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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 (*Boo nɛn sɛ́wɛ*) and Primer (*Ka daa wɔ*); 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. The

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 (*Boo nɛn sɛ́wɛ* s.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 SIL[1] 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 dictionary[2].

Fig. 1. San varieties (Vydrine, Bergman, Benjamin 2001)
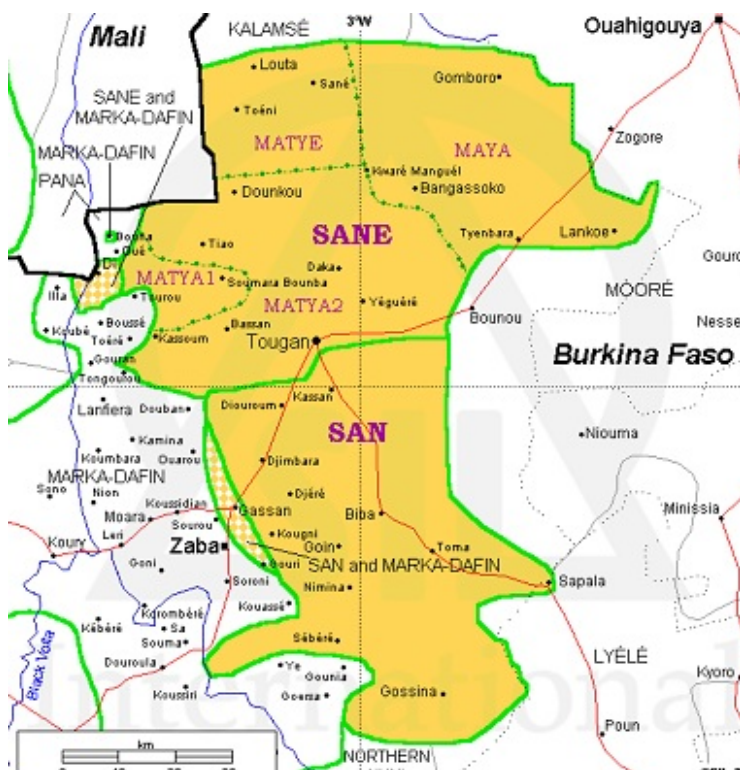
7   Linguists working on the San language cluster agree that compared to the northern speech varieties, the Southern part is most homogenous. In the area of San-Maka (or

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.

8 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.

Fig. 2 Northern San varieties according to Erwin Ebermann[3]
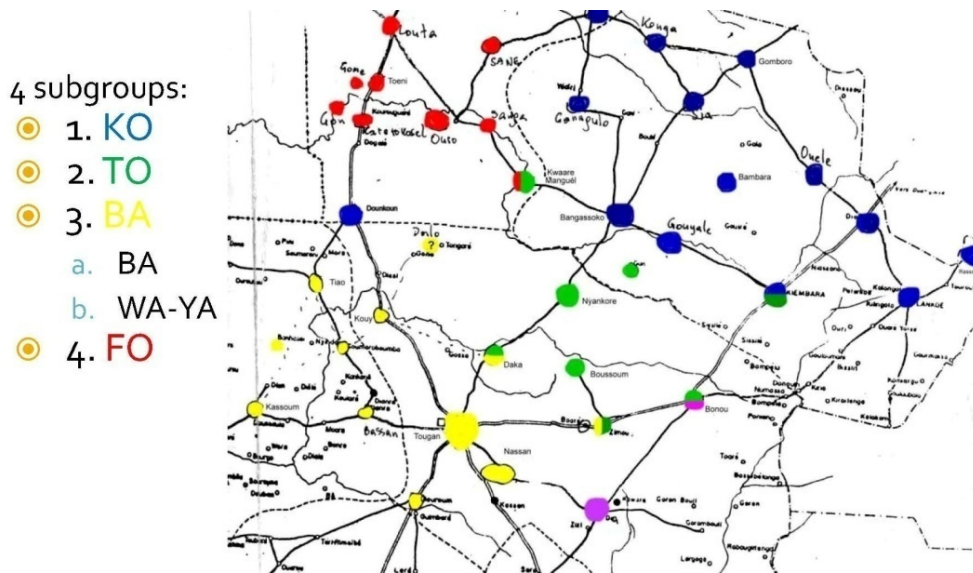
9 Suzy Platiel (1974: 24) mentions four varieties ("parlers") in the Makya zone: Daalo, Daale, Toa and Dya-kaso. Platiel and Ebermann agree that the Maya dialect on the North-East is quite homogenous. As for the Makya zone, it seems to be linguistically rather diverse including three or four different dialects.

10 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

	Front	Middle	Back
Closed		ŋ	
High	*i i̧*		*u u̧*
Mid-high	*e ȩ*	*ə*	*o*

Mid-low	ɛ ɛ̰		ɔ ɔ̰
Low		a a̰	

2. General information on the language

2.1.1. Phonetics

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

12 Comments:

13 1) Nasalization is a distinctive feature, oral phonemes /o/ and /ə/ have no nasal counterparts.[4]

14 2) I regard "long vowels" as combinations of two identical vowels: *pi⌣* 'fonio' ~ *pi⌣́i* 'market'; *zu⌣* 'reject' ~ *zúú* 'husband'.

15 3) The phoneme /ŋ/ is classified as a vowel. Like other vowels, it is a tone-bearing unit.

Table 2. Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Unvoiced stops (plosives)		p	t	k'	k	
Voiced stops		b	d	g'	g	
Unvoiced fricatives		f	s			h
Voiced fricatives			z			
Sonorants	Approximants	w	l	y		
	Vibrant		r			
	Nazals	m	n	ɲ		

16 Comments:

17 1) The palatal consonants /k'/ and /g'/ may be pronounced as affricates [t͡ʃ] and [d͡ʒ] or as palatals [k'] and [g'] respectively. Following San orthography, in this paper these sounds are spelled as *ki* and *gi*, therefore, *kio(ŋ)*[5] 'house' may be pronounced as [k'o] or [t͡ʃo].

18 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,[6] and also several adjectives and adverbs; it is not characteristic for verbs.

19 3) Vowel harmony affects vowel height: within one phonetic word, vowels can be either all mid-open (*ɔ, ɛ*) or mid-closed (*o, e*).

