

# WORD OR OTHERWISE? THE STATUS OF THE COPULA *no* IN GUINEAN PULAR

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**Abstract:** The paper analyzes the morphosyntactic status of a copula *no* as part of complex verbal predicates of Guinean Pular. A locative copula *no*, combined with various forms of lexical verb, adds up to three verbal constructions. Morphological and semantic non-compositionality of *no* in such constructions questions its morphosyntactic status as a free word and suggests that it might be an affix or a clitic. Pular data has been subjected to a series of tests using a set of phonological, morphological, and semantic criteria. The results of the phonological tests show that *no* in complex verbal predicates cannot be a free word, whereas the morphological tests deny it the status of an affix. It is, therefore, concluded that this copula is a clitic, which is confirmed by the language data complying with general morphological and phonological criteria.

**Key words:** Pular, complex verbal predicates, morphology, phonology, semantics, affix

## 1. Introduction

Complex verbal predicates in Pular language (< Fula < Atlantic < Niger-Congo) make a limited number of verbal constructions. A definition by Baker & Harvey (2010: 13) delimits complex predicates as “monoclausal structures involving two or more predicating morphemes”. Alsina et al. (1997: 1) specify that the grammatical elements

involved in complex predicates can be either morphemes, or words. There is a set of complex verbal predicates, which use a copula *no* as an auxiliary element. The main goal of this work is to determine the morphosyntactic status of *no*, as its properties are ambiguous. It is generally a futile task to try and put a non-basic part of speech unit into a strict category, but it seems necessary to do so with *no* for Fula as various researchers define it inconsistently as a prefix, an independent word, and an uncategorized unit (e.g., copula or particle without mentioning its wordhood status). This is possible because there is no definite orthographic tradition for Pular yet, and *no* has not been the focus of any specific research resulting in a clear definition of its status. Judging by the definition provided above, being a part of complex verbal predicate does not prevent *no* from being either a word, a clitic, or an affix (or, to put it more gently, a unit with a definite incline towards one of these categories).

The data from the Pular lect in this work mainly comes from Pular text collection created by the author. The texts in the corpus have been collected during fieldwork sessions in two cities in Guinea: Labé in 2010 and in Nzerekoré in 2018. They are transcribed and include (for the part that is online) glossed folk tales and life stories of oral origin. At the moment of research, the corpus had about 23,000 words in its online version and about 70,000 available for offline research. Most of the Pular examples in this article are of this origin, unless labeled differently.

A complex verb construction with *no*<sup>1</sup>, which is the main object of research in this work, consists of a copula *no* used as a predicate marker and a finite lexical verb. Both *no* and the corresponding verb form can be used on their own, but in this case, they have different grammatical values. Together, they constitute continuous, stative and habitual constructions that are very frequent in Pular; three of them can be seen

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<sup>1</sup> Depending on the lect of the Fula cluster, this predicate marker form can be different. It is *no* in Pular; however, in different lects, it can have one of the following forms: *ene*, *ana*, *e*, *dôn*, *ina* or *na*.

in examples (1a–c). The morphosyntactic status of a main verb affix is evident; however, the status of *no* remains unclear, so in this work I will try to define it in such constructions.

(1) a. Stative<sup>2</sup>

*gellal*                      *ngal*                      *no*                      *yôyîd-i*  
 partridge.<sub>SG</sub>NGAL    DEF.<sub>SG</sub>NGAL    COP                      **be.cunning-ACT.ST**  
 ‘The partridge was cunning.’

b. Progressive

*siinaa*                      *neene*                      *makko*                      *no*                      *sonj-a*                      *mo*  
 co-wife.<sub>SG</sub>O    mother.<sub>SG</sub>O    POSS.3.<sub>SG</sub>O    COP                      **bother-ACT.PROG**    DO.3.<sub>SG</sub>O  
*sabu*                      *ngayngu*  
 because    hatred.<sub>SG</sub>NGU  
 ‘Co-wife of his mother bothered him out of spite.’

c. Habitual/ Progressive

*moodi*                      *mum*                      *no*                      *janf-aa-de*                      *dün*  
 husband.<sub>SG</sub>O    POSS.3SG    COP                      **betray-MD-INF**                      DO.3.SG  
 ‘Her husband cheats on her.’

