

A Grammar of Jenaama-Sorogaama of Djenné (Pondo zone):
Mande/Bozo language of Mali

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1 Introduction

This grammar and the parallel grammar of Cliffs Jenaama (Heath 2022) were drafted separately. They have been reorganized so that the chapters and sections correspond more closely, in order to facilitate comparison.

1.1 Bozo languages

Bozo is a small language family, chiefly of fishing people along the Niger and Bani rivers in central Mali, West Africa. It belongs to the large Mande family, and is most closely related to Soninké.

Four Bozo languages have been recognized, some of which have multiple names.

(1)	language	location(s)
	Tiɛma Cɛwe	Lac Débo
	Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo	Diafarabé, pockets near Djenné
	Kelenga (Hainyaxo)	Ké-Macina near Ségou
	Jenaama or Sorogaama	Djenné (Pondo), Mopti, Konna, Youwarou, Lac Débo

The variety described in this grammar falls within Jenaama or Sorogaama, and specifically the Jenaama-Sorogaama of the Pondo area around the city Djenné.

In its broadest circumscription, Jenaama-Sorogaama (hereafter **J-S**) probably now has 300,000 speakers in a number of geographically discontinuous areas. Its varieties are discussed in §1.2.2 below, which also comments on the validity of the alternative language names. The other three Bozo languages are estimated to have a few thousand speakers each and are spoken in compact zones.

The name Kelenga is to be preferred to Hainyaxo for the third language (Hainyaxo means ‘Bozo language’ generally). There is dialectal variation between Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo, and some within Kelenga, but apparently much less variation than within Jenaama-Sorogaama.

1.2 J-S and its Djenné (or Pondo) variety

1.2.1 Geography and neighboring ethnicities

A sociolinguistic survey of “Jenaama” (Blühberger 2006) notes that it is spoken by three distinct (sub-)ethnic groups: a) the Bozo *sensu stricto*, b) the Somono, and c) the Nononké or Marka. The

ethnic Bozo and Somono are primarily fishers and are interspersed along the rivers and floodplains. The Nononké/Marka practice rice cultivation along the river, and extend eastward into the millet-growing sandy plains west of the Dogon plateau, reaching the base of its cliffs. Blühberger points out that the previously accepted name of the language, Sorogaama, is used in this sense by the Bozo *s.s.*, while the Somono and the Nononké/Marka call their language Jenaama.

Blühberger identifies the Jenaama dialects in (2), based in part on earlier SIL surveys. It goes from north (downstream) to south (upstream). Débo refers to the swampy Lac Débo zone. Pondori is used by Blühberger in a broad sense (see discussion below). Mopti is a large cosmopolitan city at the confluence of the Bani and Niger rivers, with several Bozo villages on the riverbanks nearby. Korondougou is a village near Konna, northeast of Mopti. “Kotya” is the commune of Togoro Kotia in the circle of Ténenkou.

- (2) North Débo
- South Débo
- Korondougou
- Mopti
- Kotya
- North Pondori
- South Pondori
- East Pondori

The Malian government agency responsible for national languages (then called DNAFLA) decided in 1979 to recognize varieties of the main native languages of the country based on geographical locations including specific towns or communes. For Bozo these included three varieties of J-S, called “Janaama du Pondori,” “Sorogaama du Kotya,” and “Janaama de Kōrōndugu”. Associating officially recognized linguistic entities with specific locations was useful for DNAFLA, since it specified a precise variety that could then be studied, standardized (including an official lexicon), and developed for literacy purposes. However, J-S includes many varieties spoken over a wide area, so defining and naming a large dialect group in this way is problematic.

The varieties investigated for this grammar would be included in “Pondori” in the previous classifications, perhaps “East Pondori” specifically. However, Pondori is actually the name of one of several communes in the so-called “Pondori” dialect zone. The commune includes the villages of Gomitogo, Kobassa, Sirimou (~ Siroumou), Djéra, Nouna, and Komba, all of modest population. It does not include the neighboring commune of Fakala, whose administrative center is the large town Sofara and which includes the villages of Tombona and Baratou whose residents served as native speakers for this grammar.

For linguistic classification purposes, the three “Pondori” varieties in (2) could be reclassified as “Pondo,” which matches the Bozo name (póndó ~ pónó) for the floodplains that characterize the zone. Pondori is presumably a Fulfulde adaptation of this term, chosen by French colonial administrators whose surveyors and cartographers used Fulbe guides. Both because it is

an exonym and because of the small size of the Pondori commune, it is best replaced as a term for Bozo lects.

(3) lists the main communities whose Bozo populations are believed to speak J-S of Djenné (or Pondo). Some of them also include Bambara or Fulbe populations. The ending -tùwò occurs in four village names, cf. túwó ‘cemetery’.

(3)	Jenaama	French (map)	comment
	a. major city		
	jènέ	Djenné	cosmopolitan, locals speak a Songhay variety (Djenné Chiini)
	b. Jenaama-speaking villages (alphabetized by French name)		
	báárà-tùwò	Baratou	
	gíyèràà	Djéra	
	jómbùgù	Djombougou	
	gòmí-tùwò	Gomitogo	
	kèráá	Kéra	
	kòbàsà	Kobassa	
	kùmàráá	Komboka	Bozo & Fulbe; Fulfulde <i>koomba</i>
	kíbáájámdáá	Komba Daga	
	kwĩ ⁿ	Kouin	
	kwààkúrù	Kouakourou	
	nììnà	Noina	
	núná	Nouna	Fulbe, some Bozo
	pàànáà	Pana	
	sàànúúnà	Sanouna	
	sárò	Sarantomo	(Bambara <i>sárántòmbò</i>)
	sírímù	Sirimou	
	sùmáá-tùwò	Soumatogo	
	sófááràbà	Sofara-Ba	Bozo part of Sofara
	súwàlàà	Soala	
	sĩ ⁿ	Syn	
	síráá-búgú	Sirabougou	Bambara & Fulbe, some Bozo at river
	tàgá-màràgàlá	Taga Marka	related dialect
	kónó-tùwò	Tombona	(Bambara <i>tómíná</i> , Fulfulde <i>tombona</i>)
	wíyèrà	Wéraka	
	wòónò	Wono	

Approximate geo-coordinates for the villages based on the 2017 government map for “San” sector are in (4). Coordinates are in degrees and minutes (not decimals).

(4)	French name	north	west
	Baratou	13 57	04 23
	Djéra	13 51	04 37
	Djombougou	13 58	04 31
	Gomitogo	13 55	04 39
	Kéra	13 55	04 27
	Kobassa	13 48	04 37
	Komba Daga	13 58	04 15
	Kouakourou	14 13	04 30
	Kouin	13 48	04 30
	Nouna	13 51	04 24
	Noina	13 45	04 37
	Pana	13 52	04 44
	Sanouna	13 53	04 31
	Sarantomo	13 46	04 28
	Sirabougou	13 44	04 33
	Sirimou	13 56	04 36
	Soala	13 48	04 32
	Sofara-Ba	14 01	04 14
	Soumatogo	13 59	04 30
	Syn	13 52	04 29
	Taga Marka	13 58	04 24
	Tombona	13 56	04 19
	Wéraka	13 58	04 37
	Wono	13 57	04 37

Data for this grammar were from the villages of Tombona (“dialect 1”) and Baratou (“dialect 2”), which are bolded in (4). Although these villages are geographically close, there are many small lexical, grammatical, and phonological differences between their dialects. This suggests that J-S of Djenné more generally has considerable internal variation, never mind the larger J-S dialect complex. This variability is perhaps to be expected for a linguistic variety spoken in many small villages without a dominant capital. Djenné and Mopti, the two big cities in the area, are mostly non-Bozo ethnically and linguistically. The data in this grammar are best thought of as two snapshots in a much larger linguistic complex. It may be that one or the other of dialect 1 or dialect 2 is the mainstream subdialect in the Djenné area and the other is an outlier, but this remains to be determined.

The predominant lingua franca of the zone around Djenné is Bambara (also called Bamana). Bambara belongs to the vast Manding dialect/language chain. Manding, like Bozo, is part of the larger Mande language family, but Manding and Bozo are not closely subgrouped within the larger family. The local Bambara are primarily farmers. There are numerous villages of ethnic Bambara interspersed among Bozo and Fulbe villages in the Djenné area, especially its drier parts. Bambara is the overwhelmingly dominant language in densely populated southern Mali including the capital Bamako and major cities such as Ségou. Bambara is also widely used nationally in broadcast media, and Bambara literacy programs are more advanced than other native-language programs. Bambara loanwords of all stem-classes are easily integrated into Bozo languages, which already have many cognates as well as similar phonotactics, clause structure, and lexical semantic patterns.

Individual Bozo villages may have tight relationships with local Fulbe, but Bozo-Fulfulde bilingualism is not widespread in this area. For those Bozo living in or around the city Djenné, or who are otherwise networked with residents of that city, Djenné Chiini is another factor. This is a Songhay variety, arguably a wayward dialect of Koyra Chiini of Timbuktu. It is documented in detail in Heath (1998a-c). Djenné Chiini has seven vowel qualities and *in situ* relativization and focalization, while Koyra Chiini of Timbuktu has five vowels and extractive relativization and focalization, among other differences. The presence of an urban Songhay-speaking enclave in Djenné reflects the city's close commercial relationship with Timbuktu going back to the Medieval period when the two cities bookended the riverine portion of the trans-Saharan caravan routes. Djenné Chiini as first language is confined to the city itself, but has some currency as a market language.

1.2.2 Jenaama varieties: languages or dialects?

Based on the considerations described just above, and those presented in the parallel grammar of Cliffs (Heath 2022), for now it seems best to label the divisions of J-S by geographical region as follows: Djenné (or Pondo), Mopti-Korondougou, Cliffs, and Lac Débo. Of these, Mopti-Korondougou is most susceptible to further break-up.

The two varieties of J-S that have been studied in this project are Cliffs Jenaama (spoken in Namagué and Kargué villages on the edge of the western escarpment of the plateau) and J-S of Djenné. It has long been suspected that “Jenaama” may be a language cluster rather than a dialect cluster. Comparison of the linguistic structures and lexicons of Cliffs and J-S of Djenné points in the direction of language rather than dialect divisions. However, less is known about the geographically intervening varieties and those spoken farther north around Lac Débo, so there is a possibility that Cliffs and Djenné are at the extremes of a dialect chain.

Not the least of the Cliffs/Djenné differences is that Cliffs has three lexical tone levels, including minimal trios among nouns, along with a complex morpho-tonology, while Djenné has two lexical tone levels and a somewhat simpler morpho-tonology. This difference alone compels

separation of the two reference grammars and lexical spreadsheets. Other differences can be assessed by reading the two parallel grammars side by side, and examining the two lexical spreadsheets side by side. Among the more obvious differences are those in (5a-b).

(5)	Cliffs	Djenné	category or gloss
a. phonological			
	u	(absent)	back unrounded vowel
	3	2	number of distinct tone levels
b. morphological			
	-gù ~ -gū	-yaw ⁿ	definite singular
	ē	í ⁿ	1Pl pronoun
	yè ⁿ	sínì ~ sánì	‘and’ (nominal conjunction)
	bwēȳ	pà	‘with’ (comitative postposition)
	lāgà	dáà	‘for’ (purposive postposition)
	gà ~ Ø	gà	perfective positive (optional in Cliffs)
	bāynà gà	gíyè gà bé	experiential perfect
	(absent)	kíni ⁿ ~ kúnú	progressive
	gālà	nà	subjunctive
	kōndō	tù ⁿ ~ tì ⁿ	‘was/were’ (and shift to past reference time)
	nà X nì	X té(?)	‘isn’t X’
c. lexicon			
	màà, pōgō	kì ⁿ yè	‘want’
	jénā ⁿ	díyēw ⁿ	‘child’ (opaquely cognate)
	pwō	fá	‘thing’ (opaquely cognate)

The divergence between Cliffs and Djenné is growing among younger generations, mainly because the relevant lingua franca (and source of loanwords) for Cliffs is Fulfulde, while that for Djenné is Bambara.

If it is collectively decided at some point that J-S of Djenné belongs to one language and Cliffs belongs to another, one possibility is to revive the language name Sorogaama for the Djenné variety and related dialects, and keep the name Jenaama for Cliffs and perhaps the nearby riverine dialects around Korondougou.

1.3 Environment

The Djenné area is part of the inner delta of the Niger River system, especially the Bani River (a major tributary which runs roughly parallel with the Niger from the Djenné area to their confluence

at Mopti). The rivers flow very slowly because of bottlenecks farther downstream (including one near the border with the Republic of Niger). For the same reason, extensive floodplains spread over much of the zone during and just after the rainy season. Maximum precipitation occurs from mid-July through August, and the water level (including water from upstream) peaks in September. The flooding slowly retreats by downstream flow plus evaporation. This provides a favorable context for fishing and rice farming, the latter being supported by the water management system focusing on major dams.

In the villages (Tombona, Baratou) whose residents served as native speakers for this project, the annual floodwaters approach the houses at their peak. As a result, fishing and rice farming are the two significant economic activities. The texts from Baratou explained that millet (pearl millet and sorghum) can be cultivated in drought years, when some arable land is not flooded.

In the wider Djenné zone, and in neighboring areas whose products are sold in local markets, a wider range of crops is cultivated: pearl millet, sorghum, maize, roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), peanut, groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), yam (*Dioscorea alata*), cassava, various melons, and perishable vegetables such as lettuce and tomato. Cotton and tobacco are also cultivated in the wider zone. Fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), formerly a grain staple, is now only sporadically cultivated. Planted fruit trees include mango, tamarind, banana, and citrus.

Fishing techniques include net-casting from a skiff (a large canoe, local French *pirogue*), wicker plunge traps operated by an individual, and setting weir traps in creeks and small ponds. Fish are sold or consumed fresh, or are dried or smoked for year-round sale. Small sardine-like fish (*Brycinus leuciscus*) are a source of fish oil.

Villagers from Tombona and Baratou mainly use the weekly market in Sofara. The famous Djenné weekly market is farther away.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of J-S of Djenné

1.4.1 Previous work

Surveys of Bozo varieties done for SIL, with enough lexical information to permit lexicostatistical study, are Smeltzer & Smeltzer (1995) and commentary on it by Blecke & Blecke (1997). The Smeltzers included 300-word lists for nine Bozo dialects, of which six are from the “Jenaama” complex.

The most substantial linguistic analysis focused on a specific variety of J-S is the work of Christiane Lauschitzky. She did a master’s thesis at Leiden University on verbs (2007), and presented a conference paper on nasality (2009). She was affiliated with SIL International. She is no longer active as a linguist.

Lauschitzky worked on the dialect of Djambakourou village, said to be located at 60 km north of Konna and 10 km west of the main highway. It is geographically close to the Cliffs variety,

but its position within J-S dialectology remains to be sorted out. Lauschitzky reported that this dialect has two tone levels, as with J-S of Djenné but unlike Cliffs which has three full-fledged tone levels.

Claudia Wintoch's MA thesis (2000) is a brief study of the tones of the same Djambakourou variety. She had been hosted by Lauschitzky in 1999.

Three vintage works from the colonial period are still potentially useful. The main difficulty with using them is that they contain material from multiple Bozo varieties, which were all subsumed under the "Bozo" language at the time. It will be interesting to return to them once the basic descriptions of J-S varieties, as well as Kelenga and Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo, have been completed. Of course these works are all from the pre-tonology era. They have recently been scanned and made available online on Zenodo (see bibliography).

Charles Monteil (1932) contains a short grammatical description, a lexicon of 1300 items, two short texts with Bambara and French translations, and sections on personal names and toponyms. Much of the linguistic data are from Djenné-type Jenaama though it also includes other Bozo material. Monteil was a colonial administrator who also wrote broadly about the various ethnicities of Mali and a monograph on the city of Djenné.

Jacques Daget, M. Konipo, & M. Sanakoua (1953) is a similar study from a later period. It includes Bozo-wide dialectal information especially on sound correspondences, a grammar sketch focusing on a J-S variety spoken around Mopti, a lexicon including some dialectal variants, and short texts from J-S dialects of Mopti, Korondougou, and Débo and from the Tiéyaxo of Dia. Daget was the leading ichthyologist of the zone and the author of what were then the major handbooks on fishes of West Africa.

Though not specifically a linguistic work, Zacharie Ligers (1964—) is a magnificent four-volume ethnography of Bozo practical activities (fishing, hunting, gathering, navigation, construction, child-rearing). It is full of vocabulary, phrases, and short texts on all these subjects. An important future task, after several Bozo grammars and lexicons are finished, will be to mine Ligers' work especially for additional vocabulary and dialectal information. Most of the words and phrases appear to be from Tiéyaxo, but synonyms in "kor." (Korondougou) and less often in "dj." (presumably Djenné [city] or Jenaama [language]) are given for some items.

1.4.2 Fieldwork

My fieldwork on Cliffs began in 2016 in Namagué. The security situation in that area began to deteriorate shortly thereafter, and insecurity spread to the Djenné area by 2020. Follow-up work on Cliffs continued episodically through 2021. My fieldwork on J-S of Djenné occurred in 2021, after the COVID pandemic prevented planned fieldwork in summer 2020. Starting in June 2021, initially two native speakers and later a third speaker from Tombona and Baratou villages traveled to my base in Bobo Dioulasso in neighboring Burkina Faso. Fieldwork was delayed until June of

that year by the closure of land borders between Mali and Burkina. I was able to work with the speakers from June to early December of 2021, and did brief follow-up work in late summer 2022.

Project manager Minkailou Djiguiba, previously my native-speaker assistant for Jamsay (Dogon family), played an important role by traveling to various Bozo villages. He recruited the Djenné-area speakers and drove them safely to Bobo Dioulasso, recorded texts from older Djenné-area speakers, and shot video clips that will be assembled into documentary-style videos.

Given the vast range of varieties of “Jenaama” in Mali, a grammar like this based on fieldwork with just a handful of speakers should be considered a couple of snapshots, rather than a panomora. I have done my best under difficult circumstances. However, much remains to be done in expanding the documentation of this linguistic complex, and any well-informed linguist in the future who finds anything in this work incorrect or lacking has my blessing to make corrections or additions.

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

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Primary funding for the broader Bozo project is from National Science Foundation, Documenting Endangered Languages program, grant PD-1941828, “Documentation of Bozo languages of Mali,” for the period 2020-2024. This project covers Cliffs, Jenaama-Sorogaama of Djenné, Kelenga, and Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo. A Kelenga grammar should be ready soon based on already completed research; fieldwork on Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo is planned for the first half of 2023.

I thank Thomas Blecke of SIL, now based in Ouagadougou, for helpful advice in getting started.

1.4.4 Supplements

Along with this grammar and the appended texts, the project includes a lexical spreadsheet organized into different sections: nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, other, and place names. The final version of the lexicon will be completed and disseminated a few months after the grammar, probably in the first half of 2023. In addition, footage has been shot for a number of documentary-style videos of Bozo activities including boat-building, fishing, agriculture, pottery-making, and food preparation. These will be archived at Deep Blue Data (University of Michigan Libraries) when they have been produced, likely in the period 2023-2024. Audiotapes for the appended texts here and perhaps others will also be archived there.

2 Sketch

A few basic typological facts about J-S of Djenné will serve to begin this sketch.

Like nearly all other Mande languages, J-S of Djenné is SOVX. More specifically, it is S-infl-O-V-X, where “infl” is a class of clause-level inflectional markers (aspect, negation, mood). X includes any additional material, including dative, instrumental, purposive, and spatiotemporal PPs, and various simple (mostly spatiotemporal) adverbs. Temporal adverbials occur either at the very end or at the very beginning. J-S of Djenné lacks structural case marking for subject and object NPs, and except for a tonal distinction in the 1Sg there are no differences in the form of subject and object pronominal clitics.

An example of a transitive clause is (6). It consists of a subject NP, a post-subject inflectional marker, an object NP, a verb marked for aspect, and a locational expression.

- (6) sèèdú gà súwó-yé sà-nà súbáⁿ-yⁿ
 S Ipfv goat-Pl buy-Ipfv market.Loc
 ‘Seydou buys goats in the market.’

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

J-S of Djenné has seven vowel qualities {u o ɔ a ε e i}. Vowels may be long or short, and may be oral or nasalized.

The high back unrounded vowel u that occurs in Cliffs, and apparently in no other language of the immediate area, is absent in J-S of Djenné.

There are relatively few phonological processes (rewrite rules) converting underlying to surface forms. The process most likely to cause problems for parsing and morpheme identification is vv-Contraction at compound and word boundaries. Since vowel-initial stems are rare, the bulk of contractions involve a vowel-final word or particle followed by any of the pronominal clitics other than 1Sg (1Pl ééⁿ ~ ííⁿ, 2Sg áⁿ, 2Pl áá, 3Sg à, 3Pl è ~ ì). Especially when one of the input vowel qualities or tones is lost by contraction, I use = as a warning indicator. For example, gé = è in (7) is from imperfective gà (raised to gá by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone) contracting with 3Pl object pronominal è.

- (7) à gé = è kwá-rá
 3Sg Ipfv 3Pl hit-Ipfv
 ‘He/She (often) hits them.’

Transcriptional uncertainties at the segmental level mainly involve word-final Nv versus Nvⁿ versus Nvwⁿ, e.g. *ɲa* versus *ɲaⁿ* versus *ɲawⁿ* (§3.3.3, §3.4.2.3.1-2), and Cɔ versus Cwa. These are subdialectal and idiolect-internal variants, and transcriptions of them in rapidly spoken recordings are not reliable.

2.1.2 Tones and tonal diacritics

J-S of Djenné has two phonological tone levels: H[igh] and L[ow]. Syllables may be H, L, <HL> (falling), <LH> (rising), and occasionally bell-shaped <LHL>, using angled brackets <...> to enclose tone sequences on a single syllable. This tonal system contrasts with that of Cliffs, which has three full-fledged tone levels that play distinct roles in the lexicon and in tonal sandhi and ablaut. However, Cliffs along with the isolate Bangime form a tritonal enclave in a zone dominated by bitonal and atonal languages (Fulfulde, the Songhay and Dogon families, Bambara, Soninke, and apparently all Bozo varieties other than Cliffs).

At the phonetic level, J-S of Djenné makes use of mid pitch, but unlike the case in Cliffs there are no phonemic M-tones. This grammar does, however, use M-tone notation for third person pronominal clitics 3Sg à and 3Pl è when they are upstepped to mid pitch. The transcription here uses ā and ē, but one could also use ʔà and ʔè.

Otherwise, the diacritics used are shown in (8), using ma, maa, and maw as props to illustrate mono- and bimoraic syllables.

(8)	tone(s)	ma	maa	maw
	H	má	máá	máw
	L	mà	màà	màw
	<LH>	mǎ	mǎá	mǎw
	<HL>	mâ	mââ	mâw
	<LHL>	mã	mãà (or mãâ)	mãw (or mãw)

Minimal pairs include, among nouns, *sóó* ‘grass’ and *sòò* ‘net’, the latter becoming *sòó* by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone. The tonally modified 1Sg possessor forms are *ɲ sòò* ‘my grass’ and *ɲ sòó* ‘my net’. In other words, the syllable *soo* can appear with H, L, <LH>, or <HL> tones after tonal processes. Among verbs we can mention *fúwó/fúwò* ‘winnow in wind’ and *fùwò/fùwó* ‘jab’, shown in Pfv/Ipfv pairings. Here the bisyllabic sequence *fuwo* can appear with H, L, HL, or LH tone sequence.

Bell-shaped tones occur in the singular relative marker *mèêⁿ* and in the spatial postposition *nàâⁿ* ‘between’. They could alternatively be transcribed *měêⁿ* and *nǎâⁿ*, or as *mě:ⁿ* and *nǎ:ⁿ*.

“Melody” in this grammar means the lexical tone pattern of a stem. This involves factoring out variation due to tonal ablaut at stem level, and due to tone sandhi at boundaries. For nouns and numerals, the singular citation form reveals the melody. For verbs, the Pfv stem in prepausal position reveals the melody. Adjectives too have lexical melodies, but they are masked in binary N-Adj strings by Tone Leveling. Slashes /.../ are used for lexical melodies.

Bimoraic (CvCv, Cvv, Cvy) stems and words can have the following lexical tone melodies: /H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/. Trimoraic CvvCv, CvCvv, and CvCvCv allow these and also /LHL/. /H/ and /L/ can be grouped as monotonal melodies (this is an important category in tonal ablaut of compounds and N-Adj strings). The other melodies are contoured: bitonal /HL/ and /LH/, tritonal /LHL/.

/L/ melody can be converted to surface LH by raising of the final tone in dissimilation to a following L-tone (Final Tone-Raising). This neutralizes the distinction between /L/ and /LH/ melodies, and between /L/ melody and ablaut-derived LH (in imperfective verb stems).

/HL/ melody can be converted to surface H by spreading of the initial H-tone to the end of the word before an L-tone under some conditions.

Transcription of tones in the last two or three syllables of a prosodic group is difficult, as H-tones are not clearly distinct from L-tones. In rapidly spoken recordings, transcription is particularly difficult, and some degree of normalization (i.e. idealization) is inevitable. Readers should be cautious about basing reanalyses of tonal phenomena on the textual transcriptions provided here.

2.1.3 Tone sandhi

The main tone-sandhi process is Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4), which converts input (L)L#L to (L)H#L. This is a tone dissimilation process that is helpful in marking word and phrase boundaries, and some stem-suffix boundaries. It can apply several times in a prosodic group. For example, in (9) all input words and morphemes are L-toned, but the output has five separate H-tones due to tone sandhi. Underlying (lexical) forms, all /L/-toned, are shown in the second row.

- (9) sùwó-ḏ́j kìⁿyé gá nḏ́gí-ỳ
 /sùwò-yàwⁿ kìⁿyè gà nḏ́gù-ỳ/
 sheep-DefSg arrive.Pfv Pfv village-Loc
 ‘The sheep-Sg arrived in the village.’

For LHL-toned words like the personal name sèédù, the H-tone shifts to the right edge in most of the same environments, hence sèédú before most L-tones. This is called Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2).

For 3Sg à and 3Pl è, the pitch is raised in the same environments, but it stops at mid pitch and does not reach the pitch level of true H-tone. This partial raising process is here called Pitch Upstep (§3.6.4.1).

Readers may initially be confused by citation forms in the main text, e.g. sùwò ‘sheep’, whose different tonal markings differ from those in accompanying examples that reflect the operation of tone sandhi.

2.1.4 Tonal morphophonology (tonal ablaut)

Factoring out tone sandhi at boundaries, the constructions that make use of tonal ablaut (including irregular tonal morphophonology) are those in (10).

- (10) a. nominal compounds (chapter 5)
 noun plus adjective (§6.3.1)
- b. 1Sg ñ plus following word (noun, verb, particle, postposition; §4.3.3)
 demonstrative plus following noun (§3.6.3.2, §6.5.1-2)

The main tonal ablaut process in (10a) is Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). In the combination X-Y, Tone Leveling takes the leftmost tone element of X (e.g. L if X is otherwise LH or LHL), spreads it rightward to the boundary, and keeps spreading it into Y unless and until it encounters an HL tone break in Y, which stops the spreading. Examples of Tone Leveling are in (11a-b).

- (11) a. compound sùyèṅ-kwèrè-kìⁿ ‘racing skiff (boat)’
 < sùyéⁿ ‘propel (boat)’, kwéré ‘hit’, (sùyèṅ-kwéré ‘boat race’), kíⁿ ‘skiff’
- b. noun-adjective ñàmàà bòròⁿ ‘big house’
 < ñàmáà ‘house’, bòròⁿ ‘big’

1Sg ñ has the effect of inverting the initial tone of the following word, and of dropping an all-H-toned word to all-L. After these changes, 1Sg ñ itself undergoes Final Tone-Raising to ́. It is always distinguishable at least indirectly from 3ReflSg and LogoSg ́, which has no tonal ablaut effect.

Deictic demonstrative kú-nù ~ kù-nù and discourse-definite demonstrative jú-nù ~ jó-nù also have tonal ablaut (or at least irregular tonal morphophonological) effects on the following noun.

Quantifier ‘all’, possessors (except 1Sg), and (with minor exceptions) numerals have no irregular tonal ablaut interactions with adjoining words, though they can trigger tone sandhi.

2.1.5 Few unusual intonation effects

Focalization of a constituent is expressed by addition of a focus particle. Polar interrogation is expressed by a clause-final particle. Various forms of emphasis are expressed by any of a number of clause-final emphatic particles. The upshot is that the language does not have much need for prosodic intonation effects.

2.2 Verbal and clausal inflection

2.2.1 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

Verbs have two primary forms, perfective and imperfective, e.g. kwà ‘hit.Pfv’ versus kwà-rà ‘hit.Ipfv’. To distinguish these morphological categories from clause-level constructions, the abbreviations **Pfv** and **Ipfv** (with uppercase P and I) denote the verb-stem categories. The clause-level constructions are referred to by unabbreviated “perfective” and “imperfective”, or (in tables) with lower-case pfv and ipfv (likewise pfvneg, ipfvneg).

Full citation forms of verbs have a slash between Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. kiyé/kiyè ‘run’. In such pairings, the Pfv stem is shown in its basic form, as it occurs in the perfective negative, the future, and the imperative. This factors out the tone sandhi change when L-toned stems occur in the perfective positive with following Pfv particle gà. For verbs that have an Ipfv suffix that does not change the form of the stem, abbreviations like kógò(-rò) ‘empty, shake off’ are often used instead of kógò/kógò-rò.

For a given verb, the Pfv and Ipfv stems may be distinguished tonally, whereby the Pfv is monotonal all-H or all-L and the Ipfv polarizes the final tone element (Pfv ĆĆ → Ipfv ĆC̀, Pfv C̀C̀ → Ipfv C̀Ć). If the Pfv is contour-toned (LH, HL, LHL), the Ipfv is formed by suffixation of -rv (with copied vowel quality) or a variant like nasalized -nv. Monomoraic Cv stems also take Ipfv suffixes. A minority of verbs have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems; this is the case for sò/sò ‘go’ and for verbs with shapes other than Ćy and ĆĆ that have all-H Pfv’s, e.g. Ćv and ĆĆĆ. There are only a handful of irregular Pfv/Ipfv pairings, e.g. bé/bí-yé ‘come’ and gó/gúwó ‘weep’.

The Pfv stem is morphosyntactically unmarked. The Pfv stem occurs not only in the perfective construction but also in the future and imperative constructions. It is also the basis for most nominalizations.

2.2.2 Suffixal derivation of verb stems

The only productive suffixal derivations within verbal morphology are causative, intransitivization, and participle. See chapter 9 for full coverage.

The causative suffix is -ni, acquiring its tone secondarily (§9.1.1). It adds an external causal agent. Usually the input verb is intransitive (12a), so the causativized verb is a simple transitive (12b).

- (12) a. à kíyé gà
 3Sg run.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She ran.’
- b. sèédù yá= à kíyé-níⁿ ñà
 S Sbj/Obj 3Sg run-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou made him/her/it run.’ or ‘Seydou drove it (=vehicle).’

Intransitivization is expressed for some verbs by fronting the final vowel, usually to e/ɛ, and some further adjustments. Either the subject-agent or the patient-object of the transitive input is omitted (§9.3.1). Transitive díyá/díyà ‘eat (sth)’ (13a) is intransitivized as díyé/díyè ‘eat, do some eating’ (13b) or ‘be eaten’ (13c).

- (13) a. íⁿ yá= à díyá gà
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg eat.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We ate it.’
- b. íⁿ díyé gà
 1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We ate.’
- c. kú tá díyè
 Dem IpfvNeg be.eaten.Ipfv
 ‘That isn’t eaten (=isn’t edible).’

2.2.3 Clause-level inflections (TAMP)

The aspectual (Pfv/Ipfv) marking on verb stems is complemented by the array of post-subject inflectional particles in (14). These particles reinforce the verb’s own aspect marking but also mark polarity and (epistemic and deontic) mood. The forms shown have lexical tones, before tone sandhi. IpfvNeg tà ~ tá are dialectal variants.

- (14) a. (zero) perfective positive (the usual form)
 tè perfective negative
 gà imperfective positive (also copular and locational ‘be’)
 tà ~ tá imperfective negative (also copular and locational ‘not be’)
 bé future (can combine with negation as tá bé)
 mà prohibitive
- b. yè bidirectional case marker (in transitive perfective positive)
- c. nà perfective positive in conditional antecedents (‘if.Pfv’)
 nà perfective positive after 1Sg subject (‘Pfv.1Sg’)
 nà subjunctive

Analytical issues include a) whether two or all three of the nà morphemes can be equated; b) the relationship between future bé, sequential subordinator bé, and the verb bé ‘come’; c) the nature of the bidirectional case-marker; and d) the relationship between imperfective markers (which precede verbs) and copular and locational ‘be’ and ‘not be’ (which precede NPs and adverbials).

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

The order of primary elements in NPs is (15), see §6.1.1. Discourse-functional elements have senses like ‘too’ and ‘as for’ (topic).

- (15) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj - Num/Pl - DefSg - DiscFunct - ‘all’ - ‘any’

Example (16a) illustrates Poss-N-Adj-‘all’. (16b) illustrates Dem-N-Adj-Num.

- (16) a. sèèdú sùwɔ̀ pìⁿyè-ná-yè sááⁿ
 S sheep black-Ppl-Pl all
 ‘all of Seydou’s black sheep-Pl’
- b. kú-nù náamáà bòróⁿ sìgéⁿ-yàwⁿ
 Dem-Link house big three-DefSg
 ‘those three big houses’

In addition to the position of the major stem-classes, the position of definite singular -yàwⁿ and of plural -yè must be specified. In addition, tonal ablaut applies across words in several combination types, especially N-Adj.

There is no genitive marker in possessor-possessum combinations, and no inflectional gender or noun-class marking.

Possessors, numerals, the postnominal discourse-definite marker, discourse-functional elements (‘too’, topic), ‘all’, and ‘any’ have only minor tonal interactions with the noun and any intervening modifiers. However, adjectives and pronominal demonstratives $\eta\delta^n$ ‘that (same)’ and $k\delta^n$ ‘this/that’ do have unexpected tonal interactions with nouns. There are also complex tonal patterns inside noun-noun compounds.

2.4 Case-marking and PPs

There is no nominative or accusative case-marking. Even pronouns have the same forms as subjects and objects. Exceptionally, the 1Sg pronominal proclitic shows tonal variation between subject and object function (§4.3.3).

A few important postpositions are in (17).

(17)	tè	dative
	nà	dative
	ní	instrumental
	pà	comitative (‘with’)
	nì ⁿ	‘inside’
	dáà	purposive-causal (‘for’ or ‘because of’)

The most common locative PP has a syllabic full variant $y\grave{i}$ but is usually realized as a suffix (or enclitic) $-y\grave{e}$.

2.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are internally headed. There is no extraction or doubling of the noun of the head NP in external position. The NP is likewise not resumed by a pronoun in the main clause, unless the relative clause is fronted as preclausal topic. The relative morpheme is $m\grave{a}w^n$, usually in the definite singular form $m\grave{e}\hat{e}^n$ or a plural form like $m\grave{a}-r\acute{e}\acute{e}$. This morpheme follows a maximal Poss-N-Adj-Num sequence, but can itself be followed by ‘all’ and by discourse-functional particles. Internal-headedness makes it easy to relativize on NPs in any grammatical function (subject, object, postpositional complement, possessor).

(18)	sèèdú	[sùwó	mèé ⁿ]	sà ⁿ	ɲá
	S	[sheep	Rel]	buy.Pfv	Pfv
	‘the sheep-Sg that Seydou bought’				

In addition to classic relative-clause function, $m\grave{a}^n$ or $m\grave{e}\hat{e}^n$ may also introduce a referentially variable (nonspecific) entity (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘some time’, etc). The sense is roughly

‘(suppose there is) [someone who .../something that ...]’, introducing a nonspecific (generic) referent in a backgrounded clause. Because of this, the “relative” morpheme can occur twice on different constituents in the same clause, making a free translation as an English relative clause impossible (19); see also §14.1.2

- (19) [kééwú m̀èéⁿ] yé m̀èéⁿ sàⁿ ɲá
 [man **Rel**] Sbj/Obj **Rel** buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘(suppose that) some man has bought something’

2.6 Interclausal syntax

One important interclausal construction is a main clause combined with a VP that begins with the sequential morpheme bé. The logical subject of the sequential VP is normally coindexed with the subject of the main clause. This construction can be used to report chronologically ordered events in narrative (one main clause followed by one or more sequential VPs). However, sequential VPs are also part of some complex constructions involving specific main-clause predicates, much in the fashion of infinitival VPs in European languages with coindexed subjects omitted.

A subject can be added to a sequential VP, resulting in a sequential clause. Both VP and clausal options are shown in (20), the difference being whether 3Pl è occurs overtly before sequential bé. Subjectless sequential VPs are very common, unlike the case in Cliffs where an overt subject (at least pronominal) is normal.

- (20) è séⁿ ɲà Ø [bé táwⁿ]
 " " ɲé= [è " "]
 3Pl fall.Pfv Pfv [(3Pl) Seq ascend.Pfv]
 ‘They fell down and then (they) got back up.’

In several constructions where a subordinated clause has a different subject, the subordinated clause takes subjunctive form (post-subject morpheme nà) or, if negated, prohibitive form (post-subject prohibitive morpheme mà). These function much like the subjunctive of Romance languages. The main clause may be a ‘say’ clause (quoting an original imperative or hortative) or the expression of a wish.

- (21) a. à yé [= ééⁿ nà bé]
 3Sg said [1Pl **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told us to come.’
 b. à yé [= ééⁿ mà bé]
 3Sg said [1Pl **Proh** come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told us not to come.’

3 Phonology

3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1 Syllables

Syllables are predominantly Cv and Cvv (with long vowel). There are many Cvv, CvCv, CvvCv, CvCvv and longer stems.

Monomoraic Cv lexical stems are allowed. They are few in number but include high-frequency items. Verbs include invariant sò/sò ‘go’ (§10.1.2.2) and numerous stems that have Cv Pfv stem but suffixed Cv-Cv Ipv stem (§10.1.3). Cv noun stems include fá ‘thing’ (§4.1.2) and kà ‘father’.

Onsets may be Cw and less often Cy rather than just C (§3.2.11.2). There are a few words, mostly borrowings, that begin with NC, i.e. a nasal-stop cluster (§3.2.11.1). The nasal does not bear an independent tone and NC could be analysed as a prenasalized consonant. By contrast, nasal proclitics like 1Sg allomorphs ñ and ñ̃ do bear independent tones.

The word-initial consonant position may be empty. Among grammatical morphemes, several pronouns begin with vowels (§4.3.1). The few lexical stems that begin with vowels are borrowings ultimately from Arabic (§3.3.4).

Many stems end in what I transcribe (in citation forms) as vwⁿ alternating with vⁿ and with vN, where “v” is some vowel and N is a nasal consonant homorganic to a following consonant (§3.4.2.1). wⁿ can also disappear entirely due to contraction (vwⁿ#v → v#v).

The only common medial CC clusters are homorganic nasal plus stop, e.g. mb and nt (§3.2.11.3). There is no clear phonological evidence as to how e.g. génté ‘throw’ (variant) should be syllabified (gén-té or gé-nté ?), or whether there is any point in attempting to find a syllable boundary. This makes it difficult to determine whether the few nouns with CvvNCv sequence, mááŋgòró ‘mango’ and kááŋgó ‘vetiver (grass sp.)’, have superheavy CvvN syllables or just Cvv. The same point applies to words with rare medial triple clusters like sámáympáⁿ ‘rainbow’ (§3.2.11.3).

3.1.2 Word-internal metrical structure

Since syncope and accentual processes are rare in J-S of Djenné, there is not much to say about foot structure. CvCvCv words do not syncopate systematically to CvCCv, and tones do not behave as pitch-accent markers. There is no well-defined stress system as such.

Stem-level tone melodies have a weak resemblance to pitch-accent, since there is rarely more than one H-toned peak on a stem. /LHL/ is a common lexical melody, but /HLH/ is rare in

uncompounded stems; see discussion of (57) in §3.6.1.4. However, stems of any size can be all-L-toned or all-H-toned; indeed, many entire nominal compounds surface as all-H or all-L due to Tone Leveling. This makes a pitch-accent analysis unattractive.

Overall prosodic weight of stems is an occasional factor in tonal processes. For example, Cvy and CvCv verb stems of /H/ melody drop the final tone to form the imperfective stem, while heavier stems (and Cvv stems) do not. See also the Dem-N combinations in §6.5.1.

3.2 Consonants

J-S of Djenné has the consonants in (22). ʃ is in single parentheses since it is arguably an allophone of s. Parenthesized labial velars kp and gb are likewise infrequent variants of kw and gw. Double parentheses enclose consonants that occur in a few loanwords. Glottal stop ʔ is in triple parentheses since it occurs only in vocalizations on the fringe of the lexicon or grammar.

(22) Consonants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
labial	p	b	m	f	((v))	w	w ⁿ	
alveolar	t	d	n	s	((z))	l, r		
alveopalatal	c	j	ɲ	(ʃ)	((ʒ))	y	y ⁿ	
velar	k	g	ŋ					
velar labial	(kp)	(gb)						
laryngeal								h, (((ʔ)))

notes: j is palatoalveolar stop IPA [j], y is semivowel [j], r is tap [ɾ]

key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (c is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3. nasals, 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives (including sibilants); 6. nonnasal sonorants; 7. nasalized sonorants; 8. laryngeals

Because v as voiced labial fricative is virtually nonexistent, I use “v” as a vocalic variable in formulae like CʋCv̄. The lower-case permits tone markings which are difficult typographically for capital V.

Nasalized semivowels and tap r do not occur word-initially. Most consonants do not occur word-finally in ordinary vocabulary (see just below). Most unclustered intervocalic consonants in word-medial position are voiced.

3.2.1 Stem-final consonants

The most common final consonant is w^n , but it is unstable except in prepausal position (§3.2.10.1). Other semivowels that can occur finally are y (§3.2.9) and y^n (§3.2.10.1).

Some stem- or word-final sonorants are due to Apocope (§3.4.3.1). Final mu optionally reduces to $[m:]$, preserving the original prosodic timing, in a small number of bisyllabic stems of the shape $Cvmu$. At the end of compound initials, a short high vowel may be syncopated after tap r (§3.4.3.2).

3.2.2 Palatoalveolar glide (υ) absent as phoneme

The front rounded glide υ which occurs in Cliffs and the neighboring language isolate Bangime, including stem-initial cases, does not occur as a phoneme in J-S of Djenné. Some cognates are in (23).

(23)	Cliffs	Djenné	gloss
	$\upsilon\grave{e}\grave{e}/\upsilon\grave{e}\bar{e}$	$w\grave{e}^n/w\grave{e}-n\grave{e}$	‘open’
	$s\grave{u}\upsilon\grave{e}/s\grave{u}\upsilon\bar{e}$	$s\grave{u}y\grave{e}/s\grave{u}y\acute{e}$	‘do cooking’
	$k\grave{u}\upsilon\grave{e}/k\grave{u}\upsilon\bar{e}$	$kw\grave{e}\grave{e}/kw\grave{e}\acute{e}$	‘steal’
	$t\grave{u}\upsilon$	$tw\grave{i}^n$	‘be short’

However, a phonetic front rounded glide or vowel can be heard in the sequence that is structurally $Cuwe/Cuwe$, as in $/s\grave{u}w\grave{e}/$ ‘cook, do cooking’ (intransitivized by vocalic fronting from transitive $s\grave{u}w\grave{o}$ ‘cook’). This has realizations like $[s\grave{y}j\grave{e}]$ or $[s\grave{u}\upsilon\grave{e}]$ depending on how far leftward the fronting/palatalization extends, for which the phonemic transcription $s\grave{u}y\grave{e}$ is used.

3.2.3 Alveopalatals (c j)

c (palatoalveolar stop) is relatively uncommon. It is attested stem-initially before various vowels in a few nouns denoting plant or animal species, e.g. $c\acute{a}m\grave{u}$ ‘tree sp.’ and $c\grave{e}b\acute{u}$ ‘black-faced dioch (bird)’. The other noun stem is the important word meaning ‘wood, stick’, which is $k\grave{i}y\grave{e}$ (dialect 1, as also in Cliffs) or $c\grave{o}\grave{d}\grave{o}$ (dialect 2). There are no adjectives with c . The numeral ‘ten’ is $k\acute{e}m\acute{i} \sim c\acute{e}m\acute{i}$ (cf. Cliffs $t\acute{a}mm$). For verbs, $c\acute{o}r\grave{o}^n/c\acute{o}r\grave{o}-n\grave{o}$ ‘sneak up on’ is the only known case.

j (palatoalveolar stop) is a regular consonant that occurs in basic lexical items. Word-initial examples are the verb $j\grave{o}\eta\acute{o}^n/j\grave{o}\eta\acute{o}-n\grave{o}$ ‘shake’ and nouns $j\acute{i}$ ‘water’ and $j\acute{u}g\acute{u}$ ‘tree; medication’. Medial examples are $\eta\acute{g}\acute{o}j\grave{u}$ ‘board game’ and $w\acute{a}j\acute{i}b\grave{i}$ ‘obligation’.

3.2.4 Labial fricative f

f is fairly common and occurs in core vocabulary, e.g. verbs f(w)ð(-rð) ‘sit’ and fīgèⁿ/fīgéⁿ ‘hide’, predicate adjective fòrìⁿ ~ fèrù ‘be lightweight’, and nouns filè ‘anus’ and fðŋóⁿ ‘throat’. f in native (unborrowed) vocabulary appears to reflect *p, as preserved in Cliffs cognates like pwð/pð-lò ‘sit’, pùgèwⁿ/pùgēn-nà ‘hide’, and pēlūⁿ ‘be lightweight’. The important noun fá ‘thing’ still has an archaic variant pá.

3.2.5 Voiceless stops (p t k) and voiced stops (b d g)

For c and j, see above. Voiceless stops {p t k} are common word-initially and rare medially. Voiced stops {b d g} are common initially and medially (intervocally).

Medial nasal-stop clusters in some stems vary interdialectally between voiced {mb nd nj ŋg} and voiceless {mp nt ŋc ŋk}. There are also some stems that vary interdialectally between {mb nd nj ŋg} clusters and simple nasals {m n ŋ}.

3.2.6 Labial velars (kp gb)

Labial velars are very marginal. They have turned up stem-initially as variant pronunciations of two lexical items. The alternative pronunciation is velar stop plus semiwowel w (24).

- (24) a. gbègènáwⁿ ~ gwègènáwⁿ ‘hare’
b. kpéjété ~ kwéjété ‘leprosy’

There are a number of other stems that have initial gw or kw before front or low vowels. Whether they have dialectal variants with labial velars, so far unattested, is unknown.

3.2.7 Laryngeals (h ʔ)

h is limited to word-initial position. It occurs in a few borrowed nouns like hágèrè ‘(mental) attention’. For h/s alternations see §3.2.8 just below.

Glottal stop ʔ occurs marginally as a prosodic element. Clause-final emphatic déʔ (§19.4.1.4) is pronounced with a final glottal stop. One of the single-word ‘no’ expressions is ðsⁿʔðⁿ.

3.2.8 Sibilants (s ʃ z ʒ) and s/h alternations

Voiced sibilants z and ʒ occur in a handful of stems. In borrowings from French they merge as z, as in zándarámú ‘gendarme’ and bàzɛ̃ⁿ ‘bazin (=bassam) fabric’. A term for ‘squacco heron’ has variants kàlé-jùyéṭè and kàlé-ʒwétè.

Voiceless s is one of the basic consonants. It tends to have a slightly laminal articulation. The syllable si is often heard as [ʃi].

A few forms alternate dialectally between s and h. The most important of these are sìnì/sìní ~ hìnì/hìní ‘be able’ (along with related forms), and inanimate relative head sú màⁿ ~ hú màⁿ.

3.2.9 Nonnasal sonorants (l, r, w, y)

{l w y} freely occur stem-initially: léé-léé ‘skimmer (bird)’, yàbá ‘guinea-fowl’, wìì ‘age, longevity’. Most l-initial words are borrowings, e.g. lááhàrà ‘the Hereafter (afterworld)’. There is no restriction against yi or wu sequences: wúwó ‘groundnut’, yíyèⁿ ‘image, shadow’. r is not attested stem-initially but it does occur in that position in Fulfulde and a loanword or two may turn up.

All nonnasal sonorants are common intervocalically: álà ‘God’, yèrèⁿ ‘name-mate’, búwóⁿ ‘horn’, kúyé ‘grains of Selim (spice)’. They also occur as first member of medial consonant clusters. y also occurs word-finally in Cvy syllables.

Tap r is unattested stem- or word-initially.

There is considerable fluctuation between l and r intervocalically, both across (sub-)dialects and in the speech of individuals. Where variants have been observed they are indicated in the lexical spreadsheets.

For nasalized semivowels see just below.

3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants

There are no cases of stem-initial wⁿ, yⁿ, or rⁿ. Semivowels wⁿ and yⁿ occur in other positions (§3.2.10.1 just below), while rⁿ is not established as a phoneme (§3.2.10.2).

3.2.10.1 Status of wⁿ and yⁿ

yⁿ occurs in the nouns kàyⁿ ‘sibling-in-law’ and káyⁿ ‘work (n)’, and in the verbs káyⁿ/káyⁿ ‘perform (work)’, kwéyⁿ/kwéy-nì ‘sweep’, and máyⁿ/máýⁿ ‘ruin, damage (v)’. The locative suffix -ỹ is heard as -ỹⁿ after nouns that have a final nasal syllable.

Many stems of all syntactic categories end in phonetic [wⁿ] after a and ε in prepausal position (including citation forms). Examples are òyèwⁿ ~ òyàwⁿ ‘child’, mìyèwⁿ ‘(be) small’,

nàtàwⁿ ‘4’, and tàmpàwⁿ ‘kick’. The speaker of dialect 1 consistently pronounced the labial in prepausal position as indicated by these transcriptions. The other speaker (dialect 2) pronounced some of the same words with unrounded final aⁿ even prepausally (e.g. nàtàⁿ ‘4’). However, before pauses he did generally pronounce the rounding in dìyàwⁿ ‘child’, in definite singular -yàwⁿ, and some other forms. The relevant items are transcribed with parenthesized (w)ⁿ in the lexicon.

In both dialects, the final nasalization on a non-verb stem (noun, adjective, numeral) is realized as a homorganic nasal {m n ɲ} before a stop. Thus dìyèm bé gà (dialect 1) or dìyàm bé gà (dialect 2) ‘a child came’. In effect, the stop is prenasalized. Verb stems with final nasalization show the same pattern, except that postverbal perfective gà is nasalized to ɲà (§3.4.2.3.1).

The prenasalization occurs with words otherwise ending in optionally rounded a(w)ⁿ and ε(w)ⁿ as well as with those ending in simple {iⁿ eⁿ oⁿ ɔⁿ uⁿ}. This suggests that all of these end in a nasal archiphoneme, and that the optional rounding in a(w)ⁿ and ε(w)ⁿ is vestige of it.

3.2.10.2 rⁿ not a phoneme

There is no clear evidence for nasalized rⁿ as a phoneme. In stems like búrúⁿ ‘wooden horn’ and kóròⁿ ‘irrigation canal’, only the second vowel is phonetically nasalized, so there is no reason to ascribe nasality to the rhotic.

3.2.11 Consonant clusters

3.2.11.1 Stem-initial NC

Stem-initial nasal-stop clusters (arguably prenasalized stops) occur in about twenty nouns denoting flora and fauna species. The stop is voiced in most cases, but nt is also attested. The cases in the working lexicon as of November 2021 are mb (2), nd (3), nt (2), nj (2), and ɲg (10). Examples are mbúwòⁿ ‘grasshopper sp. (*Hieroglyphus*)’, ndòlòni ‘Gambian sun squirrel’, ntééré ‘grey-headed sparrow’, njólòngò ‘white-bellied bustard’, and ɲgèréntè ‘herb with burrs’ (any of three species). The initial nasal in these stems does not bear an independent tone. This distinguishes stem-initial NC from combinations of words with a preceding nasal proclitic that is tone-bearing (1Sg ɲ, third person reflexive singular ɲ).

Since the initial nasal is limited to nouns of a semantic class, one could argue that it is a marginal class-marking prefix. However, some of the nouns in question may be borrowings. Ffulfulde has many stems with initial NC clusters. Montane Songhay languages (Humburi Senni, Tondi Songway Kiini) have several terms, mostly flora-fauna, that begin with ?aN- with homorganic nasal.

There are no known examples of initial NC involving verb, adjective, or numeral stems.

3.2.11.2 Stem-initial Cw and Cy clusters

True initial Cy appears to be limited to the plural noun *dyé-nà-mée* ‘children’, whose *dyé* behaves in tonal ablaut as a single syllable, hence *ń dyè-ná-mée* ‘my children’ (non-kinship sense). The singular is bisyllabic *díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ* ‘child’, cf. *ń diyéⁿ-yàwⁿ* ‘my child’ (non-kinship). Stems like singular ‘child’ that begin with Ciyv tend to reduce the *i* phonetically and approach Cyv without quite getting there.

Cw does occur as an onset before front vowels, *a*, and rarely *ɔ*. Examples: *nwì^m* ‘interior’, *twèè* ‘esoteric powers’, *kwá-rá* ‘hit.Ipfv’, *fwò* ‘sat’. Some occurrences of the sequence Cwa are dialectal variants (dialect 2) of Cɔ, reflecting an incipient diphthongization. Others result from resyllabification associated with fronting of the final vowel, as in *twéré* ‘selling, commerce’, nominalized from *tóró/tórò* ‘sell’.

As with Ciyv, stems beginning with Cuwv often reduce the *u* and so phonetically approach Cwv without quite getting there. The reduction is associated with (partial) compensatory lengthening of the second vowel.

Aside from tonal processes, that Ciyv and Cuwv are still structurally bisyllabic is shown by the fact that the first vowel can be nasalized without nasalizing the second, hence *Ciⁿyv* and *Cuⁿwv*. There are several stems like *kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá* ‘fear (v)’, *kúⁿwáá-ná* ‘white’, *sùⁿwó* ‘crocodile’, *píⁿyé-ná* ‘hot’, *sìⁿyè* ‘tree sp. (*Pterocarpus*)’, and *kìⁿyè/kìⁿyé* ‘arrive’ that have a nasalized vowel followed by an oral *wv* or *yv* syllable. Such stems have not been observed in Cliffs.

3.2.11.3 Medial CC and CCC clusters

The most common medial clusters are homorganic nasal-stop combinations. These include NT clusters with voiceless stop {*mp nt #ɲc ɲk*} and ND clusters with voiced stop {*mb nd ɲj ɲg*}. However, *ɲc* is unattested, and *ɲj* is rare. Examples are in (25).

(25)	stem	variant(s)	gloss
	a. NT		
	<i>sòmpeⁿ</i>		‘small hatchet’
	<i>kúmpè</i>	<i>kúmbè</i>	‘paddle’
	<i>kóntò</i>	<i>kóndò, kónò</i>	‘left (side)’
	<i>kúwóntá(w)ⁿ</i>		‘unmarried woman’
	<i>péntèⁿ</i>		‘herd, flock’ (compound final)
	<i>bòntò</i>	<i>bònò</i>	‘granary’
	(no examples of #ɲc)		
	<i>kùɲkò</i>	<i>kùɲgò</i>	‘(sb’s) concern, interest’
	<i>bàràɲkàri</i>		‘cart pole’ (French <i>brancard</i>)

b. ND

bǒmbò ⁿ		‘snot’
sóndóó		‘joint’ (bones, carpentry)
pòndè		‘sulk.Pfv’
tòríŋjè		‘Galam striped frog’
jéŋgèrè	jéŋérè	‘shed, stall’

Several stems vary dialectally and even within idiolects between NT and ND, or between ND and a simple nasal. ‘Left (side)’ in (25a) has all three variants. A wider dialectal survey of J-S varieties would undoubtedly bring out many more variants.

There is an issue whether the NT and ND forms behave phonologically as clusters, or as unit phonemes in the form of prenasalized stops (which could then be transcribed as ⁿb, etc.). The best way to test this is to compare the Ipfv stems of ĆV́ĆV́ and ĆV́NĆV́ verbs. The Ipfv stem drops the final mora from H to L in /H/-melodic stems of the bimoraic shapes ĆV́y and ĆV́ĆV́, but not in trimoraic /H/-melodic stems like ĆV́́ĆV́ and ĆV́ĆV́́ and others (e.g. trisyllabics) that are still heavier. The Ipfv stems are HL-toned ĆV́y and ĆV́Ćv in the first set, but ĆV́́ĆV́ and ĆV́ĆV́́ (unchanged from the Pfv stem) in the second set. It turns out that there are few ĆV́NĆV́ Pfv stems to test. The limited evidence suggests that at least ĆV́NT́V́ with voiceless stop is treated tonally as trimoraic. There is one clear example, kóntóⁿ/kóntóⁿ ‘curl up’, whose Pfv and Ipfv are identical. A rather messy case is ‘throw’, which has three attested variants either subdialectally or for individual speakers, reflecting different stages of lenition. The Pfv’s are génté, géndé, and géné. Individuals can alternate between either génté and géndé, or between géndé and géné. The data appear to suggest that génté is trimoraic (Ipfv also génté), géné is bimoraic (Ipfv génè), and géndé is treated variably (Ipfv géndé ~ géndè).

/H/-melodic CⁿVⁿCⁿ stems with nasalized vowel and a medial sonorant or fricative are treated tonally as bimoraic. An example is píⁿyé/píⁿyè ‘get hot’.

Other medial clusters occur sporadically, especially in borrowings and etymologically compound nouns. The first consonant is usually r or a semivowel: dááypó ~ dááypá ‘breakfast’, fòymà ‘marriage (state)’, gàyà⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘Friday’, màwlúúdu ‘Mawlud (Muslim holy day)’, yènràŋkàà ‘woman who has recently given birth’, kàrfè ‘bit (for horse)’.

Triple clusters consisting of a semivowel plus an NT or ND cluster occur in sámáympáⁿ ‘rainbow’ and kàyŋkòrù ‘light-colored stone’.

3.2.11.4 Final CC clusters

There are no final consonant clusters at word level, excluding the variant pronunciation [m:] for stem-final mu (§3.4.3.1).

At word boundaries, the nasalization in stem-final y^n is expressed as a homorganic nasal (or, arguably, prenasalization) before a stop, e.g. $ym\ b$ ($\sim y^m b$) and $yn\ d$ ($\sim y^n d$) from y^n plus b or d .

3.2.12 Historical linguistic significance of verb-stem alternations

A historical analysis of variant forms of verb stems requires comparative Bozo and Mande data that are beyond the scope of this grammar. Here I simply point out the alternations of greatest possible comparative interest.

3.2.12.1 Unusual bisyllabic stem variants

A number of verb stems have the form Cv , Cwv , or nasal Cv^n in the perfective (Pfv) stem, versus $Cv-rv$ (after Cv) or nasal $Cv-nv$ (after Cv^n) in the imperfective (Ipfv) stem.

The medial r or n sometimes also occurs in intransitivized stems ending in e/ϵ (§9.3.1.1). There is also one case that has n in the transitive Ipfv but m in the intransitivized stem (26b).

(26)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss	intransitive	gloss
	a. intransitive has same medial consonant as Ipfv			
	$sí^n/sí-ní$	‘bite’	$síné/sínè$	‘bite (do biting), take a bite’
	$kwá(-rá)$	‘hit’	$kwéré/kwérè$	‘hit (do hitting)’
	b. n/m alternation			
	$kú^n/kú-nú$	‘catch’	$kúmé/kúmè$	‘be caught’

Some of these verbs, and a few others, also have a $CvC\epsilon$ verbal noun (§4.2.1.2). ‘Catch’ again has medial m in this derivative ($kúmé$ ‘catching’).

A reasonable diachronic speculation is that the bisyllabic derivatives with medial r , n , and m preserve ancient medial consonants in these stems. The n/m alternation in ‘catch’, also observed in Cliffs, may have due to analogy to verbs like ‘bite’.

3.2.12.2 $bá(-rá)$ ‘exit (v)’

In J-S of Djenné, $bá(-rá)$ ‘exit (v)’ is a regular member of a fairly productive verb class with $-RV$ Ipfv suffix (§10.1.3). See discussion of Cliffs irregular $bāā/bā-lā$ in the corresponding subsection of the parallel grammar.

3.3 Vowels

The inventory of vowel qualities is (27). All qualities occur long and short, and oral and nasalized.

(27)		back		front
	high	u		i
	mid	[+ATR] o		e
		[-ATR] ɔ		ɛ
	low		a	

This is the regionally widespread 7-vowel system found in nearby Mande languages, Bangime, and Dogon languages. It is also present in Djenné Chiini, where it is historically secondary (other Malian Songhay languages have five vowels). There is an ATR-like distinction, or arguably just a Romance-type open/closed distinction, in the mid-height vowels but not in the high or low vowels. See §3.3.6 for ATR harmony.

3.3.1 u absent

The high back unrounded vowel *u* that occurs in Cliffs (and to my knowledge nowhere else in central/northern Mali) is absent in J-S of Djenné. In Cliffs it occurs in about twenty nouns, verbs, and adjectives. For extended discussion see the parallel subsection in the Cliffs grammar.

3.3.2 Short and long vowels

In native vocabulary, long vowels occur mainly in *Cv*v monosyllabics and in stem-initial syllables in longer stems. Most noninitial syllables have short vowels but some cases of long vowels are also known.

Nearly all *Cv* and *Cv*ⁿ verbs have monomoraic *Pfv*'s but add a syllabic suffix in the *Ipfv*. For a list see (524) in §10.1.3.

(28)	stem	gloss
	a. oral vowel (<i>Cv</i>)	
	fá ~ fǒ	'thing' (§4.1.2)
	kà	'father'
	kò	'characteristic sound'

b. nasalized vowel (Cvⁿ)

bó ⁿ	‘cupping (medical bleeding)’
dà ⁿ	‘maximum, outer limit’
fà ⁿ	‘(sb’s) share’
kù ⁿ	‘reason, basis’
pè ⁿ	‘collective hunt’

Examples of various heavier shapes in nouns are in (29). Homorganic medial NC in ‘trash, garbage’ behaves prosodically like a single consonant.

(29)	shape	stem	gloss
	Cvv	bóó fùù	‘heart (emotional center)’ ‘pufferfish’
	CvCv	bàni díli ⁿ ~ díri ⁿ	‘pestle’ ‘root’
	CvvCv	báànà díínà	‘manner’ ‘religion’
	CvCvv	dùbáá jàtìì	‘ground’ ‘host (of a lodger)’
	CvvCvv	bààbíí títùù	‘plastic sandal’ ‘spice for tea (<i>Ammodaucus</i>)’
	CvCvCv	dòfórò fìtìfà	‘pillow’ ‘incense’
	CvvCvCv	sàátìnè náánǵílá	‘skink’ ‘trash, garbage’
	CvCvvCv	dàgàànà kìbáárù	‘interethnic joking relationship’ ‘news’
	CvCvCvv	tàsìbíí jèṅómìì	‘rosary, prayer beads’ ‘tax’

Longer stems occur, but they are arguably treated prosodically as compounds.

3.3.3 Nasalized vowels

All seven oral vowel qualities, both short and long, are compatible with phonemic nasalization. Nasalized vowels occur word-finally, before semivowels {y w}, and before fricatives {f s} within a stem.

Sonorants do not spread nasality from one syllable to another. Note the contrasts in the nouns in (30a-b) and those in the verbs in (30c-d). Verbs like *kìⁿyè* (30c) do not end in a nasalized vowel and therefore do not nasalize Pfv morpheme *gà* to *ɲà*. Compare *gà* in (30c) with *ɲà* in (30d).

- (30) a. Cvⁿwv
 kúⁿwó ‘bone’
 kúⁿwò ‘husband’
- b. Cvwwⁿ
 kùwòⁿ ‘five’
- c. Cvⁿyv
 kìⁿyè ‘arrive’ (Pfv) perfective kìⁿyé *gà*
- d. Cvyy(w)ⁿ
 tíyè(w)ⁿ ‘assemble’ perfective tíyèⁿ *ɲà*

Nasalized vowels can be separated into vowel plus homorganic nasal (or prenasalization) of a following obstruent at a boundary. The transcription has homorganic nasals in this case. In careful pronunciation the nasalized vowel can be retained. Transcriptions based on the recordings are unreliable on this point.

- (31) [yùwón kùwòm] bé gà
 /yùwòⁿ kùwòⁿ/
 [woman five] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Five women came.’

gà morphemes (locational ‘be’, preverbal Ipv marker, postverbal Pfv marker) lose their oral quality, fusing with the nasality of the vowel to become *ɲà*.

- (32) a. áⁿ **ɲà** bòⁿ
 2Sg be.Loc here
 ‘You-Sg are here.’
- b. ííⁿ **ɲà** bé bé
 1Pl Ipfv Fut come.Pfv
 ‘We will come.’

- c. ń nà díyéⁿ-ěm bòmpóⁿ ɲà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg child-DefSg carry.on.back.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I carried the child (on my back).’

Postverbal Pfv gà also nasalizes to ɲà after many verbs ending in Nv syllables that do not prenasalize other following stops; see §9.1.1 for examples.

Similar fusion of vⁿ and voiced stop into nasal consonant does not usually happen as a productive process with synchronic {mb nd ɲj}. However, there are a number of lexical items in which they have simplified to {m n ɲ} or where both variants occur dialectally.

Before a nasal consonant, nasalized vowels usually do not geminate the nasal. To the ear there is no audible difference between oral and nasalized vowel before a nasal consonant. The transcription, however, shows the phonemic vocalic nasalization, even if redundant.

- (33) [yùwóⁿ nàtáⁿ] nùmààsáⁿ ɲà
 /yùwòⁿ nàtâ(w)ⁿ/
 [woman four] forget.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Four women forgot.’

Before a nasal, 2Sg áⁿ and 3Sg à are distinguishable by tone but not (reliably) by nasality. However, 2Sg is transcribed áⁿ regardless.

Before {y w} and fricatives {f s}, a nasalized vowel vⁿ or vwⁿ does not clearly break into a vowel plus nasal consonant (or prenasalization). However, y in certain morphemes (yè ~ yé ‘said’, bidirectional case marker yè) does nasalize to ɲ after a nasalized vowel or a nasal proclitic (§3.4.2.2): áⁿ ɲè ‘you-Sg said’, ɲé ‘I said’.

Before l, a nasalized vowel vⁿ or vwⁿ is treated variably. One option at boundaries is to harden l to d, resulting in vn d, as in topicalized án dàà ‘what about you-Sg?’ (§3.4.1.1). This is likely the source of variation between lùwò and dùwò as plural focus marker or as independent pronominal formative.

3.3.4 Initial vowels

Vowel-initial morphemes are primarily proclitic pronominals like 3Sg à and 1Pl íⁿ (§4.3.1). These morphemes readily contract with preceding vowels.

Vowel-initial lexical stems are rare. There are no vowel-initial verb, adjective, or numeral stems. There are a handful of a-initial nouns borrowed from Arabic and European languages: álà ‘God’, àlkámà ‘wheat’ (not grown locally), ápóló ‘conjunctivitis’ (which broke out in 1969, coinciding with the Apollo space mission). Some other Arabic nominal borrowings that might have added to this list have been reshaped by dropping the initial a as in lòbááni ‘amber’ (cf.

Djenné Chiini *allubaa*ⁿ), or by reshaping it as *ga* as in day-of-the-week terms like *gàláátì ~ gàráátì* ‘Sunday’ (cf. Djenné Chiini *alhaddi*).

sò ‘go’ has a variant *yè* in some medial positions. *yè* can lose its semivowel and the remaining *è* then contracts with a preceding vowel. On the other hand, *sìni/sìní ~ hìni/hìní* ‘be able to’ does not regularly lose its initial consonant and so does not contract in the manner of its cognate in Cliffs.

3.3.5 Stem-final vowels

All vowel qualities may occur stem-finally, and therefore word-finally.

3.3.6 ATR harmony and Back/Rounding Harmony

As noted above, the opposition between {*e o*} and {*ɛ ɔ*} in languages of the zone is often described as an ATR (advanced tongue root) distinction, though its actual articulation needs further study.

There are few (morpho-)phonological alternations that point to systematic ATR harmony, with [+ATR] {*e o*} contrasting with [-ATR] {*ɛ ɔ*}. However, the fronting of back vowels *o* to *e* and *ɔ* or *a* to *ɛ* at the end of verb stems, to intransitivize transitives or to form verbal nouns (§9.3.1), does preserve ATR values. This is transparent in (34a-b) where the ATR value is overt in both transitive and intransitive variants. In (34c), the transitive has only a high vowel but the intransitive reveals a [-ATR] harmonic class. High vowels {*i u*} are elsewhere compatible with either ATR value. Low vowel *a* corresponds consistently to [-ATR] intransitive stems (34d), though in the lexicon *a* can co-occur with [+ATR] vowels within stems (*dèsàà* ‘woman who has given birth’).

(34)	transitive (Pfv)	intransitivized (Pfv)	gloss
a.	tóró	twéré	‘sell’
b.	sùwò	sùyè	‘cook’
c.	kú ⁿ	kúmé	‘catch’
d.	kwá	kwéré	‘hit’
	wàà	wìyè	‘kill’
	yàà	yìyè	‘put down’
	díyá	díyé	‘eat’

The *a/ɛ* alternation with ‘hit’ suggests that the low vowel *a* patterns as [-ATR].

3.3.7 Diphthongs and VC syllable codas

In cases like fwò ‘sit’ (variant) and gwèⁿ ‘open’, the w is part of the syllable onset and there is no need to recognize diphthongs as a phonological category. Metrically sensitive phonological processes treat initial Cw like initial C.

A case can be made for syllabic nuclei of the form vy as rising diphthongs, as in (Pfv) bóy ‘greet’, bày ‘leave’, and kwéyⁿ ‘sweep’. Whether these reconstruct as bisyllabic *bóyì etc. may become clear after more comparative study. There is one nonmonosyllabic example: (Pfv) dábà ‘cease (doing)’, probably containing bày ‘leave’ diachronically; see end of §9.3.2. Other consonants (except nasals, see below) do not occur in stem- or word-final position.

3.3.8 Front rounded [y]

A phonetic front rounded vowel, IPA [y] like French “u,” occurs in stems ending in (underlying) uwe/uwe for some speakers. The front unrounded features of ε/e spread leftward to form IPA [y(j)ε/e]. The glide [j] (“y” in normal transcription) is indistinct in this combination.

An example is the pairing of transitive tùⁿwò ‘look at’ (transitive) and intransitive tùⁿwè ‘take a look’ (antipassive) or ‘be looked at, considered’ (passive), see §9.3.1. tùⁿwè can be pronounced as [tùⁿwè], [tùⁿjè], or [týⁿ(j)è]. For speakers who use the latter two pronunciations the transcription is tùⁿyè.

3.3.9 Vocalic sound symbolism

No systematic vocalic sound symbolism has been observed. Diminutive -liyewⁿ (§5.1.7.3-4), díyéwⁿ and variants ‘child’, and adjective míyè-gù ~ míyà-gù ‘small’ do have iy sequences but overall they lack visceral phonaesthetic features of the *teeny-weeny* type.

3.3.10 Diphthongization of ɔ to wa

In a number of lexical items, dialect 2 diphthongizes original ɔ (preserved in dialect 1) to wa. The examples involve a preceding noncoronal consonant.

(35)	dialect 1	dialect 2	gloss
	a. kònì	kwànì	‘bird’
	kónó	kwáná	‘lungfish’
	kòrì	kwàrì	‘cooking pot’
	b. gópì	gwápì	‘transform’
	c. fḍ	fwà ~ fà	‘become’ (§11.2.4.2)

By contrast, many other stems like gḍpḍ ‘disease’ and kónḍ ‘drive in (nail)’ have stable ɔ. kwá(-rá) ‘hit’ has nearly uniform wa (but kó is attested).

For (reflexive) verb ‘sit’, the usual paradigm is fḍ(-rḍ), but fwḍ(-rḍ) has also been recorded. ‘Sit’ and ‘become’ (with NP predicates) are partially homophonous, as in Cliffs (pwḍ/pḍ-lḍ).

3.4 Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1 Local segmental processes

3.4.1.1 d/l alternations

The alternation of d and l is not productive. It is observed in a handful of high-frequency morphemes. The alternation is archaic and occurs in some of the same forms in Cliffs.

Independent pronouns consist of the basic (proclitic) form of the pronominal proclitic and a stem -dùwḍ, as in án-dùwḍ ‘you-Sg’, íín-dùwḍ ‘we/us’, áá-dùwḍ ‘you-Pl’, and (with tonal change) ñ-dúwḍ ‘I/me’. The third person forms, singular ā-dùwḍ ‘he/she/it’ and plural ē-dùwḍ ‘they’, have variants with l replacing d (ā-lùwḍ, ē-lùwḍ). See §4.3.1 for the paradigms.

This pronominal morpheme is related to the plural focus marker dùwḍ, which has a variant lùwḍ (dialect 2).

As adverb ‘already’ (§8.4.5.2), dúwḍⁿ has a dialectal variant lúwḍⁿ. These forms are specialized and reduced from the sequential VP bé dúwḍⁿ ‘and finish(ed)’.

The noun díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ ‘child’ is apparently related to a diminutive compound final -liyewⁿ and variants which get their surface tone secondarily (§5.1.7.3).

The interrogative topic (QTop) morpheme làà becomes dàà after a nasal in some combinations (§13.2.2.1). However, the shift l to d after nasal is not fully productive, as shown by jón làà with demonstrative jónⁿ and the QTop morpheme.

3.4.1.2 vv-Contraction

Two vowels come together at boundaries only under limited conditions. The only combinations that regularly contract are those whose second element is a vocalic pronominal proclitic (1Pl íⁿ, 2Sg áⁿ, 2Pl áá, 3Sg à, 3Pl è, Logo/3Ref1Pl é) as the second element. These contract with other pronominals or with other words or particles ending in a vowel (V₁). When V₁ and V₂ contract, the result is a long vowel, preserving input tones (prior to tone sandhi with a following word). The contracted vowel usually has the quality features of V₂. The examples in (36) involve Ipfv gà and PfvNeg tè. Exceptions to the rules are noted below.

(36)	input	output	example	gloss
a. identical input vowel qualities				
	/a a/	aa	gá = à	Ipfv plus 3Sg
	/e e/	ee	té = è	PfvNeg plus 3Pl
b. nonidentical input vowel qualities				
	/a e/	ee	gé = è	Ipfv plus 3Pl
	/e a/	aa	tá = à	PfvNeg plus 3Sg

The 1Pl pronoun íⁿ (cf. Cliffs éⁿ) is treated as though ééⁿ when it contracts with a preceding vowel. The semantically related Logo/3Ref1Pl pronoun é is treated as though éé, and can be pronounced íí when preceded by a brief hesitation.

(37)	input	after Ipfv gà	after PfvNeg tè
1Pl	í ⁿ	gè = éé ⁿ	tè = éé ⁿ
Logo/3Ref1Pl	é (~ íí)	gè = éé	tè = éé

Stems ending in vwⁿ ~ vⁿ before a pause (§3.1.1) may lose the nasalization (as well as the rounding) when they contract with a following vowel.

A special case is the nominal definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ. Its full pronunciation occurs only prepausally, which is an unusual position for an NP in J-S of Djenné. Final wⁿ loses its rounding in nonprepausal positions as usual, but nasalization remains in the form of vocalic nasalization or as prenasalization of a following consonant. For this suffix the y is also irregularly elided in nonprepausal position, creating conditions for vv-Contraction with the stem-final vowel. In this combination, the resulting vowel preserves the quality of the stem-final (not suffixal) vowel, and the contracted vowel is not reliably heard as long except in careful speech. There is one exception: stem-final a contracts with -yàwⁿ in nonprepausal position as ε-èⁿ. Some examples are in (38), using bé gà ‘came’ to avoid prepausal position for -yàwⁿ.

(38)	final vowel	example	gloss	DefSg plus bé gà ‘came’
	a. nonlow vowels			
	i	bàni	‘pestle’	bàní-ìm bé gà
	e	díyé	‘blood’	díyé-èm bé gà ⁿ
	ɛ	bèrè	‘porridge’	bèré-èm bé gà
	ɔ	gòpò	‘disease’	gòpó-òm bé gà
	o	búwò ⁿ	‘mortar’	búwò ⁿ -óm bé gà
	u	dìyèmù	‘talk (n)’	dìyèmú-ùm bé gà
	b. low vowel			
	a	gántà	‘country’	gántè-ém bé gà

Nominal plural suffix *-yè* can contract with the stem-final vowel, generally resulting in long *ee*. This contraction is typical of nonprepausal position in allegro speech and is usually avoided in careful pronunciation.

The verb *sò/sò* ‘go’ has an optional suppletive variant in some morphosyntactic contexts whose full form is *yè* (§10.1.6.1). The *y* is often elided, allowing contraction with a preceding vowel such as *a* or *e*, resulting in long *ee*.

3.4.2 Processes involving nasality

3.4.2.1 Word-final *vⁿ* and *vwⁿ* alternating with *vN*

Stems and particles that end in prepausal position in a nasalized vowel, or in a vowel {*a* *ɛ* *ɔ*} plus *wⁿ*, are usually pronounced with a homorganic nasal before a stop-initial word. (39) illustrates with 2Sg pronominal proclitic *áⁿ* (and postverbal perfective *gà ~ gá*).

(39)	á ⁿ sò gá	‘you-Sg went’
	ám bé gà	‘you-Sg came’
	án dègú gà	‘you-Sg were squeezed’
	án gòpó gà	‘you-Sg got sick’
	án jègò gà	‘you-Sg hiccuped’

The nasalized vowel as in 2Sg *áⁿ* is usually heard as such before fricatives and sonorants.

2Sg *áⁿ* does not occur before a pause. Stems and other morphemes that can occur before a pause can be pronounced with final *wⁿ* in this position when the preceding vowel is from the set {*a* *ɔ* *ɛ*}. The rounding disappears when the morpheme has a suffix or is phrased with another word,

in which case the nasality has the same realizations as for 2Sg áⁿ shown above. The extra rounding does not add a mora, and CvCv(w)ⁿ is treated prosodically (e.g. in tonal ablaut) like CvCv. The rounding can be interpreted as a phonetic quirk of some nasalized vowels before pauses.

Not all speakers pronounce the rounding even before pauses; the dialect 2 speaker often does not. Citation forms for such stems have stem-final vowel plus (w)ⁿ indicating that the nasality is obligatory but the rounding is not. Examples of relevant stems are the noun kúpà(w)ⁿ ‘door’ (plural kúpàⁿ-yè), noun dúwó(w)ⁿ ‘hunger’, definite singular suffix -yà(w)ⁿ, diminutive suffix -liye(w)ⁿ ~ -liya(w)ⁿ, numeral nàtà(w)ⁿ ‘5’, and verb bàntà(w)ⁿ/bàntá(w)ⁿ ‘get tired’ (perfective positive bàntáⁿ ñà).

Cliffs has a somewhat sharper distinction between final vⁿ and vwⁿ, but only in prepausal and isolation pronunciation. When medial in a phrase or clause, the two are not consistently distinguished since the labialization of vwⁿ is usually not heard. In J-S of Djenné, this has gone farther and final vⁿ and vwⁿ are not consistently distinguishable in any environment.

3.4.2.2 y/ɲ alternations with yè (‘said’ or bidirectional case marker)

An isolated diachronic case of *y → ɲ is ñàmáà ‘house’, cf. Cliffs yàmāà. Djenné preserves the original semivowel only in the archaic and lexically specialized compound kà-yámāà ‘(agnatic) extended family’, originally “father-house.” Since ‘house’ is often possessed, the nasalization to ɲ was favored by the common occurrence preceding ‘house’ of a definite singular NP (ending in -yàwⁿ) or of a nasal possessive pronoun (1Pl íⁿ, 2Sg áⁿ, 1Sg ñ, 3ReflSg ñ̃).

The synchronically transparent cases of /y/ → ɲ are combinations of nasal pronominal subjects with a following yè ~ yé ‘said’ (§17.1.2) or bidirectional case marker yè (§4.3.2).

(40) category	proclitic	‘_ said’	with bidirectional case marker
1Pl	í ⁿ	í ⁿ ɲè	í ⁿ ɲè
2Sg	á ⁿ	á ⁿ ɲè	á ⁿ ɲè
1Sg	ñ (+tones)	ñ ɲé	[not applicable]
Logo/3ReflSg	ñ̃	ñ̃ ɲè	ñ̃ ɲè

3.4.2.3 Full nasalization of oral consonant

A few grammatical particles fully nasalize initial g or r ~ l to the corresponding nasal consonant, respectively ɲ and n, after a nasalized vowel or Nv⁽ⁿ⁾ syllable.

3.4.2.3.1 Full nasalization gà → ñà

There are two important aspect-marking particles in positive clauses. gà between subject and VP is imperfective positive, and gà following the verb is perfective positive. Both morphemes nasalize fully to ñà after a nasalized vowel or a nasal morpheme. They do not merely prenasalize to ...ŋ gà like other morphemes beginning with g.

Since imperfective gà follows subjects, it can follow pronominal morphemes (41a), definite singular nouns (41b), and unsuffixed nouns (41c) that trigger nasalization.

(41)	morpheme	gloss	‘_ come(s)’
a.	á ⁿ	2Sg	á ⁿ ñà bí-yé
	íí ⁿ	1Pl	íí ⁿ ñà bí-yé
	ń	LogoSg	ń ñà bí-yé
	ñ	1Sg	ñ ñà bí-yé (dialect 1)
			ñ ñá bí-yé (dialect 2)
b.	sùwó-yàw ⁿ	‘the sheep’	sùwó-ǝ ⁿ ñà bí-yé
c.	yùwò ⁿ	‘a woman’	yùwó ⁿ ñà bí-yé

Perfective gà follows verbs, so the only issue is whether the Pfv verb stem ends in a nasalized vowel. With verbs that end in nasalized vowel following a nonnasal consonant (Tvⁿ), full nasalization is rigorous (42a). The situation is more complex with verbs whose final syllable begins with a nasal consonant N, i.e. {m n ɲ ŋ}. Some are followed by the nasalized perfective variant ñà (42b), others by unnasalized gà (42c). This suggests a simple division into Nvⁿ and Nv final syllables, with vocalic nasality independent of the onset nasal consonant (42). Regarding tones, gà and ñà raise to gá and ñá after monomoraic L-toned C^v and C^vⁿ, as with ‘swallow’ in (42a).

(42)	verb (Pfv)	gloss	with Pfv gà
a.	with ñà after Tv ⁿ		
	tò ⁿ	‘swallow’	tò ⁿ ñá
	tórò ⁿ	‘pester’	tórò ⁿ ñà
	tágáá ⁿ	‘line up to race’	tágáá ⁿ ñà
b.	with ñà after Nv ⁿ		
	dòńí ⁽ⁿ⁾ (variant)	‘make doughy’	dòńí ⁿ ñà
	kámì ⁽ⁿ⁾	‘blink’	kámì ⁿ ñà

káɲà ⁽ⁿ⁾	‘share (v)’	káɲà ⁿ nà
bàntà-nì ⁽ⁿ⁾	‘make weary’	bàntà-ní ⁿ ɲà

c. with gà after Nv

sìyèmè	‘tilt’	sìyèmé gà
tíyé-má	‘become heavy’	tíyé-má gà
kòmó	‘cry out’	kòmó gà
sóynà	‘espy’	sóynà gà
màɲà	‘become good’	màɲá gà

3.4.2.3.2 Full nasalization rv/lv → nv

Tap r occurs initially in a clause-final enclitic marking polar interrogativity and in an important verbal suffix.

The clause-final interrogative enclitic is rà ~ là depending on subdialect. It nasalizes to nà after a nasalized vowel or semivowel (§13.2.1.1).

Verbs that have contoured tone melodies, and Cv- verbs, form their Ipfv stem by a suffix -RV with tap r and a copied vowel (§10.1.3). Some of these Ipfv-suffix verbs have stems ending in a nasal syllable. We would expect the subset of these stems that take Pfv ɲà to take the Ipfv variant -nv, and the subset that take Pfv gà to take the Ipfv variant -rv. This is incorrect, it turns out. All Ipfv-suffix verbs that end in a nasal syllable (Nv) take the nasal suffix allomorph -nv rather than -rv. The verbs in (43b) have Pfv ɲà, those in (43c) have Pfv gà (see above), but both sets of verbs have Ipfv -nv. Even the Nvyv stem in (43d) has the -nv suffix (compare its perfective míyè gà).

(43)	verb (Ipfv)	gloss
	a. with -nv after Tv ⁿ	
	tórò-nà	‘pester’
	b. with -nv after Nv ⁿ	
	dòɲí-nì (variant)	‘make (sth) doughy’
	kámì-nì	‘blink’
	káɲà-nà	‘share (v)’
	c. with -nv after Nv	
	kòmó-nò	‘cry out’
	sóynà-nà	‘espy’

- d. with -nv after Nvyv
 míyè-nè ‘weave (strands)’

These data cast serious doubt on the idea that Nvⁿ and Nv are phonemically distinct, as was initially suggested by (42b) versus (42c) in the preceding subsection. Furthermore, even the stems in (42b) do not show final nasalization in constructions with the Pfv stem other than before perfective positive gà. If the vowel was really nasalized, we would expect prenasalization of following stops, for example with bôⁿ ‘here’. But such prenasalization does not usually occur in stems that end with supposed Nv⁽ⁿ⁾.

This suggests the analysis (44), which avoids claiming a distinction between Nvⁿ and Nv.

- (44) a. verbs ending in Tvⁿ nasalize gà to ñà and -rv to -nv
 b. verbs ending in Nv ...
 nasalize -rv to -nv
 have lexically specific (learned) Pfv gà or ñà

3.4.3 Apocope and Syncope

3.4.3.1 Apocope (deletion of final u)

Word-final u does not usually elide. However, mu in bimoraic Cv₁mu is sometimes pronounced [m:] where the bilabial closure is held during what would be the timing slot of the final u. Examples are kámú ~ kámm ‘wing’ and támú ~ támm ‘catfish sp. (*Heterobranchus*)’.

The numeral tám-péné ‘20’ is contracted from *támú-pén(d)é diachronically, but the apocope/syncope of *u is opaque synchronically since ‘10’ by itself has evolved into cémí ~ kémí (§4.6.1.2).

3.4.3.2 Syncope

Closely related to Apocope (word-final) is Syncope at the end of compound initials. Syncope is not widespread but it does affect prosodically heavy initials that end in tap r plus short high vowel.

- | | | | | |
|------|------|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| (45) | stem | gloss | compound | gloss |
| | a. | tààbàrì ‘table (portable stand)’ | tààbàr-twèrè-yà | ‘re-seller (with table)’ |
| | b. | súgòrù ‘sugar’ | súgór-díyè-yá | ‘honey ant’ (“sugar-eater”) |

For Cuvv and Ciyv incompletely syncope to Cwv and Cyv, see §3.2.11.2.

3.5 Cliticization and linkers

There are no moveable, e.g. second-position, clitics.

In the absence of a weight-sensitive word-level accentual system, cliticization is of little phonological as opposed to morphosyntactic importance. This is especially the case with proclisis.

Pronouns have full independent forms, and proclitic forms that occur before verbs (as subjects or objects), before nouns (as possessors), and before postpositions. Most of the independent pronouns can be segmented into a proclitic and a noun-like stem. For example, 1Pl is independent *íín-dùwò* or proclitic *ííⁿ*. Other than minor sandhi processes involving tone dissimilations and nasal assimilations, the proclitics have little phonological interaction with the following hosts. An important exception is the 1Sg proclitic *ḥ* which produces idiosyncractic tonal changes on the following host (§4.3.3). Likewise, pronominal demonstratives (§4.4.2.1) interact tonally with nouns.

Enclisis, on the other hand, is not sharply distinguishable from suffixation. One good candidate for enclitic status is the postverbal perfective positive particle *gà*, which interacts phonologically with the preceding verb (triggering tonal changes, and undergoing nasalization to *ḡà*). Another is clause-final polar interrogative particle *rà ~ là* or nasalized *nà* (§13.2.1.1), especially since *r* is disallowed word-initially.

Another candidate for enclisis, but without a compelling phonological argument, is *nì* ‘it is’ following a predicate nominal or participle (§11.2.1.1). In addition, two morphemes that are here transcribed as nominal suffixes might be reanalysed as enclitics. They are plural *-yè* on nouns or adjectives (§4.1.1) and definite singular *-yà(w)ⁿ* in NPs (§4.1.5).

Linkers in the form of affix-like elements that occur only between two words in specific morphosyntactic constructions have some affinities to clitics. The two linkers that come to mind are the bidirectional case marker *yè* (§4.3.2) and the archaic ‘and’ conjunction *-yè-* which occurs in composite numerals (§4.6.1.4).

3.6 Tones

J-S of Djenné has two phonemic tone levels, versus three in Cliffs. The two tonemes are H[igh] and L[ow]. An individual syllable may be H, L, <HL>, <LH>, or <LHL>. All of these are possible with Cvv syllables (46). Angled brackets are used for contour tones on individual syllables.

(46)	tone	example	gloss
	H	<i>góóⁿ</i>	‘okra’
	L	<i>còò</i>	‘stick’
	<HL>	<i>dóò</i>	‘cotton’
	<LH>	<i>tàá</i>	‘half’
	<LHL>	<i>nàâⁿ</i>	‘between’

‘Between’ is a rare example of <LHL> in a syllable and reflects contraction of an original bisyllabic preserved in Cliffs cognate nàŋāà. The other example is mèêⁿ allomorph of the relative morpheme, which is probably contracted from definite singular *măⁿ-yàwⁿ (§14.1.1).

<LH> is very rare in lexical forms of Cvv stems, but C̀̀̀ verbs systematically have Ipfv stems in the form C̀̀̀́, and other C̀̀̀ stems raise to C̀̀̀́ by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone. There are also several C̀̀̀́C̀̀̀ stems.

Most contour-toned syllables have long vowels or else a short vowel plus a sonorant. Where possible, transcriptions like C̀̀̀́, C̀̀̀̀, and rarely C̀̀̀̀ are used, or e.g. C̀̀̀́ŋ and C̀̀̀̀ŋ, are used. Where this does not work, C̀̀̀ means <HL>, C̀̀̀́ means <LH> and C̀̀̀̀ means <ML> tone (see “Abbreviations and Symbols” which follows the texts and references cited).

Formulae using periods (full stops) as separators, like H.H.L and L.L.H, specify the tones of syllable sequences. For example, C̀̀̀́C̀̀̀ has the sequential formula LH.L. The separator . makes angled brackets unnecessary in such formulae.

Tone melodies can distinguish lexical items as shown by the nouns in (47). See also the minimal trios in (58-59) in §3.6.1.4 below.

(47) a. /H/ versus /L/

dóó	‘mouth’
dòò	‘knife’
kúwó	‘pole’
kùwò	‘salt’
sóŋó	‘the bush, outback’
sòŋò	‘price’

b. /H/ versus /HL/

túwó	‘cemetery’
túwò	‘handle’

c. /HL/ versus /L/

dábà	‘soluble ink’
dàbà	‘daba (hoe)’
tíŋè	‘waterjar’
tìŋè	‘stool’

Although there are only two tone levels at the lexical level, at the phonetic level one can speak of mid pitch as opposed to high and low. One important example is that 3Sg à and 3Pl è are optionally upstepped to what are here transcribed as ā and ē before L-tones (§3.6.4.1).

In addition, H-toned stems and particles are phonetically **downstepped** in two positions: a) after an LH-toned word (§3.6.5.1), and b) at the end of intonation phrases following another H-

toned word (§3.6.5.2). Since the pitch drop in both (a) and (b) is predictable, it is not indicated in the basic transcription used here.

3.6.1 Lexical tone melodies

Lexical tone melodies are represented in slashes /.../. Lexical melodies are subject to modification by ablaut and, at boundaries, by tone sandhi processes.

/LH/-melodic stems show some signs of being covertly /LHL/. This emerges from the discussion of Downstep in §3.6.5.1. It is also consistent with the L-tone of otherwise tonally variable suffixes after /LH/-melodic stems. Examples are participial -nà in e.g. dègú-nà ‘tight; crowded’ (179d) in §4.5.1.3, diminutive -gù in adjectives like mỳé-gù ‘small’ (Adj2 form) in §4.5.1.2, and Ipfv -r̀ in verbs like bàtí-r̀ ‘post.Ipfv’ (§10.1.3).

3.6.1.1 Summary of lexical tone melodies of verb stems

Verbs occur in Pfv/Ipfv stem pairs. The Pfv can be taken as basic on grounds of morphology (it is not suffixal) and grammatical distribution (imperative, verbal noun, etc.). The Ipfv stem may involve a tonal modification and/or addition of a syllabic suffix. The Ipfv stem can usually be predicted from the Pfv stem and its mora/syllable count.

Here we summarize tone patterns schematically; for details and examples see chapter 10. (48) shows tonal patterns in verbs that have an unsuffixed Ipfv stem.

(48) Verbs with segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv stems

Pfv/Ipfv	melody
a. tones also invariant (Pfv = Ipfv)	
H/H (ĆĆ/ĆĆ)	/H/
H/H (trimoraic or heavier stems)	/H/
L/L (only s̀/s̀ ‘go’)	/L/
b. tones distinguish Pfv (level-toned) from Ipfv (contour-toned)	
H/HL (only bimoraic-bisyllabic ĆĆ/ĆC̀)	/H/
L/LH (bimoraic and longer stems)	/L/

In J-S of Djenné, H-toned Pfv’s of three or more moras, e.g. kúⁿwáá ‘whiten’, génté ‘throw’ (variant), and féré-gá ‘become light(er)’, have homophonous H-toned Ipfv’s. By contrast, in Cliffs, heavy stems like these behave like CvCv stems and drop the final tone in the Ipfv.

(49) summarizes tonal patterns for verbs that do have an Ipfv suffix. A hyphen represents the boundary between stem and Ipfv suffix.

(49) Verbs with Ipfv suffix

Pfv/Ipfv	melody
a. tones invariant	
<i>monosyllabic</i>	
H/H-H	/H/
H/H-L (only kó ⁿ /kó-nò ‘take to pasture’)	/H(L)/ (or /H/ plus floating L)
L/L-L	/L/
HL/H-L (Cvv and Cvy stems)	/HL/
<i>heavier stems</i>	
HL/HL-L (bisyllabic and longer stems)	/HL/
LHL/LHL-L (trimoraic and longer stems)	/LHL/
b. Ipfv tones differ from Pfv tones	
<i>bimoraic and longer stems</i>	
LH/LH-L	/LH(L)/

The only difficult analytical decision here is the lexical melody of verbs that present as LH/LH-L, i.e. with rising tone pattern in the Pfv stem and (including the suffix) a bell-shaped tone pattern in the Ipfv stem. A case can be made that these have /LHL/ melody, on the grounds that their Pfv stems are too short to permit full expression of the tritonal melody, while the suffixed Ipfv stems do allow full expression. In possible weak further support of this, when the Pfv stem combines with perfective positive particle gâ, the latter remains L-toned, arguably as the expression of the final tone element in /LHL/. An example is in (50).

(50)	‘post, affix’	Pfv	Pfv with gâ	Ipfv
		bàtí	bàtí gâ	bàtí-rì

§3.6.5.1 below will discuss the possibility that all apparent LH-final stems and words are covertly LHL (or LH plus floating L).

3.6.1.2 Summary of lexical tone melodies for noun stems

Attested tone melodies for simple noun stems (i.e. excluding those that are transparently composite or that are treated phonologically as composite) are those in (51).

- (51) a. monosyllabic
monomoraic (Cv, Cvⁿ, Cwv)
/H/, /L/
bimoraic (Cvv, Cvy, Cvwⁿ)
/H/, /L/, /HL/, rarely /LH/
- b. light bisyllabic (CvCv)
/H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/
- c. bisyllabic with heavy initial syllable (CvvCv, CvNCv)
/H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/
- d. bisyllabic with heavy final syllable (e.g. CvCvv, CvCvy)
/H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/
- e. trisyllabic and longer (CvCvCv, etc.)
/H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/
rarely /HLH/, see (57) in §3.6.1.4 below

The arrays presented below include the simple singular, the suffixed plural, and both singular and plural with 1Sg possessor.

Monosyllabic nouns are in (52). The common melodies are monotonal /H/, /L/, and /HL/. /LH/ melody is attested in one noun stem. In addition to simple singular and plural, forms with 1Sg possessor ñ (+H) are shown. Stems with /L/ melody have subdialectally based variation in plural tones, depending on whether Final Tone-Raising applies to the second mora of the stem. If it does not apply, the plural suffix polarizes to the entirely L-toned stem and raises to -yé. Diachronically, forms like mùúⁿ-yè ‘noses’ are likely original, while forms like mùúⁿ-yé reflect a rightward shift of the H-tone.

(52)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’ (Pl)	gloss
/H/	múú ⁿ	múú ⁿ -yè	ń mùù ⁿ	ń mùù ⁿ -yé ~ ń mùú ⁿ -yè	‘nose’
	dóó	dóó-yè	ń dòò	ń dòò-yé ~ ń dǒó-yè	‘mouth’
/HL/	pàà	pàà-yè	ń pàá	ń pàá-yè	‘beer vat’
	téè	téè-yè	ń tèé	ń tèé-yè	‘tea’
/L/	dòò	dòò-yé ~ dǒó-yè	ń dǒó	ń dǒó-yè	‘knife’
	nàà	nàà-yé ~ nǎá-yè	ń nǎá	ń nǎá-yè	‘cow’
/LH/	tàá	tàá-yè	ń táá	ń táá-yè	‘half’

The tonal changes associated with 1Sg possessor (§3.6.3.1) shift /L/ and /LH/ melodies to HL, /HL/ melody to LH, and /H/ melody to L.

3.6.1.3 Rising melodies in nouns

See this subsection in the parallel Cliffs grammar for the distinction between LH and LM. This does not apply to J-S of Djenné.

3.6.1.4 Examples of lexical tone melodies of nouns

The arrays presented below include the simple singular, the suffixed plural, and both singular and plural with 1Sg possessor.

Examples of light bisyllabic CvCv and CvNCv stems are in (53). Prenasalization of the medial consonant in noun stems generally has no prosodic effect. CvCv(w)ⁿ is included here since the final rounding is dialectally unstable. /L/-melodic nouns either undergo Final Tone-Raising before the plural suffix, or remain L-toned while the suffix polarizes. The tonal effects of the 1Sg possessor are the same as those for Cv_v stems.

(53)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’ (Pl)	gloss
/H/	súbá(w) ⁿ	súbá ⁿ -yè	ń sùbà(w) ⁿ	ń sùbà ⁿ -yé ~ ń sùbá ⁿ -yè	‘market’
	sémpé ⁿ	sémpé ⁿ -yè	ń sèmpè ⁿ	ń sèmpè ⁿ -yé ~ ń sèmpé ⁿ -yé	‘strength’
/HL/	búwò ⁿ	búwò ⁿ -yè	ń búwó ⁿ	ń búwó ⁿ -yè	‘mortar’
	fínà(w) ⁿ	fínà ⁿ -yè	ń fíná(w) ⁿ	ń fíná ⁿ -yè	‘Fulbe person’
/L/	bònò	bònò-yé ~ bònó-yè	ń bónò	ń bónò-yè	‘granary’
	bàntà(w) ⁿ	bàntà ⁿ -yé ~ bàntá ⁿ -yè	ń bántà(w) ⁿ	ń bántà ⁿ -yè	‘fatigue’
/LH/	kòbó	kòbó-yè	ń kóbò	ń kóbò-yè	‘knee’

Examples of bisyllabics with heavy first syllables are in (54). The common melodies for these stems are /H/, /L/, and /HL/. The latter has two variants shown as /HL/-1 and /HL/-2 in (54). In the predominant type /HL/-1 the stem is C[́]vC[̀] with tone break at the syllable boundary. In /HL/-2, attested for a single noun, the stem is C[́]v[̀]C[̀] with tone break within the first syllable. Only /HL/-2 allows Final Tone-Raising subdialectally before the plural suffix. /HL/-1 and -2 have the same tones in the 1Sg possessor forms. The ń C[́]v[̀]C[̀] patterns for /L/-melodic nouns allows subdialectal Final Tone-Raising in the plural ń C[́]v[̀]C[́]-yè.

(54)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss
/H/	tááná	tááná-yè	ń tààná	ń tààná-yè ~ ń tààná-yè	‘crazy person’
	kééwú	kééwú-yè	ń kèèwù	ń kèèwù-yé ~ ń kèèwù-yè	‘man’
/HL/-1 (productive type)	sáárù	sáárù-yè (variant sáárò)	ń sàárù	ń sàárù-yè	‘broom’
/HL/-2 (only example)	bàànà	bàànà-yè ~ bàáná-yè	ń bàánà	ń bàánà-yè	‘manner’

/L/	kààmà	kààmá-yè	ɲ káàmà	ɲ káàmà-yè ~ ɲ káàmá-yè	‘falsehood’
	kwììgù	kwììgù-yè	ɲ kwîîgù	ɲ kwîîgù-yè ~ ɲ kwîîgù-yè	‘blacksmith’
/LHL/	kàánì	kàánì-yè	ɲ káànì	ɲ káànì-yè ~ ɲ káànì-yè	‘calabash’

The /HL/-2 noun *bàànà* corresponds to /MLH/ *bāàná* in Cliffs, and further dialectal study in the area Djenné to Mopti-Konna might find more J-S examples with /HLH/ melody. The final H-tone would of course explain why the HL break does not coincide with the syllable boundary.

Bisyllabic stems with heavy final syllables are in (55).

(55)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’ (Pl)	gloss
/H/	kúráá	kúráá-yè	ɲ kùràà	ɲ kùràà-yè ~ ɲ kùràá-yè	‘eating bowl’
	mánaá ⁿ	mánaá ⁿ -yè	ɲ mánàà ⁿ	ɲ mánàà ⁿ -yè ~ ɲ mánàá ⁿ -yè	‘plastic, rubber’
/HL/	kùràà	kùràà-yè	ɲ kùráà	ɲ kùráà-yè	‘hip’
/L/	jàtìì	jàtìì-yè ~ jàtìí-yè	ɲ játìì	ɲ játìì-yè ~ ɲ játìí-yè	‘host’
	sìsàà	sìsàà-yè ~ sìsàá-yè	ɲ sísàà	ɲ sísàà-yè ~ ɲ sísàá-yè	‘cream of millet’
/LH/	dùbáá	dùbáá-yè	ɲ dúbàà	ɲ dúbàà-yè ~ ɲ dúbàá-yè	‘ground’
	wàláá ⁿ	wàláá ⁿ -yè	ɲ wálàà ⁿ	ɲ wálàà ⁿ -yè ~ ɲ wálàá ⁿ -yè	‘wooden tablet’
/LHL/	ɲámáà	ɲámáà-yè	ɲ ɲámàà	ɲ ɲámàà-yè ~ ɲ ɲámàá-yè	‘house’
	kèɲèè	kèɲèè-yè	ɲ kèɲèè	ɲ kèɲèè-yè	‘dream’ (variant)

Trisyllabic shapes are in (56). /HL/ melody divides into into /H*L/ for H.H.L syllable sequences, and /HL*/ for H.L.L sequences. Evidence is lacking for a parallel division of trisyllabic /LH/ into /L*H/ and /LH*/, since the available examples are all L.L.H with the tone break at the right edge. Both /HL*/ and /L/ stems allow Final Tone-Raising to apply before the plural suffix. For trisyllabic

(and longer) /L/ stems, omission of Final Tone-Raising is uncommon. The 1Sg possessor forms show tone patterns similar to those on shorter stems described above.

(56)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss	
	/H/	kérégé tántábá	kérégé-yè tántábá-yè	ń kèrègè ń tàntàbà	ń kèrègé-yè ń tàntàbá-yè	‘saddle’ ‘ladder’
	/H*L/	kéré mù sàrífà	kéré mù-yè sàrífà-yè	ń kèrémù ń sàrífà	ń kèrémù-yè ń sàrífà-yè	‘armpit’ ‘married person’
	/HL*/	ńámàkù támàrò	ńámàkù-yè támàrò-yè ~ ńámàkù-yè ~ támàró-yè	ńí ńámàkù ńí támàrò	ńí ńámàkù-yè ńí támàrò-yè	‘gingerroot’ ‘date(s)’
	/L/	kà-bòrò dìyèmù	kà-bòró-yè dìyèmù-yè	ń ká-bòrò ń dáyèmù	ń ká-bòró-ye ń dáyèmù-yè	‘paternal uncle’ ‘talk (n)’
	/LH/	fòṅṅòńó(w) ⁿ tùmpàná ⁿ	fòṅṅòńó-yè tùmpàná ⁿ -yè	ń fòṅṅòńò(w) ⁿ ń tùmpàná ⁿ	ń fòṅṅòńó-yè ń tùmpàná ⁿ -yè	‘young woman’ ‘necked gourd’
	/LHL/	màsàkùù bùgùtù màrífà	màsàkùù-yè bùgùtù-yè màrífà -yè	ńm mäsàkùù ńm búgùtù ńm mārífà	ńm mäsàkùù-yè ńm búgùtù-yè ńm mārífà-yè	‘sweet potato’ ‘buttock’ ‘rifle’

Trisyllabics that include a long vowel follow the same lines. /HLH/ melody is possible but rare, and requires at least four moras (57).

(57)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss	
	/HLH/	mááṅgòró fííntímí (~ fííntíní)	mááṅgòró-yè fííntímí-yè	ńm määṅgòrò ń fííntímí	ńm määṅgòró-yè ń fííntímí-yè	‘mango’ ‘a trifle’

Nouns of four or more moras, especially those with at least four syllables, may well be parsed prosodically by native speakers as compounds, even when component stems cannot be identified. Some nouns with apparent /HLH/ melody might be reanalysed in this way. Similarly, the tones of kóróbòrò ‘Songhay person’ with the tone break between second and third out of four syllables

would be unusual and probably irregular in an uncompounded noun, but not so if parsed prosodically as a compound *kóró-bòrò*.

A tonal minimal trio is (58).

- (58)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------------------|------|
| a. | <i>búwó</i> | ‘track, footprint’ | /H/ |
| b. | <i>búwò</i> | ‘dike (in field)’ | /HL/ |
| c. | <i>bùwò</i> | ‘agemate’ | /L/ |

To the tonal forms in (58) may be added the derived rising LH-toned *bùwó* in *ín bùwó* ‘my track’. Another trio with the same tone oppositions is (59).

- (59)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--------------|------|
| a. | <i>kúⁿwó</i> | ‘bone’ | /H/ |
| b. | <i>kúⁿwò</i> | ‘husband’ | /HL/ |
| c. | <i>kùⁿwò</i> | ‘hot season’ | /L/ |

3.6.1.5 Lexical tone melodies for adjectives and numerals

Morphologically simple modifying adjectives have melodies /H/ and /L/, rarely /HL/. The lexical melody is overt when the adjective (Adj2) follows another adjective (Adj1). Examples are in (60); see §4.5.1.1 for a list.

- (60)
- | melody | adjective (Adj2) | gloss |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. underived | | |
| /H/ | <i>dúmó</i> | ‘sweet’ |
| /L/ | <i>màpàà</i> | ‘good’ |
| /HL/ | <i>wáárà(w)ⁿ</i> | ‘smart, well-behaved’ |
| b. diminutive suffix -gù | | |
| LH-L | <i>mìyé-gù</i> | ‘small’ |
| HL-H | <i>fóri-gù</i> | ‘lightweight’ |
| c. participial suffix -na | | |
| H-H | <i>níjá-ná</i> | ‘nasty, mean’ |
| HL-L | <i>nógò-nà</i> | ‘dirty’ |
| L-L | <i>tòmò-nà</i> | ‘red’ |
| LH-L | <i>dègú-nà</i> | ‘tight, crowded’ |

d. composite

H-H

búlá-máwⁿ

‘blue’

In immediate postnominal position, i.e. in N-Adj, the /H/ and /L/ melodies of level-toned adjectives are neutralized, as the initial tone of the noun spreads rightward to the end of the N-Adj string (Tone Leveling). /HL/-melodic adjectives are unaffected. Numeral kóòⁿ ‘1’ is morphosyntactically an adjective and is another /HL/ stem. Modifying adjectives with suffix -gù have stem melodies /LH/ and /HL/ before the suffix; see §4.5.1.2 for a list. They merge as HL-toned in N-Adj combinations due to Tone Leveling. Adjective-like participles with suffix -ná ~ -nà either have level-toned stem melodies /H/ and /L/ (which are subject to full Tone Leveling), or contour-toned melodies /HL-L/ and /LH-L/; see §4.5.1.3 for a list.

Uncompounded nonsingular numerals (‘2’ to ‘10’, ‘40’) have melodies /H/ and /L/ when they occur in phrases and clauses. In one version of the counting recitation, the /L/-melodic numerals become HL-toned. See §4.6.1.2-5 for examples and discussion.

3.6.1.6 Tone-break location for bitonal verb stems

Recall that lexical melodies of verb stems are based on the Pfv.

There is by definition no lexical tone break for verbs with monotonal /L/ or /H/ melodies. However, when /L/-melodic verbs of two or more syllables raise the final tone to form the Pfv, the break is at the final syllable boundary as in tùmààⁿ/tùmààⁿ ‘encounter’ and jìnàà/jìnáá ‘(boy) date (girl)’. The issue is moot with heavy /H/-melodic verbs (three or more moras), which do not drop the final tone in the Pfv.

Verbs with bitonal lexical melodies have syllabic Pfv suffixes, but do not shift the tone break rightward when the suffix is present: tápì(-rì) ‘push’, kòmó(-nò) ‘(animal) cry out’. CvCv, CvyCv, and CvvCv verbs keep the break at the syllable boundary: lábààⁿ/lábààⁿ ‘finish (a job)’, filóóⁿ/filóóⁿ ‘slurp (tea)’, sóynà(-nà) ‘espy’, and wáájì(-rì) ‘sweat (v)’. Underived trisyllabic and longer verbs with /HL/ melody have the tone break at the rightmost syllable boundary, as in sárátì(-rì) ‘schedule (v)’. This does not apply to suffixally derived verbs like kàsà-mà/kàsà-mà ‘coincide’.

Apparent /LH/-melodic verbs are interpreted here as /LHL/ with the final L unexpressed in the unsuffixed Pfv; see the following subsection.

3.6.1.7 Tone-break location for tritonal verb stems

Trimoraic /LHL/-melodic verbs take the forms C̀̀C̀̀C̀̀, C̀̀́C̀̀, and C̀̀C̀̀́, as each mora bears one tone. If the stem has four moras, the tone breaks are at syllable boundaries, as in dùwáábù ~ dùwááwù ‘give a blessing to’. If the first of three syllables is long, there are two tonal options:

initial rising tone in bàádiyè ‘injure’, but tone breaks at syllable boundaries in bàámíyè ‘imitate’ and pààṅkàrà ‘get together with (others)’. This divergence might be resolved if one or both types are treated as composite (bàá-dìyè, bàà-míyè, pààṅ-kàrà). Iterative stems also show a divergence: kùsùṅ-kúsùⁿ ‘shake up and down’ but dḡgó-dḡgò ‘tickle’ (if the H-tone of the latter is not secondary).

3.6.1.8 Tone-break location for bitonal non-verb stems

Nouns and other non-verb stems may have /LH/ and /HL/ melodies. In both melodies, if the stem has just two moras (CvV or CvCv), each mora by definition has its own tone. The issue here is where the tone break occurs on trimoraic and longer stems with these melodies.

For /HL/, if a bisyllabic stem is trimoraic CvVcV, CvVcV, CvCvV, or CvCvV, the tone break is normally at the syllable boundary: wáátì ‘time’, múynà ‘mood’, síràà ‘snuff’, pátày ~ pátèy ‘outside of house’. The known exceptions are báàná ‘manner’ (cf. Cliffs Jamsay báàná), sîrèⁿ ‘kite (hawk)’ (variant síyèrèⁿ), and the onomatopoeic kúyúù ‘(women’s) ululation’.

/HL/-melodic nouns of three or more syllables are of two subtypes based on tone-break location, at the leftmost or the rightmost syllable boundary. The known CvCvVcV stems have a right-biased tone break, e.g. sáábábù ‘reason’. CvCvCv stems are evenly split into right- and left-biased tone breaks, e.g. sórógò ‘Bozo person’ versus júwòsì ~ jówòsì ‘chameleon’.

/LH/-melodic nouns that have more than two moras have the tone break at the rightmost syllable boundary. Examples are dùbáá ‘ground’, pààpò ‘bridal procession’, tàsìbíí ‘prayer beads’, and bààbíí ‘plastic sandals’.

3.6.1.9 Tone-Component location for tritonal non-verb stems

Most /LHL/-melodic nouns are trimoraic C̀̀C̀́C̀̀, C̀̀́C̀̀, or C̀̀C̀́̀ with one tone element per mora. Trisyllabics with a long second or third vowel keep the tone breaks at the syllable boundaries: kàsáàrà ‘natural disaster’, jḡḡómì ‘tax’. Trisyllabics with long first vowel either do the same, as in bààdéḡè ‘noise’, or have the tone break in the first syllable as in jḡḡkò̀̀mù ‘black emperor scorpion’. These heavy trisyllabics can alternatively be parsed prosodically as compounds, as is also the case with quadrisyllabic gàrààmúsà ‘Thursday’.

The only /HLH/ nouns are mááṅgòró ‘mango’ and fíntímí ~ fíntíní ‘a trifle’, with one tone element per syllable.

3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.6.2.1 Summary of grammatical tone modifications for verbs

The lexical melody of a verb stem is based on the Pfv (perfective) stem. With this assumption, the only tonal modification that can apply at word-internal level is the inversion of the tone of the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) in Ipfv (imperfective) stems that do not have an Ipfv suffix. Such inversion occurs in the stem types in (61), which lack Ipfv suffixes.

(61)	Pfv		Ipfv	comment
	a. L.L	→	L.H	verb has two or more moras
	b. H.H	→	H.L	verb is CvCv or Cvy

Examples of these Ipfv tone changes are in (62).

(62)	Pfv/Ipfv		gloss
	a. /L/-melodic verb adding final H-tone in Ipfv		
	bày/bàý		‘leave, abandon’
	màà/màá		‘seek’
	gòpò/gòpó		‘become sick’
	yà-rì/yà-rí		‘take down’
	mè-nì/mè-ní		‘cause to drink’
	kìrì-nì/kìrì-ní		‘lift’
	nìyè-gà-nì/nìyè-gà-ní		‘facilitate’
	b. /H/-melodic verb adding final L-tone in Ipfv		
	káy/káy		‘draw (water, at well)’
	tóró/tórò		‘sell’

The remaining verb types (63) do not invert tones.

- (63)
- verbs that take an -RV suffix in the Ipfv stem;
 - ‘go’ (the only non-suffixing Cv verb stem);
 - /H/-melodic verbs of shape Cvv ;
 - /H/-melodic verbs of three or more moras, sometimes including CvNCv.

Examples are in (64).

(64)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss
	a. verbs with Ipv suffix -RV (-rv, -nv)	
	dó(-ró)	‘enter’, ‘give’, or ‘set’
	mè ⁿ /mè-nè	‘drink’
	b. sò/sò ‘go’	
	c. báá/báá ‘take out’	
	pí ^m /pí ^m	‘rot’
	d. kóntó ⁿ /kóntó ⁿ ‘curl up’	
	gáará/gáará	‘stone-grind’
	kú ⁿ wáá/kú ⁿ wáá	‘whiten’
	pírítí/pírítí	‘fly away’

When a transitive verb is immediately preceded by 1Sg object ñ, at least the onset of the verb undergoes Tone Inversion. For example, 1Sg ñ combines with kày ‘see.Pfv’ as ñ káy, and with kwá-rá ‘hit.Ipv’ as ñ kwà-rà. See §4.3.3.4 for details.

3.6.2.2 Summary of grammatical tone modifications for nouns

Nouns (and other words) undergo local tone sandhi, specifically Final Tone-Raising, at the right edge of phrases (but not before inner modifiers). See §3.6.4.4.1 for examples.

There is subdialectal variation in the tonal treatment of noun stems before plural -yè. Dialect 1 speakers regularly raise the tone of a L-toned final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) before -yè unless the stem-final syllable is immediately preceded by an H-tone. Dialect 2 does this for long L-toned stems but not for short ones, whose H-tone is realized on the plural suffix; this could be interpreted as a case of Tone Jumping.

(65)	noun	gloss	plural	
			dialect 1	dialect 2
	a. kù ⁿ	‘basis’	kǔ ⁿ -yè	kù ⁿ -yé
	dò	‘knife’	dò-yè	dò-yé
	bògò	‘squash (n)’	bògó-yè	bògò-yé
	b. dò ⁿ sò	‘hunter’	dò ⁿ só-yè	
	yàbùà	‘albino’	yàbùáyá-yè	

Under some conditions, the dialectal difference in (61a) is masked by subsequent tone sandhi triggered by following L-toned words or particles.

In the main type of nonpossessive N-N compounds and in N-Adj combinations, the input tones (i.e. the lexical melodies of the two stems) are modified by Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3), a phrase-level morphotonological process that spreads the leftmost tone of the first stem to at least the stem boundary, and into the second stem except when it is blocked by a HL tone sequence. See §5.1.4 for the N-N compounds, and §6.3.1 for N-Adj.

In N-Num combinations, minor tonal modifications are made on the noun, spreading or shifting an H-tone rightward. See §6.4.1.2 for details.

Nouns are also affected by tonal ablaut triggered by forms on their left, specifically 1Sg possessor η and deictic demonstrative $kú-nù^{(n)} \sim kú-nù^{(n)}$ ‘this/that’. In both cases, the basic process is inversion of the onset tone of the noun, but the details differ. See §3.6.3.2 for the demonstratives, and §3.6.3.1 and §4.3.3.4.2 for 1Sg η .

3.6.3 Tonal ablaut (morphotonology)

The two principal rules of tonal morphophonology, excluding low-level tone sandhi, are Tone-Inversion (due to “floating” tones) in various forms and Tone Leveling. Both are limited to specific morphosyntactic contexts.

3.6.3.1 Tone Inversion with 1Sg proclitic η (+tones)

In nonsubject functions (object, possessor, postpositional complement), the 1Sg proclitic η triggers tonal changes on at least the first two syllables of the following word. These modifications differ in detail depending on the syntactic category of the following word, but have a common denominator: the onset tone of the following word is inverted. Whereas the parallel phenomenon in Cliffs can arguably be described as involving a “floating” H-tone, such an analysis does not work for J-S of Djenné.

The full set of changes is revealed by η as possessor and by η as object, since in these contexts η can be paired with stems of a wide range of tonal patterns, whether unmodified lexical tone melodies or the output of prior tonal modifications (small tonal changes in Ipfv verbs, more dramatical tonal processes in compound nouns).

The maximal set of input-output relationships is summarized in (66). In this subsection, place assimilation of η (to m , n , η) is disregarded to focus on tones.

(66)	input tones	output	output formula
	a. all-H	ɨ̃ all-L	H#L
	b. HL, rarely HLH	ɨ̃ LH...	H#LH...
	c. all-L, LH(L)	ɨ̃ HL...	L#HL...

The changes in (66b-c) affect the **onset** of the targeted stem, in most cases the first two syllables from the left edge. Except for output “ɨ̃ all-L” in (66a), which drops all tones of the target, the **tail** of targeted stems (if any), usually beginning with the third syllable from the left and corresponding to ... in the formulae, sometimes preserves an input H-tone. For HL-toned inputs, the break between onset and tail is the final syllable boundary (likely depending on vowel length), a detail only observable in quadrisyllabic stems.

The common denominator of the changes is that the leftmost tone of the targeted stem is inverted: H becomes L, and L becomes H. However, one cannot reduce all of the detail in (66) to this single change. It must be supplemented by stipulating what happens to the rest of the stem (66a) or what happens to the second syllable (or monosyllabic mora) (66b-c).

The input-output relationships could be modeled in other ways. One would be to associate floating tones with 1Sg ɨ̃. One interesting idea would be that a consistently bitonal HL sequence is associated with ɨ̃, but it is applied to different domains, for (66b) including 1Sg ɨ̃ and the first syllable (or monosyllabic mora) of the stem, for (66c) beginning with the left edge of the stem and leaving ɨ̃ unaffected. However, for this to work in (66a) would require stipulating that the L of the HL overlay spreads to the end of the stem.

For more detail and examples see §4.3.3 below. The greatest detail is in §4.3.3.4.1 on ɨ̃ as object before a verb, and §4.3.3.4.2 on ɨ̃ as possessor of a following possessum.

3.6.3.2 Tonal changes on noun after demonstrative

The pronominal deictic demonstrative (§4.4.2) is kù-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ in dialect 1 and kú-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ in dialect 2. The noun is followed by -yàwⁿ (definite singular) or -yè (plural). This subsection describes tonal processes in the combination Dem-N. The examples are from dialect 1, but dialect 2 shows the same tones of the noun after the demonstrative.

If the noun has H-initial melody, i.e. /H/ or /HL/, no tonal modifications occur when kù-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ is preposed. /H/-melodic nouns remain H-toned, and nominal suffixes remain L-toned (67a). /HL/ melody is likewise stable, except that its final L-toned mora is subject to Final Tone-Raising before the L-toned suffixes if it is long enough to preserve a medial L-tone, as in ‘date(s)’ (67b).

(67)	noun	plural	‘this/that X’	‘these/those Xs’	gloss
a. /H/ melody					
	múú	múú-yè	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ múú-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ múú-yè	‘nose’
	súbá(w) ⁿ	súbá ⁿ -yè	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ súbá ⁿ -yàw ⁿ	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ súbá ⁿ -yè	‘market’
	tíyé	tíyé-yè	kù-nù(n) tíyé-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù(n) tíyé-yè	‘oil’
	kérégé	kérégé-yè	kù-nù(η) kérégé-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù(η) kérégé-yè	‘saddle’
b. /HL/ melody					
<i>remains HL-toned (bisyllabic)</i>					
	kásò	kásò-yè	kù-nù(η) kásò-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù(η) kásò-yè	‘prison’
	sáárù	sáárù-yè	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ sáárù-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù(η) sáárù-yè	‘broom’
<i>becomes HLH-toned (trisyllabic)</i>					
	támàrò	támàrò-yè	kù-nù(n) támàrò-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù(n) támàrò-yè	‘date(s)’

Nouns of L-initial melodies, i.e. /L/, /LH/ and /LHL/, get an initial H-tone when preceded by kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ (68). For /L/ melody, this H-tone spreads to the end of the stem regardless of prosodic shape (68a). For /LH/ melody, the tonal output does depend on prosodic shape (68b). Short (e.g. C̀C̀C̀́) stems add the initial H-tone and push the lexical initial L-tone rightward into the final syllable, as with ‘sickle’. C̀C̀C̀́ likewise becomes C̀́C̀C̀̀ but its final mora then raises by Final Tone-Raising. One would expect C̀C̀C̀́ to appear as C̀́C̀C̀́ (LHL), but the actual output is level-H C̀́C̀́C̀́ as with ‘(necked) gourd’ and ‘young woman’. As for /LHL/ melody, C̀C̀C̀̀ nouns have the same outputs as C̀C̀C̀́ nouns, compare ‘tale’ and ‘house’ (68c) with ‘tablet’ (68b). However, trisyllabic C̀C̀C̀̀ becomes C̀́C̀C̀̀ (HHL) rather than C̀́C̀C̀́ (HLH), preserving the lexical tones of the noninitial syllables, so ‘mosque’ and ‘cart’ (68c) diverge tonally from ‘necked gourd’ and ‘young woman’ (68b).

(68)	noun	plural	‘this/that X’	‘these/those Xs’	gloss
a. /L/ melody					
	d̀̀̀	d̀̀̀-ye	kùnù(n) d̀̀̀-yàw ⁿ	kùnù(n) d̀̀̀-ye	‘knife’
		~ d̀̀̀-ye			
	ỳ̀ẁ̀ ⁿ	ỳ̀ẁ̀ ⁿ -ye	kùnù ⁽ⁿ⁾ ỳ̀ẁ̀ ⁿ -yàw ⁿ	kùnù ⁽ⁿ⁾ ỳ̀ẁ̀ ⁿ -ye	‘woman’
		~ ỳ̀ẁ̀ ⁿ -ye			
	d̀̀̀ỳ̀m̀̀	d̀̀̀ỳ̀m̀̀-ye	kùnù(n) d̀̀̀ỳ̀m̀̀-yàw ⁿ	kùnà(n) d̀̀̀ỳ̀m̀̀-ye	‘talk (n)’
b. /LH/					
<i>becomes HL</i>					
	k̀̀m̀̀ ⁿ	k̀̀m̀̀ ⁿ -ye	kùnù(η) k̀̀m̀̀-yàw ⁿ	kùnù(η) k̀̀m̀̀-ye	‘sickle’

becomes HLH

wàlááⁿ wàlááⁿ-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ wálááⁿ-yàwⁿ kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ wálááⁿ-yè ‘tablet’

becomes HHH (trisyllabic)

tùmpánáⁿ tùmpánáⁿ-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ túmpánáⁿ-yè
 kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ túmpánáⁿ-yàwⁿ ‘gourd’
 fṛṇṇónóⁿ fṛṇṇónóⁿ-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ fṛṇṇónóⁿ-yàwⁿ kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ fṛṇṇónóⁿ-yè ‘young woman’

c. /LHL/

becomes HLH

kámááⁿ kámááⁿ-yè kùnù^(ṅ) kámááⁿ-yàwⁿ kùnù^(ṅ) kámááⁿ-yè ‘tale’
 ṅámááⁿ ṅámááⁿ-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ ṅámááⁿ-yàwⁿ kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ ṅámááⁿ-yè ‘house’

becomes HHL

mìsírì m̀sírì-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ m̀sírì-yàwⁿ kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ m̀sírì-yè ‘mosque’
 wòtórò wòtórò-yè kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ wòtórò-yàwⁿ kùnù⁽ⁿ⁾ wòtórò-yè ‘cart’

3.6.3.3 Tone Leveling

The domain of Tone Leveling, consisting of an initial and a final, is either a nonpossessive N-N compound or a N-Adj combination. The tone-leveled N-N compound type is distinct from another N-N compound type which takes the tonal form of a possessor-possessum combination. The tone-leveled N-Adj type is limited to a noun plus just one adjective. If there is a second adjective, i.e. [N-Adj1]-Adj2 (note the bracketing), Adj2 is unaffected and surfaces with its lexical tone melody.

The process works as indicated in (69).

- (69) a. spread the leftmost tone element of the initial to the boundary with the final;
 b. continue spreading this tone element to the end of the final if if the final has a monotonal /L/ or /H/ melody;
 c. if the final has a contour-toned melody /HL/, /LHL/, or /LH/, merge these as H*L (e.g. trisyllabic H.H.L) with the tone break from H to L at the rightmost syllable boundary.

Rule (69c) disregards the suffix -gù in adjectives like m̀yè-gù ‘small’ (Adj2 form), producing N-Adj1 combinations (“X” = the noun) like X m̀yè-gù rather than the incorrect #X m̀yè-gù (see end of §6.3.1.1).

(70) shows how various combinations of tone melodies for the initial and final are realized after Tone Leveling. # indicates the boundary between initial and final. In N-Adj the noun is the “initial” and the adjective is the “final.”

(70)	melody of initial	melody of final	output
a.	/L/, /LH/, /LHL/ /H/, /HL/	/L/, /H/ /L/, /H/	L#L H#H
b.	/L/, /LH/, /LHL/ /H/, /HL/	/HL/, /LHL/, /LH/ /HL/, /LHL/, /LH/	L#H*L H#H*L

The fullest data-set illustrating this process is from N-N compounds; see §5.1.4 for examples. For N-Adj combinations see §6.3.1.1.

The operation of Tone Leveling is evidence that N-Adj combinations are treated prosodically as compounds, in effect as single words.

3.6.4 Low-level tone sandhi rules

3.6.4.1 Upstep of postpausal 3Sg/3Pl proclitics (L#L to M#L)

Third person pronominal proclitics (3Sg à, 3Pl è) undergo (full) Final Tone-Raising when prosodically medial (i.e. when phrased seamlessly with a preceding word or particle) and when followed by L-tone. When they occur at the beginning of a prosodic phrase and precede an L-tone, the proclitics do not raise to H-tone. They are, however, optionally raised to a middling pitch, somewhere between canonical L-tone and canonical H-tone. For example, in clause-initial ā gà bé ‘he/she/it comes’, 3Sg à can be pronounced at a pitch level somewhat higher than that of gà. This phonetic effect is here labeled Upstep. Upstepped pronominals are transcribed as M-toned ā (3Sg) and ē (3Pl), since this is more familiar and easier to read than †à and †è.

Upstep is a subphonemic process. The options for transcription are to disregard it entirely (always transcribing à and è postpausally), to normalize it (always transcribing ā and ē postpausally before L-tone), or to transcribe it as it is heard phonetically. The last option is unrealistic since pronunciation is so variable. The transcription used here normalizes Upstep, hence always ā gà (3Sg Ipfv) but à gá (when the Ipfv particle is tone-raised by another L-tone to its right). The virtue of this transcription is that it presents Upstep (in initial position) as halfway to Final Tone-Raising, which affects 3Sg à and 3Pl è in medial positions. Thus ā sò ‘he/she/it went’, but ná = á sò ‘if he/she/it goes’ with né ‘if’.

Upstep on 3Sg à and 3Pl è follows tone sandhi processes that apply to the following word or particle. Therefore when Ipfv gà is tone-raised to gá before another L-tone, this blocks upstep in a preceding third-person proclitic: ā gà bé ‘he/she/it comes’ but à gá sò ‘he/she/it goes’. This confirms the low-level phonetic nature of Upstep.

Upstep is more significant in Kelenga, where upstepped 3Sg ā and 3Pl ī are more consistently mid-pitched and where they remain tonally distinct from 2Sg á and 2Pl í. Keeping

second and third person proclitics distinct is less of an issue in J-S of Djenné. In the latter, 2Sg áⁿ is distinguished from 3Sg à and its tonal variants by nasality, and 2Pl áá cannot be confused with 3Pl è or its variants. Likewise, 1Pl íⁿ is distinguished from 3Pl è and from Logo/3ReflPl é by nasality.

3.6.4.2 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

A large subset of verb stems have Ipfv suffix -RV, where R is usually realized as r or n, and V is a short vowel whose features are copied from the stem-final vowel. The tone of the suffix is carried over from the final tone of the stem. See §10.1.3 for examples.

Agentive -ya, also lacking an intrinsic tone, likewise gets its tone from the stem; see §4.2.2 for examples.

See also Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3), which in some cases spreads a tone from the initial stem to the second stem in a compound or N-Adj sequence.

3.6.4.3 Suffixal H-Tone Spreading

This process applies under various conditions to a few suffixes that are added to verb stems. It is homologous to M-Tone Spreading in Cliffs.

Only verbs that have lexical /H/ melody, or (for agentives) entirely H-toned compound verbs including an incorporated noun, induce raising of the suffixal tone from L to H. As a reminder, for uncompounded verbs the Pfv stem expresses the lexical melody.

The agentive suffix -yà is L-toned after verbs of /L/ and any contour melodies (e.g. /HL/, /LH/). It is H-toned after verbs of /H/ melody and in compounds (with incorporated noun as initial) that have all-H tones after Tone Leveling. Examples are in (71).

(71)	agentive	gloss	source(s)
	a. -yà after /L/ or contour melody		
	<i>/L/ melody</i>		
	kù ⁿ wà-yà	‘coward’	kù ⁿ wà ‘fear (v)’
	<i>/HL/ melody</i>		
	kàrà ⁿ -yà	‘herder’	kàrà ⁿ ‘take/drive (herd) to pasture’
	<i>/LH/ melody</i>		
	sùwó-yà	‘singer’	sùwó ‘sing’

b. -yá after all-H verb

kéré-yá	‘warrior’	kéré	‘fight (v)’
búwó ⁿ -mèéńí-yá	‘carpenter’	búwò ⁿ	‘mortar’, mèèńì ‘make’

c. -yà after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)

kó ⁿ -yà	‘herder’	kó ⁿ (Ipfv kó-nò)	‘take to pasture’
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That kóⁿ in (71c) is covertly /HL/ is confirmed by its HL-toned Ipfv form kó-nò (see below on Ipfv suffixes). Monomoraic Cv shape is too short to express a falling tone in isolation. With this apparent exception resolved, we see that -yà is the basic form of the agentive suffix, but it raises to -yá after an all-H-toned verb or noun-verb compound.

Ipfv suffix -RV forms the Ipfv stem of nearly all Cv verbs, and that of heavier verbs that have a contour-toned lexical melody (§10.1.3). The “R” is realized as r or can be nasalized to n. The vowel quality of “V” is copied from the preceding vowel. A few examples are in (72). They show the same tonal pattern seen just above for agentive -yà. Here too we can take the suffix as basically L-toned, but assimilating to an all-H-toned verb.

(72)	Pfv	Ipfv	gloss
	a. L-toned suffix after /L/ or contour melody		
	<i>/HL/ melody</i>		
	bóy	bóy-rì	‘greet’
	súgò ⁿ	súgò-nò	‘squat’
	<i>/LH/ melody</i>		
	bàtí	bàtí-rì	‘post (v), affix’
	<i>/LHL/ melody</i>		
	tàásì	tàásì-rì	‘think’
	<i>/L/ melody (applies to monomoraic Cv verbs)</i>		
	wà	wà-rà	‘become fragile’
	b. H-toned suffix after /H/ melody		
	sí ⁿ	sí-ní	‘bite’
	c. L-toned suffix after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)		
	kó ⁿ	kó-nò	‘take to pasture’

Another suffix with similar tonal expression is participial -nà (§4.5.1.3).

(73)	Pfv	participle	gloss of verb
	a. -nà after /L/ or contour melody		
	<i>/HL/ melody</i>		
	nógò	nógò-nà	‘be dirty’
	<i>/LH/ melody</i>		
	kùrùgùtù	kùrùgùtù-nà	‘make into ball shape’
	<i>/L/ melody</i>		
	pì ⁿ yè	pì ⁿ yè-nà	‘become black’
	b. -ná after /H/ melody		
	bílá	bílá-ná	‘be alive’
	c. -nà after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)		
	kó ⁿ	kó-nà	‘remove pus from a pustule (pimple)’

3.6.4.4 Final Tone-Raising and Rightward H-Tone Shift

Final Tone-Raising is a dissimilation whose prototypical effect is (L)L#L → (L)H#L where # is a word (or other) boundary. It raises word-final L-toned moras, e.g. C̀̀C̀̀ → C̀̀C̀̀́ and C̀̀̀̀ → C̀̀̀̀́, when followed by another L-tone.

In a subset of the environments that trigger Final Tone-Raising, stems of the tonal type LHL shift the medial H-tone to the right edge. This is called Rightward H-Tone Shift.

§3.6.4.4.1 illustrates Final Tone-Raising at various types of word boundary. §3.6.4.4.2 then presents Rightward H-Tone Shift. The remaining subsections of §3.6.4.4 cover exceptions and other fine points.

3.6.4.4.1 (L)L#L → (L)H#L (Final Tone-Raising)

Some examples of Final Tone-Raising follow. In (74), the final mora (bolded) of an /L/-melodic stem or L-toned monosyllabic particle is raised before another L-tone. Monomoraic C̀̀ raises to C̀̀́ in some cases (inflectional particles, sò ‘go’), but to C̀̀́ in others. (74a) shows /L/-melodic nouns in subject, possessor, object, and postpositional complement functions. (74b) shows L-toned Pfv verbs before various postverbal adjuncts. (74c) shows C̀̀ grammatical particles before verbs, objects, or (in the case of Pfv gà) postverbal adjuncts.

(74)	combination	type	gloss	input
a.	nàá gà yáw ⁿ	N	‘a cow is there’	nàà ‘cow’
	yàbùyá gà yáw ⁿ	N	‘an albino is there’	yàbùyà ‘albino’
	[ā kǎ] sò gá	N	‘his/her father went’	kà ‘father’
	kèré nàmì-jì	N	‘baobab-leaf sauce’	kèrè ‘baobab (tree)’
	... nàá kày	N	‘saw a cow’	nàà ‘cow’
	sèém pà	N	‘on the road’	sèè ⁿ ‘road’
b.	... màá nògí-y	V	‘sought in the village’	màà ‘sought, looked for’
	... kày nògí-y	V	‘saw in the village’	kày ‘saw’
	... sùwó nògí-y	V	‘cultivated in the village’	sùwò ‘cultivated’
	... só nògí-y	V	‘went to the village’	sò ‘went’ (dialect 1)
	... wǎ nògí-y	V	‘frayed in the village’	wà ‘fray, become threadbare’
	... yě [sèèdú tè]	V	‘said to Seydou’	yè ‘said’ (NP subject)
c.	à gá sò	Ipfv	‘he/she goes’	gà Ipvf (positive)
	... gá nàà tóró	Ipfv	‘sold a cow’	gà Ipvf (positive)
	íín té sò	PfvNeg	‘we didn’t go’	tè PfvNeg
	à ná sò	Sbjn	‘that he/she may go’	nà Sbjn
	né à ná sò	‘if.Pfv’	‘if he/she goes’	nà ‘if.Pfv’
	à má sò	Proh	‘he/she must not go’	mà Proh[ibitive]
	án tá sò	IpfvNeg	‘you-Sg don’t go’	tà IpvfNeg (dialect 1)
	à bé gá wày	Pfv	‘he/she came today’	gà postverbal Pfv
d.	sùwò-yé sò gá	Pl	‘sheep-Pl went’	sùwó-yè (dialect 1) sùwò-yé (dialect 2)
	... wúyè-ré nògí-y	Ipfv	‘peel (it) in the village’	wúyè-rè with -RV Ipvf
e.	... [à pá] nògí-y	V	‘with him in the village’	pà ‘with’ postposition
	... [à ná] nògí-y	V	‘to him/her in the village’	nà dative postposition
	... [à té] nògí-y	V	‘to him/her in the village’	tè dative postposition

In (75), a word ending in H-tone plus two L-toned moras raises its final L to H. This is typical of dialect 1, though the raised final H may be at lower pitch than the earlier H due to downdrift. For the dialect 2 speaker, the final mora is not raised.

(75)	dialect 1	type	gloss	input
a.	bààná gà yáw ⁿ	N	‘a manner is there’	bààná ‘manner’
	kónḡòró gà yáw ⁿ	N	‘a dog is there’	kónḡòrò ~ kónḡórò ‘dog’
b.	... bàádiy é nògí-ỳ	V	‘wounded in the village’	bàádiyè ‘wounded’
	... nàgási-ní nògí-ỳ	V	‘withered in the village’	nàgási-nì ‘made wither’

The situation is more uncertain when a word ending in ...HL with a single final L-toned mora is followed by an L-initial syllable, i.e. HL#L as input. My initial field transcriptions have varied between HH#L and HL#L, and I suspect that a systematic instrumental study would probably show many cases of partial but incomplete pitch-raising of the relevant final syllable. Among other things, such Pfv/Ipfv pairs as dúmé/dúmè ‘catch fire’ do not reliably merge (as dúmé) before an L-tone, and when contracted with a preceding H-toned vowel 3Pl è and Logo/3RefPl é are at least subtly distinguishable before an L-tone. After a number of changes of heart I have therefore decided to use HL#L in basic transcriptions, except in contexts where /LHL/-melodic stems undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift to L*H.

In (76a-c), the bolded vowel is the relevant one.

(76)	combination	type	gloss	input
a.	... sán ì yùwò ⁿ	‘and’	‘... and a woman’	sáni ‘and’
b.	mìsír ì sìgè ⁿ	N	‘three mosques’	mìsírì ‘mosque’
c.	... síy è [bàni ní]	V	‘... pounded with a pestle’	síyè ‘pounded’
	... tî ⁿ nògí-ỳ	V	‘... did in the village’	tî ⁿ ‘did’

It would be useful to study this in more detail with a larger number of speakers from various subdialects. One option might be to mark the relevant vowels as phonetically mid-toned even in clause-medial position, e.g. ... sán**ī** yùwòⁿ (76a). In the current transcription this device is used only for postpausal (i.e. usually clause-initial) 3Sg and 3Pl proclitics.

3.6.4.4.2 LHL# → L(L)H# (Rightward H-Tone Shift)

Nouns but not verbs show a shift of bell-shaped /LHL/ melody to H-final L(L)H in some of the positions where /L/-melodic nouns undergo Final Tone-Raising.

The /LHL/-melodic nouns in question have the shapes C̀̀C̀́C̀̀, C̀̀́C̀̀, and C̀̀C̀́̀. They become respectively C̀̀C̀̀C̀́, C̀̀̀C̀́, and C̀̀C̀́́, before most of the same L-toned forms that trigger Final-Tone Raising in /L/-melodic nouns (but not Focus wò, see below).

(77)		sèédù ‘Seydou’	màrifà ‘a rifle’
	a. unshifted before H-tone		
	‘_ came’	sèédù bé gà	màrifà bé gà
	b. shifted before L-tone		
	‘_ comes’	sèédú gà bí-yé	màrifà gà bí-yé
	‘_ went’	sèédú sò gá	màrifà sò gá
	‘under _’	sèédú mù ⁿ	màrifà mù ⁿ
	‘they saw _’	(i) yè sèédú kày gà	(i) yè màrifà kày gà
	‘three _s’	—	màrifà sìgè ⁿ
	‘_’s house’	sèédú jàmáà	màrifà jàmáà

Long noun stems like dùwókùtù ‘cheek’ with the H-tone too far to the left do not undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift.

For the failure of Rightward H-Tone Shift to occur before Focus marker wò, see §3.6.4.4.4.

Verbs with LHL tones, including cases where the final L is a suffix, do not undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift before L-tones (78a-b). Final Tone-Raising, on the other hand, does apply if the verb is otherwise all-L-toned (78c).

(78)	a.	ā	gà	bá=	à	dègú-nì	nògí-ỳ
		3Sg	Ipfv	Fut	3Sg	be.squeezed-Caus.Pfv	village-Loc
		‘He/She squeezed it in the village.’					
	b.	à	gá	jègú-rù		nògí-ỳ	
		3Sg	Ipfv	hiccup-Ipfv		village-Loc	
		‘He/She hiccups in the village.’					
	c.	ā	yà=	à	mèèn ⁿ	ɲá	nògí-ỳ
		3Sg	Sbj/Obj	3Sg	fix.Pfv	Pfv	village-Loc
		‘He/She made (=manufactured) it in the village.’ (< mèènì, ɲà)					

- (85) a. after nominals, adverbs, etc.
 -yè plural
 -yàwⁿ definite singular
 wò ~ wù focus (enclitic)
- b. after verbs
 gà perfective positive (enclitic)

Examples of plural -yè are in (86), with raised final moras bolded. “Tonal type” specifies the final two or three moras. See also §4.1.1. In (86a) the final mora of the stem is raised, though in dialect 2 sùwó-yè then shifts its H-tone onto the suffix. In (86b-c), the stem-final syllable is raised in dialect 1 but not in dialect 2. (86d) shows that Final Tone-Raising fails to apply to HL-final nouns. (86e) shows that neither Final Tone-Raising nor Rightward H-Tone Shift apply to LHL stems.

(86)	tonal type	stem	plural	gloss (singular)
a.	all-L	nàà sùwò	nàá-yè sùwó-yè (dialect 1) sùwò-yé (dialect 2)	‘cow’ ‘sheep’
b.	HLL	báànà	báàná-yè (dialect 1) báànà-yè (dialect 2)	‘manner’
c.	HLL/HHL	kóŋgòrò kóŋgórò	kóŋgòró-yè (dialect 1) kóŋgórò-yè (dialect 2)	‘dog’
d.	HL	ségè	ségè-yè	‘leggings, (pair of) pants’
e.	LHL	mìsírì	mìsírì-yè	‘mosque’

The non-application or incomplete application of Final Tone-Raising in the second syllable of ĆC̀v̀-ye (86d) means that potential homophony in the plurals of e.g. kùⁿwò ‘husband’ and kùⁿwó ‘bone’ is avoided: kùⁿwò-yè ‘husbands’, distinct from kùⁿwó-yè ‘bones’ (and from kùⁿwó-yè ~ kùⁿwò-yé ‘hot seasons’).

The situation is similar with DefSg -yàwⁿ. Prepausal including citation forms are shown in (87). Within clauses (recall the S-infl-O-V-X order which makes prepausal position rare for NPs), the DefSg suffix is usually severely contracted, sometimes masking the full tonal pronunciation.

(87)	tonal type	stem	DefSg (prepausal)	gloss of stem
a.	all-L	nàà sùwò	nàá-yàw ⁿ sùwó-yàw ⁿ	‘cow’ ‘sheep’
b.	HLL	báànà	báàná-yàw ⁿ (dialect 1) báànà-yàw ⁿ (dialect 2)	‘manner’
c.	HLL/HHL	kóηgòrò kóηgórò	kóηgòró-yàw ⁿ (dialect 1) kóηgórò-yàw ⁿ (dialect 2)	‘dog’
d.	HL	ségè	ségè-yàw ⁿ	‘leggings, (pair of) pants’
e.	LHL	mìsírì	mìsírì-yàw ⁿ	‘mosque’

The other postnominal morpheme with similar tonal properties is Focus enclitic wò (88).

(88)	tonal type	stem	DefSg (prepausal)	gloss of stem
a.	all-L	nàà sùwò	nàá wò sùwó wò	‘cow’ ‘sheep’
b.	HLL	báànà	báàná wò (dialect 1) báànà wò (dialect 2)	‘manner’
c.	HLL/HHL	kóηgòrò kóηgórò	kóηgòró wò (dialect 1) kóηgórò-wò (dialect 2)	‘dog’
d.	HL	ségè	ségè wò	‘leggings, (pair of) pants’
e.	LHL	mìsírì	mìsírì wò	‘mosque’

Cliffs marks focus by raising the final tone to H, without a segmental Focus morpheme. Kelenga has an H-toned focus marker rá (allomorph rô in some combinations) which may or may not be cognate to J-S of Djenné wò. Although the diachronic situation is presently unclear, it may be suspected that wò reflects an earlier H-toned focus marker. This could partially explain the tonal patterns in (88).

3.6.4.4.5 Final Tone-Raising applied to BCM variant yè

A preceding third person subject pronoun (3Sg à, 3Pl è) blocks raising of the bidirectional case marker yè to yé (89a), see §4.3.2. However, yè does raise to yé when it is preceded by any other subject pronoun or NP and when it is followed by an L-tone (89b).

- (89) a. \bar{a}/\bar{e} **yè** sèèdú kàý gà
 3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He-or-she/They saw Seydou.’
- b. áá / áámàdú **yé** sèèdú kàý gà
 2Pl / A Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Pl/Amadou saw Seydou.’

Compare bidirectional case marker yè ~ yé here with the defective verb yè ~ yé ‘said’ (§3.6.4.4.3). The two have the same basic allomorphs but they are distributed differently, and their L-toned allomorphs yè are treated differently in Final Tone-Raising.

3.6.4.4.6 Final Tone-Raising on verb stem before suffix or enclitic

Suffixes on verbs are listed in (90). Tones depend on those of the stem.

- (90) a. derivational
- | | |
|--------|---------------------|
| -ni | causative (§9.1.1) |
| -(a)ma | inchoative (§9.4.4) |
| -ga | inchoative (§9.4.5) |
- b. inflectional (aspect-marking)
- | | |
|-----|--------------|
| -RV | imperfective |
|-----|--------------|

These verbal suffixes do not induce Final Tone-Raising on the stems. When a suffix in (90) follows an /L/-melodic stem, another L-toned syllable is added with no change to the stem. For data see the (sub)sections referenced above.

The Pfv morpheme gà follows a Pfv verb stem in perfective positive clauses. The transcription here separates gà from the verb by a space, but it could also be transcribed as an enclitic or possibly even as a suffix. When gà follows an /L/-melodic Pfv verb of two or more moras, Final Tone-Raising applies (91a). However, /HL/-melodic Pfv stems with a single final L-toned mora remain HL-toned (91b).

(91)	stem (Pfv)	with gà	gloss
	a. /L/-melodic stem		
	wàà	wàá gà	‘killed’
	gàsì	gàsí gà	‘showed’
	tògòbì	tògòbí gà	‘crushed’
	b. /HL/-melodic stem		
	tî ⁿ	tî ⁿ ñà	‘did’
	dógì	dógì gà	‘trampled’
	sárátì	sárátì gà	‘scheduled’

The handful of monomoraic C̀ stems like ‘go’ and ‘become threadbare’ remain L-toned before gà, which however itself raises to gá.

(92)	stem (Pfv)	with gà	gloss
	a. s̀ò	s̀ò gá	‘went’
	b. wà	wà gá	‘became threadbare’

This can be modeled by derivations like /s̀ò gà/ → /ṣò gà/ (Final Tone-Raising) → s̀ò gá, where the final step is the rightward shift of the H-tone component of /ṣò/ onto the particle.

The forms in (92) are valid for both dialects studied here. For dialect 2 only, similar derivations occur for other combinations including s̀ò ‘go’; see (82) in §3.6.4.4.3 above. Dialect 2 also shows similar tonal derivations in plurals like s̀ùẁd̀-yé ‘sheep-Pl’, see (86a) in §3.6.4.4.4 above.

3.6.4.4.7 Final Tone-Raising within possessive-type compounds

N-N compounds are of two basic types. One has the form of a possessor-possessum combination. The other is a specifically N-N compound formation that applies Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). Tone Leveling precludes internal tone sandhi such as Final Tone-Raising, so here we focus on possessive-type compounds.

In these compounds, as in possessor-possessum NPs, Final Tone-Raising applies when its conditions are met. An example is k̀éré nàm̀-ji ‘baobab leaf sauce’, whose initial is k̀èr̀è ‘baobab’. See §5.1.2.1 for more examples.

3.6.4.4.8 Iterative application of Final Tone-Raising

Final Tone-Raising usually applies in multi-word clauses from left to right. When it does, the effect is that an input string L-L-L, with three distinct words or particles, surfaces as H-H-L. This is expected in a sequential application, producing first H-L-L and then H-H-L, as each element in the string dissimilates tonally to the following tone, paying no attention to the preceding element.

In (93), the first three words all undergo raising, though downdrift results in progressively lower pitches.

- (93) kùwó gǎ só nògí-ỹ
 /kùwò gà sò .../
 salt Ipfv go.Ipfv village-Loc
 ‘Salt goes to the village.’