20 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 *nɛ̄ / nē / nī*, a postposition *nɛ⌣ / ne⌣ / ni⌣* 'in, at', and

the allomorphs of the plural marker appearing after the (-ŋ) stems   *-ńí /-nə /-*
nɛ́ /-nɔ́ /-ná. The distribution of the varians is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of synharmonic varians

		Copula of identification	Postposition 'in'	Plural marker
Left context				
High	*i, u*	*nī̄*	*ńí*	*ńí*
Mid-high	*e*	*nē̄*	*né*	*nə́*
	ə			
	o			
Mid-low	*ɛ, ɔ*			*nɛ́*
	ɔ	*nɛ̄*	*nɛ́*	*nɔ́*
Low	*a*			*ná*

21 Examples. The copula of existence: *Māā tásá nɛ̄.* 'It is my bowl'. *Māā kīō(ŋ) nē.* 'It is my house'. *Māā būūkūrù nī̄.* 'It is my machete'.

22 The postposition 'in, at': *làŋdā nɛ́* 'in tradition', *nɔ̀ nɛ́* 'in the stomach', *kíwí góĺé né* 'in the city (lit.: in big village)', *wù bósò né* 'in the preparation of tô'; *píí ńí* 'in the market', *wù ńí* 'in tô'.

23 Plural marker: *sāɲ́-ná* 'the San people', *dɔ̄ɔ̀̀(ŋ)-nɔ́* 'relatives', *mɛ̀(ŋ)-nɛ́* 'certain (PL)', *kōō(ŋ)-nə́* 'chickens', *kə́(ŋ)-nə́* 'calaos', *bāsā̧kóé(ŋ)-nə́* 'morenga fruits', *mī̄(ŋ)-ńí* '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 (*bálá* 'individual field' ~ *bàlà* 'stick'; *pàà̧* 'cheek ~ *pà̧á̧* 'force') as well as their grammatical functions (e.g. in the verbal paradigm: 'to come' *dāā*, neutral form vs. *dàà*, perfective). In compound nouns, the tone of the second element is replaced by a higher one: *nɛ̄* 'child', *lɔ̄* 'woman' 🔲 *nɛ̄ lɔ́* '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 ŋ; 2) all other words. There are minimal and quasi minimal pairs: *dā* 'fetish' ~ *daꙶ(ŋ)* 'limit'; *dɔ́* 'which also'~ *dɔ́(ŋ)* 'pot'; *bàá(ŋ)* 'bird'~ *bāā* 'run' ~ *bà̧á̧*

'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) *ā: Kōōdɛ́ ā kiō(ŋ)* 'Kodé's house'. Relational nouns (terms for body parts, certain kinship terms) are used without this marker: *Kōōdɛ́ gólóɡ́i̧í̧* 'Kodé's elder brother'.

27   Plurality   is   consistently   marked   on   NPs.   T he 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 *-ná/ -nǝ́/ -nɔ́/ -ní*. 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 prevous syllable, cf. Table 4.

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

Singular	Translation	Plural
sɔ́	'tooth'	*sɔ́ŋ́*
tù	'well' (for water)	*tùŋ́*
sèré	'ram'	*sèréŋ́*
dɔ̀mɔ̄	'griot'	*dɔ̀mɔ̄ŋ̄*
tóó	'ear'	*tóóŋ́*
gōò	'liver'	*gōòŋ̀*
wòtòró	'cart'	*wòtòróŋ́*
kiō(ŋ)	'house'	*kiōŋnǝ́*
gɔ́(ŋ)	'forest'	*gɔ́ŋnɔ́*
màŋ́	'thing'	*màŋ́ná*
kɛ̀	'this'	*kɛ̀ŋ́*
dɔ́	'which also'	*dɔ́ŋ́*

2.3. Personal pronouns

Table 5. Personal pronouns and forms fused with predicative markers

		Affixed element	1 Sg	2 Sg	3 Sg	1 Pl	2 Pl	3 Pl

1	Basic	-	mā	ŋ̄	à	wɔ	kā	ŋ̀
2	Imperative			ŋ̄			Kà	
3	Emphatic	sɛ́	māsɛ́	ŋ̄sɛ́	àsɛ́	wɔsɛ́ŋ́	kāsɛ́ŋ́	ŋ̀sɛ́ŋ́
4	Possessive	ā	māā	ŋ̄	à	wɔā (wā)	kāā	ŋ̀
5	Imperfective	nə̄ / ŋ̄	māŋ	ŋ̄ nə̄	àŋ	wɔŋ	kāŋ	màŋ̀ ŋ̀ nə̄
6	Imperfective new information	tá / á	máá	ŋ̄ tá	áá	wɔ́á	káá	ŋ̀ tá
7	Imperfective Negative	bā / ā	māā	ŋ̄ bā	àà	wɔ	kāā	ŋ̀ bā
8	Perfective	nə́ / high tone	má	ŋ́	á	wɔ́	ká	ŋ̀ nə́

28   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:

30   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 *sɛ́* (which has a regular plural form *sɛ́ŋ́*).

31   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.

32   3) The 3 Pl pronoun optionally forms a compound *màŋ̀* with the Imperfective habitual PM *nə̄ / ŋ̄*. However, a non-fused variant *ŋ̀ nə̄* is also attested in my data and also in written texts (Syllabaire 2003). The element *mà* is a competing 3 Pl form which appears also with the copula of identification (3 Pl form *mànɛ̄*) and with postpositions (e.g. *ká mànɛ́* 'with them', where *ká* is a comitative preposition).

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

34   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

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

36   S PM (Aux) DO V IO

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

38   Noun Modifier (Possessor) – modified (Possessee)

39   The order of the elements in an NP is:

40   Noun – Adj – Dem – Art – Num.

2.5. Adpositions

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

3. Verbs

42   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.

