Bijago (Central, (West) Atlantic) Sarah Rose

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5.1 General

Bijago (aka Bidyogo, Bijogo) shows the same problematic relationship to other Atlantic languages as Atlantic does to Niger-Congo. As do most authors (e.g., Williamson 1989:21, Wilson 1989:90, Williamson & Blench 2000:21), Segerer (2002:6) considers Bijago its own subbranch of the Atlantic group, on a geneological par with the Northern and Southern sub-groups¹. Recent SIL estimates (Gordon 2005) placed the number of speakers at approximately 24,500 people, Lewis (2006) at 29,900², spread throughout a large number of islands which make up the Bijago Archipelago off the West Coast of Guinea Bissau.

The dialect described by Segerer (2002)³ and discussed here is Kagbaaga, spoken on the large centrally-located island of Bubaque. Others dialects include Kapaki, Kajoko and Kamona. With the exception of the latter, these are mutually intelligible. Segerer uses the spelling Bijogo in his 2002 monograph; I follow Childs (2003:220, Appendix 2) in using Bijago, the name also used by SIL⁴.



Map source: World Factbook (CIA)

4 In the archipelago itself, Portuguese speakers use Bijago for either the people, the language, or the islands themselves. Creole speakers may say Bijogo or even Bujugu (Segerer, p.c.).

¹Segerer acknowledges that Bijago's position in the classification system has been enigmatic, although based on his recent investigations, he considers Bijago "definitely Atlantic. The lexicon makes it closer to the northern branch, especially the Bak languages, while some grammatical points show resemblances with the southern branch", but adds that this last point "needs investigation" (Segerer: p. c.).

² The Joshua Project says 33,000 (www.joshuaproject.net).

³ Abbreviations unique to this chapter: CPT 'centripetal' (= 'movement toward'), CTF 'centrifugal' (= 'movement away from'), SV ("marqueur séquentiel verbal"-- indicates a sequence of actions), PASN 'passé neutre'. The two most common abbreviations which Segerer uses are explained as follows: (1) ACC *accompli*. This is an aspectual term whose meaning may be translated as 'perfective' or 'accomplished'. With certain verbs, the *accompli* could include a Factative meaning (as in Welmers (1973)), or in some cases, a resultative perfect. Generally, wherever this abbreviation appears, I gloss Segerer's ACC as PFV (perfective). (2) INAC *inaccompli*. This term is the opposing aspectual pole whose meaning may be translated as 'imperfective' or 'not accomplished'. Wherever this abbreviation appears, I have glossed Segerer's INAC as IPFV (imperfective). The majority of other abbreviations are class/agreement markers (as the upper-case E- in example (1)). See also fn.5.

Bijago is a seven vowel language (with vowel harmony, which appears to work from right to left). The general syllabic structure is (C)V(N)(C), with CV the most frequent (others V, VC, CV(N)C, N). The prosodic system is accent- or stress-, rather than tone-based.

Syntactically, there are several factors which Bijago shares with other Atlantic languages and with the Bantu family. Of all Atlantic languages, Bijago is considered to be the most Bantulike, or at least, to possess a preponderance of Bantu-like typological features (Segerer 2002:283). These include an extensive noun-class system (Bijago has 14 noun classes)⁵, predominately CVC verbal root structure, a plethora of post-root derivational extensions (of either -V or -VC structure), personal pronominal objects located within the verbal structure, and similar subject pronoun markers.

5.2 Word Order

The default word order in Bijago is S AUX V O X:

(1) **e-booţi ɛ-bak e-we** E-dog E.PFV(agreement.aspect)-catch E-goat 'le chien a attrapé la chèvre' ['The dog caught/has caught the goat.'] (2002:77)⁶

In the case of multiple objects which follow the verb, the IO is located closer to the verb than the DO (multiple internal pronominal arguments are prohibited).

