

## NON VERBAL PREDICATIONS IN JOOLA KARON, AN ATLANTIC LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN SENEGAL

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### **Abstract**

This paper deals with nonverbal constructs that consists in juxtaposing two nonverbal constituents. The predications described fall into three types: equational, identification and adjectival. This research highlights the semantic and syntactic properties of nonverbal predications. Most strategies described have been mentioned in other Joola languages, although Joola Karon shows some peculiarities. Some of nonverbal predications described have not been mentioned in works conducted on Joola languages. The description of the properties of the reverse of the two nonverbal constituents and its impacts on their syntactic roles is a new approach in the description of Joola languages.

**Key words:** Adjectival, Equational, Identification, Joola Karon, Nonverbal Predicate

### **Résumé**

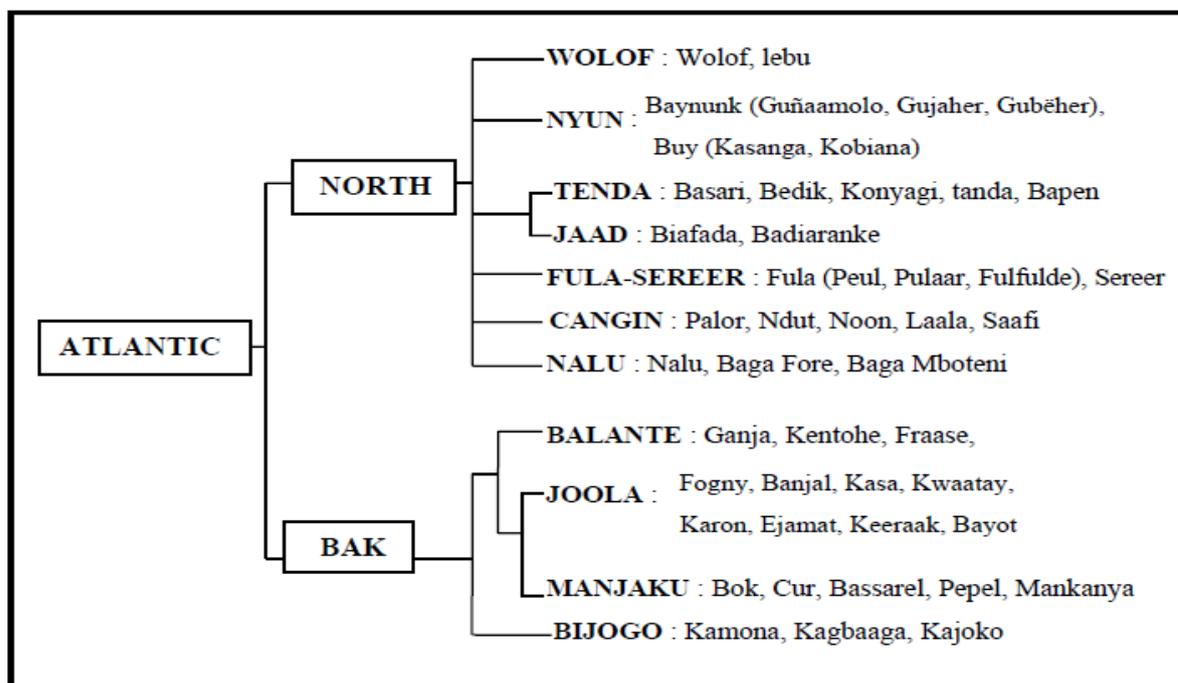
Cet article traite de constructions non verbales consistant à juxtaposer deux constituants non verbaux. Les prédictions décrites ici se répartissent en trois types: équationnelle, d'identification et adjectivale. Cette recherche met en évidence les propriétés sémantiques et syntaxiques de ces prédictions non verbales. La plupart des stratégies décrites en Joola Karon ont été mentionnées dans d'autres langues Joola, bien que le Joola Karon présente certaines particularités. Certaines des prédictions non verbales décrites dans ce travail n'ont pas été mentionnées dans les travaux menés sur les langues Joola. La description des propriétés de la permutation entre les deux constituants non verbaux et de son impact sur leurs rôles syntaxiques est une nouvelle approche dans la description des prédictions non verbales, dans les langues Joola.

