Auxiliary placement in Rangi: A case of contact-induced change?

Hannah Gibson
hcgibson@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The Tanzanian Bantu language Rangi exhibits a construction in which an auxiliary appears after a main verb. Not only is post-verbal auxiliary placement unusual within the context of East African Bantu languages, it also appears to contradict Greenberg's (1963:84) proposed universal that SVO languages exhibit auxiliary-verb order. It has been proposed that the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi is the result of sustained contact with neighbouring non-Bantu languages (Mous 2000; Nurse 2000; Stegen 2002; Dunham 2005). Alternatively, it has been suggested that this non-canonical constituent order is the result of internal developments, representing a process of grammaticalisation (Heine p.c. cited in Nurse (2000)).

This paper presents a diachronic account of auxiliary placement in Rangi, focusing on the infinitive-auxiliary order and the syntactic factors affecting its distribution within the clause. It then returns to the question that has arisen out of previous studies of Rangi: To what extent can the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi be considered the result of contact-induced change? This paper extends this question, asking what type of additional information would be required to confirm such an assertion.

Section 2 provides an overview of the encoding of tense and aspect information in Rangi, showing that such constructions standardly exhibit pre-verbal auxiliary placement. Section 3 presents the marked infinitive-auxiliary order found in the future tense. Section 4 focuses on the 'alternation contexts', those contexts in which the auxiliary appears pre-verbally despite also being associated with a future tense interpretation. Section 5 explores possible origins for the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi, whilst section 6 presents a summary and concluding remarks.

2. Tense and aspect in Rangi

Bantu languages have a rich verbal complex, typically containing a subject marker, a tense marker, an optional object marker and an obligatory verb stem. Subject markers and object markers cross-reference the arguments of the verb. With subject and object pro-drop commonplace across Bantu, the presence of an overt subject expression is typically pragmatically motivated.

The Rangi verbal system is constructed in the typical Bantu manner in which the verb is comprised of several elements, not all of which are necessarily present in a given verb form but which always appear in a fixed order (Meeussen 1967; Bearth 2003). The structure of the Rangi verb is shown in the template in Table 1 below.[1]

---

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this article: APPL=applicative, AUX=auxiliary, CAUS=causative, CONN=conjunction, COP=copula, DEM=demonstrative, FV=final vowel, INF=infinitive, LOC=locative, NEG=negative, OM-object marker, S=subject, SM=subject marker, PASS=passive, PAST1=recent past, PP=personal pronoun, PROG=progressive, PERF=perfect, PTV=perfective, Q=interrogative, REL=relative pronoun, SEP=seperative, TAM=tense-aspect-mood.

Table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
negative	subject prefix	TAM	OM/reflexive	verb root	extension	FV

Rangi employs both simple and complex verb forms to encode temporal and aspectual distinctions. Simple verb forms are comprised of a single verb that is inflected for tense and (optionally) aspect. This information is conveyed through a combination of morphological marking in the pre-stem position (slot 3 above) and/or the post-verb stem position (slot 7) and the associated tone pattern. For example, a present progressive event is marked by the present continuous prefix *-íyó-* and a high tone on the verb stem (1). The recent past is encoded through the prefix *á-*, a high tone on the verb stem and the suffix *-iré* (2) .

(1)   isikᵾ   íyó   íyó-tóót-y-a   i-rᵾsᵾ
       9.today 1a.mother SM1a.PROG-boil-CAUS-FV 5-home.brew
       'Today mother is boiling home brew'

(2)   nɨɨnɨ   n-á-wúr-iré   ma-taanga
       1ˢᵗsg.PP SM1ˢᵗsg-PAST1-buy-PERF 6-pumpkin
       'I bought a pumpkin'

Complex verbal constructions are comprised of an inflected auxiliary form and a main verb. The main verb may be inflected for subject information and tense and/or aspect, or alternatively, appear in the infinitival form. In these constructions, the auxiliary contributes temporal information. The main verb makes the lexico-semantic contribution to the clause and is responsible for the introduction of aspectual information. The auxiliary *-rɨ*, for example, is used to form the recent past perfective, where it is inflected for recent past tense by the prefix *áá-* and is followed by a verb inflected for past tense by the prefix *a-* and perfective aspect by the suffix *-ire*. In such instances the auxiliary precedes the main verb as in examples (3) and (4).