(2)**pa-tapak-ε<u>o-g</u>ŋu-mpɛs**1s.PFV-borrow-PFV3s-pro (lui) ['from him']**Ŋ**O-money'je lui</u> ai emprunté de l'argent' ['I borrowed money<u>from him.'</u>] (2002:77)

First and second-person personal pronominal objects are located within the verb (with others usually external)^{7.}

(3) a **ɔ-<u>ma</u>-kpɔnak-ɛ** 3s.PFV-<u>1s.OBJ</u>-call (from afar)-PFV 'Il <u>m</u>'a appelé' ['He called <u>me</u>.'] (2002:149)

b	n(a)- <u>anti</u> -nian	/	ni-nian	<u>ya-g</u>
	2s.PFV-1p.OBJ-help	/	2s.PFV-help	YA-pro (les) ['them']
	'aidez- <u>nous</u> !' ['Help <u>us</u> !']	/	'aidez- <u>les</u> !' ['H	Ielp <u>them</u> !'] (2002:149)

⁵ The infinitive is formed from the verbal root, preceded by the class prefix **\mathbf{y}_0**- (subject to vowel harmony): thus**rob** 'planter' ['to plant'] > **\mathbf{y}_0-rob** 'fait de planter' ['the act of planting'] (Sergerer 2002:144). Since most citations are from Segerer, I generally provide only date and page numbers.

⁶ I generally use Segerer's glossing conventions, where the first element is either a person or class marker (the latter represented by upper-case letter(s) E-, NV, η O-, etc. Person markers we have glossed as 1, 2, or 3. The verb shows conjoined agreement and aspect marking. With very few exceptions, this agreement is obligatory. (Verbs may be 'double marked' aspectually, both on the SM and at suffix (3a)). Because his work is in French, I have supplied translations.

⁷ There are some exceptions: the morpheme -mo-, the referent of the O-class, can be incorporated (see Segerer (2002:184,185) for other examples).

c **pi-ria <u>mo-kato</u>** / **pi-ria <u>mo-g</u>** 1s.IPFV-take MO-fish / 1s.IPFV-take MO-pro (les) ['them'] 'je prends <u>les poissons'</u> ['I catch/am catching <u>fish</u>.'] 'je <u>les prends'</u> ['I catch <u>them</u>'] (2002:73)

Adjectives, numerals and demonstratives always follow their head nouns.⁸ Relative constructions, both subject (*qui* 'who') and object (*que* 'that'), are regularly marked by a post-posed relative particle - \mathbf{o} :

(4) o-gude <u>o-kpe-o</u>
3s-man 3s.PFV-die-REL
'l'homme <u>qui est mort</u>' ['The man <u>who died/is dead</u>.'] (2002:180)

Compare the construction without the relative: **o-gude ɔ-kpɛ** 'un homme est mort' ['A man is dead.']

In the following example, the relative marker causes the stem-final nasal to be geminated:

(5) **i-sεi-na-joŋŋ-ɔ**

E-cow E.IPFV-1sg.OBJ-look-REL 'la vache qui me regarde' ['The cow who is looking at me.'] (2002:182)

Generally, adverbs occur sentence-final, although some adverbial items show a certain amount of positional flexibility:

(6) **5-ria** k5-tɛŋ ka-nkoya
3s.PFV-take/eat KO-meat KA-morning
'il a mangé de la viande <u>ce matin</u>' ['He ate meat <u>this morning</u>.'] (2002:70)

***ɔ-ria** <u>ka-nkoya</u> kɔ-tɛɲ [* 'He ate this morning meat.'] (2002:70)

<u>ne-enon</u> e-nobo ɛ-ɛrɛm-e '<u>hier</u> il a plu' ['<u>Yesterday</u>, it rained.']

e-nobo ɛ-ɛrɛm-e ne-enon 'il a plu hier' ['It rained yesterday.'] (2002:69)

Depending on the type, questions may be morphologically unmarked (i.e., indistinguishable from assertive sentences), or may involve question particles such as the invariable, independent, pre-posed question particle **ade** (7a). *What*-questions use a post-posed particle (- \circ or - $\eta \circ$) (7b). Other types of *wh*-questions involve various types of post-posed question words (7c).

⁸ Although Heine (1976) identifies type B as the dominant typology of the Atlantic region, Bijago has several characteristics which seem more A- than B-like. Regrettably, many features of Bijago, such as the varying positions of the A markers vis-à-vis the verb, make it difficult to make a definitive judgment about headedness, a critical factor in making a judgment as to type. Heine considers the A type to have been original, with B a development away (ibid:61). See also Creissels (2000:250ff) on the basic word order types in Heine (1976).