The copula *no* in an independent form only appears in affirmative and interrogative clauses WITH A NOMINAL SUBJECT. In the case of a pronominal subject, a special copular set of pronouns is used. There are pronouns for every one of 25 noun classes of Pular as well as for all persons and numbers. The examples of copular pronouns can be found in (2). The exact forms of these pronouns are, again, different in various lects of Fula, as is the number of such forms, which mainly depends on noun class inventory. However, such forms are used in every lect with no exceptions.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig Glossing Rules are used in this paper wherever possible. However, for the noun class system, there is a number marking before each class (e.g. <sub>SG</sub>NGAL) because there are 25 noun classes traditionally labeled by the subject pronoun, and there is no other way of indicating the number of objects, which can be relevant.

- (2) a. *mido*      *maandit-ii*      *nyannde*      *go'o*  
 COP.1.SG    **remember-MD.ST**    day.<sub>SG</sub><sup>NDE</sup>    one  
 'I remember, one day...'
- b.    *himo*      *sagginan-a*      *doo*      *wureere*      *teewu*  
 COP.3.<sub>SG</sub><sup>O</sup>    **hang-ACT.PROG**    here    marmite.<sub>SG</sub><sup>NDE</sup>    meat.<sub>SG</sub><sup>NGU</sup>  
 'He's hanging a marmite of meat here.'

There are no negative forms of such complex predicates in Pular. Rather, progressive and stative are expressed by simple predicates when negated, so negative forms are out of the scope of this research.

If regarded synchronically, the morphosyntactic role of *no* in complex verbal predicates has one of three possibilities. In terms of Haspelmath (2002), it can have properties of an AFFIX, a CLITIC, or a FREE WORD. If *no* is not a free word, then taking into account the position of its host word, it can be either a prefix or a pro-clitic.

If regarded as an affix, *no* has to be a part of a split morpheme, because the resulting grammatical value of stative, progressive or habitual is only true if *both no* and a verbal affix are present (n.b., there are examples of dependent/independent use of such units further on in this paper). The resulting construction is nonetheless considered a complex verbal predicate by some researchers (for instance, Amberber et al. (2010: 2) or even univertated patterns described in Anderson (2004: 26)). Similar constructions exist in many languages, African mostly; each language determines the morphosyntactic status of such items independently.

There is a number of phonological and morphological criteria defined by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002) and Haspelmath (2002) as well as a set of semantical criteria discussed in Haspelmath (2017). These criteria have a very wide range and are not all universal for every language; thus, in the next subsections, I will use only those applicable to Pular, and useful in defining the morphosyntactic role of *no* in complex verb predicates. As mentioned above, there is no definitive orthographic standard for *no* in Fula studies, as different researchers either physically separate it from the verbal lexeme (such

as Koval & Zoubko 1986) or present it as part of one word (such as Taylor 1953).

The difference between an affix and a word in Pular is based on several various criteria, but, generally speaking, phonological and morphological ones are most relevant. A word, along with universal properties of free occurrence, uninterruptability and non-selectivity, has a certain phonetic stricture, an ability to take phrasal accent and are not semantically bound. An affix, unlike a word, has no pause between itself and its host, cannot usually have any phrasal accent and complies with the universal criteria of bound occurrence, selectivity, and semantic boundedness. A clitic in Pular, however, is expected to be different from a word based on phonological criteria, such as phonetic structure, ability to have pauses before/ after it, and take phrasal accent. Based on morphological criteria, however, a clitic should be different from an affix, as it will be less selective and more freely used than the latter.