43   The verb is inflected for aspect and mood.

3.1. Verbal morphology

44   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.[7]

Table 6. Sample verbal forms

	Neutral form	Perfective	Imperfective
'to eat'	*bī̄i*	*bī̄i*	*bī̄i*
'to come'	*dā̄a*	*dā̄à*	*dīe*
'to strike, to kill'	*dɛ̄*	*dɛ̄*	*díi*
'to send'	*dī̄a*	*dìà*	*díɛ́*
'to teach'	*dórō̄o*	*dōròò*	*dōréè*
'to hide'	*dúrū*	*dūrù*	*dúrī*
'to stay'	*gǭ̱ā*	*gò̱ò̱à*	*gǭ̱ɛ̱*

45   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.

46 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.

(1)	*Kà*	*wù*	*bíí.*
	2PL.IMP	tô[8]	eat/H

47 '(You, pl.) eat tô'.

(2)	*Ǹ*	*pɛ̀*	*mà*	*Kōōdɛ́*	*wù*	*bíí.*
	2SG.PFV	say.PFV	that	Koode	tô	eat/H

48 'You (sg.) ordered that Koodé would eat tô'.

49 The neutral form of the verb *bīi* '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).

(3)	*Mā*	*ŋ̄*	*wù*	*bīī.*
	SG	IPFV	tô	eat.IPFV

50 'I eat tô'.

3.2. Predicative markers

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

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

Table 7. Predicative markers

Perfective affirmative	*nɘ́* /high tone on the final vowel of the Subject NP
Perfective negative	*nɘ̄/ ø*
Perfective experiential	*bīìŋ*
Imperfective affirmative	*nɘ̄ / ŋ̄*
Imperfective affirmative "new information"	*tá / á*

Imperfective negative	b̄ā / ā
Imperfective negative in dependent clauses, prohibitive	b̄āràŋ

53   Comments:

54   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.

55   2) Negative constructions are frames: they contain a negative particle *wā⁹*, which occupies the position at the end of the clause.

3.2.1. Perfective PMs

3.2.1.1. The perfective PM *nə́*

56   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 bòé lὲ 'this goat' in the object (4) and in the subject (5) positions.

(4)	Lɔ̄	lɛ́	bòé	lὲ	sā̰.
	woman	ART\PFV	goat	ART	sell.PFV

57   'The woman sold the goat'.

(5)	Bòé	lɛ́	dāà.
	goat	ART\PFV	come.PFV

58   'The goat came'.

3.2.1.2. The experientive perfective PM *b̄ìŋ*

59   The experientive perfective PM *b̄ìŋ* 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)	Lɔ̄	lὲ	b̄ìŋ	bòé	sā̰.
	woman	ART	PFV.EXP	goat	sell.PFV

60   'The woman has already sold the goat (has the experience)' (Paré 1998: 33).

(7)	*Lɔ̄*	*lɛ̀*	*b̄ìŋ*	*dāà*	*kānā.*
	woman	ART	PFV.EXP	come.PFV	here

61 'The woman has already come here' (Paré 1998: 33).

(8)	*Ῑ̄*	*b́ıŋ*	*nàŋsáárá*	*yɛ̄?*
	2SG	PFV.EXP	European	see.PFV

62 'Have you ever seen a white person?'

(9)	*Mā*	*b̄ìŋ*	*yɔ̄*	*mí*	*wā.*
	1SG	PFV.EXP	beer	drink.NTR/H	NEG

63 'I have never drunk beer'.

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

65 In my data, a variant *b̄ìnì* of this PM has been attested:

(10)	*Mā*	*b̄ìnì*	*zī̃ì*	*tɔ̄*	*wɔ́*	*wōō*	*b̀à̰á̰*	*kɔ́ŋ*	*nɛ̄*	*wà.*
	1SG	PFV.EXP	road	walk	do	go	place	any	in	NEG

66 'I have never gone anywhere'.

3.2.1.3. Perfective negative PM *nə̄* / ø

67 Perfective negative PM **nə̄ / ø** is represented by a null (11) unless it appers after a plural NP or one ending with-*ŋ* (12):

(11)	*Lɔ̄*	*g̰ò̰ā̰*	*píí-n*	*wā.*
	woman	remain	market-in	NEG

68 'A woman did not stay in the market'.

(12)	*M̄ì(ŋ)*	*nə̄*	*dāā*	*wā.*
	person	PRF.NEG	come	NEG

69   'Nobody has come'.

3.2.2. Imperfective PMs

70   There are two predicative markers of the affirmative polarity, which require the imperfective form of verb: *tá / á* and *nə̄ / ŋ̄.*

71   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 Moise Paré (1998), expressed different opinions about the meaning of these forms.

72   Platiel noted a similarity between San *tá / á* and *nə◌ / ŋ◌* and Spanish copular verbs *ser* and *estar*. As a result, she attributed the same meanings to the San copulas: « …/ta◌ / se traduit par "ser". Cette forme sera donc utilisée, de préférence à l'autre, toutes les fois que l'on souhaitera asserter 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 /nɛ̄/ […] 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, /a◌/ pourrait être remplacé par /˜/[10]; la traduction française ne pouvant pas rendre compte de la différence » (Platiel 1974: 570-571).

73   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 *tá/á*, and the progressive meaning to the constructions with the PM *nə̄/ŋ̄* (Paré 1998: 37, 47). However, further on (p. 61) he writes: "La valeur secondaire du prédicatif *ta◌* […] 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 *ŋ̄* that : « En plus de sa valeur progressive, *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 »).

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

(13)	*Lɔ̄-ŋ̄*	*lɛ̀-ŋ̀*	**tá**	*bòé*	*s̄l̄ɛ̄.*
	woman-PL	ART.PL	IPFV.NEW	goat	sell.IPFV

75   'Women are selling a goat (right now)'.

(14)	*Mā*	**ŋ̄**	*wù*	*b̄l̄i*	*s̄ís̄ía.*

	1SG	IPFV	tô	eat-IPFV	now

76   'I am eating tô'.

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

(15)	*Lɔ̄*	*lɛ̀*	***ȳŋ***	*bòé-ŋ*	*sɪ̄ɛ̀.*
	woman	ART	IPFV	goat-PL	sell.PFV

78   'The woman sells goats'.

(16)	*ȳŋ*	***tá***	*mú*	*bīɛ̀*	*dɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀.*
	2SG	IPFV.NEW	water	run.PFV	know-IPFV

79   'You can swim'.

