Basic morphosyntax of verbal and non-verbal clauses in San-Maka

Le morphosyntaxe de base des phrases verbales et non-verbales en san-maka

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Elena Perekhvalskaya

1 This article presents an overview of the main verbal constructions of San-Maka, a Mande language of Burkina Faso. The article is structured as follows: the introduction provides general facts on San-Maka, its position in the San/Sane language cluster, and basic information on its phonetics and noun morphology. This is followed by a description of San verbal morphology and predicative constructions. In the final section, an overview of San-Maka non-verbal predications is given.

2 This article is based on language data gathered by the author during two field work sessions in Burkina Faso (2016, 2017), data from a published San-French dictionary (Boon en sewe) and Primer (Ka daa wo); as well as on works on San-Maka by Suzy Platiel (1974) and Moïse Paré (1998, 1999).

1. The San cluster

3 Southern San (San-Maka) is a language of the Eastern group of theMande language family. It belongs to a dialect / language cluster known as San or Samo. Sometimes the term Sanan is used which represents a plural form of San. According to the Ethnologue, there were 233,000 San speakers in 2009. This language is spoken almost exclusively in the provinces of Sourou (with the center in Tougan) and Nayala (with the center in Toma) in Burkina Faso.

4 The divisions within the cluster are subject to debate. The most popular proposal is a subdivision into three varieties: Maka in the South, Makya and Maya in the North.
northern region is smaller as well as much less homogenous from a linguistic point of view (Berthelette 2001: 5-7).

5 The names of the three varieties are based on the expression ‘I say’ in the respective varieties (Platiel 1974: 25). Traditionally in linguistic literature the northern varieties are referred to as Sane, with the term San designating the Southern dialect (see for example Vydrine, Bergman, Benjamin 2001), these labels were first proposed by André Prost (1981: 18). William Welmers (1958) expressed the idea that Northen and Southern San varieties are in fact different languages, as they are completely unintelligible, while Joseph Greenberg (1963: 8) apparently regarded all varieties of San as one language. The main difference of opinion on the subdivision of San concerns the opposition between southern and northern varieties, i.e. “the languages of Toma and Tougan”; they can be considered as one language (Greenberg), two dialects (Prost 1981) or three (Platiel 1974) of the same language, or as two different languages (Welmers 1958). Though Platiel refers to three dialects (Maka, Makya and Maya), she notes a clear cultural division, since « chacune de ces deux populations considère l’autre comme étrangère » (Platiel 1974: 25).

6 There is also debate concerning the names of these speech varieties. The San-French dictionary (Boon ën ëw ës.d., 4) mentions three dialects of San: Mà kaa (Maka), Mà tiaa (Makya) and Mà yaa (Maya). Southern San, which includes the variant of Toma, is defined there as Mà kaa. The two new unpublished dictionaries by SIL1 are titled: Guide d’orthographe san macaa and Guide d’orthographe san mayaa, where he Macaa dialect corresponds to the Mà tiaa dialect mentioned in the San-French dictionary2.

Fig. 1. San varieties (Vydrine, Bergman, Benjamin 2001)

Linguists working on the San language cluster agree that compared to the northern speech varieties, the Southern part is most homogenous. In the area of San-Maka (or San as opposed to Sane) there are only minor differences among varieties. The description of
nominal and verbal morphology by Moïse Paré (1998, 1999) was based on the Yaba variant of San-Maka, noting certain differences between Yaba and Toma varieties. Some of these differences are dealt with in this article.

The situation in the Northern area is more complicated. According to Erwin Ebermann, within Northern San four different “lects” can be distinguished. In addition to Maya (Ko on Ebermann’s map) and Makya (Ba on the map), Ebermann notes a transitional variety: To which is situated between the Makya and Maya zones as well as the Fo variety localized in the North-West Sourou province near the border with Mali (Ebermann n.d.). San literacy workers consulted on this subject are rather skeptical on the relevance of this subdivision and insist on the existence of only three “official” San varieties, although they do mention significant cultural distinctions in the area where Ebermann’s Fo variety is spoken.

Suzy Platiel (1974: 24) mentions four varieties (“parlers”) in the Makya zone: Daalo, Daale, Toa and Dya-kaso. Platiel and Ebermann agree that the Maya dialect on the North-East is quite homogenous. As for the Makya zone, it seems to be linguistically rather diverse including three or four different dialects.

Writing systems have been elaborated for three varieties: Maka, Maya and Makya. The written form of San-Maka is based on the variety spoken in Toma, the administrative centre of the Nayala province. In this paper, this will be the variety under study.

Table 1. Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i j</td>
<td>u y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-high</td>
<td>e g</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. General information on the language

2.1.1. Phonetics

The system of vowels in San-Maka is represented at the Table 1.

Comments:
1) Nasalization is a distinctive feature, oral phonemes /o/ and /ə/ have no nasal counterparts.
2) I regard “long vowels” as combinations of two identical vowels: *piː* ‘fonio’ ~ *piːː* ‘market’; *zuː* ‘reject’ ~ *zuːː* ‘husband’.
3) The phoneme /ŋ/ is classified as a vowel. Like other vowels, it is a tone-bearing unit.

### Table 2. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unvoiced stops (plosives)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g’</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unvoiced fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:
1) The palatal consonants /k’/ and /g’/ may be pronounced as affricates [ʧ] and [ʤ] or as palatals [k’] and [g’] respectively. Following San orthography, in this paper these sounds are spelled as *ki* and *gi*, therefore, *kio(ŋ)* ‘house’ may be pronounced as [k’o] or [ʧo].
2) The floating nasal element ŋ: some words in San Maka have a stem final nasal element, which is normally not pronounced. These are mainly nouns, and also several adjectives and adverbs; it is not characteristic for verbs.
3) Vowel harmony affects vowel height: within one phonetic word, vowels can be either all mid-open (ɔ, ɛ) or mid-closed (o, e).

An important phonetic feature in Maka that is unique among Mande languages is the existence of harmonic variants for two clitics and one bound morpheme. These are a copula of identification *nɛ* / *nɛt*, a postposition *nɛɔ* / *nɛɔt* ‘in, at’, and the allomorphs of the plural marker appearing after the (-ŋ) stems *-nì / -nɔ / -nɛ / -nɔt / -nà*. The distribution of the varians is shown in Table 3.
Table 3. Distribution of synharmonic varians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Copula of identification</th>
<th>Postposition ‘in’</th>
<th>Plural marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i, u</td>
<td>n̄i</td>
<td>n̄i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-high</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>n̄e</td>
<td>n̄e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-low</td>
<td>e, o</td>
<td>n̄e</td>
<td>n̄e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Examples. The copula of existence: Māā tásā n̄e. ‘It is my bowl’. Māā kīō(y) n̄e. ‘It is my house’. Māā būkūrū n̄i. ‘It is my machete’.