Taking these considerations into an account, it is nevertheless necessary to keep in mind all other possible criteria, which could help define the status of *no*, and justify why they can't be applied for the set purpose. Also, many universal criteria are described as ambiguous and should therefore be treated with care in application to a specific language. There is a possibility that the unit in question cannot fall precisely into one category; in this case it is deemed to have a definite incline towards one category.

This article consists of five sections. In §2, there is a list of phonological criteria available and relevant for determining the status of *no* as a possible phonological word. In §3, the relevant morphological criteria are applied. Semantic criteria are scarce, but all of the relevant ones are analyzed in §4. §5 draws conclusions and generalizations.

## 2. Phonological criteria

According to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002: 13), in order to postulate an item as a phonological word, it has to have at least one of the relevant segmental, prosodic or phonological features.

The most significant segmental feature of *no* in complex verbal predicates is its CV PHONEMIC STRUCTURE. In Fula, there is a significant restriction on any phonological word to have a CV / CVC<sup>3</sup> structure of an initial syllable. There are no phonological words starting with a vowel; if a word is graphically presented with an initial vowel, one should know that there is always a glottal stop before the initial vowel, which very rarely appears in writing due to technical difficulties. It is, however, included in initial consonant alternation system (*allaa-du* ‘horn’ – *gallaa-di* ‘horns’). The verbal affixes have, but for a few exceptions, the -V / -VC structure, and in nominal affixes there are no significant constraints on the syllable structure. However, all of these affixes are, in fact, suffixes, so their structure seems irrelevant to the case. This leaves us with the hypothesis that the structure of *no* technically allows it to be a prefix since it does not disrupt the whole word structure. But its structure also prevents *no* from being a phonological word, as there are very few monosyllabic words (Niang 1997: 33), and in Pular, unlike other Fula lects, monosyllabic words always have closed syllable.

The measurement of PAUSES is another phonological criterion of distinguishing affixes from clitics and words. The Pular text collection used in the research is of oral origin, so every text has an audio counterpart, and every instance of *no* could be analyzed in a speech analyzing program. Pular data show that there are no pauses between the independent *no* and its lexical verb in complex verbal predicates, albeit progressive, stative or habitual. One stative example can be found in example (3) and illustrated in Figure 1. There are pauses before and after *no wondi*, but not between *no* and its host. Haspelmath (2017: 39) states that “no pause is possible between a clitic and its host”, but “a pause is neither a necessary nor a sufficient indication of a word boundary”. From this point of view, then, the absence of pauses indicates that *no* in such constructions is a clitic/ affix, rather than a phonological word. Other segmental features, such as special marking

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<sup>3</sup> Long vowels are also coded as V.

of a phonological word boundary, are not relevant for Pular, as there are no significant constraints in this area.

- (3) *paykun kun no wond-i e needi*  
 child.<sub>SG</sub>KUN DEF.<sub>SG</sub>KUN COP be-ACT.ST PREP upbringing.<sub>SG</sub>NDI  
 ‘The child had a [good] upbringing.’