(17)	*Lɔ̄*	*sōŋbōrē*	***ȳŋ***	*sūmū*	*kóɛ̀.*
	woman	good	IPFV	yard	put.IPFV

80   'A good woman takes care of her yard' (Syllabaire 1: 16).

(18)	*Lɛ̄*	***á***	*gɔ̀nɔ́(ŋ)*	*zìzɪ́ɛ̀.*
	mouth	IPFV.NEW	body	spoil.IPFV

81   'The mouth spoils the body' (proverb "words may harm").

82   My data show that these quasi-synonymous constructions encode different pragmatic intentions of the speaker. Constructions with *nē̄ / ȳŋ* point out at a "general state of affairs"; constructions with *tá / á* encode information that is supposed to be new to the listener.[11]

83   See the following examples:

(19)	*Bòé*	*ȳŋ*	*būū*	*sɔ̄ɔ̀ɛ̀.*
	sheep	IPVF	grass	eat.IPFV

84   'A sheep eats grass' (general information of the usual behavior of sheep).

(20)	Bòé	tá	bǔū	sɔ̰̄ɛ̰̂.
	sheep	IPVF.NEW	grass	eat.IPFV

85 'A sheep eats grass' (it is supposed that the listener is unaware of this fact).

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

87 Thus, the usage of nə̄/ŋ̄/màŋ̀ or tá/á 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.

(21)	ŋ̀	nə̄	tɔ̀ɔ́-ŋ́	kúɨ́	bɛ̀	ŋ̀	nə̄	ŋ̀	sɔ̰̄.
	3PL	IPFV	animal-PL	catch.IPFV	when	3PL	IPFV	3PL	chew.NTR

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

(22)	ŋ̀	tá	à	gǐí	kōē	nɛ̄	ɲāāŋ-nā	lā.
	3PL	IPFV.NEW	3SG	egg	give.IPFV	child	child-PL	on

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

90 In (22) the phrase "anticipates" the question "And what do they do with the hornbill's eggs?"

3.2.2.1. Imperfective PM nə̄ / ŋ̄ (3 Pl màŋ̀)

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

(23)	Mā	ŋ̀	gíɛ́li	màá	Kōōdɛ́	wù	bíí.
	1SG	IPFV	look.for.IPFV	that	Koodé	tô	eat/H

92 'I want Kodé to eat tô'.

93 This predicative marker of 3 PL is màŋ̥:

(24)	Bàáŋ-nə́	màŋ̀	sòé.
	bird-PL	3PL.IPFV	go.out.IPFV

94 'The birds come out'.

95 This form may substitute the pronominal subject of 3 Pers. Pl. pronoun:

(25)	*Màǹ*	*wù*	*bósè*	*lɔ̄ŋ?*
	3PL.IPFV	tô	cook.IPFV	how

96   'How do they prepare tô?'

97   As *nə̄/ŋ̄* expresses an already known information, it often encodes « eternal truths », habitual or iterative actions:

(26)	*Mī(ŋ)-nī*	*màǹ*	*kɔ́ŋ*	*ɗíí*	*píí*	*nī.*
	person-PL	IPFV.PL	RECP	kill.IPFV	market	in

98   'People fight in the market' (and it is an ordinary thing).

99   The constructions with *nə̄ / ŋ̄* may also point out the fact that information is known to the speaker from his personal experience:

(27)	*Tɛ́māā*	*míí*	**ŋ̄**	*búsú*	*ɗíɛ̀.*
	smoke	drink.NMLZ	IPFV	illness	put.IPFV

100   'Breathing smoke provokes illness'.

101   Compare with the construction using *tá / á*, where the information is viewed as new:

(28)	*Tɛ́māā*	*míí*	**á**	*búsú*	*ɗíɛ̀.*
	smoke	drink.NMLZ	IPFV.NEW	illness	put.IPFV

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

3.2.2.2. Imperfective PM **tá / á**

103   Imperfective PM **tá / á** 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.:

(29a)	*Mā*	*ta*	*dōé̠*	*mà*	*ŋ*	*wóó*	*píí*	*nī.*
	1SG	IPFV.NEW	know.IPFV	that	2SG	go	market	in

104   'I know that you go to the market'.

(29b)	Mā	nə̄	dǭ̰ɛ̰́		mà	ŋ̄	wóó	pʰíi	ní.
	1SG	IPFV	know.IPFV	that	2SG	go	market	in

105 '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

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

(30)	Lɔ̄	lɛ̀	bā	bòé	lɛ̀	s̰ɪ̰ɛ̰̄	wā.
	woman	ART	IPFV.NEG	goat	ART	sell.IPFV	NEG

107 'The woman is not selling the goat'.

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

(31)	Gɔ̄ŋ	góōŋ	bā	wùsú	góɛ̀	wà.
	hand	one	IPFV.NEG	flour	gather.IPFV	NEG

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

(32)	Mā	ā	dɔ̰̀ɛ̰̄	wā.
	1SG	IPFV.NEG	know.IPFV	NEG

110 'I don't know'.

111 Negative constructions with bā / ā can negate prospective situations:

(33)	Díé	nē?	Mā	ā	pʰī̄ī	nì	wā.
	who	ICOP	1SG	IPFV.NEG	say.IPFV	in/L	NEG

112 'Who is this? I won't tell to anybody'.

3.2.2.4. The imperfective negative contrastive element b̄ɪ̄ē

113 The imperfective negative contrastive element **b̄ɪ̄ē,** according to Paré (1998), has the experiential meaning "I have never"; in my data it appears only in the sentences of identification[12] (see 5.2.2).

3.2.3. Prohibitive PMs

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

(34)	*Ȳ*	*bāràŋ*	*wɔ́*	*wā.*
	2SG	PROH	enter	NEG

115   'Do not enter!' (prohibition).

(35)	*Kā*	*bāràŋ*	*pèrɛ̄*	*mú*	*mí*	*wā.*
	2PL	PROH	lake	water	drink/H	NEG

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

(36)	*Ȳ*	*dōāmáá*	*nɛ̄*	*ȳ*	*bāràŋ*	*sīgārɛ̄ti*	*mī*	*wā.*
	2SG	necessity	ICOP	2SG	NEG	cigarette	drink	NEG

117   'You should not smoke (lit. It is necessary that you would not smoke)'.