22 The postposition ‘in, at’: lāndā n̄e ‘in tradition’, nõ n̄e ‘in the stomach’, kīwā gōlē n̄e ‘in the city (lit.: in big village)’, wù bōsō n̄e ‘in the preparation of tò”; pīi nī ‘in the market’, wù nì ‘in tò’.

23 Plural marker: sāj-nā ‘the San people’, dō(ŋ)-n̄o ‘relatives’, mē(ŋ)-n̄e ‘certain (PL)’, kōō (ŋ)-n̄o ‘chickens’, kō(ŋ)-n̄o ‘calaos’, bāsākō(ŋ)-n̄o ‘morenga fruits’, mī(ŋ)-n̄i ‘people’.

2.1.2. Tonal system.

24 San-Maka is a tonal language with three level tones, designated, according to IPA, by acute, macron and gravis diacritics. Tones in San-Maka play a role in both the lexicon and grammar. There are minimal pairs confirming the lexical function of tones (bālā ‘individual field’ ~ bālī ‘stick’; pāgă ‘cheek’ ~ pāgă ‘force’) as well as their grammatical functions (e.g. in the verbal paradigm: ‘to come’ dāā, neutral form vs. dāā, perfective). In compound nouns, the tone of the second element is replaced by a higher one: n̄e ‘child’, lō ‘woman’ n̄e lō ‘daughter’. Tonal distinctions also mark other grammatical functions.

2.2. Noun

25 Nouns in San Maka may be divided into two classes: 1) those whose stems end with the floating nasal element y; 2) all other words. There are minimal and quasi minimal pairs: dā ‘fetish’ ~ da(ŋ) ‘limit’; dō ‘which also’ ~ dō(ŋ) ‘pot’; bāā(ŋ) ‘bird’ ~ bāā ‘run’ ~ bāā ‘place’ etc. The floating nasal element of an NP affects the form of certain grammatical elements, which follow it, such as the plural marker and certain predicative markers.

26 Depending on the structure of the possessive nominal constructions, nouns are divided into two classes: free (alienable) and relational (inalienable). In a possessive group, free
nouns require a possessive marker (possessive postposition) ă: Kōdĕ ā kīō(ŋ) ‘Kōdĕ’s house’. Relational nouns (terms for body parts, certain kinship terms) are used without this marker: Kōdĕ gōlojī ‘Kōdĕ’s elder brother’.

Plurality is consistently marked on NPs. The form of the plural marker depends on the type of the noun or adjective stem. Words with -ŋ stems form the plural with a high-tone suffix -nā/-nā/-nō/-nū. The vowel is chosen according to the final vowel of the noun stem (see table 3). Other words form plurals by adding the suffix -ŋ which carries a high tone if the stem has the structure CV; otherwise it acquires the tone of the previous syllable, cf. Table 4.

Table 4. The formation of noun plural in San-Maka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>sōŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>‘well’ (for water)</td>
<td>təŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sērē</td>
<td>‘ram’</td>
<td>sērēŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəmō</td>
<td>‘griot’</td>
<td>dəmōŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōō</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>tōōŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōō</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td>gōōŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōtōrō</td>
<td>‘cart’</td>
<td>wōtōrōŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kīō(ŋ)</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>kīōnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō(ŋ)</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
<td>gōŋnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māŋ</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
<td>māŋnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>kēŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>‘which also’</td>
<td>dōŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Personal pronouns

Table 5. Personal pronouns and forms fused with predicative markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affixed element</th>
<th>1 Sg</th>
<th>2 Sg</th>
<th>3 Sg</th>
<th>1 Pl</th>
<th>2 Pl</th>
<th>3 Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>māŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>wōŋ</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are six personal pronouns. Personal pronouns fuse with certain predicative markers and also with the possessive marker ā. Most of these forms can be easily decomposed: this is true for Emphatic, Imperfective habitual (with the exception of the 3 Pl form) and Imperfective negative forms.

29 Comments to the Table 5:

1) The forms are written in one or two words according to the orthographic tradition. Emphatic pronouns, which are predictable, could be written in two words if one postulates the existence of a determinant sē (which has a regular plural form séŋ).

2) Series 5-8 result from fusion of basic pronouns with predicative markers; together with corresponding verbal forms they constitute predicative constructions in the absence of a full-fledged subject.

3) The 3 Pl pronoun optionally forms a compound māŋ with the Imperfective habitual PM nō / ŋ. However, a non-fused variant ŋ nō is also attested in my data and also in written texts (Syllabaire 2003). The element mā is a competing 3 Pl form which appears also with the copula of identification (3 Pl form māŋ ‘with them’, where mā is a comitative preposition).

4) The Imperative is characterized by a special 2 Pl form with a low tone (kā) which is not used in prohibitive constructions where the mid-tone subject 2 Pl form is used (kā̄).

5) Possessive pronouns, which are used with free nouns, have special forms only for 1 Sg, 1 Pl and 2 Pl.

2.4. Word order

San Maka has a strict word order. Like other Mande languages, it has the following linear sequence of elements:

S PM (Aux) DO V IO

Order of elements in the genitive and possessive constructions is as follows:

Noun Modifier (Possessor) – modified (Possessee)

The order of the elements in an NP is:

Noun – Adj – Dem – Art – Num.
2.5. Adpositions

San-Maka uses postpositions, there is also one preposition: a comitative connector ká ‘with’ (used in combination with the postposition ne / ne / ni).

3. Verbs

The verb in San-Maka is defined as an open class of words, which alone can be the head of a clause and which form, alone or together with a predicative marker, constructions expressing aspect, tense, modality and polarity.

The verb is inflected for aspect and mood.

3.1. Verbal morphology

The morphological paradigm of a verb in San-Maka consists of three aspectual forms: neutral, perfective and imperfective. In non-indicative forms, aspectual meanings are not expressed, and the verb is represented by a neutral form. This form also appears in the negative perfective construction. The neutral form is used as the basic form in dictionaries and linguistic works.

