Perfective allomorphy and negative neutralisation in Bambara
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Bambara has two ways to mark PERFECTIVE (PFV) aspect: the suffixal marker *-ra* (with allomorphs *-la* and *-na*; Hewson 2016:53) and the free morpheme *ye* (Dumestre 2003). Only accusative-assigning verbs (i.e. transitive verbs with NP complements) take *ye* (1). All the others take *-ra*: this includes unergative verbs (2a), unaccusative verbs (2b), two-place verbs with PP-complements (3), and all passivized verbs (4) (data from Koopman 1992, Dumestre 2003). The transitivity split disappears with the negative perfective portmanteau *ma* (5), as well as in the IMPERFECTIVE (IPFV), where the single marker *bɛ* is used (6). When NEG and IPFV are combined, there is also a single marker *tɛ* (not illustrated below).

(1) Den **ye** cè ye.
child PFV man see
'The child saw the man.'

(2) a. A kasi- **ra**.
s/he cry PFV
'S/he cried.'
b. A taa- **ra**.
s/he go PFV
'She went.'

(3) N bb- **ra** i ye.
I visit- PFV you at
'I visited you.'

(4) Ji min- **na** sisan (den fè).
water drink PFV now child by
'The water has been drunk now (by the child).'

(5) a. Fali **ma** sa.
donkey PFV.NEG die
'The donkey has not died.'
b. Birama **ma** liburu kalan.
Birama PFV.NEG book read
'Birama has not read the book.'

(6) Seku **bɛ** boli / tiga sɛnɛ
Sékou IPFV run / nut cultivate
'Sékou runs / cultivates groundnuts.'

The table in (7) presents an overview of the PFV allomorphy in Bambara, and its neutralisation under NEG and IPFV.

(7)

	PFV	NEG + PFV	IPFV	NEG + IPFV
INTRANS	-ra	ma	bɛ	tɛ
TRANS	ye	ma	bɛ	tɛ

I present a Nanosyntactic analysis of the voice conditioned allomorphy in the PFV and its neutralisation under NEG and in the IPFV, accounting for the allomorphy as a consequence of the size of lexically stored items(Starke 2018).

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