument verbs it may vary. For example, with verbs appearing with the structure S + ye + IO + V + O + POSTP, it is the IO that becomes the subject of the passive construction, whereas with verbs appearing with the structure S + ye + O + V + IO + POSTP, it is the O. We can see that in both structures the element that becomes the subject in the passive construction is that that is closer to the subject of the active construction. Thus, for the first structure we have IO + V-ta + O + POSTP as for the second it is O + V-ta + IO + POSTP.

(101) Active construction: a. Laamini ye boor-óo kunúŋ.  
 Lamine PF.POS medicine-DEF swallow  
 Lamine has swallowed the medicine.

Passive construction: Boor-óo kunúŋ-ta.  
 Medicine-DEF swallow-PF.POS  
 The medicine has been swallowed.

Active construction: b. Sarata ye Salífu ñíninkaa tasal-óo la.  
 Sarata PF.POS Salif ask kettle-DEF POSTP  
 Sarata asked Salif the kettle.

Passive construction: Salifu ñíninkaa-ta tasal-oo la. Hence IO + V-ta + O + POSTP  
 Salif ask-PF.POS kettle-DEF POSTP  
 Salif was asked the kettle.

Active construction: c. Kew-ó ye kanj-óo sáŋ mus-óo ye.  
 man-DEF PM okra-DEF buy woman-DEF POSTP  
 The man bought the woman okra.

Passive construction : Kanj-óo sáŋ-ta mus-óo ye. Hence O + V-ta + IO + POSTP  
 okra-DEF buy-PF.POS woman-DEF POSTP  
 Okra was bought for the woman.

From these different examples, we realize that it is possible to make some passive constructions in this language. The same *-ta* suffix that helps make the M-intransitive constructions appears again to help make passive constructions with the M-transitive and three arguments verbs of this language. This is the reason why some linguists aver that Mandinka M-transitive verbs are used both transitively and intransitively. Actually, this is true but we must be aware of the fact that information is not delivered in the same way within the two different voices.

What is remarkable with Mandinka passivization is that the passive construction does not faithfully convey the meaning embodied by the active construction. On this subject, Dramé (1981) states that “The difficulty in incorporating these meaning differences into the transformational apparatus led to the speculation that may be there is no passive transformation in this language”. (p. 99). The passivized sentences appear with meaning differences from their



their corresponding active sentences. In the same way, from an active form to a passive one, the topic may change. For instance, in the passive form (102b) *John was given a book by him*, *John* still remaining the recipient as it is in the active form has become the subject and the topic. *He*, the subject and the topic in the active form has become the object in the passive form while it still remains the Agent even if it is no longer the topic. As such, one must note that contrary to grammatical functions and the topic expression that may change, English thematic relations remain unchanged regardless of the voice of the sentence.

Actually, on the one hand, the subject can be used interchangeably with the Actor (Agent, Effector, and the Instrument) in Mandinka. On the other hand, the object is used interchangeably with the notion of Undergoer (Patient, Theme, and Recipient). These phenomena are seen in the Mandinka active constructions but if we transform these constructions into passive ones, we realize that some grammatical functions change, whereas the thematic relations remain unchangeable. As is the case in English, we may change topics from the active voice to the passive voice in Mandinka as well.

- (103) Active voice      a. Latífu ye táabul-óo dadaa.  
    Latif    PM   table-DEF   make  
    Latif made the table.
- b. Táabul-óo dadaa-ta.  
    table-DEF   make-PF.POS  
    The table was made.

As we can see in examples (103a and b), the word *Táabuloo* “table” that is the direct object in the active construction has become the subject of the passive construction (103b). From this, we understand that the grammatical function of an element can be changed, for here the word *Táabuloo* “table” has changed grammatical functions while becoming the topic of the passivized construction. If we turn the analysis to the thematic relation level, we realize that there is no change at such a level inasmuch as the element *Táabuloo* is the Patient in both sentences. In example (103a), we understand that the word *Táabuloo* undergoes the action of making as we can understand its undergoing the same action in (103b) as well. Actually, Mandinka grammatical

functions are used interchangeably depending on the change of constructions, whereas its thematic relations remain unchangeable.

The case of the thematic relation that is striking in the Mandinka passive voice system is the Agent or Effector. This is totally removed from the passive construction, but all the same, the understanding of the construction helps the hearer get the idea that there is an indefinable Agent or Effector that would be the subject in the active construction and which is a hidden object in the passive construction. For instance, in *Táabulóo daadata*, it will be very difficult for a hearer to know the accurate Agent or Effector of the action if they do not have recourse to the context; without the context they are just given the mere accomplishment of the action upon the Patient, not more. Actually, from a topic-focus analysis, one can say that in Mandinka passivized constructions, the Agent or Effector is not normally included in the focus (assertion), whereas the core argument interpreted as Patient seems to correlate with the topic.

If one confines oneself to the Mandinka passive construction as such, the Agent or Effector is always unknown, for its syntactic appearance makes the construction anomalous or ambiguous. If one says something like *Táabulóo daadata Salifu*, a hearer would think that the announcer directly speaks to somebody called *Salifu*, informing him about the making of the table. There is no Agent in this construction, and when this is a written form the example needs a comma between *Salifu* and *Táabulóo daadata* to be able to convey the meaning we have just mentioned.

In brief, with the passive construction of the two languages, the subject being the Patient may coincide with the topic. The core argument object standing for the Agent or Effector is obligatorily absent from the Mandinka passive constructions. This means that from the topic-focus analysis, the assertion cannot include this thematic relation in Mandinka, whereas this is possible in English even if it is not an obligation. Unlike English, with Mandinka passive sentences, only the context can help know the Agent or Effector but not the construction as such. To help make passive constructions, Mandinka uses its *-ta* suffix that normally signals M-intransitivity, whereas English has recourse to its auxiliary verb *be* that appears in different forms with regard to tense and number.

Arguments and modifiers are distributed in simple sentences with very interesting features that are related to syntax, semantics and pragmatics wherewith we have captured some similarities and differences between the two languages. After underscoring some essential ideas about the occurrence of arguments and modifiers at the level of simple constructions, now we shall devote the following chapter to their case in complex sentences.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ARGUMENTS AND MODIFIERS IN COMPLEX SENTENCES**

### 4.0 General considerations

In the complex constructions of particular languages, one can also notice the distribution of arguments and modifiers as is the case with simple constructions. Dealing with arguments and modifiers in complex sentences mainly amounts to exploring the systems of subordinate clauses that appear in particular languages with interesting syntactic and semantic aspects. With subordination, there is usually the embedding of one unit within another. And in doing so, an embedded clause may function as an argument or a modifier depending upon the type of subordinate clause that is being constructed. Then, to show the important role modification and argumenthood are given in complex sentences, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) demonstrate that “Subordination subsumes two distinct construction types: units functioning as core arguments (e.g. 'subject' and 'object' complement clauses), on the one hand, and modifiers (e.g. relative clauses, adverbial clauses), on the other” (p. 454). Thus, to contrast the complex sentences of both English and Mandinka with regard to arguments and modifiers, we shall conduct our analysis by inquiring into the case of relative clauses, daughter subordination, peripheral subordination, and so forth.

### 4.1 Relative clauses as modifiers

Following Huddleston and Pullum (2005), “A relative clause is a special kind of subordinate clause whose primary function is as a modifier to a noun or nominal” (p. 183). In some linguistic theories, relative clauses are also labelled as adjective clauses. These types of clauses provide some information about the referents of elements they are used to modify. In doing so, the modifications different relative clause constructions make vis-à-vis nouns or groups of words they qualify can be differently construed in particular languages. In this section, with regard to syntax and semantics, we shall examine the distribution of relative clauses interpreted as modifiers in both English and Mandinka.

#### 4.1.1 English relative clauses

English relative clauses are mostly divided into two types: restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Thus, in this section, we shall try to capture how these different types of relative clause constructions are used to modify the referents of nouns or reference phrases.

##### 4.1.1.1 Restrictive relative modifiers

A restrictive relative construction is a relative clause that is used to identify or define a reference phrase or the referent of a noun. Unlike a non-restrictive relative clause, this gives essential information about the referent of the element it modifies. Thus, restrictive relative clauses are mostly marked by pronouns such as *that, who, where, whose, when, whom*, and so forth.

(104)

a. The book that I want is on the table.

DEF kitáabu kó 1SG lafi COPV P DEF táabulu

Kitáaboo múŋ í lafita a la, wo le be táabuloo kaŋ.

b. He has a sister who is a spinster.

3SG AUXV INDEF barímmúsu múŋ COPV INDEF keentaŋ

A ye barímmusoo soto le, múŋ mú kéentaŋó ti.

c. The school where my son go-es is private.

DEF karambuŋ dáameŋ 1SG diŋ taa-PSM AUXV ADJ

Karambuŋó múŋ í diŋo ka taa jee, a ka jóo le.

d. I won't eat in a restaurant whose cook-s smoke.

1SG FUT.NEGM domo P INDEF paasiyoŋ múŋ tabirilaa-PLM saba

í te domoro ké la paasiyoŋó to múŋ na tabirilaalu ka sabaroo ké.

e. The chair I bought is old now.

DEF siiraŋ 1SG sáŋ.PRET COPV kotóo saayiŋ

í ná siiraŋó múŋ sáŋ, a kotóota saayiŋ.



In English, the relative pronoun that marks restrictive modification may vary depending upon the type of element whose referent is defined or the type of construction the speaker has opted for. As such, the element *that* is realized to mark a clause that is used to give essential information about the referent of a noun or a reference phrase that is either human or non-human. In this sense, in example (104a), *that* introduces a restrictive relative clause whose essential modification is about a noun whose referent is an object. In such an example, the modification of the relative clause *that I want* is not about the whole matrix construction *The book is on the table*, it is rather about the referent of the element *book*. With such a modification, one is told about which *book* among other books is located on the table.

Unlike the other relative pronouns, the element *who* is exclusively used to mark a relative clause that is realized to modify an element whose referent is human. In (104b), the relative clause *who is a spinster* cannot modify an element that refers to something that is non-human; as such, the antecedent of such a clause, the noun *sister*, refers to a human being. The use of *who is a spinster* may help the addressee to have an interpretation according to which the referent of *He* has more than one sister, and among these sisters, there is one *who is a spinster*. Therefore, this modification helps limit the referent of the noun *sister* while identifying it.

The choice of a relative pronoun is importantly influenced by the referent of the element it modifies. In doing so, one relative pronoun can be compatible with the referent of a noun while another cannot. By the way, this is what we have suggested about the use of *who* that always signals an antecedent that refers to a human being. By the same token, the relative pronoun *where* introduces a relative clause that modifies an element which refers to a place. In this sense, in (104c), the reference phrase *The school* that is modified by the relative clause *where my son goes* refers to a location; this is the reason why it is compatible with the element *where*. Being a restrictive modifier, the clause *where my son goes* gives a semantic contribution that may make the addressee comprehend that there is a number of schools available among which the speaker is identifying one. As is the case with all the other examples denoting restrictive modification on the part of relative clauses, there is usually no comma in writing or pause in speech separating the modified element and the modifying relative clause.

An English restrictive relative clause is put on the right side of the element it modifies; it does not normally precede such an element. In this connection, if constructions such as *\*that I*

*want the book is on the table* and \**where my son goes the school is private* are odd, it is because the relative clauses they subsume do not occur in the right position allowed by the elements they modify. In English, the relative clause may split the matrix construction as it may appear on its right side. For instance, in (104a), the relative clause *that I want* splits the matrix construction so that the privilege syntactic argument, *The book* the restrictive modification is about appears on the left side of the relative clause, whereas the predicate *is on the table* is realized on its right side. As far as (104b) is concerned, instead of splitting the matrix construction *He has a sister* into two parts, the relative clause *who is a spinster* occurs on the right side, meaning from the end of the matrix construction to the final position of the sentence.

Sometimes, a relative pronoun can be left out or omitted in a restrictive relative clause construction without affecting the whole sentence or the modification this makes vis-à-vis its antecedent. This is what happens in (104e) where there is zero relative pronoun. In such an example, the restrictive relative clause *I bought* modifying the referent of the noun *chair* is not marked by any relative pronoun. To explain the situation in which the relative pronoun can be omitted, C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley (1960) argue that “When the relative pronoun in a defining clause is in the objective case, it is often omitted, especially in spoken English” (p. 327). In fact, in English, even though the omission of the relative pronoun (that) happens without triggering any ungrammaticality, one can note down that this is more usual in speech than in writing.

As is said by Langacker (2008) “In finite relatives, the pivot may also be a possessor” (p. 424). This is what is exemplified in (104d) where the element *whose* marking the relative clause signals possession. This amounts to saying that with its use, one can come to the conclusion according to which there is a possessive relationship between the constituent *cooks* and the modified element *restaurant*. As is the case in (104b), in this example also, the relative clause does not split the matrix construction, but it rather appears on its right side, more precisely from the end of the matrix construction to the final position of the sentence. One should not be misled by the form of the relative pronoun *whose* within which one can easily identify the element *who* that is exclusively used for human beings as is already mentioned. In fact, *whose* is used to signal possession within a relative clause *whose* antecedent can have either a human or a non-human referent. As such, the restrictive relative clause *whose cooks smoke* identifies the non-human

referent *restaurant* with regard to possession. Even if one agrees on the fact that both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are modifiers, they must also recognize that these are different in a number of ways. Thus, since we have already described some striking features about English restrictive relative clauses, let us go on to deal with non-restrictive relative clauses in the next part.

#### 4.1.1.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses

These are mainly about relative clauses that modify their antecedents by giving extra information about them. Unlike restrictive relative clauses, such clauses do not give essential information about the elements they modify; they rather modify those elements by conveying additional information that are incomplete when produced alone. They do not limit or restrict antecedents they modify. In this way, the following statement gives further information about what a non-restrictive relative clause is.

A nonrestrictive relative is set off from the nominal component by the slight hesitation written as a comma. This prosodic separation is an indication that they occupy separate windows of attention, and are thus in large measure apprehended independently. This is possible because a nonrestrictive relative is not invoked to single out the nominal referent, but to make an additional comment about it.<sup>113</sup>

Actually, contrary to a restrictive relative clause, a non-restrictive relative clause is set off by a comma in writing and a pause in speech. The separation of this modifier from the matrix construction by the use of a comma or a pause goes in the sense that not only can the modifying clause be easily identified within the sentence, but it can always be left out without impinging on the meaning of the modified element.

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<sup>113</sup>Ibid., 429

- (105) a. My father, whom you met in Paris, is now back in London.  
 1SG faa múŋ 2SG beŋ P Pari COPV saayíŋ kóoma P Londonŋ  
 Í niŋ í faamáa múŋ benta Pari, a muruta Londonŋ ne.
- b. My brother Alfred, who is eighteen year-s old,  
 1SG kotóo Aliferedi múŋ COPV ADJ sanji-PLM keebaayaa  
 has bought a new bicycle.  
 AUXV sán.PASTP INDEF kuta fóoleesúu  
 í kotóomáa Aliferedi múŋ ye sanji tán niŋ sáyí soto, a ye fóoleesuwó kutóo le sán.
- c. He walk-s for an hour each morning, which would bore me.  
 1SG táama-PSM P INDEF eri wo somandáa múŋ MODV fasi 1SG  
 A ka eri kilíŋ táama le somandáa wo somandáa, múŋ te sooneyaa la nte bulu.

In the examples above, the relative clauses do not limit or restrict elements they are used to modify. They give semantic contributions that are not essential in the interpretation of what they modify. In this sense, in an example like (105a), the non-restrictive relative clause *whom you met in Paris* gives extra information about the antecedent *My father*. Unlike restrictive relative clauses, this does not define its antecedent. Such a usage does imply that this is about a father in a number of fathers insofar it is sufficiently defined without the information conveyed by the relative clause *whom you met in Paris*. In writing, the latter is clearly distinguished from the matrix construction by a comma that coincides with a pause in speech. Like a restrictive relative clause, an English non-restrictive relative clause also splits a matrix construction or appears on its right side.

In English, there are also situations in which a non-restrictive relative clause is used to modify a whole clause, this is what Quirk et al. (1985) call “sentential relative clause” (p. 1118). With this kind of relative clause that is usually marked by the relative pronoun *which*, the scope of the modification is not about the reference of a single noun or a reference phrase but rather about what a whole clause refers to. This is what is shown in (105c) where the scope of the modification of the relative clause *which would bore me* is on the construction *He walks for an hour each morning*. The clause *which would bore me* gives additional information about the matrix construction. With this kind of modification, not only does the relative clause occur on the right side of the matrix construction, but there is always a comma (in writing), or a pause (in

speech) that separates the two entities. Let us now turn to the modification of Mandinka relative clauses in the following section.

#### 4.1.2 Mandinka relative clauses

Mandinka relative clauses constitute a complex system that is not easy to describe; this is one of the reasons why it would be inaccurate to deal with the relative clauses of this language by dividing them into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. To find out canonical features about the way Mandinka relative clauses function, we have identified left-detached relative clauses and right-detached relative clauses. This seems to go in the same sense as Rowlands (1959), who argues that “Relative clauses can stand either before or after the main clause of the sentence” (p. 128). To signal relative constructions, this language mainly uses the element *mún* “that, who, whose, when, where, whom”.

##### 4.1.2.1 Left-detached relative clauses

These are relative clauses that precede their matrix clauses as we can see in the examples below. In doing so, the matrix clause and the embedded clause introducing the sentence are separated by a comma in writing and a pause in speech.

- (106) a. [Mún ko a-te búka julú jóo]<sub>i</sub>, wo<sub>i</sub> le la mus-óo wulúu-ta.  
 R-word say 3SG-EMPH HAB.NEG debt pay DEM FOCM GEN woman-DEF givebirth-PF.POS  
 The one who said that he never paid back any debts, his wife gave birth to a child.
- b. [Mata ka fir-óo ké palaas-óo mún to]<sub>i</sub>, wo<sub>i</sub> be Betenti le.  
 Mata HAB.POS sell-DEF do place-DEF R-word POSTP DEM COPV Bettenty FOCM  
 The place where Mata sells is in Bettenty.
- c. [A ye kum-óo mún fó]<sub>i</sub>, a<sub>i</sub> mán diyaa móo kílín ye.  
 3SG PF.POS word-DEF R-word say 3SG NEGM please person one BEN  
 (\*Lit. The word that he said, it did not please person one for.)  
 What he said does not please anyone.

d. [I be balúu kaŋ saateo múŋ to]<sub>i</sub>, wo<sub>i</sub> janfa-ta jáŋ na le báake.  
 3PL COPV live PROG village R-word POSTP DEM far-PF.POS here OBL FOCM very  
 (\*Lit. The village they are living where, that is far from here very.)

The village where they are living is very far from here.

e. [Saajó ye móo-lu men-nu-lu kumandi]<sub>i</sub>, i<sub>i</sub> siyaa-ta le.  
 Sadio PF.POS person-PLM R-word-PLM-PLM call 3PL many-PF.POS FOCM

The people (that) Sadio called are numerous.

In Mandinka relative clauses appearing in the left-detached position, the relative word *múŋ* can change positions depending upon the type of construction that is made by a speaker. By the way, to show this flexibility on the part of such an element, Rowlands argues that “The element *méng* is a Nominal which can occur in any position where a Noun or Pronoun can occur.”<sup>114</sup> This flexibility is the reason why if in (106a) *múŋ* introduces the relative clause, it appears in the final position in the other examples. When the relative clause is placed on the left side of the matrix clause, the element whose referent it modifies usually appears within the same entity. In this sense, for instance, in (106a), it is the referent of the noun *palaasóo* that is modified.

What is much more interesting about the element *múŋ* is that unlike the English relative markers, this element can be used to modify nouns which refer to objects, animals, people, places, time, and so forth. In examples (106b and d), the nouns *palaasóo* and *saateo* the relative element *múŋ* is about refer to places, whereas in (106c and e), the nouns *kumóo* and *móolu* refer to a thing and people, respectively. In the case of a noun whose referent is a place, the element *múŋ* combines with a locational postposition as is the case in (106b and d). The postposition plays an important role in such a modification inasmuch as if it is left out, it affects the relative clause in use; the relative element *múŋ* is not sufficient on its own. This is what happens in the odd examples like *\*I be balúu kaŋ saateo múŋ, wo janfata jáŋ na le báake* “Lit. \*They are living the village what, that’s very far from here” and *\*Mata ka firóo ké palaasóo múŋ, wo be Betenti le* “Lit. \*Mata does the sale the place what, that is in Bettenty”. Another interesting fact about the element *múŋ* is that when it refers to a constituent that is in the plural form, it can be pluralized as well. Some speakers may even add to this the plural marker *-lu* twice as one can notice this

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

through *men-nu-lu* in (106e). This phenomenon does not make any difference in the interpretation of the relative clause, for one may produce utterances like *Saajó ye móolu mennu kumandi, i siyaata le* or *Saajó ye móolu múŋ kumandi, i siyaata le* without any oddity. The presence, absence or double marking of the plural marker *-lu* at the end of the element *múŋ* do not make any noticeable difference in terms of interpretation when the constituent this is related to is in the plural form.

When Mandinka relative clause appears on the left side of the matrix clause, there is usually coreference between the relative clause and an anaphoric element occurring in the matrix construction. By the way, this is what Creissels and Sambou (2013) explain when they write that the canonical behaviour of a Mandinka relative clause is to appear in a detached position while receiving a semantic role through the occurrence of an anaphoric element (that is mostly a third person singular pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun) interpreted as a coreferent of the relativized clause (pp. 463-464). As such, all the given examples in this section demonstrate such a coreference. In this sense, in (106a), the relative clause *Múŋ ko ate búka julú jóo* is in coreference with the demonstrative pronoun *wo* introducing the matrix construction *wo le la musóo wulúuta*.

One should grasp that the appearance of a relative clause in the left-detached position is something so special to Mandinka that one may find difficulties translating into English the sentence this clause introduces. In doing so, one may translate the idea instead of relying on the literal meaning of what is said in Mandinka. In this connection, Rowlands states that “When the relative clause precedes the main clause, no attempt is made to give natural English translation as the Mandinka word order is so different that such a translation might lead to a waste of time in puzzling out the connection.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, it is nonsensical to translate the Mandinka sentences (106c and d) by *\*The word that he said, it did not please person one for* and *\*The village they are living where, that is far from here very*, respectively. Thereupon, in the next part, we shall go on to talk about Mandinka right-detached relative clauses that also appear with some striking features.

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<sup>115</sup>Op.cit., 129

4.1.2.2 Right-detached relative clauses

Unlike the relative clauses we have dealt with in the previous section, right-detached relative clauses are usually placed on the right side of their matrix constructions. In doing so, the element modified by the relative construction appears in the matrix construction introducing the sentence.

(107) a. *ŋ̄ be doo bondi la jée le, múŋ be ké la luŋ wo luŋ dáasaam-óo ti.*  
 1SG FUT some remove OBL there FOCM R-word FUT become OBL day INDEF day breakfast-DEF OBL  
 I will take some from it, which will be everyday's breakfast.

b. *A ye kambaan-óo le kanu, múŋ ye a la karambuŋ-ó jóo a ye.*  
 3SG PF.POS boy-DEF FOCM love R-word PF.POS 3SG GEN school-DEF pay 3SG BEN  
 She loves the boy who pays her studies.

c. *Seef-óo ye mus-óo-lu kumandi, men-nu yeeman-ta.*  
 Chief-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF-PLM call R-word-DEF disappear-PF.POS  
 The chief called the women who disappeared.

d. *A ye karandiri-laa-lu kumandi, men-nu la karandiŋ-ó-lu máŋ naa.*  
 3SG PF.POS teacher-AG-PLM call R-word-PLM GEN student-DEF-PLM NEGM come  
 He called the teachers whose students didn't come.

e. *Ñiŋ kéléjavar-óo le ye a dinkee sab-óo kanandi kel-óo ma,*  
 this warrior-DEF FOCM PF.POS 3SG son three-DEF save war-DEF from  
  
*múŋ be kéeriŋ wo waat-óo la.*  
 R-word COPV happen DEM time-DEF OBL

It is this warrior that saved his three sons from the war that was happening.

In reality, in all the different examples given above, one can notice that the different reference phrases the relative clauses modify appear within the matrix clauses, and not in the very modifying relative constructions. On this subject, if one takes an example like *ŋ̄ be doo bondi la jée le, múŋ be ké la luŋ wo luŋ dáasaam-óo ti*, they will realize that the scope of the modification of the relative clause *múŋ be ké la luŋ wo luŋ dáasaam-óo ti* is related to the element *doo* occurring within the matrix clause *ŋ̄ be doo bondi la jée le*. In (106b), the relative clause *múŋ ye*



*a la karambuñó jóo a ye* also modifies the element *kambaanóo* realized in the matrix clause, and which is at the same time construed as the Undergoer core argument of the said clause. As is the case with most right-detached relative clauses, one may note that the occurrence of *múñ ye a la karambuñó jóo a ye* is not compulsory for the sentence (106b) to be complete insofar as its matrix clause *A ye kambaanóo le kanu* is a complete and meaningful construction when it occurs alone. An important fact to remember is that the occurrence of a right-detached relative clause usually makes a modification that helps the addressee to get the message in a comprehensive way.

In both Mandinka left and right relative clauses, it is possible to express the notion of possession. In doing so, there is a combination between *múñ* and the genitive *la* as is the case in (106d). The combination between *mennu* and *la* in (106d) indicates that the element *karandiñólu* “students” occurring in the right-detached relative clause is considered as being in the control or belonging to the referent of the Undergoer core argument *karandirilaalu*. The presence of the plural marker *-lu* at the end of *men-nu* is justified by the fact that the element *karandirilaalu* this is related to is in the plural form as well. From this point of view, we would like to make it clear that to signal possession in relative clause, the genitive marker *la* can combine either with the form *múñ* or the pluralized form *mennu*.

It is also possible to have coreference between a reference noun and a pronoun when Mandinka relative clauses appear in the right-detached position. Besides, a Mandinka right-detached relative clause may include a relative marker that is related to an element that does not belong to the matrix clause.<sup>116</sup> In doing so, both the relative marker and the element it is related to both occur within the same clause. Such phenomena are what are exemplified by the constructions *íj máñ a lón, méñ ye ninsóo sañ* “I don’t know the one who bought the cow” and *Alí ñiñ púráa moyí bãñ, a ye kúwo mîñ láa íj na* “Lit. Listen to this turtledove, the thing that it is accusing me of” found in Creissels and Sambou’s data. In the first example, the pronoun *a* appearing in the matrix clause is in coreference with the entire relative clause *méñ ye ninsóo sañ* occurring on the right side of the said matrix construction. In *Alí ñiñ púráa moyí bãñ, a ye kúwo mîñ láa íj na*, not only is *mîñ* related to *kúwo* it shares the same clause with, but what the entire relative clause refers to does not appear within the sentence. To the question *A ye múñ ne láa íj na?*, one has no answer when they confine themselves to the constituents the whole sentence

<sup>116</sup> Op. cit., 470

subsumes. This is different from a situation in which a question asked about the relative clause is answered by an element occurring within the sentence. In this sense, for instance, in (106e), to the question *Munne be kéerij wo waatóo la?*, one provides as answer *keelóo*, an element of the matrix clause.

#### 4.1.3 Similarities and differences between the two languages

English distinguishes restrictive relative clauses from non-restrictive relative clauses, whereas such a distinction does not seem to be possible in Mandinka. In this language, one can identify two different canonical relative constructions; these are left-detached relative clauses and right-detached relative clauses. Left-detached relative clauses are particular to Mandinka insofar as English most relative clauses appear on the right side of matrix clauses. When English can use different pronouns to signal relative clauses with regard to different referents such as people, objects, places, time, possession, and so on, Mandinka mainly uses the element *múŋ* that often combines with some postpositions. In both languages, the relative clauses are used to modify reference phrases that usually occur in matrix clauses even if we have demonstrated that Mandinka may have a construction in which the modified element does not belong to the matrix clause. English can express a relative construction without the appearance of any relative pronoun, whereas this seems to be impossible in Mandinka. Unlike English, the Mandinka relative clause marker *múŋ* can be pluralized when the very reference phrase this is related to is in the plural form. Another thing that also makes the particularity of Mandinka is that, in this language, most left-detached relative clauses are always in coreference with a pronoun (either the third person singular pronoun *a* or the demonstrative pronoun *wo*) occurring within matrix clauses.

#### 4.2 Subordinate clauses as core arguments

Such types of clauses are groups of words including relative elements that behave together as nouns which can be interpreted as core arguments. These are what Van Valin and Lapolla (1997) call true subordination at the core level, for they argue that “True subordination at

the core level involves the subordinate unit serving as a core argument” (p.461). As such, in the following pages, we shall be interested in the argumenhood of some English and Mandinka subordinate units.

#### 4.2.1. Clauses acting as the core argument subject

In English, it is possible to have a construction within which a group of words can act as a noun that is used as the core argument subject of the said construction. Such a type of clauses is chiefly introduced by elements like, *which, who, that, how, whatever, whoever, whichever, whomever, why, whether, what, how, that*, and so on. The following sentences are used to exemplify some English clauses behaving as core arguments.

- (107) a. What Mike said yesterday is very important.  
 R-word Maayiki fó.PRET kunúŋ AUXV ADV kummaayaa  
 Maayiki ye múŋ fó, a kummaayaata báake le.
- b. What Megan wrote surprised her family.  
 R-word Mekani safee.PRET tereŋ.PRET 3SG dimbaayaa  
 Mekani ye múŋ safee, a ye a la dimbaayaa tereŋ ne.
- c. How the boy behav-ed was not very polite.  
 R-word DEF kambaane máa-PRET AUXV NEGM ADV kulúu  
 Kambaanóo máata ñaameŋ na, a máŋ hadamayaa.
- d. That John won the race surprised no one.  
 R-word Jooni kañee.PRET DEF borí tereŋ.PRET NEGM ADJE  
 Ko Jooni ye boróo kañee, wo maŋ móo tereŋ.

The English examples above indicate core subordination inasmuch as they include clauses behaving as nouns that are used to complete the meaning of core constructions. For example, in (107a) *What Mike said yesterday is very important*, the group of words *What Mike said yesterday* is the subject of the sentence. This is composed of different constituents among which there are *what*, a *wh*-word, *Mike* that can be considered a core argument subject, *said* a verb that says something about *Mike*, and *yesterday* that is a modifier which conveys temporal information. All

these elements together are interpreted as a single core argument whose predicate is the entity *is very important*. Being the subject of the (107a), the clause *What Mike said yesterday* cannot stand alone, for it needs the entity coinciding with the predicate in order to convey complete information.

This type of clause may change positions depending upon the illocutionary force. For example, when the illocutionary force signals declarative, this appears in the initial position, whereas this is preceded by the verb when there is an interrogative illocutionary force. In this sense, we will have *Is what Mike said yesterday very important* as is normally the case with the word order of a construction whose subject is a reference phrase. In English, when a clause stands for a subject, all the constituents it is composed of are important because it is about the whole clause something is said, and not about one single constituent. When the subject of a construction is a clause, this generally conveys some information a single noun could not usually give. In this way, it is obvious that, in the English language, there would be no single noun that could substitute the clause *What Mike said yesterday* while exactly giving the same information as this one in a comprehensive way.