Table 6. Sample verbal forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neutral form</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>bĩĩ</td>
<td>bĩĩ</td>
<td>bĩĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to come’</td>
<td>dãã</td>
<td>dãã</td>
<td>diê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to strike, to kill’</td>
<td>dê</td>
<td>dê</td>
<td>dià</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to send’</td>
<td>diã</td>
<td>dià</td>
<td>diê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to teach’</td>
<td>dórôô</td>
<td>dórôô</td>
<td>dórêê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to hide’</td>
<td>dürù</td>
<td>dürù</td>
<td>dürî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to stay’</td>
<td>gõõ</td>
<td>gõõ</td>
<td>gõõe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both perfective and imperfective forms seem to be derived from the non-finite verb forms (nominalizations or gerunds). Perfective forms historically seem to be formed with the help of a low tone suffix (or postposition); imperfective forms are formed through the addition of a suffix -e / -ɛ. The neutral form seems to be etymologically simple.

Perfective and imperfective forms have similar tonal behavior, while neutral forms raise the tone of the first syllable in the presence of a direct non-pronominal object. See the neutral form used in Imperative (1) and in Conjunctive (2) constructions.
‘(You, pl.) eat tô’.

‘You (sg.) ordered that Koodé would eat tô’.

The neutral form of the verb bi ‘to eat’ carries a mid tone, but with an overtly expressed direct object, the tone of the verb becomes high. This tone modification does not occur with the imperfective form of the same verb, which keeps its mid tone (3).

‘I eat tô’.

3.2. Predicative markers

Perfective and imperfective verb forms combine with predicative markers, some of which seem derived from corresponding copulas (see 5.2.).

Predicative markers form a separate word class in San-Maka. They occupy the position after the Subject NP.

Table 7. Predicative markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective affirmative</th>
<th>nô / high tone on the final vowel of the Subject NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective negative</td>
<td>nô/ ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective experiential</td>
<td>bȫ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective affirmative</td>
<td>nô / ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective affirmative “new information”</td>
<td>tá / á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective negative</td>
<td>bâ / ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective negative in dependent clauses, prohibitive</td>
<td>bâraŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comments:

1) Most of predicative markers in Maka are represented by two variants. The choice of the variant depends on the left phonological context. The full variant appears after -ŋ stems or after NPs in plural; the shorter variant is used in other cases.

2) Negative constructions are frames: they contain a negative particle wāŋ, which occupies the position at the end of the clause.

3.2.1. Perfective PMs

3.2.1.1. The perfective PM nə́

The perfective PM nə́ (affirmative polarity) can be realized as a tone raise on the final syllable of the Subject NP (see table 7). Cf. the NP bóé lè ‘this goat’ in the object (4) and in the subject (5) positions.

(4) Lɔ̄lɛ́bòé lɛ̀sā.
woman ART\PFV goat ART sell.PFV

‘The woman sold the goat’.

(5) Bòé lɛ́dā̀.
goat ART\PFV come.PFV

‘The goat came’.

3.2.1.2. The experientive perfective PM biŋ

The experientive perfective PM biŋ may be used in affirmative, interrogative and negative contexts. Affirmative and interrogative sentences require the perfective verb form (6-8); in negative contexts, the neutral verb form is used (9).

(6) Lɔ̄lɛ̀bîŋbòé sū.
woman ART PFV.EXP goat ART sell.PFV

‘The woman has already sold the goat (has the experience)’ (Paré 1998: 33).

(7) Lɔ̄lɛ̀bîŋdā̀ kānā.
woman ART PFV.EXP come.PFV here

‘The woman has already come here’ (Paré 1998: 33).
Have you ever seen a white person?'

'I have never drunk beer'.

M. Paré (1998: 36) singles out two different PMs, biŋ and biŋ in affirmative sentences, and biŋ...wā in negative sentences. My informants do not distinguish between these forms; probably this fact reflects the difference between Yaba and Toma variants.

In my data, a variant biŋ of this PM has been attested:

'I have never gone anywhere'.

3.2.1.3. Perfective negative PM nə / ø

Perfective negative PM nə / ø is represented by a null (11) unless it appears after a plural NP or one ending withŋ (12):
3.2.2. Imperfective PMs

There are two predicative markers of the affirmative polarity, which require the imperfective form of verb: \( \text{tá} / \text{á} \) and \( \text{nə̄} / \text{ŋ̄} \).

The interpretation of verbal structures with these PM has been a matter of discussion. Translations of individual sentences are often misleading as they allow different interpretations. Isolated phrases (e.g. proverbs) do not clear up the situation. Researchers of the San-Maka language, Suzy Platiel (1974) and Moïse Paré (1998), expressed different opinions about the meaning of these forms.

Platiel noted a similarity between San \( \text{tá} / \text{á} \) and \( \text{nə̄} / \text{ŋ̄} \) and Spanish copular verbs \text{ser} \ and \text{estar}. As a result, she attributed the same meanings to the San copulas: « \( \ldots /\text{ta}^{10} \)/ se traduit par "ser" ». Cette forme sera donc utilisée, de préférence à l’autre, toutes les fois que l’on souhaitera assérer une qualité, un état, un événement, ou une situation dont le caractère est considéré comme irrévocable, ou plus simplement, quand on ne souhaite pas mettre l’accent sur son aspect provisoire... Le prédicat de forme complète \( /\text{nə}/ \ldots \) par opposition au précédent correspondrait à “estar”; il situe l’événement en introduisant une notion de relativité à la fois temporelle et spatiale » (Platiel 1974: 570).

Thus, according to Platiel, the imperfective constructions of San-Maka are contrasted by the permanent or temporary characteristics of properties, qualities and situations. Unfortunately, Platiel does not provide convincing examples to prove her hypothesis. She wrote: « Dans tous les exemples cités ci-dessus, \( /\text{a}^{10} / \) pourrait être remplacé par \( /\text{t}^{10} / \); la traduction française ne pouvant pas rendre compte de la différence » (Platiel 1974: 570-571).

