



Locative, Presentative and Progressive Constructions in Atlantic Languages

Maximilien Guérin

► To cite this version:

Maximilien Guérin. Locative, Presentative and Progressive Constructions in Atlantic Languages. Michela Russo. The Emergence of Grammars. A Closer Look at Dialects between Phonology and Morphosyntax, Nova Sciences, pp.305-342, 2021, Languages and Linguistics, 978-1-53619-888-1. halshs-03353758

HAL Id: halshs-03353758

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03353758>

Submitted on 28 Oct 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Author accepted (peer-reviewed) manuscript.

Guérin, Maximilien. 2021. Locative, Presentative and Progressive Constructions in Atlantic Languages. In Michela Russo (ed.), *The Emergence of Grammars. A Closer Look at Dialects between Phonology and Morphosyntax*, 305-342. New York : Nova Sciences.

LOCATIVE, PRESENTATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ATLANTIC LANGUAGES

Maximilien Guérin*

LLACAN (UMR 8135) CNRS, Paris, France

ABSTRACT

While Atlantic languages are genetically related, the many differences they display indicate that they have been diverging from each other over a long time. These differences show up clearly when one considers the distinctions expressed in the languages' verb morphology and the markers used to convey such distinctions. However, most Atlantic languages do have a prototypical locative construction which can also be used as a presentative and/or progressive construction. The use of a locative construction to express progressive and/or presentative is not specific to the Atlantic family. Nevertheless, both the structure of this construction and the form of the marker associated with it can be regarded as a characteristic of this family, as both are shared by a large majority of Atlantic languages, but not attested in any language in contact with a member of the Atlantic grouping. In this chapter, I assume that the aforementioned construction is inherited from Proto-Atlantic, and that its marker has grammaticalized from a previous demonstrative determiner.

Keywords: locative, progressive, presentative, Atlantic languages

* Corresponding Author's Email: mguerin.ling@gmail.com.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANAPH=	anaphoric;	LP	=	locative phrase;	
CL	=	noun class	MD	=	medial (deixis);
		marker;	N	=	neuter;
COP	=	copula;	NP	=	noun phrase /
DEIC	=	deictic marker;			lexical subject;
DEM	=	demonstrative;	PFV	=	perfective;
DEP	=	dependency;	PL	=	plural;
DET	=	determiner;	POSS	=	possessive;
DF	=	definite;	POSTP	=	postposition;
DT	=	distal (deixis);	PREP	=	preposition;
EMPH	=	emphatic;	PRF	=	perfect;
EXCL	=	exclusive	PRO	=	strong pronoun;
		(pronoun);	PRST	=	presentative;
FOC	=	focus;	PX	=	proximal (deixis);
GEN	=	genitive;	S	=	subject pronoun;
GER	=	gerundive;	SBJ	=	subject;
HUM	=	human (noun	SG	=	singular;
		class);	TAM	=	tense-aspect-
INCL	=	inclusive			mood;
		(pronoun);	VD	=	verbal
INF	=	infinitive;			dependency;
IPFV	=	imperfective;	VP	=	verb phrase.
LOC	=	locative;			

1. INTRODUCTION

The genetic distance between Atlantic languages is very great (Pozdniakov 2011). Thus, it is not surprising to find some significant differences among these languages with respect to the distinctions expressed by verbal morphology and in the markers which are used to convey these distinctions, more so if we take into account the fact that the historical processes which renew verbal morphology are relatively fast (Creissels 2006, 163).

However, there is a verbal construction attested in all groups of the Atlantic family, which seems to be specific to this family. Nearly all Atlantic languages have a locative construction which can also be used as a presentative and/or progressive construction. The use of a locative construction to express progressive aspect is a relatively common phenomenon (Bybee et al. 1994, 129). It is attested in other Niger-Congo languages, including Godié (Kru), Tyurama (Gur), Maninka (Mande) and Lingala (Bantu), and also in unrelated languages such as Basque (isolate), Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman), Thai (Tai-Kadai) and Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic) (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 97–99). The use of a locative construction to express progressive aspect is thus not confined to Atlantic languages. What is specific to these languages, however, is the structure of the construction and the form of the marker.

The aim of this chapter is to compare the locative ~ presentative ~ progressive constructions in Atlantic languages, in order to show that these constructions are similar in most languages of the family, and thus likely to be inherited from Proto-Atlantic.

The chapter is organized as follows. In Section 2, I introduce the classification of the Atlantic family. Section 3 offers a brief presentation of locative, presentative and progressive constructions. In Section 4, I describe the structure of such constructions in Atlantic languages, with examples drawn from languages belonging to each Atlantic branch and group¹. Section 5 offers an analysis of the key marker of these constructions in Atlantic

¹ Except Nalu group.

languages. I propose a general pattern for this marker using examples from languages belonging to each Atlantic group. Section 6 is a discussion about the origin of these constructions. First, I show that these constructions in Atlantic languages are inherited from Proto-Atlantic. I then propose hypotheses on grammaticalization and reconstruction².

2. THE ATLANTIC LANGUAGES

In this chapter, I adopt the classification proposed by Pozdniakov and Segerer (forthcoming). In this view, the Atlantic family consists of two main branches called North and Bak. In addition, there are a few isolated languages or clusters (Gola, Limba and Sua) for which the authors could not find convincing evidence to include them in any group.

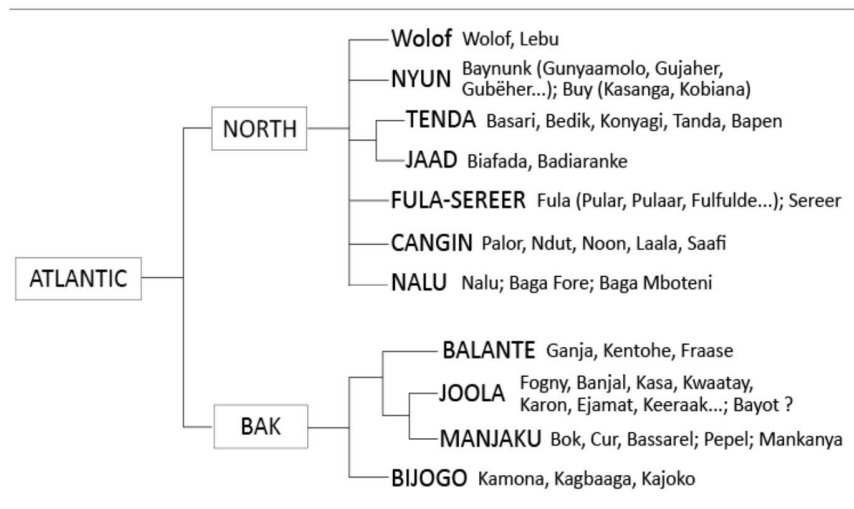


Figure 1. The *internal classification of Atlantic languages* (Pozdniakov and Segerer, forthcoming).

² I would like to thank Konstantin Pozdniakov, Nicolas Quint, Charlotte Danino and Louise Esher for comments and critiques. All errors of course remain the responsibility of the author.

The Mel languages (the former ‘South branch’ of Atlantic family) have been removed from this classification. Indeed, “there is to date no convincing evidence that the Mel languages should be put together with the other Atlantic languages in a single Niger-Congo branch” (Pozdniakov and Segerer, forthcoming).

The sample of Atlantic languages used in this chapter has been selected to be representative of the family. All subgroupings listed in the Pozdniakov and Segerer’s classification are represented by one or more languages.

3. LOCATIVE, PRESENTATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter, I discuss locative, presentative and progressive constructions in several Atlantic languages. A locative construction is a predicative construction which expresses a (spatial or temporal) location. This kind of construction usually uses a specific marker or copula, for instance ‘is’ in English: *He is in the room; Peter is here*. A presentative (or presentational) construction is a predicative construction “which introduces a topic or new topic of discourse” (Matthews 2007, 316)³, for instance in English, *There was a man who was following me yesterday; Here comes the sun*; or in French, *Voilà une personne qui arrive; Me voici*. A progressive construction is a predicative construction which “views an action as ongoing at reference time” (Bybee et al. 1994, 126)⁴, for instance in English, *I am reading your book; She is walking*.

In several grammars of Atlantic languages, the distinction between presentative and progressive constructions is not made clear, as some authors use English progressive sentences to translate forms which appear to be presentative in the Atlantic language. In this chapter, I reproduce the authors’ English translations.

³ For a detailed presentation of presentational constructions, see Lambrecht (1994; 2000).

⁴ For a detailed presentation of progressive constructions, see also Comrie (1976, 32–40).

4. STRUCTURE OF THE CONSTRUCTIONS

In Wolof, the same construction is used for non-verbal locative predicate (1a) and presentative utterances (1b). In both cases, the structure is identical: Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Marker (bearing a deictic marker) + Locative or Verbal Phrase.