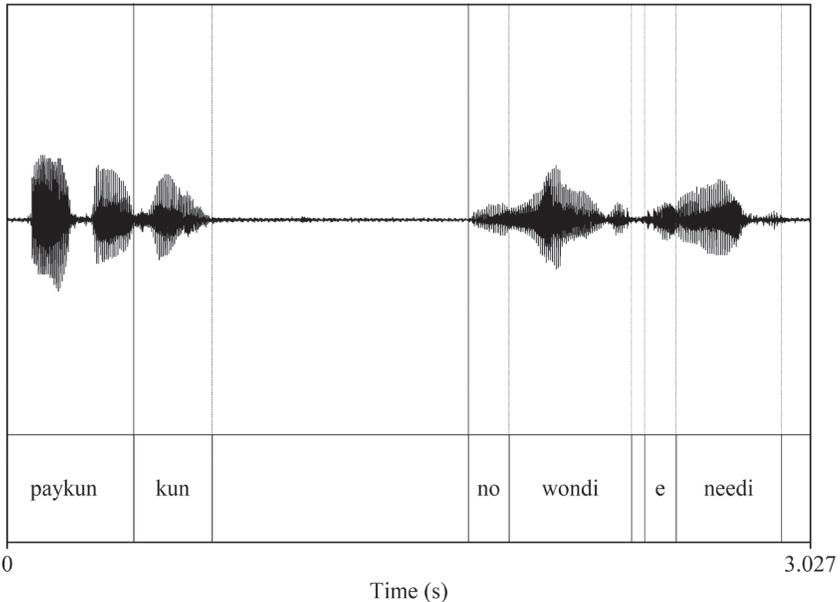


Figure 1. Wave form of example (3)

There are very few prosodic features relevant to determine the status of *no* in Pular; among them, there is stress, or rather, phrasal accent, and, possibly, vowel harmony.

Fula is a rare example of a Niger-Congo language without a tonal system; however, it has vowel length as a relevant feature. Researchers (for instance, Niang 1997) agree that there is no lexical stress in Pular, but there is PHRASAL ACCENT. In Fula, phrasal accent falls on a long vowel or on a vowel directly before the geminated consonant (Wiltshire

2006; Niang 1997: 78–83). Since *no* has no long vowel, and the CVC or CV syllable structure forbids geminated consonants in the beginning of a word, there is no possibility for *no* to have lexical accent in any case. Notably, this is not a very reliable criterion: Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002: 27) admit that the phonetic phrase does not always coincide with lexical one, even within one language. The absence of any kind of accent on *no*, nevertheless, points that it is a clitic/ affix rather than a phonological word.

The second criterion is the DEGREE OF ATTACHMENT. Based on the data from Paradis (1992), an analysis by Archangeli & Pulleyblank (1994) was made, proposing a 7-vowel system in Pulaar (Futa-Toro lect), instead of a more traditional 5-vowel system. The difference between the systems, as can be seen in Table 1, was in distinguishing the +/-ATR parameter in the middle vowels.

Table 1

**Pulaar 7-vowel system (as presented in Dye 2015: 28)**

	Front		Back	
	[+ATR]	[- ATR]	[+ATR]	[- ATR]
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Low				<i>a</i>

Dye (2015), Mahanta (2007) and Hall (2000) have built upon these conclusions coming up with a pattern for ATR vowel harmony in Pulaar, which presumes the regressive direction from affix to stem vowels. This type and direction of harmony is unusual but not unheard of: Guion et al. (2004: 521) described the same pattern for Maa and Casali (2003: 231) for Alur and Nawuri.

For Pular, I find that the ATR feature is not active in the language phonology, and only induces ATR-based allophony. Yet, if we only regard this feature as *phonetic*, the ATR vowel harmony pattern could be helpful in showing whether the ATR statue of an independent use



- c. *paykun tokosun kun no mar- i maazii*  
 –ATR –ATR +ATR  
 child.<sub>SG</sub>KUN small.<sub>SG</sub>KUN DEF.<sub>SG</sub>KUN COP have- ACT.ST magic.<sub>SG</sub>O  
 ‘The small child had magic.’
- d. *moodi debbo on no ar-i no*  
 –ATR –ATR  
 husband.<sub>SG</sub>O woman.<sub>SG</sub>O DEF.<sub>SG</sub>O COP come-ACT.ST COP  
*sopp- a ledde*  
 –ATR –ATR  
 chop.wood- ACT.PROG wood.<sub>PL</sub>DE  
 ‘The woman’s husband came and is chopping wood.’

Overall, this phonological criterion brings proof that *no* is not an affix in the complex verbal predicate.

Summarizing the phonological data, there is sufficient proof that *no* in complex verbal predicates cannot be considered a separate phonological word. There is significant doubt, however, that it can be labeled an affix. Thus, from the phonological point of view, it can be considered a clitic.