M. Paré proposed an aspectual interpretation for the opposition between the two quasi-synonymous constructions. He attributes the habitual meaning to the constructions with the PM \( \text{tá} / \text{á} \), and the progressive meaning to the constructions with the PM \( \text{nə} / \text{ŋ̄} \) (Paré 1998: 37, 47). However, further on (p. 61) he writes: “La valeur secondaire du prédicatif \( \text{ta}^{10} \) [...] est celle du progressif. Ici le procès en cours de réalisation au moment de l’énonciation... ”. At the same time, it is stated for the PM \( \text{ŋ̄} \) that: « En plus de sa valeur progressive, \( \text{ŋ̄} \) est aussi le prédicatif qui est utilisé pour relater une vérité ou une opinion » (Paré 1998: 63). Thus, there is an uncertainty in his distribution of aspectual meanings between both constructions: the progressive meaning is ascribed to constructions with both PMs; and both constructions express meanings, which belong to the habitual domain (« une vérité ou une opinion »).

Cf. examples with different PMs expressing the progressive aspectual meaning:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
\text{(13)} & L5-\text{ŋ} & \text{lē-ŋ} & \text{tá} & \text{bō} & \text{sīg} . \\
& \text{woman-PL} & \text{ART.PL} & \text{IPFV.NEW} & \text{goat} & \text{sell.IPFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

"Women are selling a goat (right now)".

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
\text{(14)} & Mā & \text{ŋ} & \text{wū} & \text{bū} & \text{sīsī} . \\
& 1SG & \text{IPFV} & \text{tō} & \text{eat-IPFV} & \text{now} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I am eating tô’.

In the following examples habitual actions (15-16) or “eternal truths” (17-18) are expressed by both constructions.

(15) \[ Lɔ̄lɛ̀bòéŋ. \]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{woman} & \text{ART} & \text{goat-PL} & \text{sell.PFV} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘The woman sells goats’.

(16) \[ ŋ̄támbịd̄ẹ. \]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{2SG} & \text{IPFV.NEW} & \text{water} & \text{run.PFV} & \text{know-IPFV} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘You can swim’.

(17) \[ Lɔ̄sʊ̄gʊ̄k̄̄. \]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{woman} & \text{good} & \text{IPFV} & \text{yard} & \text{put.IPV} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘A good woman takes care of her yard’ (Syllabaire 1: 16).

(18) \[ Lɛ̀gànịzịzị. \]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{mouth} & \text{IPFV.NEW} & \text{body} & \text{spoil.IPV} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘The mouth spoils the body’ (proverb “words may harm”).

My data show that these quasi-synonymous constructions encode different pragmatic intentions of the speaker. Constructions with nō / ẹ̄̄ point out at a “general state of affairs”; constructions with tā / ā encode information that is supposed to be new to the listener.\(^\text{11}\)

See the following examples:

(19) \[ Bōẹ̄sū̄. \]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{sheep} & \text{IPVF} & \text{grass} & \text{eat.IPV} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘A sheep eats grass’ (general information of the usual behavior of sheep).
'A sheep eats grass' (it is supposed that the listener is unaware of this fact).

(19) is the expression of a common fact, while (20) may be an answer to a question, for example, whether sheep eat grass.

Thus, the usage of nə/y/maŋ or tə/a shows the informational intention of the speaker: in (21) the information is an observation of a fact; in (22) it is supposed to be new to the listener.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(21)</th>
<th>ŋ̄ nə tɔɔ̃ŋ kũŋ bè ŋ̄ nə sɔ̃.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>IPFV animal-PL catch.IPFV when 3PL IPFV 3PL chew.NTR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'They attack the domestic animals and eat them' (Syllabaire 2: 19).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(22)</th>
<th>ŋ̄ tə ã̱̃ gĭ̃̃ kō̮̃̃ nɛ n̄̃̃ã̱̃ã̱̃-nə lə.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>IPFV.NEW 3SG egg give.IPFV child child-PL on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'They give its (hornbill’s) eggs to children' (Syllabaire 2: 13).

In (22) the phrase “anticipates” the question “And what do they do with the hornbill’s eggs?”

3.2.2.1. Imperfective PM nə / ŋ̄ (3 Pl maŋ)

The variant ŋ̄ acquires a low tone (ŋ̄) after a pronominal subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(23)</th>
<th>Mə ŋ̄ ɡiëlɪ màa Koôdɛ wù bî.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>IPFV look.for.IPFV that Koodé tô eat/H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I want Kodé to eat tô'.

This predicative marker of 3 PL is maŋ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(24)</th>
<th>Bâaŋ-nə maŋ sɔ̃ɛ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bird-PL</td>
<td>3PL.IPFV go.out.IPFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The birds come out'.

This form may substitute the pronominal subject of 3 Pers. Pl. pronoun:
'How do they prepare tô?'

As nə/ŋ expresses an already known information, it often encodes « eternal truths », habitual or iterative actions:

'Make people fight in the market' (and it is an ordinary thing).

The constructions with nə / ŋ may also point out the fact that information is known to the speaker from his personal experience:

'Breathing smoke provokes illness'.

Compare with the construction using tə / a, where the information is viewed as new:

'Breathing smoke provokes illness' (do you know that?).

### 3.2.2.2. Imperfective PM tə / a

Imperfective PM tə / a points to information that is new to the listener. In some instances, the difference in grammatical meanings of both constructions may be close to the sphere of evidentiality, cf.:

'I know that you go to the market'.
‘I know that you go to the market’ (in spite of the fact that you did not tell me).

3.2.2.3. Imperfective negative PM bā / ā

In the imperfective negative, the distinction between both affirmative imperfective constructions is neutralized; the only negative PM is bā/ā:

(30) Lɔ̀ bā lɛ̀bò̄ bṓ lɛ̀ sì̄ c̄ wā.

‘The woman is not selling the goat’.

It is also used in proverbs (31) and for negating habitual (32) actions.

(31) Gɔ́ bā wùsù̄ gɔ̄c̄ wā.

‘One hand does not gather the flour’ (a proverb) (Syllabaire 1: 34).

(32) Mā ā dɔ̄ḡ wā.

‘I don’t know’.

Negative constructions with bā / ā can negate prospective situations:

(33) Dīe nɛ̄? Mā ā p̄̄ l̄̄ n̄̄ wā.

‘Who is this? I won’t tell to anybody’.
3.2.2.4. The imperfective negative contrastive element biè

The imperfective negative contrastive element biè, according to Paré (1998), has the experiential meaning “I have never”; in my data it appears only in the sentences of identification (see 5.2.2).

