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Bambara (2)
(Manding, Mande)
John Hewson

3.1   General

The draft of this sketch dates from 2004, and was enlarged and updated in 2011 with the much appreciated help and advice of Valentin Vydrine, who corrected errors and provided valuable information on recent analyses, particularly Blecke (2004), Dumestre (2003), and Idiatov (2000).

Bambara (also known as Bamanankan), and its closely related dialect of Dioula (Jula), are spoken by some seven to eight million people in Mali, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Gambia. It is used not only as an ethnic language, but also as a lingua franca. There is a quite extensive literature on this family, exemplified, for example, by *La langue mandingue et ses dialects: malinké, bambara, dioula*, a 650 page tome by Maurice Delafosse, published in 1929, with an interesting historical introduction, but not usable in any serious way because it conflates the data of several closely related languages. There are other materials of an equal age, but sketchy and incomplete.

Fortunately, because Bambara is a lingua franca, there are also modern texts designed for teaching the language that give adequate and well-planned descriptions, one in German by Raimund Kastenholz (1998), and one in French by Demba Konaré (1998), a native speaker, who writes the tones, in the usage of native speakers, only where they are needed to avoid confusion; his book is for use in Africa where the language may be heard on a daily basis. Kastenholz, on the other hand, carefully marks the tones of each lexeme: his book is for use in Europe where native speakers are not easily accessible. In the examples we have borrowed, we have followed the practice of the original author, marking tones only where they are given in the original source materials. To these basic materials must be added the more recent materials mentioned above.

The vowels are /i, e, ɛ, ɑ, ɔ, o, u/, all seven of which can also be long or nasalized (21 vowel contrasts). There are two marked tones, high tone being marked by an acute accent, and low tone by a grave accent. Roman letters are used for consonants, with the addition of **ŋ** and **ñ**, and **c** which represents a fronted palatal /k/. Nasal vowels are represented by syllable final -**n**, as in **bòn** 'be big', **dénkɛ** 'son', **mìnnogo** 'thirst', the same convention as in French, and long vowels by gemination, as in **náani** 'four'.

3.2   Word order

Bambara is an SOV language, but the subject is typically followed by a variety of auxiliary elements. The auxiliary precedes the OV nucleus, to produce the following pattern:

(1)   S AUX O V X

If the object is omitted, the verb automatically becomes intransitive, and takes on a passive meaning. Only transitive verbs can form this type of passive which is dependent upon deletion of the DO.

(2)   **Sidi bɛ Moussa fo**   ➡   **Moussa bɛ fo**
          (S + AUX + O + V)   (S + AUX + V)
          'Sidi greets Moussa.'   'Moussa is greeted.'

3.3   Verb Structure

The verbal morphology does not distinguish transitive from intransitive verbs: the distinction is accessible only through the syntax. There is also a distinction between dynamic and stative verbs, which is marked by different auxiliaries, and by different ways of forming past reference: dynamic verbs which are intransitive mark past reference with the suffix -**ra**, whereas stative verbs mark past reference with the morpheme **tùn** (see Blecke 1988/2004), which may be an Attestive marker (for details, see §3.4.2). There are a few regular extensions of the verb, which take the form of prefixes. Their usage is illustrated in §3.6. The structure of the verb may be diagrammed as follows:

(3)   EXT-ROOT-F

Only three elements appear in the initial slot (see §3.6). We have termed them "extensions" based on their function[1]: as with extensions in other languages, they derive new lexemes. The ones we have cited are all causatives, but there are others[2].

EXT: **la-**, **ma-**, **so-** (see examples in (24))

At final may appear suffixes which form verbal nouns and participles (see §3.5 and §3.10.1) as well as -**ra/-la** (see §3.3.2) and modal element -**na** (see §3.4.1), which latter apparently appears only in combination with **bɛ́** 'be'.

F: -**ra**/-**la**/-**na** (intransitive "preterit") (example (12b))
          -**na** (modal) (examples in (20))
          -**len**, -**tɔ**, -**ta** (in participles)
          -**li** (which derives verbal nouns, as well as various derivational suffixes. See §3.6)

3.3.1 Verb paradigms

There is a simple set of personal pronouns that is used for all functions: subject, object, possessor. The 2nd person singular is always used for a singular person; the 2nd person plural form always has plural reference. As in many languages of the region, first and second person have a different tone from the two third person forms: in Bambara the third person forms have low tone. The indeclinable personal pronouns are used in the

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[1] Their "syntactic and semantic functions are largely comparable to the (post-radical) verbal extensions of Niger-Congo" (Kastenholz 2000:327-328).
[2] See Kastenholz (2000).

possessive construction where the possessor precedes the possessee: **ń fà, í fà, à fà** 'my father, thy father, his/her father'. These pronouns exist in both Emphatic and Non-Emphatic forms. In the following paradigms the Emphatic forms are in second position.