### 3. Morphological criteria

The following section is set to determine whether *no* can be considered a morphological word or a morpheme. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002: 19) define a grammatical word as an item that “consists of a number of grammatical elements which:

- (a) always occur together [...],
- (b) occur in fixed order,
- (c) have a conventionalized coherence and meaning.”

This definition does not apply to *no* itself, because it cannot be further subdivided, but it can apply to a verbal lexeme including *no* as an affix. In case of a nominal subject, *no* always occurs at the same place within a complex verbal predicate, it cannot be separated from the verbal stem, and the resulting predicate has conventionalized meaning. There is

a general contradiction to this conclusion, since Fula is a strictly suffix language. An initial consonant alternation system is active in the verbal system, denoting the number agreement in a verb. If a prefix were added to the verbal lexeme, this alternation system would fail, so there is no way an exclusion can be made on the language cluster level. However, Pular is different from most lects of the cluster, and, in particular, its consonant alternation system is not active in verbs anymore. So, for Pular, the possibility of *no* being analyzed as an affix can remain open with a lot of hesitation, as it contradicts the Fula data, and complex verbal predicates are not the area where Pular usually deviates from all other lects.

Haspelmath (2017: 39) presents another set of criteria for the morphosyntactic word. Although in the further sections of his work he analyzes the difficulties presented by each criterion, some of them are applicable to the case of *no* in Pular complex verbal predicates. These criteria are as follows (the ones relevant for the case are boldfaced):

- **potential pauses**,
- **free occurrence**,
- external mobility and internal fixedness,
- uninterruptibility,
- **non-selectivity**,
- non-coordinatability,
- anaphoric islandhood,
- non-extractability,
- **morphophonological idiosyncrasies**,
- **deviations from biuniqueness**.

The lack of pauses has already been discussed in the previous section, so the next applicable criterion is a possibility of **FREE OCCURRENCE** for *no*. A completely isolated use of *no* (i.e., when it constitutes a sentence, for example in a context like ‘What did you buy? – Bread.’) is impossible, as it carries no semantical information on the synchronic level. This copula receives the most syntactic independence in locative constructions where it is head of the predicate. An example of such context is demonstrated in (5). Since the isolated use is universally not permitted in affixes, this criterion points towards

the definition of *no* as a clitic. There is, however, another point of view that must be acknowledged: if *no* in a complex verb predicate is regarded as a result of grammaticalization of a locative copula, it has to be acknowledged as an originally separate unit, and in this case, this criterion is irrelevant for Fula.

- (5) *sigareeti fop no nder gaa*  
 cigarette<sub>PL</sub><sup>DI</sup> all COP inside here  
 ‘All cigarettes are in there.’

All provisos taken into an account, *no* cannot be definitely labeled a morphological word judging by this criterion.

There is no way to check the EXTERNAL MOBILITY criterion for Pular, as there are only two ways to change word order in the clause in this language. The first one is to change the contrastive focus to a specific part of the clause, thus bringing it forward, and the second one is to add dependents to the part of the clause. Neither of those is possible with *no*, so its place in the clause cannot be changed, and this criterion cannot be applied.

The next criterion, the UNINERRUPTABILITY, is also inapplicable to the case, as *no* only consists of one syllable, which cannot technically be interrupted. Moreover, there is no possibility to insert anything between *no* and a following verb, if *no* is in a freestanding position. If, on the other hand, it is part of a copular pronoun, then it is possible for the pronoun’s dependents to be placed between the copular pronoun and the verb. Example (6) demonstrates a dependent participle inserted between a copular pronoun containing *no* and a finite verb ‘to be’. This addition points out affix features in *no*.

- (6) *hibe juul-Ø-be wond-i e*  
 COP.3<sub>PL</sub><sup>BE</sup> pray-ACT.PFV.PTCP-<sub>PL</sub><sup>BE</sup> be-ACT.ST PREP  
*jamaa on fop*  
 people<sub>SG</sub><sup>O</sup> DEF<sub>SG</sub><sup>O</sup> all  
 ‘They who prayed [Muslims] lived with all other people.’