- (1) a. Wolof: Locative construction (Diouf 2009, 149)

SBJ=Marker	Locative Phrase		
<i>Ma=a ng-i</i>	<i>c-i</i>	<i>néeg</i>	= <i>b-i</i> .
PRO1SG=PRST-PX	PREP-PX	room	= CLb-DF.PX

‘I am in the room.’

- b. Wolof: Presentative construction (Diouf and Yaguello 1991, 38)

SBJ=Marker	Verb Phrase		
<i>Ma=a ng-i</i>	<i>sopp</i>	<i>xale</i>	= <i>b-ii!</i>
PRO1SG = PRST-PX	like	child	= CLb-DEM.PX

‘It is I who likes the child!’

The situation is similar in Cangin languages. In Laalaa, there is the following structure: Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Marker (which consists of an optional deictic marker, a noun class marker and a second deictic marker) + Locative or Verbal Phrase (2a-b) (Dièye 2011, 185–188). In Noon, the structure is identical, except for the first deictic marker (3a-b) (Soukka 2000, 178–180, 237–238). In Palor, the structure is slightly different. In this language, the marker consists of a glottal stop [ʔ] followed by a deictic marker. There is also a dependency marker in final position⁵ (4a-b) (Alton 1987, 128–129). In Ndut, the structure is almost identical to that of Palor, except for the glottal stop (5a-b) (Morgan 1996, 104–107).

⁵ The dependency marker appears in several kinds of dependent clauses. Such markers are attested in several Atlantic languages.

- (2) a. Laalaa: Locative construction (Dièye 2011, 246)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase	
<i>Mi</i>	<i>y-uu</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kaan.</i>
PRO1SG	CL _y -PRST.PX	PREP	house

‘I am at home.’

- b. Laalaa: Presentative construction (Dièye 2011, 186)

SBJ	Marker	Verb Phrase	
<i>Mi</i>	<i>(i) y-uu</i>	<i>tík</i>	<i>cëen.</i>
PRO1SG	PX CL _y -PRST.PX	cook	dinner

‘I am cooking the dinner.’/‘It is I who cooks the dinner.’

- (3) a. Noon: Locative construction (Soukka 2000, 238)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase	
<i>Kodu</i>	<i>y-aa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kaan.</i>
Kodu	CL _y -PRST.DT	PREP	house

‘Kodu is at home.’

- b. Noon: Progressive construction (Soukka 2000, 180)

SBJ	Marker	Verb Phrase	
<i>Mi</i>	<i>y-ii</i>	<i>tík.</i>	
PRO1SG	CL _y -PRST.PX	cook	

‘I am cooking.’

- (4) a. Palor: Locative construction (Alton 1987, 128)
- ⁶

SBJ	Marker	
<i>Koyso</i>	<i>’-e</i>	<i>na.</i>
child:POSS1SG	PRST-PX	DEP

‘My child is here.’

- b. Palor: Presentative construction (Alton 1987, 129)

SBJ	Marker	Verb Phrase	
<i>Ba</i>	<i>’-ín</i>	<i>nexú</i>	<i>ra.</i>
PRO3PL	PRST-DT	draw_water	DEP

‘It is they who draw water.’

⁶ Alton (1987) does not give any example of a non-verbal locative construction with a prepositional phrase.

- (5) a. Ndut: Locative construction (Morgan 1996, 105)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase	
<i>Mustafa</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>filib</i>	<i>ota.</i>
Mustafa	PRST.PX	inside	car
'Mustafa is inside the car.'			

- b. Ndut: Presentative/progressive construction (Morgan 1996, 105)

SBJ	Marker	Verb Phrase	
<i>Mustafa</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>nee</i>	<i>ra.</i>
Mustafa	PRST.PX	sleep	DEP
'Mustafa is sleeping.'			

An equivalent structure is displayed by the presentative construction in Buy (6): Subject + Marker (which consists of a noun class marker and a deictic marker) (Doneux 1991, 60), and by the locative/presentative construction in Niamone Nyun: Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Marker (which consists of an optional deictic marker, a noun class marker which can be reduplicated and a second deictic marker) + Locative Phrase (7) (Bao-Diop 2013, 259–261). For these two languages, my sources do not mention verbal constructions with this kind of structure. Nevertheless, in Djifanghor Nyun, the same construction is used to form non-verbal locative predicates (8a) and progressive utterances (8b). In this language, the marker bears a noun class marker (Quint 2015, 417).

- (6) Buy: Presentative construction (Doneux 1991, 60)

SBJ	Marker
<i>Úli</i>	<i>ó-ò.</i>
man	CL-PX
'This is the man.'	

- (7) Niamone Nyun: Locative/presentative construction (Bao-Diop 2013, 260)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase
<i>Siidi</i>	<i>um-moo-bim</i>	<i>Dakaar.</i>
Sidy	PX-CL-DT	Dakar
'Sidy is in Dakar.'		

- (8) a. Djifanghor Nyun: Locative construction (Quint 2015, 417)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase	
<i>Bu-jɔnkah-ɔ</i>	<i>mbɔŋ</i>	<i>raafɔ</i>	<i>bu-nɔhɔm-ɔ.</i>
CLbu-manioc-DF	CLbu.COP	on	CLbu-bench-DF
'The manioc is on the bench.'			

- b. Djifanghor Nyun: Progressive construction (Quint 2015, 417)

SBJ	Marker	Verb Phrase	
<i>Min</i>	<i>mɛŋ</i>	<i>bi-feg</i>	<i>Pidru.</i>
S1PL.EXCL	CL.COP	CL-see	Peter
'We can see Peter. (lit. We are seeing Peter.)'			

In Sereer too, the same construction is used to produce non-verbal locative predicates (9a), and progressive utterances (9b): Subject (strong pronoun) fused with the Marker (which consists of the human noun class marker and a deictic marker) + Locative or Verb Phrase (Renaudier 2012, 58–60).

- (9) a. Sereer: Locative construction (Renaudier 2012, 60)

SBJ-Marker	Locative Phrase
<i>Me-x-e</i>	<i>meen.</i>
PRO1SG-CL.HUM;SG-PX	CL.LOC:DEM.PX
'I am here.'	

- b. Sereer: Progressive construction (Renaudier 2012, 58)

SBJ-Marker	Verb Phrase
<i>Me-x-e</i>	<i>ñaam-aa.</i>
PRO1SG-CL.HUM;SG-PX	eat-IPFV
'I am eating.'	

In Fula, the link between the locative construction and the progressive construction has been mentioned by several authors (Ard 1979; Miyamoto 1993). For instance, in Gombe Fula (Nigeria), the locative construction (10a) and the progressive construction (10b) display an almost identical structure (Ard 1979, 129–131): Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Locative Marker (distal) + Locative or Verb Phrase.

- (10) a. Gombe Fula: Locative construction (Arnott 1970, 32)

SBJMarker		Locative Phrase		
'o	<i>dón</i>	<i>nder</i>	<i>gelle</i>	<i>jooni.</i>
S3SG	LOC.DT	in	town	now

'He is in the town now.'

- b. Gombe Fula: Progressive construction (Arnott 1970, 282)

SBJ-Marker		Verb Phrase
'o- <i>dón</i>		<i>huw-a.</i>
S3SG-LOC.DT		work-IPFV

'He is working.'

However, this formal similarity is not equally clear across the entire dialect continuum. In eastern dialects (such as Gombe Fula), two different pronoun paradigms are used in progressive utterances. The forms of the first paradigm consist of the subject pronoun fused with the distal locative marker *dón* (10b), while the forms of the second paradigm consist of the preposition 'e fused with the subject pronoun (Arnott 1970, 195). On the other hand, in western dialects (such as Futa-Toro Pulaar), both paradigms have fused. Indeed, the 1SG form *mido* (and in some dialects the 1PL.EXCL form) comes from the subject pronoun (*mi*) fused with the locative marker (*dó*), while all other forms seem to come from the preposition 'e fused with the subject pronoun (Ard 1979, 129). For instance, the 3PL form in Jolof Pulaar is *he-be* (Ka 1986, 393). Nevertheless, in 1PL.INCL, 2SG and 2PL forms, it is difficult to separate the pronominal element from the preposition (Miyamoto 1993, 223). Moreover, these forms seem to have changed by analogy with the *dó(n)*-marker paradigm. For instance, in Futa Toro Pulaar, the 1PL.INCL form is *eden*, while the subject pronoun for this person is *en* (Sylla 1982, 74–76), contrasting with the expected form **e-en*. Besides, non-verbal locative constructions which use a locative deictic marker (10a) do not appear to be attested in western dialects (Diallo 2014, 38). Thus, the link between locative constructions and progressive constructions is clear in eastern dialects, but less clear in western dialects.