(3)   u-ra   mᵾ-gonjwa   áá-rɨ   a-a-kwíy-ire
       1-DEM   1-ill.person SM1.PAST1-AUX SM1-PAST1-die-PTV
       'That ill person has died'

(4)   n-áá-rɨ   n-a-téy-ire   mᵾ-teho w- áánɨ noo
       SM1ˢᵗsg-PAST-AUX SM 1ˢᵗsg-PAST-set-PTV 3-trap   3-my COP
       kwat-a   tumbiri
       catch-FV   10.monkey
       'I have set my traps to catch the monkeys'

The auxiliary *-íja* is also used in complex verbal constructions where it serves to introduce distant past tense. This can be seen in the distant past perfective (5) and the distant past habitual (6).

(5)   v-íja   v-a-dóm-ire
        SM2-AUX   SM2-PAST-go-PTV
        'They came'

(6)   Anna a-íja   á-súk-áa   ndihi
        Anna SM1-AUX   SM1.PAST2-plait-PAST.HAB   10.rope
        'Anna used to plait rope '

As these examples indicate, Rangi employs the Bantu-typical combination of simple and complex verb forms to encode tense and aspect. The forms and functions of these constructions are common across Bantu languages and have been noted widely (Nurse 2003:91; Henderson 2006). Simple verb forms comprise of a single verb which is inflected for subject information, tense and occasionally aspect. Complex verb forms are made up of an auxiliary that is inflected for subject information and which locates the utterances temporally. The auxiliary is also accompanied by a main verb which may also exhibit subject agreement and aspectual information. As the examples in this section demonstrate, the auxiliary typically precedes the main verb.

3. Infinitive-auxiliary order
In addition to the Bantu-typical *auxiliary-verb* order outlined in Section 2, Rangi also exhibits constructions in which the auxiliary appears post-verbally. It is this structure that causes Rangi to stand out from a comparative and typological perspective, which is the focus of the current paper. The infinitive-auxiliary order in Rangi is found in the immediate and general future tenses. Both of these tenses are formed using an auxiliary. The immediate future is formed using the auxiliary *-íise*, whilst the general future is formed using the auxiliary *-rɨ*. In both instances, the infinitive consistently appears before the auxiliary in declarative main clauses.

The immediate future is formed through a compound construction comprised of an inflected form of the auxiliary *-íise* and an infinitival verb. In such instances, the infinitive *-íise* precedes the infinitive (7). If the auxiliary appears before the infinitive, ungrammaticality results (8).

(7)   kw-ɨ-súm-ʉl-a   n-íise   ɨ-hɨ   mbʉ́ri   haaha
        INF-OM9-take-SEP-FV   SM1st sg-AUX   9-DEM   9.goat   now
        'I will take this goat now'

(8)   *n-íise   terek-a   chá-kʉrya
        SM1st sg-AUX   cook-FV   7-food
        'I will cook food'

In these constructions, subject pro-drop may occur (9) or an overt subject, which precedes the infinitive, may be present (10).

(9)   háánd-a n-íise   vi-ryo   ʉ-hʉ   mw-aáká
        plant-FV SM1st sg-AUX   8-millet   DEM-3   3-year
        'I will plant millet this year'

(10) nɨɨnɨ   dóm-a   n-íise   na   Dodoma   haaha
       1ˢᵗsg.PP go-FV   SM 1ˢᵗsg-AUX CONN Dodoma   now
       'I will go to Dodoma now'

The infinitive may appear with the infinitival class 15 prefix *kʉ-* (11) or it may appear in its prefixless form as a bare verb stem (12). The infinitive may also appear with a verbal extension such as the applicative suffix and may carry an object marker (13).

