

Preliminary description of Ngen pronominal elements

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1. Basic information¹

Ngen (ISO 639-3, gnj), an endangered South Mande language, counts ca. 1000 speakers who live in Djonkro village in the Prikro prefecture north-west Côte d'Ivoire; some Ngen speakers live in Abidjan. Ngen is most closely related to Beng; for more on Beng, see (Paperno 2014).

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The terms “pronoun” and “agreement marker” have been extensively discussed in the literature and were thoroughly described in (Haspelmath 2013) and specifically for Mande languages in (Konoshenko 2015). In the current paper, I follow the ideas of Vydrin (2010: 387), where the term “pronominal predicative marker” is proposed for Dan-Gueta and other South Mande languages. The PPMs can also be analysed as “agreement markers” in terms of (Kibrik 2011: 120–121) and (Creissels 2005: 3).

Section 1 is a general introduction; Section 2 describes the inventory of pronominal elements; Section 3 covers the use of pronominal elements in non-verbal sentences; Section 4 includes the description of pronominal elements in verbal sentences; Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Inventory of pronominal elements

In Ngen, tense, aspect, modality, and polarity (TAMP) are marked mostly on pronominal elements (cf. Table 1), and in some cases also on verbal forms and auxiliaries (cf. Section 4). All pronominal elements distinguish three persons and two numbers. Key differences between pronominal predicative markers (PPMs) and basic subject pronouns (BS) are presented in Section 4.3. Forms in brackets are the result of

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fusion in the speech of some speakers, cf. Section 4.2.1. “Basic” and “Derived” terms for PPMs are chosen following (Zhel'tov 2011).

Series		1 SG	2 SG	3 SG	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
Non-subject pronouns		ń	yē/yī	à	bā	kā	wò
Possessive pronouns		ń	yī	à	bā	kā	wò
Emphatic pronouns		ń̄	yī	à	bà	kà	wò
Basic subject pronouns (BS)	AFF	ń̄	yī	è	bā	kā	wò
	NEG	ń	yì	à	bá	ká	wò (<wō à)
Basic pronominal predicative markers (BPM)	AFF	ń̄	yī	è	bā	kā	wò
	NEG	ń (má < ń bá)	yì (yá < yì bá)	à (àà < à bá)	bá	ká	wò (<wō à)
Derived pronominal predicative markers (DPM)	AFF	ń	yá	à	bā	kā	wà (<wō à)
	NEG	má	yá	àà	bá	ká	wà (<wō à)
Imperative	AFF	–	Ø/yì	–	–	kà	–
	NEG	–	yà	–	–	kà	–

Table 1. Pronominal elements

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns, found in most Southern Mande languages (Vydrin 2006), is absent in Ngen.

With regards to number, there is a distinction between dual and plural in the imperative constructions: when there is only one interlocutor, a verb *tua* ‘to leave/to let’ + 1PL pronoun is used (1); an additional 2PL pronoun of the imperative affirmative series is required if there are two or more addressees (2). For the negative imperative, sentences *yà* and *kà* from the imperative negative series are used (3, 4); no dual form is available.

- (1) *Eúá bā blè.*
let 1PL.BS eat:L

‘Let’s eat!’ (me and you (sg.))

- (2) *Kà túá bā blè.*
2PL.IMP let 1PL.BS eat:L

‘Let’s eat!’ (me and you (pl.))

- (3) *Kùàkú yà gbíní blè fíj nè sēē ò.*
 Kuaku 2SG.IMP.NEG manioc eat:L day FOC all NEG
 ‘Kuaku, don’t eat manioc every day!’
- (4) *Kà báj zè ò.*
 2PL.IMP.NEG sheep kill:L NEG
 ‘Don’t kill the sheep!’ (to many people)

3. Pronominal elements in non-verbal sentences

Only one type of pronominal element can be used as a subject in non-verbal sentences: basic subject pronouns (BS). They do not carry verbal features in contrast to PPMs and can be replaced by a full-fledged NP (5 – 10).