(4)   Singular   Plural

    ń né I/me/my/mine   **ánw   ánw**   we/us/our/ours
    í   é thou/thee/thy/thine   **á(w) á(w)**   you/your yours
    à   àle he/she/it/him/her/etc   **ù   òlu**   they/them/their/theirs

Verb forms in the present use the auxiliary **bέ** (the lexically incompletive form of 'be') with the verb stem, which does not change throughout the paradigm, as in (5). The present is formed, in short, by a Progressive aspect with the auxiliary **bέ**, and these present forms may have both immediate and generic reference. Another auxiliary **yé**, a contrasting, lexically completive form of 'be', produces a Performative (Factative in Welmers 1973) aspect which is used for past reference, as in (6).[3] (The contrast is similar to that of Spanish **ser** and **estar**: other verbs do not have contrastive completive/incompletive lexemes).

(5)   **ń bέ tága** 'I'm leaving, leave'   **ánw bέ tága** 'we are leaving, leave'
    í bέ tága 'you s. are leaving, leave' **á(w) bέ tága** 'you p. are leaving, leave'
    à bέ tága '3s is leaving, leaves'   **ù bέ tága**   'they are leaving, leave'

(6)   **ń yé tága** 'I left'   **ánw yé tága** 'we left'
    í yé tága 'you s. left'   **á(w) yé tága** 'you p. left'
    à yé tága '3s left'   **ù yé tága**   'they left'

There is also a negative form, **tέ**, which creates negative clauses for the auxiliary **bέ** in a parallel paradigm, exemplified here with the verb **ná** 'come'. The corresponding negative for **yé** is **má**, as in **à má ná** '3s did not come', **ù má ná** 'they are not coming, etc' (see Section 3.8)

(7)   **ń tέ ná** 'I'm not coming, etc'   **ánw tέ ná**   'we are not coming, etc'
    í tέ ná 'you s. are not coming, etc' **á(w) tέ ná** 'you p. are not coming, etc'
    à tέ ná '3s is not coming, etc.'   **ù tέ ná**   'they are not coming, etc'

This negative is also used in nominal sentences, as in the following, where **kàba** 'maize' and **kába** 'stone' are used to show the occasional minimal pairs with tonal distinctions.

(8)   **kàba tέ ; kába dòn** 'Maize it is not; that's (a) stone.'

Verbs, as noted, are either transitive or intransitive: in transitive sentences there must be a direct object, placed between the auxiliary and the main verb.

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[3] In some dialects, for example (see Travélé 1955:13), the Performative form of 'be' (**yé**) is used for generic (e.g. 'he always leaves early') reference, where Perfectives can *not* be used.

(9)   **ánw bɛ́ bàmaw gɛ́n 'We hunt crocodiles.'**[4]
        ń fà bɛ́ bàmaw gɛ́n 'My father hunts crocodiles.'

3.3.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs are normally intransitive, and are marked by the stative auxiliary **kà** in the affirmative (examples (10 a,b,c)) and its counterpart **mán** in the negative (10e). The past is expressed by means of the morpheme **tùn** which precedes the auxiliary and indicates the sentence is not about the present, but about what was observed earlier (examples (10 d,e)).

(10)   a   **ń ká kɔ̀rɔ 'I am old'**
          b   **í ká jàn** 'you s. are tall'
          c   **mùso kà ɲì 'the woman is pretty'**
          d   **à tùn ká fìn** 'it was black'
          e   **fìni tùn màn bílen** 'the cloth was not red'

Since there is no verb 'to have', possession is indicated by 'be' + an adpositional phrase, using the postposition **fɛ̀** 'by, through, in the reach of ':

(11)   a   **wári bɛ́   ń fɛ̀**
               money be.IPFV   me by
               'I have money.'

          b   **wári tɛ́   ń fà   fɛ̀**
               money NEG.IPFV   my father by
               'My father has no money.'