- (7) a <u>ade Pedro ɔ-tupk-ak Antonio</u>? <u>`Est-ce que</u> Pedro a frappé Antonio?' [<u>`Did</u> Pedro hit Antonio?'] (2002:80)
 - b mi-ni 10 'qu-est-ce que tu bois?' ['What are you drinking?' Lit: 'You are drinking what?'] (2002:81)
 - c **m-ba-da** <u>ke</u>? '<u>quand</u> viendras-tu'? ['<u>When</u> will you come?'] (2002:80)

5.3 Verb structure

Bijago is an aspect-based language, based on a binary aspectual opposition (*accompli* (= PFV) vs. *inaccompli* (= IPFV)). A minimal Bijago verb consists of three obligatory elements: a subject marker (position 3 in template in example (8) below), a following or fused aspect marker (position 4 in template), and a verbal root (position 9 in the template). Using the first person singular as an example, these alternations may be briefly illustrated as follows:

ACCOMPLI (= PERFECTIVE)	INACCOMPLI (= IMPERFECTIVE)
J.Э-dЭ	p.i-do
1s.PFV-aller ['go']	1s.IPFV-aller ['go']
'j'ai marché'['I went']	'je vais'['I go/am going']
J.E-rɛsak	J.i-εs
1s.PFV-acheter ['buy']	1s.IPFV-balayer ['sweep']
'J'ai acheté'['I bought']	'je balaie' ['I sweep/am sweeping']
p.o-oka	ɲ.i-toj
1s.PFV-être assis ['be seated']	1s.IPFV-cuisiner ['cook']
'je me suis mis'['I sat/located myself']	'je cuis' ['I cook/am cooking']
J.a-da	p.i-da
1s.PFV-venir ['come']	1s.IPFV-venir ['come']
'je suis venu' ['I came']	'je viens' ['I come/am coming']

Segerer identifies 12 positions in the Bijago verbal structure (2002:269). As mentioned above, three of these positions are obligatory: position 3 (the class-person marker), position 4 (the aspectual marker) and position 9 (the verbal root). Positions 5, 6 and 7 cannot be occupied simultaneously. The general order in which the various morphemes may appear is as follows:

(8)	1	2	3.4	5	6	7	8	9	10 a,b,c,d	11	12
	(NEGS)	(FOC) SM.ASP	(A)	(A)	(A) ((OM)	ROOT	(EXT)	(A)	(REL)

At 1: At position 1, there are two possibilities:

- 1.1. The negative focus marker **nt**(**í**) (see also §5.4 on negatives):
- (9) nt-á-tí-da
 NEG-FOC-1p-venir ['come']
 'ce n'est pas nous qui venons' ['It is not we who come/are coming.'] (2002:264)
- 1.2. The negative marker **a** which appears only in the *inaccompli*:
- (10) a.mí-da
2s.IPFV-come
'tu viens'
['You come/are coming.']b.**a-**mí-da
NEG-2s.IPFV-come
'tu **ne** viens **pas**'
['You **are not** coming.'] (2002:243)
- At 2: At position 2, the focus marker **á** may appear (2002:266, 269):
- (11) nt-á-tí-da NEG-FOC-1p-venir ['come']
 'ce n'est pas nous qui venons' ['It is not we who come/are coming.'] (2002:264)
- At 3: At position 3, the obligatory subject marker (1s **n**-, 2s **m**-, (logophoric singular) **wa**-, 1p **t**-, 2p **n**-, (logophoric plural) **ba** or other class markers (illustrated below) appear (2002:29,30).
- (12) Pedro na Mario ya-do 'Pedro et Mario (ils) sont partis'['P. And M. have left.'] (2002:72)

e-we **ɛ**-kɛm-ɔk 'la chèvre (**elle**) est attachée' ['The goat (she) is tied up.'](2002:73)

At 4: Here appears the obligatory aspectual marker which Segerer describes as an aspectual marker combined with the subject marker ("marque aspectuelle amalgamée à l'indice sujet" (2002:30, 267)). The vowel of the *inaccompli* is always **i**; the vowel of the *accompli* is a copy of the (following) root vowel (2002:227), as in this chart from Segerer (2002:228):

(13)		1s	2s	1p	2p
	accompli	ŋV-	m (V)-	tV-	nV-
	inaccompli	ni-	m (i)-	ti-	ni-

The SM is first, with the ASP following and fused.