**Mots-clés:** Adjectivale, Equationnelle, Identification, Joola Karon, Prédication Non Verbale

## Introduction

The term 'Joola' refers to an ethnic group and a linguistic cluster with several languages and dialects<sup>1</sup>. Joola languages are spoken in a geographical area that includes Casamance (southern Senegal), The Gambia and Guinea Bissau<sup>2</sup>. Joola languages belong to the Atlantic family of the Niger-Congo phylum. Several classifications have been elaborated on Atlantic languages. One of the most recent classification is that of Pozdniakov and Segerer who classify Atlantic languages into two groups: North and Bak.

Figure A: The classification of Atlantic languages, Pozdniakov and Segerer (forthcoming).



Joola karon is mostly spoken in southern Senegal, in Karon islands. Several works have performed on this language, including Sambou (2012), Sambou (2014). Among the different works on this language, only P. Sambou (2012, p. 186) briefly mentions in two pages nonverbal predications. The desire to fill the gap in the description of nonverbal predications motivates this research which focuses on the semantic and syntactic properties of Joola Karon nonverbal predication. It is a contribution to the typological research on nonverbal predications.

The paper is organized as follows: section 1 provides some properties of Joola Karon. Section 2 is about the theoretical framework underlying this description. Section 3 highlights the properties of equational predication. Section 4 discusses identificational predication. Section 5 deals with adjectival predication.

<sup>1</sup> The exact number of Joola languages is not easy to set, mainly because it depends crucially on where one draws the line between 'language' and 'dialecte' within this linguistic cluster. Sapir (1971) distinguishes four (4) Joola languages in addition to a set of dialects more or less related. The International Linguistic Society (SIL) sets the number of Joola languages to thirteen (13) in addition to a range of speech varieties.

<sup>2</sup> This geographical area corresponds to the ancient Gabu Empire which was dislocated shortly before the arrival of the European colonizers, (D. Creisseils and P. Sambou, 2013, p. 8).

## 1. Some properties of Jóola Karon

### 1.1. The noun class system of Jóola Karon

The morphosyntax of Jóola Karon is characterized by a system of noun classes similar to that found in other Atlantic languages. The noun class system is manifested by noun prefixes and obligatory agreement between the noun and several types of noun dependents and between the subject *NP* and the verb. In Jóola Karon, the numbering of the noun classes is arbitrary. The only coincidence with the system used in Bantu Linguistics is that the classes that typically include human nouns are labeled 1 (singular) and 2 (plural). Therefore, the numbering of the noun classes applied in this paper consists in labeling the noun classes with numbers (1, 2, 3 ...) as illustrated in examples<sup>3</sup>1.

- 1 a. **pi**-saalikoon-pa    **p**-e-paan-a-pa<sup>4</sup>                      **pi**-kina    **pi**-ket-e.  
       **4**-cat-DEF            **4**-PART-be.black-UDP-DEF    **4**-PRO    **4**-die-FOC  
       Lit. 'It is the black cats that died.'                      (*author's field data*)
- b. **ci**<sup>5</sup>-saalikoon-ca    **c**-e-paan-a-ca                      **ci**-kina    **ci**-ket-e.  
       **11**-cat-DEF            **11**-PART-be.black-UDP-DEF    **11**-PRO    **11**-die-FOC  
       Lit. 'It is the small black cat that died.'
- c. **mi**-saalikoon-ma    **m**-e-paan-a-ma                      **mi**-kina    **mi**-ket-e.  
       **12**-cat-DEF            **12**-PART-be.black-UDP-DEF    **12**-PRO    **12**-die-FOC  
       Lit. 'It is the small black cats that died.'                      (*author's field data*)

### 1.2. Subject indexation and impersonality

Jóola Karon is an agglutinative language in which a verb normally includes an obligatory prefix representing the single core argument *S* of intransitive verbs and the agent *A* of prototypical transitive verbs. If a co-referent *NP* is present, this subject marker either expresses class agreement (with non-human *NPs*) or person-number agreement (with human *NPs* and pronouns)<sup>6</sup>.

In the absence of a co-referent *NP*, subject markers that do not belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person are interpreted anaphorically, triggering the identification of the argument they represent to a contextually salient referent compatible with the class or person-number value expressed by the subject marker - examples 2 and 3. The fact that 2c and 3c are ungrammatical denotes the fact that anaphoric subject markers are necessarily attached to verbal stems.