3.3.3 Dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs require the (progressive) AUX **bɛ́**, and require the direct object to be placed before the main verb, which then has a present meaning. A so-called "preterit" (Kastenholtz 1998:58) is also found with intransitive verbs, whereby the main verb acquires a suffix /-ra/, which becomes [-la] after /r/ or /l/, and [-na] after /m,n/ or nasal vowel. Noun modifiers, such as numerals, are typically postposed, but demonstratives are preposed. These "preterits" may have a resultative sense ('he has gone to sleep' = 'he is asleep') with certain verbs. They are commonly labeled Perfectives, but their usage resembles that of English (and Germanic) Performatives (*Factatives* in Welmers 1973:246-7) rather than Russian (and Slavic) Perfectives (see Idiatov 2000:25, for example). They are consequently labeled *Performatives* in what follows.

(12)   a   **nìn cɛ̀ fìla tága-ra**
            these men two go-PFM
            'These two men went off.'

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[4] Regular plurals are made by adding -**w** to nominal stems: **bàmaw** is the plural form of **bàma** 'crocodile'.

b **mògow yɛ̀lɛ-la kòsɛbɛ**
people laugh-PFM much
'The people laughed much.'

c **áw síran-na kójugu**
2p be.scared-PFM terribly
'You were terribly anxious.'

With transitive verbs the "preterit" is expressed by the Performative auxiliary **yé**:

(13) **dònsow   yé   màli dúuru fàga**
hunters   be.PFM   hippo five   kill
'The hunters killed five hippopotamuses.'

For both transitive and intransitive verbs, the negative **má** replaces both **yé** and **-ra** and stands between the subject and the object, or the subject and the verb:

(14) a **dònsow   sé-ra**   b **dònsow má   sé**
hunters   arrive PFM   hunters NEG   arrive
'The hunters arrived.'   'The hunters haven't arrived.'

(15) a **ń yé   à dɔ́n**   b **ń má   à dɔ́n**
1s be PFM   it perceive   1s NEG   it perceive
'I (perceived) know (it).'   '**I** don't know (it).'

This rather unusual distribution of "preterit" markers appears to be based on the syntactic requirement for a transitive verb to have an auxiliary preceding the DO.

3.4   Auxiliaries

There are several auxiliaries, some of which are clearly verbal, others appear to be modal, and yet others are markers of relationships of equivalence. There are no tense distinctions, the finite forms of the verb (e.g. main clause verbs that have an explicit grammatical subject) are all representations of the Vast Present, the single tense that represents the whole of universal time.

There is an incompletive vs. completive aspectual distinction which by means of auxiliaries becomes Progressive versus Performative. The incompletive auxiliary **bɛ́** forms a Progressive, which represents the continual activity of the present, whether it be generic or actual. The completive auxiliary **yé** creates a Performative (Factative in Welmers' terms) which necessarily represents the past, since whatever is complete in the Vast Present must necessarily be over, an event that the memory has recorded as complete. These are the typical aspectual representations of the Vast Present of languages that have no tense distinctions. For some of the auxiliaries the negatives are also distinctive. Contrastive pairs may consequently be presented as follows, along with the Performative marker for intransitive verbs, which has the suffix /-ra/ (see §3.2 above).

(16)   IPFV   **bɛ** + verb = Vast Present   (negative **tɛ**)
        PFM (transitive)   **yé** + verb = Performative   (negative **má**)
        PFM (intransitive) verb-**ra** = Performative   (negative **má**)

There are three other auxiliaries that function as copulas, one that has a demonstrative element, but may be an impersonal verb (similar to French *c'est*), one that marks equivalence, and one that turns adjectives into stative verbs.

(17)   Demonstrative **dòn**   (Negative **tɛ**)
        Examples: **fìni dòn** 'That is a cloth'   **fìni tɛ** 'That is not a cloth'
                     sò dòn   'That is a horse   **sò tɛ** 'That is not a horse'

(18)   Equivalence   **yé** … **yé** (Negative **tɛ** … **yé**)
        Examples: **à yé dùlɔki yé** 'It is a shirt'
                     à tɛ dùlɔki yé 'It is not a shirt'
                     nìn yé mùru yé 'This is a knife'
                     nìn tɛ mùru yé 'This is not a knife'