(14) IPFV **p.i-do** 1s.IPFV-go 'je vais'['I go/am going.'] PFV **p. o-do** 1s.PFV-go 'je suis allé' ['I went.']

At 5: Various aspectual morphemes may be located in this position, between the subject marker.aspect and the verbal root. There are four possibilities (2002:269):

- 5.1. **-ti-** NEG (as in 'not yet') (2002:258, 267)
- (15) o-do, n-tanki-ti-oda⁹
 O.PFV-go SV-NEG-NEG-come back
 'il est parti, et il n'est jamais revenu' (2002:267)
 ['He is/has gone, and he has not yet come back.']

5.2. -εN- 'already'. This morpheme is formally very similar to the suffix -εn# (see below). Despite its lack of overt aspectual marking, forms which bear this element are considered *accompli*, indicating an "over-and-done-with" action. It could be considered as a marker of perfect aspect: its presence may serve to disambiguate certain forms: thus **pi-ni** may mean either 'je bois' ['I drink/am drinking'] or 'j'ai bu' ['I drank/have drunk']¹⁰. **pi-εn-ni**, though, can *only* mean 'j'ai bu' ['drank/have drunk']. The nasal apparently geminates intervocalically:

(16) p-εn-ria 'j'ai (déjà) mangé' ['I have (already) eaten.']
 p-εmm-εs 'j'ai (déjà) balayé' ['I have (already) swept.'] (2002:249, 267)

5.3. -kV- 'consécutif'. This morpheme is used to indicate an action which happens after another and is somehow semantically related. It is used in a sequence of clauses with both similar and different subjects (unlike the sequential marker **n**- which is used for the same subjects of several actions. Note the similarity, both in form and meaning, to Bantu **ka**.

(17)	ə-rib-ik-an-amm-ε	n(a)	εno,	ր.၁ -k၁ -d၁
	3s.PFV-speak-PFV-APP-CPT-PFV[-i]	with	me	1s.PFV-CNS-go
	'Il m'a insulté, alors je suis parti' ['He ir	nsulted	me, th	en I left.'] (2002:251)

5.4. **N** 'passé neutre'. Since it is attested only with the *inaccompli*, it could be interpreted as an imperfective past or perhaps as a 'shifter', as its use locates the process prior to time of speaking. It is translated with French *imparfait*. All examples from Segerer (2002:241).

(18) a ŋu-te ŋu-n-got 'l'arbre brûlait, était en train de brûler'
 ['The tree was burning/was in the process of burning']

b	pi-εs 'je balaie'	['I sweep']	VS.	pi- mm-ε s 'je balayais'	['I was sweeping.']
С	yesterday 'hier tu ét	mi- ni -ma-marək 2s- PASN -still-be ais encore en colèr ay you were still ma	e contre	moi'	εηວ me

⁹ Note that the morpheme **-ti**- widely marks NEG in Niger Congo. The morpheme **-tankV-** (also exemplified below (example (22)), is possibly bi-morphemic (2003:257).

 $^{^{10}}$ The ambiguity springs from the vowel: the **i** could be marking *inaccompli* or, alternately, could be the vowel copy of the following root vowel, indicating *accompli*.

At 6: Various AM markers. There are three possibilities:

6.1. **-ba-** 'virtuel' (2002:247,248,267). This morpheme seems to produce a modal meaning in the PFV (19 a, b, c), but future reference in the IPFV (19 d, e).