3.3. Auxiliaries

118   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:

119   *tɔ́ŋ* – Continuative marker (affirmative context)

120   *tɔ̀ŋ* – Continuative marker (negative context)

121   *rē* – Future marker

3.3.1. Continuative markers

122   M. Paré (1998: 44-45) distinguishes between three markers *tɔ̰̄* (*tɔ̄nà*), *tɔ̰̀* and *tɔ̄ŋ,* which are used in different contexts: *tɔ̰̄* (*tɔ̄nà*) « indique l'aspect continuatif du procès exprimé et est traduisable en français par "toujours", "encore" ou l'anglais "still" ». *Tɔ̰̀* is used in negative clauses « pour signifier que le procès n'est pas encore effectif au

moment de l'énonciation ». The auxiliary *tɔ̄ŋ* « est utilisé pour marquer qu'un procès est postérieur à un autre procès ».

123   In my data, the distinction between these forms is only tonal. In affirmative clauses, the auxiliary *tɔ̄ŋ* (mid tone) is used in combination with the imperfective PMs *nə̄ / ŋ̄* and *tá / á* (37). The high-toned *tɔ́ŋ* is used as a discursive marker 'then' (38). The low-toned auxiliary *tɔ̀ŋ* appears in negative clauses (39).

(37)	*Mā*	*d̪íɛ̰́-ḡ̰ṵ̄*		*ŋ̄*	*(á)*	*tɔ̄ŋ*	*d̪í*	*ɲɛ́.*
	1SG	younger-brother		IPFV	(IPFV.NEW)	AUX	work	do.IPFV

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

(38)	*Á*	*kɔ̀*	*là,*	*á*	*tɔ́ŋ*	*pɛ̀*	*nɛ̀.*[13]
	3SG.PRF	give.PRF/L	on/L	3SG.PRF	AUX	say.PRF	in/L

125   'He gave it to him and said to him'.

(39)	*Mā*	*tɔ̀ŋ*	*wɔ́rɔ́*	*yɛ́*	*wā.*
	1SG	not.yet	money	see/H	NEG

126   'I haven't obtained any money yet'.

127   M. Paré gives an example of the complex PM+AUX (*bḭ̄* + *tɔ̰̀*) which expresses the experiential meaning:

(40)	*Mā*	*bḭ̄*	*tɔ̰̀*	*wò*	*Bíg̰ḭ̄ā*	*wā.*
	1SG	PFV.EXP	not.yet	go	Abidjan	NEG

128   'I have never been to Abidjan'.

3.3.2. The future auxiliary *rē*

129   The future auxiliary *rē* co-occurs with the Imperfective PMs *tá / á* (affirmative) or *bā / ā* (negative):

(41)	*Lɔ̄*	*lɛ̀*	*á*	*rē*	*wé*	*Làwà*	*ā*	*kīō(ŋ).*
	woman	ART	IPFV.NEW	FUT	enter.IPFV	God	POSS	house

130   'This woman will enter the church'.

(42)	Bòyó(ŋ)	bā	rē	dìe	wā.
	Boyo	IPFV.NEG	FUT	come.IPFV	NEG

131   'Boyo will not come'.

3.4. Auxiliary verbs

132   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 *gō̱ā̱ (gō̱à̱, gō̱ɛ̱́)* 'to stay', *dāā (dāà, dīē)* 'to come' and *bāā (bāà, bīɛ̄)* 'to become'. They can also be used as ordinary verbs with their primary lexical meaning.

3.4.1. gō̱ā̱

133   *Gō̱ā̱ (gō̱à̱, gō̱ɛ̱́)* '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.

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

(43)	Lɛ́lɛ́	má	gō̱à̱	bōé	sɛ́wɔ̀	kĺɛ̱́	lā.
	before	1SG.PFV	stay.PFV	can.IPFV	paper	write	on

135   'Formerly I could write (and now I cannot any more)'.[14]

3.4.2. The imperfective form of the verb *dāā*

136   **The imperfective form of the verb *dāā*** 'to come' > *dīē* is used to mark the immediate future; it co-occurs with the PM *nə̄ / ̄ŋ*:

(44)	Mā	̀ŋ	dīē	sĩ̱̀	kúkúrì.
	1SG	IPFV	FUT.PROX	meat	slice.IPFV

137   'I am going to cut meat'.

3.4.3. The perfective form of the verb *bāā*

138   **The perfective form of the verb *bāā*** 'to become > *bāà* together with the future marker *rē* expresses the avertive meaning (the action that "almost happened" or "nearly happened").[15]

(45)	Á	bāà	rē	gĺɛ̱́.

	3SG.PRF	become.PRF	FUT	die-IPFV

139   'He nearly died'.

(46)	Tō̄ētóá	bāà	rē̄	mɛ̄nɛ̄ɛ̄	gúnúŋ	zī̄i	ká
	Toetoa.PRF	become.PRF	FUT	fall.IPFV	yesterday	road	COMIT
	mótó	né.					
	motorcycle	in					

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

4. The basic verbal constructions. Indicative

4.1. Affirmative Perfective

141   **Affirmative Perfective** PM *nə́* / high tone on the Subject NP + perfective form of the verb

142   S nə́/-H (DO) V.PFV

(47)	Lɔ́-ŋ	nə́	wōṑ	kòè	góɛ̀	dōŋ.
	woman-PL	PFV	go.PFV	shea.nut	gather.IPFV	bush

143   'Women have gone to gather shea nuts in the bush'.

(48)	Nɛ́	ànānáà	nà.
	child\PFV	pineapple	cut.PFV

144   'The child has cut a pineapple'.

4.2. Negative Perfective

145   **Negative Perfective** PM nə̄ / 0 + neutral form of the verb and the negative particle wā at the end of the sentence

146   S nə̄ / Ø (DO) V.NTR ... wā

(49)	Mî(ŋ)	nə̄	dāā	wā.
	person	AC.NEG	come.NTR	NEG

147 'Nobody has come'.