3.6.5 Downstep and downdrift

3.6.5.1 Downstep of H-toned words after LH-tones

When an LH-toned word is followed by an H-toned form, the latter is downstepped, or else the final H of the first form becomes HL-toned. It is as though /LH/ melody is really /LHL/, as suggested in §3.6.1.1 above. There is possible independent evidence for this in connection with verbs, but not nouns. There is also comparative evidence for it, in that Kelenga stems that begin with LH-tones are /LHL/-melodic; there is no /LH/ melody in that language.

The J-S of Djenné nouns in (94) seemingly have lexical /LH/ melody, with the tone break at the rightmost syllable boundary. In citation forms, the plurals preserve the stem’s LH and add an L-toned plural suffix. What is interesting is that an H-tone following the LH form of the stem is either downstepped or (more or less equivalently) preceded by a falling tone (which leads secondarily to downstep). Therefore a falling tone is sometimes heard at the end of the noun stem when the plural suffix -yè is raised to -yé before another L-tone. Also, when the LH-toned noun is followed by an already H-toned form like bé ‘come’, the latter is downstepped, with a mid-level pitch. The transcriptions in (94) include the predictable extra falling tones and downsteps, but they are omitted in the usual transcription elsewhere in this grammar.

- | (94) | noun | gloss | plural | ‘(some) _s went’ | ‘a _ came’ |
|------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | fògònó ⁿ | ‘young woman’ | fògònó ⁿ -yè | fògònó ⁿ -yé sò gá | fògònóm ‘bé gá |
| | gbègèná(w) ⁿ | ‘hare’ | gbègèná ⁿ -yè | gbègèná ⁿ -yé sò gá | gbègèná ‘bé gá |
| | bàtó ⁿ | ‘steamboat’ | bàtó ⁿ -yè | bàtó ⁿ -yé sò gá | bàtó ⁿ ‘bé gá |

The tones of the last two syllables in plurals like fɔ̀gò̀nò̀-yé before an L-toned element are distinct from those of plurals of /L/-melodic nouns whose final L-tone is raised to H, and of plurals of /H/-melodic nouns. For example, /L/-melodic kò̀rò̀nò̀ ‘carp (fish)’ occurs in (95a), where both nó and yé syllables are fully H-toned. Likewise with /H/-melodic sóó-yè ‘grasses, herbaceous plants’ in (95b).

- (95) a. kò̀rò̀nò̀-yé sò gá
 carp-Pl go.Pfv Pfv
 ‘(The) carps went.’
- b. sóó-yé sò gá
 grass-Pl go.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The grasses (herbaceous plants) went.’

On the other hand, the tonal effects for /LH/-melodic noun stems are mirrored with LH-toned Pfv verb stems like sùwó ‘sing’. In (96a), sùwó downsteps the following sò̀nò̀-ỳⁿ ‘in the bush’, whereas díyè ‘eat’ has no downstepping effect on ‘in the bush’ in (96b). Likewise, súwó ‘goat’ does not downstep the following bé ‘come’ in (96c). Again, elsewhere in this grammar the downstep diacritic is omitted.

- (96) a. ā gá bé sùwó ⁺sò̀nò̀-ỳⁿ
 3Sg Ipv Fut sing.Pfv the.bush-Loc
 ‘He/She will sing out in the bush.’
- b. ā gá bé díyè sò̀nò̀-ỳⁿ
 3Sg Ipv Fut eat.Antip.Pfv the.bush-Loc
 ‘He/She will eat out in the bush.’
- c. súwó **bé** gá
 goat come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘A goat came.’

3.6.5.2 Downdrift and prepausal pitch-drop

At the end of an intonational group, a sequence of two phonemically H-toned words typically shows a pitch divergence, with the final element dropped somewhat. In (97a), from a dialect with H-toned IpvNeg tá, the pitch of tá can be slightly higher than that of bí-yé. (97b), in which PfvNeg té has been raised from tè under the influence of 1Sg ñ (+H), can be pronounced with té as the pitch peak, slightly higher than súwó, which is in turn slightly higher than tóró. However, the pitch

This HL-effect is not the result of a hesitation as when a sentence is interrupted in mid-stream. It is fully grammaticalized and associated with specific lexical items. It functions pragmatically like ‘(said) as follows, “...”’

The regular ‘and’ conjunction is *sínì* ~ *sánì*, preceding its conjunct (§7.1.1). When the two are separated by a prosodic break (cf. English *additionally, ...*), it can be replaced by *yèêⁿ*. This is a tonally (or intonationally) modified variant of reconstructed **yèⁿ*, which is still the basic ‘and’ conjunction in Cliffs, and which is preserved (often in contracted and somewhat opaque form) in J-S of Djenné composite numerals (§4.6.1.4).

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple nouns (unmarked singular, plural suffix -yè)

Nouns generally have an unmarked singular and a suffixal plural with -yè ~ -yé whose tone depends on the stem tone(s). There is no morphological distinction between human, nonhuman animate, and inanimate nouns. A few nouns have irregular plurals (§4.1.2).

For uncompounded nouns, the usual prosodic weight is at least bimoraic (CvV, Cvy, CvCv, etc.). There are a few Cv and Cvⁿ noun stems, which are listed in §3.3.2.

Noun stems may have any of several lexical tone melodies, whose expression is spread over the entire stem. See §3.6.1.2-4 for details and examples. The lexical melodies are subject to change in combinations with adjectives (§6.3.1), numerals (§6.4.1) and other modifiers, and in compounds.

If the noun is entirely L-toned, i.e. if it has lexical melody /L/, either the plural suffix polarizes to H-toned -yé (100a), as in dialect 2, or the suffix is L-toned -yè but the preceding syllable undergoes Final Tone-Raising (100b). Heavy (e.g. trisyllabic) noun stems strongly favor the latter treatment in all dialects; see ‘dance’ in (100b).

(100)	singular	plural	gloss
a. two alternative tonal treatments			
	Cv		
	tòḍ	tòḍ-yé ~ tòḍ-yè	‘fire’
	CvCv		
	tìyè	tìyè-yé ~ tìyé-yè	‘field’
	yùwò ⁿ	yùwò ⁿ -yé ~ yùwó ⁿ -yè	‘woman’
	fàgù	fàgù-yé ~ fàgù-yè	‘whatchamacallit?’
	nògù	nògù-yé ~ nògù-yè	‘village’
	nùmà	nùmà-yé ~ nùmá-yè	‘rope’
	tègè	tègè-yé ~ tègé-yè	‘cut (wound)’
	tùbù	tùbù-yé ~ tùbù-yè	‘day (unit of time)’
b. Final Tone-Raising plus -yè for heavy stems			
	CvCvCv		
	ḡnḡmì ⁿ	ḡnḡmí ⁿ -yè	‘dance (n)’

The dialect 2 forms like *tìyè-yé* ‘fields’ may reflect earlier **tìyé-yè* (as in dialect 1) which then underwent Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3).

If the noun contains an H-tone, the plural suffix is L-toned *-yè* and the stem retains its lexical melody. This applies to stem melodies /H/, /HL/, /LH/, and /LHL/. /H/ melody is illustrated in (101).

(101)	singular	plural	gloss
	<i>Cv</i>		
	kíí ⁿ	kíí ⁿ -yè	‘boat (skiff)’
	<i>CvCv</i>		
	gíyé ⁿ	gíyé ⁿ -yè	‘place’
	júgú	júgú-yè	‘medication’
	pénú ⁿ	pénú ⁿ -yè	‘bird trap with net’
	<i>CvCvCv and longer</i>		
	díyé-fá	díyé-fá-yè	‘meal’
	kánáá-júú	kánáá-júú-yè	‘boubou (garment)’

Array (102) features /HL/-melodic nouns. ‘Date(s)’ is lexically *ĆC̀C̀C̀* (HLL), so the last syllable undergoes Final Tone-Raising before *-yè*.

(102)	singular	plural	gloss
	<i>Cv</i>		
	dóò	dóò-yè	‘cotton’
	<i>CvCv</i>		
	bíyà(w) ⁿ	bíyà ⁿ -yè	‘egg’
	kàsò	káwò-yè	‘prison’
	<i>heavy /H*L/</i>		
	fájírì	fájírì-yè	‘dawn prayer’
	móómbírì	móómbírì-yè	‘vehicle’ (variant móómbírì)
	<i>heavy /HL*/</i>		
	támòrò	támòró-yè	‘date(s)’
	<i>heavy stems with variable plural tone</i>		
	ṅámàkù	ṅámàkù-yè	‘gingerroot’
		ṅámàkú-yè	
	bámbarà	bámbará-yè	‘Bambara (person)’
	bámbarà	bámbarà-yè	

/LH/ melody is illustrated in (103). This melody is arguably really /LHL/ as pointed out earlier.

(103)	singular	plural	gloss
	<i>CvCv</i>		
	kòbó	kòbó-yè	‘knee’
	kòmó ⁿ	kòmó ⁿ -yè	‘sickle’
	sòmó	sòmó-yè	‘daba (hoe)’
	<i>CvCvCv</i>		
	tùmpàná	tùmpàná-yè	‘necked gourd’

/LHL/ melody is illustrated in (104).

(104)	singular	plural	gloss
	<i>CvCvv</i>		
	ɲàmáà	ɲàmáà-yè	‘house’
	<i>CvCvCv</i>		
	mìsírì	mìsírì-yè	‘mosque’

For some nouns, nasality of the final vowel in the singular is dropped before the plural suffix (105). There is some inconsistency and subdialectal variation in this.

(105)	singular	plural	gloss
	kééwú ⁿ	kééwú-yè	‘man’
	dúú ⁿ	dúú-yè	‘flour, powder’

4.1.2 Key nouns (‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’)

High-frequency nouns whose plurals are frequently irregular in languages of the zone are in (106). ‘Woman’, ‘child’, and ‘wife’, whose stems end in a nasalized syllable, have optional irregular plurals with ending -mée ~ (m)-béé, often with further stem changes, alongside the less common regular plurals with -yè. ‘Child’ also has an irregular tonal inversion from singular to plural. One ethnicity term (‘Fulbe’) also has the -mée ~ (m)-béé plural. ‘Person’ has a unique plural with -rée. The “regular” plural which should be #ɲúmú⁽ⁿ⁾-yè is unattested in uncontracted form. Its contraction ɲú-mèè ~ ɲú-mée functions as a plural discourse-definite demonstrative (‘those aforementioned’), often resuming a just-introduced plural discourse referent (§6.5.2). ‘Man’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, and ‘manner’ are regular.

(106)	singular	plural		gloss
		regular	irregular	
a. human				
	yùwò ⁿ	yùwò ⁿ -yé ~ yùwó ⁿ -yè	yùwò-méé ~ yiyè-méé ~ yiyèm-béé	‘woman’
	díyéw ⁿ ~ díyáw ⁿ	díyé ⁿ -yè ~ díyá ⁿ -yè	dé-méé ~ dyé-ná-mèè ~ dyé-nà-méé ~ dyé-né-mèè ~ dyé-nè-méé	‘child’
	kééwú númú ⁽ⁿ⁾	kééwú-yè —	— númà-réé ~ nú-mèè (after topic) ~ nú-méé (after topic)	‘man’ ‘person’
	fùwò ⁿ fínà(w) ⁿ	fùwó ⁿ -yè fínà-yè	fùwòm-béé fínàm-béé	‘wife’ ‘Fulbe person, Pullo’
b. nonhuman				
	fǎ ~ fǒ	fǎ-yè ~ fǒ-yè	—	‘thing’ cf. fàgù ‘whatchamacallit?’
	gíyé ⁿ bààna	gíyé ⁿ -yè bààná-yè ~ bààna-yè	— — —	‘place’ (cf. §4.2.1.5) ‘manner’ (cf. §3.6.1.4)

The three irregular human plurals in -réé, -méé, and -béé in (106a) can be reduced to two, since (m)-béé is the prenasalized variant of -méé. Similar endings occur in relative markers, of which màⁿ is the etymologically basic singular form, with plurals including mà-réé ~ mà-léé and even doubly-suffixed mà-ré-méé ~ mà-lé-méé (§14.1.1).

númúⁿ ‘person’ combines irregularly with ñ-kóòⁿ ‘one’ as nááñ-kíyéⁿ or nááñ-kóòⁿ ‘one person, someone’.

fǎ ~ fǒ ‘thing’, is partially grammaticalized. It can function as an indefinite quantifier ‘something’ or (under negation) ‘nothing’. There is a composite form fàgù ‘the thing’ (perhaps etymologically composite, cf. definite gù in Cliffs), which can be used when the speaker doesn’t know, or doesn’t wish to pronounce, the name of an object.

For compounds including ‘man’ and ‘woman’ see §5.1.4.5. For diminutives and compounds including ‘child’ see §5.1.7.

Singular *díyáwⁿ* ~ *díyéwⁿ* ‘child’ is sometimes heard with low pitch. Evidence for /H/ melody is that it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-toned word. In addition, the 1Sg possessor forms are those that we would expect from an H-toned stem.

- (107) a. *sèédù* *díyé-èⁿ* ‘Seydou’s child’
 à *díyé-èⁿ* ‘his/her child’
- b. *sèédù* *dé-méé* ‘Seydou’s children’
 à *dé-méé* ‘his/her children’
- c. *ń* *dìyéⁿ-èⁿ* ‘my child’
- d. *ń* *dè-méé* ‘my children’

However, inconsistencies in elicited data suggests that the singular term is tonally in flux, while the plural is more clearly H-toned. One indication of this the variant pronunciation *kàráán-diyàwⁿ* ‘school-child (pupil)’, with Final Tone-Raising affecting the initial, versus plural *kàrààn-dé-méé*.

4.1.3 Collectives

4.1.3.1 Collectives with -àmà

Nouns denoting ethnicities and other broad human categories have abstractive derivatives in -àmà. They are basically abstractives (‘X-hood’), as with adjectives (§4.2.3 below). However, they can also function loosely as collectives denoting the entirety of the category: *nà-àmà* ‘motherhood; mothers (in general)’, *sórógà-àmà* ‘Bozohood, Bozo language, Bozo ethnicity, Bozo nation’.

4.1.3.2 Collectives with -ráà ~ -láà

This derivational suffix forms human collectives similar to those with -àmà. The choice between r and l is subdialectal. The first tone of the initial spreads to the morpheme boundary as in tone-leveled compounds.

Most examples involve ethnicities. ‘Husband’ is also attested as initial, from the perspective of a bride, but ‘father’ and ‘mother’ were rejected as initials. ‘Men’ and ‘women’ are elicitable but less common. The leftmost tone of the initial spreads to the boundary, reflecting Tone Leveling.

(108)	sórógò	‘Bozo person’	sórógò-láà	‘the Bozos; Bozo ethnicity’
	bámbara	‘Bambara person’	bámbara-láà	‘the Bambaras’
	fínàw ⁿ	‘Fulbe person’	fínán-láà	‘the Fulbe’
	káádò	‘Dogon person’	káádó-láà	‘the Dogon’
	kú ⁿ wò	‘husband’	kú ⁿ wó-láà	‘the husband’s family’
	yùwò ⁿ	‘woman’	yùwòn-láà	‘women (collective)’
	kééwú	‘man’	kééwú-láà	‘men (collective)’

4.1.4 Nouns with lexicalized full-stem iteration

A few nouns have the form of full-stem iterations. The segments may have one, two, or three syllables. Some of the flora-fauna terms have LH-LL tones suggestive of Final Tone-Raising at the compound boundary. In most cases the uniterated form does not occur. In addition to onomatopoeic bird names, several other flora-fauna terms are of this type. There are also some non-flora-fauna iterative stems.

(109) a. no vocalic change

flora-fauna

báá-báá	‘tiny termite in houses’
bíí-bíí	‘whirlygig beetle (<i>Dineutes</i>)’
dààn-dàà ⁿ	‘roselle (<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>)’
dóó-dóó	‘pufferfish (<i>Tetraodon</i>)’
kàrà-kàrà	‘medicinal bush sp. (<i>Senna occidentalis</i>)’
kàý ⁿ -kàý ⁿ	‘bush sp. (<i>Tephrosia</i>)’
kóóη-kóó ⁿ	(synonym of kàý ⁿ -kàý ⁿ)
kèrèbè-kèrèbè	‘cockroach’
kòrò-kòrò	‘catfish sp. (<i>Auchenoglanis</i>)’
kúbáléη-kúbálé ⁿ	‘hamerkop (bird)’; tonal variant kúbáléη-kùbàlè ⁿ
kùmùrì-kùmùrì	‘darkling beetle sp.’
kùyé-kùyé	‘spur-winged lapwing (<i>Vanellus</i>)’
mìyè-mìyè	‘herb sp. (<i>Corchorus</i>)’
nà-ná	‘fish sp. (<i>Hyperopisus</i>)’
ηàá-ηàá	‘tall herb sp. (<i>Hibiscus cannabinus</i>)’
pírì-pírì	‘stirring-stick’ or ‘butterfly’
sàmà-sàmà	‘Abdim’s stork (<i>Ciconia</i>)’
sí ^m -sí ⁿ	‘stinging black ant (<i>Brachyponera</i>)’
sù ⁿ -sù ⁿ	‘tree sp. (<i>Diospyros</i>)’
tààn-tàà ⁿ	‘darter (bird)’
tíín-tíí ^m	‘cormorant (<i>Microcarbo</i>)’

tímí-tímí	‘bush spp.’	
wóró-wóró	‘stingless bee sp. (tribe Meliponini)’	
<i>flora-fauna LH-LL suggestive of Final Tone-Raising</i>		
bòró-bòrò	‘amaranth’	
fḍó ⁿ -fḍ ⁿ	‘sweet millet balls’	
kòyó-kòyò	‘black bird’ (several spp.)	
pùwó-pùwò	‘physalis (plant)’	
<i>other (non-flora fauna)</i>		
bùwò-búwò	‘Bobo (person)’	
déé-déé	‘condiments’	likely < Songhay
pìim-pìì ⁿ	‘charcoal’	cf. pii ⁿ ‘black’ (§4.5.1.1)
pírí-pírí	‘stirring-stick’	
sà ⁿ -sà ⁿ	‘vegetable garden’	

b. with vocalic change

<i>flora-fauna</i>		
nímí-námá	‘trailing vine spp. (<i>Ipomoea</i>)’	
pèrè-pàrà	‘trailing vine sp.’ (<i>Ipomoea asarifolia</i>)	
sí ⁿ -sáá ⁿ	‘tree sp. (<i>Cassia</i>)’	
yírígí-yórógó	‘liana sp. (<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i>)’	
<i>flora-fauna LH-LL after Final Tone-Raising</i>		
kòntó-kàntà	‘knifefish (<i>Papyrocranus</i>)’	

The tripartite kíí-kàà-kíí ‘miscellaneous things, odds and ends’ (2021-01 @ 01:45) shows an i-a-i vocalic pattern that extends the i-a pattern in (109b).

There are also some cases where the iterative stem is attested only as the final (110a) or the initial (110b) of a compound.

(110) a. final is iterative

[jíí-nííŋ]-[gúlé-gúlé]	‘worms that grow in waterjars’
dùbáá-[kèrè(ŋ)-kèrè ⁽ⁿ⁾]	‘millipede’ (various spp.)
kòní-nán-[kùwónŋ-kùwò ⁿ]	‘cattle egret’
[sónó-y ⁿ]-[póró-póró]	‘shrub sp. (<i>Calotropis</i>)’

b. initial is iterative

[tíín-tááŋ]-kírí	‘nightjar (bird)’
[téŋé(ŋ)-téŋé(ŋ)]-kòmò	‘catfish sp. (<i>Synodontis</i>)’

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Deverbal nominalizations

4.2.1.1 Bare verbal noun identical to Pfv stem

This and the following subsection describe the forms of uncompounded verbal nouns. For verbal nouns with incorporated object nouns as compound initials, see §5.1.6.1.

For many verbs, the abstract verbal noun, denoting the pure event type as in ‘running is easy’ without aspectual bounding, is unsuffixed (bare). It is identical in form to the Pfv stem, as the latter is heard in the perfective negative or in the future construction (after future bé). Perfective positive postverbal particle gà is absent. Transitive verbal nouns often include objects, either as pronominal possessors or as incorporated nouns, but many are elicitable without objects.

(113)	verbal noun	gloss	Pfv/Ipfv	Pfv gà	gloss
	a. /H/ melody				
	bá	‘exiting’	bá(-rá)	bá gà	‘exit (v)’
	dó	‘entering’	dó(-ró)	dó gà	‘enter’
	tó	‘jump’	tó(-ró)	tó gà	‘jump’
	sáá	‘lying down’	sáá/sáá	sáá gà	‘lie down’
	tá(w) ⁿ	‘ascending’	táw ⁿ /tá-ná	tá ⁿ gà	‘ascend’
	káy ⁿ	‘working’	káy ⁿ /káy ⁿ	káy ⁿ ñà	‘work’
	kónó	‘stay’	kónó/kónò	kónó gà	‘stay’
	tíyéñ-kúmé	‘breathing’	tíyéñ-kúmé/-kúmè	tíyéñ-kúmé gà	‘breathe’
	b. /L/ melody				
	fò	‘sitting’	f(w)ò(-rò)	f(w)ò gá	‘sit’
	mè ⁿ	‘drinking’	mè ⁿ /mè-nè	mè ⁿ ñá	‘drink’
	tà	‘standing’	tà(-rà)	tà gá	‘stand’
	sà	‘laughing’	sà/sàá ~ sà-rà	sà gá	‘laugh’
	kày	‘see’	kày/káy	káy gà	‘see’
	kàlè	‘dying’	kàlè/kàlé	kàlé gà	‘die’
	kùmù ⁿ	‘sleeping’	kùmù ⁿ /kùmú ⁿ	kùmú ⁿ ñà	‘sleep’
	kìyè	‘running’	kìyè/kiyé	kìyé gà	‘run’
	dìyèmù ⁿ	‘speaking’	dìyèmù ⁿ /dìyèmú ⁿ	dìyèmú ⁿ ñà	‘speak’
	c. /HL/ melody				
	kéè ⁿ	‘calling’	kéè ⁿ /kéé-nì	kéé ⁿ ñà	‘call’
	kóy ⁿ	‘sweeping’	kóy ⁿ /kóy-nì	kóy ⁿ ñà	‘sweep’

d. /LH/ melody				
sùwó	‘singing’	sùwó(-rò)	sùwó gà	‘sing’
tàmpá ⁿ	‘kick’	tàmpá ⁿ /tàmpá-nà	tàmpá ⁿ ñà	‘kick’
e. /LHL/ melody				
kàráà ⁿ	‘reading’	kàráà ⁿ /kàráá-nà	kàráá ñà	‘read’
sàgáni ⁿ	‘vomiting’	sàgáni ⁿ /sàgáni ⁿ	sàgáni ñà	‘vomit’

The L-toned verbal nouns in (113b) are subject to Final Tone-Raising when they are followed by an L-tone.

4.2.1.2 CvCe/ε and similar verbal nouns

Some verbal nouns differ from the Pfv and Ipfv stems by final vocalic mutation to ε or e (usually respecting the [±ATR] value of the stem). The fronted vowel keeps the tone of the corresponding vowel in the Pfv stem. There is a bisyllabic target which requires monosyllabic stems to add a syllable. Similar ablauted verb stems with final ε/e function as intransitivizations of some transitive verbs (§9.3.1).

Each of the primary motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ has two alternative verbal nouns, a monosyllabic one identical to the Pfv stem, and a bisyllabic one ending in y plus a front vowel (114a). For ‘come’, the bisyllabic verbal noun bí-yé resembles, but is not identical to, the Ipfv stem bí-yé. The ATR switch is unusual. The long verbal noun of so ‘go’ is sì-yè, which respects the [+ATR] value of the stem but may otherwise have been modeled on bí-yé. Three other motion verbs, ‘descend’, ‘ascend’, and ‘enter’, also have irregular verbal nouns (114b-c).

(114)	verbal noun	gloss	Pfv/Ipfv	Pfv with gà	gloss
a.	bé, bí-yé	‘coming’	bé/bí-yé	bé gà	‘come’
	sò, sì-yè	‘going’	sò/sò	sò gà	‘go’
b.	iyà, yèè	‘descending’	yà(-rà)	yà gà	‘descend’
c.	dwéé	‘entering’	dó(-ró)	dó gà	‘enter’
	téé ⁿ	‘ascending’	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná	tá ⁿ ñà	‘ascend’

Diachronic background for dwéé (114c) is in §9.3.2.

Several transitive verbs have similar bisyllabic verbal nouns ending in ε/e (115a). These verbal nouns are usually identical in form to antipassive derivatives of these verbs, i.e. forms used when the direct object is omitted (§9.3.1.2). The bisyllabic requirement sometimes makes the

verbal nouns (and antipassives) resemble Ipfv stems in those cases where the Pfv is monosyllabic and the Ipfv is bisyllabic (115c). Note, however, that ‘catch’ (115c) has medial m in the verbal noun, versus n in the Ipfv stem. Cf. discussion in §3.2.12.1.

(115)	verbal noun	gloss	Pfv/Ipfv	Pfv gà	gloss
a.	mìyè	‘seeking’	màà/màá	màá gà	‘look for, seek’
	wìyè	‘killing’	wàà/wàá	wàá gà	‘kill’
	tù ⁿ wè ^m	‘looking at’	tù ⁿ wò/tù ⁿ wó	tù ⁿ wó gà	‘look at’
b.	kwé-ré	‘hitting’	kwá(-rá)	kwá gà	‘hit’
	síné	‘biting’	sí ⁿ /sí-ní	sí ⁿ gà	‘bite’
c.	kúmé	‘catching’	kú ⁿ /kú-nú	kú ⁿ gà	‘catch’

4.2.1.3 Verbal noun -gu (absent)

A verbal noun with suffix -gù occurs in Cliffs, but is not attested in J-S of Djenné.

4.2.1.4 Participial -na as instantiating verbal noun

Deverbal participles in -na are used chiefly as adjectival modifiers and predicates. However, there are a few attestations of -na in verbal noun function. They denote instances of the event type, not the event type as abstraction. There is a possessor or compound initial.

(116)	ā fòð-nà	‘its founding, original settling’	2021-03 @ 12:02
	ā dùwò-nà	‘its end’	
	à síntì-nà	‘its beginning’	
	ā sìyè-nà	‘its going (=departure)’	
	à bíyé-ná	‘its coming (arrival here)’	2021-03 @ 14:47

For the last of these forms, compare sò ‘go’ and verbal noun sì-yè ‘going’ (§4.2.1.2 above).

In Cliffs, the corresponding construction denotes an event and the resulting state. Further study of textual examples may determine whether the resultative element is also present in J-S of Djenné.

4.2.1.5 Place nominal with suffix -wúwðⁿ

Addition of suffix -wúwðⁿ to a verb produces a place nominal. The initial is identical to the Pfv stem segmentally and tonally in most cases (but see below). An LHL-toned Pfv stem becomes HL-toned, as in sábarè-wúwðⁿ ‘hospital’ (117b). No good example based on an intransitive bimoraic LH-toned Pfv stem (C̀VĆ) could be elicited, but examples of transitive C̀VĆ (with incorporated object) also shift to HL, see [dúwó-bátì]-wúwðⁿ (241c) in §5.1.6.3 from bátì(-rì) ‘post (v)’. C̀VĆ Pfv stems with final long vowel keep their tones in the derivative (117b).

(117)	nominal	gloss	verb and gloss
a. initial tonally and segmentally identical to Pfv stem			
	bá-wúwð ⁿ	‘exit (n)’	bá(-rá) ‘exit (v)’
	dó-wúwð ⁿ	‘entrance’ (variant)	dó(-ró) ‘enter’
	yà-wúwð ⁿ	‘the way down’	yà(-rà) ‘descend’
	tá ⁿ -wúwð ⁿ	‘the way up’	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná ‘ascend’
	sáá-wúwð ⁿ	‘bedroom’	sáá/sáá ‘lie down’
	mè-wúwð ⁿ	‘drinking place’	mè ⁿ /mè-nè ‘drink’
b. sábarè-wúwð ⁿ ‘hospital, clinic’ sàbarè ⁿ /sàbarè-nè ‘treat (medically)’			
	gómì ⁿ -wúwð	‘sifting place’	gómì ⁿ /gómì-nì ‘sift’
	jòḡíí ⁿ -wúwð ⁿ	‘conversing place’	jòḡíí ⁿ /jòḡíí-nì ‘converse at night’
	kàmáá ⁿ -wúwð ⁿ	‘narrating place’	kàmáá ⁿ /kàmáá-nà ‘narrate’

Transitive verbs that have an antipassive intransitive form with final e/ε (§9.3.1.2) can use this stem in the place nominal (118). The alternative is for these verbs to use their regular transitive form and add a compound initial (§5.1.6.3).

(118)	nominal	gloss	verb and gloss
	dóé-wúwð ⁿ (cf. §9.3.2)	‘entrance’ (variant)	dó(-ró) ‘enter’
	sùwè-wúwð ⁿ	‘kitchen’	sùwè/sùwé (variant) ‘do cooking’
	twéré-wúwð ⁿ	‘shop (n)’	twéré/twèrè ‘do commerce’
	díyé-wúwð ⁿ	‘eating place’	díyé/díyè ‘eat, have a meal’

The basic noun meaning ‘place’ is gíyéⁿ. It is possible that this noun and the suffix -wúwðⁿ are etymologically related. Cliffs has gūūⁿ ‘place’ and -gàwⁿ in deverbal place nominals.

Unlike Cliffs, in J-S of Djenné place nominals do not function as complements of the verb ‘fear’. J-S of Djenné has its own special postposition kààⁿ for complements of this verb (§8.2.8). However, place nominals may function as complements of ‘finish’ (§15.3.3.1).

4.2.1.6 Place nominal with suffix -dóó

dóó ‘mouth’ (by extension ‘doorway’) is part of verb complexes in the semantic field ‘open/shut’. It occurs as an initial in place nominals for these senses (119a), and as a final for the related semantic field ‘exit/enter’ (119b).

(119)	nominal	gloss	verb and gloss
	a. dóó- as initial		
	dóó-wè ⁿ	‘opening’	dóó-wè ⁿ /dóó-wè-nè ‘open’
	~ dóó-gwè ⁿ		~ dóó-gwè ⁿ /dóó-gwè-nè
	dóó-tíyéw ⁿ	‘closure’	dóó-ñ-tíyé(w) ⁿ /dóó-ñ-tíyé(w) ⁿ
	~ dáá-tíyéw ⁿ ⁿ		
	b. -dóó as final		
	bá-dóó	‘exit (n)’	bá(-rá) ‘exit (v)’
	dóé-dóó (cf. §9.3.2)	‘entrance’	dó(-ró) ‘enter’

4.2.2 Uncompounded agentives (-ya)

The agentive suffix is -ya, plural -yá-yè (sometimes contracted as -yé-è). It is added to the Pfv stem, which doubles as the bare verbal noun. The final tone of the stem spreads to the agentive suffix, most obviously in the singular. Plural -yè triggers Final Tone-Raising if the agentive suffix is L-toned. In kóⁿ-yà ‘herder’ (120d), the superficially H-toned Pfv kóⁿ disguises the lexical /HL/ melody because it is too short to express the contour. The melody is overt in the Ipfv stem kó-nò and in the agentive.

(120)	verb (Pfv/Ipfv)	gloss	agentive	gloss
	a. /H/ melody			
	tó(-ró)	‘jump’	tó-yá	‘jumper’
	séy ⁿ /séy ⁿ	‘carve’	séy ⁿ -yá	‘carver’
	b. /L/ melody			
	sùwò/sùwó	‘cultivate’	sùwò-yà	‘farmer’
	kìyè/kìyé	‘run’	kìyè-yà	‘runner’
	kùmù/kùmú	‘sleep’	kùmù ⁿ -yà	‘sleeper’

c. /LH/ melody

sùwó(-rò)	‘sing’	sùwó-yà	‘singer’
jègù(-rù)	‘belch’	jègù-yà	‘belcher’
sùsù(-rù)	‘stutter’	sùsù-yà	‘stutterer’

d. /HL/ and /LHL/ melodies

/HL/ overt in Ipfv (masked in monomoraic Pfv)

kó ⁿ /kó-nò	‘take to pasture’	kó ⁿ -yà	‘herder’
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/HL/ clear

tígà(w) ⁿ /tígà-nà	‘cough (v)’	tígà ⁿ -yà	‘cougher’
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/LHL/ clear

kàráá ⁿ /kàráá-nà	‘read’	kàráá ⁿ -yà	‘reader’
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As with verbal nouns, some basic transitives shift to the antipassive stem (§9.3.1.2) in the agentive. This is seen in the bisyllabic stem shape with final front vowel

(121)	verb (Pfv/Ipfv)	gloss	agentive	gloss
a.	sùyè/sùyé	‘cook (antipassive)’	sùyè-yà	‘cook (n)’
	sùwò/sùwó	‘cook (sth)’		
b.	twéré/twéré	‘sell (antipassive)’	twéré-yá	‘merchant’
	tóró/tórò	‘sell (sth)’		

There are also a few lexical agentives such as mùwòⁿsòⁿ ‘builder, mason’ (< French), dòòⁿsò ‘hunter’, kiyé ‘leatherworker’, and kwìgù ‘blacksmith’. However, kiyé and kwìgù are not agentives as such; they denote hereditary, in-marrying castes that are traditionally connected with the trades indicated.

The noun káyáná-yá ‘messenger; (God’s) prophet’ from káyáná ‘message, errand’ is denominal rather than deverbal, so its connection with agentives is unclear. A synonym is káyáná-n-díyàwⁿ ‘messenger’ (“message-child”)

4.2.3 Deadjectival abstractives (-ama, -gà)

Several adjectives denoting scalar qualities or measurable dimensions have an abstractive nominal with suffix -ama of variable tone (122a). The abstractive is typically possessed (‘its length’, etc.). It is not formed from color or taste adjectives (‘redness’, ‘sweetness’).

Adjectives that have -gù or (participial) -ga-na in the modifying form have -gà as the abstractive, which however is L-toned like the predicate form (122b). Predicate kóⁿ ‘be many, abound’ is supplented by kúsàmà in participial kúsàmà-nà ‘many’. The abstractive kúsàmà has the form of an unsuffixed verbal noun, which avoids two final mà syllables. The “modifying” column in (122) shows no tones for adjectives subject to Tone Leveling.

(122)	predicate	modifying	gloss	abstractive	gloss
	a. abstractive -àmà				
	bòrò	boro ⁿ	‘big’	bòrà-àmà	‘size, bigness’
	kwàsà ⁿ	kwasa(w) ⁿ	‘long’	kwàsà-àmà	‘length’
	ɲìì	ɲiɲa-na	‘nasty’	ɲíɲà-àmà	‘nastiness’
	ɲúwótó ⁿ	ɲuwótó ⁿ	‘difficult’	ɲúwótá-má	‘difficulty, expensiveness’
	b. abstractive -gà corresponding to -gù or -gà-nà in modifying form				
	mìyèw ⁿ	míyè-gù	‘small’	mìyè-gà	‘smallness’
	twìì ⁿ	twîì-gù	‘short’	twìì-gà	‘shortness’
	wàà	waa-ga-na	‘wide’	wàà-gà	‘width’
	c. zero-derived verbal noun corresponding to participial -nà				
	kó ⁿ	kúsàmà-nà	‘many’	kúsàmà	‘number, abundance’

-àmà is rather productive. It can be added to ‘owner of X’ derivatives with -tùù (§5.1.8). Thus nàfɔ̀rò ‘wealth’, nàfɔ̀rò-tùù ‘rich person’, nàfɔ̀rò-tùwà-àmà ‘wealthiness’. It is added to ‘mother’ in the compound [nà-àmà]-tòbò ‘motherhood dancing’ denoting a specifically female dance during weddings (2021-01 @ 10:49). kéntá-ámá ‘(good) health’ is related to the verb kéntéⁿ/kéntéⁿ ‘be in good health’.

4.2.4 Gentilic nominals

4.2.4.1 Gentilics with -ɲɔ ~ -ɲwa as final

The suffix or compound final -ɲɔ ~ -ɲwa of variable tone (due to Tone Leveling) can be added to place names to denote a person from or residing in that location. The initial tone of the place name spreads to the end of the compound.

(123)	village	map name	gentilic
	a. H-initial		
	kónó-tùwò	Tombona	kónó-túwó-ηó (~ -ηwá)
	bááràà-tùwò	Baratou	bááráá-túwó-ηó (~ -ηwá)
	b. L-initial		
	gòmí-tùwò	Gomitogo	gòmì-tùwò-ηò (~ -ηwà)
	kèráá	Kéra	kèràà-ηò (~ -ηwà)
	sàgá(w) ⁿ	Mopti	sàgàη-ηò (~ -ηwà)

For the city of Djenné (jènè) that dominates the local area, in addition to jènè-ηò ‘resident of Djenné’ there is a term jènè-kònò denoting a member of the Songhay-speaking core population.

-ηò ~ -ηwa can also be used instead of jùmù ‘person’ (see the following subsection) in expressions denoting positions from front to back, as in a race or other procession. The initials are spatial adverbs (‘in the rear’, ‘in front’, ‘in the middle’). kénéé- is contracted from locative definite kéné-y-è ‘in the middle’.

(124)	kwàtiyè-ηò	‘laggard, one in the rear’
	tígáá-ηó	‘leader, one in the lead’
	kénéé-ηó	‘one in the middle (of the pack)’

Cliffs has gentilic -ηga.

4.2.4.2 Gentilics with HL-toned -jùmùⁿ ‘person’ as final

For many gentilics based on spatial orientation terms, the ending is -jùmùⁿ, an HL-toned variant of jùmùⁿ ‘person’ (125a-b). With cardinal direction terms, -paa- is optionally added (125c), cf. postposition pà and noun pàà (§8.1.2.3). The leftmost tone of the spatial term spreads up to the final boundary, as in tone-leveled compounds.

(125)	spatial	gloss	gentilic	gloss
	a. yòó-bàà	‘on top’	yòò-bàà-jùmù ⁿ	‘highlander’
	dùbàà	‘at bottom’	dùbàà-jùmù ⁿ	‘lowlander’
	b. tígàà	‘in front’	tígáá-jùmù ⁿ	‘leader, one in front’
	kòtó-pà	‘in back’	kòtò-pàà-jùmù ⁿ	‘laggard, one in back’
	kòtiyè	''	kòtiyè-jùmù ⁿ	''

Logo/3Refl:

Sg	ń-dùwò	ń	ń	ń	ń
Pl	é-dùwò	é (→ = éé)	é, íí	íí (→ = éé)	íí (→ = éé)

The nonsubject logophoric forms can also function as third-person reflexives in nonsubject functions.

1Pl and 3Pl differ by length and nasalization and usually by vowel quality, not just by tones as in Cliffs. 1Pl is basically ííⁿ but contracts with preceding a or e as ééⁿ (Ipfv gè = ééⁿ with gà, bidirectional case-marker yè = ééⁿ with yè). Conversely, 3Pl è usually raises from mid-height to high vowel ì (and is often elided) in subject function before the bidirectional case-marker yè (127a) and before yé ‘said’ (127b).

- (127) a. ē yà = áń kày gà (careful speech)
 (i) yà = " " " (allegro speech)
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 2Sg see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They saw you-Sg.’

- b. è yé ...
 (i) yé "
 ‘they said, “...”’

Similarly, Logo/3ReflPl short é as subject may shift to í in these contexts. Also, for some speakers, the lengthened allomorph éé (possessor, or postpositional complement) has a variant íí after an interruption or other pause. Especially for these speakers, nasalization rather than vowel quality is the main distinguisher between Logo/3ReflPl and 1Pl.

1Sg ñ is raised to ń before L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. It is still distinguishable from LogoPl ń due to the tonal effects of the 1Sg clitic on the following word (§4.3.3).

(128) compares 3Sg, LogoSg, 2Sg, and 2Pl proclitics in medial position where the vocalic proclitics are subject to vv-Contraction. 2Sg and 3Sg are distinguished by nasality in 2Sg. Since the pitch of 3Sg à is raised at least subphonemically before an L-tone, the challenge is distinguishing it from contracted 2Pl áá. To avoid ambiguity, 2Pl áá can be pronounced as its own syllable (with audible long vowel) in (128d).

- (128) a. à yá = [à sò gá]
 3Sg said [3Sg go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that she/he_y (=another) went.’

- b. à yé = [ń sò gá]
 3Sg said [LogoSg go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x (=him-/herself) went.’

- c. à yá= [áⁿ sò gá]
 3Sg said [2Sg go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg went.’
- d. à yá= [áá sò gá]
 3Sg said [2Pl go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She said that you-Pl went.’

4.3.2 Vocalic pronominals and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The bidirectional case marker occurs between subjects and objects that are not separated by a nonzero inflectional morpheme (§11.1.2.1). There are some interactions between the BCM and certain pronominal subjects and objects. Here we focus on vocalic pronominal proclitics (all except the nasal proclitics 1Sg and Logo/3ReflSg, which are covered in §4.3.3 below).

4.3.2.1 Vocalic subject pronominals before the BCM

The bidirectional case-marker *yè* occurs in some but not all perfective positive clauses where the subject and object would otherwise be adjacent. It is blocked by the morpheme *nà* used in 1Sg subject perfective positives (§4.3.3.1).

For first and second person subjects other than 1Sg, (129) shows how subject pronominals combine with nonpronominal objects in the perfective positive. *yè* is optional in each case, but it is usually present after 1Pl or 2Pl subject. The *y* nasalizes to *ɲ* after nasals or nasalized vowels. *yè* and *ɲè* have their tones raised to *yé* and *ɲé* before L-tone by regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising).

(129)	subject	‘_ saw Seydou/Amadou’				
a.	1Pl	í ⁿ	(ɲé)	sèèdú	kàý	gà
		"	(ɲè)	áámàdú	"	"
b.	2Sg	á ⁿ	(ɲé)	sèèdú	kàý	gà
		"	(ɲè)	áámàdú	"	"
c.	2Pl	áá	(yé)	sèèdú	kàý	gà
		"	(yè)	áámàdú	"	"

With LogoPl subject, contraction is usual (130).

- (130) a. (i) yé= [éé Ø sèèdú kàý gà]
 " yé= [é yé " " "]
 3Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘They_x said that they_x saw Seydou.’
- b. yìyèm-béé yè= [éé Ø sèèdú kàý gà]
 " yè= [é yé " " "]
 woman-Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘The women_x said that they_x saw Seydou.’

However, even a slight pause after ‘said’ allows determination of the vowel length.

With regular third person pronominal subject the forms are those in (131). yè is optional (and usually omitted) after 3Sg à, as it is after a nonpronominal subject NP. When yè is present after a 3Sg or 3Pl subject, it fails to undergo Final Tone-Raising. 3Pl subject requires yè, which again remains L-toned even before another L-tone. The 3Pl subject pronominal, elsewhere è, is usually reduced to zero, though it can be pronounced as ī (upstepped).

- (131) subject ‘_ saw Seydou/Amadou’
- a. 3Sg ā (yè) sèèdú kàý gà
 ā (yè) áámàdú " "
- b. 3Pl (ī) yè sèèdú kàý gà
 (ī) yè áámàdú " "

There is no obvious phonological explanation for the failure of Final Tone-Raising to apply to yè before ‘Seydou’ in (131a-b). An ad hoc solution would be to say that yè fuses with the following word, which would pre-empt tone sandhi since the latter requires morpheme or word boundaries. The failure of yè to raise to yé is arguably adaptive. This is because it pre-empts any possible confusion between bidirectional case marker yè and the very common quotative element yè ~ yé ‘said’, which takes H-toned form after these same third person subject pronominals (à yé ‘he/she said’, ì yé ‘they said’).

4.3.2.2 Vocalic object pronominals after the BCM

If the object of a perfective positive clause is pronominal, it takes the same form that it has in clauses that are not perfective positive. The bidirectional case marker is generally obligatory. For 1Sg object see §4.3 .3.4.1 below.

Since 2Sg áⁿ, 2Pl áá, and 1Pl ííⁿ are all H-toned and vocalic, the bidirectional case-marker remains L-toned before them and always contracts. 1Pl ííⁿ behaves like ééⁿ in this combination.

(132) 1Pl and second person object

a. sèèdú yà= áŋ/áá kàý gà
 S Sbj/Obj **2Sg/2Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw you-Sg/-Pl.’

b. sèèdú yè= ééŋ kàý gà
 S Sbj/Obj **1Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw us.’

Third-person objects are illustrated in (133). yè is free to raise to yé by Final Tone-Raising before the L-toned object pronominals. Before an L-tone, combinations like yá= à in (133a) can approximate yá= á, but since this can be partial (subphonemic) it is not indicated in basic transcriptions here.

(133) Third person object

a. sèèdú yá= à kàý gà
 S Sbj/Obj **3Sg** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw him/her/it.’

b. sèèdú yé= è kàý gà
 S Sbj/Obj **3Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw them.’

Logophoric objects are in (134).

(134) a. à yé [sèèdú yè íŋ kàý gà]
 3Sg said [S Sbj/Obj LogoSg see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He_x said that Seydou hit him_x.’

- b. ì yé [sèèdú yè= é kàý gà]
 3Pl said [S Sbj/Obj LogoPl see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘They_x said that Seydou hit them_x.’

4.3.2.3 BCM between vocalic subject and object pronominal

When both subject and object are vocalic pronominals, the BCM is obligatory. The combinations of BCM with pronominal object are the same as with nonpronominal subject (preceding subsection). The BCM remains L-toned before an H-toned object pronominal. It undergoes Final Tone-Raising before an L-toned third-person object pronominal (except when the subject is also a nonreflexive third-person pronominal).

(135) 1Pl object

- a. áⁿ nè= ééη kàý gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj **1Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Sg saw us.’
- b. áá yè= ééη kàý gà
 2Sg/2Pl Sbj/Obj **1Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Pl saw us.’
- c. ā/(ī) yè= ééη kàý gà
 3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj **1Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He-or-she/They saw us.’

(136) 2Sg and 2Pl objects

- a. ā/(ī) yà= áη/áá kàý gà
 3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj **2Sg/2Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He-or-she/They saw you-Sg/-Pl.’
- b. ííⁿ nà= áη/áá kàý gà
 1Pl Sbj/Obj **2Sg/2Pl** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We saw you-Sg/-Pl.’

(137) Third-person objects

- a. áá yá= à káy gà
2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
'You-Pl saw him/her/it.'
- b. áⁿ/íⁿ ná= à káy gà
2Sg/1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
'You-Sg/We saw him/her/it.'
- c. áá yé= è káy gà
2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
'You-Pl saw them.'
- d. áⁿ/íⁿ né= è káy gà
2Sg/1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
'You-Sg/We saw them.'

Third person subjects (138) force yè to remain L-toned even before L-toned third person objects (§4.3.2.1 above). The subject pronominals ā and (ī), the latter usually elided, reflect subphonemic upstep before the L-toned káy, and are phonemically L-toned.

- (138) a. ā/(ī) yà= à káy gà
3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
'He-or-she/They saw him/her.' (nonreflexive)
- b. ā/(ī) yè= è káy gà
3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
'He-or-she/They saw them.' (nonreflexive)

See also §11.1.2 for more context on the tones.

4.3.3 1Sg and Logophoric Sg (nasal pronominal proclitics)

The pronominal proclitics consisting of nasal consonants are illustrated in (139).

- d. à yé [m sò gà]
 3Sg said [LogoSg go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x came.’

When the 1Sg subject is preceded by a clause-initial particle like *nì ~ nè* ‘if’, even dialect 1 has *ń* *nà* (*nì ń nà* ‘if I ...’).

The same *ń* *nà* (dialect 2) and \emptyset *nà* (dialect 1) also occur for 1Sg subject in perfective positive transitive clauses. In this case *nà* is followed directly by the object, then the verb. The presence of *nà* in the post-subject slot blocks the appearance of a bidirectional case marker (BCM) in that slot (141a). By contrast, LogoSg *ń* can be followed by the regular BCM *yè*, obligatorily before pronominal objects, optionally before nonpronominal objects (141b). The combination /*ń yè/* is pronounced *ń yè*, subject to later tone sandhi (§3.4.2.2).

- (141) a. *ń* *nà* *súwó* *kàý* *gà* [dialect 2]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I saw a goat.’
- b. à yé [*ń* \emptyset *sèèdú* *kàý* *gà*]
 à yé [*ń* *né* *sèèdú* *kàý* *gà*]
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x saw Seydou.’
- c. *áámàdú* *yè* [*ń* \emptyset *sèèdú* *kàý* *gà*]
áámàdú *yè* [*ń* *né* *sèèdú* *kàý* *gà*]
 A said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Amadou_x said that he_x saw Seydou.’

Like other post-subject particles, *nà* is subject to Final Tone-Raising before L-tone (142).

- (142) a. (*ń*) *ńá* *sò* *gá*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I went.’
- b. (*ń*) *ńá* *sùwó* *kàý* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg sheep see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I saw the sheep-Sg.’

4.3.3.2 Grammatical function of post-1Sg nà

As noted in the preceding subsection, in perfective positive clauses 1Sg subject is *ń nà* (dialect 2) or \emptyset *nà* (dialect 1) in both intransitive and transitive clauses. *nà* is glossed “Pfv.1Sg” in interlinears, but it requires further analysis.

In dialect 2, *nà* follows overt 1Sg *ń*, so *nà* is clearly in the post-subject position that can elsewhere be filled by inflectional morphemes (e.g. Ipfv *gà*) or by the bidirectional case marker (BCM) *yè*. There are two ways that *nà* can be analysed in dialect 2 (143a-b).

- (143) a. perfective (positive) allomorph associated with 1Sg subject
 b. linker between 1Sg subject and otherwise adjacent VP

Analysis (143a) would entail that there is a post-subject perfective positive morpheme with two allomorphs, *nà* after 1Sg subject *ń*, and zero (\emptyset) after all other subjects. This interpretation is reflected in the markup of (144a-b).

- (144) a. *ń nà bé gà* [dialect 2]
 1Sg **Pfv.1Sg** come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I came.’
- b. *sèédù / à / áá \emptyset bé gà* [dialect 2]
 S / 3Sg / 2Pl **Pfv** come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou/he-or-she/you-Pl came.’

In this model, all aspect-polarity categories including perfective positive are expressed by post-subject morphemes, one of which can be phonologically null.

In the second analysis, *nà* is interpreted as a linker that separates the 1Sg subject pronominal from an otherwise adjacent VP. The latter is defined as the string beginning with a preverbal object if present, otherwise (in intransitives) beginning with the verb. This would be structurally parallel to the regular bidirectional case marker (BCM) *yè*, which appears when subject and object would otherwise be adjacent and when the subject is other than 1Sg *ń*. In this model, no overt post-subject perfective positive morpheme is posited in post-subject position.

A possible argument against the aspectual analysis (and therefore indirectly in favor of the linker analysis) is that the tones of *ń nà* in dialect 2 differ from the tones of 1Sg subject *ń* (+H) plus other L-toned aspect-polarity particles: 1Sg imperfective *ń gá*, 1Sg perfective negative *ń té* (see the following subsection). However, both the aspectual and linker models are reasonable structurally and the choice will be left open here. The phonologically null Pfv \emptyset in (144b) above will not be included in transcriptions from now on.

Dialect 1 has \emptyset *nà*, not *ń nà*, in 1Sg subject perfective positive main clauses. One could treat this as a minor variation on the dialect 2 situation and gloss *nà* as “Pfv.1Sg” or perhaps as a

linker. In this model, Ø represents underlying 1Sg ñ, presumably due to a minor synchronic nasal-deletion process (/ñ nà/ → Ø nà).

Alternatively, we could argue that in dialect 1 nà has become, or is in the process of becoming, a 1Sg pronominal allomorph (restricted to the perfective positive). The transcription and markup would then be something like (145). This has gone farther in Kelenga, where ná ~ nó is a full-fledged 1Sg independent pronoun.

(145)	nà	bé	gà	[dialect 1]
	1Sg(.Pfv)	come.Pfv	Pfv	
	‘I came.’			

As explained in the parallel grammar, in Cliffs the corresponding morpheme nàⁿ is an allomorph of the bidirectional case marker (elsewhere yè), appearing after 1Sg and Logo/3ReflSg nasal pronominal proclitics. The key empirical differences between J/S of Djenné and Cliffs are that a) Cliffs nàⁿ never appears in intransitive perfective positive clauses; b) Cliffs nà follows Logo/3ReflSg as well as 1Sg. The Cliffs situation is likely archaic within western Mande.

4.3.3.3 1Sg ñ and LogoSg í subjects before inflectional morphemes

In subject function with a following nonzero inflectional morpheme (other than nà), the 1Sg subject marker varies dialectally between simple ñ (dialect 1) and ñ (+H) (dialect 2), the difference being whether a following L-toned inflectional morpheme is raised to H-tone. Here as elsewhere ñ assimilates in position to a following consonant.

In dialect 1, 1Sg ñ does not affect the tone of a following inflectional morpheme. The combinations are therefore IpfvNeg í tà, Ipfv í ñà, and PfvNeg í tè for this dialect. The H-tone of the nasal could be attributed to Final Tone-Raising before the L-toned particle. In clausal context, the C̀ particles can subsequently be raised to Ć by Final Tone-Raising when followed by another L-tone.

In dialect 2, the IpfvNeg morpheme is already H-toned tá lexically, so its tone is not affected by a preceding 1Sg ñ. However, the other two inflectional morphemes (PfvNeg, Ipfv) are L-toned and do raise to H-tone after 1Sg ñ, regardless of the tone of the following word. The data are summarized in (146). For g → ñ after a nasal see §3.4.2.3.1.

(146)	morpheme	category	1Sg (dialect 1)	1Sg (dialect 2)
a.	tà (dialect 1) tá (dialect 2)	IpfvNeg	í tà	ñ tá

b.	gà	Ipfv	ń ɲà	ɲ ɲá
	tè	PfvNeg	ń tè	ɲ té

Examples are in (147). ɲá and té for dialect 2 in (147b-c) are H-toned even before the H-toned noun ‘goat’, and so their H-tone cannot be ascribed to Final Tone-Raising. Their H-tone can only be due to the 1Sg pronominal.

(147)	a.	ń	tà	súwó	tùwò	[dialect 1]
		ɲ	tá	"	"	[dialect 2]
		1Sg	IpfvNeg	goat	know.Ipfv	
		‘I don’t know a goat (=goats).’				

b.	ɲ	ɲà	súwó	tùwò	[dialect 1]
	ɲ	ɲá	"	"	[dialect 2]
	1Sg	Ipfv	goat	know.Ipfv	
	‘I know a goat (=goats).’				

c.	ń	tè	súwó	kày	[dialect 1]
	ɲ	té	"	"	[dialect 2]
	1Sg	PfvNeg	goat	see.Pfv	
	‘I didn’t see a goat.’				

1Sg imperfective ɲ ɲà and ɲ ɲá can simplify clause-initially to Ø ɲà and Ø ɲá, as the nasalization of g to ɲ in the Ipfv morpheme helps identify the subject as 1Sg. See, for example, (322a), (385a-b), and (926d). When a preceding particle like ɲì ~ né ‘if’ is also present, the nasal of the 1Sg proclitic (or at least its tone) is more reliably audible. Thus ɲì ɲ ɲà (844b) and né ɲ ɲá (845b).

LogoSg ɲ combines with the inflectional particles as shown in (148). The only difference between subdialects is the previously mentioned tonal difference in IpfvNeg tà versus tá.

(148)	morpheme	category	LogoSg (dialect 1)	LogoSg (dialect 2)
a.	tà (dialect 1) tá (dialect 2)	IpfvNeg	ń tà	ń tá
b.	gà tè	Ipfv PfvNeg	both dialects	
			ɲ ɲà ń tè	

Comparison of (146) and (148) shows that 1Sg and LogoSg are indistinguishable in dialect 1 for all three inflectional categories presented. By contrast, dialect 2 distinguishes 1Sg from LogoSg

tonally. Of course, LogoSg occurs only in quoted matter, so there is usually no confusion in context. In any event, LogoSg by definition is equivalent to quoted 1Sg.

Before an L-tone, the L-toned inflectional particles undergo Final Tone-Raising, reducing the interdialectal difference to the (phonetically subtle) tone of the subject pronominal.

- (149) a. \acute{n} $t\acute{a}$ $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}$ $t\grave{u}w\grave{o}$ [dialect 1]
 \grave{n} " " " [dialect 2]
 1Sg **IpfvNeg** sheep know.Ipfv
 ‘I don’t know a sheep.’ (both dialects)
- b. $\acute{\eta}$ $\eta\acute{a}$ $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}$ $t\grave{u}w\grave{o}$ [dialect 1]
 $\grave{\eta}$ " " " [dialect 2]
 1Sg **Ipfv** sheep know.Ipfv
 ‘I know a sheep.’
- c. \acute{n} $t\acute{e}$ $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}$ $k\grave{a}y$ [dialect 1]
 \grave{n} " " " [dialect 2]
 1Sg **PfvNeg** sheep see.Pfv
 ‘I didn’t see a sheep.’

4.3.3.4 1Sg $\grave{\eta}$ (+tones) and LogoSg $\acute{\eta}$ as nonsubjects

Subsection §4.3.3.3 just above showed that 1Sg subject $\acute{\eta}$ (+H) raises a following L-toned nonzero inflectional morpheme to H in dialect 2. This raising does not apply to the morpheme $n\grave{a}$ that follows 1Sg subject $\grave{\eta}$ in perfective positive clauses; instead $n\grave{a}$ remains L-toned and this induces Final Tone-Raising on the pronominal, resulting in \acute{n} $n\grave{a}$ (dialect 2). This is an argument against treating $n\grave{a}$ as an aspect-polarity inflectional particle parallel to the others (Ipfv, IpfvNeg, PfvNeg).

In nonsubject functions (object, possessor, postpositional complement), 1Sg $\grave{\eta}$ triggers a more complex set of tonal changes on the following verb, possessum, or postposition. This pronominal is cited as $\grave{\eta}$ (+tones). The phonology is described in §3.6.3.1 under the rubric Tone Inversion. The most complete data are for 1Sg as possessor (§4.3.3.4.2).

4.3.3.4.1 1Sg $\grave{\eta}$ (+tones) as object

As direct object, 1Sg $\grave{\eta}$ follows the subject and (if there is one) a post-subject inflectional particle or bidirectional case marker, and it immediately precedes the transitive verb. The verb following the 1Sg object pronominal undergoes tonal changes that affect its first two syllables. Tones in third and subsequent syllables of the input form of the verb are not affected. The stem-final tonal

changes that occur in the Ipfv stem of many verbs (changing Pfv H to Ipfv HL and Pfv L to Ipfv LH) are overridden. (150) summarizes the input-output relationships. There are no HLH-toned inputs since verbs do not have this shape.

(150)	input verb melody	1Sg object # verb	formula
	a. /H/	ɨ̃ # L	H#L
	b. /HL/	ɨ̃ # LHL	H#LH...
	c. /L/, /LH(L)/	ɨ̃ # HL	L#HL...

Tone Inversion in this grammatical context must impose a bitonal tone sequence LH or HL on at least the onset of the verb, including the first two syllables of long stems. Any syllables in the residual tail of long stems retain their input tones. After Tone Inversion, 1Sg ɨ̃ itself raises to ɨ̃ by Final Tone-Raising when immediately followed by L-tone.

(151) shows how 1Sg object ɨ̃ combines with Pfv verbs of /H/ and /HL/ melodies. The ‘Vb-ed me’ column presents the sequence 1Sg ɨ̃, Pfv stem, and Pfv particle gà (or nasalized ɲà). Since the Pfv particle triggers Final Tone-Raising on the Pfv stem in some combinations, to isolate the effect of 1Sg ɨ̃ it is better to focus on the ‘Vb me!’ column. This column presents the imperative, whose forms are also proxies for those of the future construction, the perfective negative, and other constructions without Pfv gà. The data show that /H/-melodic verbs drop to all-L, while /HL/-melodic verbs acquire {LH} overlay on their first two moras, extending into a long second syllable (‘poison’), while allowing any subsequent syllables to retain their L-tone (‘make slide’, ‘poison’). Since the verbs are now L-initial, ɨ̃ raises to ɨ̃ by Final Tone-Raising in both (151a) and (151b).

(151)	Pfv	Pfv with gà	‘Vb-ed me’	‘Vb me!’	gloss of verb
	a. /H/ melody				
	kú ⁿ	kú ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ kù ⁿ ɲá	ɨ̃ kù ⁿ	‘catch’
	kwá	kwá gà	ɨ̃ kwà gá	ɨ̃ kwà	‘hit’
	báá	báá gà	ɨ̃ bàá gà	ɨ̃ bàà	‘remove’
	géndé	géndé gà	ɨ̃ gèndé gà	ɨ̃ gèndè	‘throw’ (~ génté)
	sáá-ní	sáá-ní ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ sàà-ní ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ sàà-nì	‘put to bed’
	yáará	yáará gà	ɨ̃ yààrá gà	ɨ̃ yààrà	‘look for’
	kú ⁿ wáá-ní	kú ⁿ wáá-ní ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ kù ⁿ wàà-ní ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ kù ⁿ wàà-nì	‘whiten (sth)’
	kéntá-ámá-ní		ɨ̃ kèntà-àmà-ní ⁿ ɲà		‘cure (sb)’
		kéntá-ámá-ní ⁿ ɲà	ɨ̃ kèntà-àmà-nì		

b. /HL/ melody

bimoraic

kèè ⁿ	kèè ⁿ gà	ḡ kèé ⁿ gà	ḡ kèé ⁿ	‘call’
ḡómè	ḡómè gà	ḡ ḡòmé gà	ḡ ḡòmé	‘nudge’

trimoraic or longer

sóynà	sóynà gà	ḡ sòýnà gà	ḡ sòýnà	‘espy’
ḡérè-nì	ḡérè-ní ⁿ gà	ḡí ḡèré-nì ⁿ gà	ḡí ḡèré-nì	‘make slide’
pòsòónì	pòsòónì ⁿ gà	ḡ pòsòónì ⁿ gà	ḡ pòsòónì	‘poison’ (variant)

Array (152) shows how 1Sg object ḡ combines with Pfv verbs of /L/ and /LHL/ melodies, the latter including bisyllabic and bimoraic /LH/ which arguably ends in a covert L. 1Sg ḡ has the same effect on /L/ and /LHL/, after factoring out the preservation of input tones in the tail of the verb beginning with the third syllable, as seen in ‘imitate’ in (152b). In the ‘Vb me!’ column, we see that 1Sg object changes the first two syllables (or monosyllabic moras) to HL, reduced to just H for monomoraic stems (‘tie’).

(152) Pfv Pfv with gà ‘Vb-ed me’ ‘Vb me!’ gloss of verb

a. /L/ melody

sè	sè gà	ḡ sé gà	ḡ sé	‘tie’
màà	màá gà	ḡ màá gà	ḡ màá	‘seek out’
kày	káy gà	ḡ káy gà	—	‘see’
mìyè	mìyé gà	ḡ mìyé gà	ḡ mìyé	‘hear’
kwèrènè	kwèréné gà	ḡ kwèréné gà	ḡ kwèrènè	‘wait for’
tùmààná	tùmààná gà	ḡ tùmààná gà	ḡ tùmààná	‘encounter’

b. /LHL/ melody, including bimoraic /LH/

bimoraic

kòy	kòy gà	ḡ kóy gà	ḡ kóy	‘weave’
bàtí	bàtí gà	ḡ bátì gà	ḡ bátì	‘post, affix’

trimoraic and longer

dàbàré ⁿ	dàbàré ⁿ gà	ḡ dàbàré ⁿ gà	ḡ dàbàré ⁿ	‘bewitch’
bàádiyè	bàádiyè gà	ḡ bàádiyè gà	ḡ bàádiyè	‘wound (v)’ (dialect 2)
	~ bàádiyé gà	~ ḡ bàádiyé gà		” (dialect 1)
bààmíyè	bààmíyè gà	ḡ bààmíyè gà	ḡ bààmíyè	‘imitate’

The difference between ‘wound’ and ‘imitate’ in (152b) shows that the position of the H-tone in /LHL/-melodic verbs determines how the overlaid HL is realized. If there is an H-tone following the first two moras, as in ‘imitate’, the HL overlay is applied to those first two two moras, otherwise the HL overlay is applied to the first two syllables (‘wound’).

1Sg object in imperfective positive clauses is illustrated in (153). The tones are consistent with those illustrated above for Pfv stems. Some verbs that have monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody, reflected in the Pfv, have contoured Ipfv forms with /HL/ or /LH/, and this is reflected in the forms with 1Sg ñ. In particular, Pfv ĆVĆ corresponds to Ipfv C̀VC̀, as with *ńíní/ńínì* ‘bathe, wash’. The initial LH overlay for HL-toned Pfv inputs in (153b) above is also valid for Ipfv C̀VC̀, so Ipfv *ńínì* becomes *ńìnì* (153a). The other input types are also treated in the same way as Pfv stems: all-H-toned Ipfv’s drop to all-L-toned (153b), and L-initial Ipfv’s get the partial HL overlay (153c). One detail specific to Ipfv stems is that monomoraic Cv verbs with suffixed Cv-Rv Ipfv stems keep the tones of the two Ipfv syllables identical (before tone sandhi), hence either C̀V-ŔV or C̀V-R̀V, not #C̀V-ŔV or #C̀V-R̀V, unless the stem has a contoured lexical melody, the only example being *kâⁿ* ‘tend (livestock)’. This tone-harmonic proviso is needed to explain why *sè-rè* ‘ties’ becomes *ñ sé-ré* ‘ties me’ (153d) instead of *#ñ sé-rè* with HL overlay. The cases of Ipfv C̀V-R̀V becoming *ñ C̀V-R̀V* (153e) are consistent with this, but are also directly explained by the dropping to L-tones seen in (153b).

(153)	Ipfv	with 1Sg object	gloss
a. HL-toned Ipfv			
	<i>gà X ńínì</i>	<i>gà jí ńínì</i>	‘bathes me’
	<i>gà X ñómè-nè</i>	<i>gà ñ ñòmé-nè</i>	‘nudges me’
b. H-toned Ipfv			
	<i>gà X géndé</i>	... <i>gà ñ gèndè</i>	‘throws me’
	<i>gà X júgúní</i>	... <i>gà jí jùgùnì</i>	‘fines me’
c. Ipfv begins with L-tone			
<i>LH-toned</i>			
	<i>gà X káy</i>	... <i>gá ñ káy</i>	‘see(s) me’
	<i>gà X mìyè</i>	... <i>gá m̀ míyè</i>	‘hear(s) me’
	<i>gà X kwèrèné</i>	... <i>gá ñ kwèrèné</i>	‘wait(s) for me’
<i>LHL-toned</i>			
	<i>gà X bàtì-rì</i>	... <i>gá m̀ bátì-rì</i>	‘posts me’
	<i>gà X dàbàrè-nè</i>	... <i>gá ñ dàbàrè-nè</i>	‘bewitch(es) me’
	<i>gà X bàádiyè-rè</i>	... <i>gà m̀ bàádiyè-rè</i>	‘wound(s) me’
	<i>gà X bààmíyè</i>	... <i>gá m̀ bààmíyè-nè</i>	‘imitates me’
d.	<i>gà X sè-rè</i>	... <i>gá ñ sé-ré</i>	‘ties me’
e.			
	<i>gà X kwá-rá</i>	... <i>gà ñ kwà-rà</i>	‘hit(s) me’
	<i>gà X kù-nú</i>	... <i>gà ñ kù-nù</i>	‘catches me’

4.3.3.4.2 1Sg ñ (+tones) and Logo/3ReflSg ñ as possessors

A difficulty in analysing 1Sg possessor forms is that possessed singular nouns often appear with reduced forms of the definite singular suffix *-yàwⁿ*. The latter may be reduced segmentally to simple nasalization, but it carries its own L-tone and can raise a preceding tone from L to H by Final Tone-Raising. The forms given below attempt to exclude the definite suffix, but interpretation of data is difficult.

The 1Sg input-output patterns are those in (154). This is the fullest set of input-output pairings for 1Sg ñ because nouns have a wider range of input tonal patterns than do verbs.

(154)	input tones	output	output formula
	a. all-H	ñ all-L	H#L
	b. HL and the rare HLH	ñ LH...	H#LH...
	c. all-L, LH(L)	ñ HL...	L#HL...

Since H-toned ñ occurs only before an initial L-tone for 1Sg as possessor (or other non-subject), its H-tone can be attributed to Final Tone-Raising. We can posit the basic 1Sg possessor proclitic as ñ (+tones).

Examples of (154a-b), where the input begins with H-tone, are in (155). The nouns in question appear to be unsegmentable, so the input tones are those of the nouns' lexical melodies. /H/-melodic (i.e. all-H) inputs drop all tones to L (155a). /HL/-melodic inputs again show an LH-toned overlay on the noun (155b), but 'my (traditional) pants' shows that the H of the overlay targets the penult (at least when the penult is a heavy syllable and the antepenult is light). The rare /HLH/ inputs (155c) are treated like /HL/ inputs. Both show the LH overlay and otherwise leave the input tones unchanged on the tail.

(155)	melody	noun X	'my X'	gloss
	a. /H/	fá	ñ fà	'my thing'
		múú ⁿ	ń mùù ⁿ	'my nose'
		ńí	ń ńì	'my tooth'
		súwó	ñ sùwò	'my goat'
		sémpé ⁿ	ñ sèmpè ⁿ	'my strength'
		ńáàngílá	ń ńààngìlà	'my garbage'
		pírí-pírí	ń pìrì-pìrì	'my stirring-stick'
		máántíńá	ń mààntìńà	'my peanut(s)'

b. /HL/	pàà	ń pàà	‘my beer vat’
	kòṅgòrò	ń kòṅgòrò	‘my dog’
	tápéétì	ń tàpéétì	‘my sandals’
	tábáláájì	ń tàbáláájì	‘my (traditional) pants’
c. /HLH/	múnúmùntú ⁿ	ń múnúmùntú ⁿ	‘my grass sp. (<i>Sacciolepis</i>)’
	mááṅgòró	ń màáṅgòró	‘my mango’

Array (156) shows the outputs for inputs that begin with L-tone. The output has an HL overlay on the onset (up to two syllables). Monomoraic C^v as in ‘father’ (156a) reduces the overlay to just H, but downsteps a following H-tone: ń ká ‘bé gá ‘my father came’. Quadrisyllabic /LHL/ stems with the H-tone on the third syllable in the input usually drop it to L. However, ‘herb sp. (*Glinus*)’ was recorded with the H-tone preserved; perhaps its reduplicative form was a factor in this.

(156)	melody	noun X	‘my X’	gloss
a. /L/		kà	ń ká	‘father’
		nàà	ń náà	‘my cow’
		sùwò	ń sùwò	‘my sheep-Sg’
		tùwòrò	ń túwòrò	‘the side of my face’
		kùrùzù ⁿ zù ⁿ	ń kùrùzù ⁿ zù ⁿ	‘my calabash (with bulges)’
b. /LH/		tàá	ń táà	‘my half’
		sòmó	ń sòmò	‘my daba’
		bàábíí	ń báábìì	‘my plastic sandals’
		màsàkúú	ń mäsàkùù	‘my sweet potato’
c. /LHL/		mìsìrì	ń mìsìrì	‘my mosque’
		yòrógò	ń yòrógò	‘my cat’
		bàráádà	ń bàrààdà	‘my tea kettle’
		dùwókùtù	ń dúwòkùtù	‘my cheek’
		<i>H-tone in tail is dropped as part of L-toned sequence</i>		
		làtikòrò	ń látikòrò	‘my perfume’
		kèrèbùwò	ń kèrèbùwò	‘my flint’
		sìyètáàní	ń sìyètààní	‘my devil’
		<i>H-tone in tail is retained</i>		
		bàbàrìntò	ń bàbàrìntò	‘my herb sp. (<i>Glinus</i>)’

As with other possessive NPs, definite singular -yàwⁿ (§4.4.2) may be added after the possessum, often in reduced segmental form. The suffix affects the tones, since -yàwⁿ itself has L-tone which triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone. For example, ń sùwò ‘my goat’ most often

appears in definite singular form $\acute{\eta}$ sùwó-yàwⁿ or (clause-medially) a reduced version of the same such as $\acute{\eta}$ sùwó-òⁿ.

LogoSg (also 3RefISg) is consistently $\acute{\eta}$ as possessor, with no tonal effects on the following noun.

- (157) a. \grave{a} yé [$\acute{\eta}$ kà ...]
 3Sg said [**LogoSg** father ...]
 ‘He_x said that his_x father ...’
- b. \grave{a} yé [$\acute{\eta}$ súwó...]
 3Sg said [**LogoSg** goat ...]
 ‘He_x said that his_x goat ...’

4.3.3.4.3 1Sg η (+tones) and LogoSg $\acute{\eta}$ as postpositional complements

Combinations of 1Sg with various postpositions are in (158). The highly grammaticalized C̀v postpositions become H-toned (158a). In (158b) the pronunciation of $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\eta}$ is somewhat variable since a rising tone is difficult to articulate in a monomoraic syllable, especially clause-finally which is the usual position for instrumental PPs. The more noun-like postpositions in (158c-d) undergo Tone Inversion as do (other) possessed nouns (see the preceding subsection).

(158)	postposition	1Sg	gloss/category
a.	$\grave{n}\grave{a}$	$\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{n}\acute{a}$	dative (with ‘give’)
	$\grave{t}\grave{e}$	$\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{t}\acute{e}$	dative (with ‘say’)
	$\grave{p}\grave{a}$	$\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{p}\acute{a}$	comitative
b.	$\acute{n}\acute{\eta}$	$\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\eta}$	instrumental
c.	$\acute{t}\acute{\eta}\acute{g}\acute{a}\acute{a}$	$\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{t}\acute{\eta}\acute{g}\acute{a}\acute{a}$	‘in front of me’
d.	$\acute{k}\acute{w}\acute{a}\acute{t}\acute{\eta}\acute{y}\acute{e}$	$\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{k}\acute{w}\acute{a}\acute{t}\acute{\eta}\acute{y}\acute{e}$	‘behind me’
	$\acute{m}\acute{u}^n$	$\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{m}\acute{u}^n$	‘under me’
	$\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{u}\text{-}\acute{m}\acute{u}^n$	$\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{u}\text{-}\acute{m}\acute{u}^n$	‘under me’

LogoSg is again $\acute{\eta}$ with no tonal effect on the postposition.

- (159) a. à yé [... [ń tèt]]
 3Sg said [... [**LogoSg** Dat]]
 ‘He_x said “... to him_x.”’
- b. ñ kwàtìyè
LogoSg behind
 ‘(He said) “... behind him_x.”’

4.3.3.5 Tone of post-subject morphemes before 1Sg ñ (+tones)

Preceding subsections have focused on the effect of the 1Sg proclitic on the tones of following words. Here we consider its effect on preceding words.

In dialect 1, regular Final Tone-Raising or Rightward H-Tone Shift can raise an L-toned syllable to H before L-toned 1Sg ñ (160a-c).

- (160) a. sèèdú yé ñ káy gà [dialect 1]
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw me.’
- b. sèèdú yé [ñ námàà-án] káy gà [dialect 1]
 S Sbj/Obj [1Sg house-DefSg] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw my house.’
- c. sèèdú ñ káy gà [dialect 1]
 S 1Sg see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou saw me.’

In dialect 2, however, bidirectional case-marker yè fails to raise to yé before 1Sg ñ. This is true for pronominal subjects (161a-b) and for nonpronominal subjects (161c). When yè is omitted, as optionally after 3Sg à and singular nouns, the subject (now directly preceding ñ) likewise fails to raise, even to mid-pitch in the case of 3Sg à. (161) presents the range of subjects that can take 1Sg object, with or without yè.

(161) subject ‘_ saw me’ (dialect 2)

a. H-toned subject pronoun

2Sg	á ⁿ	ɲè	ɲ	káy	gà
2Pl	áá	yè			
LogoPl	ɲ́	ɲè			
LogoPl	é	yè			

b. L-toned subject pronoun

3Sg	ā	(yè)	ɲ	káy	gà
3Pl	(i)	yè			

c. nonpronominal NP subject

‘Seydou’	sèédù	Ø	ɲ	káy	gà
	sèèdú	yè			
‘the fish-Pl’	yúwó-yè	Ø	ɲ	káy	

The details differ somewhat with other C̀v post-subject inflectional morphemes preceding 1Sg ɲ as object. For the same dialect 2 speaker, imperfective g̀à fails to raise to g̀á when the preceding subject is an H-toned pronominal (i.e. second person or logophoric) or when it is a nonpronominal NP (‘Seydou’, ‘the fish’) (162a,c). However, raising does occur after L-toned pronominal subjects (162b).

(162) subject ‘_ see(s) me’ (imperfective) (dialect 2)

a. H-toned subject pronoun

2Sg	á ⁿ	ɲà	ɲ	káy
2Pl	áá	g̀à		
LogoPl	ɲ́	ɲà		
LogoPl	é	g̀à		

b. L-toned subject pronoun

3Sg	à	g̀á	ɲ	káy
3Pl	è	g̀á		

c. nonpronominal NP subject

‘Seydou’	sèèdú	g̀à	ɲ	káy
‘the fish-Pl’	yúwó-yé	g̀à	ɲ	káy

Perfective negative *tè* behaves exactly like *gà* in dialect 2 (e.g. *án tè ñ káy* ‘you-Sg didn’t see me’ but *à té ñ káy* ‘he/she didn’t see me’). So does subjunctive *nà* (e.g. *áⁿ nà ñ káy* ‘that you-Sg may see me’ but *à ná ñ káy* ‘that he/she may see me’). So does prohibitive *mà* (e.g. *áⁿ mà ñ káy* ‘that you may not see me’ but *à má ñ káy* ‘that he/she may not see me’). Imperfective negative *tá* is irrelevant since it is always H-toned in dialect 2.

So the failure of L-toned morphemes to raise before 1Sg *ñ* (+tones) is complicated by dialectal divergences and by the interplay between 1Sg object and various categories of subject.

4.4 Determiners

4.4.1 Definite singular *-yàwⁿ*

The definite suffix *-yàwⁿ* can be added to a noun, a N-Adj combination, or a N-(Adj-)Num string. With a noun or N-Adj, *-yàwⁿ* is strictly singular. A noun (or N-Adj string) with plural reference is followed immediately by plural *-yè* or variant, whether definite or indefinite. If there was ever a definite plural **-yàwⁿ-yè* (presumably pronounced **-yàwⁿ-yè* or similar), there is no trace of it. Specifically, there is no trace of its H-tone (due to Final Tone-Raising) and none of its nasalization.

(163)	gloss	unmarked Sg	DefSg	Pl (unmarked = Def)
	a. ‘goat’	súwó	súwó-yàw ⁿ	súwó-yè
	b. ‘big goat’	súwó bóró	súwó bóró-yàw ⁿ	súwó bóró-yè
	c. ‘sheep’	sùwò	sùwò-yàw ⁿ	sùwò-yè

Numerals do not allow the plural suffix on the nouns they modify, but they do allow addition of *-yàwⁿ* to mark definiteness. The gloss for *-yàwⁿ* in (164) is therefore “Def” rather than “DefSg”.

(164)	sèèdú	kànàà	péndé-yàw ⁿ
	S	friend	two-Def
	‘the two friends of Seydou’s’		

-yàwⁿ appears to be obligatory, at least in careful speech, when an NP begins with a prenominal demonstrative. Thus dialect 1 *súwó* ‘goat’, *kù-nù súwó-yàwⁿ* ‘this/that goat’ (deictic), *ñú-nù súwó-yàwⁿ* ‘that (same) goat’ (strong discourse-definite). *-yàwⁿ* is common but not obligatory when the NP begins with a possessor. A version of (164) without *-yàwⁿ* would mean ‘two friends of Seydou(’s)’, for example as a new discourse referent. See §6.5.3 for more examples and morphosyntactic analysis.

In nonfinal position within phrases and clauses, *-yàwⁿ* is reduced phonetically. In this position, some combination of vowel lengthening, nasality, and contour tone are the cues that

listeners look for. All three cues are present in (165b), distinguishing the definite NP from its unmarked counterpart in (165a).

- (165) a. [sèédù súwó] bé gà
 [S goat] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘A goat of Seydou’s has come.’
- b. [sèédù súwó-(ò)̀m̀] bé gà
 [S goat-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou’s goat (definite) has come.’

Nasality by itself is of little use as an acoustic cue if the stem to which -yàwⁿ is attached already ends in a nasalized vowel or wⁿ, or if the following word already begins with a nasal. For example, the combination of kámpúwóⁿ ‘shoe’ and jíníⁿ ‘wash’ makes it difficult to distinguish definite (166b) from unmarked (166a). Here the falling tone at the end of ‘shoe’ is the most reliable phonetic cue that the DefSg suffix is present.

- (166) a. Ø nà kámpúwón jíní ̀̀à
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg shoe wash.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I washed a shoe.’
- b. Ø nà kámpúwóⁿ-(ò)̀m̀ jíní ̀̀à
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg shoe-DefSg wash.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I washed the shoe.’

Not only are there nasal-initial verbs, there are also several constructions in which an NP is followed by a nasal pronominal object (1Sg or 3Sg reflexive). In such cases a listener must rely primarily on subtle tone/pitch patterns to detect the presence of -yàwⁿ.

4.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

4.4.2.1 Forms of ‘this/that’ demonstratives

In absolute function, i.e. when used as full NPs without a modified noun, the forms are those in (167a). Deictic kú has the regular nominal plural suffix -yè. Discourse-definite jóⁿ has an irregular plural with two subdialectally distributed tonal variants. The vocalism of jú- in the plural jú-méé matches that of kú(-yè), but jú-méé may really have originated as a human plural noun ‘people’ (now expressed by júmà-réé); see end of §6.5.2 on this point.

(167) Absolute forms		
category	Sg	Pl
deictic (but see below)	kú	kú-yè ~ kí-yè
discourse-definite	ɲó ⁿ (dialect 1)	ɲú-méé ~ ɲú-mèè (both dialects)
	ɲó ⁿ (dialect 2)	ɲó ⁿ -yè (dialect 1)
		~ ɲó ⁿ -yè (dialect 2)

Plural variant kú-yè is often pronounced [kújè] with front rounded [y].

kú is focalized as kú wò or more often kú wàà with what is elsewhere the definite singular focus combination (§13.1.1). However, ɲóⁿ ~ ɲóⁿ has an irregular focalized form ɲó-gò, usually contracted to ɲó-ò. An alternative to ɲó-ò is simple wàà, attested once in recordings of an old man in Baratou (168).

(168)	á ⁿ	ɲá	wàá	sà-nà	bí-yé
	2Sg	Ipfv	Dem.Def.Foc	buy-IPfv	come-IPfv
	‘ <u>That</u> [focus] is what you-Sg buy and bring.’ (2021-03 @ 20:03)				

When combined with a modified noun (X), the demonstrative is separated from the noun by a linking suffix -nù⁽ⁿ⁾ (169). There is subdialectal variation in the tones of the deictic demonstrative: kù-nù versus kú-nù. There is likewise variation in the vowel of the discourse-definite demonstrative stem before this linker: ɲó- ~ ɲó- ~ ɲú-. The notation X-yè represents any plural noun (including the minority that have plural suffixes other than -yè). If the noun X begins with L-tone, the noun is subject to the effects of a floating H-tone; on this see §3.6.3.2 and further examples in §6.5.1-2 below.

(169) Prenominal forms

category	Sg	Pl
a. dialect 1		
deictic	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yè
discourse-definite	ɲú-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yàw ⁿ	ɲú-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yè
	~ ɲó-nì ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yàw ⁿ	~ ɲó-nì ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yè
b. dialect 2		
deictic	kú-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+tones) X-yàw ⁿ	kú-nù ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+tones) X-yè
discourse-definite	ɲó-nì ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yàw ⁿ	ɲó-nì ⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H) X-yè

In dialect 2, ɲó-nì⁽ⁿ⁾ can reduce to ɲó-̀n in allegro speech.

Demonstrative $\text{ɲó}^n \sim \text{ɲó}^n$ is distinct from a noun or compound final ɲó^n ‘situation, problem, issue’ which occurs in phrases like (170a-b). This is mentioned here since the two converge partially in Cliffs.

- (170) a. [à ɲó^m] màà
 [3Sg **issue**] seek.Pfv
 ‘You-Sg figure out a solution for it!’
- b. áⁿ yà= [án sèbè- ɲó^m] bàá gà rà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj [2Sg matter-**issue**] remove.Pfv Pfv Q
 ‘Did you-Sg resolve your problem?’

4.4.2.2 Deixis versus discourse definiteness

Demonstratives can be divided functionally into deictic and discourse-definite. Deixis is quintessentially spatial and based on the physical location of the participants in the speech event. The speaker may point to ‘that one (over there)’ or show ‘this one’ to the listener. In discourse definiteness, the speaker “points” to a referent in preceding or following discourse.

In J-S of Djenné, *kú* is the only option for deixis based on the ‘here’ of the speech event. *kú* or an expression containing it may be followed by an adverb like *bôⁿ* ‘here’ or *kwí-tàà* ‘over there’. By contrast, $\text{ɲó}^n \sim \text{ɲó}^n$ is always discourse-definite. Very often a new discourse referent is introduced by a preposed relative clause or conditional antecedent, then it is resumed in the next foregrounded clause by $\text{ɲó}^n \sim \text{ɲó}^n$, often focalized: ‘if you have a net, that [focus] is what you will take to the river’. For an example, with plural *ɲú-méé*, see (450e) in §8.4.5.2, from text 2021-03 @ 03:01 to 03:04.

However, in recordings *kú* also spills into discourse-definite contexts, competing with $\text{ɲó}^n \sim \text{ɲó}^n$. It appears that whereas $\text{ɲó}^n \sim \text{ɲó}^n$ can reactivate a referent from anywhere in the preceding discourse, *kú* is limited to near-distant discourse-definiteness, referring to a just-introduced referent. Plural *kú-yè* ~ *kí-yè* occur in (171), picking up a list of declining fish species (ending with *Malapterurus*) in preceding discourse.

- (171) [nùmààⁿsìyè píyé] tá bôⁿ sááwù,
 [giant.*Malapterurus* too] not.be.Loc here now,
 [[kí-yé ɲùnù síí] tá bówⁿ sááwù] [[kú-yè sáán] dùwóⁿ ɲà]
 [[**Dem-Pl** Top any] not.be.Loc here now] [[**Dem-Pl** all] finish.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘(... and) giant *Malapterurus* (electric fish) too is not here now. All those (species) are not here now, those have all become extinct.’ (2021-03 @ 04:07)

4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs based on demonstrative-like categories are in (172). *yáwⁿ* is the common pronunciation for the last item, but one speaker uses *yôⁿ* (phonologically parallel to and perhaps modeled on *bôⁿ*).

(172)	form	gloss
	<i>bôⁿ</i>	‘here’
	<i>bón-tàà</i>	‘just over here’
	<i>kwíí-tàà</i>	‘over there’ (deictic, not far)
	<i>kìyéⁿ-pà</i>	‘over there’ (cf. <i>kìyéⁿ</i> ‘like this/that’, §4.4.3.2 below)
	<i>yáwⁿ ~ yôⁿ</i>	‘there’ (discourse-definite)

Comitative *pà* can be added to the adverbs in *-tàà*, hence *bón-táá pà* and *kwíí-táá pà*.

bôⁿ ‘here’ and *yáwⁿ ~ yôⁿ* ‘there (definite)’ are very often added to other spatial adverbials, whether spatial PPs or the lexical adverbs listed in §8.4.5.6. Both ‘here’ and ‘there (definite)’ are therefore very common in clause-final position.

These and other spatial expressions have a distinctive focus construction, with *yì* instead of the usual focus marker *wò ~ wù* (~ *wàà*). Addition of focalizing *yì* makes *bôⁿ* and *yáwⁿ* more noun-like, which permits them to be pluralized (§13.1.6.4). Elsewhere *yì* is a simple locative postposition, usually shortened and pronounced as a suffix *-yì* (§8.2.3).

4.4.3.2 Deictic manner adverb or verb (*kìyéⁿ ~ kiyéⁿ wù*)

kìyéⁿ can be an invariant deictic manner adverb ‘like this/that, thus’. It follows the main verb but it is not a verb, so it does not agree with it in aspect marking. It can be focalized with *wò ~ wù*.

(173)	a.	<i>ííŋ</i>	<i>kóngòró-ŋ</i>	<i>kwá</i>	<i>gá</i>	[<i>kìyéⁿ</i>	<i>wù</i>]
		1Pl	dog	hit.Pfv	Pfv	[thus	Foc]
		‘We hit-Past the dog like this.’					
	b.	<i>ííⁿ</i>	<i>ŋá =</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>kwá-rá</i>	[<i>kìyéⁿ</i>	<i>wù</i>]
		1Pl	Ipfv	3Sg	hit-Ipfv	[thus	Foc]
		‘We (often) hit the dog like this.’					

The variant *kìyéⁿwù* may reflect the prepausal intonational HL pattern described in §3.7.2.

A verbal counterpart of this adverb, meaning ‘do like this’, could not be elicited. Such a verb does occur in Cliffs.

4.4.4 Presentatives

4.4.4.1 kày ~ gày (‘here’s ...!’, ‘there’s ...!’)

The presentative morpheme is kày (dialect 1) or gày (dialect 2). It follows the topical NP. It has affinities to two constructions, either by shared origin or by secondary convergence. One is the imperative of kày/káy ‘see’ (cf. French *voilà*), and the other is the combination of gà ‘be’ with á-yè ‘in it, therein’. Synchronically, kày/káy ‘see’ itself is not used in presentative-like contexts, which require a different ‘look at’ verb (174d). This is why kày ~ gày is such a good choice for an unambiguous presentative; the same applies to French *voir*.

- (174) a. zàkí gày (~ kày)
 S Prsntv
 ‘Here’s Zaki!’
- b. ñ ñáy (~ káy)
 1Sg Prsntv
 ‘Here I am!’
- c. *zàkí kày
 *Z see.Pfv
 ‘See Zaki!’ (internally reconstructed but unacceptable synchronically)
- d. zàkí tùⁿwò
 Z look.at.Pfv
 ‘Look at Zaki!’

After 1Sg ñ, gày (nasalized to ñáy), or kày become HL-toned, by a variant of Tone Inversion (§3.6.3.1). Nasalization also occurs in LogoSg and 1Pl forms in the gày subdialect. The third person pronominals are upstepped to mid pitch as usual before L-tone.

(175) Presentatives with pronouns

	gày subdialect	kày subdialect
a. 1Sg	ɲ ɲáy	ɲ káy
b. 1Pl	í ^m ɲày	í ^ɲ kày
2Sg	áɲ gày	áɲ kày
2Pl	áá gày	áá kày
c. 3Sg	ā gày	ā kày
3Pl	ē gày	ē kày
d. LogoSg	ɲ ɲày	ɲ kày
LogoPl	é gày	é kày

4.4.4.2 Grammar and functions of presentatives

A presentative (NP or pronoun plus *gày ~ kày*) may occur independently (‘here’s X!’ or ‘there’s X!’). Alternatively, it may function as subject at the beginning of a clause. However, when the verb is in the Ipfv stem, the usual sense of this combination is progressive, without reference to the visible co-presence of the subject. For the progressive-presentative nexus see §10.2.2.4. A more clearly presentative sense occurs when the verb is stative, as in (176). This is used when one can point at a visible person, or at least wave in the general direction of a perhaps distant referent. As with all true presentatives, and unlike progressives, (176) cannot be negated.

(176) sèèdú káy fòrò-nà
S Prsntv sit-Stat
‘There’s Seydou sitting!’

4.5 Adjectives

This subsection presents forms of postnominal modifying adjectives. For adjectival predicates see §11.4. For deadjectival verbs (inchoative and factitive) see §9.4.

Modifying adjectives immediately follow the noun. The N-Adj1 combination has tonal features of N-N compounds, cf. Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3) and §6.3.3.1). If a second adjective is added (Adj2), it presents with its lexical tones.

Combinations of nouns with numerals (§4.6) have different tonal patterns (§6.4.1.2), except that ‘one’ functions as an adjective (§6.4.1.1).

4.5.1 Modifying adjectives

§4.5.1.1 presents morphologically simple (unsuffixed) modifying adjectives. §4.5.1.2 presents those with suffix -gu, which has diminutive semantic associations. §4.5.1.3 presents participial adjectives with suffix -na. Some adjectival stems including the three basic color terms ('black', 'white', 'red') occur frequently in both simple and participial form.

4.5.1.1 Morphologically simple modifying adjectives

The adjectives in (177) lack diminutive or participial suffixes. As immediately postnominal modifying adjectives (Adj1), shown in the N-__ column, most of them are subject to Tone Leveling, i.e. they acquire their tone by spreading from the noun (177a). Based on tone patterns in N-N compounds, this means that these modifying adjectives are lexically level-toned i.e. /H/ or /L/. A few have fixed HL-tones (177b), which by extrapolation from compounds would mean that they are contour-toned lexically. For L-toned 'other' (177c), see §6.3.1.2. The lexical melody of the level-toned adjectives is determined to be either /L/ or /H/ when they occur as Adj2 (second of two postnominal adjectives), as shown in the Adj2 (N-Adj1-__) column. Also shown for each adjective is a typical stative predicate, in the 'it is __' column. The various predicative constructions bring out semantic and syntactic differences among the stems that are masked in the modifying forms. For adjectives whose stative predicate is gà 'be' plus the same segmental form that occurs in modifying function, the tones of the stative predicate match those in Adj2 function where they are distinct from the tones in Adj1 function. For the short forms of 'red', 'white', and 'black' in (177a), the melody is indeterminate since only the longer participial forms occur in the non-Adj1 functions. The lexical melody, where determinable, is /H/, /L/, /LH(L)/, or /HL/.

(177)	Adj1	Adj2 (after Adj1)	'it is __'	gloss
a. modifying adjectives subject to Tone Leveling				
<i>predicate is or may be reflexive</i>				
	baa(ŋ)gu	bààgù	à m̀ b̀ààŋgù ⁿ ~ ā b̀ààŋgù ⁿ	'fast' (§5.2.3)
	boro ⁽ⁿ⁾	bòrò ⁿ	à m̀ b̀òrò ⁿ	'big, thick, wide'
	daa ⁿ	dáá ⁿ	[à tóó] ǹ d́áá ⁿ	'distant' (with tóó 'position')
	dumó	dúmó	à ǹ dé ⁿ	'sweet'
	keemine	kèèminè	à ŋ̀ kèèminè	'old (person, thing)' (§6.3.1.3)
	kwasa(w) ⁿ	kwàsà ⁿ	à ŋ̀ kwàsà ⁿ	'long, tall'
	maṅaa	màṅàà	à m̀ mày ⁿ	'good'

suwo ⁿ	sùwò ⁿ	à ní sùwò ⁿ	‘foul (taste); dull (blade)’
<i>predicate is ‘be’ plus participle</i>			
bula-maw ⁿ	búlá-máw ⁿ	ā gà búlà-nà	‘blue’
kaasi	káásí	ā gà káású-má-ná	‘bitter’
pii ⁿ	—	à gá pì ⁿ yè-nà	‘black, dark; dense (forest)’
tòmò ⁿ	—	à gá tòmò-nà	‘red’
kuwo ⁿ	—	ā gà kú ⁿ wáá-ná	‘white, light-colored’
<i>predicate is ‘be’ plus noun/adjective plus nì ‘it is’</i>			
kaa	káá	ā gà káá nì	‘fresh (milk), green (vegetation)’
kεwu	kééwú	ā gà kééwú nì	‘male’ (§5.1.4.5)
sumu	súmú	à gá sùmú nì	‘foreign’
twee	twèè	à gá twèè nì	‘new’
yuwo ⁿ	yùwò ⁿ	à gá yùwó ⁿ nì	‘female’ (§5.1.4.5)
<i>predicate is perfective verb</i>			
wuwo ⁿ	—	à wúwó-má gà	‘empty’
<i>other or no predicate</i>			
gaaya	gááyá	—	‘unseasoned, plain (food)’
pana	páná	ā gà páná	‘full; robust (animal)’

b. /HL/ melody

predicate is reflexive

wáárà(w) ⁿ	wáárà(w) ⁿ	à íj wáárà(w) ⁿ	‘smart, well-behaved’
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predicate is perfective verb

sírè	sírè	à sírè-gá gà	‘very old, decrepit, worn-out’ (§6.3.1.3)
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c. /L/ melody

tànàà	tànàà	tànáá wò nì	‘other’ (§6.3.1.2)
			(wò focus particle)

d. /LH/ melody

[none, but see below on -gù adjectives]

4.5.1.2 Modifying adjectives with suffix -gù

The modifying adjectives with -gù form a semantically well-defined class, denoting smallness and lightness. However, there are no oppositions between presence and absence of -gù for any given

stem. In other words, -gù is not a derivational suffix like -liyé(w)ⁿ ~ -liyè(w)ⁿ, which converts ordinary nouns (and a few adjectives) into diminutives.

Adjectives that have -gù in modifying function lose the suffix in corresponding stative predicates, but some of these stems also correspond to inchoative verbs that have a related suffix -ga (§9.4.5). The stem of these adjectives is always HL-L-toned as first postnominal modifying adjective (Adj1). This reflects the operation of Tone Leveling, where contour-toned finals (in N-Adj1 or in N-N compounds) merge as H*L-toned. For the -gù adjectives, the suffix is excluded from the input to Tone Leveling, resulting in e.g. dúwḍ-gù rather than #dúwḍ-gù. The actual lexical melody appears in contexts not subject to Tone Leveling. These contexts include Adj2 function (second of two adjectives modifying a noun), as shown below. (Another context is pronominally "possessed" forms like à m̀iyé-gù 'its small one, a small one (of it)'. Most -gù adjectives present with /LH/ melody in Adj2 function (LH-L including the suffix), but there is one case of /HL/ melody (178b). The predicative form ('it is ___'), if attested, is reflexive.

(178)	Adj1	Adj2 (after Adj1)	'it is ___'	gloss
a. /LH/ melody observed as Adj2				
<i>predicate is reflexive</i>				
	dúwḍ-gù	d̀uwḍ-gù	à ǹ dúwḍ	'meager, insufficient'
	fírù-gù	fírí-gù	à ń fírù	'soft'
	(~ fúrù-gù)	(~ f̀urù-gù)		
	m̀iyè-gù	m̀iyé-gù	à m̀ m̀iyèw ⁿ	'small'
	ǹiyè-gù	ǹiyé-gù	à ǹ ǹiyèw ⁿ	'easy; inexpensive'
	twî-gù	twî-gù	à ǹ twî ⁿ	'short; nearby' (Pl twî-gù-yè)
<i>no predicative form</i>				
	yèrè-gù	yèré-gù	—	'tiny, newborn'
b. /HL/ melody observed as Adj2				
<i>no predicative form</i>				
	fórì-gù	fórì-gù	—	'lightweight'
	(~ fèrù-gù)	(~ fèrù-gù)		
c. /H/ melody				
	[none]			
d. /L/ melody				
	[none]			

It is reasonable to suggest that -gù adjectives like Adj2 d̀uwḍ-gù (178a) have /LHL/ rather than /LH/ melody, the idea being that the second L of the melody is realized on the suffix since there is

no room for it on the (bimoraic) noun. Moreover, /LH/-melodic stems show signs of being covertly /LHL/ (§3.6.5.1).

4.5.1.3 Adjective-like participles with suffix -na

-na of variable tone is the productive suffix for deverbal participles. The examples presented here are those that are most adjective-like in meaning. Some are based on verbs that are related to the simple or -gù adjectives presented above. The Adj2 form brings out /H/ and /L/ lexical tone melodies that are merged in the Adj1 modifying form. Most of these participial adjectives have predicative forms with ‘be’ plus the Adj2 form. The Adj1 modifying form reflects Tone Leveling; the forms in the leftmost column in (179) are those that follow a lexically H-initial noun. (179d) shows that /LH/-melodic adjectives become /HL/ in the modifying form, as in N-N compound finals. Note píⁿyé-ná ‘hot’ (179a) versus pìⁿyè-nà ‘black’ (179c).

(179) N-__ Adj2 (N-Adj1-__) ‘it is __’ gloss
(after H-initial noun)

a. /H/ melody

predicate is reflexive

jíjá-ná	jíjá-ná	à ní jíí	‘nasty, mean’
júwótó-má-ná	júwótó-má-ná	à jí júwótó	‘difficult; expensive’
tíyé-má-ná	tíyé-má-ná	à ní tíyé ⁿ	‘heavy’

predicate is ‘be’ plus participle

bílá-ná	bílá-ná	ā gà bílá-ná	‘living, alive’
káámá-ná	káámá-ná	ā gà káámá-ná	‘wet’
káású-má-ná	káású-má-ná	ā gà káású-má-ná	‘bitter’
kúmá-ná	kúmá-ná	à gà kúmá-ná	‘lean, emaciated’
kútú-kútú-ná	kútú-kútú-ná	à gà kútú-kútú-ná	‘coarse, rough’
kú ⁿ wáá-ná	kú ⁿ wáá-ná	ā gà kú ⁿ wáá-ná	‘white, light-colored’
pí ⁿ yé-ná	pí ⁿ yé-ná	ā gà pí ⁿ yé-ná	‘hot’

predicate is perfective verb

kálé-ná	kálé-ná	ā kálé gà	‘dead’ (variant káré-ná)
píí-ná	píí-ná	à píí ⁿ ñà	‘rotten’
wúwó-má-ná	wúwó-má-ná	à wúwó-má gà	‘empty’

b. /HL/ melody

predicate is 'be' plus participle

nógò-nà	nógò-nà	à gá nógò-nà	'dirty'
sógì-sógì-nà	sógì-sógì-nà	ā gá sógì-sógì-nà	'spotted'
tántà-nà	tántà-nà	ā gá tántà-nà	'sour; curdled (milk)'

c. /L/ melody

predicate is 'be' plus participle

dúúrú-ná	dùùrù-nà	à gá dùùrù-nà	'undiluted (milk, porridge)'
fúúrú-gá-ná	fùùrù-gà-nà	à gá fùùrù-gà-nà	'loose, slack'
~ fírì-gá-ná	~ fìrì-gà-nà	~ gá fìrì-gà-nà	
káárá	kààrà-nà	à gá kààrà-nà	'hot' (archaic)
kísì-ná	kìsì-nà	à gá kìsì-nà	'plump'
múwá-ná	mùwà-nà	à gá mùwà-nà	'cold; slow; ripe (fruit), cooked (food)'
núgú-ná	nùgù-nà	à gá nùgù-nà	'smooth, sleek'
píyé-ná	pìyè-nà	à gá pì'yè-nà	'black, dark; dense (forest)'
swáá-ná	swàà-nà	à gá swàà-nà	'bad-tasting, foul'
(~ sù ⁿ wá-ná, etc.)			
tómó-ná	tòmò-nà	à gá tòmò-nà	'red'
wáá-gá-ná	wàà-gà-nà	à gá wàà-gà-nà	'wide, spacious'

d. /LH(L)/ melody

predicate is 'be' plus participle

dégù-nà	dègù-nà	à gá dègù-nà	'tight; crowded'
wúwò-nà	wùwó-nà	à gá wùwó-nà	'dry; hard; stiff'
kúrúgútú-nà	kùrùgútú-nà	à gá kùrùgútú-nà	'ball-shaped'

Nouns undergo tonal changes before adjectives under some conditions (§6.4).

4.5.2 Exemplars as “adjectives”

Two color categories are expressed by exemplars.

(180)	color term	gloss	source
a.	sóó-káá-jíí	'green'	“grass-fresh-water(?)”
b.	náron-dúú	'yellow'	“ <i>Parkia</i> -powder”

‘Green’ is naturally expressed as ‘fresh vegetation’ (sóó káá), but optionally adds -jíí (elsewhere ‘water, liquid’). ‘Yellow’ is exemplified by the powdery bright yellow meal inside pods of the tree (*Parkia biglobosa*), local French *neré* (< Bambara). The tree is called *nàró*, the powder *nàró-n-dúú*. It changes to H-toned *náró-n-dúú* when it becomes a modifying color adjective.

The nouns *jùù* ‘garment’, *nàmàà* ‘house’, and *mómbírí* ‘vehicle’ combine with ‘green’ and ‘yellow’ as adjectives in (181a-b). As in regular N-Adj combinations, the initial tone of the noun spreads rightward to the boundary. However, that of the initial does not spread into to the exemplar expression.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|------------------------------|------------------|
| (181) | a. | <i>jùù sóó-káá(-jíí)</i> | ‘green garment’ |
| | | <i>nàmàà sóó-káá(-jíí)</i> | ‘green house’ |
| | | <i>mómbírí sóó-káá(-jíí)</i> | ‘green vehicle’ |
| | b. | <i>jùù náró-n-dúú</i> | ‘yellow garment’ |
| | | <i>nàmàà náró-n-dúú</i> | ‘yellow house’ |
| | | <i>mómbírí náró-n-dúú</i> | ‘yellow vehicle’ |

Both *sóó-káá(-jíí)* ‘green’ and *náró-n-dúú* ‘yellow’ can be made predicative by a preceding *gà* ‘be’ plus a following *nì* ‘it is’, as in *X gà sóó-káá(-jíí) nì* ‘X is green’.

These exemplars for ‘yellow’ and ‘green’ are widespread in languages of the zone.

4.6 Numerals

4.6.1 Cardinal numerals

The numerals under ‘hundred’ reflect conflation of bases 10 and (marginally) 40.

4.6.1.1 ‘One’ (*kóòⁿ*, *sàná*), ‘same (one)’

‘1’ is *kóòⁿ* either postnominally (attributively) as in (182a) or absolutely as in (182b). For *sàná* ‘1’ in the counting recitation, see §4.6.1.3 below. For distributive (*ŋ-*)*kóòŋ-kóòⁿ* in phrases with meanings like ‘at times, now and then’, see §6.6.2.

In postnominal use as a numeral, *kóòⁿ* is accompanied by a nasal linker *ŋ-* unless the noun already ends in nasalization (182a). In absolute function (without a noun), the linker is absent (182b). *kóòⁿ* can be repeated in each of two parallel clauses. The free translation is ‘one ..., the other ...’ (182c).

- (182) a. sàbà ñ-kóòⁿ
 chicken Link-**one**
 ‘one chicken’ (< sàbá)
- b. ñ kó [kóò ní]
 1Sg furnish.Pfv [**one** Inst]
 ‘Give me one!’
- c. [tòòñ-kèèwù sínì dùgòñ-kèèwù wó] tùⁿ ñá yáwⁿ,
 [elder.sib-male and younger.sib-male Foc] be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 [kóòⁿ sò gá] [kóòⁿ kónó gà]
 [**one** go.Pfv Pfv] [**one** stay.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘There was an elder brother and a younger brother. One left, the other stayed.’

‘One person’ is irregularly *jàáñ-kíyéⁿ*, or just *kíyéⁿ*. For the first part, compare the noun *júmúⁿ* ‘person’. The singular-only quantificational adjective *kíyéⁿ* ‘a certain’ (§6.3.2.2) is likely etymologically related to *kóòⁿ* (perhaps it was the original definite form), but it is now semantically and morphosyntactically as well as phonologically divergent. Its plural counterpart *kémbèrè* may also be distantly related.

A linking morpheme *-liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ* can be added to nouns (especially nonhuman ones) before ‘1’. The initial tone of the noun stem extends to the end of this linking morpheme.

(183)	noun	with ‘one’	gloss
	<i>màrifà</i>	<i>màrifà-liyèⁿ ñ-kóòⁿ</i>	‘one rifle (musket)’
	<i>nàà</i>	<i>nàà-liyèⁿ ñ-kóòⁿ</i>	‘one cow’
	<i>súwó</i>	<i>súwó-líyéⁿ ñ-kóòⁿ</i>	‘one goat’

In some of these combinations, *-liyewⁿ* is understood by some speakers to still have a weak diminutive sense, so that *súwó-líyéⁿ* can mean ‘half-grown goat’. However, the tendency is for *-liyewⁿ* to generalize before *ñ-kóòⁿ*.

In addition to its use as a numeral (‘1’ as opposed to ‘2’ or more), *kóòⁿ* can function as a modifier in the sense ‘X alone’ (i.e. not with anyone else), provided that X denotes a single individual. In this construction there is no nasal linker. X may be any singular NP, such as a personal name or a pronominal clitic. See §19.3.2.2 for more examples.

- (184) a. Ø ñà bé sò [ń kòòⁿ]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [1Sg one]
 ‘I will go alone.’

- b. [ɲ́ kòóⁿ ɲà bé sò
 [1Sg one] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘I alone will go.’

kòóⁿ has a special emphatic form kóóŋ-kàsì ‘just one’ (denigrating), or in some contexts ‘completely alone, isolated’.

- (185) [[wáátì mǎⁿ-y]-é à gá fɔ̃-rɔ̃]
 [[time Rel-DefSg]-Loc 3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv]
 [à kóóŋ-kàsì wú] tìⁿ ɲá bôⁿ
 [3Sg **one-just** Foc] be.Past be.Loc here
 ‘At the time it (=a village) was being settled, it was completely isolated.’
 (2021-03 @ 12:28)

A speaker indicated that -kàsì might combine with other smallish numerals like ‘two’, in denigrating sense, but that it was mainly used with ‘one’.

Finally, ‘1’ can be used in the sense ‘the same’, emphasizing identity of two entities, or identical value on some scale. For example, in 2021-01 @ 08:52, the speaker asks whether a situation is the same now as it was in the past.

4.6.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’ as postnominal modifiers

The forms in (186) are postnominal. The numerals have either /H/ or /L/ melody.

(186)	gloss	form	melody
	‘2’	péné ~ péndé	/H/
	‘3’	sìgè ⁿ	/L/
	‘4’	nàtà(w) ⁿ	"
	‘5’	kùwò ⁿ	"
	‘6’	tùùmì	"
	‘7’	yìyèni	"
	‘8’	ségí ~ sékí	/H/
	‘9’	kàpì	/L/
	‘10’	cémí ~ kémí	/H/

Preceding nouns optionally end in the linker -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ, see (321) in §6.4.1.2.

For numerals in bahuvrihis (e.g. ‘two-headed’), see §5.2.1.2.

4.6.1.3 ‘1’ to ‘10’ in the counting recitation

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, ...’), an incantational prosody is overlaid. A suppletive form *sà̀nà* for ‘1’ is used.

In one version, the numerals that have /L/ melody as modifiers, along with the suppletive ‘1’ form, appear with HL tone in the counting sequence. Those of /H/ melody keep their lexical tones. There are no conspicuous prosodic or other phonological rhythms linking adjacent numerals (e.g. rhythmical alternations of H and L tones).

(187) Counting recitation (version 1)

gloss	form	tones
‘1’	<i>sà̀nà</i>	HL
‘2’	<i>péné</i>	H
‘3’	<i>sígèⁿ ~ síkèⁿ</i>	HL
‘4’	<i>nátàwⁿ</i>	"
‘5’	<i>kúwòⁿ</i>	"
‘6’	<i>túúmì</i>	"
‘7’	<i>yíyè̀nì</i>	"
‘8’	<i>ségí ~ sékí</i>	H
‘9’	<i>kápì</i>	HL
‘10’	<i>cémí</i>	H

In another version, pairs of adjacent L-toned numerals (‘3-4’ and ‘5-6’) undergo tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising), and there is no HL-toned overlay (188).

(188) Counting recitation (version 2)

gloss	form	tones
‘1’	<i>sà̀nà</i>	L
‘2’	<i>péné</i>	H
‘3’	<i>sìgèⁿ</i>	LH
‘4’	<i>nà̀tàwⁿ</i>	L
‘5’	<i>kùwòⁿ</i>	LH
‘6’	<i>tùùmì</i>	L
‘7’	<i>yíyè̀nì</i>	"
‘8’	<i>ségí</i>	H

‘9’	kàpì	HL
‘10’	cémí	H

4.6.1.4 Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, ...) and composites (‘11’, ‘59’, ...)

The multiples of ‘10’ are in (189). *dèbè* ‘40’ is the only simple, monomorphemic form. ‘20’ and ‘30’ consist of the numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’ following *táⁿ*-, which suppletes *cémí* ‘ten’ (compare English *-ty* in *twenty* etc.). A similar composite structure is observed in *tàànùmá-sìgèⁿ* ‘60’. Its final is *sìgèⁿ* ‘3’, so *tàànùmá-* must be a suppletive term for ‘20’. The odd-numbered decimal terms ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ add ‘10’ to the preceding decimal, following a linker-like element or vocalic lengthening that is probably a reduced form of an otherwise unproductive ‘and’ conjunction *yè* (§7.1.2). The original form likely had a nasalized vowel, as still in Cliffs *yèⁿ* ‘and’, hence the nasalization in ‘70’ and ‘90’, cf. (193) below.

(189)	<i>tám-péné</i>	20
	<i>táⁿ-sìgèⁿ</i>	30
	<i>dèbè</i>	40
	<i>dèbé-ỳ-cémí</i> ~ <i>dèbé-è-cémí</i>	50
	<i>tàànùmá-sìgèⁿ</i>	60
	<i>tàànùmá-sìgè-èṅ-cémí</i>	70
	<i>bámbára-yòrò</i> ~ <i>bámbàrà-yòrò</i>	80
	<i>bámbára-yòró-yèṅ-cémí</i>	90

The final *-cémí* at the end of the prosodically heavy numerals in ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ is pronounced with low pitch in isolation and prepausally. The H-toned form reappears in nonfinal position within clauses and phrases.

Combinations of decimal terms in (189) with the digit ‘1’ are in (190). The original linker ‘and’ is realized variously as *-y-*, as lengthening of *ε*, or as shift and lengthening of *ε* to *ee*.

(190)	‘11’	<i>cémè-è-kóòⁿ</i> ~ <i>cémè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘21’	<i>tám-pénè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘31’	<i>táⁿ-sìgè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘41’	<i>dèbé-è-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘51’	<i>dèbé-è-cémè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	(~ <i>-cémè-ỳ-kóòⁿ</i>)
	‘61’	<i>tàànùmá-sìgè-èṅ-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘71’	<i>tàànùmá-sìgè-èṅ-cémè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	(~ <i>-cémè-ỳ-kóòⁿ</i>)
	‘81’	<i>bámbára-yòró-yèṅ-kóòⁿ</i>	
	‘91’	<i>bámbára-yòró-yèṅ-cémè-è-kóòⁿ</i>	(~ <i>-cémè-ỳ-kóòⁿ</i>)

In isolation and prepausally, the final -kòòⁿ in (190) is pronounced with low pitch. Its HL-tones reappear in medial position within phrases and clauses.

The L-toned è-è or è-è shown before -kòòⁿ in (190) raises to é-é or é-é before an L-tone, e.g. before sìgèⁿ ‘three’: cémé-é-sìgèⁿ ‘13’, tám-péné-é-sìgèⁿ ‘23’.

The digits from ‘2’ to ‘9’ are added to the same forms of the decimal terms as in ‘11’ through ‘91’ in (190). The /L/-melodic digit numerals trigger Final Tone-Raising in a preceding syllable or mora, as in (191).

- (191) ‘23’ tám-péné-é-sìgèⁿ
 ‘43’ dèbè-é-sìgèⁿ
 ‘93’ bábàrá-yòró-yéⁿ-sìgèⁿ

4.6.1.5 Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, ...) and their composites

The stems in (192) are noun-like morphosyntactically.

- (192) yóró hundred
 mùsù thousand
 mílyóⁿ million

‘Hundred’ can also be specified as sìráámá-yòró ‘Muslim hundred’ to distinguish it from ‘Bambara hundred’ (i.e. ‘80’). Cf. sìráámà ‘Muslim (person)’.

The numeral ‘1’ is not normally present after any of these: sùwò yóró ‘a hundred sheep’.

Nouns ending in L-tones undergo Final Tone-Raising before ‘thousand’, which is also L-toned: sùwó mùsù ‘a thousand sheep’.

In combinations with smaller numerals, the linear order is from higher to lower number. The conjunction èⁿ (reduced from original ‘and’) connects the higher numeral to the lower. It raises to éⁿ before L-tone.

- (193) sùwò [[yóró péné] én dèbè]
 sheep [[hundred two] **and** forty]
 ‘Two hundred and forty sheep’

4.6.1.6 Currency

As in all languages of the zone except French, currency is calculated by means of a currency unit equivalent to five CFA francs. Thus ‘one thousand FCFA’ is expressed as ‘two hundred (units)’. The unit is called déè in J-S of Djenné. The smallest coin is for 5 FCFA.

Most actual occurrences of higher numerals from ‘100’ up in everyday speech are references to money. *dèè* is usually omitted when money is understood to be the topic, for example in market transactions.

The 5000 FCFA banknote is called *sirààmá-mùsù* ‘Muslim thousand’ especially among older speakers. The 10000 FCFA banknote is then *sirààmá-mùsù péné*. Younger speakers generally drop *sirààmá*.

4.6.1.7 Distributive iteration of numerals

Numerals are iterated to form distributive adverbs: ‘two each’, ‘two by two’, ‘two at a time’, etc. The forms for the basic numerals are in (194). They can be postnominal modifiers, but are often syntactically separate, as adverbs.

(194)	gloss	digit	distributive
	‘1’	kóò ⁿ	kóòŋ-kóò ⁿ
	‘2’	péné ~ péné	péné-péné ~ péné-péné
	‘3’	sìgè ⁿ	sìgè ⁿ -sìgè ⁿ
	‘4’	nàtà(w) ⁿ	nàtà ⁿ -nàtà(w) ⁿ
	‘5’	kùwò ⁿ	kùwòŋ-kùwò ⁿ
	‘6’	tùùmì	tùùmí-tùùmì
	‘7’	yìyèni	yìyèní-yìyèni
	‘8’	ségí ~ sékí	ségí-ségí ~ sékí-sékí
	‘9’	kàpì	kàpí-kàpì
	‘10’	cém(i)	cém-cém ~ cémí-cémí
	‘20’	tám-péné	tám-péné-tám-péné
	‘40’	dèbè	dèbé-dèbè

kóòⁿ ‘1’ differs from the nonsingular numerals in being an adjective, with consequences for tonal interactions with the noun. Its distributive iteration kóòŋ-kóòⁿ has the same tonal and morphological effects on a preceding noun. A noun X plus kóòŋ-kóòⁿ appears as X-liyéⁿ ŋ-kóòŋ-kóòⁿ or as X ŋ-kóòŋ-kóòⁿ.

For ‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘9’, and ‘40’, all of which are based on L-toned digit terms, the tones of the distributives are explained by regular operation of Final Tone-Raising. This converts LL-LL to LH-LL.

Complex numerals other than ‘20’ and ‘30’ that end in a clearly recognizable digit term usually just iterate this digit term (195). Alternatively, the full complex numeral can be iterated.

- (195) a. dèbè-ỳ-cémí-cémí ~ dèbè-è-cémí-cémí ‘fifty by fifty’
 b. cémè-è-kóòη-kóòⁿ ~ cémè-è-kóòη-kóòⁿ ‘eleven by eleven’

See also interrogative jèní-jèni ‘how much/many each?’ (§13.2.2.7).

Distributives based on nonsingular numerals do not control tonal changes on preceding modified nouns, except for tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable. In other words, the noun has the same form it would have before a simple (nondistributive) numeral. Thus jàmáà pènè-pènè ‘two houses at a time’, ηòndmíⁿ sìgèⁿ-sìgèⁿ ‘three dances each’ (< ηòndmìⁿ), mááηgòró kùwóη-kùwòⁿ ‘five mangoes each’.

4.6.2 Ordinal adjectives

Ordinals derived from numerals are presented below. For interrogative jènà-ànà ‘how-many-eth?’ (French *quantième*) see §13.2.2.7.

4.6.2.1 ‘First’ (pánááⁿ) and ‘last’ (lábààⁿ, kòtò)

pánááⁿ ‘first’ is a suppletive ordinal (compare English *first* and many other parallels). It is also a noun or adverb meaning ‘(in) the past, (in) the old days’. Its antonym is lábààⁿ or (less often) kòtò ‘last’. Representative combinations are in (196).

(196)	noun	gloss	‘first’	‘last’	‘last’
a.	nàà	‘cow’	nàà pànàà ⁿ	nàà lábàà ⁿ	nàà kòtò
b.	súwó	‘goat’	súwó pánáá ⁿ	súwó lábàà ⁿ	súwó kòtò
c.	kóηgòró ~ kóηgòrò	‘dog’	kóηgòró pánáá ⁿ	kóηgòró lábàà ⁿ	kóηgòró kòtò
d.	jàmáà	‘house’	jàmàà pànàà ⁿ	jàmàà lábàà ⁿ	jàmáà kòtò

Of the two terms for ‘last’, lábààⁿ is preferred in temporal contexts (‘the last = final day’), kòtò in spatial contexts.

Both pánááⁿ and lábààⁿ combine with modified nouns in standard N-Adj fashion tonally; pánááⁿ is part of the domain of Tone Leveling, while lábààⁿ (like other HL-toned adjectives) blocks Tone Leveling beyond the N-Adj boundary. kòtò, on the other hand, takes possessor-possesum tones. kòtò is also the noun meaning ‘back (of body)’ and is related to adverbs and postpositions including kwàtiyè ‘behind’. Compounds like kwàtiyè nàà-yàwⁿ ‘the last cow’ are also in use.

While kóòⁿ ‘1’ is not the morphological basis for ‘first’, it occurs in ordinals like ‘eleventh’, see (198c) below.

(197) presents positive predicate forms ‘be first/last’. This is an instance of the regular copula construction.

- (197) a. zàkí gà pánááⁿ nì
 Z be **first** it.is
 ‘Zaki is first.’
- b. zàkí gá kòtò nì
 " gà lábààⁿ "
 Z be **last** it.is
 ‘Zaki is last.’ (< kòtò)

4.6.2.2 Other ordinals (-ana)

Other ordinals are formed by adding -ana to the numeral. The tone of the numeral stem extends into the suffix. Stem-final high vowels in the numeral stem usually desyllabify to semivoels (y, w) and compensatorily lengthen the first suffixal vowel. Other stem-final vowels contract with the first suffixal vowel.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| (198) | full form | gloss |
| a. | from single-digit numeral | |
| | péná-áná | ‘second’ |
| | sìgà-ànà | ‘third’ |
| | nàtà-ànà | ‘fourth’ |
| | kùwà-ànà | ‘fifth’ |
| | tùùmý-àànà | ‘sixth’ |
| | yìyènà-ànà | ‘seventh’ |
| | sékyá-áná ~ ségyá-áná | ‘eighth’ |
| | kàpyà-ànà | ‘ninth’ |
| | cémyá-áná | ‘tenth’ |
| b. | decimal | |
| | tám-péná-áná | ‘twentieth’ |
| c. | decimal plus single-digit numeral | |
| | cémé-é-kwá-áná ~ céme-é-kwá-áná | ‘eleventh’ |

d. hundred
yórá-áná

‘hundredth’

Like other adjectives, ordinals are included in the domain of Tone Leveling coming from the modified noun. Examples are kónḡóró péná-áná ‘second dog’ (< kónḡòrò) and sùwò pènà-àà ‘second sheep’.

4.6.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’ (or similar large portion) is tàá. It can occur alone (with understood partitive), or with an overt possessor or compound initial denoting the partitive as in wáléⁿ tàá ‘half of the money’, nàà-yé tàá ‘half of the cows’ (< nàà-yè), mááḡòró tàá ‘half of a mango’, and simple pronominal ā tàá ‘half of it’. tàá can refer to the split half of a nut, or the cut half of a fruit such as a watermelon.

Diminutive tàá-liyèwⁿ can mean ‘(small) portion’ of variable size. There are no terms specifically meaning ‘a third’ or other fraction.

Also relevant is kùtí ‘piece (of meat, fabric, etc.)’ or ‘shard (of calabash, pottery)’

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

The two most important types of noun-noun compound are a) the possessive type, resembling a possessor plus possessum combination, and b) a more fully lexicalized compound type characterized by Tone-Leveling. The latter process also applies to N-Adj combinations, suggesting a close relationship between compounding and adjectival modification.

A good example of the distinction is when the compound final is *ɲàmáà* ‘house’. When the initial denotes an occupant, even if generic, a possessor-possessum compound is the usual choice. Both the initial (the “possessor”) and the final (the “possessum”) present their regular tones, except for tone sandhi at the boundary (199a). When the compound as a whole denotes a general type of house (defined by a spatio-temporal location, a function, or style), it takes tone-leveled form, with *ɲàmáà* reshaped tonally as HL-toned *-ɲámàà* and with the initial spreading its leftmost tone to the compound boundary (199b).

(199)	compounds	gloss	initial
a.	<i>sàbá-ɲàmáà</i>	‘chicken coop’	<i>sàbá</i>
	<i>kóngòró-ɲàmáà</i>	‘doghouse, kennel’	<i>kóngòrò</i>
	<i>sèédú ɲàmáà</i>	‘Seydou’s house’	<i>sèédù</i>
b.	<i>tùbààbù-ɲámàà</i>	‘European-style house’	<i>tùbáábù</i> ‘white person’
	<i>wày-ɲámàà</i>	‘house of today, modern house’	<i>wày</i>
	<i>tóóⁿ-ɲámàà</i>	‘association center’	<i>tóóⁿ</i>
	<i>[sónǵó-ýⁿ]-ɲámàà</i>	‘house (out) in the bush’	<i>sónǵó-ýⁿ</i>

5.1.1 Nasal linker between initial and final

Scattered throughout the compounds presented in this chapter are some that have a nasal linker separating the initial from the final. The nasal assimilates in position to following stops and some other consonants. Examples are in (200).

(200)	compound	gloss	components
	a. álà-n-tégè	‘velvet mite’	álà ‘God’, verb tégè ‘create’
	b. káyńá-n-díyàw ⁿ	‘messenger’	káyńá ‘message’, díyáw ⁿ ‘child’
	c. nàà-ŋ-kó ⁿ -yà	‘cowherd’	nàà ‘cow’, kó ⁿ -yà ‘herder’
	d. dègè-n-tiyè	‘sardine oil’	dègé ‘sardine-like fish’, tiyè ‘oil’

A difficulty in analysing these nasal linkers is that nasality at the end of a noun stem can sometimes be interpreted as a reduction of the definite singular suffix *-yàwⁿ*. Such a parsing (diachronic and perhaps synchronic) is attractive in e.g. the noun-verb compound *dóó-ń-tíyéⁿ* ‘shut’ (§9.5.2), cf. *dóó-yàwⁿ* ‘the mouth/door’. However, this parsing is improbable in cases like (200a-c). Furthermore, the direct and indirect tonal signature of *-yàwⁿ*, when reduced to a nasal consonant, is masked by Tone Leveling in most lexicalized noun-noun compounds.

kóòⁿ ‘one’ requires a nasal linker after noun stems in its primary function as a numeral, as in *sàrò ŋ-kóòⁿ* ‘one frog’. Here again there is no question of definiteness.

5.1.2 Possessive-type versus tone-leveled compounds

The following subsections will show that there are two main types of N-N compound. They are distinguished mainly by tones.

One is modeled on possessor-possessum NPs. The first element (possessor or compound initial) and the second element (possessum or compound final) both present their regular tones. The exception is that tone sandhi applies at the boundary, which confirms that the two elements are distinct prosodic words. The tone-sandhi rule in question is Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4.7), e.g. LL#L becoming LH#L. The initial is an invariant plural in a few cases, especially with ‘children’ as initial, as in [dyé-ná-mèè]-yíyèⁿ ‘arboreal snake sp.’, literally “children’s shadow.”

The other N-N compound type is expressed by Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). This process also applies to N-Adj combinations. Unlike the possessive compound type, the tone-leveled type is treated tonally as a single complex word. The initial cannot be independently pluralized. The leftmost tone in the initial spreads rightward, minimally to the internal compound boundary. It continues to spread rightward farther (to the end of the compound) unless the final contains an internal tone break.

A possessive-type compound can be thought of as a possessed noun that is in the process of lexicalizing as a compound, so that the initial is no longer easily quantified (e.g. pluralized) or determined (by a demonstrative, definite suffix, or its own possessor). Full lexicalization, where there is no longer any salient trace of possession, is expressed by shifting to the tone-leveled type.

5.1.3 Compounds resembling possessor-possessum NPs

In this type, the initial and final retain their lexical tones (prior to tone sandhi), and there is no tone-leveling in the initial. There is no sharp distinction between true possessor-possessum and this type of compound. That compounding is in progress may be suggested by the infrequency of separately pluralizing or determining the initial, at least in the core sense of the compound. However, a few such compounds do have a fixed plural or definite initial.

5.1.3.1 With simple initials

To distinguish this type from that with level-toned initial, we consider compounds whose initial has a contoured lexical melody, which is not possible in tone-leveled compounds. The initial usually has generic reference.

- (201) a. *dègé sòò* ‘small fishnet’
dègé ‘sardine-like fish (*Brycinus*)’ plus *sòò* ‘net’
- b. *dèṅé tíí* ‘beard’
dèṅé ‘chin’ plus *tíí* ‘hair’

In combinations like (201b) with tone formula LH-H, the final is downstepped phonetically (§3.6.5.1), especially when prepausal (or in isolation).

In (202), the initial has lexical /L/ melody but undergoes Final Tone-Raising before the initial L-tone of the final.

- (202) a. *bàsí kòrì* ‘couscous steamer’
bàsì ‘couscous’ plus *kòrì* (~ *kwàrì*) ‘cooking pot’
- b. *bònó kòtò* ‘nape’
bònò ‘neck’ plus *kòtò* ‘back’
- c. *kèré nàmù-jì* ‘baobab-leaf sauce’
kèrè ‘baobab’ plus *nàmù-jì* ‘leaf sauce’

Paronymic compounds whose initial expresses the entire entity are of the possessive compound type, with lexical tone melodies preserved prior to tone sandhi. For example, *dúwó* ‘leaf’ combines with initials of various tone melodies (203).

(203)	compound	gloss	independent form of initial
	a. initial has /L/ melody		
	kèrè dúwó	‘baobab leaf’	kèrè
	b. initial has /H/ melody		
	góón dúwó	‘okra leaf’	góón ⁿ
	máántíná dúwó	‘peanut greens’	máántíná
	c. initial has contour-tone melody		
	sàpílà dúwó	‘cowpea greens’	sàpílà (~ sàfúlà)

5.1.3.2 With plural initials

When the initial is pluralized, the compound is clearly of the possessive type. In lexicalized examples, the initial denotes a generic type of “possessor,” which may be an animal species, an ethnicity, or an age-sex category. Plural -yè is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone (204a).

(204)	a.	kùwò-yè sù	‘shrub sp. (<i>Rytigynia</i>)’
		kùwó-yè ~ kùwò-yé	‘monkeys’ plus sù ‘tree sp. (<i>Vitex</i>)’
	b.	kòní-yè jí-méṅ-kórí	‘drinking trough for chickens and pigeons’
		kòní-yè	‘birds’ plus jí-méṅ-kórí ‘water-drinking-trough’
	c.	dyé-nà-méé yíyè ⁿ	‘snake sp. (<i>Psammophis</i>)’
		dyé-nà-méé	‘children’ plus yíyè ⁿ ‘shadow’

5.1.3.3 -nàwⁿ ‘mother’ as final

nà(w)ⁿ ‘mother’ is a basic kin term, so it often has a human possessor.

(205)	a.	ā nà(w) ⁿ	‘his/her mother’
	b.	ñ nà(w) ⁿ	‘my mother’
	c.	sèèdú nà(w) ⁿ	‘Seydou’s mother’

-nà(w)ⁿ also occurs as a final in possessive-type compounds whose initial denotes a natural species. It can denote the queen of social insect colonies, especially the large mound-building termites

(*Macrotermes* spp.), whose queens can be collected and eaten (206a). For domestic animals, such compounds are not the usual terms for adult females, but can occur in contexts where their maternal relationship to offspring or eggs is relevant (206b).

(206)	a.	kòbòró-nà(w) ⁿ	‘termite queen’	kòbòrò	‘mound-building termite’
	b.	nàá-nà(w) ⁿ	‘mother cow’	nàà	‘bovine’
		sùwó-nà(w) ⁿ	‘mother ewe’	sùwò	‘sheep-Sg’
		súwó-nà(w) ⁿ	‘mother nanny-goat’	súwó	‘goat’
		yúwó-nà(e) ⁿ	‘mother fish’	yúwó	‘fish’

However, the most common use of -nà(w)ⁿ as compound final is with flora terms. The compound with -nà(w)ⁿ denotes the entire tree or plant. It contrasts with the fruit or other conspicuous part, which can be specified using -dìyàwⁿ (or variant) ‘child’ as final (§5.1.7.2).

(207)	noun	gloss	compound type
	kèrè	‘baobab’	
	kèré-nà(w) ⁿ	‘baobab tree’	possessor-possessum
	kèrè-dìyàw ⁿ	‘baobab fruit’	tone-leveled

Further examples are in (208). The tone patterns are consistent with possessive-type compounds.

(208)	a.	shows Final Tone-Raising at end of initial		
		gàlá-nàw ⁿ	‘indigo bush’	gàlà ‘indigo (dye)’
		támàró-nàw ⁿ	‘date palm’	támàrò ‘dates’
		jàbíí-nàw ⁿ	‘henna bush (<i>Lawsonia</i>)’	jàbî (variant) ‘henna’
	b.	other		
		káránté-nàw ⁿ	‘tamarind tree’	káránté ‘tamarind (pods)’
		máángòró-nàw ⁿ	‘mango tree’	máángòró ‘mango’
		pègú ⁿ -nàw ⁿ	‘wild grape tree’	pègú ⁿ ‘wild grape (fruit)’
		sòmó-nàw ⁿ	‘cashew tree’	sòmó ‘cashew apple’

In some of the examples just given, the uncompounded noun denotes a familiar commodity that is widely traded far from its source plant. In (209), by contrast, the plant is the “mother” (i.e. source) of an implement rather than of a fruit.

(209)	kúwó-nàw ⁿ	‘bamboo plant’	kúwó	‘pole (for boats)’
	[pírí-pírí]-nàw ⁿ	‘shrub sp. (<i>Hoslundia</i>)’	pírí-pírí	‘stirring stick’

5.1.3.4 táámà ‘shortage’ as final

The noun táámà ‘shortage, insufficiency’ can combine with initials that keep their tones. The nasal linker occurs in both such compounds attested in the recordings.

- (210) [jíi-n]-táámà yé [[yòó-bàà]-n]-táámà
 [water-Link]-shortage and [[rain]-Link]-shortage
 ‘lack of water and lack of rain (=drought)’ (2021-03 @ 05:27)

5.1.4 Tone-leveled compounds

In these compounds, unlike the possessor-possessum type, the leftmost tone of the initial spreads at least to the compound boundary. It continues spreading to the end of the entire compound if the input form of the final is level-toned /L/ or /H/. When the result is an entirely L-toned compound, Final Tone-Raising does not apply at the internal boundary. In other words, these compounds behave tonally more like stems than like phrases. For the phonology see §3.6.4.4.

The basic formulae linking inputs to outputs are those in (211).

- (211) initial: spread leftmost tone to the compound boundary
 (result is that initial is all-L or all-H)

melody of final	after L-toned initial	after H-toned initial
/L/	L	H
/H/	L	H
/HL/	HL	HL
/LH(L)/	HL	HL

These patterns will be illustrated with simple N-N compounds below. More complex tone-leveled compounds containing three or more stems are presented in §5.1.4 below.

(212) exemplifies tone-leveled compounds with òyè ‘pain’ as final. Because the final is lexically /L/-toned, the entire compound surfaces as either all-H-toned or all-L-toned. The lexical melody of the final is erased.

(212) compound gloss independent form of initial

a. initial begins with L-tone

kòtò-dìyè	‘back pain’	kòtò
nùùn-dìyè	‘upset stomach’	nùù ⁿ
kòbò-dìyè	‘knee-ache’	kòbó
nìyèrèn-dìyè	‘tongue’	nìyérè ⁿ

b. initial begins with H-tone

jíín-díyé	‘toothache’	jíí ⁿ
kúráá-díyé	‘hip-ache’	kúràà

Another common final that forms compounds of this type is tìyè ‘field’.

(213) compound gloss initial reference

a. initial begins with L-tone

dàràmán-tìyè	‘sorghum field’	dàrámà ⁿ
jèm-piìn-tìyè	‘pearl millet field’	jèm-piì ⁿ
mèlòn-tìyè	‘melon field’	mèlò ⁿ

b. initial begins with H-tone

dóó-tíyé	‘cotton field’	dóó	
dúgò-n-tíyé	‘rice field’	dúgò	2021-01 @ 06:48, -03 @ 08:24
kúú-tíyé	‘yam field’	kúù	
píín-tíyé	‘millet field’	píí ⁿ	2021-03 @ 08:22
tábá-tíyé	‘tobacco field’	tábà	

If the compound is entirely L-toned, it behaves like uncompounded nouns with lexical /L/ melody in tone sandhi with following words. In particular, Final Tone-Raising applies to the final syllable of the compound when the following word begins with L-tone, and before an L-toned nominal suffix such as plural -yè.

Finals with lexical /H/ melody are treated just like those with lexical /L/ melody. The leftmost tone of the initial spreads to the end of the compound, erasing the melody of the final. An important effect of this is to neutralize /H/ versus /L/ minimal pairs, e.g. sóó ‘grass, herbaceous plant’ versus sòò ‘net’, as compound finals. Examples with ‘grass’ are in (214).

(214)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	dòbò-sòò	‘river grass’	dòbò ‘river’
	[nògì-y]-sòò	‘grass in village’	nògì-y ‘in village’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	dára ⁿ -sóó	‘grass sp. (<i>Brachiaria</i>)’	dára ⁿ ‘lowland, floodplain’
	dómpó-sóó	‘grass sp. (<i>Andropogon</i>)’	dómpó ‘matting, secko’
	síré-sóó	‘rock grass’	síré ‘rock, mountain’

Compare síná-sóó ‘long fishnet with poles’, based on sòò ‘net’. Perhaps fortunately, some other compounds with ‘net’ as final are of the possessive type, e.g. dègé sòò ‘net for sardines (*Brycinus*)’.

Tone-leveled compounds with /H/-melodic súbá(w)ⁿ ‘market’ as final are in (215). This noun denotes large, organized markets, such as the major weekly markets in Djenné and other cities. It was possible to elicit ‘(livestock) animal’ and ‘fish’ as initials, denoting separate sections of such markets.

(215)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	jènè-sùbà ⁿ	‘Djenné market’	jènè ‘Djenné’
	sòfààrà-sùbà ⁿ	‘Sofara market’	sòfààrà ‘Sofara’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	dáábá-súbá ⁿ	‘animal market’	dáábà
	yúwó-súbá ⁿ	‘fish market’	yúwó

yúwó ‘fish’ as final is illustrated in (216). The tone-leveled compounds denote fish of particular zones rather than species.

(216)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	[kùwò-jì]-yùwò	‘marine fish’	kùwò-jì ‘saltwater’
	dòbò-yùwò	‘river fish’	dòbò ‘(big) river’
	[dòbò-kùwò ⁿ]-yùwò	‘Niger R. fish’	dòbò-kùwò ⁿ ‘white river (Niger)’
	[dòbò-pì ⁿ]-yùwò	‘Bani R. fish’	dòbò-pì ⁿ ‘black river (Bani)’
	pàgù-yùwò	‘pond fish’	pàgù ‘pond’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	síré-yúwó	‘rock fish’	síré ‘rock’

Nouns with any contour-toned melody appear as HL-toned as finals in tone-leveled compounds. For trisyllabic and longer stems the tone break is usually right-biased, e.g. H.H.L (i.e. H*L) rather than H.L.L, with some subdialectal exceptions involving ‘dog’. When the final is already lexically /HL/-melodic, it can become difficult to distinguish tone-leveled from possessive-type compounds. The distinction can be made if the initial has a contour-toned melody like /HL/ or /LHL/, since a tone-leveled compound flattens such initials to all-H or all-L. If the initial is monotonal /H/- or /L/-melodic and the final is /HL/-melodic, there is no overt distinction between the two types of compounds. Classification can then only be inferred by comparison to other, semantically similar compounds.

(217) illustrates with /HL/-melodic ‘dog’ as final. With ‘yesterday’ or ‘white person’ as initial, tone-leveling is audible in the initial. With ‘today’ or ‘long ago’ as initial, the tones are compatible with either possessive-type or tone-leveled compounding. One infers that these initials are covertly tone-leveled by extrapolation from the overtly tone-leveled ‘yesterday’.

(217)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-kóngórò	‘dog of today’	wày ‘today’
	dìgèṅ-kóngórò	‘dog of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	tùbàábù-kóngórò	‘white person’s dog’	tùbàábù ‘white person’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánááṅ-kóngórò	‘dog of the old days’	pánáá ⁿ ‘long ago’

Similarly, *túbááájì* (~ *tábááájì*) ‘traditional baggy pants’ keeps its tones in e.g. *dìgèṅ-tábááájì* ‘baggy pants of yesterday’.

There is no similar difficulty in determining the compound type when the final is /LH/- or /LHL/-melodic, it shifts to HL as final under Tone Leveling. /LHL/-melodic finals are featured in

(218-221). pàpórò (~ pàpólò) ‘basket-like fishtrap’ becomes -pápórò as final in tone-leveled compounds (218).

(218)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-pápórò	‘fishtrap of today’	wày ‘today’
	dìgè ⁿ -pápórò	‘fishtrap of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánaám-pápórò	‘fishtrap of the old days’	pánaá ⁿ ‘long ago’

Similarly, màrífà ‘rifle’ becomes -márfà (219).

(219)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-márfà	‘rifle of today’	wày ‘today’
	dìgè ⁿ -márfà	‘fishtrap of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánaá ⁿ -márfà	‘rifle of the old days’	pánaá ⁿ ‘long ago’

A quadrisyllabic /LHL/-melodic noun with the third syllable H-toned is sìyètááni ‘devil, satan’. It is realized with H.H.H.L tone sequence as tone-leveled final in (220).

(220)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-síyétááni	‘devil of today’	wày ‘today’
	dìgè ⁿ -síyétááni	‘devil of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánaám-síyétááni	‘devil of the old days’	pánaá ⁿ ‘long ago’

These data confirm that /LHL/-melodic nouns become H*L-toned as finals. The rightmost L-tone is borne by a full syllable (heavy or light) unless the stem is monosyllabic. Thus òmáà ‘house’ ends in a long HL-toned syllable as simple noun, but takes the form -òámàà ‘house’, not #-òámàà, as final in tone-leveled compounds. The variant -yámàà in one compound (‘extended agnatic family’) is likely archaic, cf. Cliffs yámàà ‘house’ (§3.4.2.2).

(221)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-ńámàà	‘house of today’	wày ‘today’
	kùbà-ńámàà	‘marriage house’	kùbà ‘wedding’
	tùbàábù-ńámàà	‘white people’s house’	tùbàábù ‘white person’
	<i>y instead of ɲ</i>		
	kà-yámàà	‘extended agnatic family’	kà ‘father’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	tóó ⁿ -ńámàà	‘association center’	tóó ⁿ ‘association, club’

Some of the same nouns illustrated here as tone-leveled finals also occur as finals in possessive-type compounds, with different tones (§5.1.2). For ‘house’, if the initial denotes an occupant, even if generic, the possessive-type compound type occurs: kóngòró-ńámàà ‘dog(’s) house (kennel)’ < kóngòrò, sàbá-ńámàà ‘chicken coop’ < sàbá. Therefore tone-leveled ‘white people’s house’ in (221a) above means ‘European-style house’ rather than ‘house occupied by white people’.

Like /LHL/-melodic nouns (preceding subsection), /LH/-melodic nouns shift to H(H)L in finals. The first illustration is bisyllabic sàbá ‘chicken’ (222).

(222)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	tùbàábù-sábà	‘white person’s chicken’	tùbàábù ‘white person’
	dìgè ⁿ -sábà	‘chicken of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánáá ⁿ -sábà	‘chicken of the old days’	pánáá ⁿ ‘the old days’

Trisyllabic tumpàná(wⁿ) ‘necked gourd’ is illustrated in (223).

(223)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial begins with L-tone		
	wày-túmpánà	‘necked gourd of today’	wày ‘today’
	dìgèn-túmpánà	‘necked gourd of yesterday’	dìgè ⁿ ‘yesterday’
	b. initial begins with H-tone		
	pánáán-túmpánà	‘necked gourd of the old days’	pánáá ⁿ ‘the old days’
	fínán-túmpánà	‘Fulbe necked gourd’	fínà(w) ⁿ ‘Fulbe’

5.1.4.1 Compounds with kò ‘sound’

kò ‘sound’ is readily combined with a preceding verbal noun. If the initial has a monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody, Tone Leveling spreads to the final. If the initial has contoured tones, the combination is treated tonally as a possessive-type compound.

(224)	compound	gloss	verb (Pfv/Ipfv)
	a. H-toned initial		
	gó-kó	‘sound of weeping’	gó/gó-ró ~ gúwó
	bá-kó	‘sound of exiting’	bá(-rá)
	séj-kó	‘sound of falling’	sé ⁿ /sé-né
	b. L-toned initial		
	sà-kò	‘sound of laughing’	sà-sà-rà
	kìyè-kò	‘sound of running’	kìyè/kìyé
	c. contour-toned initial		
	tígá-kò	‘sound of coughing’	tígà(-rà)
	tìsòó-kò	‘sound of sneezing’	tìsòò/tìsòó-rò
	jègò-kò	‘sound of hiccoughing’	jègò(-rò)
	d. irregular verbal noun		
	dwéy-kó	‘sound of entering’	dó(-rò)

5.1.4.2 Compounds with -tuwə ‘time during’

These compounds are used in one of the ‘while VP-ing’ constructions. Since it functions as a temporal adverbial clause, it is covered in §15.4.2.

5.1.4.3 Compounds with jíí ‘water’ as final

jíí ‘water’ is the final in terms for most liquids (225). The examples in (225a-b) show Tone Leveling to the end of the final, so they are either all-L or all-H. Those in (225c) show a reduced allomorph -jì. The noun wáájì ‘sweat, perspiration’ might belong here at least diachronically, cf. Cliffs noun wāā ‘sweat’, but Kelenga verb wóǎǎ(-li) ‘sweat’ may complicate this etymology. The compound in (225d) is tonally of the possessive type.

(225)	compound	gloss	initial
a. initial begins with L-tone			
	kət̀d̀d̀-j̀j̀	‘liquid soda ash’	kət̀d̀d̀ ‘soda ash’
	k̀ẁd̀-j̀j̀	‘saltwater’	k̀ẁd̀ ‘salt’
	k̀ẁ ⁿ -ẁj̀-j̀j̀	‘rainwater’	k̀ẁ ⁿ -ẁ ⁿ ‘rain (n)’
b. initial begins with H-tone			
	f̀l̀l̀j̀-j̀j̀	‘foam’	verb f̀l̀l̀ ⁿ ‘foam up’
	f̀ú- ^{j̀j̀}	‘dew’	
	ɲámákú-j̀j̀	‘ginger juice’	ɲámàkù ‘ginger’
	tóó-j̀j̀	‘meat juice’	tóó ‘meat’
	sá-rí-j̀j̀	‘ablutions’	sá-rì ~ sánì ‘prayer’
c. irregular			
	dáá-j̀j̀	‘saliva’	dáá ~ d́óó ‘mouth’
	kání-j̀j̀ ~ kánú-j̀j̀	‘breast milk’	kànì ‘breast’
	kóɲ-j̀j̀	‘urine’	(unattested)
	nàmù-j̀j̀	‘leaf sauce for tô’	nàmù ‘tô (millet cakes)’
	ɲóóɲ-j̀j̀	‘tears’	ɲóó ⁿ ‘eye(s)’
d. possessor-possessum			
	yòó-bàà jíí	‘rainwater’	yòó-bàà ‘rain (n)’

Liquids emerging from trees (júgú) are complex tone-leveled compounds (226a-b), the finals being ‘tears’ and ‘breast milk’ from the list given just above.

- (226) a. júgú-[jɔ́ɔ́j-jí] ‘tree sap’ (“tree tears”)
 b. júgú-[kánú-jí] ‘tree latex’ (“tree breast-milk”)

5.1.4.4 Compounds with spatial PP initials for habitat

In this type, the initial is a spatial PP that specifies the habitat of the referent of the final. Tone Leveling applies. The leftmost tone of the PP spreads rightward to the compound boundary. This tone spreads to the end of /H/- and /L/-melodic finals, while finals of contour melodies take HL-toned form.