(11) suúsu   kʉ-nyw-a   tw-íise   ay-a   maaji
       1ˢᵗpl.PP INF-drink-FV SM1ˢᵗpl-AUX   6-DEM   6.water
       'We will drink this water'

(12) kán-y-a   n-íise   ʉ-hʉ   mʉ-ti
       fell-CAUS-FV SMsg-AUX   DEM-3   3-tree
       'I will fell this tree'

(13) kʉ-kʉ-térek-er-a   n-íise   chá-kʉrya
       INF-OM2ⁿᵈsg-cook-APPL-FV   SM1ₛₜsg-AUX   7-food
       'I will cook food for you'

The general future tense is formed by an infinitive followed by the auxiliary *-rɨ* . The auxiliary shows subject agreement but no other tense-aspect marking is present either on the auxiliary or on the verb. The construction may either have an overt subject expression (14) or exhibit subject pro-drop (15).

(14) mama   jót-a   á-rɨ   maaji   mpolɨ
       1.mother get.water-FV   SM1-AUX   6.water later
       'Mother will get water later'

(15) kʉ-chw-a   tú-rɨ   vi-ryo   vi-húm-irwe   kʉ-vir-w-a
       INF-harvest-FV SM1ˢᵗpl-AUX   8-millet 8-finish-PASS.PERF 15-ripe-PASS-FV
       'We will harvest the millet when it has finished ripening'

The infinitive may either appear in the prefixed form (16) or in the bare verb form (17).

(16) kw-ív-a   ndɨ-rɨ   i-chungwa
       INF-steal-FV SM1ˢᵗsg-AUX   5-orange
       'I will steal an orange'

(17) suúsu   tá-a   tú-rɨ   maaji   a-ha   kay-íi
       1ˢᵖl.PP   collect.water-FV SM1ˢᵗpl-AUX   6.water DEM-16   9.house-LOC
       'We will collect water at home'

To summarise, the immediate future tense in Rangi is formed using an infinitive and the auxiliary *-iise*. The general future tense is also formed using an infinitive but in conjunction with the auxiliary *-rɨ*. In both instances, the infinitive consistently appears before the auxiliary in declarative main clauses. If the auxiliary appears pre-verbally, ungrammaticality results. The infinitive may either appear with the class 15 prefix

marker *ku-* or in a bare form, it may carry an object marker and may host a valency-altering verbal extension suffix. This infinitive-auxiliary order is found only in the future tense. Other tense-aspect combinations that employ an auxiliary exhibit the more canonical auxiliary-verb order.

4. The alternation contexts

Declarative main clauses in the immediate and general future tenses exhibit infinitive-auxiliary order. In contrast, future tense constructions are associated with auxiliary-infinitive ordering in contexts where the future tense construction is:

   i) preceded by a *wh*-element,
   ii) part of *sí...tuku* sentential negation,
   iii) part of a relative clause,
   iv) part of a cleft construction, or
   v) preceded by *jooli* or *kooni*.

The preverbal placement of the auxiliary can be seen in the formation of the interrogatives in examples (18) and (19) below. If the infinitive appears before the auxiliary in a wh-interrogative clause, ungrammaticality results (20).

(18)   ani   á-ri   wúl-a   ma-papai   a-ya ?
       who   SM1-AUX   buy-FV   6-papaya   DEM-6
       'Who will buy these papayas?'

(19)   na nadi   tú-ri   pát-a   my-eekenye?
       when   SM1stpl-AUX   get-FV   4-sugar.cane
       'When will we get sugarcane?'

(20)   *na nadi chw-a   tú-ri   vi-ryo?
       when   harvest-FV   SM1stpl-AUX   8-millet
       'When will we harvest millet?'

In contrast to the examples above, if the future tense interrogative is a polar question, the infinitive-auxiliary order is found (21).

(21)   háánd-a   u-ri   ma-halaga   úu?
       plant-FV   SM2ndsg-AUX   6-beans   Q
       'Will you plant beans?'

Sentential negation, which is achieved through the use of the copula *sí* and the negative marker *tuku*, also exhibits auxiliary-infinitive order in the general future tense as in examples (22) and (23) below.

(22)   niini   sí   ndí-ri   dóm-a   na   Kondoa   tuku
       1stsg.PP   NEG   SM1stsg-AUX   go-FV   CONN Kondoa NEG
       'I will not go to Kondoa'

(23) ng'oombe sí jí-rɨ kʉ-nyw-a maaji y-óósi voo tʉkʉ
10.cows NEG 10-AUX INF-drink-FV 6.water 6-all all NEG
'The cows will not drink all of the water'

Relative clauses in the future tense also result in the auxiliary-infinitive order (24), as do cleft constructions introduced by the copula *nɨ* (25).