3.2.3. Prohibitive PMs

Moïse Paré (1998: 53-54) mentions two prohibitive PMs: ŋa ... wā and bāry ... wā. According to his description, ŋa ... wā is used more often then bāry ... wā; at the same time, these PMs express different meanings: ŋa ... wā is the “negation of the imperative”, and bāry ... wā is the negation of “énoncés injonctifs”. In my materials (Toma variant) the PM bāry ... wā is the only construction available, both in prohibitive sentences (34-35) and with the negated dependent predication (36).

(34) ŋa bāry wā

2SG PROH enter NEG

‘Do not enter!’ (prohibition).

(35) Kā bāry pèrè mú mī wā

2PL PROH lake water drink/H NEG

‘Do not drink the water from a pond! (advice addressed to more than one person)’ (Syllabaire 2: 15).

(36) ŋa dōmā nē ŋa bāry dāgārē mī wā

2SG necessity ICOP 2SG NEG cigarette drink NEG

‘You should not smoke (lit. It is necessary that you would not smoke)’.

3.3. Auxiliaries

In San-Maka, there is a closed class of words, which occupy the third position in the clause, after the predicative marker and before the direct object in transitive clauses or before the verb in intransitive ones. These words will be referred to as “auxiliaries”. These are:

təŋ – Continuative marker (affirmative context)

tɔŋ – Continuative marker (negative context)

rē – Future marker
3.3.1. Continuative markers

M. Paré (1998: 44-45) distinguishes between three markers tɔ̀ (tɔ̀na), tɔ̀ and tɔŋ̄, which are used in different contexts: tɔ̀ (tɔ̀na) « indique l’aspect continuatif du procès exprimé et est traduisable en français par “toujours”, “encore” ou l’anglais “still” ». Tɔ̀ is used in negative clauses « pour signifier que le procès n’est pas encore effectif au moment de l’énonciation ». The auxiliary tɔŋ̄ « est utilisé pour marquer qu’un procès est postérieur à un autre procès ».

In my data, the distinction between these forms is only tonal. In affirmative clauses, the auxiliary tɔŋ̄ (mid tone) is used in combination with the imperfective PMs nɔ̄ / j̄ and ta / ā (37). The high-toned tɔŋ̄ is used as a discursive marker ‘then’ (38). The low-toned auxiliary tɔŋ̄ appears in negative clauses (39).

(37) Mā dìɛ-gû j̄ (ā) tɔŋ̄ dī jɛ̄.  
1SG younger-brother IPFV (IPFV.NEW) AUX work do.IPFV

(He has to stop working at a fixed time but) ’My younger brother is still working’.

(38) A kɔ̀ (lù, ā) tɔŋ̄ pɛ̀ nɛ̀.  
3SG.PRF give.PRF/L on/L 3SG.PRF AUX say.PRF in/L

’He gave it to him and said to him’.

(39) Mā tɔŋ̄ wɔ̀r̃ ē yɛ̄ wā.  
1SG not.yet money see/H NEG

’I haven’t obtained any money yet’.

M. Paré gives an example of the complex PM+AUX (bŋ̄ + tɔ̀) which expresses the experiential meaning:

(40) Mā bŋ̄ tɔ̀ wɔ̀ bŋ̄gã wā.  
1SG PFV.EXP not.yet go Abidjan NEG

’I have never been to Abidjan’.

3.3.2. The future auxiliary rē

The future auxiliary rē co-occurs with the Imperfective PMs ta / ā (affirmative) or bã / ā (negative):
‘This woman will enter the church’.

‘Boyo will not come’.

### 3.4. Auxiliary verbs

There are auxiliary verbs, which, from the syntactic point of view, behave as the verbal parts of the predicative constructions being heads of a verb chain. These are goõ (goõ, goõ) ‘to stay’, daa (daa, dié) ‘to come’ and baa (baa, bié) ‘to become’. They can also be used as ordinary verbs with their primary lexical meaning.

#### 3.4.1. goõ

Goõ (goõ, goõ) ‘to stay’ is used in order to shift the situation of a non-verbal sentence to past or future, thus the non-verbal sentence becomes a verbal one.

In verbal sentences, goõ is a marker of retrospective shift (which indicates that the action has lost its relevance):

‘Formerly I could write (and now I cannot any more)’.

#### 3.4.2. The imperfective form of the verb daa

The imperfective form of the verb daa ‘to come’ > dié is used to mark the immediate future; it co-occurs with the PM nõ / ŋ:

‘I am going to cut meat’.
3.4.3. The perfective form of the verb bāā

The perfective form of the verb bāā 'to become > bāā together with the future marker re expresses the avertive meaning (the action that “almost happened” or “nearly happened”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(45)</th>
<th>3SG.PRF</th>
<th>bāā</th>
<th>re</th>
<th>die-IPFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'He nearly died'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(46) Toetoa.PRF become.PRF FUT fall.IPFV yesterday road COMIT

motorcycle in

'Toetoa nearly fell down on the road with his motorcycle yesterday'.

4. The basic verbal constructions. Indicative

4.1. Affirmative Perfective

Affirmative Perfective PM nó / high tone on the Subject NP + perfective form of the verb

S nó/-H (DO) V.PFV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(47)</th>
<th>woman-PL</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>go.PFV</th>
<th>shea.nut</th>
<th>gather.IPFV</th>
<th>bush</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Women have gone to gather shea nuts in the bush'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(48)</th>
<th>child\PFV</th>
<th>pineapple</th>
<th>cut.PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘The child has cut a pineapple’.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. Negative Perfective

Negative Perfective PM nô / ə̄ / 0 + neutral form of the verb and the negative particle wâ at the end of the sentence

S nô / Ø (DO) V.NTR ... wâ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(49)</th>
<th>Mî(ŋ)</th>
<th>nô</th>
<th>då̄a</th>
<th>wâ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>AC.NEG</td>
<td>come.NTR</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Nobody has come'.

(50) À Ø séwô dô wâ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(50)</th>
<th>À</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>séwô</th>
<th>dô</th>
<th>wâ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>PFV.NEG</td>
<td>paper</td>
<td>know.NTR</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He has not learned to read and write' (lit.: he has not learned the paper).