(227)	compound	gloss	final
	a. < jí n(w)íí ⁿ ‘in water’		
	<i>final preserves /H(L)/ melody</i>		
	[jí-níí]-kérékété	‘water snail’	kérékété
	[jí-níí]-kóngòrò	‘otter’	kóngòrò ‘dog’
	~ -kóngórò		
	[jí-níí]-kúmù	‘tree sp. (<i>Otax</i>)’	kúmù ⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘tree sp. (<i>Diospyros</i>)’
	[jí-níí]-táálé ⁿ	‘water spider’	táálé ⁿ (~ táaré ⁿ) ‘spider’
	<i>/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned</i>		
	[jí-níí]-kóní	‘aquatic bird’	kòní (~ kwàní) ‘bird’
	[jí-níí]-sàró	‘(aquatic) frog’	sàró ‘frog, toad’
	[jí-níí]-tómó	‘aquatic jujube tree’	tòmó ‘jujube’
	<i>/LH(L)/-melodic final inverted to HL-toned</i>		
	[jí-níí]-sábà	‘crake (bird)’	sábà ‘chicken’
	[jí-níí]-sántò	‘water cricket’	sántò ‘cricket’
	[jí-níí]-gùlé-gùlè	‘aquatic worms’	gùlé-gùlè (synonym)
	b. < sɔ́ɔ́-y ‘in the bush’		
	<i>final preserves /H(L)/ melody</i>		
	[sɔ́ɔ́-y ⁿ]-kóngòrò	‘side-striped jackal’	kóngòrò ‘dog’
	~ -kóngórò		
	<i>/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned</i>		
	[sɔ́ɔ́-y ⁿ]-kéré	‘tree sp. (<i>Cola</i>)’	kèrè ‘baobab’
	[sɔ́ɔ́-y ⁿ]-náá	‘buffalo’	nàà ‘cow’
	[sɔ́ɔ́-y ⁿ]-[póróm-póró ⁿ]	‘shrub sp. (<i>Calotropis</i>)’	pòròm-pòrò ⁿ ‘fig tree sp.’
	[sɔ́ɔ́-y ⁿ]-sóbó	‘wild animal’	sòbò ‘creature’

[sónj-yn]-sompón	‘mule’	sòmpùwòn ‘donkey’
[sónj-yn]-yábá	‘wild guinea-fowl’	yàbà ‘guinea-fowl’
<i>/LH(L)/-melodic final extends H leftward but final syllable L-toned</i>		
[sónj-yn]-yórógò	‘wild cat sp.’	yòrógò ‘cat’
[sónj-yn]-yórógò	‘bush cat’	yòrógò ‘cat’
[sónj-yn]-fòrò ⁿ	‘laughing dove’	fòró ⁿ ‘pigeon’
c. < kóbò-y ‘on dry land’		
[kóbó-y]-kóntó	‘tree pangolin’	(not otherwise attested)
<i>/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned</i>		
[kóbó-y]-sáró	‘toad’	sàrò ‘frog’
d. < nògì-y ‘in the village’ (< nògù)		
<i>final preserves /H(L)/ melody</i>		
[nògì-y]-kóngòrò	‘domestic dog’	kóngòrò ‘dog’
[nògì-y]-tààlè ⁿ	‘domestic spider’	táálè ⁿ ‘spider’
<i>/L/-melodic final unchanged</i>		
[nògì-y]-yàbà	‘domestic guinea-fowl’	yàbà ‘guinea-fowl’
<i>/LH(L)/-melodic final inverted to HL-toned</i>		
[nògì-y]-fòrò ⁿ	‘domestic pigeon’	fòró ⁿ ‘pigeon’
e. < síré kùmà ‘on the rock (or mountain)’		
<i>/L/-melodic final tone-leveled to H</i>		
[sírè-kúmáá]-kwání	‘mountain birds’	kwàni (~ kònì) ‘bird’
f. < pómó kùmà ‘on a water lily’		
<i>no Tone Leveling</i>		
pómó-kúmáá-tàrífà	‘jacana (bird)’	(tàrífà unattested)
g. (< nwìim pà) ‘with (the) interior’ (not in common use)		
nwìim-pàà-fiyè	‘niche in interior wall’	fíyè ‘window’

5.1.4.5 ‘Male’ (-kεεwu) and ‘female’ (-yuwoⁿ) in compounds

kééwú ‘man’ and yùwòⁿ ‘woman’ can function as adjective-like modifiers to another noun in the senses ‘male’ and ‘female’. The compounds are tone-leveled, either all-L or all-H depending on the initial tone of the noun. (228) illustrates with kin terms that are not otherwise sex-specified.

- (228) a. *bùwò* ‘age-mate, peer, generation-mate’
bùwò-kèèwù ‘male age-mate’
bùwò-yùwòⁿ ‘female age-mate’
- b. *tìyè-kèèwù* ‘grandfather’
tâ-yùwòⁿ ‘grandmother’
- c. *tòòⁿ* ‘elder sibling’
tòòḡ-kèèwù ‘older brother’
tòòⁿ-yùwòⁿ ‘older sister’

Ethnicity terms are illustrated in (229).

- (229) a. *fínà(w)ⁿ* ‘Fulbe person (Pullo)’
fínáḡ-kééwú ‘Fulbe man’
fínáⁿ-yúwó ‘Fulbe woman’
- b. *tùbáábù* ‘white person’
tùbààbù-kèèwù ‘white man’
tùbààbù-yùwòⁿ ‘white woman’

Domestic animals whose biological sex is known can be sex-specified in this way, as with chickens (230a). For conspicuously dioecious plants such as palms, the male-female distinction is botanically correct (230b). The key from the native point of view is the sterility (i.e. lack of fruits) on the male plants, so any plant not known to produce fruits can be called ‘male’. For fish, insects, and other fauna whose biological sex is not obvious, compounds may differentiate “male” varieties with long thin shape from “female” varieties with a more rounded shape (230c).

- (230) a. *sàbá* ‘chicken’
sàbà-kèèwù ‘rooster’
sàbà-yùwòⁿ ‘hen’
- b. *yóó* ‘borassus palm’
yóó-kééwú ‘male borassus palm’
yóó-yúwóⁿ ‘female (fruit-bearing) borassus palm’
- c. *múnúⁿ* ‘trunkfish spp. with relatively blunt snouts’
múnúḡ-kééwú e.g. *Hyperopisus* and *Brienomyrus* (with relatively long and slender bodies)
múnúⁿ-yúwóⁿ *Marcusenius* (with relatively rounded body)

5.1.4.6 Triple tone-leveled compounds

The triple compounds that have been observed can be analysed as binary compounds one of whose components is internally compounded. The known examples are fully tone-leveled. Examples are in (231). The bracketing affects the operation of Tone-Leveling. In (231a), disregarding the plural suffix, the final stem is lexically /LHL/, so it appears as /HL/-toned. In (231b-c), the final stem is lexically level-toned, so the leftmost lexical tone of the initial spreads to the end of the compound, even though the penultimate stem is lexically contour-toned. Therefore in each of (231a-c) everything except the final stem is bracketed together.

- (231) a. [kòní-dwèè]-láántà-yè
[excision]-custom-Pl
'excision customs' (2021-01 @ 13:55)
(< kòní-dwèè plus làántà)
- b. [[déé-déé]-síyé]-bání
[[condiments]-pound.VblN]-pestle
'spice-pounding pestle' (§5.1.6.4)
(< déé-déé, síyé, and bání)
- c. [[sórógá-ámá]-láántá]-kúbá-yè
[[Bozo-Abstr]-custom]-wedding-Pl
'traditional Bozo wedding' (2021-01 @ 09:23)
(< sórógá-àmá, làántà, and kúbá)

5.1.5 Compounds with tonally modified finals

J-S of Djenné does not have a close match for the Cliffs compound type with tone-leveled initial and raised M- or H-toned final. The corresponding compounds in Djenné are fully tone-leveled. However, Djenné does have a number of compounds with an {HL} overlay on the final (see below).

5.1.5.1 Unexpected HL-toned finals

There are a few compounds where a noun that functions as final otherwise has a monotonal melody /L/ or /H/ and would therefore be expected to be included in the domain of Tone Leveling, but

instead takes HL-toned form. This is distinct from regular tone-leveled compounds where the final already has a lexical contoured melody and so takes HL-toned form as final by regular rules.

The relevant examples all show Tone Leveling in the initial. This is observable when the initial has a contour-toned melody but appears in the compound as as all-H or all-L before the HL-toned final. It is as though, for purposes of tone patterning, the final had a contoured lexical melody /LH/ or /HL/ or /LHL/, which would make the HL-toned final regular. But aside from the HL-toned compound final form there is no other evidence for contoured melodies for these stems.

Color terms ‘white’ and ‘red (including brown)’, whose short forms are elsewhere tone-leveled, appear in HL-toned form in some compounds. All known examples are in (232). (232a) is a bahuvrihi, but the cases in (232b) are simple N-Adj compounds. (232c) has counterparts to the compounds to (232a), replacing ‘white’ by ‘black’. ‘Black’ is a Cvv monosyllabic, which may explain its H- rather than HL-tone in (232c). Initials in these examples include kòmḁⁿ ‘catfish’, tùmⁿ ‘body’, and kùwḁ ‘monkey’.

- (232) a. tùmḁ-kùwḁⁿ ‘white-skinned person’ (bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.1)
 kòmḁḁ-kùwḁⁿ ‘light-colored catfish sp.’
- b. kàmùn-tómḁⁿ ‘tiny brown ant sp.’
 kòmḁḁn-tómḁⁿ ‘catfish sp. (*Synodontis* sp.)’
 kùwḁḁ-n-tómḁⁿ ‘patas monkey’
- c. tùm-pííⁿ ‘black-skinned person’
 kòmḁḁm-pííⁿ (variant) ‘dark catfish (*Synodontis* spp.)’ (variant kòmḁḁ-pííⁿ)

A basic gentilic construction, deriving terms for categories of people from their village (cf. *New Yorker, Parisian*), has final -júmùⁿ in what are otherwise tone-leveled compounds (§4.2.4.2). The final is tonally modified from júmúⁿ ‘person’.

A modifier meaning ‘very old, decrepit’ has the form sîrè as second adjective (which usually reveals the lexical melody), but -sîrè in what appear to be compounds, as in kéeémíné-sîrè ‘very old person’ (§6.3.1.3).

díyáwⁿ ~ díyéwⁿ ‘child (offspring)’ is a common compound final (§5.1.7.2). There are some cases of HL-toned -díyàwⁿ ~ -díyéwⁿ after tone-leveled initial; see (251) in §5.1.7.2. for a list.

All of the preceding compounds with unexpected HL-toned finals denote animate beings. This is not the case with -sébè final from noun sèbè ‘issue, matter, topic’, again after tone-leveled initial, as shown especially in (233a-b).

(233)	compound	gloss	initial	textual reference
a.	sàbà-sébé	‘chicken issue’	sàbá	
	ṅàmàà-sébé	‘house issue’	ṅàmáà	
b.	sísó-sébé	‘whip issue’	sísò	
	kóṅgóró-sébé	‘dog issue’	kóṅgòrò	
c.	sùwè-sébé	‘cooking issue’	sùwè (~ sùyè)	2021-01 @ 07:59
	sùwò-sébé	‘farming issue’	sùwò	
	kìyè-sébé	‘running issue’	kìyè	
d.	jíí-sébé	‘water issue’	jíí	
	kíyè-sébé	‘passing issue’	kíyè	

Some of the examples with -sébé can alternatively take fully tone-leveled form with final -sébé ~ -sèbé.

5.1.6 Nominal compounds that include a verb stem

The following subsections cover deverbal nominals (verbal noun, agentive, place of action) that additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object. These are followed by a subsection on function-specifying compounds that indicate the use to which the entity is put.

Most of these complex compounds are of the tone-leveling type as described in preceding subsections.

5.1.6.1 Verbal-noun final with incorporated object as initial

In this construction, a transitive verb takes verbal-noun form. The initial is an incorporated noun that denotes the general category of object. Tone Leveling applies. For some verbs like ‘build’ (234c), the verbal noun is unelicitable without an incorporated noun.

In (234) the verbal noun has /L/ melody (234a-c) or /H/ melody (234d), so the final is included in the domain of tone-leveling.

(234)	verbal noun	gloss	incorporated noun
a.	mɛ̃ ⁿ	‘drinking’	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	jíí-mé ⁿ	‘water-drinking’	jíí
	súwó-mé ⁿ	‘milk-drinking’	súwò
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	dùwò-mɛ̃ ⁿ	‘beer-drinking’	dùwò
b.	sùwò	‘cultivating’	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	píí ⁿ -súwó	‘millet-farming’	píí ⁿ
	máájé ⁿ -súwó	‘maize-farming’	máájéw ⁿ
	máántígé ⁿ -súwó	‘peanut-farming’	máántígéw ⁿ
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	kòntòrò-sùwò	‘sorghum-farming’	kòntòrò (synonym)
	dàràrà-mà-sùwò	‘sorghum-farming’	dàràrà (synonym)
c.	(-tàà-nì ⁿ)	‘building, construction (with mud bricks)’	
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	bòn(t)ò-tàà-nì	‘granary-building’	bòn(t)ò
	mìsìrì-tàà-nì	‘mosque-building’	mìsìrì
	jàmàà-tàà-nì	‘house-building’	jàmàà
d.	séy ⁿ	‘carving’ (< verb séy ⁿ /séy ⁿ)	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	júgú-séy ⁿ	‘wood-carving’	júgú ‘tree, wood’
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	sàbà-sèy ⁿ	‘carving a chicken’	sàbà ‘chicken’

Examples with verbal nouns that have various contour-toned melodies, and that therefore appear in HL-toned form as finals, are in (235).

(235)	verbal noun	gloss	incorporated noun
a.	síyè	‘pounding’ (< síyè(-rè))	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	píí ⁿ -síyè	‘millet pounding’	píí ⁿ ‘millet’
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	fùú ⁿ -síyè	‘fonio pounding’	fùú ⁿ ‘fonio’

- b. tàmpáⁿ ‘kicking’ (< tàmpáⁿ/tàmpá-na)
initial begins with H-tone
 [díyé-nán]-támpàⁿ ‘kicking a child’ díyé-nàwⁿ ‘child’
initial begins with L-tone
 yùwòⁿ-támpàⁿ ‘kicking a woman’ yùwòⁿ ‘woman’
- c. sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating (medically)’ (< sàbàrèⁿ/sàbàrè-nè)
initial begins with H-tone
 [díyé-nán]-sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating a child’ díyé-nàwⁿ ‘child’
initial begins with L-tone
 yùwòⁿ-sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating a woman’ yùwòⁿ ‘woman’

If the object is pronominal, it behaves like a possessor or direct object (pronominals have the same forms in both functions). There is no sign of Tone Leveling, so the verbal noun has its lexical tones (236b-c), except that 1Sg ìj (+tones) has its usual tonal effects (236a).

- (236) a. ìj wíyè / fígèⁿ / ...
 íj / ... / ... / sàbàrèⁿ
 1Sg kill.VbIN / hide.VbIN / treat.VbIN
 ‘killing/hiding/treating me’
- b. ífⁿ wìyè / fígèⁿ / sàbàrèⁿ
 1Pl kill.VbIN / hide.VbIN / treat.VbIN
 ‘killing/hiding/treating us’
- c. ā wìyè / fígèⁿ / sàbàrèⁿ
 3Sg kill.VbIN / hide.VbIN / treat.VbIN
 killing/hiding/treating him/her/it’

The tone-leveled nominal initials in (234) above cannot be independently pluralized or determined. To pluralize and/or determine them, the initial is replaced by a full NP (DP) which functions as possessor rather than as compound initial. Compare the tone-leveled compound (237a) with the possessor-possessum combinations (237b-c). Likewise, a personal name cannot normally function as a compound initial, so here it too takes possessor form (237d).

- (237) a. kóngóró-kwéré
 dog-hit.VbIN
 ‘dog-hitting’ (< kóngórò ~ kóngòrò)

- b. [kù-nù kóngòró-yè] kwéré
 [Dem-Link dog-Pl] hit.VblN
 ‘hitting these dogs’
- c. dyé-nà-méé kwéré
 children hit.VblN
 ‘hitting children’ (kwéré is phonetically downstepped)
- d. sèédù kwéré
 Seydou hit.VblN
 ‘hitting these dogs’

5.1.6.2 Agentive compounds with incorporated object

For uncompounded agentives with suffix *-ya* of variable tone, see §4.2.2. An incorporated object can be added for more specificity. The compounds are tone-leveled.

(238)	compound	gloss	initial	verb (Pfv/Ipfv)
a. initial begins with L-tone				
	jùù-sùpà-yà	‘weaver’	jùù ‘garment’	sùpà/sùpá
	kòròn-tùtù-yà	‘leatherworker’	kòrò ⁿ ‘skin’	tùtù/tùtú ‘make shoes’
	nùmà-kwèrè-yà	‘rope-maker’	nùmà	kwéré/kwèrè ‘hit (intr.)’
	ṅàmàà-tààni-yà	‘house-builder’	ṅàmàà	tàà-nì/tàà-ní
b. initial begins with H-tone				
	ṅámákú-súwó-yá	‘ginger grower’	ṅámàkù	sùwò/sùwó ‘cultivate’
	tóó-wíyé-yá	‘butcher’	tóó ‘meat’	wìyè/wìyé ‘kill (intr.)’
	dúgó-gárábú-yá	‘rice reaper’	dúgó ‘rice’	gàràbù/gàràbú ‘reap’
	(2021-01 @ 06:55)			

‘Rope-maker’ (238a) and ‘butcher’ (lit. “meat-killer”) (238b) show the antipassive form of the stem (with final vowel fronted), even though an incorporated object is included. This suggests that such compounds have a bisyllabic template for the verb. In this light, the Pfv stems of kwá(-rá) ‘hit; make (rope)’ and wàà/wàá ‘kill’ are subminimal and are replaced by their antipassive forms.

Some transitive verbs occur in multiple compounds of this type. ‘Seller’ can combine with initials denoting any commercial commodity, with full tone-leveling (238a). By contrast, the two synonymous contour-toned agentives kóⁿ-yà and káraⁿ-yà meaning ‘herder’ show different tone patterns, with tones flattened within the initial only (238b-c). This is regular for tone-leveled

compounds. kóⁿ-yà requires a nasal linker (unless the initial already ends in a nasal syllable), while káraⁿ-yà does not.

(239)	compound	gloss	basic form of initial
a.	twéré-yá	‘seller’	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	kóṅgóró-twéré-yá	‘dog seller’	kóṅgórò ~ kóṅgórò
	píín-twéré-yá	‘grain seller’	píí ⁿ
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	nàà-twèrè-yà	‘cattle seller’	nàà
	kààni-twèrè-yà	‘calabash seller’	kàáni
	màrifà-twèrè-yà	‘gun seller’	màrifà
b.	kó ⁿ -yà	‘herder’	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	súwó-ṅ-kó ⁿ -yà	‘goatherd’	súwó
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	nàà-ṅ-kó ⁿ -yà	‘cowherd’	nàà
	sùwò-ṅ-kó ⁿ -yà	‘sheep-herd’	sùwò
	sìyè-ṅ-kó ⁿ -yà	‘horse herder’	sìyé
c.	kára ⁿ -yà	‘herder’, synonym of (b)	
	<i>initial begins with H-tone</i>		
	súwó-kára ⁿ -yà	‘goatherd’	súwó
	<i>initial begins with L-tone</i>		
	nàà-kára ⁿ -yà	‘cowherd’	nàà
	sùwò-kára ⁿ -yà	‘sheep-herd’	sùwò
	sìyè-kára ⁿ -yà	‘horse herder’	sìyé

5.1.6.3 Place-of-action nominal (-wúwòⁿ) plus incorporated object

Simple place nominals consist of a verbal noun (based on the Pfv stem of the verb) plus suffix -wúwòⁿ (§4.2.1.5). If the verb is transitive, an incorporated object may be added as compound initial. In this case, the compound undergoes tone-leveling, with the leftmost tone of the noun spreading rightward. If the verbal noun is level-toned (L or H), it is included in the domain of tone-leveling.

(240)	compound	initial	verb
a.	[nàmàà-[tàà-nì]]-wúwò ⁿ [house-[build]]- place 'construction site'	nàmáà	tàà-nì/tàà-ní
b.	[nááṅgílá-píí]-wúwò ⁿ [garbage-dump(v)]- place 'refuse heap'	nááṅgílá	pìì/píí
c.	[búwó-mééńí]-wúwò ⁿ [mortar-make]- place 'place where mortars are carved'	búwò	mèèńí/mèèńí
d.	[ńìyè̃m-bà ⁿ]-wúwò ⁿ [head-shave]- place 'place for shaving heads'	ńìyè̃w ⁿ	bá ⁿ /bá-ná

Some verbs switch at least optionally to an intransitivized E-stem here as in other derivatives, e.g. [ńìyè̃m-bènè̃]-wúwòⁿ as an alternative to (240d).

If the verbal noun (identical to the Pfv stem) has a contour tone, it appears in H*L form following the usual rules for Tone Leveling. This is illustrated by the HL-melodic verbs in (241a-b), the LH-melodic verb in (241c), and the LHL-melodic verb in (241d), which merge in the place nominal as HL-toned following the usual rules for Tone Leveling.

(241)	a.	[jùù-púwò]-wúwò ⁿ [garment-rip]- place 'place where clothing is torn'	jùù	púwò(-rò)
	b.	[ńìyè̃m-mútì]-wúwò ⁿ [head-braid(v)]- place 'hair-braiding place'	ńìyè̃w ⁿ	mútì(-rì)
	c.	[dúwó-bátì]-wúwò ⁿ [paper-post(v)]- place 'place where papers are posted'	dúwó	bátì(-rì)
	d.	[díyé̃ ⁿ -sábàrè̃]-wúwò ⁿ [child-treat]- place 'children's hospital'	díyé̃w ⁿ	sábàrè̃ ⁿ /sábàrè̃-nè

Corresponding to noun *gíyéⁿ* ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix *-wúwòⁿ* are Cliffs *gūūⁿ* ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix *-gàwⁿ*. Kelenga has *wórón-ó* or synonym *kámù-ù* ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix *-tóó* or *-tòò*.

5.1.6.4 Function-specifying compounds including verbal nouns

Nouns like ‘water’, ‘oil’, and ‘wood’ denote substances that are put to different uses. In the case of ‘oil’ the uses correlate with source (peanut, shea-tree, etc.). This is less so with wood and generally not relevant with water.

The substance-denoting noun can function as a compound final, preceded by a verbal noun (normally identical in form to the Pfv stem of the verb) that denotes the prototypical action. These are tone-leveling compounds. (242a) exemplifies with ‘water’ and (242b) does so with ‘oil’.

(242)	noun	gloss	verb (Pfv/Ipfv)
a.	<i>jíí</i>	‘water’	
	<i>mèŋ-jìì</i>	‘drinking water’	<i>mèwⁿ/mè-nè</i>
	<i>ńíní-jíí</i>	‘bathing water’	<i>ńíní/ńínì</i>
b.	<i>tíyé</i>	‘oil’	
	<i>sì-tiyè</i>	‘lotion, rubbing oil’	<i>sì/sí</i> ‘rub on’
	<i>díyé-tíyé</i>	‘cooking (eating) oil’	<i>díyé/díyè</i> ‘eat (antipassive)’

The Vb-N combination may additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object or instrument to constitute a N-VbIN-N sequence, semantically bracketable as [N-VbIN]-N. ‘Bathing water’ in (242a) above can be elaborated as (243a). ‘Wood’ as compound final is illustrated in (243b). For the record, other functional types of wood include the noun-noun compound *ńamáá-kìyè* ‘lumber’ (“house-wood”) and the lexical noun *súbá* ‘firewood’. The final is ‘soap’ in (243c) and ‘pestle’ in (243d).

(243)	noun	gloss	other components
a.	[tìgè-ɲìní]-jìì	‘dishwater’	tìgè ‘gear’ (here: dishes, pots) ɲìní-jíí ‘bathing water’ (242a)
b.	kìyè (~ còò)	‘wood, stick’	
	[súú-kúmé]-kíyè	‘staff held in hand’	súú ‘hand’ kúmé/kúmè ‘hold (antipassive)’
	[sùwò-kàràŋ]-kìyè	‘staff for herding sheep’	sùwò ‘sheep’ kàrà ⁿ /kàrà-nà ‘drive, propel’
c.	sàmpínà (~ sàfínà)	‘soap’	
	[díyén-ɲìní]-sàmpínà	‘child-bathing soap’	díyéw ⁿ (~ díyáw ⁿ) ‘child’ ɲìní/ɲìní ‘wash, bathe’
d.	bàni	‘pestle’	
	[[déé-déé]-síyé]-bání	‘spice-pounding pestle’	déè-déè ‘condiments’
	[[nàmù-dùù]-sìyè]-bàni	‘baobab-pounding pestle’	nàmù-dùù ‘dried baobab leaf’ sìyè(-rè) ‘pound in mortar’

A textual example is jááⁿ-múndé-kííⁿ ‘skiff (boat) for checking fishhook traps’ (2021-03 @ 21:42), based on jááⁿ ‘fishhook trap’, múndé(-rè) ‘check (net or fishtrap, from one end to the other, to see what it has caught)’, and kííⁿ ‘skiff (boat)’.

In the same spirit but of a different structure is sùyèŋ-kwèrè-kìíⁿ ‘racing skiff’ (2021-03 @ 21:29). This is really a N-N compound whose initial is sùyèŋ-kwèrè ‘boat race’, (11a) in §2.1.4, a lexicalized compound based on verbal nouns of sùyéⁿ/sùyé-nè ‘propel, drive and antipassive kwéré/kwèrè ‘hit’, (780) in §15.1.3.

5.1.7 Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds

For lexicalized adjectival diminutives with suffix -gù in modifying function, see §4.5.1.2. The focus in the subsections below is on nouns.

5.1.7.1 Vestiges of diminutive *-na(w)-

Diminutive -náwⁿ occurs in Cliffs as a fairly productive nominal diminutive. A vestige of this in J-S of Djenné may be present in the obscure nasal syllables (bolded) with variable vowel quality and tone in (244a-c).

(244)	noun	gloss	related forms
	yè- nè -míyàw ~ yè- rè -míyàw	‘unmarried adolescent girl’	yùwò ⁿ ‘woman’, míyè-gù ‘small’
	káá- ná -míyàw	‘unmarried adolescent boy’	kééwú ‘man’, míyè-gù ‘small’
	díyè- nà(w) ⁿ	‘child (young person)’	díyéw ⁿ ~ díyáw ⁿ ‘child (offspring)’
	fá-líyè- nà -nìyèw ⁿ	‘a trifle, a tiny bit’	fá-líyéw ⁿ ‘a little’

Another obscure element is -nà(w)ⁿ in (245b). The forms with and without -nà(w)ⁿ appear to be interchangeable.

- (245) a. jòṅḍ ‘kinsman, relative’
b. jòṅḍ-nà(w)ⁿ ‘kinsman, relative’

An apparent suffix -náw^s occurs in tàbàà-náwⁿ ‘**pants**’, compare tàbà ‘foot, leg’. This is likely a newer word, replacing ségè ‘pants’. Cliffs has tàbà ‘foot, leg’ and tàbà-náwⁿ ‘pants’. While these ‘pants’ terms look like diminutives, ‘pants’ is hardly a good semantic diminutive of ‘foot, leg’. Pseudo-diminutive tàbàà-náwⁿ ‘pants’ terms is probably a mutation from a regionally widespread set including Fulfulde *tuuba*, dialectal Dogon *túbáláájí*, and Cliffs *túbáláájì*, denoting traditional baggy pants.

For compounds with -nà(w)ⁿ ‘mother’ as final, which likewise have no connection with diminutivity, see §5.1.3.3.

5.1.7.2 Compounds with díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ ‘child’ as final

The basic nouns for ‘child’ and their plurals are in (246a). Forms with 1Sg possessor ñ (+tones) are in (246b); they show that plural dyé-nà-méé begins with dyé rather than with díyé.

(246)	singular	gloss	plural
	a. díyé-nà(w) ⁿ díyéw ⁿ ~ díyáw ⁿ	‘child (young person)’ ‘child (offspring)’	dyé-nà-méé ~ dyé-nè-méé díyá ⁿ -yè ~ díyé ⁿ -yè, dé-méé
	b. ñ diyé-nà(w) ñ diyéw ⁿ	‘my child (young person)’ ‘my child (offspring)’	ñ dyè-ná-mèè ~ ñ dyè-né-mèè ñ dè-méé

The choice between a and ε in díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ is subdialectal. díyéwⁿ will be used hereafter in this subsection, but all forms have variants with díyáwⁿ. díyé-nà(w)ⁿ (246a) has ε for all speakers checked.

Of the two stems, only díyéwⁿ (246b) is relevant to compounding and derivation since it implies a possessor ('my child') or a category ('cow-child' = 'calf'). Of its plurals, díyéⁿ-yè is the regular -yè plural, and dé-méé is irregular. Both types of plural occur in compounds. Plural dé-méé is typical of compounds denoting humans, while dìyéⁿ-yè is typical of inanimates including plants, but there is some free variation.

Compounds with tonally variable -diyewⁿ as final can be of the possessive type or of the tone-leveled type. A contoured tone in the initial is possible only with the possessive type.

The semantically most straightforward compounds are those whose initial denotes a category of person. The compound denotes a young member of the category.

(247)	noun	gloss	'young X'	plural
a.	fínàw ⁿ	'Fulbe person'	fínàn-diyèw ⁿ	fínàn-dè-mèè
b.	kwìgù	'blacksmith (caste)'	kwìgù-diyèw ⁿ	kwìgù-dé-mèè

Similar compounds are readily generated from terms for animals, especially domestic animals (248).

(248)	noun	gloss	juvenile	plural	gloss
a.	súwó	'goat'	súwó-diyéw ⁿ	súwó-[dé-mèè]	'goat kid'
	yúwó	'fish'	yúwó-diyéw ⁿ	yúwó-[dé-mèè]	'minnow'
b.	sùwò	'sheep'	sùwò-diyèw ⁿ	sùwò-[dè-mèè]	'lamb'
	kòni	'bird'	kòni-(n-)diyéw ⁿ	kòni-[dè-mèè]	'fledgeling'
c.	sàbá	'chicken'	sàbá-diyèw ⁿ	sàbá-[dè-mèè]	'chick'
	kóngòrò	'dog'	kóngòrò-diyèw ⁿ	kóngòrò-[dè-mèè]	'puppy'

'Child' as compound final can also extend to inanimates. In (249a), two paired objects of different sizes are distinguished by the use of this compound final.

- (249) a. gáará-síré
ground.millet-stone
'large stone on which grain is ground'
- b. gáará-síré-díyéwⁿ
grind.Pfv-stone-child
'smaller round stone held in hand for grinding grain'

Some other interesting cases are in (250).

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (250) a. | jíí-díyéw ⁿ | 'water demon' | jíí 'water' |
| | kálá-díyéw ⁿ | 'arrow' | kálá 'bow (n)' |
| | sórógú-díyéw ⁿ | 'latch on wooden lock' | sórógú 'lock' |
| | tóó-díyéw ⁿ | 'flint lighter' | tóó 'fire' |
| b. | kúpàn-dìyèw ⁿ | 'key' | kúpàn ⁿ 'door' |
| | bàrà-ŋ-kàání-dìyèw ⁿ | 'calabash ladle' | bàrà 'gourd', kàání 'calabash' |
| c. | sòḡmìn-dìyèw ⁿ | 'bastard child' | |

There are a few examples of HL-toned -díyèwⁿ with plural -dé-mèè (251). All have human reference.

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (251) a. | kàrààn-díyèw ⁿ | 'pupil (student)' | variant kàrààn-dìyèw ⁿ |
| | mándárasá-n-díyèw ⁿ | 'koranic school pupil' | mándárasá 'koranic school' |
| | mórí-karáán-díyèw ⁿ | 'holy man's pupil' | mórí 'holy man' |
| b. | káyná-n-díyèw ⁿ | 'messenger; prophet' | káyná 'message' |
| c. | yàtìimèn-díyèw ⁿ | 'orphan' | |

5.1.7.3 Diminutive -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ with nouns

díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ 'child (offspring)' discussed above is the presumed etymological source for the diminutive ending -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ of variable tone. Diminutives with -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ are mostly of the tone-leveled type. The plural is the regular one with suffix -yè, or else -le-mee modeled on dé-mèè 'children'.

The d/l alternation is unproductive but also occurs in independent pronouns (§3.4.1.1) and in the plural focus marker dùwò ~ lùwò. There are a few cases of -niyewⁿ ~ -niyawⁿ which are

analysed here as surface forms of -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ after nasalized vowels. There are also a few cases of -diyewⁿ ~ -diyawⁿ following a nasal consonant where hardening of l to d is suspected on grounds both semantic (nonhuman reference) and tonal (compatibility with tone-leveled compounding). Examples of types with n and d are in (252). The vowels ε and a are interchangeable.

(252) a. with suspected l → n after nasalized vowel

tìntí ⁿ -nìyèw ⁿ	‘small colorful finches’	(reduplicative-looking)
gḗḗ ⁿ -nìyèw ⁿ	‘cowry shells’	gḗḗ ⁿ ‘cowries’
fá-líyḗ-nà-nìyèw ⁿ	‘a trifle, a tiny bit’	fá-líyḗw ⁿ ‘a little’

b. with suspected l → d after nasal

búmún-díyḗw ⁿ	‘young Nile perch (<i>Lates</i>)’	
fḏḏón-dìyèw ⁿ	‘tonsils’	variant fḏḏón ⁿ -lìyèw ⁿ
kánín-díyḗw ⁿ	‘herb sp. (<i>Cleome</i>)’	
tòón-dìyèw ⁿ	‘snake sp.’	

Further examples of the compound final that are compatible with tone-leveling are in (253), although in some cases the initial does not occur elsewhere.

(253)	form	gloss	related forms
a. all-H-toned			
	bóó-líyḗw ⁿ	‘heart (organ)’	bóó ‘heart (emotion)’
	fá-líyḗw ⁿ	‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3)	fá ‘thing’ (§4.1.2)
	kḗḗwú-líyḗw ⁿ	‘boy’	kḗḗwú ‘man’
b. all-L-toned			
	dùù-lìyèw ⁿ	‘bush sp. (<i>Solanum</i>)’	
	kòò-lìyèw ⁿ	‘cross-cousin’	kòò-kèèwù ‘maternal uncle’
	kòònì-kùùm-màà-lìyèw ⁿ	‘Rüppell’s vulture’	kòònì-kùù ⁿ ‘hooded vulture’
	kùbù-lìyèw ⁿ	‘sun’	kùbù ‘sun, day’
	kù ⁿ wà-lìyèw ⁿ	‘grass sp. (<i>Eragrostis</i>)’	
	kùwḏ-lìyèw ⁿ	‘vervet monkey’	kùwḏ ‘monkey’
	wàà-lìyèw ⁿ	‘skin rash’	

Examples that do not fit the tone-leveled compound type at the level of the entire compound are in (254). In (254a-b) the L-toned -lìyèwⁿ is arguably bracketed tonally with the immediately preceding L-toned morpheme (though the morphemic composition is opaque). In (254d), the

diminutive morpheme is nonfinal in a longer combination. In ‘lutefish’ and ‘catfish’ it has the same tones as the preceding morpheme.

(254)	form	gloss	related forms
a.	sí-sàà-liyèw ⁿ (~ sá-sàà-liyèw ⁿ)	‘right now’	sááwù ‘now’
b.	dùbáá-kà-liyèw ⁿ	‘earthworm’	dùbáá ‘earth’
c.	fíintímí-liyèw ⁿ	‘a trifle, a tiny bit’	fíintímí ‘a small amount’
d.	fúú-liyé-m-pàátà táá-liyám-pòò kòmò-liyèm-pìì ⁿ	‘tiny trunkfish (<i>Petrocephalus</i>)’ ‘lutefish sp. (<i>Citharinus</i>)’ ‘certain spotted catfish spp.’	cf. (?) fùù ‘pufferfish’ táá ‘lutefish (various spp.)’ kòmò ⁿ ‘catfish (<i>Synodontis</i> spp.)’

5.1.7.4 Diminutive -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ with adjectives

The same -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ can be used to diminutivize certain adjectives. The most common examples are those in (255a), where diminutivization intensifies an adjective that already has intrinsic diminutive sense. On the other hand, in (255b) diminutivization mitigates bigness, pulling the referent back toward the middle of the scale. When the adjective does not specify size, as with color terms like ‘black’ (255c), diminutivization specifies object size rather than degree of blackness.

(255)	adjective (as Adj2)	gloss	diminutive		gloss
			singular	plural	
a.	mìyé-gù	‘small’	mìyé-gù-liyàw ⁿ	mìyé-gù-lè-mèè	‘tiny’
	twíí-gù	‘short’	twíí-gù-liyàw ⁿ	twíí-gù-lè-mèè	‘very short’
	nìyé-gù	‘easy’	nìyé-gù-liyàw ⁿ	nìyé-gù-lè-mèè	‘very easy/cheap’
	dùwó-gù	‘meager’	dùwó-gù-liyàw ⁿ	dùwó-gù-lè-mèè	‘very meager’
b.	bòrò ⁿ	‘big’	bòrò ⁿ -liyàw ⁿ	bòrò ⁿ -lè-mèè	‘biggish’
c.	pì ⁿ yè-nà	‘black’	pì ⁿ yè-nà-liyàw ⁿ	pì ⁿ yè-nà-lè-mèè	‘small and black’

5.1.8 Compounds with *tùù* ‘owner’

The noun *tùù* ‘owner’ (plural *tùù-yè* or *tùù-yé*, dialectally also *tù-yé*) requires a possessor or compound initial, minimally 3Sg possessor *à* (256).

- (256) *̀n tá= [à tùú] tò*
 1Sg IpfvNeg [3Sg **owner**] know.Ipfv
 ‘I don’t know its owner.’

Examples of compounds denoting ownership are in (257). Most are of the possessive compound type, with *-tùù* L-toned (before tone sandhi). *-tùù* shortens to *-tù* in the high-frequency combination *nògù-tù* ‘village chief’. Final Tone-Raising applies to an L-toned initial (257a) as expected. In (257b) the medial H-tone of */(L)HL/-*melodic initials spreads to the boundary. Three compounds with human reference based on abstract properties are level-toned and could be analyzed as tone-leveled compounds (257c).

(257) compound	gloss	initial
a. <i>/(L)-</i> melodic initial, possessor-possessum type		
<i>bònó-tùù</i>	‘granary’	<i>bònò</i>
<i>dùwó-tùù</i>	‘beer owner’	<i>dùwò</i>
<i>sùwó-tùù</i>	‘sheep owner’	<i>sùwò</i>
<i>shortened to -tù</i>		
<i>nògù-tù</i>	‘village owner (=chief)’	<i>nògù</i>
b. <i>/(L)HL/</i> initial		
<i>/HL/</i> initial		
<i>dáábá-tùù</i>	‘owner of livestock’	<i>dáábà</i>
<i>gómó-tùù</i>	‘head of household’	<i>gómò</i> ‘courtyard’
<i>/LHL/</i> initial		
<i>bùtígí-tùù</i>	‘shop owner (storekeeper)’	<i>bùtígì</i>
<i>màrífá-tùù</i>	‘rifle owner’	<i>màrífà</i>
<i>jàmáá-tùù</i>	‘homeowner’	<i>jàmáà</i>
c. tone-leveled		
<i>nàfòrò-tùù</i>	‘rich person’	<i>nàfòrò</i> ‘wealth’
<i>hágéré-túú</i>	‘intelligent person’	<i>hágéré</i> ‘intelligence’
<i>tàbà-tùù</i>	‘young man’	<i>tàbà</i> ‘foot’

-tùù ‘owner’ occurs in a wide range of compounds denoting attributes, ranging from conditions to unusual body parts to abstractions.

(258)	noun	gloss	‘owner of X’	gloss
	a. condition			
	kpéjé-té	‘leprosy’	kpéjé-té-tùù	‘leper’
	b. body part			
	dèjé-tíí	‘beard’	dèjé-tíí-tùù	‘bearded (person)’
	kòtò-kùrù	‘hump’	kòtò-kùrù-tùù	‘humped, hunchback’
	c. abstract attribute			
	dáwúlá	‘aura of success’	dáwúlá-tùù	‘one who is constantly successful’

5.1.9 ‘True’ versus ‘false’ species

There are several asymmetrical pairs of natural-species terms where one variety is the focal or “true” version, in contrast to a secondary variety. One way to make the distinction overt is to express the nonprototypical variety with a nonhuman animate possessor. ‘Hyena’ and ‘frog’ are suitable possessors.

(259)	compound	gloss	literal
	a. káy ⁿ ‘hyena’ as possessor		
	káy ⁿ -díli ⁿ	‘herb sp. (<i>Amaranthus</i>)’	“hyena-root”
	káy ⁿ -tìṅà	‘mushroom’	“hyena-stool”
	káy ⁿ -yàbàròò	‘wild onion (<i>Crinum</i>)’	“hyena-onion”
	b. sàrò ‘frog, toad’ as possessor		
	sàrò-[dààn-dàà ⁿ]	‘wild hibiscus sp.’	“frog-roselle”
	sàrò-[nàmù-jìì]	‘pond scum (<i>Spirogyra</i>)’	“frog-[millet.sauce]”

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihis can function as modifiers or as nouns. A bahuvrihi denotes or describes individuals who have a feature (such as a body part) of a specified quality (e.g. size, color) or quantity. Compare English adjectives *big-bellied* and *two-headed*, and nouns *Blackbeard* and *greenhorn*.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival final

An example is $\text{nìyè}\eta\text{-}[\text{kù}^n\text{wàà-nà}]$ ‘white-headed’. Its own tones without Final Tone-Raising at the boundary identify it as a tone-leveled compound. However, when this compound functions as an adjectival modifier, the leftmost tone of the preceding modified noun spreads rightward.

(260) modified noun ‘white-headed ___’

a. modified noun begins with L-tone

sùwò ‘sheep’	sùwò	$\text{nìyè}\eta\text{-}[\text{kù}^n\text{wàà-nà}]$
sìyé ‘horse’	sìyè	"
yòrógò ‘cat’	yòrògò	"

b. modified noun begins with H-tone

súwó ‘goat’	súwó	$\text{nìyè}\eta\text{-}[\text{kù}^n\text{wáá-ná}]$
kóṅgóró ‘dog’	kóṅgóró	"

‘Small-headed’ $\text{nìyè}^n\text{-}[\text{mìyè-gù}]$ has the HL-toned adjective mìyè-gù (~ mìyà-gù), which is resistant to Tone Leveling triggered by a stem to its left. When ‘small-headed’ modifies a preceding noun, Tone Leveling spreads to ‘head’ but is blocked by ‘small’, which becomes HL-toned.

(261) modified noun ‘small-headed ___’

a. modified noun begins with L-tone

sùwò ‘sheep’	sùwò	$\text{nìyè}^n\text{-}[\text{mìyè-gù}]$
sìyé ‘horse’	sìyè	"
yòrógò ‘cat’	yòrògò	"

b. modified noun begins with H-tone

súwó ‘goat’	súwó	$\text{nìyè}^n\text{-}[\text{mìyè-gù}]$
kóṅgóró ‘dog’	kóṅgóró	"

The two terms in (262) diverge from the tonal patterns seen so far. The initial is tùùⁿ ‘skin’, followed by short forms of ‘black’ or ‘white’.

- (262) a. tùùm-pííⁿ ‘African, black-skinned person’
 b. tùùŋ-kúwòⁿ ‘white-skinned person’ (includes Asians and Arabs)

For the rare HL-toned form -kúwòⁿ ‘white’; see §5.1.5.1.

5.2.1.2 With numeral final

Examples of noun-numeral bahuvrihis as postnominal modifiers are in (263). Unlike the adjectival bahuvrihis, here the nominal compound initial (e.g. ‘tail’, ‘leg’) and the numeral have the same forms as in non-bahuvrihi combinations. For example, ‘two-tailed’ in (263a) has the same form as ‘two tails’. ‘One’ likewise has its usual linker (263b). Tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) applies when the initial (at least its last two moras) and the numeral are both L-toned as in ‘three-legged’ (263c). If the bahuvrihi modifies another noun, like ‘dog’ or ‘horse’ in (263d), this noun does not spread its initial tone rightward by Tone Leveling.

- (263) a. dùbàà-fà píyè̀m -péndé
 snake tail **two**
 ‘two-tailed snake’
 (< píyè̀wⁿ)
- b. kééwú tàbà-liyè̀ŋ-kóóⁿ
 man foot-**Link-one**
 ‘one-legged man’
 (< tàbà)
- c. kééwú tàbà -péndé/...
 tàbá -.../sìgè̀ⁿ
 man foot **-two/three**
 ‘two-/three-legged man’
 (< tàbà)
- d. kóngòró / ÿiyé tàbá -sìgè̀ⁿ
 dog / horse foot **-three**
 ‘three-legged dog/horse’

5.2.2 Derived adjectival diminutives (-li-yawⁿ, -lé-méé)

§4.5.1.2 above described adjectives with obligatory suffix -gù that is associated with smallness ('small', 'short', etc.). In those cases the -gù is arguably part of the stem.

By “derived diminutive” is meant optional diminutive marking on an adjective that can freely occur without it. The textual examples involve the adjectives ‘small’ and ‘big’, whose diminutivized forms mean ‘tiny’ and ‘a bit big’, respectively. In other words, diminutivization intensifies ‘small’ and weakens ‘big’. Speakers accepted diminutives for ‘long’ and ‘short’ and there is no obvious morphological barrier for diminutivizing other simple adjective stems.

(264) presents forms of ‘big’ in absolute function (without a noun) but with a 3Sg possessor denoting a larger set. The sense is ‘a (slightly) big one’, plural ‘(slightly) big ones’, from a set established in prior discourse.

(264) Diminutive of ‘big’

	singular		plural
	unmarked	definite	
regular	ā bòrò ⁿ	ā bòró ⁿ -yàw ⁿ	ā bòró ⁿ -yè ~ ā bòrò ⁿ -yé
diminutive	ā bòrò ⁿ -liyàw ⁿ	ā bòrò ⁿ -liyé ⁿ -è ⁿ	ā bòrò ⁿ -lé-méé or: ā bòrò ⁿ -liyá ⁿ -yè

Comparing ā bòròⁿ-liyàwⁿ with ā bòróⁿ-yàwⁿ and with ā bòròⁿ-lè-mèè would ordinarily require segmentation of -liyàwⁿ into diminutive -li- and definite singular -yàwⁿ. However, the diminutive definite singular ā bòròⁿ-liyéⁿ-èⁿ and the variant diminutive plural ā bòròⁿ-liyáⁿ-yè show that outer suffixes are added to -liyàwⁿ.

The other textually attested diminutive adjective is based on mỳé-gù ‘small’ (265).

(265)

	singular		plural
	unmarked	definite	
regular	ā mỳé-gù	ā mỳè-gú-yàw ⁿ	ā mỳé-gù-yè
diminutive	ā mỳé-gù-liyàw ⁿ	ā mỳé-gù-liyé ⁿ -è ⁿ	ā mỳé-gù-lé-méé or: ā mỳé-gù-liyá ⁿ -yè

For ‘long’, à kwásà-àmà ‘a long one’ has an elicitable diminutive à kwásà-àmà-liyàwⁿ ‘a slightly long one’.

5.2.3 Composite adjective bààgù ~ bààngù ‘fast’

The adjective ‘fast’ is composite in Cliffs, where it is based on a noun bàà ‘body’ that is used chiefly in speed expressions. In J-S of Djenné bàà does not occur as a separate noun. This makes ‘fast’ unsegmentable, though there is a diachronically revealing variation between medial ŋg and g in different forms.

The verb is bààgù-mà/bààgù-má ‘become fast, accelerate, speed up’ (266a) or causative bààgù-mà-nì/bààgù-mà-ní ‘(sb) accelerate (sth)’. The participle with -na likewise has unclustered g (266b-c).

- (266) a. móómbírì-m bààgù-má gà
 vehicle-DefSg **fast**-Inch.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The vehicle speeded up.’
- b. móómbírí báágú-má-ná
 vehicle **fast**-Inch-Ppl
 ‘a fast vehicle’
- c. sùwò bààgù-mà-nà
 sheep **fast**-Inch-Ppl
 ‘a fast sheep’

However, the stative predicate (267a-c) and the simple modifying adjective (267d-e) are based on bààngùⁿ with medial ŋg. In addition, for some speakers the stative predicate is a simple intransitive (267a), while for others it is a reflexive (267b-c), like many similar stative predicates.

- (267) a. ā bààngùⁿ
 3Sg **be.fast**
 ‘It is fast.’ (dialect 2, as a variant)
- b. à m̄ bààngùⁿ
 3Sg 3ReflSg **be.fast**
 [=(a), dialect 1, sometimes dialect 2]
- c. à tá m̄ bààngùⁿ
 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg **be.fast**
 ‘It isn’t fast.’

d. mósómbírí báàngúⁿ
vehicle **fast**
‘a fast vehicle’

e. sùwò bààngùⁿ
sheep **fast**
‘a fast sheep’

The form bààngù with ñg must have originated in a reflexive construction of the type *[X bàà] ñgùⁿ ‘X’s body/speed is fast’. This means that the forms based on bààgù without the nasal originated as bahuvrihi compounds. However, bààngù can no longer be segmented in this fashion. This is shown most clearly by the position of post-subject inflectional particles, like IpfvNeg tá in (267c).

Compare Kelenga ā là-gùⁿ ‘it is fast’, with a different initial element also found in the Kelenga antonym ā là-mùⁿ ‘it is slow’.

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order within multi-word NPs

The order of elements within an NP that contains modifiers as well as a head noun is summarized in (268). Determiners split into prenominal demonstratives and a suffixed postnominal definite singular marker, and the two can co-occur. Discourse-functional morphemes include ‘also/too’, ‘only’, and ‘as for’ (topic). “Pl” is a suffix added to a noun or N-Adj.

(268) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj - Num/Pl - DefSg - DiscFunct - ‘all’ - ‘any’

Examples showing the relative orderings are in (269).

- (269) a. sèédù súwó píⁿyé-ná péndé
 S goat black-Ppl two
 ‘Seydou’s two black goats’ Poss-N-Adj-Num
- b. kù-nù súwó péndé-yàwⁿ
 Dem goat two-DefSg
 ‘these/those two goats’ Dem-N-Num-DefSg
- c. kù-nù súwó píⁿyé-ná-yè sááⁿ
 Dem-Link goat-Pl black-Pl all
 ‘all these/those black goats’ Dem-N-Adj-Pl-‘all’
- d. hàlí sèédù súwó-yàwⁿ
 even S goat-DefSg
 ‘even Seydou’s goat’ ‘even’-Poss-N-DefSg
- e. súwó-yè píyé sááⁿ
 goat-Pl too all
 ‘all the goats too’ N-Pl-DiscFun-‘all’

f.	sèédù	sùwó	= w̃ ⁿ	ɲùnù (~ wùnù)	
	S	sheep	DefSg	Top	
	'as for Seydou's sheep-Sg'				Poss-N-Det-DiscFun

sááⁿ 'all' is usually final in NPs, following even 'too', as seen in (270).

(270) ń nà [súwó-yè sáán] tóró gà,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv Pfv,
 ń ná [sàbá-yè píyé sáán] tóró gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [chicken-Pl **too** **all**] tóró gà
 'I sold all the goats, and I (then) sold all the chickens too.'

However, sááⁿ can be followed by síí 'any' when both are added to the relative morpheme màⁿ (271). The combination màⁿ sááⁿ optionally fuses slightly as mà-sááⁿ. See also (302d) below.

(271) [ɲàmáà màⁿ sááⁿ síí] gà bôⁿ,
 [house Rel **all** **any**] be.Loc here,
 [à sááⁿ] ɲá [ɲ-dúwò fùwò] nì
 [3Sg all] be [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is
 'The whole house that is here, all of it belongs to me.'

In texts, care should be taken to distinguish NP-final sááⁿ 'all' from clause-final sááⁿ in subordinated clauses (e.g. §16.1.2), where it may accidentally follow an NP.

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A numeral or demonstrative by itself may function absolutely as an NP in the absence of a modified noun (272a-b).

(272) a. kú dó [ɲ ná]
 Dem give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 'Give me that!'

b. kòòn dó [ɲ ná]
 one give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 'Give me one!' (< kòòⁿ)

Adjectives require a noun, minimally a semantically light noun like fá 'thing', when the referent is nonspecific (e.g. 'a black one', 'something black'). However, adjectives can function nominally

when the referent is specific. In this case they require a following definite singular suffix *-yàwⁿ* or the plural suffix *-yè* (in this case functioning as definite plural). Definite singular *-yàwⁿ* is subject to phonetic reduction except when prepausal. Stem-final *a* combines with contracted *-yàwⁿ* as *é = èⁿ*.

- (273) a. kúⁿwáá-né-èn dó [ɲ ná]
 white-Ppl-DefSg give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me the white one!’ (< kúⁿwáá-ná)
- b. mìyé-gù-ùn dó [ɲ ná]
 small-Adj-DefSg give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me the small one!’ (cf. postnominal modifying míyè-gù)
- c. bòróⁿ-òn dó [ɲ ná]
 big-Adj-DefSg give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me the big one!’ (< bòróⁿ)
- d. tíyé-má-ná-yè dó [ɲ ná]
 heavy-Inch-Ppl-Pl give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me the heavy ones!’

sááⁿ ‘all’ requires at least a pronominal possessor in the inanimate sense ‘everything, all of it’ (274a), but it occurs without a noun or possessor in the human sense ‘everyone’ (274b).

- (274) a. [à sáán] dó [ɲ ná]
 [3Sg **all**] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give it all to me!’
- b. sáám bé gà
 all come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Everyone has come.’

6.2 Possessives

Possessors immediately precede possessed nouns (possessums). There is no segmental genitive morpheme. Regular tone sandhi applies at the possessor-possessum boundary, and additional minor tonal changes occur in possessors before L-tone. Tonal ablaut occurs in the possessum when the possessor is 1Sg.

6.2.1 Alienability

The only morphosyntactic difference between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns is that definite singular marking is usually omitted with possessed singular kin terms and usually present with other possessed singular nouns.

Possessed singular kin terms without definite marking are illustrated in (275). The nouns are *kà* ‘father’ and *nàwⁿ* ‘mother’.

- (275) a. [ɨ́ ká / ná:m] bé gà
 [1Sg **father/mother**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘My father/mother came.’
- b. [ā kà / nàm] bé gà
 [3Sg **father/mother**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘His/her father/mother came.’

When we replace the possessed kin terms with the alienable noun *sùwò* ‘sheep-Sg’, definite singular marking is present. The suffix is reduced phonetically in nonfinal position, but its final nasal is clearly heard in (276a-b) and the tone pattern especially in (276b) is distinctive.

- (276) a. [ɨ́ súwò-(ò)m] bé gà
 [1Sg **sheep-DefSg**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘My sheep-Sg came.’
- b. [ā sùwó-òm] bé gà
 [3Sg **sheep-DefSg**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘His/her sheep-Sg came.’

However, the definite suffix can be added to the kin terms, for example to emphasize discourse-definiteness, and it can be omitted with the alienables when indefinite.

6.2.2 Form of possessum

6.2.2.1 No tonal changes except after 1Sg ɨ́

The possessum has its usual tonal form when a possessor is added, unless the possessor is 1Sg ɨ́ (+tones), which flips at least the initial tone of the possessum. For combinations of various nouns with 1Sg possessor, see §4.3.3.4.2.

Examples showing preservation of the form of the possessum with possessors other than 1Sg are in (277). As in these examples, the definite singular suffix *-yàwⁿ* is common when the

referent is singular and definite. The DefSg suffix can be omitted for indefinite reference. When present, even in reduced form, the suffix triggers regular Final Tone-Raising in /L/-melodic nouns like ‘salt’. Fuller discussion of tone sandhi on possessors is in §6.2.3-4 below.

(277)	noun	gloss	‘his/her X’	‘Seydou’s X’	‘the woman’s X’
	<i>ɲàmáà</i>	‘house’	<i>ā ɲàmáà-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdú ɲàmáà-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>yùwò-òɲ ɲàmáà-yàwⁿ</i>
	<i>kúwóⁿ</i>	‘bone’	<i>à kúwóⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèédù kúwóⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>yùwó-òɲ kúwóⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>
	<i>kùwò</i>	‘salt’	<i>ā kùwó-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdú kùwó-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>yùwò-òɲ kùwó-yàwⁿ</i>

Counterparts with plural possessums are in (278).

(278)	noun	gloss	‘his/her Xs’	‘Seydou’s Xs’	‘the woman’s Xs’
	<i>ɲàmáà-yè</i>	‘houses’	<i>ā ɲàmáà-yè</i>	<i>sèèdú ɲàmáà-yè</i>	<i>yùwòⁿ-òɲ ɲàmáà-yè</i>
	<i>kúwóⁿ-yè</i>	‘bones’	<i>à kúwóⁿ-yè</i>	<i>sèédù kúwóⁿ-yè</i>	<i>yùwóⁿ-òɲ kúwóⁿ-yè</i>
	<i>kùwó-yè</i>	‘salts’	<i>ā kùwó-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdú kùwó-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>yùwòⁿ-òɲ kùwò</i>

6.2.2.2 Default possessum *fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ* and variants

When the nature of the possessum is contextually understood, the possessum is expressed minimally by one of the variants in (279), depending on subdialect. The forms appear to be based on a mix of definite singular forms of *fá* ‘thing’ and *fàⁿ* ‘(someone’s) share, portion’. *fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ* appears to re-add definite singular *-yàwⁿ* to *fèéⁿ*, which is already the contracted definite singular of *fàⁿ*.

(279)	form	‘Seydou’s’	‘his/hers’	‘mine’
	<i>fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdú fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>ā fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>ɲ fèéⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>
	<i>fá-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèédù fá-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>à fáⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>ɲ fáⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>
	<i>fǎⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdú fǎⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>ā fǎⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>	<i>ɲ fáⁿ-yàwⁿ</i>
	<i>fé-èⁿ</i>	<i>sèédù fé-èⁿ</i>	<i>à fé-èⁿ</i>	<i>ɲ fèé-èⁿ</i>
	<i>fàwⁿ</i>	<i>sèèdù fàwⁿ</i>	<i>ā fàwⁿ</i>	<i>ɲ fàwⁿ</i>

The plural *fáⁿ-yè* ~ *fàⁿ-yé* does not contract.

A prototypical context of use for these forms is when two possessors of the same possessum type are compared. The possessum is spelled out the first time and is replaced by a form of *fá-yàwⁿ* the second time.

- (280) a. [sèèdú nàmáà-ⁿ] ɲá tòmò-ná nì,
 [S **house-Def**] be red-Ppl it.is,
 [ɲkàà [ɲ fêé-èⁿ] ɲá pìⁿyè-ná nì
 [but [1Sg **Poss**] be black-Ppl it.is
 ‘Seydou’s house is brown, (but) mine is black.’
- b. [sèèdú nàmáà-yè] gá tòmò-ná nì,
 [S **house-Pl**] be red-Ppl it.is,
 [ɲkàà [ɲ fǎⁿ-yè] gá pìⁿyè-ná nì
 [but [1Sg **Poss-Pl**] be black-Ppl it.is
 ‘Seydou’s houses are brown, (but) mine are black.’

A similar use of ‘thing’ replacing a more specific noun as final in a compound-like construction is observed in (281).

- (281) à bé-kíyé nàfiyè-yàwⁿ, síni [wày fá-yàwⁿ],
 3Sg times.past benefit-DefSg, and [today **thing-DefSg**],
 kòòn té
 one it.is.not
 ‘Its benefit in times past and the one (=its benefit) of today are not the same.’
 (2021-01 @ 04:14)

6.2.3 Nonpronominal possessors

The possessor can be anything from a pronominal proclitic to a full NP.

- (282) a. ā nàmáà-yàwⁿ ‘his/her house’
 b. sèèdú nàmáà-yàwⁿ ‘Seydou’s house’
 c. sùwó nàmáà-yàwⁿ ‘a sheep’s quarters’
 d. kù-nù yúwóⁿ-òɲ nàmáà-yàwⁿ ‘this woman’s house’
 e. yùwóⁿ sìgé-(è)ɲ nàmáà-yàwⁿ ‘the house of the three women’

There are no major structural changes in an NP when it functions as possessor. Tone sandhi does affect L-final possessors before possessums like ‘house’ that begin with L-tone. Final Tone-Raising from sùwò ‘sheep-Sg’ to sùwó is observed in (282c), and subphonemic Upstep of 3Sg à to ā occurs in (282a). Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.2) converts /LHL/-melodic nouns like sèèdù to LLH-toned before an L-tone (282b).

Further examples are in (283). Possessors that already end in H-tone do not change (283a). H(L)L-toned possessors become H(L)H-toned by Final Tone-Raising (283b). (283c) confirms the operation of Rightward H-Tone Shift, converting LHL to LLH.

(283)	noun/NP	gloss	‘X’s house’
a. H-final possessors			
	dyé-nè-mée	‘children’	dyé-nè-mée nàmáà
	sù ⁿ wó	‘crocodile’	sù ⁿ wó nàmáà
b. /HL/-melodic possessors			
	díyé-nèw ⁿ	‘child’	díyé-néɲ nàmáà
	kóŋò	‘viper’	kóŋó nàmáà
	núwòsì	‘chameleon’	núwòsí nàmáà
	kóŋgòrò	‘dog’	kóŋgòró nàmáà
	áámàdù	‘Amadou (name)’	áámàdú nàmáà
c. /LHL/-melodic possessors			
	màrifà	‘rifle’	màrifá nàmáà
	yòrógò	‘cat’	yòrògó nàmáà

6.2.4 Pronominal possessors

Pronominal possessors are in (284), excerpted from §4.3.1.

(284)	category	possessor
	1Sg	ɲ (+tones)
	1Pl	í ⁿ (contracting with preceding vowel as = éé ⁿ)
	2Sg	á ⁿ
	2Pl	áá
	3Sg	à
	3Pl	è
	Logo/3Ref1Sg	ɲ
	Logo/3Ref1Pl	é (contracting with preceding vowel as = éé) (after pause or interruption also íí)

The tones of the possessum are not affected by the presence of a possessor, except in the case of 1Sg ñ (+tones). The tonal effects of 1Sg possessor are described and exemplified under the rubric of Tone Inversion in §3.6.3.1.

6.2.5 Recursive possession

A possessed NP can itself be a possessor (285a-b).

- (285) a. [sèèdú kǎ] nàmáà
 [S father] house
 ‘Seydou’s father’s house’ (< sèédù, kà)
- b. [sèédù kónḡòró-òm] píyèⁿ-yàwⁿ
 [S dog-DefSg] tail-DefSg
 ‘Seydou’s dog’s tail’

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Tonal interactions between noun and modifying adjective

6.3.1.1 Noun plus one regular modifying adjective

N-Adj combinations are subject to Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). In other words, N-Adj is treated tonally like the main type of fully lexicalized N-N compound (5.1.4).

If we focus just on two-word N-Adj1 sequences (noun plus a single adjective), the situation is simple, at least superficially. This is because adjectives of monotonal /L/ and /H/ lexical melodies are tonally merged in N-Adj, due to Tone Leveling. These adjectives get their surface tones by spreading of the leftmost tone of the noun all the way to the end of the N-Adj string. Contour-toned adjectives are covered later, see (291) below.

(286) illustrates the spread of an initial H from the left edge of the noun, which has lexical melody /H/ or /HL/, through the entire N-Adj1 string. The adjectives in (286) are those that can readily apply to animals like ‘goat’ and ‘dog’.

(286)	adjective	súwó 'goat' (/H/)	kóngòrò 'dog' (/HL/)
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level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

'fast'	súwó báá(η)gú	kóngóró báá(η)gú
'big'	súwó bóró ⁿ	kóngóró bóró ⁿ
'old'	súwó kéémíné	kóngóró kéémíné
'white'	súwó kú ⁿ wáá-ná	kóngóró kú ⁿ wáá-ná
'long/tall'	súwó kwásá ⁿ	kóngóró kwásá ⁿ
'good'	súwó mápáá	kóngóró mápáá
'full/robust'	súwó páná	kóngóró páná
'first'	súwó pánáá ⁿ	kóngóró pánáá ⁿ
'black'	súwó pí ⁿ yé-ná	kóngóró pí ⁿ yé-ná
'foreign'	súwó sùmú	kóngóró sùmú
'red'	súwó tómó-ná	kóngóró tómó-ná
'new'	súwó twéé	kóngóró twéé
'female'	súwó yúwó ⁿ	kóngóró yúwó ⁿ

Array (287) pairs the same adjectives with nouns of melody /L/, /LH/, or /LHL/. These adjectives are H-toned in (286) above but L-toned in (287), in both cases as Adj1 subject to Tone Leveling.

(287)	adjective	sùwò 'sheep' (/L/)	sìyè 'horse' (/LH/)	màrifà 'rifle' (/LHL/)
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level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

'fast'	sùwò bàà(η)gù	sìyè bàà(η)gù	màrifà bàà(η)gù
'big'	sùwò bòrò ⁿ	sìyè bòrò ⁿ	màrifà bòrò ⁿ
'old'	sùwò kèèminè	sìyè kèèminè	màrifà kèèminè
'white'	sùwò kù ⁿ wàà-nà	sìyè kù ⁿ wàà-nà	màrifà kù ⁿ wàà-nà
'long/tall'	sùwò kwàsà ⁿ	sìyè kwàsà ⁿ	màrifà kwàsà ⁿ
'good'	sùwò mą̀pàà	sìyè mą̀pàà	màrifà mą̀pàà
'full/robust'	sùwò pàná	sìyè pàná	màrifà pàná
'first'	sùwò pànáá ⁿ	sìyè pànáá ⁿ	màrifà pànáá ⁿ
'black'	sùwò pí ⁿ yè-nà	sìyè pí ⁿ yè-nà	màrifà pí ⁿ yè-nà
'worn-out'	—	—	màrifà sìrè
'foreign'	sùwò sùmù	sìyè sùmù	màrifà sùmù
'red'	sùwò tòmò-nà	sìyè tòmò-nà	màrifà tòmò-nà
'new'	sùwò twèè	sìyè twèè	màrifà twèè
'empty'	—	—	màrifà wùwò ⁿ
'female'	sùwò yùwò ⁿ	sìyè yùwò ⁿ	—

Array (288) repeats the tonal patterns in (286) above with food/drink nouns, which combine with a different set of adjectives denoting taste, temperature, and ripeness. As in (286), the nouns are H-initial. mááṅgòró ‘mango’ is a rare /HLH/-melodic noun.

(288)	adjective	tóó ‘meat’ (/H/)	súwò ‘milk’ (/HL/)	mááṅgòró ‘mango’ (/HLH/)
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level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

‘sweet’	tóó dùmó	súwò dùmó	mááṅgòró dùmó
‘unseasoned’	tóó gááyà	—	—
‘fresh/raw’	tóó káá	súwò káá	mááṅgòró káá
‘bitter’	tóó káásí	súwò káásí	mááṅgòró káásí
‘cold/slow’	tóó múwá-ná	súwò múwá-ná (‘sour milk’)	mááṅgòró múwá-ná
‘rotten’	tóó píí-ná	súwò píí-ná	mááṅgòró píí-ná
‘hot’	tóó pí ⁿ yé-ná	súwò pí ⁿ yé-ná	mááṅgòró píyé-ná
‘foul’	tóó súwó	súwò súwó	mááṅgòró súwó

The same adjectives of taste etc. are paired with L-initial food/drink nouns in (289). The adjectives now present as L-toned because of Tone Leveling, as in (287) above.

(289)	adjective	nàmù (/L/) ‘tô (=millet cake)’	mì ⁿ yé (/LH/) ‘grass sp. (<i>Acroceras</i>)’	nàmàsà (/LHL/) ‘banana’
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level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

‘sweet’	nàmù dùmò	mìyèn dùmò	nàmàsà dùmò
‘unseasoned’	nàmù gáàyà	—	—
‘fresh/raw’	nàmù kàà	mìyèn kàà	nàmàsà kàà
‘foul’	nàmù sùwò	mìyè ⁿ sùwò	nàmàsà sùwò
‘bitter’	nàmù kààsì	mìyèn kààsì	nàmàsà kààsì
‘hot’	nàmù pí ⁿ yè-nà	mìyèm pí ⁿ yè-nà	nàmàsà pí ⁿ yè-nà
‘rotten’	nàmù píì-nà	mìyèm píì-nà	nàmàsà píì-nà
‘cold/slow’	nàmù mùwà-nà	mìyèm mùwà-nà	nàmàsà mùwà-nà

‘Distant’ is an awkward semantic fit with the animal and food nouns in the preceding lists, but it is subject to the same tonal patterns. Using the more appropriate nouns ‘village’ and ‘rock/mountain’, the simple adjective (290a) is synonymous with the participial version (290b). Here again the N-Adj sequence is subject to Tone Leveling.

- (290) a. nògù dààⁿ ‘distant village’
 sírè dááⁿ ‘distant rock (or mountain)’
- b. nògù dàà-mà-nà ‘distant village’
 sírè dáá-má-ná ‘distant rock (or mountain)’

For the N-Adj combinations considered so far, the adjective makes no contribution to the resulting tonal pattern since it gets its tones by spreading from the noun. By extrapolation from N-N compounds, this implies that the adjectives exemplified so far have level-toned (monotonal) melodies, either /L/ or /H/. This is confirmed by their tonal forms in contexts not subject to Tone Leveling. Such contexts include Adj2 position (§6.3.3.1.1) and, for some adjectives, predicate function. See §4.5.1.1 for an inventory of adjectives showing these forms.

A smaller contrasting set of adjectives appear with fixed HL-tones as Adj1 in N-Adj combinations. This includes adjectives with suffix -gù (§4.5.1.2), plus wáárà(w)ⁿ (§4.5.1.1). The noun still undergoes Tone Leveling up to the boundary, but the tones of the noun have no effect on those of the adjective, which has invariant HL-tone. By extrapolation from N-N compounds, these adjectives have one or another of the contour-toned melodies /HL/, /HLH/, or /LH(L)/, and merge here as HL-toned as part of Tone Leveling. This is confirmed since the lexical melodies are overt in contexts where they are not subject to Tone Leveling; see §4.5.1.1-2 and §6.3.3.1.1.

(291) shows these adjectives as Adj1 with H-initial nouns.

(291)	adjective	‘goat’ súwó (/H/)	‘dog’ kónḡòrò (/HL/)	‘mango’ mááḡgóró (/HLH/)
a.	‘small’	súwó míyè-gù	kónḡgóró míyè-gù	mááḡgóró míyè-gù
	‘short’	súwó twî-gù	kónḡgóró twî-gù	mááḡgóró twî-gù
	‘easy’	súwó níyè-gù	kónḡgóró níyè-gù	mááḡgóró níyè-gù
b.	‘smart’	súwó wááràw ⁿ	kónḡgóró wááràw ⁿ	—
	‘sour’	—	—	mááḡgóró tántà-nà

These adjectives present the same HL tone pattern as Adj1 when preceded by L-initial nouns (292).

(292)	adjective	‘sheep’ sùwò (/L/)	‘chicken’ sàbá (/LH/)	‘banana’ nàmàsà (/LHL/)
	a.	‘small’ sùwò míyè-gù	sàbà míyè-gù	nàmàsà míyè-gù
		‘short’ sùwò twî-gù	sàbà twî-gù	nàmàsà twî-gù
		‘easy’ sùwò níyè-gù	sàbà níyè-gù	nàmàsà níyè-gù
	b.	‘smart’ sùwò wááràw ⁿ	sàbà wááràw ⁿ	—
		‘sour’ —	—	nàmàsà tántà-nà

Therefore in simple N-Adj1 strings, there are only two tonal types of adjective. One gets its tones by spreading from the left edge of the noun. The other has fixed HL-tones regardless of the tones of the noun.

For the -gù adjectives that have lexical melody /LH(L)/, i.e. /LH/ if -gù is excluded and /LH-L/ if it is included, Tone Leveling disregards the suffix -gù and applies only to the preceding stem. The adjectives (in Adj2 form) mìyé-gù ‘small’, twîí-gù ‘short’, and nìyé-gù ‘easy, cheap’ become HL-toned míyè-gù ‘small’, twîî-gù ‘short’, and níyè-gù as modifiers in N-Adj1 strings, see (291a) and (292a) above. The regular Tone Leveling process converts trisyllabic L.H.L nouns into H.H.L, with the tone break right-biased. If we take mìyé-gù etc. as trisyllabic as inputs to Tone Leveling, in Adj1 function they should present as e.g. #míyé-gù, with just the suffix L-toned. The actual Adj1 outputs like míyè-gù can be produced by regular operation of Tone Leveling is limited to the noun and the unaffixed adjectival stem.

6.3.1.2 t à n à à ‘other’

The modifying adjective ‘other’ is somewhat noun-like, and the N-Adj combination patterns tonally like a possessive compound (5.1.3). The noun presents in its lexical tones except for tone sandhi.

(293)	noun	gloss	‘other _’
	sùwò	‘sheep’	sùwó t à n à à
	sìyé	‘horse’	sìyé t à n à à
	yòrógò	‘cat’	yòrògó t à n à à

6.3.1.3 kèèminè ‘old’ and sîrè ‘very old, decrepit’

The general adjective for ‘old’ is kèèminè, while sîrè is a stronger word meaning ‘very old, decrepit, worn-out’. Both can apply to people, animals, or things.

kéémíné is the noun ‘old person’, with /H/ melody (294a). As a single nominal modifier, analysable as either Adj1 or as a compound final, it undergoes Tone Leveling from the noun (294b-c). As second adjective (Adj2), it is L-toned (294d), revealing an /L/-melody as adjective.

(294)	singular	plural	gloss
a.	kéémíné	kéémíné-yè	‘old person’
b.	kééwú kéémíné súwó kéémíné	kééwú kéémíné-yè súwó kéémíné-yè	‘old man’ ‘old goat’
c.	yùwòᵇ kèèminè sùwò kèèminè ᵇnàmàà kèèminè	yùwòᵇ kèèminé-yè sùwò kèèminé-yè ᵇnàmàà kèèminé-yè	‘old woman’ ‘old sheep’ ‘old house’ (< ᵇnàmàà)
d.	sùwò bòróᵇ kèèminè súwó bòróᵇ kèèminè	sùwò bòróᵇ kèèminè súwó bòróᵇ kèèminé-yè	‘old big sheep’ ‘old big goat’

sîrè does not occur as a simple noun. As a modifier, except as noted below, sîrè takes HL-toned form. In this form it can be compounded to the noun kéémíné (295a) or to other nouns (295b-c). It can also be compounded to the adjective kèèminè, in the same HL-toned form (295d-e). For other unexpectedly HL-toned compound finals, see §5.1.5.1.

(295)	singular	plural	gloss
a.	kéémíné-sîrè	kéémíné-sîrè-yè	‘very old person’
b.	kééwú-sîrè súwó-sîrè	kééwú-sîrè-yè súwó-sîrè-yè	‘very old man’ ‘very old goat’
c.	yùwò ⁿ -sîrè sùwò-sîrè ᵇnàmàà-sîrè	yùwò ⁿ -sîrè-yè sùwò-sîrè-yè ᵇnàmàà-sîrè-yè	‘very old woman’ ‘very old sheep’ ‘very old house’
b.	kééwú kéémíné-sîrè súwó kéémíné-sîrè	kééwú kéémíné-sîrè-yè súwó kéémíné-sîrè-yè	‘very old man’ ‘very old goat’

- c. yùwòŋ kèèminè-sírè yùwòŋ kèèminè-sírè-yè ‘very old woman’
 sùwò kèèminè-sírè sùwò kèèminè-sírè-yè ‘very old sheep’
 ñàmàà kèèminè-sírè ñàmàà kèèminè-sírè-yè ‘very old house’

When added as Adj2 to an Adj1 other than kèèminè, sírè takes L-toned form, revealing its lexical melody. In (296b), L-toned sírè triggers Final Tone-Raising on the -nà participial suffix of sùwò tòmò-nà ‘red (=brown) sheep’.

(296)	singular	plural	gloss
a.	súwó tómó-ná sírè	súwó tómó-ná sírè-yé	‘very old red (=brown) goat’
b.	sùwò tòmò-ná sírè	sùwò tòmò-ná sírè-yé	‘very old red (=brown) sheep’

6.3.1.4 Interaction of Tone Inversion with N-Adj combinations

1Sg possessor ñ and forms of deictic demonstrative kú are associated with tonal modifications of the following word (§3.6.3.1-2). When 1Sg ñ or deictic demonstrative kù-nù (or variant) is the possessor of a N-Adj1 combination, the possessor treats the latter in the same way it treats simple nouns. Strings that are otherwise all-L become HL-toned, with a single initial H (297a). All-H strings are entirely tone-dropped except for tone sandhi triggered by DefSg -yàwⁿ (297b). A contour-toned adjective like mìyé-gù ‘small’ (Adj2 form) appears with HL-tones as in the simple N-Adj1 combination (297c).

(297)	N-Adj	gloss	‘my _’	‘this/that _’
a.	sùwò pì ⁿ yè-nà yòrògò pì ⁿ yè-nà	‘black sheep’ ‘black cat’	ñ súwò pì ⁿ yè-nà ñ yòrògò pì ⁿ yè-nà	kù-nù súwò pì ⁿ yè-ná-yàw ⁿ kù-nù yòrògò pì ⁿ yè-ná-yàw ⁿ
b.	súwó pì ⁿ yé-ná kòŋgòró pì ⁿ yé-ná	‘black goat’ ‘black dog’	íj sùwò pì ⁿ yè-nà íj kòŋgòrò pì ⁿ yè-nà	kù-nù sùwò pì ⁿ yè-ná-yàw ⁿ kù-nù kòŋgòrò pì ⁿ yè-ná-yàw ⁿ
c.	sùwò mìyé-gù súwó mìyé-gù	‘small sheep’ ‘small goat’	ñ súwò mìyé-gù íj sùwò mìyé-gù	kù-nù súwò mìyé-gù-yàw ⁿ kù-nù sùwò mìyé-gù-yàw ⁿ

6.3.2 Set-partitioning quantifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’)

6.3.2.1 ‘Certain ones’ (kém̀b̀èr̀è)

kém̀b̀èr̀è partitions off a subset (‘some Xs’) of a larger set (‘all Xs’) of countable entities. One common construction is a juxtaposition of two clauses, each with an identical quantified NP (except that the noun is often omitted in the second clause), in the same grammatical function. Especially when the predicates are positive and negative, the two subsets exhaust the larger set. In this case, idiomatic free translations have ‘some Xs’ in the first clause and ‘the others’ in the second.

- (298) [íj s̀ùwó-yè kém̀b̀èr̀è] bé g̀à,
[1Sg goat-Pl **certain.Pl**] come.Pfv Pfv,
kém̀b̀èr̀é t̀è bé
certain.Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv
‘Some of my goats came (back), the others didn’t come (back).’

Nouns modified by kém̀b̀èr̀è have their independent tonal and morphological form, including plural suffixation. The tonal modifications that occur in N-Adj combinations do not occur before kém̀b̀èr̀è. In this respect, kém̀b̀èr̀è joins other morphologically free quantifiers including ‘all’ (§6.6.1) and ‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3), as well as ‘a certain’ (just below).

When kém̀b̀èr̀è with or without a modified noun functions as a preposed topical NP followed by a planned pause, it takes the form kém̀b̀èr̀èè with final HL-toned syllable (§3.7.2).

In 2071-01 @ 07:17, a speaker adds kém̀b̀èr̀è twice to preposed topical NPs (the first but not the second with this intonational HL-toned final syllable). The modified noun is unexpectedly marked with DefSg suffix -yàwⁿ. The context is: some years (or: one year) it’s good, some other years (or: another year) it isn’t.

6.3.2.2 ‘A certain one’ (kíyéⁿ, ñ-kíyéⁿ)

When a single individual is picked out of a larger set, the quantificational adjective kíyéⁿ is used instead of kém̀b̀èr̀è (299a). Speakers have produced combinations with and without a nasal ñ preceding kíyéⁿ. When present, it is probably the definite singular suffix on the noun, rather than a nasal linker associated with kíyéⁿ. For human reference there is a special combination nááñ-kíyéⁿ ‘someone/a certain person’ (299b), compare the usual noun númú⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘person’. kíyéⁿ can also be used alone in this human sense (‘someone’).

- (299) a. ní nà [súwó(-ḥ)] kiyén] tóró gà,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [goat(-DefSg) **a.certain**] sell.Pfv Pfv,
 ñ té sùrù-méé tóró
 1Sg PfvNeg remainder-Pl sell.Pfv
 ‘I sold one (particular) goat, (but) I didn’t sell the others.’
- b. íj ñà jááñ-kiyén tò
 1Sg Ipfv **person-a.certain**] know.Ipfv
 [ā gà kú tíí-ñì]
 [Rel Ipfv Dem do-Ipfv]
 ‘I know someone/a (certain) person, (who) he/she does that.’

The relationship of *kiyéⁿ* to the singular numeral (*ḥ*-)kòòⁿ ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1) is synchronically obscure due to phonological divergence. *kiyéⁿ* may have originated as a definite form of the numeral (‘the one’ as opposed to ‘the other’).

The singular numeral (*ḥ*-)kòòⁿ can itself occur (twice) in parallel double-clause pairings. In this case its vowel is slightly longer than usual, indicating the presence of the (synchronic) definite singular suffix reduced from -yàwⁿ (300).

- (300) ní nà kóó-òñ tóró gà,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **one-DefSg** sell.Pfv Pfv,
 ñ té kóó-(ò)n tóró
 1Sg PfvNeg **one-DefSg** sell.Pfv
 ‘I sold one goat (out of two that I have), (but) I didn’t sell the (other) one.’

Combinations of various nouns with (*ḥ*-)kòòⁿ and (*ḥ*-)kiyéⁿ ‘a certain’ are in (301). They show that the numeral ‘one’ behaves tonally like modifying adjectives, so the noun spreads its first tone rightward. By contrast, *kiyéⁿ* follows the independent form of the noun, showing that *kiyéⁿ* is tonally a (nonadjectival) free quantifier like *kémbèrè* (preceding subsection), *fá-líyéwⁿ* ‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3), and *sááⁿ* ‘all’ (§6.6.1).

- | (301) | melody | noun | gloss | ‘one X’ | ‘a certain X’ |
|-------|---------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| /H/ | súwó | ‘goat’ | súwó ḥ-kòò ⁿ
súwó-líyé ḥ-kòò ⁿ | súwó kiyé ⁿ | |
| /L/ | sùwò | ‘sheep’ | sùwò ḥ-kòò ⁿ
sùwò-lìyè ḥ-kòò ⁿ | sùwò kiyé ⁿ | |
| /HL/ | kóngòrò | ‘dog’ | kóngóró ḥ-kòò ⁿ
kóngóró-líyé ḥ-kòò ⁿ | kóngòrò kiyé ⁿ | |

/LH/	sòmó	‘daba’	sòmò ñ-kòò ⁿ sòmò-liyè ñ-kòò ⁿ	sòmó kíyé ⁿ
/LHL/	màrifà	‘rifle’	màrifà ñ-kòò ⁿ màrifà-liyè ñ-kòò ⁿ	màrifà kíyé ⁿ

6.3.2.3 síí ‘any’ and fóy ~ fwé ‘nothing (at all)’

Most occurrences of síí are as postnominal modifiers functioning as indefinite quantifiers ‘any X’). síí is another free quantifier that does not change the tones of the preceding nominal. The NP is often singular in form unless plurality is expected, in which case plural síí-yè is possible. síí occurs mainly in negative (302a-b) and interrogative (302c) frames, i.e. in nonassertive modal contexts, cf. §6.6.4 below. síí is less common in conditional antecedents, which can use relative màⁿ to introduce an indefinite referent, but for emphasis síí can be added to màⁿ sááⁿ ‘whatever’ or ‘whoever’ including sááⁿ ‘all’ (302d), cf. §6.6.3.

- (302) a. íín té sò [gíyéⁿ síí]-yè
1Pl PfvNeg go.Pfv [place **any**]-Loc
‘We didn’t go anywhere.’
- b. [númú síí] tè bé
[person **any**] PfvNeg come.Pfv
‘Nobody came.’
- c. áá gà ... [mùwó yúwó-síífà síí-yé lùwò] kú-nú
2Pl Ipfv ... [which? fish-kind **any-Pl** Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv
‘What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch?’
(2021-03 @ 00:04, hesitation omitted)
- d. áⁿ ná [màⁿ sááⁿ síí] kày,
2Sg if.Pfv [Rel all **any**] see.Pfv,
à ná= à sé [ñ té]
3Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
‘If you-Sg see anybody at all, tell it to me!’

For the short variant -sí in númú-sí ‘(not) anyone’, see (346d) below.

Other indefinite quantifiers not including síí that occur in negative contexts are the emphatic fóy ~ fwé ‘nothing (at all)’ and the negative existential perfect construction (‘have never VPed’, §10.2.1.2).

- (303) a. íín tè fóy tîⁿ
 1Pl PfvNeg **nothing** do.Pfv
 ‘We didn’t do anything.’
- b. ā tè gíyé [bí b́é]
 3Sg PfvNeg **ExpPf** [Seq come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She has never come (back).’

2021-01 @ 10:03 has possessed à fóy ‘nothing of it’. Other textual examples of fóy are 2021-01 @ 06:24, 14:37, 14:44, 14:49, and 2021-03 @ 06:42, 08:34, 12:20, 12:30, 12:34, 12:37, 12:40. These include combinations of fóy with a preceding noun, as in júgú fóy ‘no trees (at all)’ (2021-03 @ 12:40).

fóy ‘nothing’ may be related in some way to féw ‘completely’ or (under negation) ‘(not) at all’ (§19.4.1.3). However, the two are synchronically distinct.

6.3.2.4 Mass-partitioning ‘some (but not all)’

For mass nouns, there is no dedicated quantificational adjective of the types described above (‘certain ones’, ‘a certain’). However, fá ‘thing’ or ‘something’ can be used in a comparable parallel construction.

- (304) [súwð-wⁿ fá] pîí gà,
 [milk-DefSg **thing**] spill.Pfv Pfv,
 fá kónó gà [tîgè-èⁿ n(w)îⁿ]
thing stay.Pfv Pfv [container-DefSg inside]
 ‘Some (of the) milk was spilled, some (=the rest) has remained in the container.’
 (< tîgè)

In the first clause, ‘the milk’ takes its full form, indicating that fá is a free quantifier rather than a compound final or adjective.

6.3.2.5 Distributive-paucal ‘some (times, places)’

Distributive-paucal ‘some’ as in temporal ‘sometimes, now and then, at times’ is expressed in several ways: conjoining the noun ‘time’ to itself (305a), combining ‘time’ with the plural specific indefinite ‘certain ones’ (305b), or ‘time’ plus an iterated numeral ‘one’ in distributive sense (305c). wáátì ‘time’ lacks plural marking in the fixed phrase (305b). Nasalized yèⁿ is an archaic conjunctive particle (§7.1.2).

- (305) a. wáátì yèⁿ wáátì
time and time
‘from time to time’
- b. wáátì kémbèrè
time certain.Pl
‘at (certain) times’
- c. wáátì ñ-kóòṅ-kóòⁿ
time Link-one-one
‘sometimes’

Other temporal nouns (‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can be substituted for wáátì.

Spatial distribution (‘here and there, in places’) is expressed in similar ways, but ‘here’ occurs instead of gíyéⁿ ‘place’ in the conjunction (306a).

- (306) a. bôⁿ yèṅ bôⁿ
here and here
‘here and there’ (lit. “here and here”)
- b. gíyéṅ kémbèrè
place certain.Pl
‘in (certain) places’
- c. gíyéⁿ ñ-kóòṅ-kóòⁿ
place Link-one-one
‘in some places’

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

6.3.3.1.1 [N Adj1] Adj2 without a conjunction

Two adjectives may follow and modify the same noun. Unless there is a lexicalized N-Adj collocation, the order of the adjectives appears to be free. This is the case with size and color adjectives in (307c-d).

- (307) a. $\text{jà}^{\text{màà}}$ $\text{pì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}^{\text{-nà}} / \text{kù}^{\text{n}}\text{wàà}^{\text{-nà}}$
house black-Ppl / white-Ppl
‘a black house’
- b. $\text{jà}^{\text{màà}}$ $\text{bò}^{\text{rò}^{\text{n}}}$
house big
‘a big house’
- c. $\text{jà}^{\text{màà}}$ $\text{bò}^{\text{rò}^{\text{n}}}$ $\text{pì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}^{\text{-nà}} / \text{kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá}^{\text{-ná}}$
house big black-Ppl / white-Ppl
‘a big black/white house’
- d. $\text{jà}^{\text{màà}}$ $\text{pì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}^{\text{-ná}} / \text{kù}^{\text{n}}\text{wàà}^{\text{-ná}}$ $\text{bò}^{\text{rò}^{\text{n}}}$
house black-Ppl / white-Ppl big
[=(c)]
- e. $\text{kó}^{\text{n}}\text{gò}^{\text{rò}}$ $\text{mì}^{\text{y}}\text{é}^{\text{-gù}}$ $\text{pì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}^{\text{-nà}} / \text{kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá}^{\text{-ná}}$
dog small-Adj black-Ppl / white-Ppl
‘a small black/white dog’

In the sequence N-Adj1-Adj2, the tonal bracketing is [N-Adj1]-Adj2. Within the bracket, Tone Leveling occurs as described in preceding subsections. Adj2, on the other hand, appears with its lexical tone melody, and is not included in the domain of Tone Leveling. Therefore ‘black’ and ‘white’ have the same tones when functioning as Adj1 (307a), but differ tonally from each other when they function as Adj2 (307c,e). In other words, Adj2 brings out lexical tone melodies /L/ and /H/ that are neutralized as Adj1. Furthermore, L-toned Adj2 can trigger tone sandhi on the end of the N-Adj1 string. This accounts for the H-toned suffix -ná in (307d).

The lexical melodies of adjectives are also overt in stative predicates after *gà* ‘be’ or after a reflexive pronominal: $\text{à gá pì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}^{\text{-nà}}$ ‘it is black’ with L-toned adjective, but $\text{ā gá kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá}^{\text{-ná}}$ ‘it is white’ (§4.5.1.1, §11.4.1.1).

The melody is also observable when it is “possessed.” For example, $\text{mì}^{\text{y}}\text{é}^{\text{-gù}}$ ‘small’ shifts to H*L-toned $\text{mì}^{\text{y}}\text{é}^{\text{-gù}}$ as modifying adjective but keeps its lexical tones in $\text{à mì}^{\text{y}}\text{é}^{\text{-gù}}$ ‘a small one (of it), its small one’, e.g. 2021-03 @ 01:30.

6.3.3.1.2 ‘[N Adj1] and Adj2’ (with a conjunction)

Two color adjectives from the same semantic domain can be conjoined by $\text{sáni} \sim \text{síni}$ to denote a mixed pattern. N-Adj1 again shows Tone Leveling, and Adj2 again has its lexical tone melody.

- (308) $\text{jà}^m\text{àà}$ $\text{kù}^n\text{wàà-nà}$ $\text{sà}^n\text{i}$ $\text{pì}^n\text{yè-nà}$
house white and black
‘a white-and-black house’

6.3.3.2 Basic adjective plus quantificational adjective ‘(a) certain’

As illustrated in §6.3.2.1-2, kémbèrè ‘certain ones’ and kíyé^n ‘a certain (one)’ are treated as a free quantifiers rather than as an adjective. The effect is that they do not interact tonally with a preceding modified noun, or with a preceding tone-leveled N-Adj1 string as in (309a-b).

- (309) a. $\text{jà}^m\text{àà}$ $\text{pì}^n\text{yè-nà}$ kíyé^n
house black **a.certain**
‘a certain black house’
- b. $\text{jà}^m\text{àà}$ $\text{pì}^n\text{yè-nà}$ kémbèrè
house black **certain.Pl**
‘some (=certain) black houses’

6.3.3.3 Adjectival intensifiers

Some adjectives are associated with noncognate expressive adverbials that function as intensifiers.

- (310) a. $[\text{ɛ}]$ jámàà-á^n ɲá $\text{pì}^n\text{yè-nà}$ kítí-kítí
[1Sg house-DefSg] be black-Ppl **very.black**
‘My house is very black.’
- b. $[\text{ɛ}]$ jámàà-á^n ɲà $\text{kú}^n\text{wáá-ná}$ pásí-pásí
[1Sg house-DefSg] be white-Ppl **very.white**
‘My house is very white.’

There is considerable interspeaker variation in the form of intensifiers. Most are lexicalized iterations. Those in (311) have been observed. Some are regional, likely from Bambara.

(311)	gloss	predicate	intensifier
	‘black’	pì ⁿ yè-nà	kítí-kítí ~ kírí-kírí
	‘white’	kú ⁿ wáá-ná	pásí, pásí-pásí, fyé→
	‘red’	tòmò-nà	dúyé, bwá ⁿ →
	‘rotten’	píí-ná	pótí-pótí
	‘emaciated’	kúmá-ná	ɲúwótî ⁿ
	‘robust (animal)’	páná	débé-débé, téé-téé
	‘sweet, pleasing’	dú-má-ná	támá-támá
	‘stretched tight’	dú-má-ná	déén-déé ⁿ

The general adverb ‘a little, slightly, somewhat’ is fá-líyáwⁿ, a diminutive of fá ‘thing’. It can be added to any adjectival predicate to weaken it.

(312)	à	gá	pì ⁿ yè-nà / tòmò-nà	fá-líyáw ⁿ
	3Sg	be	black-Ppl / red-Ppl	a.little
			‘It is blackish/reddish.’	

See §8.4.3.1 for more on extent expressions.

6.3.3.4 ‘Good to eat’

‘X is good to eat’ is phrased as ‘X-eating is good’. The subject is a verbal noun (usually zero-derived from the Pfv stem) with a third person possessor or an incorporated object.

(313)	a.	[à	díyá / mè ⁿ]	ím	mày ⁿ	
		[3Sg	eat.VblN / drink.VblN]	3ReflSg	be.good	
			‘It is good to eat/drink.’			
	b.	[[kú-nù	jùgú-ùŋ]	kúlé]	ń	nìyèw ⁿ
		[[Dem	tree-DefSg]	cut.up.VblN]	3ReflSg	be.easy
			‘Chopping up that tree is easy.’ (< júgú)			

6.4 Noun or N-Adj plus numeral

6.4.1 Regular N-Num and N-Adj-Num sequences

Numerals follow nouns and N-Adj combinations (314a-b). No inversion of numeral and adjective is allowed (314c).

- (314) a. súwó péné
goat two
'two goats'
- b. súwó píⁿyé-ná
goat black-Ppl
'(a/the) black goat'
- c. súwó píⁿyé-ná péné
goat black-Ppl two
'two black goats' (not #súwó péné píⁿyè-nà)

There is no plural marker (-yè) in nouns or adjectives preceding a nonsingular numeral.
For noun-numeral bahuvrihi compounds like 'two-headed', see §5.2.1.2.

6.4.1.1 Combination of noun plus numeral '1'

Examples of kóòⁿ '1' (§4.6.1.1) after nouns of different tone classes are in (315). kóòⁿ is morphosyntactically an adjective rather than a numeral. This is clear from the tones, which follow the pattern of noun plus HL-toned adjective.

Before kóòⁿ, the linking element -liyewⁿ is added more often than not to nouns that do not already end in a diminutive ending. Speakers accept the variant without -liyewⁿ but state that its presence is preferred. -liyewⁿ preceding kóòⁿ does not add a diminutive sense. Without -liyewⁿ there is an audible nasal linker η- in η-kóòⁿ. The transcription here assumes the presence of the linker even after -liyewⁿ, but the latter's final nasal would account for the η anyway.

(315)	melody	noun	gloss	'one ...'	
				simple	with -liya(w) ⁿ
a.	/H/	yúwó	'fish'	yúwó η-kóò	yúwó-líyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
b.	/L/	tàbà	'foot'	tàbà η-kóò ⁿ	tàbà-liyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
c.	/HL/	kásò	'jail'	kásó η-kóò ⁿ	kásó-líyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
		kóηgòrò	'dog'	kóηgóró η-kóò ⁿ	kóηgóró-líyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
d.	/LHL/	kààni	'calabash'	kààni η-kóò ⁿ	kààni-liyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
		yòrògò	'cat'	yòrògò η-kóò ⁿ	yòrògò-liyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ
e.	/LH/	sàbá	'chicken'	sàbà η-kóò ⁿ	sàbà-liyé ⁿ η-kóò ⁿ

Basic human nouns also optionally add -liyewⁿ (316a). There is an irregular combination *ɲááŋ-kóòⁿ* ‘one person’ (316b).

(316)	noun	gloss	‘1 ...’	with -liya(w) ⁿ
a.	<i>díyé-náwⁿ</i>	‘child’	<i>díyéⁿ-ná(w) ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>	<i>díyéⁿ-níyéⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>
	<i>kééwú</i>	‘man’	<i>kééwú ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>	<i>kééwú-líyéⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>
	<i>yùwòⁿ</i>	‘woman’	<i>yùwòⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>	<i>yùwò-liyéⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>
b.	<i>ɲúmúⁿ</i>	‘person’	<i>ɲááŋ-kóòⁿ</i> <i>ɲúmúⁿ kóòⁿ</i>	<i>ɲáá-líyéⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i> <i>ɲúmúⁿ-líyéⁿ ŋ-kóòⁿ</i>

The distributive iteration indicates spatial or temporal separation (‘one by one’, ‘one at a time’, ‘one each’), or else a scattered or occasional presence. (317a) is actually a participle with -nà and can be pluralized (*kóòŋ-kóòⁿ-ná-yè*). The nasal linker is absent unless ‘one’ modifies a noun as in (317c).

(317)	a.	<i>ē</i>	<i>gà</i>	<i>kóòŋ-kóòⁿ-nà</i>
		3Pl	be	Rdp-one
		‘They are isolated (scattered, infrequent).’		
	b.	<i>kóòŋ-kóòⁿ</i>	<i>ɲà</i>	<i>bôⁿ</i>
		Rdp-one	be.Loc	here
		‘A few are (scattered around) here.’		
	c.	<i>sùwò</i>	<i>ŋ-kóòŋ-kóòŋ</i>	
		sheep	Link-Rdp-one	
		‘one sheep at a time’		

Such iterations are distinct from superficially similar juxtapositions like that in (318a), which could also be expressed as a conjunction with *yèⁿ* (318b).

(318)	a.	<i>ē</i>	<i>gà</i>	<i>kóòŋ-kóòⁿ</i>	<i>ɲì</i>		
		3Pl	be	Rdp-one	it.is		
		‘They are (tied) one to one.’					
	b.	<i>ē</i>	<i>gà</i>	[<i>kóòⁿ</i>	<i>yèŋ</i>	[<i>kóòⁿ</i>	<i>ɲì</i>
		3Pl	be	[one	and	one]	it.is
		[=(a)]					

6.4.1.2 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’

Before a numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’, a noun has its singular form, without plural suffix *-yè*. The numerals are in two tone-melodic classes, /H/ illustrated here by *péndé* ~ *péné* ‘2’, and /L/ illustrated here by *sìgèⁿ* ‘3’. For combinations with linker *-liyaw^w* see (321) below.

If the noun has a level (monotonal) melody, whether /H/ or /L/, its combinations with a numeral are shown in (319). /L/-melodic *sìgèⁿ* ‘3’ behaves tonally like a possessed noun; it is L-toned and so it triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding /L/-melodic noun. For /H/-melodic *péné* ~ *péndé* ‘2’, two treatments have been observed. In dialect 1, the possessor-possesum tone patterning applies to ‘2’ as it does to ‘3’. This means that ‘2’ remains H-toned *pén(d)é*. This appears to be the dominant pattern. In dialect 2, however, Tone-Leveling seemingly applies to the combination of noun plus ‘2’, in the fashion of N-Adj strings and nominal compounds. The effect is that *pén(d)é* seemingly drops to *pèn(d)è* after an /L/-melodic noun. This may, however, be a low-level phonetic effect, as opposed to a structurally significant one that would give H-toned and L-toned numerals different tonal syntax. In clause-medial position, at least some dialect 1 speakers keep *pén(d)é* H-toned even after /L/-melodic nouns.

Other H-toned numerals behave like ‘2’, and other L-toned numerals behave like ‘3’.

(319)	noun	gloss	‘two ...’	‘three ...’
	a. /H/-melodic noun			
	<i>támú</i>	‘credit (loan)’	<i>támú péné</i>	<i>támú sìgèⁿ</i>
	<i>súwó</i>	‘goat’	<i>súwó péné</i>	<i>súwó sìgèⁿ</i>
	b. /L/-melodic noun			
	<i>yùwòⁿ</i>	‘woman’	<i>yùwòm pén(d)é</i> ~ <i>yùwòm pènè</i> (dialect 2)	<i>yùwóⁿ sìgèⁿ</i>
	<i>nàà</i>	‘cow’	<i>nàà pén(d)é</i> ~ <i>nàà pènè</i> (dialect 2)	<i>nàá sìgèⁿ</i>

If the noun has contour tones, the complications increase. After /HL/-melodic nouns, H-toned *pén(d)é* ‘2’ is heard as L-toned in isolation, but for most speakers it behaves as H-toned in neither triggering nor undergoing Final Tone-Raising. If the noun has /LH/ or /LHL/ melody, the noun does not change before *pén(d)é*, but the latter is subject to phonetic Downstep after /LH/ (320b-c). Before L-toned *sìgèⁿ*, /HL/-melodic nouns undergo Final Tone-Raising, see especially ‘dog’ in (320a), /LHL/-melodic nouns undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2), and /LH/-melodic nouns do not change.

(320)	noun	gloss	with ‘2’	with ‘3’
a. /HL/ melody				
	kóŋgòrò	‘dog’	kóŋgórò pén(d)é ~ kóŋgòrò pèn(d)è (dialect 2)	kóŋgòró sîgè ⁿ
	sáárò	‘broom’	sáárò péné ~ sáárò pèn(d)è (dialect 2)	sááró sîgè ⁿ
	tíŋà (~ tíŋè)	‘waterjar’	tíŋà péné ~ tíŋà pèn(d)è (dialect 2)	tíŋá sîgè ⁿ
b. /LHL/ melody				
	ŋàmáà	‘house’	ŋàmáà péné	ŋàmáá sîgè ⁿ
	mìsírì	‘mosque’	mìsírì péné	mìsírì sîgè ⁿ
	wòtóró	‘cart’	wòtóró péné	wòtóró sîgè ⁿ
	màrífà	‘rifle’	màrífà péné	màrífá sîgè ⁿ
	kàáni	‘calabash’	kàáni péné	kàání sîgè ⁿ
c. /LH/ melody				
	kòmó	‘sickle’	kòmó péné	kòmó sîgè ⁿ
	tùmpàná	‘necked gourd’	tùmpàná péné	tùmpàná sîgè ⁿ

Array (321) shows the same combinations with the -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ linker between noun and numeral. The linker is L-toned before péné and (due to Final Tone-Raising) LH-toned before sîgèⁿ.

(321)	noun	gloss	with ‘2’	with ‘3’
a. /HL/ melody				
	kóŋgòrò	‘dog’	kóŋgórò-liyàm péné ~ kóŋgòrò-liyàm pènè (dialect 2)	kóŋgòró-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	sáárò	‘broom’	sáárò-liyàm péné ~ sáárò-liyàm pènè (dialect 2)	sááró-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	tíŋà (~ tíŋè)	‘waterjar’	tíŋà-liyàm pènè ~ tíŋà-liyàm pènè (dialect 2)	tíŋá-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
b. /LHL/ melody				
	ŋàmáà	‘house’	ŋàmáà-liyàm péné	ŋàmáá-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	mìsírì	‘mosque’	mìsírì-liyàm péné	mìsírì-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	wòtóró	‘cart’	wòtóró-liyàm péné	wòtóró-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	màrífà	‘rifle’	màrífà-liyàm péné	màrífá-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ
	kàáni	‘calabash’	kàáni-liyàm péné	kàání-liyá ⁿ sîgè ⁿ

c. /LH/ melody

kòmó ‘sickle’ kòmó-liyàm péné kòmó-liyáⁿ sìgèⁿ
 tumpàná ‘necked gourd’ tumpàná-liyàm péné tumpàná-liyáⁿ sìgèⁿ

/L/-melodic sìgèⁿ ‘3’ behaves like other L-toned stems in undergoing Final Tone-Raising when followed by an L-tone (322a). In the questionable dialect 2 pattern described above, where ‘2’ appears as L-toned pèn(d)è after /L/-melodic nouns, in clause-medial environments the numeral reverts to H-tones for one speaker checked. For the other dialect 2 speaker, it is treated as L-toned, so Final Tone-Raising applies to its final syllable, producing péné.

(322) a. Ø ná [yùwóⁿ sìgèⁿ] káy
 1Sg Ipfv [woman **three**] see.Ipfv
 ‘I (regularly) see three dogs.’

b. ní ná [yùwòm pén(d)é] káy gà
 ~ péné (one dialect 2 speaker)
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [woman **two**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I saw two women.’

6.4.1.3 Combination of noun plus decimal numeral

Decimal-multiple numerals (‘20’ to ‘90’) and their extensions have the same tonal interaction with preceding nouns as do other numerals.

(323) a. mìsírì dèbè
 mosque 40
 ‘forty mosques’ (< dèbè)

b. mìsírì tám-péné
 mosque 20
 ‘twenty mosques’ (< tám-péné)

6.4.1.4 Combination of noun plus higher numeral

mùsù ‘thousand’ behaves tonally like the other /L/-melodic numerals (324a). yóró ‘hundred’ and mílýóⁿ ‘million’ behave like the other /H/-melodic numerals.

- (324) a. mìsírì / kóngòró mùsù
 mosque / dog thousand
 ‘a thousand mosques/dogs’ (< mìsírì, kóngòró)
- b. mìsírì / kóngòró mílyóⁿ (dialect 1)
 mìsírì / kóngòró mìlyòⁿ (dialect 2)
 mosque / dog million
 ‘a million mosques/dogs’
- c. mìsírì / kóngòró yòrò-pèndè
 mosque / dog hundred-two
 ‘two hundred mosques/dogs’

6.4.2 ‘Many’ and ‘few’

6.4.2.1 pééntè(w)ⁿ ‘many/much’

This quantificational adjective follows both count nouns (‘many Xs’) and mass nouns (‘much X’). With count nouns, there is no plural suffix -yè on either the noun or the quantifier. The latter does not occur as a predicate adjective, in which function it is replaced by reflexive predicate kóⁿ as in íⁿ yè = ééη kóⁿ ‘we are many’.

Combinations of noun with pééntè(w)ⁿ are treated tonally as N-Adj phrases, rather than as phrases with noun plus numeral or noun plus free quantifier (‘all’, ‘a little’, etc.). That is, the noun spreads its initial tone rightward to the word boundary by Tone Leveling, and pééntè(w)ⁿ has HL-toned form which is compatible with Tone Leveling in N-Adj1 strings and in N-N compounds.

- | (325) | melody | noun | ‘many/much ...’ | gloss |
|-------|--------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|----------|
| a. | /H/ | kóngóró | kóngóró pééntè(w) ⁿ | ‘dog’ |
| | /H/ | yúwó | yúwó pééntè(w) ⁿ | ‘fish’ |
| | /HL/ | kásò | kásó pééntè(w) ⁿ | ‘jail’ |
| b. | /L/ | yùwò ⁿ | yùwò ⁿ pééntè(w) ⁿ | ‘woman’ |
| | /LHL/ | mìsírì | mìsírì pééntè(w) ⁿ | ‘mosque’ |

pééntè(w)ⁿ follows other modifying adjectives (326).

- (326) yúwó píⁿyé-ná pééntè(w)ⁿ
 fish **black-Ppl** **many**
 ‘many black fish’ (not #yúwó pééntèⁿ píyé-ná)

pééntè(w)ⁿ can also be used as an independent NP ‘a lot’ (327a), and as an adverb ‘a lot, greatly’ (327b). Adverbial use is somewhat limited, but cf. §8.4.3.1. When it is semantically possible to add pééntè(w)ⁿ as an NP-internal modifier, this is preferred (327c). In some other contexts, mánáá ‘well’, i.e. ‘thoroughly’, is preferred as an adverb (327d).

- (327) a. Ø ná pééntèn tóró gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **many** sell.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I sold a lot/many.’
- b. [yòó-bàá]-ǎⁿ ñà bí-yé pééntèwⁿ
 [sky]-DefSg Ipfv come.Ipfv **a.lot**
 ‘It rains a lot.’
- c. zàkí [káyⁿ pééntèⁿ] tííⁿ ñà
 Z [work(n) **much**] do.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki did a lot of work.’
- d. á kùmú gà mánáá
 3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv **well(adv)**
 ‘He/She slept well (=a lot).’

The noun modified by pééntè(w)ⁿ may take a possessor. This tends to force a partitive interpretation (‘many/much of ...). In nonsubject positions such as object, pééntè(w)ⁿ must be phrased with the possessed noun, showing no outward sign of the partitive-quantifier division (328a). When the relevant NP is subject, the partitive can be set off subtly by allowing plural marking (328b). Partitivity involving a pronoun requires a postposition ‘among’ followed by a resumptive noun ‘person’ (328c).

- (328) a. Ø ná [[ñ náá-àm] pééntèn] tóró gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[1Sg cow-DefSg] **many**] sell.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I sold many of my cows.’
- b. [[ñ náá-yè] pééntèⁿ kàlé gà
 [[1Sg cow-PI] **many** die.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Many of my cows died.’

- c. [íⁿ nâⁿ] [júmú pééntèⁿ] sò gá
 [1Pl **among**] [person **many**] go.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Many of us went.’

6.4.2.2 dāmá-dāmá or dāmá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few’

The logical particle *dàmà* ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1) is the basis for iterative *dāmá-dāmá* and diminutive *dāmá-líyéwⁿ* ‘a few’, though the derivational mechanism is obscure. These quantificational adjectives require a preceding noun, minimally a light noun like *fá* ‘thing’ or *júmú⁽ⁿ⁾* ‘person’. Our speakers rejected combinations with mass nouns (‘sugar’, ‘tea’, ‘meat’).

The noun spreads its initial tone to its right edge, as it does before an H-toned numeral (§6.4.1.2). *dāmá-dāmá* and *dāmá-líyéwⁿ* are H-toned. There is no plural suffixation.

(329) noun	dāmá-dāmá	dāmá-líyéw ⁿ	gloss
<i>nàmáà</i>	<i>nàmàà dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>nàmàà dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few houses’
<i>kóṅgórò</i>	<i>kóṅgóró dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>kóṅgóró dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few dogs’
<i>nàà</i>	<i>nàà dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>nàà dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few cows’
<i>yùwòⁿ</i>	<i>yùwòⁿ dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>yùwòⁿ dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few women’
<i>júmú</i>	<i>júmú dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>júmú dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few people’
<i>díyéwⁿ</i>	<i>díyéⁿ dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>díyéⁿ dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few children’
<i>fá</i>	<i>fá dāmá-dāmá</i>	<i>fá dāmá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘a few things’

6.4.2.3 fá-líyéwⁿ ‘a little’

‘A little (of sth)’ is expressed by adding *fá-líyéwⁿ*, diminutive of *fá* ‘thing’, to the noun denoting a substance or other mass. The preceding noun has its regular tonal form, as before other free quantifiers (‘all’ §6.6.1, ‘a certain/some’ §6.3.2.1-2).

(330) noun	‘a little N’	gloss of noun
<i>súkòrù</i>	<i>súkòrù fá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘sugar’
<i>téè</i>	<i>téè fá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘tea’
<i>tóó</i>	<i>tóó fá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘meat’
<i>dàrá^mà</i>	<i>dàrá^mà fá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘sorghum’
<i>kùwò</i>	<i>kùwò fá-líyéwⁿ</i>	‘salt’

See §8.4.3.1 for adverbial functions.

6.5 NP with determiner

When a demonstrative ‘this/that’ or ‘these/those’ is used without a following noun, the forms are those in (331), repeated from §4.4.2 above.

(331)	type	singular	plural
	a. deictic (visible)	kú	kú-yè
	b. discourse-definite	ɲó ⁿ	ɲú-méé ~ ɲú-mèè

The following subsections present combinations of demonstratives with nouns. Unlike most modifiers, and even the definite singular suffix, demonstratives precede rather than follow the modified noun. In Dem-N combinations, the demonstrative grows a linker, and plural marking occurs only later in the NP.

6.5.1 Prenominal deictic kù-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ ~ kú-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ with tonal effects on noun

Before a modified noun, the visible (deictic) demonstrative is kù-nù (dialect 1) or kú-nù (dialect 2) (§4.4.2), sometimes with final nasalized vowel (ùⁿ). For a given speaker it is invariant in form. When the demonstrative is present, a singular noun is followed by suffix -yà(w)ⁿ (§6.5.3). Plural nouns have their regular plural suffix -yè.

Both tonal variants of the demonstrative itself come with associated tonal effects (or floating tones) which are realized on at least the first one or two moras of a following noun stem. Two dialectal tonal patterns have been observed. In dialect 1, kù-nù is L-toned. An initial L-tone of the following noun is raised to H. If the noun has /L/ melody the H-tone spreads to the end of the noun. If the noun has /LH/ or /LHL/ melody, the added H-tone does not spread all the way to the end, except in prosodically light (CvV, CvCv) /LH/-melodic stems like ‘daba’ (332a). H-initial nouns undergo no overt change (332b). We can represent this as dialectal variant as kù-nù (+H).

(332)	melody	noun (X)	gloss	‘this/that X’	‘these/those Xs’
	a. noun with L-initial melody				
	/L/	jùù	‘garment’	kù-nù júú-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù júú-yè
		sùwò	‘sheep’	kù-nù súwó-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù súwó-yè
		kò ⁿ sòrò	‘ladle’	kù-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yè
	/LH/	sòmó	‘daba’	kù-nù sómó-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù sómó-yè
		tùmpàná	‘gourd’	kù-nù túmpàná-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù túmpàná-yè
	/LHL/	ɲámáà	‘house’	kù-nù ɲámáà-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù ɲámáà-yè
		pápórò	‘fishtrap’	kù-nù pápórò-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù pápórò-yè

b. noun with H-initial melody

/H/	súwó	‘goat’	kù-nù súwó-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù súwó-yè
/HL/	kóŋgòrò	‘dog’	kù-nù kóŋgòró-yàw ⁿ	kù-nù kóŋgòró-yè

For a dialect 2 speaker with HL-toned kù-nù, the same initial H-tone appears on otherwise L-initial nouns. A minor difference from the other speaker is that ‘daba’ does not spread the initial H to the end (333a). Otherwise H-initial nouns change their initial two moras to LH (333b). In other words, the initial tone of the noun is inverted, and an initial H-tone is preserved but pushed rightward. This is the same tonal treatment found with 1Sg possessor ñ (+tones). It is represented as kù-nù (+tones).

(333) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

a. noun with L-initial melody

/L/	jùù	‘garment’	kù-nù júú-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù júú-yè
	sùwò	‘sheep’	kù-nù súwó-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù súwó-yè
	kò ⁿ sòrò	‘ladle’	kù-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yè
/LH/	sòmó	‘daba’	kù-nù sómò-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù sómò-yè
	tùmpàná	‘gourd’	kù-nù túmpàná-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù túmpàná-yè
/LHL/	jàmáà	‘house’	kù-nù jámàà-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù jámàà-yè
	pápórò	‘fishtrap’	kù-nù pápórò-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù pápórò-yè

b. noun with H-initial melody

/H/	súwó	‘goat’	kù-nù sùwó-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù sùwó-yè
/HL/	kóŋgòrò	‘dog’	kù-nù kòŋgòró-yà(w) ⁿ	kù-nù kòŋgòró-yè

6.5.2 Discourse-definite jú-nù (+H) ~ jó-nù (+H) preceding noun

The pronominal form of the discourse-definite demonstrative (§4.4.2.1) has dialectal variants jú-nù (+H) and jó-nù (+H). The final ù is sometimes nasalized (-nùⁿ).

For the dialect 1 speaker who has deictic kù-nù (+H) (preceding subsection), the discourse-definite form is jú-nù (+H). As with kù-nù (+H), an initial L-tone is raised to H, it spreads to the end of /L/-melodic nouns (334a), and there is no change in H-initial nouns (334b).

(334) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

a. noun with L-initial melody

/L/	jùù	‘garment’	ɲú-nù júú-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù júú-yè
	sùwò	‘sheep’	ɲú-nù súwó-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù súwó-yè
	kò ⁿ sòrò	‘ladle’	ɲú-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yè
/LH/	sòmó	‘daba’	ɲú-nù sómó-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù sómó-yè
	tùmpàná	‘gourd’	ɲú-nù túmpàná-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù túmpàná-yè
/LHL/	ɲàmáà	‘house’	ɲú-nù ɲámáà-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù ɲámáà-yè
	pápórò	‘fishtrap’	ɲú-nù pápórò-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù pápórò-yè

b. noun with H-initial melody

/H/	súwó	‘goat’	ɲú-nù súwó-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù súwó-yè
/HL/	kóɲgòrò	‘dog’	ɲú-nù kóɲgòró-yà ⁿ	ɲú-nù kóɲgòró-yè

For the dialect 2 speaker who has deictic kú-nù (+tones), the discourse-definite form is ɲó-nì ~ ɲó-nù⁽ⁿ⁾ (+H). Unlike kú-nù, ɲó-nì does not drop a following H-tone to L (335b). It does raise a following L-tone to H (335a).

(335) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

a. noun with L-initial melody

/L/	jùù	‘garment’	ɲó-nù júú-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù júú-yè
	sùwò	‘sheep’	ɲó-nù súwó-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù súwó-yè
	kò ⁿ sòrò	‘ladle’	ɲó-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù kó ⁿ sóró-yè
/LH/	sòmó	‘daba’	ɲó-nù sómò-yà	ɲó-nù sómò-yè
	tùmpàná	‘gourd’	ɲó-nù túmpàná-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù túmpàná-yè
/LHL/	ɲàmáà	‘house’	ɲó-nù ɲámáà-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù ɲámáà-yè
	pápórò	‘fishtrap’	ɲó-nù pápórò-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù pápórò-yè

b. noun with H-initial melody

/H/	súwó	‘goat’	ɲó-nù súwó-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù súwó-yè
/HL/	kóɲgòrò	‘dog’	ɲó-nù kóɲgòró-yà ⁿ	ɲó-nù kóɲgòró-yè

ɲú-méé ~ ɲú-mèè is morphologically a variant plural of ɲúmúⁿ ‘person’, but it functions as a discourse-definite demonstrative, resuming an already introduced plural discourse referent. An example is 2021-01 @ 08:37, where ‘old people of the past’ is introduced, then after a brief pause is immediately resumed as ɲú-méé as possessor of ‘manner’. In 2021-03 there are several occurrences of ɲú-méé resuming lists of fish spp. (@ 00:29, 00:46, 00:49, 01:28, 01:34, 02:14, 02:30, 03:04, 03:19, 03:26); then the same ɲú-méé resumes a list of rice cultivars (~ 07:12). These

examples show that *nú-méé* ~ *nú-mèè* can apply to nonhumans and inanimates as well as to humans.

6.5.3 Definite singular *-yàwⁿ* and variants

Definite singular suffix *-yàwⁿ* can be added to singular nouns and N-Adj combinations, but not (at least overtly) to their plural counterparts (which end in plural suffix *-yè* or allomorph). Final Tone-Raising is triggered by the suffix if the stem ends in L-tone: *sùwò* ‘sheep-Sg’, definite *sùwó-yàwⁿ*.

The best way to hear the full form of the suffix is to elicit a form of the noun with a possessor, or better yet a prenominal demonstrative.

- (336) a. *kù-nù* *súwó-yàwⁿ*
 Dem-Link goat-**DefSg**
 ‘this/that (deictic) goat’
- b. *nú-nù* *súwó-yàwⁿ*
 Dem-Link goat-**DefSg**
 ‘that (afore-mentioned) goat’
- c. *sèédù* *súwó-yàwⁿ*
 S goat-**DefSg**
 ‘Seydou’s goat’
- d. *íj* *sùwó-yàwⁿ*
 1Sg goat-**DefSg**
 ‘my goat’

In the absence of a demonstrative or possessor, whether *-yàwⁿ* is structurally present or absent is sometimes difficult to determine. This is because, as detailed in §4.4.2, *-yàwⁿ* is reduced phonetically, sometimes almost to zero, except before a pause. Since nouns do not occur prepausally in sentences, the effect is that the full form of the suffix occurs only in citation forms and in sentence fragments.

However, there are some restrictions on the use of the DefSg suffix. An alienably possessed noun like ‘goat’ has definite marking in (337a). So does a possessed paronym like ‘foot’ in (337b). By contrast, a kin term like ‘father’ does not allow definite marking. (337c) is correct, while (337d) is rejected as ungrammatical.

- (337) a. [ɛ̃ súwó-(ò)m̃] bé gà
 [1Sg goat-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘My goat came.’
- b. [ɛ̃ tábà-yàⁿ] ɲá ɛ̃ díyè
 [1Sg foot-DefSg] Ipfv 1Sg hurt.Ipfv
 ‘My foot hurts me.’
- c. [ɛ̃ ká] bé gà
 [1Sg father] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘My father came.’
- d. #[ɛ̃ ká-(à)m̃] bé gà
 #[1Sg father-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
 intended: =(c).’

Likewise, ‘name’ does not require -yàⁿ even though it is normally possessed. Thus *án túbé* ‘your-Sg name’ by itself functions as the question ‘(what is) your name?’. Definite *án túbé-yàⁿ* requires an unusual context, such as when the interlocutor has refused to give his/her name the first time.

Definite “singular” -yàⁿ can be added to a N-Num phrase, which of course is not semantically singular. This occurs when the N-Num has previously been introduced and is now discourse-definite ‘the (same) three nights (mentioned before)’ (338). Plural -yè is not added (redundantly) to numerals, which therefore avoid plural morphology.

- (338) áá gá ɲòndòmí, [gùú sìgéⁿ-yàⁿ]
 2Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv, [night three-DefSg]
 ‘(The wedding lasts three days ...) You-Pl dance the three nights.’ (2021-01 @ 10:30)

The fact that -yàⁿ can be added to a nonsingular numeral adds possible credence to the hypothesis that plural -yè might be, at least diachronically, the conflation of simple -yè and definite plural *-yàⁿ-yè. However, synchronically it is not possible to derive -yè from /-yàⁿ-yè/.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 ‘All’ (sááⁿ)

The basic universal quantifier is *sááⁿ*. It can follow a pronominal clitic (*íⁿ sááⁿ* ‘all of us’, *áá sááⁿ* ‘all of you’, *è sááⁿ* ‘all of them’, *à sááⁿ* ‘all of it’). It can follow a noun, or an NP including modifiers. It can be used by itself as a noun meaning ‘everyone’, distinct from *è sááⁿ* ‘all of them’.

sááⁿ is subject to subphonemic downstep after an H-tone (not indicated in our transcription) as well as the usual prepausal pitch-dropping.

‘All (of) the Xs’ where X is a countable common noun requires the plural suffix -yè or allomorph. This is interpreted as definite plural. sááⁿ itself cannot take the plural suffix -yè. ‘All (of) the X’ where X is a mass noun requires the definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ. For distributive ‘each X’ see the following subsection.

For the phonetic realization of definite singular -yàwⁿ see §4.4.2. Examples are in (339a), followed by examples with plural suffixes in (339b).

(339)	melody	noun X	gloss	‘all the X(s)’
a. mass nouns				
	/L/	kòntòrò	‘sorghum’	kòntòró-ò ⁿ sáá ⁿ
		kùwò	‘salt’	kùwó-ò ⁿ sáá ⁿ
		tìyè	‘field’	tìyé-è ⁿ sáá ⁿ
	/HL/	súwò	‘milk’	súwò-ò ⁿ sáá ⁿ
	/H/	dúgó	‘rice’	dúgó-ò ⁿ sáá ⁿ
		pí ⁿ	‘millet’	pí ⁿ -ì ⁿ sáá ⁿ
	/LHL/	dàrámà	‘sorghum’	dàrámè-è ⁿ sáá ⁿ
b. plurals				
		yìyèm-béé	‘women’	yìyèm-béé sáá ⁿ
		sìyé-yè	‘horses’	sìyé-yè sáá ⁿ
		kòró-yè	‘stones’	kòró-yè sáá ⁿ

Examples including sááⁿ are in (340).

(340)	a.	à	[súwò-ò ⁿ sáá ⁿ]	mèŋ	ŋá			
		3Sg	[milk all]	drink.Pfv	Pfv			
				‘He/She drank all the milk.’				
	b.	ā	yè	[jí	jàmáà-yè	sáán]	tóró	gà
		3Sg	Sbj/Obj	[3ReflSg	house-Pl	all]	sell.Pfv	Pfv
				‘He sold all of his houses.’				
	c.	à	gà	bé	[í ⁿ sáá ⁿ]	wàà		
		3Sg	Ipfv	Fut	[1Pl all]	kill.Pfv		
				‘He/She will kill us all.’				

- d. kú sááⁿ
 Dem **all**
 ‘all that’
- e. [nògú-yè sáán] nwìì
 [village-Pl **all**] Loc
 ‘in all the villages’

‘Everything’ is à sááⁿ with 3Sg pronominal possessor in partitive function, equivalent to ‘all of it’ (341a). ‘Everyone’ is simple sááⁿ (341b).

- (341) a. ā yà= [à sáán] díyá gà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj [3Sg **all**] eat.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She ate everything.’
- b. sáám bé gà
all come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Everyone has come.’

6.6.2 ñ-kóòñ-kóòⁿ sááⁿ ‘each’, ‘every one of’

sááⁿ can also function as distributive ‘each’ (or for a set of two, ‘both’). In this case the noun is not morphologically pluralized, and may be replaced by 3Sg à. Distributive sense is clearest when the NP with sááⁿ is paired with another quantified or possessed NP. In (342b), ‘child’ is singular in form and is coindexed distributively with the possessor of ‘father’.

- (342) a. [yùwòⁿ ñ-kóòñ-kóòⁿ sáám] bé gà [[í kúⁿwò-òⁿ] ní]
 [woman Link-**one**-Link-**one** **all**] come.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflSg husband] Inst]
 ‘Each woman (=every one of the women) brought her husband.’
- b. [díyé-né ñ-kóòñ-kóòⁿ sáám] bé gà [[í kà] ní]
 [child Link-**one**-Link-**one** **all**] come.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflSg father] Inst]
 ‘Each child (=every one of the children) brought his/her father.’
- c. [à sááⁿ] yè [í hágè] nì
 [3Sg **all**] **and** [3ReflSg extent] it.is
 ‘Each one has its (respective) capacity.’ (2021-03 @ 20:22; big versus small boats)

6.6.3 màⁿ sááⁿ (síí) ‘whoever, anyone’

màⁿ sááⁿ ‘anyone’ or its extension màⁿ sááⁿ síí ‘anyone’ is a specialized form that can occur in the absence of any other noun or pronoun. The referent may be anything from human to inanimate. màⁿ is a frozen relative marker (‘one who ...’). In the combination màⁿ sááⁿ, the nasality of the first vowel may be omitted (mà sááⁿ).

- (343) [màⁿ sááⁿ (síí)] nà bé, án nà ń kèêⁿ
 [Rel all (any)] if.Pfv come.Pfv, 2Sg Sbjn 1Sg call.Pfv
 ‘If anyone comes, call me!’ (< kèêⁿ/kéé-nì ‘call’)

6.6.4 Quantifiers with negation

Clausal negation scopes over a universal quantifier.

- (344) ń tètè [bíyèn sáán] díyá
 1Sg PfvNeg [egg all] eat.Pfv
 ‘I didn’t eat all the eggs.’

‘Nothing’ can be expressed as mildly emphatic fóy (345a). Indefinite ‘anything (at all)’ can be expressed as fá màⁿ sááⁿ or dialectally sú màⁿ sááⁿ, both of which have expanded variants with màⁿ sááⁿ síí ‘anything’.

- (345) a. ń tètè fóy díyá
 1Sg PfvNeg **nothing** eat.Pfv
 ‘I haven’t eaten anything.’
- b. án nàⁿ [fá màn sáán] díyá
 2Sg if.Pfv [**thing** Rel all] eat.Pfv,
 án ńá gòpó
 2Sg Ipfv sicken.Ipfv
 ‘If you-Sg eat anything, you will be sick.’
- c. sèédù [fán kiyén] díyá gà,
 3Sg [**thing** a.certain] eat.Pfv Pfv,
 jó-wò yá= à gòpò-níⁿ ńá
 Dem.Def-Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg sicken-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou ate something. That [focus] is what made him sick.’

sí ‘any’ or its short variant -sí is added to other nouns under the scope of negation (346a). The noun can be morphologically pluralized in partitive function (346b). Subjects can combine with sí just like NPs in any other function (346c-d).

- (346) a. ò té [námáà sí] tóró
 1Sg PfvNeg [house **any**] sell.Pfv
 ‘I haven’t sold any houses.’
- b. ò té [[kù-nù námáà-yè] sí] tóró
 1Sg PfvNeg [[Dem house-Pl] **any**] sell.Pfv
 ‘I haven’t sold any of these houses.’
- c. [námáà sí] tè séⁿ
 [house **any**] PfvNeg fall.Pfv
 ‘No house fell.’
- d. nùmú-sí tá sò
 person-**any** IpfvNeg go.Pfv
 ‘Nobody will go.’

6.7 Accusative (absent)

There is no accusative marking on direct object NPs. Since transitive clauses are S-infl-O-V-X, with both subject and object slots obligatorily filled, there is rarely any difficulty in identifying the object. The exception would be when the inflection slot is empty (perfective positive clauses without the bidirectional case marker) and when the S-O sequence could plausibly be (mis-)parsed as possessor-possessum.

7 Coordination

7.1 Conjunction

7.1.1 X(,) (sínì ~ sání) Y

Two NP conjuncts are linked by sínì ~ sání ‘and’. The choice between the two variants is subdialectal. The final syllable is raised to H before an L-tone by regular tone sandhi.

- (347) a. kéewú(,) sínì yùwòⁿ
man(,) and woman
‘a man(,) and a woman’
- b. dìgèⁿ(,) sínì wày
yesterday(,) and today
‘yesterday(,) and today’
- c. bôⁿ(,) sání kwí-tàà
here(,) and over.there
‘here(,) and (over) there’
- d. sùwò(,) sání súwó
sheep(,) and cow
‘a sheep(,) and a goat’

This conjunction permits but does not require a seamless prosody. The left conjunct can be uttered as a regular NP or as an independent pronoun, followed by a pause or other terminal prosodic marking. Then sínì ~ sání and the right conjunct can be uttered. In other words, sínì ~ sání and its complement can be additive.

In this afterthought-like additive construction, the first NP may be produced, then a prosodic break is followed by a conjoined NP consisting of a resumptive third person pronoun (referring back to the first NP) and the second conjunct: “X, he/she_x and Y”. An example is ‘Bozo woman, she and her benefit (=earnings)’ in 2021-01 @ 05:55 to 06:02.

For conjoined NPs as heads of relative clauses, see §14.2.2.

7.1.2 yè ‘and’, and composite numerals, and yèèⁿ ‘in addition’

yèⁿ is the productive ‘and’ conjunction in Cliffs. yè⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘and’ is much less common in J-S of Djenné, where sínì ~ sánì is the usual ‘and’ conjunction. However, there are morphological constructions where yè⁽ⁿ⁾ or a reduced variant regularly occurs as a conjunctive linker between two elements.

The most systematic use of -yè⁽ⁿ⁾- is in composite numerals (§4.6.1.4). In odd-numbered decimal terms like ‘50’ (expressed as ‘40 plus 10’), -yèⁿ- or a phonetically reduced variant intervenes between the two elements. The combinations are pronounced seamlessly as single words (348).

- (348) a. dèbè-yè-cémí ~ dèbè-è-cémí ‘50’ dèbè ‘40’, cémí ‘10’
 b. tàànùmá-sìgè-èp-cémí ‘70’ tàànùmá-sìgèⁿ ‘60’

Combinations of decimal terms and single digits also show traces of -yè⁽ⁿ⁾-, often reduced to minor vocalic modifications (349).

- (349) a. cémè-è-kòòⁿ ~ cémè-è-kòòⁿ ‘11’ cémí ‘10’, kòòⁿ ‘1’
 b. dèbè-è-kòòⁿ ‘41’ dèbè ‘40’

In several of these composite numerals (but not in ‘70’), there is no surviving trace of the nasality in *yèⁿ. Indeed, the occurrences of this morpheme outside of numeral phrases have unnasalized yè. It occurs in certain tightly-knit parallelistic (including iterative) constructions.

- (350) a. [à bòróⁿ] yá= [à mỳé-gù]
 [3Sg big] **and** [3Sg small-Adj]
 ‘big (ones) and small (ones) of it’
 (2021-03 @ 17:54)
- b. jón ɲá [mùwó júgú-síífa síí] yè [síífa síí] lùwò] nì
 Dem.Def Ipfv [which? tree-kind any] **and** [kind any] Foc.Pl] it.is
 ‘That is (=means) which kinds of tree?’ (2021-03 @ 19:47)

Asked if yè could be used in contexts like yìyèm-béé yè kéejú-yè ‘women and men’, a speaker grudgingly allowed the possibility (likely from having heard it in other J-S varieties), but strongly preferred sánì ‘and’. An obvious obstacle for widespread use of yè ‘and’ is the risk of confusion with plural suffix -yè on the left conjunct. This is artfully dodged in the ‘women and men’ example by positioning the irregular plural ‘women’ as left conjunct.

yè does occur in ‘your-Sg name and your-Sg clan name’ (2021-01 @ 13:42), where no confusion with plurals is possible. Another example is ‘shortage of water and shortage of rain’ (2021-03 @ 05:27). Another is ‘big ones and small ones’ of the same category (2021-03 @ 17:54)

and 20:17). In such examples the two conjoined nouns have overlapping or complementary reference, as opposed to two randomly conjoined individuals. The data show that *yè* is still a viable ‘and’ conjunction in some subdialects under such limited conditions.

Archaic nasalized *yèⁿ* has been heard in fixed phrases with distributive spatiotemporal sense, like *wáátì yèⁿ wáátì* ‘from time to time’, (305a) in §6.3.2.5. *yèⁿ* is also the source of *yèêⁿ* ‘in addition, ...’, which occasionally precedes an conjunct added as an afterthought. For the superimposed falling pitch of prepausal *yèêⁿ* see §3.7.2. It is flanked by pauses in (351), which lists fish species.

- (351) *sìyègó-yàwⁿ, sòóⁿ-yàwⁿ, áⁿ ná= à fāámù ɲà= à,*
Alestes, Hydrocynus, 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
yèêⁿ, búmún-dé-mée, yàróndè-yè
and, *juvenile.Lates-child-Pl, adult.Lates-Pl*
 ‘*Alestes, Hydrocynus forskalii*. Did you-Sg understand it? Along with young and full-grown *Lates*.’ (2021-01 @ 02:17)

7.1.3 Three or more conjuncts

It is possible to conjoin three or more NPs. The conjunction *sínì ~ sání* occurs before the final conjunct (352a) and optionally also before medial conjuncts (352b).

- (352) a. *̀n-dúwò ↗(,) án-dùwò ↗(,) [síné= è-dùwò]*
 1Sg-Indep(,) 2Sg-Indep] [**and** 3Pl-Indep]
 ‘me, you-Sg, and them’
- b. *yùwò-mée [sínì kééwú-yè] [sínì dyé-né-mée]*
 woman-Pl [and man-Pl] [**and** child-Pl]
 ‘women, men, and children’

However, triple and longer conjunctions are more often expressed as lists (enumerations) with their distinctive prosody (§7.1.9). In (352b) one can use this prosody for the first conjunct as an alternative to following it with *sínì*.

7.1.4 Pronouns as conjuncts

In elicitation, pronouns take independent form as right conjunct, and either proclitic or independent form as left conjunct. No strong preferences for the relative ordering of two conjoined pronouns have been observed. In conjunctions of a pronoun with a nonpronominal NP, either order is

possible, except that combinations like ‘you and your father’ involving a possessed NP tend to be asymmetrical.

- (353) a. án-dùwò sínì ò-dúwò
 2Sg-Indep and 1Sg-Indep
 ‘you-Sg and me’ (interchangeable with ò-dúwò síná = án-dùwò)
- b. áⁿ sání ò-dúwò
 2Sg and 1Sg-Indep
 [= (a)]
- c. íj sáná = à-dùwò
 1Sg and 3Sg-Indep
 ‘I and he/she/it’
- d. sèédù sínà = án-dùwò
 S and 2Sg-Indep
 ‘Seydou and you-Sg’ (interchangeable with án-dùwò sínì sèédù)

In texts, a discourse-definite referent may be expressed by the proclitic 3Sg form à as left conjunct when a new referent is introduced as right conjunct.

- (354) [pó-ò pápóló mà-réé] gà dó-rá = á-yè yáwⁿ,
 [Dem.Def basket.fishtrap Rel-PI] Ipfv be.set.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc there.Def,
 à sínì [sááw-pápólò-yè] gà kóòⁿ ní nà
 3Sg and [now-basket.fishtrap] be one it.is Q
 ‘Those basket fishtraps that were (formerly) set in it there, was it (=were they) the same as basket fishtraps of today?’ (2021-03 @ 03:21)

7.1.5 Reflexive possessor in right conjunct

If the NP serving as left conjunct denotes a single individual other than the current speaker or addressee, it binds a third-person reflexive pronominal possessor (§18.1.4) in the right conjunct. The order of the two conjuncts cannot be inverted (355a-b). By contrast, 1st/2nd person pronouns can co-occur with coindexed possessors in either order (355c).

- (355) a. sèédù sínì [íj kà]
 S and [3ReflSg father]
 ‘Seydou_x and his_x father’

b. dyé-nè-méé sánè = [é nǎⁿ-yè]
 child-Pl and [3ReflPl mother-Pl]
 ‘the children and their mothers’

c. [ɲ ká] sínì ñ-dúwò
 [1Sg father] and 1Sg-Indep
 ‘my father and I’ (interchangeable with ñ-dúwò sínì [ɲ ká])

This construction occurs several times in the recordings to express the sense ‘each X has its own Y’. There is no verb in this construction (compare the Spanish dictum *en cada tierra su uso* ‘in each land its customs’, also verbless). For example, different fish species are caught with customized traps or nets. An example is (356).

(356) dègé [à sání [ń dègé-sòó wò] nì]
Brycinus [3Sg and [3ReflSg *Brycinus*-net Foc] it.is]
 ‘*Brycinus leucotis* (a small oily fish), (it has) its (own) *Brycinus*-net.’
 (2021-03 @ 00:59)

There is a textual attestation of this construction with archaic yè ‘and’ (357).

(357) [à sááⁿ] yè [ɲ hágè] nì
 [3Sg all] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is
 ‘Each one (two types of boat) (has) its (respective) capacity.’ (2021-03 @ 20:22)

In the recording this is quickly followed by a repeat with sání instead of yè (2021-03 @ 20:26). But the speaker again uses yè in the same context @ 20:57.

While ‘[X and [its_x Y]]’ is expressed with 3Refl possessor, ‘[[X’s Y] and [its_x Z]]’ is expressed with a regular (nonreflexive) 3Sg pronominal (358). Only the head of the left conjunct can function as antecedent for the reflexive possessor in the right conjunct.

(358) [[hú mèêⁿ] báàná-yè] sínì [à sááwú-báàná-yè]
 [[thing Rel] manner-Pl] and [3Sg now-manner-Pl]
 ‘the manners of which and its manners nowadays’ (2021-01 @ 09:27)

7.1.6 ‘X and Y’ with a broad-scope modifier

The basic principle is that both conjuncts in a conjoined NP must be complete.

When a modifier (possessor, adjective, determiner, numeral) has scope over both conjuncts, the modifier is repeated. In (359), the repeated modifier is bolded in the interlinear. It is a possessor in (359a-b), an adjective in (359c), a demonstrative in (359d), and a numeral in (359e). Omission of the repeated modifier results in ungrammaticality (or in a distinct narrow-scope reading). Free English translations show optional “conjunction reduction” (except with numerals).

- (359) a. \bar{a} yè [[\bar{h} sùwó-yè] sání [\bar{h} súwó-yè]] tóro gà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj [[3ReflSg sheep-Pl] and [**3ReflSg** goat-Pl]] sell.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He_x sold his_x sheep and (his_x) goats.’
- b. \bar{e} yè= [[\bar{e} sùwó-yè] sánè= [\bar{e} súwó-yè]] tóro gà
 3Pl Sbj/Obj [[3ReflPl sheep-Pl] and [**3ReflPl** goat-Pl]] sell.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They_x sold their_x sheep and (their_x) goats.’
- c. \bar{n} ná [[súwó kéémíné] sání [sùwò kéémíné]] sàⁿ ná
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[goat old] and [sheep **old**]] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I bought an old goat and (an old) sheep.’
- d. [kú-nù súwó-yè] sání [kú-nù sùwó-yè]
 [Dem sheep-Pl] and [**Dem** goat-Pl]
 ‘these sheep and (these) goats’
- e. [sùwò péndé] sání [súwó péné]
 [sheep two] and [goat **two**]
 ‘two sheep and two goats’

The universal quantifier ‘all’ may occur after the entire NP with inclusive scope (360). Speakers disapproved of a variant with sááⁿ ‘all’ repeated after each conjunct. This is consistent with the phrase-final summarizing function of sááⁿ.

- (360) [[yùwò-mée sínì kééwú-yè sáám] bé gà
 [[woman-Pl and man-Pl] **all**] come.Pfv
 ‘All the women and men came.’

7.1.7 ‘X and Y’ with a shared postposition

A single postposition with abstract (nonspatial) sense, such as instrumental and dative, can readily take an entire conjoined NP as its complement (361a-b). Speakers disapprove of versions where the postposition is repeated.

- (361) a. à bé gà [[sùwò sínì súwó] ní]
 3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [[sheep and goat] **Inst**]
 ‘He brought a sheep and a goat.’
- b. Ø ná= à sé gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv
 [[[ì] ká] sínà= [áŋ kǎ]] tè]
 [[[1Sg father] and [2Sg father]] **Dat**]
 ‘I said it to my father and (to) your father.’

When the PPs are spatial, the spatial element (postposition or locative suffix) is marked separately for each conjunct.

- (362) íⁿ ŋà bé sò nògí-ỳ sání sójó-ỳⁿ
 1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv village-**Loc** and the.bush-**Loc**
 ‘We are going to the village and out to the bush.’

7.1.8 Conjunctions under the scope of negation

Unlike English, a conjunction has scope over negation. J-S of Djenné (363) is literally “I don’t like [couscous and cowpea].” It doesn’t mean that I dislike the combination. It means that I don’t like couscous and also I don’t like cowpeas. In other words, the conjunction scopes over the negation. Note ‘or’ rather than ‘and’ in the free translation.

- (363) ñ tá [bàsì sínì sàfúlá] fùwóⁿ
 1Sg IpfvNeg [couscous **and** cowpea] like.Ipfv
 ‘I don’t like (either) couscous or cowpeas.’

7.1.9 Lists (incompleteness intonation)

In extended lists, no unusual intonation or prolongation on the nonfinal items was observed in elicitation. The final item has lower than normal pitch if it is monotonal.

- (364) [íⁿ ɲà [hú mà-réé] sùwó], ɲóⁿ ɲà,
 [1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel-Pl] cultivate.Ipfv], Dem be,
 pííⁿ,
 millet,
 kòntòrò,
 sorghum,
 dúgó
 rice,
 máájéwⁿ,
 maize,
 fùúⁿ
 fonio
 ‘The things that we cultivate (as grain), it is: millet, sorghum, rice, maize, (and) fonio.’

7.1.10 “Conjunction” of verbs, VPs, and clauses

Verbs, VPs, and clauses cannot be conjoined by *yè*. See chapter 15 for various mechanisms to combine VPs and clauses.

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 ‘Or’ (*wàràrà* and variants)

When the two elements to be disjoined are constituents (NP, PP, adverb), a complete clause is usually uttered with the first disjunct, and this is followed by a separate ‘or’ phrase beginning with *wàràrà* (variants *wàràrà*, *wàràrà*).

- (365) a. [sùwó bònò kùlé] [wàràrà súwó]
 [sheep neck cut.Pfv] [or goat]
 ‘Slaughter-2Sg a sheep, or a goat!’
- b. [Ø ɲà bé káyⁿ wày] [wàràrà ɲàànù]
 [1Sg Ipfv Fut work.Pfv today] [or tomorrow]
 ‘I will work today, or tomorrow.’
- c. [[ɲ] ká] wàràrà = [áj kà], ɲááj-kòòŋ kám [bé sò]
 [[1Sg father] or [2Sg father]], person-one should [Seq go.Pfv]
 ‘My father or your father, one (of them) should go.’

Example (365a) is best analysed as ‘Cut the neck of a sheep, or (cut the neck of) a goat’ with the second clause pruned. (365b) is likewise ‘I will work today, or (I will work) tomorrow.’ (365c) begins with a disjunctive topicalized NP that is then resumed by ‘one person’ (= ‘someone’) in the clause proper.

Two imperative clauses cannot be combined as a disjunction. Instead, only the first clause is imperative in form (i.e. with a Pfv verb). The second clause is subjunctive.

- (366) [̀n tógònì] [wárámà = áⁿ ná sò]
 [1Sg pay.Pfv] [or 2Sg **Sbjn** go.Pfv]
 ‘Pay me, or go!’

French *ou bien* ‘or (else)’ is widely used by younger speakers.

7.2.2 Interrogative ‘X or Y?’

Two competing propositions that are proposed to the addressee as an ‘X or Y?’ question may simply be juxtaposed without a disjunctive (‘or’) particle. The first clause has polar-interrogative form with clause-final *rà* or variant, and the second clause expressing the alternative proposition usually takes simple declarative form. An example is (367).

- (367) [[ā ñ-kóòⁿ] sááwù rà], [ā tà ñ-kóòⁿ]
 [[3Sg Link-one] now **Q**], [3Sg not.be Link-one]
 ‘Is it the same now? (Or) it isn’t the same?’ (2021-01 @ 08:52)

2021-01 @ 13:11 is one of several additional textual examples.

7.2.2.1 ‘X? or Y?’ (nà→)

An interrogative posing a choice between two constituents can be phrased as a content interrogative (e.g. ‘who?’) clause, followed by the two options in conjunction form, completed with *nà→* (intonationally prolonged) (368). This is distinct from the usual clause-final *rà* polar interrogative particle, which nasalizes to *nà* only after a nasal syllable and which is not normally prolonged.

- (368) wùláá gà bé sò, ñ-dúwò sání án-dùwó nà→
 who Ipfv Fut go.Pfv, 1Sg-Indep and 2Sg **whether?**
 ‘Who will go, between me and you-Sg?’

An alternative is to separately phrase the first disjunct including an interrogative particle, with the second then added on as an ‘or’ phrase.

(369) wùláá gà bé sò, ò-dúwò rà, wàràrà = án-dùwò
who Ipfv Fut go.Pfv, 1Sg-Indep **Q**, **or** 2Sg
‘Who will go? Me? Or you-Sg?’

7.2.2.2 ‘X or Y?’ (ńtàà)

ńtàà ‘or’ can occur at the beginning of the second of two alternative propositions that function together as an ‘X or Y?’ question. See §13.2.1.8 for details and examples.

7.2.3 Clause-final yà

In one somewhat broken textual passage, clause-final yà arguably means ‘or’ (2021-01 @ 07:26).

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Dative, instrumental, and comitative

8.1.1 Dative

There are two dative postpositions, *tè* with verbs of speaking and *nà* with ditransitives. Both also occur in comparative constructions ('than X'). Overall *nà* tends toward benefactive sense while *tè* does not.

8.1.1.1 Dative *tè* with 'say'

A postverbal PP with dative postposition *tè* is regularly used for the indirect object of 'say'. This applies to the regular verb *sé(-ré)* 'say, tell' (370a-b) and to the pre-quotative *yé* (or variant) 'said "..."' (370c). The 1Sg combination is *nè té*.

- (370) a. *sèédù* (yé) *mùwó* *sé* *gà* = [*án* *tè*]
 S (Sbj/Obj) what? say.Pfv Pfv [2Sg **Dat**]
 'What did Seydou say to you-Sg?'
- b. *ám* *mùwó* *sé* *gà* [*sèédú* *tè*]
 2Sg what? say.Pfv Pfv [S **Dat**]
 'What did you-Sg say to Seydou?'
- c. \emptyset *né* *ǝʷǝʷ* [*fínè-én* *tè*] / *yòrógò*-(o)ń *tè*
 1Sg said uh.huh [Fulbe-DefSg **Dat**] / cat-DefSg Dat
 'I said yes to the Fulbe person/to the cat.' (< *fínàà*ⁿ)

In (370b), LHL-toned name *sèédù* becomes LLH-toned by Rightward H-Tone Shift. *yòrógò* 'cat' avoids this since it has DefSg -*yàw*ⁿ.

When *tè* is followed immediately by other words, it is subject to Final Tone-Raising which raises it to *té*.

- (371) *zàkí* *gà* *bá* = *à* *sá* = [*à* *té*] *wày*
 Z Ipfv Fut 3Sg say.Pfv [3Sg **Dat**] today
 'Zaki will say it to him/her today.'

tè is not used with ditransitives like ‘give’ (see the following subsection). Other examples that do have tè are in (372). Note that (372b) has one PP with each of the two dative postpositions.

- (372) a. [m páàn] tá [sèèdú tè]
 [3ReflSg care(n)] not.be.Loc [S **Dat**]
 ‘He/She doesn’t care about Seydou.’
- b. à kwá gà [n ná] [àlá tè]
 3Sg help.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat] [God **Dat**]
 ‘He/She helped me for God (i.e. without expecting recompense)’
- c. à ní déⁿ [n té]
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg **Dat**]
 ‘It pleases me.’

tè also occurs after kàsà-mà ‘coincide (with)’ (§12.2.2).

8.1.1.2 Dative nà with ditransitives

There are two ‘give’ constructions (11.1.2.3). One is of the structural type [X furnish/provide Z [with Y]] where the recipient is direct object and the theme is a postverbal instrumental phrase (373a). The other is of the type [X give Y [to Z]] with preverbal direct object (theme) and postverbal dative recipient. In the second construction, the dative postposition is nà (373b). The same construction is used with ‘show’ (373c).

- (373) a. Ø ná sèèdú kó gà [nàà ní]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S **furnish**.Pfv Pfv [cow **Inst**]
 ‘I gave Seydou a cow.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with a cow.’)
- b. Ø ná nàà dó gà [sèèdú nà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg cow **give**.Pfv Pfv [S **Dat**]
 ‘I gave a cow to Seydou.’
- c. Ø ná nàá gàsí gà [sèèdú nà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg cow **show**.Pfv Pfv [S **Dat**]
 ‘I showed a cow to Seydou.’

The 1Sg form is n ná. LHL-toned nouns like the personal name sèèdú undergo Rightward Tone-Shift before nà (e.g. sèèdú nà).

nà should not be confused with the spatial postposition nàâⁿ ‘between, among, in the midst of’ (§8.2.6.1).

8.1.1.3 Choice between tè and nà

An interesting contrast between the two dative morphemes is observed in (374a-b). Both have dó as the verb, presumably ‘give’, though dó can also mean ‘enter’ or ‘wear (garment)’. (374a) has a cooperative context like that in ordinary ‘give’ clauses, and has the nà dative that is usual in those clauses. (374a) has a more adversarial context and has tè.

(374) a. [án tégé] dó [n ná]
 [2Sg forehead] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me your forehead!’ (i.e. ‘Face me!’ or ‘Look at me!’)

b. [áj kòtò] dó [n té]
 [2Sg back] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me your back!’ (i.e. ‘Turn your back to me!’ or ‘Look away from me!’)

Also of interest is the use of both nà and tè in the sense ‘than’. Each occurs in specific comparative clause types (§12.1.1.1, §12.1.2).

8.1.2 Instrumental and comitative

8.1.2.1 Instrumental (ní)

ní, which occurs in postverbal instrumental PPs, can be confused with the ‘it is’ morpheme nì. The latter occurs in simple identificational predicates of the subjectless type X nì ‘it’s (an) X’ or the fuller version with subject Y gà [X nì] ‘Y is (an) X’ (§11.2.2.1). This is because both instrumental and ‘it is’ morphemes usually occur at the end of clauses, where H-tones are not reliably high-pitched. However, instrumental ní does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone (§3.6.4.4.4).