In Joola languages, locative and presentative/progressive constructions display identical structures. Joola Banjal has the following structure: Subject

(NP or strong pronoun) + Marker ('copula' which consists of a vowel [u], a noun class marker and a deictic marker) + Locative or Infinitive Verb Phrase (introduced by a preposition) (11a-b) (Bassène 2006, 185–186, 231–234). In Kwatay, the structure is similar, but the form of the marker is different: the locative 'copula' consists of an element *-end-*, preceded by a noun class marker and followed by a deictic marker (12a-b) (Payne 1992, 58).

(11) a. Joola Banjal: Locative construction (Bassène 2006, 231)

SBJ	Marker	Locative Phrase		
<i>Atejo</i>	<i>u-m-u</i>	<i>búsol</i>	<i>y-aŋ</i>	<i>y-a-y-u.</i>
Atejo	COP-CL-PX	behind	CL _e -house	CL _e -DF-CL _e -DF

'Atejo is behind the house.'

b. Joola Banjal: Presentative/progressive construction

(Bassène 2006: 132)

SBJ	Marker	(Infinitive) Verb Phrase	
<i>Atejo</i>	<i>u-m-u</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>bu-rokk.</i>
Atejo	COP-CL-PX	PREP	INF-work

'Atejo is working.'

(12) a. Kwatay: Locative construction (Payne 1992, 51)

SBJ	Marker			
<i>E-sabun</i>	<i>i</i>			
CL _e -well	CL _e .DF.MD			

Locative Phrase

<i>y-end-u</i>	<i>hágila</i>	<i>e-nuuf</i>	<i>i.</i>
CL _e -COP-MD	behind	CL _e -house	CL _e .DF.MD

'The well is behind the house.'

b. Kwatay: Progressive construction (Payne 1992, 58)

SBJ	Marker	(Infinitive) Verb Phrase		
<i>Bú-suus</i>	<i>b-u</i>	<i>b-ond-u</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ka-neyu.</i>
CL _b -leaf	CL _b -DF.MD	CL _b -COP-MD	PREP	INF-fall

'The leafs [sic] are falling.'

In Manjaku languages, the situation is similar. In Mankanya, the progressive construction displays the structure: Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Marker (locative ‘copula’) + Infinitive Verb Phrase (introduced by a preposition) (13) (Trifkovič 1969, 117–119). In Pepel, the locative construction displays the same structure (14) (Ndao 2011, 171–172). In these languages, the copula *wo* does not bear a noun class marker or a deictic marker.

- (13) Mankanya: Progressive construction (Trifkovič 1969, 118)

SBJMarker (Infinitive) Verb Phrase

Ba wo ʔi p-jan.

S3PL COP PREP INF-hunt

‘They are hunting.’

- (14) Pepel: Locative construction (Ndao 2011, 171)

SBJ Marker Locative Phrase

Músa wo ʃě o-féerú.

Musa COP PREP CLo-market

‘Musa is in the marketplace.’

In Balant Kentohe, the situation is similar to that of Manjaku languages: Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Marker (locative ‘copula’) + Locative or Verb Phrase (15a-b) (Wilson 1961, 152; Doneux 1984, 74).

- (15) a. Balant Kentohe: Locative construction (Wilson 1961, 161)

SBJ-Marker Locative Phrase

Ð-ka Bsaaw.

S1SG-COP Bissau

‘I am, live at Bissau.’

- b. Balant Kentohe: Progressive construction (Wilson 1961, 152)

SBJ-Marker Verb Phrase

Bě-ka tooh-a’.

S3PL-COP go-INF

‘They are going up.’

In Tenda-Jaad languages, the situation is slightly different. While there is a link between locative and progressive constructions, the structure of these constructions is quite different from that found in the Atlantic languages I have discussed so far. For instance, in Bedik, there is the following structure: Locative or Infinitive Verb Phrase followed by an adposition + Pronominal Subject (16a-b) (Ferry 1991, 24-26). In Badiaranke, the structure is similar. The only differences are the absence of the adposition and the presence of a copula bearing the subject index (17a-b) (Cover 2010, 126–132). Thus, in Tenda-Jaad languages, the structure is comparable to that attested in Manjaku languages, but word order is reversed. A more detailed study would be needed in order to determine the precise structure of these constructions.

- (16) a. Bedik: Locative construction (Ferry 1991, 26)

Lúŋɔ̃ èmé.
there S1SG
'I am there.'

- b. Bedik: Progressive construction (Ferry 1991, 26)

Û-ŝas láŋ èwɔ̃.
INF-speak_on S3SG
'He is speaking.'

- (17) a. Badiaranke: Locative construction (Cover 2010, 132)

Fe paadiyã k-ǎ.
PREP room:POSS3SG COP-S3SG
'S/he is in his/her room.'

- b. Badiaranke: Progressive construction (Cover 2010, 127)

Aamadu ŋka Binta ka-safɪŋ-e kǎ-bǎ leetar.
Aamadu and Binta INF-write-INF COP-S3PL letter
'Aamadu and Binta are writing a letter.'

In Bijogo, it seems that there is no link between locative, progressive and presentative constructions. The locative construction usually uses the verb *ko* (to be, be located in) (18a) (Seeger 2002, 34–41). The progressive

construction uses the verb *te* (to stand) (18b) (Segerer 2002, 273). The presentative construction uses a marker originating from grammaticalization of the imperative form of the verb *joŋ* (to see) with the andative suffix: *njam* < **n-joŋ-am* (IMP.2SG-see-AND) (18c) (Segerer 2002, 215).

- (18) a. Bijogo: Locative construction (Segerer 2002, 34)

No-ok *eti-benɛ.*
 S1SG.PF-be_located PREP-face
 ‘I am in front.’

- b. Bijogo: Progressive construction (Segerer 2002, 273)

Ne-te *n-kpay.*
 S1SG.PFV-stand VD-make_palm_wine
 ‘I am making palm wine.’

- c. Bijogo: Presentative construction (Segerer 2002, 215)

Njam bapɔr eri Bisaw.
 PRST boat CL_e:GEN Bissau
 ‘Here is the boat from Bissau.’

The structures of locative and presentative/progressive constructions of Atlantic languages I have examined are summarized in Table (1):

Table 1. Structure of locative and presentative/progressive constructions in several Atlantic languages

Branch	Group	Language	Subject	Marker	Locative Phrase	/	Verb Phrase
North	Wolof	Wolof	NP/S	=a ng-DEIC	LP	/	VP
	Nyun	Buy	NP/(S)	CL-DEIC	(?)	/	(not enough data)
		Niamone	NP/S	DEIC-CL-DEIC	LP	/	(not enough data)
		Djifanghor	S	CL.COP	LP	/	VP
	Tenda-Jaad	Bedik	(other construction)				
		Badiaranke					
	Fula-Sereer	Fula	NP/S	DEIC	LP	/	VP
		Sereer	(NP)/S	-CL.HUM-DEIC	LP	/	VP
	Cangin	Laalaa	NP/S	(DEIC) CL-DEIC	LP	/	VP
		Noon	NP/S	CL-DEIC	LP	/	VP
		Palor	NP/S	'-DEIC	DEP (?)	/	VP DEP
		Ndut	NP/S	DEIC	LP	/	VP DEP

Bak	Manjaku	Mankanya	NP/S	wo	(not enough data)	/	PREP INF-VP
		Pepel	NP/S	wo	LP	/	(not enough data)
	Joola	Banjal	NP/S	u-CL-DEIC	LP	/	PREP INF-VP
		Kwatay	NP/S	CL-end-DEIC		/	PREP INF-VP
	Balant	Kentohe	NP/S	ka	LP	/	VP
	Bijogo	Bijogo	(other kind of construction)				

5. MARKERS OF THE CONSTRUCTIONS

The form of the marker of the locative, presentative and/or progressive constructions is similar in most Atlantic languages. Comparing languages belonging to all branches of the family, I propose the following general structure:

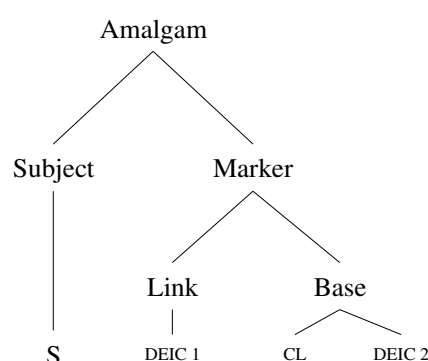


Figure 2. Structure of the locative-progressive marker in Atlantic languages.

The marker can be fused with the subject pronoun. The marker usually consists of a deictic marker, which can be used as a link with the subject pronoun, and a base, which consists of a noun class marker and a (second) deictic marker. The noun class marker usually agrees with the subject, and deictic 1 usually agrees with deictic 2.