English clauses acting as nouns can also be analyzed with regard to the macrorole level. In doing so, it is possible to look upon a clause labelled as the core argument subject as an Actor. This is what is the case in example (107b) where the entity *What Megan wrote* can be analyzed as the Actor of the said construction. Actually, in *What Megan wrote surprised her family*, *What Megan wrote* is the very thing that triggers the surprise of *Megan's* family. In English, the clause interpreted as the core argument subject cannot stand on its own; it usually co-occurs with another group of words without which it is impossible to convey a complete message. For instance, if constructions such as *\*What Mike said yesterday*, *\*What Megan wrote*, *\*How the boy behaved*, *\*That John won the race* are considered to be incomplete, it is because they obligatorily need the co-occurrence of other groups of words in order to convey complete information. Sometimes, it is possible to have as subject a clause which includes two core arguments that may be construed as Actor and Undergoer, but the realization of a relative word within such a clause may change things. This means that such a word has a meaning that makes that the very clause needs another entity to become a complete message as is the case in *That John won the race surprised no one*. In (107d), we can identify within the clause labelled as subject different

constituents among which there are core arguments like *John*, the subject of *won* and *the race*, the object of the same verb. The same core arguments can also be analyzed as Actor and Undergoer, respectively.

As subject of a construction, an English *wh*-clause can be associated with a verb that denotes the plural form. This is better illustrated by Quirk et al. (1985), who argue that “While an interrogative clause as subject must take a singular verb, a nominal relative clause may take either a singular or a plural verb, depending on the meaning of the *wh*-element” (p. 1059). This is what is shown by the example *What possessions I have are yours*<sup>117</sup> in which the auxiliary verb *are* signals that the argument *What possessions I have* is plural. The form of the *wh*-word as such cannot indicate the plural form. In fact, in English, it is impossible to have forms such as *\*whats*, *\*thats*, *\*whos*, and so on. When the *wh*-element is given a plural meaning, it is important to specify that this is often signaled at the level of the finite verb it is associated with. What is also interesting about the English *wh*-clauses as subjects is that they may include two finite verbs (*have* and *are*) that follow each other immediately.

In the meaning interpretation of the *wh*-clause labelled as core argument, one should know that the meaning of the *wh*-element per se is of prime importance because this significantly modifies the whole clause. In this sense, in an example like *How the boy behaved was not very polite*, the use of the element *How* tells the hearer about the way, whereas in a *what*-clause like *What Megan wrote surprised her family*, the speaker refers to something. In a similar vein, we can say that in (107b), *Megan wrote* something, whereas in (107c) *the boy behaved* in a way. In English, a *wh*-element is usually placed at the beginning of a clause and not at the end of a clause labelled as the core argument subject or object. Instead of occupying the initial position of a sentence, the *wh*-element may also appear in the middle position normally right after a finite verb; the constituents it shares the same clause with are on its right side as is the case when it occurs sentence initial. Not only can some English clauses be analyzed as subjects, but they can also be examined as objects as we shall see in the next part. Before embarking on that, let us inquire into the question of whether Mandinka clauses also can act as subject core arguments or not, as is the case with some English clauses.

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid.

In Mandinka, a group of words constituting a clause can behave in very interesting and particular ways. About this language, one must keep in mind that speakers frequently opt for left or right detached positions that interestingly interact with matrix clauses. Besides these extra-positions, it is also possible to have the occurrence of some noun clauses in the subject position. In doing so, Creissels and Sambou (2013) say that one merely needs to delete the pronoun that repeats the subordinate clause from the matrix clause so that that subordinate clause in question can directly be the subject of the whole sentence (p. 274).

- (108) a. [Mún ye korídaa daa katí]<sub>i</sub>, wo<sub>i</sub> le ye saajiy-óo súũaa.  
 R-word PF.POS house door break DEM FOCM PF.POS sheep-DEF steal  
 That who broke the door stole the sheep.
- a'. Mún ye korídaa daa katí le ye saajiy-óo súũaa.  
 R-word PF.POS house door break FOCM PF.POS sheep-DEF steal  
 That who broke the door stole the sheep.
- b. [Baaba ye kum-óo fó ñaameŋ na]<sub>i</sub>, wo<sub>i</sub> le ye móolu kanfáa.  
 Baba PF.POS word-DEF say how OBL DEM FOCM PF.POS person-PLM angry  
 The way Baba spoke made people angry.
- b'. Baaba ye kum-óo fó ñaameŋ na le ye móo-lu kanfáa.  
 Baba PF.POS word-DEF say how OBL FOCM PF.POS person-PLM angry  
 The way Baba spoke made people angry.

As is already said, in Mandinka, we can often find a clause in the subject position including a relative element placed in the initial or final position of the said clause. In doing so, the deletion of the comma and the pronoun may trigger the creation of a meaningful sentence whose core argument “subject” is a clause. This is the case in (108a' and b'). For example, in *Mún ye korídaa daa katí le ye saajiyóo súũaa*, the clause *Mún ye korídaa daa katí* is construed as the subject argument of the core. Thus, to the question *who stole the sheep?*, the answer would be

*Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí* “The one who broke the door”; this means that the referent of such a clause is said to be the Actor of what happened.

Among the constituents of the clause *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí*, there is no single element whose realization is sufficient to play the role of subject, but rather the clause as a whole. In fact, one should specify that, when analyzed alone, such a clause is interestingly composed of elements among which, one can identify *Múŋ*, a core argument “subject”; *korídaa daa*, a core argument “object”; and *katí*, the main verb of the said clause. With regard to the macrorole level, *Múŋ* can be further labelled as an Actor, whereas *korídaa daa* can be interpreted as an Undergoer. When it comes to analyzing the whole sentence, all these elements are importantly subsumed within a clause that is interpreted as Actor. As such, in *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí le ye saajiyóo síuñaa*, *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí* is the Actor of the sentence to the same degree as the single element *saajiyóo* is the Undergoer. The occurrence of the focus marker *le* right after the clause *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí* is important inasmuch as not only does it help to draw the addressee’s attention to the referent of such a clause, but it also gives a significant contribution to the interpretation of the whole sentence.

Even if it is true that Mandinka speakers may construct sentences such as (108a’ and b’), one should remember that these are not canonical. Actually, most Mandinka subordinate clauses that are looked upon as canonical are constructions in which the subordinate clause and the matrix clause are separated from each other by a pause in speech or a comma in writing. The subordinate clause including the relative element is usually represented within the matrix clause by a pronoun. In examples (108a and b), it is the demonstrative pronoun *wo* that is used to represent the clauses *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí* and *Baaba ye kumóo fó ñaameŋ*, respectively. Besides this pronoun, the third person singular pronoun (*a*) also can be used very often to represent the subordinate clause. Where English canonically uses a whole clause to be the subject of a sentence, Mandinka may canonically prefer the left-detached position as is exemplified in both *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí, wo le ye saajiyóo síuñaa* and *Baaba ye kumóo fó ñaameŋ na, wo le ye móolu kanfáa*.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> To get further information on this, one can review the section devoted to Mandinka relative clauses.

In Mandinka sentences such as (108a and b), the clauses appearing in the left-detached position can be virtually mentioned to refer to the actors of the actions expressed with such sentences. For instance, to the question *Who stole the sheep?*, one may reply by saying *Múŋ ye korídaa daa katí*. Thus, the referent of this clause appearing in the left-detached position can be construed as the Actor of *súuñaa* as is the case with the pronoun *wo* as well. In examples like (108a and b), the co-occurrence of the clause including the relative word and the pronoun within the same sentence is of prime importance inasmuch as these depend on each other in terms of cohesion. Actually, there is coreference between the subordinate clause and the pronoun that anaphorically refers to the clause realized in the left-detached position.

In short, in both English and Mandinka, it is possible to use a clause including a relative word as the subject of a sentence. In doing so, the clause in question acts as a noun. In fact, this type of construction may be made in English without any obstacle, but as far as Mandinka is concerned, it is important to keep in mind that this language has a tendency to use the left-detached position that is in coreference with a pronoun that occurs in the matrix clause. In the two languages, even if there may be various constituents occurring within the clause interpreted as the subject, the clause as a whole can be labelled as the Actor of the action denoted by the entire sentence as is the case in the examples we have already given within this part. In this section, we have also underscored that the notion of subjecthood in particular languages cannot be related to nouns only but also to clauses behaving as nouns. In the same vein, in the following section, we shall be interested in whether clauses acting as nouns can be construed as the object core arguments in both English and Mandinka.

#### 4.2.2 Clauses acting as direct objects

Clauses can be given different functions depending upon not only the positions they occupy within constructions but also the type of relationships they have with verbs they are used to interact with. If, on the one hand, clauses can behave as the privileged syntactic argument, on the other hand, they also seem to function as direct objects as we shall see about English and Mandinka constructions, respectively.



- (109) a. I like what I see.  
 1SG lafi wh-word 1SG je  
 ń ńa múń je, ń lafita wo le la.
- b. He ask-ed me where I liv-ed.  
 3SG ńininkaa-PRET 1SG wh-word 1SG sabati-PRET  
 A ye ń ńininkaa ń be sabatirín muntóo le nuń.
- c. Can you tell me what the time is?  
 MODV 2SG fo 1SG wh-word DEF waatí AUXV  
 Í sí a fo noo ń ye waatóo múń be keerín bání?
- d. Tell him when you last saw his father.  
 fo 3SG wh-word 2SG ADV je.PRET 3SG faa  
 A fo a ye í ye a faamaa je muntóo le.
- e. I believe that God exist-s.  
 1SG dankeneyaa kó Ala soto-INFL  
 ń dankeneyaata kó Ala sotota le.
- f. Can you remember when it last rain-ed?  
 MODV 2SG hakilóobulata wh-word DUM ADV samáa-PRET  
 Fo í hakilóobulata a la le muntuma le samáa labanta ké la.

Some English clauses which follow M-transitive verbs or three argument verbs responding to the question *who?* or *what?* and receiving the action denoted by the main verb of a sentence may mostly be interpreted as direct objects. This is the case in the different examples above; these examples have in the final position clauses that behave as nouns. If we begin with example (109a), one realizes that the *what*-clause occupying the object position is construed as the direct object core argument of the said construction insofar as it is used to stand for the “internal argument” that is required by the M-transitive verb *like*. The occurrence of such a clause behaving as a noun is of prime importance because the verb it is associated with usually requires two core arguments without which there would be incompleteness. In fact, producing *\*I like*

without the realization of a second core argument in its final position would be an incomplete message to some extent.

Like most examples including noun clauses, the clause behaving as a noun in example (109a) can be analyzed with regard to both the thematic relation and the macrorole interpretations as is the case with nouns labelled as the direct object core argument. In this sense, for instance, in *I like what I see*, the referent of the core argument *I* is analyzed as the Experiencer or the Actor, whereas the clause *What I see* can be considered as the Patient or the Undergoer. To the question what is the thing that is liked by *I*, one has as answer *what I see*. From this perspective, this is the thing that undergoes what is expressed through the nucleus *like* that should normally trigger the realization of two core arguments in order to apply to the following Completeness Constraint that governs the linking between syntax and semantics.

All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence. (Van Valin, 2005, p. 233)

Depending upon the meaning the *wh*-word conveys, the clause construed as the direct object core argument may express information including things such as place, time, and so forth. In this connection, the *wh*-clause denoting such notions is not optional as is the case with peripheral adverbial clauses. This is tantamount to saying that the clause in question is normally analyzed in the same way as core arguments that are arguments<sup>119</sup> which are part of the semantic representation of the verb. In an example like *He asked me where I lived*, the entity *where I lived* related to the place where the referent of *I* lived must not be interpreted as a modifier here, for its occurrence is justified by the fact that it is required by the verb *ask* vis-à-vis which it is acting as a direct object core argument.

Following C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley (1960), a clause behaving as a noun can be used in different constructions whose illocutionary forces are not the same. In this connection, they argue that an object clause, i.e. a noun clause that is the object of a verb may be a statement or a question (p. 333). From this perspective, examples (109a, b and e) signal the declarative

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<sup>119</sup> It is important to note that RRG makes the difference between a core argument and an argument; a core argument is a syntactic element, whereas an argument is a semantic element.

illocutionary force, whereas (109c) indicates the interrogative illocutionary force. It is also possible to realize them in a construction signaling the imperative illocutionary force as is exemplified in (109d) *Tell him when you last saw his father*. Despite the differences constructions can denote in terms of illocutionary force, the interesting fact about them is that the clauses construed as direct objects occupy exactly the same position that is sentence final. And as we have already specified about the clauses acting as the subject core argument, “object clauses” usually subsume constituents among which one can identify at least one core argument and a nucleus. Depending upon the semantic interpretation of the main verb, the minimum core argument can be a macrorole or non-macrorole element. For example, in (109f), the clause *when it last rained* includes the element *it* that is a syntactic argument and not a semantic one, hence it should be labelled a non-macrorole element within the framework of RRG. In such a clause, there is at least one core argument (*it*), and there is also the nucleus *rain* that takes an inflection that denotes the past tense. Besides, it must be drummed out that there may also be modifiers within the same clause as is shown by elements such as *last* and the *-ed* inflection in (109f), for instance.

Another type of clause used as the direct object is the *that*-clause that is different from the clauses behaving as the object core argument if we follow Van Valin and Lapolla (1997), who argue that unlike these types of clauses, the *that*-clause is external to the core insofar as the normal place for the peripheral material is before the said clause (p. 465). From this perspective, one can keep in mind that the *that*-clause direct object is captured as a clausal argument instead of a core argument. In an example like (109e) *I believe that God exists*, the clause *that God exists* is a clausal argument because it is located outside of the core. For example, it is possible to place a peripheral element such as *now* between the *that*-clause and the other entity of the sentence. In *I believe now that God exists*, one can realize that the modifier *now* is used to modify the core *I believe* subsuming the core argument *I* and the nucleus *believe*, whereas in *I believe that God exists now*, the scope of the modifier seems to be on the clausal argument *that God exists* rather than the whole construction. Even if the *that*-clause is external to the core, one must remember that it is dependent on it insofar as it is a clausal argument whose realization is allowed by the nucleus appearing within the core.

In fact, in English, the *that*-clauses do not co-occur with any verb. According to Biber et al. (1999), *that*-clauses occurring in post-predicate position are commonly used to report the speech, thoughts, attitudes, or emotions of humans, (p. 660). They go on averring that:

The verbs that take a *that*-complement clause in post-predicate position fall into three major semantic domain like **mental verbs**, mainly of cognition (e.g. think, know), but including a few with emotive/affective content (e.g. hope and wish); **speech act verbs** (e.g. say and tell); and **other communication verbs** that do not necessarily involve speech (e.g. show, prove, suggest).<sup>120</sup>

One should bear in mind that all these different types of verbs are used with *that*-clauses that act as direct objects captured as clausal arguments. The nucleus of our example (109e) *I believe that God exists* is the element *believe* that denotes a mental verb taking a clausal argument. In English, *that*-clauses including speech act verbs are chiefly found within sentences demonstrating direct or indirect statements. Whatever the type of verb triggering these types of clauses may be, an interesting feature about them is that they do not follow prepositions as can be illustrated by ungrammatical constructions like *\*I believe to that God exists*, *\*I believe of that God exists*, *\*I believe for that God exists*, and so on. Let us now go on to look into the case of Mandinka.

As far as Mandinka is concerned, the subordinate clauses of this language can behave as direct object either in coreference or without coreference depending upon the type of construction that is compatible with the matrix verb in use. In the case of coreference, the clauses behaving as direct object core arguments chiefly co-occur with a third person singular pronoun with which they co-refer to the same referent in the outside world as is illustrated within some of the examples below.

- (110) a. A ko muntuma le mason-ó be dóokuw-o dati la.  
 3SG say when FOCM mason-DEF FUT work-DEF start OBL  
 He asked when the mason will start working.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., 661

- b. Saŋ-ó ko i bée ye kó “Ali ka múŋ ne sonka jaŋ?”  
 hare-DEF say 3PL all PF.POS that 2PL PROG what FOCM quarrel here  
 The hare told them all that “What are you quarreling about?”
- c. Tubáab-óo ye kambiyank-ó ñininkaa jumáa le ye Tubáakolóŋ lóo.  
 European-DEF PF.POS Gambian-DEF ask who FOCM PF.POS Toubakolong build  
 The white man asked the Gambian who built Toubakolong.
- d. Alimáam-óo ye mus-óo ñininkaa fó a ye Amara kanu le.  
 Imam-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF ask whether 3SG PF.POS Amara love FOCM  
 The Imam asked the woman whether she loves Amara.
- e. A ye a<sub>i</sub> fó Satú ye le [a ye jiy-o b́í dáamen]<sub>j</sub>.  
 3SG PF.POS 3SG say Satou BEN FOCM 3SG PF.POS wáter-DEF today where  
 She told Satou where she drew water.
- f. A ye a<sub>i</sub> míra [kó a diŋ-ó ñaamenta báake le]<sub>j</sub>.  
 3SG PF.POS 3SG think that GEN son-DEF clever very FOCM  
 He thought that his son is very clever.
- g. I ye a<sub>i</sub> jiki [kó síimaŋ jamáa le be kana la]<sub>j</sub>.  
 3PL PF.POS 3SG hope that food crop many FOCM FUT escape OBL  
 They hope that many food crops will be saved up.
- h. Fili ye a<sub>i</sub> lóŋ ne [kó kambiyank-óo-lu búka wul-óo dómo]<sub>j</sub>.  
 Fily PF.POS 3SG know FOCM that Gambian-DEF-lu HAB.NEG dog-DEF eat  
 Fily knows that the Gambian people do not eat dog.

As we can see within examples (110a, b and c), Mandinka boasts verbs of speech acts such as *ko* “say, tell” and *ñininkaa* that can have clauses behaving as direct object core arguments without the occurrence of any pronoun permitting to create coreference as is the case with some types of verbs we shall be dealing with in this section. Whether used in direct statements or indirect statements, it is important to know that these verbs do not require two elements (a pronoun and a clause) coinciding with the direct object while co-referring to the same referent in

the outside world. With the case of the verb *ko*, in *A ko muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la*, the core argument subject is the element *A*, whereas to the question *A ko mún?* “What did he say?”, one gives as answer *muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la*. As such, this clause is construed as the direct object core argument which has in its initial position the subordinate element *muntuma* which is obligatorily followed by the focus marker *le* at once. The interesting fact about the element *muntuma* is that it can occur both clause initial and final. In this sense, one can meaningfully produce *A ko muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la* in the same way as *A ko masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la muntuma le* without any difference in meaning. In doing so, a noticeable thing to bear in mind is the movement of the focus marker *le* with *muntuma* as is the case within interrogative constructions subsuming such types of elements.

Another important thing to know about the verb *ko* “say, tell” is that it does not accept any association with modifiers such as *ye*, *-ta*, *búka*, *mán*, *ka*, the future marker *be...la*, the progressive marker *be...kaŋ*, and so on. The mere use of such a verb is sufficient to convey notions included in operators like *ye* and *-ta*. When the operators aforementioned occur in a construction, speakers use the counterpart of *ko* that is *fó* from which it is different in terms of structural organization. As such, it is nonsensical to make constructions like *\*A ye ko muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la*, *\*A kota muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la*, *\*A búka ko muntuma le masoŋó be dóokuwo dati la*, and so forth, whereas people naturally produce meaningful utterances like *A ye a fó Satú ye le a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ*, *A búka a fó Satú ye a ka jiyo bíi dáameŋ* “She does not tell Satou where she draws water”, *A mán a fó Satú ye a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ* “She didn’t tell Satou where she drew water”, and so on. As a matter of fact, when used alone, the verb *ko* encodes the notion of tense without the co-occurrence of any other operator, or it is substituted by its counterpart *fó* in case there is the realization of an operator with which it not compatible.

Like *ko*, the verb *ñininkaa* “ask” also is associated with a clause interpreted as the direct object core argument without the presence of any cataphoric pronoun with which the said clause would refer to the same referent in the outside world. Depending upon the construction that is made, this verb can be used with all the operators the verb *ko* is not compatible with. In (110c), it is the predicative marker *ye* that is used to modify the main verb *ñininkaa* that triggers the realization of the clause *jumáa le ye Tubáakolóŋ lóo* that is acting as the direct object core

argument. Unlike the element *mntuma*, the word *jumáa* can also be used in the initial position of the clause. Actually, in this language, complementizers are divided into two types:

Mandingo has two types of complementizers. Among the complementizers of type I, also known as clause-initial (CI) complementizers, five will be dealt with here. They are: *kó* ‘that’, *fó* ‘if, whether, that’, *níj* ‘if, when’, *kabíríj* ‘(ever) since, when’, and *janníj* ‘before’. Type II complementizers (henceforth called non-initial (NI) complementizers) are: *dáamíj* ‘where’, *ñáamíj* ‘how’ and *tumáamíj* ‘when’. (Dramé, 1981, p. 140)

As a matter of fact, even if it is not mentioned by Dramé, *jumáa* can be part of elements that can be used clause initially, especially when the clause in which it occurs is construed as being dependent on a matrix clause vis-à-vis the nucleus of which it is analyzed as the direct object core argument. The use of *jumáa* is usually triggered when it is about referring to a human being in constructions that signal as illocutionary force direct or indirect questions. In most constructions signaling the declarative illocutionary force, instead of using *jumáa*, in Mandinka, there is chiefly the occurrence of the relative element *múj* both for human beings and non-human beings.

Clauses indicating indirect questions may have in their initial position an indirect question marker *fó* “if, whether”. In doing so, the element *fó* signals that the whole sentence is an indirect question as we can see in (110d) *Alimáamóo ye musóo ñininkaa fó a ye Amara kanu le*. In an example like this, the clause *fó a ye Amara kanu le* is construed as the direct object core argument inasmuch as to the question *Alimáamóo ye musóo ñininkaa múj ne la?*, one gives as answer *fó a ye Amara kanu le*. This clause is analyzed as a direct core argument because it is used to occupy the object position of the three argument verb *ñininkaa*. Even if it is captured as a core argument, one should remember that the clause introduced by the element *fó* subsumes constituents among which we can identify a core argument subject (*a*), a verb (*kanu*), and a core argument object (*Amara*). This is interesting because one can realize that the clause that behaves as a core argument has among its components other elements that are also labelled as core arguments whose occurrence is triggered by an internal verb that is different from the matrix verb.

The verb *fó* which is the counterpart of the verb *ko* importantly requires the coreference of a cataphoric pronoun and a clause which have the same referent in the outside world. The pronoun can be the third person singular pronoun or one of the demonstrative pronouns such as *ñíŋ* and *wo* depending on the type of construction that occurs. In *A ye a fó Satú ye le a ye jiyo bii dáameŋ*, the use of the cataphoric pronoun *a* is of prime importance insofar as if it is absent from such a sentence, it affects its overall meaning as is noticeable in an ungrammatical sentence like *\*A ye fó Satú ye le a ye jiyo bii dáameŋ*. In this kind of construction, it is also paramount to pinpoint the element *dáameŋ* that appears in the final position of the clause *a ye jiyo bii dáameŋ* instead of its initial position. This simply shows the exactness of Dramé's affirmation that consists in considering *dáameŋ* as a non-initial complementizer.

We have found that the Mandinka *kó*-clauses “*that*-clauses” occurring in the object position are associated with verbs such as speech act verbs (e.g. *ko* “say, tell”, *fó* “say, tell”) and mental verbs (e.g. *kalamuta* “know about”, *lón* “know”, *múra* “think”, *jiki* “hope”, etc.). As such, the matrix verb of example (110b) is a speech act verb triggering a *kó*-clause, whereas examples (110f, g, and h) have as matrix verbs mental verbs such as *múra*, *jiki*, *lón* that require *kó*-clauses that interact in coreference with a cataphoric pronoun that appears in the matrix core. In this sense, for instance, in example (110f) *A ye a múira kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le*, the cataphoric pronoun *a* occurs in the matrix core *A ye a múira*, whereas the clause *kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le* this pronoun is related to seems to be external to the core.

If one inserts a peripheral element between the core *A ye a múira* and the *kó*-clause *kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le*, this does not affect at all the meaningfulness of the sentence. For example, with sentences like *A ye a múira báake kó a diŋó ñaamenta le* “Lit. He thought really that his son is clever”, *A ye a múira bii kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le* “Lit. He thought today that his son is clever”. Interestingly, if there is the occurrence of a peripheral element between the core and the *kó*-clause, the scope of the modification seems to be only on the core, whereas when this is placed in sentence final it modifies the *kó*-clause and not the whole sentence. In *A ye a múira bii kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le*, the peripheral element *bii* “today” is used to modify the core *A ye a múira*, whereas in *A ye a múira kó a diŋó ñaamenta báake le* the scope of the modification made by the peripheral elements *báake le* is on the *kó*-clause. As is illustrated by example (110f), it seems that it is always possible to insert a peripheral element between the core



and a *kó*-clause. Thus, the different modifications made at different layers by peripheral elements, more precisely between the core and the *kó*-clause seem to demonstrate that even if the *kó*-clause is required by the matrix verb, it is external to the core, hence it may be labelled a clausal argument instead of a core argument.

When the *kó*-clauses are represented within the matrix clause by a cataphoric pronoun, the said matrix clause is somewhat meaningful on its own, but the problem is that it does not stand for a complete thought, something which can trigger some questions on the part of the hearer. Constructions like *A ye a múra, I ye a jiki, Fili ye a lón ne* are meaningful, but they are not complete without their *kó*-clauses. As such, if a speaker produces an utterance like *A ye a múra* “Lit. He thought it”, they might leave the addressee in incomprehension inasmuch as if the referent of the *a* pronoun is not mentioned, the latter would not know what the speech is really about. Thus, it is these incomprehension and incompleteness that the *kó*-clauses are used to sort out. We must underscore that, on the other hand, if the occurrence of the *kó*-clause is paramount for a construction to become complete, on the other hand, the realization of the cataphoric pronoun within the matrix clause also is crucial to have a grammatical sentence.

Something that is also worth mentioning about Mandinka *kó*-clauses is that they may sometimes appear in the left-detached position. In doing so, they are represented within the matrix clause by the demonstrative pronoun *wo*. This is the case in examples like *Kó a dińó ñaamenta báake le, a ye wo múra le; Kó siimań jamáa le be kana la, I ye wo jiki le; and Kó kambiyankóolu búka wuloo domo, Fili ye wo lón ne*. The occurrence of *wo* in such a situation can be explained by the fact that this pronoun is used to indicate something that is remote in space or time or something that is previously mentioned in discourse. The use of this pronoun can be contrasted with that of *ńíń* that is related to something that is not far in time, space or something that will follow in discourse. In this connection, on the one hand, *ńíń* may be used to substitute the cataphoric pronoun *a* in the matrix clause, whereas *wo* cannot. On the other hand, it is *wo* that appears in the matrix clause when the *kó*-clause occurs in the left-detached position, whereas the element *ńíń* cannot.

In a nutshell, both English and Mandinka have clauses that act as direct object core arguments. The difference is that when Mandinka uses such a type of clauses as direct objects, there is usually coreference. The number of verbs that can have clauses behaving as nouns as

their direct objects without any coreference are limited in this language. We have demonstrated about the two languages that both some *kó* and *that* clauses appearing outside the core behave as clausal arguments instead of core arguments. The Mandinka *kó*-clauses can appear in the left-detached position, whereas this is not the case with English *that*-clauses that usually occupy the sentence final position. Speech act verbs and mental verbs trigger *that* and *kó* clauses in English and Mandinka, respectively. In doing so, Mandinka mental verbs always co-occur within the matrix clause with a pronoun (*a/ñíŋ*) that represents the *kó*-clause appearing sentence finally; when the *kó*-clause occurs in the left-detached position, the pronoun is *wo* instead.

Even if we have underscored that complex sentences subsume clauses that are analyzed as core or clausal arguments, one must also pay attention to the fact that, depending upon the type of relationship verbs denote vis-à-vis different constituents or entities, sentences in particular languages also include clauses expressing additional information which modify the core. For this reason, in the following section, we shall inquire into peripheral subordination in both English and Mandinka.

#### 4.3 Peripheral adverbial clauses

Unlike what we have dealt with within the previous section, peripheral subordination is about the use of peripheral adverbial clauses captured as adjuncts that modify some core or clausal constructions. In this sense, Van Valin (2005) states that, in peripheral subordination, the subordinate junct is a modifier occurring in the periphery of a layer of the clause (p. 197). As such, in this section, we shall deal with ad-core and ad-clausal subordination that are two interesting notions that are subsumed by peripheral subordination.

4.3.1 ad-core subordination

There is ad-core subordination when a subordinate clause occurring in the periphery<sub>CORE</sub> is a modifier of the matrix core. On this subject, Van Valin says that:

The relationship of the adverbial subordinate clause to the core it modifies is the same as that of a peripheral PP modifying a core; thus in *Kim saw Pat after the concert*, the relationship of the PP *after the concert* to the core *Kim saw Pat* is the same as that of the subordinate clause *after she arrived at the party* to the core it modifies.<sup>121</sup>

Before starting the analysis, let us present the following figures in order to give a bird's - eye view of the way ad-core subordination is constructed in both English and Mandinka.