Instrumental ní should also not be confused with postposition n(w)ìíⁿ ‘in, inside’, although the latter is also often pronounced slackly.

The 1Sg instrumental PP is ní nǐ, often realized as ní nì or (clause-finally) leveled to mid pitch.

Examples of instrumental ní are in (375). ‘Cultivate’ and ‘cook’ verbs are homophones.

- (375) a. Ø ɲá sùwó [sòmɲùwò ní]
 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [donkey **Inst**]
 ‘I do farm work with a donkey.’
- b. íín tá kú sùwó [kùwò ní]
 1Pl IpfvNeg Dem cook.Ipfv [salt **Inst**]
 ‘We don’t cook that with salt.’

Note that ‘donkey’ and ‘salt’ remain L-toned in (375a-b), even though ní may be pronounced prepausally with low pitch.

More so than other postpositions, instrumental ní combines easily with nouns unmarked for definiteness. Combinations with nouns of various tone melodies are in (376). Tone sandhi is regular with no unexpected lengthening or irregular tone-raising.

(376)	melody	noun	instrumental	gloss of noun
a.	/L/			
		<i>vowel-final</i>		
		dàbà	dàbà ní	‘daba (hoe)’
		tìgè	tìgè ní	‘baggage’
		tàbà	tàbà ní	‘foot’
		dòò	dòò ní	‘knife’
		<i>nasal-final</i>		
		tòò ⁿ	tòò ⁿ ní	‘mat’
		tèè ⁿ	tèè ⁿ ní	‘ax’
		<i>semivowel-final</i>		
		twèè	tòy nì	‘esoteric powers’
b.	/H/	dóó	dóó nì	‘cotton’
		tíyé	tíyé ní	‘oil, butter’
		búwó ⁿ	búwó ⁿ ní	‘horn’
		díyéw ⁿ	díyé ⁿ ní	‘child’
c.	contoured melodies ending in L			
	/HL/	bíyèw ⁿ	bíyè ⁿ ní	‘egg’
		búwò ⁿ	búwò ⁿ ní	‘mortar’
	/LML/	màrífà	màrífà ní	‘rifle’
		sèédù	sèédù ní	‘Seydou’
	/HL*/	mááṅgòró	mááṅgòró ní	‘mango’

- d. contoured melodies ending in H
 /LH/ sòmó sòmó ní ‘daba (hoe)
 /L*H/ tùmpàná tùmpàná ní ‘necked gourd’

The complement of the postposition is very often focalized in positive statements: simple *dàbà ní* ‘with a daba’, very often focalized as [dàbá wò] ní ‘with a daba [focus]’.

This postposition is used in classic instrumental contexts, in connection with tools or other physical instruments (377a-b) and with abstractions like ‘power, force’ (377c). For other constructions with instrumental PPs see the following subsection.

- (377) a. Ø nà kónḡòró-òḡ kó gà [kìyè ní]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg dog-DefSg hit.Pfv Pfv [stick **Inst**]
 ‘I hit-Past the dog with a stick.’ (< kiyè ; kó variant of kwá)
- b. Ø ḡá sùwó [dàbà ní]
 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [daba **Inst**]
 ‘I cultivate (=do farm work) with a daba (hoe).’
- c. è dó gà [sémpéⁿ ní]
 3Pl enter.Pfv Pfv [force(n) **Inst**]
 ‘They entered by force.’

3Sg à ní often resumes a previously introduced NP denoting an object that can be used as an instrument (378).

- (378) ní ná dḡḡ dé gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg knife take.Pfv Pfv
 [bè tóó-òḡ kúlá= [à ní]
 [Seq meat-DefSg cut.up.Pfv [3Sg **Inst**]
 ‘I took a knife to cut up the meat with it.’ (< kúlé)

‘With what?’ is *mùwó(ỳ) ní* or [mùwó fá sí] ní (§13.2.2.3).

8.1.2.2 Instrumental ní in ‘become’, ‘give’, and conveyance constructions

Instrumental PPs occur in the ‘X become/turn into (noun)’ and for some noun-like adjectives the ‘X become/turn (adjective)’ constructions. They can be parsed literally as “X sit [N/Adj Inst]”. Instrumental PPs also occur in corresponding causative constructions ‘Z turn/transform X into [N]’

and ‘Z make/turn X [Adj]’. See §9.4.1 for adjectival predicates and §11.2.4.2 for nominal predicates.

ní is also the postposition for the postverbal theme (transferred entity) of one of the two ‘give’ verbs (compare English *furnish X with Y*), as well as the theme of conveyance VPs ‘bring’, and ‘take (convey somewhere)’. For ‘give’, see §8.1.1.2 above. For ‘bring’ and ‘take (convey)’ phrased as ‘come [with X]’ and ‘go [with X]’, see §11.1.1.4.

ní in this construction is often clause-final and heard with low pitch. The evidence that it is H-toned, and therefore identifiable as the instrumental postposition, is again that L-toned nouns like ‘salt’ do not undergo Final Tone-Raising before it (379a), and LHL-toned nouns like ‘Seydou’ do not shift their H-tone rightward (379b). The combination of ní with 1Sg proclitic ñ is sometimes pronounced with rising-toned ñ. It is best brought out by adding an H-toned word bôⁿ ‘here’ (379c).

- (379) a. ā tè bé [kùwð ní]
 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [salt Inst]
 ‘He/She didn’t bring (any) salt.’
- b. ā tè bé [sèédù ní]
 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [S Inst]
 ‘He/She didn’t bring Seydou.’
- c. ā tè bé [ń ñ]bôⁿ
 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [1Sg Inst] here
 ‘He/She didn’t bring me here.’

8.1.2.3 pà ‘with’ (comitative and custodial)

This is the only comitative postposition. It expresses association or custody rather than instrumentality.

- (380) a. à gá fɔ̃-rò-nó [sèédú pà]
 3Sg be sit-Ipfv-Ppl [S Comit]
 ‘He/She is sitting with Seydou.’
- b. ń nà wálèŋ kàlífà gà [sèédú pà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money entrust.Pfv Pfv [S Comit]
 ‘I entrusted the money to (=left it with) Seydou.’

- c. è gà bí-yé [sààⁿ ní] [é pà]
 3Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv [honey Inst] [3ReflPl **Comit**]
 ‘They are bringing (the) honey with them.’

pà occurs in the basic ‘have’ construction, with ‘X have Y’ phrased as ‘Y be [with X]’ (§11.5.1.1). It also occurs in various collocations involving the presence of an affliction or other condition, see (588) and (590) below.

pà occurs in a wide range of contexts involving co-presence with or separation from another entity. Examples are in (381).

- (381) a. à gá [sèém pà]
 3Sg be.Loc [road **Comit**]
 ‘He/She is on the road.’ (< sèèⁿ)
- b. tóntò-óⁿ ñà [kétè-ém pà]
 agama-Def be.Loc [wall-DefSg **Comit**]
 ‘The agama lizard is up on the wall.’
- c. ní ná tàbàà-né-èn dó gà [m̄ pá]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg pants-DefSg wear.Pfv Pfv [1Sg **Comit**]
 ‘I have put on (=am wearing) pants.’
- d. ní nà bá gà [zàkí pà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit(v).Pfv Pfv [Z **Comit**]
 ‘I separated from Zaki.’ (e.g. I moved out of a shared home)
- e. [ííⁿ hágìrì] pà
 [1Pl mind] **Comit**
 ‘in our thinking’ (2021-03 @ 14:43)
- f. [íím pà] yáwⁿ
 [1Pl **Comit**] there.Def
 ‘there among us (e.g. in our Bozo country)’
- g. nènè-ěm pà
 evening-DefSg **Comit**
 ‘in the evening’

pà is the final part of some complex postpositions that express proximity: [X tèsé] pà ‘beside X’ (§8.2.5.1), [X bààtiyám] pà ‘in the vicinity of’ (§8.2.5.3), [X tégé-tégé] pà ‘in front of X’ (§8.2.7.3), and [X kòtó] pà ‘behind X’ (§8.2.7.4).

A noun pàà with a possessor has the sense ‘location, position (of sb/sth)’. It is an archaic alternative to tóó in expressions specifying distance (382).

- (382) [ē pàà] tá ní dááⁿ
 [è tóó]
 [3Pl **position**] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.distant
 ‘They aren’t far away.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 13:27)

pàà also occurs in some locutions and compounds. One combination is with nàáⁿ ‘gap, space in between (two things)’, cf. postposition nàâⁿ ‘between, among’ (383).

- (383) a. nàám-pàà
 ‘middle (of an object or path)’
 b. nààm-pàà-nááⁿ
 between-Comit-between
 ‘intermediate’ (2021-03 @ 00:17)

Another combination of pàà is with the numeral ‘one’ (384).

- (384) a. pàà-[ŋ-kóòŋ]-té
 ?-[Link-one]-not.be
 ‘(not) entirely, (not) particularly’ (in negative clause, 2021-03 @ 03:50)
 b. à máyⁿ ñà pàà-[ŋ-kóòⁿ]
 3Sg be.ruined.Pfv Pfv ?-[Link-one]
 ‘It was completely ruined.’

pàà may also be an etymological component of the verb pààŋkàrà ‘rejoin, catch up with’. Cf. perhaps kàràⁿ/kàrà-nà ‘drive (livestock)’.

8.2 Spatial postpositions

8.2.1 Spatial NPs without postposition

Place names such as names of villages and cities, in other than subject or object position, are assumed to function as locative adverbs. No overt locative marking is present (385a-b).

- (385) a. Ø ɲá jènè
 1Sg be.Loc S
 ‘I am in Djenné.’
- b. Ø ɲà káyⁿ bàmàkó
 1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv B
 ‘I work in Bamako.’

8.2.2 Locative, allative, and ablative senses

The distinction between (stationary) locative, allative (‘to’), and ablative (‘from’) is not made by PPs, rather by verbs, as in all languages of the zone. Thus the city name ‘Djenné’ (see preceding subsection) can be used without change in any of these three contexts. The same is true of overt PPs (386a), including suffixal locatives (386b-c).

- (386) a. Ø ɲá [[ɲ nógù] nĩⁿ] wày
 1Sg be.Loc [[1Sg village] inside] today
 ‘I am in my village today.’ (< nògù)
- b. Ø ɲá só nògí-ỳ
 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv village-Loc
 ‘I am going to the village.’ or ‘I am going home.’
- c. ń nà bá gà [ɲ nógí-ỳ]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit.Pfv Pfv [1Sg village-Loc]
 ‘I have left (=I come from) my village.’

A textual example of the ablative context is 2021-03 @ 13:11 (“exited where?” meaning ‘came from where?’).

8.2.3 Suffixal locative -ỳ with nouns and NPs

The locative suffix -ỳ is a postposition that is usually reduced phonologically to a suffix (or enclitic). -ỳ is nasalized after a nasalized vowel or nasal syllable. Some common examples are in (387).

(387)	gloss	noun	locative
a.	‘village’	nògù	nògí-ỳ
	‘the bush (=outback)’	sóḡó	sóḡó-ỳ ⁿ
	‘hand’	súú	súú-ỳ
	‘field’	tìyè	tìyé-ỳ
b.	‘market’	súbáw ⁿ	súbá-ỳ ⁿ
c.	‘mosque’	mìsírì	mìsírì-y

-ỳ follows postnominal adjectives and numerals (388a-b). It could not be elicited after plural -yè. It can follow definite singular -yàwⁿ, which contracts with it as -y-è (388c).

(388)	a.	ḡ	ḡá	bé	só	[nògù	bóró ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ]
		1Sg	Ipfv	Fut	go.Pfv	[village	big- Loc]
		‘I am going to a large village.’					
	b.	zàkí	gà	káy ⁿ		[nògù	péndé-ỳ]
		Z	Ipfv	work.Ipfv		[village	two- Loc]
		‘Zaki works in two villages.’					
	c.	zàkí	gà	káy ⁿ		[kú-nù	nógù-y-è]
		Z	Ipfv	work.Ipfv		[Dem	village-DefSg- Loc]
		‘Zaki works in this village.’					

The locative with -ỳ also occurs in some collocations (389).

(389)	à	ń	tàásì	gà	sèédù-ỳ
	3Sg	3ReflSg	think.Pfv	Pfv	S-Loc
	‘He/She thought about Seydou.’				

8.2.4 Locational postpositions (‘in’, ‘at’)

8.2.4.1 ‘In(side) X’ (nwì^m ~ nì^m)

Location inside a container or other enclosing space (such as a house or vehicle), or in an encompassing mass (like water), is expressed by nwìí ~ nìí. The first variant with w is typical of

more careful pronunciation. The source is the noun *nwìⁿ* ‘interior’, which itself may have originated as the suffixal locative of *nùⁿ* ‘belly’.

- (390) a. *ɲ* *ɲá* [*ɲàmáà* *nìí*]
 1Sg be.Loc [house **inside**]
 ‘I am in the house.’
- b. *ɲ* *ɲá* *bé* *ɲìì* [*jíí* *nwìíⁿ*]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut walk.Pfv [water **inside**]
 ‘I am going to walk in the water (=wade).’
- c. *à* *yé* *kèréⁿ* *yàá* *gà* [[*kòròn dógì-né*]-*ěⁿ* *nìíⁿ*]
 3Sg SbjObj squirrel put.Pfv Pfv [[shoulderbag]-DefSg **inside**]
 ‘He/She put-Past the squirrel in the shoulderbag.’
- d. \emptyset *ɲá* *bé=* *é* *bàmàkò* [*kááré* *nwìíⁿ*]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv B [bus **inside**]
 ‘I will go to Bamako in the bus (=by bus).’ (< *bé sò*)

More abstractly, *X n(w)ìíⁿ* can mean ‘about, concerning, on the subject of X’, in connection with a verb like ‘know’ or ‘speak’. An example is 2021-01 @ 00:03.

n(w)ìíⁿ requires an overt complement, minimally 3Sg *à*. It cannot be used adverbially without such a complement.

For compounds of the type [*X-niiⁿ*]-*Y* denoting a species of *Y* defined by a habitat *X*, e.g. ‘water birds’, see §5.1.4.4.

8.2.4.2 ‘On the torso of’ (*kánàà*) and other bodily postpositions

The noun *kánàà* means ‘torso’, referring to the portion of the body over which a shirt or robe is worn (from the shoulders down). It occurs as a compound initial in *kánáá-júú* ‘boubou’ (a robe or similar outer garment), cf. *jùù* ‘garment’. *kánàà* can also mean ‘voice’.

There is a related postposition *kánàà* meaning ‘on X’ describing the position of a garment worn over the torso, i.e. a garment (shirt or boubou) or a necklace (391a-c). The sense ‘X wear Y (garment, necklace)’ is expressed by the verb *dó(-ró)* ‘wear, put on’ (also ‘enter’ or ‘give’) or *sà(-rà)* ‘add (sth), put (sth) in addition’, optionally followed by the PP. Complements of third person subjects take reflexive form (391b). The 1Sg form is *ɲ kánáá* (391a). If the garment instead of the person is subject, it co-occurs with locational ‘be’ (391c).

- (391) a. Ø nà kánáá-júú dó-ró / sà-rà [ń kánáà]
 1Sg Ipfv boubou wear-Ipfv / add-Ipfv [1Sg **on.torso**]
 ‘I (regularly) wear a boubou (on me).’
- b. zàkí gà kánáá-júú dó-ró / sà-rà [ń kánàà]
 Z Ipfv boubou wear-Ipfv / add-Ipfv [3ReflSg **on.torso**]
 ‘Z (regularly) wears a boubou (on him).’
- c. kánáá-júú gá= [à kánàà]
 boubou be.Loc [3Sg **on.torso**]
 ‘A boubou is on him/her.’ (i.e. he/she is wearing a boubou)

A similar construction with dó(-ró) in the sense ‘give’ and the same postposition kánàà can also be used in connection with loans that are to be reimbursed (392) as opposed to outright gifts. The semantic connection is that the loan is (conceptually) hung over the recipient and can be taken off (by repaying the loan).

- (392) ń nà tàmú dó gà [zàkí kánàà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg loan(n) give.Pfv Pfv [Z **on.torso**]
 ‘I gave a loan to Zaki.’

For garments worn on the head or feet, the optional PP is based on the body part plus locative -ỳ. While Final Tone-Raising occurs elsewhere in tàbá-ỳ ‘on the foot’ and nìyèⁿ-ỳⁿ ‘on the head’, in this construction the tones are usually all-L, showing that the forms (nouns plus -ỳ) are in the process of grammaticalization as L-toned complex postpositions: tàbà-ỳ (393a), nìyèⁿ-ỳⁿ (393b).

- (393) a. zàkí kámpón dó gà (ń tàbà-ỳ)
 Z shoes wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg **foot-Loc**)
 ‘Zaki put on shoes (on his feet).’
- b. zàkí bàⁿflà dó gà (jí nìyèⁿ-ỳⁿ)
 Z hat wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg **head-Loc**)
 ‘Zaki put on (=wore) a hat (on his head).’

For pants, comitative pà is the optional postposition (394a). For garments that are wrapped on and fastened (women’s wraps, belts, turbans), the verb is sè(-rè) ‘tie’ (394b).

- (394) a. zàkí tàbàà-nén dó gà (m pà)
 Z pants wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg **Comit**)
 ‘Zaki put on pants.’

- b. yùwóⁿ-ǒn tàbá-sìgέⁿ sè gá
 woman-DefSg wrap(n) tie.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The woman tied on (=wore) a wrap.’

8.2.4.3 X káwⁿ (~ kâⁿ) ‘chez X’

The postposition káwⁿ ~ kâⁿ can function like French *chez*, i.e. in the sense ‘at the place (or home) of X’. The complement X denotes humans, or personified animals in tales. X is often phrased as a plural when referring to a dwelling or housing compound with multiple residents, since in some contexts it is culturally inappropriate to specify a single owner. A singular noun such as a personal name can be made into an associative plural for this purpose (395b). However, a singular complement is possible.

- (395) a. ííŋ káwⁿ
 1Pl **chez**
 ‘at our place’ (chez nous)

- b. sèédù-yè káwⁿ
 S-Pl **chez**
 ‘at Seydou’s place’ (lit. “chez the Seydou’s”)

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 10:11 (‘at the fathers’ place’) and 2021-03 @ 10:35 (‘at your-Sg place’, apparently referring to the referent’s private grain storage area). See also the comment on 2021-03 @ 07:40.

káwⁿ gets some competition from the comitative postposition pà.

8.2.4.4 tó(ó) ‘location’ as postposition

The usual noun for ‘place, location’ is gíyéⁿ. It is more or less supplanted by tóó ‘location, position’ in certain expressions that have an obligatory possessor. The possessor helps to pre-empt confusion with tóó ‘meat’.

‘X is far away’ is phrased as ‘X’s location/position is distant’, with possessed tóó. For archaic pàà as an alternative to tóó in this construction, see (382) above.

- (396) [zàkí tóó] ñ dááⁿ
 [Z **location**] 3ReflSg be.distant
 ‘Zaki is far away.’

tóó does not occur in ‘X is nearby’.

tó, reduced from tóó, occurs as a kind of postposition in contexts involving physical separation of two entities. The possessors (or complements) of tó are coindexed with preceding subjects (397a-b) or objects (397c-d). If the antecedents are third persons, the possessors (or complements) take reflexive form.

- (397) a. [sórógò-yè sání fínàm-béé] gè= [= éé tó]
 [Bozo-Pl and Fulbe-Pl] be.Loc [3ReflPl **place**]
 ‘Bozo and Fulbe are separate (they each have their place).’
- b. sèèdú gà [ń tó], áámàdú gà [ń tó]
 S be.Loc [3ReflSg **place**], A be.Loc [3ReflSg **place**]
 ‘Seydou and Amadou are in separate places.’
- c. Ø né= [è sááⁿ] yàá gè= [é tó]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [3Pl all] leave.Pfv Pfv [3ReflPl **place**]
 ‘I put both/all of them in their (respective) places.’
- d. Ø ná= à yàá gà [ń tó]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg leave.Pfv Pfv [3ReflSg **place**]
 ‘I put him/her_x in his/her_x place.’

Textual attestations of tó are 2021-01 @ 10:43 (women dance separately from men) and 2021-03 @ 18:19 (tree spp. whose trunks are used for boat hulls are specific).

PPs with postposition tó are the regular complements of verbs and phrases meaning ‘forget (about) X’.

- (398) a. ń ná nùmààsáⁿ ñà [sèédù tó]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **forget**.Pfv Pfv [S **place**]
 ‘I have forgotten Seydou.’
- b. ń nà hágèrè bá gà= [à tó]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg mind exit.Pfv Pfv [3Sg **place**]
 ‘I have forgotten (about) him/her.’

tó is not used with other mental verbs like ‘remember’ or ‘think (about)’, which have locative complements with -yè.

8.2.4.5 búwóy̐ ‘instead of X, in X’s place’

[X búwóy̐] means ‘in the place of X’, denoting replacement or substitution in a location. búwóy̐ likely contains a frozen locative suffix *-y̐. The 1Sg form is *ń búwóy̐*.

(399) a. *ń ńá bé só* [sèédù búwóy̐]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [S **in.place.of**]
 ‘I will go in Seydou’s place.’

b. *ā gá twéré* [*ń búwóy̐*]
 3Sg Ipfv sell.Ipfv [1Sg **in.place.of**]
 ‘He/She is selling (=running the shop) in my place.’

búwóy̐ is tonally distinct from *bùwó-y̐* ‘together’ (§18.4.3).

The Cliffs cognate *bwēy̐* is one of two more or less interchangeable comitative postpositions (‘with X, in the company of X’).

8.2.4.6 ‘In the middle of, amidst’ (X *kéné nwìⁿ*, X *kéné-y-è*)

Corresponding to the noun *kéné* ‘chest (of body)’ or ‘middle’ (e.g. near the center of a village or field, or in middle position in an oriented line) is locative adverbial *kéné n(w)ìⁿ* or *kéné-y-è* ‘in the middle’ (“middle-DefSg-Loc”). These locative forms can function as composite postpositions following another NP (400a). They can co-occur with plural pronouns (400b) and with 3Sg *à* denoting e.g. a field or village, but not with 1st/2nd singular person pronouns except in the bodily sense ‘my/your chest’.

(400) a. *nògú-ùń kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwìⁿ)*
 village-DefSg **amidst**
 ‘in the middle of the village’

b. *ííń / áá / è kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwìⁿ)*
 1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl **amidst**
 ‘in our/your-Pl/their midst’

c. *à kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwìⁿ)*
 3Sg **amidst**
 ‘in the middle of it (e.g. field)’

With plural complements (and some plural-like mass nouns like ‘grass, vegetation’), *kéné-y-è* ~ *kéné nwîⁿ* is more or less interchangeable with *nââⁿ* ‘between’ (§8.2.6.1 below), but ‘in the middle of the field’ cannot use *nââⁿ*.

‘Person in the middle’ (e.g. in the middle of the pack in a race) is *kénéé-ńúmùⁿ*, the initial contracted from *kéné-y-è*.

8.2.5 Postpositions of proximity

8.2.5.1 ‘Beside X’ ([X *tèsé*] *pà*)

‘Beside X’ is expressed by the compound postposition [[X *tèsé*] *pà*], consisting of *tèsé* ‘side’ and comitative *pà*. The landmark is usually an oriented entity (e.g. person, house) with a front, back, and sides.

- (401) a. Ø ńá [[*sèédù* *tèsé*] *pà*]
 1Sg be.Loc [[S **side**] **Comit**]
 ‘I am beside Seydou.’
- b. *sèédù* ńá [[*ńàmáà* *tèsé*] *pà*]
 S be.Loc [[house **side**] **Comit**]
 ‘Seydou is next to the house.’

A textual attestaton is 2021-03 @ 13:06 (other villages next to/nearby a village).

8.2.5.2 ‘Near X’ (X *sógó-ỳ* ~ *swó-ỳ*)

‘Near X, close to X’ is X *sógó-ỳ*, subdialectally X *swó-ỳ*. The *-ỳ* is identifiable as the suffixal locative, but no noun #*sógó* is attested. The 1Sg form is *ń sògó-ỳ*. The postposition specifies proximity rather than orientation. The landmark may be human or nonhuman.

- (402) a. Ø ńá [*sèédù* *sógó-ỳ*]
 1Sg be.Loc [S **near**]
 ‘I am close to Seydou.’
- b. *sèédù* ńá [*ńàmáà⁻ⁿ* *sógó-ỳ*]
 S be.Loc [house-DefSg **near**]
 ‘Seydou is close to the house.’

sógó-ỳ is also used to denote the overnight quarters (e.g. a pen) occupied by livestock.

- (403) sùwó-yè sógó-ỳ
 sheep-Pl **near**
 ‘(in) the sheep’s quarters’

8.2.5.3 ‘In the vicinity of’ ([X bààtiyám] pà)

This complex postposition is attested in combinations where the landmark X is a house, a neighborhood, or a village or city. It is based on the noun bààtiyàwⁿ ‘vicinity’.

- (404) a. ñ ɲá [[jèné bààtiyám] pà]
 1Sg be.Loc [[Dj **vicinity**] **Comit**]
 ‘I am in the vicinity (e.g. suburbs) of Djenné (city).’
- b. ní nà bá gà [[[sèédù kám] bààtiyám] pà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit(v).Pfv Pfv [[[S chez] **vicinity**] **Comit**]
 ‘I left (=have come from) the neighborhood of Seydou’s place.’ (< káwⁿ)

Such PPs can also be used more abstractly where the landmark is a topic of discourse that one can ‘exit’ to change the subject, as in text 2021-03 @ 16:14.

8.2.5.4 Locative ‘at (the outskirts of)’ (X-róó nìⁿ, X-róó-y-è)

A compound final related to dóó ‘mouth’ has the form -róó after vowel and -dóó after nasal. It *combines* with a postposition, often n(w)ìⁿ ‘inside’, here usually pronounced without the w, or locative -ỳ in the definite singular combination -róó-y-è. The combination functions in effect as a complex PP meaning ‘at the edge of X’ where X is a topographic feature (especially aquatic but also ‘field’ or ‘forest’), a well, or an organized market or transportation station.

- (405) a. pàgù ‘pond’ pàgù-róó nìⁿ ‘on the edge of the pond’
 dòbò ‘river’ dòbò-róó nìⁿ ‘on the riverbank’
 jíí ‘water’ jíí-róó nìⁿ ‘on the edge of water’
 sỳyè ‘creek’ sỳyè-róó nìⁿ ‘at the riverside or creekside’
- b. súbáwⁿ ‘market(place)’ súbán-dóó nìⁿ ‘at the edge of the market’
 kííⁿ ‘skiff (boat)’ kíín-dóó nìⁿ ‘near the skiffs (departure area)’

c.	tèn(t)é	‘well’	tèn(t)é-róó nì ⁿ	‘at (the edge of) the well’
d.	tìyè	‘field’	tìyè-róó-y-è	‘at the field’ (2021-03 @ 11:16)
	dúgù ⁿ	‘forest’	dúgù ⁿ -dóó-y-è	‘at the edge of the forest’

The postposition ráá ~ láá ~ táá ‘at’, see the following subsection, is related to róó.

8.2.5.5 Locative ráá ~ láá ‘at (edge of)’ and variants

This postposition (ráá dialect 1, often láá dialect 2, becoming dáá after nasal) occurs in a few locative phrases. It is evidently an offshoot of -róó (preceding subsection), and more distantly of dóó ‘mouth’, which is replaced by (possessed) dáá in some collocations: X yè [Y dáá] kámá gà ‘X replied to Y’. Unlike -róó, a compound final that requires a following locative postposition, ráá is a postposition and does not require a further postposition.

In (406a), ‘at the well’ means in practice being at the edge of (not inside) the well, close enough to drop in a bag or to operate a pulley. In ‘at (the) field’ (406b), the referent is in the general area of the fields (as opposed to being in the village), and may or may not be enclosed inside a particular field. The PP in (406c) is modeled on the noun sìyé-ròò ‘riverside’ which treats -ròò and therefore ràà as L-toned.

- (406) a. tèn(t)é ráá
 well(n) at.edge.of
 ‘at the well’
- b. tìyè láá (~ ráá)
 field at.edge.of
 ‘at (the) field’ (2021-03 @ 10:54) (< tìyè)
- c. sìyé ràà
 creek at.edge.of
 ‘at the riverside’ (< sìyè)

Example (407) illustrates a combination of dáá in postposition-like position, or possibly possessum position, following invariant [X bààdé-gè-yàwⁿ] ‘X’s noise’ (here ‘X’s sound level’). It is difficult to unpack the phrasing but dáá has some connection to ‘mouth’.

- (407) [fá sá [[ám bààdé-gè-èn] dáá]
 [thing add.Pfv [[2Sg noise-DefSg] at.mouth]
 ‘Speak louder!’ (2021-03 @ 17:25)

The compound with -dáá-ràà in (408) seems to have two occurrences of the morpheme in question. It also has an irregular vocalic change in the initial (elsewhere nògù ‘village’), perhaps extrapolated from the very common suffixal locative nògí-ỳ ‘in the village’.

- (408) nògì-dáá-ràà
village-edge-at
‘at the edge of the village’ (< nògù)

Another form that may be (irregularly) connected to all these forms is -táá. It is attested in a single combination (409). The noun is nwìíⁿ ‘interior’, which is also the source (now somewhat opaque) of the postposition n(w)ìíⁿ ‘inside’ (§8.2.4.1 above).

- (409) nwììn-táá
interior-at
‘inside, in the interior’

8.2.6 Postpositions of alignment

8.2.6.1 ‘Between, among, amidst’ ([XY] nàâⁿ)

The postposition nàâⁿ means ‘between (two entities)’ or ‘among, amidst (multiple entities or a mass with differentiated elements)’. It should not be confused with dative nà (§8.1.1.2). It is attested in a temporal context with ‘night’ (410d). Cliffs has nàjāà.

- (410) a. [dùbàà-fé]-ěⁿ ɲà [sóó nàâⁿ] wày
[snake]-DefSg be.Loc [grass **amidst**] today
‘The snake is in the grass today.’
- b. [mùwó fá síí] gè= [ééⁿ nàâⁿ]
[what? thing any] be.Loc [1Pl **between/among**]
‘What (trouble) is there between us?’ (i.e. ‘Why are you angry with me/us?’)
- c. [sàgáⁿ sínì bàməkó] nàâⁿ
[M and B] **between**
‘between Mopti and Bamako (cities)’

- d. gùú nààⁿ téréⁿ-táraⁿ (~ téén-tááⁿ)
 night **amidst** (expressive)
 ‘late at night, in the middle of the night (11pm to 3am)’

As a noun, nàáⁿ means ‘gap, space between (two objects)’. The compound noun nàám-pàà means ‘middle (of an object or path)’. In definite singular locative form it can take a possessor, forming a composite PP.

- (411) à gá [tìyé [nàám-pàá]-y]-è
 3Sg Ipfv [field [middle]-DefSg]-Loc
 ‘He/She is in the middle of the field.’

‘Person who is in the middle’, either in a race or in some scalar comparison (such as height), is nàám-pàà-ńúmùⁿ (for the final see §4.2.4.2). A nonhuman counterpart is nàám-pàà-fà ending in a final meaning ‘thing’.

8.2.6.2 ‘Aligned with X’ ([X t à n à])

This postposition describes a relationship between X and Y where both are in the same row or line, which may include additional individuals. If X and Y are persons or other oriented entities (i.e. with intrinsic fronts and backs), the two can be in a row facing forward (like Muslims praying, or like sprinters lined up at the beginning of a race), or they can be in a line with one behind the other.

- (412) a. ñ ñá tàà-ná [sèèdú t à n à]
 1Sg be stand-Ppl [S **aligned**]
 ‘I am standing lined up (in a row) with Seydou.’
- b. ííⁿ ñá tàà-ná [bùwó t à n à]
 1Pl be stand-Ppl [Recip **aligned**]
 ‘We are standing side by side (in a row).’
- c. ń ná kòrò-yé tàà-ńí ñà [bùwó t à n à]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-Pl stand-Caus.Pfv Pfv [Recip **aligned**]
 ‘I arranged the stones in a row.’

8.2.7 Postpositions of spatial relationship

8.2.7.1 ‘On X’ or ‘over X’ (X kùmà)

In this PP, the landmark X is conceptualized as being held up by an extended surface, whether horizontal (mat) or vertical (wall), or else as being in the atmosphere above something (object or surface). The postposition is kùmà, 1Sg form ì kúmà.

- (413) a. síré-èⁿ ηά [tòð-óη kùmà]
 rock-DefSg Ipfv [mat-DefSg **on**]
 ‘The rock is on the mat.’
- b. í ná kòró-ðⁿ yáá gà [tòð-óη kùmà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [mat-DefSg **on**]
 ‘I put the stone on the mat.’
- c. còó-ðⁿ séⁿ ηà [ì kúmà]
 stick-DefSg fall.Pfv Pfv [1Sg **on**]
 ‘The stick fell on me.’

The context can also be abstract or figurative. Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 09:04 (bestow sth on X), @ 09:31 (ask about X), and @ 11:57 (agree on/about X), along with 2021-03 @ 13:28 (immigrants found their village on X [site]).

8.2.7.2 ‘In front of’ or ‘before’ (X tígàà)

The noun tígàà ‘front’ can function without change as a postposition ‘in front of’. The 1Sg form is í tígàà ‘in front of me’.

- (414) a. í ηά [sèédù tígàà]
 1Sg be.Loc [S **front**]
 ‘I am in front of Seydou.’
- b. sèédú gá [nàmáà-(à)ñ tígàà]
 S be.Loc [house-DefSg **front**]
 ‘Seydou is in front of the house.’

This postposition can also have the temporal sense ‘before X’.

- (415) à gà bé ń kìlàⁿ [ń tìgáà]
 3Sg Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg finish.Pfv [1Sg **front**]
 ‘He/She will be done (with a job) before me (=before I do).’

Adverb ‘in front, ahead’ is tìgàà.

- (416) ā gà / sò tìgàà
 3Sg be.Loc / go.Pfv **in.front**
 ‘He/She is/went in front.’

‘The leader (person in front)’ is tìgáá-ńúmùⁿ ~ tìgáá-ńúmúⁿ.

8.2.7.3 ‘In front of’ ([X tégé-tégé] pà)

Another, less common ‘in front of X’ postposition is [X tégé-tégé] pà. It appears to consist of iterated tégé ‘forehead’ plus comitative pà. The referent X may be a person or a table, for example. The 1Sg form is [ń tégè-tégé] pà ‘in front of me’.

- (417) ńàmáá-àⁿ ńà [[ń tégè-tégé] pà]
 house-DefSg be.Loc [[1Sg **front**] **Comit**]
 ‘The house is in front of me.’

tégé ‘forehead’ also occurs in the context of an entity facing another entity. It is the antonym of kòtò ‘back’ in this context.

- (418) [án tégé] dó [ń ná]
 [2Sg **forehead**] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me your forehead!’ (i.e. ‘Face me!’ or ‘Look at me!’)

8.2.7.4 ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X kòtìyè ~ kwàtìyè or kòtò pà)

The noun kòtìyè ~ kwàtìyè ‘rear’ (subdialectal variants) serves as the postposition ‘behind, in back of’. It can also be used adverbially (‘in back’), as in 2021-01 @ 01:55. It is related to the paronym kòtò ‘back’, and specifically the latter’s definite singular locative form kòtò-y-è ‘in/on the back’ which can also function as an adverb ‘in back, in the rear’ or abstractly ‘omitted, left out’ (2021-01 @ 10.03). The noun kòtò is also the basis for a synonymous composite postposition kòtò pà ‘behind’. The 1Sg forms are ń kòtìyè ~ ń kwàtìyè and ń kòtò pà.

- (419) a. ñ ñá [sèèdú kòtíyè] / [[sèèdú kòtò] pà]
 1Sg be.Loc [S **behind**] / [[S back] Comit]
 ‘I am behind Seydou.’
- b. sèèdú gá [ñàmáà-(á)ń kwàtíyè] / [[ñàmáà-(á)ń kòtò] pà]
 S be.Loc [house-DefSg **behind**] / [[house-DefSg back] Comit]
 ‘Seydou is behind the house.’

The sense ‘after X’, where X is a temporal reference point like sáři ~ sání ‘holy day’, is expressed occasionally by this same postposition, but more usually by a phrase of the type ‘(when) X has passed’.

- (420) a. sání-ín kwàtíyà
 holy.day-DefSg **back-Loc**
 ‘behind (=after) the holy day’
- b. sáři ná kìyè
 holy.day if.Pfv **pass.Pfv**
 ‘when the holy day has passed’

kòtíyè ~ kwàtíyè is preferred in the sense ‘after X’ where X is a person, in the context ‘in X’s absence’ or ‘after X is no longer around’. Example: ñ kòtíyè ‘after me (=after I am gone)’.

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 01:55 (‘passing behind X’ = ‘aside from X’), @ 14:18 and 14:28 (‘on X’s back’), and 2021-03 @ 14:22 (‘after X’) and @ 18:07 (‘after X’ = ‘in addition to X’).

[kòtò-pàà]-ńúmùⁿ or kòtíyè-ńúmù means ‘the one in back, the last one, the one bringing up the rear’.

kòtò pà can also function as an adverbial PP ‘behind, in back, to the rear’ without an overt landmark.

- (421) à gá / ... [kòtò pà]
 " ... / [sò gá] [" "
 3Sg be.Loc / [go.Pfv Pfv] [**back** **Comit**]
 ‘He/She is/went to the rear.’

kòtò ‘back’ is the antonym of tégé ‘forehead’ (preceding subsection) in examples like (422).

- (422) [áj kòtò] dó [ń té]
 [2Sg **back**] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
 ‘Give me your back!’ (i.e. ‘Turn your back to me!’ or ‘Look away from me!’)

8.2.7.5 ‘Below/under/next to X’ (X mùⁿ, X bùú-mùⁿ)

The noun mùⁿ ‘base, bottom part’ (also abstractly ‘reason, cause, grounds’ for a situation) can function as postposition mùⁿ ‘below X, under X’. The 1Sg form is ò mùⁿ. An expanded form is bùú-mùⁿ (1Sg ò bùú-mùⁿ), cf. bùú ‘rear (of sth)’.

- (423) a. Ø òà [sírè-è̀m bùú-mù]
- Sg be.Loc [rock-DefSg **under**]
- ‘I am below/under the rock.’
- b. Ø òà [sírè-è̀m mùⁿ]
- Sg be.Loc [rock-DefSg **under**]
- [= (a)]

mùⁿ can also approximate the sense ‘beside, next to’, competing with tèsé pà. In (424), Baratou is a village and Tantana is an abandoned village whose people later settled in Baratou.

- (424) báára-tùwò bá gà táántána [íⁿ mùm] bôⁿ
- B exit.Pfv Pfv T [1Pl **next.to**] here
- ‘Baratou came from Tantana, here next to us.’ (2021-03 @ 13:18)

A PP with mùⁿ combines with the verb sìnì/sìní (~ hìnì/hìní) ‘be able’ (§15.1.1.1) in a construction meaning ‘be able to stand up to (sb), be stronger than’.

- (425) à gá sìní [sóó-òⁿ mùⁿ]
- 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [grass-DefSg **under**]
- ‘It (=a variety of rice) can stand up to the grass (=weeds).’ (2021-03 @ 07:48)

The adverb ‘down below’ is dùbáá. This is also a noun ‘ground, earth’.

8.2.7.6 ‘Upper’ and ‘lower’

Since the geographical area around Djenné and Sofara is broadly flat with no notable escarpments or hills, there are no villages divided into “upper” and “lower” settlements (*quartiers*). Villages that do have two well-separated settlements (túru) usually distinguish them by ethnicity or topographic feature. Fulbe cattle herders for example may have their own settlement next to a Bozo settlement but on drier land.

- (426) a. kéembáá ‘Komba’ (village name)
kéembáá fínà(w)ⁿ ‘Fulbe section of Komba’
kéembáá jámú-láá ‘riverbank (=Bozo) section of Komba’
- b. síráá-búgú ‘Sirabougou’ (village)
síráá-búgú fínà(w)ⁿ ‘Fulbe section of Sirabougou’
síráá-búgú bámbàrà ‘Bambara section of Sirabougou’

8.2.8 kààⁿ as source of fear

The verb kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear, be afraid’ can be intransitive with a PP complement denoting the source (i.e. the feared object). The postposition kààⁿ is not otherwise attested. The 1Sg form is ñ káàⁿ.

- (427) a. à gá kùⁿwá [kónḡòró-òḡ kààⁿ]
3Sg Ipfv fear.Ipfv [dog-DefSg **Source**]
‘He/She is afraid of the dog.’
- b. sèèdú gá kùⁿwá [ñ káàⁿ]
S Ipfv fear.Ipfv [1Sg **Source**]
‘Seydou is afraid of me.’

No other contexts for kààⁿ have been observed. This postposition is likely cognate to Kelenga kââⁿ ~ kââⁿ ‘in front of’. If the latter sense is original, the development in J-S of Djenné was from ‘be fearful in front of/before X’ to the more abstract ‘be fearful of X’.

8.3 ‘For’ and ‘because of’

For purposive and causal (‘because’) clauses, see §15.3.2 AND §17.4.3.

8.3.1 Purposive-causal ‘for’ (dáà)

Purposive ‘for’ (generally prospective) and causal ‘because’ (generally retrospective) are expressed by the postposition dáà. (The Cliffs cognate is lāgà.) The NP complement is normally focalized.

- (428) a. è bé gà [[sèédù wò] dáà]
 3Pl come.Pfv Pfv [[S **Foc**] **Purp**]
 ‘They came for (because of) Seydou.’
- b. ā yà= à dó gà [n̄ ná] [[sèédù wò] dáà]
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg give.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat] [[S **Foc**] **Purp**]
 ‘He/She gave (it) to me for the sake of Seydou.’
 (originally transcribed with dó gà, see §9.3.3)

Pronouns take independent form (§4.3.1) when partially or fully focalized. The independent forms are usual before dáà.

- (429) ā-dùwò dáà ‘because of him/her/it’
 ñ-dúwò dáà ‘because of me’

The wò syllable in the independent pronouns often assimilates to the low vowel of dáà, as in 3Sg ā-dùwà dáà.

With nonpronominal NPs as complements, definite singular -yàwⁿ plus focus marker wò combine as -wàà. This accounts for purposive -wàà dáà (430a-c).

- (430) a. íín dó gà [[[yòó-bàà]-jǐí-wàà] dáà]
 1Pl enter.Pfv Pfv [[[rain]-water-DefSg.**Foc**] **Purp**]
 ‘We went in(side) because of the rain.’
- b. è bé gà [[sàáⁿ-wàà] dáà]
 3Pl come.Pfv Pfv [[honey-DefSg.**Foc**] **Purp**]
 ‘They came for the honey.’
- c. ā jǐíⁿ ñà [[káyⁿ-wàà] dáà]
 3Sg walk.Pfv Pfv [[work(n)-DefSg.**Foc**] **Purp**]
 ‘He/She traveled for (the) work.’

8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalent)

8.4.1 Similarity ‘like X’ (sìná ~ sìní)

‘Y is like (similar to) X’ is expressed with sìná or sìní (subdialectal variants) in a copular clause, with positive gà (431a) or negative tà (431b). The predicate may be shifted to past time by an auxiliary (431c). The comparandum appears as a bare NP or independent pronoun following the ‘like’ particle.

- (431) a. ñ ñá [sìná sèédù]
 1Sg be [like S]
 ‘I am like Seydou.’
- b. sèédù tá [sìná ñ-dúwò]
 S not.be [**like** 1Sg-Indep]
 ‘Seydou is not like me.’
- c. ñ tíⁿ ñà [sìná sèédù]
 1Sg be.past.Pfv Pfv [**like** S]
 ‘I was (=used to be) like Seydou.’

The ‘like X’ adverbial may also be attached as an adjunct to a main verb (432a). An alternative phrasing is “you-Sg (would) say it (that)” (432b), cf. French *on dirait*. Still another is “you-Sg would” reduced from “you-Sg would say it (that)” (432c). The homophony between variant *sìní* ‘like’ and *sìní* ‘be able’ would seem to suggest that ‘could (say)’ might be the source of ‘like’. However, this would not account for the other variant *sàná*, which resembles forms such as *sanda* ‘like’ in some other languages of the region.

- (432) a. ñ ñá káyⁿ [sàná áámàdù]
 1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** A]
 ‘I work like Amadou.’ (< káyⁿ)
- b. ñ ñá káyⁿ [áⁿ ñá= à sé-ré áámàdù]
 1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv A]
 ‘I work like Amadou.’
- c. sèédù gà káyⁿ [áⁿ ñá sìní ñ-dúwò]
 S Ipfv work.Ipfv [2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 1Sg-Indep]
 ‘Seydou works like me.’

The noun *bàànà* ‘manner’ may be added as compound final after the referent noun.

- (433) ñⁿ ñá [sìná sòòm-bàànà]
 Dem.Def be [**like** *Hydrocynus-manner*]
 ‘That one (a fish sp.) is like *Hydrocynus* (tigerfish).’ (2021-03 @ 03:46)

The relationship between *síná* ‘like’ and *síí* ‘any’ (as modifier) or less often ‘kind, type’ (as noun) is obscure. ‘Kind, type’ is most often *síífà*, ultimately from an Arabic word meaning ‘description’. *síí* occurs as a noun in (434), which expresses similarity using different phrasing.

- (434) [ííⁿ ñàmáà-yè sááⁿ] ñà [síí ñ-kóòⁿ] nì
 [1Pl house-Pl all] be [**kind** Link-one] it.is
 ‘Our (respective) houses are both/all of one (=the same) kind.’

For other manner adverbs see §4.4.3.2 (‘like this/that’) and §8.4.4. For manner relatives (‘the way X VPs’) see §15.5.3.

8.4.2 Specificity (*jáátì* ‘exactly, precisely’)

jáátì ‘exactly’ can occur at the end of an NP in the sense ‘precise, authentic, real’ or the sense ‘personally’ (435a-b). Pronouns take proclitic rather than independent form. The focus particle follows *jáátì* if present. The 1Sg form is *jí* *jáátì* before additional tone sandhi.

- (435) a. sèédù tá [ñ ká jáátì] nì
 S not.be [1Sg father **exactly**] it.is
 ‘Seydou is/is not my real father.’
- b. [jí jáátì] nì
 [1Sg **exactly**] it.is
 ‘It’s precisely me.’
- c. [à jáátì wò] nì
 [3Sg **exactly** Foc] it.is
 ‘It’s precisely him-or-her [focus].’

A semantically more complex example is (436).

- (436) ní tà bé [ñ díyèm] bày sò,
 1Sg IpfvNeg Fut [1Sg child] leave.Ipfv go,
 [jí jáátí] gà bé sò
 [1Sg **exactly**] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘I won’t (just) send my son; (rather) I will go myself (in person).’

At the end of an NP, *jáátì* occasionally takes nominal suffixation. In the few textual examples, *jáátì* appears to function appositionally. In (437a) it takes plural form, but it follows a plural pronoun. In (437b) both *jáátì* and the preceding noun take the normally NP-final definite singular suffix.

- (437) a. [ííŋ jáátì-yè] ná gòpò, ...
 [1Pl exactly-PI] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv, ...
 ‘when we ourselves get sick, ...’ (2021-01 @ 06:35)
- b. [[sóó-òŋ jáátì-ìm] píⁿ mèéⁿ] ɲà bí-yé yáwⁿ
 [[grass-DefSg exactly-DefSg] grain Rel] Ipfv come-Ipfv there.Def
 ‘the grain (=seeds) of real grass that comes there’ (2021-03 @ 11:06)

For *jáátì* ‘exactly’ as an independent form, for example confirming an interlocutor’s statement, see §19.4.1.2.

8.4.3 Extent and evaluation

There is overlap between quantitative and evaluative manner adverbials. In both contexts, the adverbs often combine with a form of the verb *tíⁿ/tíí-nì* ‘do’.

8.4.3.1 Extent (‘a lot, greatly’ versus ‘a little’)

The lexical stems that describe the extremes of extent are those in (438). As in English, they can function as adverbs (‘run a lot’) or as NPs (‘give a lot’). *fá-líyéwⁿ* is an archaic diminutive of *fá* ‘thing’ (§6.4.2).

- (438) a. *pééntèwⁿ* ‘a lot’ or ‘greatly’ §6.4.2.1
 b. *fá-líyéwⁿ* ‘a little’ §6.4.2.3

Examples (439a-b) illustrate these as NPs in object position. For ‘a little’ but not ‘a lot’ our speakers also allow a kind of postverbal adverbial use (439c), in which case the verb is antipassivized.

- (439) a. à pééntèn díyá gà
 3Sg **a.lot** eat.Pfv **Pfv**
 ‘He/She ate a lot.’

- b. à fǎ-líyén díyá gà
 3Sg **a.little** eat.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She ate (a) little.’
- c. à díyé gà fǎ-líyéwⁿ
 3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv **a.little**
 ‘He/She ate a little.’

These can also be added as nominal modifiers as objects of tíⁿ/tí-nì ‘do’.

- (440) à [káyⁿ pééntàn / fǎ-líyén] tíⁿ ɲà
 3Sg [work(n) **a.lot** / **a.little**] do.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She did a lot/a little work.’

Evaluative adverbs ‘well’ and ‘badly’ (see the following subsection) are often used to indicate extent, e.g. ‘thoroughly’ and ‘too much’, respectively.

8.4.3.2 Evaluation (‘good/well’ versus ‘bad/poorly’)

The adjectives that describe the poles of evaluation are those in (441), shown in modifying form where the tones are spread from the preceding noun (Tone Leveling).

- (441) a. màɲàà ~ màɲáá ‘good’
 b. ɲùwò ~ ɲúwó ‘bad’

As a modifying adjective, màɲàà becomes part of a Tone-Leveling domain, as in ɲàmàà màɲàà ‘good house’ and jíí màɲáá ‘good water’. The lexical /L/ melody is brought out in Adj2 position, as in kónḡóró kúⁿwáá-ná màɲàà ‘good white dog’, and as a possessed noun as in [ā màɲáá] nì ‘(that) is its good part’.

ɲùwò ‘bad’ can also be a modifying adjective, as in kónḡóró ɲúwó ‘nasty dog’. Its form is ɲùwò as Adj2, as in kónḡóró píⁿyé-ná ɲùwò ‘nasty black dog’, and as a possessed noun as in [ā ɲùwó] nì ‘(that) is its bad part’.

H-toned màɲáá is adverbial, either evaluative ‘well’ or quantitative ‘very much, greatly’. In this uncommon short form it is attested in combination with túⁿ ‘again’ (442).

- (442) [ā kúmé] tá ɲ kóⁿ màɲáá túⁿ
 [3Sg catch.VblN] IpfvNeg 3RefISg be.many **well(adv)** again
 ‘Catching them (=a type of fish) is not very common (in that time of year).’
 (2021-03 @ 03:04)

More often, adverbial ‘well’ and ‘badly’ are expressed by compounds or syntactic constructions including ‘do’ (see just below).

8.4.3.3 Combinations of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ with tíⁿ/tíí-nì ‘do’

More often, evaluative ‘well’ or quantitative ‘greatly’ is expressed as in a lexicalized suffixal locative (-ỳ) of a compound with -tíⁿ (verbal noun of tíⁿ/tíí-nì ‘do’, §11.1.2.2). This common expression can mean ‘well’ or ‘very much’. In pejorative contexts, i.e. ‘badly’ or ‘too much’, a parallel adverb with -tííⁿ-ỳⁿ is built from the adjective ‘bad’.

(443)		evaluative	extent
	a.	mápnáá-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ	‘well (excellently)’ ‘very much, greatly, thoroughly’
	b.	núwó-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ	‘badly, poorly’ ‘too much, excessively’

Under negation, mápnáá(-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ) means ‘not very much’. núwó-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ occurs with ‘pester’ (2021-03 @ 07:14) and with ‘(weeds) proliferate’ (2021-03 @ 08:03).

Examples are in (444).

(444)	a.	à	íj	kó ⁿ	mápnáá(-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ)	
		3Sg	3ReflSg	be.many	well(-do.VbIN-Loc)	
		‘It (e.g. fish) is very abundant.’				
	b.	à	tá	íj	kó ⁿ	mápnáá(-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ)
		3Sg	IpfvNeg	3ReflSg	be.many	well(-do.VbIN-Loc)
		‘It isn’t very abundant.’				
	c.	à	kwá	gà	[nè ná]	mápnáá-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ
		3Sg	help.Pfv	Pfv	[1Sg Dat]	well-do.VbIN-Loc
		‘He/She helped me greatly.’				
	d.	Ø	ná	kìyé	gà	núwó-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ
		1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	run.Pfv	Pfv	badly-do.VbIN-Loc
		‘I ran badly.’ or ‘I ran too much.’				
	e.	Ø	ná	kìyé	gà	mápnáá-tíí ⁿ -ỳ ⁿ
		1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	run.Pfv	Pfv	well-Abstr-Loc
		‘I ran well.’				

Extent adverb *máǵáá-tíⁿ-ỳⁿ* ‘greatly, very much’ can even modify its evaluative cognate *màǵá* ‘become good’; see 2021-03 @ 06:26.

In the other construction based on the same lexical elements, an inflected *tíⁿ/tíⁿ-nì* ‘do’ follows a compound containing the substantive verb (likely as a zero-derived verbal noun), the noun *bàà^{nà}* ‘manner’ as compound final, and an extent or evaluation adjective. The tripartite compound undergoes Tone Leveling as in many other complex deverbal compounds. For the tones compare especially (445d) and the segmentally identical (445e), based respectively on two verbs that are tonal minimal pairs. In these oversized compounds, *-bàà^{nà}- ~ -báá^{ná}-* is optionally truncated to *-nà^{nà}- ~ -ná^{ná}-*. In (445a-b), postverbal Pfv morpheme *gà* (here nasalized to *ǵà*) follows *tíⁿ*, showing that this is the only inflected verb in the construction. If the substantive verb is transitive, the object precedes the tripartite compound (445a). One might parse the “object” as possessor of the compound, but the tones suggest rather that the compound is an initial in a larger compound.

- (445) a. *íⁿ yá= à [mèè^{nì}-(bàà)nà-ǵùwò/-màǵáá] -tíⁿ ǵà*
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg [manufacture-manner-**bad**/**good**] -**do**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We made (=built) it badly/well.’
- b. *à kíⁿ [mèè^{nì}-(bàà)nà-ǵùwò] -tíⁿ ǵà*
 3Sg skiff [manufacture-manner-**bad**] -**do**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She made (=built) the skiff badly.’
- c. *ā [dìyè^{mù}-(bàà)nà-ǵùwò] -tíⁿ ǵà*
 3Sg [speak-manner-**bad**] -**do**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She spoke badly.’
- d. *ā yà= à [fúwó-(báá)ná-máǵáá] -tíⁿ ǵà*
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg [winnow-manner-**good**] -**do**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She winnowed it (in the wind) well.’
- e. *ā yà= à [fùwò-(bàà)nà-màǵáá] -tíⁿ ǵà*
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg [jab-manner-**good**] -**do**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She jabbed it well.’

8.4.4 Deadjectival and other manner adverbials

There is no morphological mechanism for converting adjectives into adverbs or adverbial phrases. Certain adjective-like senses do have an adverbial phrase, however.

8.4.4.1 ‘Fast, quickly’ and ‘slowly’

Adverb ‘fast, quickly’ is *kìyé-nà*. It is related to *kìyè/kìyé* ‘run’ and is most likely a participle. It is compatible with predicates denoting any time-sensitive activities (446b). ‘Slowly’ (also ‘gently’) is expressed by iterating ‘a little’ (446c).

- (446) a. *ííⁿ ná= à tàà-níⁿ ɲà kiyé-nà*
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg build.Pfv Pfv **run-Ppl**
 ‘We built it (=house) fast.’
- b. *sèèdú kiyé gà kiyé-nà*
 S run.Pfv Pfv **run-Ppl**
 ‘Seydou ran fast.’
- c. *ííⁿ ná= à tàà-níⁿ ɲà [fá-líyéwⁿ]-[fá-líyéwⁿ]*
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg stand-Caus.Pfv Pfv **[a.little]-[a.little]**
 ‘We built it slowly (little by little).’

8.4.4.2 Adverbial ‘far’ and ‘near’

With motion verbs ‘run’, ‘walk’, etc. “adverbial” ‘far away’ is expressed in either of two ways, both involving the adjective *dááⁿ* ‘distant’, cf. (290) in §6.3.1.1, and a modified nominal. In one version, an adjunct in the form of the locative adverbial phrase ‘(all the way) at/to a distant place’ is added to an already well-formed version of the motion clause (447a). *fó* ‘until, all the way’ (§8.4.5.7) is optional. In the second construction, the motion verb (presumably in zero-derived nominalized form) is itself modified by *dááⁿ* ‘distant’, and this NP is the object of the following inflected ‘do’ verb (447b). The first construction is also used with ‘nearby’ (447c).

- (447) a. *ā ɲìíⁿ ɲà [fó [gíyén dááⁿ]-yⁿ]*
 3Sg walk.Pfv Pfv [until [place **distant**]-Loc]]
 ‘He/She walked far away.’
- b. *ā [ɲìíⁿ dáán] tííⁿ ɲà*
 3Sg [walk.VblN **distant**] do.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She made a distant (=long) walk.’

- c. íⁿ ɲà bé sáá [gíyén twî-gú]-yè
 1Pl Ipfv Fut lie.down.Pfv [place **nearby-Adj**]-Loc
 ‘We will lie down (=spend the night) nearby.’

8.4.5 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.5.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (448).

- (448) a. wày ‘today; nowadays’
 túⁿ ‘again (another time)’, §19.3.1.1
 sááwù ~ sááw ‘now’ (perhaps < *sáá gù ‘the/this time’)
 ɲú-nù wáátì-yè ~ ɲó-nù wáátì-yè ‘at that time’ (dialectal variants)
 sá-sàà-liyèwⁿ ~ sí-sàà-liyèwⁿ ‘right now, just now’
- b. dìgéⁿ ‘yesterday’
 dìgéⁿ-sà ‘day before yesterday’
 dìgéⁿ-sà-sà ‘two days before yesterday’
 pánááⁿ nìⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’, < pánááⁿ ‘first’
 (§4.6.2.1, §8.4.5.3)
 pánáám-pánááⁿ nìⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’
 pánááⁿ-ɲè ‘formerly; in the old days’
 bé-kíyé ‘formerly; in the old days’ (kíyé ‘pass by’)
- c. ɲàànù ‘tomorrow’ (the usual term)
 jííⁿ nà kíyé ‘tomorrow’ (“if/when a night has passed”)
 ɲón jííⁿ-nááj-kíyé-yàwⁿ ‘the day after that, the next day’
 ɲàànú-kòtò ‘the day after tomorrow’ (“tomorrow-back”)
 ɲàànú-kòtò fǎɲ-kòtò ‘two days after tomorrow’
- d. sògò ‘last year’
 sògò-sà ‘the year before last’
 sògò-sà-sà ‘three years ago’
 jíín-tànàà ‘next year’, lit. “other year”
 kúnààsè ~ kúnààsìyè ‘next year’
 mààm-píyé-tá-kúnààsé nì ‘the year after next’, lit. “what is not next year”
 yùrùgù ‘this year’

The major weekly markets in the area take place on a fixed day of the modern seven-day week: Djenné on Monday, Sofara on Tuesday, Madiama on Thursday.

The seven days of the week are expressed by terms of Arabic origin, as generally in the region. Some of them are disguised by phonological mutations. The initial *gà* in several of the day names is from Arabic definite prefix *al-* or assimilated variant, with the addition (except in ‘Tuesday’) of initial *g* of unknown origin.

(449)	<i>gàtìnéⁿ ~ gètìnéⁿ</i>	‘Monday’
	<i>tàráátà</i>	‘Tuesday’
	<i>gàráábà</i>	‘Wednesday’
	<i>gàrààmúsà</i>	‘Thursday’
	<i>gàyímàⁿ ~ gàjùmàwⁿ</i>	‘Friday’
	<i>gàsábútì ~ gàsíbítì</i>	‘Saturday’
	<i>gàráátì</i>	‘Sunday’

The night between two days is expressed as the night of the following day, beginning with the 4PM prayer. For example, the period beginning in early evening on Sunday is called “Monday night” (*gàtìnéŋ gùù*).

8.4.5.2 *dúwóⁿ ~ lúwóⁿ* ‘already’ or ‘previously’

This adverb can be added at the end of the clause. It is likely a reduced form of the sequential VP *bé dúwóⁿ* ‘and (then) finish’. For the dialectal *d/l* alternation see §3.4.1.1. The adverb is usually clause-final, making its tones indistinct, but notice that Pfv *gà* does not raise to *gá* before it. In conversational contexts it means ‘already’ with the present moment as the reference time. In displaced narratives it means ‘already/previously’ in comparison with some other reference time (§10.1.1). For example, it can occur in the antecedent clause of a conditional (450d-e).

- (450) a. *à* *bé* *gà* *dúwóⁿ*
 3Sg come.Pfv Pfv **already**
 ‘He/She has already come.’
- b. *Ø* *nà* *wálèn* *dó* *gà* [*zàkí* *nà*] *dúwóⁿ*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [Z Dat] **already**
 ‘I already gave the money to Zaki.’
- c. *íín* *díyé* *gà* *lúwóⁿ*
 1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv **already**
 ‘We have already eaten.’

- d. áⁿ ná [sòò-ɲòóⁿ mǎⁿ] sà̀n dúwóⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv [net-eye Rel] buy.Pfv **already**,
 áⁿ ɲà [ɲó-ò ɲóó] sìyènáɲ kú-nú
 2Sg Ipfv [Dem.Def-Foc eye] *Clarias* catch-Ipfv
 ‘Whatever net size you have already/previously bought, it’s (with) that size [focus] of net that you-Sg catch *Clarias* (catfish).’ (2021-03 @ 02:07 to 02:11)

- e. *mais* yòrónò-yè sání támú-yè,
 but *Lates*-Pl and *Heterobranchus*-Pl,
 né [káágà-jíí ɲùnù] nà bá= á-yè dúwóⁿ,
 if [rainy.season-water Top] if.Pfv exit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc **already**,
 [ɲú-méé ɲùnù]
 [Dem.Def-Pl Top]
 [à kúmé] tá ɲ kóⁿ mǎpáá túⁿ
 [3Sg catch.VblN] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(adv) again
 ‘But *Lates* (Nile perch) and *Heterobranchus* (large catfish), when the rainy season floodwaters have already receded from it, as for those (fish species), catching them is no longer very common.’ (2021-03 @ 03:01 to 03:04)

8.4.5.3 ‘First(ly)’ (pánááⁿ) and ‘later’ (kòtó pà)

These adverbials function to sequence two or more time intervals and associated activities. *kòtó* ‘back (of body)’ is the basis for the PP *kòtó pà*.

- (451) a. íⁿ ɲà bé káyⁿ pánááⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv **first**,
 [íⁿ nè= ééⁿ kílàⁿ] [íím bé díyé]
 [1Pl if.Pfv 1Pl finish.Pfv] [1Pl Seq eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘We’ll work first, when we’re finished then we’ll eat.’
- b. [kòtó pà] íím bé díyé
 [**back Comit**] 1Pl Fut eat.Antip.Pfv
 ‘We will eat later.’

8.4.5.4 ‘(Not) yet’ (súⁿwò̀nì)

‘Not yet’ is expressed by *súⁿwò̀nì* in a negated clause. *súⁿwò̀nì* does not occur in positive clauses.

- (452) sèèdú tè bé súⁿwòni
 S PfvNeg come.Pfv yet
 ‘Seydou hasn’t come yet.’

súⁿwòni also occurs in positive clauses, meaning either ‘first (before others)’ or ‘first (before doing something else)’.

For ‘no longer, not any more’ see §19.3.1.2.

8.4.5.5 ‘Still’ (hàlí wày) and ‘first(ly); not yet’ (súⁿwòni)

hàlí wày ‘until (=all the way to) today’ indicates that the eventuality has not ended at the time of speaking (453).

- (453) [hàlí wày] ā tà ń kéntéⁿ
 [until today] 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.healthy
 ‘He/She is still sick.’

8.4.5.6 Spatial adverbs

The following are the main nouns used in simple spatial adverbials.

- (454) a. yòó-bàà ‘above, on top; upstairs’
 dùbáá ‘below, (at) the bottom, down; downstairs’
- b. jíín-tíⁿ ‘east’
 jíín-kàmàà ‘west’
 dòbò-(ń-)kùwòⁿ ‘south’ (“river-white”, also Niger River)
 dòbò-pìⁿ ‘north’ (“river-black”, also Bani River)
- c. kòtí-yè ‘(in) the rear, behind’
 kòtó pà ‘(in) the rear, behind’
 tígàà ‘forward, ahead, (in) front’

‘Right’ and ‘left’ are used in connection with body parts. The key stems are those in (455).

- (455) a. sumpò ~ sùmbò ‘right’
 b. kòntò ~ kónò ‘left’

With body parts, the ‘right’ and ‘left’ stems function as compound initials, and level their tones but do not spread them into the final. Thus sùmpó- (sùmbó-) and kóntó- (kónó-) in e.g. sùmpó-tàbà ‘right foot’ and kóntó-tàbà ‘left foot’. For ‘hand’ specifically, an alternative compound initial for ‘right’ is dìyè-, related to díyé ‘eat (antipassive)’: dìyè-súú ‘right hand’. This is unsurprising since the people eat with their right hand. Some but not all speakers allow dìyè- with ‘right foot’ also.

‘Right’ and ‘left’ may be used to indicate the position of one entity in comparison to an oriented landmark (such as a person), and to indicate a direction defined with reference to such a landmark. These constructions involve comitative PPs with ‘right’ or ‘left’ as complement, plus a possessor denoting the landmark.

- (456) a. zàkí gà [[í] sùmpó] pà]
 Z be.Loc [[1Sg **right**] Comit]
 ‘Zaki is on my right.’
- b. sò [[áŋ kóntó] pà]
 go [[2Sg **left**] Comit]
 ‘Go to your left.’

8.4.5.7 fǒ ‘all the way to/until’

fǒ precedes a temporal or spatial NP or adverb. It is an emphatic ‘(all the way) until’ in temporal contexts (457a) and ‘(all the way) to’ in spatial contexts (457b). The complement may be a PP (457c).

- (457) a. ííⁿ ɲà bé káyⁿ [fǒ ɲàànú]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [**all.the.way** tomorrow]
 ‘We will work all the way to tomorrow.’
- b. ā kiyé gà [fǒ bôⁿ]
 3Sg run.Pfv Pfv [**all.the.way** here]
 ‘He/She ran all the way to here.’
- c. ā kiyé gà sò [fǒ [ɲ kwátìyè]]
 3Sg run.Pfv Pfv go.Ipfv [**all.the.way** [1Sg behind]]
 ‘He/She ran all the way to just behind me.’ (for Ipfv sò see §15.1.1.6)

8.4.5.8 Adjectival intensifiers

Expressive adverbials (“ideophones”) can be added to intensify some adjectives. See §6.3.3.3 for a list. They are generally added to predicate adjectives and to deadjectival inchoative verbs, and so are not directly relevant to NP syntax.

For ordinary extent modifiers like ‘very’, ‘a lot’, and ‘a little’, see §8.4.3.1 above.

8.4.5.9 Iterative adjectives in distributive sense

Iteration of color adjectives to denote off-center hues in the fashion of Cliffs pìim-pííⁿ ‘blackish’ (with L-H tone overlay) was denied by speakers of J-S of Djenné. They did however confirm the use of iteration (with regular tones except for tone sandhi at the boundary) for distributivity. In the case of color adjectives, this means ‘spotted with (color)’. Final Tone-Raising applies at the boundary between L-toned iterations (‘black’, ‘red’)

(458)	adjective	gloss	iterative	gloss
	pì ⁿ yè-nà	‘black’	[pì ⁿ yè-ná]-[pì ⁿ yè-nà]	‘with dark spots on lighter background’
	kú ⁿ wáá-ná	‘white’	[kú ⁿ wáá-ná]-[kú ⁿ wáá-ná]	‘with light spots on darker background’
	tòmò-nà	‘red’	[tòmò-ná]-[tòmò-nà]	‘with red (brown) spots’

pìim-pìíⁿ (L-L-toned) is the noun ‘charcoal’.

Dimension adjectives can be iterated for distributivity, presupposing multiple individuals (even if the noun is singular in form).

(459)	sóó	[míyè-gù]-[míyè-gù]
	herb	[small-Dimin]-[small-Dimin]
	‘(various) small herbs (non-woody plants)’	

9 Verbal derivation

At stem-level, the main verb-to-verb derivations are the fully productive causative with suffix -ni (§9.1.1) and the semi-productive intransitivization (antipassive or passive/middle) and nominalization by fronting (at least) the final stem vowel (§9.3). Many adjectives correspond to inchoative verbs, some of them suffixed (§9.4). Noun incorporation is unproductive but there are a few noun-verb combinations that qualify as compounds (§9.5). Minor derivations include incorporation of ‘in it’ in one verb (§9.3.2) and valency reduction by dative-dropping for ‘give’ (§9.3.3).

There is no morphological reversive (‘un-’). Pairs of meanings like ‘open/close’, ‘forget/remember’, and ‘tie/untie’ are expressed by pairs of unrelated verb stems.

9.1 Causative

9.1.1 Causative suffix -ni

Many verbs can be causativized by addition of derivational suffix -ni. A following Pfv morpheme gà is almost always nasalized to ñà, but in combinations with other following words the suffix is usually heard as -ni without prenasalizing the next word. The transcription -niⁿ can be used in citing the Pfv stem in the combination -niⁿ ñà, but the superscript will not be used in other contexts.

The tone of the Pfv suffix is acquired by spreading from the preceding stem. In the Ipfv stem, the suffix is subject to word-final tonal inversions similar to those that apply to underived verb stems: all L-toned Pfv’s become HL-toned, and H-toned Pfv’s of bisyllabic C’-ní shape become HL-toned.

(460) shows some examples with intransitive inputs and no unusual phonology. Here as elsewhere verbs are cited as Pfv/Ipfv stem pairs. Where the input has a suffixed Ipfv stem (460c-e), the causative is clearly based on the unsuffixed Pfv stem.

(460)	verb	gloss	causative	gloss
	a. input of /H/ melody			
	<i>monomoraic stem</i>			
	tú ⁿ /tú-nú	‘get lost’	tú-ní/tú-nì	‘cause to disappear’
	<i>heavier stems</i>			
	sáá/sáá	‘lie down’	sáá-ní/sáá-ní	‘lay (sth) down’
	dúmé/dúmè	‘catch fire’	dúmé-ní/dúmé-ní	‘ignite (sth)’

kíyè/kíyè	‘pass by’	kíyè-ní/kíyè-ní	‘take past; spend (night)’
pí ⁿ yé/pí ⁿ yè	‘get hot’	píyè-ní/píyè-ní	‘heat (sth)’
b. input of /L/ melody			
kìrì/kìrì	‘get up, stand’	kìrì-nì/kìrì-ní	‘get (sb, sth) up’
kù ⁿ wà/kù ⁿ wá	‘fear (v)’	kù ⁿ wà-nì/kù ⁿ wà-ní	‘frighten, scare (sb)’
mùwò/mùwó	‘ripen’	mùwò-nì/mùwò-ní	‘cause to ripen’
sìgà ⁿ /sìgá ⁿ	‘be submerged’	sìgà-nì/sìgà-ní	‘immerse (sth)’
bàntàw ⁿ /bàntáw ⁿ	‘get tired’	bàntà-nì/bàntà-ní	‘weary, pester (sb)’
nìyè-gà/nìyè-gá	‘become easy’	nìyè-gà-nì/nìyè-gà-ní	‘facilitate’
c. input of /HL/ melody			
ḡérè(-rè) (~ -lè)	‘slip, slide’	ḡérè-nì/ḡérè-ní	‘cause to slide’
(dialectally ḡérè with ḡ)			
tíyèw ⁿ /tíyè-nè	‘be grouped’	tíyè-nì/tíyè-ní	‘assemble (individuals)’
d. input of /LH/ melody			
dègú(-rù)	‘be squeezed’	dègú-nì/dègú-ní	‘squeeze’
wùwó ⁿ /wùwó-nò	‘(sth) dry’	wùwó-nì/wùwó-ní	‘dry (sth)’
e. input of /LHL/ melody			
nàgàsì(-rì)	‘wither’	nàgàsì-nì/nàgàsì-ní	‘cause to wither’

‘Weep’ has two variants in the Ipfv stem, and these are matched by variants in the causative (461)

- (461) a. gó(-ró) ‘weep’
or: gó/gú-wó
- b. gó-ní/gó-ní ‘cause to weep, bring (sb) to tears’
or: gúwó-ní/gúwó-ní

Transitive inputs are more difficult to causativize morphologically. The only common cases are with ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ in the senses ‘feed (give food to)’ and ‘give a drink to’. ‘Eat’ has a transitive form ‘eat (sth)’ with final a that requires an object, and an objectless antipassive with final ε ‘eat, have a meal’ (§9.3.1.2). Only the latter can be causativized (462a). ‘Drink’ has no morphological intransitivization, so there no suspense about the form of the causative.

(462)	verb	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	díyé/díyè díyá/díyà	‘eat.Antip’ ‘eat (sth)’	díyé-ní/díyé-ní #díyá-ní/díyá-ní	‘feed, nourish (sb)’ (ungrammatical)
b.	mè ⁿ /mè-nè	‘drink’	mè-nì/mè-ní	‘give a drink to (sb)’

9.1.2 Causative of Cv- verbs with -ri and -ni

Some Cv verbs have phonologically regular causatives.

(463)	verb	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	/H/ melody			
	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná	‘ascend’	tá-ní/tá-nì	‘raise’
	té(-ré)	‘cross’	té-ní/té-nì	‘take across’
	tú ⁿ /tú-nú	‘get lost’	tú-ní/tú-nì	‘cause to disappear’
b.	/L/ melody			
	mè ⁿ /mè-nè	‘drink’	mè-nì/mè-ní	‘let (sb) drink, give drink to’

Others have irregular forms that function as causatives. In (464), a common theme is that the causative has either a rhotic medial syllable (resembling that of the input Ipfv stem and therefore likely part of the proto-form of the stem) or a Cvv- shape (which could reflect contraction of a medial rhotic syllable). In (464d), bà-rì is specialized for use when there is an enclosing container or space out of which the object is taken, while the more general báá can also be used in open-air contexts (e.g. ‘pick a mango off a tree’), and in abstract contexts (‘remove fatigue’).

(464)	verb	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	f(w)ð(-rð)	‘sit’	fð-rð-nì/fð-rð-ní ~ fðð-nì/fðð-ní	‘seat (sb)’
b.	yà(-rà)	‘descend’	yà-rì/yà-rí ~ yà-rì-nì/yà-rì-ní cf. yàà/yàá ‘put down; put (sth) on (fire, hearth)’	‘bring/take (sth) down’

c.	tà(-rà)	‘stop’	tàà-nì/tàà-ní	‘stop (sb, sth)’
d.	bá(-rá)	‘exit (v)’	báá/báá bá-rí/bá-rì	‘remove; take out; pick (fruit)’ ‘take (sth) out, cause to exit’

Causatives of ‘come’, ‘go’, and ‘enter’ are in (465).

(465)	verb	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	bé/bí-yé	‘come’	bí-yé-ní/bí-yé-ní	‘cause to come’
b.	sò/sò	‘go’	sì-yè-nì/sì-yè-ní	‘cause to go’
e.	dó(-rò)	‘enter’	dwéé-ní/dwéé-ní	‘take/bring (sth) in’

Motion verbs like these occur frequently in a conveyance construction (‘bring’, ‘convey’, ‘bring/take in’) with intransitive verb an instrumental PP, the most common such PP being 3Sg à ní ‘with it’ (§11.1.1.4, §8.1.2.2). It is possible that original conveyance constructions of the forms *bé [à ní] ‘brought it’, *sò [à ní] ‘conveyed/took it (somewhere)’, and *dó [à ní] ‘entered with it, brought/took it in’ were reinterpreted as causative stems. For ‘enter’ see also §9.3.2 for similar fusion with a different 3Sg PP. The situation is complicated by the existence of CVCè/è derivatives that intransitivize or nominalize several verbs, including some other Cv stems that must be converted to CvCv shape (§9.3.1).

No morphological causative could be elicited for sé(-ré) ‘say’.

9.1.3 pá(-rá) ‘be filled’ and pááⁿ/pááⁿ ‘fill (sth)’

The intransitive verb pá(-rá) means ‘become full, fill up’, with extended senses like ‘(count) be complete, be all accounted for’ and ‘(animal) become well-fed, full-sized, plump’. Its functionally causative counterpart is pááⁿ/pááⁿ ‘fill (sth), load (a vehicle)’.

This pairing, involving shifts in vowel length and nasalization, is obscure morphologically. Cliffs has an equally irregular pairing of intransitive pāā/pā-lā ‘become full’ and transitive pàgà/pàgā. Kelenga has ambi-valent fágí(-lí) in both transitive and intransitive functions.

9.1.4 Causative ‘make X VP’ phrased as ‘tell X to VP’

Something functionally similar to a true causative can be cobbled together as a quoted imperative with ‘say’ plus a subjunctive clause expressing an original imperative. The implication is that the command was carried out.

- (466) [ɪ́ ká] yé [Ø ná bé]
 [1Sg father] **said** [1Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘My father told me to come.’ (≅ ‘My father made me come.’)

9.2 Ambi-valent and reflexive verbs

The existence of ambi-valent and reflexive transitive verbs reduces somewhat the need for valency-changing morphological derivation.

9.2.1 Ambi-valent (labile) verbs

Some verbs can occur in the same form as transitive and intransitive verbs. In the known cases, the basic sense is probably that of the transitive verb, while the intransitive functions as an agentless passive. (467) presents transitive-intransitive pairings whose intransitive version is attested in the recordings.

(467) verb	transitive	intransitive	intrans. reference
dó(-ró)	‘set (trap)’	‘(trap) be set’	2021-01 @ 03:08
gàràbù/gàràbú	‘reap (crop)’	‘(crop) be reaped’	2021-03 @ 06:10
fàámù(-nù)	‘understand’	‘be understood’	2021-01 @ 05:39
kìlàw ⁿ /kìláv ⁿ	‘get, obtain’	‘be obtainable, be present’	2021-01 @ 04:30
kày/káy	‘see’	‘be seen’	2022-03 @ 03:26
káy ⁿ /káy ⁿ	‘work (v)’	‘(crop) be worked, grown’	2022-03 @ 05:23
sá(-rá)	‘put in, add’	‘be put in; fall into’	2021-01 @ 02:48
sùwà/sùwó	‘cultivate (crop)’	‘(crop) be cultivated’	2021-03 @ 06:13

A subset of these stems are phonologically unsuitable for the intransitivization process that shifts final back/low vowels to front (§9.3.1.1).

9.2.2 Reflexive clauses and the infrequency of morphological passives

Many verbs can occur in reflexive clauses that have (medio)passive sense, as well as occurring in transitive clauses with an agent. In the lexical spreadsheet for verbs, these verbs occur twice. The “valency” column flags one occurrence as “tr” (transitive) and the other as “refl.” Verbs meaning ‘return, go back’ occur only in reflexive clauses.

Some examples of reflexive/transitive doublets are in (468). They range semantically from mediopassive (468a-d) to passive (468e-g). The 3ReflSg pronominal *ń* assimilates in position to a stem-initial stop, becoming *ń*, *ń́*, *ń́*, or *ń́*.

(468)	clause	gloss	similar textual example
a.	<i>à ń máyⁿ ńà</i> <i>ā yà = à máyⁿ ńà</i>	‘It malfunctioned.’ ‘He/She ruined it.’	2021-03 @ 06:37
b.	<i>à ń káá gà</i> <i>ā yà = à káá gà</i>	‘It shattered.’ ‘He/She shattered it.’	
c.	<i>à ń fîgéⁿ ńà</i> <i>ā yà = à fîgéⁿ ńà</i>	‘He/She hid.’ ‘He/She hid it.’	
d.	<i>à ń kwéⁿ ńà</i> <i>ā yà = à kwéⁿ ńà</i>	‘It (=stick) snapped.’ ‘He/She snapped it.’	
e.	<i>ā yà ń sé gà</i> <i>ā yà = à sé gà</i>	‘It was said.’ ‘He/She said it.’	2021-01 @ 07:59
f.	<i>ā yà ń tííⁿ ńà</i> <i>ā yà = à tííⁿ ńà</i>	‘It was done.’ ‘He/She did it.’	2021-01 @ 08:18
g.	<i>ā yà ń dó gà</i> <i>ā yà = à dó gà</i>	‘It was given.’ ‘He/She gave it.’	2021-01 @ 12:22

Examples with other than 3Sg subject are in (469).

(469) a.	<i>(í) yè = é(é) fîgéⁿ ńà</i>	‘They hid.’
	<i>áⁿ ńà = áⁿ " "</i>	‘You-Sg hid’
	<i>ííⁿ yè = ééⁿ " "</i>	‘We hid.’
b.	<i>ń ná ń fígèⁿ ńà</i>	‘I hid.’

In addition to typologically standard mediopassive/transitive doublets like those in (468-469) above, reflexive clauses have extended functions. In (470a), the reflexive clause might be analysed as antipassive (omitting the object), but since the emphasis is on the subject’s change of state it isn’t far removed from middle function. The verb in (470b) can only be used in reflexive clauses;

transitive ‘cause to return’ would require the causative suffix. In (470c), the simple intransitive ‘be used up, (supply) be exhausted’ becomes a euphemism for ‘die’ when the reflexive object is added.

- (470) a. à m̄ mèⁿ ñá ‘He/She had a drink.’
 ā yà = à mèⁿ ñá ‘He/She drank it.’
- b. à n̄ débè gà ‘He/She returned.’
- c. à dúwóⁿ ñà ‘It (e.g. sugar) is used up.’
 à n̄ dúwóⁿ ñà ‘He/She passed away (died).’

Given the productivity of reflexive clauses, especially those with mediopassive function, the need for valency-reducing derivational verb morphology (see below) is reduced. In addition, transitives with nonspecific 3Pl pronominal subjects (‘they buy X’) obviate the need for impersonal passives. However, the following section will show that some transitive verbs do have intransitive derivatives that can function as antipassives, or as (medio-)passives.

9.3 Valency reduction by dropping a nonsubject argument

9.3.1 Intransitivization of transitive verbs

A number of transitive verbs have an intransitive counterpart marked mainly by fronting the final vowel. The intransitivization can function as antipassive (the object is omitted) or (medio-)passive (the agentive subject is omitted). The intransitivization also has its own verbal noun, which is also part of agentive nominals.

9.3.1.1 Intransitivized verb stems of shape CvCe/ε

A morphologically intransitive verb that is derived from a transitive can function as antipassive (object is omitted) or passive (subject is omitted). In formatted examples and in texts, the interlinear includes “VERB.Antip” for the antipassives and “be.(VERB)ed” for the passives based on function in context, but at the morphological level there is no difference.

An intransitivized stem is subject to the template CvCe/ε. It is bisyllabic and bimoraic, even if the input transitive is monosyllabic. The input stems, if already bisyllabic, end in a nonhigh, nonfront vowel from the set {a ɔ o}. In the intransitivized form these are fronted, with {a ɔ} → ε and o → e, preserving the stem’s ATR value. The first-syllable vowel, if not a high vowel {i u}, also fronts to harmonize with the final vowel, but first-syllable {o ɔ} leave behind a trace of their rounding in the form of desyllabified w in the syllable onset (Cwe, Cwε), as in twéré from transitive tóró ‘sell’.

If the stem is already CvCv, no further change is needed in the intransitivization (471a). Caa stems become Ciyε (471b). Stems with Pfv Cv either borrow a medial nasal from the Ipfv or add a different medial nasal (471c). Input stems heavier than CvCv do not have phonologically marked intransitivizations. In pairs like those for ‘cut’ (471d), the fact that the transitive ends in a front vowel makes it impossible to determine whether the intransitive has been derived by (redundantly) fronting the final vowel, or whether the verb is simply ambi-valent.

(471)	transitive	intransitive	gloss
a. input CvCv			
	díyá/díyá	díyé/díyè	‘eat (a meal)’
	tóró/tórò	twéré/twéré	‘sell’
	sùwò/sùwó	sùyè/sùyé	‘cook (in a pot)’
		~ sùwè/sùwé ~ sùqè/sùqé (§3.2.2)	
	tù ⁿ wò/tù ⁿ wó	tù ⁿ yè/tù ⁿ yé	‘look (at)’
		~ tù ⁿ wè/tù ⁿ wé	
b. input Cvv			
	wàà/wàá	wiyè/wiyé	‘kill’
	yàà/yàá	yiyè/yiyé	‘put down’
c. input C(w)v			
	kú ⁿ /kú-nú	kúmé/kúmè	‘catch’
	kwá(-rá)	kwéré/kwéré	‘hit’
	sí ⁿ /sí-ní	síné/sínè	‘bite’
d. no overt segmental change			
	kúlé/kúlè	kúlé/kúlè	‘cut’

Intransitivized ‘cook (in a pot)’ and ‘look’ in (471a) show the (subdialectal) palatalization of w to y, harmonizing with the final ε. The form transcribed sùyè has a range of pronunciations including [sùjè], [sỳjè] and [sỳqè] with fronting or palatalization extending variably leftward into the nucleus of the first syllable.

Verbs that end in vowels other than {a ɔ o}, and verbs whose basic stem is heavier than CvCv (e.g. CvvCv or CvCvCv), do not form CvCe/ε intransitivizations, at least none that are phonologically distinct from the transitive. Some such verbs are nonetheless ambi-valent (labile), so they can function as transitive or intransitive verbs with no overt change in form.

9.3.1.2 Antipassive function of CvCe/ε intransitivizations

In main clauses, the intransitivization can be used in antipassive function (“Antip” in interlinears) when the object of a transitive verb is nonspecific or unimportant. Compare ‘eat’ in antipassive (472a) and regular transitive (472b) clauses. In (272a) the point is that the speaker doesn’t need another meal; what he or she ate isn’t at issue. Incidentally, *díyé-fá* ‘food’ in (272b) contains the same *díyé*, but in verbal-noun function (§4.2.1.2).

- (472) a. Ø *nà* *díyé* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **eat.Antip.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I have eaten.’
- b. Ø *nà* *díyé-fá* *díyá* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg food **eat.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I have eaten a meal.’ (*díyé-fá* literally “eat.VblN-thing”)

Examples with ‘sell’ are in (473). (473a) describes the subject’s stable occupation.

- (473) a. *zàkí* *gà* *twéré*
 Z Ipfv **sell.Antip.Ipfv**
 ‘Zaki sells (does commerce).’
- b. *zàkí* *gà* *tóó* *tórò*
 Z Ipfv meat **sell.Ipfv**
 ‘Zaki sells meat.’

Examples with ‘cook (in a pot on the fire)’ are in (474). The antipassive corresponds semantically to French *faire la cuisine*.

- (474) a. *à* *gá* *sùyé*
 3Sg Ipfv **cook.Antip.Ipfv**
 ‘She cooks.’
- b. *ā* *yà=* *à* *sùwó* *gà*
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **cook.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘She cooked it.’

Examples with ‘bite’ are in (475). (475a) is a warning to be careful with a reptile or insect that can bite.

- (475) a. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $s\acute{i}n\grave{e}$
 3Sg Ipfv **bite.Antip.Ipfv**
 ‘It bites.’
- b. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $n\acute{u}m\acute{u}^n$ $s\acute{i}-n\acute{i}$
 3Sg Ipfv person **bite-Ipfv**
 ‘It bites a person (=people).’

Examples with ‘hit’ are in (476).

- (476) a. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $kw\acute{e}r\grave{e}$
 3Sg Ipfv **hit.Antip.Ipfv**
 ‘It hits.’
- b. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $n\acute{u}m\grave{a}-r\acute{e}e$ $kw\acute{a}-r\acute{a}$
 3Sg Ipfv people **hit-Ipfv**
 ‘It hits people.’

Parallel examples with ‘catch’ are in (477)

- (477) a. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $k\acute{u}m\grave{e}$
 3Sg Ipfv **catch.Antip.Ipfv**
 ‘It (e.g. a trap) catches.’
- b. \bar{a} $g\grave{a}$ $n\acute{u}m\grave{a}-r\acute{e}e$ $k\acute{u}-n\acute{u}$
 3Sg Ipfv person-Pl **catch-Ipfv**
 ‘It catches people.’

The occurrence of the CvCe/ε shape in verbal nouns and (with suffix -ya) in agentives is most often antipassive but can be passive (see below).

9.3.1.3 Passive function of CvCe/ε intransitivizations

The same CvCe/ε intransitivizations can also function as passives, especially in habitual contexts. Representing C’Cè/è as “Vb_E” the underlying transitive [X Vb Y] shifts to [Y Vb_E] in (habitual) passive function, versus [X Vb_E] in antipassive function. The passive function is illustrated by the two verbs in (478). A circumcision ceremony is being planned.

d. ‘catch’ (kú ⁿ /kú-nú)		
kúmé	‘catching’	verbal noun
sàbà-kùmè	‘catching a chicken’	verbal noun with object
kúmé-ná nì	‘be (already) caught’	stative (resultative)
kúmé-yá	‘collector, captor’	agentive
kúmé-bààná	‘way of catching’	compound
<i>with incorporated object</i>		
nàà-kùmè-bààná	‘way of catching cows’	double compound
e. ‘put down’ (yàà/yàá)		
yìyè	‘putting’	verbal noun
yìyè-bààná	‘manner of putting down’	compound
f. ‘hit’ (kwá(-rá))		
kwéré-bààná	‘manner of hitting’	compound
g. ‘laugh’ (sà/sàá ~ sà-rà)		
sà-bààná	‘manner of laughing’	compound
h. ‘lie down’ (sáá/sáá)		
sáá-bààná	‘manner of lying down’	compound

Examples like *tóó-díyé* ‘meat-eating’ and *tóó-díyé-yá* ‘meat-eater’ with incorporated object (479a) show that the form in e/ε occurs even in “transitive” contexts where an object is overt, in spite of the requirement for the transitive form (*díyá/díyà*) in transitive main clauses (X *tóó díyá gà* ‘X ate meat’, never #X *tóó díyé gà*).

9.3.2 *dó* ‘enter’ fused with *á-yè* ‘in it’ as *dwéyè/dwéè-*

In at least one case, however, an original **á-yè ~ *á yè* has fused to the verb to form a new verb. One special context for *dó(-ró)* ‘enter’ is ‘enter into (=undergo) circumcision or excision’, as in (480a). If ‘circumcision’ in (480a) is pronominalized this should result in (480b). This pronominal phrasing is rejected in the context of circumcision, though it is fine if *á-yè* denotes a place. In the circumcision sense, **dó* and **á-yè* fuse as *dwéyè*, which can then be followed by Pfv morpheme *gà* (480c). The Ipfv stem is also *dwéyè*, without the Ipfv suffix -RV otherwise typical of contour-toned stems. Verb *dwéyè* is related to the composite noun, with two variants, denoting entry into circumcision/excision (480d).

- (480) a. à dó gà kòníⁿ-yⁿ
 3Sg enter.Pfv Pfv circumcision-Loc
 ‘He entered into (=underwent) circumcision.’
- b. à dó gà= á-ŷ
 3Sg enter.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘He entered it (=place).’
 #‘He entered into (=underwent) it (=circumcision).’
- c. à dwéŷ gà
 3Sg be.circumcised.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He entered into (=underwent) it (=circumcision).’ = ‘He was circumcised.’
- d. kònì-dóéŷ
 ~ kwànì-dwéè
 circumcision-entry
 ‘excision/circumcision’

The variant with -dwéè in (480d) suggests the possibility that this form has been secondarily associated with the CvCe/ε intransitivizations, which are characterized mainly by stem-final vowel-fronting (§9.3.1 above). Compare verbal noun dwéé ‘going’ (§4.2.1.2) and place nominal dóé-wúwòⁿ ‘entrance’ (§4.2.1.5).

A further complexity is that causative dwéé-ní/dwéé-ní ‘take/bring (sth) in’, which ends synchronically in causative -ni with the plausible literal sense ‘cause to enter’ (§9.1.2), may have its diachronic source, fully or partially, in *dó [à ní] ‘enter with it’, parallel to ‘bring’ and ‘convey’ constructions with instrumental PP.

In examples like (481), where a verb of putting that ends in a-vowel is followed by á-ŷ ‘in it, there in’, vv-Contraction can give the impression that (á-)ŷ is fusing to the verb in the same way as with dó ‘enter’ in the preceding example.

- (481) ñ ná bé dántí-íñ yàà= á-ŷ
 1Sg Ipv Fut chili-DefSg put.Pfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘I will add the chili peppers to the pot.’

However, the phonological fusion is accidental rather than morphosyntactic in (481). Other morphemes or constituents may separate the verb yàà/yàá from á-ŷ ~ á-yì, as shown by (482).

- (482) ñ ná dántí-íñ yàá gà= á-yì
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg chili-DefSg put.in.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘I put-Past the chili peppers into it (=the pot).’

Other apparently unsegmentable verbs ending in *ay* or *ey* might have originated in the same way as *dwéy*, though the source may be less obvious than with ‘enter’. A clue is that a contour-toned verb fails to show the usual -RV suffix in the *Ipfv* stem.

One verb that was initially suspected to have such an origin is *dábày/dábày* ‘abandon, give up (a traditional practice)’, which lacks the *Ipfv* suffix. However, its etymology may be unrelated to **á-y*. In a reflexive frame, with the name of the practice as subject, there is a variant *dámbày/dámbày* with a medial nasal. This implies an etymological segmentation **dá-rn-bày*, which in turn suggests a distant connection with *bày/bày* ‘leave, abandon’. The original construction is attested in the combination of nonadjacent noun *dá* ‘custom’ and reflexive verb *rnày* ‘leave, abandon’ in 2021-03 @ 16:46.

9.3.3 Dative Dropping for ‘give’ (*dó* → *dúwò*)

dó(-ró) ‘give’ is ditransitive, requiring a postverbal dative PP expressing the recipient as well as a preverbal object expressing the theme (483a). It changes to *dúwò* when no recipient is expressed (483b). It may be a frozen combination of the original ‘give’ verb plus a pro forma pronominal element, but synchronically it is obscure.

(483)	gloss	Pfv	Pfv with <i>gà</i>	<i>Ipfv</i>
a.	‘give (sth, to sb)’	<i>dó</i>	<i>dó gà</i>	<i>dó-ró</i>
b.	‘give (sth)’	<i>dúwò</i>	<i>dúwò gà</i>	<i>dúwò-rò</i>

For example, (484a) shows the recipient-less *dúwò*, while (484b) shows the full ditransitive construction with *dó*.

(484)	a.	<i>à</i>	<i>dúwò</i>		
		3Sg	give.Pfv		
			‘Give it (to me)!’		
	b.	<i>à</i>	<i>dó</i>	[<i>zàkí</i>	<i>nà</i>]
		3Sg	give.Pfv	[<i>Z</i>	Dat]
			‘Give it to Zaki!’		

Both dative-dropped *dúwò(-rò)* and regular *dó(-ró)* occur in 2021-01 @ 06:28.

The discrepancy between [-ATR] *dó(-ró)* and apparently [+ATR] *dúwò* is interesting, but the obscure morphology of *dúwò* makes it difficult to decipher. On occasion I have initially transcribed ‘give.Pfv’ as *dó* instead of *dó*, as in (428b). When questioned, the speakers stated that

dó is correct for their dialects, and I recorded only dó-ró for the Ipfv, so I corrected dó to dó. However, ‘give.Pfv’ is dó in the more northerly Jenaama variety described by Lauchitsky (2007: 20), and also in Cliffs. In these varieties, dó ‘give’ and dó ‘enter’ are phonologically distinct. On the other hand, Kelenga has lóó/ló-ló for both ‘give’ and ‘enter’. In view of the comparative facts it is likely that dó and dó are widely distributed in Jenaama-Sorogaama varieties for ‘give’ .

There is no similar morphological Dative Dropping for ‘show’. In (485), gàsì has the same form whether ‘to Amadou’ is overt or is omitted.

- (485) ā gàsì ([áámàdú nà])
 3Sg show.Pfv ([A Dat])
 ‘Show it (to Amadou)!’

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative verbs

Most but not all basic modifying adjectives have a corresponding intransitive inchoative verb. In some cases, the “adjective” is itself derived from the verb.

9.4.1 fà(-rà) or variant ‘become (Adj)’ and yàà/yàá ‘transform into (Adj)’

Some noun-like adjectives can only be made into inchoative predicates using the verb ‘become’ (Pfv fò ~ fwà ~ fà, Ipfv fò-rò ~ fà-rà), which takes PP complements with instrumental ní (§11.2.4.2). For speakers with fò(-rò), the (nonreflexive) ‘become’ verb is identical in form to the (reflexive) verb ‘sit’.

Examples of adjectives that lack morphological inchoative verbs and so must use this construction are in (486).

- (486) a. fà gá sù mú ní ‘become foreign’
 b. fà gá t à n à à ní ‘become other’
 c. fà gá t w è è ní ‘become new’

Other adjectives that do have inchoatives can also use this construction as an alternative.

A close variant of the construction in (486) is to add fá ‘thing’, and convert the adjective into a modifier. The adjective is then subject to the tonal changes that apply to modifying adjectives immediately following a noun. For example, (487) is based on the N-Adj fá twéé ‘new thing’.

- (487) ā fà gá [[fá twéé] ní]
 3Sg become.Pfv Pfv [[**thing** **new**] Inst]
 ‘He/She/It became new.’

In both constructions, if the subject is plural, the adjective or N-Adj is pluralized with -yè.

- (488) a. ē fà gá [twèé-yè ní]
 3Pl become.Pfv Pfv [new-**PI** Inst]
 ‘They became new.’
- b. ē fà gá [[fá twéé-yè] ní]
 3Pl become.Pfv Pfv [[thing new-**PI** Inst]
 ‘They became new (things).’

The verb yàà/yàá ‘put (down)’, which functions a kind of suppletive causative for fò ‘sit’, is also the suppletive causative of fò and variants ‘turn/transform/make X into N/Adj’.

- (489) zàkí yá= à yàá gá [twèè ní]
 Z Sbj/Obj 3Sg **put.down.Pfv** Pfv [new Inst]
 ‘Zaki renewed/rejuvenated it (=made it new).’

9.4.2 Reflexive inchoatives

The verbs in (490) are aspect-marking inchoative verbs that occur in reflexive clauses. This appears to be usual for iterative adjectival stems.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (490) | adjective | gloss | reflexive inchoative |
| | kútù-kútù | ‘coarse, rough’ | kútù-kútù / kútù-kútù-rù |
| | sógì-sógì | ‘multicolored, spotted’ | sógì-sógì / sógì-sógì-rì |

Examples (491a-b) illustrate the reflexive construction.

- (491) a. à íj kútù-kútù gá
 3Sg **3RefISg** become.coarse.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It (skin, body) became coarse (develop sores).’
- b. è gè= é(é) kútù-kútù-rù
 3Pl Ipfv **3RefPI** become.coarse-Ipfv
 ‘They (often) become coarse.’

kútù-kútù is related to the reflexive verb kútù(-rù) ‘(skin) develop a sore’. Causative -ni can be added: kútù-kútù-nì/kútù-kútù-nì ‘cause (skin, surface) to be rough’. The modifying and stative predicate forms are participial, e.g. kútú-kútú-ná.

9.4.3 Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

In (492), the inchoative is identical or similar to the modifying adjective, without an obvious derivational suffix. The modifying adjective is unsuffixed in (492), but in most case the modifying adjective has participial -na (492b).

(492) Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying (Adj2)	gloss of Adj
a. màjà/màjà	màjà	‘good’
b. dègú(-rù)	dègú-nà	‘narrow, tight’
dúmá/dúmà	dúmá-ná	‘delicious, sweet’
káámá/káámá	káámá-ná	‘wet’
kìsì/kìsì	kìsì-nà	‘plump’
kúmá/kúmà	kúmá-ná	‘lean, emaciated’
mùwà/mùwá	mùwà-nà	‘cold’
nógò(-rò)	nógò-nà	‘dirty’
ńíńá/ńíńà	ńíńá-ná	‘bad; nasty’
nùgù/nùgù	nùgù-nà	‘smooth’
pá(-rá)	pá-ná	‘full’
pí ⁿ yé/pí ⁿ yè	pí ⁿ yé-ná	‘hot’
tántà ⁿ /tántá-nà	tántà-nà	‘sour’
wùwó ⁿ /wùwó-nò	wùwó-nà	‘dry; hard’

The corresponding factitive (‘cause to be ADJ’) is usually the regular causative of the inchoative, as with káámá-ńí/káámá-ńí ‘moisten, wet (sth)’. For màjà/màjà ‘become good, improve’ (492a), the causative is mènèni/mènèni ‘improve, cause to be good’. This is also the basic verb meaning ‘fix, repair’ or ‘make, manufacture’.

The color adjectives in (493a) likewise have participial -na, which can occur in any position. As immediately postnominal modifiers (i.e. in N-Adj), the participles compete with short unsuffixed CvCv or Cvv forms. The short forms occur exclusively in modifying function and so always get their tones from the noun (§6.3.1.1). The factitive is build on the inchoative.

(493)	inchoative	participle	short	gloss	factitive
	kú ⁿ wáá/kú ⁿ wáá	kú ⁿ wáá-ná	kuwo ⁿ	‘white; clean’	kú ⁿ wáá-ní/kú ⁿ wáá-ní
	pì ⁿ yè/pì ⁿ yé	pì ⁿ yè-nà	pii ⁿ	‘black’	pì ⁿ yè-nì/pì ⁿ yè-ní
	tòmò/tòmó	tòmò-nà	tòmó ⁿ	‘red’	tòmò-nì/tòmò-ní

9.4.4 Inchoatives with -(a)ma

In (494), the inchoative verb ends in a suffix -(a)ma, which gets its tones by spreading from the stem.

(494) Deadjectival inchoatives with -(aa)ma

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a. -aama / aama		
bùrà-àmà / bùrà-àmá	boro ⁿ	‘big, massive, thick’
kéémína-ámá / kéémíná-ámá	kεεmine	‘old (person)’
kòsà-àmà / kòsà-àmá	kòsa ⁿ	‘long; tall’ (variant)
(~ kwàs...)		
b. -ma-		
dáá-má / dáá-má	daa ⁿ	‘distant’
káású-má / káású-má	kaasi	‘bitter’
ńúwótá-má / ńúwótá-má	ńuwótó-mó-na	‘difficult’
tíyé-má / tíyé-má	tiye-ma-na	‘heavy’
wúwó-má / wúwó-má	wuwo ⁿ	‘empty’

Causative -ni can be added to any of these inchoatives, as in kòsà-àmà-nì/kòsà-àmà-ní ‘lengthen (sth)’.

káámá/káámá ‘become wet’ belongs here historically, but segmentation is opaque synchronically since the only attested modifying adjective is participial káámá-ná. (Cliffs has inchoative verb kāā-mā ‘become moist’, clearly segmentable by comparison to modifying adjective kāā.)

Inchoative kúsà-mà/kúsà-mà ‘abound, multiply, become many’ corresponds semantically to modifying adjective pééntè(w)ⁿ ‘many’. There is also a derived adjective kúsà-mà-nà ‘abundant’.

9.4.5 Inchoatives with -ga

In (495), the inchoative verb ends in -ga. *síré-gá* (495a) is somewhat isolated. The examples in (495b) involve inchoative -ga corresponding to diminutive adjectival suffix -gù. The second column shows the forms as free adjective or as Adj2 (in N-Adj1-Adj2), whose initial L-tone accounts for the L-toned inchoative. For Adj2 versus Adj1, see §4.5.1.1 and §6.3.3.1.1.

(495)	inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	Adj2/free	gloss
a.	<i>síré-gá / síré-gá</i>	<i>sìrè, síré-gá-ná</i>	‘worn-out, old (thing)’
b.	<i>dùwà-gà / dùwà-gá</i>	<i>dùwó-gù</i>	‘small’
	<i>fóri-gá / fórí-gá</i>	<i>fòrì-gù</i>	‘light(weight)’
	(~ <i>féí-gá / féí-gá</i>)	(~ <i>fèrù-gù</i>)	
	<i>fìrì-gà / fìrì-gá</i>	<i>fìrí-gù</i>	‘soft’
	(~ <i>fùrù-gà / fùrù-gá</i>)	(~ <i>fùrú-gù</i>)	
	<i>kwìì-gà / kwìì-gá</i>	<i>kwíí-gù</i>	‘deep’
	<i>mìyè-gà / mìyè-gá</i>	<i>mìyé-gù</i>	‘small’
	(~ <i>mìyà-gà / mìyà-gá</i>)	(~ <i>mìyá-gù</i>)	
	<i>nìyè-gà / nìyè-gá</i>	<i>nìyé-gù</i>	‘easy’
	<i>twìì-gà/twìì-gá</i>	<i>twìí-gù</i>	‘short’

twìì-gà/twìì-gá ‘become short’ has an extended variant *twìì-gà-àmà/twìì-gà-àmá*.

9.5 Nouns as compound initials in verbs

There are a number of constructions suggesting that a diachronic transition is underway from the schema (496a), with a reflexively possessed body part as object of a transitive verb, into schema (496b), with a reflexive pronominal object and an incorporated noun compounded to the verb. The diachronic mechanism is rebracketing.

- (496) a. original: (subject) (inflection) [3ReflSg_{poss} PART] Vb
 b. rebracketed: (subject) (inflection) 3ReflSg_{obj} [PART-Vb]

The rebracketing may be imperceptible, in the absence of overt case distinctions. Compounding can be inferred from a combination of negative evidence (impossibility of plural or definite marking on the noun) and positive evidence (semantic and/or phonological divergence), as well as text frequency. The addition of a nonpronominal object before the PART-Vb sequence also favors a compound analysis, provided that the object cannot be plausibly interpreted as possessor of the body part.

In addition to constructions with reflexively possessed paronyms as objects (496b), such rebracketing can also occur with any noun that is invariant in form and that frequently occurs as object of a specific verb. If the noun has a possessor (of any syntactic type), it evolves into the object of a transitive compound verb. If there is no possessor, the result is an intransitive compound verb (497b).

- (497) original: (subject) (inflection) [(NP_{poss}) N] Vb
 rebracketed: (subject) (inflection) (NP_{obj}) [N-Vb]

An example of this is tíyéŋ(-)kúmé ‘breathe’ from tíyéⁿ ‘air’ and kúmé ‘catch’. Other examples are presented in the subsections below.

9.5.1 kàni ‘breast’ as compound initial

The intransitive verb kání-mèⁿ/kání-mè-nè ‘(baby) suckle, nurse’ is composed of kàni ‘breast, mammary’ and mèⁿ/mè-nè ‘drink’. The latter elsewhere takes objects denoting liquids, or occurs in a reflexive construction in the antipassive sense ‘have a drink’. The combination of tonal, semantic, and syntactic divergence marks this as a compound.

- (498) à kání-mèⁿ ɲá
 3Sg suckle.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She suckled (nursed).’

9.5.2 dǎǎ- ~ dáá ‘mouth’ initial (‘begin’, ‘open’, ‘reply’, ‘sharpen’)

dǎǎ ‘mouth’, in the form dǎǎ- or dáá- depending on the combination, is a compound initial in lexicalized combinations with certain verbs. The meanings in question are ‘shut’ and ‘open’, ‘sharpen’, ‘reply’, and ‘begin’.

The vocalic variation between dǎǎ ‘mouth’ and variant dáá (as in dáá-jì ‘saliva’) goes back to Proto-Bozo. Cf. Kelenga lógó-ó ‘mouth’ and its variant lágà-à in some combinations. Some of the noun-verb compounds are also old.

‘Open’ and ‘shut’ are illustrated in (499). The issue is whether dǎǎ is the direct object ‘mouth’ (by extension: ‘door’) or is a compound initial on the verb. The markup suggests that it is an object in (499a-b), since ‘catch one’s mouth’ is a reasonable phrasing of ‘become quiet, shut up’. Conversely, the markup suggests that dǎǎ is a compound initial in (499c-d), where it adds little to the clause-level meaning.

- (499) a. [án **dóó**] kúⁿ
 [2Sg mouth] catch.Pfv
 ‘Shut up!’
- b. (i) yè= [é **dóó**] kúⁿ ɲà
 3Pl Sbj/Obj [3ReflPl mouth] catch.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They shut up.’
- c. ā yè kúpè-èn **dóó-gwèⁿ** ɲà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj door-DefSg open.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She opened the door.’
 (variant **dóó-wèⁿ** ɲà)
- d. ā yè kúpè-èn **dóó-tíyáⁿ** ɲà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj door-DefSg shut.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She shut the door.’

If ‘door’ is omitted in (499d), the verb ‘shut’ optionally takes the form **dóó-ɲ-tíyáⁿ** (or **-tíyáⁿ**), where **-ɲ-** could be taken as a phonetically eroded DefSg **-yàwⁿ**, implying that **dóó** still means ‘mouth, door’. See **dóó-ɲ-tíyáⁿ** in (819b) in §15.4.2.

In the same semantic zone (open/shut) is **dóó-sàràⁿ/-sàrà-nà** ‘sew up the mouth of (sack)’. The final element is not otherwise attested.

dóó combines with **kúⁿ/kú-nú** ‘catch’ in the sense ‘begin’. ‘Begin’ has semantic affinities with ‘open’, and the idiom ‘catch mouth’ = ‘begin’ also occurs in some other languages of the region including Bambara. **dóó-kúⁿ/dóó-kú-nú** is transitive with a nominal object. There is an intransitive version (passive rather than antipassive) **dóó-kúmé/-kúmè** (500a,c).

- (500) a. **káyⁿ-yⁿ** **dóó-kúmé** gà
 work-DefSg be.begun.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The work has (been) begun.’
- b. zàkí **káyⁿ-yⁿ** **dóó-kúⁿ** ɲà
 Z work-DefSg begin.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki has begun the work.’
- c. **káyⁿ** tè **dóó-kúmé**
 work(n) PfvNeg **mouth-catch**.Antip.Pfv
 ‘Work has not begun.’

Other ‘begin’ verbs are *síntì*ⁿ/*síntì-nì* borrowed from Songhay and ultimately from Tamashek, and *súú-dó(-rɔ́)* (§9.5.8), literally “hand-give” or “hand-enter.” These two verbs differ from *dóó-kú*ⁿ/*dóó-kú-nú* in also allowing sequential VP complements (§15.2.13).

The verb ‘reply to (sb), answer (sb)’ is a compound of *dáá* with *kàmà/kàmá*, which elsewhere means ‘receive, take (sth given)’ or ‘occupy (a place)’. Alternatively, *dáá* combines with the verb’s intransitivization *kèmè/kèmé*. The compound is clearly lexicalized (501).

- (501) a. *zàkí yé sèédù dáá-kàmà gà*
 Z Sbj/Obj S reply.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki answered Seydou.’
- b. *zàkí dáá-kèmè gà*
 Z reply.Antip.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki replied.’

Compound verbs meaning ‘sharpen, hone (blade)’ have *dáá-* or *dóó-* as initial (502). Rather than a natural semantic extension from ‘mouth’ to ‘blade’, this may reflect a blurry convergence of *dóó* ‘mouth’ and *dòò* ‘knife’, in spite of their tonal difference. The final in *dáá-dò(-rò)* (502a) is obscurely related to *dó(-rɔ́)*, which has a range of senses including ‘give’, ‘enter’, ‘put on (garment)’, and ‘set’. In *dóó-báá/dóó-báá* (502b) the final appears to be *báá/báá* ‘take out, remove’. The third (and most common) option is *dóó-dúmá-ní/dóó-dúmá-ní*, whose final is the deadjectival causative ‘make sweet, sweeten’, reflecting the region-wide convergence of ‘sweet, delicious (taste)’ with ‘sharp (blade)’.

- (502) a. *zàkí yé dòò-ən dáá-dò gà*
 Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’
- b. *à yé dòò-ən dóó-báá gà*
 Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’
- c. *zàkí yé dòò-ən dóó-dúmá-níⁿ ɲà*
 Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’

9.5.3 múúⁿ ‘nose’ as compound initial

The parallel sense ‘sharpen (point)’ (German *spitzen*) is expressed with a similar compound. The object may be an awl, a spike, an arrow, a spear, a pencil, or a knife point. Here the noun is múúⁿ ‘nose’. It is compounded to ‘sweeten’.

- (503) zàkí yé tàá-àⁿ **múún**-dúmá-níⁿ ɲà
 Z Sbj/Obj spear-DefSg nose-become.sweet-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki sharpened the spear (point).’

9.5.4 kòbò ‘knee’ as compound initial

The sense ‘kneel’ (as in prayer) is expressed by kòbò-sìgàⁿ. It occurs in a reflexive construction like that for other stance verbs. Elsewhere sìgàⁿ/sìgáⁿ is an intransitive verb ‘be submerged (in water)’. Since ‘kneel’ is clearly lexicalized, and since unsuffixed sìgàⁿ/sìgáⁿ is not elsewhere transitive (it has a causative with -ni), kòbò-sìgáⁿ can be analysed as a compound.

- (504) zàkí íj **kòbò**-sìgáⁿ ɲà
 Z 3ReflSg kneel.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki kneeled.’

Unlike other body-part terms that appear to behave as compound initials with verbs, kòbò is L-toned. In kòbò-sìgàⁿ it undergoes Final Tone-Raising, showing that it still behaves tonally as an object noun.

9.5.5 Compounds with sùgù/sùgú ‘place (hand/foot) on ground’

The combination of sùú ‘hand’ or tàbà ‘foot’ with sùgù/sùgú ‘firmly place, plant (hand/foot) on ground’ is a borderline case of compounding. That the combinations are tending toward compounding is suggested by the infrequency of definite or plural marking. However, the semantics is transparent and the phonology is regular.

- (505) kééwú-yé yè= =é sùú-/tàbá -sùgú gà
 Z Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg **hand/foot**-put.on.ground.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The men planted their hands/feet on the ground.’

9.5.6 pùwò ‘corpse’ as compound initial

‘Bury X’ is expressed with pùwò ‘corpse’ and dó(-rɔ́). Of the latter’s senses, ‘set’ is most relevant here. One can argue that this is a transitive compound based on the absence of definite or plural marking. Unlike most previous cases, this is not a reflexive construction.

- (506) ííⁿ jé= è **pùwò-dó** gà
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl bury.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We buried them.’

9.5.7 bònò ‘neck’ as compound initial

bònò ‘neck’ combines with kùlé/kùlè ‘cut’ to mean ‘cut the throat of, slaughter (an animal)’. This is a borderline case since the phonology and semantics are transparent. The evidence for compounding is the absence of definite or plural marking.

- (507) ííⁿ sùwó-yé bònò-kùlé gà
 1Pl sheep-Pl **neck-cut.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘We slaughtered (the) sheep-Pl.’

9.5.8 sùú ‘hand’ in sùú-dó(-rɔ́) ‘begin’

One of three verbs meaning ‘begin’ (for the others see §9.5.2 above) is sùú-dó(-rɔ́), which consists of sùú ‘hand’ and dó(-rɔ́) ‘give’ or ‘enter’. sùú is preceded by a pronominal that was originally most likely the possessor of ‘hand’ but can now be construed as reflexive object. If there is an NP complement it is expressed as an instrumental PP.

- (508) a. í nà íj sùú-dó gà [káyⁿ-yⁿ ní]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 1Sg **hand-give.Pfv** Pfv [work-DefSg Inst]
 ‘I started the job.’ (lit. “I gave my hand ...”)
- b. káyⁿ-yⁿ tè íj sùú-dó
 work-DefSg PfvNeg 3ReflSg **hand-give.Pfv**
 ‘The work has not begun.’
- c. sèédù íj sùú-dó gà
 S 3ReflSg **hand-give.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘Seydou has begun (an activity).’

The reflexive clause with súú-dó(-rǒ) may be followed by an imperfective VP (§15.1.1.2) or by a sequential VP (§15.2.13) as complement.

9.5.9 Bodily emissions with verb sé(-ré)

The verb sé(-ré) occurs in a number of collocations. Especially those in (509a) are candidates for compound status, as the noun (which denotes the discharge) has invariant form. Those in (509b) allow definite or plural marking of the object.

- (509) a. kǒŋ-jì sé(-ré) ‘urinate’
 kùwǒ sé(-ré) ‘defecate’
 túwǒⁿ sé(-ré) ‘fart (v)’
- b. bíyèⁿ sé(-ré) ‘lay egg’
 tógó sé(-ré) ‘construct (a hut)’

The Kelenga cognate of the verb is séé ‘put in; lay (egg)’.

9.5.10 ‘Hold a party’ (núwéŋ-kúⁿwá-ní)

The composite intransitive verb núwéŋ-kúⁿwá-ní ~ nǒóŋ-kúⁿwá-ní contains variants of nǒóⁿ ‘eye(s)’ and causative kúⁿwá-ní ‘whiten/clean’.

9.6 Verb-stem iteration

Verb stems can be iterated to indicate repetition or prolongation, less often distributivity. In iterations, the first part has fixed form based on the simple Pfv, subject to Final-Tone Raising. For some verbs only the Ipfv stem is attested, for understandable semantic reasons. Parentheses indicate marginality (elicitable but not in use).

(510)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss	iteration (Pfv/Ipfv)	gloss
a.	jǒŋǒ ⁿ /jǒŋǒ-nǒ	‘shake (once)’	jǒŋǒ-jǒŋǒ ⁿ /jǒŋǒ-jǒŋǒ-nǒ	‘shake (back and forth)’
b.	kúlé/kúlè	‘cut’	kúlé-kúlè	‘keep cutting’
c.	kwá(-rá)	‘hit’	(kwá-kwá(-rá))	‘keep hitting’
d.	nì/ní	‘walk’	nì-ní	‘keep walking’
e.	yáára/yáára	‘go around’	yáára-yáára/yáára-yáára	‘walk around, wander’

Iteration is very common with ‘shake’ and ‘go around’, but requires narrative emphasis for other verbs (‘they hit me and hit me’), and a speaker indicates that some elicitable examples are not in common use.

Iteration is compatible with perfective aspect when it denotes a time-bounded activity, albeit prolonged or repetitious. A distributive function is less common but can be discerned in (511). Distributivity is also relevant to *pété-pété* ‘split up’ in 2021-03 @ 15:43.

- (511) [nògú-tǔ mà-lé-méé] f̀ẁó-fẁò gá
 [village-owner Rel-Pl-Pl] **Rdp**-be.installed.**Pfv** **Pfv**
 ‘the various village chiefs who have been installed’ (2021-03 @ 14:40)

Some verbs occur only in iterative form. The examples in (512a) have the same tonal and morphological structure as the iterations in (510). In (512b), the compound verb has a distinctive L-HL tone melody not derivable from a putative simple input.

- | (512) | Pfv | Ipfv | gloss |
|-------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | kááŋ-káá ⁿ
d̀òg̀ó-d̀òg̀ò | kááŋ-káà ⁿ
d̀òg̀ó-d̀òg̀ó | ‘rust (v)’
‘tickle’ |
| b. | k̀ùs̀ùŋ-k̀ús̀ù ⁿ | k̀ùs̀ùŋ-k̀ús̀ù-ǹù | ‘shake (water container) up and down’ |

10 Verbal inflection

The abbreviations Pfv (perfective) and Ipfv (imperfective) with uppercase initial refer to the two stems that each verb presents; these are morphological categories. Phrases for syntactic constructions or groupings of them (e.g. perfective negative, imperfective system) are not abbreviated in the main text, and are abbreviated with lowercase formulae like pfv, ipfv, pfvneg, and ipfvneg in tables where spellout is not possible.

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

At the word level, verbs have two basic stems, **Pfv** (perfective) and **Ipfv** (imperfective). Many verbs also have a stative, in the form of a participial (“Ppl”) predicate with suffix -na.

A minority of verbs have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Many distinguish the two only by tones. Others distinguish them by suffixation in the Ipfv or some other segmental mechanism. the type of Pfv/Ipfv stem alternation is usually predictable from the form of the Pfv stem.

At clause level, TAMP categories (tense, aspect, mood, polarity) are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology, post-subject inflectional particles, and auxiliary verbs.

(513) category	expressed by
tense (past versus unmarked non-past)	auxiliary verb
aspect (perfective, imperfective)	inflectional particle and verb stem
stative	participial suffix
mood (subjunctive, deontic)	inflectional particle
polarity (negative, unmarked [positive])	inflectional particle

As (513) indicates, verbal morphology plays only a limited role in TAMP marking. Tense in this language is a higher-level category that specifies whether the reference time in the background is the moment of speaking or a displaced past reference time.

This chapter covers both the morphology of verbs (Pfv, Ipfv, Stat) and the broader TAMP inflectional system in main clauses.

10.1.1 Overview of AN categories

The most important types of main clauses are those in (514). Minor subdialectal variants (gày for kàytà for tà) are omitted here. Included are categories whose expression includes preverbal or

postverbal particles and/or auxiliaries. “S” is the subject, which is obligatory except in singular-addressee imperatives. “X” indicates the position of the object NP in transitive clauses and is absent in intransitive clauses. Pfv and Ipfv are two different stems of the verb. The Pfv verb form, which is morphologically simpler than the Ipfv for many verbs, is also the unmarked verb form functionally. It is the basis for deontic modals such as the imperative, and for most nominalizations. The future construction is morphologically hybrid, combining an Ipfv or IpfvNeg particle (gà, tà) with the Pfv stem of the verb.

(514)	category	positive	negative	
	a. perfective system			
	perfective	S Ø X Pfv gà	S tè X Pfv	(dialectally tì)
	future	S gà bé X Pfv	S tà bé X Pfv	
	imperative/prohibitive	(S) X Pfv	S mà X Pfv	
	hortative/subjunctive	S nà X Pfv	S mà X Pfv	
	b. imperfective system			
	imperfective	S gà X Ipfv	S tà X Ipfv	(dialect 1)
			S tá X Ipfv	(dialect 2)
	presentative/progressive	S kày X Ipfv	S tà y X Ipfv	
	progressive	S kày kíní ⁿ X Ipfv	S tà kúnú X Ipfv	(dialect 1)
			S tá kíní ⁿ X Ipfv	(dialect 2)
		or: S gà kúnú X Ipfv		
	c. some composite categories			
	experiential perfect	S gíyé gà [bé X Pfv]	S tè gíyé [bé X Pfv]	
	‘already’ (perfective)	S X Pfv gà [bé dúwó ⁿ]	—	
	‘not yet’ (perfective)	—	S tè X Pfv sú ⁿ wòni	

The post-subject inflectional morphemes and their tonal variants are summarized in (515). (Postverbal inflectional morphemes are omitted.)

(515)	category	gloss	basic	before L-tone
	perfective (positive)			
	in main clause	Pfv	(zero)	(zero)
	in ‘if’ clause	if.Pfv	nà	ná
	perfective negative	PfvNeg	tè	té
	imperfective (positive)	Ipfv	gà	gá
	imperfective negative	IpfvNeg	tà (dialect 1)	tá
			tá (dialect 2)	tá

progressive	Prog	kúnú (dialect 1) kíní ⁿ (dialect 2)	kúnú kíní ⁿ
presentative-progressive			
positive	Prsntv	kày ~ gày	káy ~ gáy
negative	ProgNeg	tày	táy
regular progressive			
positive	Prsntv	gà kúnú/kíní ⁿ	gà kúnú/kíní ⁿ
negative	ProgNeg	tà kúnú ~ tá /kíní ⁿ	tà kúnú ~ tá /kíní ⁿ
future (positive)	Fut	bé	bé
imperative (positive)			
singular addressee	(Imprt)	(zero)	(zero)
plural addressee	ImprtPl	yè	yé
prohibitive (subjunctive negative)			
singular addressee	Proh	á ⁿ mà	á ⁿ má
plural addressee	Proh	áá mà	áá má
hortative (subjunctive)	Sbjn	nà	ná

Future bé is basically H-toned. In allegro speech it can sound low-pitched before an H-tone. The H-tone is audible in slow speech. Even in allegro speech it is expressed indirectly by the failure of preceding gà and tà to raise to gá and tá, as they do before L-tones.

10.1.2 Verb stem shapes

Verb stems are often cited in Pfv/Ipfv formulae like yèrì/yèrí ‘give birth’ and tó(-ró) ‘jump’. Verbs can be divided into those that have the same segmental shape in the Pfv and Ipfv stems, differing only by tones or not at all, and those that have a segmental distinction between Pfv and Ipfv, so they can be distinguished regardless of tones. Most verbs of the second type have a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv. The choice between the first (nonsuffixing) and second (suffixing) types is generally predictable from the syllabic shape and tone melody of the Pfv.

The following subsections are organized in part by the prosodic shape (e.g. CvCv) of the stem. No known verb begins with a vowel. The initial labial clusters {kw gw tw dw fw} can take the place corresponding to C₁ in other verbs, and might be analysed as labialized consonants (k^w etc.). Examples (using Pfv stems) of verbs with these onsets are kwá ‘hit’, gwèⁿ ‘untie’, twì-gà ‘approach’, dwéé-ní ‘take in’, and fwà ‘become (sth)’ (variants fà ~ fɔ̃).

With verbs as with other stem-classes, some stems end in a syllable that can be pronounced Cawⁿ or Cɛwⁿ prepausally. Before a consonant they are pronounced Caⁿ before fricatives and semivowels, and often with a homorganic nasal (or prenasalization) before stops and l. Examples are tá(w)ⁿ ‘ascend’ and tíyè(w)ⁿ ‘shut’ (Pfv stems). Some speakers do not pronounce the w even

prepausally, but they do pronounce nasalization. This syllable can count as monomoraic, like simple Cv, in prosodic formulae.

10.1.2.1 CvCv and Cvy verbs with Pfv = Ipfv segmentally

Array (516) illustrates the core perfective and imperfective systems for two underived CvCv verbs and two Cv-ni causatives that have the same segmental form in Pfv and Ipfv stems. X is the object and begins with H-tone. The dialectal variants are due to IpfvNeg tà (dialect 1) versus tá (dialect 2), partially merged as tá by tone sandhi.

(516)	category	‘die’ (/L/)	‘let X drink’ (L)	‘pass’ (/H/)	‘raise X’ (/H/)
	a. perfective system (kàlè, mèn-nì, kíyé, tá-ní)				
	pfv	ā kàlé gà	ā X mèn-ní gà	à kíyé gà	à X tá-ní gà
	pfvneg	à té kàlè	ā tè X mèn-nì	ā tè kíyé	ā tè X tá-ní
	fut	ā gà bé kàlè	ā gà bé X mèn-nì	ā gà bé kíyé	ā gà bé X tá-ní
	futneg	ā tà bé kàlè	ā tà bé X mèn-nì	ā tà bé kíyé	ā tà bé X tá-ní
		~ à tá bé kàlè	~ à tá bé X mèn-nì	~ à tá bé kíyé	~ à tá bé X tá-ní
	imprt	kàlè	X mèn-nì	kíyé	X tá-ní
	proh	ám má kàlè	ám mà X mèn-nì	ám mà kíyé	ám mà X tá-ní
	b. imperfective system (kàlé, mèn-ní, kíyè, tá-nì)				
	ipfv	à gá kàlé	ā gà X mèn-ní	ā gà kíyè	ā gà X tá-nì
	ipfvneg	à tá kàlé	ā tà X mèn-ní	ā tà kíyè	ā gà X tá-nì
			~ à tá X mèn-ní	~ à tá kíyè	~ à tá X tá-nì
	prsntv-prog				
	pos.	ā káy kàlé	ā kày X mèn-ní	ā kày kíyè	ā kày X tá-nì
	neg.	ā tàý kàlé	ā tày X mèn-ní	ā tày kíyè	ā tày X tá-nì

The verbs of this type have level-toned (monotonal) /H/ or /L/ lexical melodies (based on the Pfv). Verbs with contour melodies like /HL/ and /LH/ are covered in later subsections because they have suffixes in the Ipfv.

In (516), the Ipfv inverts the tone of the final syllable or monosyllabic mora, so /H/-melodic verbs have H.L Ipfv stems while /L/-melodic verbs have L.H Ipfv stems. The Pfv/Ipfv tonal distinction is partially masked by tone sandhi, which converts C̀̀C̀̀ to C̀̀C̀́ before L-tone, for example before postverbal Pfv particle gà. This is the case in ā kàlé gà and in ā X mèn-ní gà in the “pfv” row in (516). Therefore the aspectual tone oppositions are best observed in constructions that require the Pfv stem but that lack postverbal gà. This includes the future, the perfective negative, the imperative, and the sequential VP.

Cvy stems of /L/ and /H/ melody behave tonally like CvCv stems of the same melodies. In particular, both Cvy and Cvy invert the tone on the final mora to form the Ipfv stem.

(517)	category	‘be seen’ (/L/)	‘malfunction’ (/H/)
	a. perfective system (kày, máy ⁿ)		
	pfv	ā kày gà	à máy ⁿ ñà
	pfvneg	à té kày	ā tè máy ⁿ
	fut	ā gà bé kày	ā gà bé máy ⁿ
	futneg	ā tà bé kày	ā tà bé máy ⁿ
		~ à tá bé kày	~ à tá bé máy ⁿ
	imprt	kày	máy ⁿ
	proh	ám má kày	ám mà máy ⁿ
	b. imperfective system (káy, máy ⁿ)		
	ipfv	à gá kày	ā gà máy ⁿ
	ipfvneg	à tá kày	ā tà máy ⁿ
			~ à tá máy ⁿ
	prog	à káy kày	à kày máy ⁿ
	progneg	à táy bé kày	à táy bé máy ⁿ

The known Cvy verbs with monotonal Pfv stems are those in (518).

(518)	a. /H/ melody	
	káy/kày	‘draw water (at well)’
	máy ⁿ /máy ⁿ	‘malfunction’ or (transitive) ‘ruin, damage’
	kóy/kóy	‘be overcooked’
	séy ⁿ /séy ⁿ	‘carve’
	b. /L/ melody	
	bày/bày	‘leave, abandon’
	kày/kày	‘see’
	kày ⁿ /kày ⁿ	‘commission, send on an errand’
	pày/pày	‘lay out (on ground)’
	sèy/sèy	‘pull’

10.1.2.2 Cv and Cvv verbs with Pfv = Ipfv segmentally

/H/-melodic C'v stems remain H-toned in the Ipfv rather than dropping the final mora to L-tone. This distinguishes them from C'vC'v and C'vy, which as shown above drop the tone of the final syllable or monosyllabic mora in the Ipfv stem (C'vC'v̀, C'vỳ). By contrast, /L/-melodic C'v̀ stems do behave like C'v̀C'v̀ and C'vy in raising the tone of the final mora to H.

(519) presents the one Cv verb that does not add a suffix in the Ipfv, along with the Cvv stems of monotonal /H/ and /L/ melodies. Expanding the onset as Cw does not affect the prosody (519c).

(519)	shape	melody	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss
a.	Cv	/L/	sò/sò	'go'
b.	Cvv	/H/	báá/báá	'take out'
			káá/káá	'shatter'
			pí ⁿ /pí ⁿ	'rot'
			sáá/sáá	'lie down, go to bed'
			yáá ⁿ /yáá ⁿ	'melt'
		/L/	fù̀/̀fù̀	'swell'
			gù̀/̀gù̀	'do for a long time'
			mà̀/̀mà̀	'seek'
			ɲì̀/̀ɲì̀	'travel'
			pì̀/̀pì̀	'be first'
			pì̀/̀pì̀	'pour out'
			sì̀/̀sì̀	'wipe'
			wà̀/̀wà̀	'kill'
			yà̀/̀yà̀	'put down'
c.	Cwvv	/H/	kwè̀/̀kwè̀	'steal'

10.1.2.3 Trimoraic and longer verbs with segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv

Verbs of three or more moras that have monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody have segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Like C'v stems (preceding subsection), /H/-melodic heavy stems also have tonally identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Again like C'v̀ stems, /L/-melodic heavy stems raise the final mora to H-toned in the Ipfv.

(520) compares bimoraic CvCv to heavier shapes. In all cases, the /L/-melodic verbs raise the tone of the final syllable in the Ipfv stem (by ablaut). The key difference in stem weight is

observed in the Ipfv stems of /H/-melodic verbs. Those of bimoraic CVCV shape drop the final tone in the Ipfv stem (520a). Those of heavier shapes (three or more moras) remain all-H-toned (520b).

(520)	shape	melody	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv	gloss
a.	CvCv	/H/	tóró	tóró gà	tórò	‘sell’
		/L/	kàmà	kàmá gà	kàmá	‘take, receive’
b.	CvvCv	/H/	gáára	gáára gà	gáára	‘stone-grind’
		/L/	gààsù	gààsú gà	gààsú	‘scoop’
	CvNCv	/H/	génté	génté gà	génté	‘throw’
		/L/	[none]			
	CvCvv	/H/	kú ⁿ wáá	kú ⁿ wáá gà	kú ⁿ wáá	‘whiten’
		/L/	jìnàà	jìnáá gà	jìnáá	‘(boy) date (girl)’
	CvCvCv	/H/	pírítí	pírítí gà	pírítí	‘fly away’
		/L/	tògòbì	tògòbí gà	tògòbí	‘crush’

The only known CvNCv stem (with medial nasal-stop cluster) is génté (~ géndé) ‘throw’ or dialectally géné. The variable syllabic shape and mora count is reflected in the variable tones of the Ipfv stem, and also in the nasalization of Pfv particle gà.

(521)	‘throw’	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv
a.	dialect 1	géné	géné ñà	génè
b.	dialect 2	génté	génté gà	génté

For dialect 2, therefore, the medial nasal-stop cluster in CvNCv adds a third mora.

On the other hand, a nasalized first-syllable vowel (before a sonorant or fricative), a nasalized second-syllable vowel, or an initial Cw cluster do not add an extra mora. Stems of these types behave like bimoraic CvCv. The evidence for this is that /H/-melodic verbs of these shapes drop the final tone of the Ipfv. The data in (522) are valid for both dialects tested.

(522)	shape	melody	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv	gloss
	CvCv	/H/	tíyé	tíyé gà	tíyè	‘ask’
	CwvCv	/H/	twéré	twéré gà	twéré	‘sell’ (antipassive)
	CvCv(w) ⁿ	/H/	tíyá(w) ⁿ	tíyá ⁿ ñà	tíyàw ⁿ	‘shut’
	Cv ⁿ Cv	/H/	tí ⁿ yé	tí ⁿ yé gà	tí ⁿ yè	‘carry on head’

10.1.3 Verbs with Ipfv suffix -RV

Nearly all verbs that do not have segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv have an unsuffixed Pfv and an Ipfv with -Cv suffix. The suffix variants -nv and -rv, and the marginal -lv, are the same morpheme in different phonological environments. -rv is the most basic form, and the label -RV can be used to subsume the three variants.

(523) Ipfv suffix distribution

-nv	after a nasalized vowel
-lv	optionally after a rhotic oral syllable (rv)
-rv	after an oral (nonnasal) syllable

For bé/bí-yé ‘come’ see §10.1.6.2.

For the dominant Ipfv suffix -RV, the quality and tone of the suffixal vowel are carried over from the stem. For this purpose, apparent /LH/ melody is interpreted as /LHL/, with the second L realized only on the imperfective suffix (§3.6.1.1, cf. §3.6.5.1).

There are two distinct types of verbs that have Ipfv suffixes. They are a) monomoraic Cv stems, and b) stems that have contour-toned melodies /HL/, /LH/, or /LHL/ and that are not derived by a suffix (causative, inchoative).

With the exception of the two basic motion verbs sò̀sò̀ ‘go’ and bé/bí-yé ‘come’, all aspect-marking monomoraic Cv verbs stems have Ipfv stems with suffix -RV. There are many suffixing Cv verbs of /H/ and /L/ melodies, and one of /HL/ melody (524a-c). The latter reveals its melody only in the bisyllabic Ipfv, since the monomoraic Pfv stem is too short to carry the contour and appears as H-toned (524c). The fact that Cwv stems behave like Cv stems shows that the w following C1 (arguably labialization of C1) does not change the prosodic weight of the stem.

(524) Suffixing Cv verbs

melody	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv	gloss
a. /H/	bá	bá gà	bá-rá	‘exit (v)’
	bá ⁿ	bá ⁿ ηà	bá-ná	‘shave (head)’
	bé ⁿ	bé ⁿ ηà	bé-né	‘return’
	bó	bó gà	bó-ró	‘burn, roast’
	dé	dé gà	dé-ré	‘take, pick up’
	dé ⁿ	dé ⁿ ηà	dé-né	‘rejoin’
	dó	dó gà	dó-ró	‘enter’
	dó	dó gà	dó-ró	‘give’ (variant dó, §9.3.3)

	dó ⁿ	dó ⁿ ɲà	dó-nó	‘encounter’
	dú ⁿ	dú ⁿ ɲà	dú-nú	‘burn’
	fú	fú gà	fú-rú	‘sprout (v)’
	gó	gó gà	gó-ró	‘weep’ (Ipfv also gúwó)
	kú	kú gà	kú-rú	‘cover’
	kú ⁿ	kú ⁿ ɲà	kú-nú	‘catch’
	mú ⁿ	mú ⁿ ɲà	mú-nú	‘insult (v)’
	pá	pá gà	pá-rá	‘become full, complete’
	sá	sá gà	sá-rá	‘put in’
	sé	sé gà	sé-ré	‘say, speak’
	sé ⁿ	sé ⁿ ɲà	sé-né	‘fall’
	sé	sé gà	sé-ré	‘lay (egg)’
	sí ⁿ	sí ⁿ ɲà	sí-ní	‘bite’
	só	só gà	só-ró	‘mix in’
	tá(w) ⁿ	tá ⁿ ɲà	tá-ná	‘ascend’
	té	té gà	té-ré	‘cross’
	tí	tí gà	tí-rí	‘sow, plant (seeds)’
	tó	tó gà	tó-ró	‘compel’
	Cwý			
	kwá	kwá gà	kwá-rá	‘hit’
	kwé ⁿ	kwé ⁿ ɲà	kwé-né	‘snap (sth)’
b. /L/	bì ⁿ	bì ⁿ ɲá	bì-nì	‘wrap around’
	dè ⁿ	dè ⁿ ɲá	dè-nè	‘adhere, stick’
	fà	fà gá	fà-rà	‘become (sth)’ (variant)
	kò	kò gá	kò-rò	‘spear (v)’
	mè ⁿ	mè ⁿ ɲá	mè-nè	‘drink’
	sà	sà gá	sà-rà	‘laugh’
	sà ⁿ	sà ⁿ ɲá	sà-nà	‘(rain) fall’ or ‘buy’
	sè	sè gá	sè-rè	‘tie’
	tà	tà gá	tà-rà	‘stand’
	tò ⁿ	tò ⁿ ɲá	tò-nò	‘swallow’
	wà	wà gá	wà-rà	‘become fragile’
	wè ⁿ	wè ⁿ ɲá	wè-nè	‘open; untie’ (variant)
	Cwè			
	gwè ⁿ	gwè ⁿ ɲá	gwè-nè	‘open; untie’ (variant)
	fwà	fwà gá	fî-rò	‘become’ (variant)
	fwò	fwò gá	fî-rò	‘sit’ (variant)
c. /HL/	kó ⁿ	kó ⁿ ɲà	kó-nò	‘take to pasture’

The /HL/ melody of ‘tend (livestock)’ (524c), revealed by the tones of Ipfv *kó-nò* (and by those of agentive *kóⁿ-yà* ‘herder’), is unique among Cv stems. The fact that this verb takes the -RV Ipfv suffix is doubly motivated by its monomoraic shape and by its contour tone.

As noted earlier, the combination of a contoured lexical tone melody with the absence of derivational suffixation correlates with the presence of the -RV imperfective suffix. This correlation is clear with stems of two or more moras. Representative contour-toned suffixing verbs are in (525). Both C^vv̄ and C^v̄y spread the H-tone to the suffixal boundary in the Ipfv, but only C^vv̄ does so before Pfv *gà*.

(525)	shape	melody	Pfv	Pfv with <i>gà</i>	Ipfv	gloss
	Cvv	/HL/	túù tî ⁿ	túú <i>gà</i> tí ⁿ <i>ɲà</i>	túú-rù tí ⁿ -nì	‘spit’ ‘do’
	Cvy	/HL/	bóy kwéy ⁿ	bóy <i>gà</i> kwéy ⁿ <i>ɲà</i>	bóy-rì kwéy-nì	‘greet’ ‘sweep’
	CvCv	/HL/	súgò ⁿ tíyè(w) ⁿ	súgò ⁿ <i>ɲà</i> tíyè ⁿ <i>ɲà</i>	súgò-nò tíyè-nè	‘squat’ ‘assemble’
		/LH(L)/	bàtí	bàtí <i>gà</i>	bàtí-rì	‘post, affix’
	CvvCv	/LHL/	tàási	tàási <i>gà</i>	tàási-rì	‘think’
	CvCvv	/LHL/	tìsòò	tìsòò <i>gà</i>	tìsò(ó)-rò	‘sneeze’
	CvCvCv	/LHL/	kàlífà	kàlífà <i>gà</i>	kàlífà-rà	‘entrust’
	CvvCvCv	/LHL/	bàádìyè	bàádìyè <i>gà</i>	bàádìyè-rè	‘wound (v)’
	CvCvCvCV	/LH(L)/	kùrùgùtú	kùrùgùtú <i>gà</i>	kùrùgùtú-rù	‘shape into ball’

Verbs derived by adding a suffix (causative, inchoative), even if contour-toned, do not take an Ipfv suffix. Examples are *kúsà-mà/kúsà-mà* ‘abound’ and *dègú-nì/dègú-nì* ‘squeeze’.

The Ipfv suffix takes the form -rì or nasalized -nì after stems of shape Cvy (526) showing that the vowel quality of the suffix is based on the semivowel y rather than on the nuclear vowel of the stem. The Ipfv suffix -nì for ‘sweep’ (526a) is of course distinct from causative -ni, which occurs in Pfv as well as Ipfv stems and which cannot co-occur with an Ipfv suffix.

(526)	shape	melody	Pfv	Pfv with <i>gà</i>	Ipfv	gloss
a.	Cvy	/HL/	bóy kwéy ⁿ	bóy <i>gà</i> kwéy ⁿ <i>ɲà</i>	bóy-rì kwéy-nì	‘greet’ ‘sweep’
b.	Cvy	/LH(L)/	kòy	kòy <i>gà</i>	kòy-rì	‘weave (fabric)’

The -lv Ipfv variant occurs sporadically after verb stems ending in a rhotic syllable rv (527a). There are rather few verbs of this shape. In focused elicitation, speakers generally prefer the rhotic suffixal variant, but in natural speech the lateral variant is sometimes heard.

(527)	shape	melody	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv	gloss
a.	Cvrv	/HL/	ɲéré	ɲéré gà	ɲéré-lè ~ ɲéré-rè	‘slip, slide’ (dialect 2)
			ɲéré	ɲéré gà	ɲéré-rè	(dialect 1, with ɲ)
b.	CvCvrv	/LHL/	tàfàri ~ tàfàti	tàfàri gà ~ tàfàti gà	tàfàri-lì ~ tàfàti-rì	‘be done well’
	CvvCvrv	/LHL/	pààŋkàrà	pààŋkàrà gà	pààŋkàrà-là ~ pààŋkàrà-rà	‘get together’
c.	Cvrv	/HL/	sàri ~ sàni	sàri gà ~ sàni gà	sàri-rì ~ sàni-nì	‘pray’

10.1.4 Irregular verbs

Each verb in (528) has one irregular form (bolded)

(528)	gloss	Pfv	Pfv with gà	Ipfv
a.	‘come’ (§10.1.6.2)	bé	bé gà	bí-yé
b.	‘laugh (v)’	sà	sà gà	sàá ~ sà-rà

‘Come’ (528a) has a unique extension in the Ipfv stem. There is a variant verbal noun bí-yé ‘coming, arrival (here)’.

For ‘laugh’ (528b), Ipfv variant sà-rà is regular in form, but the other variant sàá is irregular. Diachronically, the irregular form may actually be the short-voweled Pfv sà. Both Cliffs sàà/sàá ‘laugh’ and Kelenga ʃàà/ʃàá-là ‘laugh’ suggest an original *Caa shape. Within J-S of Djenné, homophony avoidance with the segmentally similar sáá/sáá ‘lie down’ (< *ságá) may have been a factor in how the forms of ‘laugh’ have evolved.

10.1.5 Participial (stative) form of verb (suffix -na)

A participle (abbreviation Ppl) that can occur in stative predicates is derived from several dynamic verbs (i.e. verbs that can mark aspect) by means of the suffix -na on the verb. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the stem (-ná or -nà).

Participles can also function as postnominal modifiers, and some “adjectives” have participial form (§4.5.1.3). Here their use in stative predicates rather than as modifiers is the issue. Statives are especially common with stance verbs. The verbs in (529a) occur elsewhere in the reflexive construction, where aspect is marked. Statives can also be formed from transitive verbs, denoting the state resulting from an external act (resultative stative) (529b).

(529)	stative	gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	gloss (active)
a. from reflexive					
<i>from intransitive</i>					
	fòò-nà	‘be sitting (=seated)’	fò	fò-rò	‘sit down’
	~ fòrò-nà				
	kìrì-nà	‘up (having gotten up)’	kìrì	kìrí	‘get up’
	sáá-ná	‘be lying down’	sáá	sáá	‘lie down’
	sé-ná	‘be fallen’	sé ⁿ	sé-né	‘fall down’
	súgò-nà	‘be squatting’	súgò ⁿ	súgò-nò	‘squat’
	tàà-nà	‘be standing, be up’	tà	tà-rà	‘stand up, stop’
b. from transitive or reflexive					
	dóó-tíyé-ná	‘be shut’	dóó-tíyé ⁿ	dóó-tíyé ^w	‘shut’
	máy ⁿ -ná	‘be out of order’	máy ⁿ	máy ⁿ	‘ruin (v)’
	kwé-ná	‘be broken’	kwé ⁿ	kwé-né	‘break (tr)’
	kwì-nà	‘be rolled up’	kwì	kwì	‘roll up’

When the participle denotes a transitory state, its predicate is generally a simple copula construction without nì ‘it is’ (530a-b), as with some other adjectival predicates.

(530)	a.	ā	gà	sáá-ná	bô ⁿ
		3Sg	be	lie.down- Ppl	here
					‘He/She is lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’
	b.	ā	tà	sáá-ná	bô ⁿ
		3Sg	not.be	lie.down- Ppl	here
					‘He/She is not lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

However, some participles that denote more permanent states, such as color, occur as predicates with following *nì* ‘it is’ (§11.4.1.1).

An idiomatic use of the stative is (531). The literal image is of disinflation as of a balloon. The context is that Seydou has lost his strength or energy.

- (531) [sèédù tíyéⁿ] ñà bá-ná ñì
 [S air] be exit(v)-Ppl it.is
 ‘Seydou’s air has gone out.’ = ‘The air has gone out of Seydou.’

10.1.6 ‘Go’ and ‘come’

The two primordial motion verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ both have somewhat irregular Pfv/Ipfv morphology. They, and less often other basic motion verbs (‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’), combine with other verbs or VPs in interesting multi-verb constructions. See especially the use of Ipfv ‘go’ and ‘come’ as finals in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.1.5), and combinations of motion verbs with following perfective VPs often in purposive contexts (§15.1.2).

10.1.6.1 *sò/sò* ‘go’ and its mutations (*yè*)

The basic noncentripetal motion verb is *sò* (Pfv and Ipfv). The verb can be used alone, or followed by a spatial expression. It becomes H-toned by regular tone sandhi before an L-tone, as in *è só nògú-yè* ‘they went to the village’.

In allegro speech *sò* is often mutated to *yè* when medial in a clause. The mutation is most common in subordinated clauses and sequential VPs. *yè* can reduce to encliticized =*y* or =*è* (subdialectal choice) when it follows a nonzero inflectional morpheme. The =*è* variant can contract with a preceding vowel. Like *sò*, *yè* can function as either Pfv or Ipfv stem.

- | (532) | uncontracted | contracted | gloss |
|-------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | a. imperfective positive | | |
| | à gá sò sóṅó-y ⁿ | à gá =y sóṅó-y ⁿ
(~ ā gé = è sóṅó-y ⁿ) | ‘He/She goes to the bush.’ |
| | b. imperfective negative | | |
| | à tá sò sóṅó-y ⁿ | à tá =y sóṅó-y ⁿ
(~ ā té = è sóṅó-y ⁿ) | ‘He/She doesn’t go to the bush.’ |

c. perfective negative

à té sò sòḡó-ỳⁿ à té = ỳ sòḡó-ỳⁿ ‘He/She didn’t go to the bush.’
 (~ à té = è sòḡó-ỳⁿ)

d. subjunctive/hortative

íⁿ ná sò sòḡó-ỳⁿ íⁿ ná = ỳ sòḡó-ỳⁿ ‘Let’s go to the bush!’

e. perfective conditional (‘if.Pfv’)

à ná sò sòḡó-ỳⁿ à ná = ỳ sòḡó-ỳⁿ ‘if he/she goes to the bush’

f. sequential (‘and then’)

nú-méé gá sò [bé yé kùbà-yùwóm [bùwó pà]]
 Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [Seq go.Pfv wedding-woman [Recip Comit]]
 ‘those ones go and accompany the bride’ (2021-01 @ 10:11)

No mutation or unusual contraction occurs in clauses not preceded by a nonzero post-subject inflectional morpheme, or in prepausal position. Invariant sò is required in perfective positive sò gá ‘went’, imperative sò ‘go!’, and prepausal forms like à gá sò ‘he/she will go’.

The verb sò/sò ‘go’ often fails to raise to H-toned before an L-toned word by Final Tone-Raising. Where we would expect tone-raised só we hear sò with the H-tone jumping to the onset of the other word (533a-b). See §3.6.4.4.3 for the tonology.

(533) a. ā gá bé sò (~ yè) [súwò tóró]
 3Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [sheep sell.Pfv]
 ‘He/She will go to sell a sheep.’ (< sùwò)

b. à gá sò (~ yè) yâ(w)ⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv go.Pfv descend.Pfv
 ‘He/She (often) goes and climbs down.’ (< yàwⁿ)

10.1.6.2 bé/bí-yé ‘come’

This verb has an idiosyncratic Ipfv stem. The verb is a simple intransitive, though it can be followed by a spatial expression like ‘here’ or ‘in(to) the village’. It can denote arrival, as in ‘X has come’, or the entire trajectory.

(534) à bé gá (bôⁿ)
 3Sg come.Pfv Pfv (here)
 ‘He/She came here.’ or ‘He/She has arrived here.’

