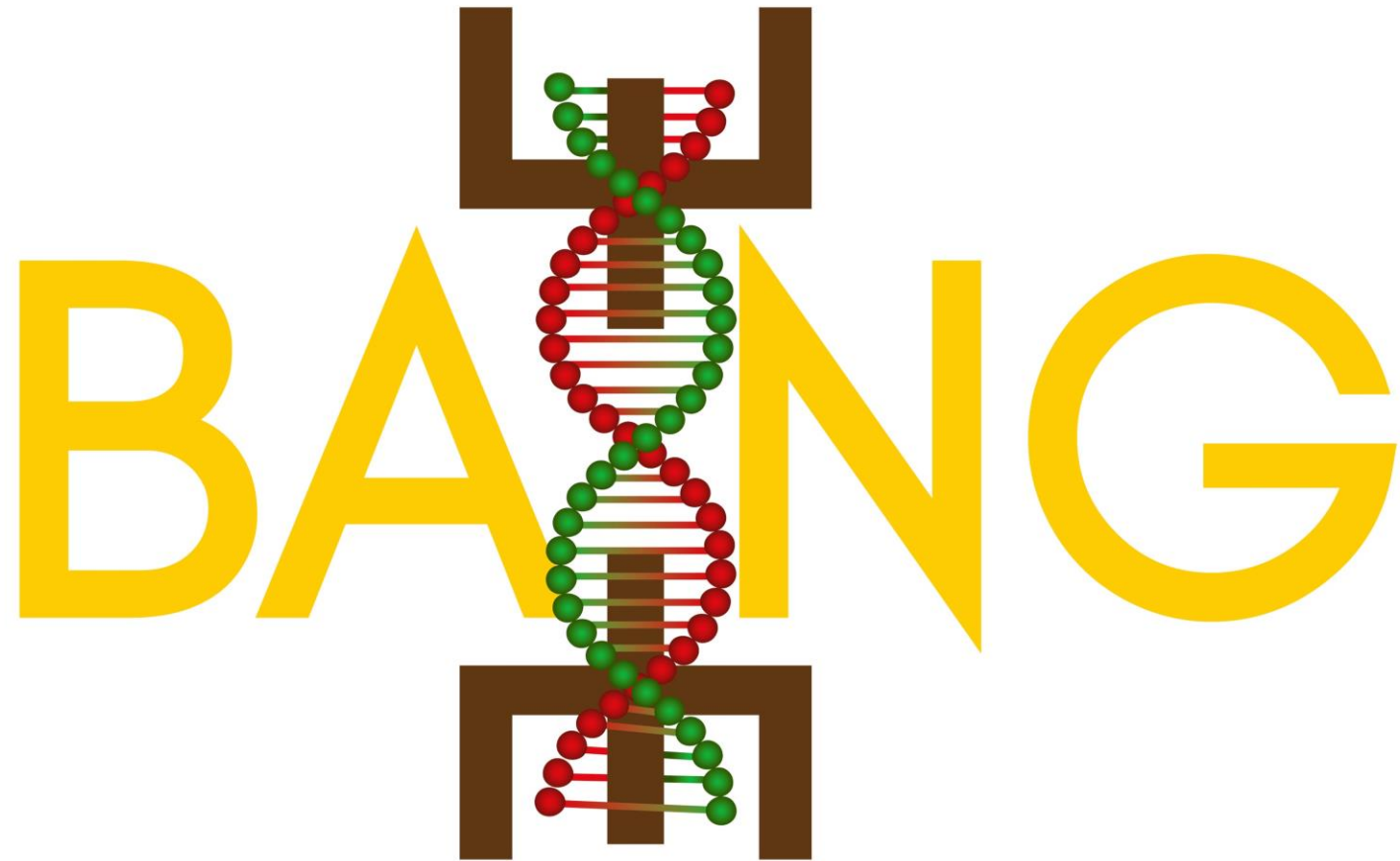


Aspect—conditioned word order alternations in Bangime



Abbie Hantgan and Vadim Dyachkov

Outline

1. West African language typological profiles
2. OV ~ VO alternations
3. Emergence of OV word order
4. Mande Expansion
5. Implications for genealogical affiliation

1. Typological Profiles

Cf. Heine 1975a-b

Bangime Typological Profile

- B1 type according to Heine (1975a-b)
 1. SVO (SOV 'non-basic word order')
 2. genitive + noun
 3. verb + adverb
 4. noun + postposition

Languages with B1 Typological Profile

1. Gur (excluding Senufo)
2. Kwa
3. Kru

(not including in neighboring languages)

1. Dogon
2. Mande
3. Songhay

2. Word Orders

Cf. Greenberg 1963, Creissels 2010

SVO Perfective / SOV Imperfective

Bangime, Isolate (our fieldwork)

(1) Perfective

S	V
<i>ń</i>	<i>ɥàà</i>
1SG.PFV	buy.PFV.1SG

'I bought a goat.'