- (19) a p.a-**ba**-da 1s.PFV-'virtuel'-come '**si** je viens'['**If** I come...']
 - b p-ba-εgεn-εn 3s.PFV-'virtuel'-know-past¹¹ 's'il avait su' ['If he had known....']
 - c e-we ε-ba-nka-da
 E-goat E-'virtuel'-NEG-come
 'si la chèvre ne vient pas' ['If the goat doesn't come...']
 [see §5.4 for -nka-, the negative used only in the *accompli*]
 - d p.i-**ba**-da 1s.IPFV-'virtuel'-come 'je viendr**ai**' ['I **will** come.']
 - e ε-man i-**ba**-arok E-rice E.IPFV-'virtuel'-be ripe 'le riz **sera** mûr' ['The rice **will** be ripe.']
- 6.2. -á-(or wá/áw) 'enfin' ['at last'] (2002:245).

(20)	a.	ka-joko ká-got b.	ka-j ɔ kɔ ka- wá -got	
		K-house K-burn	K-house K-'enfin'-burn	
		'la maison brûle'	'la maison brûle enfin '	
		['The house burns/is burning.']	['The house is burning at last	:.']

6.3. -ma(a)- 'encore' ['still' or 'again']. For semantic reasons, this occurs only with the *inaccompli*. The meaning is not an ongoing repetition of actions, but rather an ongoing state, or a state not achieved (2002:253, 254, 267). It could be analysed as a persistive aspect marker.

(21)	a	p.a-bak	ɛ-man	b	p.i- maa -bak	ɛ-man
		1s.PFV-have	E-rice		1s.IPFV-encore-have	E-rice
		ʻj'ai du riz'[ʻI	have rice']		'j'ai encore du riz' ['I	still have rice']

At 7: Various. Three possibilities which may combine in various ways (2002:266-269):

7.1. (n)kV- This marker is used to negate *accompli* forms. The vowel quality becomes that of

¹¹ See below for suffix **-en**. This suffix is always used with *accompli*, always with past value.

the following vowel. The morpheme bears stress:

(22)	a	ɲá-da 'je suis venu' (PFV)	b	na- ká- da 'je ne suis pas venu' (NEG PFV)
		['I came']		['I did not come']

- 7.2. -(n)tankV- 'même pas' (This is rare. It combines ASP and NEG. See also (15)).
- (23) p.o-ror-ak nu-mpɛs n-tanko-jon ŋɔ-g
 1s.PFV-find-PFT ŊO-money SV-même pas-see ŊO-it
 'je cherche (mon) argent mais je ne trouve pas'
 ['I am looking for (my) money, but I am not finding it'/'I have looked for money, but I have not found it.']

7.3. **-amma-** 'seulement' ['only'] (2002:247,267). This morpheme is always followed by some qualifying or validating condition: 'if you wish', 'next year', etc. The future meaning is not inherent in the **-amma-** morpheme, but results from the context which illuminates the particular circumstances under which the verbal action would be valid.

- (24) a w-**amma**-dɔ an bisaw ne-kena n-an ni-da 3s-**seulement**-go to B. NV-year NV-that NV.IPFV-come 'il ira à Bissau l'année prochaine' ['He will be at Bissau next year.']
 - b **Ji-amma**-da m-ba-dik 1s-seulement-come 2s.PFV-'virtuel'-wish 'je viendra si tu veux' ['I will come (only) if you wish/have wished.'] (2002:247)

At 8: Object. Generally, only 1^{st} and 2^{nd} person personal object markers may appear within the verb (located directly before the root). Only one may appear. Depending on whether the lexeme to which the pronoun refers is present or not, 3^{rd} person objects may be internal (-mo-) or external (**og**), as in examples (2) and (3). Morphemes which may appear before the root include - **na**- (1s OBJ), -**aN**- (2s OBJ), **antV-** (1p OBJ), -**annV-** (2p OBJ).

- (25) a **ɔ-na-**ɔt-ak 3s.PFV-**1s OBJ**-call-PFT 'il **m**'a appelé' ['He called/has called **me**.'] (2002:73)
 - b p.a-**an**-rεsεk-an mɔ-bε 1s.PFV-**2s OBJ**-buy-APP MO-plate 'j'ai acheté des assiettes pour **toi**' ['I bought **you** plates.'] (2002:254)

At 9: Verbal root.

