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. Joola languages are spoken in a geographical area that includes Casamance (southern Senegal), The Gambia and Guinea Bissau. 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 predication. The desire to feel the gap in the description of nonverbal predication motivates this research which focuses on the semantic and syntactic properties of Jooal Karon nonverbal predication. It is a contribution to the typological research on nonverbal predication.

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.

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1 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 ‘dialect’ 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.

2 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 examples31.

1 a. pi-saalikoon-pa p-e-paan-a-pa4 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-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 obligatorily 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)6. In the absence of a co-referent NP, subject markers that do not belong to the 1st and 2nd 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-PPFT-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

3 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.

4 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.

5 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 (mi-) and (ni-) for the plural.

6 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.'

   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 (ø), while the lack of subject pronoun, which is a basic characteristic of prototypical impersonal constructions in Joola Karon, is marked by a blank (-ex. 5b).

4 a. iñci ø-kaay-aa-kaay Takaal.
   1S 1S-go-PPFT-go Dakar
   Lit. 'Me, I went to Dakar.' *(author's field data)*

b. ø-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 ø-li-antoo e-foofa.
   2S 2S-eat-NHAB 3-meat
   'You don't eat meat.' *(author's field data)*

7.a. ø–aal ø-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 ø-maama-am, ø-faaf-am a-ket-aa-ket.

*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.*
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 aŋot-aa-ŋot.
   Amaye 1S-sleep-PPFT-sleep
   ‘Amaye has slept.’

8 *b. aŋot-aa-ŋot 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: NP1 + NP2, with NP2 assuming the predicative function. For instance, in example 9, Palakay is the subject NP1, whereas asuuma is the nonverbal predicate (NP2). 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).

   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\(^8\) in Stassen (1997, p. 62) calls the full strategy\(^9\).

10 a. Eteya a-yem a-mansa.
   Eteye 1S-COPID 1-king
   ‘It’s Etaya 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.’

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\(^{8}\) The nominal strategy, pp. 62-106.
\(^{9}\) 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-kúúfu.
   7-knowledge-PRIV 7-sickness
   'Ignorance is a sickness'.

12 a-hámpaatin  hi-puun.
   1-aged.person 6-medicament
   'An aged person is a medicament.'

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 NP₁ = NP₂, with NP₂ being a quality or attribute of NP₁.
- 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).

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10 This is a famous saying in the Karon community.
11 This is a saying, that means ‘aged people are full of wisdom’.
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\textsuperscript{14} predication has also been described in other Joola languages such as Banjal (ex. 17) and Kuwaataay, (ex. 18).

\begin{itemize}
  \item[17] Atejo a-ɲ-a.
  Atéjo 1-cultiver-AGE
  ‘Atéjo est un cultivateur.’ \textit{(Joola Banjal, Bassène 2007:134)}
  \item[18] Diminga a-balanta.
  Diminga 1-Balante'
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{12} The occurrence of this suffix is only possible in constructions in which the nonverbal predication includes the copula of identification -\textit{yen}. Such constructions are not taken into account in this paper.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Naa}s 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.

\textsuperscript{14} Let’s precise that term “non-typically equational predication” has not been used by authors cited. They merely refer to them as ‘nominal predicates’ \textit{(cf. A. C. Bassène, 2007, p. 134)}. 

\begin{itemize}
  \item[13 a.] Amay a-likaali.
  ‘Amay is a Chief.’ (\textit{author’s field data})
  \item[13 b.] *a-likaali Amay.
  ‘Amay is a Chief.’
  \item[13 c.] *Amay a-likaali-øa\textsuperscript{12}.
  ‘Amay is the Chief.’
  \item[14 a.] ñaaś e-lúkuleen e-lampa.
  ‘\textit{Naa}s is a wild animal.’ (\textit{author’s field data})
  \item[14 b.] e-lúkuleen e-lampa ñaaś
  ‘\textit{Naa}s is a wild animal.’
  \item[15 a.] Sukulupeni a-kam-a.
  Sukulpeni 1-war-AGE
  ‘Sukulupeni is a warrior.’ (\textit{author’s field data})
  \item[15 b.] *a-kam-a Sukulupeni.
  ‘Sukulupeni is a warrior.’
  \item[16 a.] Eteya a-mansa.
  Eteya 1-king
  ‘Eteya is a king.’ (\textit{author’s field data})
  \item[16 b.] *a-mansa Eteya.
  ‘Eteya is a king.’
\end{itemize}
‘Diminga est Balante.’  (kuwàataay, 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. bìntu 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: $NP_1 = NP_2 \lor NP_2 = NP_1$, 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. Súkulupeni 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 Súkulupeni.
1-grandfather-GLID- PSS.1S Sukulpeni
Lit.‘My grandfather is Sukulpeni.’

21 a. Eteya a-wíi-y-oo.
Eteya 1-friend-GLID- PSS.3S
Lit.‘Eteya is his friend.’ (author’s field data)

21 b. a-wíi-y-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 Jînabo a-vîi Mof avvi. = a-vîi Mof avvi Jînabo.
Jînabo 1-roi Mof avvi 1-roi Mof avvi Jînabo
‘Jînabo 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 aňiinoo = aňii 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-ňii-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-ňii 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-ňii-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. ø-ayme aŋ-u?
    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?
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 / there 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 ku-ŋ-key ?
Sana-PLA 2-E-INT
Lit. ‘Where is Sana and his companions?’

29 b. Sana-ii aha-ii (pa)
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-oú

15 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.

16 The parentheses mean that this locative particle is optional. The counterpart for proximity is pe that could be used in example 30.
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. The subject and the adjectival predicate are juxtaposed. Russian, Chalcatongo and Hungarian are languages that encode such adjectival predicates.

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).

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 (ex. 37b).

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18 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.

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

20 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-onool e-süum-e.
ø -village 3-one 3-be.pleasant-FOC
‘Only one village is pleasant.’

21 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 Banjal 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.
References


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.