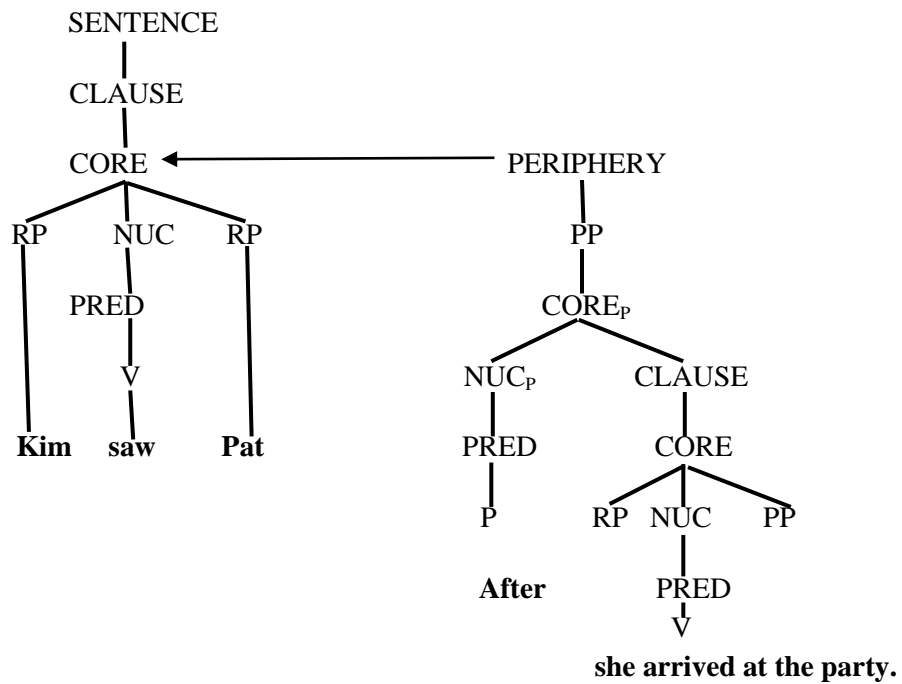


Figure 4.1. Ad-core subordination in English

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., 194

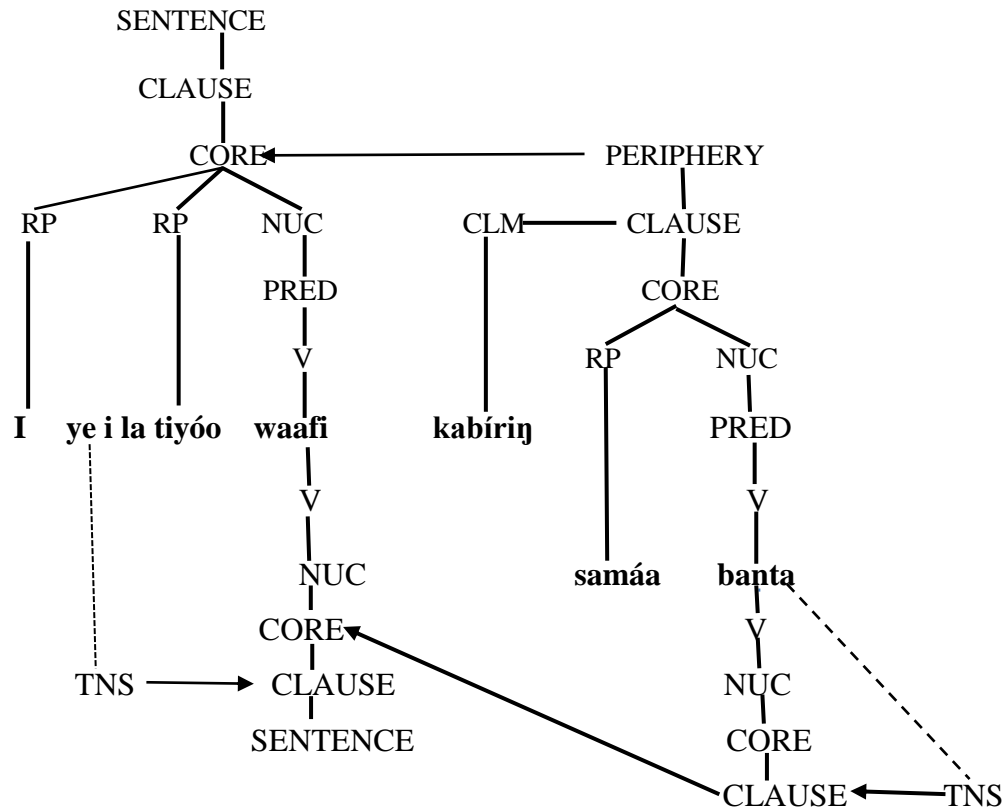


Figure 4.2. Ad-core subordination in Mandinka

In fact, the way adverbial clauses are used to modify matrix clauses varies depending upon the type of subordinators that link them to matrix clauses. Adverbial clauses are usually introduced by elements that specify the nature of the relationship that occurs between matrix clauses and adverbial clauses. In this connection, depending upon the contributions that are given by different subordinators, one can identify subordinate clauses related to manner, purpose, location, time. Then, in the following subparts, we shall demonstrate the way in which each of these notions conveyed by groups of words is used to modify matrix clauses in both English and Mandinka.

#### 4.3.1.1 Manner ad-core subordinate clauses

In English, manner ad-core subordinate clauses are clauses that answer the question *How?*; they are related to the way in which something denoted by the main clause is done. In doing so, the clause linkage marker helping to establish a relationship between the matrix clause

and the subordinate one has a specific function that is to express manner. In English, manner ad-core subordinate clauses are chiefly introduced by elements such as *as*, *as if*, *as though*, *like*, and so forth.

- (111)
- a. He talk-ed to me like I was a child.  
 3SG diyáamu-PRET P 1SG komeŋ 1SG AUXV INDEF dínđiŋ  
 A diyáamuta í ye kó niŋ ŋ mú dínđiŋo le ti.
- a. He ran as if his life depend-ed on it.  
 3SG borí.PRET CLM 3SG balúu sembe.PRET P 3SG  
 A borita kó niŋ a la balúu be semberinŋ wo le la.

The examples we have got above are composed of two clauses each, a matrix core and an embedded clause. For instance, in (111a) *He talked to me* is the matrix clause and *like I was a child* is the subordinate or embedded clause; in the same way, in (111b) *He ran as if his life depended on it*, *He ran* is the matrix core, whereas *as if his life depended on it* is the subordinate or embedded clause. In fact, the subordinate clauses *like I was a child* and *as if his life depended on it* are used to modify the cores *He talked to me* and *He ran*, respectively. These embedded clauses cannot stand alone as complete thoughts, whereas the matrix cores can occur by themselves while conveying meaningful and complete information. The use of *as if* and *like* in the initial position of the two embedded clauses is of prime importance insofar as they “indicate the semantic relationship between the subordinate clause and the clause it is dependent on” (Carter & McCarthy, 2006, p. 558). Here, the semantic relationship expressed by the elements *as if* and *like* is related to the way in which the action denoted by the matrix core is done; this means the Manner.

In modifying the different core constructions, the two embedded clauses in (111a and b) appear in the final position, which is crucial in the modification of a specific layer that is the core. The fact of taking into consideration the position that is occupied by a subordinate clause is very important to identify the type of layer on which the scope of its modification is, for according to Van Valin (2005) “A more common example of sentential subordination involves the fronting of peripheral adverbial clauses”. This means that even if some peripheral adverbial clauses can occupy both the initial and final positions in English, the initial position coinciding with the left-

detached position is usually analyzed as ad-clausal subordination instead of ad-core subordination. In this sense, the appearance of the time adverbial clause *After she arrived at the party* in the left-detached position of a sentence like *After she arrived at the party, Kim saw Pat* signals ad-clausal subordination, whereas its occurrence in the final position of an example like *Kim saw Pat after she arrived at the party* indicates ad-core subordination.

In English, ad-core subordination is possible with matrix cores whose main verbs are either M-transitive or intransitive, or even with three argument verbs. Appearing in the periphery of the clause, subordinate clauses always give additional information to the matrix clause; this information can be analyzed in terms of thematic relation as is the case in examples like (111a and b) where the subordinators *as if* and *like* signal as thematic relation the Manner. This is different from the interpretation of the core arguments captured as Actor or Undergoer. Adverbial clauses are considered as usually occurring in the periphery of the matrix clause as is the case with adverbs and prepositional phrases.

Despite the fact that embedded clauses expressing Manner are not complete thoughts when they occur alone, they subsume, in turn, constituents among which one can identify core arguments, at least a nucleus, and some modifiers. For instance, in (111b) the dependent clause *as if his life depended on it* has its own subject core argument whose occurrence is obligatorily required by its nucleus *depended* which, in turn, is modified by the *-ed* inflection that indicates tense. An English subordinate clause may have all the different types of constituents that may be found within a matrix clause, the only element that modifies the meaning of the former is the subordinator that marks linkage between the two clauses. The subordinator interestingly modifies the information conveyed through an embedded clause until it becomes an incomplete thought without the transmission of the main information this is dependent on. As such, if both constructions *I was a child* and *his life depended on it* are meaningful and complete thoughts, it is because they occur without subordinators that would signal that there is linkage between them and some matrix clauses. Not only is the role of a subordinator paramount in defining the type of adverbial clause a sentence includes, it also renders the clause a thought that depends on another thought to convey complete information. An important aspect about English subordinators signaling the notion of Manner is that they are never placed in the final position of embedded clauses, they usually appear in their initial position. Let us now turn to the expression of Manner

ad-core subordination in Mandinka before showing the similarities and differences between the two languages.

In Mandinka, the Manner ad-core subordination is about embedded clauses that answer the question *ñáadii?* “how?” as is the case with adverbs expressing Manner in this language. The most common clause linkage markers that are used in this language to indicate Manner are *kó* “as”, *kó níŋ* as is illustrated by the construction below.

- (112) a. A ká diyaamu kó níŋ a cáfá-rí-tá le.  
 3SG HAB.POS speak as if 3SG mad-PF.POS FOCM  
 He speaks as if he was mad.
- b. A ka wúurí kó níŋ i bé a fáa kaŋ ne.<sup>122</sup>  
 3SG HAB.POS cry as if 3PL LOC.COP 3SG kill PROG FOCM  
 He cries as if they were killing him.
- c. A ka Mans-óo batu kó kíi-láa ye a fó ñaamín.  
 3SG HAB.POS God-DEF worship as send-AG PF.POS 3SG say how  
 He worships God in the way the Messenger recommended it.

Examples (112a, b and c) are each one composed of two clauses; a matrix clause and a subordinate clause. The matrix clauses are *A ká diyaamu*, *A ka wúurí*, *A ka Mansóo batu*, whereas their corresponding subordinate clauses are respectively *kó níŋ a cáfá-rítá le*, *kó níŋ I bé a fáa kaŋ ne*, *kó kíiláa ye a fó ñaamín*. What these embedded clauses have in common is that they are all introduced by the subordinators *kó* or *kó níŋ*. Such elements appear in the initial position of the different subordinate clauses. The *kó* or *kó níŋ* subordinate clauses expressing Manner always appear in the final position of sentences; their appearance in any other position would trigger ungrammaticality. This can be attested by the meaninglessness of constructions such as *\*Kó níŋ a cáfá-rítá le*, *a ká diyaamu* “\*That if he is mad, he speaks”; *Kó níŋ I bé a fáa kaŋ ne*, *a ka wúurí* “\*That if they are killing him, he cries”; and *Kó kíiláa ye a fó ñaamín*, *a ka Mansóo batu* “\*Like

<sup>122</sup> Examples (112a and b) have been taken from Creissels and Sambou, *Mandinka*, 498.

in the way the Messenger recommended it, he worships God”. As we can see from these nonsensical constructions, the Mandinka *kó* and *kó níŋ* subordinate clauses expressing Manner do not normally appear in the left-detached position. They cannot appear in the final position of an embedded clause either. In this sense, constructions like *\*A ká diyaamu a cáfáritá le kó níŋ* “\*He speaks he is mad as if”; *\*A ka Mansóo batu kiiláa ye a fó ñaamíŋ kó* “\*He worships God the Messenger recommended it how that”, and so forth, are unacceptable as well.

Following Creissels and Sambou (2013), the element *kó* (*níŋ*) being placed at the initial position of a subordinate clause can co-occur with the element *ñaamíŋ*<sup>123</sup> that is realized in the final position of the said clause (p. 499). Even if Creissels and Sambou have stated that this type of embedded clause expresses the notion of similarity, one can also analyze it as a Manner ad-core subordinate clause inasmuch as it is also used to answer the question *ñaadú?*. It tells us about the way in which the action denoted by the core is done. As such, to the question *A ka Mansóo batu ñaadú?*, the answer is *kó kiiláa ye a fó ñaamíŋ*. Thus, this subordinate clause gives us some information about the way in which *A ka Mansóo batu* “He worships God”; then, this modifies the core *A ka Mansóo batu*. Interestingly, in (112c), there is the combination of two elements *kó* and *ñaamíŋ* that help express the notion of Manner vis-à-vis the core the subordinate clause modifies.

It is true that the subordinate clauses *kó níŋ a cáfáritá le*, *kó níŋ I bé a fáa kaŋ ne*, *kó kiiláa ye a fó ñaamíŋ* cannot stand alone as complete thoughts, but they are all the same composed of subconstituents that can be captured as core arguments and modifiers that may convey complete ideas if they are not modified by the presence of subordinators. On this subject, if one removes *kó níŋ* from constructions like *a cáfáritá le* “He is mad”, *I bé a fáa kaŋ ne* “They are killing him”, they become clauses that do not depend on any other clauses to become complete. As far as the *kó.....ñaamíŋ* subordinate clauses are concerned, one needs to remove, from the embedded clause, the two elements *kó* and *ñaamíŋ* whose function is to signal the notion of Manner in order to have complete information. If the embedded clauses become independent clauses when the subordinators are removed, it is because the kind of information these elements add to clauses in which they occur denotes linkage or dependence vis-à-vis matrix clauses.

<sup>123</sup> Some speakers say *ñaameŋ* (how) while others use *ñaamíŋ* (how) instead.



In short, both English and Mandinka express Manner ad-core subordination by placing the adverbial clause expressing Manner in the final position of sentences. In doing so, the subordinators appear in the initial position of the embedded clauses. The particular fact about Mandinka is that with the *kó.....ñaaamíŋ* subordinate clauses, the element *ñaaamíŋ* “how” is realized in the final position of the subordinate clause that also coincides with the final position of the sentence, something which is impossible in English. To modify the core in the two languages, the adverbial clauses denoting Manner do not appear in the left-detached position, the common position they occupy starts from the final position of the matrix core to that of the sentence subsuming the two types of clauses. In both English and Mandinka, the semantic function held by the subordinators triggering the transmission of the idea of Manner has a significant influence on the interpretation of the subordinate unit functioning as an incomplete thought that has to depend on a matrix clause it modifies to become complete. Actually, in the two languages, the kind of information subordinators linking two clauses convey is paramount in identifying the type of ad-core subordination one encounters. As such, let us go on to underscore another type of subordination that is about Locative ad-core subordinate clauses.

#### 4.3.1.2 Locative ad-core subordinate clauses

Locative ad-core subordinate clauses are about peripheral adverbial clauses that are used to modify core constructions with regard to the place where the action expressed through the core is located. Thus, according to Alexander (1988), English Locative ad-core subordinate clauses answer the question *Where?* and can be introduced by the elements *where*, *wherever*, *anywhere*, and *everywhere* (p.25).

- (113) a. I will find her wherever she may be.  
 1SG FUT jé 3SG dáa wo dáa 3SG MODV AUXV  
 ń be a jé la le a taata dáa wo dáa.

- b. Wherever you may go, he will not forget you.  
 Dáa wo dáa 2SG MODV taa 3SG MODV NEGM ñína 2SG  
 I taata dáa wo dáa, a te ñína la í la.
- c. I shall meet him where I first met you.  
 1SG MODV beṅ 3SG daameṅ 1SG folóo beṅ 2SG  
 ń níṅ a be beṅ na ń níṅ í benta folóo ke daameṅ.

Such types of subordinate clauses occur either in the left-detached position or in the final position of the sentence. Thus, in example (113b), the subordinate clause *Wherever you may go* introducing the sentence appears in the left-detached position, whereas, similar clauses in (113a and c) start from the end of the matrix core to the final position of the sentence. As is the case with the other types of peripheral adverbial clauses we have already dealt with, when Locative ad-core subordinate clauses also introduce the sentence, they are separated from the matrix clause by a comma in writing and a pause in speech. Unlike core and clausal arguments, the presence of peripheral adverbial clauses in sentences is not required by verbs; such clauses are just used to give additional information to what matrix cores convey as message. In doing so, the absence of ad-core subordinate clauses from matrix cores does not trigger incompleteness; what causes incompleteness is the occurrence of such clauses without matrix cores. In this sense, *wherever she may be*, *wherever you may go*, *where I first met you* are incomplete without their respective matrix constructions, whereas *I shall meet him*, *I will find her*, *he will not forget you* are complete constructions.

One should not confuse these peripheral adverbial clauses with some clauses conveying spatial information, and which are construed as core or clausal arguments of the main verb. Thereupon, the clause *where I lived* in *He asked me where I lived* is different from *where I first met you* in a sentence like *I shall meet him where I first met you* in the fact that the former is acting as a core argument, whereas the latter is captured as an adjunct modifying the core. The difference between these two clauses depend on the type of relationship each one has vis-à-vis the main verb. In *He asked me where I lived*, the presence of *where I lived* is required by the verb *ask*, whereas the realization of *where I first met you* is not asked by the verb *meet* in *I shall meet him where I first met you*. Another difference between these two types of constructions is related to their positions within the layered structure of the clause; in reality, *where I lived* appears in the

position of the object core argument, whereas *where I first met you* occurs in the periphery of the core. After dealing with English Locative ad-core subordination, let us continue, in the following paragraphs, with how this is done in Mandinka before showing the similarities and differences between the two languages.

Mandinka Locative ad-core subordinate clauses are mainly used with elements such as *daameŋ* (where) and *dáa wo dáa* (wherever). These types of clauses are used to give semantic modifications to matrix constructions.

- (114) a. *Ñiŋ beeyaŋ-ó ka bula ɲ nóoma ɲ taa-ta dáa wo dáa.*  
 This animal-DEF HAB.POS follow 1SG after 3SG go-PF.POS wherever  
 This animal follows me wherever I go.
- b. *Dáa wo dáa a ye ɲ kumandi, ɲ be ɲ danku la a la.*  
 Wherever 3SG PF.POS 1SG call 1SG FUT 1SG answer OBL 3SG BEN  
 I will answer him wherever he may call me.
- c. *ɲ be táafíyaa sáŋ na le Musaa ye a sáŋ daameŋ.*  
 1SG FUT hand fan buy OBL FOCM Moussa PF.POS 3SG buy where  
 I will buy a hand fan where Moussa bought it.
- d. *N-te be lóoriŋ daameŋ to, nen-óo le dun-ta ɲ na.*  
 1SG-EMPH LOC.COP stand where POSTP cold-DEF FOCM enter-PF.POS 1SG OBL  
 I am cold where I am standing up.

As we can see from the examples above, both the elements *dáa wo dáa* and *daameŋ* appear in the final position of the peripheral adverbial clauses subsumed by examples (114a, c and d). *Dáa wo dáa* may appear in the initial position of a subordinate clause appearing in the left-detached position as is the case in (114b). With such a usage, the speaker seems to give more importance to the spatial information they are using to modify the matrix construction. Like (114b), in the different examples, the subordinate clauses *ɲ taata dáa wo dáa* ‘Lit. I go wherever’, *Musaa ye a sáŋ daameŋ* ‘Lit. Moussa bought it where’, *Nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ to* ‘Lit.

I am standing up where” are used to modify their respective matrix constructions by adding spatial information to them. In doing so, the subordinators *dáa wo dáa* and *daameŋ* appear at the ends of their respective subordinate clauses. Like subordinate clauses including *dáa wo dáa*, subordinate clauses having *daameŋ* in their final position can also be used in the left-detached position as is attested by (114d).

One interesting fact about the element *daameŋ* is that it can co-occur with the locational postposition *to*. In example (114d), the subordinate clause *Nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ to* includes both the elements *daameŋ* and *to* so to signal a piece of information related to the notion of place denoted by the said subordinate clause in order to modify the matrix construction. In fact, the occurrence or non-occurrence of the postposition *to* right after *daameŋ* does not seem to make a big difference insofar as the information conveyed by both elements can be conveyed by *daameŋ* on its own. As such, *Nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ to, nenóo le dunta í na* with *to* at the end of the subordinate clause and *Nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ, nenóo le dunta í na* without *to* at the final position of the subordinate clause convey the same information.

Another interesting thing about *daameŋ* is that it can take the plural marker *-lu* if the subordinate clause is about locational information that is related to more than one place. This is the case in an example like *Móolu ka máanoo domó baake le a ka dookúu daamennu to* “Lit. People eat rice very much where it is worked” where the embedded clause *a ka dookúu daamennu to* has in its final position a pluralized *daameŋ* co-occurring with the locational postposition *to*. When the singular form of the element *daameŋ* co-occurs with *to*, the presence of the latter does not seem to be essential, whereas this seems to be essential when *daameŋ* appears with the plural marker *-lu*. In this sense, in an example like *Móolu ka máanoo domó baake le a ka dookúu daamennu*, the embedded clause *\*a ka dookúu daamennu* seems to be odd because of the absence of the locational postposition *to*.

The Mandinka peripheral adverbial clauses expressing spatial information should not be confused with other clauses of the same type behaving as direct core arguments which are represented within the matrix core by a pronoun as is the case in an example like *A ye a fó Satú ye le a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ* where one can have as answer to the question *What did she told Satú?* the clause *a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ* which is in coreference with the pronoun *a* appearing in the matrix construction. Whether a clause expressing spatial information is construed as a core argument or

a peripheral subordinate clause depends upon the type of relationship denoted by the nucleus of the matrix core vis-à-vis the embedded clause in question. As such, one can notice that the clause *a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ* “where she drew water” in *A ye afó Satú ye le a ye jiyo bíi dáameŋ* “She told Satou where she drew water” is not interpreted in the same way as *nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ to* “where I am standing up” in a sentence like *Nenóo le dunta í na nte be lóoriŋ daameŋ to* “I am cold where I am standing up”.

To sum up, with Mandinka Locative ad-core subordination, the subordinator (*dáa wo dáa*) can either introduce a spatial peripheral adverbial clause or occur in its final position, whereas *dáameŋ* is usually realized in the final position of the subordinate clause. As far as English is concerned, this language always places its subordinators such *where* and *wherever* in the initial position of subordinate clauses. The Mandinka subordinator *dáameŋ* can take the plural form *-lu* and even co-occur with the locational postposition *to*, whereas this is impossible with its English counterpart *where* that does not accept any plural marker, let alone the preposition *to* when it introduces a peripheral adverbial clause. Both languages accept the occurrence of subordinate clauses expressing spatial information in both the left-detached and the sentence final positions. In the two languages, whether a clause expressing spatial information is interpreted as a core argument or a modifier mainly depends on the type of relationship the said clause has vis-à-vis the main verb. After dealing with Locative ad-core subordination, another type of ad-core subordination one can also explore is Temporal ad-core subordination.

#### 4.3.1.3 Temporal ad-core subordinate clauses

These are peripheral adverbial clauses that are used to modify core constructions by adding to them Temporal additional information. As such, in particular languages, one can identify different subordinators modifying embedded clauses by giving them different meanings that modify matrix constructions in turn. Thus, in the following paragraphs, with regard to syntax and semantics, let us capture the way in which these types of subordinate clauses modify their matrix core constructions in both English and Mandinka.

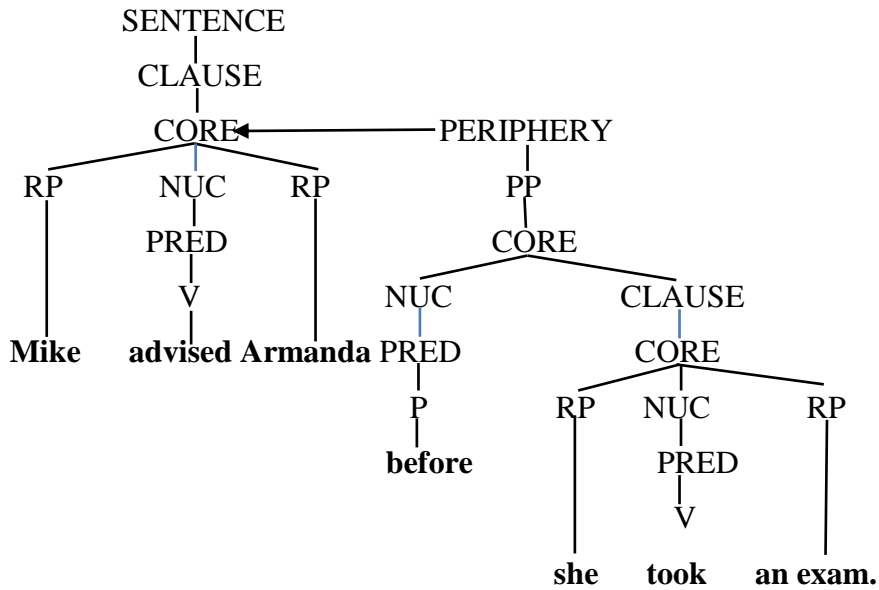
In English, peripheral adverbial clauses of time are introduced by subordinators like *after*, *when*, *whenever*, *while*, *before*, *as soon as*, *since*, *once*, *until*, *till*, *as long as*, and so forth. To express time relationship between a matrix construction and an embedded clause, not only is the type of subordinator paramount, but there are other elements that contribute to the modifications of such constructions as well. Thereupon, one may find useful information in the statement below:

An adverbial clause of time relates the time of the situation denoted in its clause to the time of the situation denoted in the matrix clause. The time of the matrix clause may be previous to, subsequent to, or simultaneous with, the time of the adverbial clause. The situations in the clauses may be viewed as occurring once or as recurring. The time relationship may additionally convey duration: and the relative proximity in time of the two situations. Some of these time relationships are expressed not only by the choice of subordinator, but also by other devices in the two clauses: tense and aspect, the semantic category of the verbs, adverbs and prepositional phrases of time, and adjectives and nouns expressing time. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1080)

As a matter of fact, when dealing with the modifications English adverbial clauses of time have vis-à-vis matrix constructions, one can also take into consideration the contribution of modifiers such as tense, aspect, phrasal and non phrasal adjuncts conveying temporal information. An interesting fact about the modification of such elements is related to that of tense; interestingly, like subordinators conveying temporal information, tense also indicates temporal information that locates the action denoted by a nucleus in either the past, the present, or the future.

- (115) a. Kim saw Pat after she arriv-ed at the party.  
 Kim je.PRET Pat kóoláa 3SG naa-PRET P DEF feetí  
 Kim ye Pat je le a la feeti to naa kóoláa.
- b. I laugh-ed at him when he first ask-ed me.  
 1SG jele-PRET P 3SG kabiriŋ 3SG folóo ñininka-PRET 1SG  
 ń jeleta a la kabiriŋ a ye ń' ñininka folóo ke.

- c. When you leave, please close the door.  
 Níṅ 2SG taa dukare biti DEF dáa  
 Níṅ I ka taa, I ye dáa biti dukare.
- d. I read the newspaper while I was wait-ing.  
 1SG karan DEF kibaarikayiti kabiriṅ 1SG AUXV.PRET batu-PROG  
 Ǫ́ ṅa kibaarikayitoo karan kabiriṅ Ǫ́ be baturoo kan.
- e. Mike advised Armanda before she took an exam.  
 Maayiki diyaamundi Arimanda janniṅ 3SG ke.PRET INDEF ekisaamoo  
 Maayiki ye Arimanda diyaamundi janniṅ a ka ekisaamoo ke.



**Figure 4.3.** Temporal ad-core subordination in English

As we have already mentioned it, the type of subordinator that is used to establish a relationship between the matrix construction and the embedded clause is of prime importance insofar as it tells us about the way in which the action denoted within the core is viewed vis-à-vis time. As such, for example, a subordinate clause introduced by *after* cannot be construed in the same way as an embedded clause whose initial position is occupied by *when*. In this connection, Hewings (2005) explains that *when* is used to introduce a clause that talks about an event that takes place at the same time as some longer event, or the circumstances in which the event in the

main clause happens, whereas *after* signals an event that happens earlier than another event (p. 158).

In example (115a), because of the semantic contribution given by the subordinator *after*, a hearer can grasp that the subordinate clause *after she arrived at the party* is about an event that is prior to the event of seeing on the part of *Pat*. In doing so, this embedded clause helps locate, in time, the moment when *Kim saw Pat*. This modification is not the same as the information that is conveyed through the adverbial clause *when he first asked me* introduced by the subordinator *when*. Unlike *after*, this element *when* in *when he first asked me* gives a semantic contribution according to which the event the matrix core *I laughed at him* denotes happens at the same time as that expressed by the subordinate clause. From this point of view, one can see how important the role played by a subordinator is in this kind of subordination! Actually, the fact of merely changing a subordinator for another also triggers a change in the temporal location of the event expressed through the matrix core. *Kim saw Pat after she arrived at the party* and *Kim saw Pat when she arrived at the party* do not convey the same information inasmuch as, having different subordinators, their subordinate clauses differently indicate time.

Like the other types of peripheral adverbial clauses, English adverbial clauses of time also can occur in the left-detached or final position of constructions. This is the case in (115c) where the clause *When you leave* is realized in the left-detached position instead of the final position of the sentence. The matrix clause of such an example signals imperative illocutionary force instead of declarative illocutionary force; this simply means that adverbial clauses of time can be used to modify constructions that do not signal the same illocutionary force.

If English subordinators play an important role in the modification of subordinate and matrix constructions, tense also contributes a lot to the said modification by conveying temporal information as well. In this way, having understood the importance of tense in the transmission of a message, Dudman (1985) avers that “The tense is a piece of temporal information, and it is always one of the message ultimate informational factors, even when the message is a denial” (p. 194). In example (115d), the use of the past continuous conveys some information according to which the reading of the newspaper is located in the event of waiting which was in progress in the past. Then, to help establish such a relationship between the two types of clauses, the



subordinator *while* that chiefly demonstrates that something occurs when something else takes place is used to mean that the reading of the newspaper happened during the time of waiting.

The modification given by embedded clauses introduced by *before* can be contrasted with those introduced by *after*. Unlike *after*, *before* is used to refer to an event occurring earlier than another event. This amounts to saying that the event expressed through the matrix construction is considered to happen before the event denoted by the subordinate clause as can be noticed in (115e) *Mike advised Armanda before she took an exam*. In this example, *Mike's* advising *Armanda* happens before *Armanda's* taking the exam. The deletion of the subordinate clause *before she took an exam* from (115e) does not prevent *Mike advised Armanda* from being complete and meaningful. The use of such an embedded clause is to modify the matrix core by adding to it some temporal information that locates the event of advising in a point that is prior to the event of taking the exam. To this is added the role played by tense that locates both the event of advising and taking in the past. Let us now turn to the way Temporal ad-core subordination can be captured in Mandinka.

- (116) a. I ye i la tiy-óo waafi kabírínj samáa ban-ta.  
 3PL PF.POS 3PL GEN peanut-DEF sell when rain finish-PF.POS  
 They sold their peanuts when the rainy season ended.
- b. Kabírínj i futa-ta Kambiya jaŋ, i-to-lu le ye Berefet saatee lóo.  
 when 3PL arrive-PF.POS Gambia here 3PL-EMPH-PL FOCM PF.POS Berefet village found  
 When they arrived here in Gambia, they founded the village of Berefet.
- c. Bírínj samáa boyi-ta dóróŋ, i ye fir-óo dati.  
 When rain fall-PF.POS only 3PL PF.POS sow-DEF start  
 When the rainy season began, they started sowing.
- d. Nínj í siiñ-óo saasaa-ta, futa a la.  
 if 2SG neighbor-DEF ill-PF.POS reach 3SG OBL  
 When your neighbor is ill, visit him.
- e. I ye móo-lu kumandi jannínj i ka beŋ-ó kumáasi.  
 3PL PF.POS person-PLM call before 3PL TNS meeting-DEF start  
 They called people before they started the meeting.

f. A ñan-ta íj kumandi la le a námínánj naa.  
 3SG must-PF.POS 1SG phone OBL FOCM 3SG before come  
 He had to phone me up before he came.

g. Díndín-o ye dokuwo bulá fó bírínj a báa naa-ta.  
 child-DEF PF.POS work leave until when 3SG mother arrive-PF.POS  
 The child stopped working until his mother comes.