At 10: Directly after the verbal root, several derivational suffixes can occur to form a verbal base. $-\mathbf{3k}$ or $-\mathbf{ak}$ are mutually exclusive, as are $-\mathbf{i}$, $-\mathbf{a}$, and $-\mathbf{am}$ – that is, only one may occur. Up to three of the following may occur in sequence (but not all four). They occur in this order:

(25)	9	10a	10b	10c	10d
	ROOT	- ɔ k			-i
			-at	-an	-a
		-ak/Vk			-am

-**ok** is a valence-reducing suffix ('middle'), according to Segerer etymologically from a verbal root -**ok** 'être là, se trouver, y avoir' ['be there, find oneself'] (2002:211,226). Its use focuses on the agent of the process (2002:225): **rat** 'hang' (transitive) > **rat-ok** 'hang (self)'/ 'be hanging' (intransitive/middle). Verbs derived using this suffix are generally statives or intransitives.

 $-\mathbf{ak} \sim -\mathbf{Vk}$ is a suffix which focuses on the result of a process. This morpheme has aspectual value, regularly indicating, either alone or in concert with aspectual marking on the SM, *accompli* (perfective or, perhaps, resultative perfect. I prefer the latter and have glossed this morpheme as PFT). See Segerer (2002:222) for details of how this suffix interacts with the aspectual marking on the SM.

(26)	n.i-kat	no-ogo	/	p.a-kat- ak		no-ogo
	1s.IPFV-throw	NV-stone	/	1s.PFV-throw	-PFT	NV-stone
	'je lance une pier	re'	/	'j'ai lancé une	e pierre'	(2002:222)
	['I throw/am thro	wing a stone.']	/	['I threw/have	thrown	a stone.']
	p.i-bit Lı	iis poŋ	/	p.i-bit -ak	Luis	poŋ
	p.i-bit Lu 1s.IPFV-ask Lu	1 0	/	p.i-bit -ak 1s.ask- PFT		poŋ bread
	J	is pain	 		Luis	bread

-at is an instrumental. An instrumental may also be formed analytically, using preposition ta 'with' (both possibly of identical origin (2002:226)). Consequently, the sentence 'The knife gets/is sharpened with a stone' may be expressed in the following ways:

(28)	a	NV-knife 'un coutea	n.i-dɛndɔk-at NV.IPFV-be sharpened-l u s'aiguise avec une pierre e is sharpened/gets sharpe	e'	
	b	NV-knife	n.i-dɛndɔk NV.IPFV-be sharpened u s'aiguise avec une pierr		

['The knife is sharpened/gets sharpened with a stone.']

-an is an applicative. Again, this morpheme is possibly ultimately from the same source as preposition an 'to', 'toward' (2002:226).

(29) p.a-an-rεsεk-an mɔ-bε
 1s.PFV-2sOBJ-buy-APP MO-plate
 'j'ai acheté des assiettes pour toi'['I (have) bought plates for you.'] (2002:254)

-i is a causative. For the source of this morpheme, see Segerer (2002:226):

(30)	rak 'dance'	>	rak-i 'make dance'
	pand-ok 'be heavy'	>	ɲand-ɔk-i 'make heavy'
	<pre>sot-ok 'be awake(ned)'</pre>	>	sot-ok-i 'wake s.o. up' (2002:217).

-a is a deictic-type directional suffix called *centripète* ('centripetal') (CTP) by Segerer. The meaning is motion toward something, or location nearby: **puk** 'enter' > **puk-a** 'enter (into something, as a house)'

-**am** is a directional suffix called *centrifuge* 'centrifugal' (CTF) by Segerer. It indicates motion away, or location at a distance. The following examples indicate the two directional affixes (for others, and other meanings, see Segerer (2002:213)).

(31)	a	oton 'arriver'	oton-a 'arriver (ici)'['arrive here'] oton-am 'arriver (là)'['arrive there']
	b	bit 'demander'	<pre>bit-a 'venir demander'['come to ask'] bit-am 'aller demander' ['go to ask]'</pre>

At 11: There are three possibilities at final (or, if relative -**o** appears, at penultimate): 1. perfective, marked by -**ɛ**; 2. imperfective, marked by -**i**; 3. -**ɛn** (the *passé révolu*) with past value (only with the *accompli* (2002:242)). I have analysed this as a marker of perfect aspect.