- (5) *Ī má s̄wāḷāḡ.*
 1SG.BS COP Ngen
 ‘I am Ngen.’
- (6) *Ālī mā gú.*
 Ali COP blacksmith
 ‘Ali is a blacksmith.’
- (7) *Ālī bāmā gú ò.*
 Ali COP.NEG blacksmith NEG
 ‘Ali is not a blacksmith.’
- (8) *Yī bé pòḡ.*
 2SG.BS COP field
 ‘You are in the field.’
- (9) *Ká bá nḡ ò.*
 2PL.BS.NEG COP.NEG here NEG
 ‘You (2pl.) are not here.’
- (10) *Dó dō bé nḡ.*
 termite one COP here
 ‘There is one termite here.’

Non-verbal sentences with temporal reference to the past include the marker *ékè* in their structure, but pronouns remain the same (BS).

- (11) *Ékè ĩ̄ má s̄wāḷāḡ.*
 RETR 1SG.BS COP Ngen
 ‘I was Ngen.’

Non-verbal sentences attested with temporal reference to the future were translated as verbal sentences with the verb *yè* ‘to become’:

- (12) *Ī bé yè s̄wāḷāḡ.*
 1SG.BS AUX become:L Ngen

‘I will be Ngen.’

3.1 Personal pronouns in non-subject positions

Series	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
Non-subject pronouns	ń	yē	à	bā	kā	wò
Possessive pronouns	ń	yī	à	bā	kā	wò
Emphatic pronouns	ń̄	yī	à	bà	kà	wò

Table 2. Personal pronouns

3.1.1 Non-subject pronouns

Non-subject pronouns are used in the positions of direct and indirect object. These pronouns are glossed as 3SG, 2PL, etc., without a specification of their syntactic function (13 – 15):

(13) *Á túá!*

3SG leave/let

‘Forgive (this)!’

(14) *Túá ń dó wò má bī.*

let 1SG.BS follow:H 3PL there in

‘Let me follow them there.’ (tx)

(15) *Wà wò làà lē.*

3PL.DPM.AFF 3PL ask CNS

‘And everyone asked them (the dog and the monkey).’ (tx)

Non-subject pronouns are used in sentences with the reflexive element *tēń̄*² (16 – 18).

(16) *Í ń tēń̄ yè.*

1SG.DPM.AFF 1SG RFL see:L

‘I saw myself.’

(17) *Yá yī tēń̄ yè.*

2SG.DPM.AFF 2SG RFL see:L

‘You (sg.) saw yourself.’

(18) *Á à tēń̄ yè*

3SG.DPM.AFF 3SG RFL see:L

‘He saw himself.’

3.1.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive series is used to mark the possessor in NPs (19 – 22).

² Different speakers pronounce it as [tēń̄] or [cēń̄].

- (19) *à tē*
 3SG.POSS road
 ‘his road’
- (20) *í lé*
 1SG.POSS mouth
 ‘my mouth’
- (21) *Í p̄ bá l̄.*
 1SG.POSS thing COP.NEG NEG
 ‘It is not my thing.’

Definite possessive construction in terms of (Stassen 2009: 28) with the meaning ‘X is yours’, ‘X is his’, etc. has the following structure:

X (subject) + definite article + auxiliary *bé* + verb *yē* ‘to become’ + possessive pronoun + possessive marker/noun with the meaning “property” *mó* (which possibly goes back to *í p̄* ‘my thing’, because, in a similar construction in Ben, just *p̄* ‘thing’ is used).

- (22) *Yi lé bé yè k̄ mó.*
 water DEF AUX become:L 2PL.POSS property
 ‘The water is for you (pl.).’

3.1.3 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic series marks a contrasting highlight. It is used in identification sentences, which have the following structure.

Affirmative: NP / emphatic pronoun + copula *l̄³*. Negative: NP / emphatic pronoun + copula *bó* + negative particle *l̄*. In Table 5 the sample phrase “It is X (me, you, etc.)” is presented, which is the response for the question ‘Who has eaten the dinner?’.