In Laalaa, the marker displays exactly this structure. The subject is either a noun phrase (19a), or a strong pronoun (19b). The noun class marker agrees with the subject (19a) or matches the human noun class if the subject is a personal pronoun (19b). Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic marker of

the definite determiner, that is to say *-aa* for distal (19a) and *-ii* for proximal (19b).⁷ Deictic 1 is optional in verbal predicate utterances. It agrees with deictic 2 as follows: *e* for distal (19a) and *i* for proximal (19b) (Dièye 2011, 185–186). In Noon, the structure is almost identical. There are only two differences: no deictic 1, and a third marker *-um* (near addressee) is possible for deictic 2 (Soukka 2000, 178–179).

- (19) Laalaa (Dièye 2011, 186)
- a. *Oomah-c-aa* (e) *c-aa* *neh* *ga* *tua*.
 child-CL_c-DF.DT DT CL_c-DT sleep PREP hut:CL_w-DF.DT
 ‘The children are sleeping in the hut.’
- b. *Mi* (i) *y-uu* *tík* *cëen*.
 PRO1SG PX CL_y-PRST.PX cook dinner
 ‘I am cooking the dinner.’

In Palor, the structure is slightly different. The subject is either a noun phrase (20a), or a strong pronoun (20b). The marker does not display any noun class marker, but a consonant [ʔ]. Nevertheless, this consonant can be compared with the onset of the indefinite determiner of the human noun class: *’o*. Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic marker of the definite determiners, that is to say *-ín* for distal (20a) and *-e* for proximal (20b). The marker *’e* may be fused with singular personal pronouns, resulting in the loss of the glottal consonant and in regressive assimilation of the final consonant of the pronoun (20b) (Alton 1987, 128–129). In Ndut, the structure is almost identical. A third marker *-a* (medial) is possible for deictic 2. Moreover, the glottal consonant is missing, but the vowel of the proximal or medial deictic is long (Morgan 1996, 104–107). One may suppose that this is a case of compensatory lengthening resulting from the loss of the glottal plosive.

- (20) Palor (Alton 1987, 129)
- a. *Tedox-a* *’-ín* *ten* *fan-fa* *ra*.
 shepherd-CL_ø-DF.PX CL-DT milk cow-CL_f.DF.PX DEP
 ‘It is the shepherd who is milking the cow.’

⁷ Due to dissimilation, the proximal morpheme *-ii* becomes *-uu* when it is suffixed to the noun class marker *y-* (Dièye 2011, 186).

- b. *Fe-e* *yaaḁ* *dā*.
 PRO2SG-PX be_hungry DEP
 ‘It is I who is hungry.’

In Sereer, the subject is a strong pronoun in the first and second persons (21a), or a pronominal index in the third person (21b). The (necessarily human) noun class marker agrees in number and is fused with the subject pronoun (21a-b) (Renaudier 2012, 59). Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic of definite determiners, that is to say *-e* for proximal (most common form) (21a) and *-aa* for distal (21b) (Faye 1982, 39–40). There is no deictic 1.

- (21) Sereer
- a. *Me-x-e* *ñaaam-aa*. (Renaudier 2012, 58)
 PRO1SG-CL.HUM;SG-PX eat-IPFV
 ‘I am eating.’
- b. *O-w-aa* *njaal-aa*. (Faye 1982, 39)
 PRO3PL-CL.HUM;PL-DT work-IPFV
 ‘They are working.’

It is notable that the singular human noun class marker is not *-x*, but *-ox*. I assume that the initial vowel must have fused with the final vowel of the first and second person pronouns, and been reanalyzed as a third person pronominal index. Then, the pronominal index *a-* (3PL) became *o-* in most dialects by analogy with the 3SG form. This hypothesis explains the pronominal index *o-*, attested nowhere else in Sereer grammar, and the change of vowel in the 1SG pronoun.

Table 2. Origin of locative pronouns in Sereer

		Pronoun	Marker	Amalgam			
SG	1	<i>mi</i>	<i>-oxe</i>	<i>*mi-oxe</i>	→	<i>*meexe</i>	→ <i>mexe</i>
	2	<i>wo</i>		<i>*wo-oxe</i>	→	<i>*wooxe</i>	→ <i>woxe</i>
	3	<i>∅</i>		<i>*∅-oxe</i>	→	<i>*oxe</i>	→ <i>oxe</i>
PL	1	<i>in</i>	<i>-we</i>	<i>*in-we</i>	→	<i>*inwe</i>	→ <i>inwe</i>
	2	<i>nuun</i>		<i>*nuun-we</i>	→	<i>*nuunwe</i>	→ <i>nuunwe</i>
	3	<i>a-</i>		<i>*a-we</i>	→	<i>*awe</i>	→ <i>owe</i>

In Fula, the marker does bear no noun class marker or deictic 1. The subject is either a noun phrase (22a) or a subject pronoun (22b). In eastern dialects, deictic 2 is identical to the distal locative marker *dôn* (22a-b), while in western dialects it is identical to the proximal locative marker *dô* (Ard 1979, 129–130). In Pulaar, this deictic marker is identical to the deictic marker of the demonstrative determiner (Sylla 1982, 45–50).

- (22) Gombe Fula (Arnott 1970, 282–283)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>Hoore</i> | <i>'am</i> | <i>dôn</i> | <i>naaw-a.</i> |
| | head | POSS1SG | DT | ache-IPFV |
| | 'My head is aching.' | | | |
| b. | <i>'o-dôn</i> | <i>huw-a.</i> | | |
| | S3SG-DT | work-IPFV | | |
| | 'He is working.' | | | |

In Niamone Nyun, the subject is either a noun phrase (23a) or a strong pronoun (23b). The noun class marker agrees with the subject (23a), or matches the human noun class if the subject is a personal pronoun (23b). It fuses with the subject pronoun (23b). Deictic 1 is identical to the proximal deictic marker of the demonstrative determiners, i.e., *in-* (23a-b) (Bao-Diop 2013, 259–261)⁸. Deictic 2 is similar to locative markers, i.e., *bim* for distal (23a) and *na* for proximal (23b) (Bao-Diop 2013, 237–238). Deictic 1 does not agree with deictic 2; only the proximal deictic marker *in-* is attested, regardless of deictic 2 (23a-b). In Djifanghor Nyun, the situation is similar, although the elements cannot be easily separated. Deictic 1 is usually identical to the proximal deictic marker of the demonstrative determiners, but the marker is shorter and seems to be less regular than Niamone Nyun ones. Deictic 2 is often a marker *-ŋ*, which plausibly corresponds to the truncated form of a locative marker. For instance, the marker *mbaŋ* can be analyzed in this way: *m-* (PX) + *ba* (CL_{ba}) + *-ŋ* (PX). It should be noted that

⁸ The vowel harmonizes with the noun class vowel. Moreover, if the noun class consonant is occlusive, the nasal consonant place of articulation assimilates to the noun class consonant. If the noun class consonant is fricative, the vowel is nasalized, and the nasal consonant is lost (Bao-Diop 2013, 146).

the paradigm contains several idiosyncrasies and that the forms cannot be easily analyzed (Quint 2015, 413).

(23) Niamone Nyun (Bao-Diop 2013, 260, 74)

a. *Siidi um-moo-bim Dakaar.*

Sidy PX-CL_u-DT Dakar

‘Sidy is in Dakar.’

b. *F-um-moo-na?*

PRO2SG-PX-CL.HUM;SG-PX

‘Are you there?’

In Buy, the subject is either a noun phrase (24a), or a strong pronoun (24b). Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic marker of the demonstrative determiners, i.e., *-o* for proximal (24a) and *-k* for distal (24b) (Doneux 1991, 60). The vowel of the marker can be compared to the singular human noun class marker *o-*. Nevertheless, the presentative marker differs from the demonstrative marker in its tone pattern: *úli óò* (this is the man) ~ *úli òò* (this man). Note also that the marker does not contain a deictic 1.

(24) Buy (Doneux 1991, 60)

a. *Géndéŋ ó-ò.*

night CL.HUM;SG-PX

‘This is the night.’

b. *Nààn ó-òk.*

PRO3PL CL.HUM;SG-PX

‘Here they are.’

In Joola Banjal, the subject is either a noun phrase (25a) or a strong pronoun (25b). The noun class marker agrees with the subject (25a), or matches the human noun class if the subject is a personal pronoun (25b). Deictic 2 is identical to the proximal deictic marker of the demonstrative determiners, i.e., *u-* for distal (25a), *-e* for proximal (25b), and *-ua* for medial (Bassène 2006, 231–234). Deictic 1 does not agree with deictic 2, but appears identical to the distal deictic marker of demonstrative determiners.