(24) kʉ-ʉntʉ kw-eene ndɨ-rɨ dóm-a
16-place 16-REL SM1ˢᵗsg-AUX go-FV
'The place where I will go…'

(25) nɨ na lʉ-ʉl-wíi ndɨ-rɨ dóm-a noó tem-a
COP CONN 11-moutain-LOC SM1ˢᵗsg-AUX go-FV COP chop-FV
inkwi
9.firewood
'It is to the mountain I am going in order to chop firewood'

Clauses introduced by the subordinators *jolɨ* 'how' and *koóni* 'if' also exhibit the auxiliary-infinitive order in the future tense as can be seen in examples (26) and (27) respectively.

(26) kʉ-wír-a ndɨ-rɨ jolɨ ú-rɨ rɨm-a ʉ-hʉ mw-ááka
OM2ⁿᵈsg-tell-FV SM1ˢᵗsg-AUX how SM2ⁿᵈsg-AUX farm-FV 3-DEM 3-year
'I will show you how you will farm this year'

(27) kʉ-ʉj-a á-rɨ koóni á-rɨ reet-a chá-kʉrya
INF-come-FV SM1-AUX if SM1-AUX bring-FV 7-food
'S/he will come if s/he brings food'

Affirmative declarative clauses in both the immediate future tense and the general future tense exhibit the infinitive-auxiliary order. However, this sub-section has shown that *wh*-interrogatives, instances of sentential negation, cleft constructions, relative and subordinate clauses all exhibit auxiliary-infinitive order despite being associated with a future tense interpretation.

5. Whence the infinitive-auxiliary order?
5.1 The region
Having presented the data showing auxiliary placement in Rangi, including the infinitive-auxiliary order, I now consider the origin of this marked construction. The Rift Valley area of central and northern Tanzania is unique in being the only area in Africa where languages from all four African language phyla are found (Heine and Nurse 2000). It is an area with a sustained history of language contact and has long been characterised by patterns of bi- and multi-lingualism as well as language shift between smaller and larger groups (Kiessling et al. 2007).

Rangi is the largest linguistic group in the Babati-Kondoa region, which is home to more than 40 languages (Grimes 2000; Dunham 2005). In addition to Rangi, the main languages represented in the Kondoa area are the Cushitic languages Iraqw, Burunge,

Gorowa and Alagwa, the Nilotic languages Datooga and Maasai, the Khoisan language Sandawe[2] and the Bantu languages Mbugwe, Gogo and Chaga (Grimes 2000).

Not only is Rangi spoken in an area of high linguistic diversity, the languages found come from different language families and represent different language types. This is reflected in the syntax of the clause, as well as in constituent order. In terms of basic word order for example, the Cushitic and Khoisan languages are SOV languages, the Bantu languages are typically SVO, whilst the Southern Nilotic language Datooga exhibits a predominantly VSO constituent order (Kiessling et al. 2007).

It has been proposed that the infinitive-auxiliary structure that is found in Rangi may be the result of contact-induced change (Mous 2000; Nurse 2000; Stegen 2002; Dunham 2005). Rangi has been in sustained contact with non-Bantu languages, primarily the Cushitic languages Iraqw, Burunge and Alagwa. A possible starting point for a contact-induced account of the origin of the infinitive-auxiliary order would therefore be to see whether there are similar structures in these languages. Burungwe, Alagwa, Iraqw and Gorowa all display OV characteristics in their syntax to some extent and exhibit the preverbal clitic cluster that is characteristic of the West Rift languages (Kiessling and Mous 2003; Kiessling et al. 2007).

The most common type of linguistic influence that results from language contact is lexical borrowing of words. This type of borrowing may occur in instances of casual, brief contact. However, other aspects of language structure are also subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right socio-linguistic conditions. It is generally thought that in order for heavy structural borrowing to occur, such as the transfer of major structural features and significant typological, sustained periods of contact at a high level are required.