	Ngen	Translation	Ngen	Translation
1SG	<i>ī m̄ n̄</i>	‘It is me.’	<i>ī m̄ bá l̄</i>	‘It is not me.’
2SG	<i>yī l̄</i>	‘It is you.’	<i>yī bá l̄</i>	‘It is not you.’
3SG	<i>à mànà n̄</i>	‘It is he/she.’	<i>à mànà bá l̄</i>	‘It is not he/she.’
1PL	<i>bà l̄</i>	‘It is us.’	<i>bà bá l̄</i>	‘It is not us.’
2PL	<i>kà l̄</i>	‘It is you.’	<i>kà bá l̄</i>	‘It is not you.’
3PL	<i>wò l̄</i>	‘It is them.’	<i>wò bá l̄</i>	‘It is not them.’

Table 5. Emphatic pronouns in the phrase “It is X”

Emphatic 1SG and 3SG pronouns are used with the markers *m̄* and *mànà* respectively. Marker *mànà* is encountered in a demonstrative phrase:

³ *l̄* changes to *n̄* after a preceding nasalized foot or a foot-final *-ŋ*.

- (23) *Á mànà yè là!*
 3SG CNS look on
 ‘Here he is! Look at him!’

Marker *m̄* probably is a relativization marker. Constructions without these markers (**ḡ nē* ‘This is me’ or **à lē* ‘This is you’) are ungrammatical.

4. Pronominal elements in verbal sentences

To illustrate the difference in the use of PPMs and subject pronouns, let us first consider the full inventory of TAMP-constructions in verbal sentences.

4.1. Inventory of TAMP-constructions

Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity are expressed on pronominal elements, verbal forms, and auxiliaries. Below, this is illustrated by the conjugation of the intransitive verb *drá* ‘to fall’.

Past Affirmative: PPM Derived series + Low-tone verbal form

- (24) *Í drà.*
 1SG.DPM.AFF fall:L
 ‘I fell.’ (‘When I went to the village, I fell.’)
- (25) *Á drà.*
 3SG.DPM.AFF fall:L
 ‘He/she fell.’

Past Negative: PPM Derived Negative series + Basic verbal form + *ǎ/à*

- (26) *Àà drá à.*
 3SG.DPM.NEG fall NEG
 ‘He/she did not fall.’

Perfect Affirmative: PPM Derived series + Basic verbal form + *nà*

Perfect has the default time reference to the present and expresses perfect aspect.

- (27) *Í drá-nà.*
 1SG.DPM.AFF fall-PRF
 ‘I have fallen (and I’m still on the ground).’

The perfect aspect of the verb *drá* ‘to fall’ combines, in particular, with the temporal adverb *gbīḡ* ‘yesterday’ (28). However, several other verbs can not combine with *gbīḡ*; the grammatical semantics of this construction needs a further investigation.

- (28) *Á drá-nà gbīḡ.*
 3SG.DPM.AFF fall-PRF yesterday
 ‘He/she has fallen yesterday (and he is still on the ground).’

Perfect Negative: PPM Derived Negative series + Basic verbal form + *ǎ*

- (29) *Áà* *drá* *ǎ*.
 3SG.DPM.NEG fall:H NEG

‘He/she has not fallen (and he/she is still on his/her feet).’

Habitual Affirmative: PPM Basic series + Low-tone verbal form

A habitual action or state, with temporal reference to the present.

- (30) *È* *drà*.
 3SG.BPM.AFF fall:L

‘He falls (usually).’

Habitual Negative: PPM Derived Negative series + High-tone verbal form +

(ǎ)

- (31) *Áà* *drá* (*ǎ*).
 3SG.DPM.NEG fall:H NEG

‘He does not fall (usually).’

Future Affirmative: Basic pronoun series + Low-tone verbal form

There are two grammatical constructions for reference to the future: fused and non-fused⁴. They have no semantic difference. The non-fused forms are shown in (32b, 33b).

- (32a) *Mé* *drà*.
 1SG.FUT.AFF fall:L

- (32b) *Ī* *bé* *drà*.
 1SG.BS AUX fall:L

‘I will fall.’