When followed by an H-tone, Pfv bé can sound low-pitched, but it still behaves as H-toned in not triggering Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L.

- (535) ā tè bé bôⁿ
 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv here
 ‘He/She/It didn’t come here.
 heard as [ātèbèbôⁿ]

For verbal nouns bé and bí-yé see §4.2.1.2.

‘Come’ is also the likely source for two important grammatical morphemes, sequential bé and future bé. In the sequential construction, a regular main clause is followed by a sequential VP without an overt subject (§15.2.1), or sometimes by a sequential clause with a pronominal subject (§15.2.4).

The future construction contains a post-subject imperfective particle (positive gà, negative nà) plus bé and a VP with a Pfv verb (§10.2.2.2). The combinations are positive gà bé and negative tà bé.

10.1.6.3 gó ‘weep’ (Ipfv gó-ró or gúwó)

The verb ‘weep’ has Pfv stem gó. The Ipfv varies subdialectally between regular gó-ró and slightly irregular gúwó. The causative is gúwó-ní/gúwó-ní, less often gó-ní/gó-nì. Cognates of ‘weep’ are Kelenga gwóó(-ló) and Cliffs wwō/wwō.

10.2 Indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective and perfect categories

Each aspect-marking verb has a Pfv stem (§10.2.1.1). Further elaborations of perfective and perfect semantics involve the addition of auxiliary-like verbs or adjuncts, as with the experiential perfect (§10.2.1.2) and rough equivalents of the recent perfect (§10.2.1.3).

In the perfective positive, 1Sg subject ñ is followed by its own perfective positive allomorph nà (§4.3.3.1) in both intransitive and transitive clauses. In transitive clauses only, in some subject-object combinations the two are separated by the bidirectional case marker yè (§11.1.2.1, §4.3.2.). Otherwise there is no true post-subject inflectional particle in perfective positives, except in conditional antecedent clauses where the post-subject particle is nà (§10.2.1.4, §16.1.1).

10.2.1.1 Simple perfective (positive and negative) of intransitive verbs

The simple perfective is used to report a bounded event that has been completed in the past, before the present (or other designated reference time). In positive main clauses, the Pfv stem of the verb must be immediately followed by Pfv particle *gà*. The latter is nasalized to *ɲà* after most Nv and Cvⁿ syllables. It is raised to H-toned *gá* (nasalized *ɲá*) after L-toned monomoraic C^v verbs, regardless of the tones of the following word, as in *sò gá* ‘went’. If not already raised in this way, it is raised by Final Tone-Raising when followed by an L-tone.

(536)	Pfv stem	‘they __-ed’	‘they will __’	gloss
	bé	è bé <i>gà</i>	ē <i>gà</i> bé bé	‘come’
	tá(w) ⁿ	è tá ⁿ <i>ɲà</i>	ē <i>gà</i> bé tá(w) ⁿ	‘ascend’
	dè ⁿ	ē dè ⁿ <i>ɲá</i>	ē <i>gà</i> bé dè ⁿ	‘adhere’
	yà	ē yà <i>gá</i>	ē <i>gà</i> bé yà	‘descend’

The Pfv stem occurs without Pfv *gà* in the future construction, in the perfective negative, and in the imperative. This suggests that *gà* combines realis mood (it actually happened) with past time (it does not occur in the imperfective or progressive even when visibly happening). For an interesting modal nuance involving presence/absence of *gà* in subordinated perfective positive clauses, see (869c-d) in §17.3.6 and comments preceding (869). Also of possible interest, but difficult to interpret, is the fact that post-subject perfective positive *nà* in conditional antecedents appears to be incompatible with postverbal *gà*, see (823a-b) in §16.1.1.

Morphologically, the Pfv stem has no segmentable suffix. It reveals the lexical melody of the verb (before tone sandhi processes). The melody may be monotonal /L/ or /H/, or contoured /HL/, /LH/, or /LHL/.

Verbs of /L/ melody that have two or more moras (Cvv, CvCv, etc.) undergo Final Tone-Raising before Pfv *gà* (and, in the future construction, before any other L-tone).

The perfective negative has particle *tè* in post-subject position, before the VP. It raises to *té* before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The 1Sg subject combination is *ɲ té* (dialect 2) or *ɲ té* (dialect 1) prior to tone sandhi. An occasional variant *tì* instead of *tè* has been recorded for dialect 2 with the ‘come’ verb (*ā tì bé ~ ā tè bé* ‘he/she didn’t come’) but its dialectal and morphosyntactic distribution is unclear.

(537) has a pronominal-subject paradigm for *kùmù* ‘slept’. This verb has /L/ melody. It therefore triggers Final Tone-Raising on PfvNeg *tè*, and (in the positive) it triggers Upstep on 3Sg *à* and 3Pl *è*. The verb *kùmù* itself raises to *kùmú* before Pfv *gà* (here *ɲà*).

(537)		‘slept’	‘didn’t sleep’
	1Sg	̀̀ ná kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	̀̀ té kù̀̀mù
	1Pl	ííj kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	íín té kù̀̀mù
	2Sg	ánj kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	án té kù̀̀mù
	2Pl	áá kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	áá té kù̀̀mù
	3Sg	ā kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	à té kù̀̀mù
	3Pl	ē kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	è té kù̀̀mù
	LogoSg	ɨj kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	ń té kù̀̀mù
	LogoPl	é kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	é té kù̀̀mù

Array (538) has a subject paradigm for ‘fall’ for positive and negative perfective clauses. This verb is H-toned, so it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising or Upstep on preceding morphemes. In the perfective negative construction, dialects differ as to whether 1Sg ɨ requires H-tone on PfvNeg tè. 1Sg ɨ is raised to ɨ before L-tones. Otherwise the dialects studied have identical paradigms.

(538)	‘fell’	‘didn’t fall’ dialect 1	‘didn’t fall’ dialect 2
	1Sg	ń nà sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	̀̀ té sé ⁿ
	1Pl	íí ⁿ sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	íín tè sé ⁿ
	2Sg	á ⁿ sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	án tè sé ⁿ
	2Pl	áá sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	áá tè sé ⁿ
	3Sg	à sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	ā tè sé ⁿ
	3Pl	è sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	ē tè sé ⁿ
	LogoSg	ɨj sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	ń tè sé ⁿ
	LogoPl	é sé ⁿ ̀̀nà	é tè sé ⁿ

Pfv stems based on contour melodies are illustrated in (539).

(539)	Pfv	‘they __ed’	‘they will __’	gloss	
	a.	kù̀̀mù	ē kù̀̀mù ̀̀nà	ē gà bé kù̀̀mù	‘sleep’
	b.	dé̀̀bè	í yè = é dé̀̀bè gà	ē gà bé = é dé̀̀bè	‘return’
		bàáadiyè	í yè = é bàáadiyè gà	ē gà bé = é bàáadiyè	‘be wounded’

10.2.1.2 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (gíyé gà)

This construction expresses a past event that may have occurred long ago but that has left an imprint in the subject’s memory and/or status. It corresponds to *have ever* and to its negation *have never* in English. It’s main ingredient is the intransitive auxiliary gíyé, which occurs in a perfective clause. In positive clauses gíyé is followed by Pfv gà, and in negative clauses it is preceded by PfvNeg tè. This clause is followed by a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.1), beginning with bé and containing a Pfv verb.

- (540) a. áŋ gíyé gà [bé tùwó-bòróŋ kàý] rà ↗
 2Sg **ExpPf** Pfv [Seq elephant see-Pfv] Q
 ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’
- b. ní nà gíyé gà [bé dùwó mèn]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **ExpPf** Pfv [Seq beer drink.Pfv]
 ‘I have (at least once) drunk (millet) beer.’
- c. ní tè gíyé [bé dùwó mèn]
 1Sg **PfvNeg ExpPf** [Seq beer drink.Pfv]
 ‘I have never drunk (millet) beer.’

10.2.1.3 Equivalentents of present perfect

There is no fully grammaticalized present perfect. Addition of sááwù ‘now’ to a perfective clause approximates one type of perfect (‘has just VPed’) as in (541a). Addition of a sequential VP with one of the verbs kílàⁿ ‘finish’ (reflexive) or dúwóⁿ ‘end’ (541b-c) approximates another type (‘has already VPed’). The sequential bé dúwóⁿ can be reduced to dúwóⁿ ~ lúwóⁿ ‘already’, functioning then as an adverb.

- (541) a. íín díyé gà sááwù
 1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv **now**
 ‘We just ate.’
- b. è díyé gà [bé = é(é) kílàⁿ]
 3Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3ReflPl **finish**.Pfv]
 ‘They have finished eating.’ (= ‘They already ate.’)

c.	ń	nà	díyé	gà	[(bé)	dúwó ⁿ]
	1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	eat.Antip.Pfv	Pfv	[(Seq)	end.Pfv]
	‘I have finished eating.’ (= ‘I already ate.’)					

10.2.1.4 *nà* as perfective positive marker in conditionals

While there is usually no overt post-subject inflectional morpheme in perfective positive clauses, in conditional antecedents of this category *nà* separates the subject from the VP. Since other post-subject inflectional morphemes, like perfective negative *tè*, occur in the same post-subject position, one could interpret this *nà* as a perfective positive marker (it is glossed “if.Pfv”). See §16.1.1 for the conditionals.

nà can be separated from the subject only by past morpheme *tìⁿ ~ tùⁿ*. An example is 2021-03 @ 07:14.

nà also occurs after subjects in positive subjunctive clauses, which likewise require the Pfv stem of verbs (§17.4.1). The phonological similarity, the shared post-subject position, and the shared irrealis modal values raise the question whether the two *nà*’s are the same morpheme, or homophones. An obstacle to equating them is that the subjunctive is negated by prohibitive *mà*, while perfective conditional antecedents are negated with perfective negative *tè*. In Cliffs, subjunctive *gàlà* is unrelated to *nàwⁿ ~ nāwⁿ* ‘if.Pfv’.

10.2.2 Nonperfective categories

The nonperfective indicative categories are a) imperfective, b) future, c) presentative, and d) progressive. They are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology and preverbal particles.

10.2.2.1 Post-subject imperfective particles (positive *gà*, negative *tà ~ tá*)

The imperfective is expressed by the combination of post-subject inflectional particles, described in this subsection, and the imperfective stem of the verb (see the following subsection). It may express habitual or gnomic eventualities, where it has no competition. As the unmarked all-purpose imperfective, it may also denote ongoing processes (competing with the marked presentative and progressive), or future events (competing with the marked future construction).

Ipfv particle *gà* occurs between subject NP and VP in positive clauses. The *g* becomes *ŋ* after a nasal or nasalized vowel. *gà* is elsewhere the ‘be’ copula used in positive equational (§11.2.2.1) and locational-existential predicates (§11.2.3.1). The 1Sg subject combination (before further tone sandhi) is *ń̀ nà* (dialect 1) and, with Tone Inversion on the particle, *ń̀ ná* (dialect 2).

gà is replaced by *tà* (dialect 1) or *tá* (dialect 2) in negative clauses. The dialectal distinction between *tà* and *tá* is audible before an H-tone, but they merge as *tá* due to Final Tone-Raising

before an L-tone. tà ~ tá is also the negative ‘not be (somewhere)’ in locational-existential clauses (§11.2.2.2). The 1Sg combination (before further tone sandhi) is ní tà (dialect 1) and, with Tone Inversion, ní tà (dialect 2).

A pronominal-subject paradigm for ‘sleep’ is in (542). The imperfective stem of this verb begins in L-tone, which triggers Final Tone-Raising. For example, 1Sg variant íj ñá kùmú is from /íj gà kùmú/ with two left-to-right instantiations of Final Tone-Raising.

(542)		‘sleep(s)’		‘don’t/doesn’t sleep’	
	a.	1Sg	íj ñá kùmú ìj ñá kùmú	ní tá kùmú nì tá kùmú	(dialect 1) (dialect 2)
	b.	3Sg	à gá kùmú	à tá kùmú	
		3Pl	è gá kùmú	è tá kùmú	
		1Pl	íí ⁿ ñá kùmú	íín tá kùmú	
		2Sg	án ñá kùmú	án tá kùmú	
		2Pl	áá gá kùmú	áá tá kùmú	
		LogoSg	íj ñá kùmú	ní tá kùmú	
		LogoPl	é gá kùmú	é tá kùmú	

Array (543) presents the imperfective paradigm of an /H/-melodic verb ‘fall’. Ipfv gà and (for dialect 1) IpfvNeg tà do not undergo Final Tone-Raising before H-tone.

(543)		‘fall(s)’		‘doesn’t fall’	
				dialect 1	dialect 2
	a.	1Sg	(íj) ñà sé-né (dialect 1) ìj ñá sé-né (dialect 2)	ní tà sé-né	nì tá sé-né
	b.	3Sg	ā gà sé-né	ā tà sé-né	à tá sé-né
		3Pl	ē gà sé-né	ē tà sé-né	è tá sé-né
		1Pl	íí ⁿ ñà sé-né	íín tà sé-né	íín tá sé-né
		2Sg	án ñà sé-né	án tà sé-né	án tá sé-né
		2Pl	áá gà sé-né	áá tà sé-né	áá tá sé-né
		LogoSg	íj ñà sé-né	ní tà sé-né	ní tá sé-né
		LogoPl	é gà sé-né	é tà sé-né	é tá sé-né

10.2.2.2 Future (preverbal gà bé, negative tà bé ~ tá bé)

This is a marked future construction; future events can also be denoted by the general imperfective.

The future is expressed by Ipfv gà or its negation tà plus what could be analysed as a same-subject sequential VP beginning with bé and containing a Pfv (not Ipfv!) verb. While this is a good bet as the original proto-construction, the future is sufficiently distinct syntactically and semantically that bé is labeled “Fut” (rather than “Seq”).

The paradigm of ‘sleep’ illustrates the tonal effects of a verb beginning with L-tone. bé is clearly H-toned throughout, but it is not clear from this paradigm whether this is already a lexical H, or a lexical L that raises by Final Tone-Raising. gà ~ ñà is L, but raises (to ñá) dialectally after the 1Sg proclitic. tà does not raise after the 1Sg proclitic.

(544)		‘will sleep’	‘won’t sleep’	
			dialect 1	dialect 2
a.	1Sg	íj ñà bé kùmù (dialect 1) ìj ñá bé kùmù (dialect 2)	ń tà bé kùmù	ñ tá bé kùmù
b.	1Pl	íí ⁿ ñà bé kùmù	íín tà bé kùmù	íín tá bé kùmù
	2Sg	á ⁿ ñà bé kùmù	án tà bé kùmù	án tá bé kùmù
	2Pl	áá gà bé kùmù	áá tà bé kùmù	áá tá bé kùmù
	3Sg	ā gà bé kùmù	ā tà bé kùmù	à tá bé kùmù
	3Pl	ē gà bé kùmù	ē tà bé kùmù	è tá bé kùmù
	LogoSg	íj ñà bé kùmù	ń tà bé kùmù	ń tá bé kùmù
	LogoPl	é gà bé kùmù	é tà bé kùmù	é tá bé kùmù

The future paradigm of H-toned ‘fall’ is (545). The transcription here shows H-toned bé, but it is sometimes heard with low pitch. It behaves as H-toned morpheme by the failure of preceding gà or tà to undergo Final Tone-Raising. The 1Sg combinations show the same dialectal difference as in (544) above.

(545)		‘will fall’	‘won’t fall’	
a.	1Sg	íj ñà bé sé(w) ⁿ ìj ñá bé sé(w) ⁿ	ñ tà bé sé(w) ⁿ ñ tá bé sé(w) ⁿ	(dialect 1) (dialect 2)
b.	1Pl	íí ⁿ ñà bé sé(w) ⁿ	íín tà bé sé(w) ⁿ	(for dialect 2, tá instead of tà)
	2Sg	á ⁿ ñà bé sé(w) ⁿ	án tà bé sé(w) ⁿ	
	2Pl	áá gà bé sé(w) ⁿ	áá tà bé sé(w) ⁿ	

3Sg	ā	gà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ	ā	tà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ
3Pl	ē	gà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ	ē	tà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ
LogoSg	ɨ̃	ɲà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ	ɨ̃	tà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ
LogoPl	é	gà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ	é	tà	bé	sé(w) ⁿ

Another idiosyncrasy of dialect 2 is that future *gà bé* and the Pfv verb *bé* ‘come’ usually combine as *gà bí bé*. The same shift of *bé* to *bí* before ‘come’ occurs in sequential clauses.

If the clause is transitive, *bé* is followed by the object.

- (546) a.

ɨ̃	ɲá	bé	kɔ̃ŋgòró-ò̀n	tóró
1Sg	Ipfv	Fut	dog-DefSg	sell.Pfv

‘I will sell the dog.’
- b.

ɨ̃	ɲà	bé	ɲàmáà-(a)ɨ̃	tù ⁿ wò
1Sg	Ipfv	Fut	goat / house	look.at.Pfv

‘I will look at the house.’

There are many future positive clauses in the recordings, e.g. 2021-01 @ 00:14. An example of the future negative is 2021-03 @ 13:25.

10.2.2.3 Presentative (*kày* ~ *gày*)

The presentative (§4.4.4) can be integrated into an imperfective positive clause. *kày* (dialect 1) or *gày* (dialect 2) replaces Ipv *gà*. The 1Sg form is *ɨ̃ ɲáy*. The awkward English translations do not capture the seamlessness of the J-S of Djenné construction.

- (547) a.

ē	káy (~ gáy)	dìyèmú / ...
	kày (~ gày)	... / tá-ná
3Pl	Prsntv	speak.Ipv/ascend.Ipv

‘There they are, speaking/going up!’
- b.

ē	gày	tóó-(ò)̀n	díyà
3Pl	Prsntv	meat-DefSg	eat.Ipv

‘There they are, eating meat!’

In true presentative clauses like these, negation is not possible, and shifts to non-present time are only possible as part of a full-fledged narrative time shift.

However, the presentative form can spill into progressive function, with or without juxtaposition of a dedicated progressive morpheme. See below.

10.2.2.4 Presentative as progressive

There are two competing progressive constructions. For some speakers, the original presentative (see the preceding subsection) has spread into progressive function where it competes with the regular progressive construction (see the following subsection). A key indicator of this spread is that the “presentative” marker can be negated. The possibility of negation is an indicator of progressive but not presentative function. The forms in *gày ~ ñày* etc. (preceding subsection) are negated by replacing their initial consonant by *t*, just as *Ipfv gà* is replaced by *tà*. (548a) can function as either presentative or progressive, while (548b) is progressive negative.

- (548) a. *ā* *gày* *dìyè mú / ...*
 gày *... / tá-ná*
 3Sg Prsntv/Prog speak.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
 ‘There he/she is, speaking/going up.’ or ‘He/She is speaking/going up.’
- b. *ā* *tày* *dìyè mú / ...*
 tày *... / tá-ná*
 3Sg ProgNeg speak.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
 ‘He/She is not speaking/going up.’

10.2.2.5 Progressive (*kíníⁿ ~ kúnú*)

In the main positive progressive construction, *kúnú* (dialect 1) or *kíníⁿ* (dialect 2) follows the presentative morpheme *kày ~ gày* or (sometimes in dialect 1) the simple imperfective positive morpheme *gà*. *kúnú* and *kíníⁿ* may be slightly compressed locative forms of demonstratives, cf. *kú nwíⁿ* ‘in(side) that’. In the negative progressive, imperfective negative *tà* (dialect 1) or *tá* (dialect 2) replaces *kày ~ gày* or *gà*. In both positive and negative versions, the verb is in the *Ipfv* stem.

- (549) a. *ā* *gày* *kínín*
 kày *kúnú*
 3Sg **Prsntv** **Prog**
 [*dìyè mú / díyè / tá-ná / [tóó-(ò)ñ díyà]*]
 [*speak.Ipfv / eat.Antip.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv / [meat-DefSg eat.Ipfv]*]
 ‘He/She is talking/eating/going up/eating the meat.’

b. ā gà kúnú
 3Sg **Ipfv** **Prog**
 [dìyèmú / díyè / tá-ná / [tóó-(ò)̀n díyà]]
 [speak.Ipfv / eat.Antip.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv / [meat-DefSg eat.Ipfv]]
 [= (a)]

c. à tá kínín
 ā tà kúnú
 3Sg **IpfvNeg** **Prog**
 [dìyèmú / díyè / tá-ná / [tóó-(ò)̀n díyà]]
 [speak.Ipfv / eat.Antip.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv / [meat-DefSg eat.Ipfv]]
 ‘He/She is not talking/eating/going up/eating the meat.’

The predicate may also be participial, denoting a state rather than an activity.

(550) ē gày kínín fɔ̀d̀-̀nà (~ fɔ̀r̀-̀nà)
 3Pl **Prsntv** **Prog** sit-**Ppl**
 ‘There they are, seated.’

10.2.2.6 Subjunctive (nà)

The subjunctive particle *nà* (functionally equivalent to Cliffs *gālà*) occurs in irrealis contexts, as opposed to assertions. Without a higher clause, it functions as a hortative or to express a wish (§10.4.2-3). With 2Sg subject, a subjunctive clause can function as a polite request; an example is 2021-01 @ 00:03. There are also subjunctive complement clauses (§17.4.1).

nà follows the subject, preceding the VP. The subject position must be filled by at least a pronominal clitic. The VP following *nà* has a verb in the Pfv stem, as with *débè* in (551).

(551) [ɪ̃ ká] gá = [à pà]
 [1Sg father] be.Loc [3Sg Comit]
 [í̃ⁿ nè = één débè só ǹgí-̀ỹ]
 [1Pl **Sbjn** 1Pl return.Pfv go.Ipfv village-Loc]
 ‘My father wants us to go back to the village.’

The subjunctive is negated by replacing *nà* with the prohibitive morpheme *mà* (§17.4.1) This distinctive feature of the subjunctive arguably distinguishes it from the ‘if.Pfv’ particle *nà*, which occurs in post-subject position in perfective positive hypothetical conditional antecedent clauses (§16.1.1)

For 1Sg subject η (+H), the pronominal nasal itself is sometimes inaudible, but $nà$ and $mà$ become H-toned. Presumably η (+H) is responsible for the raising, and then the nasal optionally drops before another nasal. Thus 1Sg subjunctive \emptyset $ná$ varying with η $ná$, and 1Sg prohibitive \emptyset $má$ varying with η $má$.

A tightly-phrased preceding $yè$ ‘said’ is raised to $yé$ before even a segmentally zeroed 1Sg pronominal η ; see (466) in §9.1.4 above.

10.3 Shift of reference time

10.3.1 Shift to past time viewpoint

Ordinary tense-aspect marking (perfective, present, future, progressive, stative) presupposes the perspective of the here-and-now of the speech event. The time interval or point of an event or situation that is described is compared to the moment of speaking. In narrative, an unfolding scenario may use the displaced “present” as the reference time.

The constructions described below involve ‘be.Past’ (i.e. ‘was/were’) or its negation (552) as auxiliaries, followed by a VP in any of several aspect-negation inflections. $tù^n$ was recorded for dialect 1, $tì^n$ for dialect 2.

(552) perfective positive	$tù^n \sim tì^n$	
perfective negative	$tùn\ t\grave{e} \sim t\grave{in}\ t\grave{e}$	cf. PfvNeg $t\grave{e}$
imperfective positive	$tù^n\ \eta\acute{a} \sim tì^n\ \eta\acute{a}$	cf. Ipfv $g\grave{a}$
imperfective negative	$tùn\ t\grave{a} \sim t\grave{in}\ t\acute{a}$	cf. IpfvNeg $t\grave{a} \sim t\acute{a}$

For ‘be.Past’ as a stand-alone existential ‘there was/were X(s)’ or combined with a locational expression as in ‘X was here/in the house’, see §11.2.3.2. The irregular tone patterns described there suggest that $tù^n\ \eta\acute{a} \sim tì^n\ \eta\acute{a}$ may have originally been a perfective verb with postverbal Pfv $g\grave{a}$ (becoming $g\acute{a}$ after L-toned monosyllabic and nasalizing g to η). Regular Final Tone-Raising affects the negative particles $t\grave{e}$ and $t\grave{a}$ (for dialect 2, $t\acute{a}$ is always H-toned).

10.3.2 Past imperfective

The past imperfective describes either a formerly habitual eventuality (‘we used to hunt antilopes’), or one that was in progress as background to a separate foregrounded event (‘I was sweeping the place when they arrived’). It consists of the ‘be.Past’ forms presented above, in auxiliary function, plus a VP with Ipfv verb.

Intransitive examples are (553a-b).

- (553) a. \bar{a} $t\grave{u}^n$ (~ $t\grave{u}^n$) $\eta\acute{a}$ $k\grave{i}y\acute{e}$ / $t\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{a}$
 3Sg **be.Past** **Ipfv** run.Ipfv/ascend-Ipfv
 ‘He/She used to run/go up.’
- b. \bar{a} $t\grave{u}n$ $t\acute{a}$ $k\grave{i}y\acute{e}$ / $t\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{a}$ (dialect 2)
 $t\grave{u}n$ $t\acute{a}$ $k\grave{i}y\acute{e}$ / ... (dialect 1)
 $t\ddot{u}n$ $t\grave{a}$... / $t\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{a}$ (dialect 1)
 3Sg **be.Past** **IpfvNeg** run.Ipfv / ascend-Ipfv
 ‘He/She didn’t use to run/go up.’

Transitive examples are in (554).

- (554) a. [$p\acute{a}n\acute{a}\acute{a}^n$ $n\grave{i}r^m$] $\acute{i}n$ $t\grave{u}^n$ $\eta\acute{a}$ $f\grave{u}u^m$ / $p\acute{i}r^m$ $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}$
 [before inside] 1Pl **be.Past** **Ipfv** fonio/millet cultivate.Ipfv
 ‘In the past we used to grow fonio/millet.’
- b. [$p\acute{a}n\acute{a}\acute{a}^n$ $n\grave{i}$] $\acute{i}n$ $t\grave{u}n$ $t\acute{a}$ $s\grave{a}f\acute{u}l\grave{a}$ / ... $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}$
 $t\grave{a}$... / $d\acute{o}d$
 [before inside] 1Pl **be.Past** **IpfvNeg** cowpea/cotton cultivate.Ipfv
 ‘In the past we didn’t use to grow cowpea/cotton.’ (dialect 1)
- c. \grave{e} $g\acute{a}=\$ \grave{a} $s\acute{e}$ - $r\acute{e}$,
 3Pl **Ipfv** 3Sg say-Ipfv,
 [\acute{e} $t\grave{u}^n$ $\eta\acute{a}$ [$y\acute{u}w\acute{o}$ - $s\acute{i}f\grave{a}$ $k\acute{e}m\grave{b}\grave{e}r\grave{e}$] $k\acute{u}$ - $n\acute{u}$]
 [LogoPl **be.Past** **Ipfv** [fish-kind certain.Pl] catch-Ipfv]
 ‘They_x say that they_x used to catch certain kinds of fish.’ (2021-03 @ 03:23)

10.3.3 Past stative

$t\grave{u}^n \eta\acute{a}$ ~ $t\grave{u}^n \eta\acute{a}$ or its negation can also be added to a stative to shift its time to the past. (555a-b) illustrates with a stative derived from an active verb $f(w)\grave{d}(-r\grave{d})$ ‘sit’.

- (555) a. \grave{a} $t\grave{u}^n$ (~ $t\grave{u}^n$) $\eta\acute{a}$ $f\grave{o}r\grave{d}$ - $n\acute{a}$
 3Sg **be.Past** **Ipfv** sit-Stat
 ‘He/She was sitting (=seated).’
- b. \grave{a} $t\grave{u}n$ (~ $t\grave{u}n$) $t\acute{a}$ $f\grave{o}r\grave{d}$ - $n\acute{a}$
 3Sg **be.Past** **IpfvNeg** sit-Stat
 ‘He/She was not sitting (=seated).’

Other semantically stative constructions are illustrated in (556).

- (556) a. ò túⁿ ɲá [nògú nìⁿ]
 1Sg **be.Past** **be.Loc** [village inside]
 ‘I was in the village.’
- b. ɲàmáà tìⁿ ɲá [m̄ pá]
 house **be.Past** **be.Loc** [1Sg Comit]
 ‘I had a house.’
- c. ò tíⁿ ɲá sùwò-yà nì
 1Sg **be.Past** **be** cultivate-Agent it.is
 ‘I used to be a farmer.’
- d. ò túⁿ ɲá sàbàrè-yá-àń tùwò
 1Sg **be.Past** **Ipfv** heal-Agent-DefSg **know.Ipv**
 ‘I used to know the healer.’

10.3.4 Past perfect

To indicate that an event had already happened at a reference time in the past, the perfective ‘be.Past’ construction is used.

- (557) a. ā tǔⁿ (~ tǔⁿ) sò / ... gá
 ā tùm (~ tùm) ... / bé gá
 3Sg **be.Past** go.Pfv/come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She had (already) gone/come.’
- b. ā tùn (~ tìn) té sò / ...
 à tùn (~ tìn) tè ... / bé
 3Sg **be.Past** **PfvNeg** go.Pfv/come.Pfv
 ‘He/She had not gone/come.’

- c. à→ [[mèḗⁿ nùnù] yé= è túⁿ-níⁿ ɲà]
 ah [[Rel Top] Sbj/Obj 3Pl get.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv]
 [jíí-líyḗⁿ míyà-gù kémbèré] tìɲ kíyḗ gà
 [water-Dimin small-Adj certain.Pl] **be.Past** pass.Pfv **Pfv**
 ‘Ah, what made them disappear (was), some water shortages (=droughts) had happened.’ (2021-03 @ 04:41)

This construction is specifically past perfect. An approximation to the present perfect is expressed differently, by adding bé dúwóⁿ (558a) in the positive (§10.2.1.3) and súⁿwòⁿ in the negative (558b).

- (558) a. ā sò gá [bé dúwóⁿ]
 3Sg go.Pfv Pfv [Seq **finish.Pfv**]
 ‘He/She has already left.’
- b. à té sò súⁿwòⁿ
 3Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv **yet**
 ‘He/She has not yet gone.’

10.3.5 Future-in-past (‘was/were about to VP’)

The future-in-past means ‘was/were going to VP’ or ‘was/were about to VP’. It makes use of the same future particle bé that occurs in the regular future construction (positive gà bé, negative tà bé). Even the positive future-in-past (559a) does not imply that the event actually took place.

- (559) a. ā tùⁿ ɲá bé sò
 3Sg **be.Past** Ipfv **Fut** go.Pfv
 ‘He/She was going to go/was about to go.’
- b. ā tùⁿ ɲá bé séⁿ
 3Sg **be.Past** Ipfv **Fut** fall.Pfv
 ‘He/She was about to fall/nearly fell.’
- c. ā tìn tà bé séⁿ
 3Sg **be.Past** IpfvNeg **Fut** fall.Pfv
 ‘He/She was not about to fall.’

It is possible to elaborate the ‘be.Past’ verb by adding an invariant comitative PP à pà, literally ‘with it’. The pronominal is invariant 3Sg and does not agree with (or refer to) the subject. This construction can also mean ‘wanted to VP’.

- (560) ē tìⁿ ɲá= [à pà] [bé séⁿ]
 3Pl be.Past Ipfv [3Sg Comit] [Fut fall.Pfv]
 ‘They were about to fall/nearly fell.’
 or: ‘They wanted to fall.’

10.3.6 tì-nà and tì-ɲè

tì-nà, apparently a participialized verb stem, occurs in one textual passage (561).

- (561) [nògù-tùù]-sébè-èn tá **tì-nà**
 [village-owner]-matter-DefSg IpfvNeg be.able.Past-Ppl
 [bé sèéɲ kíláⁿ súⁿwò̀nì]
 [Seq road get.Pfv (not.)yet]
 ‘The matter of the chief(-hood) has not yet been able to find a solution.’
 (2021-03 @ 15:08)

The construction is obscure. It may involve a fusion of tìⁿ ‘be.Past’ and sìnì/sìní ‘be able’. In follow-up elicitation, another speaker produced a positive counterpart with tì-ɲè functioning as the Pfv, followed by perfective verbs (562). He rejected sequential bé in the positive version.

- (562) a. ā tì-ɲé sèéɲ kíláⁿ ɲà
 3Sg be.ablePast-Pfv road get.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It has been able to find a solution.’ (< sèèⁿ)
- b. ā tì-ɲè wálèɲ kíláⁿ ɲà
 3Sg be.ablePast-Pfv money get.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She was able to find money.’

10.4 Deontic modals

Deontic modals are imperatives (including prohibitives) and hortatives.

10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

All imperatives and prohibitives are based on the Pfv stem of the verb. The inflectional morphemes that occur with them, and examples using ‘come’ and ‘go’ along with transitive ‘shatter it!’, are in (563).

(563) Imperatives and prohibitives

type	particle	‘come!’	‘go!’	‘shatter it!’
a. positive				
Sg subject	(none)	bé	sò	à káá
Pl subject	yè	yè bé	yé sò	yá = à káá
b. negative (prohibitive)				
Sg subject	mà	á ⁿ mà bé	á ⁿ má sò	á ⁿ má = à káá
Pl subject	mà	áá mà bé	áá má sò	áá má = à káá

For indirect commands and imprecations with open-ended subjects, see §10.4.3.1. For quoted imperatives see §17.1.5.1.

10.4.1.1 Imperative (bare Pfv for singular, plural yé)

The Pfv stem is used, without a subject. For singular addressee there is no preverbal (i.e. post-subject) inflectional particle. Transitive verbs have their usual preverbal objects.

(564)	Pfv/Ipfv	Imprt (Sg)	gloss
a. /H/ melody			
	bé/bí-yé	bé	‘come!-2Sg’
	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná	tá(w) ⁿ	‘ascend!-2Sg’
	dó(-rós)	dó	‘enter!-2Sg’
	káá/káá	à káá	‘shatter it!-2Sg’
	kónó/kónò	kónó	‘stay!-2Sg’
	pírítí/pírítí	pírítí	‘fly off!-2Sg’

b. /L/ melody		
sò/sò	sò	‘go!-2Sg’
yà(-rà)	yà	‘descend!-2Sg’
nùmààsà ⁿ /nùmààsá ⁿ	nùmààsà ⁿ	‘forget-2Sg’
c. /HL/ melody		
díyè/díyè	díyè	‘eat!-2Sg’ (antipassive)
tígà(-rà)	tígà	‘cough!-2Sg’
(~ tígà ⁿ /tígà-nà)	(~ tígàw ⁿ)	
d. /LH/ melody		
bàtí(-rì)	ā bátí	‘post it!-2Sg’
e. /LHL/ melody		
dàbárè ⁿ /dàbárè-nè	ā dàbárè ⁿ	‘bewitch him/her!-2Sg’
bàádìyè(-rè)	ā bàádìyè	‘wound (him/her)!-2Sg’

For plural addressee, yè is clause-initial, preceding the VP including an object if present. It becomes yé by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone. It is phonologically unrelated to 2Pl proclitic áá.

(565)	singular addressee	plural addressee	gloss
	bé	yè bé	‘come!’
	sò	yé sò	‘go!’
	à káá	yá = à káá	‘shatter it!’
	súwó sà(w) ⁿ	yè súwó sà(w) ⁿ	‘buy a goat!’

For singular addressee, an intransitive verb is clause-initial, and the object of a transitive verb is clause-initial, as in súwó sà(w)ⁿ ‘buy a goat!’.

Imperatives of reflexive verbs require a 2Sg or 2Pl object pronominal preceding the verb. In addition, a 2Pl reflexive imperative begins with yè.

(566)	Imprt (Sg)	Imprt (Pl)	gloss
	á ⁿ fò (~ fwò)	yà = áá fò (~ fwò)	‘sit down!’
	án tà	yà = áá tà	‘stop!’

Because 2Sg and 2Pl pronominals have the same forms as reflexive and non-reflexive objects, it is not obvious from (566) whether áⁿ and áá are syntactically reflexive objects as opposed to

ordinary second-person objects. This is an issue since nearby Dogon languages use non-reflexive 2Sg and 2Pl pronominals in semantically reflexive commands like ‘kill yourself/yourselfes!’. The structure in (566) can be clarified by converting the commands into quoted imperatives, taking advantage of the fact that the original addressee (if not the current speaker or addressee) is normally phrased as a 3Sg or 3Pl pronominal in quotations. The result is a quoted imperative with a clearly reflexive pronominal.

- (567) à yé [zàkí tè] [ā nà ń fwò]
 3Sg said [Z Dat] [3Sg Sbjn **3Ref1Sg** sit.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told Zaki to sit down.’

10.4.1.2 No conjoining or juxtaposition of two imperatives

If the command contains two different verbs, the first is expressed as an imperative and the second is expressed as a subjunctive clause (with 2Sg or 2Pl subject). The subjunctive is also used in quoted imperatives as illustrated just above. (568a-b) show how two same-actor events are combined in indicative contexts, using the sequential morpheme *bè*. The corresponding double commands (568c-d) begin with simple imperatives, which are followed by finite subjunctive clauses.

- (568) a. [ā díyé gà] [bè tá(w)ⁿ]
 [3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv] [**Seq** ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She ate and (then) went up.’
- b. [ā gà bé díyé] [bè tá(w)ⁿ]
 [3Sg Ipfv Fut eat.Antip.Pfv] [**Seq** ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She will eat and (then) go up.’
- c. díyé [áⁿ nà tá(w)ⁿ]
 eat.Antip.Pfv [2Sg **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv]
 ‘Eat-2Sg and (then) go up!’
- d. yè díyé [áá nà táwⁿ]
 ImprtPl eat.Antip.Pfv [2Pl **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv]
 ‘Eat-2Sg and (then) go up!’

10.4.1.3 Prohibitive (mà)

The prohibitive (negative imperative) has its own post-subject inflectional particle *mà*. It requires a preceding second person subject pronominal: 2Sg *áⁿ mà*, 2Pl *áá mà*. The imperative plural morpheme *yè* is absent. These details suggest that *mà* is morphologically the negation of subjunctive *nà* (on this, see §17.4.1).

(569)	Proh (Sg)	Proh (Pl)	gloss
	<i>áⁿ mà bé</i>	<i>áá mà bé</i>	‘don’t come!’
	<i>áⁿ má sò</i>	<i>áá má sò</i>	‘don’t go!’
	<i>áⁿ má ñ wáà</i>	<i>áá má ñ wáà</i>	‘don’t kill me!’ (< <i>wáà</i>)

10.4.1.4 1Sg object in deontic modals

1Sg object *ñ* (+tones) has the same tonal effects on a following verb in transitive imperatives as it has in indicative transitives; see Tone Inversion (§3.6.3.1). L-initial verbs like ‘sell’ and ‘squeeze’ become HL-toned. /H/-melodic verbs become L-toned, and /HL/-melodic verbs become LH-toned. The tones are easily heard in simple imperatives (570a), and are partially masked by downdrift but still audible in prohibitives (570b).

(570)	verb (Pfv)	with 1Sg object	gloss
a. imperatives			
	<i>dègùnì</i>	<i>ñ dègù-nì</i>	‘squeeze me!’
	<i>tápì</i>	<i>ñ tàpí</i>	‘push me!’
	<i>tóró</i>	<i>ñ tòrò</i>	‘sell me!’
	<i>kwá</i>	<i>ñ kwà</i>	‘hit me!’
b. prohibitives			
	<i>dègùnì</i>	<i>áⁿ mà ñ dègù-nì</i>	‘don’t squeeze me!’
	<i>tápì</i>	<i>áⁿ mà ñ tàpí</i>	‘don’t push me!’
	<i>tóró</i>	<i>áⁿ mà ñ tòrò</i>	‘don’t sell me!’
	<i>kwá</i>	<i>áⁿ mà ñ kwà</i>	‘don’t hit me!’

10.4.1.5 *hòⁿ ~ hàⁿ* ‘here, take this!’

When handing something to another person, the (mild) imperative ‘here, take this!’ is the one-syllable utterance *hòⁿ* or *hàⁿ* depending on subdialect. That it is imperative is shown by the plural-

addressee form $yé\ h\grave{o}^n \sim yé\ h\grave{a}^n$. It cannot be negated (i.e. there is no prohibitive form). It is not transitive and cannot be preceded by an object (or subject), though it can be followed by a presentative (571).

- (571) $h\grave{o}^n$, $m\acute{a}á\eta g\grave{o}r\acute{o}$ $k\grave{a}y$
 take!, mango Prsntv
 ‘Here’s a mango, take it!’

10.4.2 Hortatives

10.4.2.1 Hortative with subjunctive $n\grave{a}$

The first inclusive plural hortative (‘let’s VP!’) is expressed as a subjunctive clause with 1Pl subject and no higher clause. There is no indexing of addressee number. $n\grave{a}$ undergoes regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising before L-tone).

- (572) a. \acute{i}^n $n\acute{a}$ $y\grave{a} / s\grave{o}$
 1Pl **Sbjn** descend.Pfv / go.Pfv
 ‘Let’s-2Sg go down!/go!’
- b. \acute{i}^n $n\grave{a}$ $t\acute{a}(w)^n / d\acute{i}y\acute{e}$
 1Pl **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv / eat.Antip.Pfv
 ‘Let’s go up!/eat!’
- c. \acute{i}^n $n\grave{a}$ $t\acute{o}o-(\grave{o})\grave{n}$ $d\acute{i}y\acute{a}$
 1Pl **Sbjn** meat-DefSg eat.Pfv
 ‘Let’s eat the meat!’
- d. \acute{i}^n $n\acute{a}$ $b\grave{u}w\grave{d}$ $kw\acute{a}$
 1Pl **Sbjn** Recip hit.Pfv
 ‘Let’s hit each other (=fight)!’

Replacing $n\grave{a}$ by prohibitive $m\grave{a}$ produces hortative negatives. As noted above, prohibitive clauses are similar in structure to (positive) subjunctives, not to (positive) imperatives.

- (573) a. \acute{i}^n $m\acute{a}$ $y\grave{a} / s\grave{o}$
 1Pl **Proh** descend.Pfv / go.Pfv
 ‘Let’s-2Sg not go down!/not go!’

- b. íⁿ mà tá(w)ⁿ / díyé
 1Pl **Proh** ascend.Pfv / eat.Antip.Pfv
 ‘Let’s not go up!/not eat!’
- c. íⁿ mà tóó-(ò)̀n díyá
 1Pl **Proh** meat-DefSg eat.Pfv
 ‘Let’s not eat the meat!’

10.4.3 Non-second person-subject deontics

10.4.3.1 Wishes with third-person agent

A wish, blessing, curse, or other imprecation involving a non-third-person agent is expressed with subjunctive *nà* if positive, and with prohibitive *mà* if negative. The structure is identical to that of 1Pl hortatives, but now the subject is open-ended. The particle *yálà* can be preposed to wishes. This particle resembles *yàrà* ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4, §17.4.3), but it may really be from Maghrebi Arabic (e.g. Moroccan *ya!laah* ‘let’s’, originally ‘Oh God!’).

- (574) a. *yálà*, *álà* *nà* *kwá* [íⁿ *nà*]
 hopefully, God **Sbjn** help.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
 ‘May God help us!’
- b. *ā* *nà* *tá(w)ⁿ*
 3Sg **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv
 ‘May he/she go up!’
- c. *ā* *mà* *tá(w)ⁿ*
 3Sg **Proh** ascend.Pfv
 ‘May he/she not go up!’
- d. *álà* *nà* *ń* *kèntà-àmà-nì*
 God **Sbjn** 1Sg heal-Inch-Caus.Pfv
 ‘May God cure me!’ (< *kéntá-ámá-ní*)

These wishes have the same form as quoted imperatives (jussives), as in ‘I told Seydou (not) to come’ (§17.1.5.1). The similarity in form suggests the possibility that wishes like (574a-d), which consist of a single overt clause, are reduced from biclausal constructions with a higher ‘say’ clause and a quoted imperative. However, one might argue against this on cultural grounds when ‘God’ is the subject as in (574a) and (574d).

10.4.3.2 Clarifications with a first-person subject

A first-person agent occurs in a subjunctive or prohibitive clause when the speaker seeks clarification or confirmation of command or unspoken wish from an interlocutor.

(575) a. ò ná bé [téè ní] nà
1Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv [tea Inst] Q
‘Shall I bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to bring the tea?)

b. ò má bé [téè ní] nà
1Sg **Proh** come.Pfv [tea Inst] Q
‘Shall I not bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to not bring the tea?)
(wondering if you would like tea, or confirming that you don’t want it)

11 Clause, VP, and predicate structure

11.1 Clausal constituents

Constituent order is maximally S-infl-O-V-infl-X. The post-subject “infl” position is empty in perfective positive intransitive main clauses and under some conditions in perfective positive transitive clauses. There is a single preverbal object slot; if a second “object” is present it must follow the verb as part of the residual X, which also includes adverbs. (576a) is S-infl-V-infl-Adv. (576b) is S-infl-O-V-infl-Adv. (576c) is S-infl-O-V-infl-PP. The negative sentence (576d) is S-infl-V-PP. The zero inflection for perfective positive is elsewhere omitted in transcriptions, but in (576a-b) it is marked with \emptyset .

- (576) a. sèèdù \emptyset bé gà dìgéⁿ
S Pfv come.Pfv Pfv yesterday
‘Seydou came yesterday.’
- b. sèèdú \emptyset [sùwó bònò] kùlé gà dìgéⁿ
S Pfv [sheep neck] cut.Pfv Pfv yesterday
‘Seydou slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the sheep-Sg yesterday.’
- c. ní nà wálèn dó gà [sèèdú nà]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [money Dat]
‘I gave money to Seydou.’
- d. sèèdú tè bé [tè ní]
S PfvNeg come.Pfv [tea Inst]
‘Seydou didn’t bring tea.’

11.1.1 Subjects

11.1.1.1 Subjects in indicative main clauses

With the exception of the 1Sg pronominal, there is no difference in form for NPs in subject versus object function. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish subjects from objects on the basis of their linear position and some other properties.

Subjects, both pronominal and noun-headed, occur in a fixed clause-initial position. Except in singular-addressee imperatives and subordinated infinitive-like VPs, an overt nonzero subject is obligatory. Subjects are preceded only by preclausal elements of the types listed in (577).

- (577) a. temporal adverbs and adverbial phrases (e.g. ‘today’, ‘after the holy day’)
 b. discourse markers (e.g. *ńkàà* ‘but’)
 c. optional polar interrogative markers
 d. topicalized NPs and adverbials
 e. ‘if’

Since temporal adverbs and adverbials more commonly occur in absolute clause-final position, when they do precede subjects they may be topicalized, at least in some cases.

Subjects are immediately followed by any of a number of inflectional morphemes, marking aspect and polarity for indicatives and some modals. The main ones are listed in (578).

- (578) a. indicative
- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>gà</i> | imperfective positive |
| <i>tà</i> (dialect 1) | imperfective negative |
| <i>tá</i> (dialect 2) | " " |
| <i>tè</i> | perfective negative |
- b. *nà* subjunctive
mà prohibitive

It is possible for the post-subject inflectional “slot” to be empty. This is the case in perfective positive main clauses, especially with intransitive verbs like ‘go’ (579), where the subject NP is immediately followed by the verb or other predicate.

- (579) *sèèdú* *sò* *gá* *nògú-ỳ*
 S go.Pfv Pfv village-Loc
 ‘Seydou went to the village.’

In perfective positive transitive clauses, the empty post-subject inflectional “slot” is filled under some conditions by the bidirectional case marker *yè*, glossed “Sbj/Obj” in interlinears.

- (580) *ē* *yè* *sèèdú* *kàý* *gà*
 3Pl Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They saw Seydou.’

What probably once was an allomorph *nà* of the bidirectional case marker, associated with 1Sg subject or perhaps more generally with pronominals consisting of nasal consonants (as in Cliffs), is no longer limited to transitive clauses, so labeling it is difficult.

Singular-addressee imperatives lack overt subjects, and also lack an overt modal marker. Plural-addressee imperatives begin with a morpheme *yè* that precedes the VP. It is difficult to gloss this morpheme, since it is unrelated to the usual 2Pl pronominal *áá*. It is here glossed as “Imprt.PI”, treating it as a portmanteau. Prohibitives (negative imperatives) do have overt second person subjects, 2Sg *áⁿ* and 2Pl *áá*, preceding the prohibitive morpheme. See §10.4.1-2 for more on imperatives and prohibitives.

“Subject” as a syntactic category is relevant to anaphora. Reflexive objects and possessors, which have a distinctive form for 3Sg and 3Pl, are coindexed to clausemate subjects (§18.1.1).

Since reflexive objects can occur in imperative as well as indicative clauses, the preponderance of evidence supports recognition of imperative subjects, even if covert.

11.1.1.2 Temporal and meteorological collocations

Unusual subject-verb collocations denote transitions between day and night. In (581a), the noun functioning as subject elsewhere means ‘year’, but the collocation here denotes a daily event. The combination in (581b) is also odd semantically; one might have expected “day disappear” or “night arrive/become black” instead of “night disappear/get lost.”

(581) a. *jííŋ kíyé gà*
 year pass.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Day has broken.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 03:14)

b. *gùù túⁿ ɲà*
 night disappear.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Night has fallen.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 12:39)

Collocations with ‘sun’ as subject are in (582). In (582a-b) the subject is a compound understood by some speakers to contain *ɲóóⁿ* ‘eye’ but whose tones suggest an origin with *ɲìyè(w)ⁿ* ‘head’ as more transparently in Cliffs (*kùgū-ɲìyèwⁿ*). (582c-d) have simple *kùbù* as subject.

(582) a. *kùbù-ɲòó-m bá gà*
 sun-eye-DefSg exit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The sun has risen.’ (= ‘It has dawned.’)

- b. kùbù-ṅḍó-ṅ séⁿ ṅà
 sun-eye-DefSg fall.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The sun has set.’
- c. kùbù tàà-nà
 sun stand-Ppl
 ‘The sun is at its zenith. (mid-day)
- d. kùbù té tà súⁿwòṅì
 sun PfvNeg stand.Pfv yet
 ‘The sun isn’t at its zenith yet.’

Expressions with ‘rainy season’ (roughly June to September) as subject are in (583). Verbs glossed ‘arrive’ in languages of this zone have a primary sense ‘arrive at the door or gate (of a house)’, i.e. waiting to be invited to ‘enter’. This is relevant to (583a).

- (583) a. káágá kiyéⁿ ṅà
 rainy.season arrive.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The rainy season has begun.’ (June)
- b. káágà dó gà
 rainy.season enter.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The rainy season is in full swing.’ (July-August)
- c. káágà kíyé gà
 rainy.season pass.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The rainy season is over.’ (e.g. 1October)

Other terms for seasons or annual landmarks can also use these verbs (‘arrive’, ‘enter’, ‘pass’). Some of these terms are listed in (584). They are compounds with a noun as initial and a zero-derived verbal noun as final. One can add -wááti ‘time’ as an outer compound final.

- (584) pííṅ-kúlé ‘millet-cutting’ (millet harvest, October)
 dúgḍ-gárábú ‘rice-reaping’ (rice harvest, January)
 jíí-kéréⁿ ‘water-receding’ (dry season)
 jíí-dḍé ‘water-entering’ (middle of rainy season, July)
 mùwòṅm-bá ‘cold season’

Ambient temperature extremes are phrased with mùⁿ ‘cold (n)’ and fintáni ‘heat’ as subjects of the verb ‘descend’, in the sense ‘come down (to us), become manifest’.

(585) a. mùúⁿ ɲà yáwⁿ / bôⁿ
 cold(n) be.Loc there.Def / here
 ‘It is cold (out) there/here.’ (French *il fait froid*)

b. fìntàníⁿ ɲà yáwⁿ / bôⁿ
 sun be.Loc there.Def / here
 ‘It is hot (out).’ (French *il fait chaud*)

Rainfall is expressed by the intransitive verb sàⁿ/sà-nà ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’ or by bé/bí-yé ‘come’. sàⁿ/sà-nà is not otherwise attested as an intransitive verb. It is distinct from séⁿ/sé-né ‘fall’, but homophonous with transitive sàⁿ/sà-nà ‘buy’. The subject of ‘(rain) fall’ or ‘come’ is kùⁿwàⁿ ‘rain (n)’ for older speakers but often yòó-bàà ‘sky’ for younger speakers.

(586) a. kùⁿwáⁿ sàⁿ ɲá
 rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It rained.’

b.. yòó-bàà bé gà
 sky come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Rain came.’ (= ‘It rained.’)

c. yòó-bàá tà gá
 sky stand.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The rain has ended.’

d. kùⁿwáⁿ ɲà músú-músú
 rain(n) be drizzling(adv)
 ‘It is drizzling (raining very lightly).’

The subject in (587) is tíyéⁿ ‘wind’ or fòrògòⁿ ‘dust’. In this region, ‘dust’ generally means ‘airborn dust, dust storm’. Dust storms are fairly common locally in the dry season.

(587) a. tíyéⁿ / fòrògò(ɲ) kírí gà
 wind(n) / dust get.up.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The wind/dust (storm) has risen/kicked up (=is blowing).’

b. tíyéⁿ / fòrògón tà gá
 wind(n) / dust stand.Pfv {fv
 ‘The wind/dust (storm) has died down.’

11.1.1.3 Emotion and bodily-emission collocations

Afflictions such as hunger, thirst, and most named diseases are subjects in (588), with the afflictee appearing as a comitative PP. See also §11.5.1.1.

- (588) a. dúwóⁿ ɲá [sèèdú pà]
hunger be.Loc [S Comit]
 ‘Seydou is hungry.’
- b. géréⁿ ɲá [sèèdú pà]
thirst be.Loc [S Comit]
 ‘Seydou is thirsty.’
- c. [fályá míyè-gù] gá [sèèdú pà]
 [measles] be.Loc [S Comit]
 ‘Seydou has (=suffers from) measles.’

For ‘fever’ a different construction is used. Possessed ‘body’ is subject of a participial predicate based on ‘hot’.

- (589) a. [sèèdú tùúⁿ] ɲà píⁿyé-ná (ni)
 [S **body**] be hot-Ppl (it.is)
 ‘Seydou is running a fever (e.g. malaria).’
- b. [sèèdú tùún] tà píⁿyé-ná
 [S **body**] IpfvNeg hot-Ppl
 ‘Seydou is not running a fever.’

‘Be angry’ can be expressed by either of two intransitive verbs (590a-b). A comitative PP may be added to specify the target of anger.

- (590) a. sèèdú pòndé gá [m̄ pá]
 S **get.angry**.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]
 ‘Seydou got angry with me.’
- b. sèèdú dìyé gá [m̄ pá]
 S **get.angry**.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]
 ‘Seydou got angry (with me).’

A possessed form of *bóó* ‘heart (emotional center)’, cf. *bóó-líyé(w)ⁿ* ‘heart (organ)’, combines with ‘exit (v)’ or ‘lie down’ (591a-b) to express stages of an anger episode. It can also combine with ‘shatter’ (591c) and with taste predicates (591d).

- (591) a. [à bóó] bá gà ([m pá])
 [3Sg heart] exit(v).Pfv Pfv ([1Sg Comit])
 ‘He/She got angry (blew up) at me.’
- b. [à bóó] sáá gà
 [3Sg heart] lie.down.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She cooled off (after being angry).’
- c. [à bóó] ń káá gà
 [3Sg heart] 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She is heart-broken.’
- d. [à bóó] dúmá gà
 [3Sg heart] be.sweet.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She is happy.’

Euphoria and dysphoria can be expressed by possessed *múynà* ‘(positive/negative) emotion, mood’ as subject, combined with a taste predicate like ‘be sweet/delicious’ or ‘be foul/bad-tasting’.

- (592) a. [à múynà] dúmá gà
 [3Sg mood] be.sweet.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She is happy.’
- b. [à múynà] tè dúmá
 [3Sg mood] PfvNeg be.sweet.Pfv
 ‘He/She is unhappy/sad.’
- c. [à múynà] gá swàà-nà (~ sùⁿwà-nà)
 S mood be bad.tasting-Ppl
 ‘He/She is sad.’

tímí-nà ‘mood, state of energy/encouragement’ can combine with taste predicates, or with ‘exit’ in the sense ‘emerge’.

- (593) a. [à tímí-nà] bá gà
 [3Sg **encouragement**] exit(v).Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She is happy.’ or ‘He/She is encouraged.’
- b. [à tímí-nà] tà ní déⁿ
 [3Sg **encouragement**] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.sweet
 ‘He/She is discouraged/distraught.’
- c. [à tímí-nà] sùⁿwá gà
 [3Sg **encouragement**] taste.bad.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She is discouraged.’

‘X bleed’ is phrased as ‘X’s blood exit’ (594a), or with reference to extreme cases as ‘X’s blood gush out’ (594b).

- (594) a. [sèédù díyé] gà bá-rá
 [S **blood**] Ipfv exit.Ipfv
 ‘Seydou is bleeding.’ (blood is oozing out slowly)
- b. [à díyé] gà sírítí
 [3Sg **blood**] Ipfv gush.Ipfv
 ‘He/She is bleeding profusely.’

Nosebleeds are described with possessed ‘nose’ as subject and reflexive verb ‘be shattered’. ‘With blood’ can be added (595b). Alternatively, “nose-blood runs” (595c).

- (595) a. [ā mùú-ùⁿ] íj káá gà
 [3Sg **nose-DefSg**] 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv Pfv
 ‘His/Her nose has broken (=is bleeding, or bled).’
- b. [m̀ múùn] tà íj káá [díyé ní]
 [1Sg **nose-DefSg**] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv [blood Inst]
 ‘My nose is not bleeding.’
- c. [ā mùùn-díyé] gá kiyé
 [3Sf **nose-blood**] Ipfv run.Ipfv
 ‘He/She is bleeding profusely.’ (blood is pouring out)

There are dedicated verbs for ‘sweat, perspire’ (wáájì(-rì)) and ‘foam’ (fúlàⁿ/fúlà-nà). Both occur in reflexive constructions.

- (596) a. sèédù ń wáájì gà
 S 3ReflSg **sweat(v).Pfv** Pfv
 ‘Seydou perspired.’
- b. téè-ⁿ / dùwó-òⁿ ń fúlàⁿ ńà
 tea-DefSg / beer-DefSg 3ReflSg **foam(v).Pfv** Pfv
 ‘The tea/beer foamed up.’

The verb sé(-ré) occurs in the four collocations in (597). The contexts suggest a gloss ‘emit’ or ‘deposit’. The verb is elsewhere attested only in the sense ‘build (a hut)’. Cognates in other Bozo languages have the more general sense ‘put in’ or ‘put down’.

- (597) a. à kón-jì sé gà
 3Sg urine **emit/deposit.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘He/She urinated.’, cf. (225c)
- b. ā kùwò sé gà
 3Sg excrement **emit/deposit.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘He/She defecated.’
- c. à túwóⁿ sé gà
 3Sg fart(n) **emit/deposit.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘He/She farted.’
- d. à bíyèⁿ sé gà
 3Sg egg **emit/deposit.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘It (=bird) laid an egg.’

gèrèntè/gèrènté ‘burp, belch’ and jègò/jègó or yègù/yègú ‘hiccough’ are simple intransitive verbs.

11.1.1.4 Conveyance construction (motion verb plus instrumental PP)

Verbs of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘take/deliver’) are expressed as intransitive motion verbs, most often ‘come’ or ‘go’, plus instrumental PPs with postposition ní.

- (598) a. à bé gà [téè(-ⁿ) / sùwò ní]
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv [tea-(DefSg) / sheep **Inst**]
 ‘He/She brought (the) tea/a sheep.’

- b. \bar{a} $s\grave{o}$ $g\acute{a}$ [$t\bar{e}\bar{e}^{-n}$ / $s\grave{u}w\acute{o}-\grave{o}^n$] $n\acute{i}$
 3Sg **go.Pfv** Pfv [tea-DefSg / sheep-DefSg] **Inst]**
 ‘He/She took the tea/the sheep-Sg (somewhere).’

11.1.1.5 ‘(Don’t) care’

This construction involves a locative or dative PP adjunct, minimally ‘in it’ ($\acute{a}-y\grave{i}$ ~ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$) in the sense ‘about it’. The subject is possessed noun $m\grave{a}g\acute{o}$ or $p\acute{a}\acute{a}^n$ ‘concern, interest, relevance’, depending on the dialect. Negative versions correspond to ‘don’t care about it’ (French *je m’en fous*).

- (599) a. [$m\grave{e}$ $m\acute{a}g\grave{o}$] $t\acute{a}=$ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$
 [1Sg **concern(n)**] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’ (dialect 2)
- b. [\bar{a} $m\grave{a}g\acute{o}$] $t\acute{a}=$ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$
 [3Sg **concern(n)**] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘He/She doesn’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern him/her.’ (dialect 2)
- c. [$m\acute{e}$ $p\acute{a}\acute{a}^n$] $t\acute{a}=$ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$
 [1Sg **concern(n)**] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’ (dialect 1, < $t\grave{a}$)
- d. [\grave{a} $p\acute{a}\acute{a}^n$] $t\acute{a}=$ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$
 [3Sg **concern(n)**] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘He/She doesn’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern him/her.’ (dialect 1)

Positive versions are also possible.

- (600) a. [$m\grave{e}$ $m\acute{a}g\grave{o}$] $g\acute{a}=$ $\acute{a}-y\grave{e}$
 [1Sg **concern(n)**] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘I care about it.’
- b. [$m\acute{e}$ $p\grave{a}\grave{a}^n$] $t\acute{a}$ [$k\grave{u}^n w\grave{a}n-j\acute{i}$ $t\grave{e}$]
 [1Sg **concern(n)**] not.be [rain(n) **Dat]**
 ‘I don’t care about the rain.’

11.1.2 Transitives and ditransitives

The inventory of transitive verbs resembles that of English. Simple transitives include verbs of impact and creation ('hit', 'cut', 'make/fix'), perception ('see', 'hear'), acquisition ('get'), and transportation ('carry').

The inflectable 'say' verb, sé(-ré), is transitive, with optional PP based on dative postposition tè (§8.1.1.1). It has an obligatory 3Sg pronominal object ('say it') even when followed by quoted matter (§17.1.3). There is also a 'said' quasi-verb yè ~ yé in past positive contexts, but it is not a true verb.

Predicates of conveyance ('bring X', 'take/convey X') are expressed as 'come [with X]' and 'go [with X]', i.e. as intransitives with instrumental PPs (§11.1.1.4, §8.1.2.2).

11.1.2.1 Direct objects and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The S-infl-O-V-X linear order of J-S of Djenné makes it easy to identify objects and study their properties, even though there is no accusative marking. Direct object NPs including pronominals follow the subject NP and any post-subject inflectional particles (e.g. imperfective gà) and immediately precede the verb.

- (601) sèèdú gà súwó sà-nà bòⁿ
 S Ipfv goat buy-Ipfv here
 'Seydou (often) buys a goat here.'

In perfective positive main clauses, which have no overt inflectional particle, a bidirectional case marker (BCM) yè glossed "Sbj/Obj," can separate the subject NP from the object NP. (602) shows the tones of yè before L-tone ('sheep') and H-tone ('goat') following nonpronominal and various pronominal subjects. The y in this morpheme becomes ɲ after a nasal (§3.4.2.2). With 1Sg subject the inflectional slot is occupied by nà, so yè does not occur (602a). There is dialectal variation in the tone of the BCM when it occurs between an H-toned pronominal subject (i.e. other than third person or 1Sg) and an H-initial object ('goat') (602d). For dialect 1, the BCM is L-toned here, while for the dialect 2 speaker checked the H-tone of the pronominal subject appears to spread into the BCM. The distinction is masked before 'sheep' due to Final Tone-Raising on the BCM. For combinations of subject pronominal and object pronominal see below.

(602)	category	‘__ a sheep ...’	‘__ a goat ...’	‘... bought’
a.	1Sg	(̀n) ná s̀wó	(́n) nà súwó	sà ⁿ ɲá
b.	NP (Seydou)	sèèdú yé s̀wó	sèèdú yè súwó	"
c.	3Sg	à yé s̀wó	ā yè súwó	"
	3Pl	ì yé s̀wó	ī yè súwó	"
		[both dialects]	[dialect 1]	[dialect 2]
d.	2Sg	á ⁿ ɲé s̀wó	á ⁿ ɲè súwó	á ⁿ ɲé súwó
	2Pl	áá yé s̀wó	áá yè súwó	áá yé súwó
	1Pl	í ⁿ ɲé s̀wó	í ⁿ ɲè súwó	í ⁿ ɲé súwó
	LogoSg	ɲ́ ɲé s̀wó	ɲ́ ɲè súwó	ɲ́ ɲé súwó
	LogoPl	é yé s̀wó	é(é) yè súwó	é yé súwó

Although (602) presents a full paradigm for yè before nonpronominal object, in practice the occurrence of yè is more common after some subjects than others. (603) is an approximate ranking. 1Sg is omitted here.

(603)	a. common after ...	plural pronominals
	b. fairly common after ...	2Sg, LogoSg
	c. uncommon after ...	3Sg or nonpronominal NP

In (604a-c), therefore, the variant without yè is more common than that with yè. As a result, when yè is heard after a subject noun, it is usually plural suffix -yè rather than BCM yè (604d).

(604)	a.	sèèdú	(Ø)	s̀wó	sà ⁿ	ɲá
		sèèdù	yé			
		S	(Sbj/Obj)	sheep	buy.Pfv	Pfv
		‘Seydou bought a sheep.’				
	b.	ā	Ø	s̀wó	sà ⁿ	ɲá
		à	yé			
		3Sg	(Sbj/Obj)	sheep	buy.Pfv	Pfv
		‘He-or-she bought a sheep.’				
	c.	á ⁿ	(ɲé)	s̀wó	sà ⁿ	ɲá
		2Sg	(Sbj/Obj)	sheep	buy.Pfv	Pfv
		‘You-Sg bought a sheep.’				

- d. kéewú-yé sùwó sàⁿ ñá
 man-PI sheep buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The men bought a sheep.’

When the object of a perfective positive clause is pronominal, yè is obligatory before vowel-initial pronominal objects regardless of the subject (605a), but it can be omitted before consonant-initial (i.e. nasal-initial) ones (605b).

(605) category proclitic as object after BCM

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | 2Sg | á ⁿ | ... yà = á ⁿ | |
| | 2Pl | áá | ... yà = áá | |
| | 1Pl | íí ⁿ | ... yè = éé ⁿ | |
| | LogoPl | é | ... yè = é(é) | |
| b. | 1Sg | ñ (+tones) | ... yé ñ (+tones) ~ ... yè ñ (+tones) (dialect 1) | |
| | | | ... yè ñ (+tones) ~ ... yè ñ (+tones) (dialect 2) | |
| | LogoSg | ñ | ... yè ñ | |
| | | | with 3Sg/3Pl subject | with other subjects |
| c. | 3Sg | à | (ā/ī) yà = à | ... yá = à |
| | 3Pl | è | (ā/ī) yè = è | ... yé = è |

The dialect 2 speaker who had a clear H-toned yé (or ñé) after H-toned subject pronominals before H-initial noun object, see (602d) above, switched to L-toned yè (or ñè) after these subjects before another H-toned object pronominal, either reflexive or not. In (606a) with nominal object, the tones of the first five syllables from the left form a single H-toned terrace with level pitch. In (606b), the BCM is H-toned only because of Final Tone-Raising before an L-toned pronominal object. In (606c) the BCM ñè remains L-toned before an H-toned pronominal.

- (606) a. áⁿ ñá = áámàdú káy gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj A see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Sg saw Amadou.’ (< ñé)
- b. áⁿ ñá = à káy gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Sg saw him/her.’ (< ñé)

c. áⁿ jè = ééŋ káy gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 1Pl see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You-Sg saw us.’

The subdialectal tonal variations described in this section need to be checked with multiple native speakers from the Djenné area to determine the predominant pattern in the area.

11.1.2.2 tíⁿ/tí-nì ‘do’ in collocations

This ‘do’ verb occurs in a modest number of collocations with object NPs.

(607) a. ní ná [ŋ fán-tà-ân] tíⁿ ñà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [1Sg **share(n)-DefSg**] **do.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I did my part (=my share).’ (< fàn-tàà)

b. ní ná [ŋ hínè-è] tíⁿ ñà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [1Sg **capability**] **do.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I did my best (=what I could).’ (< hìnì)

However, some borrowed nouns can be directly inflected as verbs without an auxiliary like ‘do’. For example, the noun dùwááwù ~ dùwáábù ‘blessing’ (< Arabic) can function as a verb ‘give a blessing’ (with dative PP denoting the recipient); the Ipfv stem is dùwááwù-rù ~ dùwáábù-rù.

11.1.2.3 Ditransitives

‘Give’ is the prototypical ditransitive verb cross-linguistically, but in J-S of Djenné ‘X give Z to Y’ can be expressed by either of two verbs, each with its own syntax. The verb dó(-rò) ‘give’ takes a preverbal direct object denoting the theme, and is followed by a dative PP denoting the recipient (608). For dialectal variant dó see comments in §9.3.3.

(608) à jíí dó gà [ñ ná]
 3Sg water **give.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg **Dat**]
 ‘He/She gave water to me.’

The other verb is kò(-rò) which is glossed ‘furnish, provide’ because its preverbal direct object denotes the recipient. The theme is expressed as a postverbal instrumental PP.

(609) ā ñ kó gà [jǐí ní]
 3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv Pfv [water **Inst**]
 ‘He/She gave me water (furnished me with water).’

‘Show’ is kàsì/kàsí or gàsì/gàsí. Its syntax is like that of dós(-rò) rather than like that of kò(-rò) (610a). ‘Entrust’ is kàlífà(-rà). It’s syntax is like ‘show’ except that the final PP is comitative, since the entrusted entity is in the custody of the recipient (610b).

(610) a. à jíí kàsí (~ gàsí) gà [ñ ná]
 3Sg water show.Pfv Pfv [1Sg **Dat**]
 ‘He/She showed water to me.’

b. à [ǐ] súwó] kàlífà gà [m̄ pá]
 3Sg [3ReflSg goat] entrust.Pfv Pfv [1Sg **Comit**]
 ‘He/She entrusted his/her goat to/with me.’

11.1.2.4 Valency of causatives

Most suffixal causatives are based on intransitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive (611a) becomes the object of the causative (611b).

(611) a. [díyé-né]-èn tó gà
 [child]-DefSg jump.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The child jumped.’

b. zàkí (yè) [díyé-né]-èn tó-ní^m ñà
 Z (Sbj/Obj) [child]-DefSg jump-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki made the child jump.’

sáá ‘lie down’ is a lexically reflexive verb, i.e. it has a pro forma reflexive pronominal object that is coindexed with the subject (612a). In the causative, the reflexive object is omitted since it is coindexed with what is now the object (612b).

(612) a. à ń sáá gà
 3Sg **3ReflSg** lie.down.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She lay down (=went to bed).’

- b. zàkí yá= =à sáá-níⁿ ñà
 Z Sbj/Obj 3Sg lie.down-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki put him/her to bed.’

Among the transitive verbs that are readily causativized are ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. The causative of ‘eat’, glossed ‘feed (v)’, is illustrated in (613a-b). It is based on the antipassive form of ‘eat’ (§9.3.1.2). The specific food is optionally expressed by an instrumental PP (613b). This food term corresponds to the direct object of simple ‘eat’ (613c).

- (613) a. zàkí yè [díyé-né]-èn díyé-níⁿ ñà
 Z Sbj/Obj [child]-DefSg eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki fed the child.’

- b. zàkí yè [díyé-né]-èn díyé-níⁿ ñà [sàpílà ní]
 Z Sbj/Obj [child]-DefSg eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv Pfv [cowpea Inst]
 ‘Zaki fed the child with cowpeas (=beans).’

- c. [díyé-né]-èn sàpílà díyá gà
 [child]-DefSg cowpea eat.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The child ate cowpeas (=beans).’

The syntax of *mè-nì* ‘cause to drink, give something to drink to (sb)’ is the same.

With most other transitives it is not possible to express causativity with a single clause, probably because neither the underlying subject (agent) nor the underlying object can readily be expressed in a postverbal PP.

The use of instrumental PPs for “demoted” objects is reminiscent of their use in predicates of conveyance (§11.1.1.4) based on motion verbs (‘come [with X]’ = ‘bring X’), where no demotion from transitive object has occurred.

11.1.3 Verb phrase (VP)

VP, consisting of a clause minus subject and post-subject aspect-polarity marker, is relevant to J-S of Djenné syntax. In particular, sequential *bé* (similar to English *to*) combines with VPs in the most common subordinated clause type (other than relative clauses).

11.1.4 Restarting a clause after a heavy object NP

Transitive clauses have the schematic form subject-inflection-object-verb-(other). Speakers sometimes stop after the object, especially if it is heavy (polysyllabic or multi-word), then restart with a pronominal subject, the inflectional particle, and a pronominal object, then the verb. Free English translations cannot capture such restarting because of the difference in verb-object order, so the free translation is smoothed out. The heavy object NP is bolded in the interlinears.

- (614) a. áⁿ ɲá síní [kíɲ jááti-yàwⁿ],
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [**skiff exactly-DefSg**],
 áⁿ ɲá síní à kóɲò-nò,
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv,
 bé kìⁿyé [[mùwó wááti] pà]
 Seq arrive.Pfv [[which? time] Comit]
 ‘How much time does it reach (=take) for you-Sg to be able to assemble a real skiff?’
 (< kíⁿ) (2021-03 @ 21:03)
- b. ɲ ɲá [ɲ fáⁿ-yàw],
 1Sg Ipfv [**1Sg share(n)-DefSg**],
 ɲ ɲá= à sé-ré [sórógà-àmá wì]-y
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [Bozo-Abstr Foc]-Loc
 ‘I will speak my turn in Bozo [focus].’ (2021-03 @ 17:39)

11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives and inchoatives

11.2.1 Identificational predicates

11.2.1.1 ‘It is X’ (X nì)

Clause-final nì (glossed ‘it.is’ in interlinears) occurs in identificational predicates, which are defined here as predicates that specify the identity or type of an understood but covert referent. nì is preceded by an NP. The construction has focalized and unfocalized variants. In (615a), wò is the singular focalizer and dùwò is the plural focalizer (chapter 13).

- (615) a. focalized
- | | |
|----------------|----------|
| [X wò] nì | singular |
| [X-yé dùwò] nì | plural |
- b. unfocalized
- | | |
|---------|----------|
| X nì | singular |
| X-yé nì | plural |

nì is usually clause-final, where both C_v and C_{v̄} are usually pronounced with low pitch. The main indicator that nì is L-toned is that it can trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone.

The application of Final Tone-Raising before nì is somewhat inconsistent, however. Focus morphemes wò (singular) and dùwò (plural) are common before nì but do not raise to H-tone. When L-toned common nouns precede nì, Final Tone-Raising applies inconsistently. This is the case with ‘salt’ in (616). How much of this is attributable to Downdrift is unclear. A secondary association or confusion with instrumental ní, which also occurs chiefly in clause-final position, may be a factor.

- (616) kú tá kùwó (~ kùwò) nì
 Dem not.be salt it.is
 ‘That is not salt.’ (< kùwò)

Final Tone-Raising is, however, consistently applied in some high-frequency combinations such as wùlǎá nì ‘who is it?’, jǎànú nì ‘it’s tomorrow’, and participial predicates like tòmò-ná nì ‘it’s red’. A reasonable hypothesis is that nì was originally L-toned but that its tonal profile has become blurred.

The subjectless identificational ‘it is’ construction functions to introduce foregrounded new information about an unexpressed but contextually understood referent. Focalized forms of X or plural X-ye are therefore common, and the unfocalized versions can be thought of as covertly or partially focalized. There is very little pragmatic difference between (617a) and (617b). Any of these forms can serve as the answer to ‘who is it (knocking at the door)?’

- (617) a. [sèédù wò] nì ‘It’s Seydou [focus].’
 [kééwú-yé dùwò] nì ‘It’s (the) men [focus].’
- b. sèédù nì ‘It’s Seydou.’
 kééwú-yé nì ‘It’s (the) men.’

A question like ‘what is that?’ has an overt subject and so requires gà ‘be’ (618a). This is the copular construction (§11.2.2.1). The reply usually takes the form of the simpler identificational construction with subject and gà omitted (618b-c).

- (618) a. kú gá mùwó-yè nì
 Dem **be** what? **it.is**
 ‘That is what?’ (i.e. ‘What is that?’)
- b. [sùwó wò] nì
 [sheep Foc] **it.is**
 ‘It’s a sheep.’
- c. [sùwò-yé dùwò] nì
 [sheep-Pl Foc.Pl] **it.is**
 ‘It’s (some) sheep.’ or ‘They’re sheep.’

If X is a pronoun, it must take full independent form (as elsewhere under focalization), rather than proclitic form (619). This avoids confusion with instrumental PPs with a proclitic plus postposition ní.

- (619) a. ā-dùwò nì ‘It’s him/her/it.’
 b. ñ-dúwò nì ‘It’s me.’
 c. íín-dùwò nì ‘It’s us.’

There is a past-time version $tù^n nì \sim tì^n nì$ (620). It has also been heard as $tù^n ní$, tonally parallel to $tù^n ñá$ ‘was’ (§11.2.3.2).

- (620) a. ñ-dúwò $tù^n$ nì
 1Sg-Indep **be.Past** it.is
 ‘It was me.’
- b. [súwó wó] $tù^n$ nì
 [goat Foc] **be.Past** it.is
 ‘It was a goat.’
- c. [súwó-yé dùwó] $tù^n$ nì
 [goat-Pl Foc.Pl] **be.Past** it.is
 ‘It was (some) goats.’

11.2.1.2 X té(?) or X tè(?) ‘it isn’t X’

Because the identificational construction as illustrated above has no overt subject, and therefore no copula, it cannot be negated by simply swapping positive copula *gà* for negative copula *tà*. Therefore identifications, unlike copular clauses, must replace *nì* ‘it is’ with an explicitly negative counterpart. This is *té* or for some speakers *té?* with glottal stop. One dialect 2 speaker appears to have L-toned *tè* ~ *tè?*.

- (621) a. *sèédù* *té(?)*
 S **it.is.not**
 ‘It isn’t Seydou.’
- b. *sùwò* *té(?)*
 sheep **it.is.not**
 ‘It isn’t a sheep.’
- c. *sùwó-yè* (~ *sùwò-yé*) *té(?)*
 sheep-Pl **it.is.not**
 ‘It isn’t sheep-Pl’ or ‘They aren’t sheep.’

Focalization of most NPs in the X position is not possible under negation. Speakers reject versions of the preceding examples when a focus marker is added.

However, there is a high frequency expression *nó-ò té* ‘it is not that’, abbreviated from ‘if it is not that’, meaning ‘otherwise’ or ‘anyway’ or ‘in addition’, i.e. slightly changing the train of thought. Here *nó-ò* is an irregularly (and therefore opaquely) focalized form of the discourse-definite demonstrative. An example is 2021-03 @ 02:39.

11.2.2 Equational (copular) clauses

11.2.2.1 ‘Y is X’ (Y *gà* X *nì*)

The copula ‘be’ is *gà* in positive utterances. The *g* is subject to full nasalization to *ŋ* after a nasalized vowel (§3.4.2.3.1).

Equational clauses, also known as copular clauses, are defined operationally as those of the type [Y *gà* X *nì*], where the subject Y is a known entity and X provides information about Y. Y is often a pronoun, while X is usually a nonpronominal NP. X but not Y may be a content interrogative. In interlinears, *gà* is glossed ‘be’ and *nì* is glossed ‘it.is’. X is occasionally focalized (622c).

- (622) a. kú gá mùwó(-y) nì
 Dem **be** what? **it.is**
 ‘What is that?’ (lit. ‘That is what?’)
- b. sèédù gá sùwò-yá nì
 S **be** cultivate-Agent **it.is**
 ‘Seydou is a farmer.’
- c. sèédù gá [sùwò-yá wò] nì
 S **be** [cultivate-Agent Foc] **it.is**
 ‘Seydou is a farmer [focus].’
- d. áⁿ ñá wùláá nì
 2Sg **be** who? it.is
 ‘Who are you-Sg?’ (lit. ‘You are who?’)

The subject and gá must be present in this construction. Neither can occur without the other. The alternative is to omit both the subject and the copula, leaving just X nì. This is the identification construction described in §11.2.1.1 above, which is negated in a different way.

For past time, gá is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ.

- (623) sèédù tùⁿ ñá sùwò-yá nì
 S **be.Past** be cultivate-Agent it.is
 ‘Seydou was (=used to be) a farmer.’

11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y tà X nì)

To negate the copular construction [Y gá X nì], the positive copula gá is replaced by tà ‘not be’. The same change occurs in locational-existential clauses (see below). There is no change in nì. X cannot be focalized. For past time, gá is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ (624c).

- (624) a. à tá sùwò-yá nì
 3Sg **not.be** cultivate-Agent it.is
 ‘He/She is not a farmer.’
- b. kú tá sùwó nì
 Dem **not.be** sheep it.is
 ‘That is not a sheep.’

- c. ò tìn tá sùwò-yá nì
 1Sg **be.Past** not.be cultivate-Agent it.is
 ‘I was not a farmer.’

11.2.3 Locational-existential ‘be’

The constructions described below express ‘X be (present) [in a location]’.

11.2.3.1 ‘Is/are (present)’ (gà)

The basic locational ‘be (present)’ verb occurs as *gà* before nonlow tone and (due to Final Tone-Raising) as *gá* before L-tone. It is followed by a locational expression (625a-b). *gà* in this type of clause is glossed ‘be.Loc’ in interlinears. In the limiting case where the location is nonspecific ‘there’, free translations can be of the type ‘X exists’ or ‘there is/are some X(s)’. With village names and adverbs of spatial orientation, no locative postposition or suffix is used (625c). *gà* by itself is ungrammatical (625d); minimally ‘here’ or ‘there’ must be added.

- (625) a. ā gà bôⁿ / yáwⁿ
 3Sg **be.Loc** here / there.Def
 ‘He/She/It is here/there.’
- b. à gá nògí-ỳ / ...
 ā gà ... / sòḡó-ỳ
 3Sg **be.Loc** village-Loc / the.bush-Loc
 ‘He/She/It is in the village/out in the bush.’
- c. à gá jènè / yòó-bàà
 3Sg **be.Loc** Djenné / above
 ‘He/She/It is in Djenné / above.’
- d. #ā gà
 #3Sg **be.Loc**
 intended: ‘He/She/It is present (here/there).’ or ‘There is some.’
- e. wùláá gà [júgún kùmà]
 who? **be.Loc** [tree on]
 ‘Who is up in the tree?’

f. ò-dúwò gà [júgún kùmà]
 1Sg-Indep **be.Loc** [tree on]
 ‘I [focus] am up in the tree.’

The construction X gà yáwⁿ ‘X be there (definite)’ can only be existential rather than locational in function when X denotes an abstraction. This is the case in 2021-03 @ 21:17 (‘There is good health and there is sickness’).

11.2.3.2 ‘Was/were (present)’ (tìⁿ ñá ~ tùn ñá)

The past-time version of locative-existential gà is tìⁿ ñá or tùn ñá depending on the subdialect.

(626) a. íín tùn (~ tìⁿ) ñá bôⁿ
 1Pl **be.Past** **be.Loc** here
 ‘We were here.’

b. wùláá tùn (~ tìⁿ) ñá bôⁿ
 who? **be.Past** **be.Loc** here
 ‘Who was here?’

The tones (with ñá always H-toned) suggest that this was originally the perfective positive of an L-toned monomoraic stem, comparable to sò gá ‘went’ and tòn ñá ‘swallowed’. However, the ñá in tìⁿ ñá ~ tùn ñá must now be parsed as gà ‘be.Loc’ rather than as postverbal Pfv gà, as shown by its negation (see the following subsection).

11.2.3.3 ‘Is/Are not (present)’ (tà ~ tá) and past-time counterparts

Negation of present-time locational-existentials is expressed by tà (dialect 1) or tá (dialect 2) replacing gà (627a). After tone sandhi, both dialects have tá before L-tone. Like gà, tà/tá cannot be used without an overt locational (627b).

(627) a. ā tà bôⁿ / ... / ...
 à tá ... / nògí-y / jènè
 3Sg **not.be.Loc** here / village-Loc / Djenné
 ‘He/She/It is not here/in the village/in Djenné.’

- b. #à tá
 #3Sg not.be.Loc
 intended: ‘He/She/It is absent’ or ‘There is/are none.’

For past time, tà ~ tá is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ. Even in dialect 1, tà is raised to tá in this combination by tone sandhi. The tones are comparable to those of the positive counterpart.

- (628) à tùn (~ tìn) tá bôⁿ
 3Sg **be.Past** **not.be.Loc** here
 ‘He/She/It was not here.’ or ‘There was none (here).’

11.2.4 ‘Become (noun)’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

11.2.4.1 ‘Remain’ (kónó/kónò)

As a simple intransitive verb, kónó/kónò means ‘stay, remain’.

- (629) à kónó gà bôⁿ
 3Sg remain.Pfv Pfv here
 ‘He/She remained here.’

11.2.4.2 ‘Become, turn into’ (fwà ~ fà ~ fò)

‘Become (something)’, with a noun or NP (rather than an adjective) as complement, is Pfv fwà, fà, or fò and Ipv fà-rà or fò-rò. The dialect 2 speaker shifts between fà(-rà) and fò(-rò). Given the existence of dialectal variants Cɔ ~ Cwa with the latter in dialect 2 (§3.3.10), a reasonable hypothesis is that fò is archaic, it has diphthongized dialectally to fwà, which has then usually simplified to fà. This in turn suggests that ‘become’ was originally an intransitive form of (otherwise reflexive) f(w)ò(-rò) ‘sit’ (630). The two verbs are still identical in form for some speakers.

- (630) sèédù ń fò gá
 S 3ReflSg **sit.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘Seydou sat down.’

‘Become (something)’ is a (nonreflexive) intransitive, followed by a PP with instrumental postposition ní (631a). Although ní is often low-pitched when clause-final (its usual position), its failure to trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone shows that it is the instrumental

postposition rather than identificational *nì* ‘it is’. *fḏ* or variant can also be attached as a same-subject sequential VP to a main clause with *gópì* (dialectally *gwápì*) ‘transform’ (631b).

- (631) a. *sèédú* *fwà (~ fḏ)* *gá* [*kwàni* *ní*]
 S **become.Pfv** Pfv [bird Inst]
 ‘Seydou became a bird.’
- b. *sèédù* *ń* *gwápì* *gà*
 S 3ReflSg transform.Pfv Pfv
 [*bé* *fwá* [*kwàni* *ní*]]
 [Seq **become.Pfv** [bird Inst]]
 ‘Seydou transformed himself into a bird.’

For this ‘become’ verb with noun-like “adjectives” see §9.4.1.

The semantically causative counterpart is noncognate transitive *yàà* ‘put down’ or *gwápì* ‘flip’, with the same final instrumental PP as in (631). ‘Sit’ and ‘put down’ make a semantically sensible pairing.

- (632) a. *ń* *ná* *sèédú* *yàá* *gà* [*kòni* *ní*]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S **put.Pfv** Pfv [bird Inst]
 ‘I turned Seydou into a bird.’
- b. *ń* *ná* *sèédù* *gópì* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S transform.Pfv Pfv
 [*bé* *à* *yàá* [*kòni* *ní*]]
 [Seq 3Sg **put.Pfv** [bird Inst]]
 ‘I transformed Seydou into a bird.’

11.2.5 Mental and emotional statives

These predicates described below (‘know’, ‘want’, ‘resemble’) have senses that can be construed as stative (aspect-neutral). However, in J-S of Djenné they are expressed by morphosyntactically more or less regular aspect-marking verbs.

11.2.5.1 ‘Know’ (*tìyà/tùwò ~ tò*)

‘Know’ is a transitive verb; whether it is a stative transitive or a regular aspect-marking transitive is discussed below. It requires an object, minimally a 3Sg pronominal. In normal contexts the

clause has time reference including the present. In stative sense, the imperfective form *tùwò* is regular, with *tò* as a variant in allegro speech. Speakers correct the linguist when he pronounces it as *tò*.

(633) ìṅ ṅá= à *tùwò*
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **know.Ipfv**
 ‘I know (it/him/her).’

tùwò can mean ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be familiar with (someone)’, cf. French *savoir* and *connaître*. The familiarity sense is exemplified in (634).

(634) ìṅ ṅá sèèdú *tùwò*
 1Sg Ipfv S **know.Ipfv**
 ‘I know Seydou.’

For propositional (factive) complements as in ‘know that ...’, see §17.3.1.1.
 Negation is the regular imperfective negative.

(635) ìṅ tá= à *tùwò*
 1Sg **IpfvNeg** 3Sg **know.Ipfv**
 ‘I don’t know (it/him/her).’

For past time stative ‘knew’, *tùⁿ* ~ *tìⁿ* ‘be.Past’ is added as an auxiliary.

(636) a. ā *tùⁿ* ṅá sèèdú *tùwò*
 3Sg **be.Past** Ipfv S know.Ipfv
 ‘He/She knew Seydou.’

b. ì *tún* tá= à *tùwò*
 1Sg **be.Past** IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 ‘I didn’t know (it/him/her).’

What arguably functions as the perfective form is *tìyà*. It is less common than *tùwò* but can be elicited in special contexts (realize, find out, recognize).

(637) a. à gà bé à *tìyà*
 3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg **know.Pfv**
 ‘He/She will know/learn about (it).’

- b. ní tí= à tìyà
 1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg **know.Pfv**
 ‘I didn’t find out about it.’

In the form tìyà/tìyá this is an independent verb with the senses ‘understand (sth)’ and ‘be known’. If Pfv tìyà is assigned to this verb, rather than to ‘know’, the corollary would be that tùwò ‘know’ is a non-aspect-marking stative transitive verb.

What would be a regular causative derivative ‘cause to know’ (#tìyà-nì or whatever) does not exist. Its functions are fulfilled by kìbàrù(-rù) ‘inform’ as well as by simple clauses with ‘say’ verbs.

twèè ‘esoteric knowledge’ is probably an original verbal noun. There is an unusual causative derivative twèè-nì ‘initiate (someone) into esoteric knowledge’. Both twèè and twèè-nì reflect the shift to stem-final front vowel described in §9.3.1 above.

The absence of an all-purpose causative ‘cause to know; inform’ (cf. English *let X know* and French *faire savoir*) can also be made up for by expressions involving the noun kúmpá(w)ⁿ ‘ignorance, unawareness, curiosity’ or its suffixal locative kúmpá-ỳⁿ. ‘Inform X’ can be phrased as ‘remove X from curiosity/ignorance of it’ (638a).

- (638) a. ní ná sèédù bári gà= [à kúmpáⁿ-ỳⁿ]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S remove.Pfv Pfv [3Sg **curiosity-Loc**]
 ‘I informed Seydou.’

- b. díyéⁿ-nìyém-béné bá gà
 baptism exit.Pfv Pfv
 [sèèdú tè bá= [à kúmpáⁿ-ỳⁿ]]
 [S PfvNeg exit.Pfv [3Sg **ignorance**]]
 ‘The baptism (christening) took place unbeknownst to Seydou.’

11.2.5.2 ‘Like’ (fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ)

The verb fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ means ‘like X, be fond of X’ where X is an NP. It usually describes a positive appreciation that is extended in time. It is therefore usually imperfective.

- (639) a. ā gà [tóó wò] fùwóⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv [meat Foc] like.Ipfv
 ‘He/She likes meat.’

- b. à tá tóó fùwóⁿ
 3Sg IpfvNeg Ipfv like.Ipfv
 ‘He/She doesn’t like meat.’
- c. pánááⁿ-y-è ò tíⁿ ɲà tóó fùwóⁿ
 first-DefSg-Loc 1Sg be.Past Ipfv meat like.Ipfv
 ‘In the past I used to like meat.’

Perfectives can be elicited in contexts like ‘I liked the film (we watched yesterday)’.

In some contexts ‘X be [in Y]’ with locative -ŷ ~ -yì can mean ‘X likes Y’. Compare English *X is into yoga*. This phrasing seems to work better when Y is a simple demonstrative (kú, ɲóⁿ ~ ɲóⁿ) or a third person pronoun.

- (640) a. zàkí gà kú-ŷ
 Z be.Loc Dem-Loc
 ‘Zaki likes that.’ or ‘Zaki is in(to) that.’
- b. zàkí tá= á-ŷ
 Z not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
 ‘Zaki doesn’t like it.’ or ‘Zaki isn’t in(to) it.’

11.2.5.3 ‘Seek’ (màà/màá) as ‘want’ verb

‘X seek (look for) Y’ is elsewhere a grammatically ordinary transitive verb. It can have the contextual sense ‘X want Y’, especially in imperfective clauses. The subject X is actively seeking the object Y, either by searching (looking around) or requesting.

- (641) a. ā gà [tóó wó] màá
 3Sg Ipfv [meat Foc] seek.Ipfv
 ‘He/She wants (=is seeking) meat [focus].’
- b. ā tíⁿ ɲá [tóó wò] màá dìgéⁿ
 3Sg be.Past Ipfv [meat Foc] seek.Ipfv yesterday
 ‘He/She wanted (=was seeking) meat [focus] yesterday.’
- c. áⁿ ɲá mùwó màá
 2Sg Ipfv what? seek.Ipfv
 ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’ (= ‘What do you want?’)

11.2.5.4 ‘Want’ with kìn'yè/kìn'yé plus comitative

‘X want Y’ is directly expressed with the intransitive verb kìn'yè/kìn'yé in the imperfective stem kìn'yé, plus a comitative PP. It describes what the subject X wants to get on a particular occasion. There is no implication of active searching. (642) could express a choice made among alternative dishes.

- (642) à gá kìn'yé [[kùú wó] pà]
 3Sg Ipfv **want.Ipfv** [[cooked.rice Foc] **Comit**]
 ‘He/She wants/would like cooked rice [focus].’

Elsewhere kìn'yè/kìn'yé, with the same syntax (intransitive plus comitative PP) but often in perfective aspect, means ‘come right up to (e.g. a wall, a boundary)’.

The verb kìn'yè/kìn'yé may be omitted in (642), leaving just the comitative PP as the predicate, and forcing reinterpretation of Ipfv gá as existential-locational gá ‘be.Loc’. This is marginally possible when the desired object is expressed as an NP as in (643).

- (643) zàkí gá [jí pà]
 Z be.Loc [water **Comit**]
 ‘Zaki would like water.’
 (better: zàkí gá kìn'yé [jí pà])

Arguably (643) can be parsed alternatively as a construction with gá as Ipfv, ‘water’ as object, and pà as stative transitive verb ‘want’. In Kelenga, the postposition and the ‘want’ verb have fallen together and the counterpart to (643) is syntactically ambiguous.

In the same-subject construction ‘X want [to VP]’ (§15.2.8.1) and the different-subject construction ‘X want Y [to VP]’ (§17.4.6.3), it is common to omit kìn'yè/kìn'yé.

11.2.5.5 ‘Need’ (màgó)

‘X need Y’ where Y is an NP is expressed by a possessed form of the noun màgó ‘need (n)’ as subject, followed by gá ‘be’ or its negation and then by a comitative PP (‘with X’). A literal translation would be “X’s need/concern is with Y.”

- (644) a. [mè màgó] gá [wálém pà]
 [1Sg **need(n)**] be.Loc [money **Comit**]
 ‘I need money.’ (< wálèⁿ)

- b. [sèèdú màgó] tá [pìim-pìim pà]
 [S **need(n)**] not.be.Loc [charcoal **Comit**]
 ‘Seydou doesn’t need any charcoal.’

See also §11.1.1.5.

11.2.5.6 ‘Fear’ (kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá)

The verb kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear, be afraid’ can function as a simple intransitive (Pfv, Ipfv) or participial stative kùⁿwá-nà, with optional complement in the form of a PP with postposition kààⁿ. The sense is ‘fear X, be afraid of X’.

- (645) a. ìj ñá kùⁿwá-ná [sèèdú kààⁿ]
 1Sg be **fear-Ppl** [S **Source**]
 ‘I am afraid of Seydou.’
- b. [díyé-nè]-èⁿ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [tós-òj kààⁿ]
 [child]-DefSg be **fear(v)-Ppl** [fire-DefSg **Source**]
 ‘The child is afraid of the fire.’

This is the only known construction requiring the postposition kààⁿ (§8.2.8).

The verb ‘fear’ also allows indicative factive complements (§17.3.4) and prohibitive and subjunctive clausal complements (§17.4.5).

11.2.6 ‘Resemble’ (.../bá-ná or d̀̀g̀̀/d̀̀g̀̀)

In stative contexts (‘X resembles Y’), two verbs are in use. One is bá-ná, which has no other form and could be parsed either as an Ipfv verb (from putative Pfv #báⁿ), as an unsegmentable stative verb, or as a predicative participle. It is intransitive and is followed by a comitative PP (646a). The other is the regular aspect-marking transitive verb d̀̀g̀̀/d̀̀g̀̀ (646b).

- (646) a. ìj ñá bá-ná [sèèdú pà]
 1Sg Ipfv **resemble-Ipfv/Ppl** [S **Comit**]
 ‘I resemble Seydou.’
- b. ìj ñà bé sèèdú d̀̀g̀̀
 1Sg Ipfv Fut S **resemble.Pfv**
 ‘I will resemble Seydou.’

‘Imitate’ is expressed by the transitive verb *bààmíyè*.

11.3 Quotative verbs

‘Say’ is expressed either by a regular transitive verb *sé(-ré)*, compatible with all inflectional categories, or with an invariant quasi-verb *yè ~ yé* ‘said’ that is only used in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts preceding actual quoted matter. See §17.1.2 for more details.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

11.4.1 Stative adjectival predicates

This subsection focuses on stative predicates of the type ‘X be red/heavy’ etc., as opposed to inchoative (state-changing) predicates of the type ‘X become red/heavy’. Several of the most prototypical adjectives have stative predicates that occur with reflexive pronominals. Many less prototypical adjectives are expressed as deverbal participles (suffix *-na*) which can be made into stative predicates by the ‘it is’ construction.

súmú ‘foreign, strange’ is really a noun that can serve as a compound final or initial. It can be directly predicated with the ‘it is’ or copula construction: *zàkí gà sùmú nì* ‘Zaki is a stranger’. Likewise with *tànàà* ‘other’ and *twèè* ‘new’.

11.4.1.1 Participial adjectival predicates (*-ná nì, -na*)

Many adjectives are participles with suffix *-na* (§4.5.1.3) which gets its tone by spreading. They occur in predicative (‘be ADJ’) as well as modifying function. For the three basic color terms, participles rather than simple stems are required as predicates. The free or “Adj2” form of the adjective appears in the predicate. Tone Leveling, which applies to modifying adjectives, does not apply to adjectival predicates, except as noted below for dialect 2.

As predicates, the basic construction is [*X gà ADJ-ná nì*] with copula *gà* ‘be’ and clause-final *nì* ‘it is’ (647a). In such participial predicates, unlike copular clauses with NP predicates (e.g. ‘X is a man’), the *nì* is optional. (647a) shows the full construction with *nì* (which induces Final Tone-Raising on L-toned *-nà* in ‘red’ and ‘black’), while (647b) is identical except for the absence of *nì*. (647c-d) have pronominal subjects.

- (647) a. *jàmáà-âⁿ* *ɲá* *tòm̀-^{ná} / pìⁿyè-^{ná} / ...* *nì*
 " *ɲà* ... / ... / *kúⁿwáá-^{ná}* "
 house-DefSg be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
 ‘The house is red (brown)/black/white.’

- b. $\eta\acute{a}m\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{a}^n$ $\eta\acute{a}$ $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\grave{a}$ / ...
 " $\eta\grave{a}$... / ... / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$
 house-DefSg be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl
 [= (a)]
- c. η $\eta\acute{a}$ $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\acute{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\acute{a}$ / ... $n\grave{i}$
 $\eta\grave{a}$... / ... / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ "
 1Sg be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
 ‘I am red (=brown)/black/white.’
- d. η $\eta\acute{a}$ $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\grave{a}$ / ...
 η $\eta\grave{a}$... / ... / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$
 1Sg be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl
 [= (c)]

Negative counterparts replace copula $g\grave{a}$ ‘be’ with negative copula $t\grave{a}$ ‘not be’. Again $n\grave{i}$ is optional.

- (648) a. $\eta\acute{a}m\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{a}n$ $t\acute{a}$ $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\acute{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\acute{a}$ / ... $n\grave{i}$
 $\eta\acute{a}m\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{a}n$ $t\grave{a}$... / ... / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ "
 house-DefSg not.be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
 ‘The house is not red (=brown)/black/white.’
- b. $\eta\acute{a}m\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{a}n$ $t\acute{a}$ $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\grave{a}$ / ...
 $\eta\acute{a}m\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{a}n$ $t\grave{a}$... / ... / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$
 house-DefSg not.be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl
 ‘The house is not red (=brown)/black/white.’

It is also possible to omit the subject, if the referent is understood. This entails omission of the copula $g\grave{a}$ (or its negation $t\grave{a}$), which requires an overt subject. This is the identificational construction ‘it is (not) ___’ which can also have NPs as predicates. With participial adjectives as the predicates, final $n\grave{i}$ is required in the positive (649a). Since the negative copula is not allowed, $n\grave{i}$ ‘it is’ is replaced by $t\acute{e}(?)$ ‘it is not’ for negation (649b). One dialect 2 speaker has $t\grave{e}(?)$ ‘it is not’ and raises the tones of ‘red’ and ‘black’ in the negative version, as in “Adj1” modifying function immediately after a noun (649b). ‘White’ is already H-toned.

- (649) a. $t\grave{o}m\grave{o}-n\acute{a}$ / $p\grave{i}^n y\grave{e}-n\acute{a}$ / $k\acute{u}^n w\acute{a}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ $n\grave{i}$
 red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
 ‘It is red (brown)/black/white.’

- b. tòmḁ-nà / pìⁿyè-nà / kúⁿwáá-ná tɛ(?) (both dialects)
 tómó-ná / píyɛ́-ná / kúⁿwáá-ná tɛʔ (optional dialect 2 variant)
 red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is.not
 ‘It is not red (brown)/black/white.’

As if these alternative constructions are not enough, it is also possible to have an overt subject, no copula, the participle, and obligatory *nì* (650a). However, there is no structurally parallel negative counterpart. Negation (650b) was frowned on by native speakers, who shifted back to (649b) above.

- (650) a. ā tòmḁ-ná / pìⁿyè-ná / ... ñì
 à ... / ... / kúⁿwáá-ná
 3Sg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
 ‘It is red (brown)/black/white.’

- b. #ā tòmḁ-nà / pìⁿyè-nà / kúⁿwáá-ná tɛ (dialect 1)
 #à tómó-ná / píyɛ́-ná / kúⁿwáá-ná tɛʔ (dialect 2)
 intended: ‘It is not red (=brown)/black/white.’

11.4.1.2 Reflexive adjectival predicates

Several adjectives have stative predicates in reflexive form (§18.1.1).

- (651) a. sèédù ñ tíyɛ́ⁿ
 S 3ReflSg be.heavy
 ‘Seydou is heavy.’
- b. sèédù tá ñ tíyɛ́ⁿ
 S IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.heavy
 ‘Seydou is not heavy.’

Pronominal versions of (651) are in (652). The reflexive structure is clearly seen in (652a-b), whose forms include the bidirectional case marker *yè* (variant *nè* after the nasal in 2Sg). This marker is usually absent in the 3Sg, though speakers accept it as marginally grammatical (652c). The 1Sg subject pronominal has the usual morpheme *nà* (“Pfv.1Sg”) and the following 1Sg (reflexive) object *ñ* (+tones) flips the initial tone of the verb (652d).

(652)	category	' __ is/are/am heavy'			
a.	2Sg	á ⁿ	ɲà =	án	tíyé ⁿ
	1Pl	íí ⁿ	yè =	éé ⁿ	tíyé ⁿ
	2Pl	áá	yà =	áá	tíyé ⁿ
	LogoSg	íj	yè =	íj	tíyé ⁿ
	LogoPl	é	yè =	é	tíyé ⁿ
b.	3Pl	ì	yè =	é	tíyé ⁿ
c.	3Sg	à		ń	tíyé ⁿ (usual, all dialects)
		ā	yè	ń	tíyé ⁿ (marginal)
d.	1Sg	ń	nà	ń	tìyè ⁿ

Reflexive adjectival predicates are listed in (653), shown with 3ReflSg íj.

(653)	predicate	'he/she/it is __'
	ím bàṅgù	'fast' (§5.2.3)
	ím bòrò	'big (house, tree, animal); thick (wall)'
	ń dáá ⁿ	'distant, far away'
	ń dé ⁿ	'sweet, delicious (taste); sharp (blade)'
	ń dùwò ⁿ	'meager, insufficient'
	íj fòrì ⁿ ~ íj fèrù	'lightweight'
	íj káásì	'bitter (taste); (tea) unsugared'
	íj kó ⁿ	'many; numerous, abundant'
	íj kútù-kútù gà	'coarse, become'
	íj kwàsà ⁿ	'long; tall'
	íj kwìì ⁿ	'deep (well)'
	ím mày ⁿ	'good'
	ím mìyèw ⁿ	'small'
	ń nìyèw ⁿ	'easy (work); inexpensive'
	jí ɲì	'nasty, mean'
	jí núwótó ⁿ	'difficult; expensive'
	íj sùwò	'bad-tasting or -smelling; blunt (blade)'
	ń tíyé ⁿ	'heavy'
	ń twìì ⁿ ~ ń twìì	'nearby, close by' or 'short'
	íj wàà	'wide (doorway), spacious (courtyard)'

11.4.1.3 Past adjectival predicates

As with other stative verbs, the time frame for adjectival predicates is shifted to the past with $tù^n$ ~ $tì^n$ ‘be.Past’ followed by $gà$. The latter is here glossed ‘be’; for discussion see §10.3.1.

Adjectives that have participial predicates (§11.4.1.1) retain the participle in this construction. The final $nì$ ‘it is’ is absent in the negative version (654c). Speakers disagree whether $nì$ is allowed in the positive, and the speaker who did allow it required focalizer $wò$ (654b).

- (654) a. \bar{a} $tì^n$ $\eta á$ $tòm\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$
 3Sg **be.Past** be red-**Ppl**
 ‘He/She/It was red.’ (all dialects)
- b. \bar{a} $tì^n$ $\eta á$ $[tòm\grave{o}-n\acute{a}$ $wò]$ $nì$
 3Sg **be.Past** be [red-**Ppl** Foc] it.is
 ‘He/She/It was red.’ (acceptable to some speakers)

Dialects differ as to whether $nì$ ‘it is’ is allowed in the negative (655).

- (655) a. \bar{a} $tùn$ $t\acute{a}$ $tòm\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$
 3Sg **be.Past** **not.be** red-**Ppl**
 ‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’ (dialect 1)
- b. \bar{a} $tìn$ $t\acute{a}$ $tóm\acute{o}-n\acute{a}$ $(nì)$
 3Sg **be.Past** **not.be** red-**Ppl** (it.is)
 ‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’ (dialect 2)

Past-time $tù^n$ ~ $tì^n$ with reflexive adjectival predicates is illustrated in (656). There is no post-subject Ipv particle (656a). Bidirectional case marker $yè$ is present where required in perfective positive reflexive clauses, as though the Past morpheme were absent.

- (656) a. \bar{a} $tì^n$ \acute{n} $tíy\acute{e}^n$
 3Sg **be.Past** 3ReflSg be.heavy
 ‘He/She/It was heavy.’
- b. \grave{e} $tú^n$ $y\grave{e} =$ $\acute{e}(\acute{e})$ $tíy\acute{e}^n$ (dialect 1)
 \bar{e} $tì^n$ $y\acute{e} =$ " " (dialect 2)
 3Pl be.Past Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.heavy
 ‘They were heavy.’

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘X have Y’

11.5.1.1 With comitative pà

‘X have Y’ is most often phrased as ‘Y be [with X]’. The comitative postposition is pà (§8.1.2.3). This construction can express ownership or else temporary possession or custody (657a-b).

- (657) a.

nàamáà	gá	[m̀	pá]
house	be.Loc	[1Sg	Comit]

‘I have (=own) a house.’
- b.

mááṅgòró	gè=	[éém	pà]
mango	be.Loc	[1Pl	Comit]

‘We have a mango.’
- c.

wálèn	tá	[m̀	pá]
money	not.be.Loc	[1Sg	Comit]

‘I don’t have any money.’

The ‘X have Y’ construction is put to use in many collocations. For example, Y may denote a physical condition or affliction (658). See also §11.1.1.3 above.

- (658) a.

fùnténì ⁿ	ṅá	[m̀	pà]
heat(n)	be.Loc	[1Sg	Comit]

‘I am (=feel) hot.’
- b.

jíí-géré ⁿ	ṅá	[zàkí	pà]
water-thirst	be.Loc	[Z	Comit]

‘Zaki is thirsty.’

11.5.1.2 With swí-ỳ ~ swí-ỳⁿ

A less common construction has sw-í-ỳ (dialect 1) or sw-í-ỳⁿ (dialect 2) instead of comitative pà as in the preceding subsection. The source of this is a suffixal locative -ỳ of the noun súú ‘hand’, perhaps specifically a contracted locative of its definite singular form súú-yàwⁿ (which would account for the nasalized variant in dialect 2).

- (659) pánááⁿ-y-è, pánááⁿ-y-è nàfòró-òń tùn tà
 first-DefSg-Loc, first-DefSg-Loc wealth-DefSg be.Past IpfvNeg
 [númú-yàⁿ sw-í-ỳ]
 [person-DefSg **hand-DefSg-Loc**
 ‘In the old days, the person (=people) didn’t use to have wealth.’ (2021-01 @ 05:09)

11.5.2 ‘Y belong to X’ predicates (fùwò nì ~ fùwó nì)

A predicate of (long-standing) possession, translatable ‘Y belongs to X’ or ‘Y is X’s’, takes the form Y gà [[X fùwò] nì], or tonal variant with fùwó nì. The markup is “[Y be [X(’s) possession] it.is].” This is a special case of the regular copular construction (§11.2.2.1). ‘Be’ here is positive gà or negative tá. The noun ‘possession’ is fùwò, obscurely related to fá ‘thing’, perhaps as an obsolete definite singular form. There is a morphological plural fùwò-yé ~ fùwó-yè ‘possessions’ in other contexts, but it does not occur in this predicative construction. The possessor is an NP or a pronoun. 1Sg possessor is ñ-dúwò fùwò with the 1Sg independent pronoun) or ñ fùwò with the 1Sg proclitic ñ (+tones).

- (660) a. [kú-nù ñámàá-àⁿ] ñá [wùráá fùwò] nì
 [Dem-Link house-DefSg] be [who? **Poss**] it.is
 ‘This/That house belongs to who(m)?’ (< ñámàá)
- b. tìyéⁿ-èⁿ ñá [ñ-dúwò fùwò] nì
 field-DefSg be [1Sg-Indep **Poss**] it.is
 ‘The field is mine.’
- c. tìyé-yè tá [sèèdú fùwò] nì
 field-Pl not.be [S **Poss**] it.is
 ‘The fields are not Seydou’s.’

If it is understood what the entity is whose possessor is to be specified, the former may be omitted along with the copular verb. The result is the identificational construction (‘it’s ___’), with the final nì ‘it is’ functioning as predicate. Since gà ‘be’ is absent and cannot be negated as tà ~ tá, the negative identificational construction is applied, with té replacing ní.

- (661) a. [ñ-dúwò fùwò] nì
 [1Sg-Indep **Poss**] **it.is**
 ‘It’s mine.’

- b. [n̄-dúwò fùwò] tɛ
[1Sg-Indep Poss] **it.is.not**
'It isn't mine.'

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 With verb ‘(sur)pass’ kiyé/kiyé or stative kiyé-ná

12.1.1.1 ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb with dative ná

The intransitive motion verb ‘X go past, X pass (by), X move on’ is Pfv kiyé or Ipv kiyè. As a motion verb, it can mean ‘X pass (by) Y’, where Y is expressed as the complement of dative postposition ná (§8.1.1.2), as in (662a). This can denote change of position (rank) in a race, or more abstractly a change of rank in a more abstract comparative context not involving literal motion. In the stative form kiyé-ná ‘be more than, outdo’, it denotes static (temporally extended) rank. This stative form follows the subject without intervening gà ‘be’, with or without a reflexive pronominal (662b).

- (662) a. áámàdù kiyé gà [sèèdú ná]
 A pass.Pfv Pfv [S Dat]
 ‘Amadou passed Seydou.’ (e.g. in a race)
 or: ‘Amadou has surpassed (=has become better than) Seydou.’

- b. áámàdù (ń) kiyé-ná [sèèdú ná]
 A (3ReflSg) pass-Stat [S Dat]
 ‘Amadou outdoes Seydou.’
 default interpretation: ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

A domain of comparison, e.g. strength or wealth, may be expressed overtly as a locative PP.

- (663) a. áámàdù kiyé gà [sèèdú ná] sémpéⁿ-yⁿ
 A pass.Pfv Pfv [S Dat] strength-Loc
 ‘Amadou has moved past Seydou in strength.’
 (= ‘Amadou has become stronger than Seydou.’)
- b. áámàdù kiyé-ná [sèèdú ná] [nàfòrò-tùwà-àmá]-yⁿ
 A pass-Stat [S Dat] [wealth--owner-Abstr]-Loc
 ‘Amadou is richer than Seydou.’ (< tùù ‘owner’, §5.1.8)

12.1.1.2 ‘(Sur)pass’ in sequential VP

When the comparison is about an event type that requires expression by its own verb, like ‘eat’ or ‘give’, the ‘pass’ verb is chained to it in the sequential construction with *bé*. The context can be quantitative (‘more than Y’) or qualitative (‘better than Y’). If the context is quantitative, the main clause normally includes an extent quantifier. When the main clause has two or more human arguments, the comparandum phrase (‘than Y’) does not overtly indicate which grammatical role is at hand. This accounts for alternative readings of sentences like (664b) and (664d).

- (664) a. *áámàdù díyέ gà [bé kíyέ [sèèdú nà]]*
 A eat.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
 ‘Amadou ate more than Seydou (ate).’
- b. *áámàdú ñ kó gà [bé kíyέ [sèèdú nà]]*
 A 1Sg furnish.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
 ‘Amadou gave me more than Seydou (gave me).’
 or: ‘Amadou gave me more than (Amadou gave to) Seydou.’ (< *kò*)
- c. *ñ ñá téè mèn-nè [bé kíyá= [áⁿ nà]]*
 1Sg Ipv tea drink.Ipv [Seq pass.Pfv [2Sg Dat]]
 ‘I drink more tea than you-Sg (drink).’
- d. *sèèdú yè í kwà gá [bé kíyá= [áámàdú nà]]*
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
 ‘Seydou hit me more than Amadou (hit me).’
 or: ‘Seydou hit me more than (Seydou hit) Amadou.’ (< *kwá*)
- e. *sèèdú bùrà-àmá gà [bé kíyá= [áámàdú nà]]*
 S stout-Inch.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
 ‘Seydou has gotten fatter than Amadou.’
 or: ‘Seydou has grown more than Amadou (has grown).’
- f. *áⁿ ñá ñùnòmí [bé kíyέ [ñ ná]]*
 2Sg Ipv dance.Ipv [Seq pass.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]
 ‘You-Sg dance better than I (dance).’

The same construction can be applied to adjectival predicates with participialized adjectives and with final ‘it is’ clitic (665a-b).

- (665) a. [áⁿ sùwó-òŋ] kúmá-ná nì
 [2Sg sheep-DefSg] skinny-Ppl it.is
 [bé kiyé [[ì] fèè] nà]]
 [Seq pass.Pfv [[1Sg Poss] Dat]
 ‘Your sheep-Sg is more emaciated than mine (is).’
- b. áámàdú gá pìⁿyè-nà [bé kiyé [sèèdú nà]]
 A be black-Ppl [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
 ‘Amadou is darker than Seydou.’

An alternative construction for such predicates is presented in the following subsection.

12.1.2 Comparatives with dative tè

Some adjectives have a reflexive predicate (§11.4.1.2). In the corresponding comparative construction, the verb ‘(sur-)pass’ is absent. Instead, the regular predicative form of the adjective (reflexive clause or ‘be’ plus predicate adjective) is followed by the comparandum. The latter is expressed with dative tè, not by the other dative nà. (666a) is synonymous with (665b) in the preceding subsection. (666b-c) illustrate with reflexive predicates.

- (666) a. áámàdú gá pìⁿyè-ná [sèèdú tè]
 A be black-Ppl [S Dat]
 ‘Amadou is darker than Seydou.’
- b. (i) yè= é(é) kwàsáⁿ [sèèdú tè]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3RefPl be.long [S Dat]
 ‘They are taller than Seydou.’ (< kwàsáⁿ)
- c. í nà í kèèminé [sèèdú tè]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 1Sg be.old [S Dat]
 ‘I am older than Seydou.’

This construction is also the way to compare quantity (numbers or measures). The reflexive adjective in this case is kóⁿ ‘much’ or ‘many’. Plural suffix -ye (of variable tone) is usually omitted before yè (~ yé) bidirectional case marker (667b), but other irregular plurals are not reduced (667a).

- (667) a. dyé-nà-méé yè= é(é) kwé= [één tè]
 child-Pl-Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **many** [1Pl Dat]
 ‘The young people outnumber us.’ (< kóⁿ)
- b. kóngòró(-yè) yè= é kóⁿ [yòrógò-yé tè]
 dog(-Pl) Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **many** [cat-Pl Dat]
 ‘There are more dogs than (there are) cats.’

12.1.3 ‘Be better’ (pàsòⁿ)

The reflexive stative verb pàsòⁿ means ‘be better’. It takes a dative complement with tè.

- (668) a. áámàdù m pàsóⁿ [sèèdú tè]
 A 3ReflSg **be.better** [S Dat]
 ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’
- b. dúgò-òⁿ m pàsòm [píⁿ-ìn tè]
 rice-DefSg 3ReflSg **be.better** [millet-DefSg Dat]
 ‘Rice is better than millet.’
- c. (i) yè= é(é) pàsòⁿ [íín tè]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **be.better** [1Pl Dat]
 ‘They are better than we (are).’
- d. ā tìⁿ m pàsóⁿ [n té]
 3Sg be.Past 3ReflSg **be.better** [1Sg Dat]
 ‘He/She was better than I (was).’
- e. à tá m pàsóⁿ [n té]
 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg **be.better** [1St Dat]
 ‘He/She is not better than I (am).’

See 2021-03 @ 07:59 for a textual example. In 2021-03 @ 07:57, iterative pàsóm-pàsòⁿ is distributive (pluractional) in sense.

12.1.4 Superlative ‘most’, ‘best’

There is no dedicated superlative construction. Something like a superlative reading can be forced by adding an expression denoting or presupposing a pool of individuals, either as possessor or in an adverbial adjunct. An example is ‘village’ in (669).

- (669) sèèdú gá [sùwò-yà mànáá] ní nògí-ỳ
 S be [sing-Agent good] it.is village-Loc
 ‘Seydou is the good (=best) singer in the village.’

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’ ká(w)ⁿ

ká(w)ⁿ ‘be equal’ occurs in a stative reflexive predicate construction. The subject is plural, either a conjunction of two NPs or an otherwise semantically plural NP or pronoun. The universal quantifier sááⁿ ‘all’ or ‘both’ occurs at the end of the subject in either case (e.g. íⁿ sááⁿ ‘both/all of us’). If the domain of comparison is understood in context, no further adjunct is needed (670a). As in asymmetrical comparatives, it is possible to specify the domain of comparison. In (670b) this is done by making the two comparanda possessors of the abstract nominal denoting the scalar dimension (670b).

- (670) a. [sèèdù sání áámàdù sááⁿ] yè= é(é) ká(w)ⁿ
 [S and A **all**] Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **equal**
 ‘Seedu and Amadou are equal.’
- b. [[áá sááⁿ] tíyé-má] yè= é(é) ká(w)ⁿ
 [[2Pl **all**] heavy-Abstr] Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **be.equal**
 ‘You-Pl have the same weight.’ (lit. “Your-Pl weights are equal”)

ká(w)ⁿ is perhaps obscurely related in some way to the adjective-like numeral kóòⁿ ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1). Since kóòⁿ often translates as ‘same’, it too occurs in symmetrical comparative predicates (‘X and Y are one’ = ‘are the same’ = ‘are equal’).

- (671) [í sání sèèdù sááⁿ] yé [jàtè ñ-kóòⁿ] sàⁿ ñá
 [1Sg and Seydou all] Sbj/Obj [**amount Link-one**] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I and Seydou bought the same (=equal) number/amount.’ (< jàté)

Other phrasings can occur in specific contexts. In (672), tànà ‘side’ occurs in a compound that can be construed as depicting two individuals standing side by side.

- (672) [è sááⁿ] ɲá bùwó-ɲìyén-tàná nì
 [3Pl **all**] be Recip-head-side it.is
 ‘They have the same height.’

12.2.2 Dynamic ‘become equal’ (kàsà-mà)

The verb kàsà-mà/kàsà-mà ‘become equal’ denotes the process of convergence of two or more individuals in some measure (673a). It is nontransparently parsable as a lexicalized inchoative, cf. deadjectival inchoatives with -(a)ma- (§9.4.4). If the two comparanda are separated syntactically, so that the subject NP denotes the individual most responsible for the convergence, the second comparandum can be adjoined as a PP with instrumental ní or dative tè (673b). Causative kàsà-mà-nì/kàsà-mà-nì adds a causal agent who is responsible for equalizing two or more entities (673c).

- (673) a. è kàsà-má gà
 3Pl **become.equal.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘They have become equal.’
- b. ní nà kàsà-má gá [è ní]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **be.equal-Caus.Pfv** Pfv [3Pl **Inst**]
 ‘I have equaled them.’
- c. ní né= è kàsà-mà-níⁿ ɲà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Pl **be.equal-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I equalized them (e.g. treated them equally).’

12.2.3 Adverbial ‘as much (as)’

12.2.3.1 With jàté or hágè ~ hákè ‘amount’

jàté and hágè ~ hákè are abstract terms for ‘amount’. jàté occurs in contexts like money where actual counting or calculation is assumed. hágè ~ hákè is preferred for noncountable masses. However, there is considerable interchange.

One way these nouns occur in symmetrical comparisons is with the adjective-like numeral ‘one’ (674a). Another is to establish one quantity in a relative clause and then refer to that quantity by a discourse-definite demonstrative (674b).

(674) a. [íⁿ sááⁿ] ɲà [[díyé-fá]-hágè ɲ-kóòn] díyà
 [1Pl all] Ipfv [[food]-**quantity** Link-one] eat. Ipfv
 ‘We (=you and I) eat the same amount.’

b. áⁿ ɲà [hágè mèè̀n] díyà
 2Sg Ipfv [**amount** Rel] eat.Ipfv
 [m̀ píyé] gà ɲó-gò díyà
 [1Sg too] Ipfv **Dem.Def**-Foc eat.Ipfv
 ‘The amount that you-Sg eat, that [focus] is what I too eat.’
 (i.e., you and I eat the same amount)

12.2.3.2 nùmé ‘the likes/equal of’

The possessed noun nùmé (e.g. 1Sg ɲ nùmé) is treated syntactically somewhat like ‘the likes of X’ in English. It indicates a similarity between an individual and one or more other individuals (who need not be named).

(675) músà gá [sèè̀dú nùmé wò] ɲì [[ɲìyè̀ɲ-kùwò̀ⁿ]-ɲúwótó-má]-ỳ
 M be [S **likeness** Foc] it.is [[head-bone]-hard-Abstr]-Loc
 ‘Moussa is the likes/equal of Seydou in banditry.’

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

13.1.1 Basic morphosyntax of focalization

NPs including pronouns and most adverbs can be focalized. They remain in their regular position within the clause. The focus markers that are added at the end of focalized nonpronominal constituents are those in (676). The tones are discussed later in this subsection.

(676) a. singular

wò ~ wù after personal names and unsuffixed nouns
 -wàà DefSg -yàwⁿ plus wò ~ wù ; also demonstrative kú wàà

b. plural

dùwò (dialect 1 or 2)
 lùwò (dialect 2, as variant)

Singular wò is illustrated in (677). This form is regular after personal names like Seydou, and it can be used after other singular NPs and adverbs that do not have definite singular -yàwⁿ.

(677) a. [sèédù wò] bé gà
 [S **Foc**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who came.’

b. í ná [sèédù wó] káy gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [S **Foc**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] whom I saw.’

c. í nà wálè-n dó gà [[sèédù wó] nà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money-DefSg give.Pfv Pfv [[S **Foc**] Dat]
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] to whom I gave the money.’

d. ìj ñá bé [sùwó wò] sàⁿ
 1Sg Ipfv Fut [sheep **Foc**] buy.Pfv
 ‘It’s a sheep [focus] (not a goat) that I will buy.’

Plural *dùwò* ~ *lùwò* occurs in (678a). Definite singular *-wàà* occurs in (678b), and the combination *kú wàà* with demonstrative *kú* is in (678c). Since the demonstrative would otherwise be just *kú*, without a DefSg suffix, *kú wàà* suggests that *wàà* is generalizing beyond definite singular *-yàwⁿ*, or else that *kú* formerly did have the DefSg suffix (**kú-yàwⁿ*). However, some speakers use *wò* instead of *wàà* after the demonstrative.

- (678) a. *ń ná [yùwò-méé dùwó] káy gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [woman-Pl **Foc.Pl**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It’s the women [focus] that I saw.’
- b. *ń nà= [áⁿ sùwó-wàá] káy gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem sheep-**DefSg.Foc**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The sheep-Sg [focus] is what I saw.’
- c. *ń nà [kú wàá] káy gà*
 [kú wò]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem **(DefSg.)Foc**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘That [focus] is what I saw.’

All of the focus markers are L-toned, and can induce Final Tone-Raising on otherwise L-toned final syllables/moras of the preceding complement: *sùwó wò* ‘sheep (focus)’ from *sùwò*. However, LHL-toned nouns and NPs do not shift the H-tone to the final by Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2), hence *sèédù* ‘Seydou’ retains its tones when it is focalized: *sèédù wò*, not #*sèédú wò*. Likewise [*màrifà wò*] *nì* ‘it’s a rifle (focus)’. A possible diachronic interpretation of this is that *wò* was once H- or M-toned.

The focalized forms of discourse-definite demonstrative *ńóⁿ* ~ *ńóⁿ* are in (679).

- (679) a. *ńó-ò* common, 2021-01 @ 00:18 & 03:40, etc.; 2021-03 @ 02:11, etc.
ńó-gò rare; (674b) in §12.2.3.1
- b. *wàà* used by some speakers instead of *ńó-ò*

The variant *ńó-gò* (679a) arguably points to **go* (of indeterminate tone) as the original form of focus marker *wò*, but at the moment I have no comparative evidence supporting this. *wàà* looks like focalized definite singular *-wàà* (680a), and may be a further sign that *wàà* is spreading from that function.

ńó-ò is very common in the recordings. The two attestations of *wàà* in the same function, evidently a subdialectal variant, are (680a-b).

- (680) a. áⁿ ñà káyⁿ [wàà ní]
 2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [**Dem.Def.Foc** Inst]
 ‘That [focus] is what you will work with.’ (2021-03 @ 20:51)
- b. [áⁿ fàⁿ] ñá fò-ró wàà ñì
 [2Sg share(n)] Ipfv become-Ipfv **Dem.Def.Foc** it.is
 ‘That [focus] is what yours will become.’ (2021-03 @ 21:47)
- c. áⁿ ñá wàá sà-nà bí-yé
 2Sg Ipfv **Dem.Def.Foc** buy-Ipfv come-Ipfv
 ‘That (wood) [focus] is what you-Sg buy and bring.’ (2021-03 @ 20:03)

13.1.2 Focalization of pronouns

Pronouns take independent form (e.g. 1Sg ñ-dúwò, 3Sg ā-dùwò, 1Pl íín-dùwò, §4.3.1) when focalized, as well as in some other constructions.

When a pronoun is focalized within a clause, the independent pronoun is sufficient to mark focus. Singular pronouns optionally add focus marker wò or variant (681a), but speakers reject adding plural focus marker dùwò ~ lùwò to a plural pronoun which already ends in the homophonous independent marker (681b).

- (681) a. sèédú yé [ñ-dúwò (wò)] káy gà
 S Sbj/Obj [1Sg-**Indep** (**Foc**)] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It was me [focus] that Seydou saw.’
- b. sèédú yè= [één-dùwó (#dùwó)] káy gà
 S Sbj/Obj [1Pl-**Indep** (**#Foc.Pl**)] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It was us [focus] that Seydou saw.’

13.1.3 Interaction of focalization and negation

Negative clauses do not readily lend themselves to constituent focalization. In (682), ‘it wasn’t Seydou [focus] that I saw’ is rephrased with a relative clause as subject of a negative identificational.

- (682) [ń ná mèèŋ káy gà] sèédù té?
 [1Sg Pfv.1Sg **Rel** see.Pfv Pfv] S **it.is.not**
 ‘The one who(m) I saw was not Seydou.’

Focalization is routine in positive identificational and copular clauses, even without special contrastive focus (683a). Focalization is avoided in their negations (683b).

- (683) a. kú gá [sèédù wò] nì
 Dem be [S Foc] it.is
 ‘That is Seydou [focus].’
- b. kú tá sèédù (#wò) nì
 Dem not.be S (#Foc) it.is
 ‘That is not Seydou.’

However, a constituent may be focalized under negation in some circumstances. For example, (684a) can answer the question ‘Who did not go?’ in a context where most others did go, and (684b) can answer ‘What did he/she not eat?’ in a context where the individual did eat other foods. The focalized constituent is the subject in (684a), but the object in (684b), so there is no subject/nonsubject asymmetry.

- (684) a. [sèédù wò] té sò
 [S **Foc**] **PfvNeg** go.Pfv
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who did not go.’
- b. à té [sàpílà wò] díyá
 3Sg **PfvNeg** [cowpea **Foc**] eat.Pfv
 ‘It was cowpeas [focus] that he/she did not eat.’

Independent pronouns but not focalized NPs can occur in examples like (685a-b), where negation scopes over the first clause. In (685a) the object ‘me’ takes independent form, though without the addition of focus marking. In (685b) ‘Seydou’ is in the same position, but it has no overt focus marking.

- (685) a. án tè ñ-dúwò kwá,
 2Sg PfvNeg **1Sg-Indep** hit.Pfv,
 áⁿ jé [sèédù wò] kwá gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj [S Foc] hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It wasn’t me [light focus] that you-Sg hit, it was Seydou [focus] that you hit.’

- b. án té sèédù kwá,
 2Sg PfvNeg S hit.Pfv,
 áⁿ né [̀n-dúwò wò] kwá gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg-Indep Foc] hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘You didn’t hit Seydou, it was me [focus] that you hit.’

13.1.4 Subject focalization

Further examples of pronominal subject focalization are in (686). Addition of a focus marker is allowed after singular pronouns, cf, (681) above. It is disallowed after plural pronouns since the focus marker is identical to the independent pronoun ending (686).

- (686) a. [íín-dùwó (#dùwó)] gà bé táwⁿ
 [1Pl-Indep (#FocPl)] Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv
 ‘It’s we [focus] who will go up.’
- b. [̀n-dúwò (wó)] gà bé táwⁿ
 [1Sg-Indep (Foc)] Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv
 ‘It’s I [focus] who will go up.’
- c. [ā-lùwó (wó)] gà bé táwⁿ
 [3Sg-Indep (Foc)] Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv
 ‘It’s he/she/it [focus] who/that will go up.’

Examples (687a-b) exemplify nonpronominal NPs as focalized subjects. A focus marker is necessary to mark focalization. -wàà can function as the fusion of definite singular -yàwⁿ and singular focus marker wò after common nouns (687b). Since personal names do not allow the definite suffix, wò rather than -wàà is their focus marker (687c).

- (687) a. [sòmpóⁿ wò] bé gà [pííⁿ-ìⁿ ní]
 [donkey Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [millet-DefSg Inst]
 ‘It was a donkey [focus] that brought the millet.’
- b. [kú-nù sómpóⁿ-wàà] bé gà [pííⁿ-ìⁿ ní]
 [Dem-Link donkey-DefSg.Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [millet-DefSg Inst]
 ‘It was this donkey [focus] that brought the millet.’

- c. [sèédù wò / (#wàà)] bé gà = [à ní]
 [S **Foc** / (#DefSg.Foc)] come.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Inst]
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who brought it.’

13.1.5 Object focalization

Further examples of object focalization are in (688).

- (688) a. sèèdú yà = [án-dùwò Ø] kwá gà
 [án-dùwó wò]
 S Sbj/Obj [2Sg-**Indep** **Foc**] hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It’s you-Sg [focus] that Seydou hit.’
- b. ní nà [kómpóⁿ wó] káy gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [lion **Foc**] see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘It’s a lion [focus] that I saw.’

13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverbial phrase

13.1.6.1 Focalization of purposive-causal expression

In purposive PPs like *kú dáà* ‘for that’ and *ńón dáà* ‘for that (discourse-definite)’, the complement of the postposition is very often focalized when the clause is positive. The purposive PP may be preclausal (689a-b) or postverbal (not shown). Under negation, there is normally no overt focalization, and the PP must be postverbal to avoid an incorrect reading (689c).

- (689) a. [[kú wàà] dáà] ní nà bé gà
 [[Dem **Foc**] **Purp**] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘That (just mentioned, or deictic) [focus] is why I came.’
- b. [ńó-ò dáà] ní nà bé gà
 [Dem.Def-**Foc** **Purp**] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘That (discourse-definite) [focus] is why I came.’
- c. ñ té bé [kú / ńón dáà]
 1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [Dem/Dem.Def **Purp**]
 ‘That’s not why I came.’ = ‘I didn’t come for that (reason).’

13.1.6.2 Focalization of temporal adverb or PP

A simple temporal adverb can be focalized. It may be preclausal (690a) or postverbal (690b), reflecting the positional freedom of (unfocalized) temporal adverbs.

- (690) a. [nàànú wù] íⁿ ɲà bé sò
 [tomorrow **Foc**] 1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘It’s tomorrow [focus] that we will go.’
- b. íⁿ ɲà bé sò [nàànú wù]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [tomorrow **Foc**]
 [= (a)]

Some relevant combinations are in (691). Most of them (691c) are morphologically straightforward combinations with wù (variant of wò). However, in (691a) there are pronunciations with an i-vowel before wù, a possible analog of yì focalizing spatial adverbs (§13.1.6.4 below). In (691b), wà is a focus marker allomorph and -y is the locative postposition (also present in disguise in pánááⁿ-ɲ-è).

- | (691) | adverb | focalized | gloss |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | wày
nàànù | wày wù ~ wàyí wù
nààní wù ~ nàànú = ù | ‘today’
‘tomorrow’ |
| b. | pánáá ⁿ (-ɲ-è) | pánáá ⁿ wà-y | ‘in the old days’ |
| c. | dìgé ⁿ
sááwù
sògò
yùrùgù
kùnààsiyè | dìgé ⁿ wù
sááwù = ù
sògò wù
yùrùgù wù
kùnààsiyé wù | ‘yesterday’
‘now’
‘last year’
‘this year’
‘next year’ |

In (692), a temporal relative clause occurs first, headed by a temporal noun ‘day’. The head may occur clause-finally (as shown) or it may be clause-initial. The completed temporal adverbial clause ‘the day when I came’ is then resumed and focalized as ‘that (very) day’ at the beginning of the main clause. The effect is that of a correlative construction (§14.1.2).

(692) ń nà bé gà [tárááⁿ mǎ]-ńè,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv [day Rel]-Loc,
 [ńó-ń tárááⁿ-wà(à)]-ỳ à kàlé gà
 [Dem.Def-Link day-**DefSg.Foc**]-Loc 3Sg die.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The day when I came, (at/on/in) that (very) day [focus] he/she died.’

For a similar correlative construction, see (679) in §13.1.6.4 below.

13.1.6.3 Focalization of manner adverbial

The demonstrative adverb kiyéwⁿ ~ kiyéⁿwù ‘thus, like this’ (§4.4.3.2) can be focalized with wò ~ wù (693).

(693) ííⁿ ńà bé= ééⁿ f̀wó [kìⁿyáwⁿ wò]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut 1Pl sit-Pfv [**like.this** Foc]
 ‘(Like) this [focus] is how we will sit.’

‘Like X’ is expressed with sìná ~ sìní ‘like’ preceding the complement X (§8.4.1), as in (694a). The complement may be focalized. The fact that the focus marker agrees in number (694b-c) shows that the focus marker is bracketed with the complement, not with the ‘like X’ phrase as a whole.

(694) a. ííⁿ ńà bé káyⁿ [sìná sèédù]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [**like** S]
 ‘We will work like Seydou.’

 b. ííⁿ ńà bé káyⁿ [sìná [sèédù wò]]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [**like** [S **Foc**]]
 ‘It’s like Seydou [focus] that we will work.’

 c. ííⁿ ńà bé káyⁿ [sìná [yìyèm-bé d̀wò]]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [**like** [woman-Pl **Foc.Pl**]]
 ‘It’s like women [focus] that we will work.’

13.1.6.4 Spatial adverbs focalized with locative -yì

Spatial adverbs bôⁿ ‘here’ and yáwⁿ (dialect 1) or yôⁿ (dialect 2) ‘there (definite)’ can be overtly focalized with the regular focus marker wò. However, a dialect 1 speaker did not allow wò in this combination, instead adding locative suffix variant -yì to focalize these adverbs. This combination

is only used in focalizing contexts (dialect 2), and is ungrammatical in dialect 2 in any context.. Compare the neutral clause (695a) with the focalized adverbs in (695b) for dialect 2 and in (695c) for dialect 1.

- (695) a. ííⁿ ñà bé kónó bôⁿ / yáwⁿ
 1Pl Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv here / there.Def
 ‘We will stay here/there.’
- b. ííⁿ ñà bé kónó bóⁿ-yì / yóⁿ-yì
 1Pl Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv here-**Loc** / there.Def-**Loc**
 ‘It’s here/there [focus] that we will stay.’ (dialect 2)
- c. ííⁿ ñà bé kónó [bôⁿ / yáwⁿ wò]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv [here / there.Def **Foc**]
 ‘It’s here/there [focus] that we will stay.’ (dialect 1)

By adding the locative suffix (really an encliticized postposition), these locative adverbs are in effect nominalized to mean ‘this place’ and ‘that place’. They can then be pluralized with -yè, to which plural focus marker dùwò ~ lùwò is added before the final -yì (696). Elsewhere ‘here’ and ‘there’ as simple adverbs cannot be pluralized.

- (696) ííⁿ ñà bé kónó [bôⁿ-yé / yóⁿ-yé lùwó] -yì
 1Pl Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv [here-**Pl** / there.Def-**Pl** **Foc.Pl**] -**Loc**
 ‘It’s in these/those parts [focus] that we will stay.’

It is possible that resorting to -yì instead of wò originated subdialectally as a device to insure that the focalizing morpheme is clearly audible. In bôⁿ wò ‘here [focus]’ and yáwⁿ wò ‘there.Def [focus]’, with the two most common spatial adverbs, the focus morpheme tends to be “swallowed” by the preceding back rounded segments, and its L-tone is just the continuation of the final L-tone on the adverbs. This is especially so since such adverbs usually occur clause-finally.

A correlative construction similar to that in (692) in §13.1.6.2 above (‘day when I came’) is (697).

- (697) [ń ná tìṅá-yè yàá gà [gíyéⁿ màn]-è,
 [1Sg Pfv.1Sg stool-Pl put.Pfv Pfv [place Rel]-Loc]
 ííⁿ ñà bé [ííⁿ fwò] yóⁿ-yì
 1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl sit.Pfv **there**.Def-**Loc**]
 ‘(At) the place where I left the stools, (right) there [focus] is where we will sit.’

13.1.7 Clause-final focus marking

In the recordings, the focus marker wò ~ wù is sometimes found clause-finally (or followed only by a clause-final emphatic particle), in contexts where it is not bracketed with an NP or adverbial constituent. This is to be expected in subordinated clauses that function as arguments in a higher clause (698b-c), but in (698a) it seems to be emphatic in a main clause.

(698) a. è tá kúmè sááwù, è túⁿ ñà wò péw
 3Pl IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv now, 3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv **Foc** completely
 ‘They (=fish spp.) aren’t caught now, they have completely disappeared.’
 (2021-03 @ 03:34)

b. dúgó-yàw, [né jí nà dó wù],
 rice-DefSg, [if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv **Foc**],
 áá gá= à sùwó rà
 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv Q
 ‘The rice, is it when the water (=flooding) comes in [focus] (that) you-Pl cultivate it?’
 (2021-03 @ 05:46)

c. áywà [[dúgó ñùnù] tá síní [sóó tìmààná] kóy]
 well [[rice Top] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [grass prevent.Ipfv] Emph]
 né→ pósónì síná= [à té kàré wò] té
 if poison otherwise [3Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv **Foc**] not.be
 ‘Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or it dies [focus].’

13.2 Interrogatives

The following subsections describe questions that take the form of main clauses. For quoted questions see §17.1.6. For propositional complements of ‘know’ and ‘not know’, see §17.3.1.1.

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

13.2.1.1 Clause-final polar interrogative rà ~ là ~ nà ~ =à

The productive polar (yes-no) interrogative marker outside of formulaic greetings is clause-final rà ~ là (subdialectal choice), nasalizing to nà after a nasalized segment. It can also contract as =à with a preceding vowel (699e).

- (699) a. án díyé gà rà
 2Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv Q
 ‘Have you-Sg eaten?’
- b. áⁿ ñá sèèdú tùwó rà
 2Sg Ipfv S know.Ipfv Q
 ‘Do you-Sg know Seydou?’
- c. ā gà bé séⁿ nà
 3Sg Ipfv Fut fall.Pfv Q
 ‘Will he/she fall?’
- d. áⁿ ñá só sùbá-ỳⁿ nà
 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc Q
 ‘Are you-Sg going to the market?’
- e. áⁿ ñá= à fàámù ñà= à
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q
 ‘Did you-Sg understand it?’
- f. [áj kà] bé gà là
 [2Sg father] come.Pfv Pfv Q
 ‘Did your-Sg father come?’

This particle can be added to a single constituent, such as an NP (including independent pronouns) or PP, functioning as a truncated question with the rest of the clause understood from context.

- (700) a. ñ-dúwò là
 1Sg Q
 ‘Me?’
- b. ñàànú là
 tomorrow Q
 ‘Tomorrow?’ (< ñàànú)
- c. sèèdú là
 S Q
 ‘Seydou?’ (< sèèdù)

- d. [ɲàmáà-áⁿ nwìⁿ] nà
 [house-DefSg inside] Q
 ‘In the house?’

13.2.1.2 Clause-initial kòní ~ kwàní in formulaic greeting questions

In greeting formulae, a question may begin with kòní ~ kwàní (701a). The final ‘there’ can be replaced by other locative expressions such as áá pà ‘among you-Pl’. The response omits the interrogative particle (701b).

- (701) a. kwàní [báásì (síí)] tà yôⁿ
 Q [trouble (any)] not.be.Loc there.Def
 ‘Is there no trouble there?’

- b. [báásì (síí)] tà yôⁿ
 [trouble (any)] not.be.Loc there.Def
 ‘There’s no trouble there.’

13.2.1.3 Polar interrogation by terminal pitch change

Polar interrogation without the final particle (preceding subjection) is not widely used in J-S of Djenné. In the recordings, speakers regularly end polar interrogatives with the particle. Simple intonation to form a polar question is denied by speakers in elicitation, except in incredulous echos like (702). The final syllable has higher than modal pitch.

- (702) sèédù
 S
 ‘Seydou?’ (incredulous)

13.2.1.4 Pre-interrogative yàrà (~ sàrà) ‘(wondering) whether’

yàrà is a pre-clausal particle that occurs in a number of constructions that involve different kinds of irrealis mood. It can occur in purposive and ‘lest’ clauses describing desired and unwanted consequences of an action (§17.4.4).

It can serve as a formal preface to a question, as in some of the recorded texts that have interview-like dialog. It might be loosely translated as ‘I wonder whether ...’, though it has no subject-predicate structure of its own. Often the question is complex.

(703) yàrà [mùwó *difference* sí] gà
whether [which? *difference* any] be.Loc
 [[[kíím bóróⁿ] yèⁿ [kíⁿ-níyéⁿ míyè-gù] nàáⁿ] wò]
 [[[skiff big] and [skiff-Dimin small-Adj] between] Foc]
 ‘What difference is there between a big skiff and a little skiff?’
 (2021-03 @ 20:17)

See also 2021-03 @ 12:06, 18:19, 18:28, 21:29, and 21:54.

yàrà ‘whether’ resembles yálà ‘hopefully’ at the beginning of wish expressions (§10.4.3.1), but the relationship between the two particles is unclear.

Along with several occurrences of yàrà, there is one with a variant sàrà (704). The y/s alternation is unexplained and may reflect distinct etymons.

(704) sàrà [yúwó bóróⁿ-yé lùwò] ní nà,
whether [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is Q,
ou bien [yúwó-líyáⁿ míyà-gù-yé lùwò] nì
 or [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is
 ‘Were they big fish-Pl [focus], or were they little minnows [focus]?’
 (2021-03 @ 03:30)

13.2.1.5 ímàà ‘whether’ medially in interrogative passages

Another form glossed ‘whether’ (for lack of a better translation) is ímàà. There is a subdialectal variant húmàà which may be archaic, cf. hú ~ sú ‘thing’ in relative clause heads hú/sú màⁿ ‘something that ...’ (§14.2.3).

ímàà tends to occur at the beginning of noninitial clauses in extended interrogative or otherwise dubitative passages. It can sometimes be translated ‘in other words’ or ‘that is to say’, preceded a clarification of an already pronounced question or musing. The clarification clause is not itself interrogative in form.

(705) áá gá [mùwó sùwò-bààná síí-yè lùwò] tíí-nì,
 2Pl Ipfv [which? cultivate.VblN-manner any-Pl Foc.Pl] do-Ipfv,
 ímàà áá gà nápáá kilá á-yè
whether 2Pl Ipfv crops get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘What forms of farming do you-Pl do? That is, whether you-Pl get crops therein to sustain yourselves.’ (2021-03 @ 05:08 to 05:13)

Additional examples are 2021-01 @ 01:59, 07:40, and 14:48, and 2021-03 @ 04:28, 07:45, 09:33, 11:01, 17:50, 18:48, and 20:00.

For *ímàà* in other dubitative contexts, see §17.3.1.1 and §17.3.4.

13.2.1.6 Juxtaposed disjunctive polar interrogatives

Questions that have yes/no answers are, logically speaking, abbreviations of disjunctions: ‘Did you eat the meat, or did you not eat the meat?’

Such double questions occur repeatedly in the recordings, and can take any of four forms. The first possibility is to juxtapose the two clauses without a prosodic break, as in (706). The clause-final polar interrogative *rà* (or variant) occurs at the end of the first part but is not repeated, nor is there an ‘or’ particle. Usually the first clause is positive in form and the second clause is negative.

- (706) [è gá ɲò̀nò̀mí nè =]
 [3Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv **Q**]
 è tá ɲò̀nò̀mí
 3Pl IpfvNeg dance.Ipfv
 ‘Do they dance? Or do they not dance?’ (2021-01 @ 13:11)

There is no terminal pitch rise. The second clause ends with relatively low pitch, as in typical indicative statements.

The other three possibilities require an overt ‘or’ at the beginning of the second part (usually the negative clause). The choices for ‘or’ are *wàrà̀mà*, *ńtà̀à*, and French *ou bien*. Leaving the French form aside, the subsections below illustrate *wàrà̀mà* and *ńtà̀à*.

13.2.1.7 Disjunctive polar interrogatives with *wàrà̀mà* ‘or’

This differs from simple juxtaposition of the two interrogative clauses (see above) by adding an overt ‘or’ particle *wàrà̀mà*, which can also occur in non-interrogative disjunctions (§7.2.1). In addition, a clear prosodic break optionally separates the two parts.

- (707) [áⁿ ɲá sò [súbé-èⁿ ńíⁿ] nà] (,)
 [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [market-DefSg inside] **Q**] (,)
 [wàrà̀mà án tá sò]
 [or 2Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv]
 ‘Are you-Sg going to the market, or aren’t you going?’

13.2.1.8 Disjunctive polar interrogatives (ńtàà)

A more colloquial alternative to wáràmà ‘or’ in disjunctive questions is ńtàà (708). The two are interchangeable in such interrogatives, with wáràmà being more formal stylistically. ńtàà is exemplified in (708).

- (708) [áá gà [yúwó bóróⁿ-yé lùwò] kú-nú nà]
 [2Pl Ipfv [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv Q]
 ńtàà áá gà [yúwó-líyéⁿ míyè-gù-yé lùwò] kú-nú
or 2Pl Ipfv [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv
 ‘Is it big fish [focus] that you-Pl catch? Or is it little fish [focus] that you-Pl catch?’
 (2021-03 @ 00:08-00:10)

See also 2021-03 @ 06:26, 08:14, 10:24, 15:29, and 21:54.

Unlike wáràmà, ńtàà only occurs in interrogative contexts. This along with its unusual nasal-stop onset suggest the possibility that ńtàà is etymologically composite. However, a diachronic connection with interrogative topic làà (~ dàà), on which see §13.2.2.1 below, is dubious for phonological reasons.

13.2.1.9 Tag question (ńnè)

The equivalent (roughly) of an English tag question is expressed by preposing ńnè to the relevant indicative clause. In form it looks like 1Sg subject ń plus a morpheme nè, but the latter is unrecognisable.

The speaker suspects that the proposition is true but requests confirmation. For example, (709a) or (709) might be used when the speaker has observed the interlocutor walking in the general direction of a weekly market while carrying products of the sort typically sold there.

- (709) ńnà = áⁿ ńá sò súbáⁿ-ỳⁿ
 Q 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc
 ‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’

13.2.2 Content (WH) interrogatives

Content interrogatives normally remain *in situ*, i.e. they are usually not fronted to clause-initial position.

13.2.2.1 Interrogative topic làà ‘what about _?’

The particle whose basic form is làà is associated mainly with interrogative and similar dubitative contexts. Other variants are ràà, nasalized nàà, and dàà after a nasal (án dàà ‘what about you-Sg’). It is glossed QTop. It is somewhat like ‘what about X?’ preceding a question, but it does not require a preceding statement about a different referent. It can be preclausal with a prosodic break, or integrated into the clause, especially as subject NP.

- (710) a. [sèédù làà], ā gà bé sáá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 [S QTop] 3Sg Ipfv Fut lie.down.Ipfv where?
 ‘(What about) Seydou, where will he spend the night?’
- b. ò-dúwò làà
 1Sg-Indep QTop
 ‘And (what about) me?’