Based on the assumption that the infinitive-auxiliary order is a non-Bantu feature, and with a number of possible contact languages identified, the following questions arise: Firstly, which of these languages may be an appropriate source for the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi? Secondly, what evidence would be needed to support such a hypothesis? Disregarding contact with other Bantu languages since the infinitive-auxiliary order is a non-Bantu feature, this paper continues with an exploration of these questions.

5.2 Iraqw as a source of borrowing?
Iraqw and Gorowa have a rigid SOV word order in which the verbal noun precedes the auxiliary. Of particular interest to the case of Rangi is a periphrastic future tense construction in Iraqw which exhibits the order *Verbal Noun-Auxiliary*. This construction employs the auxiliary *aw* 'go' and a verbal noun that assumes the role of object, expresses the event. This can be seen in (28) and (29) below (data from Mous 1993:267).

---

[2] There has been some debate about the nature of the relation between the Tanzanian languages Sandawe and Hadza, and the Khoisan languages of Southern Africa. For the purpose of the current study however, the genetic affiliation of Sandawe is not important, apart from it representing yet another language type present in the area.

(28) makay   i   ma'á   mahúngw   ay-á
     animals S.3 water:CON drinking:CON go:3-pl
     'The animals will drink water'

(29) matlo   atén a   gadyée-r   tleehhamá-r aw-aan-a-ká
     Tomorrow 1.PL S.1/2 work:CON-F   doing:CON-F go-1.pl-INF-NEG
     'Tomorrow we will not go to work'

The presence of such examples from Iraqw, may provide a possible source for the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi. Taking the Iraqw verbal noun to be analogous to the Rangi infinitive, this could be a possible origin for the external influence on Rangi. There is no evidence that either of the Rangi auxiliaries -íja (which is thought to be derived from the verb -ɨja 'come' (Stegen 2001) or -rɨ are borrowed from non-Bantu sources. As such, if the Rangi infinitive-auxiliary order is the result of contact-induced change, it is an example of borrowing in structure albeit without a borrowing of form.

Mous (personal correspondence) notes that Iraqw examples such as (28) and (29) above are somewhat 'marginal'. Whilst this does not preclude the possibility of them being the source of contact feature found in Rangi, the existence of these examples in Iraqw is not alone sufficient. If a contact-based account is pursued, it would be expected that further synchronic evidence may be able to support such an analysis. Indeed, here I present two potential contact features found in Rangi that may be the result of external influence on the language. Firstly, I discuss the distinction between inclusive and exclusive possession in the first person plural possessive pronouns. Secondly, I discuss clause-final negation achieved through the use of the negative particle tɨkɨ.

5.2 Inclusive/exclusive distinction
In Rangi, an inclusive/exclusive distinction is found in the first person plural possessive. Whilst this distinction is not marked on verb forms or in personal pronouns, it is encoded in the first person plural possessive pronouns: -iitu and -iiswɨ. The possessive pronoun -iitu has an exclusive meaning, and is used in instances in which the hearer is excluded from the possession (30).

(30) nɨɨnɨ   isikɨ   na-mɨ-kal-ir-y-e   taata   w-iitu
     1[st]sg.PP 9.today   SM1[st]sg-OM1-anger-APPL-cause-FV 1.grandfather 1-our
     'Today I angered our (not including you) grandfather'

In contrast, -iiswɨ encodes inclusive possession and is used where the item or entity is possessed by the hearer as well as the speaker. This can be seen in examples (31) and (32).

(31) kɨ-riro   ch-á mɨ-ndugu w-íiswɨ Kondoa
     7-death 7-of 1-relative 1-our   Kondoa
     'The death of our relative in Kondoa'

(32) v-oosí   v-á   eneo   r-íiswɨ
    2-elders 2-of 5.area   5-our
    'The elders of our area'

None of the other Bantu languages spoken in the area encode a clusivity distinction. However, Iraqw appears to belong to the group of African languages in which such a distinction is encoded (Filimonova 2008:173). Based on the assumption that the inclusive/exclusive distinction in Rangi is an innovation – with a non-Bantu source – Iraqw again seems a likely candidate for this possible instance of contact-based change. Moreover, it also appears to provide evidence of structural interference in Rangi, adding support to the possibility that the infinitive-auxiliary structure may also be the result of language contact.