- 2 a. Eteya ni    Amay ka-cuk-aa-cuk    h-iim-ha.  
       Eteya and Amay 3P-see-PFTP-see    6-moon-DEF  
       Lit. 'Eteya and Amay they saw the Moon.'    (*author's field data*)
- b. ka-cuk-aa-cuk                      h-iim-ha.  
       3P-see-PPFT-see                      6-moon-DEF

<sup>3</sup> The specialists of Jóola languages traditionally use three numbering conventions in the glossing of the noun classes. Some authors use a combination of the noun class abbreviation *CL* and the attributed number (-ex. *CL1*, *CL2*, *CL3*), others use a combination of the noun class abbreviation *CL* and the noun class morpheme of the given noun class (-ex. *CLpi*, *CLsi*). In other descriptions, noun classes are merely labelled (1, 2, 3, etc.). This paper will comply with the last convention for the sake of space management within the glosses.

<sup>4</sup> In Jóola Karon, the definite marker is a suffix consisting of two morphemes: the noun class marker, followed by *-a* 'remoteness from the speaker and the listener', *-e* 'proximity to the speaker (and the listener)', or *-u* 'proximity to the listener or what the listener and the speaker previously mentioned'. The two morphemes function as one unit functionally analyzable as the definite marker. Therefore, this unit will be merely glossed DEF, as it is the tradition in the description on Jóola languages.

<sup>5</sup> It's a diminutive noun class of the singular; whose plural counterpart is *mi*. Jóola Karon also encodes two augmentative noun classes: for the singular (*ni*-) and (*ñi*-) for the plural.

<sup>6</sup> The distinction between class agreement with non-human *NPs* and person-agreement with human *NPs* follows from the fact that, with non-human subjects, the subject marker always reflects the class prefix of the noun, whereas human subjects that exceptionally do not belong to classes 1 & 2 are represented by the same subject markers as human nouns belonging to classes 1 & 2.

'They saw the moon.'

- c. \*Eteya ni Amay cuk-aa-cuk h-iim-ha.  
Eteya and Amay see- PPFT-see 6-moon-DEF  
Lit. 'Eteya and Amay saw the Moon.'
- 3 a. e-fil-ya e-hoon-aa-hoon pi-héeni-pa. (*author's field data*)  
3-goat-DEF 3-graze-PPFT-graze 4-grass-DEF  
Lit. 'The goat it grazed the grass.' For 'The goat grazed the grass.'
- b. e-hoon-aa-hoon pi-héeni-pa.  
3-graze-PPFT-graze 4-herbe-DEF  
'It grazed the grass.'
- c. \*e-fil-ya hoon-aa-hoon pi-héeni-pa.  
3-goat-DEF graze-PPFT-graze 4-herbe-DEF

The anaphoric subjects of the first and second person singular is a zero morpheme (ex. 4b & 6). This morpheme is glossed as zero ( $\emptyset$ ), while the lack of subject pronoun, which is a basic characteristic of prototypical impersonal constructions<sup>7</sup> in Joola Karon, is marked by a blank (-ex. 5b).

- 4 a. iñci  $\emptyset$ -kaay-aa-kaay Takaal.  
1S 1S-go-PFTP-go Dakar  
Lit. 'Me, I went to Dakar.' (*author's field data*)
- b.  $\emptyset$ -kaay-aa-kaay Takaal.  
1S-go- PPFT-go Dakar  
'I went to Dakar.'
- 5 a. e-káap-ya e-mon-aa-mon.  
3-room-DEF 3-be.cold- PPFT-be.cold  
'The room is cold.' (*author's field data*)
- b. mon-aa-mon.  
be.cold- PPFT-be.cold  
'It's cold.'

Another precision is the distinction between the zero morpheme of the first and second person singular subject marker (ex. 6) and the zero allomorph of the noun class *a-*. Joola Karon has a singular noun class *a-* that typically includes humans. This morpheme has a zero realization before stems whose initial phoneme is a vowel (ex.7a). The zero morpheme also occurs before a few stems starting with a consonant phoneme. These stems typically denote parental relationship such as *grandfather* and *father* (ex. 7b).

- 6 awe  $\emptyset$ -li-antoo e-foofa.  
2S 2S-eat-NHAB 3-meat  
'You don't eat meat.' (*author's field data*)
- 7.a.  $\emptyset$ -aal  $\emptyset$ -oonool a-sok-e a-kina a-li-it.  
1-femme 1-one 1-say-FOC 1-3S 1-eat-PPFT  
'It's one woman who said that she did not eat.' (*author's field data*)
- 7.b. Eteya  $\emptyset$ -maama-am,  $\emptyset$ -faaf-am a-ket-aa-ket.