To construct subordinate clause conveying temporal information, Mandinka uses subordinators like *jannínj* or *náminánj* “before”, *kabírínj* or *bírínj* “when”, *nínj* “if, when”, *kóola* “after”, *fó* “until”, *tumâmiñj* “at the moment when”, and so on. All these different elements convey meanings that are paramount in locating the events denoted by matrix constructions their subordinate clauses are used to modify. Unlike the subordinator *kóola* that always occurs in the final position of subordinate clauses, elements like *jannínj*, *kabírínj* or *bírínj*, *nínj*, *fó* usually introduce embedded clauses. As far as *tumâmiñj* is concerned, this may either be placed in the initial or final position. As a matter of fact, the temporal meanings all these subordinators express modify constructions in ways that get to make them dependent. For instance, the subordinate clause *bírínj a báa naata* is meaningful but it is at the same time considered as an incomplete clause that is used to relate to an event the speaker has left out. As such, this idea of incompleteness and dependence is somewhat held by the element *bírínj* without which the remaining constituents convey complete and meaningful information as is the case in *a báa naata* “His/Her mother came/ has come”.

The subordinator *náminánj* has a different usage if one compares it to the other elements. Unlike the other types of subordinators, it does not accept any occurrence in the initial position of a subordinate clause, let alone in its final position as is noticeable within ungrammatical constructions like *\*A ñanta íj kumandi la le námínánj a naa* and *\*A ñanta íj kumandi la le a naa námínánj*. The oddity expressed through such examples is caused by the wrong position in which *námínánj* is placed. In fact, if a subordinator is realized in a position it does not accept, this impinges on the overall meaning of the subordinate clause in use, which, instead of modifying the matrix construction renders this nonsensical. One should keep in mind that the subordinator *náminánj* normally appears right after the constituent that is construed as the subject core argument of the entity considered as the embedded clause. This is the case in (116f) where

*námináŋ* immediately follows the subject core argument *a*. When the verb of the embedded clause is an M-transitive verb, the subordinator *námináŋ* appears between the subject core argument and the object core argument, whereas with M-intransitive constructions it is realized in between the M-intransitive verb and the subject core argument. Like the subordinator *janníŋ*, *námináŋ* does not occur with tense and aspect markers such as *ye* and the *-ta* suffix. There is incompatibility between the meaning these two subordinators express and the notions *ye* and *-ta* encode.

In Mandinka, the forms *kabíríŋ* and *bíríŋ* which both mean *when* have also the same use. Each of these elements can introduce a clause that appears either in the final position of a sentence, or in its initial position, more precisely in the left detached position as is exemplified in (116a, b and c). Mostly, each of these subordinators is used to talk about an event that happens at the same time or roughly at the same time as another event. In this sense, in (116b), one can interpret the two events *Kabíríŋ i futata Kambiya jaŋ* and *itolu le ye Berefet saatee lóo* as happening at the same time. As such, their arrival in the Gambia is somewhat connected with the foundation of *Berefet*; otherwise, when they set foot in the Gambia, they directly went to an area they named *Berefet* and settled there. According to Creissels and Sambou (2013), subordinate clauses introduced by *(ka)bíríŋ* can also have, in their final position, a subordinator such as *dóróŋ* (p. 480). The use of this element in such a position seems to signal immediacy between the event expressed within the matrix construction and that denoted by the subordinate clause. Accordingly, one can construe example (116c) *Bíríŋ samáa boyita dóróŋ, i ye firóo dati* as when the rainy season ended, they started sowing immediately.

Another subordinator that can be given the meaning of *kabíríŋ* or *bíríŋ* in some constructions is the element *níŋ*. In Mandinka, there are many subordinate constructions in which *níŋ* can be analyzed as a temporal subordinator because as is avered by Creissels and Sambou, who argue that, in this language, there is no clear-cut limit between subordinate clauses of condition and subordinate clauses of time.<sup>124</sup> Actually, *níŋ* can be used to express some temporal information in the same way as it is used to convey information related to condition. In Mandinka, it is the element *níŋ* that usually occurs in subordinate clauses of time which are related to facts, repeated actions or future events. Unlike *níŋ*, the use of *(ka)bíríŋ* seems to be

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 485

impossible in the initial position of subordinate clauses whose nuclei denote events that are captured as facts, habits or considered as future happenings; one uses *níŋ* instead. In reality, the element *(ka)bíríŋ* is specialized in conveying temporal information related to past happenings or events that are considered to have already been done. In this connection, the occurrence of *níŋ* in the initial position of the subordinate clause *Níŋ í siiñóo saasaata* appearing in the left-detached position of example (116d) can be explained by the fact that the event denoted within such a clause is not related to the past. The use of *kabíríŋ* in the place of *níŋ* in (116d) causes nonsense as one can notice in *\*Kabíríŋ í siiñóo saasaata, futa a la* “Lit. \*When your neighbor was ill, visit him”.

The element *fó* also is used to head adverbial clauses expressing time. In doing so, it may co-occur with the temporal subordinator *(ka)bíríŋ* it shares the same subordinate clause with. This co-occurrence of these two elements in the initial position of a subordinate clause does not make any big difference insofar as *fó* can do the job on its own. Therefore, one can say both *Díndíŋo yé dokuwo bulá fó bíríŋ a baa naata* and *Díndíŋo yé dokuwo bulá fó a baa naata* without any remarkable difference. Unlike most adverbial clauses of time, it is uncommon to see the realization of a *fó* subordinate clause in the left detached position; this type of clause usually occurs from the end of the matrix construction to the final position of the sentence. With the semantic contribution given by the element *fó*, the modification given by such a type of clause helps signal that something happens and continues till the start of something else. As such, to interpret (116g), one can say that the stopping of the job continues on the part of the child till the mother’s arrival.

To sum up, both English and Mandinka boast adverbial subordinate clauses of Time that are used to modify matrix constructions in different ways depending upon the type of semantic contributions that are given by different subordinators. In doing so, one should keep in mind that the position of subordinators may be different inasmuch as some Mandinka subordinators are acceptable in both the initial and final position of embedded clauses, whereas most English subordinators appear in the initial position of subordinate clauses. The two languages are also similar in the fact that most of their subordinate clauses can occupy both the left-detached and the final positions of the sentence. Mandinka allows the co-occurrence of some temporal subordinators (*fó* and *(ka)bíríŋ*; *(ka)bíríŋ* and *dóróŋ*; and so on), whereas English does not seem

to make such combinations. The particularity of the Mandinka subordinator (*ka*)*bíriŋ* is that it is usually used to talk about past events. To deal with facts, habits and future happenings, this language prefers the element *níŋ* that is also used to help express the notion of condition within some subordinate clauses we shall see in the section below entitled as ad-clausal subordination.

#### 4.3.2 ad-clausal Subordination

RRG defines this type of subordination as being about subordinate clauses that are used to modify matrix clauses instead of matrix cores. Unlike ad-core subordinate clauses, these types of modifiers are described as occurring in the periphery<sub>CLAUSE</sub>. Then, following Van Valin (2005), one can identify types of ad-clausal subordinate clauses related to reason, condition and concession. In addition to these types of ad-clausal subordinate clauses, Van Valin argues that “A more common example of sentential subordination involves the fronting of peripheral adverbial clauses.”<sup>125</sup>

##### 4.3.2.1 Reason ad-clausal subordinate clauses

These types of constructions are clauses that give us some information that tells us about the reason why something expressed within the matrix clause has happened. In this sense, such types of embedded clauses are used to modify matrix clauses they are dependent on. To express this kind of relationship, languages may opt for different choices one can capture with regard to syntax and semantics. Thus, in the following paragraphs, let us start our description by English before looking into the case of Mandinka.

In English, subordinate clauses expressing Reason are introduced by subordinators like *because*, *as*, *since*, and *that*.

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid.,192

- (117) a. He sold the car because it was too small.  
 3SG waafi.PRET DEF moto káatu 3SG AUXV.PRET ADV dóoyaa  
 A ye moto waafi le kaatú kó a dóoyaa kólenṭa le.
- b. Because he work-s hard, he think-s he will become rich.  
 Káatu kó 3SG dóokuwo-PSM kendede 3SG míira-PSM 3SG FUT ké fankamaa  
 A ye a míira kó a be ké la fankamaa le ti a la dookúu báa ké kamma la.
- c. As the car was so small, he sold it.  
 SUB DEF moto AUXV.PRET ADV dóoyaa 3SG waafi.PRET 3SG  
 A ye moto waafi le báawó a dóoyaata le.
- d. Since you know the answer, you can tell the teacher.  
 SUB 2SG lóṅ DEF jaabirí 2SG MODV fó DEF karamóo  
 Báýiri í ye jaabiróo soto le, a fó karamóo ye.
- e. I am glad that you have come.  
 1SG AUXV jusulaa kó 2SG AUXV naa  
 íj jusóolaata í la naa la le.

To modify a matrix clause, English can use its *because* Reason ad-clausal subordinate clauses in both the left-detached and final positions (meaning from the end of the matrix clause to the final position of the sentence). When the subordinate clause of Reason appears in the left-detached position, it is usually separated from the matrix clause it modifies by a comma in writing and a pause in speech. In example (117b) *Because he works hard, he thinks he will become rich*, the left-detached position in which the subordinate clause *Because he works hard* occurs helps to draw the hearer's attention to the importance of the information conveyed by this very entity that is considered to be the cause of the thought of the referent of the subject *he* to become rich in the future. This type of clause still introduced by *because* can also be placed in the final position of the sentence as is illustrated by example (117a). Whether the position of the *because* clause may be the left-detached or final position, one must always remember that this

modifies the matrix clause it is dependent on; the slight difference is that with the comma or pause there is usually an emphasis with the left-detached position.

Following C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley (1960), English Reason ad-clausal subordinate clauses introduced by *since*, *as*, *seeing that* usually appear in the left-detached position (p. 338). This is the case in examples (117c and d) where the *as* and *since* clauses introduce the different sentences instead of appearing in the final position. As we have already said about a *because* clause occurring in the left-detached position, the realization of *as* and *since* clauses also creates emphasis in this same position.<sup>126</sup> As is the case with the other types of subordinators introducing other kinds of subordinate clauses, the elements that are used to express Reason ad-clausal subordination contain by themselves some information that is related to the reason why something happens or someone does something. In doing so, if, for instance, subordinators like *after*, *before*, and so on, could not head adverbial clauses of Reason, it is because they convey some semantic information that is not compatible with this notion. This simply means that even if a subordinator cannot build a specific type of subordinate clause on its own, its role is virtually essential in defining the type of subordinate clause that modifies a matrix core or clause.

Example (117e) demonstrates another type of subordinate clause that is introduced by a different subordinator which is *that*. With this element, one can realize that not only is the semantic information conveyed by the subordinator very important but the type of construction in which this occurs is paramount as well. As such, the fact of not interpreting *that her daughter is clever* as a clause expressing Reason in *She knows that her daughter is clever* and *that you have come* as an adverbial clause of reason in (117e) does not depend on the subordinator *that* by itself, but rather on the different types of constructions in which this element occurs. *That*-clauses expressing Reason are usually placed in the initial position of the sentence unlike adverbial clauses of Reason introduced by *since* and *as* which introduce sentences by appearing in the left-detached position. Like most English subordinators, a common feature English Reason ad-clausal subordinators also share is that they do not appear in the final position of the embedded clauses they modify, and which in turn modify matrix clauses. We shall now describe Mandinka Reason

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

ad-core subordinate clauses before closing the section with the similarities and differences between the two languages.

Clauses that express Reason by modifying matrix clauses are usually marked in Mandinka by subordinators like *báawó*, *báyíri*, and *kaatú* (*kó*). Actually, these different elements help give some semantic contributions that express the reason why something denoted by the matrix clause occurs as is illustrated by the following examples.

- (118) a. Ñiŋ díí ń na, báawo í máŋ lafí a la.  
 This give me OBL since 2SG NEGM want 3SG OBL  
 Give me this since you do not want it.
- b. Báawo i ye mbúur-óo bee dómo, mon-óo batu.  
 Since 3PL PF.POS bread-DEF all eat porridge-DEF wait  
 Since they have eaten all the bread, wait for the porridge.
- c. Alí seyi, bayíri a te naa la saayíŋ.  
 2PL go back since 3SG NCOP come OBL now  
 Go back home since he will not come now.
- d. A be kid-óo fayi la, kaatú a seewoo-ta le.<sup>127</sup>  
 3SG FUT gun-DEF fire OBL because 3SG happy-PF.POS FOCM  
 He will fire the gun because he is happy.
- e. Móo jamaa le ye samáa dóokúu,  
 person many FOCM PF.POS rain work  
 kaatú maan-óo daa ka sele le waati-wo-waati.  
 because rice-DEF price HAB.POS increase FOCM always  
 Many people have cultivated because the price of rice always increases.
- f. ɲ si karaŋo fanáa muta, kaatú lond-óo fanáa kummaayaata baake le.  
 1PL POT study also catch because knowledge also important very FOCM  
 Let us also study because knowledge also is very important.

<sup>127</sup> In the Mandinka culture, when people are celebrating, they often fire guns so to show their happiness and manhood. For instance, this is the case during circumcision events.



As we can see in the different examples above, Mandinka's subordinators aforementioned introduce embedded clauses which can be realized in both the left and right sides of the matrix clause without making any difference (Creissels & Sambou, 2013, p. 500). Actually, if there is any small difference one can tell about the appearance of the Mandinka Reason clauses in the two different positions, this may be related to the left-detached position that may virtually draw the hearers' attention with the noticeable pause it goes with in speech. Pause in speech may draw people's attention because it corresponds to silence which triggers short attention span when speaking to someone or the public.

The Reason subordinators our different examples subsume are similar to their English counterparts in that they always appear in the initial position of subordinate clauses and not in the final position of the said clauses. The subordinators *báawo* and *bayíri*<sup>128</sup> are captured to be exactly equivalent both syntactically and semantically.<sup>129</sup> Thus, these two modifiers can be translated into English by *since*, *as*, and *because*, whereas as far as *kaatú* is concerned, this seems to be mainly translated by *because*. The use of *báawo* and *bayíri* seems to be more usual in subordinate clauses appearing in the left-detached position, whereas the *kaatú* subordinate clauses have a tendency to occur on the right side of matrix clauses they modify. One must also remember that the subordinator *kaatú* can co-occur with or without *kó* without making any difference in the way the notion of Reason is transmitted vis-à-vis the matrix constructions.

In Mandinka, Reason ad-clausal subordinate clauses modify matrix clauses which can signal different illocutionary forces depending upon the speaker's choice. In doing so, for instance, the matrix clauses *monóo batu* and *Alí seyi* in (118b and c) signal the imperative illocutionary force, whereas examples (118d and e) subsume matrix constructions that denote the declarative illocutionary force. Even if the illocutionary force of the matrix clause signals imperative, the truth is that its subordinate clause may occupy both the left and right positions depending upon the speaker's production. In this sense, the imperative clause *Alí seyi* introduces the sentence *Alí seyi, bayíri a te naa la saayín*, whereas *monóo batu* appears in the final position of the sentence *Báawo i ye mbúuróo bee dómo, monóo batu*. With the *báawo* and *bayíri* Reason clauses, the meaning of such subordinators seems to signal that the addressee is already in the

<sup>128</sup> Some speakers may use **bayírín** instead.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

know of the reason why something happens or someone does something. As such, the subordinate clause in use appearing in the left-detached position denotes some presupposition at the same time. For example, with an example like *Báawo i ye mbúuróo bee domo, monóo batu*, the clause *Báawo i ye mbúuróo bee domo* is not new information to the addressee inasmuch as the use of *báawo* contextually signals something that is already known. The addressee is then aware of this information.

In miniature, the English and Mandinka subordinators we have dealt with usually appear in the initial position of subordinate clauses, and not in their final position. The Reason ad-clausal clauses in which they are used can appear both in the left-detached and final positions of sentences. In doing so, in the two languages, the realization of such types of clauses in the left-detached position helps to create a kind of emphasis that draws the speaker's attention to the information conveyed by the subordinate clause. The Mandinka subordinators *báawo* and *bayíri* correspond to the elements *since* and *as*, whereas *káatu* can be chiefly translated by the subordinator *because*. In both languages, on the one hand, if the *báawo* and *bayíri* clauses very often introduce sentences, on the other hand, the *kaatú* and *because* embedded clauses frequently follow matrix clauses. The role played by subordinators is so paramount because they help define the type of adverbial subordinate clause that modifies a specific matrix clause. In this way, if Reason ad-clausal subordinate clauses are signaled by some specific elements, condition ad-clausal subordinate clauses modifying matrix clauses are also marked by particular elements in particular languages.

#### 4.3.2.2 Condition ad-clausal subordinate clauses

These types of adjunct modifiers are used in particular languages to indicate that it is the events they express that render the state of affairs expressed by their matrix clauses possible. This means that the happening of an event Y depends on the happening of an event X; otherwise, if an event X does not occur, an event Y will not occur either. Thus, to have further information about what clauses of Condition are, let us give the following definition:

The central uses of conditional clauses express a DIRECT CONDITION: they convey that the situation in the matrix clause is directly contingent on that of the conditional clause. Put another way, the truth of the proposition in the matrix clause is a consequence of the fulfilment of the condition in the conditional clause. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1088)

In English, the simple usual elements that are used to mark conditional subordinate clauses are *if* and *unless*. In addition to these subordinators, one can also use other elements such as *only if*, *on condition that*, and the like, to express Condition.

- (119)
- a. If you put the baby down, she will scream.  
 Níŋ 2SG landi DEF deenaani dúuma 3SG FUT wúuri  
 Níŋ í ye deenaanóo landi dúuma, a be wúuri la le.
- b. If you ask-ed him, he would do it.  
 Níŋ 2SG ñininka.PRET 3SG 3SG MODV ké 3SG  
 Níŋ í ye a ñininka, a si a ké noo le núŋ.
- c. He won't stay unless you give him his money back.  
 3SG FUT.NEGM tú dáamantaŋ 2SG díí 3SG 3SG kódi ADV  
 A te tú la jáŋ dáamantaŋ í máŋ a la kodóo díí a la.

In the different examples we have given above, one can realize that the events expressed through the different matrix clauses are dependent on what are expressed within the subordinate clauses. This does not mean that without the subordinate clauses, the matrix clauses are not meaningful and complete; they do convey complete information. So, the dependence is rather at the level of the happenings of the actions denoted within the two clauses. In this connection, in (119a), the subordinate clause *If you put the baby down* is not complete without its matrix clause *she will scream*, whereas this very matrix clause can stand alone as complete information without the occurrence of the former. From this perspective, one can see that in terms of completeness, the subordinate clause does depend on the matrix clause. In point of fact, as far as the two events are concerned, we can say that the scream of the referent of *she* is conditioned by the event of putting the baby down. This amounts to saying that the happening of what is conveyed by the

matrix clause is contingent on the happening of the event denoted by the subordinate clause according to the speaker.

As a matter of fact, if a matrix clause occurs without its subordinate clause of Condition, it is given an interpretation that is different from what it has when it co-occurs with the said type of clause. For instance, one will not construe *she will scream* in the sentence *If you put the baby down, she will scream* in the same way as *she will scream* occurring on its own inasmuch as the former is contingent on an event, whereas the latter is looked upon as a mere affirmation through which the speaker predicts a future happening without putting forward any Condition.

In English, the *if*-clauses expressing Condition are structurally different from the *unless*-clauses expressing the same notion. This means that the *unless*-subordinate clauses do not directly refer to the *if*-subordinate clauses; one always needs to express negation in the latter in order to have correspondence between the two types of clauses of Condition. One cannot, for instance, consider the two sentences *He won't stay unless you give him his money back* and *He won't stay if you give him his money back* as subsuming subordinate clauses that convey the same information modifying the matrix clause *He won't stay*. In doing so, for *He won't stay unless you give him his money back* one can reformulate this by saying that if the money is given back, the referent of *He* will stay, whereas in *He won't stay if you give him his money back*, there is the opposite sense, meaning if the money is given back, the referent of the element *He* will not stay or will go. This difference in interpretation is interestingly caused by the difference of the semantic relationships established by the subordinators *if* and *unless*. For the element *if* is used to modify a subordinate clause in the same way as *unless*, it has to co-occur with a negation marker. In this sense, one will comprehend the sentences *He won't stay unless you give him his money back* and *He won't stay if you don't give him his money back* in the same way; *He won't stay unless you give him his money back* means that the referent of *He* will stay if the money is given back and *He won't stay if you don't give him his money back* also means exactly the same thing.

In terms of usage, the subordinator *if* usually heads a subordinate clause that either introduces the sentence or appears on the right side of the matrix clause, whereas the occurrence of the subordinator *unless* is placed in the initial position of a subordinate clause that is usual on the right side of the matrix clause as is the case in (119c). On the one hand, English speakers have a tendency to construct sentences like *He won't stay unless you give him his money back, I won't*

*call you unless there are any problems* instead of sentences like *Unless you give him his money back, he won't stay* and *Unless there are any problems, I won't call you*. On the other hand, they tend to make constructions like *If you asked him, he would do it* and *If you put the baby down, she will scream* with the same frequency as constructions such as *He would do it if you asked him* and *She will scream if you put the baby down*. The only difference between these two different positions the *if*-clauses can occupy is that “When the *if*-clause is placed first it is rather more emphatic” (C.E. Eckersley & J.M. Eckersley, 1960, p. 347).

Sometimes English subordinate clauses are construed as expressing hypothesis; hence one may talk about hypothetical Condition. These kinds of subordinate clauses are about events or situations the speaker suggests and which do not actually exist or have not been proved to be true yet. With this, the information expressed by a subordinate clause can be the opposite of what exists or happens. This is the case in example (119b). In this example, not only does the subordinate clause *If you asked him* suggest that the fact of asking did not happen, but the matrix clause *he would do it* it also modifies expresses an action that didn't happen either. According to C.E. Eckersley and J.M. Eckersley, “sentences of this kind may refer to present time, past time or future time.”<sup>130</sup> On this subject, they have demonstrated that examples like *If Henry were here, he would know the answer*; *If I had the money, I should buy a new car*, and so on, express present Condition insofar as they are about NOW even if the nuclei of the subordinate clauses have the preterite forms, whereas, for instance, the subordinate clause like *If John had worked hard* occurring in the sentence *If John had worked hard, he would have passed the examination* denotes something that is located in the past.<sup>131</sup> In fact, subordinate clauses of Condition modify their matrix clauses by showing the circumstances under which the actions denoted by the said matrix clauses will or would happen. From this, we shall then continue our analysis by trying to discover facts about Mandinka Condition ad-clausal subordinate clauses.

Mandinka subordinate clauses of Condition are usually marked by the element *níŋ* that appears in the initial position. In addition to this, one can also mention the element *dáamantaŋ* (unless) that is also used to signal the same type of ad-clausal subordinate clauses; as is the case with *níŋ*, this element also is used in the initial position of the said subordinate clauses.

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 349

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 349-350

- (120)
- a. Níŋ dulaa máŋ seneyaa, suusuulaa-lu be siyaa la baake le.  
 If place NEGM clean mosquito-PLM FUT many OBL very FOCM  
 (Lit. If the place is not clean, mosquitoes will be very many.)  
 If the place is not clean, there will be many mosquitoes.
- b. Níŋ ɲ ná í jé jaŋ, ɲ be í faa la teŋ ne daki.  
 If 1SG PF.POS 2SG see here, 1SG FUT 2SG kill OBL this way FOCM completely  
 If you come here, I will kill you in this way.
- c. Níŋ í diŋ-ó faa-ta, í be kumbóo la kó móo-wo-móo.  
 if 2SG son-DEF die-PF.POS 2SG FUT cry OBL like everyone  
 If your son dies, you will cry like everyone.
- d. Ñoomoy-óo niŋ kayir-óo be sabati la duniyaa kóno jaŋ ne  
 harmony-DEF and peace-DEF FUT stay OBL world in here FOCM  
 níŋ ɲ ná a la kum-óo kummaaya-ndi ɲ na aad-óo-lu ti.  
 If we PF.POS 3SG GEN word-DEF important-CAUS we GEN culture-DEF-PLM OBL  
 Harmony and peace will be preserved here in the world if we give more  
 importance to his speech than our cultures.
- e. Í be kúu jamáa fahaamu la níŋ í ye a la tarik-óo karaŋ.  
 2SG FUT thing many understand OBL if 2SG PF.POS 3SG GEN history read  
 You will understand a lot of things if you read his history.
- f. Dáamantaŋ í máŋ a kumandi a tóo la, a te i danku la.  
 Unless 2SG NEGM 3SG call 3SG name OBL 3SG NCOP 3SG answer OBL  
 He won't answer you unless you call him by his name.
- g. ɲ te bóo la jaŋ dáamantaŋ a máŋ naa.  
 3SG HAB.NEG go OBL here unless 3SG NEGM go  
 I won't leave unless he comes.
- h. Níŋ a ye a la tiy-óo waafi nuŋ, a te kodi jamáa soto la bíi.  
 If 3SG PF.POS 3SG GEN peanut-DEF buy formerly 3SG NCOP money many have OBL today  
 (Lit. If he has sold his peanut, he won't have much money today)  
 If he sold his peanut, he would not have much money today.

Even if Creissels and Sambou (2013) demonstrate that Mandinka subordinate clauses of Condition are usually introduced by the conjunction *níη* (p. 486), one should add to this the element *dáamantaη* that may also appear in the initial position of clauses while signaling Condition. Thus, these two subordinators head clauses of Condition that can appear either on the left or right side of the matrix clauses that are modified.

The subordinator *níη* introduces clauses that occur either in the initial or final position of the sentence without any difference in terms of modifying the matrix clause. In this sense, the Condition ad-clausal subordinate clause *Níη í diηó faata* appearing in the left-detached position modifies the clause *í be kumbóo la kó móo-wo-móo* in the same way as the clause *níη í ye a la tarikóo karaη* appearing in the final position of the sentence modifies the matrix clause *Í be kúu jamáa fahaamu la*. The only difference between these two positions seems to be emphasis related; this means that the addressee's attention is drawn to the *níη* clause if this occurs in the left detached position, whereas this is not the case when it occurs in the final position of the matrix clause. The subordinator *níη* cannot be realized in the final position of a subordinate clause of Condition as is attested by the ungrammaticality of sentences such *\*Dulaa máη seneyaa níη, suusuulaalu be siyaa la baake le* and *\*Í be kúu jamáa fahaamu la í ye a la tarikóo karaη níη*.

In fact, the *níη* and *dáamantaη* clauses denoting Condition modify matrix clauses in a way according to which the events expressed within these matrix constructions are considered as being dependent on the happenings of the said clause modifiers. In this way, for example, from *Ñoomoyóo níη kayiróo be sabati la duniyaa kóno jaη ne níη η ηá a la kumóo kummaayandi η na aadóolu ti*, one understands that the event *Ñoomoyóo níη kayiróo be sabati la duniyaa kóno jaη ne* “Harmony and peace will be preserved here in the world” chiefly depends on *níη η ηá a la kumóo kummaayandi η na aadóolu ti* “if we give more importance to his speech than our cultures”. Actually, in terms of events dependence, according to the speaker, the happening of the event expressed by the matrix clause depends on the happening of the event signaled by the subordinate clause of Condition. As far as the transmission of complete information is concerned, it is the subordinate clause of Condition that depends on the matrix clause. As such, a matrix clause like *Ñoomoyóo níη kayiróo be sabati la duniyaa kóno jaη ne* conveys complete information, whereas *níη η ηá a la kumóo kummaayandi η na aadóolu ti* does not.

The subordinator *dáamantaŋ* has some features that make it different from *níŋ* in a number of ways. This element usually introduces a subordinate clause of Condition that modifies a matrix clause whose nucleus is usually modified by negation. In this sense, the matrix clauses *a te danku la* “he won’t answer” and *í te bóo la jaŋ* “I won’t leave” in examples (120g and f) modified by *dáamantaŋ* subordinate clauses both include the negative copular *te* signaling future happenings which depend on some conditions according to the speaker. The modification of a *dáamantaŋ* clause seems to interact with the occurrence of negation in the matrix clause inasmuch as if one discards negation from the latter, this affects the whole sentence that becomes meaningless. If sentences like *\*Dáamantaŋ í máŋ a kumandi a tóo la, a te danku la* “\*He will answer unless you call him by his name” and *\*í te bóo la jaŋ dáamantaŋ a máŋ naa* “\*I will leave unless he comes” are nonsensical it is because their matrix clauses denote positive polarity that does not seem to be compatible with the modification given by the *dáamantaŋ* subordinate clauses of Condition. Besides the expression of negation in the matrix clause, the subordinate clause introduced by *dáamantaŋ* always includes negation as well. In this connection, one cannot make nonsensical constructions like *\*Dáamantaŋ í ye a kumandi a tóo la, a te danku la* and *\*í te bóo la jaŋ dáamantaŋ a ye naa*. From this description, one can keep in mind that not only do Mandinka *dáamantaŋ* subordinate clauses of Condition always include negation but they always modify matrix clauses that signal negative polarity.

As far as the tense that modifies the Mandinka subordinate clauses of Condition introduced by *níŋ* is concerned, Creissels and Sambou state that this must canonically be the perfective one. This means that such clauses usually have nuclei denoting the perfective tense.<sup>132</sup> In our examples, this is the case in the subordinate clauses of condition introduced by *níŋ*. For instance, in a sentence like *Níŋ í ná í jé jaŋ, í be í faa la teŋ ne daki*, the subordinate clause *Níŋ í ná í jé jaŋ* includes the element *ná* that is a perfective positive marker. The difference between this and the case of *dáamantaŋ* clauses is that the *dáamantaŋ* clauses mainly have nuclei which signal the perfective negative as can be seen in both *Dáamantaŋ í máŋ a kumandi a tóo la, a te danku la* and *í te bóo la jaŋ dáamantaŋ a máŋ naa* whose *dáamantaŋ* subordinate clauses have nuclei modified by the perfective negative marker *máŋ*. The fact of modifying the nucleus of a *dáamantaŋ* subordinate clause by another tense other than the perfective negative causes

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 487



absurdity. As such, examples like *\*Dáamantaŋ í te a kumandi la a tóo la, a te danku la* “\*Unless you won’t call him by his name, he won’t answer” and *\*í te bóo la jaŋ dáamantaŋ a te naa la* “\*I won’t leave unless he won’t come”.

When construed as expressing hypothetical condition, Mandinka *níŋ* subordinate clauses signal events whose happenings are envisioned. This language does not seem to have a special way to express a condition that did not happen.<sup>133</sup>In reality, a Mandinka subordinate clause that can be used to refer to a condition that did not happen in the past usually subsumes the element *núŋ* that occurs in the final position of the subordinate clause of condition in use. In doing so, if the event denoted by the subordinate clause is located in the past; that that is expressed within the matrix clause can be related to the present time. For instance, with an example like *Níŋ a ye a la tiyóo waafi nuŋ, a te kodi jamáa soto la bíi*, the event indicated by the clause *Níŋ a ye a la tiyóo waafi nuŋ* is located in the past, whereas that expressed within the matrix clause *a te kodi jamáa soto la bíi* is located in the present time. One should also specify that with such a kind of sentence, the element *núŋ* can also appear in the final positions of both the subordinate and matrix clauses without any big difference as one can see in *Níŋ a ye a la tiyóo waafi nuŋ, a te kodi jamáa soto la bíi nuŋ* “If he sold his peanut, he would not have much money today”.