For detailed analysis and textual examples, see §19.1.2.

13.2.2.2 ‘Who?’ (wùlàà ~ wùràà)

The human WH interrogative noun is wùlàà, sometimes heard as wùràà. It occurs in the normal range of syntactic environments for NPs. It raises to wùláá before L-tone by regular tone sandhi. The làà ~ ràà syllable likely originated as the interrogative topic marker (see just above). Plural variant wù-yé-làà discussed below, used by some speakers, supports a bimorphemic origin. However, for the most part wùlàà is no longer segmentable.

- (711) a. wùláá gá sò / ...
 gà ... / bí-yé
who? Ipfv go.Ipfv/come.Ipfv
 ‘Who goes/comes?’
- b. wùlàà bé gà
who? come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Who came?’
- c. wùlàà Ø kóngòró-òṅ kwá gà
 wùláá yè
who? (Sbj/Obj) dog-DefSg hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Who hit the dog?’ (variants with and without the bidirectional case marker)

- d. áŋ wùlàà kwá gà
 2Sg **who?** hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Who(m) did you-Sg hit?’
- e. ííⁿ ñà bé sáá [wùlàà káwⁿ]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut lie.down.Pfv [**who?** chez]
 ‘At whose place will we spend the night?’
- f. kú gá [wùláá ñàmáà] ñì
 Dem be [**who?** house] it.is
 ‘This is whose house?’
- g. wùláá tùⁿ ñì
who? be.Past it.is
 ‘Who was it?’
- h. wùláá ñì
 who? it.is
 ‘Who is it?’

There is a plural with subdialectal variants wù-yé-làà or wùláá-yè that can be used when the questioner assumes the answer will be a plural noun (712a). Of these, wùláá-yè is the regular plural of wùlàà, while wù-yé-làà implies that wùlàà is itself still segmentable dialectally as wù-làà with wù- the noun-like root. An alternative phrasing is ‘who and who?’ (712b).

- (712) a. wùláá-yè bé gà [dialect 1]
 wù-yé-làà [dialect 2]
 who?.Pl come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Who all came?’
- b. [wùlàà sínì wùlàà] bé gà
 [who? and **who?**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Who and who came?’

13.2.2.3 ‘What?’ (mùwó ~ mùwóy), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

The simple nonhuman content interrogative ‘what?’ is mùwó or mùwóy. The latter is typical of dialect 2.

- (713) a. kú gá mùwóyè nì
 Dem be **what?** it.is
 ‘What is that?’
- b. mùwó bé gà = [áⁿ ní] bôⁿ
what? come.Pfv Pfv [2Sg Inst] here
 ‘What has brought you here?’ (2017-04 @ 02:36)
- c. sèédù yé mùwó (~ mùwóy) káy gà
 S Sbj/Obj **what?** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘What did Seydou see?’
- d. áⁿ ñá mùwóyè tíí-nì
 2Sg Ipfv **what?** do-Ipfv
 ‘What are you-Sg doing?’

For mùwó see also 2021-03 @ 13:52. For mùwóyè see 2021-03 @ 04:33.

A more complex ‘what?’ expression is mùwó fá síí, cf. fá ‘thing’ and síí ‘kind’. Here mùwó functions as a compound initial or possessor meaning ‘which?’.

- (714) [mùwó fá síí] ñ tííⁿ ñà
 [**what?** **thing** **any**] 3ReflSg do.Pfv Pfv
 ‘What (has) happened?’ (lit. “What has done itself?”)

For mùwó fá síí see also 2021-03 @ 16:05 and 20:40.

The combination with instrumental postposition ní (§8.1.2.1) is mùwóyè ní ‘with what?’ (715a). Purposive ‘why?’ with purposive postposition (§8.3.1) is mùwó(y) dáà, which can either be preclausal (715b) or postverbal (715c).

- (715) a. áⁿ ñá sùwó [mùwó(y) ní]
 2Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [**what?** **Inst**]
 ‘With what do you-Sg cultivate (=do farming)?’
- b. [mùwóyè dáà] áádàmà bé gà
 [**what?** **Purp**] A come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Why did Adama come?’

- c. ám bé gá [mùwóỹ dáà]
 2Sg come.Pfv Pfv [what? Purp]
 ‘Why did you-Sg come?’

mùwó can also function as a compound initial or possessor meaning ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.9).

13.2.2.4 ‘Where?’ (mìⁿ, mìn-tíyà(w)ⁿ)

The simple interrogative ‘where?’ is mìⁿ. Some VP combinations, with subjects omitted, are in (716).

- (716) a. sò míⁿ ‘go where?’ < sò
 b. gá mìⁿ ‘be where?’ < gá
 sùwó mìⁿ ‘cultivate where?’ < sùwò

In (716a), we might expect #só mìⁿ by Final Tone-Raising, which applies to sò in combinations like só nègú-ỳ ‘go to the village’. Instead, sò míⁿ displaces the H-tone rightward by Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3), as it does in perfective positive sò gá (not #só gá). In other combinations, mìⁿ behaves as lexically L-toned, and induces Final Tone-Raising on preceding L-toned words.

There is an extended form mìn-tíyà(w)ⁿ ‘where?’. Its final syllable may be related to yáwⁿ ‘there.Def’ or to the definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ.

Examples are in (717).

- (717) a. áⁿ ɲá sò míⁿ
 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?
 ‘Where are you-Sg going?’
 b. mìn-tíyà(w)ⁿ
 where?
 ‘Where (is it)?’
 c. áⁿ ɲá mìⁿ
 2Sg be.Loc where?
 ‘Where are you-Sg?’
 d. án tùⁿ ɲá mìn ðìgéⁿ
 2Sg be.Past be.Loc where? yesterday
 ‘Where were you-Sg yesterday?’

For mìn-tíyàwⁿ see also 2021-03 @ 13:11 and 13:14.

13.2.2.5 ‘When?’ (‘which time’, etc.)

Interrogatives for time are often specified for scale, e.g. ‘which day?’ or ‘which year?’. For shorter time frames (e.g. likely during the same day), the noun wáátì ‘(moment in) time’ is used as default (718a). In (718a-b), mùwó ‘what?’ is preposed as possessor or compound initial to a temporal noun in the sense ‘which time/day?’, cf. §13.2.2.9 below.

- (718) a. áⁿ ñà bí-yé [mùwó wáátì]
 2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [**which?** **time**]
 ‘When (at what time) will you-Sg come (back)?’
- b. áⁿ ñà bí-yé [mùwó tárááⁿ]
 2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [**which?** **day**]
 ‘When (on what day) will you-Sg come (back)?’

Instead of preposed mùwó ‘what/which?’, interrogative wèrèⁿ ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.8) can be postposed to the ‘time’ noun: wáátì wéréⁿ ‘which time?’, tárááⁿ wéréⁿ ‘(on) which day?’.

13.2.2.6 ‘How?’ (mèé-mèéⁿ and variants)

The simple manner interrogative is mèé-mèéⁿ ‘how?’. This sense can also be expressed analytically as báàⁿà ‘manner’ plus wéréⁿ ‘which?’

‘Do what?’ is expressed as ‘put it how?’ (719). This ‘put’ verb has a wide range of uses including ‘transform, convert’.

- (719) a. íⁿ ñà bá= à yàá mèé-mèéⁿ
 1Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg put.Pfv **how?**
 ‘What will we do?’
- b. íⁿ ñà bá= à yàá [báàⁿ wéréⁿ]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg put.Pfv [**manner** **which?**]
 [=(a)]

Examples with verbs other than abstract ‘put’ are in (720).

- (720) a. áⁿ ñà káyⁿ mèé-mèéⁿ
 2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv **how?**
 ‘How do you-Sg work?’
- b. ám bé gà mèé-mèéⁿ
 2Sg come.Pfv Pfv **how?**
 ‘How did you-Sg come?’

mèé-mèéⁿ is a predicate nominal or an adverb, with or without copula, in (721a-e). The subject may be abstract (721a-b) or referentially specific (721c-d). The past-time version with tìⁿ ~ tùⁿ ‘was/were’ (§10.3.2) is (721e).

- (721) a. à gá mèé-mèéⁿ
 3Sg be **how?**
 ‘How is it (=the situation)?’
- b. mèé-mèé ñì
how? it.is
 [(a)]
- c. è gá mèé-mèéⁿ
 3Pl be **how?**
 ‘How are they?’
- d. díyè-fé-èⁿ ñá mèé-mèéⁿ
 eat.Antip-thing-DefSg be **how?**
 ‘How is the food?’
- e. ā tìⁿ ñá mèé-mèéⁿ
 3Sg be.Past be **how?**
 ‘How was it?’

13.2.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (jèni⁽ⁿ⁾)

The interrogative for quantities is jèni⁽ⁿ⁾. The quantity may be a measure or a number. jèni⁽ⁿ⁾ may follow a noun or (less often) occur by itself. Bare jèni is common in the context of currency (i.e. prices). Only regular tone sandhi applies in combinations with preceding nouns (722e). The combinations fá jèni⁽ⁿ⁾ (with fá ‘thing’) for nonhumans and jímú jèni⁽ⁿ⁾ (with jímú ‘person’) for

humans are more common than bare *jèni*ⁿ in non-currency contexts, and they may be appositional to a preceding noun (722g). The iterative is distributive *jèni-jèni* ‘how much/many each?’ (722f).

- (722) a. *jèní* *nì*
how.much? it.is
 ‘How much is it?’
- b. [*númú* *jèni*] *bé* *gà*
 [person **how.many?**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘How many people came?’
- c. [*fá* *jèní*] *nì*
 [thing **how.much?**] it.is
 ‘How many are they?’ (e.g. counting sheep)
- d. [*áá* *númú* *jèní*] *ɲà* *bí-yé*
 [2Pl person **how.many?**] Ipfv come-IPfv
 ‘How many of you-Pl are coming?’
- e. *áⁿ* [*sùwó* *jèní*] *sàⁿ* *ɲá*
 2Sg [sheep **how.much?**] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’
- f. *sáárò-yé* *gá* *jèní-jèní* *nì*
 broom-Pl be **Rdp-how.much?** it.is
 ‘How much (each) are the brooms?’ (distributive iteration, §4.6.1.7)
- g. *kùwò* *fá* *jèni*
 salt thing **how.much?**
 ‘how much salt?’

See also 2021-01 @ 12:49 and 2021-03 @ 21:07 and 21:12.

Ordinal adjective ‘how-manieth?’ (Fr *quantième*) is *jèná-àná*. This is the regular ordinal formation with suffix *-àná* (§4.6.2.2).

13.2.2.8 ‘Which X?’ (X wéréⁿ)

wéréⁿ ‘which?’ occurs at the end of NPs, following N, N-Adj, and N-(Adj-)Num strings. wéréⁿ can bear the NP-level plural suffix -yè (723c). wéréⁿ behaves tonally like a quantificational modifier, i.e. it does not trigger Tone Leveling.

- (723) a. nàà wéréⁿ ‘which cow?’
 súwó wéréⁿ ‘which goat?’
 màrífà wéréⁿ ‘which rifle?’
 sáárò wéréⁿ ‘which broom?’
- b. nàà míyè-gù wéréⁿ ‘which small cow?’
- c. nàà wéréⁿ-yè ‘which cows?’
- d. nàà-líyéⁿ sìgèⁿ wéréⁿ ‘which three cows?’
 ~ nàá sìgèⁿ wéréⁿ

Some clauses with ‘which?’ are in (724).

- (724) a. áⁿ ñà bá-rá [nògù wéréⁿ-yⁿ]
 2Sg Ipfv exit-Ipfv [village which?-Loc]
 ‘What (=which) village are you-Sg from?’
- b. áⁿ ñé [nàà wéréⁿ] tóró gà
 2Sg Sbj/Obj [cow **which?**] sell.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Which cow did you-Sg sell?’
- c. áⁿ ñà bé [ñ náà wéréⁿ] sà(w)ⁿ
 2Sg Ipfv Fut [1Sg cow which?] buy.Pfv
 ‘Which cow of mine will you-Sg buy?’
- d. [yùwòⁿ wéréⁿ] yà= áñ kéeⁿ ñà
 [woman **which?**] Sbj/Obj 2Sg call.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Which woman called you-Sg?’
- e. áⁿ [yùwòⁿ wéréⁿ] kéeⁿ ñà
 2Sg [woman **which?**] call.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Which woman did you-Sg call?’

This construction is common in the Tomina recording (2021-01), examples including @ 01:55, 02:01, 04:26, and 06:43. It is also attested in the Baratou recording (2021-03 @ 07:34).

13.2.2.9 ‘Which X?’ (mùwó X)

mùwó ‘what?’ (but not mùwóy) can be preposed to a noun as an alternative to postposing wéréⁿ ‘which?’. wéréⁿ is used in contexts like ‘which one of these do you want’ where the response is a choice between specified candidates. Preposed mùwó can be used in phrases like ‘what kinds’ or ‘what manners/ways’ where the answer might be a list or a collective (725). However, mùwó is also common in ‘when?’ interrogatives (§13.2.2.5 above).

(725) áá gá [mùwó sùwò-bààná síi-yè lùwò] tíi-nì
 2Pl Ipv [**which?** cultivate.VblN-manner any-Pl Foc.Pl] do-Ipv
 ‘What forms of farming do you-Pl do?’ (2021-03 @ 05:08)

This construction is favored by the dialect 2 speaker from Baratou (text 2021-03), other examples are at @ 00:04, 00:08. 00:40, 00:46, and 00:49.

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

14.1.1 Relative markers (mèêⁿ ~ màⁿ) and its plurals)

Relatives are internally headed; the relativized NP (or noun-like adverb) remains in its regular position within the clause. The relativized constituent ends with a relative morpheme from the list in (726).

(726) a. singular	mèê ⁿ	(usual form)
	mà ⁿ	(in some combinations)
	mà-yáw ⁿ	(archaic or in careful speech)
b. plural	mà-yé ~ mǎ-yè	
	mà-réé ~ mà-léé	
	mà-réé-yè	
	mà-ré-méé ~ mà-lé-méé	

The most common singular form is mèêⁿ. It is evidently contracted from *mǎ-yàwⁿ, including DefSg -yàwⁿ, with the long *εε* vowel typical of this contraction. Compare màⁿ in quoted ‘who?’ interrogatives (§17.1.6), and màⁿ in ‘the year after next’ phrased as “what is not next year” (§8.4.5.1). The history of mèêⁿ, though nontransparent synchronically, helps to explain why a preceding singular noun does not take the DefSg suffix -yàwⁿ.

Of the plurals, mà-yé ~ mǎ-yè are regular outputs (in different subdialects) for adding plural -yè to mà-. The other plural variants, with final *éé* resembling some nominal plurals (e.g. júmà-réé ‘people’, §4.1.2), are more common. The animacy of the referent plays no role in the choice of variants. When these plural relative markers are added to a noun, the latter usually omits the (redundant) plural suffix -yè. However, irregular plurals not ending in -yè, like yùwò-méé ‘women’, freely occur before plural relative markers.

(727) illustrate the singular-plural distinction.

(727) a.	[yùwó ⁿ mèén]	[dìyè mú ⁿ ɲà]
	[woman Rel]	[speak.Pfv Pfv]
	‘the woman who spoke’ (< yùwò ⁿ)	

- b. [yùwò-méé mà-réé ~ mà-yé] [dìyè múⁿ ɲà]
 [woman-Pl **Rel-Pl**] [speak.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘the women who spoke’

The *in situ* position of the relativized constituent is illustrated in (728): subject (728a), object (728b), and complement of postposition (728c).

- (728) a. [sùwó mɛ̀ɛⁿ] séⁿ ɲà
 [sheep **Rel**] fall.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the sheep-Sg that fell’
- b. áⁿ [sùwó mɛ̀éⁿ] sàⁿ ɲá
 2Sg [sheep **Rel**] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the sheep-Sg that you-Sg bought’
- c. ám bé gà [[sùwó mɛ̀ɛⁿ] ní] bôⁿ
 2Sg come.Pfv Pfv [[sheep **Rel**] Inst] here
 ‘the sheep-Sg that you brought here’

The *in situ* structure makes it easy to relativize on a nominal in a subordinated clause. This is the case in 2021-03 @ 17:17 (‘the materials that he must buy’).

The nominal preceding mɛ̀ɛⁿ cannot be marked by the DefSg suffix (729b). As noted above, the rather fused mɛ̀ɛⁿ can be unpacked at least diachronically as Rel-DefSg, and the relativized NP is normally definite referentially (729b). A plural relativized NP omits its plural suffix -yè when followed by a plural relativizer (729d).

- (729) a. dàbɛ̀-ɛ̀ ḿ máyⁿ ɲà
 daba-DefSg 3ReflSg malfunction.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The daba (=hoe) was ruined.’
- b. [dàbá (#dàbɛ̀-ɛ̀) mɛ̀ɛⁿ] ḿ máyⁿ ɲà
 [daba (#daba-DefSg) Rel] 3ReflSg malfunction.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the daba that was ruined’
- c. dàbá-yè = é máyⁿ ɲà
 daba-Pl 3ReflPl malfunction.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The dabas (=hoes) were ruined.’

d.	[dàbá(#-yé)	mà-rée =]	é	máy ⁿ	ɲà
	[daba(#-PI)	Rel-Pl]	3ReflPl	malfunction.Pfv	Pfv
	‘the dabas (=hoes) that were ruined’				

The few irregular nominal plurals, like those in -mée ~ ... (m)-béé (§4.1.2), optionally remain under relativization. Either the singular or the plural of such nouns may occur before a plural relative marker.

(730)	from singular noun	from plural noun	gloss
	yùwò ⁿ mà-rée	yìyèm-bée mà-rée	‘the women who ...’
	ɲúmú mà-rée	ɲú-mà-rée mà-rée	‘the people who ...’
	díyé-ná mà-rée	dyé-nà-mée mà-rée	‘the children who ...’

For the treatment of NP conjunctions that are relativized as a unit, see below (§14.2.2).

14.1.2 Nonspecific and double-headed relatives

Relative clauses are often preposed as topical phrases, then resumed with a third person pronoun in the following main clause. This is essentially a **correlative** construction. With a definite (and referentially specific) relative clause, this re-introduces a discourse referent that will then play a role in the ensuing clause(s). Schematic example: ‘We bought a cow in the market. The cow that we bought, we will sell it tomorrow.’ The last phrase can also be focalized: ‘that [focus] is what we will sell tomorrow’. For examples of such focalized resumptive demonstratives, see (692) in §13.1.6.2 and (697) in §13.1.6.4.

Especially with the form màⁿ but for some speakers also with mèêⁿ, this use of relative clauses can be expanded to introduce a new, nonspecific discourse referent (‘any/whatever X’, ‘anyone/whoever’, ‘anywhere/wherever’, etc.). A dubitative modal element can be made explicit by adding clause-initial nè ‘if’, as in 2021-01 @ 11:30 (‘whatever you may know about it’ or ‘if you know something about it’).

As a consequence, two distinct constituents in the same clause may be introduced simultaneously, as in (731). The context is a discussion about how different net sizes are specialized for catching specific fish types.

- (731) [sòdò-ɲòóⁿ màⁿ] ɲá sìní [yúwó màŋ] kú-nú,
 [net-eye **Rel**] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [fish **Rel**] catch-Ipfv,
 [à gá= à kú-nú]
 [3Sg Ipfv 3Sg catch-Ipfv]
 ‘Whatever net size can catch whatever fish (species), it catches it.’
 (2021-03 @ 02:58)

This double-headed relative construction is difficult to translate freely into English. This is because English extracts relative heads and therefore does not allow more than one such head. One could also translate (731) as ‘if there is a particular net size that catches a particular fish species, ...’.

Textual examples of such double-headed relatives are 2021-01 @ 08:52 and 09:01, along with 2021-03 @ 01:11, 01:14, 02:58, 09:22, 20:28, 21:37, and 21:47.

14.1.3 *nà* ‘if (perfective positive)’ in relatives

The post-subject morpheme *nà* is common in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§10.2.1.4). It also occurs in some relative clauses (732). See also 2021-01 @ 06:18 and 2021-03 @ 09:22.

- (732) [áⁿ ná [mìyè-fá mɛɛ̀n] dé]
 [2Sg **if.Pfv** [fish(v)-thing **Rel**] take-Pfv]
 [ɲóⁿ ɲà [ɲó-̀n yúwó-̀ŋ] kú-nú]
 [Dem.Def Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link fish-DefSg] catch-Ipfv]
 ‘What(ever) fishing gear you-Sg have taken, that (=gear) catches that (specific) fish (species).’ (2021-03 @ 01:17)

Examples like (732) are at the crossroads between relative clause (‘the fishing gear that you-Sg have taken’) and conditional antecedents (‘if you have taken a certain fishing gear’). This is consistent with the frequent correlative function of relative clauses (see the preceding subsection), whereby a discourse referent is introduced (or re-introduced) by a relative clause whose head or heads are then resumed by pronouns or definite expressions in the following clause.

Cliffs likewise has these constructions. The difference between Cliffs and Djenné varieties is that the ‘if.Pfv’ marker *nà* is homophonous in Djenné but not in Cliffs with the subjunctive marker (Djenné *nà*, Cliffs *gālà*). This means that for Djenné we must consider the possibility that ‘if.Pfv’ and subjunctive are the same morpheme. They occur in the same post-subject position, and both contexts are irrealis in one way or another.

The argument against merging them is that subjunctive clauses have negative counterparts with prohibitive *mà* replacing subjunctive *nà* (§17.4.1). By contrast, perfective positive relatives,

like perfective positive main clauses, are negated with the usual post-subject perfective negative morpheme *tè*.

14.2 Internal head NP

14.2.1 Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

A pronoun (independent or proclitic) can function as relative head.

- (733) a. [ííⁿ mà-ré-méé] gá nògí-ỳ,
 [1PI Rel-PI] be.Loc village.Loc,
 [ííⁿ màgó] tá kìⁿyá= [ám pà]
 [1PI need(n)] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Sg Comit]
 ‘We who are in the village, we don’t need you-Sg.’
- b. áⁿ ñà [ñ-dúwò mèén] tùwò
 2Sg Ipfv [1Sg-Indep Rel] know.Ipfv
 ‘I who(m) you-Sg know’

14.2.2 Conjoined NP as head

A conjoined NP may function as head, with a single occurrence of the relative morpheme at the end of the NP. The relative marker is singular or plural depending on the number of individuals referred to by the right conjunct (734a-b). The left conjunct has no relative marker, but if it is singular it may have the DefSg suffix (734a). When the right conjunct is plural, the plural relative marker makes nominal plural suffix *-yè* redundant and it is often omitted (734b). However, irregular plurals not ending in *-yè* are viable as right conjuncts, see ‘women’ in (735c) below.

- (734) a. [yùwó-òⁿ sání kéewú mèém] bé gá
 [woman-DefSg and man Rel] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the woman and the man who have come’
- b. [yiyèm-béé sání kéewú(-yé) mà-réé] bé gá
 [woman-Pl and man(-Pl) Rel-Pl] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the women and (the) men who have come’

Relatives based on conjoined NPs are rather heavy and may occur in a correlative construction where the relative clause is a preclausal topic that is picked up by a resumptive plural pronoun (735a,c). In the correlative construction, it is also possible for just the right conjunct to be picked

up by a resumptive pronoun (735b). In follow-up discussion, the speaker also accepted a version that has the relative marker on the left conjunct only, with the right conjunct marked definite (735d). This has the appearance of a singular relative with a second conjunct added as an afterthought. He rejected a version where both left and right conjuncts have relative markers.

- (735) a. [kééwú(-ùⁿ) sání [yùwóⁿ mèém]] bé gà,
 [man(-DefSg) **and** [woman **Rel**]] come.Pfv Pfv,
 è gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 3Pl be.Loc where?
 ‘The man and woman who came, where are they?’
- b. [kééwú(-ùⁿ) sání [yùwóⁿ mèém]] bé gà,
 [man(-DefSg) **and** [woman **Rel**]] come.Pfv Pfv,
 à gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
3Sg be.Loc where?
 ‘The man and woman who came, where is she?’
 (i.e., ‘The woman who came with the man, where is she?’)
- c. [kééwú-yè sání [yiyèm-béé mà-lé-méé]] bé gà,
 [man-Pl **and** [woman-Pl **Rel-Pl-Pl**]] come.Pfv Pfv,
 è gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 3Pl be.Loc where?
 ‘The men and women who came, where are they?’
- d. [kééwú mèêⁿ] sání yùwó-òm] bé gà,
 [man **Rel**] **and** [woman-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv,
 è gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 3Pl be.Loc where?
 ‘The man and woman who came, where are they?’

14.2.3 Headless relative clause

Either singular mèêⁿ or one of its plurals may head a relative clause, without an overt head NP.

- (736) a. mèêṅ kónó gá bôⁿ
Rel stay.Pfv Pfv here
 ‘(the) one who stayed here’

- b. [mà-lé-méé gà káyⁿ] sání [mà-lé-méé tá káyⁿ]
 [Rel-Pl-Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv] and [Rel-Pl-Pl IpfvNeg work.Ipfv]
 ‘those who work, and those who don’t work’

However, inanimate relative heads are usually headed by at least a pro forma noun. The most general noun ‘thing’ is fá, and it can occur as relative head, but it is often replaced by hú or sú (dialectal choice).

- (737) a. rímmàà [[sú màn] dáà] kí-yè túⁿ ñà,
 whether [[**thing** Rel] Purp] Dem-Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
 [[íín dóbó] nìⁿ] nà
 [[1Pl river] inside] Q
 ‘(Tell us) why have those (fish) disappeared, in our river?’ (2021-03 @ 04:28)
- b. áⁿ ná sìnì [bé [hú mǎⁿ] sùwó]
 2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Pfv [Seq [**thing** Rel] cultivate.Ipfv]
 ‘whatever you-Sg can cultivate’ (2021-03 @ 09:07)

14.2.4 gíyéⁿ mèèⁿ ‘place where’

The noun ‘place’ is gíyéⁿ. Whereas Cliffs has a morphologically unusual relative form (gūūⁿ-mà-gūūⁿ) with ‘place’ repeated, in J-S of Djenné ‘place’ forms regular relative heads. The speaker who was checked prefers a correlative construction with the relative preposed, and resumed by yáwⁿ ~ yôⁿ ‘there (definite)’.

- (738) [ɲ ná [gíyéⁿ mèèⁿ] tò], yôⁿ ń dááⁿ
 [1Sg Ipfv [**place** Rel] know.Ipfv], there.Def 3ReflSg be.distant
 ‘The place that I know, there (=that place) is far away.’

See also (697), (821), (845b), (859e). Textual examples: 2021-01 @ 08:14 and 08:52, 2021-03 @ 03:06, 08:22 (plural), 13:25, 16:32, and 16:55.

14.3 Position of mèèⁿ vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs

Relative mèèⁿ or its plural follows adjectives and numerals. It precedes sááⁿ ‘all’ and discourse-functional particles.

14.3.1 Adjectives

Modifying adjectives follow the noun in the same way (including tonal interactions) as in main clauses. The relative morpheme follows and is not included in the domain of Tone Leveling that applies to the N-Adj pair.

- (739) a. [nògù-liyèⁿ míyè-gù mèéⁿ] ɲà bôⁿ
 [village-Dimin **small-Adj** Rel] be.Loc here
 ‘the small village that is here’
- b. [nògù-liyèⁿ míyè-gù mà-réé] gà bôⁿ
 [village-Dimin **small-Adj** Rel-Pl] be.Loc here
 ‘the small villages that are here’
- c. ń ná [ɲàmàà twèè mèéⁿ] sàⁿ ɲá
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [house **new** Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the new house that I bought’

14.3.2 Numerals

Numerals are likewise added to the head noun, preceding the relative marker. After a nonsingular numeral, further plural marking is redundant. Either singular (i.e. unmarked) mèéⁿ or one of its plurals may be used.

- (740) a. ń ná [ɲàmáá-liyéⁿ sìgéⁿ mèéⁿ / mà-réé] sàⁿ ɲá
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [house-Link **three** Rel / Rel-Pl] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the three houses that I bought’
- b. [ɲàà-liyéⁿ nàtàⁿ mèéⁿ / mà-réé] séⁿ ɲà
 [cow-Link **four** Rel(-Pl)] fall.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the four cows who fell’

14.3.3 Universal quantifier sááⁿ (‘all’)

The universal quantifier directly follows the relative morpheme when it has scope over the head. A plural relative marker occurs when the sense is universal ‘all’ (741a-b). If the sense is indefinite ‘any’, the relative marker takes the form màⁿ before sááⁿ, and indefinite síí ‘any’ is added (741c), cf. §6.6.3 and examples (271) and (302d). màⁿ is the original relative marker, without the definite singular suffix.

- (741) a. [díyé-ná mà-ré-méé sááⁿ] séⁿ ɲà dìgéⁿ
 [child **Rel-PI all**] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday
 ‘all the children who fell yesterday’
- b. áⁿ ɲá [ɲàmáà mà-ré-méé sááɲ] kà-nà
 2Sg Ipv [house **Rel-PI-PI all**] see-Ipv
 ‘all the houses that you-Sg see’
- c. [jíⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ sí] à ná sàⁿ máɲáá
 [year **Rel all any**] 3Sg if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv well(adv)
 ‘any year when it has rained well’

14.3.4 Discourse-functional morphemes

Topic morpheme ɲùnù follows the entire relative construction and is not part of the internal head NP.

- (742) [[díyé-nà]-méé mà-ré-méé] séⁿ ɲà ɲùnù, è bé gà
 [[child--PI **Rel-PI-PI**] fall.Pfv Pfv **Top,** 3Pl come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘As for the children who fell, they have come.’

14.4 Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

The subsections below give more examples of relative clauses, organized by the grammatical role of the head, but also illustrating various clause-level inflectional categories.

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

From main clause (743a) is formed the subject relative in (743b). The relative morpheme mēêⁿ or its plural occurs at the end of the head, replacing DefSg -yàwⁿ if otherwise present. There is no change in the rest of the clause.

- (743) a. [díyé-né]-èⁿ / ɲàmáà-àⁿ séⁿ ɲà dìgéⁿ
 [child]-DefSg / house-DefSg fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday
 ‘The child/The house fell yesterday.’

- b. [[díyé-ná / ñàmáà mèéⁿ] séⁿ ñà dìgéⁿ]
 [[child / house **Rel**] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
 à gá mìⁿ
 3Sg be.Loc where?
 ‘The child who / The house that fell yesterday, where is it?’

The main clause (744a) with plural subject corresponds to the relative clause in (744b). There is a plural relative marker, here mà-réé (one of several variants). If the head is an ordinary noun like ‘house’ that takes the productive plural suffix -yè, this suffix is omitted before the plural relative marker. Irregular plurals like ‘children’ are allowed as relative heads.

- (744) a. dyé-nà-méé / ñàmáà-yè séⁿ ñà dìgéⁿ
 children / house-Pl fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday
 ‘The children/houses fell yesterday.’

- b. [[dyé-nà-méé / ñàmáà mà-réé] séⁿ ñà dìgéⁿ]
 [[child-Pl-Pl / house **Rel-Pl**] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
 è gá mìⁿ
 3Pl be.Loc where?
 ‘The children who/The houses that fell yesterday, where are they?’

Example (745a) is perfective negative. (745b) is imperfective positive, and (745c) is imperfective negative.

- (745) a. [díyé-nà mèén] tè séⁿ
 [child Rel] **PfvNeg** fall.Pfv
 ‘the child who didn’t fall’
- b. [díyé-nà mèén] ñà sé-né
 [child Rel] **Ipfv** fall-IPfv
 ‘the child who falls’
- c. [díyé-nà mèén] tá sé-né
 [child Rel] **IpfvNeg** fall-IPfv
 ‘the child who doesn’t fall’

14.4.2 Object relative clause

The object NP functioning as head remains in its regular position, following the subject and post-subject inflectional markers but preceding the verb.

- (746) a. [ń ná [nàá mèéⁿ] sàⁿ ńá dìgéⁿ]
 [1Sg Pfv.1Sg [cow **Rel**] buy.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
 à gá mìnⁿ
 3Sg be.Loc where?
 ‘The cow that I bought yesterday, where is it?’
- b. [ń ná [nàá mà-ré-méé] sàⁿ ńá dìgéⁿ]
 [1Sg Pfv.1Sg [cow **Rel-PI-PI**] buy.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
 è gá mìnⁿ
 3Pl be.Loc where?
 ‘The cows that I bought yesterday, where are they?’

Further examples of object relatives are perfective negative (747a), imperfective positive (747b), and imperfective negative (747c).

- (747) a. ñ té [díyé-nà mèéŋ] kày
 1Sg **PfvNeg** [child Rel] see.Pfv
 ‘the child who(m) I didn’t see’
- b. ñ ńá [díyé-nà mèéŋ] kà-nà
 1Sg **Ipfv** [child Rel] see-Ipfv
 ‘the child who(m) I see’
- c. ñ tá [díyé-nà mèéŋ] kà-nà
 1Sg **IpfvNeg** [child Rel] see-Ipfv
 ‘the child who(m) I don’t see’

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

Possessors precede possessums with no genitive marker (748a). It is easy to form possessor relatives by adding the relative morpheme directly to the possessor (748b).

- (748) a. kээ́gú nà máà
 man house
 ‘a man’s house’
- b. [[kéégú mềéⁿ] nà máà-àⁿ] sé ñà
 [[man **Rel**] house-DefSg] fall.Pfv Pfv
 ‘the man whose house fell’

14.4.4 Relativization on the complement of a postposition

A relative can easily be formed from the complement of a postposition. This is illustrated for the dative in (749a), for a spatial postposition in (749b), and for the instrumental in (749c). The PP remains in its usual postverbal position.

- (749) a. ní nà wálèⁿ dó gà [[yùwóⁿ mềéⁿ] nà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [[woman **Rel**] **Dat**]
 ‘the woman to whom I gave the money’
- b. ní nà wálèⁿ yàá gà [[sòkòsì mềéⁿ] níⁿ]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money put.in.Pfv Pfv [[bag **Rel**] **inside**]
 ‘the bag into which I put-Past the money’
- c. ñ ñá sùwó [[dàbá mềêⁿ] ní]
 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba **Rel**] **Inst**]
 ‘the daba (=hoe) with which I cultivate (=work in the field).’

A relative headed by the complement of purposive postposition dáà is in 2021-03 @ 01:24.

Manner relatives of the type ‘the way (in which) X VPs’ can take the form of relative clauses (750a). Alternatively, a compound of báànà ‘manner’ functions as an argument in the clause (750b). For other compounds with báànà, see §8.4.1, §8.4.3.3 and §9.3.1.4.

- (750) a. ... à yàá [[báàná mǎⁿ]-yⁿ]
 ... 3Sg put.Ipfv [[**manner** Rel]-**Loc**]
 ‘... the way in which she operates’ (2021-01 @ 06:02)
- b. [zàkí káyⁿ-bááné-èn] tá rí màyⁿ
 [Z work.VbIN-**manner**-DefSg] IpfvNeg 3RefISg be.good
 ‘The way Zaki works is no good.’

14.4.5 Presentatives

Presentative *kày* or variant (§4.4.4, §10.2.2.3-4) is ordinarily treated as the final word in the highlighted NP. When relativized on, however, the relative marker precedes the presentative marker, as though the latter were (still) a verb.

- (751) [júgú mɛ́ɛ̃ⁿ] ɲày kɪní, à tá m̀ m̀yⁿ
 [tree Rel] Prsntv Prsntv, 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.good
 ‘the tree that you can see (lit., “the tree that here it is”), it isn’t good.’
 (French: *l’arbre que voici*)

14.4.6 Relativization from a subordinated clause

Because the head NP is *in situ*, there is no difficulty in relativizing on an NP in a subordinated clause. This is the case in (752), where the head NP is in a subjunctive clause.

- (752) à ɲ káⁿ [à ná [tìgé mà-réé] sàⁿ]
 3Sg 3ReflSg must [3Sg Sbjn [gear **Rel-Pl**] buy.Pfv]
 ‘the materials that he should buy’ (2021-03 @ 17:17)

14.5 Biclausal relative

A relative construction may include the equivalent of two full clauses with that share a single head. However, full clauses as such cannot be conjoined. Therefore relatives based on two clauses are phrased with at least one clause subordinated to the other. In (753), the relative head is followed by two conditional antecedents.

- (753) [jíⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ sí]
 [year **Rel** all any]
 [né yòó-bàá nà bé]
 [**if** rain(n) **if.Pfv** come.Pfv]
 [né kwàni-yé tè bé],
 [**if** bird-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv],
 íⁿ ɲá sìní sùwó m̀ɲáá-tíⁿ-ỹⁿ
 1Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv well (adv)
 ‘Any year when the rain comes (=falls), and (when) the birds do not come, we can farm successfully.’

An easy way to include two clauses in a single relative, if they share a subject NP, is to use the same-subject sequential VP construction.

- (754) [nàá mèéⁿ] séⁿ ɲà
[cow **Rel**] fall.Pfv Pfv
[bé kàlè],
[Seq die.Pfv]
à gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
3Sg be.Loc where?
'The cow that fell and died, where is it?'

15 Verb or VP chaining and adverbial clauses

Two main clauses of the same aspect and with the same subject may be directly juxtaposed as in (755a-b), forming a tightly-knit segment best translated without repeating the subject.

(755) a. [à táⁿ ηà [júgú kùmà]] [à séⁿ ηà]
[3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree on]] [3Sg fall.Pfv Pfv]
'He/She climbed up a tree and fell off.'

b. [ā gà tá-ná [júgú-ùj kùmà]] [ā gà sé-né]
[3Sg Ipv ascend-Ipv [tree-DefSg on]] [3Sg Ipv fall-Ipv]
'He/She (regularly) climbs the tree and falls off.'

This chapter covers constructions in which either the first or the second clause is reduced to a VP (without subject) or just a verb. This includes both event sequences like those in (755) and more highly grammaticalized constructions.

Two important constructions covered here are the sequential VP beginning with bé (sometimes expanded into a sequential clause by adding a subject), and verb/VP chains that often include a motion verb. This chapter is complemented by chapter 16 on conditionals and by chapter 17 on subordinated or backgrounded clauses which include subjects, such as indicative and subjunctive and prohibitive complements.

15.1 Chained VPs and verb-verb compounds

A chain is here defined as juxtaposition of a verb with a VP, without sequential bé (§15.2 below) or other overt subordinator. In chains, one verb ('be able to', 'go', 'come') defines the construction. The other component is a VP that is more or less open-ended. The two verbs express a single eventuality that can be analysed into component co-events, rather than two chronologically ordered events. Some chains can be informally described as verb-verb compounds.

15.1.1 Constructions with imperfective VP

15.1.1.1 'Be able to VP' (sìni/sìní) plus imperfective VP

The verb 'be able (to VP)' is sìni/sìní (variant hìni/hìní). When it expresses temporally unbounded capability to perform an action, as in habitual and future contexts, the main clause is imperfective

(positive *gá sìní*, negative *té sìní*), and the complement is normally an imperfective VP with no overt complementizer. The ‘be able’ verb and the other verb are often adjacent, but they can be separated by an object NP (756c).

- (756) a. *à gá sìní kiyé / tá-ná*
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
 ‘He/She can run/go up.’
- b. *à tá sìní kiyé / tá-ná*
 3Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
 ‘He/She cannot run/go up.’
- c. *à gá sìní [sùwó / súwó sà-nà]*
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [sheep/goat buy.Ipfv]
 ‘He/She can buy a sheep/a goat.’
- d. *ì ñá sìní [kwá-rá [sèèdú nà]]*
 1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [help-Ipfv [S Dat]]
 ‘I can help Seydou.’

A textual example is 2021-01 @ 07:28.

This construction does not allow stative complements. When the complement is semantically adjectival (denoting a quality), it takes imperfective inchoative rather than stative form (757).

- (757) *à gá sìní tíyé-má*
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv heavy-**Inch**.Ipfv
 ‘It can get (=be) heavy.’

The examples given above reflect the predominant construction for temporally unbounded ‘be able to VP’. For temporally bounded ‘was (not) able to VP’, the main clause is perfective in form and the complement is a same-subject sequential VP beginning with *bé* (§15.2.10). A sequential VP is marginally possible in temporally unbounded contexts, but it is dispreferred.

15.1.1.2 ‘Begin’ predicates plus imperfective motion VP

The ‘begin’ verb is either *síntìⁿ/síntì-nì* (borrowed from Songhay), composite *súú-dó(-ró)* (§9.5.8) which is literally ‘hand-give’ (or ‘hand-enter’), or composite *dóó-kúⁿ/-kú-nú* (§9.5.2). The first two of these occur in reflexive clauses, followed by complements.

Complements in the ‘begin [to VP]’ construction are typically same-subject sequential VPs (§15.2.13) or verbal-noun phrases. However, under some conditions it is also possible to replace the sequential VP with a simple imperfective VP, compare English *begin running* alongside *begin to run*. The attested examples with imperfective VPs involve basic intransitive motion verbs that immediately follow the ‘begin’ verb, e.g. *bá-rá* ‘exit-Ipfv’, *dó-ró* ‘enter-Ipfv’, and *bí-yé* ‘come-Ipfv’. The two verbs can be separated by postverbal Pfv morpheme *gà* but are otherwise adjacent. The Ipfv motion verb adds motion and direction.

- (758) a. (i) *yè=* *é(é)* *súú-dó* *gà* [*bá-rá* [*jíí* *nìíⁿ*]]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **hand-give.Pfv** Pfv [exit-Ipfv [water inside]]
 ‘They began to go out of the water.’
- b. *à* *ń* *síníⁿ* *ńà* [*dó-ró* [*dùwò-mèyⁿ*]-*yⁿ*]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv** Pfv [enter-Ipfv [beer-drink.VblN]-Loc]
 ‘He/She began to get involved in drinking beer.’
- c. (i) *yè=* *é(é)* *súú-dó* *gà* [*bí-yé* *bôⁿ*]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg **hand-give.Pfv** Ipfv [come-Ipfv here]
 ‘They began to come here.’

Speakers disagreed as to the grammaticality of other imperfective VPs after these ‘begin’ verbs. They generally rejected transitives where the Ipfv verb is separated from the ‘begin’ verb by an object.

15.1.1.3 ‘Finish VPing’ with *dúwóⁿ* and imperfective motion verb

The intransitive verb *dúwóⁿ/dúwòⁿ* ‘finish; be depleted’ can also be followed by an imperfective VP complement.

- (759) [*è* *dúwóⁿ* *ńà* [*bá-rá* [*jíí* *nwìíⁿ*]]
 [3Pl finish.Pfv Pfv [exit-Ipfv [water inside]]
 ‘They finished going out of the water.’ (2021-03 @ 04:37)

As an alternative, a sequential VP [*bé dúwóⁿ*] can follow the main clause. See 2021-03 @ 06:10, 17:50, and 17:54 for examples.

15.1.1.4 Perception verb plus imperfective VP complement

In this construction, the main clause is transitive with ‘see’ as the verb. The object of perception is implicitly coindexed with the (omitted) subject of the lower clause, which is reduced to an imperfective VP or stative participial predicate (‘be fallen’, ‘be seated’).

- (760) *ń* *nà* *dyé-nè-mée* *kàý* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg child-Pl **see**.Pfv Pfv
 ɲùnàmí / sé-ná / [tóó díyà] / fɔ̀ɔ̀-nà
 dance.Ipfv / fall-Ppl / [meat eat.Ipfv / sit-Ppl
 ‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-ing)/eating meat/seated.’

With ‘hear’ instead of ‘see’, a monoclausal construction is preferred. The object of ‘hear’ is a compound with *kò* ‘sound, cry’ as final (§5.1.4.1). If the agent or source of the sound is mentioned, it is a possessor of this compound.

- (761) *ń* *nà* [*dyé-nè-mée* *gó-kó*] *mìyé* *gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [children weep.VblN-sound] **hear**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I heard the children’s weeping.’ (= ‘I heard the children weeping.’)

Fuller versions with imperfective clauses (including subjects) as complements of ‘see’ are described in §17.3.2.

15.1.1.5 Imperfective ‘come’ and ‘go’ as deictic compound finals

The verbs *bé/bí-yé* ‘come’ and *sò/sò* ‘go’ can follow another verb in a compound-like construction. When the first verb is a motion verb, the incremental semantic contribution of ‘come’ and ‘go’ is to indicate direction relative to the deictic center, either centripetal or noncentripal (including centrifugal). When the first verb is a non-motion activity verb such as ‘sing’ or ‘eat’, ‘come’ and ‘go’ express motion as well as deictic direction.

Some intransitive and reflexive verbs that readily combine with ‘come’ and ‘go’ are in (762). For transitives, see (766) below.

(762) gloss Pfv/Ipfv

a. intransitive motion verbs

‘ascend’	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná
‘descend’	yà(-rà)
‘enter’	dó(-rós)
‘exit’	bá(-rá)
‘run’	kìyè/kìyé
‘walk’	niì/nií

b. reflexive motion verbs

‘return’	débè(-rè)
‘return’	bé ⁿ /bé-né

c. other intransitive verbs

‘sing’	sùwó(-rò)
‘eat (antipassive)’	díyé/díyè

In this construction, ‘come’ takes its Ipfv stem bí-yé regardless of the inflectional category of the overall clause, which is expressed by the form of the first verb (Pfv, Ipfv) in conjunction with the post-subject inflectional particle. bí-yé is adjacent to the first verb, except that perfective particle gà precedes it if present. Reflexive ‘return-come’ meaning ‘come back’ is illustrated in perfective (763a), future (763b), imperative (763c), and imperfective (763d) clauses. The other ‘return’ verb béⁿ/bé-né can be substituted for débè(-rè) with no change in meaning.

(763) a. à ní débè gà bí-yé bôⁿ
 3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv **come-Ipfv** here
 ‘He/She came back here.’

b. ē gà bé = = é(é) débè bí-yé bôⁿ
 3Pl Ipfv Fut 3ReflPl return.Pfv **come-Ipfv** here
 ‘They will come back here.’

c. yà = áá débè bí-yé
 Imprt.Pl 2Pl return.Pfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘Come-2Pl back!’

d. [tárááⁿ sááⁿ] íⁿ ñè = één débè-rè bí-yé
 [day all] 1Pl Ipfv 1Pl return-Ipfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘Every day we come back.’

Intransitive ‘descend’ and ‘sing’ are the first verbs in (764). With ‘sing’ it is understood that the singing coincided with the motion (‘came singing’) rather than preceding the motion (‘sang and then came’). But see below on ‘buy and come/bring’.

(764) a. ā yà / ... gá bí-yé
 " ... / sùwó gà "
 3Sg descend.Pfv/sing.Pfv Pfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘He/She came down / came singing.’

b. à gá yà-rà / sùwó-rò bí-yé
 3Sg Ipfv descend-Ipfv/sing-Ipfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘He/She (often) comes down / comes singing.’

sò/sò ‘go’ has identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. By extrapolation from ‘come’, it is here taken to be Ipfv in this compound construction (765).

(765) a. à í débè gà sò yôⁿ
 3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv **go.Ipfv** there.Def
 ‘He/She went back here.’

b. à gá yà-rá sò
 3Sg Ipfv descend-Ipfv **go.Ipfv**
 ‘It (often) goes down.’

Because ‘come’ and ‘go’ follow the other verb, there is no impediment to combining ‘come’ or ‘go’ with a preceding object-verb string. In other words, transitive VPs may combine with these motion verbs. In (766c), the combination of ‘buy X’ and ‘come’ means ‘buy X and bring it’. Here one can argue that the non-motion event precedes rather than overlaps with the motion, although the two events are tightly coordinated.

(766) a. à tóó díyá gà bí-yé
 3Sg meat eat.Pfv Pfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘He/She came eating meat.’

b. ā gà tóó díyá sò
 3Sg Ipfv meat eat.Pfv **go.Ipfv**
 ‘He/She (often) goes along eating meat.’

- c. ā nà [kú-nù tígé-yé] sàⁿ bí-yé
 3Sg Sbjn [Dem-Link gear-Pl] buy.Pfv come-Ipfv
 ‘(tell him/her) to buy those materials and bring (them).’

The ‘come’ or ‘go’ co-event cannot be separately negated or made subjunctive. The compound as a whole functions like a single VP, which can be negated or made subjunctive only as a whole.

- (767) a. ā tè ní débè bí-yé
 3Sg **PfvNeg** 3ReflSg return.Pfv **come-Ipfv**
 ‘He/She didn’t come back.’

- b. à ní déⁿ [ñ té]
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
 ā nà ní débè sò
 3Sg **Sbjn** 3ReflSg return.Pfv **go.Ipfv**
 ‘I would like him/her to go back.’

Postverbal constituents follow the entire compound.

- (768) à ní débè gà só nògí-ỳ
 3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv go.Ipfv **village-Loc**
 ‘He/She went back to the village.’

This compound construction should be distinguished from another construction where ‘come’ or ‘go’ is followed by a perfective VP, often in purposive function. That construction (§15.1.2) describes a normal ‘come’ or ‘go’ motion event that leads up to a second event.

15.1.1.6 Other imperfective motion verbs as finals

In addition to ‘come’ and ‘go’ (preceding subsection), other basic motion verbs can be compounded to a preceding verb. If the preceding verb is another motion verb, the compound final adds a (non-deictic) directional component to the meaning.

Motion verbs that often occur in such compounds are those in (769).

(769)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss
a.	tá(w) ⁿ /tá-ná	‘ascend’
	yà(-rà)	‘descend’
b.	dó(-rós)	‘enter’
	bá(-rá)	‘exit (v)’

Like ‘come’, these verbs occur in the Ipfv stem regardless of the inflectional category of the larger clause. (770) illustrates with ‘run’ as the first verb in various inflectional contexts.

(770) a.	ā	kìyé	gà	tá-ná / yà-rà / dó-rós / bá-rá
	3Sg	run.Pfv	Pfv	ascend- Ipfv /descend- Ipfv /enter- Ipfv /exit(v)- Ipfv
				‘He/She ran up/down/in/out.’
b.	à	gá	kìyé	tá-ná / yà-rà / dó-rós / bá-rá
	3Sg	Ipfv	run.Ipfv	ascend- Ipfv /descend- Ipfv /enter- Ipfv /exit(v)- Ipfv
				‘He/She (often) runs up/down/in/out.’
c.	à	té	kìyè	tá-ná / ... / dó-rós / bá-rá
			kìyé	... / yà-rà / ... / ...
	3Sg	PfvNeg	run.Pfv	ascend- Ipfv /descend- Ipfv /enter- Ipfv /exit(v)- Ipfv
				‘He/She didn’t run up/down/in/out.’

A speaker indicates that this construction with Ipfv motion verb is essentially interchangeable with the sequential construction (§15.2) using the same verbs.

15.1.1.7 Coincidence in time and space (kàsà-mà)

The verb kàsà-mà/kàsà-mà (intransitive, with dative PP [X tè]) can mean ‘become equal with X, converge with X, match X’, or more relevantly here ‘happen to coincide with X’.

(771) a.	[ǰ	sàní	yòó-bàà-jíí]	kàsà-má	gà	[bùwó	tè]
	[1Sg	and	rain(n)]	coincide .Pfv	Pfv	[Recip	Dat]
							‘I and rain happened to coincide with each other.’
							(i.e., ‘it happened to rain while I was there’)

b. ní nà kàsà-má gà [yòó-bàà-jíí tètè]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **coincide.Pfv** Pfv [rain(n) Dat]
 ‘I happened to coincide with rain.’

A textual example with an event as subject is (772).

(772) [[[ní díyáⁿ] kùbà] sé],
 [[[3ReflSg child] wedding] say.Pfv],
 ā gà kàsà-má [[kù-nùn tárááⁿ-àní] tètè],
 3Sg Ipfv **coincide.Ipfv** [[Dem-Link day-DefSg] Dat],
 ‘ “... and said (=announced) the wedding of his child (=son) is scheduled to coincide with
 (=take place) on that (specific) day.” ’ (2021-01 @ 09:49)

kàsà-mà can also take an abstract 3Sg subject à, resuming a proposition, as in (773).

(773) hálá = à nà kàsà-mà
 even **3Sg** if.Pfv **coincide.Pfv**
 [díyé-nà míyè-gù-liyáⁿ] ñà = [áj kwàíyè],
 [child small-Adj-Dimin] be.Loc [2Sg behind],
 ‘even if it happens that a little baby is (carried) on your back’ (2021-01 @ 14:28)

The phrase à kàsà-má gà ‘it happened (that ...)’ can also be expanded with a similarly abstract 3Sg dative referring to the previously described situation, literally ‘it coincided with it (that ...)’.

(774) à kàsà-má gà = [à tètè] númà-réé té bé
 3Sg **coincide.Pfv** Pfv [3Sg **Dat**] person-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv
 ‘It happened (at that point) that the people didn’t come.’

kàsà-mà can also be chained to another verb, usually a verb of motion (775a-c). The favored phrasing here is kàsà-má = [á tètè] with the abstract 3Sg dative (not agreeing with the subject). There is a variant káy-má = [á tètè] in allegro speech (775b). In these examples, a speaker rejected versions with a spatial or temporal adverb between the motion verb and the chained kàsà-mà. Although kàsà-mà (and variant káy-mà) have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems, the construction most closely resembles those described in preceding subsections where the second verb is clearly Ipfv.

(775) a. sèédù bé gà kàsà-má = [à tètè]
 S **come.Pfv** Pfv **coincide.Ipfv** [3Sg Dat]
 [[íj kánáá-kééwú-ǔⁿ] sò gá]
 [[3ReflSg friend-male-DefSg] go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Seydou_x came (only) to find that his_x friend had gone.’

- b. ē sò gá káy-má [à tèt]
 3Pl **go.Pfv** Pfv **coincide.Ipfv** [3Sg Dat]
 [[tèè-ń dùwóⁿ ńà]
 [[tea-DefSg finish.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘They went (only) to find that there was no tea left.’
- c. è gá sò káy-má [à tèt]
 3Pl Ipfv **go.Ipfv** **coincide.Ipfv** [3Sg Dat]
 [[tèè-ń dùwóⁿ ńà]
 [[tea-DefSg finish.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘They go/will go (only) to find that there is no tea left.’

15.1.2 Motion verb plus perfective VP

An intransitive motion clause is commonly followed by a VP in fixed perfective form. The context is generally purposive (‘go/come to VP’). The second action is expressed by a verb or VP without an overt subordinator. Spatiotemporal adverbs following the second VP, like ‘here’ in these examples, can have broad scope including the motion event.

In (776) both clauses have Pfv verbs, denoting a completed two-part event beginning with motion. It is implied that both events actually took place.

- (776) a. à bé gà [sùwó sà(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv [sheep buy.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She came here to buy a sheep.’
- b. à bé gà [káyⁿ màà]
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv [work(n) seek.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She came to look for work here.’
- c. à bé gà [áj kwá]
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv [2Sg hit.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She came here in order to hit you-Sg.’

The time frame is shifted to the future in (777a) and to general imperfective in (777b). This has no effect on the form of the appended VP, which remains perfective.

- (777) a. ā gà bé bé [sùwó sà(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg Ipfv **Fut** come.Pfv [sheep buy.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She will come to buy a sheep.’
- b. ā gà bí-yé [sùwó sà(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg **Ipfv** come-Ipfv [sheep buy.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She (regularly) comes to buy a sheep.’

Even when the second event is also a motion event, ‘come’ or ‘go’ and the second motion event are understood to be chronologically sequenced. For example, (778a-b) could describe someone walking over to a tree or slope and then climbing it, and (778c) could describe someone walking to the village well and then climbing down inside it.

- (778) a. ā sò gá táwⁿ
 3Sg **go.Pfv** Pfv ascend.**Pfv**
 ‘He/She went and climbed up.’
- b. ííⁿ ɲá sò táwⁿ
 1Pl Ipfv **go.Ipfv** ascend.**Pfv**
 ‘We (often) go and climb up.’
- c. è bé gà yà
 3Pl **come.Pfv** Pfv descend.**Pfv**
 ‘They came and climbed down.’

The chronological sequencing explains why this construction is usually understood as purposive.

The negative example (779) can be interpreted as denying both the going and the climbing, but it can also be interpreted as acknowledging the going but denying the climbing, or denying that climbing was the reason for going.

- (779) à té sò táwⁿ
 3Sg **PfvNeg** go.Pfv ascend.Pfv
 ‘He/She didn’t go and climb up.’ or ‘He/She didn’t go in order to climb up.’

sò/sò ‘go’ and its suppletive variant yè/yè may fail to raise in contexts calling for Final Tone-Raising. Instead, the expected H-tone jumps rightward to the onset of a following L-toned word or particle. See §10.1.6.1 for examples and §3.6.4.4.3 for the tonology.

15.1.3 Non-motion verb-verb compounds

Compounding of two non-motion verb stems is rare. One such case is the lexicalized combination of *sùyéⁿ/sùyé-nè* ‘propel, drive (skiff) using poles’ and antipassive *kwéré/kwéré* ‘hit’ (780a). It often appears in verbal-noun form (780b) as object of ‘do’. As a compound verb, its forms are Pfv *sùyèŋ-kwéré* and Ipfv *sùyèŋ-kwéré-lè* (or *-rè*).

- (780) a. \bar{e} *sùyèŋ-kwéré* *gà*
 3Pl propel.VblN-hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They raced (boats).’
- b. (i) *yè* *sùyèŋ-kwéré* *tíⁿ* *ɲà*
 3Pl Sbj/Obj propel.VblN-hit.VblN do.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They did a boat race.’

15.2 Sequential VPs (and sequential clauses)

15.2.1 Sequential VPs

As shown in the preceding section, it is quite possible to juxtapose two same-subject perfective clauses, or two same-subject imperfective clauses, to express a tightly connected chronological sequence (like ‘climb and fall down’). However, very often the second clause is replaced by a sequential VP, which has an invariant form. Aspect and other clause-level inflectional categories are expressed only in the main clause. In (781), the main clause is perfective, so it is understood that the two-event sequence occurred once.

- (781) a. [\bar{a} *táⁿ* *ɲà* [*júgú kùmà*]] [*bé* *séⁿ*]
 [3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree on]] [Seq fall.Pfv]
 ‘He/She climbed up a tree only to fall off.’
- b. [\bar{a} *kùmú* *ɲà* *bóm*]] [*bé* *sò*]
 [3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv here]] [Seq go.Pfv]
 ‘He/She slept here and (then) went away.’

In (782), the first clause is imperfective, allowing for the possibility of recurrent events. The second clause is again a sequential VP showing the same form as in (781).

- (782) a. [\bar{a} *gà* *tá-ná* [*júgú-ùj kùmà*]] [*bé* *séⁿ*]
 [3Sg Ipfv ascend-Ipfv [tree-DefSg on]] [Seq fall.Pfv]
 ‘He/She (regularly) climbs the tree only to fall off.’

- b. [à gá kùmú] [bé sò]
 [3Sg **Ipfv** sleep.**Ipfv**] [**Seq** go.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She (regularly) sleeps here and then goes away.’

The two events are normally chronologically sequenced when the two VPs clearly denote distinct events. This may seem to be contradicted by (783). However, even here it is possible to conceptualize the incident as a sequence (‘shoot’ followed by ‘kill’), and it would not be possible to invert the order of the subevents within the sequential construction.

- (783) [ā gùⁿsúnj kwá gà]
 [3Sg pouched.rat hit.**Pfv** **Pfv**]
 [bé à wàà]
 [**Seq** 3Sg kill.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She shot and killed a pouched rat.’

On the other hand, there are some sequential constructions that do not require chronological sequencing. In some of these constructions, the sequential functions as a same-subject, infinitive-like complement to a main-clause predicate like ‘want (to VP)’ or ‘be able (to VP)’. If different-subject complements are also allowed by a main-clause predicate, they are expressed as subjunctive clauses (§17.4).

15.2.2 Form of sequential VP (bé plus perfective)

A sequential VP begins with bé, glossed “Seq” in interlinears. It is followed by a VP that is perfective in form (with Pfv verb).

- (784) a. ā sùwó sàⁿ ŋá [bé bé [à ní] bôⁿ]
 3Sg sheep buy.**Pfv** **Pfv** [**Seq** come.**Pfv** [3Sg Inst] here]
 ‘He/She bought a sheep and brought it here.’
- b. ā sùwó sàⁿ ŋá [bé [à bònò] kúlé]
 3Sg sheep buy.**Pfv** **Pfv** [**Seq** [3Sg neck] cut.**Pfv**]
 ‘He/She bought a sheep and slaughtered it.’

A possible etymological source for sequential bé is Pfv bé ‘come’, but the two are clearly distinct synchronically and they co-occur in (784a). The combination is sometimes pronounced bí bé in rapid speech. bé à including 3Sg pronoun à as in (784a-b) can be contracted to byá = à.

bé is H-toned phonemically, although (as a high-frequency grammatical particle) it is often heard with low pitch. It does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-toned word or particle even when there is no prosodic break. In (785a-b), the preceding L-toned syllable (bolded) fails to raise. It would be a true L-tone.

- (785) a. à ń sáá **gà** [bé táwⁿ]
 3Sg 3ReflSg lie.down.Pfv Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She lay down (=slept) then went up.’
- b. ā gà bé kùmù [bé díyé]
 3Sg Ipfv Fut sleep.Pfv [Seq eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘He/She will sleep and then eat.’
- c. à séⁿ **ḡà** [bé kìrì]
 3Sg fall.Pfv Pfv [Seq get.up.Pfv]
 ‘He/She fell down and then got back up.’

Since a sequential clause has no post-subject inflectional particle, it cannot be internally negated or aspectually marked.

15.2.3 Relationship of sequential bé and future bé

The future construction (§10.2.2.2) has the forms schematized in (786).

- (786) a. positive: subject gà bé (object) Vb.Pfv ...
 b. negative: subject tá ~ tà bé (object) Vb.Pfv ...

If the sequence beginning with future bé is bracketed off, as in gà [bé ...], the bracketed string has the same form as a sequential VP in every respect. However, a true sequential VP follows an already complete main clause, denotes a second event, and is optionally separated by a prosodic break. The future construction minus [bé ...] is incomplete, even if gà is interpreted as locational ‘be (somewhere)’ or copula ‘be’, and tá ~ tà as locational ‘not be (somewhere)’ or copula ‘not be’, since these predicators are incomplete without a following NP or adverbial. The future construction has no division into two events, does not imply motion, and has no prosodic break. So the identity in form is more interesting diachronically than synchronically.

15.2.4 Sequential clauses including pronominal subjects

Most sequential phrases are VPs, without subjects. However, subjects can be added under some conditions, creating **sequential clauses**.

One such case is the optional addition of a pronominal subject coindexed to the subject of the preceding main clause. The latter may be perfective (787a) or imperfective (787b).

(787) a. *ń* *nà* *súwó-yé* *kàý* *gà,*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat-Pl see.Pfv Pfv,
 ń *bé=* *è* *sàⁿ*
 1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.Pfv
 ‘I saw some goats and I bought them.’

b. *ń* *ńá* *súwó-yè* *kàý*
 1Sg Ipfv goat-Pl see-Ipfv,
 ń *bé=* *è* *sàⁿ*
 1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.Pfv
 ‘I (regularly) see goats and buy them.’

The forms of such doubled pronominal subjects with *bé* are in (788).

(788) a. 1Sg *ń* *bè*
 b. 1Pl *ńń* *bé*
 2Sg *ńń* *bé*
 2Pl *ńń* *bé*
 c. 3Sg *à* *bé*
 3Pl *è* *bé*
 d. LogoSg *ń* *bé*
 LogoPl *é* *bé*

The important point is that although the subject of the sequential clause is coindexed to that of the main clause, it does not take reflexive form. For example, the form is *à bé* in (789a), not *ń bé* with 3ReflSg *ń*. When *ń bé* does occur, it is logophoric (789b).

- (789) a.

à	súwó-yé	kàý	gà,
3Sg	goat-Pl	see.Pfv	Pfv,
à	bé=	è	sà ⁿ
3Sg	Seq	3Pl	buy.Pfv

 ‘He/She saw some goats and he/she bought them.’
- b.

à	yé	[ń	súwó-yé	kàý	gà],
3Sg	said	[LogoSg	goat-Pl	see.Pfv	Pfv],
ń	bé=	è	sà ⁿ		
LogoSg	Seq	3Pl	buy.Pfv		

 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x saw some goats and he/she_x bought them.’

Aside from such optionally doubled pronominal subjects, there are constructions that require an open-ended subject NP. This is the case with the ‘before’ construction described just below.

15.2.5 ‘Before ...’ clause with *hàli* plus sequential clause

A ‘before ...’ clause begins with *hàli* (~ *hàri*) followed by a sequential clause (including a subject). The event in question may have already taken place (790a-b), or it may be future or hypothetical (790c). What matters is the relative chronology of the two events. A subject NP is required, even if it is coindexed with the subject of the main clause (790c).

- (790) a.

ń	ná	kìyé	gà,
1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	run.Pfv	Pfv,
<i>hàli</i>	<i>zándáramú-yè</i>	bí	bé / ... / ...
		bé	... / táw ⁿ / yà
before	gendarme-Pl	Seq	come.Pfv/ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv

 ‘I fled, before the gendarmes came/went down/went up.’
- b.

sèèdú	sò	gá,	
S	go.Pfv	Pfv,	
<i>hàli</i>	ń	bè	bé
before	1Sg	Seq	come.Pfv

 ‘Seydou had (already) left before I came (=arrived here).’
- c.

ń	ńá	bé	yé	kìyè	[<i>hàli</i>	ń	bè	ń	sàà]
1Sg	Ipfv	Fut	go.Pfv	run.Pfv	[before	1Sg	Seq	1Sg	lie.down.Pfv]

 ‘I will go run, before I go to bed.’ (< *sáá*)

- d. áá ná= à báá [bòntó nìⁿ],
 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg take.out.Pfv [granary inside],
 hàlà= áá byá= à sáti
before 2Pl **Seq** 3Sg toss.Pfv
 ‘When you-Pl take it (=rice grain) out of the granary, before you-Pl sow it, ...’
 (2021-03 @ 10:15, hesitation removed)

- e. hàrí à bé mùwò
before 3Sg Seq ripen.Pfv
 ‘before it (rice) ripened’ (2021-03 @ 07:17)

hàli X (~ hàri X) can also mean ‘even X’ (§19.1.4) or ‘even if ...’ (§16.2.1). This suggests that the ‘before’ examples might be translated ‘even before’. While this might have been the case at an earlier stage of the language, this is now the only productive ‘before’ construction and it has no necessary emphatic quality.

In hypothetical contexts, the ‘before’ clause may describe an undesirable event that can be avoided by taking action (791). This can be expressed more explicitly by the ‘lest’ construction (§17.4.4).

- (791) a. ñ ñà bé ñ fígèⁿ,
 1Sg Ipfv Fut 1Sg hide.Pfv,
 hàlí tùúⁿ-yè bé kírì
before bee-Pl **Seq** get.up.Pfv
 ‘I will hide (=take shelter) before the bees get up (=swarm).’

- b. áⁿ fígèⁿ,
 2Sg hide.Pfv,
 hàlí tùúⁿ-yè bé áⁿ síⁿ
before bee-Pl **Seq** 2Sg bite.Pfv
 ‘Hide (=take shelter) before the bees bite you!’

- c. kiyè,
 run.Pfv
 hàlí bándì-yè bé áñ kày
before bandit-Pl **Seq** 2Sg see.Pfv
 ‘Flee, before the bandits see you!’

Such examples can also be phrased as ‘lest’ clauses with clause-initial yàrà and prohibitive (§17.4.4).

The ‘before’ clause can also indicate the dispreferred status of its proposition, as opposed to that of the juxtaposed main clause. For the semantic evolution compare English *sooner*, French *plutôt*, German *eher*.

- (792) ííⁿ ñà bé [kùú wò] díyá wày,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut [cooked.rice Foc] eat.Pfv today,
 hàlè = éém bé nàmù díyá
before 1Pl Seq tô eat.Pfv
 ‘We’ll eat rice [focus] today, before (=in preference to) we eat tô (=millet cakes).’

For hàlì in ‘since ...’ clauses, without sequential bé, see §17.2.3.1 below.

15.2.6 Sequential VPs involving motion

15.2.6.1 ‘Go’ or ‘come’ in the main clause (often doubled)

Motion verbs can combine with following open-ended VPs without sequential bé (§15.1.2). This subsection covers combinations where a main clause with ‘go’ or ‘come’ does precede a sequential VP. In this case, the motion verb is optionally doubled after sequential bé before the substantive VP (cf. §15.2.7).

With bé/bí-yé ‘come’ in the main clause, the result is, as expected, a sequential VP with bé (bé) including the optionally doubled ‘come’ (793a-b).

- (793) a. à bé gà bôm [bé (bé) tóó díyá]
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv here [Seq (**come.Pfv**) meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She came here and (then) he/she ate some meat.’
- b. ā gà bí-yé bôm [bé (bé) tóó díyá]
 3Sg Ipfv **come.Ipfv** here [Seq (**come.Pfv**) meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She (often) comes here and (then) he/she eats some meat.’

When sò/sò ‘go’ occurs in the main clause, the same optional doubling occurs. However, the copy of ‘go’ in the sequential VP is usually the suppletive yè, which can contract with bé as bé=è (794a-b).

- (794) a. ā sò gá yôⁿ [bé = (=è) tóó díyá]
 3Sg **go.Pfv** Pfv there.Def [Seq (**go.Pfv**) meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She went there and (then) he/she ate some meat.’

- b. à gá sò yôⁿ [bé= (=è) tóó díyá]
 3Sg Ipfv **go**.Ipfv there.Def [Seq (**go**.Pfv) meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She (often) goes there and (then) he/she eats some meat.’

15.2.6.2 Motion verb plus sequential VP with another motion verb

The construction described in the preceding subsection can also occur when the main clause contains a motion verb that is neutral on the ‘hither/thither’ directional axis, e.g. ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘exit’, ‘enter’, or a locomotion verb like ‘run’. In this case, only the optional ‘come’ or ‘go’ in the sequential VP indicates direction vis-à-vis the deictic center.

- (795) a. à táⁿ ñà [bé bé tóó díyá]
 3Sg **ascend**.Pfv Pfv [Seq **come**.Pfv meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She came up and then ate some meat.’

- b. à táⁿ ñà [bé= è tóó díyá]
 3Sg **ascend**.Pfv Pfv [Seq **go**.Pfv meat eat.Pfv]
 ‘He/She went up and then ate some meat.’ (with yè ‘go’)

A subtlety here is that ‘ascend’ and ‘go’ are conceptualized as a single motion trajectory, rather than vertical motion followed by noncentripetal (horizontal) motion, even though ‘go’ is phrased as part of the sequential VP.

Likewise, motion verbs other than ‘come’ and ‘go’ can occur in the sequential VP. For example, a manner of locomotion verb like ‘run’ may be followed by a sequential VP containing ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘exit’, or ‘enter’ as well as ‘come’. In these combinations, the sequential VP adds a directional ingredient to the main verb, and does not denote a second event.

- (796) a. ā kiyé gà [bé táwⁿ / yà / dó / bá]
 3Sg **run**.Pfv Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv/descend-Pfv/enter.Pfv/exit(v).Pfv]
 ‘He/She ran up/down/in/out.’
- b. à gá kiyé [bé táwⁿ / yà / dó / bá]
 3Sg Ipfv **run**.Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv/descend-Pfv/enter.Pfv/exit(v).Pfv]
 ‘He/She (often) runs up/down/in/out.’

As a result, this construction is essentially interchangeable with another construction that has Ipfv forms of the same motion verbs following a main clause (§15.1.1.5-6 above).

15.2.6.3 ‘Return’ verbs in the sense ‘VP again’ with sequential VP

débè(-rè) and its synonym béⁿ/bé-né are reflexive verbs in their basic sense ‘return, go/come back’. They can combine with a non-motion sequential VP in the more abstract sense ‘VP again’ (797a-b). Adverb túⁿ ‘again’ (§19.3.1.1) is sometimes added clause-finally.

(797) a. \bar{i} yè= é(é) débè gà [bé tóó-òn díyá] (túⁿ)
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **return.Pfv** Pfv [Seq meat-DefSg eat.Pfv] (again)
 ‘They again ate meat.’

b. \bar{i} yè= é(é) débè gà
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **return.Pfv** Pfv
 [bé mìsírì mènènì túⁿ]
 [Seq mosque fix.Pfv again]
 ‘They repaired (or rebuilt) the mosque (again).’

c. à ñ débè gà [bé táwⁿ / yà]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **return.Pfv** Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv/descend/Pfv]
 ‘He/She went back up/down.’

Fuller discourse context is provided in (798a-b).

(798) a. à séⁿ ñà, ā kírí gà,
 3Sg fall.Pfv, 3Sg, 3Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv,
 à ñ débè gà [bé séⁿ]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **return.Pfv** Pfv [Seq fall.Pfv]
 ‘He fell, he got back up, and he (went and) fell again.’

b. à gà sé-né, à gá kírí,
 3Sg Ipfv fall.Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv,
 ā gà ñ débè-rè [bé séⁿ]
 3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg **return-Ipfv** [Seq fall.Pfv]
 ‘(Often) he falls, he gets back up, and he (goes and) falls again.’

It is possible, but less common, to flip the order of ‘return’ and the other verb, so that ‘return’ is in a sequential VP (bé débè) following a main clause with the other verb.

15.2.7 Purposive sequential VP with doubled ‘come’ or ‘go’

In (799a-b), the first clause has main-clause form with ‘go’ or ‘come’ as simple motion verb. A same-subject purposive VP is expressed as a sequential VP, in which *bé* is followed by a redundant copy of ‘go’ or ‘come’. The combination *bé bé* in (799a) is sequential *bé* plus *bé* ‘come’. The combination with ‘go’ can be *bé sò* or *bé yè ~ bé = è* (799b).

- (799) a. *à bé gà [bé bé í kwà]*
 3Sg **come.Pfv** Pfv [Seq **come.Pfv** 1Sg hit.Pfv]
 ‘He/She came (here) to hit me.’
- b. *ā sò gá yáwⁿ [bé sò/=è í kwà]*
 3Sg **go.Pfv** Pfv there.Def [Seq **go.Pfv** 1Sg hit.Pfv]
 ‘He/She went there to hit me.’

The same construction is used when the first clause is elaborated by addition of a conveyed object in the form of an instrumental PP (800a-b).

- (800) a. *zàkí bé gà [dàbà ní]*
 Z **come.Pfv** Pfv [daba Inst]
 [bé bé píⁿ sùwá= [à ní]]
 [Seq **come.Pfv** millet cultivate.Pfv] [3Sg Inst]]
 ‘Zaki bought a daba (=hoe) (in order) to cultivate millet with it.’
- b. *zàkí sò gá [dàbà ní] yáwⁿ*
 Z **go.Pfv** Pfv [daba Inst] there.Def
 [bé sò/=è píⁿ sùwá= [à ní]]
 [Seq **go.Pfv** millet cultivate.Pfv] [3Sg Inst]]
 ‘Zaki took/conveyed a daba (=hoe) (in order) to cultivate millet with it.’

15.2.8 ‘Want/like to VP’ and sequential VP

15.2.8.1 ‘Want to VP’ with comitative PP (X pà)

‘X want Y’ where Y is a nominal denoting a referent is expressed with the intransitive verb *kìⁿyè/kìⁿyé*, plus a comitative PP (§11.2.5.4). When the the complement is a same-subject sequential VP, the verb *kìⁿyè/kìⁿyé* is omitted. (801) is therefore literally something “we are with it [to ask you].”

- (801) írⁿ ñá= [à pà] [byá= án tíyé]
 1Pl **be.Loc** [3Sg **Comit**] [**Seq** 2Sg ask.Pfv]
 ‘We would like to ask you-Sg.’

When the subject-agent of the desired action is other than the wanter, the complement takes the form of a subjunctive clause (§17.4.6.3).

15.2.8.2 ‘Like to VP’ with verb fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ ‘like (v)’

The transitive verb fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ ‘like (v)’, shown in (802a) with an object (§11.2.5.2), can take a sequential VP complement as in (802b). In this case, the content of the sequential VP is resumed by a 3Sg pronominal object in the main clause.

- (802) a. ñ ñá= à fùwóⁿ
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg want.Ipfv
 ‘I want it.’
- b. ñ ñá= à fùwóm [bé bé]
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg want.Ipfv [**Seq** come.Pfv]
 ‘I want to come.’

For the different-subject construction with subjunctive clausal complement, see §17.4.6.4.

15.2.9 ‘Fear to VP’ with plus sequential VP

kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear, be afraid’ can be a simple intransitive with optional PP [X kààⁿ] specifying the source of fear, as in ‘X be afraid of Y’ (§11.2.5.6).

The complement may also be a same-subject sequential clause in the sense ‘fear to VP’, where the fear is focused on possible adverse consequences of an action by the same subject.

- (803) a. à gá kùⁿwá [bé tá(w)ⁿ / yà]
 3Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv** [**Seq** ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She is afraid to climb up/down.’
- b. ñ ñá kùⁿwá [bé dùwó mèⁿ]
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv** [**Seq** beer drink.Pfv]
 ‘I am afraid of drinking beer.’

For clausal complements of ‘fear’ in the form of ‘lest’ prohibitives, where the fear is directed at a potential action of a different subject/agent, see §17.4.5. For ‘fear that’ with indicative complements, see §17.3.4.

15.2.10 ‘Be able to VP’ (sìnì/sìní) plus sequential VP

The verb ‘be able (to VP)’ is sìnì/sìní (variant hìnì/hìní). In perfective contexts (‘was/were able to VP’), denoting ability to do something on a particular occasion, the main clause is perfective (positive sìnì, negative té sìnì) and the complement is a same-subject sequential VP.

- (804) a. à té sìnì [bé kiyè / tá(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg **PfvNeg** be.able.**Pfv** [**Seq** run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She was (not) able to run/to go up.’
- b. ā sìníⁿ ñà [bé kiyè / tá(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg be.able.**Pfv** Pfv [**Seq** run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She was able to run/to go up.’
- c. ā sìníⁿ ñà [bé sùwó / súwó sàⁿ]
 3Sg be.able.**Pfv** Pfv [**Seq** sheep/goat buy.Pfv]
 ‘He/She was able to buy a sheep/a goat.’

In imperfective contexts, denoting a temporally unbounded capability (habitual or future), the main clause takes imperfective form (positive gá sìní, negative tá sìní). There are two options for the complement in this case. The preferred construction is with a same-subject imperfective VP; see §15.1.1.1 for examples. The alternative, with a sequential VP as in perfective contexts, is judged by a speaker to be grammatical but dispreferred (805a-b). However, this speaker did use this construction in a recording (805c).

- (805) a. à gá sìní [bé kiyè / tá(w)ⁿ]
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.**Ipfv** [**Seq** run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She can run/go up.’
- b. ìj ñá sìní [bé kwá [sèèdú nà]]
 1Sg Ipfv be.able.**Ipfv** [**Seq** help.Pfv [S Dat]]
 ‘I can help Seydou.’

- c. áá yè [[júgú-ùⁿ sífê-èⁿ sááⁿ] ɲá síní
 2Pl said [[tree-DefSg kind-DefSg all] Ipfv **be.able.Ipfv**
 [bé kííɲ kóɲò]
 [Seq skiff assemble.Pfv]
 ‘You-Pl have said that any kind of tree (=wood) can assemble (=make up) a skiff.’

15.2.11 ‘Forget to VP’ with nùmààsà(w)ⁿ plus sequential VP

The verb nùmààsà(w)/nùmààsá(w) ‘forget’ is followed by a same-subject sequential VP with bé and containing a Pfv verb, in the sense ‘forget (to VP)’. The complement denotes an action type that the subject intended to carry out but that never happened.

- (806) a. ń ná nùmààsáⁿ ɲà [bé táwⁿ / bé]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **forget.Pfv** Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv / come.Pfv]
 ‘I forgot to go up/come.’
- b. sèédù nùmààsáⁿ ɲà [bé tóó-òⁿ sàⁿ]
 S **forget.Pfv** Pfv [Seq meat-DefSg buy.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou forgot to buy the meat.’

For ‘forget (that ...)’ with an indicative clausal complement, see §17.3.1.2.

15.2.12 ‘Help (sb) to VP’ (kwá(-rá)) with dative and sequential VP

The verb ‘help’ is kwá(-rá) in intransitive clauses with dative PP complement (807a). (Elsewhere this is a transitive verb meaning ‘hit’). This can then be expanded by adding a same-subject sequential VP with bé (807b).

- (807) a. sèédù kwá gà [ń ná]
 S help.Pfv Pfv [1Sg **Dat**]
 ‘Seydou helped me.’
- b. sèédù kwá gà [ń ná] [bé súwó-òⁿ sè]
 S **help.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg Dat] [Seq goat-DefSg tie.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou helped me tie up the goat.’

The semantics of ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ (§17.4.8.4) are slightly distinct. In the case of ‘X prevent Y [from VPing]’, the covert subject of the lower VP is coindexed only with Y and cannot be

coindexed with X. In the case of ‘X help Y [(to) VP]’, the covert lower subject is coindexed with Y but may or may not also be coindexed with X. If X assists Y directly, for example in a two-person job like carrying a heavy object, then the real agent of that activity is the combined ‘X and Y’. Alternatively, the assistance may be indirect (writing a check, giving permission, etc.), in which case the action is carried out singly by Y. However, this fine distinction is disregarded by the grammar.

15.2.13 ‘Begin’ (súú-dó, síntìⁿ) with sequential VP

‘Begin’ verbs are síntìⁿ/síntì-nì and two compound verbs, dódó-kúⁿ/dódó-kú-nú (§9.5.2), literally “mouth-catch”, and súú-dó(-rɔ) (§9.5.8), literally “hand-give” or “hand-enter.”

The noncomposite ‘begin’ verb síntìⁿ/síntì-nì has cognates in Songhay and Tamashek (the latter is the likely source). It can be transitive (808a), or reflexive with either inanimate (808b) or animate (808c) subjects.

- (808) a. ā [kù-nù káyⁿ-yⁿ] síntìⁿ ɲà
 3Sg [Dem-Link work(n)-DefSg] **begin**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She started this job.’
- b. káyⁿ tè ɲ́ síntìⁿ
 work(n) PfvNeg 3ReflSg **begin**. Pfv
 ‘The work did not begin.’
- c. sèédù ɲ́ síntìⁿ ɲà
 S 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou has begun (an activity).’

Reflexive síntìⁿ and súú-dó clauses can be elaborated by adding a same-subject sequential VP complement. dódó-kúⁿ cannot be expanded in this way.

- (809) a. à ɲ́ súú-dó gà [bé kiyé]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv Pfv [Seq run.Pfv]
 ‘He/She began to run.’
- b. à ɲ́ síntìⁿ ɲà [bé kiyé]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv Pfv [Seq run.Pfv]
 ‘He/She began to run.’

Any VP can occur in a sequential VP complement for these two ‘begin’ verbs. Some motion verbs can also appear in imperfective VP complements (§15.1.1.2).

15.2.14 Weak obligation ‘should VP’ with káⁿ plus sequential VP

Weak obligation to perform an action can be expressed using the stative reflexive verb káⁿ. There are two constructions. In the first, the subject of káⁿ is open-ended. The complement is expressed as a same-subject sequential VP (810). The sense is ‘X should VP’ or ‘it is appropriate for X to VP’

- (810) a. sèédù ñ kám [bé sò]
 S 3ReflSg **should** [Seq go.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou should go.’
- b. án ñà= áñ kám [bé sò]
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 2Sg **should** [Seq go.Pfv]
 ‘You-Sg should go.’
- c. (ì) yè= é(é) kám [bé sò]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **should** [Seq go.Pfv]
 ‘They should go.’

The alternative construction involves an impersonal main clause (‘it must be that ...’, cf. French *il faut que ...*) plus a subjunctive clause. See §17.4.7.1 for this version.

15.2.15 fó ‘until’ plus sequential VP

fó ‘until, all the way to’ can precede an NP/adverb, or can occur initially in a full ‘until’ clause. Here we note that it can also occur with just a sequential VP when the notional subject is coindexed with a preceding NP. See 2021-01 @ 14:28 for an example.

15.3 Nominalized complements

Complements in the form of a verbal noun or other deverbal nominal are covered here.

15.3.1 Verbal noun complements

15.3.1.1 ‘Stop VPing’ with *tàà-nì/tàà-ní* and verbal-noun complement

Intransitive ‘stop, come to a halt’ is *tà(-rà)* (811a). The causative is *tàà-nì/tàà-ní* ‘stop (something), cause to halt’ (811b).

- (811) a. *móómbírì-ìⁿ* *ń* *tà* *gá*
 vehicle-DefSg 3ReflSg **stop.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘The vehicle stopped.’
- b. *zàkí* *móómbírì-ìⁿ* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 gendarme vehicle **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘Zaki stopped the vehicle.’

In the sense ‘stop, interrupt (an activity)’, the object of the causative version can also be a verbal noun that denotes the activity. If the verb is transitive, the verbal noun may have a possessor or incorporated compound initial (812e-f).

- (812) a. *ā* *sùwó-òń* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 3Sg **sing.VbIN-DefSg** **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘He/She stopped the singing/stopped the song.’
- b. *ī* *yè* *tééⁿ / yèé* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 3Pl Sbj/Obj ascend.VbIN/descend.VbIN **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘They stopped (=interrupted) going up/down.’
- c. *ííḡ* *kìyè-èń* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 13Pl run.VbIN-DefSg **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘We stopped the running.’ or ‘We stopped the race.’
- d. *ā* *tíyèḡ-kúmé* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 3Sg breathe.VbIN **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘He/She stopped breathing.’
- e. *ī* *yè* *dùwò-mèń* *tàà-níⁿ* *ḡà*
 3Pl Sbj/Obj beer-drink.VbIN **stop-Caus.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘They stopped drinking beer.’

- f. à í kwèrè-én tàà-níⁿ ɲà
 3Sg 1Sg hit.VblN-DefSg stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She stopped hitting me.’ (< kwéré-yàwⁿ)

15.3.1.2 ‘Give up VPing’ with bày ‘abandon’ and verbal-noun complement

The transitive verb ‘leave (sb, sth), abandon, leave alone’ is bày/bàý (813a). It can take a nominalized VP complement in the sense ‘(definitively) cease VPing; give up VPing’ (813b-d). The verbal noun can take an incorporated object noun (813c) or a full NP object (813d).

- (813) a. Ø ná sèèdú bàý gà yáwⁿ
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S leave.Pfv Pfv there.Def
 ‘I left Seydou there.’

- b. ná Ø kiyé / / ... bàý gà
 nà " ... / tám / dó " "
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.VblN/ascend.VblN/enter.VblN leave.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I have (permanently) given up running/going up/going in.’ (< kiyè, tá(w)ⁿ)

- c. Ø ná dùwò-mém bàý gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg beer-drink.VblN leave.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I have (permanently) given up beer drinking.’

- d. Ø nà [[í kòṅgórò-yè] kwéré] bàý gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[1Sg dog-PI] hit.Antip.VblN] leave.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I have (permanently) given up hitting my dogs.’

The verb dábày/dábày ‘cease’ (end of §9.3.2) can be used in similar constructions.

15.3.2 Verbal noun in purposive PP

In this construction, a main clause (often with a motion or transfer verb) is followed by a purposive PP whose complement is a verbal noun. If the underlying verb is transitive (and is not intransitivized here), the verbal noun may have a possessor or incorporated object. This monoclausal construction competes with biclausal purposive constructions (§17.4.3). Attestations of the monoclausal version tend to involve at least weak focus on the purposive, as when a motion event took place but the intended followup did not. This is brought out by negation; in (814a) what

is denied is that sheep-buying was the purpose of the motion event. Likewise, in (814b-c) the complement of purposive dáà is overtly focalized.

- (814) a. ā tè bé [sùwò-séné dáà]
 3Sg **PfvNeg** come.Pfv [sheep-buy.VblN **Purp**]
 ‘He/She didn’t come in order to buy a sheep.’ (< sàⁿ/sà-nà ‘buy’)
- b. ā sò gá yóm [[píⁿ-súwó wò] dáà],
 3Sg go.Pfv Pfv there.Def [[millet-cultivate.VblN **Foc** **Purp**]
 íkàà à té sùⁿwòró kílàwⁿ
 but 3Sg PfvNeg seedstock get.Pfv
 ‘He/She went there (intending) to grow millet [focus], but he/she didn’t (=couldn’t) get seeds (to plant).’
- c. ā dàbá sàⁿ ñá [[sùwó wò] dáà]
 3Sg daba buy.Pfv Pfv [[cultivate.VblN **Foc** **Purp**]
 ‘He/She bought a daba for farming [focus].’

15.3.3 Place-nominal complements

15.3.3.1 ‘Finish’ (kílà(w)ⁿ) with place-nominal (-wúwòⁿ) complement

The reflexive verb kílà(w)ⁿ/kílá(w)ⁿ ‘finish’ can take a simple dative PP complement (815a). When the complement includes a verb, the verb takes place-nominal form with -wúwòⁿ (§4.2.1.5). If the verb is transitive, the place nominal may take a possessor or an incorporated noun as initial.

- (815) a. à íj kíláⁿ ñà [kú nà]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **finish**.Pfv Pfv [Dem **Dat**]
 ‘He/She has finished that.’
- b. à íj kíláⁿ ñà tóó-díyé-wúwòⁿ nà
 3Sg 3ReflSg **finish**.Pfv Pfv meat-eat.Antip.VblN-**place** Q
 ‘Has he/she finished eating the meat?’
- c. ā tè íj kílàⁿ jíní-wúwòⁿ
 3Sg PfvNeg 3ReflSg **finish**.Pfv wash.VblN-**place**
 ‘He/She has not finished bathing.’

- d. à ñ kíláⁿ ñà [ñ kwèrè-wúwòⁿ]
 3Sg 3Ref1Sg **finish.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg hit.Vbl-**place**]
 ‘He/She has finished hitting me.’ (< kwéré)

15.4 ‘While X VP-ed’

15.4.1 With bé X bày ...

In this construction, the ‘while’ segment is a sequential VP beginning with bé and containing the perfective verb bày, which elsewhere means ‘leave, abandon (sth)’. Two versions of the construction have been observed (for the same speaker). In (816a-b), the more easily parsed of the two, the object of ‘leave’ is an abstract 3Sg pronominal anticipatorily resuming the following imperfective proposition. ‘Leave’ is then followed by a full imperfective clause including a subject. For example, (816a) is literally “they came, to leave it (that) I was sleeping.” (816b) is similar in structure.

- (816) a. [è bé gà]
 [3Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
 [bé à bày [ñ ñá kùmú] wò]
 [Seq 3Sg **leave.Pfv** [1Sg Ipfv sleep.Ipfv] Foc]
 ‘They came, while I slept [focus].’
- b. [sílè-yè séⁿ ñà]
 [rock-Pl fall.Pfv Pfv]
 [bé à bày [ñ ñá jùù jínì] wò]
 [Seq 3Sg **leave.Pfv**] [1Sg Ipfv garment wash.Ipfv] Foc
 ‘The rocks fell, while I was washing clothes [focus].’

In (817a-b), the object of ‘leave’ is now the subject of the subordinated imperfective clause. For example, (817a) is literally “he/she came, to leave me sleeping.”

- (817) a. [à bé gà]
 [3Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
 [bé m̄ báy kùmú wò]
 [Seq 1Sg **leave.Pfv** sleep.Ipfv Foc]
 ‘He/She came, while I slept [focus].’

- b. [à bé gà]
 [3Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
 [bé ìn báy [jùù nínì] wò]
 [Seq 1Sg leave.Pfv [garment wash.Ipfv] Foc]
 ‘He/She came, while I was washing clothes [focus].’

In both versions of this construction, the entire ‘while’ segment is readily focalized, as these examples show.

15.4.2 With -tuwò ‘time (while)’

This element appears to be a nominal compound final, and it may be distantly related to túwó ‘earth, soil’. The initial is a verbal noun. The compound denotes the time during which an action or process occurs. An additional possessor (denoting the subject) and/or a compound initial (denoting the object) is required. If a compound initial is present, the whole compound is tone-leveled (818d). If there is no compound initial, the verbal noun retains its lexical melody (as in the Pfv verb), and its final tone spreads to -tuwò (818a-c). kòmó-tùwò in (818a) is not a counterexample to this since /LH/-melody behaves elsewhere as covertly /LHL/ (§3.6.5.1).

(818)	verb (Pfv)	compound	gloss
a.	kwéy ⁿ /kwéy-nì	kwéy ⁿ -tùwò	‘while sweeping’
	kòmó(-nò)	kòmó-tùwò	‘while crying out’
	sàbàrè ⁿ /sàbàrè-nè	sàbàrè ⁿ -tùwò	‘while treating (medically)’
b.	bá(-rá)	bá-túwó	‘while exiting’
	dó(-ró)	dwéé-túwó	‘while entering’
	bé/bí-yé	bíyé-túwó	‘while coming’
	káy ⁿ /káy ⁿ	káy ⁿ -túwó	‘while working’
c.	sò/sò	sìyè-tùwò	‘while going’
d.	tóo díyá/díyà	tóo-díyé-túwó	‘while eating meat’
	nàmù díyá/díyà	nàmù-điyè-tùwò	‘while eating tô (=millet cakes)’

The compounds are used adverbially without additional marking, hence ‘while/as (someone) VERB-s’.

- (819) a. [ɨ́ kà̀yⁿ-tùwó wò] ní nà kàsà-mà gà = [à tè]
 [1Sg work.VblN-**while** Foc] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg coincide.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 ‘It was while (I was) working [focus] that I happened to encounter it.’
- b. [ám bá-túwó] áⁿ nà dós-̀n-tíyáⁿ
 [2Sg exit.VblN-**while**] 2Sg Sbjn shut.Pfv
 ‘As you-Sg leave, please shut (the door).’

15.5 Noun-headed adverbial relative clauses

15.5.1 Temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when ...’)

A relative clause headed by a temporal noun (‘time/moment’, ‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can function as a temporal relative clause, without an additional postposition (820).

- (820) (né) [táraáⁿ mǎⁿ] zàkí nà bé,
 (if) [day **Rel**] Z if.Pfv come.Pfv
 ɨ́ ɲá sò
 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv
 ‘(On) (whatever) day Zaki comes, I will go.’

15.5.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where ...’)

gíyéⁿ ‘place’ is the head of a relative in (821), occurring in the usual postverbal position for spatial adverbials. The construction is regular (§14.2.4). The entire relative construction (‘the place where we saw the elephants’) is the complement of locative -ỵ ~ -yì in the form -è which ultimately derives from *-yàwⁿ-y(i) with DefSg suffix. In (821), the preposed spatial relative clause is resumed by yôⁿ ‘there (definite)’ in the main clause.

- (821) [íⁿ nà [túwó-bóróⁿ]-yé kày [gíyéⁿ mǎɲ]]-è,
 [1Pl if.Pfv [elephant]-Pl see.Pfv [**place** Rel]]-**Loc**,
 ɨ́ ɲá ɲàmáà tàà-ní yôⁿ
 1Sg Ipfv house build.Ipfv **there.Def**
 ‘In the place where we have seen elephants, I will build a house there.’

15.5.3 Manner clause ‘(in) the way ...’

Instead of a relative clause ‘the way (in which) X VPs’, the attested construction is based on a definite singular nominal compound consisting of a verbal noun and *bààná* ‘manner’ (§8.4.3.3, §14.4.4). The relative construction is phrased as the complement of *sìná* ‘like’ (§8.4.1).

- (822) *ííⁿ ɲà bé kiyé [sìná zàkí kiyè-bààná-yàwⁿ]*
1Pl Ipv Fut run.Pfv [like Z run.VbIN-**manner**-DefSg]
‘We will run the (same) way Zaki runs.’

16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional

16.1.1 Hypothetical antecedent with *nì ~ né* ‘if’, perfective positive *nà*

A hypothetical conditional construction consists of an antecedent that denotes a possible but uncertain eventuality and a consequent that denotes an eventuality that will result (or be verified as true) if the antecedent is true. In many cases the antecedent is virtually certain to occur, so it can be translated with ‘when’ instead of ‘if’. The common thread is necessary chronological sequence.

A hypothetical conditional antecedent often begins with an ‘if’ particle. When conditionality is marked in the rest of the antecedent clause (see below on post-subject *nà* in perfective positive clauses), the initial ‘if’ particle is optional. In dialect 1 this particle is L-toned *nì ~ nè* (rarely *nà*), which raises to H-toned by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone. In dialect 2 it is H-toned *né*. Many textual examples, especially for dialect 1, involve vv-Contraction with a following vowel-initial subject proclitic (3Sg, 3Pl, LogoPl, 2Sg, 2Pl), obscuring the lexical vowel of the ‘if’ particle. However, it is possible to pronounce the ‘if’ particle independently, with some prolongation of the vowel before the clause proper begins.

When a positive antecedent denotes a bounded event, it is expressed by a perfective positive clause. Aside from the optional initial ‘if’ particle, such a clause can take the form of a regular main clause including postverbal Pfv morpheme *gà* (823a), or else the form of a specifically conditional clause with post-subject *nà* (glossed ‘if.Pfv’) and without Pfv *gà* (823b). In the latter case, clause-initial *nì ~ né* is redundant and is optionally omitted. Negative antecedents take their regular main-clause form with post-subject PfvNeg *tè*, and clause-initial *nì ~ né* is necessary to mark it as a conditional (823c).

- (823) a. [né zàkí bé gà] [íⁿ nà díyè]
 [if Z come.Pfv Pfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Ipfv]
 ‘If/When Zaki comes, we will eat.’
- b. [(né) zàkí nà bé] [íⁿ nà díyè]
 [if Z if.Pfv come.Pfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Ipfv]
 [= (a)]

- c. [né zàkí tè bé] [íín tà díyè]
 [if Z PfvNeg come.Pfv] [1Pl IpfvNeg eat.Ipfv]
 ‘If Zaki doesn’t come, we won’t eat.’

The ‘if.Pfv’ morpheme can also occur in perfective positive relative clauses (§14.1.3). More problematically, it is homophonous with the subjunctive morpheme *nà*, and the two constructions can mimic each other. However, the two morphemes cannot be directly equated. The negative counterpart of subjunctive *nà* is prohibitive *mà*, while that of perfective conditional *nà* is the regular perfective negative with post-subject *tè*. Cliffs has completely distinct ‘if.Pfv’ and subjunctive morphemes.

In 2021-03 @ 11:35, the antecedent clause is future in form (‘if you-Sg will take it back’). The context is favorable to a construal of the type ‘if you plan to take it back’.

The antecedent may also denote a state that is a precondition for some act. Since the antecedent has no other marking of conditionality, *nì ~ né* ‘if’ is necessary.

- (824) a. ní sèèdú gà bôn, kóngòró-òn tá kòmó-nò
 if S be.Loc here, dog-DefSg IpfvNeg cry.out(v)-Ipfv
 ‘If Seydou is here, the dog won’t bark.’
- b. ní dàbá gà [ń sùú-ỳ], ñ ńá síní sùwó
 if daba be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc], 1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv
 ‘If I have a daba (=hoe), I can do farm work.’
- c. *nà*= áⁿ ńà sáá-ná,
 if 2Sg be lie.down-Ppl,
 áⁿ ńá síní káyⁿ [báànà wéréⁿ]
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [manner which?]
 ‘If you are lying down, how can you work?’

16.1.2 *sááⁿ* ‘all’ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedents

sááⁿ is elsewhere the universal quantifier ‘all’ (§6.6.1). In its core quantificational sense it occurs at the end of NPs, or it can occur by itself as a noun ‘everybody’.

However, *sááⁿ* also has another function, at best distantly related, as a right-edge marker in conditional antecedents, especially the more syntactically complex antecedents. In (825), *sááⁿ* follows a subordinated clause (object of ‘see’), and marks the completion of the ‘if you see’ clause.

- (825) áⁿ ná= à kày
 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg see.Pfv
 [íⁿ ɲà [píⁿ ɲùnú] sùwó] sááⁿ,
 [1Pl Ipfv [millet Top] cultivate.Ipfv] **all**,
 [jí wù] tá dó-ró
 [water Foc] IpfvNeg enter-Ipfv
 ‘If you-Sg see that we are cultivating millet, (it means that) water (=flooding) [focus] is not coming in.’ (2021-03 @ 05:38)

Another example is (826). See also 2021-03 @ 18:54.

- (826) ná= án tè [pósónì ɲùnú] sàⁿ sááⁿ,
 if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Top] buy.Pfv **all**,
 án tá dúgó gàràbá= [án tìyé]-ỳ
 2Sg IpfvNeg rice reap.Ipfv [2Sg field]-Loc
 ‘Unless you-Sg buy poison (=herbicide), you-Sg won’t harvest any rice in your field.’
 (2021-03 @ 07:59 to 08:03)

Similar uses of ‘all’ quantifiers as right-edge markers occur in some other languages of the zone, including Bambara and some Songhay languages.

16.1.3 Hypothetical conditional consequents

There is no special marking of hypothetical conditional consequents. In the usual case where both the antecedent and consequent are bounded events, the consequent is imperfective or a deontic modal (imperative or hortative). Speakers disapproved of explicitly future consequents (with gà bé and Pfv verb), since (relative) futurity is understood. Further examples are in (827).

- (827) a. [yòó-bàá]-àⁿ nà bé,
 [rain]-DefSg **if.Pfv** come.Pfv,
 ɲ tá sò [sónó-ǝⁿ nìⁿ]
 1Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]
 ‘If it rains, I won’t go to the bush (=to the fields).’
- b. [ní [yòó-bàá]-án tè bé]
 [if [rain(n)]-DefSg **PfvNeg** come.Pfv]
 [ɲ ɲá sò [sónó-ǝⁿ nìⁿ]]
 [1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]]
 ‘If it doesn’t rain, I will go to the bush.’

- c. [ní [yòó-bàá]-àń tà bí-yé]
 [if [rain(n)]-DefSg **IpfvNeg** come-Ipfv]
 íⁿ ná sò [sójó-ǝⁿ nìíⁿ]
 1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]
 ‘If it isn’t raining, let’s go to the bush!’
- d. [ní [yòó-bàá]-àń tà bí-yé]
 [if [rain(n)]-DefSg **IpfvNeg** come-Ipfv]
 sò [sójó-ǝⁿ nìíⁿ]
 go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]
 ‘If it isn’t raining, go!-2Sg to the bush!’
- e. nà= áⁿ séⁿ ɲà, kìrì
 if 2Sg fall.Pfv Pfv, get.up.Pfv
 ‘If you-Sg fall, get (back) up!’

16.1.4 ‘Otherwise (=if not)’

The full construction is of the type ‘if X, then Y; otherwise (=if not X), then Z’. The ‘otherwise’ expression is phrased as ‘if it is not that’ (828) with discourse-definite demonstrative (§4.4.2.1).

- (828) né à gá sà-nà
 if 3Sg Ipfv rain.fall.Pfv
 íⁿ nà kónó bôⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv stay.Ipfv here,
 né ɲóⁿ té,
if Dem.Def not.be,
 íⁿ ɲá ÿ sójó-ÿⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc
 ‘If it rains, let’s stay here. Otherwise (=if not), we’ll go the fields.’
 (ɲá ÿ ~ ɲá yè for ɲá sò, §10.1.6.1)

Focalized ɲó-ò can also occur instead of ɲóⁿ ; see 2021-03 @ 02:39.

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 ‘Even if ...’ (hàli)

In this construction, the speaker recognizes that it might be thought that the factuality of the antecedent would block that of the consequent, but the speaker asserts that the consequent will occur regardless. The antecedent begins with *hàli* (or variant *hàri*, *àri*) ‘even’ (§19.1.4). It is optionally followed by *nì ~ né* ‘if’, which is absent in (829a) but present in (829b). The remainder of the antecedent is the same as in hypothetical conditionals; note *nà* ‘if.Pfv’ in (829a-b).

- (829) a. *hàli* *ń* *nà* *bé* *ɲàà̀nù*,
even 1Sg **if.Pfv** come.Pfv tomorrow,
ń *tà* *díyè* *bôⁿ*
 1Sg IpfvNeg eat.Ipfv here
 ‘Even if I come tomorrow, I won’t eat here.’
- b. *hàli* *ní* *yòó-bàá* *nà* *bé* *ɲàà̀nù*,
even if rain(n) **if.Pfv** come.Pfv tomorrow,
ń *tà* *pín* *tì-rì*
 1Sg IpfvNeg millet sow-Ipfv
 ‘Even if it rains tomorrow, I won’t plant millet.’

16.3 Willy-nilly antecedents (‘whether X or Y ...’)

In this construction, two paired antecedents have opposite truth conditions. Usually a positive clause is followed by its negation. If so, the second subject is always pronominalized, some adjuncts may be omitted in the second clause, and the verb is repeated. The first antecedent ends with nonterminal intonation (higher than modal pitch for this position). Whichever antecedent turns out to be true is asserted to have no effect on the truth of the consequent. An explicit ‘don’t care about it’ clause (§11.1.1.5) is optional.

- (830) [*yòó-bàá* *ná* *sàⁿ*] [*à* *té* *sàⁿ*],
 [rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv] [3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv]
ɲ *ɲá* *sò* *sóɲó-ỳⁿ*
 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc
 ‘Whether it rains or it doesn’t rain, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’

16.4 Counterfactual conditionals (pàà)

In a counterfactual, the eventuality expressed by the antecedent, whether a current state or a past event, is understood to be false. It is asserted that in an alternative world where the antecedent was true, the consequent would also have been realized, as in ‘if you had hit me, I would have killed you’.

The most consistent formal feature of counterfactuals is the shift to past-time perspective with $tù^n \sim \tilde{t}^n$ ‘be.Past’ following the subject in both antecedent and consequent. In addition, a specifically counterfactual morpheme *pàà* is optionally inserted between the subject of the antecedent and $tù^n \sim \tilde{t}^n$. Sometimes the regular ‘if’ particle $nì \sim né$ occurs clause-initially instead of post-subject *pàà*. The rest of the antecedent clause is perfective in the normal case where it denotes a bounded event. Therefore $tù^n \sim \tilde{t}^n$ is followed by *nà* ‘if.Pfv’ in positive antecedents and by PfvNeg *tè* in negatives, both then being followed by Pfv verbs. In the consequent, $tù^n \sim \tilde{t}^n$ is followed by an imperfective VP beginning with Ipfv *gà* or IpfvNeg *tà*.

(831) a.

án	Ø	$tù^n$	ná	ń	kwá	dìgé ⁿ ,
ám	<i>pàà</i>					
2Sg	Counterf	be.Past	if.Pfv	1Sg	hit.Pfv	yesterday,
ń	$tú^n$	ńà =	á ⁿ	wàá		
1Sg	be.Past	Ipfv	2Sg	kill.Ipfv		

‘If you-Sg had hit me yesterday, I’d have killed you.’

b.

ám	<i>pàà</i>	tún	tè	bé	dìgé ⁿ ,
2Sg	Counterf	be.Past	PfvNeg	come.Pfv	yesterday
ń	$tú^n$	ńá	sà =	[á ⁿ	màà]
1Sg	be.Past	Ipfv	go.Ipfv	[2Sg	seek.Pfv]

‘If you-Sg hadn’t come yesterday, I’d have gone to look for you.’

c.

ní	sèèdú	$tù^n$	nì
if	S	be.Past	it.is,
ā	tùn	tá	kìyé
3Sg	be.Past	IpfvNeg	run.Ipfv

‘If he was (=if it had been) Seydou, he wouldn’t have run.’

The construction can also appear when the antecedent denotes a state that is presently untrue or a future event that is unlikely to happen. This is pragmatically halfway between hypothetical and (past) counterfactual conditionals. In (832a), the final imperfective *bí-yé* can be replaced by sequential *bé bé* (pronounced by some speakers as *bí bé*).

- (832) a.

nì	mótó	tù ⁿ	ɲá	[ɲ	sùú-ỳ]
if	motorcycle	be.Past	be.Loc	[1Sg	hand-Loc]
̀̀	tú ⁿ	ɲà	[[só	ǹ̀gí-ỳ]	bí-yé]
1Sg	be.Past	Ipfv	[[go.Ipv	village-Loc]	come.Ipv]

‘If I had a motorcycle, I would go to the village and come back.’

b.

né	mótó	tìn	tá	[̀̀	pá]
if	motorcycle	be.Past	not.be.Loc	[1Sg	Comit]
̀̀	tá	só	ǹ̀gí-ỳ		
1Sg	IpfvNeg	go.Ipv	village-Loc		

‘If I didn’t have a motorcycle, I wouldn’t go to the village.’
(i.e., ‘were it not for the fact that I have a motorcycle’)

c.

né	̀̀	tí ⁿ	ɲà	náfòrò-tùú	nì,
if	1Sg	be.Past	be	rich.person	it.is,
̀̀	tín	tà	kónó	ǹ̀gí-ỳ	
1Sg	be.Past	IpfvNeg	stay.Ipv	village	

‘If I were a rich person, I wouldn’t stay in the village.’

17 Complement clauses

This chapter describes clauses (including subjects as well as VPs) that function as background for foregrounded clauses or that function as subordinated complements for predicates in main clauses.

17.1 Quotative complements

There are two ‘say’ verbs. One is the defective quasi-verb *yè ~ yé* (and nasalized variants *ɲè ~ ɲé*) ‘said’, which occurs only in veridical perfective positive contexts. It is a kind of verbal left-quotation mark. The other is the all-purpose, fully inflectable verb *sé(-ré)* ‘say, tell’. Both verbs allow an optional dative PP specifying the original addressee.

Direct quotations repeat the original utterance without change. In the more usual indirect quotation, pronominals are modified. If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with the current speaker or addressee, it is normally updated to correspond to the current role in the speech event. If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with a third-person quoted speaker (“author”), i.e. if it corresponds to what was a first person pronoun in the original utterance, it is expressed as a logophoric pronoun (§18.3). The original addressee, if overtly mentioned (‘you’ in the original utterance) and if not updated due to coindexation with the current speaker or addressee, is expressed as an ordinary third person pronominal.

17.1.1 Original addressee in quotations

A second person pronominal in the original utterance may be replaced by the corresponding third person pronominal in the quoted clause. Direct quotation (833a) corresponds to indirect quotation (833b).

- (833) a. *sèèdú yè [ámàdú tɛ] [áⁿ ɲá wùláá nì]*
S said [ask.Pfv Dat] [2Sg be who? it.is]
‘Seydou asked Amadou_x “who are you_x?”’
- b. *sèèdú yè [ámàdú tɛ] [à gá wùláá nì]*
S said [ask.Pfv Dat] [3Sg be who? it.is]
‘Seydou asked Amadou_x who he_x was.’’

Both (833a) and (833b) are actually ambiguous. (833a) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou_x who you_y were’, where ‘you’ is the current addressee who was not present during the quoted

speech event. Similarly, (833b) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou_x who he/she_y was’, referring to a distinct third-party referent.

17.1.2 Invariant yè ~ yé ‘said’

yè ~ yé ‘said’ introduces actual quoted matter, as opposed to a summarizing pronominal, demonstrative, or quotative noun (‘said it’, ‘said that’, ‘said the thing’), which requires the inflectable verb sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’. Whereas sé(-ré) can occur in any aspect-negation clause type, yè ~ yé is intrinsically perfective positive and indicative (assertive). In other words, it frames an actual past quotation, or a hypothetical quotation in a conditional antecedent. It requires a preceding subject, and it is optionally followed by a dative PP before the actual quoted matter begins.

The tone of ye is H or L depending on the category of subject. It is L-toned (before further tone sandhi) after any nonpronominal NP subject, e.g. ‘Seydou’ in (834a). It is H-toned after the L-toned pronominal clitics 3Sg à and 3Pl è (834b), and after the 1Sg clitic ñ (+H), which here as in several similar combinations triggers tonal changes (834c). After H-toned pronominals it is again L-toned (834d) before further tone sandhi. In other words, it dissimilates (or polarizes) to the tone of a preceding pronominal.

The y is nasalized to ɲ after the nasal of 1Sg ñ (+H) and Logo/3ReflSg ń, after 2Sg áⁿ, and in some subdialects after 1Pl íⁿ. 3Pl è and Logo/3ReflPl é usually shift vowel quality from e to i before y, and 3Pl ì yé can reduce to Ø yé.

- (834) a. sèèdú yè ‘Seydou said’
- b. à yé ‘he/she said’
 (i) yé ~ è yé ‘they said’
- c. ñ ɲé ‘I said’
- d. áɲ ɲè ‘you-Sg said’
 íⁿ yè ~ íɲ ɲè ‘we said’
 áá yè ‘you-Pl said’
 j ɲè LogoSg said
 í yè ~ é yè LogoPl said

The distinction between yé and yè is masked when Final Tone-Raising applies to yè, as in íⁿ yá = [á tɛ̀] ‘we said to him/her’.

Usually there is no prosodic break between *yè ~ yé* and immediately following quoted matter. However, a brief prosodic break is possible. When a planned prosodic break happens, *yè ~ yé* can be expanded by *wòd* (835a) or a contracted version thereof (835b-d).

- (835) a. *à yé wòd, ...*
sèèdú yè wòd, ...
- b. *à yé wò, ...*
sèèdú yé wò, ...
- c. *à yó = ò, ...*
sèèdú yó = ò, ...
- d. *à yê, ...*
sèèdú yê, ...

The quoted matter must be close to what is stated to have been spoken (or thought) by the ascribed author of the quotation, except for logophorics and pronominal updates (836a). An exception is that a quoted command (§17.1.5.1) takes subjunctive form (836b). A content or polar interrogative can be quoted (836c-d).

- (836) a. *à yé [ń té sèèdú kày]*
 3Sg **said** [LogoSg PfvNeg S see.Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x hadn’t seen Seydou.’
- b. *à yé [n ná bé]*
 3Sg **said** [1Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told me to come.’
- c. *à yé [ŋ ná wùláá nì]*
 3Sg **said** [1Sg be who it.is]
 ‘He/She asked (me) who I am/was.’
- d. *à yé [ŋ ná yùwò díyá rà]*
 3Sg **said** [1Sg Ipfv fish eat.Ipfv Q]
 ‘He/She asked (me), do/did I eat fish?’

- e. [né sèèdú yé nàànú nì]
 [if S **said** tomorrow it.is]
 ñ ñá bí-yé
 1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv
 ‘If Seydou says (it’s) tomorrow, I’ll come.’

17.1.3 Inflectable verb sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’

sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’ is compatible with any inflectional frame (perfective or imperfective, positive or negative, indicative or modal). It is immediately preceded by a pro forma 3Sg object à if there is no other preverbal object NP (such as a demonstrative), even when an actual quotation immediately follows without a prosodic boundary. The à is unmistakable in imperatives (‘say it!’) where it is clause-initial (837a). The verb sé(-ré) is followed by an optional dative PP denoting the original addressee as in (837b). In this case the usual free translation has ‘tell’ rather than ‘say’. Quoted matter follows ‘say it’ and the optional dative (837c). Again, quoted commands take subjunctive form (837a).

- (837) a. à sé [sèèdú nà bé]
 3Sg **say.Pfv** [S Sbjn come.Pfv]
 ‘Tell Seydou to come!’ (lit. “say it, Seydou should/must come”)
- b. è té à sé [ñ té]
 3Pl PfvNeg 3Sg **say.Pfv** [1Sg **Dat]**
 ‘They didn’t tell me.’
- c. [tárááⁿ sááⁿ] à gá = à sé-ré
 [day all] 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg **say-Ipfv**
 [í ñà bí-yé]
 [LogoSg Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘Every day he/she_x says that he/she_x is coming.’

17.1.4 Optional ‘that’ expressions (súnù, béyásè)

In conversational speech and in narrative, there is normally no ‘that’ complementizer at the beginning of quoted speech. However, in more formal speech an element of this type may appear. súnù can be used with either yè ~ yé ‘said’ (838a) or with fully inflectable sé(-ré) ‘say’ (838b).

- (838) a. à yé súnù [áⁿ ɲà bí-yé]
 3Sg said **that** [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’
- b. ā yà= à sé gà súnù [áⁿ ɲà bí-yé]
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv **that** [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 [= (a)]

sé(-ré) ‘say’ also allows an alternative ‘that’ form, béyàsè ~ béyàsè ~ bíyàsè ~ báásè as in (839). This is even more formal in style, and can be followed by a pause. It may be a mutation of sequential VP bé à sé ‘and then say it’. It may be compared in function to English *as follows*.

- (839) ā yà= à sé gà béyàsè(,) [áⁿ ɲà bí-yé]
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv **that(,)** [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’

béyàsè and variants can also occur in indicative clausal complements of ‘know (that)’, ‘forget (that)’, ‘be sure (that)’ (§17.3.1.1-3), ‘see/hear that’ (§17.3.2), and ‘fear (that)’ (§17.3.4).

wòò at a planned prosodic break between ‘say’ and the quoted matter is described in §17.1.2 above. It seems to function as an intonational extension, but it might alternatively be regarded as another ‘that’ complementizer.

17.1.5 Jussive complement (quoted imperative or hortative)

17.1.5.1 Quoted imperatives and prohibitives

Quoted imperatives take the form [X say [Y Modal ... Verb.Pfv ...]]. Y is an open-ended NP coindexed with the addressee in the original utterance, but updated in the context of the current speech event. This construction can be elaborated by adding an optional dative addressee, but the lower subject Y remains obligatory: [X say [to Y (or Z)] [Y ...]]. The dative is often omitted, since it is usually understood that the original addressee was also the subject Y of the original imperative. Therefore the most common form is [X say [Y ...]]. The free translation ‘X tell Y [Ø to ...]’ with Y functioning as main-clause object is syntactically misleading. With [X say [Y ...]] and no dative it is also possible that Y was not the immediate addressee, in which case the translation could be ‘X say (to an intermediary) that Y must/should VP’.

If the original command was positive, the quoted imperative clause has subjunctive *à* following the subject (840a). If it was negative, i.e. if it contained prohibitive *mà*, the original form is retained verbatim in the quotation except for the presence of an overt subject (840b). 1Sg subject

raises the tones of *nà* and *mà* dialectally; the distinction is neutralized by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone.

- (840) a. à yé [ń nà táwⁿ / ...] (dialect 1)
 [ñ ná táwⁿ / ...] (dialect 2)
 [ñ ná ... / yà](both dialects)
 3Sg said [1Sg Sbjn ascend.Pfv / descend.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told me to go up/down.’ (or: ‘He said that I should go up/down.’)
- b. j̄n jé [sèèdú tè] [ā mà táwⁿ]
 1Sg said [S Dat] [3Sg Proh ascend.Pfv]
 ‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ or ‘I told Seydou_x that he/she_y should not go up.’
- c. j̄n jé [sèèdú mà táwⁿ]
 1Sg said [S Proh ascend.Pfv]
 ‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ or ‘I said that Seydou should not go up.’
- d. sèèdú yè [m̄ mà táwⁿ / ...] (dialect 1)
 yé [m̄ má táwⁿ / ...] (dialect 2)
 yé [m̄ má ... / yà] (both dialects)
 S said [1Sg Proh ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou told me not to go up/down.’
 or: ‘Seydou said that I should not go up/down.’

17.1.5.2 Quoted hortatives

A quoted hortative has the same basic structure as described above for quoted imperatives. Positive hortatives are expressed under quotation as subjunctive clauses. To avoid confusion between ‘X said (to him/her/them) “let’s VP!”’ and ‘X told them to VP’, the former has 1Pl as the subject of the quotation (841a,c), rather than 3Sg or 3Pl which would be interpreted as imperative (841b).

- (841) a. sèèdú yè= [ééⁿ nà díyé]
 S said [**1Pl** Sbjn eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou said (to him/her/them), “let’s eat!”’
 or ‘Seydou told us to eat.’ or ‘Seydou said that we should eat.’
- b. sèèdú yé= [è nà díyé]
 S said [**3Pl** Sbjn eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou told them to eat.’ or ‘Seydou said that they should eat.’

c. sèèdú yé [n té] [íⁿ ná sò]
 S said [1Sg Dat] [1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou said to me, “let’s go!”’

A main-clause hortative negative has the form of a prohibitive with 1Pl subject. The quoted version therefore has the same form as a quoted prohibitive (preceding subsection).

(842) sèèdú yè [íⁿ má sò]
 S said [1Pl **Proh** go.Pfv]
 a) ‘Seydou said, “let’s not go!”’
 b) ‘Seydou told us not to go.’

17.1.6 Quoted questions

Both polar and content questions are embedded with *nì ~ né* (subdialetal variants) ‘if’. This is all that is needed for polar questions (843).

(843) à ní tìyé gà
 3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
nì (~ né) áámàdú gà yáwⁿ
if A be.Loc here
 ‘He/She asked me if/whether Amadou was there.’

When the original quoted matter was a content interrogative, the latter may appear in direct discourse in its original form. Alternatively, if *nì ~ né* is present clause-initially, the interrogative is replaced by a non-interrogative indefinite light noun such as ‘thing’ plus the simple form *màⁿ* of the relative marker.

(844a) preserves the original ‘what?’ interrogative *mùwó*. In (844b) this is replaced by *hú màⁿ ~ sú màⁿ* (subdialectal variants). This consists of a suppletive noun meaning ‘thing’ plus relative *màⁿ*. The usual noun for ‘thing’ is *fá* (dialectally *fó*).

(844) a. ā yè ní tìyé gà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
 ìj ná mùwó tíí-nì
 1Sg Ipfv **what?** do-Ipfv
 ‘He/She asked me what I was doing.’

b.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà	
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv	
	nì	ń	ḡà	[hú (~ sú)	màn]	tíí-nì
	if	1Sg	Ipfv	[thing	Rel]	do- <i>Ipfv</i>

‘He/She asked me what I was doing.’

For wùlàà ‘who?’ the substitute is just màⁿ, a headless relative (‘the one who’). The combination of màⁿ with *Ipfv* gà appears as mǎⁿ ḡà or màⁿ ḡá depending on subdialect (845a). For ‘when?’ the replacement is a temporal noun like ‘day’ or ‘time’ (845b). For ‘where?’ the replacement is based on a locative form (suffix -y) with gíyé ‘place’ (845c). For ‘how?’ the replacement is likewise a locative form with báàná ‘manner’ (845d). For ‘which?’ the relative marker follows the noun and replaces the usual ‘which?’ interrogative (845e).

(845) a.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà	
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv	
	ní	mǎ ⁿ	ḡà	bí-yé		(dialect 1)
	né	mà ⁿ	ḡá	"		(dialect 2)
	if	Rel	<i>Ipfv</i>	come. <i>Ipfv</i>		

‘He/She asked me who is/was coming?’

b.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà	
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv	
	ní (~ né)	[táráá ⁿ	mà ⁿ]	ḡ	ḡá	bí-yé
	if	[day	Rel]	1Sg	<i>Ipfv</i>	come. <i>Ipfv</i>

‘He/She asked me when (=on what day) I was coming.’

c.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà	
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv	
	né	ḡ	ḡá	sò	[gíyé ⁿ	mǎ ⁿ -y ⁿ]
	if	1Sg	<i>Ipfv</i>	go. <i>Ipfv</i>	[place	Rel-Loc]

‘He/She asked me where I was going.’

d.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà	
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv	
	ní	ḡ	ḡà	bé	tám	[báàná
	if	1Sg	<i>Ipfv</i>	Fut	ascend.Pfv	[manner
						mǎ ⁿ -y ⁿ]

‘He/She asked me how I was going to go up.’ (< táwⁿ)

e.	ā	yè	ń	tìyé	gà		
	3Sg	Sbj/Obj	1Sg	ask.Pfv	Pfv		
	ní (~ né)	ń	ná	[sùwó	mǎ ⁿ]	sà ⁿ	ńá
	if	1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	[sheep	Rel]	buy.Pfv	Pfv

‘He/She asked me which sheep I bought.’

17.2 Backgrounded indicative clauses

17.2.1 Causal clause (bàrì ‘because’)

‘Because’ is expressed by *bàrì* at the beginning of the causal clause. It becomes *bàrí* before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(846) a.	ń	té	sùwó	sà(w) ⁿ ,	
	1Sg	PfvNeg	sheep	buy.Pfv,	
	<i>bàry</i> =	[à	sòŋò]	ń	kó ⁿ
	because	[3Sg	price]	3ReflSg	be.much

‘I didn’t buy a sheep, because its price is too much.’

b.	ń	tè	bé		
	1Sg	PfvNeg	come.Pfv,		
	<i>bàrí</i>	zàkí	tà	ń	kénté ⁿ
	because	Z	IpfvNeg	3ReflSg	be.healthy

‘I didn’t come, because Zaki is sick.’

For young people, clause-initial French *parce que* is now standard, as elsewhere in the zone.

17.2.2 ‘As soon as’ (dàmà)

The ‘as soon as’ construction adds *dàmà* ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1 at the end of a perfective positive clause. This can serve as background to another perfective clause denoting a past event (847a), or an imperfective or future clause denoting an impending future event (847b).

(847) a.	[à	bá	gà	dàmà]	
	[3Sg	exit.Pfv	Pfv	only]	
	[ī	yà =	à	wàá	gà]
	[3Pl	Sbj/Obj	3Sg	kill.Pfv	Pfv]

‘As soon as he went outside, they killed him.’
= ‘No sooner did he step outside than they killed him.’

- b. [ā nà bé dàmà] [íⁿ ηà díyè]
 [3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv **only**] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv]
 ‘As soon as he/she comes, we will eat.’

17.2.3 ‘Since’ and ‘until’ clauses

17.2.3.1 ‘Since ...’ clauses (hàlì ~ hàrì)

For hàlì (~ hàrì) in the sense ‘even X’, see §19.1.4.

With a temporal expression T, hàlì T can mean ‘since T’. The more emphatic translation ‘ever since T’ or ‘going all the way back to T’ better captures the connection between emphatic ‘even’ and temporal ‘since’. The clause describes a past event that led to a state that has persisted. The ‘since ...’ clause usually precedes the foregrounded main clause.

- (848) a. hàlì í nà bé gà, ò té díyé
since 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv, 1Sg PfvNeg eat.Pfv
 ‘(Ever) since I got here, I haven’t eaten.’
- b. hàlá= [à kà] fáátì gà,
since [3Sg father] pass.Pfv Pfv,
 [à múynà] ηá sùⁿwà-nà
 [3Sg mood] be be.foul-Ppl
 ‘Ever since his father died, he has been distraught.’

For hàlì in ‘before ...’ clauses see §15.2.5 above.

17.2.3.2 ‘Until ...’ clauses (fó or fǒ-sààlì)

The most basic sense of fó preceding a constituent X is ‘all the way to X’. It is prototypically spatial but can extend to temporal contexts, as in fó jàànù ‘(all the way) until tomorrow’ (§8.4.5.7).

Clause-initial fó also forms ‘until’ clauses, the prospective counterpart to the retrospective ‘(ever) since’ clauses with hàlì described above. When the ‘until’ event has already taken place, the clause has perfective form. The ‘until’ clause can denote a culminating event (849a) or an interrupting or terminating event (849b-d). An extended variant fǒ-sààlì is attested but less common (849b).

- (849) a. à kónḡòró-òḡ kwá gà
 3Sg dog hit.Pfv Pfv
 [fǒ à kàlé gà]
 [until 3Sg animal.die.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She beat the dog until (=to the point that) it died.’
- b. ní ná kiyé gà [dùbàà-fé]-èḡ kwàtíyè],
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.Pfv Pfv [snake]-DefSg behind],
 fǒ-sààlì à táⁿ ḡà [júgú-ùḡ kùmà]
until 3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree-DefSg on]
 ‘I pursued the snake, until it climbed the tree.’
- c. à kùmúⁿ ḡà
 3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv
 [fǒ íḡ kwéré gà = [à pà]]
 [until 1Pl hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Comit]
 ‘He/She slept until we nudged him/her.’
- d. ā tè fóy tîⁿ,
 3Sg PfvNeg anything do.Pfv,
 fǒ ní nà súwó kwá gà
until 1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She didn’t do anything, until I beat the goat.’

fǒ and fǒ-sààlì can also be used in habitual and future contexts. In this case, the clause is subjunctive (§17.4) rather than perfective indicative.

17.2.3.3 ‘VPed until got tired’ = ‘VPed for a very long time’

As in other languages of the region, the extended duration of an activity can be emphasized by adding an ‘until X got tired’ clause (local French *jusqu’à fatiguer*). The main clause may have a verb like ‘work’ or ‘run’ that makes physical weariness plausible. However, it can also be a verb like ‘laugh’ (850) or ‘speak’ where duration is focal and weariness or pain secondary, compare English *he laughed until his sides ached* or *she laughed her ... off*.

- (850) ā sàá gà [fá = à bàntáⁿ ḡà]
 sà gá
 3Sg laugh.Pfv Pfv [until 3Sg get.tired.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She laughed until he got tired.’ (i.e. he couldn’t stop laughing)

17.2.3.4 Combination of ‘since’ and ‘until’ clauses

A ‘since’ clause with *hàlì ~ hàrì* can easily be combined with an ‘until’ clause with *fó* to mark the temporal bookends of a long time interval.

- (851) a.

<i>hàrí</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>yà</i>	<i>gá,</i>
since	3Sg	descend.Pfv	Pfv,
<i>fwá=</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>táⁿ</i>	<i>ɲà,</i>
until	3Sg	ascend.Pfv	Pfv,
<i>ā</i>	<i>tè</i>	<i>díyé</i>	
3Sg	PfvNeg	eat.Pfv	

‘From the time that he/she went down, until he/she went (back) up, he/she didn’t eat.’

- b.

[<i>hàré=</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>bílá</i>	<i>gà]</i>
[since	3Pl	be.born	Pfv]
[<i>fwé=</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>kàlé</i>	<i>gà]</i>
[until	3Pl	die.Pfv	Pfv]
[(<i>í</i>)	<i>yè=</i>	<i>é(é)</i>	<i>ɲí]</i>
[3Pl	Sbj/Obj	3ReflPl	be.nasty]

‘From the time they are born until they die, they are evil.’

- c.

<i>hàlì</i>	<i>kóŋgòlò-òm</i>	<i>bé</i>	<i>gà,</i>
since	dog	come.Pfv	Pfv,
<i>fá=</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>sò</i>	<i>gá,</i>
until	3Sg	go.Pfv	Pfv,
<i>ń</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>kùⁿwá</i>	<i>gà=</i> [<i>à</i> <i>kààⁿ]</i>
1Sg	Pfv.1Sg	fear(v).Pfv	Pfv [3Sg source]

‘From the moment the dog came, until it went away, I was afraid of it.’

17.2.3.5 *dé(-ré)* ‘take’ denoting starting point

This construction is attested in the context of spatial extent stretching from landmarks X to Y. The starting point is specified by the verb *dé(-ré)* ‘take, pick up’. The endpoint is specified by *fó* ‘until’ plus a spatial expression. Sequential *bé* is required when the entire sequence is part of a larger clause.

(852) (byá=) à dé bôⁿ,
 (Seq) 3Sg **take.Pfv** there,
 fǒ [mìsírì-íⁿ nwìíⁿ]
until [mosque-DefSg inside]
 ‘It goes from here all the way to the mosque.’

The same construction occurs in temporal contexts (853).

(853) (byá=) à dé wày,
 (Seq) 3Sg **take.Pfv** today,
 fǒ jàànù
until tomorrow
 ‘It goes from today all the way to tomorrow.’

17.2.4 ‘As though ...’ clause (sìní ~ siná)

An ‘as though’ clause begins with *sìní* ~ *siná* (subdialectal variants) ‘like’ and is otherwise an ordinary main clause. It usually follows another main clause. Using ‘put’ in the first clause, contextually ‘pretend’ or ‘act (like)’, makes the ‘like’ clause dubitative (i.e. understood to be false).

(854) a. à gá= à yàá
 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg put.Ipfv
 [sìní ń tá n túwò]
 [**like** LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv]
 ‘He_x does it like (=pretends that) he_x doesn’t know me.’

b. ā yà= à yàá gà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.Pfv Pfv
 [sìní ń tá n túwò]
 [**like** LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv]
 ‘He_x acted like (pretended that) he_x didn’t know me.’

Another construction is with *à gá sìní* ... ‘it is like’, with invariant nonreferential 3Sg subject *à* (855). It has a phonologically similar but structurally divergent dialectal variant *áⁿ ñá= à sé-ré* ‘you-Sg said it’ (=thought it, cf. French *on dirait que* ...), and a hybrid *à ñá sìní* is also attested.

- (855) díyéⁿ ñà gó-ró
 child Ipfv weep.Ipfv
 [à gá síná= [à tè díyé]]
 [3Sg be like [3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]]
 ‘The child is weeping as though he/she hasn’t eaten.’

The phrase with à gá síní ... or variant does not always imply that the content of the ‘like’ phrase is false. This is shown by (856).

- (856) yùrùgù à té sàⁿ, [à ñá= à sé-ré]
 this.year 3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv, [like]
 à sàⁿ ñá sògò [báàná màⁿ-jé]-è
 3Sg rain.fall.Pfv Pfv last.year [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc
 ‘This year it didn’t rain the way it rained last year.’

17.3 Indicative clausal complements

These clauses have the same form as main clauses, except that in some cases the subject may be reflexive or logophoric. The clauses are complements to a main clause.

17.3.1 Factive clausal complements of knowledge verbs

17.3.1.1 ‘(Not) know ...’ with indicative or ‘whether’ complement

tìyà/tùwò (~ tò) ‘know’ can be a simple transitive (§11.2.5.1), as in ‘I know it’ (where ‘it’ refers to a proposition) and in ‘I know him/her’ in the sense of acquaintanceship. When the complement is a proposition like (857a), the complement follows the main clause, which includes the 3Sg object marker. So (857b) is literally ‘I know it [Amadou came]’. In positive contexts, ‘X know S’, it is understood that the eventuality S denoted by the complement (e.g. Amadou’s having come) is veridical. The complement has main-clause form with optional ‘that’ subordinator béyàsè ~ bíyàsè (§17.1.4).

- (857) a. áámàdù bé gà
 A come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Amadou came (=has come).’
 b. ñ ñá =á tùwò [áámàdù bé gà]
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [A come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I know that Amadou has come.’

- c. ñ ñá =á tùwò [béyàsè (~ bíyàsè) áámàdù bé gà]
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **know**.Ipfv **[that** A come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I know that Amadou has come.’

When ‘know’ is negated, the current speaker may or may not know that the complement event has taken place. In (858b), Seydou is unaware of the fact that we have come. There is no dubitative subordinator in this case, though a ‘that’ expression is optionally present. In (858c), with 1Sg as subject of ‘not know’, the truth of the complement is by definition unknown. Here the dubitative subordinator húmààⁿ ~ mímàà ‘whether’ (subdialectal variants) is present.

- (858) a. ñ nà bé gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I came (=have come).’
- b. sèédù tá= à tò [(báásè) íím bé gà]
 S IpfvNeg 3Sg **know** [(that) 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Seydou doesn’t know that we have come.’
- c. ñ tá= à tò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [húmààⁿ (~ mímàà) sèédù bé gà]
 [**whether** S come.Pfv here]
 ‘I don’t know whether Seydou has come.’

When the complement of ‘not know’ is a content question, it shows the same replacements as in quoted interrogatives, e.g. relative ‘the thing/place/time’ (§17.1.6). The complement is occasionally preceded by húmààⁿ ~ mímàà ‘whether’ or by ñì ~ né ‘if, whether’.

- (859) a. ñ tá= à tùwò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [(mímàà / ní) màⁿ ñá bí-yé]
 [(**whether/if**) **Rel** Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘I don’t know who is coming.’
- b. ñ tá= à tùwò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [sèédú yè [hú mán] díyá gà]
 [S Sbj/Obj [**thing** **Rel**] eat.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I don’t know what Seydou ate.’

c. ñ tá = à tùwò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 ā [sùwó mǎⁿ] sàⁿ ñá
 3Sg [sheep **Rel**] buy.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I don’t know which sheep he/she bought.’

d. ñ tá = à tùwò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 ā gà bí-yé [tárááⁿ màⁿ]
 3Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [**day** **Rel**]
 ‘I don’t know on what day he/she will come.’

e. ñ tá = à tùwò
 1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [(m̀m̀àà) sèèdú sò gá [gíyéⁿ mǎⁿ-yⁿ]]
 [(**whether**) S go.Pfv Pfv [place Rel-Loc]]
 ‘I don’t know where Seydou went.’

17.3.1.2 ‘Forget that/whether’ with indicative clausal complement

The complement S of positive ‘X forget that S’ is treated as veridical, with béyàsè (or variant) ‘that’. If the factuality of the complement is in doubt, this can be phrased using a disjunct complement (‘whether X or Y’) (860c).

(860) a. ñ nà bé gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I have come.’

b. sèèdú nùmààsáⁿ ñà [béyàsè ñ nà bé gà]
 S forget.Pfv Pfv [**that** 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Seydou forgot that/whether I have (=had) come.’

c. ñ ná nùmààsáⁿ ñà [béyàsé sèèdú bé gà]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg forget.Pfv Pfv [**that** S come.Pfv Pfv]
 [wàrà̀m̀à = à tè bé]
 [**or** 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
 ‘I have forgotten whether Seydou has come or he has not come.’

‘Remember’ has the same syntax. ‘X remembered’ is phrased as ‘X’s mind/attention fell’.

- (861) [sèédù hágèrè] séⁿ ɲà [bíyàsè ń nà bé gà]
 [S **mind**] fall.Pfv Pfv [that 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Seydou remembered that I came.’

For ‘forget to VP’ with a sequential VP, see §15.2.11 above.

17.3.1.3 ‘Be sure (that ...)’ (sáá/sáá) with indicative clausal complement

This verb occurs either as an aspect-marking verb *sáá/sáá* (homophonous with ‘lie down’) or, more often, as a participle *sáá-ná* following the copula ‘be’ as in (862). In either case it takes a fixed 3Sg dative PP complement *á nà*, where the 3Sg proclitic resumes a proposition. The latter may be expressed as a following indicative main clause, optionally beginning with ‘that’ (*béyàsè*). The main clause in (862a) can be negated, with no change in the form of the complement.

- (862) a. zàkí gà sáá-ná [à nà]
 Z be **be.sure-Ppl** [3Sg Dat]
 [(béyàsè) dyé-nà-méé gà bí-yé]
 [(that) children Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘Zaki is sure that the children are coming.’
- b. zàkí tá sáá-ná [à nà]
 Z not.be **be.sure-Ppl** [3Sg Dat]
 [(béyàsè) dyé-nà-méé gà bí-yé]
 [(that) children Ipfv come-Ipfv]
 ‘Zaki is not sure that/whether the children are coming.’

17.3.2 Perception verb with indicative clausal complement

When ‘see’ or ‘hear’ has a complement denoting a propositional fact, acquired by the subject through inference or hearsay rather than immediate observation, the proposition is spelled out in the form of a ‘that’ clause. The proposition is resumed in the main clause by a pro forma 3Sg object pronoun.

(863) a. *ń ná= à káy gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
 [béyàsè dyé-nà-méé tìn tá bôⁿ]
 [that children be.Past not.be.Loc here]
 ‘I saw that the children were not here.’

b. *ń ná= à miyé gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv
 [béyàsà= [áŋ ká] sò gá]
 [that [2Sg father] go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I have heard (=I hear) that your-Sg father left.’

A textual example with ‘hear that’ is 2021-03 @ 12:26.

A similar biclausal construction is possible when the perceiver directly observes a process rather than recognizing a propositional fact. For example, (864) is literally “I saw the children [they are/were dancing/fallen].”

(864) *ń nà dyé-nè-méé káy gà*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg child-Pl see.Pfv Pfv
 [è gá ñùnàmí / ...]
 [ē gà ... / sé-ná]
 [3Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv / fall-Ppl]
 ‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-en).’

However, in this case the subject of the subordinated clause is coindexed with the object of the perception verb in the main clause. The redundant subject pronominal and imperfective *gà* can be omitted. The result is a complement consisting just of an imperfective VP (§15.1.1.4). The reduced version is preferred.

17.3.3 *kàsà-mà* ‘encounter’ with indicative clausal complement

‘X encounter, come across Y’ describing an unplanned encounter is *kàsà-mà/kàsà-mà* ‘coincide’ plus dative PP (865). For other uses of this verb see §12.2.2.

(865) *ń nà kàsà-má gà [sèèdú tè] sójó-ỳⁿ*
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg coincide.Pfv Pfv [S Dat] the.bush-Loc
 ‘I encountered (=came across) Seydou out in the bush.’

Instead of a referential NP like ‘Seydou’, the dative can be an abstract 3Sg pronominal (à tèt), resuming in anticipation a situation that is spelled out as a second clause.

(866) a. ní nà kàsà-má gà= [à tèt]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **coincide**.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 [kàýⁿ-yé gá sùwò díyà]
 [hyena-Pl Ipfv sheep eat.Ipfv]
 ‘I came across hyenas eating a sheep.’

b. ní nà kàsà-má gà= [à tèt]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **coincide**.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 [kàýⁿ-yé sùwò kúⁿ ñà]
 [hyena-Pl sheep catch.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I came across hyenas who had caught a sheep.’

17.3.4 ‘Fear that ...’ with kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá and indicative complement

The verb kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear’ occurs in a range of constructions: a simple main clause with PP denoting the object of fear (§11.2.5.6), a main clause plus same-subject sequential VP complement (‘fear to VP’, §15.2.9), and a main clause plus prohibitive or subjunctive complement denoting a hypothetical future event (‘fear lest ...’, §17.4.5).

It is also possible to add an indicative complement. Either dubitative rúmàà ~ húmàà ‘whether’ (867a) or factive béyàsè (or variant) ‘that’ (867b) may occur clause-initially.

(867) a. ñ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [húmàà díyé-fá tà bé bé]
 1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [**whether** eat.VblN-thing IpfvNeg Fut come.Pfv]
 ‘I fear that the meal won’t come.’

b. ñ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [bíyàsè= één tà bé kiyéⁿ wày]
 1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [**that** 1Pl IpfvNeg Fut arrive.Pfv today]
 ‘I fear that we won’t arrive (there) today.’

17.3.5 ‘Be possible’ (síní ñ tíí-ñì) with indicative clausal complement

‘Be possible’ (i.e. ‘maybe’) is expressed as ‘it can happen (that) [...]’, where ‘happen’ is literally the reflexive ‘do itself’, i.e. ‘be done, happen’. The embedded clause has main-clause form and can be in any indicative TAMP category.

- (868) a. à gá sìní [ń tíí-nè= [= ééⁿ ɲà bí-yé]]
 3Sg Ipfv **be.able**.Ipfv [3ReflSg **do**-Ipfv [1Pl Ipfv come-Ipfv]]
 ‘We might come.’ = ‘It is possible that we are coming.’
- b. à gá sìní [ń tíí-nè= [è té sò]]
 3Sg Ipfv **be.able**.Ipfv [3ReflSg **do**-Ipfv [3Pl PfvNeg go.Pfv]]
 ‘They may not have gone.’ = ‘It is possible that they haven’t gone.’

17.3.6 tó ‘have it happen (that ...)’ with indicative clausal complement

Basic impact transitive clauses like that with ‘kill’ (869a) cannot easily as a causal agent since there is no productive monoclausal construction that would allow the expression of a causal agent, a subordinated subject (killer), and a subordinated object (victim). A biclausal construction that comes to the rescue has, in the highest clause, the verb tó(-rɔ) ‘have it happen (that ...)’ or more freely ‘bring it about (that ...)’, cf. French *faire en sorte que ...*. This first clause has an invariant 3Sg object that resumes in anticipation the content of the second clause. The latter can have indicative main-clause form when it denotes an actual event (869b).

If the first clause is negated, there are two options for a perfective positive second clause. In (869c), the speaker acknowledges or presupposes that Zaki did kill the sheep, just not because of hunger. In (869d), there is no acknowledgement that Zaki killed the sheep, which in fact may be contentedly grazing nearby.

- (869) a. zàkí sùwó-ǝⁿ wàá gà
 Z sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’
- b. [dúwóⁿ wò] yá= à tó gà
 [hunger Foc] Sbj/Obj 3Sg **cause**.Pfv Pfv
 [zàkí yé sùwó-ǝⁿ wàá gà]
 [Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Hunger brought it about that Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’
- c. dúwón tá= à tó
 hunger PfvNeg 3Sg **cause**.Pfv
 [zàkí yé sùwó-ǝⁿ wàá gà]
 [Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Hunger did not bring it about that Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’ (< tè)

- d. dúwón tá= à tó
 hunger PfvNeg 3Sg **cause.Pfv**
 [zàkí yé sùwó-ǝⁿ wàà]
 [Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv]
 ‘Hunger did not bring it about that Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’

The complement of tó(-ró) can also be expressed as a subjunctive clause. This is obligatory when the caused event is future or hypothetical, but it is also possible when the caused event has taken place. See §17.4.8.1 below for the subjunctive construction.

In practice, causatives with transitive clauses as inputs are more often phrased as quoted imperatives (jussives) when the external causal agent is human (§17.1.5.1).

- (870) [ɛ́ ká wò] yé [ɛ́ ná kóngórò-ǝⁿ wàà]
 [1Sg father Foc] **said** [1Sg Sbjn dog-DefSg kill.Pfv]
 ‘My father [focus] told me to kill the dog.’
 = ‘My father [focus] had me kill the dog.’

17.4 Subjunctive and prohibitive clausal complements (nà)

17.4.1 Subjunctive nà and prohibitive mà in complement clauses

The positive subjunctive morpheme is nà. It occurs in the same post-subject position as other inflectional particles like imperfective positive gà and perfective negative tè. The 1Sg subject form is ɛ́ ná. The negative counterpart is expressed with prohibitive mà (1Sg ɛ́ mà), except where negation is expressed in a higher clause. Both subjunctive nà and prohibitive mà occur in (apparent) main clauses with hortative sense, as in wishes (§10.4.2-3).

An analytical issue specifically for J-S of Djenné is whether subjunctive nà is in some sense the same morpheme as other post-subject nà morphemes. They are listed in (871) along with their counterparts in Cliffs.

(871)	Djenné	Cliffs
subjunctive	nà	gālà
perfective ‘if’	nà	nā ⁿ
perfective (after 1Sg)	nà	nā ⁿ (transitives, allomorph of BCM)
imperfective negative	tà ~ tá	nà

For J-S of Djenné the IpvNeg morpheme is irrelevant since it differs segmentally from the other morphemes. There also seems to be no good reason to directly equate the nà of 1Sg perfective positive ɛ́ nà, which occurs in both intransitive and transitive indicative clauses, with the

subjunctive. However, the *nà* that occurs after subjects in perfective positive conditional antecedents, glossed ‘if.Pfv’, has affinities on the one hand with subjunctive *nà* (both are irrealis modally), and on the other hand with 1Sg perfective *nà* (both are aspectually perfective). So we cannot rule out the possibility of a classic radial structure of the type X-Y-Z where both X and Z have affinities with Y but very little affinity with each other.

In the end, the affinities are suggestive but not completely compelling. In particular, subjunctive *nà* differs from both of the other morphemes insofar as its negative counterpart is prohibitive *mà*, versus PfvNeg *tè* for the other two.

17.4.2 Nonpast ‘until’ clause with *fó(-sààli)* and subjunctive

Past-time ‘until’ clauses begin with *fó* or less often *fó-sààli* ‘until’. Those clauses have perfective form and describe actual past events.

When the ‘until’ clause describes a future or habitual event, the clause takes subjunctive positive form.

- (872) a. *ā* *kùmúⁿ* *ηà*
 3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv
 [*fó-sààli* *íⁿ* *nà* *kwéré* *gà=* [*à* *pà*]]
 [**until** 1Pl **Sbjn** hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Comit]]
 ‘He/She slept until we nudged him/her.’

- b. *ā* *gà* *bé* *kìyè* [*fó* *à* *nà* *séⁿ*]
 3Sg Ipfv Fut run.Pfv [**until** 3Sg **Sbjn** fall.Pfv]
 ‘He/She will run until he/she falls.’

Efforts to produce a negative ‘until’ clause with prohibitive morphology were unsuccessful, except when the main clause is already prohibitive.

- (873) *à* *má=* *à* *tó* [*è* *nà* *kéré*]
 3Sg **Proh** 3Sg compel.Pfv [3Pl Sbjn fight.Pfv]
 [*fó-sààli* *è* *má* *sò* *díyèmú* [*bùwó* *pà*]]
 [**until** 3Pl **Proh** go.Pfv speak.Ipfv [Recip Comit]]
 ‘Let it not make them fight to the point that they may not speak to each other.’
 (< *díyèmù*)

17.4.3 Positive purposive clause with yàrà and subjunctive

A main clause denoting an action may be accompanied by a subjunctive clause that begins with yàrà, which is here freely translated ‘so that’ or ‘in order that’ but which has a more general dubitative quality (‘whether’), as in the pre-interrogative cases described in §13.2.1.4 above. Further dialectal study may clarify whether yàlà ‘hopefully’ at the beginning of wishes (§19.2.2) is related in some way.

The subjects of the two clauses in this purposive construction may be coindexed (874a) or disjoint (874b).

- (874) a. íⁿ ñé dàbá sàⁿ ñá
 1Pl Sbj/Obj daba buy.Pfv Pfv
 [yàrà = ééⁿ nè = [één tìyé] sùwá = [à ní]
 [whether 1Pl Sbjn [1Pl field] cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]
 ‘We bought a daba (=hoe) so we may cultivate our field with it.’
- b. ní nà bé gà [sàmpínà ní]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv [soap Inst]
 [yàrà áámàdú ná jùù-yé jíná = [à ní]]
 [whether A Sbjn garment-Pl wash.Pfv [3Sg Inst]
 ‘I brought some soap for Amadou to wash the clothes with.’

17.4.4 ‘Lest ...’ clause with yàrà plus prohibitive

In this construction, the first clause (often an imperative or hortative) describes an action that can be taken to pre-empt a potentially undesirable future event. To make this explicit, instead of a simple ‘before’ construction with hàlì (§15.2.5), the clause denoting the undesirable event begins with yàrà ‘whether’, here rendered as ‘lest’ in free translations, and takes prohibitive morphology (875a-b). ‘Lest’ is effectively equivalent to ‘so that ... not’.

- (875) a. áⁿ fìgèⁿ,
 2Sg hide.Pfv,
 yàrà tùúⁿ-yé mà = áⁿ síⁿ
whether bee-Pl **Proh** 2Sg bite.Pfv
 ‘Hide (=take shelter) lest the bees bite you.’ (‘hide’ is reflexive imperative)

- b. íⁿ ná sò míyè [bé bé [à ní]]
 1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv fish(v).Pfv [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
 yàrà [áj ká] mà= áj kwá
whether [2Sg father] **Proh** 2Sg hit.Pfv
 ‘Let’s go fish and bring it (=fish), lest your father hit you.’
 (< sò mìyè → só mìyè → sò míyè by Tone Jumping, §3.6.4.4.3)

17.4.5 ‘Fear’ with prohibitive or subjunctive ‘lest’ complement

In this construction, the subject painfully imagines a hypothetical future event. The complement has prohibitive mà (with understood ‘lest’) and a Pfv verb. The primary subordinated verb is often chained to ‘go’ in pejorative function, hence the improbable combination with ‘come’ (876a-b), cf. §15.1.10.2. sò in this function is ambiguous as to Pfv/Ipfv value.