4.3. Perfective experiential affirmative

Perfective experiential affirmative biŋ (bûni) + Perfective form of the verb, see examples (7-9):

S biŋ (DO) V.PFV

4.4. Perfective experientive negative

Perfective experientive negative biŋ (bûni) + neutral form of the verb and the negative particle wâ at the end of the sentence; see examples (10-11):

S biŋ (DO) V.NTR ... wâ

4.5. Imperfective Affirmative

Imperfective Affirmative PM nô / ŋ̄ / 0 + imperfective form of the verb:

S nô / ŋ̄ / mâng (DO) V.IPFV

These constructions are often used in proverbs and in the expressions of “eternal truth”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(51)</th>
<th>Lê-dênâã</th>
<th>â</th>
<th>sũi</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>bâã</th>
<th>sii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mouth-owner</td>
<td>POSS horse</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>take.IPFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The horse of a phrasemonger runs fast' (Syllabaire 2: 9).
4.6. Imperfective Affirmative (New Information)

**Imperfective Affirmative (New Information)** PM tá / á + imperfective form of the verb:

S tá / á (DO) V.IPFV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(52)</th>
<th>L₅-ŋ</th>
<th>tá</th>
<th>kọŋ</th>
<th>mű</th>
<th>ūg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woman-PL</td>
<td>IPFV.NEW</td>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>weave.IPFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Women are doing each other’s hair’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(53)</th>
<th>L₅-ŋ</th>
<th>b̀-ŋ</th>
<th>tá</th>
<th>diè.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woman-PL</td>
<td>ART-PL</td>
<td>IPFV.NEW</td>
<td>come.IPFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Women are coming’.

4.7. Imperfective Negative

**Imperfective negative** PM bà / à + imperfective form of the verb + particle wà:

S bà / à (DO) V.IPFV ... wà

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(54)</th>
<th>Mű</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>mąj</th>
<th>kọŋ</th>
<th>dąg̣</th>
<th>wà.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>IPFV.NEG</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>know.IPFV</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I know nothing’.

4.8. Future

Future marker rê (rê) with the imperfective New Information construction, see examples (41-42):

**Affirmative:**

S tá / á rê (DO) V.IPFV

**Negative:**

S bà / à rê (DO) V.IPFV ... wà


Non-verbal sentences in San-Maka are those which do not contain a verbal lexeme in the Neutral form or in the forms of Perfective or Imperfective. The bearers of predication are the copulas. The following elements are used as copulas:
1) copulas which are used as predicative markers (both polarities);
2) postpositional copulas: the copulas of existence and the copula of identification.

5.1. Copulas

Copulas etymologically seem to be the source for the imperfective predicative markers of both polarities; they coincide with the latter both in form and meaning. The copula nă / ŋ encodes the general state of affairs, and tă / ā point out at the new information:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{3PL COP NEW} & \text{market} & \text{in} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘They are now in the market (the answer to the question “Where are they?”)’.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{3PL COP} & \text{market} & \text{in.} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘They are in the market (state of affairs)’.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{door COP NEW} & \text{this open now} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘(Look), this door is now open’.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{door 3PL COP} & \text{open always} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘Doors are always open’.

In negative constructions bă / ā is used:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{woman ART COP NEG market in today NEG} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

‘The woman is not in the market’.
'The woman is never in the market'.

5.2. Postpositional copulas

5.2.1. The copula of identification

The copula of identification (positive polarity) \( n\breve{e} / \breve{n}\breve{e} / \breve{n}\breve{i} / \breve{m}\breve{an}\breve{e} \) occupies the final position in the clause; only the negation particle \( \breve{w}\breve{a} \) can be placed after it.

(60) \( Ki\breve{o}(g) \ n\breve{e}. \)

house ICOP

'This is a house'.

In Southern San, the copula of identification appears in three synharmonic variants depending on the quality of the preceding vowel (about the vowel harmony, see 2.1). The form of the 3 PL is \( \breve{m}\breve{an}\breve{e} \).

5.2.2. Negative contrastive copula of identification

Negative contrastive copula of identification \( \breve{b}\breve{e} (\breve{w}\breve{a}) \) denotes a negated participant when there is a choice between two possibilities:

(61) \( K\breve{o}\breve{o} \breve{b}\breve{e} \ w\breve{a}, \ g\breve{a} \ n\breve{e}. \)

hen ICOP.NEG NEG guinea.fowl ICOP

'It is not a hen, it is a guinea fowl'.

Like copula of identification \( \breve{n}\breve{e} / \breve{n}\breve{e} / \breve{n}\breve{i} \), it is used in cleft sentences:

(62) \( Kood\breve{e} \breve{b}\breve{e} \ \breve{a} \ y\breve{\partial} \ m\breve{i} \ w\breve{a}. \)

Kode ICOP.NEG 3SG.PRF beer drink NEG

'Kode, he did not drink beer (contrary to what was expected)'.

5.2.4. Copulas of existence

Copulas of existence \( \breve{t}\breve{a}\breve{y} \) (affirmative) and \( \breve{b}\breve{\breve{a}}\breve{\breve{a}}\breve{y} \) (negative) usually also occupy the final position in the clause (see (71) for an exception).
188 ‘God exists’.

189 ‘Boyo has no field (Boyo’s field does not exist)’.

5.2.3. Auxiliary verb ǧ̣ō in the copular function.

The auxiliary verb ǧ̣ō (see 3.4.1.) is used to shift a situation to the past or future:

191 ‘Bojo was (once) a field owner’.

192 ‘This large house was white’.

193 ‘The woman was not in the market’.

194 When the situation refers to the future, the imperfective form is used with the PM tá / á and the future marker rē (68) or nō / ŋ:

195 ‘This house will be white’.
The holiday will be tomorrow.

5.3. Types of non-verbal sentences

5.3.1. Constructions with one argument

5.3.1.1. Existential construction

Existential construction are formed with the copulas táŋ (affirmative) and bāŋbāŋ (negative).

(+ NP táŋ

(-) NP bāŋbāŋ ... (wā)

There are many dangerous wild animals'.

market COP.NEG village this-in NEG

There is no market in this village'.