- (33a) *Èè* *drà*.
 3SG.FUT.AFF fall:L

- (33b) *È* *bé* *drà*.
 3SG.BS AUX fall:L

‘He will fall.’

Future Negative: Basic pronoun series + negative auxiliary *bá* + Basic verbal form + ǎ

- (34a) *Ká* *drá*.
 2PL.FUT.NEG fall

⁴ The contracted forms should likely not be treated as separate grammatical constructions but rather as a result of general rules of contracted or ‘rapid’ speech applied to a phrase, but this warrants further research.

- (34b) *Kā bá drá ò.*
 2PL.BS AUX.NEG fall NEG
 ‘You (2pl) will not fall.’

Progressive Affirmative: Basic pronoun series + auxiliary *bé* + Basic verbal form + *là*⁵

The progressive expresses a process. Ngen speakers usually use fused forms in their speech (35a, 36b), but non-fused forms also exist. They are given in (35b) and (36b).

- (35a) *Mé drá-là.*
 1SG.PROG.AFF fall-PROG

- (35b) *Í bé drá-là.*
 1SG.BS AUX fall-PROG

‘I am falling.’

- (36a) *Èè drá-là.*
 3SG.PROG.AFF fall-PROG

- (36b) *È bé drá-là.*
 3SG.BS AUX fall-PROG

‘He is falling.’

Progressive Negative: Basic pronoun series + auxiliary *bá* + Basic verbal form + *là* + (*ò*)

- (37a) *Má drá-là (ò).*
 3SG.PROG.NEG fall-PROG NEG

- (37b) *Í bá drá-là.*
 1SG.BS AUX.NEG fall-PROG

‘I am not falling.’

Imperative: (auxiliary verb *túá* ‘to leave/to let’) + (Basic pronoun series / Imperative pronoun series) + Low-tone verb

Imperative expresses a command or request.

- (38) *(kà) drà*
 2PL.IMP fall:L

‘Fall!’ (to more than one person)

- (39) *Túá ñ drà.*
 let 1SG.BS fall:L

‘Let me fall.’

⁵ Suffix *là* (or *nà* after a nasal syllable) likely marks an infinitive form.

Unfortunately, I did not collect a negative imperative example for *drá* ‘to fall’.

In summary, there are formally different constructions with the following temporal, aspectual and modal meanings: habitual, past, perfect, progressive, future, imperative. Each affirmative construction has a negative counterpart, but the counterparts are not necessarily symmetrical (cf. Section 4.3 ‘Asymmetrical use of pronominal elements’).

4.2. Pronominal predicative markers

Pronominal predicative markers (Vydrin 2010: 387) are functional words that simultaneously express two types of grammatical meanings: person-number, on the one hand, and “verbal” (tense, aspect, modality, polarity) grammatical meanings on the other hand. They are obligatory even when a full-fledged subject NP is present. In Ngen, they are used to express past, perfect and habitual in any polarity. Subject pronouns are used in combination with separate auxiliaries *bé/bá* to express other grammatical categories. Accordingly, subject pronouns in Ngen do not express tense, aspect, polarity, and modality, but PPMs do.

Examples (40 – 46) illustrate the use of predicative pronominal markers.