- (876) a. ìj ñá kùⁿwá
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv**
 [kóngòró-ǝⁿ mà bé sò [ìj sǝⁿ]]
 [dog-defSg **Proh** come.Pfv **go** [1Sg bite.Pfv]]
 ‘I am afraid lest the dog might come and (go and) bite me.’
- b. ìj ñá kùⁿwá
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv**
 [sèèdú mà bé só [ìj kwà]]
 [S **Proh** come.Pfv **go** [1Sg hit.Pfv]]
 ‘I am (often) afraid lest Seydou might come (and go) hit me.’
- c. ìj ñá kùⁿwá
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv**
 [tóó-ǝⁿ mà bé píⁿ]
 [meat-DefSg **Proh** come rot.Pfv]
 ‘I am (often) afraid lest the meat might (come and) rot.’

When clause-initial yàrà ‘whether’ is added, a prohibitive complement denotes an undesired potential event (877a-b). Interestingly, switching from prohibitive to subjunctive makes the complement of ‘fear’ denote the absence of a desired event, though there is no overt negation (877c).

- (877) a. ñ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [yára díyè-né-èⁿ mà bé séⁿ]
 1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [**whether** child-DefSg **Proh** come.Pfv fall.Pfv]
 ‘I fear lest the child (come and) fall.’ (= ‘I’m afraid the child might fall.’)
- b. ñ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [yára yòó-bàá mà bé sàⁿ]
 1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [**whether** rain(n) **Proh** come.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]
 ‘I fear lest it (come and) rain.’ (said by someone organizing an outdoor event)
- c. ñ ñá kùⁿwá-nà [yára yòó-bàá nà bé sàⁿ]
 1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [**whether** rain(n) **Sbjn** come.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]
 ‘I fear lest it not (come and) rain.’ (said by a farmer)

For indicative complements (‘fear that ...’), see §17.3.4.

17.4.6 ‘Want’ and ‘like’ with complements

17.4.6.1 déⁿ ‘be pleasing’ plus dative and subjunctive

The deadjectival reflexive verb déⁿ ‘be sweet, be pleasing’ is used with a dative PP in (878a). The subject can be elaborated as a verbal noun, either intransitive (878b) or transitive, in the latter case with a possessor or incorporated object noun (878c).

- (878) a. à ñ déⁿ [ñ té]
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
 ‘I like it.’
- b. kiyè ñ déⁿ [ñ té]
 run.VblN 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
 ‘I like running.’
- c. [ā mèⁿ] ñ déⁿ [ñ té]
 [3Sg drink.VblN] 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
 ‘I like drinking it.’

Finally, a subjunctive clause can be added to the main clause, which has 3Sg à as subject, anticipatorily resuming the complement. The context can involve a one-time event or a recurrent one.

- (879) a. à ñ déⁿ [íín tèt]
- 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Pl Dat]
- ííⁿ ná sò [ám pà]
- 1Pl **Sbjn** go.Pfv [2Sg Comit]
- ‘We (would) like to go with you-Sg.’
- b. à ñ déⁿ [zàkí tèt]
- 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [Z Dat]
- ñ nà = áá tíyé
- 3ReflSg **Sbjn** 2Pl ask.Pfv
- ‘It would please Zaki (=Zaki would like) to ask you-Pl.’

17.4.6.2 màà/màá ‘seek/want’ plus subjunctive

màà/màá ‘seek’ can express desire tinged with intention and effort. It can be a simple transitive (880a). With some stretching, this can take a different-subject subjunctive clause (880b). Here the content of the subjunctive clause is resumed anticipatorily with 3Sg à as object of ‘seek’.

- (880) a. ā gà téé màá
- 3Sg Ipfv tea seek.Ipfv
- ‘He/She wants/is looking for tea.’
- b. ñ ñá = à màá [zàkí nà bé bôⁿ]
- 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg seek.Ipfv [Z **Sbjn** come.Pfv here]
- ‘I seek for Zaki to come here.’

When the intended action is to be performed by the seeker, the complement is a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.8).

17.4.6.3 ‘Want’ as comitative PP plus subjunctive

One way to phrase ‘X want Y’ where Y is an NP is with verb kìⁿyè/kìⁿyé and a comitative PP (§11.2.5.4). If instead the complement of ‘want’ is a clause with a different subject, the verb kìⁿyè/kìⁿyé is omitted. This creates conditions where postposition pà might be reinterpreted as a stative transitive verb ‘want’. In any event, the complement is subjunctive.

- (881) íⁿ ηά= [à pà] [áⁿ nà bé= [éém pà]]
 1Pl **be.Loc** [3Sg **Comit**] [2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv [1Pl Comit]]
 ‘We would like you-Sg to come with us.’

Same-subject complements take the form of a sequential VP (§15.2.8.1).

17.4.6.4 fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ ‘like’ plus subjunctive

fùwòⁿ/fùwóⁿ is a transitive ‘(would) like’ verb (§11.2.5.2). It is often imperfective in form (882a). It can take a subjunctive clause as complement if the latter’s subject is different from that of the desirer (882b). There is an invariant 3Sg pronominal object in the main clause, resuming the content of the subjunctive clause.

- (882) a. ì ηά= à fùwóⁿ
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv
 ‘I like it.’
- b. ì ηά= à fùwóⁿ [sèédú nà bé]
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv [S **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘I would like Seydou to come.’

For same-subject complements, see §15.2.8.2.

17.4.7 Obligation (‘should’ and ‘must’)

17.4.7.1 ‘Should VP’ with impersonal káⁿ plus subjunctive clause

Weak obligation to perform an action can be expressed using the stative reflexive verb káⁿ. There are two constructions for the sense ‘X should VP’ or ‘it is appropriate for X to VP’. In the first, the subject of káⁿ is open-ended. The complement is expressed as a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.14).

In the second construction, presented here, the main clause has fixed 3Sg à as impersonal subject. The complement must then be finite, as a different-subject subjunctive clause (883).

- (883) a. à ì káⁿ [à nà bé]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **should** [3Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘He/She should come.’

b. à ñ káⁿ [è nà bɛ́]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **should** [3Pl **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘They should come.’

c. à ñ káⁿ [ñ ná bɛ́]
 3Sg 3ReflSg **should** [1Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv]
 ‘I should come.’

17.4.7.2 ‘Must VP’ with fá ~ fwá ~ fɔ́ plus subjunctive

fá or variants fwá or fɔ́, likely from French *il faut* via other local languages, can be followed by a subjunctive clause to express strong obligation.

(884) fá = áⁿ nà jù-méé báá á-yí wù
must 2Sg **Sbjn** Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Foc
 ‘You-Sg have to remove those (weeds) from it.’ (2021-03 @ 11:25)

17.4.7.3 ‘Must VP’ with kàrá plus subjunctive

kàrá is interchangeable with fá (or variant) ‘must’ (preceding subjection). It is part of a scattered regional “cognate” set with forms like Koyraboro Senni (Songhay of Gao) *kala*.

(885) kàrá = án ná = à mɛ̀ɛ̀ní wù
must 2Sg **Sbjn** 3Sg do.well.Pfv Foc
 ‘You-Sg must do it well.’ (2021-03 @ 11:39)

17.4.8 Compulsion, facilitation, and prevention

Facilitative ‘X let/allow [Y (to) VP]’ with X and Y being distinct referents can be expressed with òyè(w)ⁿ ‘consent’, bày ‘leave (alone)’, or tó ‘bring it about (that ...)’ as the main-clause verb, plus a subjunctive clause, as described below. However, in practice it common to phrase compulsion in jussive form (§17.1.5.1), i.e. with ‘say’ and a quoted imperative (886). This is of course only possible if the causal agent is sentient.

(886) à yé [ñ ná sùwò]
 3Sg **said** [1Sg **Sbjn** cultivate.Pfv]
 ‘He/She told me to do farm work.’ = ‘He/She made me do farm work.’

17.4.8.1 ‘Have X VP’ with tó(-ró) plus subjunctive

The verb tó(-ró) occurs in biclausal causative constructions with meanings ranging from coercive ‘compel X to VP’ to facilitative ‘let X VP’. The translation with ‘have X VP’ tries to account for this range. Interlinears use ‘have.happen’ as the gloss.

tó(-ró) takes an invariant 3Sg pronominal object resuming in anticipation the content of the complement. The construction is therefore literally “have it (happen) [that X may VP].”

tó(-ró) can be coercive, but in some examples it appears to skew into facilitation (cf. German *lassen*).

(887) a. zàkí yá= à tó gà [ē nà díyèmù]
 Z Sbj/Obj 3Sg **have.happen.Pfv** Pfv [3Pl **Sbjn** speak.Pfv]
 ‘Zaki had (=made or let) them speak.’

b. à tó [yìyèm-béé nè= é fṣ]
 3Sg **have.happen.Pfv** [woman-Pl **Sbjn** 3RefIPl sit.Pfv]
 ‘Have-2Sg the women sit down!’

When the caused event has actually taken place, it is also possible to phrase the complement as an indicative clause (§17.3.6 above).

Polarity is normally expressed only at the main-clause level if the intended sense is ‘not let [X VP]’. A negative main clause still requires a subjunctive rather than prohibitive complement. In other words, the complement cannot be independently negated.

(888) à má= à tó [ē nà díyèmù]
 3Sg **Proh** 3Sg **have.happen.Pfv** [3Pl **Sbjn** speak.Pfv]
 ‘Don’t-2Sg let them speak!’ (“don’t let it happen that they speak”)

However, the negation of main-clause òyè(w)ⁿ ‘consent’ (see just below) is more idiomatic here.

17.4.8.2 ‘Consent/allow that X VP’ with òyè(w)ⁿ plus subjunctive

The intransitive verb òyè(w)ⁿ/òyé(w)ⁿ or variant òyà(w)ⁿ/òyá(w)ⁿ ‘consent, accept (a proposal)’ takes a subjunctive complement when the two subjects are disjoint. It is common in both positive (‘consent/agree’) and negative (‘not consent’ = ‘refuse/deny’) constructions. In many contexts, ‘consent’ is tantamount to ‘allow’.

- (889) a. [ɛ́ ká] dìyáⁿ ɲà [ɲ ná só ɲògí-ý]
 [1Sg father] **consent.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg **Sbjn** go.Pfv village-Loc]
 ‘My father consented that I go to the village.’
- b. è té dìyáⁿ [sèèdú ná dìyèmù]
 3Pl PfvNeg **consent.Pfv** [S **Sbjn** speak.Pfv]
 ‘They didn’t let Seydou speak.’

The complement takes prohibitive form when it is separately negated (890).

- (890) yùrùgù à dìyéⁿ ɲà [mè má sùwò]
 this.year 3Sg **consent.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg **Proh** cultivate.Pfv]
 ‘This year he allowed me to not do farm work.’

17.4.8.3 ‘Let X VP’ (bày/bàý)

As a simple transitive, *bày/bàý* means ‘leave, abandon, leave alone’. With a subjunctive clause it expresses facilitation: ‘let/allow X to VP’. The facilitation is passive in nature (non-obstruction). Positive examples (‘let go’) are easily elicited.

- (891) a. ē báy [í ná dó]
 3Pl **let.Pfv** [3Pl **Sbjn** enter.Pfv]
 ‘Let them come in!’
- b. ɛ́ ɲá bé yúwó-òǹm báy [à ná sò]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut fish-DefSg **let.Pfv** [3Sg **Sbjn** go.Pfv]
 ‘I will let the fish-Sg go (from a net or trap).’

Negative counterparts (‘not let X go’) are hard to elicit since they are more naturally phrased with *dìyè(w)ⁿ* ‘consent’. Likewise, positive main clauses with prohibitive complements (‘let X not go’) are phrased with *dìyè(w)ⁿ* ‘consent’.

17.4.8.4 ‘Prevent’ (bàri/bàrí) with comitative or subjunctive

The verb *bàri/bàrí* can function as a simple transitive (‘obstruct, block, stymie’) when the larger context is understood (892).

(892) ń ná sèédú bàrí gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg S **prevent.Pfv** Pfv
 ‘I stymied/blocked Seydou.’

If the stymied action is spelled out explicitly, the action can be expressed as a subjunctive complement, typically with its subject coindexed to the main-clause object (893a). It can also be reduced to a comitative PP with a verbal noun (893b).

(893) a. sèédú yè= éém bàrí gà [ííⁿ nè= ééⁿ fɔ̃]
 S Sbj/Obj 1Pl **prevent.Pfv** Pfv [1Pl **Sbjn** 1Pl sit.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou prevented us from sitting down.’

b. sèédú yé m̀ bàrí gà [fɔ̃ pà]
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** Pfv [sit.VblN **Comit**]
 ‘Seydou prevented me from sitting down.’

c. sèédú yé m̀ bàrí gà [ń ná súwó sà(w)ⁿ]
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** Pfv [1Sg **Sbjn** goat buy.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou prevented me from buying a goat.’

d. sèédú yé m̀ bàrí gà [súwó-séné pà]
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** Pfv [goat-buy.VblN Comit]
 ‘Seydou prevented me from buying a goat.’

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

When the subject (occasionally the object) and a subsequent argument or possessor are co-indexed, the second element is expressed either with a pronominal form of píyé (§18.1.2) or by a simple pronominal (including third-person reflexives).

18.1.1 Reflexive object expressed by pronominal proclitic

The option to express a coindexed object with a simple pronominal proclitic is typical of contexts where subject and object are conceptually conflated. The forms that express the object in this construction are those in (894). For first and second persons, the form of the object pronominal is identical to that for a nonreflexive object (894a-b), as in ‘You hit me’. For third persons, the specifically reflexive pronominals (894c) are required.

- (894) a. 1Sg ñ (+tones)
b. 1Pl íⁿ
 2Sg áⁿ
 2Pl áá
c. 3ReflSg ń
 3ReflPl é

An example of conceptual conflation of agent and patient is when sè(-rè) ‘tie (oneself)’ has the contextual sense ‘get dressed up’ (putting on fine clothes).

- (895) a. ń ná ñ sé gà
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg **1Sg** tie.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I got dressed up.’
b. yùwó-òⁿ yè ń sè gá
 woman-DefSg Sbj/Obj **3ReflSg** tie.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The woman got dressed up.’

- c. yìyèm-béé gà bé= =éé sè
 woman-Pl Ipfv Fut **3RefPl** tie.Pfv
 ‘The women will get dressed up.’

18.1.2 Marked reflexive object with pìyé

Reflexive object in contexts where agent and patient are conceptually distinct is typically expressed by pronominal proclitic plus pìyé, which elsewhere means ‘also, too’ (§19.1.3). The 1Sg form is m̀ pìyè. For third person subject, reflexive pronominal proclitics are required. The full set of reflexive objects is (896). In this function, pìyé is here glossed “Refl” in interlinears.

- (896) a. 1Sg m̀ pìyè
 b. 1Pl ím pìyé
 2Sg ám pìyé
 2Pl áá pìyé
 c. 3Ref1Sg m̀ pìyé
 3Ref1Pl é pìyé

The clause is not intransitivized. In the perfective positive, it includes the bidirectional case-marker yè under the usual conditions (897b). Other post-subject inflectional morphemes also separate subject from object (897a,c). In such marked reflexives, the usual sense of sè(-rè) is ‘tie oneself (up)’ with agent and patient conceptually distinguished, rather than ‘get dressed up’.

- (897) a. n̄ ná [m̀ pìyé] sè gá
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [1Sg **Refl**] tie.Pfv Pfv
 ‘I tied myself.’
 b. yùwó-òⁿ yè [m̀ pìyé] sè gá
 woman-DefSg **Sbj/Obj** [3Ref1Sg **Refl**] tie.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The woman tied herself.’
 c. yìyèm-béé gà bé= [=éé pìyé] sè
 woman-Pl Ipfv Fut [3Ref1Pl **Refl**] tie.Pfv
 ‘The women will tie themselves.’

Reflexive pìyé (as opposed to pìyé ‘too, also’) is not common in texts. It does occur in 2021-03 @ 05:13.

18.1.3 Reflexive imperatives

In a reflexive imperative, when the addressee is singular, the VP is preceded by a single occurrence of 2Sg *áⁿ*, with or without *píyé*. This evidently represents the (reflexive) object rather than the subject, which is absent in other singular-addressee imperatives.

(898) a. *áⁿ sè*
2Sg tie.Pfv
'Get-2Sg dressed up!'

b. [*ám píyé*] *sè*
[2Sg **Refl**] tie.Pfv
'Tie yourself (up)!'

When the addressee is plural, the clause begins with the regular plural-subject imperative morpheme *yè*, followed by the 2Pl pronominal *áá* in reflexive object function (with or without *píyé*) and the verb.

(899) a. *yà= áá sè*
Pl.Imprt 2Pl tie.Pfv
'Get-2Pl dressed up!'

b. *yà= [áá píyé] sè*
Pl.Imprt [2Pl Refl] tie.Pfv
'Tie yourselves (up)!'

The fact that the object in these imperatives can be expressed with *píyé* shows that covert second person imperative subjects have at the ability to bind reflexive anaphors.

18.1.4 Reflexive possessor

For first and second person pronominals, there is no difference in form between reflexive and nonreflexive possession, e.g. between 'I sold my goat' and 'They sold my goat'. For third person NPs and pronouns, there is such a distinction. For example, in 'they_x sold their_x (own) goat', the object takes the form *é súwó-yàwⁿ* with 3ReflPl *é*, whereas in 'I sold their goat' it takes the form *è súwó-yàwⁿ* with 3Pl *è*. Likewise, 'his/her goat' is reflexive *ń súwó-yàwⁿ* with 3ReflSg *ń*, or nonreflexive *à súwó-yàwⁿ* with 3Sg *à*.

Within simple clauses, reflexive possessors are possible for all nonsubject NPs, with the subject NP as antecedent. Examples are 3ReflSg *ń* in 2021-03 @ 01:21 (‘it too catches its share of fish’), and 3ReflPl *é* in 2021-03 @ 01:21 (‘they take their cows’).

See also §7.1.5 for reflexive possessors in right conjuncts, as in ‘Seydou and his father’, where the left conjunct functions as antecedent.

18.1.5 Reflexive PP complements

If the complement of a postverbal PP is coindexed with the clausemate subject, it is regularly expressed as a simple pronominal (900a). For third persons it takes reflexive form (900b).

- (900) a. *ń* *nà* *síré-ěⁿ* *yàá* *gà* [*m̄* *mûⁿ*]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [**1Sg** under]
 ‘I put the stone under me (myself).’
- b. *zàkí* *yè* *síré-ěⁿ* *yàá* *gà* [*m̄* *mùⁿ*]
 Z Sbj/Obj stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [**3ReflSg** under]
 ‘Zaki put the stone under him(-self).’

The option of making reflexivity more explicit by adding *píyé* was rejected by native speakers, who pointed out that the normal interpretation of *píyé* in this context would be ‘under X too’.

However, PPs in benefactive function are more favorable to the *píyé* reflexive (901).

- (901) a. *ń* *ná* *jàmáà* *tàà-níⁿ* *ɲà* [[*m̄* *píyé*] *tè*]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg house build.Pfv Pfv [[1Sg **Refl**] Dat]
 ‘I built the house for myself.’
- b. (i) *yè* *jàmáà* *tàà-níⁿ* *ɲà* [[*éé* *píyé*] *tè*]
 3Pl Sbj/Obj build-Pfv build.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflPl **Refl**] Dat]
 ‘They built the house for themselves.’

Under limited conditions the antecedent can be an object NP instead of the subject NP. This is the case with the construction ‘X put Y [in Y’s place]’, see (397c-d) in §8.2.4.4.

18.1.6 Reflexive subject in subordinated clause

A third person reflexive pronoun can occur in subject position in an embedded subordinated clause.

This is moot in those constructions that make use of sequential bé, which does not allow a coindexed subject pronominal (902a-b).

- (902) a. sèédù tá= à fùwóⁿ
 S IpfvNeg 3Sg like.Ipfv
 [bé [ń wálè-n] dó [ń ná]]
 [Seq [3Refl money-Def] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]
 ‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me his money.’
- b. sèédù ń síntìⁿ ɲà
 S 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv
 [bé ń kwà]
 [Seq 1Sg hit.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou began to hit me.’

However, in constructions that require complements consisting of finite clauses with overt subjects, a coindexed third person subject is expressed by a reflexive pronominal proclitic. This is illustrated for singular and plural subjects in (903a-b). These examples are carefully constructed to avoid the possibility of parsing ń and é as logophoric.

- (903) a. sèédù tá= à tùwò
 S IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [ń ɲà [sú màn] tíí-nì]
 [3ReflSg Ipfv [thing Rel] do-Ipfv]
 ‘Seydou_x doesn’t know what he_x is doing.’
- b. kééwú-yè tá= à tùwò
 man-Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
 [é gà [sú màn] tíí-nì]
 [3ReflPl Ipfv [thing Rel] do-Ipfv]
 ‘The men_x don’t know what they_x are doing.’

18.2 Emphatic pronouns

There are no special emphatic pronominal forms comparable to the emphatic (nonreflexive) sense of *X-self/selves* in English.

Exclusivity is marked for pronouns in the same way as for nonpronominal NPs. See especially §19.3.2.1-2 for ‘one; alone’ and ‘only’ in the context ‘unassisted, without anyone/anything else’.

Likewise, specificity in the context ‘personally, in person, instead of someone/something else’ is expressed by *jáátì* ‘exactly’. See §8.4.2 for examples.

18.3 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.3.1 Logophorics identical to third-person reflexives

The forms used for third-person reflexives, 3ReflSg *ń* and 3ReflPl *é*, can also function as third-person logophorics. A logophoric is an anaphoric pronominal inside a quotation. It is coindexed to the ascribed author of the quoted material, which may be an articulated thought as well as a spoken utterance.

18.3.2 Logophoric versus first-person pronominals

As with reflexives, we must consider the relationship between 3Sg logophoric *ń* and 1Sg *ń* and allomorphs (including *ń*), as opposed to nonlogophoric 3Sg *à*, and that between 3Pl logophoric *é* (variant *éé* in contractions) and 1Pl *íⁿ* (variant *ééⁿ* in contractions), as opposed to nonlogophoric 3Pl *è*. Since LogoSg and LogoPl are the quoted versions of original 1Sg and 1Pl, respectively, an association of some kind is semantically reasonable.

However, 1Sg *ń* is always distinguishable tonally from Logo/3ReflSg *ń*. This is because 1Sg induces tonal changes on the following word, including inverting the latter’s first tone. 1Sg *ń* becomes *ń* (by Final Tone-Raising) only before words whose initial H-tone has been inverted to L. The same words retain their initial H-tone after Logo/3ReflSg *ń*. Likewise, even in contracting environments (i.e. following a word or particle ending in a vowel, without a pause), 1Pl *íⁿ* (becoming *ééⁿ*) remains distinct from Logo/3ReflPl *é* (becoming *éé*), by its nasality. However, in some contracting and tonal environments it may be difficult to distinguish 3Pl *è* from Logo/3ReflPl *é*, except by subphonemic phonetic nuances that our transcription may not be able to catch.

18.3.3 Syntax of logophorics

Unlike reflexives, which are coindexed to a specific antecedent (normally the clausemate subject), logophorics can occur in a range of syntactic positions limited only by coindexation to the ascribed author. In other words, logophorics can represent 1Sg and 1Pl pronouns anywhere in the original discourse, at any level of embedding. In (904a-e) LogoSg is subject, object, dative complement, nonsubject possessor, and subject possessor, respectively.

- (904) a. à yé [ím bé gà]
 3Sg said [**LogoSg** come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that he/she_x came.’
- b. à yé [áⁿ nè íj kwá gà]
 3Sg said [2Sg Sbj/Obj **LogoSg** hit.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that you-Sg hit him/her_x.’
- c. à yé [áⁿ nè wárèn dó gà [ń nà]]
 3Sg said [2Sg Sbj/Obj money give.Pfv Pfv [**LogoSg** Dat]]
 He/She_x said that you-Sg gave (the) money to him/her_x.’
- d. à yé [áⁿ nè [íj kùwó-òh] tóró gà]
 3Sg said [2Sg Sbj/Obj [**LogoSg** salt-DefSg] sell.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said that you-Sg sold his/her_x salt.’
- e. à yé [[íj kǎ] sò gá]
 3Sg said [[**LogoSg** father] go.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said his/her_x father went away.’

All of these examples have exact parallels with 3Pl author and LogoPl pronominals.

Ambiguity can arise when a nonsubject logophoric occurs in a position where a third-person reflexive reading is also possible. When the grammatical function in question is object or postpositional complement, the problem is usually not serious. The theoretically possible ambiguity in (905a) can be averted by using *píyé* in the reflexive reading (905b), making the logophoric reading of (905a) most plausible.

- (905) a. à yé [[íj kǎ] yè íj kwá gà]
 3Sg said [[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj **Logo/3ReflSg** hit.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said his/her_x father hit him/her_x.’
 or: ‘He/She_x said his/her_x father_y hit himself_y.’
- b. à yé [[íj kǎ] yè [ím píyé] kwá gà]
 3Sg said [[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj [**3ReflSg** Refl] hit.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘He/She_x said his/her_x father_y hit himself_y.’

However, with nonsubject possessor in the quoted matter, ambiguity is harder to avoid, since *píyé* is not regularly used for reflexive possessor.

18.3.3.1 No logophorics for second or first person author

Pronominals in quoted material that are coindexed to an author who is the current addressee take regular second-person (not logophoric) form (906a-b). The unusual combination of 2Sg author and 2Pl quoted subject has a similar contracted version (906c). These examples have yè ‘said’ (nasalizing to nè after 2Sg áⁿ).

- (906) a. áⁿ nà= [ám bé gà]
 2Sg said [2Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘You-Sg said that you-Sg came.’
- b. áá yà= [áá bé gà]
 2Pl said [2Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘You-Pl said that you-Pl came.’
- c. áⁿ nà= [áá bé gà]
 2Sg said [2Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘You-Sg said that you-Pl came.’

Likewise, first person author requires first-person coindexed pronominals. In (907), the inverted tone of the verb (kwá gà → kwà gá) is the clue that 1Sg ñ rather than LogoSg ń is at hand.

- (907) ñ né [sèèdú yè ń kwà gá]
 1Sg said [S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘I said that Seydou hit me.’

18.3.4 Logophorics in stacked quotations

Two clauses down, two logophorics can be coindexed respectively with two quoted authors at different levels. In (908) the lower quoted clause has two logophorics, which can be read as coindexed with Seydou or with Amadou indiscriminately.

- (908) sèèdú yè, [áámàdú yè
 S said, [A said
 [[ń nà ń wàá]]
 [[**LogoSg** Ipfv **LogoSg** kill.Ipfv]]
 ‘Seydou_x said that Amadou_y said that he_y will kill him_x.’
 or: ‘Seydou_x said that Amadou_y said that he_x will kill him_y.’

The second *ń* in (908) could also be taken as 3ReflSg, generating two additional readings.

18.4 Reciprocal

In reciprocals, subject and object NPs denote sets. They are at least sloppily coindexed, i.e. at least some nonreflexive subject-object pairings within the set are asserted to have occurred.

The noun *bùwò* means ‘agemate, companion’, and more generally ‘alter ego, double, substitute’. It has nonhuman reference in 2021-03 @ 20:10 where it denotes a replacement for an old boat. In reciprocal constructions (‘each other’), *bùwò* occurs without a possessor in nonsubject grammatical functions. It is coindexed to the clausemate subject. It is not pluralizable.

18.4.1 Reciprocal object *bùwò*

In (909), the sloppily coindexed NP is the object of a transitive verb.

- (909) a. *íím* *bùwò* *káy* *gà*
 1Pl **Recip** see.Pfv Pfv
 ‘We saw each other.’
- b. *dyé-nà-méé* *bùwò* *kwá* *gà*
 child-Pl **Recip** hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The children hit each other.’
- c. *è* *gá* *bùwò* *kwá-rá*
 3Pl Ipfv **Recip** hit-Ipfv
 ‘They (often) hit each other.’
- d. *áá* *má* *bùwò* *múⁿ*
 2Pl Proh **Recip** insult.Pfv
 ‘Don’t-2Pl insult each other!’

18.4.2 Reciprocal *bùwò* in other functions

The sloppily coindexed NP may also be the complement of a postposition (910a) or the possessor of a nonsubject NP (910b). (910a) with comitative postposition implies that each individual works with (or for) the other, in rotation. (910b) is usual for a shared workplace.

- (910) a. ē gà káyⁿ [bùwó pà]
 3Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv [**Recip** Comit]
 ‘They work with each other (one with the other, in turn).’ (< káyⁿ)
- b. [è sááⁿ] yé [bùwó nàmáà] dúⁿ nà
 [3Pl all] Sbj/Obj [**Recip** house] burn.Pfv Pfv
 ‘They burned each other’s houses (down).’

18.4.3 bùwó-ỳ ‘together’

What is literally the suffixal locative is lexicalized as a general adverb ‘in/with/from each other’, often freely translatable ‘together’, denoting cooperative activity and/or spatial contiguity.

- (911) ē gà káyⁿ bùwó-ỳ
 3Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv **Recip-Loc**
 ‘They work together.’

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 08:47 and 2021-03 @ 10:46, 11:01, and 15.43.

Doing something together can also be expressed by a construction with intransitive verb kàpù/kàpú ‘get together’ and a sequential VP. For an example, see 2021-01 @ 07:09.

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (wùnù ~ ñùnù)

The topicalization marker (‘as for X’) is ñùnù or wùnù (subdialectal variants). A following stop is occasionally prenasalized, suggesting variants ñùnùⁿ and wùnùⁿ. Examples with nonpronominal NP are in (912).

(912) NP	gloss	topicalized	
		dialect 1	dialect 2
sèédù	‘Seydou’	sèédú wùnù	sèédú ñùnù
yùwò ⁿ	‘a woman’	yùwó ⁿ wùnù	yùwó ⁿ ñùnù
yùwó ⁿ -yàw ⁿ	‘the woman’	yùwó ⁿ -òḡ wùnù	yùwó-òḡ ñùnù
kú-nù yùwó ⁿ -yàw ⁿ	‘that woman’	kù-nù yúwó-òḡ wùnù	kú-nù yúwó-òḡ ñùnù
sùwó-yè ~ sùwò-yé	‘the sheep-Pl’	sùwò-yé wùnù	sùwò-yé ñùnù

A pronoun may be in proclitic or independent form (913). The 1Sg proclitic variant has its usual tonal effect.

(913)	category	proclitic	independent
a.	1Sg	ḡ wúnù (~ ḡúnù)	ḡ-dúwò wùnù (~ ḡúnù)
b.	3Sg	ā wùnù (~ ñùnù)	ā-dùwó wùnù (~ ñùnù)
	1Pl	í ⁿ wùnù (~ ñùnù)	í ⁿ -dùwó wùnù (~ ñùnù)

The final syllable of wùnù ~ ñùnù is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone.

Whereas the English gloss ‘as for X’ suggests preclausal position, followed by a clause with resumptive pronoun, topicalized NP can easily occur within a clause, for example as object (914a) or, more commonly, as subject (914b-c). It can even be complement of a postposition, as in 2021-01 @ 08:20, or a possessor as in 2021-01 @ 08:10. Interlinears have “Top.”

- (914) a. íín tá [yòrògó ñùnùn] díyá
 1Pl IpfvNeg [cat **Top**] eat.Pfv
 ‘As for cat (meat), we don’t eat it.’
- b. [fínàm-béé sááⁿ] ñá nàà kó-nò,
 [Fulbe-Pl all] Ipfv cow tend-Ipfv,
 ñkàà [ñ-dúwò wùnùn] tá nàà-káraⁿ fùwóⁿ
 but 1Sg-Indep **Top**] IpfvNeg cow-herding like.Ipfv
 ‘All the Fulbe tend cattle, but as for me, I don’t like it.’
- c. [sèèdú wùnú] tè bé
 [S **Top**] PfvNeg come.Pfv
 ‘As for Seydou, he didn’t come.’

This topic morpheme is extremely common in the texts and is often left best disregarded in free English translations.

19.1.2 Interrogative topic (làà)

The other common topic marker is làà, rarely ràà. It is heard as láá (rather than làá) when raised by Final Tone-Raising, and at a pause làà may become high-pitched due to incompleteness intonation. After a nasal or nasalized vowel the l often (but not always) hardens to d.

làà is likely part of wùlàà ‘who?’ diachronically.

làà prototypically topicalizes an NP that the speaker plans to ask a question about. English *what about X?* catches the flavor in part, but the English phrase occurs only in follow-up questions, whereas làà can occur with initial as well as follow-up questions.

There are three occurrences of làà in textual passage (915), which is about catching different catfish species. The interlinear label is “QTop.”

(915) á, ókè, nú-nù yúwó-yé làà,
 ah, okay, Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl **QTop**,
 áⁿ jé sìyèné-èⁿ, [sìyèné-èⁿ láá] gà kúmè,
 2Sg said *Clarias*-DefSg, [*Clarias*-DefSg **QTop**] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
 [mùwó kúmé-báánà síí]-yè,
 [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
ou bien sámù-yè, [nú-méé láá] gà kúmè
 or *Bagrus*-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl **QTop**] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv
 [mùwó kúmé-báánà síí]-yè,
 [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
 ‘Ah, okay. What about those fish (species)? You said (=mentioned) *Clarias* (catfish). What about *Clarias*, in what way are they caught? Or *Bagrus* (catfish), what about those? In what way are they caught?’ (2021-03 @ 00:40-00:46)

Further textual examples with interrogative or similar dubitative contexts are 2021-01 @ 08:26, 08:47, 14:37, and 2021-03 @ 00:54, 05:08, 09:44, 10:24, 11:54, 12:06, 13:04, 13:52, 15:24, 16:18, and 18:14.

Not all textual occurrences fit cleanly into this discourse context. In some cases, làà is clearly topical but the context is not specifically interrogative, though usually new information is about to be presented. Examples are at 2021-01 @ 05:13, and 2021-03 @ 02:50, 05:21, 09:05, 12:56-58, 14:14, 14:22, 15:03, 16:00, 16:42, and 20:00.

Some combinations involving pronouns (especially 2Sg) and demonstratives suggest an incipient fusion, forming independent pronouns and demonstratives. Pronominal examples include 2Sg án dàà ~ án nàà (2021-03 @ 07:38 and 14:37), 2Pl áá làà (2021-03 @ 09:40), and 3Sg ā làà (2021-03 @ 08:24 and 14:25). Discourse-definite demonstrative jón làà ~ jón dàà is rather common, and it can itself be followed by other discourse particles, such as the regular topic morpheme ñùnù (2021-03 @ 04:52 and 05:27) and píyé ‘too’ (2021-03 @ 09:01).

19.1.3 ‘Also, too’ (píyé)

píyé can follow any NP including pronouns, in any syntactic function. The 1Sg form is í píyè, and deictic ‘this/that too’ is kú píyè, showing the usual tonal effects of these morphemes. jóm píyé is discourse-definite ‘that too’.

(916) a. [kóngòró-m píyé] bé gà
 [dog-DefSg **too**] come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘The dog came too.’

- b. ā yè [m pìyè] kwá gà
 3Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg **too**] hit.Pfv Pfv
 ‘He/She hit me too.’
- c. [à píyé] gá ń kwà-rà
 [3Sg **too**] Ipfv 1Sg hit.Ipfv
 ‘He/She too hits me.’
- d. à wálèn dó gà [[ím píyé] nà]
 3Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [[1Pl **too**] Dat]
 ‘He/She gave money to us too.’
- e. [[sèédù píyé] mósómbírì-ń] máyⁿ ñà
 [[Seydou **too**] vehicle-DefSg] be.ruined.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Seydou’s vehicle too broke down.’

píyé can be added to a constituent within a clause that begins with hàlì ‘even’. In this construction, píyé can flag the focal constituent. See the following subsection for examples.

píyé favors constituent rather than clausal scope. Negation can therefore scope over it. In context (917) means ‘it’s not the case that they too run (in addition to the other runners)’, rather than ‘they too do not run’. See also 2021-03 @ 03:26.

- (917) [è píyé] tá kiyé
 [3Pl **too**] **IpfvNeg** run.Ipfv
 ‘They do not also run.’

On the other hand, in (918) the subject with píyé behaves like a topicalized NP and is outside the scope of negation. It refers to a catfish sp., and follows clauses discussing other now-vanished fish spp.

- (918) [nóm píyé] tá kiláⁿ sááwù
 [Dem.Def **too**] **IpfvNeg** be.gotten.Ipfv now
 ‘That one too is not available (=is locally extinct) now.’

In the discourse-pragmatic sense ‘moreover, furthermore’ clause-final píyé is attested with clausal scope. In (919) it therefore scopes over negation.

- (919) ā tà ń dábà̀y, ā tà ń dábà̀y pìyé
 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cease, 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cease.Ipfv **too**
 ‘It (traditional custom) doesn’t cease (=it is still practiced), and moreover it won’t cease.’
 (2021-01 @ 14:08)

Elsewhere, pìyé can combine with pronominal proclitics to form nonsubject reflexive pronouns (§18.1.2).

pìyé is one of the high-frequency particles that is often unstressed and pronounced with low pitch especially at or near the end of a prosodic group. The H-tones are directly audible in some contexts, but as with many similar H-toned grammatical elements the H-tones are often manifested only indirectly, in the failure of preceding words or particles to undergo Final Tone-Raising or (for /LHL/-melodic stems) Rightward H-Shift. Thus sèédù pìyé even when pìyé itself is pronounced with low pitch, not #sèédú pìyè.

19.1.4 ‘Even’ (hàli)

‘Even’ can be expressed with hàli, the local variant of a regionally widespread form. It is limited to clause-initial position, indicating that it is not usually syntactically bracketed with any specific constituent. However, usually one constituent is pragmatically focused. The focus is on the verb (or VP) in (920a), on the subject (‘child’) in (920b), and on the location (‘Bamako’) in (920c).

- (920) a. hàlá= à tè bóy
even 3Sg PfvNeg greet.Pfv
 ‘He/She didn’t even say hello.’
- b. hàli díyé-náⁿ ɲá sìní
even child Ipfv be.able.Ipfv
 [[kú-nù káyⁿ-yⁿ] tíí-nì]
 [[Dem-Link work(n)-DefSg] do-Ipfv’
 ‘Even a child is capable of (doing) this work.’ (< káyⁿ)
- c. hàli íⁿ ɲá= à kílám bàmòkò
even 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg get.Ipfv B
 ‘We (can) even get it in Bamako.’

A referential NP can be overtly singled out as a kind of focus by adding pìyé ‘too’ (§19.1.3, cf. §18.1.2). The 1Sg form is m̀ pìyè (921c).

- (921) a. *hàlì* [zàkí pìyé] sò gá
even [Z **too**] go.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Even Zaki (too) went.’
- b. *hàlì* [ám pìyé] gá sìní [káyⁿ-yⁿ tíí-nì]
even [2Sg **too**] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [work(n)-DefSg do-Ipfv]
 ‘Even you-Sg (too) can do the work.’
- c. *hàlá=* à yà= à dó gá [[m pìyé] nà]
even 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg give.Pfv Pfv [[1Sg **too**] Dat]
 ‘He/She even gave money to me (too).’

Textual examples of the combination [*hàlì* X *pìyé*] are 2021-03 @ 03:06 and 12:34.

hàlì can form a constituent with high-frequency spatiotemporal and manner adverbs. This constituent appears as a preclausal topic phrase, optionally set off prosodically (922).

- (922) a. [*hàlì* nàànù], íⁿ ñá sò
 [**even tomorrow**], 1Pl Ipfv go.Pfv
 ‘Even tomorrow (i.e. at any time) we (can) go.’
- b. [*hàlì* bôⁿ] íⁿ ñá= à kíláwⁿ
 [**even here**] 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg get.Ipfv
 ‘Even here we (can) get it.’
- c. [*hàlì* kiyáⁿ] íⁿ ñá sìná= à tíí-nì
 [**even like.that**] 1Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv
 ‘Even like that we can do it.’

For *hàlì* in ‘even if’ conditional antecedents, see §16.2.1. For *hàlì* in temporal ‘since’ clauses, see §17.2.3.1.

19.2 Preclausal discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘But ...’ (ñkàà ~ ñkààrà)

‘But ...’ is expressed by clause-initial *ñkàà* or (dialectally) *ñkààrà* (923a-b).

- (923) a. sèédù bé gá [ñkàà= à tè díyé]
 S come.Pfv Pfv [**but** 3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘Seydou came, but he didn’t eat.’

- b. ń nà díyé gà [ńkààrá sèèdú tè díyé]
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv [**but** S PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]
 ‘I ate, but Seydou didn’t eat.’

19.2.2 ‘Hopefully ...’ (yálà)

This preclausal particle can be added to wishes; see §10.4.3.1 for an example and a possible etymology. Its etymological or synchronic relationship to yára ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4, §17.4.3) is unclear.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘Again’ and ‘no longer’

19.3.1.1 Adverb túⁿ ‘again’

The adverb túⁿ means ‘again (another time)’. Its position is clause-final, following all other postverbal constituents (spatial adverbs, PPs, and so forth). It is often heard with low pitch, but it fails to trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding syllable.

- (924) a. kónḡòró-òḡ kùmú ḡà túⁿ
 dog sleep.Pfv Pfv **again**
 ‘The dog went back to sleep.’

- b. à té kùmù túⁿ
 3Sg PfvNeg sleep.Pfv **again**
 ‘He/She didn’t sleep again (=go back to sleep).’

- c. wùláá kùmú ḡà bòn túⁿ
 who? sleep.Pfv Pfv here **again**
 ‘Who slept here again?’

The sense ‘again’ denoting more or less exact repetition, in the context of a repetitive agricultural cycle, is observed in 2021-03 @ 10:44, 10:49, 11:25, and 11:35.

The additive sense ‘as well’ is observed in 2021-03 @ 02:30 and 08:49. In this case, new referents are added to the same event type, rather than events (with the same participants) being repeated.

Another way to express ‘VP again’ is in a sequential VP construction. Here the main clause has the reflexive verb *débè(-rè)* ‘return’ and the open-ended VP is phrased as a sequential VP (§15.2.6.3).

19.3.1.2 ‘No longer’ (negation plus *túⁿ*)

Negation plus *túⁿ* ‘again’ produces ‘no longer’ or ‘not again, not any more’.

- (925) a. *ā* *tà* *bòn* *túⁿ*
 3Sg **not.be.Loc** here **again**
 ‘He/She is no longer here.’
- b. *ā* *tè* *ń* *débè* *bí-yé* *nògú-ỳ* *túⁿ*
 3Sg **PfvNeg** 3ReflSg return.Pfv come-Ipfv village-Loc **again**
 ‘He/She hasn’t come back to the village again.’
- c. *è* *tá* *káy* *píyé* *túⁿ,*
 3Pl **IpfvNeg** be.seen.Ipfv too **again,**
 [nó-ń yúwó-yé] gà yáwⁿ
 [Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl] be.Loc there.Def
 ‘They (fish spp.) are no longer seen. Those fish were (formerly) there.’
 (2021-03 @ 03:38, cf. also @ 00:21)

19.3.2 ‘Only’

19.3.2.1 ‘Only’ particle (*dàmà*)

dàmà ‘only’ is added at the end of an NP, a clitic or (for focus) independent pronoun, or adverbial phrase. When added directly to a pronoun, the pronoun combines with the numeral ‘one’ if singular (926a-b), and takes independent pronominal form if plural (926c).

- (926) a. [nááj-kòòn *dàmà*] *bé* *gà*
 [person-one **only**] come.Pfv Rem.Pfv
 ‘Only one person came.’ (náj-kòòⁿ §4.1.2)
- b. [í kòón *dámá*] *gà* *yòn* *tùwò*
 [1Sg one **only**] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv
 ‘Only I know that place.’ (< *yòⁿ*, variant of *yáwⁿ*)

- c. [íín-dùwó dàmá] gà yón tùwò
 [1Pl-Indep **only**] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv
 ‘Only we know that place.’
- d. Ø ɲà [yón dàmá] tùwò
 1Sg Ipfv [there.Def **only**] know.Ipfv
 ‘I know only that place.’
- e. Ø ɲá sùwó [[dàbá dàmà] ní]
 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba **only**] Inst]
 ‘I do farm work only with a daba (=hoe).’
- f. [zàkí dàmá] gá sò
 [Z **only**] Ipfv go.Ipfv
 ‘Only Zaki goes.’

dàmà can also occur clause-finally with scope over at least the VP (927).

- (927) à tà káyⁿ, à gá kùmún dàmà
 3Sg IpfvNeg work(v).Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv sleep.Ipfv **only**
 ‘He doesn’t work, he just sleeps.’

However, clause-final dàmà can also have the sense ‘as soon as’ (§17.2.2).

Clause negation scopes over a constituent with dàmà.

- (928) [ɲ-dúwò dàmá] tá sò
 [1Sg-Indep **only**] **IpfvNeg** go.Ipfv
 ‘It’s not only I who will go.’

There is one occurrence of dàmà apparently functioning as final in a tone-leveled compound (929).

- (929) ɲó-nù [fá-síífá]-dámá-yè
 Dem-Link [thing-kind]-**only(?)**-Pl
 ‘those other kinds’ (2021-03 @ 11:18)

19.3.2.2 kóòⁿ ‘one; alone’ versus dàmà or bàánà only’ for exclusivity

To express ‘X alone’ (as in ‘X will go alone’), if X is singular the NP or pronoun denoting X is either combined with kóòⁿ ‘one’ and remains in its regular syntactic position, e.g. subject in

(930a-b), or *kòòⁿ* is combined with a pronominal copy (reflexive in the case of third person singular) of X as a postverbal adverbial as in (930d). The sense in either case is exclusivity ‘X alone (unaccompanied)’ rather than ‘merely X’. *kòòⁿ* is the numeral ‘1’, here without its usual nasal linker, which could be mis-parsed as a nasal pronominal proclitic. The 1Sg combination is *ń kòòⁿ*.

- (930) a. [ń kòòⁿ] ńà bé sò
 [1Sg **one**] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘I alone will go.’ (< ń kòòⁿ)
- b. [zàkí kòòⁿ] gà bé sò
 [Z **one**] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘Zaki alone will go.’
- c. Ø ńà bé sò [ń kòòⁿ]
 1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [1Sg **one**]
 ‘I will go alone.’
- d. zàkí gà bé sò [ń kòòⁿ]
 Z Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [**3Refl one**]
 ‘Zaki will go alone.’

As with *dàmà* ‘only’, clausal negation scopes over *kòòⁿ* in this function (931). This is the case even when the *kòòⁿ* phrase is clause-initial as subject (931b).

- (931) a. ń tá sìní [bé kòró-òń m̀̀ndé] [ń kòòⁿ]
 1Sg **IpfvNeg** be.able.Ipfv [Seq rock-DefSg lift.Pfv] [1Sg **one**]
 ‘I can’t lift the stone alone (by myself).’ (< kòró)
- b. [ń kòòⁿ] tá sìní [bé kòró-òń m̀̀ndé]
 [1Sg **one**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [Seq rock-DefSg lift.Pfv]
 ‘I alone (=by myself) can’t lift the rock.’

The exclusivity function of *kòòⁿ* ‘one’ is limited to specific individuals belonging to sets, including humans. Singular common nouns in generic function are avoided in this construction, since the normal reading of the NP X *ń-kòòⁿ* is cardinality (‘one X’) rather than exclusivity (‘only an X’) (932).

- (932) [kééwú η-kòòⁿ] ñá sìní [[kù-nù káyⁿ-h] tíí-nì]
 [man Link-**one**] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[Dem-Link work(n)-DefSg] do-Ipfv]
 ‘One man can do this job.’ = ‘This is a one-man job.’

Because of its origin as the numeral ‘1’, kòòⁿ cannot be used in exclusivity function with uncountable (mass) nouns, plural NPs, or plural pronouns. Instead, dàmà ‘only’ or bàánà ‘only’ is used here.

- (933) a. [íín-dùwó dàmá] gà bé sò
 [1Pl-Indep **only**] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘We alone will go.’
- b. [yùwòm-béé dàmá] gà bé sò
 [woman-Pl **only**] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
 ‘The women alone will go.’
- c. ííη gà bé sò [íín-dùwó dàmà]
 1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [1Pl-Indep **only**]
 ‘We will go alone.’
- d. yùwòm-béé gà bé sò [é-dùwó dàmà]
 woman-Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [3ReflPl-Indep **only**]
 ‘The women will go alone.’
- e. [tèè dàmá (wò)] kónó gà
 [tea **only** (Foc)] remain.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Only (the) tea is left.’
- f. íín tá sìní [kùwó bàánà] díyà
 1Pl IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [salt **only**] eat.Ipfv
 ‘We can’t eat salt alone.’ (< kùwò)

19.3.2.3 Circumlocution with ‘not (any)’ plus ‘except ...’

A common periphrastic phrasing of ‘only X’ is ‘not anything/anyone if it is not X’. The ‘any’ phrase can include síí added to any noun, or the interjection-like fóy ‘nothing (at all)’. The adjoined clause ends with té(?) ~ tèt(?) ‘it is not’ (§11.2.1.2).

(934) a. [númú sí] tìn tá yôⁿ,
 [person any] be.Past not.be.Loc there.Def,
 né ñ-dúwò tèt?
 if 1Sg-Indep it.is.not
 ‘Nobody was there, except me.’ = ‘Only I was there.’ (dialect 2)

b. fóy tìn tá yôⁿ,
 nothing be.Past not.be.Loc there.Def
 né sùⁿwó tèt
 if crocodile it.is.not
 ‘There was nothing but crocodiles there.’ (dialect 2)

19.4 Emphatic particles

In addition to the mostly interjection-like clause-final particles presented below, see the adverbs *núwó-tíⁿ-yⁿ* (cf. *núwótó-má* ‘become difficult’) and *mápnáá-tíⁿ-yⁿ* (cf. *màpà* ‘become good’) in §8.4.3.

19.4.1 Clause-final emphatics

19.4.1.1 Clause-final emphatic *kóy*

The clause-final emphatic particle *kóy* can function to strongly confirm an interlocutor’s statement or the speaker’s own previous statement after an expression of doubt. It can also accompany a confident answer to a polar interrogative. Compare English *sure* in A: *it’s hot today* followed by B: *it sure is!*

(935) áywà [[dúgó ñùnù] tá síní [sóó tìmààná] kóy]
 well [[rice Top] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [grass prevent.Ipfv] **Emph**
 né→ pósónì síná= [à té kàré wò] té
 if poison otherwise [3Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Foc] not.be
 Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or it dies [focus].’ (2021-03 @ 07:52)

In the exchange (936), speaker I adds *kóy* in an emphatic answer to a question.

(936) M: ñtàà áá gá sùwó [tòpó-pà wù]
 or 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [depression Foc]
 ‘Or do you-Pl farm on low ground?’

I: [tòpó-pà ñùnù] í kàmá gà kóy
 [depression Top] 3ReflSg break.free.Pfv Pfv **Emph**
 ‘(Farming) on low ground has been abandoned.’
 (2021-03 @ 08:14-20)

See also 2021-03 @ 12:45, 17:06, and 17:39.

19.4.1.2 Clause-final or independent jáátì ‘indeed’

jáátì ‘indeed’ can emphasize the truth of the speaker’s own statement (‘indeed’, ‘sure [does/is]’).

(937) à→ nùmààⁿsìyè, à í bòròⁿ,
 ah giant.*Malapterurus*, 3Sg 3ReflSg be.big,
 à gá bùrà-àmá jáátì,
 3Sg Ipfv big-become.Ipfv exactly,
 ‘Ah, giant *Malapterurus* (electric catfish), it is big. It definitely gets big.’
 (2021-03 @ 04:10)

jáátì can also confirm the correctness of the interlocutor’s statement (‘exactly!’) or accept the interlocutor’s request (‘sure!’). In this function it can stand alone or be added to an echo of what the interlocutor has said.

(938) S áⁿ nà fá sé= [= één tè]
 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
 ‘Please tell us something (about it).’

K jáátì, áywà íⁿ ñà [hú mèén] tùwó [à nìⁿ]
 exactly, well 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv [3Sg inside]
 ‘Sure! Well, what we know about it, ...’
 (2021-01 @ 11:33)

jáátì occurs at least in the confirming function in many languages in the area. For its function at the end of NPs denoting referential specificity, see §8.4.2.

19.4.1.3 Clause-final emphatic *féw* and *pààṅ-kóòⁿ*

The interjection-like clause-final particle *féw* ~ *féwú* ~ *péw* means ‘completely, entirely’ (939a). In positive clauses it is interchangeable with *pààṅ-kóòⁿ*. In negative clauses it means ‘(not) at all’ as in (939b).

(939) a. *íⁿ fùúm bày gà féw / pààṅ-kóòⁿ*
 today fonio leave.Pfv Pfv **completely**
 ‘Nowadays we have completely abandoned (cutivating) fonio.’ (< *fùúⁿ*)
 (2017-03 @ 00:34)

b. *íín tá dùwó mènè-nè féw(ú)*
 1Pl IpfvNeg beer drink-Ipfv **at.all**
 ‘I don’t drink (alcohol) at all.’

c. *è túⁿ ṅà wò péw*
 3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv Foc **completely**
 ‘They (fish spp.) have completely disappeared.’ (2021-03 @ 03:34)

Further study is needed to determine the relationship between *féw* ‘completely’ and *fóy* ‘nothing’ (§6.3.2.3).

19.4.1.4 Clause-final admonitive *dé?*

This particle adds a note of warning or surprise. For example, the speaker encourages the addressee to perform or avoid an action for the addressee’s own good, or informs the addressee of something important that the addressee might not already know. It can be added to imperatives as well as to statements. Compare English low-toned, nontemporal *now* in *don’t get caught out in the cold now!*, or phrases like terminal *mind you* with similar admonitive functions. The glottal stop is usually heard when the particle is prepausal, but may be omitted when it is immediately followed by the next clause without a prosodic break.

(940) a. *áⁿ mà bé / ... / ... dé?*
má ... / sò / kiyè
 2Sg Proh come.Pfv/go.Pfv/run.Pfv **Emph**
 ‘Don’t go/come/run!’ (warning)

- b. ā gà bé sà̀n déʔ
 3Sg Ipfv Fut rain.fall.Pfv **Emph**
 ‘(Watch out,) it’s about to rain!’ (warning, < sà̀n)
- c. [[bé-kíyé wò] ní kóy] [ń̀kàá wày té déʔ]
 [[times.past Foc] it.is Emph] [but today not.be **Emph**]
 ‘That was definitely (true) in the past [focus], but not these days, mind you!’
 (2021-01 @ 02:33)

In (941) déʔ(?) marks a concession (‘admittedly’). It serves to pre-empt a possible misunderstanding of the speaker’s own preceding statement.

- (941) [támm píyé] ń dùwòⁿ,
 [Heterobranchus too] 3ReflSg be.few,
 [ā gà kúmè dé]
 [3Sg Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv **Emph**]
 [ń̀kàá à ń dùwòⁿ]
 [but 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few]
 ‘*Heterobranchus* (catfish) too is uncommon. It is (=can be) caught, admittedly, but it is uncommon.’ (2021-03 @ 03:10 to 03:12)

19.4.1.5 Clause-final déy

This clause-final particle is a mild emphatic, often rendered as clause-final *là* (‘there’) in local French. It has mild deictic significance and spotlights either the addressee or another nearby object.

- (942) a. áⁿ ńà bé só mìn-tíyàn déy
 2Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv where? **Emph**
 ‘Where are you-Sg going (there)?’
- b. kú gá [mùwó fá síí] ńì déy
 Dem be [what?] it.is **Emph**
 ‘What is that (there)?’
- c. fá-líyáⁿ sá = [[ám bààdéǵè-èn] dáá] déy
 a.little add.Pfv [[2Sg sound-DefSg] at.mouth] **Emph**
 ‘Speak a little louder there!’ (2021-03 @ 17:36)

19.4.1.6 Clause-final *kè* in affirmative answers

Clause-final *kè* can be added as a mild emphatic to affirmative answers to polar interrogatives. It is used to insist on the truth of the utterance to a questioning or skeptical interlocutor. It is probably a borrowing from Bambara. It is rather colloquial and used mostly by younger people.

(943) A: áⁿ sò gá bàràkò rà
 2Sg go.Pfv Pfv B Q
 ‘Did you-Sg go to Bamako?’

B: ní ná sò gá bàràkò kè
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg go.Pfv Pfv B **Emph**
 ‘(Yes) I did go.’

19.4.1.7 Clause-final *wúnù* ~ *ɲúnù* ‘anyway’

The particle *wúnù* ~ *ɲúnù*, obscurely related to the topic marker (‘as for X’) *wùnù* ~ *ɲùnù* (§19.1.1), occurs in clause-final position. The event in question occurred in spite of expectations that it would not occur. It can be glossed ‘anyway’ or ‘nevertheless’.

(944) ní ɲá= à mà bé,
 1Sg said 3Sg Proh come.Pfv,
 à bé gà wúnù
 3Sg come.Pfv Pfv **anyway**
 ‘I told him/her not to come, (but) he/she came anyway.’

A connection between ‘anyway, nonetheless’ and topic ‘as for X’ is suggested by the use of *quand même* in both contexts in local French.

19.4.1.8 Clause-final *sá* (emphatic imperative)

This is a widespread regional emphatic possibly from French *ça*. It reinforces imperatives and prohibitives (945).

(945) áá má= à sà sá
 2Pl Proh 3Sg laugh.Pfv **Emph**
 ‘Hey, don’t-2Pl laugh at her!’ (2021-01 @ 15:34)

It is also attested as a general emphatic (946).

- (946) Ø yè= é(é) pàsóm-pàsóm [bùwó tè] ñúnù sá
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl Rdp-be.better [Recip Dat] anyway **Emph**
 ‘Some (varieties of rice) are definitely better than others anyway.’ (2021-03 @ 07:57)

19.5 Greetings

The transitive verb ‘X greet Y’ is bóy/bóy-rì. The noun ‘greeting’ is its verbal noun bóy.

19.5.1 All-purpose greetings

A simple greeting exchange among two people who come across each other is (947).

- (947) A: m bóy
 B: ìnà

The initial greeting contains bóy ‘greet.Pfv’ (verb) or ‘greeting’ (noun), but the m is opaque. It cannot be parsed as 1Sg; contrast m bóy ‘my greeting’ with different tones, or n nà bóy gà ‘I (have) greeted’ with extra morphology. m is phonologically compatible with 3ReflSg n, but this would make no sense. Etymologically, m in m bóy is probably truncated from 2Sg áⁿ, as object in a fuller phrase (i) yà= ám bóy gà ‘they have greeted you.’

For plural addressee the exchange is (948).

- (948) A: yàá bóy
 B: ìnà

Here yàá presumably contains 2Pl áá, and the greeting may be a truncated version of (i) yà= áá bóy gà ‘they have greeted you-Pl’.

The response ìnà in (947-948) is invariant and opaque, though it vaguely resembles 1Pl dative íⁿ nà.

The formal Islamic greeting exchange in Arabic, chiefly among men, is the A-B sequence in (949), with pronunciation variants (not shown).

- (949) A: àsàláámù-àlèèkùmù
 ‘Peace to you-Pl!’
 B: wáálékùmú-sàláámù
 ‘To you peace, and praise and blessing of God!’

19.5.2 Time-of-day greetings

Time-of-day greetings (A) and responses (B) for singular addressee are in (950). Some are truncated or otherwise opaque. The noun *kéérèⁿ* ‘welfare’ occurs in several formulae. It is final (i.e. in adverbial position) in the initial greetings but appears to take subject position in responses. *kòní* (§13.2.1.2) is a clause-initial interrogative that occurs only in such greetings. There are two options for ‘good day’ (950b-b’).

(950) [dialect 1]

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | A: <i>áⁿ</i> <i>sáá kéérèⁿ</i> | ‘good morning’ (said until 11 AM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>(kòní)</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sáá gà</i> | (reply) |
| b. | A: <i>áⁿ</i> <i>sìrèṅ kéérèⁿ</i> | ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>(kòní)</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |
| b’. | A: <i>ááyèṅ kùbù</i> | ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>(kòní)</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |
| c. | A: <i>ááyè nènέ</i> | ‘good afternoon’ (from 3:30 to 6 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>(kòní)</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |
| d. | A: <i>ááyèṅ gùù</i> | ‘good evening’ (after 6 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>(kòní)</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |

The forms recorded for dialect 2 are in (951). 2Sg *áⁿ*, optional in (950a-b), is required in (951a-b).

(951) [dialect 2]

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | A: <i>áⁿ</i> <i>sáá kéérèⁿ</i> | ‘good morning’ (said until 11 AM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>kòní</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sáá gà</i> | (reply) |
| b. | A: <i>áⁿ</i> <i>sìrèṅ kéérèⁿ</i> | ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>kòní</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |
| b’. | A: <i>ááyèṅ kùbù</i> | ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>kòní</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |
| c. | A: <i>ááyè nènέ</i> | ‘good afternoon’ (from 3:30 to 6 PM) |
| | B: <i>(íínà)</i> <i>kòní</i> <i>kéérèⁿ</i> <i>sìréⁿ</i> <i>ḡà</i> | (reply) |

- d. A: ááyèṅ gùù ‘good evening’ (after 6 PM)
 B: (íínà) kòní kээрèⁿ sìréⁿ ɲà (reply)

The A greeting in (950a) and (951a) inquires about the welfare of the addressee over the preceding evening, using perfective *sáá* ‘lay down, went to bed’, as in ‘did you sleep well?’ This suggests that *sìréⁿ* ‘spent the mid-day’ in (950b-d) is also retrospective, so that when uttered at mid-day it means ‘have you spent the mid-day in welfare so far?’. In (950c-d), *ááyèⁿ* is synchronically opaque, but etymologically 2Pl **áá* plus **yèⁿ* ‘and’. It is followed by *nèné* ‘afternoon’ or *gùù* ‘night’. The responses in (950c-d) are the same as that in (950b).

For plural addressee, (950a-b) and (951a-b) replace 2Sg *áⁿ* with *yàá*. In (950c-d), *ááyèⁿ* is replaced by *yàá-bwááyèⁿ* or slightly shortened *yàá-bwáyèⁿ* (dialect 2). The plural addressee elements are related to *yàá bóyè* (preceding subsection) but are slightly resyllabified.

For prospective ‘(have a) good night!’, said as people get ready to retire, is (952a) or (952b). The reply is *àmíínà* ‘amen!’ (from Arabic), as to all wishes with ‘God’ as subject (overt or implied).

(952) a. *ííⁿ sáá-nì kээрèⁿ*

b. [two variants]

álà nè = ééⁿ màṅàà báá gùú-y-è

álà nè = ééⁿ màyⁿàà báá gùú-y

Formula (952a) is shortened from *álà nè = ééⁿ sáá-nì kээрèⁿ* ‘may God have us lie down (to sleep) in welfare’, including subjunctive *nà* and the causative of *sáá* ‘lie down’. (952b) means roughly ‘may God get us keep us well during the night’, but the morphosyntax is somewhat opaque; cf. *màṅàà* ‘good’ as modifying adjective (but transitive verb *mèèni* ‘make good, fix, repair’). *báá* is the verb ‘take out, remove’. *gùù* ‘night’ has regular forms *gùú-y* (locative) and *gùú-y-è* (definite singular locative).

Some other ‘good night!’ formulae, less opaque than (952b), are in (953).

(953) a. *álà ná [gùú-ùṅ kээрèⁿ] dúwò*
 God Sbjn [night-DefSg welfare] give.Pfv
 ‘May God give the welfare of the night!’

b. *álà ná gùú-ùⁿ nìyè-gà-nì*
 God Sbjn night-DefSg easy-Adj-Caus.Pfv
 ‘May God make the night easy!’

19.5.4 Thanks

Someone who has just provided a helpful service can be thanked with (957), which begins with the all-purpose greeting.

- (957) *ím bóy, à dúmá g̀à= [à nà]*
 3Sg become.sweet.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 ‘Greetings, it was pleasing for it.’ (i.e., ‘thanks for the help!’)

19.5.5 Travel greetings

One or more departing travelers are given the ‘bon voyage!’ blessing (958a). An arriving visitor, or a villager returning from a long voyage, is received by the ‘welcome!’ expressions (958b-c), which begin with imperative *k̀emàánà* ‘be welcome!’.

- (958) a. *álà ná k̀iyⁿà= [[áⁿ / áá màṅàà] ní]*
 God Sbjn arrive.Pfv [[2Sg/2Pl good] Inst]
 ‘May God (let you-Sg/-Pl) arrive with your goodness (=in safety).’
- b. *k̀emàánà, álà g̀à bé áⁿ màṅàà-nì*
 welcome!, God Ipfv Fut 2Sg become.good-Caus.Pfv
 ‘Welcome-Sg! God will take good care of you-Sg!’
 (interpreted as ‘God has brought you-Sg in good shape!’)
- c. *yé k̀emàánà, álà g̀à bé áá màṅàà-nì*
 Imprt.Pl welcome!, God Ipfv Fut 2Pl good-Caus.Pfv
 ‘Welcome-Pl! God will take good care of you-Pl!’
 (interpreted as ‘God has brought you-Pl in good shape!’)

The blessings in (958b-c) have the form of future constructions with *g̀à bé* and Pfv verb, though *m̀àṅàà-nì* differs in form from the usual causative *m̀èè-nì* ‘fix, improve, make good’. The blessings are not understood by native speakers as forward-looking, however, rather as retrospective, the sense being ‘God has brought you-Sg/-Pl (here) in good shape!’. This suggests that *g̀à bé* is inverted from *bé g̀à* ‘came’ (with postverbal Pfv *g̀à* rather than preverbal Ipfv *g̀à*), and that the final *-nì* has been relocated and tone-dropped from instrumental *ní* attached to the 2Sg or 2Pl pronominal. In this view, *m̀àṅàà-nì* is a secondary verbal formation representing an original adverbial. For ‘come/go [with X]’ meaning ‘bring/convey X’, see §11.1.1.4.

19.5.6 Condolences

The formulae in (959a-b) are uttered when presenting condolences on the death of an adult man or woman. The response is àmínà ‘amen!’ plus a repetition of the formula.

- (959) a.

álà	ná=	à	hínè	
God	Sbjn	3Sg	pity(v).Pfv	

 ‘May God pity (=have mercy on) him/her!’
- b.

álà	ná=	à	yààfá=	[à	pà]
God	Sbjn	3Sg	forgive.Pfv	[3Sg	Comit]

 ‘May God pardon him/her!’
- c.

álà	ná=	[à	sáá-wúwò ⁿ]	mùwà-nì
God	Sbjn	[3Sg	lie.down.VblN-place]	be.cool-Caus.Pfv

 ‘May God cool (=make comfortable) his/her resting place.’ (< -wúwòⁿ)

Formula (960) is uttered on the death of a child, expressing the hope that another child will soon be on the way.

- (960)

álà	ná	tògòni	tî ⁿ	[áá	tè]
God	Sbjn	(re)pay.VblN	do.Pfv	[2Pl	Dat]

 ‘May God make compensation for you-Pl!’

19.5.7 Greetings on major Muslim holy days

Major holy days in the Muslim calendar are Aid al-Adha (Feast of the Ram) and the end of Ramadan. On these and other holy days the following A-B-A sequence can be heard.

- (961) A

álà	nà	kúnààsyé	gàsì	[í ⁿ	nà]
God	Sbjn	next.year	show.Pfv	[1Pl	Dat]

 ‘May God show (us) next year!’
 (dialectally ... kúnààsé gàsì)

B: àmínà
amen!

A mà̀m-piyè-tá-kúnààsyé-nì
year.after.next
'(And) the year after next!' (lit. "also the one that is not next year")
(dialectally with -tà-)

Texts from Baratou and Tombona villages near Djenné

Audio recordings were made in 2021 in two villages near Djenné, Tombona (text 2017-01) and Baratou (text 2017-03). The recordings were organized and the digital mike held by project manager Minkailou Djiguiba on location in these villages, during periods of insecurity and occasional violence. Recording quality is imperfect due to ambient noise in the village and the limitations of handheld mikes. Different speakers joined in the recordings from time to time, though in each segment there was usually one primary speaker and one interviewer or respondent.

The transcriptions below have time markings which will permit end-users to compare them with the original recordings. The recordings will be archived at Deep Blue Data (University of Michigan Libraries).

In the Tombona text 2021-01, Yacouba (“Y”) and Bintou (“B”) are the same individuals who served as native speakers in my grammatical and lexical work carried out in Bobo Dioulasso. The other speakers are mostly middle-aged and elderly villagers.

In Baratou, a short recording 2021-02 (duration 03:16) was not transcribed. Instead, 2021-03 which covers similar material and much else was transcribed through about the 22:11 mark. Moussa (“M”) served as the native speaker for the grammatical and lexical work. Other speakers on the recording are mostly middle-aged and elderly villagers.

In the transcriptions, occasional comments in Bambara are italicized, as in 2021-01 @ 00:11. Project manager Djiguiba is not a Bozo speaker and comments by him or directed to him are in Bambara.

Text 2021-01 from Tombona village

recorded in Tombona village at the chief's residence;

speakers and their abbreviations in order of appearance (Yacouba Pera “Y”, Foété Kanto “F”, Bintou “B”, Minkailou Djiguiba “Dj”, Moussa “M”, Tiemane Kanto [chief] “T”, Sori “S”, Kossoumana Kanto “K”, Papi Kanto “P”);

duration: 15:54

(00:03) Y nà = áⁿ nà fɔ́ [[làntá mà-réé] gà [sórógà-àmé-ěⁿ nìⁿ]],
if 2Sg if.Pfv thing [[custom Rel-Pl] be.Loc [Bozo-Abstr-DefSg inside]],
áⁿ nà fɔ́ sé [=één té] [à nìⁿ],
2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside],
‘If you-Sg (know) something, the customs that exist among the Bozo, please say something to us about it.’

[*hypothetical conditional antecedent, §16.1.1, here broken off before the verb; ‘inside’ postposition meaning ‘about, concerning’ (§8.2.4.1); subjunctive in polite request (§10.2.2.6); 1Pl íⁿ shifts to ééⁿ under vv-Contraction (§4.3.1); sé ‘say’ used with nominal object as opposed to quoted matter (§17.1.3)*]

(00:07) F à yá = [áⁿ ná ðiyèmù tá-ní yòó-bàà fá-líyéwⁿ,
3Sg said [2Sg Sbjn talk(n) ascend-Caus.Pfv above a.little
B nótè án tá = à mìyé dé?
otherwise 2Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg hear.Ipfv Emph
F (to YP:) ‘She said, raise the speech a little higher (=speak more loudly).’
B: ‘Otherwise you don’t (=can’t) hear it.’

[*yé ~ yè ‘said’ before quoted matter (§17.1.2); quoted imperative (§17.1.5.1), referring to preceding discourse (not transcribed); nótè (Bambara) = J-S of Djenné ní nón té (§16.1.4); < áⁿ tè à ; emphatic dé? (§19.4.1.4)*]

(00:09) Dj cèè kúmáà, cèè kúmáà
come.on! speak!, come.on! speak!
‘Come on, speak (up)!’

[*in popular Bambara (Dj is not a Bozo speaker)*]

(00:11) M [à yá= à dá-mìnè]
 [3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg begin]
 [káná kùmà káⁿ bilá [à là]
 [Proh speak talk(n) put [3Sg Loc]]
 Y [overlapping]: [à yá= à dá-mìnè]
 [3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg begin]

M: 'He (=Dj) has begun (recording), don't interrupt it.'

Y: 'He has begun.'

[in Bambara, transcription approximate]

(00:14) Y ò kòò, ò jéè, ò jé
 1Sg said, 1Sg said, 1Sg said
 [íⁿ òà bé án tíyé [sórógà-àmé-ěⁿ làántà-y-è]],
 [1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv [Bozo-Abstr-DefSg custom-DefSg-Loc]],

'I said, I said, I said we will ask you-Sg about the customs of the Bozo.'

[ò kòò (Bambara) repeated in J-S of Djenné; ò jé 'I said' (nasalized from yè and here with HL pitch before a planned pause (§3.7.1); làántà-y-è < làántà-yàwⁿ-y(i) with typical contraction of DefSg -yàwⁿ and the special contraction of -yàwⁿ with locative -y]

(00:18) Y [sórógà-àmé-ěⁿ dàmbé-èⁿ] òà [[hú mà-réé] nìⁿ]
 [Bozo-Abstr-DefSg custom-DefSg] be [[thing Rel-Pl] inside]
 ím bé gà [án tíyé [jó-ò nìⁿ]]
 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv [2Sg ask.Pfv [Dem.Def-Foc inside]]

'Things that the traditional customs of the Bozo are in. We have come to ask you-Sg about that.'

[dàmbè < Bambara; mà-réé plural relative marker (§14.1.1); relativization on complement of postposition (§14.4.4); jó-ò ~ jó-gò focalized form of discourse-definite demonstrative (§13.1.1)]

(00:20) Y [bé bé [jó-ò jòó] màà],
 [Seq come.Pfv [Dem.Def-Foc eye] seek.Pfv],
 áⁿ òà fá sé= [= één té] [à nìⁿ],
 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]],

'(We) came to seek the basis of that. Please tell us something about it.'

[sequential VP (§15.2); < íⁿ tè à nìⁿ]

(00:26) T sórógà-àmé-éⁿ ñà [[hú mèéⁿ] nìⁿ] ,
 Bozo-Abstr-DefSg be [[thing Rel] inside],
 íⁿ ñá [mìyè-yá-yè dùwò] nì,
 1Pl be [fish(v)-Agent-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is,
 ‘The thing that the Bozo are in, we are fishers [focus].’
[deverbal agentive nominal -ya (§4.2.2); postnominal plural focus marker dùwò, cf. singular wò (§13.1.1); ‘it is’ predicate (§11.2.1.1)]

(00:33) T áⁿ ñá= à fàámùⁿ ñà= à
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q
 Y [án túbé-èⁿ] sé
 [2Sg name-DefSg] say.Pfv
 T: ‘Did you-Sg understand it?’
 Y: ‘Say your-Sg name!’
[‘Did you understand it?’ is a high-frequency uptake check phrase; < áⁿ yè à fàámùⁿ gà rà with yè bidirectional case marker (§4.3.2, §3.4.2.2)]

(00:36) T [ñ-dúwò nì] [tíyé mááni káántò],
 [1Sg-Indep it.is] [T K],
 íⁿ ñá [mìyè-yá-yè dùwò] nì,
 1Pl be [fish(v)-Agent-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is,
 ‘It’s me [focus], Tiemani Kanto. We are fishers [focus].’
[independent pronoun (§4.3.1) with ‘it is’ predicate]

(00:42) T íⁿ ñá tíyàwⁿ, áywà, íⁿ ñá mìyé,
 1Pl Ipfv fish.with.trap.Ipfv, well, 1Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv,
 [súú-péné]-mìyè-tíyèⁿ] íín tùⁿ ñá= à tíí-nì,
 [hand-two]-[fish.VblN-fishtrap] 1Pl be.Past Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv,
 ‘We fish with two-hand fishtraps. Well, we do fishing. A two-handed fishtrap, we used to do (=use or make) it.’
[tíyà(w)ⁿ ~ tíyè(w)ⁿ a fishtrap with a wooden frame and netting, here also used as verb tìyàwⁿ/tìyáwⁿ, cf. @ 01:59; two fingers defines the size of the holes in the netting; tùⁿ in past imperfective (§10.3.2)]

(00:51) T ííⁿ ñá sò sínà, áywà pánááⁿ-y-è,
 1Pl Ipfv net set.Ipfv, well the.past-DefSg-Loc
 ííⁿ ñà tíyàwⁿ, ííⁿ ñá sò [sùwóⁿ-wàà kúlé],
 1Pl Ipfv fish.with.trap.Ipfv, 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [wicker-DefSg.Foc] cut.Pfv],
 ‘We set the netting. In the past, we fished with a trap, we went (into the bush) and cut
 some *Combretum* branches.’

[flexible branches of the shrub *Combretum micranthum*, used in woven baskets and
 as here in old-fashioned netting; ‘go’ plus perfective VP (§15.1.2) -wà(à) definite singular
 plus focus marker wò (§13.1.1)]

(01:02) T ííⁿ né= =é sùwóⁿ kúlé,
 1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv wicker cut.Pfv,
 ííⁿ né= =è nómpóⁿ kúlé,
 1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv *Strophanthus* cut.Pfv,
 ‘When we have gone and cut the *Combretum* branches, when we have gone and cut
Strophanthus (branches),’

[< ííⁿ nà sò with (y)è replacing sò (§10.1.6.1); *Strophanthus sarmentosus*, a
 scrambling shrub]

(01:10) T nè= =éém bé gà,
 if 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv,
 ííⁿ ñà bé sùwó-òñ dáá-dò,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut wicker-DefSg sharpen.tip.Pfv,
 ‘When we have come (back), we will sharpen the tips of the *Combretum* branches.’
 [‘sharpen’ (§9.5.2)]

(01:15) T [nè= ééⁿ sùwóⁿ dáá-dò gà]
 [if 1Pl wicker sharpen.tip Pfv]
 ííⁿ ñà bé nómpóⁿ bìⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut *Strophanthus* wrap.around.Pfv,
 ‘When we have sharpened the tips of the *Combretum* branches, we will interweave
Strophanthus (branches) among them.’

(01:18) T nè = ééⁿ ná = à bìⁿ ñá,
 if 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg wrap.around.Pfv Pfv,
 [nú-n wáátù-yé-è] íⁿ ñà bé [íín tíyèⁿ]—
 [Dem.Def time-DefSg-Loc] 1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl fishtrap]—
 íⁿ ñà bé [íín tíyèⁿ-éñ] dó,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl fishtrap] set.trap.Pfv,
 ‘When we have interwoven it, at that time we will set our fishtrap.’
 [bìⁿ ñá < bìⁿ gà with secondary H-tone due to tone sandhi realized on Pfv particle by
 Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3)]

(01:28) T nè = =ééⁿ ñè = [= één tíyè-éñ] dó gà,
 if 1Pl Sbj/Obj [1Pl fishtrap-DefSg] set.trap.Pfv Pfv,
 íⁿ ñà [yúwó mèèñ] kú-nú,
 1Pl Ipfv [fish Rel] catch-Ipfv,
 ‘When we have set the fishtrap, the fish-Sg (collective) that we catch,’
 [relative mèèⁿ (§14.1.1)]

(01:34) T [nú-ñ wáátù-yé-è] íⁿ ñá = à gúsù wò
 [Dem.Def time-DefSg-Loc] 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg smoke(v).Ipfv Foc,
 [íⁿ fùwòm-béé dùwó] gá = à gúsù,
 [1Pl wife-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv 3Sg smoke(v).Ipfv,
 ‘At that time, we smoke it (=fish). It’s our wives [focus] who smoke it,’
 [-béé plural suffix (§4.1.2)]

(01:40) T bé sò [à tóró],
 Seq go.Pfv [3Sg sell.Pfv],
 né = è yà = à tóró gà,
 if 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg sell.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘and then go and sell it. When they have sold it,’
 [< ñì è yè à]

(01:45) T ē gè = [= éé déé-déé]-sòñó-yè [sání [kíí-kàà-kíí]-yè]]
 3Pl Ipfv [3ReflPl condiments]-price-Pl [and [miscellaneous]-Pl]]
 báá = á-y,
 take.out.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘They take out (=get) the price of their daily condiments (for sauce) and whatever from
 it.’
 [nominal conjunction (§7.1.1)]

(01:48) T è bé [à wálèⁿ] dó [íⁿ nà],
 3Pl Seq [3Sg money] give.Pfv [1Pl Dat],
 [[íⁿ nàmáà] mùságè-éⁿ] nà bá-rá = á-ỳ,
 [[1Pl house] need(n)-DefSg] Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘Then they give us (men) (the rest of) the money of it. Our household need(s) come out of it.’

[dó ‘give’ with nà dative (§8.1.1.2); < mùságà-yáwⁿ]

(01:55) Y nón kiyé-ná kwàtíyè wò, [mìyè-fò wéréⁿ-yè dùwó]
 Dem.Def pass-Ppl behind Foc, [fish.VblN-thing which?-Pl Foc.Pl]
 gà [áá làntà-mìyè-fó-yé] nìⁿ,
 be.Loc [2Pl custom-[fish.VblN-thing-Pl] inside],
 ‘After (=aside from) that, what (other) fishing gear is (in) your traditional fishing gear?’

[kwàtíyè (§8.2.7.4); ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.8)]

(01:59) Y m̀m̀àà = áá nà tíyè-én tìyàwⁿ
 whether 2Pl if.Pfv fish.trap-DefSg set.trap.Pfv
 áá gà mìyá = [à ní]
 2Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv [3Sg Inst]
 ‘In other words when you-Pl have set the fishtrap, (when) you-Pl are fishing with it,’
 [m̀m̀àà ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.5)]

(02:01) Y áá gà [yúwó sífà wéréⁿ-yè dùwó] kírà = á-ỳ,
 2Pl Ipfv [fish kind which?-Pl Foc.Pl] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘... what kinds of fish do you-Pl get in that (way)?’

(02:03) à ní dèⁿ = [= één tè]
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Pl Dat]
 áⁿ nà [nóm píyé] sé = [= één tè]
 2Sg Sbjn [Dem.Def too] say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
 ‘It pleases us for you-Sg to tell us that too.’
 [here nà could be parsed either as Sbjn or as ‘if.Pfv’]

(02:08) T [nó-̀n wáátù-yé-è] nè = één tíyè-èn tíⁿ nà,
 [Dem.Def-Link time-DefSg-Loc] if 1Pl fishtrap-DefSg do.Pfv Pfv,
 [yúwó pánááⁿ mà-réé] gà bí-yé,
 [fish first Rel-Pl] Ipfv come-Ipfv,
 ‘At that time, when we have done (=set) the fishtrap, the first fish-Pl that come,’

(02:17) T sɪyɛ̀gɔ́-yàwⁿ, sɔ̀ɔ́ⁿ-yàwⁿ, áⁿ ná= à fáámùⁿ ɲà= à,
Alestes, *Hydrocynus*, 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
 yèèⁿ, búmún-dé-méé, yòróń̀-ye,
 and juvenile.*Lates*-child-Pl, adult.*Lates*,
 ‘*Alestes*, *Hydrocynus forskalii*. Did you-Sg understand it? Along with young and full-
 grown *Lates*.’

[yèèⁿ ‘in addition, ...’ when paused before a conjoined constituent; *Hydrocynus forskalii* is the “poisson-chien” with well-developed teeth; *Alestes* spp. are closely related but smaller, sɪyɛ̀gɔ́ mainly denotes young *Alestes dentex* but can also apply to *Alestes baremoze*; *Lates* is the “capitaine” fish (Nile perch), sold to restaurants for high prices (there are different terms for juvenile and full-grown)]

(02:33) T [[bé-kíyé wó] nì kóy] [ɲkáá wày té dé?],
 [[times.past Foc] it.is Emph] [but today not.be Emph],
 [ɲó-yè dùwó] tùⁿ ɲá bí-yé,
 [Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past Ipfv come-Ipfv,
 ‘That was definitely (true) in the past, but not these days, mind you! It was those
 [focus] that used to come.’

[kóy and dé? clause-final emphatics (§19.4.1.1, §19.4.1.4)]

(02:41) T nè= één tíyèn tíⁿ ɲà, sòòm bòró-ⁿyè,
 if 1Pl fishtrap do.Pfv Pfv, *Hydrocynus* big-Pl,
 [kíⁿ-yé dùwó] gà [tíyè-èn kótò] kú-nú,
 [skiff-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv [fishtrap-DefSg rear] catch-Ipfv,
 ‘When we set the fishtraps, big *Hydrocynus*-Pl, it’s skiffs [focus] that catch (position
 themselves at) the rear of the fishtrap.’

[< kótò ‘back (n)’; boats line up just behind the traps to catch fish that jump out of the traps]

(02:48) T sɔ̀ɔ́ⁿ ɲà tíyè-èn tó-ró,
Hydrocynus Ipfv fishtrap-DefSg jump-Ipfv,
 ā gà bé sá kíⁿ-yé-è,
 3Sg Ipfv Fut be.put.in.Pfv skiff-DefSg-Loc,
 ‘A *Hydrocynus* (fish) jumps out of the fishtrap. It will land in the skiff.’

[in this passage terms for ‘fish’ and fish spp. have singular form in collective or generic function]

(02:52) T [ɲóⁿ sááⁿ tìⁿ ɲé = [[ééⁿ mìyè-ém] pà],
 [Dem.Def all] be.Past Ipfv [[1Pl fish.Vbl-DefSg] Comit],
 [ɲú-̀n wáátù-yé-è] íⁿ ɲá sòó-sòò sínè,
 [Dem.Def time-DefSg-Loc] 1Pl Ipfv net-net set.Ipfv,
 ‘Our fishing (activity) used to have all that (gear). At this time we set fishnets.’
[the iterated sòó-sòò struck my younger assistants as stuttering (hesitation), but here it is fluently pronounced]

(03:01) T íⁿ ɲà [ɲú-̀n yúwó— yúwó-̀m] báá,
 1Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def fish— fish-DefSg] remove.Ipfv,
 íⁿ ɲà jááⁿ sínè, íⁿ ɲà yúwó-̀m báá,
 1Pl Ipfv fishhook set.Ipfv, 1Pl Ipfv fish-DefSg remove.Ipfv
 ‘We take that fish out (from the nets). We set out fishhooks and we take the fish out.’
[here the iteration does sound like a hesitation]

(03:08) T [tíyè̀ ɲá kiyéⁿ] íⁿ ɲá = à tíyàwⁿ,
 [fishtrap a.certain] 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg fish.with.trap.Ipfv,
 [pàpòrò-yé dùwó] gá dó-rá = á-̀y,
 [basket.fishtrap-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv be.set-Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘A certain (other type of) fishtrap, we fish (with it). Basket fishtraps [focus] are what are set in it (=larger fishtrap).’
[‘a certain’ (§6.3.2.2)]

(03:14) T [jííⁿ nà kiyé] [íⁿ ɲá pàpòrò-ò ɲ kírì-̀ní]
 [night if.Pfv pass.Pfv] [1Pl Ipfv basket.fishtrap-DefSg get.up-Caus.Ipfv]
 [íⁿ ɲá = [à yúwó-̀m] báá],
 [1Pl Ipfv [3Sg fish-DefSg] remove.Ipfv],
 ‘When the night has passed (=the next morning), we lift up the basket fishtrap, (and) we take out its (=trap’s) fish.’
[jííⁿ kiyé (§11.1.1.2)]

(03:19) T [tíyè̀ kiyéⁿ] ɲà ɲ káyⁿ kiyéwⁿ
 [fishtrap a.certain] Ipfv 3ReflSg work.Ipfv thus
 ‘(The) other fishtrap works like that.’
[kiyéwⁿ (§4.4.3.2)]

(03:21) Y [jú-n pápóló mà-réé] gà dó-rá = á-y yáwⁿ,
 [Dem.Def basket.fishtrap Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.set.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc there.Def,
 [à sínì [sááw-pápólò-yè] gà kóòⁿ nì nà]
 [3Sg and [now-basket.fishtrap] be one it.is Q]
 ‘Those basket fishtraps that were (formerly) set in it there, were it and basket fishtraps
 of today the same?’
*[i.e. ‘were they the same as ...’; sááw ‘now’ as compound initial (i.e. ‘modern’);
 < pàpólò ; ‘be one’ = ‘be the same, be identical’ (§4.6.1.1); clause-final polar
 interrogative rà here nasalized to nà (§13.2.1.1)]*

(03:25) Y [ē tà kóòⁿ nì],
 [3Pl not.be one it.is],
 íⁿ ñá màá [áⁿ nà [ńóm píyé] sé = [= één tè]]
 1Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv [2Sg Sbjn [Dem.Def too] say.Pfv [1Pl Dat],
 ‘Or are they not the same? We would like for you-Sg to tell us that too.’

(03:29) T áywà, [bé-kíyé]-pápórò-yè, sínì wày-pápórò-yè,
 well, [times.past]-basket.fishtrap-Pl, and today-basket.fishtrap-Pl,
 kóòn té, bàrí wày, [[hú mèéⁿ] ñà ní tí-nì],
 one it.is.not, because today, [[thing Rel] Ipfv 3ReflSg do-Ipfv],
 ‘Well, the basket fishtrap of times past, and today’s basket fishtraps, are not the same.
 Because today, the one that is made,’
*[tone-leveled compounds with a contour-toned final, here pàpórò (§5.1.3.4),
 converted to H*L tones, cf. ògè-m-pápórò ‘yesterday’s fishtrap’ < ògèⁿ; bàrí ‘because’
 (§17.2.1)]*

(03:40) T sòó—, sòó—, sòó-pápórò-yè,
 net—, net—, net-basket.fishtrap-Pl,
 nó-ò gà m mènì wày,
 Dem.Def-Foc Ipfv 3ReflSg make.Ipfv today,
 ‘Basket fishtraps with netting, that is what is made today.’
*[regular possessor-possessum type compound (§5.1.3), keeping the lexical tone
 melody of pàpórò]*

(03:47) T íⁿ ñá mìyé [[hú mèém píyé] ní] wày,
 1Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv [[thing Rel too] Inst] today,
 [à píyé] gá [sòó wò] nì,
 [3Sg too] be [net Foc] it.is,
 ‘What we fish with today, it’s also nets [focus].’

(03:54) T [ííⁿ ɲà tíyàⁿ [hú mèém píyé] níⁿ] [sòò wò] ní wày,
 [1Pl Ipfv fish.with.trap.Ipfv [thing Rel too] Inst [net Foc] it.is today,
 [à sááⁿ] ɲà [wárèⁿ wò] nì,
 [3Sg all] be [money Foc] it.is,
 ‘What we fish-trap with today is nets. Everything is (=depends on) money.’

(04:07) Y sááw, ɲú-nì [bé-kíyé nàfíyè-yàw],
 now, Dem.Def-Link [times.past benefit-DefSg]
 sínì [wày nàfíyè-yàwⁿ],
 and [today benefit-DefSg]
 ‘Now, (between) the benefit (=yield) of times past and the benefit of today,’

(04:11) Y à ní déⁿ = [= één tèt],
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Pl Dat],
 ííⁿ nà [[ɲóm píyé] nàán] tìyà,
 1Pl Sbjn [[Dem.Def too] between] know.Pfv,
 ‘... it would please us to know (the difference) between them.’
 [nàâⁿ ‘between’ (§8.2.6.1)]

(04:14) T áywà, à bé-kíyé nàfíyè-yàwⁿ, sínì [wày fá-yàwⁿ],
 well, 3Sg times.past benefit-DefSg, and [today thing-DefSg],
 kóòn té,
 one it.is.not,
 ‘Well, its benefit in times past and the one of today are not the same.’
 [fá ‘thing’ replacing noun ‘benefit’ on repetition with modifier (§6.2.2.2)]

(04:26) Y kóòn té, mùwó gé= [[è sínì bùwó] nàâⁿ],
 one it.is.not, what? be.Loc [[3Pl and Recip] between],
 [difference wéréⁿ] ɲé= [[è sínì bùwó] nàâⁿ],
 [difference which?] be.Loc [[3Pl and Recip] between],
 ‘(They are) not the same. What is (the difference) between one and the other? What
 difference is there between one and the other?’
 [bùwò reciprocal ‘each other’ (§18.4)]

(04:30) T mèéⁿ ɲé= [[è sínì bùwó] nàâⁿ],
 Rel be.Loc [[3Pl and Recip] between],
 [hú mèéⁿ] tùⁿ ɲá kilám pánááⁿ-y-è,
 [thing Rel] be.Past Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv first-DefSg-Loc,
 ‘What (difference) there is between one and the other, the thing that used to be found
 in the old days,’

(04:38) T síni wày, [[hú mɛ̀ɛ́ⁿ] ná kílám pánááⁿ-y-è]
 and today, [[thing Rel] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv first-DefSg-Loc]
 jó-ò ń kóⁿ [wày-fɛ̀-én tɛ̀],
 Dem.Def-Foc 3ReflSg be.many [today-share(n)-DefSg Dat],
 ‘... and today—, what was found in the old days, that [focus] was more than today’s.’
 [kóⁿ reflexive stative ‘be many, be much’ (§11.4.1.2); < fàⁿ ‘share (n)’; dative tɛ̀ as
 ‘than’ in comparatives (§12.1.2)]

(04:43) T ńkàà [hú mɛ̀ɛ́ⁿ] ná kíláwⁿ wày, jó-ò—
 but [thing Rel] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv today, Dem.Def-Foc—
 [jó-ò— nàfíyè] ń bòròm [[bé-kíyé pánááⁿ] nà]
 [Dem.Def-Foc— benefit] 3ReflSg be.big [[times.past first] Dat]
 ‘But the thing that is found today, the yield (profit) of that [focus] is bigger than in the
 past.’

(04:52) Y [mùwó wò] bé gà [jóⁿ ní],
 [what? Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def Inst],
 pánááⁿ síni sááw, [[sááw nàfíyè-è]m] bé bùrà-àmà [pánáán tɛ̀]
 formerly and now, [[now benefit] Seq become.big.Pfv [formerly Dat]]
 [[mùwó wò] bé gà [jóⁿ ní]]
 [[what? Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def Inst]]
 ‘What brought that (about)? In the past and now, the yield of now(adays) has become
 greater than (that of) the past. What brought that about?’

(04:59) T mɛ̀ɛ́m bé gà [jóⁿ ní],
 Rel come.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def Inst],
 [nàfòró-wàà] kúsà-má gà, jó-ò bé gà = [à ní],
 [wealth-DefSg.Foc] be.much.Pfv Pfv, Dem.Def-Foc come.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Inst],
 ‘What brought that about (was), the wealth [focus] increased. That [focus] is what
 brought it.’

(05:09) T pánááⁿ-y-è, pánááⁿ-y-è nàfòró-òń tùn tà
 first-DefSg-Loc, first-DefSg-Loc wealth-DefSg be.Past IpfvNeg
 [númɛ̀-èn sw-í]-yè,
 [person-DefSg hand-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘In the old days, the person (=people) didn’t use to have wealth.’
 [‘have’ construction with sw-í-yè ‘in the hand (of)’ (§11.5.1.2)]

- (05:13) T wày láá, álà— álà—
today QTop, God— God—
áà— nìyè-gà-nì tíⁿ ɲà [ɲúmé-èní tè],
God— easy-Adj-Caus.VblN do.Pfv Pfv [person-DefSg Dat],
‘Nowadays, God has made life easier for the person.’
[can also be phrased as áà yá = à nìyè-gà-ní ɲà ...]
- (05:19) T fá-líyɛⁿ míyè-gù sááⁿ, áⁿ ɲá—
thing-Dimin small-Adj all, 2Sg Ipfv—
áⁿ ɲá [nàfíyà wó] kírá = á-y,
2Sg Ipfv [benefit Foc] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘Every (little) thing, you-Sg get a benefit from it.’
- (05:24) T pánááⁿ-y-è, áⁿ ɲà— áⁿ ɲà yúwó-òɲ kírɛⁿ,
first-DefSg-Loc, 2Sg Ipfv 2Sg Ipfv fish-DefSg get.Ipfv,
ɲkàà [áⁿ nàfíyè] ní dùwòⁿ,
but [2Sg benefit] 3ReflSg be.meager,
‘In the past, you would get the fish, but your profit was meager.’
[kírɛⁿ variant of kíráwⁿ ~ kíláwⁿ]
- (05:31) T íⁿ ɲà díyè [bè pá] wùnù,
1Pl Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv [Seq become.full.Pfv] Top,
ɲkàà [áⁿ nàfíyè]— [áⁿ nàfíyè] ní dùwòⁿ,
but [2Sg benefit]— [2Sg benefit] 3ReflSg be.meager,
‘We would eat well anyway, but your profit was meager.’
- (05:39) Y ā fàámùⁿ ɲà, íⁿ ɲà = [án diyèmú-yǎⁿ] mìyé gà,
3Sg be.understood Pfv, 1Pl Sbj/Obj [2Sg talk(n)-DefSg] hear.Pfv Pfv,
ā màná gà,
3Sg become.good.Pfv Pfv,
‘It has been understood. We have heard your words. It was good.’
[màná ‘become good’ (aspectually marked), cf. reflexive stative màyⁿ ‘be good’]

[inaudible low-volume discussion]

- (05:49) S óḍⁿ, án túbèⁿ
uh.huh, 2Sg name
F [ń túbá=] =à [fówétè kúwóntò]
[1Sg name] be [F K]
S: ‘Okay. Your name?’
F: ‘My name is Foétê Konto.’
[contracted from ń túbé gà ~ ń túbéⁿ ɲà]
- (05:55) S báási té, íⁿ ɲà bé án tíyé,
trouble it.is.not, 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv
áá sórógà-àmà→, yùwóⁿ-òⁿ, à káyⁿ-báàná-yàwⁿ
2Pl Bozo-Abstr, woman-DefSg, 3Sg work(n)-manner-DefSg
‘There’s no trouble (=that’s fine). We will ask you-Sg, (about) the manner of work of your-Pl Bozo (ethnicity’s) woman.’
- (06:02) S à síná= [à nàfíyè-yàⁿ]
3Sg and [3Sg benefit-DefSg]
nà= [áá pá=] à yàá [[báàná mǎⁿ]-yⁿ],
if [2Pl with] 3Sg put.Ipfv [[manner Rel]-Loc],
‘It (=that) and her benefit (=earnings). If (it’s) among you-Pl, the way in which she operates (=works),’
- (06:06) S jón-ò gà= [án tíyé-kùⁿ] nì wày
Dem.Def-Foc be [2Sg question-reason] it.is today
F à káyⁿ-báàná-yàwⁿ, kééwú-yé ná só sòó-òⁿ sínà,
3Sg work(n)-manner-DefSg, man-Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv net-DefSg set.Ipfv,
S: ‘That [focus] is the reason for questioning you-Sg today.’
F: ‘Her way of working. When the men have gone and set fishtraps.’
- (06:10) F ē nà bé [yúwó-òⁿ ní],
3Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv [fish-DefSg Inst],
íⁿ ɲá= à gúsù,
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg smoke(v).Ipfv,
‘When they have brought the fish, we (=women) smoke it.’

(06:14) F bé sw= [à ní] [súbé-ěⁿ nì],
 Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] [market-DefSg Loc],
 bé= [= één déè-déè] sínì [ín dúgó-píⁿ-yé] sàⁿ,
 Seq [1Pl condiments] and [1Pl rice-grain-Pl] buy.Pfv,
 ‘Then (we) take it, to the market (to sell). Then (we) buy our condiments (daily groceries) and our (shelled) rice grain.’
 [< sò [à ní]]

(06:18) F [bé bé [[sùrú mèéⁿ nà kónó]]
 [Seq come.Pfv [[remainder Rel] if.Pfv remain.Ipfv]]
 [bé bé [à ní]]
 [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
 ‘Then (we) bring whatever may remain (of the money).’
[sequential clause is restarted after a heavy object NP, which is reduced to 3Sg pronoun in the final clause (§11.1.4), cf. @ 06:28 below]

(06:20) F [bé bé [à wálèn] dó [[gómò-òŋ kéémíné-ěⁿ nà]],
 [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg money] give.Pfv [[courtyard-DefSg old.person-DefSg] Dat]],
 S ɲóⁿ fàámùⁿ ɲà,
 Dem.Def be.understood.Pfv Pfv,
 F: ‘Then (we) come and give its (=the) money to the elder of the household.’
 S: That has been understood.’
[the doyen(ne), i.e. the oldest man or woman of the household (“courtyard”), who traditionally handles the money]

(06:24) S áá ná= à dó [[gómò-óⁿ kéémíné-ěⁿ nà]
 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg give.Pfv [[courtyard-DefSg old.person-DefSg] Dat],
 ē tà fóy dó-rá= [áá nà] rà
 3Pl IpfvNeg nothing give-Ipfv [2Pl Dat] Q
 ‘When you-Pl have given it to the elder of the household, do they not give anything at all to you-Pl?’
 [fóy, §6.3.2.3]

(06:28) F è gá= à dúwò-rò
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg give-Ipfv
 [ē gè= [= ééⁿ sàfùnè-sòŋó-yàwⁿ]] [è gá= à dó-ré= [= ééⁿ nà],
 [3Pl Ipfv [1Pl soap-price-DefSg]] [3Pl Ipfv 3Sg give-Ipfv [1Pl Dat],
 ‘They do give it. They give us the cost of our soap.’
[dúwò(-rò) ‘give (sth)’ after Dative Dropping (§9.3.3) versus dó(-ró) ‘give (sth) to (sb)’; second clause restarted after heavy object NP]

(06:32) F [íín dé-méé] ná gòpò, ,
 [1Pl child-Pl] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv,
 è gé= è [è ní] lègòtórò-y,
 3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Pl Inst] hospital-Loc,
 ‘When our children get sick, they (=people) take them to the clinic.’
 [yè ‘go’ replacing sò]

(06:35) F [íín jáátì-yè] ná gòpò,
 [1Pl exactly-Pl] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv,
 è gé= è [=ééⁿ ní] lègòtórò-y,
 3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [1Pl Inst] hospital-Loc,
 ‘(And) when we ourselves get sick, they take us to the clinic.’
 [jáátì (§8.4.2)]

(06:39) F á!, sáàm bárà ká bònà dé?
 oh! rain Prog Infin increase Emph
 S á! n^o ná bá= á-ÿ,
 oh! Dem.Def if.Pfv exit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 F: (in Bambara, to someone) ‘The rain is increasing (=getting heavier).’
 S: Oh! If that is excluded from it (=other than that),’

(06:43) S ā ga— áá sùwé-yé rà,
 (hesitation) 2Pl cooking(n)-Pl Q,
 áá gá sùwé [báànà wéréⁿ]-ÿⁿ
 2Pl Ipfv do.cooking.Ipfv [manner which?]=Loc
 ‘About your-Pl cooking practices, in which way do you-Pl cook?’
 [polar interrogative rà in topicalized phrase; sùwè/sùwé ‘do cooking’, antipassive of sùwò/sùwó ‘cook (by boiling or steaming)’ (cf. @ 06:51)]

(06:48) F íⁿ nà sùwé [[báànà mèèⁿ] ní] nà,
 1Pl Ipfv do.cooking.Ipfv [[manner Rel] Inst] Q,
 kééwú-yé gé= è dúgò-n-tíyé-èm báá,
 man-Pl Ipfv go.Pfv rice-Link-field-DefSg remove.Pfv,
 ‘(About) the manner by which we cook? The men go and clear a rice field.’
 [polar interrogative rà ~ nà in relative clause; compound with ‘field’ as final (§5.1.4); báá ‘take out, remove’ in sense ‘clear (a new field)’]

(06:51) F dúgó-òṅ ná mùwò, è gá= à gàràbù,
 rice-DefSg if.Pfv ripen.Pfv, 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg reap.Ipfv,
 [ííⁿ ṅà díyè-fé-ěⁿ sùwó]
 [1Pl Ipfv eat.VblN-thing-DefSg cook.Ipfv]
 ‘When the rice has ripened, they (=men) reap (=harvest) it. We (=women) cook the food.’
 [*‘reap’ = ‘harvest (rice, fonio) by slashing stems with a sickle’*]

(06:55) F [ííⁿ ṅà à dó [dúgó-gàràbù-yé nà]
 [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg give.Pfv [rice-reap.Agent-Pl Dat]
 [sòṅó-òṅ nìíⁿ]], dúgó-gàràbù-yèṅ nà dúwóⁿ,
 [the.bush-DefSg inside]] rice-reap.VblN-DefSg if.Pfv be.finished.Pfv,
 ‘We go and give it to the rice-reapers out in the bush (=in the fields). When the rice-reaping is completed,’
 [*plural of compound agentive dúgó-gàràbù-yá*]

(06:59) F è ná= à kwá,
 3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg hit.Pfv,
 [ē gè= [=ééⁿ fè-èⁿ] dó-ré= [=ééⁿ nà]]
 [3Pl Ipfv [1Pl share(n)-DefSg] give-Ipfv [1Pl Dat]]
 ‘(and) when they have threshed it (=rice), they give our share (of threshed rice) to us.’
 [*‘share (n)’ (§6.2.2.2)*]

(07:02) F [è gá= à sá-rá [bòno-òⁿ nìíⁿ]],
 [3Pl Ipfv 3Sg add-Ipfv [granary-DefSg inside]],
 né= è yà= à sá gà [bòno-òⁿ nìíⁿ],
 if 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg add.Pfv Pfv [granary-DefSg inside],
 ‘They add it to (=store it in) the granary. When they have added it to the granary,’

(07:05) F è gá= à bá-rì,
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv,
 ííⁿ ṅà= à yàá [díyè-fá ní],
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [eat.VblN-thing Inst],
 ‘They take it out (from the granary). We transform it into food.’
 [*they take out a portion of the stored grain for the daily food of the household; bá-rí/bá-rì ‘take out’, frozen causative of bá(-rá) ‘exit’, near-synonym bàà/bàá ‘take out’; yàà/yàá ‘put down’ in the sense ‘transform, convert’ (§9.4.1)*]

(07:07) F [díyé-fá mǎⁿ] nà dúmé= [= één tè]
 [eat.VblN-thing Rel] Sbjn be.sweet [1Pl Dat]
 íⁿ ɲá= à yàá [à ní]
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
 ‘A food that may be tasty for us (=that we like), we will transform it (grain) into it
 (tasty food).’

(07:09) F sááⁿ ɲá kàpú [byá= à díyá]
 all Ipfv get.together.Ipfv [Seq 3Sg eat.Pfv]
 S [ɲóm píyé] fàámùⁿ ɲà,
 [Dem.Def too] be.understood.Pfv Pfv
 F: ‘Everyone eats it together.’
 S: ‘That too has been understood.’
 [*< bé à díyá ; ‘do (something) together’ (§14.8.3)*]

(07:12) S ɲó-nì dúgó-yàwⁿ,
 Dem.Def rice-DefSg,
 ā gà= [áá jíⁿ-yèn] díyé-ní—
 3Sg Ipfv [2Pl year-DefSg] eat-Caus.
 ‘That rice (stock), does it feed your-Pl year—’
 [*interrupted clause repeated fully in the following segment*]

(07:14) S [ā gà= [áá jíⁿ-yèn] díyé-ní nà]
 [3Sg Ipfv [2Pl year-DefSg] eat-Caus.Ipfv Q]
 [à tá= à díyé-nì]
 [3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg eat-Caus.Ipfv]
 ‘Does it feed your-Pl year? Or does it not feed it?’

[*i.e. is the stored rice grain from the harvest enough to feed you all for one year, until
 the next harvest?*]

(07:17) F á!, [jíⁿ-yàŋ kémbèrèè], à gá= [à díyé] báá,
 ah!, [year-DefSg certain.Pl], 3Sg Ipfv [3Sg eat.VblN] take.out.Ipfv,
 [jíⁿ-yàŋ kémbèrèè] à tá= [à díyé] báá,
 [year-DefSg certain.Pl] 3Sg IpfvNeg [3Sg eat.VblN] take.out.Ipfv,
 ‘Ah, some years, it is enough to eat. Some (other) years, it isn’t enough to eat.’

[*jíⁿ kémbèrèè ‘certain years’, here with DefSg suffix on jíⁿ, plus kémbèrèè with final-
 syllable intonational HL-tones before planned pause (§3.7.2, §6.3.2.1); báá ‘take out,
 remove’ in sense ‘suffice for’, cf. à gá= à mèm báá ‘it is enough to drink’*]

(07:21) F bàrà= àrí yùrùgú] nà dwá= á-ỳ,
 because even this.year] if.Pfv enter.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 [jíí-yèn dó gà]
 [water-DefSg enter.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘Because even if this year has entered into in (=is included), the water has gotten into it.’
[bàrà ‘because’ (§17.2.1); (h)àrí ‘even (if)’ (§16.2.1); < yùrùgù nà dó ; heavy rains this year have flooded the fields excessively]

(07:24) F [ā yè= [[= één dúgó-n-tíyé-yè sááⁿ] máyⁿ ɲà],
 [3Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Pl rice--Link-field-Pl all] ruin.Pfv Pfv],
 ‘It (=water) has ruined all of our rice fields.’

(07:26) F [[áⁿ nàá] tà [ɲóⁿ— jíín] té yà]
 [[2Sg QTop] IpfvNeg [Dem.Def year] cross.Pfv or]
 [à jíín-té-[báry-àmà]]—
 [3Sg year-cross.VblN-[prevent-Abstr]]—
 ‘You-Sg don’t (know) whether (food for) this year will go across (=be completed), or (whether) its inability to get through the year—’
[< áⁿ làà ; cf. ā yá= ā bàrí gà [bé té] ‘he prevented it from crossing’; incomplete sentence, resumed in the following segment]

(07:28) F án tá sìní ɲóⁿ fāámù-nù sááw̄,
 2Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv Dem.Def understand-Ipfv now,
 ‘You-Sg cannot understand (=know) that now.’
[‘be able’ construction with both verbs Ipfv (§15.1.1.1)]

[long silence]

(07:36) S ɲóⁿ nà bá= á-ỳ, áá sù— [áá sìnì
 Dem.Def if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv 3Sg-Loc, (hesitation)— [2Pl and
 súbá—] [súbá-nógú wéréⁿ] ní twìⁿ [áá pà]
 (hesitation)— [market-village which?] 3ReflSg be.near [2Pl Comit]
 ‘If that goes out (=aside from that), you-Pl and (which) mar[ket]— Which market town (i.e. with a weekly market) is near you-Pl?’
[somewhat broken, blends ‘you and village are near (each other)’ and ‘village is near you-Pl’; the market villages in the area have one market day per seven-day week, as does Djenné]

- (07:40) S m̀m̀àà = áá gá sò [áá yúwó-yè] tóró
 whether 2Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [2Pl fish-Pl] sell.Pfv
 F [súbá-nógú m̀èéⁿ] ní twìⁿ [íím pà] yáwⁿ,
 [market-village Rel] 3Ref1Sg be.near [1Pl Comit] there.Def,
 S: ‘In other words, you-Pl go to sell your fish-Pl (there)?’
 F: ‘The market town that is close to us there,’
- (07:43) F ńóⁿ ñá sòfáàrà nì, sááw [jùlá-yè píyé]
 Dem.Def be S it.is, now [merchant-Pl too]
 tá sèè-éñ kílám [bé bé],
 IpfvNeg road-DefSg find.Ipfv [Seq come.Pfv],
 ‘That is Sofara. Right now the merchants can’t find the way to come (to Sofara.)’
 [alludes to the conflict with jihadists and highway robbers]
- (07:48) F gíyéⁿ-nàámí-yèn dáà
 place-mix.VblN-DefSg Purp,
 jùlá-yé tá sèè-éñ kíláwⁿ [bé bé],
 merchant-Pl IpfNeg road-DefSg find.Ipfv [Seq come.Pfv],
 ‘Because of the unstable situation, the merchants can’t find the way to come.’
 [< ǹààmì/ǹààmí ‘mix, confuse’; dáà (§8.3.1);]
- (07:50) S [ííⁿ ná só sòfáàrà] [[jágú-màⁿ-flá]-yè dùwó] gá ñ̀ǹǹm̀í
 1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv S] [[pedlar]-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv have.fun.Ipfv
 [[ííⁿ yúwó-ǝⁿ] ǹíⁿ] [sòñò píyé] tá kílá = á-yì,
 [[1Pl fish-DefSg] inside] [price too] IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘If we go to Sofara, it’s the small-time pedlars [focus] who have fun in (=screw around
 with) our fish, the (right) price isn’t even gotten.’
 [< kíláⁿ á-yì ; Since the urban merchants who pay hard cash up front for fish can’t
 make it to Sofara, the only buyers are small-time resellers who deal on consignment,
 returning cash to the sellers only after they resell the fish, and often with meager prices;
 jágú-màⁿ-flá is partly Bambara]
- (07:56) S ðó, ā f̀àám̀ùⁿ ñ̀à,
 uh.huh, 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv,
 Ø ná = à f̀àám̀ùⁿ ñ̀à,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Uh-huh, it has been understood. I have understood it.’

(07:59) S sùwè-sébè-èⁿ ñ sé gà kóy,
 cook.VblN-issue-DefSg 3ReflSg say.Pfv Pfv Emph,
 áà, [hàlí wày] [fóétè kúwóntò], íⁿ ñà byá= án tíyé,
 ah!, [until today] [F K], 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv,
 ‘The matter of cooking has definitely been said (=discussed). Ah, as of now, Foétè
 Konto (addressee’s name), we will ask you-Sg,’
 [*< sèbè ‘issue, matter’, with HL-tones as compound final (§5.1.5)*]

(08:06) S áá sórógò-yé làntà-kùpá-yè, [ná= à ná fò]
 2Pl Bozo-Pl custom-marriage-Pl, [if 3Sg if.Pfv sit.Pfv]
 [áá gà ñón dó-ró [dóé-bàaná mǎⁿ]-yⁿ,
 [2Pl Ipfv Dem.Def perform-Ipfv [perform.VblN-manner Rel]-Loc,
 ‘The traditional marriage ceremonies of you-Pl Bozos, when it takes place, the way in
 which you-Pl perform that.’
 [*< nà ; dó(-ró) has a wide range of senses including ‘set’; dóé- is a variant of
 dwéé- (§9.3.2)*]

(08:10) F íⁿ ñá= à dó-ró [[dóé-bàaná mèéⁿ] nìⁿ] nà,
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg perform-Ipfv [perform.VblN-manner Rel] inside] Q,
 [díyéⁿ ñùnú] kùpé-éⁿ nà ñ sárátì,
 [child Top] wedding-DefSg if.Pfv 3ReflSg schedule(v).Pfv,
 ‘The way we perform it? When the wedding of a young person (=the bride) is
 scheduled,’
 [*topic marker ñùnù (§19.1.1) on possessor*]

(08:14) F ā gà ñ sé-ré [[jòñònáⁿ-sùú-yè sáán] tè],
 3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg be.said-Ipfv [[kinship-hand-Pl all] Dat],
 ē gà [gíyéⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ]-yì
 3Pl be.Loc [place Rel all]-Loc
 ‘It is said (=notified) to all branches of the extended family, wherever they are.’

(08:18) F [kú-nù tàrááⁿ-y-è] [[ń dìyé-èñ] kùpé-ěⁿ]
 [Dem day-DefSg-Loc] [[1Sg child-DefSg] wedding-DefSg]
 ñà bé ń tîⁿ,
 Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg do.Pfv,
 ‘On that (such-and-such a) day, my child (=daughter)’s wedding will be held.’

(08:20) F áà, [áɲ [jòŋò-né]-è] gà= ám pààŋkàrà-là,
 ah, [2Sg [kin]-Pl] Ipfv 2Sg rejoin-Ipfv,
 ííⁿ ɲá kùpé-èn tíí-nì, [dóé-báànà sááⁿ ɲùnú] nwìíⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv wedding-DefSg do-Ipfv, [perform.VblN-manner all Top] inside,
 ‘Ah, your-Sg relatives get together with you-Sg. We do the wedding, in its full
 performance.’

[< jòŋò-náwⁿ plus plural -yè ; pààŋkàrà(-là) (§8.1.2.3, end); ɲùnù topic marker on
 complement of postposition]

(08:26) S áywà, ɲóⁿ fàámùⁿ ɲà,
 well, Dem.Def be.understood.Pfv Pfv,
 [áá sááwú-kúbá-yè sínì [áá páánáŋ-kúbá-yè] làà,
 [2Pl now-wedding-Pl] and [2Pl first-wedding-Pl] QTop,
 ‘Okay, that has been understood. What about your weddings of now (=these days) and
 your weddings in the past,’

(08:29) S ē gà kóòⁿ nìⁿ nà, ē tà kóòⁿ nì,
 3Pl be one it.is Q, 3Pl not.be one it.is,
 [dàⁿfàrà wéréⁿ] ɲé= [[è sínì bùwó] nàáⁿ]
 [gap which?] be.Loc [[3Pl and Recip] between]
 ‘... are they the same? (Or) are they not the same? What difference is there between
 them and the other(s)?’

[dàⁿfàrà ‘gap; boundary’ is Bambara (=J-S of Djenné nàáⁿ); bùwò ‘each other’]

(08:33) F dàⁿfàrà— dàⁿfàrá—
 gap— gap—
 [hú mèéⁿ] ɲé= [[è sínì bùwó] nàáⁿ] yáwⁿ,
 [thing Rel] be.Loc [[3Pl and Recip] between] there.Def,
 ‘The gap—. What there is between one and the other there?’

(08:37) F [tárááⁿ sáán] díyáⁿ-ɲóóⁿ ɲà í ɲ gwè-nè wó sò,
 [day all] world-eye Ipfv 3ReflSg open-Ipfv Foc go.Pfv,
 páánáŋ-kéémíné-yè, [ɲú-méé bááná-yè] sínì sááwú-bááné-è
 first-old.person-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl manner-Pl] and now-manner-Pl
 ‘Every day the world moves forward. The old people of the past, their ways and the
 ways of (people of) now ...’

[‘eye’ often added to ‘world’, ‘sun’, etc.; ‘open self (and) go’ expresses constant
 change; ɲú-méé ‘those (ones)’ (§6.5.2)]

(08:42) F tá sìní fǒ-rò kóòⁿ nì,
 IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv one it.is,
 bàrì [númà-réé twèé] gà bé kíyé [pánááⁿ nà],
 because [people knowledge] Ipfv Fut pass.Pfv [first Dat],
 ‘... cannot be the same. Because (nowadays) people’s knowledge will surpass (that of) the past.’
 [twèè ‘knowledge’, especially ‘esoteric/ritual expertise’ (§11.2.5.1), related to tùwò ‘know’]

(08:47) F jó-ò gà tíí-nà [bé= è báá bùwó-yì],
 Dem.Def-Foc Ipfv do-Ppl [Seq 3Pl remove.Pfv Recip-Loc],
 S áá díyé-èⁿ, [áá dé-méé] kùbá-tìgé-yè làà,
 2Pl child-Sg, [2Pl children] wedding-gear-Pl QTop,
 F: ‘That [focus] is what makes it such that (it) separates (=distinguishes) them from each other.’
 S: ‘Your-Pl child (=daughter)— What about the wedding gear (=offerings) of your-Pl children?’
 [làà interrogative topic (§19.1.2)]

(08:52) S [[ā ñ-kóòⁿ] sááwù rà], [ā tàñ-kóòⁿ]
 [[3Sg Link-one] now Q], [3Sg not.be Link-one]
 F [mǎⁿ hìné-èⁿ] ná= à tàà-nì [gíyéⁿ màⁿ]-yⁿ,
 [Rel ability-DefSg] if.Pfv 3Sg stop-Caus.Pfv [place Rel]-Loc,
 S: ‘Is it the same now? (Or) it isn’t the same?’
 F: ‘Wherever one’s (=your) ability reaches (=whatever you can afford), ...’
 [reduced < ā gà ñ-kóòⁿ ; double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

(08:57) F jǒⁿ ñá tà-rà yáwⁿ,
 Dem.Def Ipfv stop-Ipfv there.Def,
 sááⁿ sìnì [ń hìné-èⁿ] nì,
 all and [3Ref1Sg ability-DefSg] it.is,
 ‘... that will stop there. Each person has his/her ability.’
 [< hìnì ; construction ‘X and its Y’ (§7.1.5)]

(09:01) F [hú mǎⁿ] nà bá= [án tèt], [hú mètⁿ wálètⁿ]
 [thing Rel] if.Pfv exit.Pfv [2Sg Dat], [thing Rel money]
 ná kilàⁿ [[án dètⁿsáá-àⁿ mètⁿ] swí]-y,
 if.Pfv be.gotten.Pfv [[2Sg mother-DefSg Rel] hand]-Loc,
 ‘Whatever comes from you-Sg, whatever money is gotten (=available) in the hand
 (=possession) of some birth mother of yours (=the bride’s).’
*[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3); dètⁿsàà ‘woman who has recently given birth’,
 here extended to ‘birth-mother’]*

(09:04) F áⁿ ñà jó-ò sà-nà
 2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def-Foc buy-Ipfv
 [byá= à yàà= [[án díyé-ěⁿ] kùmà]],
 [Seq 3Sg put.down.Pfv [[2Sg child-DefSg] on]],
 ‘That [focus] is what you buy and set down on (=present to) your child (=daughter).’
[< bé à yàà]

(09:06) F dàⁿfàrà tá= á-y,
 gap not.be 3Sg-Loc,
 [[hú màⁿ sááⁿ] híní] ná f̀w= [án tèt]
 [[thing Rel all] ability] Sbjn sit.Pfv [2Sg Dat]
 ‘There is no limit (=fixed sum). Whatever ability (=to pay) may be on you-Sg.’
[< fẁd ‘sit’]

(09:10) S ā fāámùⁿ ñà fwéétè
 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv F
 Dj ðⁿhóⁿ, [áj ká tà]
 okay, [let’s go]
 S: ‘It has been understood, Foétê.’
 Dj (in Bambara): ‘Okay, let’s go!’

(09:13) S áywà, bìsímílááy, é→ nómbá— án túbé
 well, welcome!, ah, (error)— 2Sg name
 Y [ń túbéⁿ] ñà [[yààkúbà pérà]
 [1Sg name] be [Y P]
 S: ‘All right, please go ahead! Ah, Nomba (error)— Your name.’
 Y: ‘My name is Yacouba Pera.’
*[bìsímílááy (< Arabic ‘in the name of God’), common invitation to enter, to eat, to
 speak, etc.]*

(09:18) Y bé bá kójó-tùwò bôn
 Seq exit.Pfv Tombona here
 S ííⁿ jónⁿ fāámùⁿ ɲà, àlàhámdirìlááy
 1Pl Dem.Def understand.Pfv Pfv, praise.God
 Y: ‘Coming from Tombona (village) here.’
 S: ‘We have understood that, praise God.’
[variant of àlàhámùlílàày etc.]

(09:23) S ííⁿ ɲà byá= án tíyé, yààkúbà,
 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv, Y,
 áá gá kùpá-yè dó-ró [[áá [sórógá-ámá]-láántá-kúbá-yè],
 2Pl Ipfv wedding-Pl perform-Ipfv [[2Pl [Bozo-Abstr]-custom-wedding-Pl,
 ‘We will ask you, Yacouba. You-Pl perform weddings, your-Pl traditional Bozo
 weddings.’
[tone-leveled compound [[sórógá-ámá]-láántá]-kúbá]

(09:27) S à pánááⁿ sá— [[hú mèêⁿ] báàná-yè]
 3Sg first (error)— [[thing Rel] manner-Pl]
 sínì [à sááwú-báàná-yè]
 and [3Sg now-manner-Pl]
 ‘Its old—, the manners of which (in the old days) and its manners nowadays,’
*[partially broken segment; repair as [à pánám-báàná-yè] sínì [à sááwú-báàná-yè],
 with tone-leveled compounds, cf. @ 09:37 below]*

(09:31) S ííⁿ ɲà bé án tíyé [jón kùmà],
 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv [Dem.Def on],
 áⁿ nà fá-líyéⁿ sé= [=één tè] jón-ỳ,
 2Sg Sbjn thing-Dimin say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]] Dem.Def-Loc,
 ‘We will ask you about that. Please tell us a little about that.’

(09:33) S ííⁿ ná= à fāámù
 1Pl Sbjn 3Sg understand.Pfv
 Y áⁿ jé= í tíyé gà, jón dúmá gà [n té],
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv, Dem.Def become.sweet.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat],
 S: ‘So that we may understand it.’
 Y: ‘You-Sg have asked me. That has pleased me.’

(09:37) Y pánáán-kúbá-yè sínì sááwú-kúbá-yè,
 first-wedding-Pl and now-wedding-Pl,
 ííⁿ ñà [hú màán] tùwá= [à nìⁿ],
 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv [3Sg inside],
 ‘Weddings of times past and weddings of nowadays, what we know about it.’
 [*< tùwò*]

(09:40) Y pánááⁿ-y-è, ní kùbá gà bí-yá= [ám pà],
 first-DefSg-Loc, if wedding Ipfv come.Ipfv [2Sg Comit],
 à gá sò [íj sé [tósⁿ-ǝⁿ nìⁿ]],
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [3ReflSg be.said.Pfv [association-DefSg inside]],
 ‘In the past, if a wedding is coming for you-Sg (mother of bride), it goes and is said
 (=reported) to the local association.’
 [*< bí-yé ; tósⁿ denotes a local ethnic community (e.g. Bozos in a multi-ethnic village)
 that has collective responsibility for weddings and other collective projects*]

(09:45) Y tósⁿ-kání tè,
 association-head Dat,
 tósⁿ-káníⁿ ñà [tósⁿ-òn dé-méé] kée-nì,
 association-head Ipfv [association-DefSg children] call-Ipfv,
 á, [kù-nùn tarááⁿ-y-è] kútú-flàánà bé gà
 oh!. [Dem-Link day-DefSg-Loc] so.and.so come.Pfv Pfv
 ‘(It is reported) to the association head. The association head summons the association
 members (saying) “Ah, on that (such-and-such) a day, So-and-So came ...” ’

(09:49) Y [[[n dáyáⁿ] kùbà] sé],
 [[[Logo/3ReflSg child] wedding] say.Pfv],
 ā gà kásà-má [[kù-nùn tarááⁿ-àn] tè],
 3Sg Ipfv coincide.Ipfv [[Dem-Link day-DefSg] Dat],
 ‘ “... and said (=announced) the wedding of his child (=son) is scheduled to coincide
 with (=take place) on that (specific) day.” ’
 [*possessor of ‘his child’ could be parsed as LogoSg or as 3ReflSg; kásà-mà ‘coincide
 (with), occur (at the same time as)’ with dative tè denoting the date*]

(09:53) Y [tʰó-òⁿ làántè-é] nà [[hú mà-réé] nìⁿ],
 [association-DefSg custom-Pl] be [[thing Rel-Pl inside],
 à gá= à sé-ré [[tʰó-òⁿ dé-méé] tè],
 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [[association-DefSg children] Dat],
 ‘The things that the custom(s) of the association are (involved) in, he (=head) says it
 to the association members.’
 [< làántà-yè]

(09:57) Y háyà, nè, súbá-bírí gá= á-ỳ,
 okay, if, firewood-gather.VblN be 3Sg-Loc,
 ā gá= à sé-ré [súbá-bírí gá= á-ỳ],
 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [firewood-gather.VblN be 3Sg-Loc],
 ‘All right, if firewood gathering is (involved) in it, he says (to them), “firewood
 gathering is in it.” ’
 [*cf. verb bírí/bírì ‘cut and gather (firewood) in the bush’*]

(10:00) Y né kùbé-ěⁿ nà ní dó-ró [[jí nǒǒ] pà],
 if wedding-DefSg Ipfv 3ReflSg perform-Ipfv [[3ReflSg eye] Comit],
 háyà, áá gá= à sé-rá= [à tè]
 okay, 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]
 ‘If the wedding is (to be) performed in its fullness, okay, you-Pl tell him (=head),’
 [*‘eye’ in phrases involving fullness*]

(10:03) Y [kùbé-ěⁿ làántè-ěⁿ sááⁿ]
 [wedding-DefSg custom-DefSg all]
 [à sááⁿ] nà [kùbé-ěⁿ nìⁿ],
 [3Sg all] be.Loc [wedding-DefSg inside],
 [à fóy] mà kónó kwàtí-y-è,
 [3Sg nothing] Proh stay.Pfv back-DefSg-Loc,
 ‘(you tell him:) “The entire traditional wedding, everything is (to be included) in the
 wedding. None of it must be left out.” ’
 [*fóy (dialectally fwé) ‘anything/nothing at all’ (emphatic negative, §6.3.2.3)*]

(10:06) Y háyà né kùbé-èⁿ ní dó gá,
 okay if wedding-DefSg 3ReflSg perform.Pfv Pfv,
 [gùù-yém pà], tóóⁿ-[yíyé-méé]—
 [night-DefSg Comit], association-[woman-Pl]—
 ‘All right, when the wedding has taken place, at night, the women—’
 [< yìyè-méé ‘women’, here in a tone-leveled compound]

(10:11) Y nú-méé gá sò [bé yé kùbà-yùwóm [bùwó pà]]
 Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [Seq go.Pfv wedding-woman [Recip Comit]]
 kà-yé káwⁿ,
 father-Pl chez,
 ‘Those ones go and accompany the bride, at (her) fathers’ place.’
[i.e. her father and father’s brothers; nú-méé resuming ‘women’ (§6.5.2)]

(10:14) Y bé sò [à ní], kúⁿwó-ráà nìíⁿ,
 Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst], husband-Collective inside,
 né= è sò gá kìⁿyè kúⁿwò-ráà-yé-è,
 if 3Pl go.Pfv Pfv arrive.Pfv husband-residence-DefSg-Loc,
 ‘And (they) convey her among the husband’s kin. When they have gone and arrived
 at the husband’s family’s residence,’
[dialectally kúⁿwó-láà ; with collective -ráà ~ -láà (§4.1.3.2), cf. @ 11:42 below]

(10:18) Y jóⁿ-yⁿ è gá= à yààfé [[tós-òn dé-méé] pà]
 Dem.Def-Loc 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pardon.Ipfv [[association-DefSg children] Comit]
 [[jós-nùṅ gùú-y]-è], tós-òⁿ sàríyè-yàwⁿ,
 [[Dem.Def night-DefSg]-Loc], association-DefSg law-DefSg,
 ‘They make amends with the members of the association on that night. (By) the law
 (=rules) of the association,’

(10:22) Y ḡóⁿ ḡá [kùbú sìgéⁿ] nì,
 Dem.Def be [day three] it.is,
 ḡòṅṅmíⁿ ḡà ní tíí-nì, tòbó-òⁿ ḡà rí bá-rì,
 dance Ipfv 3ReflSg do-Ipfv, dance.ground-DefSg Ipfv 3ReflSg take.out.Ipfv,
 ‘... that (=the wedding) is three days (long). Dancing is done, the dance ground is
 occupied (for festivities).’
*[tòbò plus bá-rí/bá-rì is a collocation ‘occupy dancing ground’, i.e. ‘organize dancing,
 hold dances’]*

(10:26) Y [tósⁿ-òⁿ díyèⁿ-èⁿ sááⁿ], [sááⁿ ḡá] bùwó tùmààná,
 [association-DefSg child-DefSg all], [all Ipfv] Recip encounter.Ipfv,
 [jós-nù tòbó-òⁿ nìíⁿ,
 [Dem.Def-Link dance.ground-DefSg] inside,
 ‘Every member of the association, everyone encounters each other, in that dance
 ground.’

(10:30) Y áá gá ñò̀ǹmí, [gùú sígèⁿ-yàwⁿ],
 2Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv, [night three-DefSg],
 f́ó bé yé= [[à túmè] ní],
 until Seq go.Pfv [[3Sg complete.VblN] Inst],
 ‘You-Pl dance the three nights, until (you) deliver its completion.’
[i.e. take it to its completion; “DefSg” on N-Num phrase (§6.5.3); cf. verb túmè(-nè) ‘become complete’]

(10:34) Y [yè-nè-míyàw]-yè ñóⁿ-yé gá súbá bírì,
 [unmarried.girl]-Pl Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv firewood gather.Ipfv,
 [t́ś-̀̀n díyéⁿ sááⁿ] ñá kùbà-ñámààñ kú-nú
 [association-DefSg child all] Ipfv wedding-house catch-Ipfv
 ‘The unmarried girls, those ones (go) cut and collect firewood (in the bush). Every member of the association occupies the marriage house.’
[yè-nè-míyàw ‘unmarried girl’, archaic compound (§5.1.7.1); regular tone-leveled compound < kùbà and ñámáàⁿ]

(10:36) Y f́ó kùbé-èⁿ ná k̀r̀ì,
 until wedding-Pl Sbjn get.up.Pfv,
 íⁿ ñà [hú m̀èèⁿ] t̀wò, kùbé-èⁿ nìⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel], know.Ipfv, wedding-DefSg inside,
 ‘Until the wedding is lifted (=ended). What we know, about wedding(s),’

(10:40) Y ñóⁿ ñà ñóⁿ nì
 Dem.Def be Dem.Def it.is
 S háyà, yàkùbà p̀erá, íⁿ ñóⁿ f̀áámùⁿ ñà,
 okay, Y P, 1Pl Dem.Def understand.Pfv Pfv,
 Y: ‘... that is it.’
 S: ‘Well, Yacouba Pera, we have understood that.’

(10:43) S [yìyè-méé píyé] gè= [[=éé f̀à-ń] t̀òbò] bá-rì
 [woman-Pl too] Ipfv [[3ReflPl share(n)-DefSg] dancing] take.out.Ipfv
 [é t́] rà
 [3ReflPl apart] Q
 ‘Do women too hold their own dancing separately?’

(10:45) Y yiyè-méé è gá= à bá-rì,
 woman-Pl 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv,
 nǎ-yè, [[nú-mèè píyé] gè= [éé tòbó-òm] bá-rì]
 mother-Pl, [[Dem.Def-Pl too] Ipfv [3Ref1Pl dancing-DefSg] take.out.Ipfv]
 ‘Women do hold it. Mothers, those ones (=mothers) hold their (own) dancing.’

(10:49) Y è gá= à sé-ré [nón tè] [nà-àmà]-tòbò,
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [Dem.Def Dat] [mother-Abstr]-dancing,
 nɔ̃ⁿ nà [[nɔ̃ⁿ-yè píyé] làántà-yè] nì,
 Dem.Def be [[Dem.Def too] custom-Pl] it.is,
 ‘They call that “motherhood dancing.” That is their custom too.’

(10:54) Y nɔ̃ⁿ sínì [kééwú-yé fàⁿ-h] tòbó-yàwⁿ
 Dem.Def and [man-Pl share(n)-DefSg] dancing-DefSg
 nɔ̃ⁿ-yé tà kòòⁿ nì, nɔ̃ⁿ-nì [nà-àmà]-tòbó-yàwⁿ,
 Dem.Def-Pl not.be one it.is, Dem.Def-Link [mother-Abstr]-dancing-DefSg,
 ‘That (=women’s dancing) and men’s dancing, those (two) are not the same. That
 motherhood dancing,’

(10:57) Y è gá só [[kùbà-yùwóⁿ-òm bùwó] pà]
 3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [[wedding-woman-DefSg Recip] Comit]
 ā gà bí-yé [tòbó-òⁿ nìⁿ],
 3Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [dancing-DefSg inside],
 ‘They go to (get) the bride. She comes to the dancing ground.’

(11:00) Y làántà gá [yiyè-méé pà], ē gà [nɔ̃ⁿ-yè sáán] tíí-nì
 custom be.Loc [woman-Pl Comit], 3Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Pl all] do-Ipfv
 [[nɔ̃ⁿ-nì kùbà-tòbó-òⁿ] nìⁿ],
 [[Dem.Def wedding-dancing-DefSg] inside],
 ‘(The) women have customs. They do (=perform) them all in that wedding dancing.’

(11:05) Y [[hú màⁿ sááⁿ] nà [tós-àn díyáⁿ] nì]
 [[thing Rel all] be [association-DefSg child] it.is]
 [è sááⁿ] nà bùwó tùmààná yám tòbó-y-è,
 [3Pl all] Ipfv Recip encounter there.Def dancing-DefSg-Loc,
 ‘Whatever (=whoever) is a member of the association, they all encounter each other
 there are the dancing ground.’

(11:09) Y íŋ̀ ñà [hú mɛ̀ɛ̀n] t̀wò, [ŋ́ŋ̀ wó] gà ɲ́ŋ̀ ñì
 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def it.is
 S yàkùbà ā fàámù̀ ñà,
 Y 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv,
 Y: ‘What we know, that is it.’
 S: ‘Yacouba, it has been understood.’

(11:12) S [kú wàá] gà [án tíyɛ̀-kũ̀-yè] ñì,
 [Dem Foc] be [2Sg question-basis-DefSg] it.is,
 ā fàámù̀ ñà, pérà,
 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv, Pera,
 ‘That [focus] is the basis of the question to you-Sg, Pera.’
 [kú wàá *focused form of demonstrative kú (§13.1.1)*]

(11:15) S [án túbé] gá mùwó ñì [̀n t̀òŋ-kè̀èwù],
 [2Sg name] be what? it.is [1Sg elder.sib-male],
 [̀n túbé] gá [k̀ŋ̀sùmáánà káánt̀ò]
 [1Sg name] be [K K]
 S (to a new speaker K:) ‘Your-Sg name is what, my elder brother?’
 K: ‘My name is Kossoumana Kanto.’
 [*< t̀òŋ-kè̀èwù*]

(11:20) S àlàhámdirilááy íŋ̀ ñà byá = án tíyɛ̀
 praise.God 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv
 [[s̀orógò-yè lààntà- kɔ— k̀ǹǹ-ɔ̀wé̀]-ỳ],
 [[Bozo-Pl custom- (hesitation) circumcision]-Loc,
 ‘Praise God. We will ask you about the traditional circumcision of the Bozos.’

(11:25) K ɔ̀h́ŋ̀, ā màɲà
 uh.huh, 3Sg become.good.Pfv
 S è gá k̀ǹǹ ɔ̀wé̀ỳ, [bááná mà-réé] ñìŋ̀,
 3Pl Ipfv circumcision undergo.Ipfv, manner Rel-Pl inside,
 K: ‘Uh-huh, it’s fine.’
 S: ‘The ways in which they are in (=they perform) circumcision.’
 [ā màɲà *dialectally truncated from* ā màɲá gà (*perfective*); ɔ̀wé̀ỳ *as verb (§9.3.3), cf. noun ɔ̀wé̀ỳ @ 11:46*]

(11:27) S ē gā dyé-nà-méé dǒ-ró, kééwú-lé-méé dǒ-ró
 3Pl Ipfv child-Pl initiate-Ipfv, man-Dimin-Pl initiate-Ipfv
 kǒní-ȳ [báàná mǎⁿ-y]-è,
 circumcision-Loc [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘About the way they bring children, bring boys, into circumcision.’
 [dǒ(-rǒ) ‘enter’, here transitive ‘cause to enter (into circumcision), initiate’;
 kééwú-lé-méé plural of diminutive kééwú-líyéwⁿ ‘boy’ (§5.1.7.3)]

(11:30) S [pánááⁿ-fě-èⁿ] sínì [à sááwú-fá-yàwⁿ],
 [first-thing-DefSg] and [3Sg now-thing-DefSg],
 nà = áⁿ ñà [hú màń] tùwà = á-ȳ
 if 2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘The one (=way) of the old days and its one (=way) of today, whatever you-Sg may
 know about it,’
 [-fě-èⁿ is the clause medial counterpart of prepausal fá-yàwⁿ, both here as finals in
 tone-leveled compounds; nè ‘if’ adds a dubitative modal element to the relative clause;
 tùwò ‘know.Ipfv’]

(11:33) S áⁿ nà fá sé = [=één tè]
 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
 K jáátì, áywà íⁿ ñà [hú mēén] tùwó [à nìⁿ],
 exactly, well 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv [3Sg inside],
 S: ‘Please tell us something (about it).’
 K: ‘Sure! Well, what we know about it,’

(11:38) K [[hágè ñ-kíyéⁿ wó] gā yáwⁿ]
 [[level Link-a.certain Foc] be.Loc there.Def]
 díyé-nè-éⁿ ná kìⁿyè ñóⁿ-ȳ [íím pà] bôⁿ,
 child-DefSg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv Dem.Def-Loc [1Pl Comit] here,
 ‘There is a certain level (=age) there. When the child attains that (age) among us here,’

(11:41) K áywà [kà-yámàá]-àṅ kéémíné-éⁿ ñà,
 well [extended.family]-DefSg old.person-DefSg Ipfv,
 [[kà-yámàá]-àⁿ sááⁿ] kéé-nì,
 [[extended.family]-DefSg all] call-Ipfv,
 ‘Well, the oldest person in the extended family summons the entire extended family.’
 [kà-yámàá ‘(agnatic) extended family’, tone-leveled compound (§3.6.3.3) based on kà
 ‘father’ and *yámàá (now elsewhere ñàmàá) ‘house’ (§3.4.3.2)]

(11:46) K háyà, dyé-nà-mée kìⁿyé gà [dwéy pà],
 well, children arrive.Pfv Pfv [circumcision Comit],
 íⁿ ná= à tùⁿwò [ē nà dó yùrùgù],
 1Pl Sbjn 3Sg look.at.Pfv [3Pl Sbjn enter.Pfv this.year],
 ‘Well, the children have attained (the age) of circumcision. Let’s consider (whether)
 they (=boys) should enter (circumcision) this year.’

(11:52) K *parce que* íⁿ sórógò-láà bôⁿ,
 because 1Pl Bozo-Collective here,
 [íⁿ ñùnù] ñà dwéy, [sòfáàrà wò],
 [1Pl Top] Ipfv enter.Ipfv, [S Foc],
 ‘Because we Bozo here, it’s Sofara [focus] where we enter (circumcisions).’
[collective -láà (§4.1.3.2), cf. @ 10:14 above]

(11:57) K áà [né tèmé í tíⁿ ñà [nón kùmà]]
 ah [if peace 3Ref1Sg do.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def on]]
 [sááⁿ ñá làbéⁿ tíⁿ-nì]
 [all Ipfv preparation do-Ipfv]
 ‘Ah, if there is mutual agreement on that, everyone does the preparations.’

(12:00) K né làbéⁿ ná tàfátì,
 if preparation if.Pfv be.well.done.Pfv,
 tárááⁿ ñá tùⁿyé, ñóⁿ ñà kúmè,
 day Ipfv be.looked.at, Dem.Def Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
 ‘When the preparations have been done properly, a day is considered, that (day) is
 caught (=set).’
[dialectal for tàfàrì ; tùⁿyè/tùⁿyé and kúmè/kúmè passives of type CvCe/ε (§9.3.1.3)]

(12:07) K kéémíné-yé nà [ñó-nì tárááⁿ-àⁿ] kúⁿ,
 old.person-Pl if.Pfv [Dem.Def-Link day-DefSg] catch.Pfv,
 [ñó-nì tárááⁿ-ǎⁿ] ná kìⁿyè,
 [Dem.Def-Link day-DefSg] if.Pfv arrive.Pfv,
 ‘When the elders have caught (=set) that day, when that day arrives,’

(12:11) K ííⁿ ɲá sò, [è ní] sòfáàrà, ē gè= =éé sáá,
 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv, [3Pl Inst] S, 3Pl Ipfv 3ReflPl lie.down.Ipfv,
 jííⁿ ná kiyè, ē gà dwéy-̀n tíí-nì,
 night if.Pfv pass.Pfv, 3Pl Ipfv circumcision-DefSg do-Ipfv,
 ‘We take them to Sofara. They spend the night (there). Early the next morning, they do the circumcision.’

[jííⁿ kiyè is a fixed collocation in the sense ‘night pass’ (§11.1.1.2), elsewhere jííⁿ means ‘year’]

(12:18) K né= è dwéy-̀n tííⁿ ɲà,
 if 3Pl circumcision-DefSg do.Pfv Pfv,
 áywà dwéé-sàríyè-éⁿ ɲà [hú mèéⁿ] nì,
 well circumcision-law-DefSg be [thing Rel] it.is,
 ‘When they have done the circumcision, well, (based on) what the circumcision law (=rules) is,’

(12:22) K ɲóⁿ ɲà ní dó-ró [è nà],
 Dem.Def Ipfv 3ReflSg give-Ipfv [3Pl Dat],
 áywà né= è ná sèè-èn dwé= [è nà],
 well if 3Pl if.Pfv road-DefSg give.Pfv [3Pl Dat],
 ‘That is what is given (=paid) to them. Well, when they (Sofara people) have given leave to them (=boys and their fathers, to go),’
 [those who perform the circumcisions are paid a standardized fee; < dó è nà ; ‘give the road to X’ means ‘give permission to X to go’]

(12:25) K ííⁿ ɲè= =één débè-ré= [è ní],
 1Pl Ipfv 1Pl return-Ipfv [3Pl Inst],
 ííⁿ ɲà bí-yé,
 1Pl Ipfv come-Ipfv,
 ‘We take them (=boys) back. We come (back).’

(12:28) K à, nè= =ééⁿ nà bé,
 ah, if 1Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv,
 ē nà [súbá-núú]-yèn tííⁿ,
 3Pl if.Pfv [week]-DefSg do.Pfv,
 ‘Ah, when we have come, when they (=boys) have spent the week,’

(12:31) K *bon*, sàríyà-lìyáⁿ nà [[íím píyé] pà] [à nwíím] bôⁿ,
 well, law-Dimin be.Loc [[1Pl too] Comit] [3Sg inside] here,
 nɔⁿ nà nɔ̀nɔ̀mí nì
 Dem.Def be dance(n) it.is
 ‘Well, we also have a little law (=custom) in it here. That (=custom) is dancing.’

(12:35) S òsállààw
 God.willing
 K áywà, [nɔ̀-̀n wáátì-y]-è è gá bàsí-yǎⁿ mènéní,
 well, [Dem.Def-Link time-DefSg]-Loc 3Pl Ipfv couscous-DefSg fix.Ipfv,
 S: ‘God willing.’
 K: ‘Well, at that time they make couscous.’

(12:39) K áywà, è gá bùwò nùwéŋ-kúⁿwáá-ní,
 well, 3Pl Ipfv Recip hold.a.party.Ipfv,
 [gùú nà túⁿ] [è gá tòbó-ò̀m bá-rì],
 [night if.Pfv disappear] [3Pl Ipfv dancing-DefSg take.out-Ipfv,
 ‘Well, they hold festivities together. When night falls, they organize dancing (on the dance grounds).’
 [nùwéŋ-kúⁿwáá-ní ‘hold a party’, obscurely related to nɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ kúⁿwáá-ní ‘whiten/clean eye(s)’]

(12:43) K nùmé-ěⁿ nà bùwò nùwéŋ-kúⁿwáá-ní,
 person-DefSg Ipfv Recip hold.a.party.Ipfv,
 áywà, ́ nà [hú mènén] tùwá = á-ỳ,
 well, 1Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘They hold festivities. Well, what I know about it,’

(12:47) K áà, nɔ̀ nà kú nì,
 ah, Dem.Def be Dem it.is,
 S àlàhám̀dirilááy káántò,
 praise.God K,
 K: ‘Ah, that is it.’
 S: ‘Praise God, Kanto.’
 [i.e. ‘that (the situation) is this/that (which you have just said)’]

(12:49) S èè, [ē gà [kóó jènìn] tíí-nì],
 ah, [3Pl Ipfv [moon how.many?] do-Ipfv],
 [ná è tè bá kòní-ỳ],
 [if 3Pl PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv circumcision-Loc],
 ‘Ah, they spend how many months before they emerge from the circumcision?’
[lit. “if/when they have not exited circumcision”; i.e., how many months of seclusion during the healing period before ...; nà rare variant of nì ~ né ‘if’]

(12:55) K bon [kóó-hágè kòò-nà] tá= á-ỳ,
 okay [month-level one-Ppl] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 bon ā gà dépááⁿ, [dwéy-yè báàné-è dùwó]-ỳ,
 okay 3Sg Ipfv depend.Ipfv, [circumcision-Pl manner-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc,
 ‘Well, there is no single (=invariant) count of months in it. Well, it depends on the (different) forms of circumcision [focus].’
[participial kòò-nà ‘alone, single’, cf. áⁿ má sò [áj kòò-nà] ‘don’t go alone!’; French (ça) dépend]

(13:02) K kémbèrèè, hàlí è tà kiyé [[kùbù céme-é-kùwòⁿ] nà],
 certain.Pl, even 3Pl IpfvNeg pass.Pfv [day fifteen Dat],
 [à kémbèré] gà kóó tíí-nì,
 [3Sg certain.Pl] Ipfv month do-Ipfv,
 ‘Some (of them), even if they have not spent fifteen days. Some (others) do a month.
[kémbèrè (§6.3.2.1), here with final HL-tones before pause (§3.7.2); form of ‘fifteen’ (§4.6.1.4); ‘fifteen days’ = French quinze jours (two weeks)]

(13:07) K hàlí kémbèré gà [kóó sīgèn] tíí-nì,
 even certain.Pl Ipfv [month three] do-Ipfv,
 àwóò íj ñà [hú mēén] tùwò yáwⁿ, àⁿháⁿ
 yes 1Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.VblN there.Def, uh.huh
 ‘Some (others) even do three months. Yes, that is what I know there (=about that).’
[< íj ñà (§4.3.3.3)]

(13:11) S né= è gà bá-rá kòní-ỳ,
 if 3Pl Ipfv exit-Ipfv circumcision-Loc,
 [è gá ñòndómíⁿ nè=] [è tá ñòndómí]
 [3Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv Q] [3Pl IpfvNeg dance.Ipfv]
 ‘When they emerge from circumcision, do they dance? Or do they not dance?’
[< nà nasalized from interrogative rà]

(13:16) K *bon* né= è gà bé bá kòní-yè,
 well if 3Pl Ipfv Fut exit.Pfv circumcision-Loc,
 ē gà bá-rá [tárááⁿ màⁿ-yé]-è, nènè-ěm pà,
 3Pl Ipfv exit-Ipfv [day Rel-DefSg]-Loc, evening-DefSg Comit,
 ‘Okay, when they will emerge from circumcision, on the day when they emerge, in
 the evening,’

(13:19) K lààⁿsàrà ná kìⁿyè, è gá sò, [[è tìgé-yè,
 4pm.prayer if.Pfv arrive.Pfv, 3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv, [[3Pl gear-Pl,
 [è sòrí-yè] síné= [è fàgú-yè sááⁿ]] ní] sòjò-y-è
 [3Pl clapper-Pl] and [3Pl whatchamacallit-Pl all]] Inst] the.bush-DefSg-Loc
 ‘When the 4pm prayer has arrived, they go (with) their gear, their calabash clappers
 and all their whatchamacallits out to the bush.’
[fàgù ‘whatchamacallit’, cf. fá ‘thing’]

(13:27) K [ā pàà] ní dááⁿ fá-lí-yáwⁿ,
 [3Sg location] 3ReflSg be.distant a.little
 è gá sò [è táṅáá] yáwⁿ, ē gé= è kiyè-ní,
 3Pl Ipfv go [3Pl in.line] there.Def, 3Pl Ipfv 3Pl run-Caus.Ipfv,
 ‘Its location is somewhat distant. They go in a procession there. They (=adults) make
 them (=boys) run (a race).’
*[pàà (synonym tóó) ‘location (of a place)’, used mainly with ní dááⁿ ‘be distant’
 (§8.1.2.3); táṅáá used here like a postposition]*

(13:32) K né= è ná kiyè
 if 3Pl if.Pfv run.Pfv
 [mèéⁿ nà [ín bùwó] pì],
 [Rel if.Pfv [3ReflSg Recip] be.first.Pfv,
 ‘When they have run (the race), the one who has preceded (=beaten) the others,’
[compare plural mà-rée ná bùwó pì without reflexive possessor]

(13:34) K áywà, [ṅóⁿ wáátì-yé]-è
 well, [Dem.Def time-DefSg]-Loc
 [ṅóm píyé] gà [ní tùwàrà] fétì-liyéⁿ-èⁿ nì, àwòḍ
 [Dem.Def too] be [3ReflSg apart] festivity-Dimin-DefSg it.is, yes
 ‘At that time, that too is a small festivity on its own (apart from the main dancing).’
[French fête]

- (13:38) S àlàhámdirilááy ā fāámùⁿ ñà, káántò,
praise.God 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv, K,
ā fāámùⁿ ñà, àlàhámdirilááy,
3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv, praise.God,
‘Praise God, it has been understood, Kanto, it has been understood.’
- (13:42) S m̀ b̀àà-ỳẁẁòⁿ, íⁿ ñà byá= án tíyé [hàlí wày],
1Sg sibling-female, 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv [until today],
án túbèⁿ— án túbèⁿ— [án túbéⁿ yà= [án jàmù]
(hesitations)— [2Sg name] and [2Sg clan.name]
(to a new speaker:) ‘My sister, we will ask you at this point, your name and your clan
name.’
[< b̀àà-ỳẁẁòⁿ ; *uncommon conjunction yè ‘and’ (§7.1.2)*]
- (13:50) F á, [hú m̀àn] ñ-dúẁd̀ ỳè [ń̀ túbéⁿ-èⁿ]
ah, [thing Rel] 1Sg-Indep said [1Sg name]
sínì [j̀ jàmù] sé g̀à= [án tè] pá[nááⁿ-y-è]—
and [1Sg clan.name] say.Pfv Pfv [2Sg Dat] pre[viously]—
‘Ah, I told you before what my name and my clan name are.’
[see @ 05:49; *combines invariant yé ‘said’ with inflected sé ‘say’*]
- (13:53) S fówétè kúwóntò, íⁿ ñà byá= án tíyé,
F K, 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv,
F àwóò
yes
S: ‘Foétê Konto, we will ask you...’
F: ‘Yes.’
- (13:55) S áá sórógò— áá sórógò-ỳè, [ỳỳè-méé làáⁿ[tà]—
(hesitation)— 2Pl Bozo-Pl, [woman-Pl (hesitation)
[k̀ǹǹ-̀d̀ẁè̀è]-láántà-ỳè] [íⁿ ñà byá= án tíyé [ń̀ níⁿ]
[excision]-custom-Pl] [1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv [Dem.Def inside]]
‘The excision customs of you-Pl Bozo women, we will ask you-Sg about that.’
[*tone-leveled compound with k̀ǹǹ-̀d̀ẁè̀è as initial and láántà as final (§5.1.4.6)*]
- (13:55) S [ǹà= áⁿ ñà [hú m̀één] t̀ẁá= á-ỳ]
[if 2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc]
[án ǹà fá sé= [= één tè] ń̀ó-ỳ]
[2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] Dem.Def-Loc]
‘What you-Sg may know about it, please tell us something about that.’