In short, one can keep in mind the following similarities and differences between English and Mandinka Condition ad-clausal subordinate clauses. The *if* and *níŋ* clauses can appear both in the initial and final positions of sentences in which they occur, besides the subordinators always introduce the subordinate clauses whose semantic contents they importantly modify and which modify in turn matrix clauses. The Mandinka *dáamantaŋ* clauses can either appear on the left or right side of matrix clauses, whereas the English *unless* clauses are usual on the right side of matrix clauses. The *unless* clauses always appear with nuclei which do not take any negation marker, whereas Mandinka *dáamantaŋ* clauses of Condition always have nuclei that are modified by negation (usually *máŋ*). Another thing that is worth mentioning is that both *dáamantaŋ* and *unless* subordinate clauses of Condition modify matrix clauses whose nuclei always signal negation. English can express hypothetical conditions with regard to past and present conditions, whereas Mandinka hypothetical conditions are usually construed as conditions which are

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 488

envisioned. Let us now end the types of ad-clausal subordinate clauses by Concession ad-clausal subordinate clauses we shall explore in the following part.

#### 4.3.2.3 Concession ad-clausal subordinate clauses

Concession ad-clausal subordinate clauses are clauses which express events that contrast with events denoted by matrix clauses. As such, if the idea denoted by a matrix clause is contrasted with that expressed within the concessive clause, “it means that the one is surprising or unexpected in view of the other” (Leech & Svartvik, 1994, p. 210). Thus, let us describe the modification of English Concession ad-clausal subordinate clauses before dealing with those of Mandinka.

(121) a. (Al)though it was rain-ing, he went out without an umbrella.

SUB DUM AUXV.PRET samáa-PROG 3SG taa.PRET banta P INDEF palansoorí

Samáa be kériŋ ñáa wo ñáa, a palansoorintaŋó funtita banta.

b. It rain-ed in Paris yesterday, whereas we had beautiful weather here in London.

DUM samáa-PROG P Paris kunúŋ SUB 1PL soto ñíímaa waatí jaŋ P Londonŋ

Samáa kéta Paris le kunúŋ adúŋ dulaa fanuta báake Londonŋ jaŋ wo to le de.

c. Even if the exam was easy, I failed.

SUB DEF ekisaamóo AUXV.PRET feeyaa 1SG boyi-PROG

Hání a tara kó ekisaamóo feeyaata, nte boyita.

d. The exam was difficult. I think I did well, though.

DEF ekisaamóo AUXV.PRET koleyaata 1SG míira 1SG ké.PRET kúu SUB

Ekisaamóo koleyaata ñáa wo ñáa, íŋ ná a míira kó ná a ké kúu le adúŋ de.

e. I like the sweater. I decid-ed not to buy it, though.

1SG lafi DEF nenemutaraŋ 1SG kítíí-PRET NEGM P saŋ 3SG SUB

íŋ lafita nenemutaraŋó ñiŋ na le bari íŋ ná ñiŋ ne kítíí kó íŋ máŋ taa saŋ wo.

f. No goal-s were scor-ed though it was an exciting game.

Hání bii-PLM AUXV.PRET dúŋ-PASTP SUB 3SG AUXV.PRET INDEF diyaa tuluj

Hání bii máŋ dúŋ, tulujó diyaata le adúŋ de.

g. Fail though I did, I would not abandon my goal.

Boyí SUB 1SG ké.PRET 1SG MODV NEGM foño 1SG hame

Hání níŋ íŋ boyíta, wo te a tinna íŋ be hameriŋ múŋ na íŋ ná a tú jee.

h. Naked as I was, I brav-ed the storm.

Kenseŋ SUB 1SG AUXV.PRET 1SG jusujaariŋ-PRET DEF turubaadí

íŋ kenseŋó ñáa wo ñáa, íŋ jusujaariŋó dúŋta turubaadóo kóno.

i. Whatever you may say, I still think I did the right thing.

Múŋ wo múŋ 2SG MODV fó 1SG ADV míra 1SG ké.PRET DEF kende kúu

Hání í se múŋ wo múŋ fo, a be íŋ bulu le haní sayiŋ kó íŋ ná kúu betóo le ké.

j. Even though she is very old, she run-s fast.

SUB 3SG AUXV baake kotóo 3SG borí-PSM tariŋ

Hání a tara kó a kotóota baake, a ka borí tariŋó le ké.

To express Concession, English uses subordinators such as *although*, *though*, *even if*, *even though*, *whereas*, *as*, and so forth. These different elements express some semantic contributions that significantly modify the subordinate clauses of Concession which are in turn used to modify matrix clauses as is the case within the examples we have given above. The ordering of these subordinators may vary depending not only on the construction that occurs but also on the type of

subordinator establishing a semantic relationship between a matrix clause and an embedded clause.

As is the case with English most subordinate clauses, the English Concession ad-clausal subordinate clauses also appear either on the left or right side of their matrix clauses. In (121a), the subordinate clause *Although it was raining* appearing in the left detached position modifies the matrix clause *he went out without an umbrella* with regard to the notion of contrast. This clause shows that the event of going out without an umbrella is surprising because, normally, when it is raining you expect from someone to take an umbrella when they want to go out. Thus, the expression of this contradiction within such types of clauses is the reason why Quirk et al. (1985) argue that “Concessive clauses indicate that the situation in the matrix clause is contrary to expectation in the light of what is said in the concessive clause” (p. 1098). In fact, in all the examples we have given, the expression of contrast is noticeable between each subordinate clause and its matrix clause wherever the acceptable position of the said adjunct subordinate clause may be.

The English subordinators may be different in terms of where they occur in concessive subordinate clauses. If subordinators like *although, even though, even if, whereas, whatever* chiefly introduce embedded clauses, following Quirk et al., “concessive clauses sometimes have unusual syntactic orderings when the subordinator is *as* or *though*.”<sup>134</sup> In conversation, speakers may use *as* and *though* in their constructions in various positions, unlike the other types of subordinators. As far as *though* is concerned, this can occupy positions such as the medial, initial and final position of clauses. This is the case in examples like (121d, e, f and g). For instance in (121f), the subordinator *though* appears in the initial position of the embedded clause of concession *though it was an exciting game* modifying the matrix clause *No goals were scored*, whereas the same element appears in the medial position of *Fail though I did* that modifies the matrix construction *I would not abandon my goal*. Actually, *though* can also be placed in the final position of constructions. In doing so, the clause at the end of which it occurs can stand on its own as a complete thought unlike what happens when it is put in the initial and medial positions. In both (121d and e), the clauses *I think I did well, though* and *I decided not to buy it, though* subsuming *though* are interpreted as conveying meaningful ideas which do not depend upon the

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<sup>134</sup>Ibid.,1097

clauses they are contrasted with in order to be complete. If *though* can end a sentence, it is important to note that the element *although* cannot be put in the final position of a sentence. Another difference between *although* and *though* is that the former is used in formal situations, whereas the latter signals informal conversations.

Like the subordinate marker *though*, the element *as* also can appear either in the medial position of subordinate clauses. For example, in (121h), the clause *Naked as I was* subsuming the element *as* stands for a concessive subordinate clause. Not only cannot this embedded clause stand alone as a meaningful thought, but the information it conveys and that that is expressed within the matrix construction are considered as contrasting ideas insofar as, in real life situations, it is contrary to all expectations for one to brave the storm being naked.

A subordinate clause introduced by *even though* expresses a much stronger contrast if one compares this to embedded clauses introduced by subordinators such as *although*, *though*, *whereas*, and so on. In doing so, there is an emphasis on the unexpectedness expressed within the matrix construction. For instance, in an example like *Even though she is very old, she runs fast*, there is an emphasis on the fact that despite her old age, *she runs fast*.

According to Persec and Burgué (2003), the combination of *wh + ever* may express Concession. In doing so, the Concession may be on an adverb, an adjective, a noun, etc., occurring within an embedded clause that modifies a matrix construction as is the case in examples like *However hard she may try, she'll never make it*; *No matter how hard she tries, she will never make it*; *Whatever/Whichever cause you may fight for, it is worth doing* (p. 242). With such a type of combination, the Concession may also be on the whole clause modifying the matrix clause. This is the case with the subordinate clause *Whatever you may say* in (121i). About such a construction, the Concession is on the whole clause, whereas if one compares this to a subordinate clause like *Whichever cause you may fight for*, in the latter, the Concession is mainly on the noun *cause*, even if one must recognize that the entire clause in which this noun occurs is used to modify the matrix clause *it is worth doing* without which the subordinate clause in question is incomplete.

One should keep in mind that English subordinate clauses are not the only type of constructions that are used to express Concession in respect to the modification of matrix

constructions. In addition to this, prepositional phrases also can be used to indicate Concession. These are phrases like *in spite of*, *despite*, *irrespective of*, *regardless of*, *notwithstanding* which are followed by *the fact (that)*.<sup>135</sup> Instead of having *the fact (that) + X* after the prepositional phrase, there may be the occurrence of a reference phrase. In this way, in an example like *Despite his effort, he could not succeed*, the group of words *Despite his effort* does not have any verb, accordingly, this is a prepositional phrase which expresses Concession vis-à-vis the clause *he could not succeed* it modifies. As a matter of fact, this type of concessive construction labelled as a prepositional phrase is different from a subordinate clause of Concession inasmuch as if the one is a phrase, the other is a clause. After describing some salient features of English subordinate clauses of Concession, we shall devote the following paragraphs to Mandinka Concessive subordinate clauses.

Mandinka has some elements that are used to mark Concession; this means that the semantic contents of such elements are compatible with the transmission of contrasting information or ideas expressed within a sentence. Thus, in this language, subordinators that may mark Concession are elements such as, *ñáa wo ñáa* “Although, however, etc.”, *hání (níŋ)* “even if”, *hání níŋ a tara kó* “even if, even though; lit. even if he/she finds that”.

(122) a. Tombon̄ ye náaful-óo soto ñáa wo ñáa, a la dimbaayaa máŋ seewóo.  
 Tombong PF.POS wealth-DEF have way INDEF way 3SG GEN family NEGM happy  
 Although Tombong is wealthy, his family is not happy.

b. Hání níŋ í ye i bala-ndi tulun̄-ó la, i te sóŋ na.  
 even if 2SG PF.POS 3PL refuse-CAUS game-DEF OBL 3PL FUT agree OBL  
 Even if you prevent them from playing, they won't agree.

c. Hání a ye í tóoñee, í máŋ ñan a barama la.  
 Even 3SG PF.POS 2SG offend 2SG NEGM must 3SG injure OBL  
 Even if he has offended you, you must not injure him.

<sup>135</sup>Op. cit.

d. Hání níŋ a tara kó a máŋ féŋ ké, ali ñan-ta a jóo la le.  
 Even if 3SG find that 3SG NEGM thing do 3PL must-PF.POS 3SG pay OBL FOCM  
 Even though he did not do anything, you must pay him.

e. Í ye borí wo borí ké, a be í dáŋ na le.  
 2SG PF.POS run INDEF run do 3SG FUT 2SG overtake OBL FOCM  
 Even if you run fast, he will overtake you.

In reality, in Mandinka, the most usual elements that are used by speakers in order to signal contrasting ideas are *ñáa wo ñáa* and *hání (níŋ)* even if there are also some other elements such as *wo, hání a tara kó* that can also occur in sentences to express Concession.

As far as the ordering of *ñáa wo ñáa* is concerned, this always occurs in the final position of Mandinka subordinate clauses of Concession; its appearance in the initial position of such types of clauses creates ungrammaticality as one can see in a nonsensical example like *\*Ñáa wo ñáa Tomboŋ ye náafulóo soto, a la dimbaayaa máŋ seewóo* “\*however Tombong is wealthy, his family is not happy”. Not only does the ungrammaticality of this sentence substantiate that the syntactic position occupied by the subordinator *ñáa wo ñáa* is of prime importance for the whole sentence to be meaningful, but there is also no idea of concession one can understand through the sentence if this element occurs in any other position different from the end of the embedded clause. The *ñáa wo ñáa* subordinate clauses of Concession are more usual on the left side of matrix constructions than on their right side. The *ñáa wo ñáa* adjuncts cannot stand by themselves as complete clauses, they always need matrix constructions to be complete. By the way, this is the reason why *Tomboŋ ye náafulóo soto ñáa wo ñáa* “Although Tombong is wealthy” will be construed by any Mandinka speaker as incomplete. It is the presence of *ñáa wo ñáa* that makes the clause of Concession incomplete inasmuch as it holds a semantic content that signals a relationship between two different ideas that cannot be subsumed by one single clause. Therefore, an idea is expressed within one clause while the other one is expressed through another clause; and in doing so, there is one idea that is dependent on the other one.

Unlike *ñáa wo ñáa*, the subordinator *hání (níŋ)* is realized in the initial position of subordinate clauses of Concession. To modify a clause with regard to the notion of Concession, it must be noted down that the element *hání* (even) may co-occur with *níŋ* (if) as this can be left out

without any noticeable difference. In this sense, both *hání níŋ* in (122b and d) and *hání* in (122c) are used to show Concession to the same degree; this means that the presence or absence of *níŋ* is not that important. Like *ñáa wo ñáa*, the position of *hání níŋ* also is fixed, this is the reason why its appearance in any other position that is different from the initial position of the subordinate clause triggers some oddities as is illustrated by ungrammatical constructions like *\*Í ye i balandi tuluŋó hání níŋ, i te sóŋ na* “\*You prevent them from playing even if, they won’t agree” and *\*Í ye i balandi hání níŋ tuluŋó, i te sóŋ na* “\*You prevent them from even if playing, they won’t agree”. Sometimes, Mandinka speakers can also use the phrase *Hání níŋ a tara kó* in the initial position of subordinate clauses to mark Concession. This is what happens in an example like *Hání níŋ a tara kó a máŋ féŋ ké, ali ñanta a jóo la le* where the occurrence of *Hání níŋ a tara kó* makes a modification through which *a máŋ féŋ ké* “he didn’t do anything” is presented as a piece of information that is contrasted with the information conveyed by the matrix clause *ali ñanta a jóo la le*.

The element *wo* also can appear in some Mandinka sentences to express the notion of Concession. In doing so, Creissels and Sambou (2013) state that it is also possible to have subordinate clauses of Concession in which there is the same reduplication of the verb that is combined with the element *wo* (p. 492). This is what occurs in (122e) where the element *wo* is realized in between the two same bare forms of the verb *borí*. The subordinate clause *Í ye borí wo borí ké* in the sentence *Í ye borí wo borí ké, a be í dáŋ na le* can be changed for *Í borita ñáa wo ñáa* without any difference in terms of interpretation. In this way, *Í ye borí wo borí ké, a be í dáŋ na le* and *Í borita ñáa wo ñáa, a be í dáŋ na le* convey the same information with regard to the notion of Concession.

In a nutshell, one can note down that in both English and Mandinka subordinate clauses of Concession, the syntactic positions occupied by subordinators are of prime importance insofar as if these are violated not only is there the deconstruction of any idea of concession, but the sentences in which these happen become ungrammatical. In the two languages, if subordinate clauses of concession occur without their matrix clauses, they are meaningful but incomplete. Unlike most English subordinators, the element *though* can appear at the end of a clause while signaling Concession; syntactically, what makes the difference between *though* and the Mandinka subordinator *ñáa wo ñáa* is that the former is placed at the end of a clause that can



stand as a complete thought without relying on any matrix clause, whereas as far as the latter is concerned, it ends a clause that depends on a matrix construction in order to become complete. Another difference one can notice about some subordinate clauses of Concession of the two languages is that, in English, the element *even* always combines with *if* in order to mark Concession, whereas its Mandinka counterpart *hání* can modify a subordinate clause on its own, in respect of the idea of Concession without the optional occurrence of *níŋ*. Unlike English, Mandinka has an element (*wo*) that requires the reduplication of the bare forms of the same verb in order to modify the semantic content of a clause with respect to the expression of Concession. English has a range of prepositional phrases such as *despite*, *in spite of*, *irrespective of*, and so on, that can also be used to modify matrix constructions with respect to Concession, whereas it seems that Mandinka does not have postpositional phrases that can make such a type of modification.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

This dissertation investigates the distribution of arguments and modifiers in English and Mandinka with the aim of finding similarities and differences between the two languages. In doing so, we have made our description within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar that is a reliable theory one can use to analyze the communicative functions of different grammatical structures. With our choice of this theory, we would like to show that, when describing languages, one could not favour one single linguistic dimension while overlooking the others. It is the interaction existing between syntax, semantics and pragmatics that mostly makes it possible for grammatical structures to contribute to clear communication. Thence, in this thesis, we have analyzed how arguments and modifiers are used for the transmission of meaningful or complete information in both English and Mandinka. We have started our analysis from the simplest level that is the RP level to complex constructions.

At the RP level of the two languages, we have dealt with the modifications of operators such as determiners, quantifiers, negation markers and adjectives. On this subject, grammatical modifiers such as articles have different uses in these two languages. English uses two different articles (*the* and *a*) to modify nouns with regard to definiteness and indefiniteness, whereas Mandinka has an inflectional morpheme (the *-o* suffix) that does not always modify every noun it appears with. When modifying their head nouns, the two deictically contrastive demonstratives English have can be pluralized, contrary to Mandinka that pluralizes the  $\text{core}_R$  arguments instead. The two languages use their demonstratives in the RP-initial position except for the Mandinka *ñiŋ* “this” that can also appear in the RP-final position with a change in meaning. Unlike Mandinka, English RP operators such as definite and indefinite quantifiers are generally used to modify  $\text{core}_R$  arguments in consideration of the distinction between mass and count nouns. Mandinka indefinite quantifiers are placed in the RP-final position, whereas in English these occur in the initial position of the RP.

With adjectival modification, the remarkable difference is that Mandinka adjectives can take inflections such as the *-o* suffix and the plural marker *-lu*, whereas this is impossible in English adjectival  $\text{nuclear}_R$  modification. Unlike English, Mandinka can duplicate an adjective to modify the  $\text{nuclear}_R$  for some emphatic reasons. English adjectives can occur in both the initial

and final positions of RPs, whereas Mandinka always uses its adjectives in the final position. The adjectives of the two languages do not signal the gender of the nuclear<sub>R</sub> they modify. We have also shown that contrary to Mandinka that mostly uses its superlatives and comparatives to modify adjectives appearing in predicative constructions, English may use its superlative and comparative markers to modify RPs.

Mandinka mainly constructs its alienable possession by putting the genitive marker *la* between the possessor and the possessed, whereas English generally puts the genitive marker -'s in between these two entities. English mostly expresses inalienable possession (especially, part-whole and kin relations) by using either the structure aforementioned or the possessed + *of* + possessor structure. The occurrence of the -'s genitive marker normally depends on whether the possessor is animate or inanimate. Mandinka part-whole possessive constructions is realized through juxtaposition. Moreover, this language boasts a special inflection (*-máa*) that is put at the end of the possessed noun to indicate kin terms. After demonstrating that the notion of definiteness is associated with English possessive RPs, we have also argued that, in Mandinka, such a notion seems to interact with possession in a significant way inasmuch as the absence of the *-o* suffix affects any possessive reading of such a type of RPs.

The system of Mandinka deverbal nominal is more complex than that of English because there is no specific patterns that could help distinguish Mandinka nouns from its verbs. In this thesis, we have found that the deverbal nominal RP constructions of the two languages are inherently M-intransitive insofar as a deverbal nominal obligatorily requires the occurrence of one single core<sub>R</sub> argument. The two languages also boast Agent nominalization markers that help express the notion of Agent or Actor. Within a single lexeme, Mandinka can put together different constituents through which one can understand the idea of Actor and Undergoer core<sub>R</sub> arguments. This seems to be uncommon in English.

In the two languages, we have found that the core<sub>R</sub> arguments of deverbal nominals whose source verbs are intransitive are construed as the Actor macrorole. When the source verb of a deverbal nominal is transitive, the realized core<sub>R</sub> argument can be labelled as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the type of RP in use. In Mandinka, the core<sub>R</sub> arguments of most static deverbal nominals are interpreted as Actor if the *la* postposition is present or Undergoer if this is missing from the RPs, whereas in English the core<sub>R</sub> arguments are usually captured as

Undergoer in such a situation. It is possible to insert modifiers expressing temporal information in the deverbal nominal RPs of the two languages.

Unlike Mandinka that mainly places its core<sub>R</sub> arguments in the RP-initial position while realizing the deverbal nominal in the final position, one can essentially remember that core<sub>R</sub> arguments occur both in the initial and final positions of English deverbal nominal RP constructions. In Mandinka, there are lexemes that express both the idea of Undergoer and Actor on their own; we have noticed that in terms of internal structure of such lexemes, the core<sub>R</sub> argument interpreted as Undergoer is the element that occurs first. Another thing related to the internal structure of deverbal nominal is the use of the Agent nominalization markers. Vis-à-vis this, we have shown that Agent nominalization is done through suffixation in the two languages.

Like English *that*-clause core<sub>R</sub> arguments, Mandinka RP constructions subsuming *kó*-clause core<sub>R</sub> arguments are often composed of constituents among which there may be both phrasal and non-phrasal adjunct modifiers expressing temporal information. On this account, the adjunct occurring in the RP final position directly modifies the *that* or *kó*-clause and not the noun the clause in use is related to.

In the two languages, the infinitive markers *to* and *ka* occupy the same position, for each of them introduces a clause that starts from a head noun to the final position of an RP. In Mandinka core<sub>R</sub> cosubordination, there is interestingly the occurrence of the genitive marker *la*, which is not usually the case in English. What both languages have also in common is that, with such a phenomenon, there is always a core<sub>R</sub> argument.

One can also keep in mind that if the English RP relative clauses are dealt with with regard to the notions of restrictive and non-restrictive modifications, Mandinka usually separates a head noun from an RP relative clause by a comma in writing or a pause in speech. If English changes relative pronouns depending upon the referent of the head noun the relative pronoun in use is related to, Mandinka mostly relies on its relative marker *múŋ* that is compatible in meaning with various referents.

About simple sentences, we should pinpoint that with both English and Mandinka M-intransitive verbs, the single core argument required by the verb can be interpreted as Actor or Undergoer depending upon the semantic interpretation of the verb the construction in use is

about. In the two languages, the single core argument is placed in the sentence initial position while the verb occurs in the final position; the adding of any other core argument in the final position of the sentence renders this ungrammatical. When a construction signals the interrogative illocutionary force, both English and Mandinka M-intransitive verbs may co-occur with a pre-core slot in order to ask about the referent of the missing core argument whose referent is possibly unknown by the speaker. Unlike English, Mandinka uses a suffix (-*ta*) that serves to mark the M-intransitive use of verbs. In this language, the appearance of such an element at the end of a verb chiefly indicates that the said verb licenses one single core argument to convey complete and meaningful information. If in English there are some verbs that are both M-intransitive and transitive, in Mandinka, the presence or the absence of the -*ta* suffix at the end of verbs makes a big difference.

Mandinka passive sentences do not exactly convey the same information as the active sentences they correspond to. In the so-called passive constructions of this language, one can understand that the single core argument required by the passivized verb is usually an Undergoer. Unlike what happens in English, the Actor is obligatory missing from the Mandinka passive voice system. Given that the -*ta* suffix is of prime importance in the passive reading of M-transitive verbs, its deletion may affect the relationship there is between the single core argument and the verb in use. If the -*ta* suffix is removed from a passivized verb, the only framework in which it is possible to interpret the sentence meaningfully is related to the imperative illocutionary force.

With Mandinka M-transitive verbs passive reading, only the context could help know the missing Actor that is considered as being unimportant from the speaker's point of view. The absence of the Undergoer with English prototypical M-transitive verbs renders the construction incomplete, whereas this can underpin a change of illocutionary force in Mandinka with certain M-transitive verbs. As such, the sentence in use can be given an imperative like reading in the framework of which the element labelled as Actor at the start becomes an Undergoer; this phenomenon seems to be impossible in English. In the M-transitive constructions of the two languages, the subject usually occurs in the sentence initial position and its absence from this position renders the sentence incomplete. Besides the case of M-transitive verbs, there are also some verbs that require the presence of three arguments to convey complete information.

About the M-transitive constructions of the two languages, one can essentially bear in mind that the two core arguments required by the M-transitive verbs are construed as Actor and Undergoer. In doing so, the verb occurs in the final position of the sentence in Mandinka, whereas it is the core argument standing for the Undergoer that occupies this position in English active sentences. If English boasts prototypical M-transitive verbs and verbs that are both M-transitive and intransitive, with the occurrence of the *-ta* inflection, all the Mandinka M-transitive verbs can virtually be used intransitively with a passive reading.

English weather verbs are generally M-atransitive, whereas Mandinka importantly uses some weather related verbs that are M-intransitive. In Mandinka, a weather noun can be interpreted as Actor or Undergoer according to the semantic interpretation of the verb in use. As far as English is concerned, a weather verb is usually constructed with an element that is semantically empty. With such a type of English verb, the syntactic and semantic valences are most of the time 1, 0, respectively, whereas the rule seems to be 1-1 in Mandinka.

English has one main M-intransitive verb (*be*) that can be used in constructions like attributive, identificational, specificational, equational and locational predications. Apart from attributive predication that cannot be expressed with the use of Mandinka copular verbs, this language boasts two copular verbs that are *mú* used for identificational, specificational and equational predications, and *be* especially used for locational predication. The second argument of the locative copular is mainly a postpositional phrase in Mandinka, whereas this is usually a prepositional phrase in English. In the two languages, the copular verbs require the occurrence of two arguments, an Undergoer and a non-macrorole, to convey complete information. Although the second argument of the copular constructions is not construed as a macrorole, the two languages do not allow its absence. Contrary to what happens in M-transitive constructions, the main verb and the non-macrorole occupy the same positions in the copular constructions of the two languages.

English phrasal adjuncts are chiefly prepositional phrases that add to the core additional information related to space, time, and so on. In Mandinka, additional information related to space can be expressed through phrasal adjuncts as well, but as far as temporal information is concerned, this language tends to use non-phrasal adjuncts instead. The two languages do not allow phrasal adjuncts to occur among core arguments. In English, phrasal adjuncts can appear in

the periphery in two different positions: the left-detached and final positions of the clause. Unlike English, Mandinka does not normally use its phrasal adjuncts in the left-detached position. Both English and Mandinka allow the co-occurrence of more than one phrasal adjunct conveying different additional semantic information. Mandinka phrasal adjuncts are postpositional phrases, whereas these coincide with prepositional phrases in English.

One should remember that adverbs are not given a fixed position in both English and Mandinka. The two languages use adverbs to modify verbs, adjectives, whole constructions or other adverbs. On this subject, if Mandinka can have recourse to reduplication to modify adverbs, in English, a different adverb may be used to modify another adverb. The particularity of Mandinka is that it boasts an inventory of onomatopoeia like adverbs whose meanings are compatible with some specific types of verbs they modify.

In terms of word order, there is no real difference between Mandinka declarative sentences and interrogatives. In Mandinka constructions signaling interrogative illocutionary force, besides the question morphemes, there is also the occurrence of a focus marker *le* that is paramount. English *wh*-questions usually appear in the pre-core slot, whereas this is not always the case with some Mandinka question morphemes. In English, *wh*-words like *when*, *how*, and *where* can occur in the pre-core slot while referring to non-arguments, whereas Mandinka chiefly uses question morphemes such as *mintóo*, *ñáa-díi* to help ask questions about non-arguments or adjuncts. Unlike English, in Mandinka, question morphemes co-occurring with the focus marker *le* can occupy different positions within constructions, especially when these are P-questions. The interrogative illocutionary force is used in the two languages to modify entire clauses.

When the illocutionary force signals imperative in the two languages, the possible Undergoer is not put in the same position, for the position that is acceptable in Mandinka underpins ungrammaticality in English. English never starts its canonical imperative clauses by a core argument that is possibly construed as Undergoer, whereas this happens in Mandinka. With the imperative clauses of the two languages, the tense and aspect modifiers are not realized. It is possible with the imperative constructions of these two languages to put the possible Actor in the right-detached position to be more specific about whom the addressee is.

We have also demonstrated that the imperative constructions may appear with no core argument in the two languages. Instead, the verb can co-occur with modifiers like phrasal or non-phrasal adjuncts, which is impossible when the illocutionary force signals declarative in the two languages. In the declarative clauses of English and Mandinka, there may be an overt or non-overt interaction between different operators, which can modify clauses in significant ways. The expression of negation in English declarative clauses is generally done through the combination of an auxiliary verb and a negative marker, whereas Mandinka boasts a special element that chiefly conveys some information related to the notions of tense and negation at once.

To show that an event happens repeatedly or regularly, English and Mandinka use different means. In this respect, we have demonstrated that if Mandinka commonly uses the operator *ka*, English uses either the base form of a verb or generally adds the *-s* inflectional morpheme to the verb in use. As far as the past tense is concerned, Mandinka does not have any operator that can totally help locate an event in the past, whereas English boasts the *-ed* inflection whose modification helps interpret the clause as expressing a past event. Mandinka predicative markers expressing temporal information do not virtually specify by themselves whether an event is located in the past or present time, only the use of some adverbs of time can help make the difference. It is also important to remember that if English has more than one form to locate an event in the future time, Mandinka has mainly one form.

As far as aspect is concerned, it is important to note that the two languages express this through the use of different elements. For instance, to show that an action is ongoing, English uses the *be -ing* form, whereas Mandinka uses either the element *kaŋ* or *la* that importantly interacts with the specified form of the main verb in use. With the use of the *have -en* form with both M-transitive and intransitive verbs, an English speaker often focuses on the result of a complete action in the present time. With Mandinka M-transitive constructions, it is the predicative element *ye* that helps highlight the result of a complete action, whereas with its M-intransitive constructions it is *-ta* that is used to play such a role. Mandinka focuses on aspect more than English, for the use of its common elements *ye* and *-ta* usually indicates the completion of an event whose starting point throughout time is not normally specified by the said predicative markers.



Negation is a very important operator that is used to make interesting modifications that play crucial role in the semantic interpretations of utterances produced in particular languages. Generally, English uses the negative marker *not* that may interact with other elements to negate a whole clause, whereas Mandinka has the operator *mán* that may combine with other elements expressing negative ideas vis-à-vis a whole clause. English uses the negative markers *no*, *not any*, and so on, to express core<sub>R</sub> negation, whereas to put the scope of negation on one core argument in Mandinka, the negative markers *mán*, *búka*, *té*, etc., importantly interact with the bare form of the very core element on which the negation is centered. As far as the negation related to nuclear operators is concerned, we should essentially note that if English has both prefixes and suffixes that can help negate a nucleus, Mandinka has only suffixes that are mainly *-bálí* and *-ntán*.

Unlike English which also uses the element *not* for its copular verb *be*, Mandinka has special negative markers for its two copular verbs *be* (this is *té*) and *mu* (this is the phrase *mán ké*). Unlike English, Mandinka has also a special negative marker (*búka*) that helps indicate that something does not happen habitually or repeatedly. In negative imperative clauses, if English uses *don't* which can co-occur with the copular verb *be*, Mandinka has recourse to a specific element *kána* whose modification is not compatible with copular verbs such as *be* and *mu*.