<sup>7</sup>Sambou (2016) makes a distinction between prototypical impersonal constructions, characterized by the lack of subject index in the verbal form and non-prototypical impersonal constructions in which the verbal form carries a non-canonical subject index.

Eteya 1-grandfather-PSS.1S 1-father-PSS.1S 1-die-PPFT-die  
 'Eteya is my grandfather, my father is dead.' (author's field data)

### 1.3. The distinction between Subject NP and Predicate NP

Joola karon is basically a Subject, Verb, Object (SVO) language. In constructions that consist of a subject and a verbal predicate, the Subject which is the head dependent basically comes first, then, the verbal predicate follows. This syntactic constraint can be diagrammed: S + V, as illustrated in ex. 8.

- 8 a. Amay a-ηot-aa- ηot.  
 Amaye 1S-sleep-PPFT-sleep  
 'Amaye has slept.'
- 8 \*b. a-ηot-aa- ηot Amaye.  
 1S-sleep-PPFT-sleep Amaye

Similarly, constructions in which the predicate is a nonverbal constituent, this predicate obligatorily follows the subject *NP*. The syntactic constraint of such constructions can be diagrammed:  $NP_1 + NP_2$ , with  $NP_2$  assuming the predicative function. For instance, in example 9, *Palakay* is the subject  $NP_1$ , whereas *asuum* is the nonverbal predicate ( $NP_2$ ). Therefore, nonverbal predicates can be viewed syntactically in Joola Karon as constituents of the second position (as opposed to Subject NPs which occur in the first position) as illustrated in (ex. 9).

- 9 a. Palakay a-suum-a.  
 Balla Gaye 1-wrestle-AGE  
 'Balla Gaye is a wrestler'
- 9 b\* a-suum-a Palakay.  
 1-wrestle-AGE Balla Gaye

## 2. Theoretical Framework

Languages resort to various strategies to use non-verbal words as predicates of constructions. Joola Karon uses two formal types of nonverbal predications. A first strategy is the case in which the sentence necessarily includes an item, called a copula that relates the subject *NP* and the nonverbal constituent assuming the function of predicate (ex. 10). This strategy in which the nonverbal predication includes a copula corresponds to what Pustet<sup>8</sup> in Stassen (1997, p. 62) calls the full strategy<sup>9</sup>.

- 10 a. Eteya a-yem a-mansa.  
 Eteye 1S-COPID 1-king  
 'It's Eteya who is a king.' (author's field data)
- 10 b. Téntu a-neetaat Takaal.  
 Tendu 1S-NCOP Dakar  
 'Tendu is not in Dakar.'
- 10 c. Amay ø-oopa Takaal.  
 Amay 1-LOCCOP Dakar  
 'Amay is in Dakar.'

<sup>8</sup> The nominal strategy, pp. 62-106.

<sup>9</sup> This strategy will be dealt with later in a different paper.

A second possibility is that the word or nonverbal constituent in predicative function is simply juxtaposed to the nominal encoded as the subject. Predicates of this type show the same form as when they are not in predicative function. Such constructions are exemplified as follows:

- 11 ka-mey-áati ka-kúuñu.  
 7-knowledge-PRIV 7-sickness  
 'Ignorance is a sickness<sup>10</sup>.'
- 12 a-hámpaatiin hi-puun.  
 1.aged.person 6-medicament  
 'An aged person is a medicament.<sup>11</sup>'

This research focusses on this second type of predication, characterized by the juxtaposition of two nonverbal constituents, the first of which is the subject *NP*, whereas the second *NP* functions as the predicate. This case of nonverbal predication corresponds to what Pustet in Stassen (1997, p. 62) calls the zero strategy, in that it encodes a zero copula. In Joola Karon, the zero encoding strategy typologically consists of three predications: (a) equational, (b) identificational (c) and adjectival.

### 3. Equational Predication

#### 3.1. Preliminary Discussion

Matthews, in Shopen (2007) states that the term 'equational predication' is used in a broad sense to refer to any nonverbal predication which consists in juxtaposing nonverbal words. He argues that, the term is only appropriate to constructions in which the subject and the nonverbal predicate can be reversed, with the only difference in meaning being a possible difference in topic and focus'. Two remarks can be made on this definition.