Nevertheless, another analysis can be proposed. The presentative marker matches a truncated form of the demonstrative determiner. For instance: *j-au-j-u* (CLj-DEM-CLj-DT) ~ *u-j-u* (DEIC-CLj-DT); *Ø-a(x)u-m-e* (CL.HUM;SG-DEM-CL.HUM;SG-PX) ~ *u-m-e* (DEIC-CL.HUM;SG-PX). However, this analysis is not possible for the plural human noun class: *g-au-m-e* (CL.HUM;PL-DEM-CL.HUM;PL-PX) ~ *u-bug-e* (DEIC-CL.HUM;PL-PX). The situation is similar in Joola Fonyi (Sapir 1969, 71).

(25) Joola Banjal (Bassène 2006, 231–233)

- a. *Ji-iba j-a-j-u u-j-u*
 CLj-knife CLj-DF-CLj-DF DEM-CLj-DT
ni e-vvañ y-a-y-u.
 PREP CLe-kitchen CLe-DF-CLe-DF
 ‘The knife is in the kitchen.’
- b. *Ínje u-m-e tiyaŋ ni-robo-e.*
 PRO1SG DEM-CL.HUM;SG-PX outside S1SG-sit-TAM
 ‘I am sitting outside.’

In Kwatay, the subject is either a noun phrase (26a), or a strong pronoun (26b). The noun class marker agrees with the subject (26a), unless the subject is a personal pronoun. In this case, the noun class marker is omitted and the locative/presentative marker fuses with the pronoun (26b). Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic marker of demonstrative determiners, i.e., *-ondu* for medial (most common) (26a), *-onde* for proximal (26b) and *-onda* for distal (Payne 1992, 58). Note also that the marker does not contain a deictic 1.

(26) Kwatay (Payne 1992, 58)

- a. *Bú-suus b-u b-ond-u ti ka-neyu.*
 CLb-leaf CLb-DF.MD CLb-DEM-MD PREP INF-fall
 ‘The leafs are falling.’
- b. *Ínj-end-u tu bu-ñoofu.*
 PRO1SG-DEM-MD PREP INF-eat
 ‘I am eating.’

In Wolof, the subject is either a noun phrase (27a), or a strong pronoun (27b-d). Deictic 2 is identical to the deictic marker of definite determiners, i.e., *-i* for proximal (the most common) (27a) and *-a* for distal (27b). It can also be identical to the deictic marker of deictic demonstrative determiners, i.e., *-ii* or *-ile* for proximal (27c) and *-ee* or *-ale* for distal, or to the marker of anaphoric demonstrative determiners.⁹ The marker does not contain a noun class marker, but instead has an element *ng*. Anaphoric demonstrative determiners display a structure CL-oo-CL-DEIC (27e) (Fal 1999, 52–53), i.e., a form which contains the noun class marker twice. Yet in the presentative marker, the first occurrence is *ng-*, but the second occurrence is *-g-*: *ng-oo-g-DEIC* (27d). This indicates that *ng* is likely to derive from the noun class marker *g*.¹⁰ The alternation *g* ~ *ng* at the beginning of the word may be the result of a morphophonological phenomenon, a case of consonant alternation by prenasalization.

- (27) Wolof (Diouf 2009, 149; Diouf 2003, 357, 51, 340)
- a. *Ma = a-ng-i* *c-i* *néeg* *=b-i*.
 PRO1SG = DT-CL-PX PREP-PX room = CLb-DF.PX
 ‘I am in the room.’
- b. *Sama jabar = a-ng-a* *c-a* *waañ* *=w-a*.
 POSS1SG wife = DT-CL-DT PREP-DT kitchen = CLw-DF.DT
 ‘My wife is in the kitchen.’
- c. *Omar = a-ng-ale* *di* *dem*.
 Omar = DT-CL-DEM.DT IPFV go
 ‘This is Omar who is leaving.’
- d. *Aw doj = a-ng-oo-g-u*
 IDF:CLw pebble = DT-CL-DEM.ANAPH-CL-DEM.ANAPH.PX
c-i *sa* *wetu* *tànk*.
 PREP-PX POSS2SG side:GEN foot
 ‘This is a pebble beside your foot.’

⁹ For an exhaustive list of Wolof determiners, see Fal et al. (1990, 20), Cissé (2007, 56–57), Diouf (2009, 173) or Guérin (2011, 111).

¹⁰ This noun class contains, inter alia, toponyms and tree nouns (Guérin 2011, 76).

- e. *Mën = nañoo tēkkale*
 can = PRF:S3PL:VD compare
léeb= y-oo-y-u-le...
 tale =CLy-DEM.ANAPH-CLy-DEM.ANAPH.PX
 ‘One can compare these tales...’

Deictic 1 is usually identical to the distal marker *a*. Nevertheless, in 3SG, 1PL et 3PL forms, three variants are attested: either the vowel *a* of the marker fuses with the final vowel of the pronoun (*moo ngi*; *noo ngi*; *ñoo ngi*), or the final vowel *-u* of the pronoun is replaced by *-i*, i.e., a proximal marker (*mi ngi*; *ni ngi*; *ñi ngi*), or the vowel *a* of the marker is missing (*mu ngi*; *nu ngi*; *ñu ngi*) (Church 1981, 62–63).

In Manjaku languages, the subject is either a strong pronoun (28), or a noun phrase (29). Unlike the languages discussed so far, the marker does not seem to display the structure proposed in Figure (2). Indeed, in Mankanya or Pepel, the marker is an irregular verb *wo*. One possible interpretation is that *w-* is a noun class marker and *-o* is a deictic marker, but this hypothesis is not consistent with the grammar of these languages. If *w-* is a noun class marker, it should correspond to the noun class marker *u-*. In Pepel, this class contains, inter alia, tree nouns (as does the noun class *g-* in Wolof) (Ndao 2011, 66). In Mankanya, this class contains, inter alia, animal nouns (Trifkovič 1969, 75). Besides, *-o* does not correspond to Manjaku deictic markers. In Mankanya, the deictic markers of demonstrative determiners are *-i* (proximal) and *-uŋ* (distal) (Trifkovič 1969, 81; Gaved and Gaved 2007, 15). In Pepel, these markers are *-i* (proximal) and *-u* (distal) (Ndao 2011, 96).

- (28) Mankanya (Trifkovič 1969, 118)

Ba wo ʃi p-jan.
 S3PL COP PREP INF-hunt
 ‘They are hunting.’

- (29) Pepel (Ndao 2011, 171)

Músa wo ʃě o-féerú.
 Musa COP PREP CLo-market
 ‘Musa is in the marketplace.’

Thus, in Manjaku languages, the marker of locative and progressive constructions has a different structure to that proposed in Figure (2). However, the marker of presentative construction displays a comparable structure. In Mankanya, presentative is expressed by reduplication of the demonstrative determiner, which consists of a noun class marker and a deictic marker (30) (Gaved 2007, 13). In Pepel, it is expressed by a postposed deictic marker (31) (Ndao 2011, 201).

- (30) Mankanya (Gaved 2007, 13)
Ba-buk naan bik-i bik-i.
 CLba-child POSS1SG CLba-PX CLba-PX
 ‘These are my children.’

- (31) Pepel (Ndao 2011, 201)
Í-ñi o-wul i.
 CLi-tooth CLo-dog PX
 ‘These are the dog’s teeth.’

In Balant Kentohe, as in Manjaku languages, the marker has a different structure to that proposed in Figure (2). In this language, the marker is a verb *ka*, which does not consist of a noun class marker and a deictic marker.

In Tenda-Jaad languages, the situation is similar. In Badiaranke, the marker is a verb (*ya*)*k*, which does not consist of a noun class marker and a deictic marker (32). In Bedik, there is no specific marker. Locative and progressive are expressed by the choice of subject pronoun and the preposition (33).

- (32) Badiaranke (Cover 2010, 132)
Fe paadiyã k-ǝ.
 PREP room:POSS3SG COP-S3SG
 ‘S/he is in his/her room.’

- (33) Bedik (Ferry 1991, 26)
 Û-ŝas lán èwó.
 INF-speak on S3SG
 ‘He is speaking.’