(32)	Imperfective (inaccompli) -i		i-booți i-tonț -i	'The dogs are jumping.'
	Perfective (accompli)	-е	i-booți i-tonț -ɛ	'The dogs jumped.'
	Perfect (accompli)	-8n	no-otak -en ŋokato	'I have scaled the fish.'

At 12: - **o** relativiser 'which', 'who', 'that' (2002:183).

(33) e-we i-ba-na-kpε-o uraane
 E-goat E.IPFV-virtuel-1sOBJ¹²-kill-which tomorrow
 'la chèvre que je vais tuer demain'['The goat will-I kill-which tomorrow']

5.4 Multiple verb constructions

These types of predication involve more than one verb. Only the first verb (in a string of a hypothetically unlimited number of verbs, all with the same subject) is inflected. Each following verb in the string bears the marker #n- to indicate its sequential status (=SV) and can take an object or other complement as required:

¹² Segerer notes that the subject of the subordinate clause is syntactically and morphologically marked as an object. For more on relative clauses and their syntactic and morphological particulars, see (2003:183ff).

(34) p.a-ţangok an nε-mεda n-dima
1s.PFV-stumble on NV-cord SV-fall
'j'ai trébuché sur la corde et je suis tombé'
['I stumbled over the cord (and I) fell down.'] (2002:271)

A second type of predication is like the first, but involves only two verbs, the second of which is regularly (always?) a stative ('be X'). As above, the inflection appears on the first verb, the sequential marker on the second.

- (35) a. p-εmm-odoŋ n-dubaŋ
 1s-PFT-do again SV-be sick
 'Je suis retombé malade' ['I fell sick again.'] (2002:272)
 - b. ε-man ε-de n-kpontok
 E-rice E-PFV- finish SV-be harvested
 'le riz est déjà récolté' (2002:273)
 ['The rice is /has already been harvested.']

The next examples involve essentially a main verb plus an infinitive. In the a. examples, there is a preposition, nearly always **ta** 'de' ['of', 'concerning', perhaps 'to'] between the two verbs. In the b. examples, the 'plain' infinitive (with class marker **1**)O) appears.

(36)	a	p.i-bojtan-do1s.IPFV-be abletoŊ-go'Je peux partir' ['I am able to go.'/ 'I can go.'] (2002:274)				
		i-ba-bajok ta (ŋ-)ɛrɛm				
		E.IPFV-'virtuel'-last to Ŋ-rain				
		'il va pleuvoir longtemps' ['It is going to rain for a long time.'] (2002:275)				
		ε-ntanke ε-deeni ta ŋ-dɔ				
		E-turtle E.PFV-do slowly to η -go				
		'la tortue va lentement' ['The turtle goes/is going slowly.'] (2002:31)				
	b	m.i-ani ŋɔ-kɛntɛ				
		2s.IPFV-know ŊO- trace/write				
		'tu sais écrire' ['You know (how) to write.'] (2002:278)				
		p.i-dik-ak ŋɔ-nakam eti ɛ-ara				
		1s-like-PFT ŊO-climb on palms				

5.5 Negatives

There are three, possibly four, negative morphemes in Bijago: 1. word-initial #a- used with imperfective (see also examples a. and b. in (9)), 2. -(n)kV- with perfective (see also example

'j'aime grimper au palmier' ['I like to climb palms.'] (2002:278)

(21)), 3. word initial **#nt**, the negator of focused constructions (as in (13)) and possibly, 4. -**ti**- as in (14).

(37) Negation of *inaccompli* (imperfective aspect)

ú-da 'he/she/it is coming' vs. **ɔ-da** 'he/she/it is not coming'(< **a-ú-da**)

The unspecified vowel of the morpheme that negates the *accompli* assumes the features of the following vowel. The optional nasal appears only if it is preceded by another verbal extension (in these examples, the morpheme **ba**-):

(38) Negation of *accompli* (perfective aspect) (2002:245)

a ɔ-ba-nka-da 3s.PFV-'virtuel'-NEG-come 's'il ne vient pas'['if he doesn't come']

b	ka-joko	ka-ba- nko- got
	Ka-house	KA-'virtuel'-NEG-burn
	'si la mais	on ne brûle pas ' ['if the house has n't caught fire/is n't on fire']

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