(19)   Stative verbs   **ká**   (Negative **mán**)
        Examples: **jíri ká kòrɔ** 'The tree is old'
                     jíri mán kòrɔ 'The tree is not old'
                     dùlɔki ká kúra 'The shirt is new'
                     dùlɔki mán kúra 'The shirt is not new'

        The form **ká** is also used for alienable possession. Inalienable possession is represented by a simple *casus constructus* where the possessor precedes the possessee, but **ká** is used between the two items for alienable possession: **mùso fà** 'the woman's father'; **mùso ká líburu** 'the woman's book'. Since **ká** appears to be a linking element for both predicate adjective and possessee, it is probably the same morpheme in both usages. It should be noted here that what is at issue is the question of permanence. The morpheme **yé,** apparently the same element as the preterit marker, marks the permanence of the bond between subject and complement, whereas **ká** marks the temporary relationship between the two.

3.4.1 *The prospective auxiliaries*

There are two forms used to represent the future, both employing a modal auxiliary. One is a combination of the present marker **bɛ** with the prospective marker **ná** to form the compound **bɛná**; this has a near future reference. The other is the prospective auxiliary **ná** by itself, which refers to a more distant, more modal future, as in the following examples. This word resembles **nà** the verb 'to come', but is high toned, as seen in the last example below (data from Konaré 1998).

(20)   a   **ù bɛ na ń dɛ̀ mɛ** 'They will help me'

b	ń ná wári cáman sɔ̀rɔ	'I'll make a lot of money (at this)'
c	à bɛ́na sà	'He's going to die (terminal illness)'
d	à ná sà	'He will die (we all die some day)'
e	fúrakela ná nà	'The specialist will come (sometime)'

3.4.2 morpheme tùn

The morpheme **tùn** has been extensively discussed in the literature, including a 100-page analysis by Thomas Blecke (2004). It is used with other auxiliaries to shift the reference back in time to a moment when the event was actualized, when it was a real event, before it became de-actualized with the passage of time. With **bɛ́**, which represents the Progressive of the Vast Present, its effect is to give this form a past reference. This combination is also used with the sense of a recent past, or an event that happened right away.

(21) a à dén-w tùn bɛ́ à wéle baba
3s child-p ABS be.IPFV 3s call daddy
'His children called him daddy.'
(= *Ses enfants l'appelait papa* (French imperfect))

b án-w tùn bɛ́ só dɔ́ jɔ́
1-p shifter be.IPFV house build other
'We straightway built a house.'

With **yé** (negative **má**), **tùn** produces a pluperfect reference, as in the following examples. This also applies to the suffix /-ra ~ -na/, marking the past of intransitives, as in the third example (**nàna** = **nà** + **ra**).

(22) a ù tun má à dɔ́n 'They didn't know (it). (i.e. hadn't realized it).'
b Séku tùn má ò fɔ́ 'Seku hadn't said that.'
c à tériw bɛ́ɛ tùn nàna 'All his friends had come.' (**bɛ́ɛ** = 'all')

The use of **tùn** with the prospective auxiliary **bɛ́ na** likewise produces a kind of conditional, by representing the possibility in the here and now rather than in the future.

(23) a ń tùn bɛ́na à sàn 'I'll probably buy it/ I would buy it.'
b ù tùn bɛ́na à kɛ́ 'They will probably do it/ They would do it.'

The usage of **tùn** resembles that of Evidentials in other language families (e.g. North American Algonkian, as in Proulx 1990:104-109), where an Attestive used in the present refers to the past (one can only attest in the present to that which is already past), and in the past to anterior time as in the Pluperfect. Proulx also notes that the Attestive is used with future markers (1990:108), which produce Conditionals and assertive Presents: "In Moose Cree a potential is formed with *-**pan** and a future preverb: **ta-milwa:šino:pan** 'it would be nice' (Ellis 1983:569) **ta-ki:-wawe:šita:pan** 'she could fix it" (ibid. p.651), a usage which parallels that recorded by Blecke (2004:61ff). Beside the normal Micmac

future, Proulx (Proulx 1990:107) reports one used only with the first person: **ke: eliyeyap** 'I'll go (willingly)' [**ap** from *-**a:n** + -**pan**]", which resembles Blecke's "assertive present".

3.5   Participles

There are three participles, a perfect participle with a suffix -**len** (-**nen** after nasals), a present participle with a suffix -**tɔ**, and a situative participle (called "anticipatory" by Kastenholz) with a suffix -**ta**. This is a simple ternary set of contrasts that may be diagrammed as in §3.9, below.