5.3.1.2. Constructions of identification

Constructions of identification indicate an NP or names it. Affirmative and negative copulas of identification are used:

(+ NP nē / nē / nī / mànè

(-) NP bē wā

These are my children'.
5.3.2. Constructions with two arguments

5.3.2.1. Qualitative constructions attribute a quality to the NP

(+) NP tá / nǣiš Adj

(-) NP bā Adj wā

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(73) Diī</th>
<th>kēlē</th>
<th>lá</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>kākā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>climb</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>COP.NEW</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(74) Kiōŋ kē gɔ̀nɔŋ bā fū wā.

| house | this | body | COP.NEG | white | NEG |

(75) Māā gǐŋ nō màŋ sii.

| 1SG-POSS | dog | COP | thing | four |

(76) Būrkina Fāsò ā kīwi gōlē ŋ̄ kā Wādɔ́kɔ́ nɛ.

| Burkina | Faso | POSS | village | large | COP | COMIT | Ouaga | in |
b) Situational equativity. These constructions are similar in form and meaning to ascriptive ones. Copulas coincide with imperfective markers (both polarities). NP2 is followed by the postposition ɛ̄ā 'like, alike'.

(+) NP1 tá, (nā) NP2 ɛ̄ā

(-) NP1 bā NP2 ɛ̄ā wā

(77) Bálá lè ḍá là ɛ̄ā.

field ART COP.NEW profit EQUAT

(78) Bē tumāa ḋí ɛ̄ā.

this all COP work EQUAT

(79) Márti ḋā mā-ǎ nɛlò ɛ̄ā.

Martha COP 1SG-POSS daughter EQUAT

(80) Sálifù ḋā làŋdā-dɛnùu ɛ̄ā.

Salif COP tradition-owner EQUAT

(81) Bɔyó(y) bā fùjù ɛ̄ā wà.

Boyo COP.NEG blacksmith EQUAT NEG

5.3.2.4. Ascriptive constructions

Ascriptive constructions express the inclusion of the referent of a NP into a particular class. They use the copula nā and a postpositional group with ɛ̄ā.

(+) NP1 nā NP2 ɛ̄ā

(-) NP1 bā NP2 ɛ̄ā wā

Basic morphosyntax of verbal and non-verbal clauses in San-Maka
5.3.2.5. Construction of specification:

(+) NP1 nō ká NP2 ne

(-) NP1 bē ká NP2 ne wā

5.3.2.6. Locative constructions

Locative constructions code the location of the referent designated by the subject NP.

(+) NP1 tá, nō Loc

(-) NP1 bē Loc wā

Basic morphosyntax of verbal and non-verbal clauses in San-Maka

Mandenkan, 57 | 2017
5.3.2.7. Temporal constructions

Temporal constructions are variants of the locative type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(87)</th>
<th>ƥɔ́ŋ</th>
<th>kɛ̀</th>
<th>bʊ́</th>
<th>lɛ̀</th>
<th>bɔ́ɛ́</th>
<th>wā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>holiday</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>COP.NEG</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>return.NMLZ</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The festival will not take place next year'.

5.3.2.8. Possessive constructions

San Maka has two possessive constructions: a construction with the copula of existence (the type «Boyo’s father exists») and postpositional constructions ("locative" type). In this respect San-Maka is closer to the languages of the Southern Mande group (Fedotov, 2016). According to the classification of Leon Stassen (2009), these are “adnominal possessive constructions”, which he classified as an « additional type », in other words, as a typologically rather rare type of possessive constructions.

A) Adnominal possessive constructions in San-Maka are similar to existential structures (with the copulas of existence tāŋ (+) and bāŋbāŋ (-)):

(+) NP1 NP2 tāŋ
(-) NP1 NP2 bāŋbāŋ (wā)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(88)</th>
<th>ɓɔ́yọ(ŋ)</th>
<th>ɗá</th>
<th>kíọ(ŋ)</th>
<th>bāŋbāŋ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boyo</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>COP.NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Boyo has no house (lit. Boyo’s house does not exists)'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(89)</th>
<th>ɓɔ́yọ(ŋ)</th>
<th>ɗá</th>
<th>nɛɬṭ</th>
<th>pā́</th>
<th>tāŋ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boyo</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Boyo has two daughters'.

B) Postpositional constructions. According to Stassen’s classification, such structures are viewed as « locative » (locational). In San-Maka these constructions use:

1) the postposition ɫɔ́ŋ which is not etymologized on the synchronic level;
2) the postposition ɡɔ́ŋ which is derived from a noun meaning 'hand'.

Constructions with the postposition ɫɔ́ŋ :

(+) NP1 nā, tā NP2 ɫɔ́ŋ
(-) NP1 bā NP2 ɫɔ́ŋ wā
‘Boyo has a field’.

钱 COP 新 Boyo in possession

‘I have no money (on me)’.

钱 COP 否 1SG in possession 否

The adnominal possessive constructions express permanent possession and are used more often with the kinship terms or other objects of permanent possession (the possessor is a “legal” owner). Pospositional constructions with ㄌ the are used more often to indicate abstract possession; ㄍ co-occurs with more concrete items or designates a situational possession:

钱 否 1SG in possession 但 钱 COP 否 1SG

手 这里 否

‘I have money at home but I have no money on me here’.

The loss of the lexical meaning in the postposition ㄌ in San-Maka has led to the emergence of a new construction built according to the same model.

Constructions used in non-verbal sentences of Southern San are represented in Table 8.

Table 8. Constructions of non-verbal sentences of San-Maka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Predicative element</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tfoot (+), bʊŋbaŋ (-)</td>
<td>copulas of existence</td>
<td>existential, adnominal possessive constructions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in the Table 8, the most widely used constructions are structures with postpositions, which are, in fact, constructed by analogy with the locative construction.

6. Conclusion

The overview of verbal and non-verbal sentences in San-Maka shows that there is a parallelism between constructions of the imperfective zone: the imperfective predicative markers of both polarities are linked to the corresponding copulas; they coincide in form and express similar meanings.

Copulas which coincide with predicative markers:
• imperfective affirmative nɔ / ŋ /mąŋ;
• imperfective affirmative (new information) tą / à;
• imperfective negative bą / ä (wą).

There are also specific predicative markers which are not directly connected to any copula. These are:
— perfective affirmative nó / high tone on the final vowel of the Subject NP;
— perfective experientive bų́ŋ (wą);
— imperfective negative in dependant clauses, prohibitive bə́rą́ŋ (wą).

There are also specific copulas:

Copulas of identification:
• affirmative nɛ / nɛ́ /nɔ́ / mānɛ́;
• negative bi̊ (wū);

Copulas of existence:
• affirmative tāŋ;
• negative bāŋbāŋ.

There is certain parallelism in form and meaning between negative copulas and negative predicative markers (bā, bā̄ng, bā̀ngbāं). The affirmative copula of identification nē/ni̊ / ni̊/mānē seem to be etymologically connected to the imperfective copula nā̄ /̄/ māy. It is worth mentioning that a focus marker -ŋ29/ māy (3PL) seem to be related to the copula of identification.