Forms of the locative and presentative/progressive markers of Atlantic languages discussed in this study are summarized in Table (3):

Table 3. Form of the locative and presentative/progressive constructions in several Atlantic languages

Branch	Group	Language	Amalgam			
			Subject	Marker		
			S	Link	Base	
				DEIC 1	CL	DEIC 2
North	Wolof	Wolof	PRO-	DF.DT (/PX)	CL.LOC?	DF/DEM
		Buy	PRO	-	CL.HUM;SG?	DEM
	Nyun-Buy	Niamone	PRO-	DEM.PX	SUJ	LOC
		Djifanghor	PRO	DEM.PX	SUJ	LOC
	Tenda-Jaad	Bedik	<i>no marker</i>			
		Badiaranke	<i>marker displaying a different structure</i>			
	Fula-Sereer	Pulaar	S-	-	-	LOC (DEM)
		Sereer	PRO-	-	CL.HUM	DF
	Cangin	Laalaa	PRO	(DEIC 2)	SUJ	DF
		Noon	PRO	-	SUJ	DF
		Palor	PRO-	-	CL.HUM;SG?	DF
		Ndut	PRO-	-	CL.HUM;SG?	DF
Bak	Manjaku	Mankanya	<i>marker displaying a different structure</i>			
		Pepel	<i>marker displaying a different structure</i>			
	Joola	Banjal	PRO	DEM.DT?	SUJ	DEM
		Kwatay	PRO-	-	SUJ	DEM
	Balant	Kentohe	<i>marker displaying a different structure</i>			
	Bijogo	Bijogo	<i>marker displaying a different structure</i>			

In summary, in most Atlantic languages, the marker of locative and presentative/progressive constructions displays the same structure: DEIC1-CL-DEIC2. Only Tenda-Jaad, Manjaku, Balant and Bijogo languages display a different marker.

In most languages, deictic 2 is identical to deictic markers of demonstrative or definite determiners; the exceptions are Fula and Nyun

languages, in which deictic 2 is identical to locative markers. Deictic 1 is much less common. It is a fossilized marker identical to proximal (Nyun) or distal (Wolof, Joola) markers of demonstrative or definite determiners; except in Laalaa, where it agrees with deictic 2.

The noun class marker agrees with the subject in Nyun, Joola and some Cangin (Laalaa, Noon) languages. In Sereer, the human noun class marker is used, and agrees in number with the subject. In some Cangin languages (Palor, Ndut) and in Buy, the marker is fossilized and resembles the human noun class marker. In Wolof too, the marker is fossilized, but is entirely distinct from the human noun class marker. In Fula, the noun class marker is absent.

If the subject is a pronoun, it is often a strong pronoun. In some languages, this pronoun fuses with the marker (Wolof, Niamone Nyun, Sereer, Palor-Ndut, Kwatay), while in other languages, it is an independent word (Buy, Djifanghor Nyun, Laalaa, Noon, Joola Banjal). Fula is the only language which uses a weak subject pronoun in the constructions discussed here.

6. ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTION

6.1. A Genetic Inheritance

Most Atlantic languages have a locative construction which can be also used as a presentative and/or progressive construction. The structure of these constructions and the form of the marker resemble each other across languages. Moreover, comparative study of the form of the marker is consistent with the actual classification. Thus, the languages that do not display any marker (Bedik, Badiaranke, Mankanya, Pepel, Kentohe, Bijogo) belong to specific groups of the Atlantic family (Tenda-Jaad, Manjaku, Balant, Bijogo). Furthermore, within a group, the languages display very similar markers. For instance, in Joola languages, the marker agrees in noun class with the subject and bears a deictic marker identical to that of demonstrative determiners. These observations indicate that these constructions have the same origin. The fact that these constructions are

attested in both branches (North and Bak) suggests that this is an ancient construction, dating back to Proto-Atlantic.

While typological convergence or language contact appear unlikely, neither possibility can be excluded without considering the other languages of the region. I focus here on languages in contact with Atlantic languages, namely:

- Mande languages: Soninke, Manding (especially Mandinka) and Jalonke;
- Casamance Creole (Portuguese-based Creole spoken in Casamance);
- Zenaga (Berber language spoken in the south of Mauritania);
- Mel languages: Kisi, Mani (also called Bullom) and Temne.

In Soninke, the locative copula *wá* (34a) also has the function of imperfective marker (34b) (Creissels 2015, 2–4). The word *háayí* is used as presentative (35a) or progressive marker (35b) (Diagana 1995, 386–388). However, these markers do not correspond to the Atlantic markers. The copula *wá* is likely to be derived from the verb *wàrí* (see) (Creissels 2015, 6–7), and *háayí* is clearly derived from the verb *háayí* (look) (Diagana 1995, 386–388).

(34) Soninke (Creissels 2015, 3–4)

- a. *Múusá wá kónpè-n dí.*
 Moussa COP room-DET in
 ‘Moussa is in the room.’
- b. *Ó wá táaxú-nú dàagó-n kànmá.*
 1PL COP sit-GER mat-DET on
 ‘We will sit on the mat.’

(35) Soninke (Diagana 1995, 387; Diagana 2013, 169)

- a. *Lémínè-n háayí.*
 child-DET PRST
 ‘Here is the child.’

- b. À háayí rágè-né yà.
 3SG PRST perform_ablutions-GER FOC
 ‘He is performing his ablutions.’

In Mandinka, the locative copula *bé* (36a) is also used as a progressive marker (36b) (Creissels and Sambou 2013, 139–145). Presentative is expressed by *fělé* (37a) or *háýíná(η)* (37b) (Creissels and Sambou 2013, 151–152). However, these markers do not correspond to the Atlantic markers, as they are clearly derived from homonym verbs meaning ‘look’ and ‘see’. The origin of the copula *bé* is harder to determine, possibly a lexical verb (Kastenholz 2003; Babaev 2011), but whatever its origin, it displays no similarity with the demonstrative determiners *ññ/wo* or the locative adverbs *jǎη* (PX)/*jěe* (DT) of modern Mandinka (Creissels and Sambou 2013, 194–197, 311–313).

(36) Mandinka (Creissels and Sambou 2013, 139, 144)

- a. Yír-óo be síl-ôo dáala.
 tree-DET COP path-DET on_the_edge_of
 ‘The tree is on the edge of the path.’
 b. Yír-óo be boy-óo la.
 tree-DET COP fall-DET POSTP
 ‘The tree is falling.’

(37) Mandinka (Creissels and Sambou 2013, 151)

- a. Í lá dómór-ôo fěle!
 2SG GEN food-DET PRST
 ‘Here is your meal!’
 b. A-té le háýíná kew-ó-lu ñáato.
 3SG-EMPH FOC PRST man-DET-PL ahead
 ‘There he is at the head of the men.’

In Jalonke, there does not appear to be any connection between locative, progressive and presentative constructions. Locative is usually expressed by juxtaposition of both elements (38a) (Lüpke 2005, 133–134). Progressive is

usually expressed by the suffix *-ma*, which certainly derives from the homonym postposition (38b) (Lüpke 2005, 122–123). Presentative is expressed by the marker *jɛɛ* (38c), which can be derived from the proximal demonstrative determiner *ji* (Lüpke 2005, 134). Thus, this last construction displays some similarities with Atlantic presentative constructions. Nevertheless, it differs in that it must contain an obligatory focus marker, the deictic marker is fossilized, and it cannot form an autonomous utterance.

- (38) Jalonke (Lüpke 2005, 122, 133–134)
- a. *Biniir-ɛɛ taabal-na fari.*
 bottle-DF table-DF on
 ‘The bottle is on the table.’
 - b. *A dii-na xun-na bii-ma.*
 S3SG child-DF head-DF cut-IPFV
 ‘She is shaving the child’s head.’
 - c. *Banxi nan jɛɛ...*
 house FOC PRST
 ‘There is a house.’

In Casamance Creole, the locative construction usually contains the copula *sá* (39a), from the Portuguese verb *estar* (Biagui 2012, 188–189). The progressive construction contains the imperfective marker *na* (39b) (Biagui 2012, 160). There is also a construction called ‘gerundive’ by Quint (2000a, 264), expressed by the locative copula and the preposition *na* (39c), which is likely to derive from the Portuguese contracted form *na ~ em-a* (in-the) (Quint 2000a, 204–205). According to Quint (2000a, 265), the imperfective marker originates from the gerundive construction. The preposition *na* grammaticalized into an imperfective marker owing to the loss of the copula. Finally, the marker of the presentative construction consists of an emphatic marker *a-* and a locative *li* (PX) or *la* (DT) which can be reinforced by a second locative (39d–e) (Biagui 2012, 260–261). These forms are highly reminiscent of Atlantic markers. However, their structure and origin are different. Unlike Atlantic markers, the Casamancian presentative marker is placed before the subject. Moreover, in Casamancian

the presentative construction has no connection with locative or progressive. Indeed, in (39e) the progressive feature is expressed by the imperfective marker *na*, rather than the presentative marker, and this marker is not derived from a demonstrative determiner. Furthermore, the locative markers of the presentational construction come from Portuguese adverbs *ali* (here) et *alá* (there) (Quint 2000a: 219). The element *a-* is likely to have the same origin, but it tends to be reanalyzed as an emphatic marker (Quint 2000a, 219). This marker comes from the Portuguese preposition *a* (to) (Quint 2000a, 162), which has grammaticalized into an emphatic marker, conceivably on the model of Mandinka emphatic markers (37b) (Quint 2000b, 47–48).