As far as information structure is concerned, one should understand that narrow focus is mainly realized in English through prosody and word order, whereas Mandinka has a special focus marker *le* it uses in different positions within clauses with consideration to the elements that are narrow focused. In both languages, focus is interestingly expressed with regard to the type of illocutionary force a clause signals. For example, in English interrogative constructions, *wh*-words are always captured as focal core arguments or modifiers, whereas in Mandinka, the obligatory occurrence of the element *le* just after such similar question words demonstrates that there is narrow focus on either a core argument or a modifier. Predicate focus can easily be expressed in English, whereas, in Mandinka, if a speaker wants to draw the addressee's attention to the action denoted by a verb, they mostly choose to fall a narrow focus on the nominalized form of that verb by placing *le* just after this instead of realizing predicate focus. English also uses prosody to express sentence focus. This is different from the sentence focus system of Mandinka which is mostly signaled by the use of the focus marker *le* that occurs sentence finally.

Contrary to what happens within English cleft constructions, constituents such as arguments and modifiers do not move for some focal motivations in Mandinka.

Both English and Mandinka have exclusive and inclusive particles they do not use the same way. What makes the particularity of Mandinka is that it boasts a third type of focus particle known as the contrastive particle *dúŋ* English does not have. Besides, some Mandinka focus particles such as *dammáa* and *fanáa* can be pluralized, whereas this is impossible with any of the English focus particles we have dealt with. In Mandinka, the two exclusive focus particles *dammáa* and *dóróŋ* may co-occur within the same construction by following each other, whereas English seems to have no phenomenon similar to this. To some extent, when pluralized, *dammáa* may be given an interpretation its counterpart *only* cannot have. Depending upon different constructions, it is frequent to express narrow focus with the use of different focus particles in both languages. One striking thing to mention is that Mandinka can use *fanáa* in the final position to put the focus on the whole sentence, whereas English may place *also* in the initial position to signal the same type of focus.

About complex sentences, we have underlined that English makes the distinction between restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses. In Mandinka, one can identify two different canonical relative constructions; these are the left and right-detached relative clauses. Left-detached relative clauses are particular to Mandinka insofar as English most relative clauses appear on the right side of matrix clauses. In both languages, the relative clauses are used to modify reference phrases that occur in matrix clauses. Actually, we have also captured that, sometimes, Mandinka may have a construction in which the modified element does not belong to the matrix clause. English can express a relative construction without the appearance of any relative pronoun, whereas this seems to be impossible in Mandinka. Unlike English, the Mandinka relative clause marker *múŋ* can be pluralized when the very reference phrase this is related to is in the plural form. Another thing that also makes the particularity of Mandinka is that, in this language, most left-detached relative clauses are always in coreference with a pronoun (either the third person singular pronoun *a* or the demonstrative pronoun *wó*) occurring within matrix clauses.

In both English and Mandinka, it is possible to use a clause including a relative word as the subject core argument of a sentence. Actually, this type of construction may be made in

English without any obstacle, whereas it is important to keep in mind that Mandinka has a tendency to use the left-detached position that is in coreference with a pronoun that occurs in the matrix clause. Then, we have underscored that the notion of argumenthood cannot be related to nouns only but also to clauses acting as nouns. In this sense, we have underlined that both English and Mandinka have clauses that behave as direct object core arguments. On this subject, there is usually coreference in Mandinka; the number of verbs that can have clauses behaving as direct objects without any coreference are limited in this language. We have analyzed both some *kó* and *that* clauses appearing outside the core as clausal arguments instead of core arguments. The Mandinka *kó*-clauses can appear in the left-detached position, whereas this is not the case with English *that*-clauses that usually occupy the sentence final position.

English and Mandinka express Manner ad-core subordination by placing the adverbial clause expressing Manner in the final position of sentences. To modify the core, in the two languages, the adverbial clauses denoting Manner do not appear in the left-detached position, the common position they occupy starts from the final position of the matrix core to that of the sentence subsuming the two types of clauses. In both English and Mandinka, the semantic function held by the subordinators triggering the transmission of the idea of Manner has a significant influence on the interpretation of the subordinate unit.

With Mandinka Locative ad-core subordination, the subordinator (*dáa wo dáa*) can either introduce a spatial peripheral adverbial clause or occur in its final position, whereas *dáameŋ* is usually realized in the final position of the subordinate clause. English always places its subordinators such as *where* and *wherever* in the initial position of subordinate clauses. The Mandinka subordinator *dáameŋ* can take the plural form *-lu* and even co-occur with the locational postposition *to*, whereas this is impossible with its English counterpart *where* that does not accept any plural marker. Both languages accept the occurrence of subordinate clauses expressing spatial information in both the left-detached position and the sentence final position. In each of the two languages, whether a clause expressing spatial information is interpreted as core argument or a modifier mainly depends on the type of relationship the said clause has with the main verb.

English and Mandinka boast adverbial subordinate clauses of Time that are used to modify matrix constructions in different ways depending upon the type of semantic contributions

that are given by different subordinators. On this account, one can remember that the positions of subordinators may be different inasmuch as some Mandinka subordinators are acceptable in both the initial and final positions of embedded clauses, whereas most English subordinators appear in the initial position of subordinate clauses. The two languages are also similar in the fact that most of their subordinate clauses can occupy both the left-detached and final positions of sentences. Mandinka allows the co-occurrence of some temporal subordinators (*fó* and *(ka)bíríŋ*; *(ka)bíríŋ* and *dóróŋ*; and so on), whereas English does not seem to make such combinations. The particularity of the Mandinka subordinator *(ka)bíríŋ* is that it is usually used to talk about past events. To deal with facts, habits and future happenings, this language prefers the element *níŋ* that is also used to help express the notion of Condition. The role played by subordinators is so paramount, for they help define the type of adverbial subordinate clause that modifies a specific matrix clause. In this sense, we have demonstrated ways in which the different types of ad-clausal subordinate clauses of the two languages are used to modify matrix clauses.

For some theoretical reasons, the dimension that is not that explored in this thesis is the role phonology plays in the creation of meaningful information in the two languages. Then, one may think about looking into arguments and modifiers while putting the focus on the importance of some phonological aspects, for phonology also is given great importance in the expression of both English and Mandinka. Apart from this linguistic branch whose description may be useful, this dissertation has taken into account the interaction of various linguistic dimensions that permit to see some similarities and differences between arguments and modifiers but also between the two languages. Thus, the content of this thesis may be used in some teaching and learning contexts. It may be adapted for the teaching of Mandinka to English speakers, especially to students who are interested in learning the grammatical structures of this language to some extent.

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**APPENDIX: CORPUS SAMPLE**

Here, we would like to provide the reader with some Mandinka texts that constitute an important part of the corpus we have used to make some illustrations and analyses.

Text 1: Múŋ ne ye a tínna ñankaróo máŋ kuŋó sóto

Kabíriŋ Ala ye daafeŋólu bee dadaa, a náata kuŋólu fanaa bee dadaa i ye. Kabíriŋ kuŋ taa síita, daafeŋólu bee táata i kuŋólu táa. Bari séewóo le labanta ka táa a kuŋó táa.

Biriŋ a be bóo kaŋ naŋ kuŋ táaduláa to, a niŋ ñankaróo benta silóo kaŋ, wo fanaa be táa kaŋ a kuŋó táa kaŋ. Bituŋ ñankaróo ye séewóo ñininkaa ko, “Kori kuŋólu maŋ baŋ jée?”, séewóo ko a ye kó, “Kuŋólu mennu túta jée to, nte le fanaa kuŋó ñíñaata wólu ti.” Ñankaróo ko a ye kó, “Wo to nte fanaa faata wólu la le.” Wo le ye a tínna ñankaróo máŋ kuŋ sóto.

Text 2: Jumáa le mú tóolewo ti?

Tóolee saba le néné sotota. Dóo tóo mú Demba le ti, dóo Tafáa, aniŋ dóo tóo mú Momodu ti. I ye nínsóo le sóto, bari i máŋ lafi, i niŋ móo koteŋ ye wo subóo dómo. Sáayiŋ i ko, i be táa a faa la wulóo le kóno. Biriŋ i be táa kaŋ, nínsóo ye í búu. Demba ko, “Í na keŋó bee be boŋ kaŋ.” Bituŋ a síita, a ye wo buwo bee dómo fo a síirata. Kabíriŋ Momodu niŋ Tafáa futata, i máŋ a loŋ, i be nínsóo ñiŋ boyíndi la ñaameŋ. Bituŋ Tafáa ko Momodu ye kó, “Batu, í ná lóo í ye a ñori í kaŋ naŋ, a ye boyi.” Momodu ye nínsóo ñori Tafáa kaŋ, a boyita a kaŋ, bituŋ Tafáa kótuta. Saayiŋ Momodu náata móo dóo jé tambi kaŋ. Bituŋ a ye muróo lóo a faŋó kaŋó to, a ko wo ye kó, “Niŋ í ná í jé jaŋ, í be í faa la teŋ ne daki.”

Saayiŋ ñiŋ móo sabóo kóno, jumaa le mu tóolewo ti?

Text 3: Ñewo la balaŋó ka a Maariyo daani

Ñtaaliŋ-taaliŋ. Kabíriŋ Ala ye daafeŋólu bée dadaa, a ko, i ye a dáani feŋ na. Bituŋ daafeŋólu bée ye a daani tankóo niŋ suturóo la. Bari ñewo ko, ate máŋ taa a Maariyo dáani tankóo niŋ suturóo

la, káatu ate ye wólu bée sóto le. Tóoñaa, a ye suturóo sóto le, bari a máñ tankóo sóto. Káatu niñ í lóota fankaasóo kunto, a be koleyaa la le ka ñewo je a kóno, bari niñ í ye dooliñó fayi a kóno, í si ñewo muta. Wo to, ñewo suturata le, bari a mañ tanka.

Text 4: Mandinkóo niñ Suruwaa la samáamanee

Mandinka dóo le sotota, a máñ suruwaa kañó móyi, a niñ Suruwaa múñ máñ Mandinka kaño móyi. Wólu le táata samáamanee la saatée doo to. Kabíriñ samáa banta, i ye i la tiyóo waafi. Biriñ i ye i la kodóo muta doron, Mandinkóo kó Suruwaa ye ko, “ñ be kodóo ñiñ talaa la teema le!” Bituñ Suruwaa ko a ye kó, “Deedeet, man дума jël talaa”, múñ kotóo mú ñiñ ti kó, “Háni, nte te talaa taa la.” Suruwaa ko Mandinkóo ye kó, “Deñ koy seddoo ci digg bi”, múñ kóto mú ñiñ ti kó “ñ be a talaa la teema le.” Bari Mandinkóo ko a ye kó, “Fo kabíriñ ñ be a dookúu la, a keta seede le ñaa la?”. I ye ñoo saba wo le la fo i keleta. Kée dóo be tambi kañ, wo ye i tara kelóo la. A ye i fata, bituñ a ye i ñininkaa. I bee ye i la kumóo saata, a ko i ye ko, “Ali bée be kuma kíliñ ne, ali mañ ñoo la kaño le moyi! Wo naata i la kodóo talaa i teema, bituñ i janjanta.

Text 5: Tóolee fulóo

Tóolee fula le sótota nuñ, i ka a fo doo ye Bintu, i ka a fo doo ye Yaa. Ñiñ móo fulóo bée be suu kilíño le kóno. Itolu le ka kúu jamáa ke ñoo kañ, kuwolu mennu be kó farakono dóokuwo, tabiróo, aniñ suukóno dóokúu doolu. Sañ kilíñ ne sotota, i náata máanoó sóto báake. Kabíriñ i ye i la maanoó bée kati, i ye a samba nañ suwo kóno. Yaa múñ mú kéebaa ti, a ko Bintu ye kó, “ñ be doo bondi la jée le, múñ be ké la luñ wo luñ dáasaamóo ti.” Bintu jeleta, fo a ye i láa bankóo to, bituñ a ko “Tóoñaa le mú, ñiñ maani kutóo ka diyaa tiyakere satóo le ti.” Yaa fanaa kaakaata fo a ye a bulóo kosi, a ko Bintu ye kó, “Bari wo to ñ ñanta maani jaarañ bentaño lóo la le, aniñ sitóo, ñ be múñ ke la sita njakóo ti. Bintu ko “Saayiñ, nte be táa sitañinoo le la, ite ye taa benteñ barateyoo la.” I janjanta wo le ñaama. Bintu múñ táata sitakatóo la, a ye sitóo fadoñ fo a bataata, a máñ a jolonoo. A ye dokóo muta a bulóo kóno, a seleta fo a futata sitadiño maa. A ko dokóo ye ko “I be a maa la jáñ ne.” Bituñ a jíita nañ, a ye a fadoñ kotenke fo tilóo kandita, a máñ feñ jolonoo. Bituñ a seyita suwo kóno. Yaa múñ fanaa táata barateyóo la, a táata loo silafatóo le to

ka a sepu teeraŋo la fo a bataata. A máŋ a kuntu noo, a fanaa seyita suwo kóno. Kabíriŋ I benta suwo kóno, i bée bulu kenseŋo, i ye ñoo ñininkaa. I bée ye i la kumóo saata ñoo ye. Bituŋ i ko ñoo ye kó, “Ite le mú toolee ti!” Ñiŋ móo fulóo, jumáa le mú tóolee ti?

Text 6: Kutóo niŋ buróolu

Dala baa doo le sótota, kutóo be daakaari a kóno, bari buróolu fanaa ka naa miŋo la wo dala kíliŋo to le. A taata fo a keta kutóo niŋ buróolu teema baadiŋyaa ti. I be jée fo wo dalóo jiyóo jaata, buróolu náata sawuŋ ka taa dala doo to. Buróolu be jée fo luŋ kíliŋ i ko, “Ali ŋ ñà taa ŋ baadiŋó júubee.” I táata. Kabiriŋ i futata, kutóo ko i ye ko, “Alitolu le mú baadiŋ jawo ti.” I la keebaa ye a jaabi ko, “Jiyo le ye ŋ niŋ í sindi ñooma, silaŋ jiyo jaata le, ntolu ye jiyo je dulaa doo le to.” Kutoo ko i ye kó, “Ali ŋ fanaa máakóyi, ŋ ñà taa jée.” I ko a ye kó, “ŋ be í máakóyi la ñaadii le?” A ko i ye kó, “Fo niŋ ali máŋ paree de?” I la keebaa nóata míiróo sóto ko, i ye dokóo samba naŋ. Biriŋ i ye dokóo samba naŋ, kutóo ye a kiŋ, buróolu ye a muta i siŋolu la, i niŋ a tíita. Bari i ko a ye le kó, “Kana diyaamu!” Kabiriŋ i niŋ a be tamba kaŋ saatewo kunto, dindíŋolu ko, “Kutoo fele! Buróolu be a samba kaŋ.” Wo naata ate dimi, a náata diyaamu. Bituŋ a jolonta dúuma, dindíŋolu ye a muta. A ko, “Hee, ŋ daa le ye ŋ dundi.”

Text 7: Tubaakolonŋ na taarikóo

Jinee Bisawo bankóo kaŋ, kelejawaróo doo le tarata jée, i ka a fo múŋ ye Jankee Waali, Káabu tundóo kaŋ. Ñiŋ kéléjawaróo le ye a dinkee sabóo kanandi kelóo ma múŋ be kéeriŋ wo waatóo la, fo i kana kasaara jée. A ñiŋ dinkee sabóo tóolu fele: Kubendek Manka, Yaar Manka aniŋ Siki Manka. Kabiriŋ i futata Kambiya jaŋ, itolu le ye Berefet saatee lóo. Biriŋ i keebaayaata, mooróo doo le náata i yaamari kó, i si teyi baa koto dóo la. Bituŋ i náata teyi baa la ka taa Ñoomi. Bituŋ i ye Ñoomi Lameŋ saatée lóo.

Siki ka taa nuŋ deemóo la Tubaakolonŋ ne, waatóo múŋ na a maŋ túubi folóo. A ka dolosóo ke jée, aduŋ a ye a kuŋó fanaa bée debe le ko musóo. Luŋ kíliŋ a be déemóo la, a náata futa yiribaa doo koto, a ye í foŋondiŋ jée fo síinóo ye a taa. A be síinóo la waatóo múŋ na, a ye kumakaŋó moyi, múŋ ka a fo kó, a be beteyaa la le ka síi jáŋ, káatu a neemata le. A náata buŋ kíliŋ lóo jée, bituŋ a siita jée.



Bari a náata sawuŋ ka Yarda lóo baadaa la. Ñíŋ saatee naata yiriwaa fo koridaa keme lúulu janníŋ Ankaliteeri Tubaabóolu ka boyi a kaŋ 1866 saŋo la. Tubaabóolu la sabatoo jée, wo le ye saatee la yiriwaa naasindi, káatu i náata móolu bayi le ka bo baadaa la ka naa sii tintoo la, daameŋ mú Tubaakolon ti bii. Wo waati kiliŋo le kóno fanaa Ankaliteeri Tubaabóolu ye Purutukeesi Tubaabóolu bayi Alibadaari jooyee to, múŋ ka kumandi James Island na bii. Móofiŋolu menu niŋ Tubaabóolu daa be fulee kiliŋ nuŋ, wólu náata i yaamari ka moori baa faa, múŋ be saatee to jée, wo le be móolu sembóo talaa la. Ñíŋ mooroo, i ka a fo a ye Iburayima Jaata, bari a lonta Jaata sutuŋ ne la. Bituŋ i náata a faa, saatee la kuwo bee náata tara itolu bulu.

Saatee móolu ye keloo wulindi ñiŋ Tubaabóolu kamma, i la kaputeenoo náata jolon kolonoo kóno, saatee móolu ye múŋ siŋ nuŋ jée. Tubaakolon saatee ñiŋ too bota wo le to, bari a too mú Yarda le ti nuŋ. Kabiriŋ saatee móolu ye keloo wulindi i kamma kotenke, i náata máakóyirilaalu sóto, menu mú jinoolu ti. I ka yelema kumoolu le ti, niŋ i ye Tubaabu múŋ búŋ, wo ka faa le. Wo kumoolu be jée le hani ka bii, aduŋ i ka saatee móolu máakóyi le niŋ súlloo futata i ma.

Bii tiloo la, koridaa taŋ seyi niŋ seyi le be Tubaakolon saatee kóno. Alikaali woorowula le ye alikaaliyaa ke jée ka bo sawuŋo waatoo la ka naa bii. Wólu too lu mu ñinnu le ti: Keebaa Janko Samate, Keriiŋ Janko Samate, Keebaa Nfalli Maane, Laamin Nfalli Maane, Sirifu Nfalli Maane, Ba Jere Samate aniŋ Laamin Samate, múŋ be maraloo la saayiŋ teŋ.

Text 8: Ñankonkoronŋ niŋ totoo la ñoodaŋ boroo. Jumaa le ye jumaa daŋ?

Luŋ doo le sotota, ñankonkoronŋ niŋ totoo sonkata. I ka ñoo soosoo fo totoo ko ñankonkoronŋ ye ko, “Nte le ye í daŋ boroo la!” Bari ñankonkoronŋ fanaŋ ko ate ye kó “Nte le ye í daŋ boroo la!” I be wo sonkoo le la fo saŋo futata i ma jée. Saŋo ko i bée ye ko, “Ali ka múŋ ne sonka jáŋ?” I fuloo ye i la komolu saata. Bituŋ saŋo náata ko, “Wo máŋ ñoosaba sii, kene fele, kereŋ fele! Ali bee ye naa, ali ye lóo ñiŋ núunewo kaŋ. Niŋ í ná tooroo fée, ali bée si i bori. Móolu be a lon na le, múŋ ye a mooño daŋ boroo la.”

Saayiŋ, kabiriŋ saŋo ye a la tooroo fee “peep”, totoo ye a dati ka podiiŋ-podiiŋ. Ñankonkoronŋ be kalaŋ-kalaŋ kaŋ, a ye totoo fili kóoma. Kabiriŋ totoo futata a ma, ñankonkoronŋ ko a ye ko, “Hayi, muru naŋ kóoma. Moolu ko “bodoo”, bari í máŋ a fo “podoo”. Saayiŋ í ye ñiŋ keno múŋ podi, jumaa le be wo bori la ite ye?”

Kabíriŋ wo keta, saŋo ko, “Wo mú tóoŋaa le ti. Móolu ko “podoo”, bari ŋ mán a fo “podoo”. Saayiŋ, ali bée be a dati kúu la le. Ali loo núunewo kaŋ!” Saŋo ye tooróo bula a daa kóno, a ye a fee “peep”. Kiribiti ñankonkoronjo niŋ totóo ye boróo dati. Saayiŋ totóo tuta kóoma, ñankonkoronjo ye a daŋ, kaatuŋ totóo mán podi. Saayiŋ a koyita moo bee ma kó, ñankonkoronjo le ye totóo daŋ boróo la, bari totóo le ye ñankonkoronjo daŋ poóo la.

Text 9: Saa baa, miniyaŋ baa

Musú doo le nene sotota. A ko, a mán lafi kee la, fo múŋ i ye a loŋ ko, niŋ a be taama la, a siŋo ka kuma le “kaasi-kaasi”. Kee jamáa le naata musóo ñiŋ kanu.

Saayiŋ saa naata wo kumóo le moyi, a fanaa ye i kalaŋ kó moo. A naata ka taa musóo yaa, bari kabíriŋ a be naa futa la musóo ma, a ka a siŋó kumandi le “kaasi-kaasi.” Musóo ko a wulúulaalu ye ko, “ŋ ŋá ñiŋ kewo le kanu.” I naata futuwo siti i teema, kewo niŋ musóo ñiŋ naata taa. Bari kabíriŋ i naata fo i futata kewo ñiŋ yaa, musóo naata a loŋ ko, ñiŋ mú saa le ti. A be jée, a naata julóolu je, i be tambi kaŋ, a ko i ye kó: “Julóolu-wo-julóolu, niŋ ali taata, ali ye a fo ŋ baa niŋ faa ye, i ye ŋ dii kee múŋ na, julóolu, saa baa, miniyaŋ baa, julóolu!”

Text 10: Múŋ keta wulóo la sabatoo ti suwo kóno

Sanji jamáa koomanto nuŋ, daafeŋolu bee be sabatiriŋ wula baa le kóno. I ka i la kuwolu bee talaa ñoo teema, aniŋ ka ñoo kumandi ka beŋ dulaa kilij to púrú ka ñoo kalamutandi kuwolu la menu be kerij i la dinkiraa to.

Sanji kilij naata soto, konkoo niŋ jaa baa naata ke. Konkoo ye saateemóolu batandi. Ñambóolu te kerij, tubaabuñóolu jaata, fiifeŋolu bee faata. Saayiŋ saateemóolu la dannóolu dunta wula la ka daafeŋolu faa-faa laala. Ñiŋ naata daafeŋolu masilaŋ báake le fo i ka ñoo ñininkaa kó, jumáa le ñanta faa la saayiŋ. I naata ñoo kumandi ka beŋ bantabaa to, ñiŋ kamma la púrú i si ñoo so hakiloo la. Kunkuwlóo wulita, a ko: “Nte ye míróo soto le, meŋ beteyaata. Bayiri dannóolu be sabatiriŋ saatewo ye banta la le, ŋ be ŋ batu la le fo i ye i la subóolu samba saateekononkóolu ye, káatu i ka i la kidóolu fili looriŋ i la buŋolu kóno le. Bituŋ ŋ si taa, ŋ ŋà i la kidóolu fayi baa baa kóno.”

Daafejolu bee sonta kunkuwuloo la kumoo la fo a tuta wuloo dammaa la, kaatu dannoolu kono kee doo mu wuloo kafuñoomaa le ti. Kabiriñ i pareeta beño la, wo loo niñ baroo teema i taata ka daafejolu la kulloolu dantee dannoolu ye. Bituñ dannoolu naata i la kidoolu samba ñoo la. Daafejolu naata taa dannoolu la dinkiraa to, bari i man feñ tara jee. I ko “Jumaa le ye dannoolu sobindi ñ na feeroo la?” Foolaa man soto a la. I naata taa i la juubeerilaa yaa. Juuberilaa ko i ye ko, “Wuloo le taata ka ali la feeroo saata dannoolu ye.” Bituñ wo naata daafejolu kamfaa baake. I naata a fo ko itolu niñ wuloo te sabati la ñoo kañ kotenke. Wo to le, wuloo yuukuyukuta, a taata sabati dannoolu yaa. Niñ ne keta wuloo la sabatoo ti suwo kono.

Text 11: Boosi darayifoo niñ keebaariño

Kee doo le nene sotota, a ka taama, bari ate nene man bula boosoo la doo to. Saayiñ kabiriñ a bulata boosoo la, a ye darayifoo je, wo ka jiya dundi. Ate ye a mira, wo lafita ka wo wutu le. Kabiriñ i futata poliisoolu ma, darayifoo taata ka a la lansinoo yitandi i la. Janniñ darayifoo ka naa doron, keebaa niñ taata ka jiya niñ na ka a jikii-jakaa fo a a ye a tiñaa. A taata darayifoo nooma a ko a ye ko: “Nte ye i dahandi le! Kabiriñ wutudulaa to i ye a kata puru ka i la jiya wutu, i man a wutu noo. Bari a fele, nte ye i dahandi!” Darayifoo ko a ye ko: “Niñ ñ man ñ mira i la keebaayaa la, ñ be i tu la poliisoolu bulu jañ ne, i ye i maabo.”

Text 12: Futuwo la Donkiloo

Duniyaa musoolu, saatee musoolu, i ko, ñ si naa ali konton, na ali yaamari futuwo siloo la. Musundiñ doo le baran-baran too faata, kee te a buluu. Mooroolu mon son na sali la a ma muumeeke. Dindiñolu le ye a samba, kee te a buluu. Nte be looriñ daameñ to, nenoo le dunta ñ na. Ali bo siiriñ de, kuu le be ali kun na, jon man i laban lon, saayaa te sara la.

Text 13: Badibu la too soto sunta mun na

Kee doo le tarata nuñ Badibu, a too mu Faa-Badu le ti. I ko, luñ kilin a niñ dindiñolu taata deemo la. Kabiriñ dindiñolu ñaa ye suloo je, i ko: “Faa-Badu, suloo fele, yiroo santo!” Kabiriñ Faa-Badu naata, a seleta suloo nooma santo, a napita suloo kañ santo doron, bituñ a niñ suloo jolonta nañ duuma piram! Dindiñolu wuurita, i ko a ye ko: “Faa-Badu, kori a man i barama?” A

ko i ye kó: “A mán ñ barama, bari a ye í búu na kuruto kóno le.” Bituñ i ko, wo le ye Badibu too saabu. I ka a fo jee le ye ko “Badibu”, bari i ko, nunto ì ka jee kumandi “Badu” le la.

Text 14: Kodóo la mantóoróo

Ka bo kewo doo la, múñ niñ Esa be taama silóo kañ: Biriñ Esa be taa kañ taamóo la, a niñ kewo doo benta múñ fanaa be taa kañ taamóo la. Saayiñ i naata mbúuróo sañ silóo kañ púru niñ konkóo ye i muta ka a domañ-domañ dómo fo janniñ i be futa la i ka taa daamiñ.

Saayiñ i be taa kañ, kewo ñiñ ye mbúurukuñ kiliñó súuñaa, a ye a dómo. Saayiñ konkóo ye i muta, Esa ye a ñininkaa mbúuróo la. A ko a mán mbúuróo dómo. Bituñ Esa ye a bula jee.

I be taa kañ, i ye nínsikantarilaa je. Esa ye wo daani nínsi kiliñ na. Bituñ i ye nínsóo jani, i ye a dómo. Esa naata a ye wo nínsi kulóolu kafu ñoo kañ, a ye i timpa, bituñ nínsóo wulita, a taata. Wo to le Esa ko a ye kó, “Mansóo múñ ye ñ tanka ñiñ konkóo la; niñ ite le ye mbúuróo dómo, í tiliñ.” A ye í kali kó, ate mán a dómo. I tambita ñaato kotenke. I taata, konkóo ye i muta kotenke. Esa naata saño je, a ye a muta, i ye a dómo. Biriñ i pareeta, Esa ye a ñininkaa kotenke kó, “Mansóo múñ ye i tankandi ñiñ konkóo la; jumáa le ye mbúuróo dómo?” A ko, “Billaayi, ñ mán a dómo!”

Saayiñ i taata fo i naata fata sila doo to. Esa taata sila doo la, ate kewo fanaa taata sila doo la ka taa saatee doo to. A ye a tara wolu la mansakewo saasaata, bituñ a ko wolu ye kó, ate ka moo kendeyandóo le ke. A naata wolu la mansakewo ñiñ lipa, a ye wo faa. Bituñ wolu naata a muta. I ko, i be a faa la le. Wo loo to doroñ, Esa naata funti nañ i kañ jee. A ko i ye kó “Ñiñ mú ñ baadiño le ti, ali ka a samba mintóo le to?” Wolu naata kuwo ñiñ bee fo Esa ye. Bituñ Esa ko i ye kó, “Niñ múñ ye ali la wo mansóo ñiñ wulindi, ali be a bula la le báh?” I ko a ye kó, “Haa!” Esa ye i la mansakewo wulindi.

I taata fo ñaato, Esa ko a ye kó, Mansa Tallaa, múñ ye i kanandi saayaa la, jumáa le ye mbúuróo ñiñ dómo?” A ko, a mán a loñ. Bituñ Esa ye a bula jee kotenke. I taata, i be silóo kañ, i naata harijee sanikodi kunnee fula la silóo kañ. Esa ko a ye kó “Niñ a tara, ite le ye mbúuróo dómo, aduñ í ye í tiliñ, ñ be ñiñ naafulóo bee tu la í bulu le. “Wo to le a ko Esa ye kó, ate le ye a dómo. Bituñ Esa ye kodóo ñiñ bee bula a bulu, a taata.

Saayinɗ ate kewo ñiɗ be looriɗ sani kodi kunnee ñiɗ kunto, a be moo batu kaɗ múnɗ be a ñuɗ na. Bituɗ kee saba naata a tara jee. Wolu ko “ɗ be a faa la le, ɗà kodóo ñiɗ talaa.” Bituɗ wolu ye a faa, i ye kodoo ñiɗ taa, i taata. Konkóo naata wolu fanaa muta, i ye kodóo ñiɗ taa, i ye a díi doo la púrú a ye taa ka domoróo sánɗ i ye naɗ. Bituɗ a ko, “ɗ be posinóo le ke la jee, niɗ i ye a dómo, i si faa.” Wo kee fuloo fanaa ko, i be domori sannaa faa la le, i ye kodóo ñiɗ talaa ñoo teema. Biriɗ domori sannaa ñiɗ naata, a ye domoróo díi wo kee fulóo la, i ye a faa. Wo koolaa, i naata domoróo ñiɗ dómo, i fanaalu faata jee.