- First, Matthews's definition seemingly includes the three types of predications described in this paper, since they all consist in juxtaposing two nonverbal constituents. Therefore, the term equational predication is used in this description to refer to nonverbal predications which posit that  $NP_1 = NP_2$ , with  $NP_2$  being a quality or attribute of  $NP_1$ .

-Secondly, what is seemingly not clearly expressed in Matthews's definition is whether the reverse of the two *NPs* goes with a change of their initial syntactic functions. Taking into account the syntactic properties of the distinction between subject and predicate (*cf.* section 1.3) we can assert that the position of a constituent in a nonverbal predication is determined by its functions within a construction. In other words, any constituent assuming the predicative function will occur as the second constituent; conversely, the subject *NP* will occur in the first position.

Syntactically, such nonverbal predications fall into two sub-types, depending on whether the two *NPs* can be reversed. Both sub-types of equational predications will be discussed here. The former will be referred to as 'non typical equational predication', whereas the latter will be termed 'typical equational predication'.

#### 3.2. Non-typical Equational Predication

In addition to the fact that the subject *NP* and the predicate *NP* cannot be reversed (ex. 13b, 14b, 15b and 16b), non-typical equational predication semantically expresses the predication that: (a) an entity belongs to a category or class (which corresponds to constructions such as *Peter is a teacher*); (b) and the predication of inclusion (which posits the inclusion of a class in another one, such as *a monkey is a wild animal*). In both cases, the nominal predicate is necessarily an indefinite constituent; that is to say, it does not carry a definite suffix in Joola Karon (-ex. 13c).

<sup>10</sup> This is a famous saying in the Karon community.

<sup>11</sup> This is a saying, that means 'aged people are full of wisdom'.

- 13 a. Amay a-likaali.  
Amay 1-chief  
'Amay is a Chief.' (author's field data)
- 13 b. \*a-likaali Amay.  
1-chief Amay  
'Amay is a Chief.'
- 13 c. \*Amay a-likaali-øa<sup>12</sup>.  
Amay 1-chief-DEF  
'Amay is the Chief.'
- 14 a. ñaas e-lúkuleen e-lampa.  
Ñaas 3-animal 3-bush  
'Ñaas<sup>13</sup> is a wild animal.' (author's field data)
- 14 \*b. e-lúkuleen e-lampa Ñaas  
3-animal 3-bush Ñaas
- 15 a. Súkulupeni a-kam-a.  
Sukulupeni 1-war-AGE  
'Sukulupeni is a warrior.' (author's field data)
- 15 b. \*a-kam-a Súkulupeni.  
1-war-AGE Sukulupeni  
'Sukulupeni is a warrior.'
- 16 a. Eteya a-mansa.  
Eteya 1-king  
'Eteya is a king.' (author's field data)
- 16 b. \*a-mansa Eteya.  
1-king Eteya  
'Eteya is a king.'

Examples (14-16) illustrate that nonverbal predicates of this sub-type denote an attribute or a quality of the subject constituent. We can posit that among the two *NPs*, only the one that semantically denotes an attribute or quality can function as the nonverbal predicate.

Such an equational<sup>14</sup> predication has also been described in other Joola languages such as Banjal (ex. 17) and Kuwaataay, (ex. 18).

- 17 Atejo a-aŋ-a.  
Atéjo 1-cultiver-AGE  
'Atéjo est un cultivateur.' (Joola Banjal, Bassène 2007:134)

- 18 Diminga a-balanta.  
Diminga 1-Balante'

<sup>12</sup> The occurrence of this suffix is only possible in constructions in which the nonverbal predication includes the copula of identification *-yem*. Such constructions are not taken into account in this paper.

Amay a-yem a-likaali-øa.  
Amaye 3S-COPID 1-chief-DEF  
'It's Amay who is the chief of village.'

<sup>13</sup> Ñaas is a mask (which is short and dances very well). It is said to be a wild animal; not a mask carried by a human being.

<sup>14</sup> Let's precise that term "non-typically equational predication" has not been used by authors cited. They merely refer to them as 'nominal predicates' (cf. A. C. Bassène, 2007, p. 134).

'Diminga est Balante.' (kuwaataay, Coly 2010:202)

Equational predication has also been described in other African languages of different genetic affiliation. It is also prominent in some Chadic languages and Kanuri, a Nilo-Saharan language (ex. 19).