(50)	À	∅	sɛ́wɔ̀	dɔ̰̀	wā.
	3SG	PFV.NEG	paper	know.NTR	NEG

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

4.3. Perfective experiential affirmative

149 **Perfective experiential affirmative** *b̄ìŋ̀ (b̄ìnì)* + Perfective form of the verb, see examples (7-9):

150 S *b̄ìŋ̀* (DO) V.PFV

4.4. Perfective experientive negative

151 **Perfective experientive negative** *b̄ìŋ̀ (b̄ìnì)* + neutral form of the verb and the negative particle *wā* at the end of the sentence; see examples (10-11):

152 S *b̄ìŋ̀* (DO) V.NTR ... *wā*

4.5. Imperfective Affirmative

153 **Imperfective Affirmative** PM *nə̄ / ŋ̄* + imperfective form of the verb:

154 S *nə̄ / ŋ̄ /màŋ̀* (DO) V.IPFV

155 These constructions are often used in proverbs and in the expressions of "eternal truth":

(51)	*Lɛ̄-dɛ̄nāā*	*ā*	*sùí*	*ŋ*	*bāā*	*síí.*
	mouth-owner	POSS	horse	IPFV	run	take.IPFV

156 'The horse of a phrasemonger runs fast' (Syllabaire 2: 9).

4.6. Imperfective Affirmative (New Information)

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

158 S *tá / á* (DO) V.IPFV

(52)	*Lɔ̄-ŋ̄*	*tá*	*kɔ̀ŋ*	*m̀íí*	*t̰̀ɛ̰̄.*
	woman-PL	IPFV.NEW	RECP	head	weave.IPFV

159 'Women are doing each other's hair'.

(53)	*Lɔ̄-ŋ̄*	*lɛ̀-ŋ̀*	*tá*	*dīè.*
	woman-PL	ART-PL	IPFV.NEW	come.IPFV

160 'Women are coming'.

4.7. Imperfective negative

161 **Imperfective negative** PM *bā / ā* + imperfective form of the verb + particle *wā*:

162 S *bā / ā* (DO) V.IPFV … *wā*

(54)	*Mā*	*ā*	*màŋ́*	*kɔ́ŋ*	*dɔ̀ɛ̰̄*	*wā.*
	1SG	IPFV.NEG	thing	any	know.IPFV	NEG

163 'I know nothing'.

4.8. Future

164 Future marker *rē (rè)* with the imperfective New Information construction, [16] see examples (41-42):

165 Affirmative:

166 S *tá / á rē* (DO) V.IPFV

167 Negative:

168 S *bā / ā rē* (DO) V.IPFV … *wā*

5. Non-verbal sentences in San.

169 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:

170 1) copulas which are used as predicative markers (both polarities);

171 2) postpositional copulas: the copulas of existence and the copula of identification.

5.1. Copulas

172 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 *nə̄ / ŋ̄* encodes the general state of affairs, and *tá / á* point out at the new information:

(55)	Ŋ́	tá	píí	ní.
	3PL	COP.NEW[17]	market	in

173 'They are now in the market (the answer to the question "Where are they?")'.

(56)	Màŋ̀	píí	ní.
	3PL.COP	market	in.

174 'They are in the market (state of affairs)'.

(57)	Kiɛ́ŋlɛ́	kɛ̀	á	kóó	sísíà.
	door	this	COP.NEW	open	now

175 '(Look), this door is now open'.

(58)	Kiɛ́ŋlɛ́	màŋ̀	kóó	dúdúú.	
	door	3PL.COP	open	always	

176 'Doors are always open'.

177 In negative constructions *bā / ā* is used:

(59a)	Lɔ̄	lɛ̀	ā	píí	ní	sísíà	wā.
	woman	ART	COP.NEG	market	in	today	NEG

178 'The woman is not in the market'.

(59b)	Lɔ̄	lɛ̀	ā	píí	ní	dúdúú	wā.
	woman	ART	COP.NEG	market	in	always	NEG

179 'The woman is never in the market'.

5.2. Postpositional copulas

5.2.1. The copula of identification

180 **The copula of identification** (positive polarity) *nɛ̄ / nē / nī/ mànɛ̀* occupies the final position in the clause; only the negation particle *wā* can be placed after it.

(60)	*Kiō̄(ŋ)*	*nē.*
	house	ICOP

181 'This is a house'.

182 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 *mànɛ̀.*

5.2.2. Negative contrastive copula of identification

183 **Negative contrastive copula of identification *bī̄e (wā)*** denotes a negated participant when there is a choice between two possibilities:

(61)	*Kōō*	*bī̄e*	*wā,*	*gà*	*nɛ̄.*	
	hen	ICOP.NEG	NEG	guinea.fowl	ICOP	

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

185 Like copula of identification *nɛ̄ / nē / nī,* it is used in cleft sentences:

(62)	*Koodɛ́*	*bī̄e*	*á*	*yɔ̄*	*mí*	*wā.*	
	Kodé	ICOP.NEG	3SG.PRF	beer	drink	NEG	

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

5.2.4. Copulas of existence

187 **Copulas of existence *táȳ*** (affirmative) and *bāȳbāȳ* (negative) usually also occupy the final position in the clause (see (71) for an exception).

(63)	*Lāwà*	*táȳ.*
	God	COP

188 'God exists'.

(64)	*Bòyó(ŋ)*	*ā*	*wùrù*	*bāŋbāŋ.*	
	Boyo	POSS	field	COP.NEG	

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

5.2.3. Auxiliary verb *gǭā̰* in the copular function.

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

(65)	*Bòyó(ŋ*	*gǫ̀à̰*	*wùrù-dɛ̄nāā*	*lɛ̄ā̰.*
	Boyo/PFV	stay.PFV	field-owner	EQUAT

191   'Bojo was (once) a field owner'.

(66)	*Kiō̄ŋ*	*gólé*	*kɛ̀*	*gɔ̀nɔ́ŋ*	*nə̄*	*á*	*gǫ̀à̰*	*fú.*
	house	big	this	body	ICOP	3SG.PFV	stay.PFV	white

192   'This large house was white'.

(67)	*Lɔ̄*	*gǭā̰*	*píí-n*	*wā.*
	woman	stay.NTR	market-in	NEG

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 *nə̄ / ŋ̄*:

(68)	*Kiō̄ŋ*	*kɛ̀*	*gɔ̀nɔ́ŋ*	*tá*	*rē*	*gǫ̀ɛ̰̀*	*fú.*
	house	this	body	IPFV.NEW	FUT	stay.IPFV	white

195   'This house will be white'.