Esa muruta naɗ ka bo a la taama silóo kaɗ. A ye a tara, a mooñoo niɗ wo kee sabóo bee faariɗo be laariɗ silóo kaɗ. A ko “A fele, kodóo ye a tinna, ñiɗ móolu ye ñoo faa.” Bituɗ a ko, "Duniyaa be labanɗ na teɗ ne."

Text 15: Díndínɗ tombondirilaa

I ye ɗ soo díndínɗo doo le la. Wo díndínɗo, tombondiróo diyaata a ye báake le. Feɗ-wo-feɗ, niɗ a ye wo je a si a tomboɗ a ye a samba a baamaa ye, fo luɗ kiliɗ a naata kunu baa le sika, a ye a samba suwo kóno. A ko a baamaa ye kó “ɗ baamaa, ɗ ɗá kunu baa le tomboɗ.” A baamaa ko a ye kó, “Taa, a ke tomboɗ buɗo kóno.”

Bituɗ a ye wo ke, a ye tombondiróo ke le fo i ye buɗo loo. Niɗ a ye feɗ-wo-feɗ tomboɗ, a ka wo feɗolu ke wo buɗo le kóno. Bituɗ kunu baa naata a fo kó, “Dúu, dúu, dúu.” Díndínɗ niɗ boróo taata a baa kaɗ, a ko a ye kó “ɗ baa wo ɗ baa, kunóo ko “Dúu, dúu, dúu.” ɗ naa, niɗ í mánɗ balaɗ kunóo be seyi la ɗ bulu le, niɗ ali mánɗ balaɗ, kunóo be seyi la, kunóo be seyi la ɗ bulu le!” A baamaa ye i la buɗo feɗo bee díi kunóo la. Wo le ye a tinna i ka a fo díndínɗo la feɗ bee tomboɗo mánɗ beteyaa.

Text 16: Súsúulaalu la kuwo

Súsúulaa mu feɗ kuruɗ baa le ti. Niɗ i la dulaa mánɗ seneyaa, wo ka diyaa súsúulaa ye baa-báake le, káatu a ka tara seewóoriɗ ne doronɗ. Súsúulaa la seewóo, wo mánɗ ke moo la seewóo ti de, káatu saasaa doronɗ ne be a bala. Aduɗ hadamadiɗo la jaatakendeyaa kummaayaata báake le.

Moo be daa-wo-daa, í si a kata i ye jaatakendeyaa soto. A keta bannaayaa le ti súusúulaa ye póoti kotoo jamáa le tara faariŋ jonkoŋ kóoma jiyo la. Buŋolu maŋ sankewo soto.

Kewolu musóolu aniŋ dínđiŋolu, kabiriŋ súusúulaa mansa ñaa ye ñiŋ buŋolu je, a tíita a ye. A be kidoo fayi la, kaatu a seewoota le. A ñanta duŋ na ñiŋ buŋo kóno le. A ye dínđiŋolu ñiŋ keebaalu je laariŋ jee, sankee te moo-wo-moo kunto. Kabiriŋ súusúulaa ye ñiŋ moolu je, a kumata jee. Nte ka múŋ ñiniŋ, wo le mú ñiŋ ti: A ye kóoma júubee, a ko a la moolu ye kó “Ali naa, ali naa!” Wolu fanaŋ naata i seewooriŋ baa, i niŋ denkilóo. I ka ñiŋ fo denkilóo to kó “Bulu kalabaa ñaadaa pampataŋ, kaaraa boko bufudi jamba kóno. Yoo, niŋ a ke ko bulu kalabaa ñaadaa pampataŋ, dínđiŋolu si a jaabi ko “Kaaraa boko bufudi jamba kano”. Musóo múŋ be jikiriŋ a faŋo la, súusúulaa mansa boyita wo le faŋo saña benteŋo kaŋ. A fele, a keta a ye maleeriya ti.

Text 17: Faaraa niŋ Jambakataŋ

Faaraa niŋ Jambakataŋo mú siiŋoo le ti. Luŋ kiliŋ Jambakataŋo kúuranta. A ko Faaraa ye ko, “Dukaree, í maakoyi bóoroo to, káatu í na kúuraŋo ye í batandi báake.” Faaraa ko a ye kó, “Bóori te í bulu.” Bari a ye a tara, bóoroo be Faaraa bulu le. A ye ñiŋ ne míira a sandomóo kóno ko niŋ a ye bóoroo díi Jambakataŋo la, niŋ wo kendeyaata, ate niŋ wo be kenóo ñiŋ jambandóo talaa la le. Jambakataŋo kumbóota, a kumbóota, bari Faaraa máŋ soŋ, a so la bóoroo la. Jambakataŋo ko a ye kó “í be faa la le de, bari í si ñiŋ kumóo muta í sandomóo kóno kó, síiŋoo kúu búka síiŋoo kaari.” Jambakataŋo naata faa. Faaraa kontaanita, káatu a kiliŋ ne be wo kenoo jambandoo bee taa la. A ye a suloolu fayi kenoo karóo bee la.

Luŋ kiliŋ loo ñinilaalu naata, i ye wo Jambakataŋo suŋ jaaróo je looriŋ. I ye a boyi ka a bee kuntuŋ-kuntuŋ. Bari i máŋ a loŋ, i be a siti la múŋ na. I naata Faaraa suŋo je lóoriŋ a faŋ ma. I ye i la teeraŋolu taa teŋ ne ka Faaraa bulóo bee kuntu. Wo máŋ kaaŋaŋ, i ye a suŋo faŋo boyi. Faaraa ye í míira a síiŋoo la kumóo la, a kumbóota. A ko “Niŋ í a loŋ, í í síiŋoo maakoyi.” Wo le ye a tinna i ka a fo kó “Faaraa niŋ Jambakataŋ, síiŋoo kúu búka síiŋoo kaari.”

Text 18: Tembendirilaa la míiroo ñiŋ kuwo to

í na míiroo to, a be dendiiŋ moolu la aadóolu le la ka ñiŋ diŋ síifaa kumandi jeene diŋo la, baawo a wulúulaalu ye a soto niŋ laañooyaa tuluŋo le la. Moo doolu te a kumandi la wo la, káatu i

wulúulaalu ye futuwo siti i teema le. Bari wo ñaa-wo-ñaa, múṅ kummaayaata, Ala te moo halaki la a wulúulaalu la junuboolu la.

Bari ñiṅ diṅo wulúulaalu la kuwo de, wo máṅ sooneeyaa hani domandiṅ. I ñanta i la junubóo la jawuyaa kalamuta la le. Ǻ ná a míira kó, saayiṅ ñiṅ kewo ye a la musóo daajikóo loṅ ne, aduṅ musóo fanaa ye a keemaa daajikóo loṅ ne kó i bee mú tulunnaa le ti. Baawo la futuwo kumaasita teṅ ne, wo to, niṅ kiliṅ funtita i fulóo kóno, fo doo si a batu noo hakili tenkuṅo kóno le bán? Aduṅ a máṅ ke kúu jawoo ti i fulóo doronṅ teema, bari junube kuwo le mú Ala ye. Wo kamma la i ñanta túubi la le, fo i si junube yamfóo soto Ala bulu. Wo to le Ala be soṅ na i la futuwo la, a be ke la i la maakoyirilaa ti, aniṅ a la ñiṅ kumóo si timma i la futuwo kóno: “Niṅ i ye julu saba fuwaa ñoo kaṅ, i búka tariyaa ka kuntu.”

Text 19: Ka fiifeṅolu sawúndiṅ-sawúndiṅ

Ka fiifeṅolu sawundiṅ-sawundiṅ kummaayaata báake le, káatu a be síimaṅ sotóo lafaa la le, aniṅ síimaṅo la beteyaa. A be fiifeṅolu tanka kúraṅolu ma le, a ye bankóo fiifeṅ balundiraṅ domoróolu yiriwandi, ka montoo sabatindi, aniṅ ka a tinna bankóo kunkaṅo te kóra la.

Text 20: Ka fiifeṅ balundiraṅ domoróolu jóoseyi

Nte la kalamutaróo to, jambandóolu sotóo koleyaata le. Fiifeṅ balundiraṅ domoróolu, mennu ka tara ankaree jambandóo kóno síifaa siyaata báake le. Wo daliilóo kamma la, beeyaṅ buwo waraṅ tolíndi jambandóo, wo le be beteyaa la báake, ka a niṅ ankaree jambandóo ke ñoo la bankóo kaṅ. Wo be bankóo keṅaa yiriwandi la le, aniṅ a fiifeṅ balundiraṅ domoróolu.

Nte ná fiifeṅ kesóolu niṅ ankaree jambandóo hapóo doo fii ñoo la le. Ǻ na kalamutaróo to, fiifeṅolu ka balundiraṅo domoróolu taa dati le, niṅ i ye faliṅo kumaasi doronṅ. Wo to le bankóo kunkaṅo ka kóra ñaamenṅ, aniṅ jiyo la sonsoṅo ka jii bankóo kóno, búka a tinna fiifeṅ balundiraṅ domoróolu mennu be bankóo kóno ye taa kensenke.

Text 21: Fíifeŋ kesóo ñanta jamfa la dúuma ñaameŋ bankóo kóno

Nte ñá fíiriña sooneeyaríŋo le soto ka a loŋ kesóo ñanta jamfa la bankóo kóno ñaameŋ, niŋ ñá kesóo la waróo daŋo júubee. Niŋ i be kesóo fii la bankóo kóno, a la jamfóo bankóo kóno ñanta ke la kesóo la waróo síiña fula le ti.

Text 22: Waati jumáa le í be sùula la taraakitóo la ka senóo ke a la?

Taraakitóo daa jawuyaata le ka a sáŋ, aniŋ ka a topatóo. Senelaa múŋ na kenóo dooyaata, aniŋ a ka múŋ soto síimaŋo to ka a waafi a kodóo máŋ siyaa, wo máŋ ñaŋ na taraakiti saŋo míira la faŋ. Niŋ senelaa la senóo feeróolu lafaata, a ye a la kunkóolu fanundi, a ye kalamutaróo ke aniŋ dóokúu noo, wo to doron ne a maaríi ñanta ka taraakitóo soto. A kummaayaata le ka a loŋ kó niŋ í ye taraakitóo ke seneraŋo ti, í ka múŋ bondi a kunna í la senóo kóno, a daa ka jawuyaa le. Senelaa ñanta a hakilitu la báake le, niŋ a be kobiróo ke la niŋ taraakitóo la, káatu niŋ kobiróo jamfata bankóo kóno, wo si a tinna noo le bankóo kunkóo ye kóora ka taa. Nte la kalamutaróo to, kobiróo la jamfóo bankóo kóno ñanta kaañaŋ na sentimeetari seyi ka taa sentimeetari taŋ niŋ lúulu le fee.

Text 23: Ñinaŋ samáa

Samáajiyo mú Ala la neema baa le ti, hadamadiŋolu niŋ dáafeŋ koteŋolu ye. Samáa múŋ busata ñinaŋ, wo keta Ala tentu baa le ti, káatu Kambiya kóno jáŋ, ñinaŋ samáa ñoŋo sotóo faamata le. Kambiya jáŋ, moo jamáa le ye samáa dookúu, káatu maanóo daa ka sele le waati-wo-waati. Wo kamma la doobáalu máŋ feŋ soto fo ka samáa doo doron. Bari háni ŋ na sene bundaa ye ñiŋ fo le kó ñinaŋ senóo múŋ keta, a siyaata le, aduŋ i ye a jiki kó, síimaŋ jamáa le be kana la. Samáa doo mú kañee baa le ti, aniŋ fanaŋ i maaríi ka barakóo soto a to le. ŋ baadiŋolu, ali ñá wakilóo taa, ŋ ka samáa doo niŋ a waatóo síita. Wo to, ali ñá a kata, ñá dookuwo ke niŋ a waatóo síita. I si a je, nafaa múŋ be a kóno, ŋ si a soto. ŋ be Mansóo dáani la, múŋ mú Ala ti, fo a si samaanaalaalu bee diyandi ŋ ye bankóo kaŋ jaŋ, aniŋ banku tóomaalu bee.



Text 24: Dookuwo la kummaayaa

“Waati-wo-waati η maakoyi ye buŋo múŋ loo, η mán a ñaa soto le ka a teyi.” Bii jamáanoo koleyaa be dulaa bee le to, moo si a fo a ye duniyaa bee le beŋ. Baluwo la daa koleyaa fanaj ye duniyaa bee le beŋ. Kambiya jan, baluwo múŋ be ko maanoo, a daa ka tu seleriŋ waati-wo-waati. Bii tiloo, a daa be tembóo múŋ to, moo jamáa korita a saŋo la le. Tóoña be daameŋ, ntolu le ye bataa laa η fanjolu kaŋ, káatu moolu ye í baŋ ka í wura ka dookuwo ke. Sanji dantaŋ kóomanto, η na bankoo ñaatonka kendoo ka tu a fo la le, “Ali ηá muruŋ senoo la!” Moolu mán soŋ, bari bí a ye múŋ bee fo kóomanto, η ηá a je kenebaa le to. Saayiŋ moolu ye a loŋ ne kó, alifaa kumoo ka suwo kúu le, bari a búka í laa manee. Saayiŋ maanoo ka bo bankoolu mennu to, wolu ye i baŋ maanoo waafóo la banta le. Wo le ye koleyaa niŋ bataa warandi bankoo kaŋ. η na Kambiya moolu mán konkoo loŋ, sako balúu daa koleŋo. η na foloo to, alifáalu ka í fanj balundi i tara koyoo le la. Kambiya la senebankoolu be beteyaariŋ ne hani bí, i be kendiŋ, aduŋ maanoo si sene noo daa-wo-daa, a ye ñiiña. Kuma la sutiya kamma la, moolu ñanta i daajikoo faliŋ na le, η ηá η ñaa tiliŋ senoo la. η si karaŋo fanaa muta, káatu londoo fanaa kummaayaata báake le.

Text 25: Dinkee filiriŋo la mansaaloo

Yeesu ko "Kewo doo le ye dinkee fula soto. Dindimmaa ko a faamaa ye kó “η faamaa, η na keetaafeŋo díi η na, múŋ múŋ η niyo ti.” Bituŋ a faamaa ye a la naafuloo talaa i teema. "Tili dantaŋ koolaa, dindimmaa ye a la keetaafeŋo bee kafu ñoo ma. A taamata ka taa banku jamfariŋo doo to. Jee le to a ye a la sotofeŋo bee kasaara ka bo niŋ bumbaayoo la. Kabiriŋ a ye kodoo bee kasaara, konkoo baa naata boyi wo bankoo kaŋ. Bituŋ a naata bula fentaŋyaa kono. Wo kamma la a taata á fanj kafu bankudiŋ kiliŋ ma jee, múŋ ye a kii kunkoo to seewukantoo la. A hameta ka a konoo fandi seewoolu la domoroo la, bari moo mán a díi a la. Kabiriŋ a ye í míira a kekuwo la, a ko “η faamaa ye dookúulaa jamáa le soto, aduŋ i bee ka domoroo ke le fo too ka tu, bari nte fele, η be faa la konkoo la jáŋ. η be wuli la le, η ηá taa η faamaa yaa. η be a fo la a ye le kó “η faamaa, η ηá junube kuwo le ke Arijana aniŋ ite la. Nte mán jari kotenke ka kumandi í dinkewo la, bari i si η muta ko í la dookúulaa.”

"Bituŋ a wulita, a taata a faamaa kaŋ. Biriŋ a be naa kaŋ, a be jamfariŋ, a faamaa ye a hayinaŋ doron, a ye a súutee. A balafaata a ye. A borita, a ye a sisifaa a la, a ye a sumbu. A dinkewo ko a ye ko "ŋ faamaa, ŋ ná junube kuwo le ke Arijana aniŋ ite la. Nte máŋ jari kotenke ka kumandi i dínkewo la." Bari a faamaa ko a la dookúulaalu ye le kó "Ali tariyaa, ali ye dondika ñiimaa dúŋ a la. Ali si konnaa fanaa dúŋ a bulukondiŋo to. Ali ye samatóolu fanaa dúŋ a siŋolu to. Ali si ninsiriŋ batundóo samba naŋ, ali ye a faa. Ali ŋ ná domoróo ke, ŋ ná seewoo, káatu ŋ ñiŋ dínkewo faata le nuŋ, bari a balúuta le kotenke. A filita le nuŋ, bari a jeta le." Bituŋ i ye domoróo dati seewoo kóno.

Wo waatóo la, a dínkee keebaa be nuŋ kunkóo le to. Kabiriŋ a be seyi kaŋ naŋ, a sutiyaata buŋo la, a naata kumafeŋolu niŋ doŋo moyi. Bituŋ a ye dookúulaa kiliŋ kumandi, a ye a ñininkaa, múŋ be keriiŋ. Dookúulaa ko a ye kó "Í dóomaa le naata, í faamaa ye ninsiriŋ batundóo le faa a ye, káatu a seyita naŋ jaatakendeyaa le kóno." Bituŋ dínkee keebaa kamfaata, a balanta ka dúŋ suwo kóno.

Wo to le a faamaa funtita naŋ, a ye a dáani, fo a si dúŋ konoto. Bituŋ a ye a faamaa jáabi kó "A fele, nte tuta dookuwo la í ye ñiŋ sanji jamáa. ŋ nene máŋ sawuŋ í la yaamaróo la, bari í nene máŋ háni baariŋo faŋo le díi ŋ na, fo nte niŋ ŋ teeróolu si seewoo soto. Bari kabiriŋ i ñiŋ dinkewo naata, múŋ niŋ cakóolu ye i la naafulóo kasaara, i ye ninsiriŋ batundóo faa a ye!" Bituŋ a faamaa ko a ye kó, "ŋ diŋo, ite niŋ nte be ñoo kaŋ ne waatóo bee la. ŋ na feŋolu bee mú ite le fanaa taa ti. A beteyaata le, ŋ ná seewoo niŋ kontaanóo soto ñoo fee, káatu i ñiŋ dóomaa faata le nuŋ, bari saayiŋ, a balúuta le kotenke. A filita le nuŋ, bari a jeta le."

Text 26:

Heesalí maa

ŋ baadiŋ moofiŋ musóolu, Ala ye ali so kulóri betóo le la, kulóoroo múŋ seneyaata, a ñiíñaata, aduŋ a bambanta. Wo to kuwo múŋ be Ala la sooroo tiñaala, ŋ máŋ ñaŋ na jutu la a la. Niŋ í ye tulóo maa, í ko í ka í faŋo le koyíndi wo to ite maarii jututa Ala Tallaa le la daariñaala, aduŋ wo mu maasíibe baa le ti. Ala ye ite daa ñaamen, ite máŋ Ala jayi noo. Í ko, í máŋ lafi wo la, wo mú sondome naasóo le ti. Niŋ i ye tulu-wo-tulu maa ka í faŋ koyíndi a la, í keta ñaa-wo-ñaala, moofiŋo doron ne mú í ti.

Baraka te moo la, múŋ ka a faŋ yelemendi ka bo Ala Tallaa ye a daa ñaameŋ fo niŋ a ye a faŋ batandi doronŋ. Aniŋ kodi kasaaróo le mú, káatu niŋ í ye í dahaa tulu maa la waatóo múŋ na, í si seyi í ñaama. Heesalóo máŋ beteyaa, a ka bataakúu jamáa le samba naŋ hadamadiŋo kaŋ. Folóo-folóo niŋ í ka heesalóo maa, a si í balajaatóo tiña. A ye a manendi fo labaŋo niŋ moo kendóolu ye í je, i si jutu í la. A si í la hadamadiŋyaa búuñaa bee tiña. Moo-wo moo niŋ moo kendóo le mú, a te í buuñaa la aduŋ a te í muta la feŋ ti niŋ í dunta kafóo kóno. Í si moolu tóora heesali tulóo ñiŋ nooróo la, a ka sunkaŋ ne. Ñiŋ bee mú kúu jawu baa le ti.

Heesalóo maa máŋ ke daajika kendóo ti. A ka tiñaari baa le saabu naŋ dindinŋolu ye, mennu be naa ke la keebaalu ti saama. Dindinŋolu mú koróosilaa le ti. Niŋ i ye alifaa je kuwo múŋ na, a ka a míira le ko, wo beteyaata le, aduŋ i ka bula wo le nóoma niŋ alifáalu ka heesalóo maa dindinŋolu ñaa la. Itolu be a míira la kúu kendóo le ti. I fanaalu si naa wo silóo nóoma, aduŋ wo si naa bataa kúu jamáa wulúu noo le jaatakendeyaa la karoo la aniŋ hadamadiŋyaa búuñaa la karoo la. Í be kodóo múŋ duŋ na heesalóo kunna, í te wo ke la í diŋo la karaŋo waraŋ ka í la haajóo topatóo wo kodóo la janniŋ í be taa a fayi la ñaamóo kóno.

Í baadiŋ moofiŋ musóolu, fo ali jututa Ala Tallaa la daariña le la bán? Wo mú maasiibóo le ti niŋ í ye heesalóo maa, wo ye ñiŋ ne yitandi kó ite máŋ lafi moofiŋyaa la, wo máŋ beteyaa. Moofiŋo te ke noo la Tubáabóo ti, hání í si koyi í te ke noo la Tubáabóo ti. Í búka koyi, í búka fiŋ. Í baadiŋ moofiŋ musóolu, ali fata heesali maa la. A ka kúuraŋo le saabu.

Text 26: Kana jutu Ala la daaróo la

Luŋ doo, í naata Indonesiya siyo doo la kuwo karaŋ. Wo moolu la aadóo to, niŋ Ala ye kewo minjiyo dooyaa, taalaa la musóo ñanta a faŋo bulukondiŋolu kuntu la le, ka a la níikuyaa yitandi moolu la. Niŋ a ye kilinŋ kuntu, wo kaañanta le, bari niŋ a ye fula waraŋ saba kuntu, a keta horomamóo le ti, káatu moolu be a muta la musú kendóo le ti, aduŋ a ye horomóo díi a wulúulaalu la kaabiiloo fanaa la le. Niŋ a ye a tara, a máŋ feŋ kuntu, moolu ka a muta jutunnamoo le ti, múŋ nene máŋ a keemaa kanu a ñaama.

Í ná a je le kó wo musóo ye mŋú ké, a ka a ké a la musuyaa hakóo le kamma, bari í búka a fo, a ye a diyaakuyaa ke. Wo kamma la, niŋ ñiŋ moo siifaa sawunta wandi bankóolu to, i máŋ a túumi a faŋo bulukondiŋolu la kuntóo la. Hóni wo, niŋ moo-wo-moo ye feŋ ké a diŋolu la, múŋ niŋ

bankóo la luwaa máŋ taa ñoo la, i ka wo maarii samba kíitiyo ñaatiŋo la le. Ñiŋ kuwo ka ké moolu la aadóo le kamma la, i ka a fo múŋ ye ñaakaaboyoo, káatu banku jamáa maralílaalu ka ñiŋ ne bambandi kó dínđiŋolu búka i faŋolu tanka noo. Mennu taata manee, aduŋ i dunta bataa kóno ñiŋ silóo la, i máŋ kontaanóo soto, bari i ko wo bankóo máŋ luntanŋolu jiyaa káatu i máŋ wandi aadóolu horoma.

Saayiŋ, ń si múŋ ne ké? ń na míiroo to, ń si Ala la kumóo koróosi, ń ńá muta a ñaama káatu Ala mú kilíŋ ne ti. Niŋ ń ńá a la kumóo kummaayandi ń na aadóolu ti, ñoomoyoo niŋ kayíróo be sabati la duniyaa kóno jáŋ ne, aduŋ taamóo fanaa be sooneeyaa la le. Ali í míira kúu-wo-kúu la wo ñaama: Fo heesali maa le mú waraŋ bulukondiŋolu kuntóo, ñaakaboyóo le mú waraŋ jaakalikúu jamáa, mennu be siyaa kaŋ Tubaabú bankóolu kaŋ taariŋ.

Tooña, a be safeeriŋ Tawuraatóo le kóno daaróo la kuwo to kó: Ala ye a je ko, a ye feŋolu mennu bee daa beteyaata báake le. ń balajaatóo beteyaata le, Ala ye a karafa ń na fo ń si a la soori feŋo topatóo a ñaama: Súufoolu, ń búka mennu la kuwo kummaayandi, ń ka wolu le topatóo beteke, aduŋ súufoolu mennu jowo si ke malukuwo ti, ń ka wolu le sutura kendeke. Wo to, ń balóo bee seneyaata le, aduŋ súufoolu bee kummaayaata.

Kewo ñanta a futúu musóo la futuwo ñantóolu bee timmandi la le, aduŋ musóo fanaa ñanta wo le ke la. Musóo máŋ kaŋo soto a faŋo balajaatóo kaŋ, bari a keemaa le ye a soto. Wo ñaa kiliŋo la, kewo máŋ kaŋo soto a faŋo balajaatóo kaŋ, bari a la musóo le ye a soto. Tooña, a máŋ ke ko, musóo doronŋ si a keemaa seewondi, bari kewo fanaa ñanta a la musóo seewondi la le, bari kúu-wo-kúu ñanta ke la horomóo niŋ búuña le kóno, fo ń na kuwolu bee si Ala horomandi. Maariyo ye hínoo niŋ barakóo díi ń na le ka bo niŋ ń balóo fanaa la: Balóo múŋ dedaa laañooyaa tuluŋo ye, bari a dedaata Maariyo le ye, aduŋ Maariyo be balóo ye le.

Text 27:

Karambaliyaa kelóo

Muŋ ne si karambaliyaa kele bankóo kaŋ? ń ńá lonŋ kó, kele máŋ díi, bari ń si fanka. Tóoña-tóoña, moo te taa noo la londóo kóoma, bankóo te sembóo soto noo karambaliyaa kóno. Londóo duŋ te sabati noo la, a ye yiriwaa niŋ a máŋ safee. Karaŋo daa koleyaata báake. Niŋ karaŋo daa

mánj diyaa, karambaliyaa mú í kaloo le ti. ”Kuŋ be kánj na loo le to, duniyaa be karannaa loo le to.”

Text 28: Fondinkewolu la Tubabúdúu taa

Fondinkewolu la Tubabúdúu taa ka yiriwaa jamáa le naati bankóo kaŋ. Niŋ i ye a koróosi, saŋ-wo-saŋ, Tubaabúdúu taalaalu ka múŋ dundi bankóo kaŋ, a ka siyaa báake le. Wo kamma la, doolu fanaa ka hamóo soto ka taa.

Bari ŋ be ŋ faŋo yaamari la aniŋ ŋ baadínkewolu kó, ŋ si kata kuwo bee ke ka taa Tubaabúdúu, bari a kana jari moo ye ka taa niŋ dúuma silóo la. Tóoŋaa, moolu ka taa niŋ dúuma silóo la le, i ka mantaabeŋo soto ka dúŋ Tubaabúdúu, bari mantaa búka beŋ moo bee ye. Niŋ moo keme le ka taa niŋ dúuma silóo la, múŋ ka dúŋ, wo ka ké dantaŋ ne ti. Wo to i bee ka kasaara báa kóno. Moolu ka ñiŋ ne fo kó, niŋ múŋ na waatóo mánj síi, wo búka faa. Tóoŋaa le mú wo ti, bari kúu-wo-kúu, niŋ a si moo tóra waraŋ a si a faa, niŋ í ye wo ké, í ye múŋ soto jée, í faŋo le wo ñini!

Tubaabúdúu taa dammaa búka moo ke naafulutiyo ti. Moolu be jáŋ ne, i nene mánj taa Tubaabúdúu, bari i ñaa mánj bo Tubaabúdúutaalaalu fee. Wo to moo, í ye í haríjee batu fo a ye naa. Moo-wo-moo, janniŋ í be faa la, í be í haríjee soto la le. Wo to ali ŋ bee ye wo batu fo a ye naa. Bataa be ké la le bari a labaŋo be ké la kayíroo le ti. Mandinkóolu ko: “Ala muta duwoo ka bataa le bari a búka buwóo dómo.”

Text 29: Fo moo niŋ sáa si tara noo ñoo kaŋ kayíroo kóno bánj?

Í niŋ saámutalaa la kaccaa ye a tínna le, í ka ñininkaróo ké ñiŋ kuwo la kó múŋ ne ye a tínna moolu ka sáalu kóŋ. I kummaayaata duniyaa kóno, aduŋ i ka moolu la senefeŋolu tanka tíñaaróo ma. Moo doo fanaa ye í míira ñiŋ na kó, fo a si ké dínóo la kuwo ti bánj, sako kiristiyaanóo, káatu Bayibulóo ko le “sáa le feereta daafeŋolu bee ti nuŋ naakóo kóno.” Aduŋ ate le ye Adama niŋ Hawa marise nuŋ ka yiróo dómo, Ala ye múŋ haraamuyandi. Wo to le Ala ko: I la ñiŋ kuwo kewo kaŋ, i keta dankatoo ti daafeŋolu bee kóno, i be taara la kuruntu la i konóo le kaŋ, bankóo le be ke la i la domoróo ti i la baluwo bee. Í be jawuyaa julóo le dúŋ na í níi musóo teema, ka taa fo

í kóomoo anij a kóomoo. Ala la ñij kumoo safeeta Tawúraatóo le kóno, Annabilayi Musa la kitáabú foloo. Ñij kitáaboo foloota Ala la daaroo le faño la. Ala la daafeñolu daarij koolaa, anij yiróolu, a faño ko le, a bee beteyaata le. I bee mú hadamadiño la nafaa le ti, aduñ feñ máñ tara kerij nuñ Edeni naakoo kóno, hadamadiño si sila múñ na.

Bari múñ ye hadamadiño neenee ka a súñaa, wo mú seetaanoo le ti, múñ ye saa muluño taa. A máñ ke saa ti, bari ka bo wo waatóo la ka naa fo saayij, moolu ye saa koñ ne. A máñ ke diinoo la karoo dammaa ti, bari hani diinantañolu nij jalañ batulaalu fanaa ye saa koñ ne. Wo kamma la, ña a je le kó Ala la kumoo mú badaa-badaa kumoo le ti.

Tawuraatóo díita Yahúudóolu le la, sanji wuli saba keme naani kóomanto keñewuloo kóno, birij Musa ye i bondi Misira bankoo kañ nuñ ka tanka Firawo na la marali koleño la i kañ. Wo waatóo la, moolu máñ a loñ foloo, múñ be bo la musoo bala ka saa kuño dóri. Bari kabirij Yeesu naata ñij duniyaa kóno, a ye Ala la kibáari betoo le samba nañ, múñ mú Linjiiloo ti, ka Ala la kanoo yitandi. Bituñ lannamóolu naata ka faháamuroo ke wo kumoo kotoo la. A mú mansaaloo le ti ka a je ko, wo waatóo faño le la Ala ye Yeesu tomboñ ka naa seetaanoo sembóo tiñaa ñij duniyaa kóno. A faata duniyaa moolu bee le ye, “fo moo-wo-moo, múñ laata a la, a te kasaara la, bari a si badaa-badaa baluwo soto.”