- 19 a. b́intu féro.  
Bintu Girl  
'Bintu is a girl.' (Kanuri, Creissels et al., 2008:131).
- 19 b. músa káno-lan.  
Musa Kano-LOC  
'Musa is in Kano.'
- 19 c. nyí kúra.  
2SG big  
'You are big.'

### 3.3. Typical Equational Predication

In typical equational predication, the two nonverbal constituents of the construction (the subject *NP* and the predicate *NP*) are also juxtaposed. However, the two *NPs* can be reversed. This sub-type of equational predication can be diagrammed:  $NP_1 = NP_2 / NP_2 = NP_1$ , with the postponed constituent being the nonverbal predicate in both constructions. This reverse simply brings a nuance of meaning in topic and focus (ex. 20 and 21). Therefore, the denotative meaning remains the same in both constructions.

- 20 a. Súkulpéni ø-maama-y-am.  
Sukulpeni 1-grandfather-GLID-PSS.1S  
Lit. 'Sukulpeni is my grandfather.' (author's field data)
- 20 b. ø-maama-y-am Súkulpéni.  
1 -grand.father-GLID- PSS.1S Sukulpéni  
Lit. 'My grandfather is Sukulpéni.'
- 21 a. Eteya a-wii-y-oo.  
Eteya 1-friend-GLID- PSS.3S  
Lit. 'Eteya is his friend.' (author's field data)
- 21 b. a-wii-oo Eteya.  
1-friend- PSS.3S Eteya  
Lit. 'His friend is Eteya.'

Joola Banjal also encodes a typical equational predication in which the nominal predicate necessarily carries a possessive suffix (ex. 22).

- 22 Atejo ø-pay-om. = ø-pay-om Atejo.  
Atéjo 1-père-PSS1s 1-père-PSS1s Atéjo  
'Atéjo est mon père.'

In addition to this type of construction, Joola Banjal encodes another strategy of equational predication in which the nominal predicate, which does not carry any possessive marker is referential and identifies the individual denoted by the predicate with the individual denoted by the subject (ex. 23). Joola karon lacks such equational strategy in which the nominal predicate does not carry a possessive marker.

- 23 Jijnabo a-vvi Mof avvi. = a-vvi Mof avvi Jijnabo.  
Jijnabo 1-roi Mof avvi 1-roi Mof avvi Jijnabo  
'Jijnabo est le roi du Mof avvi.' (Joola Banjal, Bassène 2007:135)

#### 4. Identificational Predication

This type of nonverbal predication is defined as a construction in which the nominal predicate has a single extra-linguistic referent to which the statement applies and that can be unambiguously identified by the hearer. R. Pustet (2005, p. 29) states that proper names lend themselves to usage as nuclei of identificational predicates.

In Joola Karon, nonverbal predication in which the proper name is the predicate NP are prominent. However, the permutation between the subject and the proper name is not possible (ex. 24b).

24 a. aŋ-e                    Afeenaw.  
DEM-PROX    Afeenaw  
Lit. 'This (one) is Afeenaw.'

24 \*b. Afeenaw    aŋ-e.  
Afeenaw    DEM-PROX

In addition to proper names, terms denoting parental relationships also lend themselves to such a nonverbal predication, (ex. 25). Examples (25a-b) illustrate the fact that the terms of the nonverbal predicate NP (*ahoopam aŋiinoo* = *aŋii ahoopam* 'my sister's child') can be reversed. However, the subject NP (the demonstrative constituent) and the nonverbal predicate NP cannot be reversed (ex. 25c).

25 a. aŋ-a                    a-hoop-am            a-ŋii-n-oo.  
DEM-PROX    1.sister-PSS.1S    1.child-E-PSS.3S  
Lit. 'That (one) is my sister's child.'

25 b. aŋ-a                    a-ŋii            a-hoop-am.  
DEM-PROX    1.child        1.sister-PSS.1S  
Lit. 'That (one) is my sister's child.'

25 \*c. a-hoop-am            a-ŋii-n-oo.            aŋ-a.  
1.sister-PSS.1S    1.child-E-PSS.3S    1.DEM-PROX

A third sub-type of identificational predication is the strategy termed interrogative predication. This strategy consists in identifying a person, a geographical area, or a place. Therefore, the difference between this strategy and the previously illustrated sub-types of identificational predication is the possibility to reverse the two NPs. The reverse of the nonverbal constituents shows the same semantic effect as in the equational predication (*cf.* section 3.3). This strategy can be diagrammed: *who (what, where) is X? / X is who (what, where)?*

26 a. ø-ayme                uwwaaw?  
1-INTER        1.DEM.DIST  
Lit. 'Who is that?'