(69)	*Zɔ́ǹ*	*kɛ̀*	*ŋ̄*	*gǫ̀ɛ̰̀*	*bḭ̄ɛ̰̀.*
	holiday	this	COP.IPFV	stay.IPFV	tomorrow

196   '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

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

198 (+) NP *táŋ*

199 (-) NP *bāŋbāŋ ... (wā)*

(70)	Dōŋ	màŋ́	bābārāā	gíǵíá́	táŋ.
	savannah	thing	dangerous	much	COP

200 'There are many dangerous wild animals'.

(71)	Píí	bāŋbāŋ	kīwí	kɛ̀-n	wā.
	market	COP.NEG	village	this-in	NEG

201 'There is no market in this village'.

5.3.1.2. Constructions of identification

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

203 (+) NP *nɛ̄ / nē / nī/ mànɛ̀*

204 (-) NP *bīē wā*

(72)	Māsɛ́	ā̄	nɛ̄ɲāāŋ-nā	mànɛ̀.
	1SG.EMPH	POSS	child-PL	ICOP.3PL

205 'These are my children'.

5.3.2. Constructions with two arguments

5.3.2.1. Qualitative constructions *attribute a quality to the NP*

206 (+) NP *tá / nə̄*[18] Adj

207 (-) NP *bā* Adj *wā*

(73)	Dìì	kélè	lá	á	kākā.

	climb	mountain	on	COP.NEW	hard

208   'Climbing the mountain is hard'.

(74)	*Kīōŋ̄*	*kɛ̀*	*gɔ̀nɔ́ŋ*	*bā*	*fú*	*wà.*
	house	this	body	COP.NEG	white	NEG

209   'This house is not white'.

5.3.2.2. Quantificational constructions

210   Quantificational constructions are similar to the qualitative ones.

211   (+) NP *nə̄* Num

212   (-) NP *bā* Num *wā*

(75)	*Māā*	*gíŋ*	*nə̄*	*màŋ́*	*sīī.*
	1SG-POSS	dog	COP	thing	four

213   'My dogs are four' (where *màŋ́* is a classifier).

5.3.2.3. Equative constructions

214   Equative constructions state the identity of two NP. These constructions use the comitative group *ká … nɛ /ne /ni:*

215   a) Complete equative constructions state the identity of the two NPs.

216   (+) NP1 *nə̄ ká* NP2 *nɛ*

217   (-) NP *bā* NP2 *wā*

(76)	*Būrkíná*	*Fàsò*	*ā*	*kīwī*	*gōlé*	*ŋ̄*	*ká*	*Wɔ̀dɔ́ɔ́*	*nɛ́.*
	Burkina	Faso	POSS	village	large	COP	COMIT	Ouaga	in

218   'The capital of Burkina Faso is Ouagadougou'.

219   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 *lɛ̄ā* 'like, alike'.[19]

220   (+) NP1 *tá, (nə̄)* NP2 *lɛ̄ā*

221   (-) NP1 *bā* NP2 *lɛ̄ā wā*

(77)	Bálá	lὲ	á	là	lɛ̄ā.
	field	ART	COP.NEW	profit	EQUAT

222 'Individual field is a profit'.

(78)	Bɛ̄	tūmàà	ŋ̄	dí	lɛ̄ā.
	this	all	COP	work	EQUAT

223 'All this is work'.

5.3.2.4. Ascriptive constructions

224 Ascriptive constructions express the inclusion of the referent of a NP into a particular class. They use the copula *nə̄* and a postpositional group with *lɛ̄ā*.

225 (+) NP1 *nə̄* NP2 *lɛ̄ā*

226 (-) NP1 *bā* NP2 *lɛ̄ā wā*

(79)	Mártī	ŋ̄	mā-ā	nɛ̄ló	lɛ̄ā.
	Martha	COP	1SG-POSS	daughter	EQUAT

227 'Martha is my daughter'.

(80)	Sálífù	ŋ̄	làŋdā-dɛ̄nāā	lɛ̄ā.
	Salif	COP	tradition-owner	EQUAT

228 'Salif is a connoisseur of traditions'.

(81)	Bòyó(ŋ)	bā	fʋ̀ʋ̀	lɛ̄ā	wà.
	Boyo	COP.NEG	blacksmith	EQUAT	NEG

229 'Boyo is not a blacksmith'.

5.3.2.5. Construction of specification:

230 (+) NP1 *nə̄ ká* NP2 *nɛ*

231 (-) NP1 *bā ká* NP2 *nɛ wā*

(82)	Fʋ̀ʋ̀	ŋ̄	ká	Bòyó(ŋ)	né.
	smith	COP	COMIT	Boyo	in

232 'The smith is Boyo'.

(83)	Mā-ā	nɛ̄ló	ŋ̄	ká	Mārtì	ní.
	1SG-POSS	daughter	COP	COMIT	Martha	in

233 'My daughter is Martha'.

5.3.2.6. Locative constructions

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

235 (+) NP1 *tá, nə̄* Loc

236 (-) NP1 *bā* Loc *wā*

(84)	Lɔ̄	tá	píí	ní.
	woman	COP.NEW	market	in

237 'The woman is in the market'.

(85)	Lɔ̄	bā	píí	ní	wā.
	woman	COP.NEG	market	in	NEG

238 'The woman is not in the market'.

(86)	Māā	nɛ̄ló-ŋ	tá	kùŋ	mānɛ́	māā	kiɔ̄ŋ.
	1SG.POSS	daughter-PL	COP.NEW	together	1SG.in	1SG.POSS	house

239 'My daughters are with me in my house'.

5.3.2.7. Temporal constructions

240 Temporal constructions are variants of the locative type:

(87)	*Zɔ́ŋ*	*kɛ̀*	*bā*	*lɛ̀*	*bóé*	*wā.*
	holiday	this	COP.NEG	year	return.NMLZ	NEG

241   'The festival will not take place next year'.

5.3.2.8. Possessive constructions

242   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.