O
bī̀
goat

(2) Imperfective

S	AUX	O	---	V
<i>ń</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i><u>bī̀</u></i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɥáá</i>
1SG.IPFV	IPFV	goat	LINK	buy.IPFV.1SG

'I am buying a goat.'

SVO Perfective / SOV Imperfective

Grebo, Kru (Innes 1966: 102, 103)

(3) Perfective

S	V	O	---
<i>ne</i>	<i>du-da</i>	<i>bla</i>	<i>ne</i>
1SG	pound-DIST.PST	rice	PTCL

'I pounded rice.'

(4) Imperfective

S	AUX	O	V
<i>ne</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>bla</i>	<i>du-i</i>
1SG	IPFV	rice	pound-IPFV

'I am pounding rice.'

SVO Perfective / SOV Imperfective

Gungbe, Kwa (Aboh 2001: 194)

(5) Perfective

S	V	O	
<i>Àsíbá</i>	<i>dín</i>	<i>wémà</i>	<i>ló</i>
Asiba	search.PFV	book	SPF _[+DEF]

'Asiba even looked for a specific book.'

(6) Imperfective

S	AUX	O	V	
<i>Àsíbá</i>	<i>tò</i>	<i>wémà</i>	<i>ló</i>	<i>dín</i>
Asiba	IPFV	book	SPF _[+DEF]	search.NR

'Asiba is looking for a specific book.'

SVO Perfective / SOV Imperfective

Natoro, Gur (Dyachkov forthcoming)

(7) Perfective

S	V	O	
<i>cí</i>	<i>túsí</i>	<i>ndù</i>	/ * <i>tà</i>
3PL	insult.PFV	3SG.HUM.OBL	3SG.POSS

‘They insulted him.’

(8) Imperfective

S	---	O	V
<i>cw-á</i>	<i>ní[↑]</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>sòkò-w̄</i>
woman-SG	DEM	3SG.POSS	chase-IPFV

‘The woman is chasing her.’

(9) Possessive

<i>tà</i>	<i>kósō</i>
3SG.POSS	elder_brother

‘his/her elder brother’

3. Grammaticalization Pathway

Cf. Marchese 1989, Koopman 1984, Aboh 2009

Verb Nominalization

- **SVO** as the basic word order + **Gen-N**:

S – AUX – [Gen – N] → S – AUX – [O – V]

- Bangime genitive as nasal linker:

(10) Genitive

gw̃̀ *m̃̀* *b̃̀j̃̀*
man GEN goat
'A man's goat.'

(11) Possessive

m̃̀ *b̃̀j̃̀*
3SG.POSS goat
'His goat.'

(12) Compound linker

t̃̀ *m̃̀* *b̃̀*
ear LINK big
'elephant [lit. big ear]'

- Bangime resumptive pronoun in SVO; Linker in SOV

(13) Perfect/resultative

S	V	O	---	---
<i>à</i>	<i>ɥáá</i>	<i>b̄̀ì</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>ké</i>
2SG.PFV	buy.PFV.2S	goat	2SG	PFT

‘You bought a goat.’

(14) Imperfective

S	AUX	O	---	V
<i>à</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>b̄̀ì</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɥáā</i>
2SG.IPFV	IPFV	goat	LINK	buy.IPFV.2SG

‘You are buying a goat.’

4. Language Contact

Mandesphere; Cf. Claudi 1994, Nikitina 2011



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Development of S-AUX-O-V

- In Mande, V elements in O-V sequences go back to nominalized verbs
- Imperatives illustrate ‘basic/dominant’ word order:

(15) *àà b̀̀g̀̀ nī̀̀*
2PL help.IMP 3PL.ACC
‘You (Pl) help them!’