The NON-SELECTIVITY criterion in Pular presents the difficulties, described by Haspelmath (2017: 47). *No* is not strictly selective: it can be combined with more than just finite verb forms and infinitives as it is also a locative copula. It can even be included in copular pronouns. Thus, there is very serious doubt that it is an affix. However, *no* is not truly non-selective, as it is a grammatical element in its current state, and there is only a limited number of contexts for it.

The NON-COORDINATABILITY criterion is very easily checked for Pular, as the coordination of stative predicates is frequently encountered in the texts. As can be seen from (7), in such cases there is no ellipsis of *no*, and since affixes cannot be omitted in coordination, that does not rule out a possibility of this status. Yet, this is the only conclusion that can be made from the criterion, as it only demonstrates a certain level of fusion between *no* and the verb, and there are no restrictions on what has to be kept in coordination.

- (7) *bibbe*            *no*    *am-a*                    *no*    *fj-a*                    *no*  
 children<sub>PL</sub>BE COP    dance-ACT.PROG    COP    play-ACT.PROG    COP  
*yim-a*  
 sing-ACT.PROG  
 ‘The children dance, sing and play’.

The next two criteria are inapplicable for Pular because there is no way that *no*, having no semantic information, can be subject to an anaphora or pronominalization, whether island or not, and there is nothing that can be extracted of a non-composite item.

Although there are many cases of affix-stem idiosyncrasies in Pular, *no* never undergoes or triggers IDIOSYNCRATIC SUPPLETIVE ALTERATIONS, which are both universal affix properties. Therefore, judging by this criterion, *no* might be a word or a clitic, but definitely not an affix.

The last of Haspelmath’s criteria applicable to *no* in Pular is DEVIATION FROM BIUNIQUENESS. There are several instances of such deviations present on morphological level, including zero marking in

nominal and verbal morphology, and cumulative exponence, but only the latter seems applicable to the use of *no* in complex verbal predicates, namely, the use of it as part of copular pronouns. There is an obvious case of multiple exponence in the use of *no*, as both it and its corresponding lexical verb have different meanings in the contexts where they are encountered separately, but it is rather a syntactic than a morphological feature in Pular, as the head of the predicate changes depending on such context. In (8), there are three examples of combined and different use of the stative constituents. (8a) presents a typical stative construction, in (8b) one can see a locative construction with a copula, but no verb, and, finally, in (8c), there is a sentence with a finite verb with the same affix, as in (8a), but without *no* the verb form is analyzed as a weaker perfective aspect.

- (8) a. *mo kala e mabbe no mar-i biddo*  
 3<sub>.SG</sub>O every PREP OBL.3<sub>.PL</sub>BE COP **get-ACT.ST** child<sub>.SG</sub>O  
*gooto*  
 one<sub>.SG</sub>O  
 ‘Every one of them had [and still has] one child.’
- b. *patron makko no ka nder suudu*  
 master<sub>.SG</sub>O POSS.3<sub>.SG</sub>O COP PREP inside house<sub>.SG</sub>NDU  
 ‘His master was inside the house.’
- c. *ko hondun o mar-i*  
 PART INTER<sub>.SG</sub>DUM 3<sub>.SG</sub>O **get-ACT.PFV.W**  
 ‘What did she get?’

The last morphological criterion to be tested here is the possibility of ARBITRARY GAPS in complex verbal predicates. In Pular, *no* can technically be combined with any verb in three certain forms. There is a condition on the aspectual class of the verb, as the resulting constructions have restrictions. For example, a stative construction can only be formed using Durative and Telic, or Stative verbs (terms by Comrie 1976). There is a wide choice of such verbs, and all of them

can be combined with *no*. Thus, it can be generally stated that there are no arbitrary gaps observed in complex verbal predicates. Judging by this criterion, *no* behaves as a clitic.