- (40) *Mɛ̀nɛ̀ nɛ̀ à ɲ́ pà.*
 chicken DEF 3SG.DPM.AFF 1SG bite:L
 ‘A chicken pecked me.’ (Past Affirmative)
- (41) *Mɛ̀nɛ̀ nɛ̀ àà ɲ́ pà (à).*
 chicken DEF 3SG.DPM.NEG 1SG bite NEG
 ‘A chicken did not peck me.’ (Past Negative)
- (42) *Á wè à yɔ̃ɲ̃-nà.*
 3SG salt 3SG.DPM.AFF wet-PRF
 ‘His salt has become wet.’ (tx) (Perfect Affirmative)
- (43) *Músà lē Áli lē wà yò m̀i-nà.*
 Musa with Ali with 3PL.DPM.AFF alcohol drink-PRF
 ‘Musa and Ali have drunk alcohol.’ (Perfect Affirmative)
- (44) *Áà ló bí ò.*
 3SG.DPM.NEG come IN NEG
 ‘He has not come.’ (tx) (Perfect Negative)
- (45) *Í bélé-nù wò Kùàkū d̀.*
 1SG parent-PL 3SG.BPM Kuaku know:L
 ‘My parents know Kuaku.’ (Habitual affirmative)
- (46) *Í bélé-nù wòā Kùàkū d́ ̄.*
 1SG parent-PL 3SG.DPM.NEG Kuaku know:H NEG
 ‘My parents do not know Kuaku.’ (Habitual negative)

4.2.1. Variation in the forms of pronominal predicative markers

There is variation in the forms of PPMs in the speech of different speakers. Table 2 shows the PPM in the form used by both of my language assistants. The variants of the unfused PPMs and auxiliaries proposed by Kuajou Kuajou Yakuba and their portmanteau forms are shown in brackets. Fused forms can also be found in narratives recorded in Djonkro in 2019 from two other speakers: Amar Kuame Issuf (66 y.o) and Sinan Kuaku Abudu (70 y.o.). Fused and non-fused forms are considered to have the same meaning in the opinion of Kuajou Kuajou Yakuba.

		1 SG	2 SG	3 SG	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
Basic pronominal predicative markers (BPM)	+	ŋ̄	yī	è	bā	kā	wò
	–	ń (má < ń bá)	yì (yá < yì bá)	à (àà < à bá)	bá	ká	wò (<wō à)
Derived pronominal predicative markers (DPM)	+	ń	yá	à	bā	kā	wà (<wō à)
	–	má	yá	àà	bá	ká	wà (<wō à)

Table 2. Pronominal predicative markers in Ngen

The basic negative and derived negative series are clearly distinguished from each other in the form of 3PL (*wò* vs. *wà*). As for the rest of the word forms of the paradigm, in the speech of Sualio Watara, the auxiliary is always separate, and there is no merger of the two forms. For example, *ń bá* ‘I exist’ is never realised as *má*. To the contrary, Kuadjo Kuadjo Yakuba considers both fused and non-fused forms as possible and treats them as belonging to different registers: *ń bà* ‘I exist’ is used in full, slow speech, and *má* is used in colloquial, rapid speech (47, 48).

- (47) *Í* *bá* *báń* *zé* *ò*.
 1SG.BPM.NEG AUX.NEG sheep kill:H NEG

‘I do not kill sheep (usually).’ (Sualio Watara)

- (48) *Má* / *ń* *bá* *báń* *zé* *ò*.
 3SG.BPM.NEG / 3SG.BPM AUX.NEG sheep kill:H NEG

‘I do not kill sheep (usually).’ (Kuadjo Kuadjo Yakuba)

4.3 Asymmetrical use of PPMs and subject pronouns

PPMs are used in the affirmative habitual, past, and perfect constructions, i.e., constructions without the *bé* or *bá* auxiliary. In other constructions (with a separate *bé* or *bá* auxiliary), pronominal series are used. Compare, for example, the past (49a, 49b) and future (50a, 50b) constructions:

(49a) *Mènè` nè` à` ò'` pà.*
 chicken DEF 3SG.DPM.AFF 1SG bite:L

‘A chicken pecked me.’

(49b) *À` ò'` pà.*
 3SG.DPM.AFF 1SG bite:L

‘It pecked me.’

(49c) *Mènè` nè` *Ø` ò'` pà.*
 chicken DEF *Ø 1SG bite:L

(‘A chicken pecked me.’)

(50a) *Mènè` nè` bé` ò'` pà.*
 chicken DEF AUX 1SG bite:L

‘A chicken will peck me.’

(50b) *È` bé` ò'` pà.*
 3SG.BS AUX 1SG bite:L

‘It will peck me.’