(39) Casamancian (Biagui 2012, 160, 214, 260, 269)

- a. *Pidru ku Mariya sá na kasa.*
Peter with Mary COP PREP house
'Peter and Mary are in the house.'
- b. *I na kumé karna di purku.*
S3SG IPFV eat meat of pork
'He is eating some pork.'
- c. *Pidru sá na kantá.*
Peter COP PREP sing
'Peter is singing.'
- d. *A-li Pidru li.*
EMPH-PX Peter PX
'Here is Peter.'
- e. *A-lé-m na kusñá.*
EMPH-PX-S1SG IPFV cook
'I am cooking.'

In Zenaga, the presentative construction contains a copula *äḍ* and a neuter demonstrative pronoun bearing a deictic marker (40a-b) (Taine-Cheikh 2010, 364–365). The copula is formally identical to the proximal singular masculine demonstrative determiner (Taine-Cheikh 2010, 363). Thus, these forms present some similarities with the Atlantic markers. However, they do not display the same structure and they do not appear in

the same context. Indeed, unlike Atlantic languages, the noun phrase is placed after the marker. Moreover, in Zenaga, this marker is not used in locative or progressive constructions. Finally, the copula *äḍ* can be used to express identification, while Atlantic markers are only used to express localization.

(40) Zenaga (Taine-Cheikh 2010, 364–365)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>Äḍ-äyḍ</i> | <i>Kumbä.</i> |
| | COP-DEM.N.PX | Kumba |
| | ‘This is Kumba.’ | |
| b. | <i>Äḍ-ān</i> | <i>iʔym-än.</i> |
| | COP-DEM.N.DT | camel-PL |
| | ‘That (over there) are camels.’ | |

In most Mel languages, there does not appear to be any connection between locative, progressive and presentative constructions. This is the case in Kisi (Childs 1995) or in Mani (Childs 2011). Nevertheless, the situation in Temne is quite similar to that found in Atlantic. In Temne, the same marker is used in presentative (41a-b) and progressive constructions (41c) (Bai-Sheka 1991). It consists of a noun class marker and a deictic marker. The noun class marker agrees with the subject (41b-c) or matches with the human noun class if the subject is a personal pronoun (41a). The noun class marker may fuse with the subject pronoun (41b). The deictic marker is identical to the deictic marker of demonstrative determiners, i.e., *-ε* for proximal (41a) and *-aŋ* for distal (41b-c). Thus, as in Atlantic languages, the marker displays the same structure as the demonstrative determiner. However, its syntactic position is different. In Atlantic languages, the marker is placed between the subject and the verb, while in Temne, it is placed after the verb (41c).

(41) Temne (Bai-Sheka 1991, 121–122)

- | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>Mine</i> | <i>ɔw-ε.</i> |
| | PRO1SG | CL.HUM;SG-PX |
| | ‘Here I am.’ | |

- b. *Kə-gbɛngbɛ* *k-ak-aŋ*.
 CL_k-chili PRO.CL_k-CL_k-DT
 ‘That is a chili.’
- c. *Ká-gbɛngbɛ* *kə* *fúmpɔ* *k-aŋ*.
 CL_k.DF-chili PRO.CL_k fall CL_k-DT
 ‘The chili is falling.’

To sum up, most Atlantic languages have a locative ~ presentative ~ progressive construction. The structure of these constructions and the form of the marker display strong similarities from one language to another. Because a link between locative, presentative and progressive constructions is relatively common cross-linguistically, one possibility is that these similarities constitute an areal phenomenon. However, none of the other Senegambian languages displays equivalent constructions. Only Temne, the most northern Mel language, has a marker which is formally similar to Atlantic markers. There are two possible explanations for this difference between Temne and other Mel languages. Either Temne is not a Mel language but an Atlantic language (this hypothesis is improbable, in view of current knowledge about the family), or Temne acquired this construction due to contact with Atlantic languages¹¹. Temne is a vehicular language (in Sierra Leone), which places it in a situation conducive to borrowing; this fact tends to support the second hypothesis. Thus, the locative ~ presentative ~ progressive construction attested in Atlantic languages is clearly shown to derive from Proto-Atlantic.

6.2. Grammaticalization and Reconstruction Hypotheses

In several Atlantic languages, the marker discussed here is formally similar to demonstrative determiners. Grammaticalization of demonstratives into locative copulas is attested in many languages around the world (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 108–109). In other Atlantic languages, the marker is formally similar to definite determiners. Grammaticalization of

¹¹ I thank Konstantin Pozdniakov for suggesting this hypothesis to me.

demonstrative determiners into definite determiners is attested in many languages around the world (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 109–111). In all Atlantic languages that display such constructions, the marker is used both as a locative copula and as a presentative or progressive marker. The use of a locative copula as a presentative marker (Gelderen 2011, 133), or the grammaticalization of such copulas into progressive markers (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 97–99) is attested in many languages around the world. I therefore propose the following grammaticalization path:

Demonstrative (→ Definite) → Locative copula
(→ Presentative) → Progressive

In Joola languages, the demonstrative grammaticalized into a locative copula. In Cangin languages and Sereer, it first grammaticalized into a definite determiner. In many languages, grammaticalization has resulted in the demonstrative fossilizing. Initially, it had to agree in noun class with the subject, as is still the case in Nyun, Joola and certain Cangin (Laalaa, Noon) languages. In Sereer, its agreement is limited to number; the human noun class has become the only available noun class, probably due to its frequency. In Palor-Ndut, Buy and Wolof, the marker is completely fossilized. It matches the singular human noun class, except in Wolof where the marker's origin is uncertain. Later, the locative copula assumed the function of presentative marker or grammaticalized into a progressive marker.

Based on the data provided in (§5), I propose the following reconstruction for the Proto-Atlantic marker: *DEIC1-CL-DEIC2. Deictic 2 matches the deictic marker of demonstrative determiners. Determining the form of Deictic 1 is harder, because it is absent from most languages. Nevertheless, it is attested in four different groups (Wolof, Nyun, Cangin, Joola). This indicates that it was most probably present in Proto-Atlantic. In this proto-language, it appears that Deictic 1 was identical to or agreed with Deictic 2, and that the noun class marker agreed with the subject noun class. The fact that the noun class marker has become fossilized (with the human noun class form) is probably due to the over-representation of human

subjects in the discourse. Finally, if the subject is a pronoun, it is a strong pronoun.

CONCLUSION

Most Atlantic languages have a locative ~ presentative ~ progressive construction. This construction displays the same structure and the same kind of markers in nearly all Atlantic languages (the only known exceptions being the Tenda-Jaad, Manjaku, Balant and Bijogo groupings). In these Atlantic languages, the structure of the construction is:

Subject (NP or strong pronoun) + Specific marker + Locative or verb phrase

The form of the marker is: DEIC1-CL-DEIC2. The noun class marker usually agrees with the subject, and deictic 1 usually agrees with deictic 2.

The use of a locative construction to express progressive and/or presentative is not unique to the Atlantic family. Nevertheless, the structure of these constructions and the form of the marker can be considered to be characteristic of this family, as they are common to a large majority of Atlantic languages, but are not attested in any language in contact with Atlantic languages. I therefore conclude that this construction is inherited from Proto-Atlantic, the marker having grammaticalized from a demonstrative determiner.

As genetic distance between Atlantic languages is very great, the grammars of these languages display significant diversity. However, my comparative study shows that, despite this diversity, one predicative construction at least is common to most languages of the family. Furthermore, a comparative study of the form of the marker gives results which are fully consistent with the most recent classifications of Atlantic languages; languages that do not display any marker belong to the same groups and, within a given group, all languages display very similar markers.

Classifications of Atlantic languages are based on a limited set of elements: lexicon, noun classes, consonant mutation, verbal extensions or

pronominal systems (Pozdniakov and Segerer, forthcoming). The present chapter shows that a comparative study of morphosyntactic constructions is also relevant for the classification of these languages. More generally, I conclude that a comparative study of morphosyntactic constructions is highly relevant in historical linguistics, and that such constructions should be more systematically taken into account in order to refine and falsify the available genetic classifications of the world's languages.