These participles all have usages that are typical of such participles in other languages: **mùso sìgi-len** 'the seated woman', **mùsow sìgi-len** 'the seated women'; **à sègin-tɔ** 'coming back, on his way back'; **kɛ́, kɛ́-ta** 'do, doable' (i.e. feasible), **dún, dún-ta** 'eat, edible'. They can also be used with full verbal effect in the subjects and predicates of finite verbs, as in the following examples from Kastenholz (1998:112ff):

(24)   a   **ń fà   sègin-nen bɛ́**   **Jóliba bùgo-len   bɛ́**
             my father return-PFT is   Joliba beat-PFT   is
             'My father is back.'   'Joliba [a soccer team] has lost.'

        b   **Sògo jíran-tɔ   dógoyara**   **né fìli-tɔ   dɔ́n**
             meat   roast-IPFV be small.PFM   1s err-IPFV know
             'The roasting meat shrank.'   'I am in error.'

        c   **Sògo jíran-ta   bɛ́ tàbali kàn** **ò yé í ká   fɔ́-ta   yé**
             meat   roast-SIT be table on   3s is 2s POSS say-SIT be
             'The meat for roasting is on the table.'   'That's for you to say.'

3.6   Prefixes and suffixes

There are three verbal prefixes reported by Konaré (1998:94): **la-**, **ma-**, **sɔ-** with the following examples:

(25)   **taa** 'to leave'   >   **la-taa** 'cause to leave'
        gɛrɛ 'approach'   >   **ma- gɛrɛ** 'to bring together
        bɔ 'go out'   >   **sɔ-bɔ** 'remove'

These appear to be three different causatives, but the data is insufficient to allow any conclusions to be drawn. There are quite a few derivational suffixes, forming diminutives, augmentatives, etc, one of which, /-li/, forms verbal nouns: **tà** 'take', **wári tàli** 'the taking of the money'.

3.7   Mood

The Imperative singular uses the bare verb, with the object, if any, preceding: **nà** 'come!'; **à tà** 'take it!'. The plural uses the 2p pronoun followed by **yé** (the completive form of the verb 'to be'): **á yé nà** 'come! (2p)'; **á yé à tà** 'take it! (2p)'.

What Kastenholz calls the "obligative" (= OBL) is likewise with a full verb, using the particles **ká** (affirmative) and **kána** (negative) as in (26):

(26) a **ánw   ká   tága   só   sísan**
         1p   OBL   go   house   now
         'Let's go home now.'

      b **í   kána   ò   jíridenw kári**
         2s   NEG.OBL   those   fruits   pick
         'You're not allowed to pick that fruit.'

      c **jɔ́n   ká   tóbi-li   ɛ́**
         who   OBL   cook-NOM   question
         'Who's supposed to be cooking?'

The "obligative" may also be used in subordinate clauses, as in (27):

(27) **ń   bɛ́   à   fɛ   í   ká   nà   síni**
      1s   be   it   to   2s OBL   come   tomorrow
      'I would like you to come tomorrow.'

3.8   Negatives

As already seen (exx. 7, 4-19), negatives function as auxiliary verbs. The negative auxiliary **má** replaces the PFM auxiliary **yé,** the "preterit" marker /-ra/, and is postposed to the shifter **tùn** (see examples (22a,b)). The negative auxiliary **tɛ́** replaces the demonstrative auxiliary **dòn,** the equivalent auxiliary **yé** and the IPFV auxiliary **bɛ́** (examples (16),(17) and (18)). The negative auxiliary **mán** replaces the stative auxiliary **ka** (example (19)).

3.9   Relatives

Bambara has two kinds of relativization strategy, in neither of which is the relative clause embedded in the main clause. Kastenholz (1998:169) refers to the main strategy as a restrictive relative (examples (28a,b), because it contains essential information, whereas the second strategy, which he calls the adpositional relative, contains secondary information (example (28c). Both involve the relativizer **mín** (s)/ **mínw** (p). In the restrictive relative this follows the relativized constituent – subject, object, or complement – in the relative clause, which precedes the main clause. Thus the literal English rendering for the second example below would be 'hunter gun REL bought, it was expensive' for 'the gun which the hunter bought was expensive'. In the adpositional type, the **mín** is outside the main clause, heading the following relative clause.