In the past tense construction with a non-zero subject (49a), the pronominal predicative marker *à* (3SG.DPM.AFF) is required. From a historical perspective, this marker is probably the result of a fusion between a pronoun and an auxiliary verb, as is described, for example, for Guro (Konoshenko 2015: 57; Kuznetsova 2008: 33–34). In terms of their form, basic PPMs coincide with the pronouns used in constructions with a pronominalised subject of type (49b). For the future tense, the pronominal predicative marker is not required. In the case of a pronominalised subject, the basic affirmative series, as in (50b), is used. Thus, for those TAMP-constructions in which a PPM is used, an auxiliary cannot appear (50c).

(50c) **Mènè` nè` à` be/ba` ò'` pà.*
 chicken DEF 3SG.DPM.AFF AUX 1SG bite:L

*‘A chicken pecked me.’

In those constructions where an auxiliary is present, pronouns (but not PPMs) are used (50b). The sentence (50d) with PPM and auxiliary is ungrammatical.

(50d) **À` bé` ò'` pà.*
 3SG.DPM.AFF AUX 1SG bite:L

*‘It will peck me.’

Different pronominal (or PPM) series are used in affirmative and negative sentences. Consider the habitual meaning of the sentence “He kills / does not kill sheep.” To express an affirmative habitual meaning (51), the PPM of the basic series is used; however, the PPM of the derived series is used in the habitual negative construction (52):

- (51) È *báń-nú* *zè*.
 3SG.BPM sheep-PL kill:L
 ‘He kills sheep.’
- (52) Àà *báń-nú* *zé* ò.
 3SG.DPM.NEG sheep-PL kill:H NEG
 ‘He does not kill sheep.’

In order to illustrate the asymmetrical use of pronominal series and PPMs in more detail, a complete table of pronominal elements in verbal sentences is presented below.

	Affirmative sentence		Negative sentence	
Progressive I	Basic pronoun series affirmative (BS)	<i>bé</i> + V: Basic form + <i>là</i>	Basic pronoun series affirmative (BS)	<i>bá</i> + V: Basic form + <i>là</i> + (<i>ò</i>)
Future I		<i>bé</i> + V: Low-tone		<i>bá</i> + V: Basic form + <i>ò</i>
Imperative-optative	Basic pronoun series affirmative (BS) / Imperative pronoun series (IMP)	V: Low-tone	Basic pronoun series affirmative (BS) / Imperative pronoun series (IMP)	V: Low-tone
Habitual	Basic PPM affirmative series (BPM)	V: Low-tone	Derived PPM negative series (DPM.NEG)	V: High-tone + (<i>ò</i>)
Past	Derived PPM affirmative series (DPM)	V: Low-tone		V: Basic form + <i>ò/à</i>
Perfect		Verb: Basic form + <i>nà</i>		Verb: Basic form + <i>ò</i>

Table 3.1 The use of subject pronouns and PPMs with verbal forms in a sentence

5. Conclusion

In total, eleven series of pronominal elements can be distinguished in Ngen: four series of pronominal predicative markers, two series of basic subject pronouns (which are homonymous with the PPMs of the basic series), three series of personal pronouns that are used in non-subject positions, and two defective series of low-tone imperative pronouns. The distinction between inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns is absent in Ngen.

In terms of Creissels (2005: 2), Ngen pronominal markers are situated in two simultaneous stages of “an evolution whose starting point is the cliticization of free pronouns.” Stage I subject pronouns are in complementary distribution with the corresponding noun phrase in the subject position. It is observed in progressive, future, imperative, and habitual constructions. The second stage of development: pronominal elements obligatorily appear alongside a full-fledged NP. It is observed in the perfect, past, and, likely, habitual constructions (in certain contexts). The third stage in the evolution of the syntactic properties of pronominal markers: “pronominal markers must include a noun phrase or a free pronoun referring to the same entity (as the English marker *-s*)” is not observed in Ngen.