Overall, the morphological criteria deny the possibility of *no* as part of the complex verbal predicates to be an affix. However, the tests of the criteria do not provide enough bases to label it as a word. This brings one to a conclusion that the only possible morphological status of *no* in such constructions would be a clitic.

#### 4. Semantic criteria

The only relevant semantic quality of the Pular constructions with *no* is their SEMANTIC NON-COMPOSITIONALITY. According to Haspelmath (2017: 36), it rules out the possibility of judging *no* as a separate word. This sets the difference between such constructions and other complex verbal predicates like serial and light verb constructions, where the auxiliary element is a finite verb form (as in (9a)), thus being semantically and grammatically composite. However, there are other types of complex verb constructions, like desiderative ones with particles (as in (9b)), and, in Boye’s (2010: 93) terms, raising verbs, that also have a non-compositional auxiliary, so the case of stative and progressive is not really a unique case in Pular.

(9) a. Serial verb construction with a semantically composite auxiliary

*bonooru ar-i taw-i yimbe*  
 hyena.<sub>SG</sub>NDU come-ACT.PFV.W find-ACT.PFV.W people.<sub>PL</sub>BE  
 ‘Hyena came and saw the people...’ (Koval 2005: 362)

b. Desiderative with particle

*bay neene makko nel-ii mo*  
 since mother.<sub>SG</sub>O POSS.3.<sub>SG</sub>O send-ACT.PFV.S DO.3.<sub>SG</sub>O  
*alaa ko o waaw-i kon maa o yeh-a*  
 NEG REL 3.<sub>SG</sub>O be.able-ACT.PFV DEF PART 3.<sub>SG</sub>O go-ACT.DEB  
 ‘Since her mother sent her, there’s nothing she can do, she has to go.’

On the other hand, the whole complex verbal predicate, including *no*, is more SEMANTICALLY BOUND than a usual word combination in Pular (noun and preposition or other verbal predicates), which, according to Mel'čuk (1997: 199), is a quality attributed to words.

## 5. Conclusion

Having applied all the relevant universal criteria above to Pular data, it is obvious that the morphosyntactic status of independent *no* in complex verb constructions can be defined as a clitic. There are some general criteria for clitics provided in Mel'čuk (1997: 212–217), all of them coincide with the features of *no*. Such criteria are:

- the absence of phrasal accent,
- the absence of synchronic source of grammaticalization in the language,
- the morphological alienation (lack of common morphological properties) from the lexical verb.

In Table 2, all relevant criteria are summarized.

*Table 2*

**The summary of criteria**

	Criteria	Word	Affix
Phonology	Syllable structure	-	n/a
	Pauses	n/a	+
	Phrasal accent	-	+
	Degree of attachment	n/a	-
Morphology	Verb structure	n/a	+/-
	Free occurrence	-	-
	Uninterruptability	-	+
	Non-selectivity	+/-	-
	idiosyncrasies	+	-
	Arbitrary gaps	-	-
Semantics	Non-compositionality	-	+
	Semantic boundedness	+	-
Other	Orthographic tradition	+	-

The phonological criteria, although ambiguously, point out that *no* in complex verbal predicates is not a phonological word, but might be an affix. However, the morphological criteria almost unanimously deny this possibility. Some criteria point it out as *not a word*, and others deny it the properties of an affix; in combination, these two types exclude all other possibilities than a clitic.

### Abbreviations

1 – 1 <sup>ST</sup> person	OBL – oblique
3 – 3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	PART – particle
DAM, KUN, NDE, NDU, NGAL, NGU, O – singular noun classes	PFV – perfective
BE, DE, DI – plural noun classes	PL – plural
ACT – active voice	POSS – possessive
COP – copula	PREP – preposition
DEB – debitive mood	PROG – progressive
DEF – definite article	PTCP – participle
DO – direct object	REL – relative pronoun
INF – infinitive	SG – singular
INTER – interrogative pronoun	ST – stative
MD – middle voice	W – weaker aspect
NEG – negative	

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