(28) a **mɔ̀gɔ bɛ́ɛ   mínw nàna, ɔ̀lu jàmu yé kɔ́ Jàra**
         people all   REL   came, they are called Jara
         'All the people who came are called Jara.'   (Kastenholz 1998:170)

b   **dònso yé màrifa mín sàn,   ò sòngɔ tùn ká gɛ̀lɛn**
           hunter be gun   REL bought,   it expensive was
           'The gun which the hunter bought was expensive.' (Kastenholz 1998:170)

c   **dònso yé màrifa sàn,   mín sòngɔ tùn ká gɛ̀lɛn**
           hunter be gun   bought, REL expensive was
           'The hunter bought a gun, which was expensive.'   (Kastenholz 1998:171)

3.10   Conclusion

There are no tense contrasts in Bambara. The verbal system of Bambara consists of three participial forms with contrasting aspects (Imperfective, Perfect, and Situative), followed by three somewhat different contrastive aspects that are found with the finite forms (Progressive, Performative, and Prospective).

       In §3.10.2, the terms "Completive" and "Incompletive" have been used because the difference between the auxiliaries **bɛ́** and **yé** appears to be lexical rather than grammatical. The suffix -**ra**, however, raises many important questions: only with this suffix does the verb immediately follow the subject without the mediation of an auxiliary, but this suffix is only found on intransitive verbs. It is, nevertheless, unquestionably a grammatical marker of aspect: its function is parallel to that of AUX **bɛ́** (the two are in complementary distribution).

3.10.1   Participles are suffixally marked non-finite forms. (X = the position of the primary actant, and x = the position of a secondary actant)

<div align="center">

-tɔ
Imperfective |<-----------X- - - - - - - -|
                        partially completed event

-len
Perfect |<------------------------x|X
(Retrospective)   completed event

-ta
Situative |<X- - - - - - - - - - - - -|
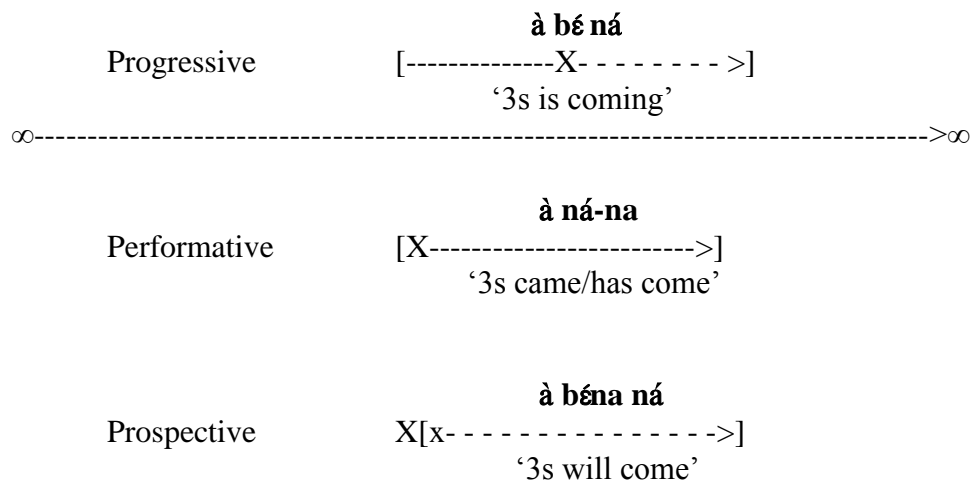("Anticipatory")   potential event

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Notes
1. These are representations of Event Time only, and the contrasts are purely aspectual. There is no inherent relationship of these forms to any part of Universe Time, and consequently no representation of tense.

2. The three forms constitute a contrastive set with three cardinal positions, beginning middle, and end.

3. Typologically this same aspectual set is found elsewhere. In Swahili, for example, there are three finite aspectual forms: IPFV *anakimbia* '3s is running'; PFT *amekimbia* '3s has run; SIT *akikimbia* 'if 3s runs'.

4. A Perfect or Retrospective is always the representation of an event seen from its result phase, which cannot exist until the event itself is complete, as in **mùso sìgi-len '**the seated woman'. The woman cannot be seated (= X) until she has completed the action of sitting (= x). Retrospective forms are frequently used in both functions: Sw *amekimbia* can mean either '3s has run' (= X), or '3s ran' (= x). French *j'ai parlé* like wise can mean either 'I spoke' (= x) or 'I have spoken' (= X).