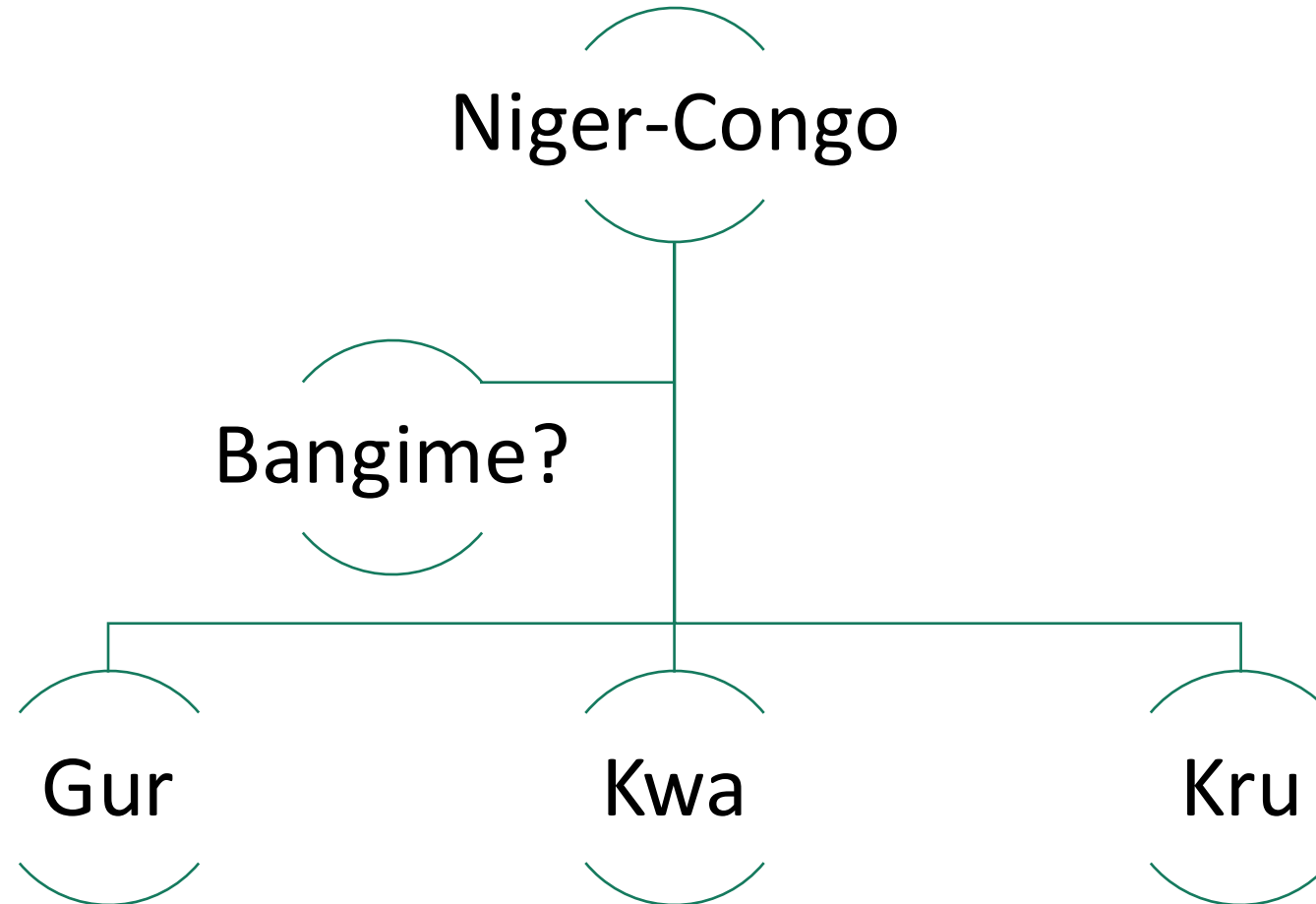
(16) *àà wòrè*
2PL go.IMP
‘You (Pl) go!’

(17) *súwó sàw̃*
goat buy.IMP
‘Buy a goat!’
(Jenaama, Heath 2022: 317)

5. Is Bangime a Niger-Congo language?

Cf. Dyachkov and Hantgan in prep.

Possible genealogical affiliation to NC



SVO Perfective / SOV Imperfective

Lendu, Central Sudanic (Tucker 1940: 402) in Heine (1975a: 166)

(20) Definite

S	V	O
<i>má</i>	<i>'á</i>	<i>'ou</i>
1SG	eat	chicken

'I have eaten a chicken.'

(21) Indefinite

S	O	V
<i>má</i>	<i>'ou</i>	<i>'á</i>
1SG	chicken	eat

'I am eating a chicken.'

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