26 b. aŋ-u                    ø-ayme ?  
DEM-DIST        1-INTER  
Lit. 'That (one) is who?' For 'Who is that?' (*author's field data*)

27 a. w-eyme                uwwe ?  
LOC-INTER        DEM.PROX  
Lit. 'What is this?'

27 b. aŋ-e                    w-eyme ?  
DEM-PROX        LOC-INTER  
Lit. 'This is what?' (*author's field data*)

28 a. p-eyme                uyye ?

LOC-INTER DEM.PROX  
Lit. 'Where is here?'

- 28 b. p-e p-eyme ?  
LOC-PROX LOC-INTER  
Lit. 'Here is where?' (author's field data)

The fourth sub-type of identificational predication corresponds to what is termed locative predication. Such a strategy consists in locating the subject referent in space. In Joola Karon, constructions that denote locative predication, necessarily include a locative particle which occurs as a *NP* constituent. However, permutation between the locative constituent and the other *NP* is possible as in the interrogative sub-type of identificational predication. Locative predication is used in a discursive context where the nonverbal predication is an answer to questions such as 'where is (are) X?'. The answer to such interrogations implies a construction that can be diagrammed: *X is here / here is X*, as exemplified in sentences (29, 30 and 31). Such a nonverbal predication has apparently not yet been described in other Joola language.

- 29 a. Sana-ii<sup>15</sup> ku-ŋ-key ?  
Sana-PLA 2-E-INT  
Lit. 'Where is Sana and his companions?'
- 29 b. Sana-ii aha-ii (pa)<sup>16</sup>.  
Sana-PLA LOC.DIST-PLA LOC.DIST  
'Sana and his companions are over there.'
- 29 c. aha Sana-ii (pa).  
LOC.DIST Sana-PLA LOC.DIST  
'Sana and his companions are (over) there.'
- 30 a. Sana-ii ehe-ii.  
Sana-PLA LOC.PROX-PLA  
'Sana and his companions are here.'
- 30 b. ehe Sana-ii.  
LOC.PROX Sana-PLA  
Lit. 'Here is Sana and his companions.'
- 31 a. aha s-iis-sa.  
LOC.DIST 5-cow-DEF  
Lit. 'There are the cows.' For 'the cow are there.'
- 31 b. s-iis-sa aha-so.  
5-cow-DEF LOC.DIST-5.PRO  
Lit. 'The cows are there.'

The identificational predication has also been described in other Joola languages such as Joola Banjal, Bassène (2007) and Kuwaataay, Coly (2012).

- 32 e-súg-ol b-ai ?  
3-village-2SG 5-òù

<sup>15</sup> In Joola languages 'number' is expressed by semantic content of noun classes. However, these languages encode another plural marker that occurs as a suffix (-ii). This morpheme is used to associate a person to the group he belongs to. Therefore, this plural marker is only compatible with human referents.

<sup>16</sup> The parentheses mean that this locative particle is optional. The counterpart for proximity is *pe* that could be used in example 30.

'Quel est son village ?' (Joola Banjal, Bassène 2007)

- 33 e-nuuf y-íima y-iin ?  
6-maison 6-PSS.1s 6-òù  
'Où est ma maison ?' (Kuwaataay, Coly (2012))

### 5. Adjectival Predication

The third type of zero strategy that has been identified in some languages of the world corresponds to constructions in which the nonverbal predicate is an adjective<sup>17</sup>. The subject and the adjectival predicate are juxtaposed. Russian, Chalcatongo and Hungarian are languages that encode such adjectival predicates<sup>18</sup>.

- 34 történet Hosszú.  
DEF.story Long  
'The story is long.' (Hungarian, Pustet 2003:30)

- 35 Dom bol'sój.  
house Big  
'The house is big.' (Russian, Pustet 2003: 35)

- 36 žó ñí?ní.  
Ex Hot  
'It's hot.' (Chalcatongo Mixtec, Macaulay 1996:86)

In Karon (like in other Joola languages), the recognition of such a nonverbal predication is all the more problematic as an adjective necessarily teams up with a nominal constituent in bearing the predicative function; that is to say, adjectives cannot fulfill the function of predicate on their own<sup>19</sup> (ex. 37b).