5. Just as Retrospectives (= X) can also be used in the function of Perfectives (= x), Perfective forms may also be found used as Retrospectives, but only if the verb, by its Aktionsart (lexical aspect) is a verb of resultant state, such as *be born*, *die*, *sit, stand, fall, lie, arrive, leave*, where the resultant state cannot be avoided. *He died* means necessarily *he is dead*.

3.10.2. Intransitive finite forms[5]

à bɛ́ ná

Progressive   [--------------X- - - - - - - - >]
                                '3s is coming'

∞--->∞

à ná-na

Performative   [X------------------------>]
                                '3s came/has come'

à bɛ́na ná

Prospective   X[x- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->]
                                '3s will come'

Notes
1. The use of an auxiliary is a good justification for describing **à bɛ́ ná** as Progressive rather than as Imperfective. Progressives are typically formed by the use of some kind of an auxiliary element.

2. These forms are finite, and show a relationship between the representation of Event Time and that of Universe Time. As a result the Progressive represents the ongoing
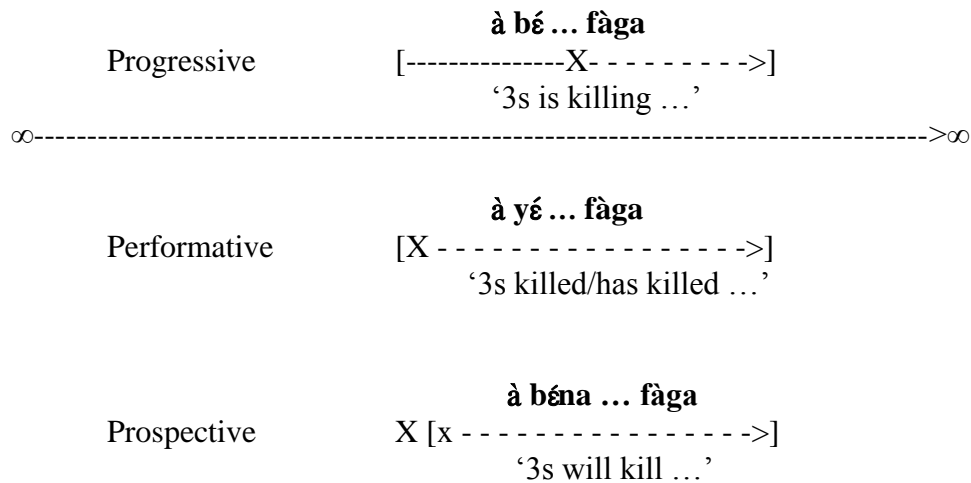
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[5]The form **nána** is underlying **ná-ra.** Each of the three finite forms can form compounds with the shifter **tùn**, which shifts the event represented to an earlier moment of time.

present, the Performative represents the past (time coeval with the memory), and the Prospective represents the future (time coeval with the imagination). The line representing Universe Time (the mental representation of time outside the event, which contains the event) has been added to the diagram with symbols that represent it as limitless.

3. It will be noted that the line of Universe Time is not to be found in the diagram of 3.10.1, since the participles represented there have no inherent connection to the representation of Universe Time. It may be noted, however, that all three participles are exponents of Descending Time.

The Prospective, which looks forward, is the mirror image of the Retrospective, which looks back, and consequently requires two positions, a primary (X) and a secondary (x). The latter identifies the event to which the primary subject is committed. And again it may be noted that all three aspects in the finite forms are exponents of Ascending Time.

3.10.3   Transitive finite forms

<div align="center">

à bɛ́ … fàga

Progressive   [---------------X- - - - - - - - ->]

'3s is killing …'

∞--->∞

à yɛ́ … fàga

Performative   [X - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->]

'3s killed/has killed …'

à bɛ́na … fàga

Prospective   X [x - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->]

'3s will kill …'

</div>

Notes
1.   Because transitivity is marked syntactically by the presence of a Direct Object, symbolized by (**…**) in the diagram, it was felt to be appropriate to represent the transitive and intransitive forms separately, in spite of the overlap.

2. Because of the usage of the auxiliary **yɛ́** as a Present Habitual in some dialects (see fn. 3), there is clear-cut evidence of its status as a Performative.

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