5.3 Post-verbal negation
The second feature found in Rangi which appears to be the result of interference from non-Bantu languages, is the clause-final negation strategy involving *tɨkɨ*. The negative polarity item *tɨkɨ* also appears to be a good candidate for an example of contact-induced change – perhaps in terms of structure as well as form. The most common negation strategy in Rangi involves a combination of the negative marker *sí*, which appears before the verb, and the negative polarity item *tɨkɨ* which appears clause-finally. This strategy is used to negate the majority of tense-aspect combinations and can be seen in examples (33) and (34) below.

(33) sí   n-íyó-dóm-a   tɨkɨ
    NEG   SM1stSg-PROG-go-FV   NEG
    'I am not going'

(34) isikɨ   vi-viiswi   sí   v-ɨj-ire   tɨkɨ
    today   2-fellow.our   NEG   SM2-come-PTV   NEG
    'Today our friends did not come'

In the future tense, the negative polarity marker *tɨkɨ* also appears in a clause-final position, after both the auxiliary and the infinitive, as well as after the object argument when present (35).

(35) nkuku   sí   jí-rɨ   kɨ-tu-héer-a   mayi   tɨkɨ
    10.chicken NEG 10-AUX INF-OM1stpl-give-FV 6.eggs NEG
    'The chickens will not give us eggs'

The use of a post-verbal strategy for negation in Rangi is not in itself unusual.[3] However, it appears that *tɨkɨ* may be an example of lexical borrowing. Both Burunge and Alagwa have a post-verbal adverb, which is of a similar form. In Burunge it takes the form *tuku* 'entirely, wholly' whilst in Alagwa it is of the form *tuku* or *tuk* both of which mean 'all'. The Bantu language most closely related to Rangi – Mbugwe – also uses a negative polarity item *tɨkɨ*. However, in Mbugwe negation is achieved through the use of a negative prefix *te-* on the verb stem whilst the presence of *tɨkɨ* serves to

---

[3] Other Tanzanian Bantu languages that employ a post-verbal negation structure include Kuria (Cammenga 2004:223), Matuumbi (Odden 1996) and Ndengerekgo (Ström 2012.)

add emphasis to the negation (Vera Wilhemsen, p.c.). The presence of the adverb *maatʉkʉ* 'much, very' in Rangi therefore provides further support of an external source for *tʉkʉ*.

It could therefore be proposed that historically, negation was achieved through the use of the negative marker *sí* and that *tʉkʉ* was used to add emphasis, either by analogy with *maatʉkʉ*[4] or as the result of direct borrowing as *tʉkʉ*. Over time however, the presence of *tʉkʉ* became obligatory. Such a process was likely aided by the fact that the use of post-verbal negation is common in other languages in the area. However, the issue remains of whether this represents borrowing of a post-verbal negation strategy or of lexical borrowing.

5.4 Mbugwe: an additional "consideration"

The Bantu languages Mbugwe – also spoken in central Tanzania – is the language most closely related to Rangi. Mbugwe also exhibits the infinitive-auxiliary order in certain syntactic contexts albeit not in a single tense but in the present progressive, future, habitual and past imperfective constructions (Mous (2000; 2004) and Vera Wilhelmsen, p.c.). From a diachronic perspective, the observation that the infinitive-auxiliary order is also attested in Mbugwe gives rise to the question of whether the presence of the construction in both languages comes from a common Proto-Rangi-Mbugwe predecessor language.

If a contact-induced change account is pursued, it must be able to account for the infinitive-auxiliary order in both Rangi and Mbugwe. The related question is therefore whether the infinitive-auxiliary order in the predecessor language may have been the result of contact with Proto-West Rift, as proposed by Kiessling et al. (2007:220). An alternative proposal is that the presence of this construction in both Rangi and Mbugwe is the result of independent language contact in each instance, although perhaps with a common language.[5] Further examination of languages spoken in the area, particularly Mbugwe, may contribute to discussion on the origins of the infinitive-auxiliary constructions.