- 37 a. Kúupa ø<sup>20</sup>-saatee y-e-súum-e.  
Kouba 3-village 3-PART-pleasant-UPD  
'Kouba is a pleasant village.' (author's field data)

- 37 b. \*Kúupa y-e-súum-e.  
Kouba 3-PART-pleasant-UPD

- 38 a. Kúmpaluul<sup>21</sup> ø-saatee e-hámpaatiin.  
Koumbaloulou 3-village 3-ancient  
'Koumbaloulou is an ancient village.' (author's field data)

- 38 b. \*Kúmpaluul e-hámpaatiin.  
Koumbaloulou 3-ancient

<sup>17</sup> It is important to note that the properties of 'adjectives' as a grammatical category differ from a language family to another one or even from a language to another one within the same language family. For instance, most adjectives in European languages correspond to qualifying verbs in most African languages (cf. D. Creissels, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> In languages such as Hungarian, Russian and Chalcatongo Mixtec, adjectival predication is only possible in copula dropping, which is conditioned by parameters often related to tense/aspect/modality.

<sup>19</sup> Such a property has also been described in Joola Banjal (cf. A. C. Bassène, 2007, p. 135).

<sup>20</sup> One of the remarkable morphosyntactic properties of Joola Karon is the fact that loan nouns occur without any noun class marker when they denote a singular generic concept. Therefore, when a loan noun occurs as the head, all the dependents constituent obligatorily carry the noun class *e*- whose allomorph *y*- occurs before stems starting with a vowel phoneme, as illustrated in the example above:

ø-saatee y-oonool e-súum-e.  
ø-village 3-one 3-be.pleasant-FOC  
'Only one village is pleasant.'

<sup>21</sup> It is a village in the Karon islands, which is said to be the first settlement of the Karon people.

The description of the zero strategy that consists in juxtaposing two nonverbal constituents has revealed that such nonverbal predications that consist in juxtaposing two *NPs* are prominent in Joola karon, in other Joola languages and other African languages such as Kanuri (a Nilo-Saharan language) and some Chadic languages. But, on the whole, nonverbal predications that consist in juxtaposing two *NPs* constitute a minor option in Africa, D. Creissels et al. (2008, p. 131). However, the use of zero copula is highly prominent in other regions of the world such as Central and South America, Stassen (1997, p. 63).

### **Conclusion**

The description of nonverbal predications that consist in juxtaposing two nonverbal constituents (a subject *NP* and a predicate *NP*) has mostly highlighted the syntactic and semantic properties of such predications in Joola Karon. Typologically, the nonverbal predications described in this paper fall into three types: equational, identificational and adjectival. This paper has shown that most properties described in Joola Karon have also been mentioned in other descriptions conducted in other Joola languages such as Banjil and Kuwaatay. Therefore, some sub-types of nonverbal predications described in Joola Karon have not been mentioned in other Joola languages.

One of the major contribution of this article is the analysis of nonverbal predicate syntactic properties in predications where the two *NPs* can be reversed. Another contribution of this article is the precision that nonverbal predicates of this types are constituents of second position (as opposed to the subject *NP*). This paper has also highlighted the fact that the reverse between the two *NPs* constituents of such nonverbal predications does not affect the denotive meaning of a predication though, it merely brings a nuance of meaning in topic and focus. The predication that consists in juxtaposing two nonverbal constituents appear to be prominent in Joola Karon; though, this strategy is known to be a minor option in African languages.

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## Abbreviations

- AGE**: agent  
**CON**: connective  
**COPID**: copula of identification  
**DEF**: definite marker  
**DIST**: distant  
**E**: epenthesis  
**FOC**: focalization  
**GLID**: glide  
**LOC**: locative  
**NCOP**: negative copula  
**NHAB**: negative habitual marker  
**NP**: noun phrase  
**NPFT**: negative perfective marker  
**PLA**: plural of association  
**PART**: participle  
**PPFT**: positive perfective  
**PRO**: pronoun  
**PSS**: possessive marker  
**UDP**: updater  
**1S**: first person singular

**2S:** second person singular

**3S:** third person singular

**3P:** third person plural

**1, 2, 3, 4, etc.:** noun class numbers.