Bayibuloo kóno, ña a je le kó, Yeesu taata Ala le yaa a la wuloo koolaa saayaa kóno, bari a be naa murú la nañ ne kotenke kiitiyo waatóo la. Moolu mennu be kíisa la, wolu be balúu la duniyaa kutoo le kóno kó Edeni naakoo be nuñ ñaameñ, daameñ hani jatoolu nij ninsóolu si domoroo ke ñoo la. Saayaa te jée, ñoo faa te jée, fo kayiroo doron kó Annabilayi Yesaya ye Ala la kumoo safee ñaameñ: Suluwo nij saajiriño be domoroo ke la ñoo kañ ne, jatoo be ñaamoo ñimi la kó ninsóo, kankaño le be ke la saa la domoroo ti.

Tawuráatóo mú kitáabu senuño le ti diina jamáa ye, báawo Yeesu ko le, ate naata le ka Musa la lúwaa tímmandi, a máñ naa ka a buruka. Alikúraanoo fanaa diyáamuta Tawuraatóo la kuwo la le, káatu Tawuráatóo le mú kitáabú senuñ foloo ti. Feñ-wo-feñ múñ safeeta, a ñanta tara lóoriñ ate le kañ. Ala Mansa Tallaa, a sembóo warata le ka a faño la kumoo kanta, moo-wo-moo te a falíñ noo la. A ye ñij sembóo soto le kabirij foloodulaa to, káatu ate mú Mansóo le ti, múñ búka falíñ, fo abadaa.

Text 30: Karandiŋolu la feeróo tíñaata

Karandiŋólu mennu be η na musílimu karambuŋ baa to, wolu le ye feeróo siti ka jerewo ke ka bo η na karambúŋo to, ka taa fo londóo bundaa la korídaa baa to Aramisa luŋo, lookúŋ tambílaa. Bari teeróolu naata tíña, kabíríŋ karambuŋo la alifáalu bulóo síita kullóo léetaróo la, karandiŋolu be múŋ janjandi kaŋ ì dammaalu kóno. Kumóolu mennu be ñíŋ leetaróo kóno, wo le mú ñíŋ ti:

Alitolu karandiŋolu! Ñíŋ mú kuma le ti, múŋ bota karandírílaa doo bulu karambuŋo to jáŋ. Niŋ η lafíta karandiri sóobewo la, karandiŋolu bee ñanta fínti la le, i ye taama fo londóo bundaa la korídaa baa to. Karandiŋolu bee be í deyi la jee, fo moo kilíŋ, múŋ be a fo la kó, ntolu súulata karandírílaalu la η na karambuŋo to, fo η si londi betóo soto. Wo kamma la η be lafí la, ali ye kúu taamandi janníŋ Mee karóo faadulaa. Niŋ wo nte, η be kúu kilíŋ ke la ñíŋ kúu fulóo kóno: η ná karambuŋo bee jani waraŋ; η ná karambunto súutiyo muta, í ná a lipa.

Kabíríŋ súutiyo naata a kalamuta, a taata ka karandiŋolu sabatindi. Wo kamma la, feŋ máŋ ke folóo. Bari nte, meŋ fanaa múŋ karandiŋo ñíŋ karambuŋo to, í lafíta ka moolu bee kalamutandi ñíŋ kuwolu la. Káatu niŋ ñíŋ kuwolu te sóoneeya la, jerewo si loo la, aduŋ wo mú kuwo le ti, múŋ ka kasaaróo niŋ níitóoróo saabu.

Text 32: Sííñooyaa hakóo aadóo la karoo to

Niŋ í ye a moyi sííño, wo le mú í niŋ múŋ be síiríŋ, biríŋ korídaa kilíŋ fo ka taa kaabila kilíŋ, wolu bee mú i sííñoolu le ti. Hakóo múŋ be í niŋ í sííñoolu teema, a kummaayaataa báake le aduŋ a jarita hakilitúu baa le la. Moo-wo-moo si a sííño la hakóo díi a la. Sííñooyaa hakóo mú múŋ ti, wo le mú niŋ doo ye kayira kúu soto, a sííño ye a muta a fee, niŋ a ye kayira tana fanaa soto, ali ye deŋ a la. Niŋ doo ye sotóo ké, aduŋ a ye a loŋ kó, a sííño máŋ feŋ soto, í ye a so doo la í la soto feŋo to. A keta domori feŋ ne ti báj, waraŋ kodóo, a beteyaata le. Niŋ í sííño saasaata, a be laaríŋ, futa a la, í ye a kontoŋ a la saasaa la, ali ye duwaa ñoo ye. Káatu í fanaa si saasaa noo le, í si a je, a fanaa si naa ka futa í ma. A fele, ali la sííñooyaa diyaata, aduŋ sobi te tara la ali teema. Niŋ feetóo fanaa be keeriŋ, fo kullíi le mú báj, Bannaa Sali le mú báj, Sunkari Sali le mú báj, waraŋ Kiriisimaasóo, í si futa í sííño ma ka a kontoŋ. **ŋ** baadiŋolu, ñíŋ ne mú sííñooyaa hakóo ti.

Text 33: Laahidóo Iburayima ye

Kabíriŋ malaayikóolu naata Iburayima yaa ka a kibaari kó, í be dinkewo soto la le, í niŋ í la musóo Saara, Iburayima naata í míira wo la, káatu ate keebaayaata le, aduŋ a la musóo Saara fanaa keebaayaata la le. Iburayima be sanji taŋ kononto le, a la musóo Saara fanaa be sanji taŋ woorowula le. Iburayima naata kontaani báake a la luntaŋolu la kuwo la, a ye saajiyo faa i ye, a ye a jani i ye, fo i si a dómo, biriŋ Iburayima dunta buŋo kóno. A ye a tara, í máŋ subóo ñiŋ dómo, wo to le a naata a loŋ kó, ñinnu mú malaayikóolu le ti. A naataa laahidóo ke ko, niŋ a ye dinkewo soto, a be sadaa bondi la Ala ye le.

Kabíriŋ Iburayima la musóo Saara ye konóo taa, kari kononto kóolaa a ye dinkewo wulúu. Ñiŋ dinkewo, a ye a tóolaa Isimayila le la. Wo naata ke a faamaa Iburayima ye kontaani kúu baa le ti. Bari kari dantaŋ kóolaa, a ye síibóo folóo soto ka bo Ala bulu, bari a máŋ a la síibóo faháamu. Sanjii dantaŋ kóolaa Iburayima naata síibóo kotenke, fo síiŋaa saba. Wo le to a naata a loŋ kó, a ye laahidóo le ke nuŋ, biriŋ a ye kibaaróo soto kó, aniŋ a la musóo Saara be dinkewo le soto la.

Text 34: Ala la laahidóo Iburayima ye aniŋ a diŋolu

Díinoolu si siyaa ñaa-wo-ñaa, bari Ala mú kilíŋ ne ti, aduŋ a búka faliŋ. Í teeróo Omaru Kamara la safeeróo ye í hakilóo bulandi laahidóolu le la, Ala ye múŋ ke Iburayima ye aniŋ a diŋolu. A kummaayaata báake le ka londi koyíriŋo soto wo kuwolu to, káatu Ala ye a fo le kó, lannamoo-wo-lannamoo, múŋ ye a la laahidí folóolu muta ko i be safeeriŋ ñaameŋ, a be ke la le kó Iburayima diŋo, ñiŋ laahidóolu be ke la a taa le ti fanaa.

Iburayima mú taamanseeróo le ti lannamoolu ye, káatu a ye Ala la kumóo muta le, Ala ye múŋ fo a ye kó “Taa ka bo í la bankóo kaŋ, í baadiŋolu yaa, í faamaa yaa, ka taa bankóo kaŋ, í be múŋ yitandi la í la.” Wo ñaa kiliŋo la, ŋ ñanta ŋ na kuwolu bee bula la le, niŋ wolu niŋ Ala silóo máŋ taa ñoo la. Iburayima ye a la aadóolu niŋ a baadiŋolu bee bula le, labaŋo la, háni a dínkee kanuntewo, a pareeta le ka a bo sadaa ti Ala ye.

Iburayima ñiŋ diŋo, a pareeta ka múŋ faa, a too mú Isiyaaka le ti. A máŋ ke Iburayima la dínkee folóo ti, bari a dínkee kiliŋo, a ye múŋ soto Saara la, a futúumusóo. A mú diŋo le ti ka bo niŋ Ala



la laahidoo la. A la wuluwo keta kaawakuu baa le ti, kaatu a wuluuta waatoo meng na, Saara ye sanji taŋ kononto le soto, a faamaa Iburayima fanaa ye sanji keme le soto.

Iburayima diŋ folóo too mú Isimayila le ti. Wo baamaa máŋ ke Saara ti, bari Saara la jommusóo le mú, i ka a fo múŋ ye Hajara. Isimayila wulúuñaa keta teŋ ne: Ala ye Iburayima laahidí nuŋ ko, a la bonsuŋolu be siyaa la báake le, a ko a ye kó “Saŋo santo júubee, fo í si loolólu yaatee noo? I koomalankóolu be siyaa la wo le ñaama.” Bari Iburayima niŋ Saara keebaayata le, i máŋ diŋo soto, bituŋ i jikilateyita. Wo to le i naata feeróo siti ka Ala la laahidóo timmandi silóo la, i la aadóo ye a landi ñaameŋ. Hajara, Saara la jommusóo múŋ bota Misira, Saara ye wo le díi a keemaa la, ka diŋo soto a ye. Hajara naata wo diŋo wulúu a ye, aduŋ Iburayima ye a tóolaa Ismayila la.

Biriŋ Isimayila ye sanji taŋ niŋ naani le soto, Saara naata Isiyaaka wulúu. Sanji dantaŋ ñaato a naata Hajara niŋ Ismayila bayi, a ko “Ñiŋ jommusóo dinkewo niŋ nte dínkewo Isiyaaka te keetaalaa ke la.” Ñiŋ kuwo naata Iburayima niyo kuyaa báake, bari Ala ye a yaamari kó, a ñanta soŋ na Saara la le.

Biriŋ Hajara niŋ a dínkewo taata, i máŋ sabatidulaa soto. Bituŋ i kumbóota keñewulóo kóno, bari Ala ye malaayikóo kii i kaŋ ka i sabarindi. Malaayikóo ko i ye kó, Ala ye i la kumbóo kaŋo moyi le, aduŋ a be neema la Isimayila fanaa ma le.

Wo to Ala ye ñiŋ diŋolu bee le kanu ko a ye hadamadiŋolu bee kanu ñaameŋ. Bankóo Ala ye múŋ laahidi Iburayima ye, a keta Isiyaaka niŋ a koomalankóolu la keetaa le ti. Ala ye a la laahidóo ñiŋ seyínkaŋ ne waatóo múŋ na, Iburayima pareeta ka Isiyaaka kanateyi Ala la yaamaróo kaŋ. Alla naata sáajiyo díi a la ka wo seyi Isiyaaka noo to. Wo keta lannamóo tóoñaalu la taamanseeróo le ti, káatu Ala be Yeesu Alimasiihu kii la naŋ ne ka a niyo laa moolu ye, ka duniyaa junubóo bondi.

I si Iburayima la taarikóo karaŋ noo Tawuraatóo le kóno, Musa la Kitáabu Folóo, ka bo hijibu 12 ka taa hijibu 21. Wo mú Ala la Kitáabu Senuŋo le ti, múŋ folóota kitaabóolu bee kóno. Ala ye wo díi hadamadiŋolu la kabiriŋ sanji wuli saba keme naani kóomanto ka a ke fondemaŋo ti í na díinoo ye.

Text 35: Taakaa la maasíibóo

Taakaa la tíiñaaróo warata báake le, káatu niŋ taakaa dunta wulóo kóno, a ka yiri jamáa le faa, aduŋ wo ka naa tíiñaari jawu baa le samba naŋ ŋ na wulóo kóno. Jamaa-jamaa taakaa le ka yiri jamáa faa ŋ na wulóolu kóno. Wo to ŋ ña ke ŋ na wulóo kantalaa ti niŋ í ŋá moo-wo-moo je a ka ŋ na wulóo tíiña, ŋ ña dantee alíkaalóo ye waraŋ ŋ í a samba seefóo yaa. Ali, ŋ kana soŋ wandi moolu ye ŋ na wuloolu tíiña.

Text 36: Ali ŋ í a kata ŋ í luntaŋolu búuñaa

ŋ baadiŋ Mandinka kán moyílaalu aniŋ a folaalu. A kummaayaata báake le ka luntaŋolu búuñaa, sako mennu bota i la bankóolu kaŋ. Bari koleyaa kuwolu doolu ka soto luntaŋolu niŋ i jiyaatiyolu teema le. Bari ŋ ñanta a kalamuta la le kó, moolu mennu bota i yaa, jamaa-jamaa londi ñinóo waraŋ kodí sotóo le mán sooneyaa i la bankóo kaŋ. Wo le ka jamáa la taamóo sáabu.

Í baadiŋolu, ali ŋ í a kata ŋ í luntaŋolu búuñaa, káatu kó jamaa-jamaa luntaŋolu le ka nafaa jamáa samba naŋ bankóo kaŋ. Wo to luntaŋolu mú mutamoolu le ti. Ali ŋ kana luntaŋolu je, ŋ í a míira kó i mang yaa soto. Moo-wo-moo ye yaa soto le. Bankóo la ñaatotaa ka súŋ luntaŋolu le la, bari a la kóomatataa fanaa ka suŋ luntaŋolu le la fanaa.

Text 37: Senelaa níŋ Dokitaróo - jumáa le kummaayaata báake?

Biriŋ dokitaróo ka jaararóo ké, senelaa fanaa ka senóo ké, hadamadiŋolu te balúu noo múŋ kóoma. Bari mennu be laariŋ senelaa kaŋ, wolu ye sóosóoróo ké le kó niŋ senelaa mán senóo ké, hadamadiŋolu be faa la konkóo la le. Bari senelaa faasaarilaa kó fanaa, a mán beteyaa púru ka a fo, kañewo múŋ be senóo to, wo te booróo to. Senelaa ka fóo a la senefeŋo la le niŋ samáa mán wara, aniŋ fanaa niŋ samáa jawóo boyéta fiifeŋolu kaŋ, aniŋ foño jawóo. Labaŋo la, tóoñaa-tóoñaa, senelaa ka fiifeŋo doolu sene, a mán ke kó múŋ a ka fiifeŋ betóolu le dómo. Senelaa ka a la senefeŋ betóolu le wáafi. A ka domoróo ke ko fuwaaróo.

Fulanjaŋo, mennu be laariŋ dokitaróo kaŋ, wolu ko: Dokitaróo le ka balúu betóo ké aniŋ fammajiyo. Dokitaróo ka hadamadiŋolu tanka kúraŋo la le korídaa kóno aniŋ bankóo bee kaŋ,

púrú i ka tara balúu kendóo kóno. Dokitaróo ka hadamadiŋolu kendeyandi le, a ka í soo sembóo la ka dookuwo ké a ñaama i la bankóo ye. Dokitaaróo le ka kisikisíroo ke le, múŋ ka kúuraŋo sáabu aniŋ múŋ ka a jaara, kó múŋ kúuraŋo múŋ be kó yelesiyaa aniŋ fanaa ka hadamadiŋolu tanka. Bari ŋ naata moo jamáa soto, wolu ko dokitaróo kummaayaata senelaa ti.

Text 38: Luntaŋolu loodulaa jamáa la yiriwáa kóno

Luntaŋólu la loodulaa jamáa la yiriwáa kóno, moo te wo la kummayaa daŋo fo noo la. Komeŋ ŋ bee ŋá a loŋ ñaameŋ. Duniyaa feŋ jamáa mú fula-fula le ti. Luntaŋólu fanaalu niŋ i jaatiyolu be wo le ñaama. Bankú te ñiŋ duniyaa le kóno, bankóo múŋ ye yiriwáa soto, aduŋ luntaŋólu daa máŋ bula a bankóo la yiriwaa dookuwo kóno.

Bari háni wo ñaa-wo-ñaa, luntaŋolu búka dahaa niŋ búuñaa soto noo i jaatiyolu bulu, sako moofíndúu, a bee jawumaa Mandínkadúu. Luntaŋolu síifaa siyaata, aniŋ i ka bataa síifaa múŋ soto. Bari ka kumóo sutiyandi ŋ be fannaa baa fula le maa la.

Fannaa folóo, wo le mú moolu ti mennu ka i wulúu bankóolu bula aniŋ i wulúu saatewolu, i la mecóolu niŋ fankóo keeñaa kamma, ka taa síi bankú doo kaŋ, i si i la mecóolu taamandi noo daameŋ sooneeyaa kóno. Ñiŋ luntaŋ síifaalu la kummaayaata Kambiya bankóo la yiriwáa to. Misaalifee londóo bundaa, niŋ í ye a júubee, ŋ be ñiŋ waatóo múŋ kóno, a daŋo dóoyaata karambuŋolu kóno le. Í be taa la karambuŋo múŋ to, í máŋ karandírilaa tara jée. Aduŋ í ka mennu tara jée, jamáa mú luntaŋolu le ti.

Í ye a míira, ŋ be ke la nuŋ ñaadíi le, niŋ ñiŋ luntaŋolu máŋ tara jáŋ? Aduŋ jaatakendeyaa bundaa be wo le ñaama, safaaróo, looróo aniŋ fannaa jamáa. Bari ŋ ka luntaŋolu muta ñaadíi le? Hee, ŋ ka a fo kó “I la bankóolu máŋ diyaa, wo le ye a tínna i naata jáŋ.” Waraŋ “Ñiŋ moolu lafita kodóo la báake le, wo le ye a tínna i naata jáŋ.” Waraŋ ŋ ŋá a fo kó “Ñinnulu mú tapalee moolu le ti.” A niŋ kuma jamáa.

Fannaa fulanjaŋo, wolu le mú moolu ti, mennu ye i la wulúu saatewolu niŋ wulúu bankóolu bula ka taa bankóo kara doo la, waraŋ ka sawuŋ bankú doo kaŋ, baluwo si sooneeyaa daameŋ. I la kafundaŋo bankóo waraŋ saatewo la yiriwáa to, i la kafundaŋo ka mulúŋ ne kó i jaatiyolu, i jaatiyolu búka yiriwáa dookúu ke i kóoma. I la bataadaa, ñiŋ luntaŋ síifaalu jaatiyolu ka ŋaniyaa jawuyaa jamáa le tilíŋ i la: i te soŋ na, i ye senebanku kende soto. I te soŋ na, i ye yirifee kende

soto. Niŋ i ye senóo ke daameŋ, i la senefeŋo beteyaata, i ko i ye kó “Sanji taŋ saba kóoma ń maamaa le ka jáŋ dookúu. I si bo jáŋ, ń be a dookúu la le jaari.”

I te soŋ na luntaŋo ye ke ńaatonkóo ti, háni niŋ a ye ńaatonkayaa makaamóo soto, i si a fo ko, “ńiŋ múŋ naata kunúŋ”. I ńinata kó niŋ wo maaríi naata kunúŋ, kununkóo le itolu fanaalu futata, káatu i niŋ bankóo máŋ dadaa ńoo la. Waraŋ i ye a fo kó “Niŋ a dúuta, ńinnulu be seyi la le, i ye ntolu tu jáŋ.” Fo i máŋ a loŋ kó niŋ a dúuta, háni í maamaa keme le wulúuta dulaa to, í búka síi noo jee.

Text 39:

Musú wúraaróo

Niŋ musóo ye kambaanóo je búŋo kóno wúraaróo, a be siriŋ a daala, a ka kontaane báake nuŋ waatóo múŋ na moolu ye musú wúraaróo kummaayandi. Kambaanóo niŋ a kafuñoolu si i la dúŋ feŋ ńiimalu duŋ, i si i la míŋ feŋolu sáŋ i ye i samba púru ka wo wúraaróo diyandi. I si musóo ńiŋ kantaanendi, i si a la alifaalu niŋ a la moolu horomañoyaa, wolu si ńáa í faŋ to. Musu wúraaroo ka diyaa le niŋ a tara kó musóo niŋ kee bee ye ńoo kanu, aduŋ i la moolu fanaa bee be kuwo ńiŋ to. ń hakilóo be a kaŋ, ntelu nene taata Iburayima dandaŋ a bitañóolu yaa wúraalaróo la saŋ doo le la, a ye a tara Karamo be saasaariŋ ne, ń moo dántaŋ ne le taata bari ntelu ye malukúu baa le soto wo lúŋo la. Kabiriŋ ntelu futata ń ńá musóo baamaa le tara luwo to, kabiriŋ ńá a kontoŋ, a ye ń ńúura le. Wo waatóo la, baa niŋ diŋó bee máŋ tara Iburayima la kuwo to, bari i te haaŋi la i la alifaa la kumóo soosoo la, múŋ mú Landiŋ ti. Landiŋ mú Abibatu keemaa le ti, Abibatu wo le mú dindíŋo baamaa ti Iburayima be lafiríŋ múŋ na. ń ka futa i la suwo kóno waatóo múŋ na, a ye a tara dindíŋo ńiŋ be buŋó konoto. A ye ń ntelu máakaŋo móyi dáameŋ, a ye daa ńori níŋ sembóo la, a funtita banta. A ko ń ńá naa síi banta. Nteli síita jee to le fo ń na sayi waatóo síita, wo dindíŋ máŋ kacaa ń fee. A malóo ńoŋó. Kabiriŋ a bota wo la, nte Iburayima ye niŋ i be ta jee koteke, i ye yanfa nte ye káatu ń te búka sóŋ malundiróo la. Musu wúraaróo ka diyaa le de, bari niŋ a be ké la, a si a tara kee niŋ musóo bee ye ńoo kanu aduŋ i la alifaa fulóo fanaa bee ye tara kán kilíŋ.

Text 40:

Kulúuwo

Kuluwo mú kúu bete baa le ti. Alifaalu ka lafi dínđínj kulúuríño, aduj níñ a la kúu síita, i ka a jayi le fanaa. Kulúuwo le ye dínđínjo nafaa, dínđínjo kulúuríño ka kúu jamáa baa le soto keebalu bulu. Kulúuwo mánj múnj sii moo la, kulúubaliyaa búka wo síi noo a la. Dínđínj dóolu kulúuta báake le fo níñ a la kuwó fo daa wo daa to, moolu bee le ka i jayi le fo níñ i la alifaa mú í ti, í si kontane. Waatí tambita núnj, moolu mánj tuluñ kulúuróo la bayirínj níñ múnj lafíta í diño la, í be a kulúu la káatu kó dínđínj kulúubalóo búka síimaayaa. Níñ dínđínj múnj mánj kulúu, í ka taa a samba alifaa kilínj ne la, a ye kanfa í kamma, a ye í la dunniyaa tíiñaan níñ safee jawolu la. Nunto níñ sayínj fatata báake le. Nunto kulúuróo moolu bee le táa ti, níñ dínđínj ye kurunyaa ké moo wo moo si a kulúu noo le bari sayínj wulúulaalu le faño búka haañi ka i diñolu busa jammanóo la tíiñaan kamma la. Níñ múnj mánj í la dínđínjolu kulúu, hání níñ í ye i balandi tuluño, i te sóñ na. Dínđínj kulúubalóo ka a la alifaalu le folóo la kumóo soosoo, jannínj a be moo doo táa soosoo.

Text 41:

Seneyaa

Seneyaa mú kúu betóo le ti káatu kó níñ í ye a júube jaatakendeyaa ka bo seneyaa le bala. Níñ moo mánj seneyaa, a si mantóora noo, mantóorolu mennulu joko kóno dimmi saasaalu. Níñ musóo mánj seneyaa moolu búka wakili ka a la domoróo dómo. Wo le ye a tínna Mandinkóolu ka a fo kó moolu búka moo la domoróo dómo, i ka moo le dómo. Níñ í mánj seneyaa moolu ka a muta le kó í la domoróo te seneyaa noo la. Moo nooríño siifa siyaata le, jamáa jamáa moo hábúríño búka seneyaa aduj moo tajiríño fanaa búka seneyaa. Seneyaa mánj ñónj soto, seneyaa si a tínna moo ye lafi moo la komeñ a si a tínna a ye í bánj í to. Woto, kee wo, musu wo, moo bee le ñanta a kata la ka seneyaa.

Text 42:

Súuñaróo

Suñolu ye moolu batandi báake le. I ko kunúnj, suño ye Faatu la nínsóo le súuñaa, waatóo múnj na a be síinóo la. Moolu ko múnj ye kodóo súuñaa, wo le be lafi la nínsóo fanáa súuñaa la. Alikaalóo la soño ka beño kumandi, a sunta wo le la, bayirínj súuñaróo múnj keta saateo kóno ñinanj, a siyaata báake le. Kabirínj i ye móolu kumandi jannínj i ka beño kumáasi, í ko le kó tóoñaa kilínj damma le sotota súuñaróo kuwo la. Luntañ dántánj ne naata beño to. Nte ñá múnj fo

kabíriŋ beŋó kumáasita, wo koyita le fer. Súuñaróo booróo mú kúu kilíŋ doronj ne ti, niŋ moolu be sonta ka wo ké, ŋ be dahaa la suŋolu la kuwo la le. Niŋ moo wo moo ye wandifeŋo súuŋaa, niŋ i ye a muta, i ñanta a bulóo le kuntu la. Sorondiróo máŋ ké súuñaróo booróo ti, bayiriŋ niŋ i ye súŋ múŋ sorónj, niŋ i ye a bula, wo búka a tínna a ye foño súuñaróo. Niŋ moo ye súuñaróo ké fo a lonŋta i ye a bulu kilíŋo kuntu, niŋ a máŋ í foño, a ye a ké koteke, i ye a bulu fulanjanjo kuntu, wo be í foño la le, baawóo niŋ i ye a moyi í ka taaróo ke, taarilanŋ bulóo le be í la. Moolu kána í fanŋ batandi niŋ i lafita súuñaróo ye baŋ dinkiraalu to. Íŋ ŋá ñíŋ múŋ fo teŋ, wo damma le mú súuñaróo la booróo ti.

Text 43: Kunúŋ tilóo

Kunúŋ tilóo kuyaata báake le. Foñoó féeeta, samáa kéeta, sumayaa dunta. Moo máŋ kúu ké noo kunúŋ la. Ntelu taata wulóo kóno le ŋ máŋ dookuwo noo fo ŋ murunta naŋ suwo kóno. Kabíriŋ foñoó komasita, nte be lóoriŋ dáameŋ to, nenóo le dunta í na. Íŋ máŋ kúu ke noo, í ŋá í mooñóolu kili, í ko i ye i naa ŋ ŋá sayi suwo kóno, káatu a máŋ koyi. Falí tariŋ tariŋo le be Kajáali búlu, wo falóo le naata ŋ samba naŋ suwo kóno. Í ye borí wo borí ké, a be í dán na le, a la tariyaa kammaa la. Moo máŋ dóokuwo noo kunúŋ, jamáa ko le kó biríŋ samáa boyita dórónj, i ye firóo dati bari kunúŋ ñonjo wo máŋ soto i ye múŋ balúu wulóo kóno.

Text 44: Betenti

Betenti mú Jáamíndori le ti. Niŋ Mandinkóolu ko Betenti, Sereeróolu ka fo le Jáamimdori. Betenti be ñombaato saatee keebaalu le kóno aduŋ ate le ye díinóo dúnta dinkiraa jamáa to jiyo kóno. Kabíriŋ ñíŋ saateo la misilimaa folóolu ye díinóo lóndi, i ko le Betenti máŋ kaaŋaŋ, i ye kafóo le lóndi, i funtita i taata jihadi kelóo saateolu to múŋ joko Basulu, Ñóojorí, Faliya, aniŋ saatee koteŋolu. Díinóo dunta júuna báake Betenti, aduŋ ñíŋ saateo keebaa folóolu ye katakúu jamáa baa le ke púru ka Isilamóo janjandi. Woto, niŋ díinóo la sembe waróo ka moo wo moo jaahali ñíŋ saateo to, ite máŋ kunúŋ ne lónj. Díinóo keeŋaa Betenti, wo le ye a tínna karandiŋólu

ménnu be η na misilimaa karambuη baa to, i siyaata le, bayiri moo wo moo ka a fo le fó a diηo si diinoo karaη a ye a lóη.

Text 45: Sanawumaalu

Niη i ye a je moolu ka muta ali la súukónonkóolu, i ye kuwolu mennu láa ñoo kaη, wolu le siyaata. Fo ali sanawóolu si ali bantandi doronη. Sáajo néné máη táama; Alamuta mú dóokúulaa kódintaηó le ti; Bannaa mú musu karambálóo le ti. Aduη Aláají búka monoo míη. Ali la súukónonkóolu la kuwolu siyaata i máη kilíη. Sanawuyaa mú ñoo bantandoo doronη ne ti, wotos niη a be wo ñaama, í sanawu si í batandí noo kúu wo kúu la, í ka borí wo la le. Ntelu la Mandinkadúu, móo máη ñaη ka kanfa í sanawu bulu baawó sanawumaalu ka a bee le fo noo ñoo ye. Wo le ye a tinna, i ka ñíη fo kó niη í daa ka sunkaη, niη í teerí máη a fo í ye, í sanawu le ka a fo í ye.

#### Ñininkáaróolu

1. Sunkutu kéme lóota bantabáa to fítaróo la, i máη a seneyandi noo, bari musu kéebaa kilíη ye a fita sóomandaa kilíη, a ye a seneyandi.

**A kotóo:** Lóoloo si siyaa saηó santó ñaa wo ñaa, i búka banta fanúndi noo. Bari niη karoo funtita, a si duniyaa bée fanundi.

2. Sunju baa kilíη ye bankoo diηólu bée súusundi ñoo la.

**A kotóo:** Raji buη kilíη ka kibaaróo díi bankoo móolu bée la ñoo la le.

3. Motoo le be bulu. Niη í ηá kiliyaηólu dundi a kóno, í búka jíi niη a be lóoriη. Bari niη í ηá a borindi, í be táa kaη, í ka jíi le.

**A kotóo:** Fíirilaη masiηó le mú. Niη a be lóoriη, késóolu búka joloη, bari niη a be táa kaη, i ka joloη ne.

#### Mansaalóolu

1. Kuntaη diη faalaa le ka ñina, bari a ye múη bali suboo la, wo búka ñina?

Kúukuruη kelaa le ka ñina, bari a ye a ké múη na, wo búka ñina.

2. I te jambóo múṅ laa la i la telóo to, kana a laa dóo táa to.

Kuwo múṅ te kunna í to, kana a ké móo dóo la.

3. Falóo búka wulu jamáa kóno.

Kumóo bée búka kaccaa jamáa kóno.

4. Yelemóo búka sáa kóo kati.

Móo ka kumóo fó le bíi, saama a ye a báayi.

5. Allamaa búka sulóo kanandi santo.

Ka kúu jawóo duwaa móo ye, wo búka a tínna, a ye ké a la.

6. Bonóo be báatiyo le ye, bari ñaa mala kaleera kóno, wo mú baa faṅo le ti.

Niṅ í la alifaa waraṅ móo dóo ye í yaamari kúu la, í máṅ a danku, niṅ í náata bula a kóno, ate niyo ka tóra le, bari bataa mú ite faṅo le taa ti.