There are also two other East African Bantu languages that appear to exhibit the infinitive-auxiliary order. Gusii is spoken in Nyanza Province in Western Kenya and Kuria is spoken in the Mara region of Northern Tanzania. Since these languages remain under-documented, further data would be needed to establish the contexts in which the infinitive-auxiliary order is found. However, Cammenga (2002:501) notes that in Gusii a form of the auxiliary *re*, inflected for subject information is used '...with a focused or non-focused infinitive, in order to form a complex tense. Depending on the particular tense, it may precede or follow the infinitive.' The verb forms that appear to exhibit the infinitive-auxiliary order in Gusii are described as 'untimed fact/occasional habit', 'present continuous' and 'recent or far past continuous'. Further examination of these languages and the infinitive-auxiliary constructions found therein may prove

---

[4] The word *maatʉkʉ* 'very, too much' also presumably has a Cushitic origin with *maa* functioning as a consecutive conjunction in Iraqw, Alagwa and Burunge, combining with the negative *tʉkʉ*.
[5] The Rangi- and Mbugwe-speaking communities were previously neighbours. Today however, they are separated by speakers of the Cushitic language Gorowa (a dialect of Iraqw).

illuminating both from a comparative perspective and depending on the socio-linguistic contexts in which the language is spoken, in relation to the impact of language contact.

Haderman (1996) also notes that the infinitive-auxiliary order is attested in a number of Bantu languages from the Bantu zones B.40-B.50 and H.10-H.30, spoken in Gabon, the Republic of Congo, northern Angola and western Democratic Republic of Congo. Haderman (1996) argues however, that an important distinction can be made between those languages in which SOV order can be exploited for discourse-salient purposes – those of zones B.40-50 and H.10-H.30 – and those languages in which SVO order dominates in the majority of syntactic structures, except in highly restricted syntactic contexts, such as in Rangi (and possibly Gusii, Kuria and Mbugwe). However, the possibility of a subset of Bantu languages exhibiting the infinitive-auxiliary order may shed further light on the origins of the Rangi infinitive-auxiliary order and would also be of typological interest.

6. Concluding remarks

This paper has provided a synchronic account of auxiliary placement in Rangi, with a focus on the infinitive-auxiliary order found in the immediate future tense and general future tense. After having presented the verbal system and the encoding of tense and aspect through simple and complex verb forms, it provided an overview of the marker infinitive-auxiliary order. The alternation contexts – those syntactic conditions in which the auxiliary-infinitive order is found in the future tense – were presented in turn. It was shown that whilst declarative main clauses exhibit the non-canonical infinitive-auxiliary order, in *wh*-interrogative, sentential negation, cleft, subordinate and relative clauses, the order auxiliary-infinitive is found.

The paper discussed the possible origin for the infinitive-auxiliary order found in Rangi. There has been no suggestion that the form of the auxiliary (or the infinitive) is the result of lexical borrowing. Given that Rangi is spoken in an area of high linguistic diversity with a relatively large number of second-language speakers, language contact has been proposed as a possible source of the marked structure. Whilst there is a possible source for the borrowing of structure in the periphrastic future construction found in Iraqw, the paper turns instead to other evidence that exists – or might be desirable – to prove such a link.

Data were presented on the inclusive/exclusive distinction found in Rangi in the first person plural possession pronouns. This is an example of a distinction which is not typical for Bantu and one which is found in neighbouring Iraqw. The question of whether this is an example of contact-induced change of was therefore raised. The clause-final negation strategy involving the negative polarity item *tʉkʉ* was also identified as a possible example of a contact phenomenon found in Rangi, both from the perspective of the borrowing of a lexical item and perhaps also as a borrowing in structure. The Bantu language Mbugwe, which is closely related to Rangi was discussed. The presence of the infinitive-auxiliary order in Mbugwe adds to the picture. However, since the Rangi- and Mbugwe-speaking communities have a long historical connection, the subsequent question is whether the presence of this marked structure in both languages is the result of external change due to common contact language, or their

shared predecessor language, or alternatively an independent process of grammaticalisation in each instance.

Rangi is not alone in exhibiting the infinitive-auxiliary order. Rather it appears to belong to a small sub-set of Bantu languages in which this non-canonical constituent order is found. Undoubtedly, further study of the comparative situation and an examination of whether all instances of infinitive-auxiliary orders in Bantu languages can be considered to be contact induced, may prove illuminating. Additionally, knowledge of whether the alternation contexts are also found in Cushitic would provide further context for understanding the possible functional motivation behind the inverted order in Rangi.