REFERENCES

- Ard, Josh. 1979. "A comparative and historical study of locative-based periphrastic verbal forms in Fula dialects". *Studies in African Linguistics* 10. 2: 119–158.
- Arnott, David W. 1970. *The Nominal and Verbal Systems of Fula*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Babaev, Kirill. 2011. "On the reconstruction of some tense/aspect markers in Proto-Mande." *Journal of Language Relationship* 6: 1–24.
- Bai-Sheka, Abou. 1991. "Prédication non verbale en temne / Non-verbal predication in Temne." *Afrikani-stische Arbeitspapiere* 26: 113–126.
- Bao Diop, Sokhna. 2013. *Description du baynunk guñaamolo, langue minoritaire du Sénégal : analyse phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique / Description of Baynunk guñaamolo, minority language of Senegal: phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis*. PhD diss., Inalco and Université Cheikh Anta Diop.
- Bassène, Alain-Christian. 2006. *Description du jóola banjal (Sénégal) / Description of Jóola banjal (Senegal)*. PhD diss., Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Biagui, Noël Bernard. 2012. *Description générale du créole afro-portugais parlé à Ziguinchor (Sénégal) / General description of Afro-Portuguese Creole spoken in Ziguinchor (Senegal)*. PhD diss., Inalco and Université Cheikh Anta Diop.

- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1995. *A Grammar of Kisi*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2011. *A Grammar of Mani*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Cissé, Mamadou. 2007. *Dictionnaire Français-Wolof / French-Wolof dictionary*. Paris: L'Asiathèque.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cover, Rebecca T. 2010. *Aspect, Modality, and Tense in Badiaranke*. PhD diss., University of California.
- Creissels, Denis. 2006. *Syntaxe générale, une introduction typologique / General syntax, a typological introduction*, Vol. 1 : *catégories et constructions / categories and constructions*. Paris: Lavoisier.
- Creissels, Denis. 2015. "Copulas originating from 'see/look' verbs in Mande languages." Paper presented at the *Symposium Areal patterns of grammaticalization and cross-linguistic variation in grammaticalization scenarios*, Mainz.
- Creissels, Denis, and Pierre Sambou. 2013. *Le mandinka: Phonologie, grammaire, textes / Mandinka: Phonology, grammar, texts*. Paris: Karthala.
- D'Alton, Paula. 1987. *Le Palor : esquisse phonologique et grammaticale d'une langue cangin du Sénégal suivi d'un lexique et de textes transcrits et traduits / Palor: phonological and grammatical sketch of a Senegalese cangin language followed by a lexicon and transcribed and translated texts*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Diagana, Ousmane M. 1995. *La langue soninkée : Morphosyntaxe et sens / The Soninke language: Morphosyntax and meaning*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Diagana, Ousmane M. 2013. *Dictionnaire soninké-français (Mauritanie), Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée / Soninke-French dictionary (Mauritania)*, New revised and enlarged edition. Paris: Karthala.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2014. "Constructions copulatives en peul / Copulative constructions in Fula." In *La transmission culturelle : L'exemple du peul / Cultural transmission: The example of Fula*, edited

- by Ursula Baumgardt and Abdourahmane Diallo, 25–42. Paris: Karthala.
- Dièye, El Hadji. 2011. *Description d'une langue Cangin du Sénégal : le laalaa (léhar) / Description of a Cangin language of Senegal: Laalaa (Lehar)*. PhD diss., Inalco and Université Cheikh Anta Diop.
- Diouf, Jean-Léopold. 2003. *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof / Wolof-French and French-Wolof dictionary*. Paris: Karthala.
- Diouf, Jean-Léopold. 2009. *Grammaire du wolof contemporain*, Édition revue et complétée / *Grammar of contemporary Wolof*, Revised and enlarged edition. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Diouf, Jean-Léopold and Marina Yaguello. 1991. *J'apprends le wolof - Damay jàng wolof / I learn Wolof*. Paris: Karthala.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1991. *La place de la langue buy dans le groupe atlantique de la famille kongo-kordofan / The place of the Buy language in the Atlantic group of the Kongo-Kordofan family*. PhD diss., Université Libre de Bruxelles.
- Fal, Arame, Rosine Santos, and Jean Léonce Doneux. 1990. *Dictionnaire wolof-français suivi d'un index français-wolof / Wolof-French dictionary followed by a French-Wolof index*. Paris: Karthala.
- Faye, Souleymane. 1982. *Morphologie du verbe sérère / Morphology of the Serer verb*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1991. *Thesaurus tenda : Dictionnaire ethnolinguistique de langues sénégaloguinéennes (bassari, bedik, konyagi) / Tenda thesaurus: Ethnolinguistic dictionary of senegaloguinean languages (Bassari, Bedik, Konyagi)*. Paris: Peeters.
- Gaved, Timothy. 2007. *Un article sur la grammaire de mancagne / An article on the grammar of Mancagne*. Dakar: SIL Sénégal. <http://www.sil.org/resources/archives/42699>.
- Gaved, Timothy and Margaret Gaved. 2007. *Le nom en mancagne / The noun in Mancagne*. Dakar: SIL Sénégal. <http://www.sil.org/resources/archives/42698>.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2011. *The Linguistic Cycle*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Guérin, Maximilien. 2011. *Le syntagme nominal en wolof : une approche typologique / The nominal phrase in Wolof: a typological approach*. MA diss., Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3.
- Guérin, Maximilien. 2016. *Les constructions verbales en wolof : Vers une typologie de la prédication, de l'auxiliation et des périphrases / Verbal constructions in Wolof: Towards a typology of predication, auxiliation and periphrasis*. PhD diss., Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3.
- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ka, Fary S. 1986. "Les formes verbales du pulaar et leur emploi systématique de la conjugaison verbale / The verbal forms of Pulaar and their systematic use of the verbal conjugation." *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire* 46B, 3/4: 379–427.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 2003. "Auxiliaries, grammaticalization, and word order in Mande." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 24.1: 31–53.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 2000. "Prédication seconde et structure informationnelle: la relative de perception comme construction présentative / Second predication and information structure: the relative of perception as a presentative construction." *Langue française* 127: 49–66.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2005. *A grammar of Jalonke argument structure*. PhD diss., Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Matthews, Peter H. 2007. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miyamoto, Ritsuko. 1993. "A Study of Fula Dialects: Examining the Continuous/Stative Constructions." *Senri Ethnological Studies* 35: 215–230.
- Morgan, Daniel R. 1996. *Overview of grammatical structures of Ndut: a Cangin language of Senegal*. MA diss., University of Texas.

- Ndao, Dame. 2011. *Phonologie, morphologie et structures syntaxiques du pepel / Phonology, morphology and syntactic structures of Pepel*. PhD diss., Inalco and Université Cheikh Anta Diop.
- Payne, Stephen. 1992. *Une grammaire pratique (avec phonologie et dictionnaire) de kwatay (parler du village de Diémbéring, basse Casamance, Sénégal) / A practical grammar (with phonology and dictionary) of Kwatay (variety of the village of Diembering, lower Casamance, Senegal)*. Dakar: SIL.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 2011. "Les langues atlantiques / Atlantic languages." In *Dictionnaire des langues / Dictionary of languages*, edited by Emilio Bonvini, Joëlle Busutil and Alain Peyraube, 20–23. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin, and Guillaume Segerer. To appear. Genealogical classification of Atlantic languages. In *The Oxford guide to the Atlantic languages of West Africa*, edited by Friederike Lüpke. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2000a. *Grammaire de la langue cap-verdienne: Étude descriptive et compréhensive du créole afro-portugais des Îles du Cap-Vert / Grammar of the Capeverdean language: Descriptive and comprehensive study of the Afro-Portuguese Creole of the Cape Verde Islands*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2000b. *Le cap-verdien: origines et devenir d'une langue métisse / Capeverdean: origins and future of an Afro-Portuguese language*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2015. "Le système des classes nominales en nyun de Djifanghor / The nominal class system in Djifanghor Nyun." In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques / Nominal classes in the Atlantic languages*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov, 407–443. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Renaudier, Marie. 2012. *Dérivation et valence en sereer: Variété de Mar Lodj (Sénégal) / Derivation and valence in Sereer: Variety of Mar Lodj (Senegal)*. PhD diss., Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Sapir, J. David. 1969. *A Grammar of Diola-Fogny*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Segerer, Guillaume. 2002. *La langue bijogo de Bubaque (Guinée Bissau) / The Bijogo language of Bubaque (Guinea-Bissau)*. Louvain: Peeters.
- Soukka, Maria. 2000. *A Descriptive Grammar of Noon: A Cangin Language of Senegal*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Sylla, Yèro. 1982. *Grammaire moderne du pulaar / Modern Grammar of Pulaar*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.
- Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2010. "The role of the Berber deictic and TAM markers in dependent clauses in Zenaga." In *Clause-Linking and Clause-Hierarchy*, edited by Isabelle Bril, 355–398. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Trifkovič, Mirjana. 1969. *Le mancagne : étude phonologique et morphologique / Mancagne: phonological and morphological study*. Dakar: Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire.
- Wilson, W. André. 1961. A. "Outline of the Balanta language." *African Language Studies* 2: 139–168.