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

244   (+) NP1 NP2 *táɲ̄*

245   (-) NP1 NP2 *bāŋbāŋ (wā)*

(88)	*Bòyó(ŋ)*	*ā*	*kīō(ŋ)*	*bāŋbāŋ.*	
	Boyo	POSS	house	COP.NEG	

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

(89)	*Bòyó(ŋ)*	*ā*	*nɛ̄lɔ́*	*páá*	*táŋ.*
	Boyo	POSS	daughter	two	COP

247   'Boyo has two daughters'.

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

249   1) the postposition *lòɲ̄* which is not etymologized on the synchronic level;

250   2) the postposition *gɔ̄ŋ* which is derived from a noun meaning 'hand'.

251   Constructions with the postposition *lòɲ̄* :

252   (+) NP1 *nə̄, tá* NP2 *lòɲ̄*

253   (-) NP1 *bā* NP2 *lōɲ̀ wā*

(90)	*Wùrù*	*tá*	*Bòyó(ŋ)*	*lòɲ̄.*
	field	COP.NEW	Boyo	in.possession

254 'Boyo has a field'.

(91)	Wɔ́rɔ́	bā	mā	lòɲ̄		wā.
	money	COP.NEG	1SG	in.possession		NEG

255 'I have no money (on me)'.

256 Constructions with the postposition gɔ̄ŋ:

257 (+) NP1 nə̄,tá NP2 gɔ̄ŋ

258 (-) NP1 bā NP2 gɔ̄ŋ wā

259 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 lòɲ̄ are used more often to indicate abstract possession; gɔ̄ŋ co-occurs with more concrete items or designates a situational possession:

(92)	Wɔ́rɔ́	tá	mā	lòɲ	pīɛ̀,	sɛ́nɛ̄	wɔ́rɔ́	bā	mā
	money	COP	1SG	in.possession	at.home	but	money	COP.NEG	1SG

	gɔ̄ŋ	kànáá	wā.
	hand	here	NEG

260 'I have money at home but I have no money on me here'.

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

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

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

Form	Predicative element	Meaning
táŋ (+), bāŋbāŋ (–)	copulas of existence	existential, adnominal possessive constructions
nɛ̄ (nē, nī, mànɛ̀) (+) bīē (–)	copula of identification	construction of identification
tá (+) nə̄ (+) Adj (Num) bā wā (–)	imperfective PM in copular function	qualitative, quantitative constructions

tá (+) *nə̄* (+) NP + postp *bā wā* (–)	imperfective PM in copular function with postpositional group	locative, temporal, possessive constructions
nə̄ + ká NP *nɛ́*	imperfective PM in copular function with the comitative frame construction *ká … nɛ́*	(complete) equative and specificative constructions
nə̄ + NP *lɛ̄ā*	imperfective PM *nə̄* in copular function with postpositional group (postposition *lɛ̄ā*)	(situational) equative, ascriptive constructions

263   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

264   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.

265   Copulas which coincide with predicative markers:
   • imperfective affirmative *nə̄ / ȳ /māŋ*;
   • imperfective affirmative (new information) *tá / á*;
   • imperfective negative *bā / ā (wā)*.

266   There are also specific predicative markers which are not directly connected to any copula. These are:

267   — perfective affirmative *nə̄́* / high tone on the final vowel of the Subject NP;

268   — perfective experientive *bīŋ̀ (wā)*;

269   — imperfective negative in dependant clauses, prohibitive *bāràŋ (wā)*.

270   There are also specific copulas:

271   Copulas of identification:
   • affirmative *nɛ̄/ nɛ̄ /nī / mānɛ̄*;
   • negative *bīe (wā)*;

272   Copulas of existence:
   • affirmative *táȳ*;
   • negative *bāŋbāŋ*.

273   There is certain parallelism in form and meaning between negative copulas and negative predicative markers (*bā, bāràŋ, bāŋbāŋ*). The affirmative copula of identification *nɛ̄/ nɛ̄ /nī / mānɛ̄* seem to be etymologically connected to the imperfective copula *nə̄ / ȳ /māŋ*. It is worth mentioning that a focus marker *-ŋ* [20] */ māŋ* (3PL) seem to be related to the copula of identification.

274   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
Adj – adjective	NMLZ – nominalized form
Art – article	NTR – neutral form
Aux – auxiliar	Num – numeral
COMIT – comitative	DO – direct object
COP – copula	IO – indirect object
Dem – demonstrative	Pl – plural
EMPH – emphatic pronoun	PM – predicative marker
EQUAT – equative postposition	POSS – possessive preposition
EXP – experientive	PRF – perfective
FUT – future	PROH – prohibitive
H – hign tone	PROX – proximate
ICOP– copula of identification	RECP – reciprocal
IMP – imperative	S – subject
IPFV – imperfective	Sg – singular
L – low tone	V – verb.

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NOTES

1. Each dictionary contains an orthographic guide and a text sample.

2. *Macaa* reflects the pronunciation [matʃaa].

3. The purple points on the Ebermann's map are Fula-speaking villages of the so-called *rimaibé,* 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 inital 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 *ŋ*.

11. This fact was mentiond 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 *bī̄e* encode "progressif négatif" and "indique que le process n'est pas en cours de réalisation".

13. A pronominal object (indirect or direct inanimated) of the 3Sg is usually omitted; in this case the subsequent postposition or verb aquire a low tone.

14. Comment of an activist of the San literacy company: "It often happens".

15. M. Paré (1998: 41) considers the sequence *bā̄à rē* to be an auxiliary but notes that the element *rē* is optional. In my data, only the variant with *rē* (*bā̄à rē*) is attested.

16. On the contrary, the periphrastic construction of the Immediate Future uses the PP *ŋ̄ / nə̄* with the imperfective form of the verb *dā̄ā* 'to come', see ex. (44).

17. When used as copulas they are glossed as COP.

18. Constructions with different copulas (*nə̄* or *tá*) have different informational structure, see 3.2.2.

19. Usages of the postposition *lɛ̄ā* in other functions are rare, e.g.: *dàgōā̰ sì-lí dàgōā̰ lɛ̀ zɛ̀nāā* **kōō** **gĭí lɛ̄ā** 'The fetish-maker made a fetish **like an egg**'.

20. The focus marker *-ŋ* 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—САНЕ, 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.

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