In an area of both current and historical high linguistic diversity such as central Tanzania, it is just as likely that a feature be the result of internal change. But that process of grammaticalisation is just as likely to have been aided by external factors such as a language contact, as by an externally-influenced process that subsequently results in an internal change. Indeed, on the basis of current knowledge about Rangi and its neighbouring languages, this seems like a probable explanation. Whether the infinitive-auxiliary order is the result of language contact is not proved conclusively within this paper. What is clear however, is that the infinitive-auxiliary order should have a central place within a study of possible contact features in Rangi.

References
Bearth, Thomas (2003): 'Syntax'. In: Nurse, D. and G. Philippson (eds.): *The Bantu Languages*. Routledge, London. 121–142.
Cammenga, Jelle (2002): *Phonology and Morphology of Ekegusii: A Bantu language of Kenya*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln.
Cammenga, Jelle (2004): *Igikuri phonology and morphology: A Bantu language of South-West Kenya and North-West Tanzania.* Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln.
Dunham, Margaret (2005): *Eléments de description du language, langue Bantu F.33 de Tanzanie.* Peeters, Louvain-Paris-Dudley MA.
Greenberg, Joseph H. (1963): 'Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements'. In: Greenberg, J. H. (ed.) *Universals of Language*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. 73–113.
Meeuusen, Achille Emille (1967): 'Bantu grammatical reconstructions.' *Africana Linguistica* 3:79–121.
Dunham, Margaret (2005): *Eléments de description du langi, langue Bantu F.33 de Tanzanie.* Peeters, Louvain-Paris-Dudley MA.
Filimonova, Elena (ed.) (2008): *Clusivity*: Typology and case studies of the inclusive-exclusive distinction. John Benjamins. Amsterdam.
Grimes, Barbara (ed.) (2000): *Ethnologue (14th Edition)*. SIL International, Dallas.
Hadermann, Pascale (1996): 'Grammaticalisation de la structure infinitive+verbé conjuge dans quelques langues bantous.' *Studies in African Linguistics*. 25 (2): 155-169.
Heine, Bernd and Derek Nurse (eds.) (2000): *African Languages: An introduction.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Henderson, Brent (2006): *The syntax and typology of Bantu relative clauses*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. PhD thesis. Kiessling, Roland and

Maarten Mous (2003): *The lexical reconstruction of West-Reift   Southern Cushitic*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln.

Kiessling, Roland, Maarten Mous and Derek Nurse (2007): 'The Tanzanian Rift Valley area'. IN: Heine, B and D, Nurse (eds.): *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 186–227.

Mous, Maarten (1993): *A grammar of Iraqw*. Helmut Buske, Hamburg.

Mous, Maarten (2000): 'Counter-universal rise of infinitive-auxiliary order in Mbugwe (Tanzania, Bantu, F34).' In: Vossen, E. et al. (eds). *Mehr als nur Wörte…:afrikanistische Beiträge zum 65. Geburstage von Franz Rottland.* Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln. 469–481.

Mous, Maarten (2004): *A grammatical sketch of Mbugwe: Bantu F34, Tanzania.* Köppe Verlag, Köln.

Nurse, Derek (2003): 'Aspect and tense in Bantu languages'. In: Nurse, D. and G. Philippson(eds.): *The Bantu Languages*. Routledge, London. 90-102.

Odden, D. (1996): *The Phonology and Morphology of Kumatuumbi*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Stegen, Oliver (2001): *To be, or not to be: functions of copula and auxiliaries in Rangi*. Unpublished manuscript. SIL Tanzania.

Steeman, Sander (2011): *A grammar of Sandawe*: *A khoisan language of Tanzania*. LOT Publications. Utrecht.

Stegen, Oliver (2002): 'Derivation processes in Rangi.' *Studies in African Linguistics*. 31 (1/2): 129–153.

Ström, Eva-Marie (2012): 'Locative interrogatives as origin of the postverbal negative marker in Ndengeleko'. Presentation at WOCAL 7. Buéa.