Moreover, an additional feature of Ngen is the asymmetrical use of pronominal predicative series in the past tense, perfect, and habitual constructions. For example, affirmative habitual sentences use the basic PPMs, while negative habitual sentences use the derived PPMs. A series of basic pronouns, homonymous to the basic PPM series, is used to express progressive and future tenses, but can be replaced by a full-fledged NP. Another interesting finding is that the non-subject, possessive, and emphatic series differ in 2SG, while usually in Southern Mande, the most contrastive in the pronominal series are forms of 3SG or 1SG.

Glosses

´	high tone
`	low tone
-	mid tone
^	falling (mid-low) tone
+	affirmative polarity series
-	negative polarity series
Adj	adjective
BPM	predicative marker of the Basic series
BS	basic series of pronouns
CNS	construction marker
COP	copula
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DPM	predicative marker of the Derived series
EMP	emphatic series of pronouns
FOC	focus
FUT	future series

IMP	imperative series
N	noun
NEG	negation
NP	noun phrase
O	object
PL	plural
POSS	possesive pronoun
PRF	perfect series
PROG	progressive series
RETR	retrospective marker
RFL	reflexive determinative
S	subject
SG	singular
tx	example from a spontaneous text (not an elicited example)
V	verb

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Tatiana Korol

Preliminary description of Ngen pronominal elements

The paper provides a preliminary description of the pronominal elements of Ngen, a South Mande language spoken in Côte d’Ivoire. Pronominal elements are divided into three groups by morpho-syntactic characteristics: subject pronouns, personal pronouns in non-subject positions, and pronominal predicative markers (PPM). Subject pronouns and PPMs express not only person and number but also tense, aspect, modality, and polarity. PPMs differ from pronouns in their syntactic features: they are obligatory in the sentences with a full-fledged subject NP, while personal pronouns are not. The PPM are used to express the past tense, perfect, and habitual, while the basic subject pronouns are used to express the progressive and future tense.

Key words: Ngen, South Mande, agreement markers, personal pronoun, subject pronoun, pronominal predicative marker

Tatiana Korol

Une description préliminaire des éléments pronominaux du ngen

Il s'agit d'une description préliminaire des éléments pronominaux du ngen, une langue mandé-sud parlée en Côte d'Ivoire. Les éléments pronominaux de cette langue se subdivisent en trois groupes : les pronoms subjectifs, les pronoms personnels non-subjectifs et les marqueurs prédicatifs pronominaux (MPP). A part les valeurs de personne et de nombre, les pronoms subjectifs et les MPP expriment le temps et l'aspect, le mode et la polarité (affirmation ou négation). Les MPP se distinguent des pronoms en leurs caractéristiques syntaxiques : ils sont obligatoires dans les propositions avec un groupe nominal en fonction sujet, et les pronoms subjectifs n'apparaissent pas dans ce contexte. Les MPP apparaissent dans les constructions verbales du passé, du parfait et de l'habituel, et les pronoms sujets sont utilisés dans les constructions du progressif et du futur.

Mots clé : ngen, mandé-sud, pronoms personnels, pronom sujet, marques de concord, marque prédicative pronominale

Татьяна Геннадиевна Король

Предварительное описание прономинальных элементов нген

Данная работа представляет собой первое описание прономинальных элементов языка нген. Этот язык принадлежит к группе южных манде, он распространен на северо-востоке Кот-д'Ивуара. В статье прономинальные элементы разделены на три группы по морфо-синтаксическим характеристикам: личные субъектные местоимения, личные местоимения в несубъектной позиции и местоименно-предикативные показатели (МПП). Субъектные местоимения и МПП выражают не только грамматические категории лица и числа, но и категории времени, вида, наклонения и полярности. МПП отличаются от местоимений по своим синтаксическим свойствам: их нельзя опустить в предложениях с подлежащим, выраженным именной группой, в то время как субъектные местоимения могут быть опущены. МПП используются в глагольных конструкциях прошедшего времени, перфекта и хабитуалиса, а субъектные местоимения – в конструкциях прогрессива и будущего времени.

Ключевые слова: нген, южные манде, согласование, личные местоимения, местоименно-предикативные показатели