For further research on the origin of these word classes of San-Maka, a comparison with data of other languages of the San cluster is necessary.

Abbreviations

| 1 – 1st person | N – noun |
| 2 – 2nd person | NEG – negation |
| 3 – 3rd person | NEW – new information |
| Adjective | NMLZ – nominalized form |
| Article | NTR – neutral form |
| Auxiliary | Num – numeral |
| COMIT – comitative | DO – direct object |
| COP – copula | IO – indirect object |
| Demonstrative | Pl – plural |
| EMPH – emphatic pronoun | PM – predicative marker |
| EQUAT – equative postposition | POSS – possessive preposition |
| EXP – experientive | PRF – perfective |
| FUT – future | PROH – prohibitive |
| H – high tone | PROX – proximate |
| ICOP – copula of identification | RECP – reciprocal |
| IMP – imperative | S – subject |
| IPFV – imperfective | Sg – singular |

BIBLIOGRAPHY
NOTES

1. Each dictionary contains an orthographic guide and a text sample.
2. Macaa reflects the pronunciation [maʧa].
3. The purple points on the Ebermann’s map are Fula-speaking villages of the so-called rimaïbê, ethnic San-Maya who have switched to Fula.
4. In this article, vocalic nasalization is marked with tilda below the letter.
5. The final ŋ designates the floating nasal element (see below).
6. In order to distinguish the floating nasal element from the final nasal vowel -ŋ, it is designated (ŋ) in brackets in this article.
7. The citation form of the verb is the Imperative which obscures the initial tone of transitive verbs, as in the presence of a non-pronominal direct object verbs raise their tones.
8. Tô is a very common dish in Burkina Faso, consisting of cooked millet or sorghum flour. It is served as a paste and is eaten with a sauce.
9. A variant mā is used in some varieties.
10. In Platiel’s work, /~/ is the sign designating the nasal vowel ģ.
11. This fact was mentioned by Paré (1998: 61), but he did not consider it the main distinctive feature.
12. According to M. Paré (1998: 63), constructions with the PM bē encode “progressif négatif” and “indique que le process n’est pas en cours de réalisation.”
13. A pronominal object (indirect or direct inanimate) of the 3Sg is usually omitted; in this case the subsequent postposition or verb acquire a low tone.
14. Comment of an activist of the San literacy company: “It often happens”.
15. M. Paré (1998: 41) considers the sequence bàrē to be an auxiliary but notes that the element rē is optional. In my data, only the variant with rē (bārē) is attested.
16. On the contrary, the periphrastic construction of the Immediate Future uses the PP ģ / nō with the imperfective form of the verb dāā ‘to come’, see ex. (44).
17. When used as copulas they are glossed as COP.
18. Constructions with different copulas (nō or tā) have different informational structure, see 3.2.2.
19. Usages of the postposition lēā in other functions are rare, e.g.: dāā sii dāā lēā zēnāā kōō gīl lēā ‘The fetish-maker made a fetish like an egg’.
20. The focus marker -g is a clitic.

ABSTRACTS

This article presents an overview of the basic verbal constructions of San-Maka, an East Mande language of Burkina Faso. The introduction provides general facts on San-Maka: its position in the San / Sane language cluster, basic information on its phonological (segmental and tonal) system. Information on noun and pronoun morphology is also given. The main part of the article deals with predicative constructions of San-Maka. The morphological paradigm of a verb in San-Maka consists of three aspectual forms: neutral, perfective and imperfective. Perfective and imperfective verb forms combine with predicative markers, some of which seem derived from copulas. The grammatical meaning of the existing predicative constructions is analyzed. It is shown that two imperfective constructions differ by their information structure and reflect different pragmatic intentions of the speaker. The final section represents an overview of San-Maka non-verbal predications. The Conclusion shows some similarities between grammatical words in San-Maka: certain copulas, predicative markers and the focus marker.

L’article présente un aperçu des constructions verbales de base en san-maka, une langue Mandé du Burkina Faso. L’introduction fournit des faits généraux sur le san-maka : sa position dans le groupe San-Sane, le système phonologique segmental et tonal, la morphologie des noms et des pronoms. La partie principale de l’article traite des constructions prédicatives de san-maka. Le paradigme morphologique du verbe se compose de trois formes aspectuelles : neutre, perfective (accomplie) et imperfective (inaccomplie). Les formes accomplie et inaccomplie se combinent avec des marqueurs prédicatifs, dont certains semblent être dérivés des copules. Les valeurs grammaticales des constructions prédicatives sont analysées. Il est montré que les deux constructions imperfectives disponibles en san-maka diffèrent par leurs structures d’information et par les intentions pragmatiques du locuteur. La section finale traite des prédications non-
verbales. Dans la conclusion, des similitudes entre certains mots grammaticaux (copules, marqueurs prédicatifs, la marque de focalisation) sont discutées.

В статье представлен обзор основных предикативных конструкций в сан-мака, языке восточной группы семьи манде, распространенном в Буркине-Фасо. Введение содержит общие сведения о языке: его положение в языковом кластере сан—сана, информация о фонологической и тональной системах данного языка. Далее приводится базовые данные о морфологии существительного и местоимения. Основная часть статьи посвящена анализу предикативных конструкций языка сан-мака. Морфологическая парадигма глагола в этом языке состоит из трех аспектуальных форм: нейтральной, перфективной и имперфективной. Перфективные и имперфективные формы сочетаются с предикативными показателями, некоторые из которых, по-видимому, восходят к соответствующим связкам. Дается анализ грамматической семантики имеющихся предикативных конструкций. Показано, что две синонимичные имперфективные конструкции различаются по информационной структуре и отражают прагматические намерения говорящего. Последний раздел посвящен обзору невербальных предикаций сан-мака. В заключении показано материальное сходство между некоторыми служебными словами: некоторыми связками, предикативными показателями и маркером фокуса.

INDEX

motsclersu языки манде, кластер сан, сан-мака, глагол, аспект, предикативные конструкции, неглагольная предикация, информационная структура

Mots-clés: mandé, san, san-maka, aspect, verbe, constructions prédicatives, prédication non-verbale, structure d’information

Keywords: Mande cluster, San, San-Maka, verb, aspect, predicative constructions, non-verbal predication, informational structure

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