- (14:02) S [íⁿ ɲà [hú mɛ́ɛⁿ fàámù-nù], àwóò
 [1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] understand-Ipfv], yes
 F [hàlí wày], [íⁿ wùnù] sórógò-yè,
 [until today], [1Pl Top] Bozo-Pl,
 S: ‘... that we (can) understand. Yes.’
 F: ‘As of now, as for us Bozos,’
- (14:08) F [íⁿ wùnù] yùwòŋ-[kòní-dìyèn]-dwéè-yàwⁿ,
 [1Pl Top] woman-[circumcision-child]-circumcision-DefSg,
 ā tà ní dábà, ā tà ní dábà píyé,
 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cease, 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cease.Ipfv too,
 ‘As for our women’s circumcision (=excision), it doesn’t cease (=it is still practiced),
 and moreover it won’t cease.’
*[the first imperfective clause describes the current situation, the second is prospective
 (so the free translation is future); dábà (§9.3.2)]*
- (14:13) F hàlí ɲàànù, [íⁿ ɲùnù] ɲà dwéy̆,
 even tomorrow, [1Pl Top] Ipfv undergo.it,
 kòní-dìyàn-dwéè nà ní sáràtì,
 circumcision if.Pfv 3ReflSg schedule(v).Pfv,
 ‘Even tomorrow (i.e. at any time), as for us, we (will) undergo it. When a circumcision
 (=excision) has been scheduled,’
[dwéy̆ (§9.3.3)]
- (14:18) F [hàlí ná= à nà ká(sà)mà]
 [even if 3Sg if.Pfv coincide.Pfv]
 [kání-mén-díyá-nà wó] gà [áj kwàtíyè],
 [nursling Foc] be.Loc [2Sg behind],
 ‘When it (=excision) has been held, even a nursling [focus] that is (carried) on your
 back,’
[kámà mispronounced for kàsà-mà]
- (14:21) F áⁿ ná kìⁿyè [dóéy-wúwòⁿ-sⁿ nà=]
 2Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [circumcision-place-DefSg inside]
 [ā gà dó-ró],
 [3Sg Ipfv enter-Ipfv],
 ‘If you arrive at the circumcision (=excision) place, it (=nursling) will enter (=be
 excised).’
[< nìⁿ ‘inside’]

(14:24) F ííⁿ ɲè = ē— [ɲóm píyɛ́] ɲóóŋ-kúⁿwáá-níⁿ ɲà ní tíí-nì
 1Pl Ipfv (hesitation) [Dem.Def too] festivity Ipfv 3ReflSg do-Ipfv,
 [[í ɲóó-òŋ sáám] pà],
 [[3ReflSg eye-DefSg all] Comit,
 ‘That too, a festivity is done (=held) in its various forms.’
 [here ‘eye’ = ‘manner, form’]

(14:28) F fò bé kìⁿyè [[è bá] pà], hàlá =
 until Seq arrive.Pfv [[3Pl exit.VblN] Comit], even
 ā nà kásà-mà [díyɛ́-nà míyè-gù-lìyáⁿ] ɲà = [áj kwàtíyè],
 3Sg if.Pfv happen.Pfv [child small-Adj-Dimin] be.Loc [2Sg behind],
 ‘(It continues) until reaching their (=girls’) leaving. Even if it happens that a little baby
 is (carried) on your back,’
 [fò ‘all the way to’ 9§8.4.5.7) with sequential clause (§15.2.150]

(14:31) F [ní yùwóⁿ nì], [ná = à ná kìⁿyè dwéy-wúwòⁿ]
 [if woman it.is], [if 3Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv circumcision-place]
 [ā gà dó-ró]
 [3Sg Ipfv enter-Ipfv]
 ‘... if it is female, if it arrives at the circumcision (=excision) place, it enters
 (undergoes).’

(14:37) S à dwéy⁻ⁿ nàà,
 3Sg circumcision-DefSg QTop,
 ā tà [fóy ɲùnù] máyⁿ [yùwón tèt]
 3Sg IpfvNeg [nothing Top] hurt.Ipfv [woman Dat]
 ‘The circumcision (=excision), does it not hurt a woman at all?’
 [< dwéy plus definite singular -yàwⁿ ; QTop làà]

(14:39) S byá = à sé, dèpí [làántè-éⁿ nìⁿ],
 Seq 3Sg say.Pfv, since [custom-DefSg inside],
 [áá wùnù] kírí gà [byá = à kày],
 [2Pl Top] get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv],
 ‘To say, since (the time of) traditional customs, as for you-Pl, you-Pl have grown up
 and seen it,’
 [French depuis (replacing hàlì in the retrospective sense ‘since’)]

(14:44) S [áá gà dǒy] ā tà fǒy máyⁿ, [íín tǐ]—
 [2Pl Ipfv be.circumcised.Ipfv] 3Sg IpfvNeg nothing harm.Ipfv, 1Pl Dat—
 [áá tǐ], [byá= à sé]
 [2Pl Dat], [Seq 3Sg say.Pfv]
 ‘You-Pl undergo (excision), it doesn’t do any harm to us— (or rather) to you-Pl, to say
 ...’

(14:48) S [[kǒlǒlǒ wò] gá= á-yǐ]
 [[danger Foc] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc]
 [ímàà áá [hú màǐ] káy gà= á-yǐ]
 [whether 2Pl [thing Rel] see.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc]
 ‘... (to say) that there is danger in it. That is to say, have you-Pl seen something in it?’
 [ímàà §13.2.1.5]

(14:49) S áá tǐ fǒy kà= [à nǐⁿ]
 2Pl PfvNeg nothing see.Pfv [3Sg inside]
 F íín-dùwò té [kǒlǒlǒ sí] káy [yùwòn-dwéy] ñùnú nǐⁿ
 1Pl-Indep PfvNeg [danger any] see.Pfv [woman-circumcision Top] inside,
 S: ‘(Or) have you-Pl not seen anything?’
 F: ‘We [focus] haven’t seen any danger in women’s excision [topic].’
 [< káy à nǐⁿ]

(14:52) F hàlì ní ná kírì gà [bé kǐⁿyé [wáy pà]],
 since 1Sg Pfv.1Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq arrive.Pfv [today Comit]],
 ní té [kǒlǒlǒ sí] kà= á-yǐ,
 1Sg PfvNeg [danger any] see.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘From when I grew up down to today, I haven’t seen any danger in it.’
 [‘from X to Y’ construction; < káy á-yǐ]

(14:58) S è→, áá ná yùwò-méé dǒ [áá nà= áá kǐlǎwⁿ],
 oh, 2Pl if.Pfv girl-Pl initiate.Pfv [2Pl if.Pfv 1Pl finish.Pfv],
 nǒǒ-ń-kúⁿwáá-níⁿ ñá á-yǐ rá, *ou bien* nǒǒ-ń-kúⁿwáá-ní tá= á-yǐ
 festivity be.Loc 3Sg-Loc Q, or festivity not.be 3Sg-Loc
 ‘Uh, if you-Pl stop excising girls, will there (still) be festivities in it? Or will there be
 no festivities in it?’

- (15:02) F $\eta^{\text{ó}}\eta\text{-kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá-ní}^{\text{n}}$ $\eta\acute{a} =$ $\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{y}$,
 festivity be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 [kééwú-yé fà^{n}] $\eta^{\text{ó}}\eta\text{-kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá-ní}^{\text{n}}$ $\eta\acute{a}$ [[báàná mèé^{n}] nìí^{n}]
 [man-Pl share(n)] festivity be [[manner Rel] inside]
 ‘There will be festivities in it. The (same) way the men’s festivities are,’
- (15:05) F [yìyè-méé píyé fè-é^{n}] $\eta\acute{a}$ [$\eta^{\text{ó}}\text{-nì}$ $\text{báàná-wàà} =$]
 [woman-Pl too share(n)-DefSg] be.Loc [Dem-Link manner-DefSg.Foc]
 [à nìí^{n}] íí^{n} $\eta\acute{a} =$ à $\eta^{\text{ó}}\eta\text{-kú}^{\text{n}}\text{wáá-ní-yàn}$ tíí-nì [[súbá-núú]- yèñ nìí^{n}],
 [3Sg inside], 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg festivity do-Ipfv [[week]-DefSg inside],
 ‘... in that same way [focus] the girls’ (festivities) too are (and will be) in it. We do
 its festivities in a week.’
- (15:11) S [$\text{né} =$ [è $\text{bá-táráá}^{\text{n}}\text{-à}^{\text{n}}$] ná $\text{kì}^{\text{n}}\text{yè}$]
 [if [3Pl exit.VblN-day-DefSg] if.Pfv arrive.Pfv]
 [yìyèm-béé gà kìyé rà] [[è píyé] tá kìyé]
 [woman-Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv Q] [[3Pl too] IpfvNeg run.Ipfv]
 ‘When the day of their emergence has arrived, do the women run (the race)? Or do
 they not also run?’
[negation scopes over ‘they too’ (§19.1.3)]
- (15:13) F è gá kìyé
 3Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv
 S è gá kìyé
 3Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv
 F: ‘They do run.’
 S: ‘They do run.’
- (15:14) F è gá kìyé , $\text{làà}^{\text{n}}\text{sàrá}$ nà $\text{sàrí}\rightarrow$,
 3Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv, 4pm.prayer if.Pfv be.prayed.Pfv,
 íí^{n} $\eta\acute{a}$ $\text{yè} =$ [è ní] [$\text{kìyè-wúwò-ó}^{\text{n}}$ nìí^{n}]
 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Pl Inst] [run.VblN-place-DefSg inside]
 ‘They do run. When the 4pm prayer has been done, we take them to the racing course.’

(15:18) F è súú-kúmé-béré-[lé-méé] [ííⁿ ɲà tóó dó-rá= á-ȳ]
 3Pl hand-catch.VblN-stick-[Dimin-Pl] [1Pl Ipfv fire set-Ipfv 3Sg-Loc]
 [ííⁿ ɲá= à dú-nú],
 [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg burn-Ipfv],
 ‘Their hand-held little sticks, we set fire to them, we burn them.’
[Bambara béré ‘stick’ (= J-S of Djenné còò or kiyè); -le-mee diminutive plural
(§5.1.7.3)]

(15:22) F è gá kiyé [màní tá síní kiyé]
 3Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv [Rel IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv]
 ē gá ɲɔŋ kú-nú [bé kiyá= [à ní]], (*laughs*)
 3Pl Ipfv Dem.Def catch-Ipfv [Seq run.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],
 ‘They (=girls) run. (If there is) one who cannot run, they (=adults) hold that one and
 run with her.’
[i.e. an adult woman helps a girl who has difficulty running]

(15:25) F nàⁿ-yé gá kiyé [ɲóⁿ ní]
 mother-Pl Ipfv run.Ipfv [Dem.Def Inst]
 S àlàhámdirilááy [fwéétè kúwóntò], [án diyèmú-yěⁿ] fāámùⁿ ɲà,
 praise.God [F K], [2Sg talk(n)-DefSg] be.understood.Pfv Pfv,
 F: ‘The mothers run with that one.’
 S: ‘Praise God, Foétê Kontó. Your talk has been understood.’

(15:29) S háyà, àlà nè= =ééⁿ síní sàbáábá tèmé-nì,
 well, God Sbjn 1Pl and welfare encounter-Caus.Pfv,
 F àmínà
 amen
 S: ‘Well, may God have us and well-being meet.’
 F: ‘Amen’

(laughter and inaudible discussion)

(15:34) F áá má= à sà sá
 2Pl Proh 3Sg laugh.Pfv Emph
 (?) páápííⁿ áⁿ má sà, nà= áⁿ ná sà—
 P 2Sg Proh laugh.Pfv, if 2Sg if.Pfv laugh.Pfv—
 F: ‘Hey, don’t-2Pl laugh at her!’
 unidentified: ‘Papi, don’t laugh! If you laugh—’
[sà ‘laugh.Pfv’ accidentally adjacent to clause-final emphatic sá (§19.4.1.8);
unidentified girl speaks the last line]

(15:36) P páápííŋ káántò
 P K
 S káántò
 K
 P: ‘(My name is) Papi Kanto.’
 S: ‘Kanto.’

(15:37) P àwòḍ
 yes
 S á, íⁿ ñà byá= án tíyé,
 ah, 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv,
 P: ‘Yes.’
 S: ‘Ah, we will ask you-Sg (about) ...’

(15:41) S áá [sórógá-ámá]-láántà-yè kémbèrèè,
 2Pl [Bozo-Abstr]-custom-Pl certain.Pl,
 áá-dùwó mà-réé gà díyé-nà-méé nì [áá yùwò-méé],
 2Pl-Indep Rel-Pl be child-Pl it.is [2Pl woman-Pl],
 ‘Some of your-Pl Bozo customs. You-Pl who are young people, you-Pl (young)
 women.’

(15:46) S áá gà— áá gà= [áá kúⁿwò-yè] kú-nú
 (hesitation) 2Pl Ipfv [2Pl husband-Pl] catch-Ipfv
 kúmé-bàaná wéréⁿ-yⁿ
 catch.VblN-manner which?-Loc
 ‘In which way do you-Pl get husbands?’
 (silence, then laughter)

Text 2021-03 from Baratou village

recorded in Baratou village;

speakers and their abbreviations in order of appearance: Moussa Komoto (M) interviewing throughout; Imori Komoto (I) speaking through 16:05; then Mama Napo (N) 16:28 to 19:00; then Dirisa Komoto (D), with one intervention in Bambara by project manager Djiguiba @ 19:01.
duration: 26:23 (transcribed up to 22:07)

topics covered in this text:

00:00— fish species and fishing techniques

05:03— rice farming

11:54— foundation of Baratou village

17:05— boats

22:11— marriage customs

fish species and fishing techniques

(00:01) M á bon, sááwù ñ ná bé án tíyé,
ah! well, now 1Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv,
né jíí nà dó,
if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv
'Well, now I will ask you-Sg, when the water (=annual floodwaters) have come in,'
[ñ ná (§4.3.3.3)]

(00:04) M áá gà yúwó— [mùwó yúwó-síífa síí-yé lùwò] kú-nú,
2Pl Ipfv (false start)— [which? fish-kind any-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv,
nóⁿ sání jíí nà kéréⁿ,
Dem.Def and water if.Pfv dry.up.Pfv,
'What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch? That and (also), when the water has dried
up (= floodwaters have receded),'
[mùwó 'what?' as possessor meaning 'which?' (§13.2.2.9)]

(00:08) M áá gá mùwó yúwó-síífa síí-yé lùwò] kú-nú,
2Pl Ipfv which? fish-kind any-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv,
[áá gà [yúwó bóróⁿ-yé lùwò] kú-núⁿ nà]
[2Pl Ipfv [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv Q]
'What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch? Is it big fish [focus] that you-Pl catch?'

- (00:10) M ñtàà áá gà [yúwó-líyéⁿ míyè-gù-yé lùwò] kú-nú
 or 2Pl Ipfv [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] catch-Ipfv
 I à [yúwó bóróⁿ-yè] ñ dùwòⁿ, jí-yèñ ñíⁿ,
 ah! [fish big-Pl] 3ReflSg be.meager, water-DefSg inside,
 M: ‘Or is it little fish [focus] that you-Pl catch?’
 I: ‘Ah, big fish are few, in the water’
 [ñtàà ‘or’ in disjunctive questions (§7.2.2.2)]
- (00:17) I [yúwó-yé ñùnù sááⁿ] ñá [nààm-pàà-nááⁿ yúwó-yé lùwò] ñì,
 [fish-Pl Top all] be [in.between fish-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is,
 mais [yúwó bóróⁿ ñùnù] ñón dúwó-ná gùú gà
 but [fish big Top] Dem.Def finish-Ppl do.long.time.Pfv Pfv
 ‘All the fish are mid-sized fish, but as for the big fish, those have finished
 (=disappeared) long ago.’
 [nààm-pàà-nááⁿ with components related to nàâⁿ ‘between, among’ and comitative pà
 ‘with’]
- (00:21) I [íím pà] [gánté-ěⁿ ñím] bôⁿ,
 [1Pl Comit] [country-DefSg inside] here,
 [yúwó bóróⁿ ñùnù] tá ń kóⁿ mánáá túⁿ,
 [fish big Top] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(adv) again,
 ‘Here among us in the country. As for big fish, they are not very abundant any longer.’
 [‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.2); mánáá ‘well’ in quantitative sense ‘greatly’ (§8.4.3.2,
 §6.4.2.1)]
- (00:24) I ííⁿ ñà [yúwó-síífá mà-réé] kú-nú,
 1Pl Ipfv [fish-kind Rel-Pl] catch-Ipfv,
 siyèná-yè, sínì sàmù-yè, sínì kòrò-kòró-yè,
Clarias-Pl, and *Bagrus*-Pl, and *Auchenoglanis*-Pl,
 ‘The kinds of fish that we catch (are) *Clarias*, and *Bagrus*, and *Auchenoglanis*.’
 [three mid-sized catfish species]
- (00:29) I sínì kòrònó-yè, dègé-yè gá= á-yè,
 and *Sarotherodon*-Pl, *Brycinus*-Pl be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 siyègò-yé, hàyà [nú-méé lùwó] gà kúmè,
Alestes-Pl, well [Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
 ‘And *Sarotherodon*, (and) *Brycinus* are (included) in it, (and) *Alestes*. Those [focus]
 are caught.’
 [*carp* (*Sarotherodon*), *sardine-like fish* (*Brycinus*, *Alestes*); passive use of kúmè/kúmè
 (§9.3.1.3)]

(00:36) M fá sá [[ám bààdé-gè-èn] dáá]
 thing add.Pfv [[2Sg noise-DefSg] at.mouth]

I ...

[unintelligible]

M: 'Raise your voice a little!'

I: [unintelligible]

[dáá (§8.2.5.5)]

(00:40) M á, ókè, nú-nù yúwó-yé làà, áⁿ jé sỳyèné-èⁿ,
 ah, okay, Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl QTop, 2Sg said *Clarias*-DefSg,
 [sỳyèné-èⁿ láá] gà kúmè,
 [*Clarias*-DefSg QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
 [mùwó kúmè-báánà síí]-yè,
 [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
 'Ah, okay. What about those fish (species)? You said (=mentioned) *Clarias* (catfish).
 What about *Clarias*, in what way are they caught?'

(00:46) M *ou bien* sámù-yè, [nú-méé láá] gà kúmè
 or *Bagrus*-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv
 [mùwó kúmè-báánà síí]-yè,
 [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
 'Or *Bagrus* (another catfish). What about those? In what way are they caught?'

(00:49) M *ou bien* dègè-yè, sỳyègò-yè, áá gà
 or *Brycinus*-Pl, *Alestes*-Pl, 2Pl Ipfv
 nú-méé kú-nú [mùwó kúmè-báánà síí-fà síí]-yè,
 Dem.Def-Pl catch-Ipfv [which? catch.Antip.VblN manner-kind any]-Loc,
 'Or *Brycinus*, (and) *Alestes*. In what way do you-Pl catch those?'

(00:54) M áá yè ndá— *parce que* [án dáá] yè
 (false start)— because [2Sg QTop] said
 [yúwó bóróⁿ ñùnù] dúwóⁿ ñà bôⁿ
 [fosh big Top] finish.Pfv Pfv here
 'Because you-Sg said that big fish have disappeared from here.'

(00:59) I *bon*, *sááⁿ* *sáni* [íj *kúmé-fá* *wò*] *nì*,
 well, all and [3ReflSg *catch-thing* *Foc*] *it.is*,
dègé [à *sáni* [í *dègé-sòó* *wò*] *nì*],
Brycinus [3Sg and [3ReflSg *Brycinus-net* *Foc*] *it.is*],
 ‘Well, each one (=fish sp.) has its catching thing (=method). *Brycinus*, it has its
Brycinus-net.’
 [this *Brycinus* is the smallest of the fish spp. mentioned so far; construction ‘X and its
 Y’ (§7.1.5)]

(01:04) I [sámù *píyé*] *sáni* [jí *jààⁿ-yé*]
 [*Bagrus* *too*] and [3ReflSg *fishhook-Pl*]
 =èⁿ [íj *sòò-ṅòṣⁿ* *wò*] *nì*,
 and [3ReflSg *net-eye* *Foc*] *it.is*,
 ‘*Bagrus* (catfish) too has its fishhooks and its fishnet size.’
 [fishnets come in different sizes tailored for fish size, measured by how many fingers
 can be inserted into the ‘eye’ openings (and with or without squeezing)]

(01:08) I [sìyèná *píyé*] *sáni* [íj *yúwó—*]
 [*Clarias* *too*] and [3ReflSg *fish—*]
 [jí *jààⁿ*] *sáni* [íj *sòó-jàté* *wò*] *nì*,
 [3ReflSg *fishhook*] and [3ReflSg *net-count(n)* *Foc*] *it.is*,
 ‘*Clarias* (catfish) too has its fish—, its fishhook and its net size.’

(01:11) I [hú *mǎⁿ*] *ṅà* *kúmè* [[*mìyè-fá* *màⁿ*] *ní*],
 [thing *Rel*] *Ipfv* *be.caught.Ipfv* [[*fish(v)-thing* *Rel*] *Inst*],
ṅóⁿ *ṅà* *kúmè* [[*ṅó-nì* *mìyè-fé-èⁿ*] *ní*],
Dem.Def *Ipfv* *catch.Ipfv* [[*Dem.Def-Link* *fish(v)-thing-DefSg*] *Inst*],
 ‘Whatever fishing gear whatever (fish) is caught with, that (fish) is caught with that
 fishing gear.’
 [double-headed relative (§14.1.2), here paraphrasable as ‘if some fishing gear catches
 some fish (sp.), ...’]

(01:14) I [jí *nà* *dó*] *sááⁿ* *ṅà* [íj [hágírí-lá]-[míyé-fà] *dé-ré*,
 [water *if.Pfv* *enter.Pfv*] *all* *Ipfv* [3ReflSg [thought]-[fish.VblN-thing] *take-IPfv*,
 [*mìyè-fá* *màⁿ*] *ṅà* *hìná=* [à *dé-ré*],
 [fish(v)-thing *Rel*] *Ipfv* *be.able.Ipfv* [3Sg *take-IPfv*],
 ‘When the water (=flooding) has come in, everyone takes the fishing gear that he
 decides on. Whatever fishing gear someone is able to take,’
 [hìní/hìní variant of *sìní/sìní* ‘be able’]

(01:17) I [áⁿ ɲá= à dé-ré], [áⁿ ná [mìyè-fá mènèn] dé]
 [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg take-Ipfv], [2Sg if.Pfv [fish(v)-thing Rel] take-Pfv]
 [ɲóⁿ ɲà [ɲó-̀n yúwó-̀ɲ] kú-nú],
 [Dem.Def Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link fish-DefSg] catch-Ipfv,
 ‘You-Sg take it. What(ever) fishing gear you-Sg have taken, that (=gear) catches that
 (specific) fish (species).’

(01:21) I [à yúwó-yé] gà kúmè [ɲó-nì báàná-wàà]-̀y,
 [3Sg fish-Pl] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg.Foc]-Loc,
 tíyàⁿ-yàⁿ [ɲóm píyé] gà [ɲ́ fàⁿ yúwó] kú-nú,
 fishtrap-DefSg [Dem.Def too] Ipfv [3ReflSg share(n) fish] catch-Ipfv,
 ‘That’s the way in which [focus] its (=gear’s) fishes are caught. The fishtrap rig, it too
 catches its share of fish.’

*[-wàà from definite singular -yàⁿ plus focus marker wò ; tíyàⁿ is a large fishtrap
 rig with netting and wooden frames that is set in a creek or small river]*

(01:24) I áⁿ ná [tíyèⁿ-éⁿ ɲùnù] tìyàwⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv [fishtrap-DefSg Top] set.fishtrap.Pfv,
 áⁿ ná= à tìyàwⁿ [[yúwó mènèn] dáà] yáwⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg set.fishtrap.Pfv [[fish Rel] Purp] there.Def,
 ‘When you-Sg have set the fishtrap rig, the fish (species) for which you have set it
 there,’

[relative clause headed by postpositional complement (§14.4.4)]

(01:28) I [ɲú-méé ɲùnù sááⁿ] áⁿ ɲà ɲóɲ kílám
 [Dem.Def-Pl Top all] 2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def get.Ipfv
 [byá= à kúⁿ]
 [Seq 3Sg catch.Pfv]
 ‘All those (fish), you-Sg get that and catch it.’

(01:30) I [à ná fwá= [à bòròⁿ] ní]
 [3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [3Sg big] Inst]
 [à ná fwá= [à mìyé-gù] ní]
 [3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [3Sg small-Adj] Instr]
 ‘Whether it becomes its big one(s), or it becomes its small one(s).’
[< fò ~ fwà ‘become’; adjective with third-person “possessor”]

(01:31) I né án [tíyè-éⁿ ñùnúm] bàràgá gà
 if 2Sg [fishtrap-DefSg Top] dam(v).Pfv Pfv
 [à dáà] dúwóⁿ, à [jón ñùnúⁿ] ñà kúmè,
 [3Sg Purp] already, ah! [Dem.Def Top] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
 ‘If you-Sg have already set the fishtrap across (blocking the river) for that purpose,
 ah, that (fish) is caught.’
 [dúwóⁿ ‘already’ (§8.4.5.2)]

(01:34) I ñkàà sòó sùrú-yè— [sòó sùrú-yè] sání jáàⁿ-yè,
 but (false start)— [net remainder-Pl] and fishhook-Pl,
 [jú-méé sááⁿ] sínì [=é yúwó-yé lùwó] nì wày,
 [Dem.Def-Pl all] and [3ReflPl fish-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is today,
 ‘But the remaining (kinds of) net and fishhook (traps), those all have their fish
 (species) nowadays.’

(01:38) I ā gà [jón-nì báàná-wàà]-yè
 3Sg be [Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg.Foc]-Loc
 M āā [[jón wáátì-íⁿ] nìⁿ],
 ah [[Dem.Def time-DefSg] inside]
 I: ‘That’s how [focus] it is (done).’
 M: ‘Ah, at this time,’

(01:43) M áá gá dègè-èñ kú-nú [[mùwó— sòò-ñdòⁿ síí wò] ní],
 2Pl Ipfv Brycinus-DefSg catch-Ipfv [[which? net-eye any Foc] Inst],
ou bien sỳyèné-yàwⁿ, *ou bien* sỳyègó-yè, sámù-yè,
 or *Clarias*-DefSg, or *Alestes*-Pl, *Bagrus*-Pl
 ‘With what size net [focus] do you-Pl catch the *Brycinus* (small sardines)? Or else the
Clarias (catfish). Or *Alestes* (large sardines), (or) *Bagrus* (catfish).’

(01:49) M ē gà kúmè [[mùwó sòò-sífà síí-yé lùwó] nì]
 3Pl Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv [[which? net-kind any-Pl Foc.Pl] Instr]
 I á, [dègè ñùnù] ñá dègè-sòó nì,
 ah, [*Brycinus* Top] be *Brycinus*-net it.is,
 M: ‘They are caught with what kinds of net?’
 I: ‘Ah, *Brycinus* has a (special) *Brycinus* net.’

(01:54) I [dègè-sòó ñùnù] [jóm píyé] gà [kártì dàmá] nì,
 [Brycinus-net Top] [Dem.Def too] be [kind also] it.is,
 [dègè, míyè-gù] [[à mìyé-gù] sòó] gà yáwⁿ,
 [Brycinus, small-Adj] [[3Sg small-Adj] net] be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘Brycinus net, that one too has (sub-)types. (As for) small *Brycinus*, there is a net for its small ones.’

[smooth pronunciation would be dègè míyè-gù with regular Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3) but the tone of dègè before a brief hesitation suggests that a different adjective was initially planned; the lexical /LH(L)/-melodic mìyé-gù appears in “possessed” à mìyé-gù (§4.5.1.2); kártì < local French qualité(s)]

(02:00) I [dègè-èn díyéⁿ-ěⁿ] ná bùrà-àmà fá-líyéⁿ-nà-liyàwⁿ,
 [Brycinus-DefSg child-DefSg] if.Pfv grow.Pfv a.little-Dimin,
 [à píyé] [jóm bòròⁿ-lè-méé] gà yáwⁿ,
 [3Sg too] [Dem.Def big-Dimin-Pl] be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘When the *Brycinus*’ young has grown a tiny bit, it (=net) too, there are that one’s slightly bigger ones (=nets).’

[inchoative -ama (§9.4.4); fá-líyéⁿ-nà-liyàwⁿ with multiple diminutive marking, cf. fá-líyáwⁿ ‘a little’; bòròⁿ-lè-méé plural of adjectival diminutive bòròⁿ-li-yàwⁿ ‘a slightly big one’ (§5.1.7.4)]

(02:04) I [è sááⁿ] sání [íj sòó] nì,
 [3Pl all] and [3ReflSg net] it.is,
 [ā siyènáⁿ ñùnù] [à píyé] sání [íj sòó] nì
 [3Sg *Clarias* Top] [3Sg too] and [3ReflSg net] it.is
 ‘Each of them (fish sizes) has its (special) net. As for *Clarias* (catfish), it too has its (special) net.’

(02:07) I [deux gà yáwⁿ] [trois gà yáwⁿ] [quatre gà yáwⁿ],
 [two be.Loc there.Def] [three be.Loc there.Def] [four be.Loc there.Def],
 áⁿ ná [sòò-ṅòó mǎⁿ] sán dúwóⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv [net-eye Rel] buy.Pfv already,
 ‘There is two(-fingered net), there is three(-fingered net), there is four(-fingered net). Whatever net size you have already/previously bought,’

[Net sizes are described by how many fingers can go into a hole in the netting, using French numerals]

(02:11) I áⁿ ɲà [ɲó-ò ɲóⁿ] sìyènáɲ kú-nú,
 2Sg Ipfv [Dem.Def-Foc eye] *Clarias* catch-Ipfv,
 [à sámù-yè],
 [3Sg *Bagrus*-Pl],
 ‘It’s (with) that size [focus] of net that you-Sg catch *Clarias* (catfish). (As for) *Bagrus* (catfish),’
[ɲó-ò ɲóⁿ can also be phrased as a postverbal PP with instrumental ní, but the phrasing here with two preverbal NPs is acceptable]

(02:14) I [[ɲú-méé ɲùnù] í kóⁿ]
 [[Dem.Def-Pl Top] 3ReflSg be.many]
 [ā gà kúmè [jáàⁿ wò] pà],
 [3Sg Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv [fishhook Foc] Comit],
 ‘As for those (= *Bagrus*), they are usually caught with fishhook traps.’

(02:16) I [[à píyé] sòó] gà yáw̃,
 [[3Sg too] net] be.Loc there.Def,
 [[è sááⁿ] sòó ɲùnù] ɲà yáw̃ⁿ,
 [[3Pl all] net Top] be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘There is a net of it (= *Bagrus*) too. There are nets for each of them.’

(02:19) I [[à jáàm píyé] gà yáw̃ⁿ]
 [[3Sg fishhook too] be.Loc there.Def]
 [à sááⁿ] sání [ím mìyè-tigé wò] nì,
 [3Sg all] and [3ReflSg fish(v)-gear Foc] it.is,
 ‘Its fishhook trap is there too. Each of them (=fish) has its fishing gear.’

(02:23) M à→ [sìyènéⁿ-èm píyé] gà kúmè, jáàm pà,
 ah [*Clarias*-DefSg too] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv, fishhook Comit,
 ɲóⁿ sání sámù-yè,
 Dem.Def and *Bagrus*-Pl,
 ‘Ah, *Clarias* (catfish) too is caught, with a fishhook trap. That one (*Clarias*) and *Bagrus*.’

(02:30) M *mais* [yúwó-síifà tànàà] tá kúmè→
 but [fish-kind other] IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv
 [jáà-ám pà] túⁿ nà, né ɲú-méé té rà
 [fishhook-DefSg Comit] again Q, if Dem.Def-Pl it.is.not Q
 ‘But aren’t there other kinds of fish that are caught with the fishhook trap as well, other than those?’

(02:33) I [áⁿ nà [yúwó-síífá tànáá] kíláⁿ] à gá= à kú-nú,
 [2Sg if.Pfv [fish-kind other] get.Ipfv], 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg catch-Ipfv,
 [jáàⁿ ηùnù] [yúwó màⁿ sááⁿ sí] nà ń kwá= á-y,
 [fishhook Top] [fish Rel all any] if.Pfv 3ReflSg hit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘If you-Sg get other kinds of fish, it (=fishhook trap) catches it. As for the fishhook
 trap, whatever fish that is knocked into it,’
 [*first words through kíláⁿ are not clearly audible due to speaker overlap*]

(02:36) I à gá= à kú-nú, ńkàà à ń kóm
 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg catch-Ipfv, but 3Sg 3ReflSg be.many
 [bé [yúwó mèéη] kúⁿ yáwⁿ
 [Seq [fish Rel] catch.Pfv there.Def,
 ‘It (=fishhook trap) catches it. But the fish (species) that it mainly catches,’
 [*< kóⁿ*]

(02:39) I ńó ηà [kù-nù yúwó-yé lùwó] nì wày, [ńó-ò té]
 Dem.Def be [Dem-Link fish-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is today, [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not]
 jáàⁿ-yàwⁿ [hàrí à gá dègè kú-nú],
 fishhook-DefSg [even 3Sg Ipfv *Brycinus* catch-Ipfv],
 ‘Those fish [focus] are that (i.e. *Clarias* and *Bagrus*) nowadays. Anyway, the fishhook
 trap even catches *Brycinus* (sardine).’

(02:43) I à gá [siyèná m píyé] kú-nú—
 3Sg Ipfv [*Clarias* too] catch-Ipfv—
 à gá [kòròndòm píyé] kú-nú
 3Sg Ipfv [carp too] catch-Ipfv
 ‘It catches *Clarias* (catfish) too— (or rather) it catches carps too.’
 [*‘carp’ = any of several tilapia-like fish of the family Cichlidae*]

(02:45) I ńkàà [à ń tíyéⁿ] [yúwó mà-réé-yè]
 but [3Sg 3ReflSg be.heavy] [fish Rel-Pl-Pl]
 ńóⁿ ηà [kú-nù yùwó-yè] nì wày,
 Dem.Def be [Dem-Link fish-Pl] it.is today,
 ‘But preponderantly the fish-Pl that (are caught), that is those fish (mentioned above)
 nowadays.’
 [*‘be heavy’ = ‘predominate’; mà-réé-yè (§14.1.1)*]

(02:50) M *mais* [yòrónò-yé làà]
 but [*Lates*-Pl QTop]
 I [yòrónò píyé] sání [jí jáàⁿ wò] nì,
 [*Lates* too] and [3ReflSg fishhook Foc] it.is,
 M: ‘But what about *Lates* fish-Pl?’
 I: ‘*Lates* too has its own fishhook traps.’
 [*Lates niloticus* (*Nile perch*, local French “*capitaine*”), a large fish that commands high prices for the upscale restaurant trade]

(02:54) I à sání [í sòò píyé] nì,
 3Sg and [3ReflSg net too] it.is,
 [támm píyé] sání [jí jáàⁿ] nì
 [*Heterobranchus* too] and [3ReflSg fishhook] it.is
 ‘(And) it (=Lates) has its own net traps. *Heterobranchus* (catfish) too has its fishhook trap,’
 [támm = támú (§3.4.3.1)]

(02:58) I à sání [í sòó] nì, [sòò-ṅòó màⁿ] ṅá síní
 3Sg and [3ReflSg net] it.is, [net-eye Rel] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv
 [yúwó màṅ] kú-nú, [à gá= à kú-nú],
 [fish Rel] catch-Ipfv, [3Sg Ipfv 3Sg catch-Ipfv],
 ‘(And) it (=Heterobranchus) has its net traps. Whatever net size can catch whatever fish (species), it catches it.’
 [double-headed relative (§14.1.2)]

(03:01) I *mais* yòrónò-yè sání támú-yè,
 but *Lates*-Pl and *Heterobranchus*-Pl,
 né [káágá-jíí ṅùnù] nà bá= á-ỳ dúwóⁿ,
 if [rainy.season-water Top] if.Pfv exit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc already,
 ‘But *Lates*-Pl and *Heterobranchus*-Pl, when the rainy season floodwaters have already receded from it,’
 [< káágà]

(03:04) I [nú-méé ṅùnù]
 [Dem.Def-Pl Top]
 [à kúmé] tá í kóⁿ mánáá túⁿ,
 [3Sg catch.VblN] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(adv) again,
 ‘As for those (fish), catching them is no longer very common.’
 [i.e. it’s easier to catch them early in the rainy season]

(03:06) I hári [káágá-jíí-ìm píyé] yòrónò,
 even [rainy.season-water-DefSg too] *Lates*,
 à ní dùwóⁿ [wáy-wáy nǐⁿ] [íⁿ ñà [[gíyéⁿ mǎⁿ]-y]],
 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few [today-today inside] [1Pl be [[place Rel]-Loc]],
 ‘Even in the rainy season, (as for) *Lates*, it is uncommon these days, in the situation
 where we are.’

(03:10) I [támm píyé] ní dùwòⁿ,
 [*Heterobranchus* too] 3ReflSg be.few,
 [ā gà kúmè dé]
 [3Sg Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv Emph]
 ‘*Heterobranchus* (catfish) too is uncommon. It is caught, admittedly.’

(03:12) I [ńkàà à ní dùwòⁿ],
 [but 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few],
 ńkàà [à sááⁿ] sàni [m mỳè-fá wò] nì,
 but [3Sg all] and [3ReflSg fish.VblN-thing Foc] it.is,
 ‘But it is uncommon. But every (species) has its fishing gear.’

(03:17) M *bon* íⁿ ñá= à mỳáⁿ [[kèèminé-yè píyé] dáà]
 well 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg hear.Ipfv [[old.person-Pl too] from]
 è gá= à sé-ré
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv
 ‘Well, we hear from the mouths of old people, they say.’

(03:19) M [yúwó-síifà kémbèré] tìⁿ ñá yáwⁿ,
 [fish-kind certain.Pl] be.Past Ipfv be.Loc there.Def
 sááwù ní-méé tá kúmè, [dòbó nwí],
 now Dem.Def-Pl IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv, [river inside],
 ‘There used to be certain kinds of fish there, now those (species) are not caught in the
 river.’

(03:23) M è gá= à sé-ré,
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv,
 [é tìⁿ ñá [yúwó-síifà kémbèrè] kú-nú],
 [LogoPl be.Past Ipfv [fish-kind certain.Pl] catch-Ipfv],
 ‘They_x say that they_x used to catch certain kinds of fish.’
 [*past imperfective* (§10.3.2)]

(03:26) M sáawù jú-méé tá kàý [nóó nì] píyé, jú-méé
 now Dem.Def-Pl IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv [eye Inst] too, Dem.Def-Pl
 gá [mùwó [yúwó-síifà sí-yè] [yúwó-síifà sí-yé] lùwó] nì,
 be [which? [fish-kind any-Pl] [fish-kind any-Pl] Foc.Pl] it.is,
 ‘Now those (species) are not seen by the eye too (alongside those that are seen). Those
 (species) are which various kinds of fish?’
[yúwó-síifà sí-yè repeated as distributive]

(03:30) M sàrà [yúwó bóróⁿ-yé lùwó] nì nà,
 whether [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is Q,
ou bien [yúwó-líyáⁿ míyà-gù-yé lùwó] nì
 or [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is
 ‘Were they big fish-Pl [focus], or were they little minnows [focus]?’
[sàrà ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4)]

(03:34) I áywà yúwó-yé tìⁿ ñá yáwⁿ, pánááⁿ-j-è
 well fish-Pl be.Past be.Loc there, first-DefSg-Loc
 è tá kúmè sáawù, è t́ⁿ ñà wò péw,
 3Pl IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv now, 3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv Foc completely,
 ‘Well, there used to be fish-Pl, in the old days. They aren’t caught now, they have
 completely disappeared.’
*[pánááⁿ-j-è ‘in the old days’; clause-final focus marker wò (§13.1.7); emphatic péw
 ~ féw (§19.4.1.3)]*

(03:38) I [è tá tìyá píyé—
 3Pl IpfvNeg be.known.Ipfv too—
 [è tá kàý píyé t́ⁿ, [nóⁿ yúwó-yé] gà yáwⁿ,
 [3Pl IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv too again, [Dem.Def fish-Pl] be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘They aren’t known any long(er)— They are no longer seen. Those fish were
 (formerly) there.’
*[tìyà/tìyá ‘be known’; elsewhere tìyà can function at least informally as the Pfv of Ipfv
 (or stative) t̀wò ‘know’; negation plus t́ⁿ ‘again’ = ‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.3) if correctly
 transcribed, but t́ⁿ in this recording is often the verb ‘get lost, become extinct’; gà
 ‘be.Loc’ in a past-time context (overt Past marking with t̀ⁿ ñá is not obligatory)]*

(03:41) I àà ηόγδè γά á-ỳ, [ηό ηùnù] tún ηà,
 ah *Arius* be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, [Dem.Def Top] get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
 hàrí [ηόóm-báá-táá-ná pééntèn] tá= à tò,
 even [mature.person many] IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv,
 ‘Ah, *Arius* (giant catfish) was included. As for that one, it has disappeared. Even many
 mature (experienced) people don’t know it.’
[Arius gigas, a huge catfish, now perhaps locally extinct; ηόóm-báá ‘thoughtfulness,
being responsible’, used with verb tà(-rà) ‘stand’]

(03:46) I bon, sájááⁿ ηà yáwⁿ, [ηóm píyé] tìⁿ ηά kílávⁿ,
 okay, *Hepsetus* be.Loc there.Def, [Dem.Def too] be.Past Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv,
 ηόⁿ ηά [síná sòòm-báànà],
 Dem.Def be [like *Hydrocynus*-manner],
 ‘Okay, there was *Hepsetus* (pike). That too used to be available (catch-able). That one
 is like *Hydrocynus* (tigerfish).’
[síná and compound final -báànà (§8.4.1)]

(03:50) I [ηό-ò té] [yúwó bóróm] pàà-η-kóòn té,
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [fish big] entirely it.is.not,
 [ηóm píyé] tún ηà,
 [Dem.Def too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Anyway, it isn’t a particularly big fish. That one too has disappeared.’
[ηό-ò té short for ‘if it isn’t that [focus]’; pàà-η-kóòn is adverbial here, cf. comitative
pà, η-kóòn ‘one’]

(03:53) I à→ [píntó píyé] tìⁿ ηά yáwⁿ,
 ah [*Parachanna* too] be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 [à píyé] tá káy
 [3Sg too] IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv
 [[[íⁿ ηùnù] dòbó-òή] kùmà] [sí-sàà-lìyáⁿ nìⁿ],
 [[[1Pl Top] river-DefSg] on] [now inside],
 ‘Ah, *Parachanna* (snakehead) used to be present. It too is not seen (=present) in our
 river now.’

(03:57) I sámú-píín tìⁿ ɲá yáw̃ⁿ,
Bagrus-black be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 bé-kíyé sámú-píín tìⁿ ɲá yáw̃ⁿ,
 times.past *Bagrus*-black be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘Black *Bagrus* (catfish) used to be present. In the past, black *Bagrus* was present.’
[refers to Bagrus docmak, distinct from the still common and lighter-colored Bagrus bayad]

(04:00) I sámú-píín tá kiláⁿ sááwù,
Bagrus-black IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv now
 [[támúm píyé] pìⁿyè-ná] tìⁿ ɲá yáw̃ⁿ,
 [[*Heterobranchus* too] black-Ppl] be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘Black *Bagrus* is not available (catch-able) now. The black one of *Heterobranchus* (catfish) too used to be present.’
[scope of píyé and negation (§19.1.3); the locally common Heterobranchus is H. bidorsalis; its “black” cousin támú-píín (see @ 04:13 below) is probably the rare H. longifilis]

(04:03) I à→ [nóm píyé] tá kiláⁿ sááwù,
 ah [Dem.Def too] IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv now,
 nùmààⁿsiyé tìⁿ ɲá yáw̃,
 giant.*Malapterurus* be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘Ah, that one too is not available (catch-able) now. Giant *Malapterurus* (electric catfish) used to be present.
[nùmààⁿsiyé (dialectally nùmààⁿðⁿ), Malapterurus minjiriya (not described until 1987), has electrical capabilities similar to the common, much smaller electric catfish called nùmà (M. electricus)]

(04:07) I [nùmààⁿsiyè píyé] tá bôⁿ sááwù,
 [giant.*Malapterurus* too] not.be here now,
 [[kí-yè ɲùnù síí] tá bôⁿ sááwù] [[kú-yè sáán] dùwóⁿ ɲà],
 [[Dem-Pl Top any] not.be here now] [[Dem-Pl all] finish.Pfv Pfv],
 ‘Giant *Malapterurus* too is not here now. All those (species) are not here now, those have all become extinct.’
[kí-yè dialectal for kú-yè ‘these, those’ (deictic, but here functioning as near-distant discourse definite)]

- (04:10) I à→ nùmààⁿsìyè, à m bòròⁿ,
 ah giant.*Malapterurus*, 3Sg 3ReflSg be.big,
 à gá bura-àamá jáátì,
 3Sg Ipfv big-become.Ipfv exactly,
 ‘Ah, giant *Malapterurus*, it is big. It definitely gets big.’
 [jáátì (§19.4.1.2)]
- (04:13) I à→ [támú-píim píyé] à gá bura-àamá jáátì wù,
 ah [*Heterobranchus*-black too] 3Sg Ipfv big-become.Ipfv exactly Foc,
 [à píyé] túⁿ nà,
 [3Sg too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Ah, black *Heterobranchus* too, it definitely gets big. It too has disappeared.’
- (04:16) I [sámú-píim píyé] [[à píyé] m bòròⁿ],
 [*Bagrus*-black too] [[3Sg too] 3ReflSg be.big],
 [à píyé] túⁿ nà wày,
 [3Sg too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv today,
 ‘Black *Bagrus* too, it too is big. It too has disappeared nowadays.’
- (04:19) I nógò, [nóm píyé] gà [yúwó bóróⁿ wò] nì,
Arius, [Dem.Def too] be [fish big Foc] it.is,
 [à píyé] túⁿ nà,
 [3Sg too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘*Arius* (giant catfish), it too is a big fish. It too has disappeared.’
- (04:22) I nkàà [sánáá nùnù] [nóⁿ ná [sòón jàté] nì],
 but [*Hepsetus* Top] [Dem.Def be [*Hydrocynus* size] it.is],
 [nóm píyé] túⁿ nà, [kí-yè nùnù sáán] túⁿ nà wày,
 [Dem.Def too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv, [Dem-Pl Top all] get.lost.Pfv Pfv today,
 ‘On the other hand *Hepsetus* (pike) is the same (middling) size as *Hydrocynus* (tigerfish). That one (i.e. *Hepsetus*) too has disappeared. All of those have disappeared these days.’
- (04:28) M àà, áⁿ ná síní [fá sé-ré = [= één tè]] rúmàà
 ah, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Pfv [thing say-Ipfv [1Pl Dat]] whether
 [[sú màn] dáà] kí-yè túⁿ nà, [[ín dóbó] nìⁿ] nà,
 [[thing Rel] Purp] Dem-Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv, [[1Pl river] inside] Q,
 ‘Ah, can you-Sg tell us something (about) why have those (fish) have disappeared, in our river?’
 [sú (dialectally hú) default nonhuman noun in relative heads]

(04:33) M *ou bien* kǐ-yé— [mùwòyè dáà] kǐ-yé túⁿ ɲà
 or (false start)— [what? Purp] Dem-Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv
 [[íjɲ jí] nwìⁿ], yes—
 [[1Pl water] inside], (false start)
 ‘Or why those (fish) have disappeared (from) in our water.’

(04:35) M ná= à nà bé kásà-mà
 if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv coincide.Pfv
 [sú màⁿ-yé=] è túⁿ-ní ɲà,
 [thing Rel-Pl] 3Pl get.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘If it happened that things came and made them disappear.’

(04:37) M *ou bien* ná= à nà bé kásà-mà [à tè]
 or if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 [è dúwóⁿ ɲà [bá-rá [jí nwìⁿ]]
 [3Pl finish.Pfv Pfv [exit-IPfv [water inside]]
 ‘Or if it happened to it that they (=fish) finished going out of (=were depleted in) the water.’

[imperfective VP as complement of ‘finish’, as with ‘begin’ (§15.1.1.3)]

(04:41) I à→ [[mèéⁿ ɲùnù] yé= è túⁿ-níⁿ ɲà]
 ah [[Rel Top] Sbj/Obj 3Pl get.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv]
 [jí-líyéⁿ míyà-gù kémbèré] tɪŋ kíyé gà
 [water-Dimin small-Adj certain.Pl] be.Past pass.Pfv Pfv
 ‘Ah, what made them disappear (was), some water shortages (=droughts) had happened,’

[past perfect (§10.3.4)]

(04:43) I [wáátì kíyé-n-é]-yè, [[íⁿ hágìrí] pá ɲùnù]
 [time pass-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc, [[1Pl mind] Comit Top]
 [ɲó-ò yá= à túⁿ-ní ɲà],
 [Dem.Def-Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg be.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv],
 ‘... in the past. In our thinking, that [focus] is what made it (=fish) disappear.
[topic marker after postposition]

(04:46) I bàrí [wáátì kiyéⁿ] jí tìn dúwóⁿ ɲà péw
 because [time a.certain] water be.Past finish.Pfv Pfv entirely
 [íím pà] bôⁿ,
 [1Pl Comit] here,
 ‘Because one year the water had been completely depleted (=dried up), among us
 here.’

(04:49) I [dòbó-òɲ jáátì] tìⁿ ɲá ɲ kúlé-kúlè
 [river-DefSg exactly] be.Past Ipv 3ReflSg cut-cut.Ipv
 [hàrí kíín tìⁿ ɲá tá-rá],
 [even skiff be.Past Ipv stand-Ipv],
 ‘The river itself was cut off (=interrupted) here and there. Even boats were stopped.’
[iterative verb ‘cut’ for distributivity (§9.6)]

(04:52) I háyà [[ɲón láá ɲùnù] nà ń tîⁿ]
 well [[Dem.Def QTop Top] if.Pfv 3ReflSg do.Pfv]
 [yúwó ɲùnù] [júgú tá= á-y] [síré tá= á-y],
 [fish Top] [tree not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc] [rock not.be 3Sg-Loc],
 ‘Well, when that happens, as for fish, there are neither trees nor rocks there.’
[submerged tree trunks and rocks are important for fish habitats]

(04:55) I ɲóⁿ ń lábààⁿ ɲà [yúwó ɲùnù]—
 Dem.Def 3ReflSg result(v).Pfv Pfv (hesitation)—
 [yúwó-yè kémbèré] gà dúwòⁿ,
 [fish-Pl certain.Pl] Ipv finish.Ipv,
 ‘That resulted in certain fish-Pl being finished (=extinct).’

(04:57) I íⁿ ɲá= à nààtá ɲó-ò yè—
 1Pl Ipv 3Sg notice.Ipv (hesitation)—
 [ɲó-ò yè [yúwó-yè kémbèrè] dúwó-ńⁿ ɲà,
 [Dem.Def-Foc Sbj/Obj [fish-Pl certain.Pl] finish-Caus.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘We observe (=conclude) that that [focus] is what finishes off certain fish (species).’

rice farming

(05:03) M áà *bon*, [sáágù ònùnù], ím bá gà jí-fàntáà-y-è—
 ah okay, [now Top], 1Pl exit(v).Pfv Pfv water-share(n)-DefSg-Loc—
 ím bá gà [yúwó-fàntáà nìíⁿ],
 1Pl exit(v).Pfv Pfv [fish-share(n) inside],
 ‘Ah okay, now we have exited (=have finished with) the water part—, (or rather) we
 have exited the fish part (of the recording).’

(05:08) M ím bé gà, sùwó-fàntáà-y-è, [bón dàà]
 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv, cultivate.VblN-share-DefSg-Loc, [here QTop]
 áá gá [mùwó sùwò-báànà sí-yè lùwò] tíí-nì,
 2Pl Ipfv [which? cultivate.VblN-manner any-Pl Foc.Pl] do-Ipfv,
 ‘We have come to the farming part. What about here? What forms of farming do you-
 Pl do?’
 [< bôⁿ làà]

(05:13) M ímàà áá gà nápáá kílá á-yì
 whether 2Pl Ipfv crops get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 bé [áá píyé] bílá-ní
 Seq [2Pl Refl] live(v)-Caus.Pfv
 ‘That is, whether you-Pl get crops therein to sustain yourselves.’
 [píyé in reflexive sense (§18.1.2)]

(05:17) I áà sááwù íⁿ ñá [sùwò-ná mèèñ] tíí-nì,
 ah now 1Pl Ipfv [cultivate-Ppl Rel] do-Ipfv,
 báará-tùwò, [dúgó wò] ní tíyéⁿ,
 B, [rice Foc] 3ReflSg be.heavy,
 ‘Ah, now, the crops that we do, (in) Baratou (village), rice [focus] is heavy
 (=predominant).’

(05:21) I íⁿ ñè= één tíyén [dúgó-wáá]-yì,
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl be.heavy [rice-DefSg.Foc]-Loc,
 bàrí [píín dàà],
 because [millet QTop],
 ‘We are heavy on rice. Because as for millet,’

(05:23) I né [jíí-líyán dúwò-gù] té
 if [water-Dimin meager-Adj] it.is.not
 [pííⁿ ñùnù] tá káyⁿ bòn kìⁿyéwⁿ,
 [millet Top] IpfvNeg be.worked.Ipfv here like.that,
 ‘Unless there is a drought, as for millet, it isn’t worked (=grown) here so much.’
[“millet” here combines pearl millet (petit mil) and sorghum (gros mil), which cannot be farmed in floodplains like those that surround Baratou village during normal wet seasons]

(05:25) I [jíí^m-yè kiyé gà bôⁿ]
 [year-Pl pass.Pfv Pfv here]
 [íín tìⁿ ñá pííñ káyⁿ],
 [1Pl be.Past Ipfv millet work.Ipfv],
 ‘(Some) years in the past here, we used to work (=grow) millet.’

(05:27) I ñkàà [jón dáá ñùnù] ñà—
 but [Dem.Def QTop Top] be—
 [jíí-n]-táámà yé [[yòó-bàà]-n]-táámà,
 [water-Link]-lack(n) and [[rain]-Link]-lack(n),
 ‘But that is— shortage of water and shortage of rain (=drought).’
[yè as rare ‘and’ conjunction (§7.1.2)]

(05:30) I [jón-ò yè=] =ééⁿ ñà pííñ káyⁿ,
 [Dem.Def-Foc Loc] 1Pl Ipfv millet work.Ipfv,
 [jón-ò té] [ííⁿ ñè= één tíyéⁿ [dúgò-wàà]-yè],
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl be.heavy [rice-DefSg.Foc]-Loc],
 ‘It’s in that (situation) [focus] that we work (=grow) millet. Otherwise it’s in the rice
 [focus] that we are heavy.’
[jón-ò plus locative -yè ; contracted < né jón-ò té ‘if it isn’t that [focus]’]

(05:33) I ííⁿ ñà dúgò-wàá sùwó, mìyè ↗ dúgò,
 1Pl Ipfv rice-DefSg.Foc cultivate.Ipfv, fish(v).VblN rice,
 ííⁿ ñà dúgò-wàà káyⁿ mánáá-tííⁿ-yèⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv rice-DefSg.Foc work(v).Ipfv well-Adv,
 ‘It’s rice [focus] that we farm. Fishing, (and) rice. It’s the rice [focus] that we work
 (=grow) well.’
[mìyè ↗ with final intonational pitch rise for incompleteness, followed by terminal low pitch on dúgò for completion; evaluative adverb mánáá-tííⁿ-yèⁿ (§8.4.3.2)]

(05:38) I áⁿ ná= à kày [íⁿ ɲà [píⁿ ɲùnú] sùwó] sááⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg see.Pfv [1Pl Ipfv [millet Top] cultivate.Ipfv] all,
 [jí wù] tá dó-ró,
 [water Foc] IpfvNeg enter-Ipfv,
 ‘If you-Sg see that we are cultivating millet, (it means that) water (=flooding) [focus]
 is not coming in.’
[sááⁿ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedent (§16.1.2); wù variant of focus wò]

(05:41) I né [jí ɲùnú] ɲà dó-ró, dúgó é→
 if [water Top] Ipfv enter-Ipfv, rice oh!
 [píⁿ tá màɲá [íⁿ pà] bôⁿ,
 [millet IpfvNeg become.good.Ipfv [1Pl Comit] here,
 ‘(On the other hand) if water is coming in, rice— oops, millet doesn’t do well among
 us here.’
*[comparative antecedent with imperfective aspect; màɲà/màɲá ‘become good’
 (aspect-marked), contrast stative reflexive màⁿ ‘be good’]*

(05:46) M áá bon, áá gà [dúgó mɛ̀ɛ̀ɲ] káyⁿ yáwⁿ, dúgó-yàw
 ah! okay, 2Pl Ipfv [rice Rel] work.Ipfv there.Def, rice-DefSg
 [né jí nà dó wù], áá gá= à sùwó rà,
 [if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv Foc], 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv Q,
 ‘Ah, okay, the rice that you-Pl work (=grow) there, the rice, is it when the water
 (=flooding) comes in [focus] (that) you-Pl cultivate it?’

(05:51) M *ou bien* [né jí nà kéréⁿ wù]
 or [if water if.Pfv dry.up.Pfv Foc]
 áá gá= à sùwó
 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv
 ‘Or is it when the water dries up (=floodwaters recede) [focus] that you-Pl cultivate
 it?’

(05:52) M *ou bien*, áá gá= [à mùwó sùwò-báànà sí] tíí-nì, *ou bien*
 or 2Pl Ipfv [3Sg which? cultivate.VblN-manner any] do-Ipfv, or
 áá gà [kóróⁿ-yé lùwò] tíí-nì [[kóróⁿ-yé lùwò] báá],
 2Pl Ipfv [canal-Pl Foc.Pl] do-Ipv [[canal-Pl Foc.Pl] clear.field.Pfv],
 ‘Or which of its (=rice’s) farming methods do you-Pl do (=use)? Is it irrigation canals
 [focus] that you-Pl do (=use) to clear fields?’
*[refers to the large-scale irrigation system (dams and irrigation canals) for rice
 farming, operated by the Office du Niger; focalized NP repeated]*

(05:59) I [kórón té= [= éém pà] bôn] [íín tè kórón kilàwⁿ],
 [canal not.be.Loc [1Pl Comit] here] [1Pl PfvNeg canal get.Pfv],
 [ā dápí gè= [éém pà]]
 [3Sg be.wanted.Pfv Pfv] [1Pl Comit]
 [ńkàà íín tè [kórón ñùnú] kilàwⁿ],
 [but 1Pl PfvNeg [canal Top] get.Pfv],

‘We don’t have a canal here, we didn’t (=couldn’t) get a canal. We badly want it, but we didn’t get a canal.’

[< kórón tá íín pà ; X dápí gà [Y pà] = ‘Y wants (badly) to have X’]

(06:02) I íín ñá= à sùwó [[íín nàà-yé lùwò] ní],
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv [[1Pl cow-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst],
 né káágà nà dó,
 if rainy.season if.Pfv enter.Pfv,

‘We cultivate it (=rice) with our cows (=oxen). When the rainy season has begun,’

(06:06) I pánááⁿ-ɲ-è íín tìⁿ ñá= à sùwó [mùwòm-báá wáátì],
 first-DefSg-Loc 1Pl be.Past Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv [winter time],
 ńkàà sááwù [mùwòm-bàà]-sùwò
 but now [winter]-cultivate.VbIN
 [ā nìyè-gá gà [íím pà] bôn]
 [3Sg easy-Inch.Pfv Pfv [1Pl Comit] here]

‘In the past we used to cultivate it (=rice) in the cold season, but nowadays (as for) winter farming, it has become insignificant among us here.’

[winter rice farming involved planting rice as the floodwaters retreated]

(06:10) I [à tá ń kón mánáá-tíⁿ-yⁿ],
 [3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.much well(adv)],
 né dúgó ná gàràbù [bé dúwóⁿ],
 if rice if.Pfv be.reaped.Pfv [Seq finish.Pfv],

‘It (=winter farming) isn’t very common (now). When the rice has finished being harvested (around February),’

[‘finish (doing)’ in sequential VP (§15.1.1.3)]

(06:13) I [à kémbèré] gá sùwó,
 [3Sg certain.Pl] Ipfv be.cultivated.Ipfv,
 [[à kémbèré] gè= =éé m̀̀nú]
 [[3Sg certain.Pl] Ipfv 3ReflPl wait.Ipfv]
 ‘Some (=crops) are grown, others wait (until the next rainy season).’
[rainy season begins around June]

(06:16) I né káágà ná k̀̀nyè, áà,
 if rainy.season if.Pfv arrive.Pfv, ah,
 [ē gè= [=éé nàá-yè] kú-nú] [è gá sùwó],
 [3Pl Ipfv [3ReflPl cow-Pl] catch-Ipfv] [3Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv],
 ‘When the rainy season arrives, ah, they take their cows (=oxen) and they cultivate (=plow).’

(06:19) I áⁿ ná s̀̀nì [bé [jàté mǎⁿ] s̀̀wò],
 2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Pfv [Seq [size Rel] cultivate.Pfv],
 [[yòó-bàà]-j́í nà bá=] [à nà fú],
 [[rain]-water if.Pfv come.Pfv] [3Sg if.Pfv sprout(v).Pfv],
 ‘What(-ever) size (of the field) you were able to cultivate, when the floodwaters come, when it (=rice) has sprouted,’
[[yòó-bàà]-j́í refers strictly to rainwater, but extends here to seasonal flooding due to rainy-season local and upriver rains]

(06:21) I j́í-yǎⁿ nà bé d́ó= [à mùⁿ],
 water-DefSg if.Pfv come.Pfv enter.Pfv [3Sg under],
 íⁿ ḡá= à s̀̀wó [k̀̀nyéⁿ wù]
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv [like.that Foc]
 ‘When the water has come and entered under it (=rice sprouts), this way [focus] is how we grow it.’
[‘come’ plus Pfv verb (§15.1.2)]

(06:26) M à→ ḡóⁿ— bon
 ah Dem.Def— okay
 [[ḡó-ḡ hókúmù] kùmà], áá ná s̀̀wò,
 [[Dem.Def-Link manner] on], 2Pl if.Pfv cultivate.Pfv,
 áá dúgó-yé= è gá m̀̀nà m̀̀nàá-tíⁿ-yⁿ nà ǹ̀tàà—,
 2Pl rice-Pl 3Pl Ipfv become.good.Ipfv well(adv) Q or—,
 ‘Ah. Okay, in that case, when you-Pl have planted, your rices (=rice plants), do they grow very well? Or—’

(06:32) M sóó— sóó gá kírá= á-ỳ,
 (hesitation) grass Ipfv get.up.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
ou bien sóó tá kírá= á-ỳ,
 or grass IpfvNeg get.up.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
 ‘Do the plants get up in it? Or do the plants not get up in it?’

(06:37) I áà, [ííⁿ ná sùwó ñùnù] [sááwù ñùnù]
 ah, [1Pl if.Pfv cultivate.Pfv Top] [now Top]
 [sùwó-òⁿ ñí máyⁿ ñà [íím pà] bómè píyé]
 [cultivate.VblN-DefSg 3ReflSg ruin.Pfv Pfv [1Pl Comit] here too]
 ‘Ah, as for when we have planted, as for nowadays, the farming has also deteriorated among us here.’

(06:39) I bàrí [tìyé-yè sááⁿ] fà gá [sóó ní],
 because [field-Pl all] become.Pfv Pfv [grass Inst],
 [áⁿ ñà [gíyéⁿ-níyéⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ sí] sùwó]
 [2Sg Ipfv [place-Dimin Rel all any] cultivate.Ipfv]
 ‘Because all the (rice) fields have become (nothing but) grass (=weeds), any little spot that you cultivate,’

(06:42) I né án tè [pósónì wó] sàm [bá= à pómpe],
 if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Foc] buy.Pfv [Seq 3Sg spray(v).Pfv],
 án tá [fóy píyé] kílá= á-ỳ,
 2Sg IpfvNeg [nothing too] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘If you-Sg haven’t bought insecticide and sprayed it, you-Sg won’t get anything at all out of it (=field).’
 [*< sàⁿ bé ; French pomper*]

(06:46) I sóó-wàà yá= [à sáán] kámá gà,
 grass-DefSg.Foc Sbj/Obj [3Sg all] take.Pfv Pfv,
 áⁿ ná sùwó [nàá-àⁿ ní], sóó-òn tá kàlé,
 2Sg if.Pfv cultivate.Pfv [cow-DefSg Inst], grass-DefSg IpfvNeg die.Ipfv,
 ‘The grass (=weeds) [focus] (will) have taken over all of it (=field). If you-Sg farm with the ox, the grass (=weeds) won’t die.’

(06:52) I [ná= án tá= à pósónì wù]
 [if 2Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg poison.Ipfv Foc]
 án tá [fá píyé] kilá= á-ỳ [[sí-sàà-liyéⁿ nùnù] nìíⁿ],
 2Sg IpfvNeg [thing too] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc [[now Top] inside],
 ‘It’s if you-Sg don’t poison it [focus] that you-Sg won’t get anything any longer
 nowadays.’
 [< áⁿ tè à]

(07:00) M áà, [nóm píyé] fàámùⁿ nà, áà óké,
 ah, [Dem.Def too] be.understood.Pfv Pfv, ah okay,
 áá gá [mùwó dúgó-síífà síí-yé lùwó] sùwó bôⁿ,
 2Pl Ipfv [which? rice-kind any-Pl Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv here,
 ‘Ah, that too has been understood. Ah, okay, what kinds of rice do you-Pl cultivate
 here?’

(07:06) I *bon*, ííⁿ nà [tùùm-pììn]-dùgó-yé lùwó sùwó bôⁿ,
 okay, 1Pl Ipfv [body-black]-rice-Pl Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv here,
 àlìbà-yè, sínì māróbájáⁿ-yè, sínì sùmúⁿ-yè,
 A-Pl, and M-Pl, and S-Pl,
 ‘Okay, its African rice [focus] that we cultivate here: àlìbà, and māróbájáⁿ, and
 sùmúⁿ.’

[the traditional African rice, Oryza glaberrima, has been broadly supplanted by the Asian white rice O. sativa, but it is making a comeback; of the cultivars, àlìbà has short white grains; māróbájáⁿ has long brown grains; sùmúⁿ has short grains that are either black (sùmùm-pííⁿ) or brown (sùmùn-tómó); see also @ 09:18 below]

(07:12) I [ííⁿ nà [nú-méé lùwó] sùwó bôⁿ]
 1Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv here]
 [bàrí túbààbù-dùgó-yàwⁿ],
 [because white.person-rice-DefSg],
 ‘Those [focus] are what we cultivate here. Because white people’s rice,’

(07:14) I pánááⁿ-j-è [né= één tìⁿ ná= à sùwò]
 first-DefSg-Loc [if 1Pl be.Past if.Pfv 3Sg cultivate.Pfv]
 [dáábà-yé tìⁿ nḡ= =één tórò-nò núwó-tííⁿ-yⁿ]
 [animal-Pl be.Past Ipfv 1Pl pester-Ipfv extremely]
 ‘In the past, when we had cultivated it (=white people’s rice), the animals used to give
 us a lot of trouble.’

[livestock, especially cattle, would eat the rice on the plant; nà ‘if.Pfv’ with past-time tìⁿ]

(07:17) I ííⁿ jón dábà y gà, íín tìⁿ ná= à sùwò,
 1Pl Dem.Def cease.Pfv Pfv, 1Pl be.Past if.Pfv 3Sg cultivate.Pfv,
 dáábà-yè— hàrí à bé mùwò,
 animal-Pl— before 3Sg Seq ripen.Pfv,
 ‘We abandoned that (=white people’s rice). When we used to cultivate it, the
 animals— before it ripened,’

(07:20) I dáábá-sébèⁿ-èⁿ ηè= =één tórò-nò,
 animal-issue-DefSg Ipfv 1Pl pester-Ipfv,
 ííⁿ jón dábà y gà,
 1Pl Dem.Def cease.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘The livestock problem gives us trouble. We abandoned that.’

(07:23) I háyà né [jí-yàm píyé] nà bé
 well if [water-DefSg too] if.Pfv come.Pfv
 [bíyé-bààná ḡ-kíyéⁿ]-yⁿ
 [come.VblN-manner Link-a.certain]-Loc
 ‘Well, when the water (=floodwaters) comes in a certain way (=all at once),’

(07:25) I [à píyé] gá= à nàgási-nì,
 [3Sg too] Ipfv 3Sg wither-Ipfv,
 [háyà ííⁿ jón dábà y gà]
 [well 1Pl Dem.Def cease.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘That too makes it (=rice) develop poorly. Well, we abandoned it.’

(07:28) I ííⁿ ηά [tùùm-pìì]-dùgó-yè sàtì-sàtì-rì,
 1Pl Ipfv [body-black]-rice-Pl Rdp-toss-Ipfv,
 ííⁿ ηà [nú-méé lùwó] sùwó,
 1Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv,
 ‘We sow (=plant) African rices. Those [focus] are what we cultivate.
*[rice and fonio are planted by strewing seeds by hand, unlike other crop plants which
 are planted by dropping seeds onto spots in a field that have been slashed with a tool
 and tamping down with the foot]*

(07:32) M áà, [jón-̀̀n dúgó-sífá mà-ré-méé]
 ah, [Dem.Def-Link rice-kind Rel-Pl-Pl]
 áⁿ ná= à sé gà—
 (false start)—
 ‘Ah, those rice varieties that you-Sg—,’
 [mà-ré-méé (§14.1.1)]

(07:34) M áⁿ jé= è sé gà sááwù,
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Pl say.Pfv Pfv now,
 wéréⁿ ná sìní [sóó mùⁿ]
 which? Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [grass under]
 ‘... (that) you-Sg mentioned just now, which one can stand up to grass (=weeds)?
 [‘be able’ plus ‘under X’ means ‘be stronger than X, be able to stand up to X’]

(07:38) M *parce que* [án dáá] yè súnù
 because [2Sg QTop] said Quot
 sóó í kóⁿ [áá pà] bôⁿ,
 grass 3ReflSg be.many [2Pl Comit] here,
 ‘Because you-Sg said that there is a lot of grass (=weeds) among you-Pl here.’
 [quotative súnù ‘that’ (§17.1.4)]

(07:40) M *parce que* áⁿ jè súnù,
 because 2Sg said Quot,
 sóó-òⁿ jè [áá tìyè pééntèn] kámá gà= [áá nà],
 grass-DefSg Sbj/Obj [2Pl field a.lot] take.Pfv Pfv [2Pl Dat],
 ‘Because you-Sg said that, the grass (=weeds) have taken over many of your-Pl fields
 from you-Pl.’
 [áá nà emended at the speaker’s request from áá kâⁿ ‘chez vous’ on the recording]

(07:45) M *mais* [mùwó dúgó-sífâ sí] gà yáwⁿ,
 but [which? rice-kind any] be.Loc there.Def,
 mímàà, áá ná= à sùwò,
 whether, 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg cultivate.Pfv,
 ‘But which kind of rice is there, that when you grow it,’

(07:48) M à gá síní, [sóó-òⁿ mùⁿ],
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv, [grass-DefSg under],
 wàràrà né [nó-ò dúgó] tá= [áá pà]
 or if [Dem.Def-Link rice] not.be.Loc [2Pl Comit]
 ‘It can stand up to the grass (=weeds)? Or if (=whether) that rice does not occur among
 you-Pl.’

(07:52) I áywà [[dúgó ònù] tá síní [sóó tìmààná kóy]
 well [[rice Top] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [grass prevent.Ipfv] Emph]
 né→ pòsónì síná= [à té kàré wò] té,
 if poison otherwise [3Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Foc] it.is.not,
 ‘Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or
 it dies [focus].’

(07:57) I à→ [dúgó ònù] tá síní—
 ah [rice Top] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv—
 Ø yè= é(é) pàsóm-pàsóm [bùwó tè] ònù sá,
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl Rdp-be.better [Recip Dat] anyway Emph
 ‘Ah, as for rice, it can’t— Some (varieties) are definitely better than others anyway.’
[iteration of pàsòⁿ (§12.1.3)]

(07:59) I òkàà, [ā kàlè-ná-wàà] m pàsòⁿ,
 but, [3Sg die-Ppl-DefSg.Foc] 3ReflSg be.better,
 ná= án tè [pòsónì ònú] sàⁿ sááⁿ,
 if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Top] buy.Pfv all,
 ‘But dead (=grass) [focus] is better. Unless you-Sg buy poison (=herbicide),’

(08:03) I án tá dúgó gàràbá= [án tìyé]-yè,
 2Sg IpfvNeg rice reap.Ipfv [2Sg field]-Loc,
 bàrí sóó-ò ò kúsà-má gá núwó-tíⁿ-yèⁿ,
 because grass-DefSg many-become.Pfv Pfv extremely,
 ‘You-Sg won’t harvest any rice in your field, because the grass (=weeds) have
 proliferated extremely.’
[< gàràbú]

(08:10) M àà, [sóó-òṅ kúsà-má gà [gíyéⁿ-ěⁿ nìⁿ]]
 ah, [grass-DefSg many-become.Pfv Pfv [place-DefSg inside]]
 sááwù áá gá sùwó [bóntó kùmà wú rà→],
 now 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [elevation on Foc Q],
 ‘Ah, (so) the grass has proliferated in the place (=rice field). Now do you-Pl farm on high ground?’

(08:14) M nítàà áá gá sùwó [tòpó-pà wù]
 or 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [depression Foc]
 I [tòpó-pà ṅùnù] ḡ kàmá gà kóy,
 [depression Top] 3ReflSg break.free.Pfv Pfv Emph,
 M: ‘Or do you-Pl farm on low ground?’
 I: ‘(Farming) on low ground has been abandoned.’

(08:20) I [sááwù ṅùnù] íⁿ ḡá sùwó bóntò—
 [now Top] 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv elevation—
 [bóntò-yé lùwó]-y sááwù,
 [elevation-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc now,
 ‘Nowadays, it’s on elevations [focus] that we farm now.’

(08:22) I [né jí tìn té dó]
 [if water be.Past PfvNeg enter.Pfv]
 íⁿ ḡà [gíyéⁿ mà-ré-méé] sùwó
 1Pl Ipfv [place Rel-Pl-Pl] cultivate.Ipfv
 [bé= è yàà [píⁿ-n-tíyé ní] yáwⁿ,
 [Seq 3Pl put.Pfv [millet-Link-field Inst] there.Def,
 ‘(In the past) when water (=flooding) did not come in, we would convert it (=rice field) into a millet field there.’

[conditional antecedent with past-time reference (not counterfactual); mà-ré-méé variant of plural relative marker; yàà ‘put’ in sense ‘convert, transform’]

(08:24) I àà, [né jí ná bùrà-àmà]
 ah, [if water if.Pfv big-become.Pfv]
 [[ā làà píyé] gà [dúgó-n-tíyé wù] nì]
 [[3Sg QTop too] be [rice-Link-field Foc] it.is]
 ‘Ah, if the water (=flooding) became big, on the other hand, it too was a rice field [focus].’

[-n- linker in compound]

(08:26) I sááwù íⁿ ñá sùwó [jńó-ń bńntò-yé lùwó]-y,
 now 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link elevation-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc,
 [jńó-ò té] [[tńpń-pà]-yé ñùnù]
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [[depression-Pl Top]
 ‘Nowadays it’s on those elevations [focus] that we cultivate (rice). Otherwise, as for
 the depressions,’

(08:29) I nùmún tá sìní kwérè [jńóm pà] túⁿ,
 person IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv touch.Ipfv [Dem.Def Comit] again,
 sńó-òⁿ yá= à kámá gà,
 grass-DefSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg take.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Nobody can touch that (=a depression) any longer. The grass has taken it over.’
 [‘person’ = ‘nobody’]

(08:32) I áywà, [jńí-yàm píyé] nà bé
 well, [water-DefSg too] if.Pfv come.Pfv
 [bíyé-báàné-è] kíyéⁿ]-yⁿ,
 [come.Vbl-manner-DefSg a.certain]-Loc,
 ‘Well, when the water (=flooding) comes in a certain way,’

(08:34) I fńy tá mąńá= á-y,
 nothing IpfvNeg become.good.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 [[à píyé] gà ń káá [à kùmà]]
 [[3Sg too] Ipfv 3ReflSg burst.Ipfv [3Sg on]]
 ‘Nothing will turn out well in it. It (=water) floods onto it.’

(08:37) I [à gá= [à sááⁿ] máyⁿ,
 [3Sg Ipfv [3Sg all] ruin.Ipfv,
 [m pà] íⁿ ñá sùwó [bńntó kùmà] sááwù,
 [1Sg Comit] 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [elevation on] now,
 ‘And it (=flood) ruins it. I think we farm on high ground now.’
 /PP [X pà] in sense ‘X believes’]

(08:44) M ókè sá-sàà-liyàwⁿ áá gá [mùwó dúgń-síífà sí—]
 okay now 2Pl Ipfv (hesitation—)
 [mùwó dúgń-síífà sí wú] sùwó,
 [which? rice-kind any Foc] cultivate.Ipfv
 ‘Okay, what kind of rice do you-Pl cultivate nowadays?’
 /sá-sàà-liyàwⁿ ~ -liyèwⁿ (§5.1.7.3, §8.4.5.1)]

(08:49) M [ɲóⁿ sání] [áá gá sùwó [[nàà wú dàmá] ní] nà]
 [Dem.Def and] [2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[cow Foc only] Inst] Q
 [òù wàràrà] [áá gá sùwó [[fá tànáá] nì] túⁿ],
 [or] [2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[thing other] Inst] again],
 ‘And then, do you-Pl farm with a cow (=ox) only? Or do you-Pl also farm with something else?’

[òù wàràrà mix of wàràrà ‘or’ and French ou bien ‘or’]

(08:55) I ííⁿ ɲá sùwó [[nàà-yé lùwò] ní]
 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[cow-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst]
 [nàá mà-lé-méé] gá [íím pà]
 [cow Rel-Pl-Pl] be.Loc [1Pl Comit]
 ‘It’s with cows (=oxen) [focus] that we farm. The cows that we have,’

(08:57) I ííⁿ ɲá sùwó [[ɲú-méé lùwò] ní],
 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst],
 áà [né mǎⁿ nà wálèḅ kilàwⁿ]
 ah [if Rel if.Pfv money get.Pfv]
 ‘Those [focus] are what we cultivate with. Ah, if (you are) someone who has gotten money (=wealth),’

(08:59) I áⁿ ɲá màsín-tùù dé-ré,
 2Sg Ipfv machine-owner take-Ipfv,
 ā gá= [án tìyé-ěⁿ] sùwó,
 3Sg Ipfv [2Sg field-DefSg] cultivate.Ipfv,
 ‘You-Sg take (=hire) a tractor owner, he will cultivate (=plow) your-Sg field.’

(09:01) I bon [ɲóⁿ làà píyé] [wáléⁿ ɲùnù] tá [sáám pà],
 well [Dem.Def QTop too] [money Top] not.be.Loc [all Comit],
 wálèⁿ ɲá [màrn pà] [áⁿ ɲá sìní [màsín dé-ré]],
 money be.Loc [Rel Comit] [2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [machine take-Ipfv],
 ‘Well, regarding that (=tractor), as for the money, not everybody has it. (If you are) someone who has money, you-Sg can hire a tractor.’

(09:05) I ā gá fá-líyáⁿ sùwá= [án tè]
 3Sg Ipfv a.little cultivate.Ipfv [2Sg Dat]
 né wálèn tá= [ám pà] làà,
 if money not.be.Loc [2Sg Comit] QTop,
 ‘He will cultivate (=plow) for you-Sg for a while. On the other hand, if you-Sg don’t have the money,’

(09:07) I áⁿ ɲá sùwó [[án nàá-yè] ní],
 2Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[2Sg cow-Pl] Inst],
 áⁿ ná sìnì [bé [hú mǎⁿ] sùwó]
 2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Pfv [Seq [thing Rel] cultivate.Ipfv]
 ‘You-Sg cultivate (=plow) with your-Sg cows (=oxen). What(ever) you can cultivate,’

(09:10) I ɲó-ò gá= [áⁿ fwò] nì
 Dem.Def-Foc be.Loc [2Sg Poss] it.is
 ‘That [focus] is what is yours.’

(09:14) M áá yà= áá tíyéⁿ
 2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl be.heavy
 [[mùwó dúgó-sífà sí] kùmà] sááwù
 [[which? rice-kind any] on] now
 ‘You-Pl are heavy on which kind of rice now?’

(09:18) I áà, [dúgó ɲùnù] [à sífà] ɲ kóⁿ,
 ah, [rice Top] [3Sg kind] 3Ref1Sg be.many,
 àlìbà gá= á-yè, tòmbo gá= á-yè, sùmúⁿ ɲá= á-yè,
 A be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, T be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, S be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘Ah, as for rice, its kinds (= cultivars) are many. *àlìbà* is (included) in it, *tòmbo* is in it, and *sùmúⁿ* is in it.’
[cultivars of rice appear here with list intonation; cf. @ 07:06 above]

(09:22) I á, máróbájáⁿ ɲá= á-yè,
 ah, M be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
bon [[sùⁿwòró mǎⁿ] ná nìyè-gá [màrn pà]]
 well [[seedstock Rel] if.Pfv easy-Adj [Rel Comit]]
 ‘Oh, and *máróbájáⁿ* is in it. Whatever seedstock is convenient for anyone,’
[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

(09:25) I áⁿ ɲà ɲó-ò sùwó [án tíyé-y]-è,
 2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def-Foc cultivate.Ipfv [2Sg field-DefSg]-Loc,
 íⁿ ɲà [ɲú-méé lùwó] sùwó bôⁿ,
 1Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv here,
 ‘That [focus] is what you-Sg cultivate (=plant) in your field. Those (cultivars) [focus] are what we cultivate here.’

(00:30) M áá ná= à dúgó-yè sàtì [bá= à kílàwⁿ],
 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg rice-Pl toss.Pfv [Seq 3Sg finish.Pfv]
 fá tá [jí nwìⁿ]
 thing not.be.Loc [water inside]
 ‘When you-Pl have finished sowing rices, is there not something in the water ...’

(09:33) M [ímàà [fá mǎⁿ] nà [áá dúgó-yè] kúlé-kúlè
 [whether [thing Rel] Ipfv [2Pl rice-Pl] Rdp-cut.Ipfv]
ou bien [fá mǎⁿ] nà [áá dúgó-yè] máyⁿ nà,
 or [thing Rel] Ipfv [2Pl rice-Pl] ruin.Ipfv Q,
 ‘in other words, something that cuts up your-Pl rices? Or something that damages your rices?’

(09:37) M [nóⁿ ná sò] [à nà bá yáwⁿ],
 [Dem.Def if.Pfv go.Pfv] [3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv there.Def],
 dúgó nà ń gàràbù [wáátùmá màⁿ],
 rice if.Pfv 3ReflSg reap.Pfv [time Rel]
 ‘When that has gone and it has left (=after that), at the time when the rice has been reaped (=harvested),’

(09:40) M áá nà bá= [à ní] nògí-ỳ, áá gà—
 2Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc, (hesitation)—
parce que [áá láá] gà jííŋ gwímáⁿ= [[à ní] wù],
 because [2Pl QTop] Ipfv year turn.Ipfv [[3Sg Inst] Foc]
 ‘When you-Pl bring it (=rice) to the village, because it’s with it [focus] that you-Pl spend a year.’
[i.e. until the next harvest]

(09:44) M [à jííŋ-gwímíⁿ-ìⁿ nàà]
 [3Sg year-turn.VblN-DefSg QTop]
 [à tá máyⁿ nà],
 [3Sg IpfvNeg be.ruined.Ipfv Q],
 ‘(With) its spending a year, does it (=rice) not spoil?’

(09:46) M *ou bien* áá gé= è yáá
 or 2Pl Ipfv 3Pl put.Ipfv
 [mùwó yiyè-báánà síí]-ỳ
 [which? put.VblN-manner any]-Loc
 ‘Or in what manner do you deposit (=store) them (=crops)?’

(09:48) M [sú mǎⁿ] ɲá= à tó-ró [à tá máyⁿ]
 [thing Rel] Ipfv 3Sg compel-Ipfv [3Sg IpfvNeg be.ruined.Ipfv]

I *bon*, [dúgó-ðⁿ ɲùnù],
 well, [rice-DefSg Top],

[hàrí sọ́ṣó-y-è] máyⁿ-fá gá= á-ỳ,
 [even the.bush-DefSg-Loc] ruin-thing be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,

M: '(With) something that insures that it doesn't spoil?'

I: 'Well, as for the rice, even out in the bush (=the fields) there are spoiling agents.'

(09:54) I bàrí, [áⁿ nà dúgó-ðⁿ sátì]
 because, [2Sg if.Pfv rice-DefSg toss.Pfv]

né jí nà dọ́ [à mùⁿ],
 if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv [3Sg under],

'Because when you have sown the rice (seeds), when water comes in under it (=growing rice plant),'

[i.e. as the annual floods begin to fill up the rice field]

(09:57) I yúwó-yé gá= à kúlè, *bon* jíná,
 fish-Pl Ipfv 3Sg cut-Ipfv, well mouse,
 [hàlì jí bé dọ́ [à mùⁿ]]
 [before water come.Pfv enter.Pfv [3Sg under]]

'Fish-Pl cut it (=rice plant). Well, mice. Before the water comes in under it,'

(10:00) I [[jíná píyé] gá= à máyⁿ], [nú-méé gá= à máyⁿ],
 [[mouse too] Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv], [Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv],
 [dúgó-ðⁿ máyⁿ-fá] nì,
 [rice-DefSg ruin-thing] it.is,

'Mice too damage it. Those (=fish and mice) damage it, they are pests of the rice.'

(10:03) I ā nà bé nògí-ỳ,
 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv village-Loc,
 háyà áⁿ ná= à sá nògí-ỳ,
 well 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg add.Pfv village-Loc,

'When it (=harvested rice) has come to the village, that is, when you-Sg have stored it in the village (=in a granary),'

(10:06) I máyⁿ-fá-yè gá á-ỳ [ḡóm píyé]-ỳ,
 ruin-thing-Pl be.Loc 3Sg-Loc [Dem.Def too]-Loc,
 sóróníⁿ-yè gá= á-ỳ,
 flour.beetle-Pl be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘There are pests in it, in that too. Flour beetles are in it.’
[red flour beetle, Tribolium castaneum, a tiny darkling beetle, is a major pest of stored rice]

(10:09) I áywà, máyⁿ-fá-yè gá= á-ỳ,
 well, ruin-thing-Pl be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 ā gā máyⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv be.ruined.Ipfv
 ‘Well, pests are in it. It (=rice) spoils.’

(10:15) M āā ókè, áá ná= à báá [bòntó nìíⁿ],
 ah okay, 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg take.out.Pfv [granary inside],
 hàlà= áá byá= à— à sàti,
 before 2Pl Seq (hesitation)— 3Sg toss.Pfv,
 ‘Ah, okay. When you-Pl take it (=rice grain) out of the granary, before you-Pl sow it,’

(10:20) M [áá gá— [à núwóm-báá wù] pánáán tíí-nà,
 [2Pl Ipfv— [3Sg bad-take.out.VblN Foc] first do-Ipfv,
ou bien mà-lé-méé máyⁿ ḡá= á-ỳ,
 or [Rel-Pl-Pl be.ruined.Pff Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘Is it its culling [focus] that you-Pl do first? In other words, the ones that are spoiled in it,’
[i.e. bad grains are picked out and removed]

(10:24) M áá gā nú-méé báá [à nà] wú làà nìtā→,
 2Pl Ipfv Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Ipfv [3Sg Dat] Foc QTop or,
 [áá ná= à dé dāmà]
 [2Pl if.pfv 3Sg take.Pfv only],
 ‘Do you-Pl remove those (=bad grains) from it? Or do you-Pl just take it (as it is) and then ...’
[focalized clauses (here and in the following segment)]

(10:28) M áá gá yá= [à ní] wù,
 2Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst] Foc,
 áá gá= à yàá [[mùwó yìyè-báánà sí wú] nìⁿ]
 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.Ipfv [[which? put-manner any Foc] inside]
 ‘... (and then) you-Pl convey it (=rice grains, to the field)? In what way do you-Pl deposit (=store) it?’

[< yè replacing sò ‘go’; yìyè verbal noun of yàà/yàá (§9.3.1.4)]

(10:32) I bon [áⁿ nà bé [dúgó-ǝⁿ ní]]
 okay, [2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [rice-DefSg Inst]]
 [áⁿ ñá= à sá-rá fòó— fòórò-ỳ],
 [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg add-Ipfv (hesitation)— sack-Loc],
 ‘Okay, when you-Sg have brought the rice (to the village), you store it in a sack.’

(10:35) I bé à yàà= [áj káwⁿ],
 Seq 3Sg put.Pfv [2Sg chez],
 [ám pà] [bé sá= [à sàtì]],
 [2Sg Comit] [Seq go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]],
 ‘To deposit (=store) it at your-Sg place. When you-Sg plan to go and sow it (in the fields),’

[[X pà] ‘X wants (plans)’ (§15.2.8.1)]

(10:38) I [sóó-píⁿ mà-ré-méé] gà dó-ró [dúgó-ǝⁿ nìⁿ],
 [grass-grain Rel-Pl-Pl] Ipfv enter-Ipfv [rice-DefSg inside],
 [[wáájìbì íⁿ ñà jú-méé báá= [à nà]]
 [[necessity 1Pl Ipfv Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Ipfv [3Sg Dat]]
 ‘Grass (=weed) seeds that get into the rice, we must remove those from it.’

(10:41) I [áⁿ ñà jú-méé báá [à nà]],
 [2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Ipfv [3Sg Dat]],
 [ná= án tè jú-méé báá= [à nà]]
 [if 2Sg PfvNeg Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Pfv [3Sg Dat]]
 ‘You-Sg remove those from it. If you-Sg don’t remove those from it,’

(10:43) I áⁿ ná só [à sàtì]
 2Sg if.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]
 [ā gà m bé-né]
 [3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg return-Ipfv]
 ‘when you-Sg go to sow it, it (=weeds) return.’

(10:44) I à gá f̄-rò [nó-nì sóo-wàà] ní túⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv become-Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link grass-DefSg.Foc] Inst again
 nó-ò gá m̄ bé-né [bé k̄r̄á= á-ỳ túⁿ],
 Dem.Def-Foc Ipfv 3ReflSg return-Ipfv [Seq stand.Pfv 3Sg-Loc again],
 ‘That (same) grass (=weeds) [focus] is what it becomes again. That [focus] is what
 returns and gets up (=grows) in it again.’
 [< k̄r̄i]

(10:46) I bàrí íⁿ ñá= [à sání sóo-wàà] báá bùwó-ỳ,
 because 1Pl Ipfv [3Sg and grass-DefSg.Foc] take.out.Ipfv Recip-Loc,
 bé bá= [à ní] n̄gí-ỳ,
 Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc,
 ‘Because it (=rice grain) and the grass (=weeds) [focus] is what we take out together,
 and bring it to the village.’
 [*seeds from weeds get mixed with the rice grains during the harvest and threshing*]

(10:49) I né= [=éém pà] [bé à sàti],
 if [1Pl Comit] [Seq 3Sg toss.Pfv]
 [hàlí wày] [íⁿ ñè= =éém bé-né túⁿ]
 [until today] [1Pl Ipfv 1Pl return-Ipfv again]
 ‘When we plan to sow it, at that point we go back (to the seedstock) again.’

(10:52) I [bá= [à n̄áàngílé-è̄m] báá= á-yí wù,
 [Seq [3Sg garbage-DefSg] take.out.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Foc,
 [bé à kúⁿwáá-ní] [bé á̄n̄ k̄làⁿ]
 [Seq 3Sg whiten-Caus.Pfv] [Seq 2Sg finish.Pfv]
 ‘Then (we/you) remove its impurities (=weed seeds) from it, then (you-Sg) finish
 cleaning (=culling) it,’
 [*VP-level focus; 2Sg áⁿ here is reflexive object*]

(10:54) I [bé à sàti [t̄iyè láá]]
 [Seq 3Sg toss.Pfv [field at.edge.of]]
 ‘Then (we) sow it at the field.’
 [láá, dialectally ráá (§8.2.5.5), related to r̄óó @ 11:16 below]

(10:58) M áà nóⁿ ñá [mùwó n̄áàngílá-síífà síí-yé] n̄i,
 ah Dem.Def be [which? garbage-kind any-Pl] it.is,
 nóⁿ ñá [mùwó sóo-síífà síí-yé] n̄i,
 Dem.Def be [which? grass-kind any-Pl] it.is,
 ‘Ah, that is what kinds of impurities? That is what kinds of grass (=weeds)?’

(11:01) M m̀m̀m̀à, [áⁿ ná= [à s̀ǹǹ j̀ú-m̀éé] s̀at̀t̀ b̀ùẁó-ỳ]
 whether, [2Sg if.Pfv [3Sg and Dem.Def-Pl] toss.Pfv Recip-Loc]
 è g̀á= à m̀á-ỳⁿ
 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv
 ‘Such that if you-Sg sow it (=rice) and those (=weeds) together, they (=weeds) ruin it (=rice)?’

(11:06) I áà sóó—
 ah (hesitation)—
 [[sóó-ò̀n j̀áá-t̀-ì-m] pííⁿ m̀èéⁿ] ǹà bí-yé ỳáẁⁿ,
 [[grass-DefSg exactly-DefSg] grain Rel] Ipfv come-Ipfv there.Def,
 ‘The grain (=seeds) of real grass that comes there,’

(11:08) I dígè-éⁿ ǹá= á-ỳ, m̀íⁿyé-ěⁿ ǹá= á-ỳ,
Oryza-DefSg be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, *Acroceras*-DefSg be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 m̀únúm̀untúⁿ ǹá= á-ỳ, t̀ègè g̀á= á-ỳ,
Sacciolepis be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, *Melochia* be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 ‘*Oryza* is (included) in it. *Acroceras* is (included) in it. *Sacciolepis* is (included) in it. *Melochia* is (included) in it.’

[*three grasses and one erect herbaceous plant that grow in seasonal floodplains or on riverbanks: Oryza longistaminata (a wild rice); Acroceras amplexans, Sacciolepis africana, Melochia corchorifolia (herbaceous)*]

(11:14) I [[sú m̀àⁿ s̀ááⁿ] ǹà táⁿ [à ní]]
 [[thing Rel all] if.Pfv ascend.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
 m̀àⁿ s̀ááⁿ— [[án dúgò-ò̀m] p̀à],
 (hesitation) [[2Sg rice-DefSg] Comit],
 ‘All the things that have risen (=grown) in it, all the— among your-Sg rice,’

(11:16) I né áⁿ ǹa= án débè só [à ní]
 if 2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst]
 [[án t̀iyè] r̀óó-ỳ]-è,
 [[2Sg field] edge-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘If you-Sg take it (=weeds) back to your-Sg field.’
 [débè s̀ò ‘go back’ (§15.2.6.3); r̀óó (§8.2.5.5), cf. @ 10:54 above]

- (11:18) I [dúgó-pí^m-yà̀n jááti-yà̀n] ɲá = á-ỳ,
 [rice-grain-DefSg exactly-DefSg] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 nó-nù fá-síí fá-dámá-yè,
 Dem.Def-Link thing-kind-only(?) -DefSg
 ‘Real rice grain (=seed) is (included) in it. Those other kinds (=weeds),’
[cf. dà̀mà ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1)]
- (11:20) I ná = áⁿ nà = án dèbè
 if 2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv
 [bé [nóⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ sí] sùwò] [[án dúgó-ò̀m] pà],
 [Seq [Dem.Def Rel all any] cultivate.Pfv [[2Sg rice-DefSg] Comit],
 ‘If you-Sg return (to the fields) and then (you) cultivate (=plant) all those (weeds)
 among your rice,’
- (11:22) I [áⁿ ná yá = [à sáti]]
 [2Sg if.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]]
 à gá kírà = [án tìyé-y]-è,
 3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv [2Sg field-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘When you-Sg go to sow (seeds), it (=weeds) will rise up in your-Sg field.’
- (11:25) I ā gá ḿ bé-né [bé [án tìyè] máyⁿ túⁿ],
 3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg return-Ipfv [Seq [2Sg field] ruin.Pfv again],
 fá = áⁿ nà nú-méé báá á-yí wù,
 must 2Sg Sbjn Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Foc,
 ‘It will return and damage your-Sg field again. You-Sg have to remove those (weed
 seeds).’
*[fá ~ fǒ ~ fwá ‘must’ (§17.7.4.2) with following subjunctive, cf. synonym kàrà @ 11:39
 below]*
- (11:29) I bé só [à sáti], nó-nù sóo-píⁿ-yè,
 Seq go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv], Dem.Def-Link grass-grain-Pl,
 nú-méé gá gàràbú [dúgó-ò̀m pà] wù,
 Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv be.reaped.Ipfv [rice-DefSg Comit] Foc,
 ‘(And) then (you) go sow it. (Otherwise) those grass (=weed) seeds, those (=seeds)
 will be harvested along with the rice.’

(11:35) I áⁿ ńá bí-yé [à ní] nògí-ỳ [ńóm pà] wù,
 2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc [Dem.Def Comit] Foc,
 ná= áⁿ ńà bé án débè só [à ní]] túⁿ,
 if 2Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg return.Pfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst]] again,
 ‘(and) you-Sg will bring it (=weeds) to the village along with that (=rice). If you-Sg
 will take it back (to the field) again,’
 [ńá= áⁿ ńà bé... *future conditional antecedent clause (§16.1.1)*]

(11:39) I kàrá= án ná= à mènín wù,
 must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg do.well.Pfv Foc,
 ná= án tyá= à mènì,
 if 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg do.well.Pfv,
 ‘You-Sg must do it (=culling) well. If you-Sg don’t do it well,’
 [kàrá ‘must’ (§17.7.4.3), cf. synonym fá ‘must’ @ 11:25 above; < tè à]

(11:40) I áⁿ nà= án débè [bé sò [à ní]]
 2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv [Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
 [ńó-ń bááná-y]-èⁿ
 [Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg]-Loc
 ‘When you take it (=rice grains) back in that manner,’

(11:41) I à gá yè ń bén túm
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv 3ReflSg return.Pfv again
 [bé kìrà= [án tìyé-y]-è]
 [Seq get.up.Pfv [2Sg field-DefSg]-Loc]
 ‘It will go back and then rise up again in your field.’

(11:42) I [bé [án tìyé-èⁿ] máyⁿ],
 [Seq [2Sg field-DefSg] ruin.Pfv],
 ‘Then (it will) damage your-Sg field.’

founding of Baratou village

(11:54) M áà, [sááwù ńùnù] ń ńá= [à pà] [bá= án tìyé],
 ah, [now Top] 1Sg Ipfv [3Sg Comit] [Seq 2Sg ask.Pfv],
 [báàrà-tùwò láá] gá [nògú wù] nì,
 [B QTop] be [village Foc] it.is,
 ‘Ah, now I would like to ask you-Sg, Baratou is a village.’

(11:59) M [ā nògú-ùⁿ] f̃ gá [mùwó wáátì sí],
 [3Sg village-DefSg] be.settled.Pfv Pfv [which? time any],
 [bé kìⁿyè [sááwù pà],
 [Seq arrive.Pfv [now Comit],
 ‘When was its village settled? And arrive at (=continue to) the present.’
[intransitive ā f̃ gá ‘it was settled’, cf. reflexive à ń f̃ gá ‘he/she sat’]

(12:02) M [nògú-ùⁿ f̃ò-^{né-èⁿ}, [ā tìⁿ ńá
 [village-Def be.settled-Ppl-DefSg], [3Sg be.Past be.Loc
 [mùwó báànà sífà sí]-y],
 [which? manner kind any]-Loc],
 ‘The settling of the village, it was (=happened) how?’
[f̃ò-^{né-èⁿ} ‘settling, being settled’, instantiating verbal noun (§4.2.1.4)]

(12:06) M yára, [bôn dàà],
 whether, [here QTop],
 [bôⁿ sáán] tìⁿ ńá júgú-ùⁿ nⁿ nà,
 [here all] be.Past Ipfv tree-DefSg it.is Q,
 ‘(I wonder) whether as for here (=this place), this place was all trees?’
[yára §13.2.1.4]

(12:10) M *ou bien* ā gá [báaná mǎⁿ-y]-è
 or 3Sg Ipfv [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc
 ā tìⁿ ńá [kìⁿyéⁿ wù] bé-kíyé
 3St be.Past Ipfv [like.that Foc] past.times
 ‘Or the way in which it is (now), it was (already) like that in the old days?’
[background note: there are disputes in the village about its history]

(12:16) I áà, [kú-nù nógú-ùⁿ ńùnú] ńá [nògù kèèminé wù] nì,
 ah, [Dem-Link village-DefSg Top] be [village old Foc] it.is,
 [ā f̃ò-^{ná}] gùú gá,
 [3Sg be.settled-PPI] be.long.time.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Ah, as for this village, it is an old village [focus]. It has been settled for a long time.’

(12:20) I ńkàà à gá f̃-rò [wáátì mǎⁿ-y]-è,
mais 3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc,
 [júgú f́oy] t̃n tá bôⁿ,
 [tree nothing] be.Past not.be.Loc here,
 [júgú sí] t̃n tá bôⁿ,
 [tree any] be.Past not.be.Loc here,
 ‘But at the time when it was (being) settled, there were absolutely no trees here, there weren’t any trees here.’

[the interjection-like f́oy ‘nothing’ is a more emphatic negation than sí ‘any’ (§6.2.2.3); here f́oy quantifies over a noun (‘tree’)]

(12:24) I ńkààrà [ā f̃ð-n-é-èⁿ]
 but [3Sg be.settled-Ppl-DefSg-Loc]
 [ñgù kèèminé wù] ñ ñùnù,
 [village old Foc] it.is Top,
 ‘But in its settlement, it’s an old village [focus].’

(12:26) I íⁿ ńá= à m̃yé gá
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv
 [béyàsé [ñgù kèèminé wù] ñ]
 [that [village old Foc] it.is]
 ‘We heard (from old people) that it’s an old village.’
/béyàsè and variants ‘that ...’ (§17.1.4)

(12:28) I [[wáátì mǎⁿ-y]-é à gá f̃-rò]
 [[time Rel-DefSg]-Loc 3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv]
 [à kóóŋ-kàsí wú] t̃ⁿ ńá bôⁿ,
 [3Sg one-just Foc] be.Past Ipfv here,
 ‘At the time it was being settled, it was completely isolated.’
/kóóŋ-kàsì ‘just one’ (denigrating), or as here ‘completely alone’ (§4.6.1.1)

(12:30) I [à gá f̃-rò [wáátì mǎⁿ-y]-è]
 [3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc]
 [[júgú f́oy] t̃n tá bôⁿ]
 [[tree nothing] be.Past not.be.Loc here]
 ‘At the time when it was being settled, there were absolutely no trees here.’

(12:32) I ná= [à sání dáábà-yé lùwó] té
 if [3Sg and animal-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is.not
 né [dáábà-yé lùwó] tìn té
 if [anima-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past it.is.not
 ‘If not (=other than) it (=village) and the (wild) animals [focus], if not (=other than) the animals ‘focus],’

(12:34) I [júgú fóy ñùnú] tìn tá bôn,
 [tree nothing Top] be.Past not.be.Loc here,
 [hàlì íín-dùwó mà-léé píyé] tá kéémíné nì]
 [even 1Pl-Indep Rel-Pl too] not.be old.person it.is]
 ‘There were absolutely no trees here. Even we who are (=were) not old people,’

(12:37) I ííη kírí gà [byá= à kày
 1Pl get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv
 [[júgú fóy] tá bôn]]
 [[tree nothing] not.be.Loc here]]
 ‘We grew up seeing that there were absolutely no trees here.’

(12:38) I áⁿ ñà án tó-ró [fó [gíyén dááⁿ]-yⁿ]
 2Sg Ipfv 2Sg look.from.afar-IPfv [until [place distant]-Loc]
 áⁿ ñà [báará-tùwò yóó-líyén kòòη] kày,
 2Sg Ipfv [B borassus.palm-Link one] see.Ipfv,
 ‘You-Sg (would) look all the way from a distant place, you-Sg (would) see (only) the one borassus palm of Baratou.’

[fó ‘all the way to, until’ here sees to mean ‘all the way from’, another example of how direction is specified by verbs rather than by adpositions (§8.2.2.2)]

(12:40) I [júgú fóy] tá [gíyéⁿ síí]-y,
 [tree nothing] not.be [place any]-Loc,
 ííⁿ [jónⁿ ñùnú] kày gà,
 1Pl [Dem.Def Top] see.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘There are (=were) absolutely no (other) trees anywhere. As for that, we saw it,’

(12:45) I [ííⁿ mà-réé píyé] tá [ííη kéémíné]
 [1Pl Rel-Pl too] not.be [1Pl old.person]
 [júgú tìn tá bôn kóy],
 [tree be.Past not.be here Emph],
 ‘... we too who are (=were) not our old people. Trees were not here.’
[i.e. we who were young at the time]

(12:48) I ńkàà ííⁿ ńá= à mìyé gà [kéémíne-yé pà],
 but 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [old.person-Pl Comit],
 [dòbò-òⁿ sání kóbò-yàwⁿ] [à sááⁿ] tìⁿ ńá,
 [river-DefSg and dry.land-DefPl] [3Sg all] be.Past Ipfv,
 ńááfé wò nì,
 beast Foc it.is,
 ‘We heard it with (=from) the old people. The river and the dry land, both were (full of) wild beasts.’

[ńááfé ‘wild beast’, replacing the milder dáábà ‘animal’ used @ 12:30 above; dáábà often denotes livestock and other domestic animals]

(12:52) I [dáábà-yé tìⁿ ńá jí-y-è]
 [animal-Pl be.Past Ipfv water-DefSg-Loc]
 [à ń kóⁿ],
 [3Sg Repl be.many],
 ‘The animals were in the water, lots of them.’

(12:54) I dáábà-yé tìⁿ ńá [kóbò-y píyé]
 animal-Pl be.Past Ipfv [dry.land-Loc too]
 à ń kóⁿ [ńó-nì báàná-wà]-y,
 3Sg 3ReplSg be.many [Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg.Foc]-Loc,
 ‘The animals were on dry land too, lots of them in that same way [focus].’

(12:56) I bàrì [ńúmúⁿ náá] tìn tá [gántè-é nìⁿ]
 because [person QTop] be.Past not.be.Loc [country-DefSg inside]
 [à wáátì-y]-è
 [3Sg time-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘Because people were not in the land at the time.’
 [*< Qtop làà ; < gántà*]

(12:58) I [ńúmúⁿ náá] tìn tá [gíyéⁿ-èⁿ nìⁿ], báára-tùwó gà
 [person QTop] be.Past not.be.Loc [place-DefSg inside], B be
 [ńóⁿ sí nògú wù] nì, [nògú kèèminé wù] nì,
 [Dem.Def kind village Foc] it.is, [village old Foc] it.is,
 ‘People were not in the place. Baratou is that kind of village. It’s an old village.’

- (13:04) M hàyà [[wáátù mǎⁿ-y]-è
 well [[time Rel-DefSg]-Loc]
 báará-tùwó gá fɔ-ró làà]
 B Ipfv be.settled.Pfv QTop]
 ‘Well, what about when Baratou was being settled,’
- (13:06) M à bé gá kásà-má = [à tɛ],
 3Sg come Pfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat],
 [[nògù-yé gá = [[à tɛsé pá] rà]
 [[village-Pl be.Loc [[3Sg side] Comit] Q]
 ‘Did it happen that (other) villages were next to it?’
- (13:08) M [ou bien à bé gá kásà-má = [à tɛ]
 [or 3Sg come Pfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat],
 [[nògù-yè tá = [[à tɛsé pà]],
 [[village-Pl not.be.Loc [[3Sg side] Comit]].
 ‘Or did it happen that (other) villages were not next to it?’
- (13:11) M èè, [báará-tùwò jáátì] bá gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 eh, [B exactly] exit.Pfv Pfv where?
 [bé bé fwà bôⁿ],
 [Seq come.Pfv be.settled.Pfv here],
 ‘Eh, Baratou itself came from where, to come and be settled here?’
- (13:14) M [è númà-réé] bá gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
 [3Pl people] exit.Pfv Pfv where?
 [bé bé fwà bôⁿ]
 [Seq come.Pfv be.settled.Pfv here]
 ‘Their people came from where, to come and be settled here?’
- (13:18) I áywà, íⁿ ná = à miyé gá [báaná mǎⁿ-y]-è
 well, 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc
 [báará-tùwò bá gá táántánà [íⁿ mùm] bôⁿ]
 [B exit.Pfv Pfv T [1Pl next.to] here]
 ‘Well, the way we heard it, Baratou came from Tantana, here next to us.’
 [*Tantana is an abandoned site nearby; mùⁿ ‘under’ or as here ‘beside’ (§8.2.7.5)]]*

(13:21) I [túwó mɛ́ɛ̃ⁿ] ɲà kwíí-tàà— [kwíí-táá pà],
 [site Rel] be.Loc (hesitation)— [over.there Comit],
 ‘The burial site (of Tantana) is over that way.
[túwó ‘burial site’ or ‘site (of a village)’; cf. @ 13:31 below, related to the final -tùwò in báará-tùwò and some other village names]

(13:22) I íⁿ ɲá= à miyé gà [báará-tùwò kírí gà bá-rá yôⁿ],
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [B get.up.Pfv Pfv exit-Ipfv there.Def],
 [bí-yé fɔ̃ bôⁿ],
 [come-Ipfv be.settled.Pfv here]
 ‘We heard it that Baratou arose from there, to come and settle here.’
[Ipfv bá-rá and bí-yé after Pfv verb ‘get up’ (§15.1.1.6)]

(13:25) I à bá gà [gíyén tànáá]-y bí-yé dé?,
 3Sg exit.Pfv Pfv [place other]-Loc come-Ipfv Emph,
 ɲkààrà íⁿ tá bé
 but 1Pl IpfvNeg Fut
 [= één dós-dós [ɲó-nì gíyéⁿ mɛ́ɛ̃ⁿ sááⁿ]-yⁿ,
 [1Pl mouth-enter.Pfv [Dem.Def-Link place Rel all]-Loc,
 ‘It (=population) had (previously) come from some other place though. But we won’t discuss all (about) that place.’
[future negative (§10.2.2.2)]

(13:28) I [ā fɔ̃̀-ɲá] gùú gà
 [3Sg be.settled-Ppl] be.long.time.Pfv Pfv
 [túwó-òɲ kùmà] bôⁿ mánáá,
 [site-DefSg on] here well(adv),
 ‘Its settling was very long ago on the site (=Tantana).’
[mánáá (§8.4.3.2)]

(13:31) I ā kírí gà
 3Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv
 [bí-yé ɲ fɔ̃ [[kú-nùn tùwó-òɲ] kùmà] bôⁿ,
 [come-Ipfv 3ReflSg sit [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on] here],
 ‘It (=population) arose and came and settled on this site here (=Baratou).’

(13:33) I *bon* [wáátì mǎⁿ-y]-è báará-tùwó gà bôⁿ
 okay [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc B be.Loc here
 [nògù-yé tìⁿ ǵá yáwⁿ],
 [village-Pl be.Past Ipfv there.Def],
 ‘Okay, in the time when Baratou has been here, (other) villages were there.’

(13:35) I ǵkàà, íⁿ [nògú mà-ré-méé] mìyé gà
 but, 1Pl [village Rel-Pl-Pl] hear.Pfv Pfv
 ǵóⁿ ǵà kùmàràá, sání nínà,
 Dem.Def be K, and N,
 ‘But the villages that we have heard about, that is Kombaka, and Noina.’

(13:40) I [è sání ǵú-méé lùwó] tìⁿ ǵá bùwó— [bùwó ním] bôⁿ,
 [3Pl and Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past Ipfv (hesitation)— [Recip inside] here,
 ǵkàà [nògú sùrù kónó-ná-yè] [íín tè ǵú-méé mìyè]
 but [village remaining remain-Ppl-Pl] [1Pl PfvNeg Dem.Def-Pl hear.Pfv]
 ‘They (=Baratou) and those (two villages) were together here. But (any) remaining
 villages, we haven’t heard about them.’

(13:45) I [ǵó-nù nògú sìgéⁿ-yàwⁿ,
 [Dem.Def village three-DefSg,
 ē-dùwó tìⁿ ǵá tóó dé-ré [bùwó pà],
 3Pl-Indep be.Past Ipfv fire take-Ipfv [Recip Comit],
 íⁿ ǵá= à mìyé gà [báàná mǎⁿ-y]-è
 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc
 ‘Those three villages, they [focus] used to get fire from each other, in the way we
 heard it.’

[i.e. they could borrow hot coals to be carried back to their own villages to start fires]

(13:52) M áà, [mùwó fá síí láá], áá báá gà táántánà
 ah, [what? thing any QTop], 2Pl take.out.Pfv Pfv T
 [bé byá= áá fòò-nì, bôⁿ]
 [Seq come.Pfv 2Pl sit-Caus, here]
 ‘Ah, what took you-Pl away from Tantana and brought you-Pl to settle here?’

(13:57) M èè, [yóó mèéⁿ] nǎ [nògú nìⁿ],
 eh, [borassus.palm Rel] be.Loc [village inside],
 áá yà= áá fwà gá
 2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl sit.Pfv Pfv
 [bé yóó-òn tîm bôⁿ wù] rà→,
 [Seq borassus.palm] do.Pfv here Foc] Q,
 ‘Eh, the borassus palm that is in the village, did you-Pl settle and find the borassus palm (already) here?’

[tîⁿ/tíi-nì ‘do’ has the meaning ‘find, discover (sth) (somewhere)’ with a spatial adverbial]

(14:02) M wáràmà, [áá fwò-ná-wáá]-ŷ
 or, [2Pl settle-Ppl-DefSg.Foc]-Loc
 áá [kú-nù yòó-òn] tí gá
 2Pl [Dem-Link borassus.palm] plant(v).Pfv Pfv
 ‘Or at your-Pl settling, did you-Pl plant this borassus palm?’
 [< yóó]

(14:08) I bon, [nóⁿ nùnù] [dìyèmù péndé] gá
 okay, [Dem.Def Top] [talk(n) two] be.Loc
 [nó-nì náán-diyéⁿ-y]-è,
 [Dem.Def-Link gap-Dimin-DefSg]-Loc,
 ‘Okay, regarding that, there are two talks (=theories) in that little gap (between two theories).’
 [< nó-nì (+H) plus nááⁿ-liyèⁿ]

(14:10) I kémbèré yè è bé gá [bé bé fò]
 certain.Pl said 3Pl come.Pfv Pfv [Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv]
 [bé yóó-òn tîⁿ yáwⁿ],
 [Seq borassus.palm-DefSg do.Pfv there.Def],
 ‘Some people say, they came and settled and found the borassus palm (already) there.’

(14:12) I kémbèré yè [ē fòò-ná-wáá]-ŷ
 certain.Pl said [3Pl settle-Ppl-DefSg.Foc]-Loc
 è yóó-òn tí gá,
 3Pl borassus.palm-DefSg plant(v).Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Some (other) people say, on their settling they planted the borassus palm.’

(14:14) I [diyèmù péndé wó] gà [[jó-nì gíyé-ěⁿ] nwíⁿ],
 [talk(n) two Foc] be.Loc [[Dem.Def-Link place-DefSg] inside],
bon [diyèmù láá] ná gùù,
 okay [talk(n) QTop] if.Pfv be.long.time.Pfv,
 ‘There are two talks (=theories) in that place (=matter). Okay, if the discussion lasts a long time,’

(14:18) I áywà, [ā nààⁿ-fùwò] tá tìyá, kébèrè yè
 well, [3Sg judgement] IpfvNeg be.understood.Ipfv, certain.Pl said
 [ē fḡ gá [bé yóó-òn tîⁿ yáwⁿ]],
 [3Pl settle.Pfv Pfv [Seq borassus.palm-DefSg do.Pfv there.Def]],
 ‘Well, a judgement between them cannot be understood (=determined). Some people say, they settled and found the borassus palm there.’
[nààⁿ-fùwò likely begins with nàáⁿ ‘gap between’, but fùwò is obscure]

(14:22) I [kébèrè láá] yè [ē fḡ-ná kwàtíyè wù]
 [certain.Pl QTop] said [3Pl settle-Ppl behind Foc]
 è yóó-òn tí gà,
 3Pl borassus.palm-DefSg plant(v)-Pfv Pfv,
 ‘Some (others) say, it was after they settled [focus] that they planted the borassus palm.’

(14:25) I [à láá] gà [[jím-pééntéⁿ]-sébè wù] nì,
 [3Sg QTop] be [[year-many]-issue Foc] it.is,
 áà, jóⁿ ḡá [diyèmù péndé wù] nì
 ah, Dem.Def be [talk(n) two Foc] it.is
 ‘It’s a matter of many years (=distant history). Ah, that is two talks (=theories).’
[sébè ‘issue, matter’ becomes -sébè in compounds (§5.1.5.1)]

(14:32) M áà óké, [[báára-tùwò jáátì-íⁿ] fwò-né-èⁿ],
 ah okay, [[B exactly-DefSg] be.settled-Ppl-DefSg]
 [bé kìⁿyè sáawù pà],
 [Seq arrive.Pfv now Comit],
 ‘Ah, okay. (From) the setting of Baratou itself, down to the present,’

(14:37) M [áⁿ náá] yá= à sé gà, áⁿ jé
 [2Sg QTop] Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv, 2Sg said
 [[nògù kèèminè] nì],
 [[village old] it.is],
 [ā fwò-ná] gùú gà mápáá-tíⁿ-yⁿ,
 [3Sg be.settled-Ppl] be.long.time.Pfv Pfv well(adv),
 ‘You-Sg said it, you said that it’s an old village, its settlement happened a very long time ago.’

(14:40) M áà, [nògù-tù mà-lé-méé] fwó-fwò gá
 ah, [village-owner Rel-Pl-Pl] Rdp-be.installed.Pfv Pfv
 [bé kíⁿyè sááwù pà],
 [Seq arrive.Pfv now Comit],
 ‘Ah, the various village chiefs who have been installed, down to the present,’

(14:44) M áⁿ ḡá= [à nògù-tù]-dòó tùwò rà,
 2Sg Ipfv [3Sg village-owner]-number know.Ipfv Q,
 ‘Do you-Sg know the number of its (=Baratou’s) village chiefs?’
 [Pfv fwò iterated to suggest multiplicity; [nògù-tù]-dòò tone-leveled compound (dóó ‘number’)]

(14:47) I ðhó [nògù kèèminè] nì, [báará-tùwò bíyé-n-é]-è
 uh.huh [village old] it.is, [B come-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc
 [[kú-nùn tùwó-òḡ] kùmà], táántánà tá= á-y dé?,
 [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on], T not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc Emph,
 ‘Uh-huh. It’s an old village. From the coming (of the population) of Baratou onto this site, not including Tantana mind you!’
 [bíyé-ná ‘arrival here’ (§4.2.1.4)]

(14:51) I [à bíyé-n-é]-è [[kú-nùn tùwó-òḡ] kùmà],
 [3Sg come-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on],
 [ā nògù-tù [tám-péné-é-sìgéⁿ wù] kíyé gà,
 [3Sg village-owner [ten-two-and-three Foc] pass.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘From its coming onto this site, its twenty-three village chiefs passed (=served in succession).’

(14:55) I [ā nògù-tù tám-péné-é-sìgà-àn-é]-è,
 [3Sg village-owner ten-two-and-three-Ord-DefSg]-Loc,
 [bààdégè-èŋ kírí gá [yôⁿ wò]-ȳ,
 [noise-DefSg get.up.Pfv Pfv [there.Def Foc]-Loc,
 ‘During (the time of) the twenty-third village chief, the noise (=trouble) arose there
 (=at that time) [focus].’

(14:59) I [nògù-tùù]-sébè nón tá bá-ná súwòni,
 [village-owner]-matter Dem.Def IpfvNeg exit-Ipfv (not.)yet,
 [nó-ò té] [nògù-tù tám-péné-é-sìgèⁿ wú]
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [village-owner ten-two-and-three Foc]
 fɔ́ gá [[íⁿ nògù-ùⁿ] nìⁿ],
 be.installed.Pfv Pfv [1Pl village-DefSg] inside]
 ‘The issue of the village chief(-hood), that (issue) is not resolved yet. Anyway, twenty-
 three chiefs have sat (=served in office) in our village,’

(15:03) I báará-tùwò bôⁿ, òkàà [nògù-tù tám-péné-é-sìgà-àn-é]-è
 B here, but [village-owner ten-two-and-three-Ord-DefSg-Loc]
 dǒǒ-pá-n-é-è bí-yé [sáawù pà] làà,
 count(n)-be.complete-Ppl-DefSg-Loc come-Ipfv [now Comit] QTop,
 ‘... in Baratou here. But at (the time of) the twenty-third village chief, at its
 completion, down to the present,’

(15:08) I áà, bààdégè gá nògù-y-è, [nògù-tùù]-sébè-èn
 ah, noise be.Loc village-DefSg-Loc. [village-owner]-matter-DefSg
 tá tì-nà [bé sèéŋ kiláⁿ súwòni],
 IpfvNeg be.able.Past-Ppl [Seq road get.Pfv (not.)yet],
 ‘Ah, noise (=trouble) is in the village. The matter of the chief(-hood) has not yet been
 able to find a solution.’

[cf. ā tì-jé sèéŋ kiláⁿ nà ‘it has been able to find a solution’ (§10.3.6)]

(15:12) I kénjéné gá [[à dìyèmù-yâⁿ] nìⁿ]
 controversy be.Loc [[3Sg talk(n)-DefSg] inside]
 [kítí gá= [à kwàtíyè],
 [dispute be.Loc [3Sg after],
 ‘There is a controversy in discussing it. There is a dispute behind it.’

(15:15) I [nògù-tù-ùⁿ nùnù] té fɔ súwòni,
 [village-owner-DefSg Top] PfvNeg be.installed.Pfv (not.)yet,
 [nó-ò té]
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not]
 [[nògù-tù tám-péné-é-sìgèⁿ wò] kiyé gà]
 [[village-owner ten-two-and-three Foc] pass.Pfv Pfv]
 ‘The (next) village chief hasn’t been installed yet. Anyway, twenty-three village chiefs
 have passed.’

[nó-ò té (§11.2.1.2)]

(15:17) I [[[nú-méé sáán] túbé] gà sébè-nà], tám-péné, é-sìgèⁿ,
 [[[Dem.Def-Pl all] name] Ipfv write-Ppl], ten-two, and-three,
 nó-ò kiyé gà [[kú-nù tùwó-òj] kùmà] bôⁿ,
 Dem.Def-Foc pass.Pfv Pfv [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on] here,
 ‘The names of all of those (chiefs) are written (=recorded). Twenty and three. Those
 [focus] have passed here on this site (=Baratou).’

(15:24) M áà, ókè ní nà [nóm píyé] fâámùⁿ nà,
 ah, okay 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem.Def all] understand.Pfv Pfv,
mais [[nògù-tùù]-àmé-èñ dàà,
 but [[village-owner]-Abstr-DefSg QTop,
 ‘Ah, okay, I have understood that too. But regarding the chiefhood,’

(15:29) M [nàmààⁿ ñ-kóòⁿ wò] níⁿ nà, [ńtàà
 [house Link-one Foc] it.is Q, [or
 [báará-tùwò sááⁿ wú] gá fɔ-ró nògù-tù-úⁿ níⁿ nà]
 [B all Foc] Ipfv become-Ipfv village-chief-DefSg it.is Q]
 ‘Is it (for) one house(hold)? Or does anyone in Baratou become village chief?’

(15:33) M [né kéémíná-ámá ná kìⁿyé [màm pá]]
 [if old.person-Abstr if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [Rel Comit]]
 nóⁿ nà fɔ-ró nògù-tù-ùⁿ ní,
 Dem.Def Ipfv become-Ipfv village-owner-DefSg Inst,
 ‘(In other words) whoever old age (=status as the oldest man) has come to, that one
 [focus] becomes the village chief.’

- (15:37) I [nàmààⁿ ñ-kóòn] té, [[námáà péné] té]
 [house Link-one] it.is.not, [[house two] it.is.not]
 [kòmótò gá [kà-yámàà mà-réé]-ỹ]
 [K be [father-house Rel-Pl]-Loc]
 ‘It isn’t that there is one house(-hold), it isn’t that there are two house(-holds). The extended (agnatic) families that Komoto (clan) is in,’
[some three or four kà-yámàà make up the larger Komoto clan]
- (15:40) I [[à sááⁿ] ñá f̃-ró nògù-tù ní],
 [[3Sg all] Ipfv become-Ipfv village-owner Inst],
 [kòmótò-óñ ñùnù sááⁿ] ñà kóòⁿ nì,
 [K-DefSg Top all] be one it.is,
 ‘... anyone can become chief. All of Komoto (clan) is one.’
- (15:43) I [bàrì è kúsà-má gá wò]
 [because 3Pl become.many.Pfv Pfv Foc]
 (i) yè= é(é) pété-pété gá bá-rá bùwó-ỹ,
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl Rdp-separate.Pfv Pfv exit-Ipfv Recip-Loc,
 ‘Because they have become many, they have split up from each other.’
- (15:46) I áà, [jónⁿ ñùnù] sé-yá-àⁿ] ñ kóⁿ [kéémíné sááⁿ—]
 ah, [Dem.Def Top] say-Agent-DefSg] 3ReflSg be.many [old.person all—]
 [nògù-yàⁿ sááⁿ] ñà jón tùwò,
 [village-Agent all] Ipfv Dem.Def know.Ipfv,
 ‘Ah, the people who have said that are many. The old men—. The whole village knows that.’
- (15:49) I *mais* né siyetàání nà bé,
 but if devil if.Pfv come.Pfv,
 siyetàání bé gá wù,
 devil come.Pfv Pfv Foc,
 ‘But when the devil has come, the devil has come.’
[i.e. there’s not much one can do about it]
- (15:51) I [jón-ò té] [[kòmótò-òⁿ sááⁿ] ñá [nògù-tùù]-àmà],
 [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [[K all] be [village-owner]-Abstr],
 [à ná kiyéⁿ [mám pà]] [à gá [nògù-tùù]-àmà],
 [3Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [Rel Comit]] [3Sg be [village-owner]-Abstr],
 ‘Anyway, all of Komoto (clan) is the chiefhood. Whoever it comes to, he is the chiefhood.’

(15:55) I [à ń sé-pánaán tíⁿ ɲà] [è bé gà]
 [3Sg 3ReflSg say.first do.Pfv Pfv] [3Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
 [àràjòdò-ńámàà ńúmà-réé] bé gà tíyé,
 [radio-house people] come.Pfv Pfv ask.Pfv
 ‘It was said the first time. They came, the radio (=media) people came and asked.’

(15:57) I à ń sé gà= á-ỳ,
 3Sg 3ReflSg say.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
 [à dúwó-yé gà yáwⁿ],
 [3Sg paper-Pl be.Loc there.Def]
 ‘It was said (to them) about it. The documents are there.’

(16:00) I [sááⁿ ɲá à tùwò]
 [all Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv]
 [kítí láá] ɲà bé, kítí bé gà wù
 [dispute(n) QTop] if.Pfv come.Pfv, dispute(n) come.Pfv Pfv Foc
 ‘Everybody knows about it. If a dispute has come, a dispute has come.’

(16:05) M á, [ńón dàà] [mùwó fá sí]
 ah!, [Dem.Def QTop] [what? thing any]
 bé gà [[ńó-ńì kítí-ìⁿ] ní] sááwù
 come.Pfv Pfv [[Dem.Def-Link debate-DefSg] Inst] now,
 ‘Ah, what about that, what brought about that dispute now?’

(16:08) M [hú mǎⁿ] ɲà kée—
 (false start)—
 [hú mǎⁿ] ɲà bá-rá [kéémíná-ámá pà],
 [thing Rel] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [old-Abstr Comit],
 ‘(Concerning) what emerges (=occurs) among the old people.’

boat building

Moussa (M) interviewing Mama Napo (N)

(16:14) M á [sááwù ñùnù] íím bá gà [[*histoire* bààtiyám] pà], *bon*
ah, [now Top] 1Pl exit.Pfv Pfv [[history vicinity] Comit], well
íím bé gà [[[kííⁿ-mèèní fè-ém] bààtiyám] pà],
1Pl come.Pfv Pfv [[[skiff-build.VblN share(n)-DefSg] vicinity] Comit],
'Ah, at this point we have left (=are moving on from) the general area of history. We
have come to the turn of the general area of boat-building.'

[*here 'skiff' denotes a boat (French pirogue) similar to a gondola or large canoe,
propelled with poles (in shallow water) or paddles*]

(16:18) M kíín dàà, áá gà kííⁿ mèèní [mùwó báànà síífà síí]-yè,
skiff QTop, 2Pl Ipfv skiff make.Ipfv [which? manner kind any]-Loc,
[kíín dàá] mèèní ñà— [mùwó báànà síífà síí]-yè,
[skiff QTop] be.made.Pfv Pfv— [which? manner kind any]-Loc,
'As for a skiff, in what way do you-Pl build a skiff? As for a skiff, it was made in what
way?'

(16:24) M bé kííⁿyè [sááwú pà]— dèpí lówáré, kííⁿ-yè
Seq arrive.Pfv [now Comit]—, since old.days, skiff-Pl
bé kííⁿyè [sááwú pà],
Seq arrive.PPfv [now Comit],
'Down to nowadays— (Ever) since the old days, skiffs, down to nowadays.'
[*French depuis*]

(16:28) N áá gé= è mèèní [mùwó báànà síífà síí]-yè,
2Pl Ipfv 3Pl make.Ipfv [which? manner kind any]-Loc,
[kíín jáátì] báné gà dííyáá-yí [mùwó báànà síí]-yè,
[skiff precise] be.born.Pfv Pfv world-Loc [which? manner any],
'In what way do you-Pl make them? How did a real skiff first come into being in the
world?'

(16:32) N á, áⁿ sò gá= [à ní] [[gíyéⁿ mèéⁿ] nìⁿ]
 ah, 2Sg go.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Inst] [[place Rel] inside]
 nóⁿ nà [mòrì-yé òyè̀mù] nì,
 Dem.Def be [holy.man-Pl talk.VblN] it.is,
 ‘Ah. The place (=subject) into which you-Sg have taken it (the conversation), that is
 holy men’s talk.’
[i.e. that is for religious scholars to talk about]

(16:38) N áⁿ ná= à fàámùⁿ nà rà,
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
 bàrì íⁿ ná= à m̀yè̀ gà, [nàbíí nùhùⁿ wò] pà,
 because 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv, [prophet Noah Foc] Comit,
 ‘Did you understand it? Because we heard it from the Prophet Noah,’

(16:42) N kííⁿ-ìⁿ ò s̀ntìⁿ nà [nó-ò pà],
 skiff-DefSg 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def-Focus Comit]
bon [kííⁿ-ìⁿ làà] ò s̀ntìⁿ nà [[nàbíí nùhùⁿ] pà],
 okay [skiff-DefSg QTop] 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [[Prophet Noah] Comit],
 ‘The skiff began with that one (=Noah). All right, as for the skiff, it began with Prophet
 Noah,’

(16:46) N bé bé k̀yèⁿ [wàý pà]
 Seq come.Pfv arrive.Pfv [today Comit]
 [[kííⁿ ǹǹǹ] dá] t̀ r̀ǹ b̀ỳ,
 [[skiff Top] custom] PfvNeg 3ReflSg leave.Pfv,
 ‘And all the way down to today, that practice hasn’t been given up.’
[cf. dáb̀ỳ (§9.3.3)]

(16:50) N óòⁿ, [k̀éééⁿ-m̀yè̀-fá wò] nì, [s̀orògò ǹǹǹ] pà
 ah, [welfare-seek.VblN-thing Foc] it.is, [Bozo Top] Comit,
 hàrì t̀ǹǹk̀ùb̀,
 since ancient.times,
 ‘Ah, it (=skiff) is an instrument for seeking well-being, among the Bozo. Since ancient
 times,’
[< m̀yè̀ verbal noun of màà/màá ‘seek’ (§4.2.1.2)]

(16:55) N [kíⁿ ɲùnù] à ná kìⁿyè [gíⁿyé màⁿ sááⁿ]-y,
 [skiff Top] 3Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pf [place Rel all]-Loc,
 [kíⁿ ɲà [kééréⁿ-míyé-fá wò] nì]
 [skiff be [welfare-seek.VblN-thing Foc] it.is]
 ‘A skiff, wherever it has arrived, a skiff is an instrument for seeking well-being.’

(16:58) N [bàràjì-mìyè-fà píyé] nì, áⁿ ná= à kóṅḍò
 [blessing-seek.VblN-thing too] it.is, 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg assemble.Pfv
 áⁿ ɲá= à té-né [siyé ràà]
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg park(boat)-Ipfv [creek at.edge]
 ‘It’s an instrument for being blessed (=successful) too. When you have assembled it,
 you park (=land) it on the riverside (=beach).’
 [kóṅḍò/kóṅḍò-nò ‘construct, assemble (by nailing together)’; siyé ràà (§8.2.5.5)]

(17:03) N [mǎⁿ nà bé] [ā gà dó-rá= á-y],
 [Rel if.Pfv come.Pfv] [3Sg Ipfv enter-Ipfv 3Sg-Loc],
 à gá sò [m mǎgò] mǎèèni,
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Ref1Sg need(n)] make.Pfv,
 ‘One who comes, he/she will get in it (=skiff), he/she will go and do his/her need
 (=job).’
 [motion verb (‘go’) plus perfective VP (§15.1.2)]

(17:06) N [ā gà byá= [à téⁿ],
 [3Sg Ipfv come.Pfv [3Sg park(boat).Pfv],
 [à tá jùrúmù kiyé-ná= [ám pà] kóy,
 [3Sg IpfvNeg being.cursed pass-Caus.Ipfv [2Sg Comit] Emph,
 ‘Then he/she will park (=land) it on the riverside. He/She certainly won’t bring any
 harm to you.’
 [< kiyé-ní]

(17:09) N ā gà [kééréⁿ wò] kiyé-ná= [ám pà],
 3Sg Ipfv [welfare Foc] pass-Caus.Ipfv [2Sg Comit],
 kíⁿ-yàwⁿ, áⁿ nà wálèṅ kiláwⁿ,
 skiff-DefSg, 2Sg if.Pfv money get.Ipfv,
 ‘He/She will bring well-being on you-Sg. The skiff, it earns money.’

(17:13) N [áɲ jáátì wò] gá sò [[áɲ jùgù-yéⁿ] sàⁿ]
 [2Sg exactly Foc] Ipfv go.Ipfv [[2Sg wood-DefSg] buy.Pfv]
 áⁿ ɲà bí-yá= [à dó] [kííɲ-káyⁿ-yé-ěⁿ nà],
 2Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [3Sg give.Pfv] [skiff-work.VblN-Agent-DefSg Dat],
 ‘It’s you yourself [focus] who goes and buys your-Sg wood, (and) you-Sg come and
 give it to the boat-builder.’

(17:17) N áⁿ nà byá= [à dó] [è nà], bon,
 2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg give.Pfv] [3Pl Dat], okay,
 [à ɲ káⁿ [à ná [tìgé mà-réé] sàⁿ]]
 [3Sg 3ReflSg must [3Sg Sbjn [gear Rel-Pl] buy.Pfv]]
 ‘When you-Sg have come and given it to them, well, the materials that he should buy,’
 [káⁿ (§15.2.14); relativization from a subordinated subjunctive clause (§14.4.6)]

(17:20) N áⁿ ɲá= à sé-rá= [à tètè]
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]
 ā nà [kú-nù tìgé-yé] sàⁿ,
 3Sg Sbjn [Dem-Link gear-Pl] buy.Pfv,
 ‘You-Sg tell him to buy those materials.’ (< tìgètè)

(17:23) N [ā nà bé [tìgé-yèt ní]]
 [3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [gear-Pl Inst]]
 [áⁿ ɲá kííⁿ-yèt káyⁿ],
 [2Sg Ipfv skiff-DefSg work(v).Ipfv],
 ‘When he has brought the materials, you-Sg work (=make) the skiff.’

(17:25) N [áⁿ ɲá= à tá-nì] [áⁿ ɲá= à káyⁿ]
 [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg stand-Caus.Ipfv] [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]
 M [fá sá [[ám bààdégè-én] dáá]
 [thing add.Pfv [[2Sg sound-DefSg] loudness]]
 N: ‘You raise it up, (and) you work it.’
 M: ‘Speak a bit louder!’
 [for dáá see ráá ~ láá (§8.2.5.5)]

(17:30) N (in Bambara:) [dúrumà dè] bé [n ná]
 [snot Foc] be [1Sg Comit]

M áⁿ ñà [sórógà-àmá wò] sé-ré,
 2Sg Ipfv [Bozo-Abstr Foc] say-Ipfv,
 N [in Bambara]: ‘I have snot (=stuffy nose).’

M: ‘You-Sg are (supposed to be) speaking Bozo.’

[dúrumà (Bambara) = J-S of Djenné múra or bömbòⁿ ‘snot (in nose)’]

(17:36) M fá-líyáⁿ sá= [[ám bààdéǵè-èn] dáá] déy,
 a.little add.Pfv [[2Sg sound-DefSg] loudness] Emph,
 [án òyèmù-kó-òn] dáá, ñ ñá= ā—
 [2Sg speak.VblN-sound-DefSg] loudness, (hesitation)—
 ‘Speak a little louder there! Your speaking volume.’

[some overlap here as several people speak; déy (§19.4.1.5)]

(17:39) N ñ ñá= à mìyé kóy, ñ ñá [ñ fáⁿ-yàwⁿ],
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg hear.Ipfv Emph, 1Sg Ipfv [1Sg share(n)-DefSg],

ñ ñá= à sé-ré [sórógà-àmá wì]-ỵ,
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [Bozo-Abstr Foc]-Loc,

‘I certainly hear it (=what you say). I will speak my turn in Bozo [focus].’

[clause restarted after heavy object ‘my share’, smoothed out in free translation; fáⁿ
 ‘(sb’s) share(n), portion, turn’, here in the 1Sg possessor form; < wò ~ wù plus -ỵ]

(17:44) N (in Bambara) à té sunǵǵ, á bá= à méⁿ
 3Sg IpfvNeg sleep(v), 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg hear
 ʃⁿhðⁿ, [nó-òⁿ wáátì-y-è] [kíⁿ-yěⁿ sèbè nǵǵⁿ-yàwⁿ],
 uh.huh, [Dem.Def-Foc time-DefSg-Loc] [skiff-DefSg issue form-DefSg],

N [in Bambara, to someone else]: ‘He isn’t asleep, he hears it. [resuming the
 conversation:] Uh-huh, at this time, concerning the skiff (construction),’

(17:50) N à tá síní [ñ sé-ré [[bé dúwǵⁿ wò]],
 3Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [3ReflSg say-Ipfv [[Seq finish.Pfv] Foc]],
 rímàà [à nàf̣iyè-èn] tá síní
 whether [3Sg value-DefSg] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv

[ñ sé-ré [bé dúwǵⁿ]],
 [3ReflSg say-Ipfv [Seq finish.Pfv]],

‘It can’t be totally [focus] said (=listed). That is, its value (=benefits) cannot be totally
 said.’

[rímàà (§13.2.1.5)]

(17:54) N [ā b̀òróⁿ] yá= [à mìyé-gù],
 [3Sg big] and [3Sg small-Adj],
 à tá síní [ǰ sé-ré [bé dúwóⁿ]],
 3Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [3ReflSg say-Ipfv [Seq finish.Pfv],
 ‘Big (ones) and small (ones) of it, it (=they) can’t be totally said.’
 [yè ‘and’ (§7.1.2)]

(17:58) N áⁿ ná= à f̀áámùⁿ ̀nà rà,
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
 hàrì [ííⁿ ̀nùnù] kírì gà [bé à kày]
 since [1Sg Top] get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv]
 ‘Did you-Sg understand it? Ever since we (=old generation) arose (as children) to see
 it,’
 [‘since’ clause (§17.2.3)]

(18:00) N [ííⁿ ̀númà-réé-mé] gá= à káyⁿ [̀nó-nì báàná wàà]-ỳ,
 [1Pl people] Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc,
 [íím píyé] gá= à káyⁿ [̀nó-nì báàná wàà]-ỳ,
 [1Pl too] Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc,
 ‘That [focus] is how our people have been working (=building) it (=skiff), (and) that
 [focus] is how we too work it.’

(18:05) N [íín t̀ùmó-yè píyé] gá= bí-yé
 [1Pl grandchild-Pl too] Ipfv come-Ipfv
 [à káyⁿ [̀nó-nì báàná wàà]-ỳ],
 [3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc],
 ‘That [focus] is how our grandchildren too will come and work it.’

(18:07) N háyà [b̀ùwó t̀ànàà] tá [[ǰ ̀núnú] pà] [̀nón kwàtíyè]
 well [Recip other] not.be.Loc [[1Sg Top] Comit] [Dem.Def behind]
 áⁿ ná= à f̀áámùⁿ ̀nà rà,
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
 ‘Well, I don’t have any more (to add) after that. Did you-Sg understand it?’

what kind of trees for boat-building?

(18:14) M ɔ̀n̄, ḱín dàà, áⁿ nà ḱín—
 ah, skiff QTop, (false start)—
 ē nà ḱín-wàsà-yé sàm [bé bá= [à ní]],
 3Pl if.Pfv skiff-plank-Pl buy.Pfv [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],
 ‘Ah, as for a skiff, when they have bought the wooden planks and brought it (=them),’
 [wàsà ‘plank’; < sàⁿ]

(18:19) M ḱín nà ń kóᅇ̀-̀nò [mùwó kóᅇ̀-̀bàà̀nà síí]-̀ỳ,
 skiff Ipfv 3ReflSg assemble-Ipfv [which assemble.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
 yàrà, ḱín-yàwⁿ, [à júgú-yé lùwó] gá= [èè tó] rà,
 whether, skiff-DefSg, [3Sg tree-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Loc [3ReflPl place] Q,
 ‘In what way is a skiff assembled (=built)? (I wonder) whether the skiff, its trees
 (=wood types) are apart (=special)?’

(18:24) M *ou bien* [júgú-yè sááⁿ] n̄= éé tíí-nì
 or else [tree-Pl all] Ipfv 3ReflPl do-Ipfv
 [bá= à kóᅇ̀],
 [Seq 3Sg nail(v).Pfv],
 ‘Or are all trees (=any kind of wood) used to assemble it?’

(18:28) M yàrà [ḱín-níyéⁿ míyè-gù]
 whether [skiff-Dimin small-Adj]
 áá gé= è kóᅇ̀-̀nò [[dóó mèêⁿ] ní],
 2Pl Ipfv 3Pl nail-Ipfv [[amount Rel] Inst],
 ‘(I wonder) whether a little skiff, for the (same) amount (=cost) for which you-Pl nail
 it together (=assemble it),’

(18:31) M áá gà [ḱím bóróⁿ-yè píyé] kóᅇ̀-̀nò
 2Pl Ipfv [skiff big-Pl too] nail-Ipfv
 [[jó-̀n̄ dóó wà] níⁿ] nà, wàrà̀mà
 [[Dem-Link amount Foc] Inst] Q, or
 ‘Do you-Pl assemble (=build) a large skiff too for that (same) amount? Or?’

(18:33) N á, íⁿ nà dó sò [[jó-nì gíyéⁿ nìⁿ],
 ah, 1Pl if.Pfv enter.Pfv go.Ipfv [[Dem.Def-Link place] inside]
 è tá kóḡḡ-nò [[dóó ḡ-kóòⁿ] ní],
 3Pl IpfvNeg be.assembled-Ipfv [[amount Link-one] Inst],
 ‘Ah, if we go into that situation, they (=skiffs of different sizes) are not assembled for
 the same cost.’

[Pfv ‘enter’ plus Ipfv ‘go’ (§15.1.1.5)]

(18:38) N [júgú-yèḡ píyé sááⁿ] ḡá síní fḡ-rá= [à ní],
 [tree-DefSg too all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
 fḡ màḡḡ-mèèḡ-jùgú-yè,
 until need-make-tree-Pl,
 ‘Any tree can turn into it (=skiff), except one that is needed (for medicine).’

(18:43) N hàrì mèèⁿ ḡày kú-nì táá-nà báráⁿsááⁿ-yàwⁿ,
 even Rel Prsntv Dem-Link stand-Pl balanzan-DefSg,
 [è sááⁿ] ḡá síní fḡ-rá= [à ní],
 [3Pl all] Ipfv be.able become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
 ‘Even that which is here (=pointing), that standing balanzan (tree) here. They (=trees)
 can all turn into it (=a skiff). They can all turn into it (=skiff).

[presentative (§4.4.4)]

(18:45) N [yòò-kàà-yóó mà-réé] ḡày ná= à ná fḡ [pésé ní]
 [neem Rel-Pl] Prsntv if 3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [split.VblN Inst]
 [è sááⁿ] ḡá sì-ní fḡ-rá= [à ní],
 [3Pl all] Ipfv be.able become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],

‘The neem trees right here. If it (=trunk) is split, they all (=any tree) can turn into it.’

[neem tree, *Azadirachta indica*, now planted in towns everywhere in Mali]

(18:48) N áⁿ ḡá= à fâámùⁿ ḡà rà, júgú tá yòⁿ
 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q, tree not.be.Loc there.Def
 m̀m̀àà [júgú màḡ] tá síní fḡ-rá= [à ní],
 whether [tree Rel] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
 ‘Did you-Sg understand it? There is no tree (species), that is, any tree that cannot turn
 into it.’

(18:51) N kàrá= áⁿ ná= à sé
 must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv
 [án tá kú yàá [à ní],
 [2Sg IpfvNeg Dem put.Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
 ‘You-Sg must say (=decide) that you won’t transform that (tree) into it (skiff).’
[i.e. you may personally prefer not to use a certain tree; kàrá (§17.4.7.3)]

(18:54) N à ná fḁ [[wásà ḡùnù] ní] sááⁿ,
 3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [[plank Top] Inst] all,
 à gá síní ḡ káyⁿ
 3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3ReflSg work.Ipfv,
 ‘If it has turned into wooden planks, it can be worked.’
[final sááⁿ in conditional antecedents (§16.1.2)]

(18:57) N [kííḡ-káyⁿ-yé-è gá síná= à mèèní,
 [skiff-work.VblN-Agent-Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg make.Ipfv,
 [ā mỳyé-gù-ùⁿ] sáná= [à bòró-òn]
 [3Sg small-Adj-DefSg] and [3Sg big-DefSg]
 tá [sòḡḡ ḡ-kóò] nì dé?,
 not.be [price Link-one] it.is Emph,
 ‘The boat-builders can build it. A small one and a big one are not the same price!’
[‘one’ = ‘the same’ (§4.6.1.1)]

(19:01) Djiguiba (in Bambara): é yèrè, ðkòrò-bá, é tógó
 2Sg exactly, old.man, 2Sg name
 N (in Bambara): [ń tógó] yè mààmà
 [1Sg name] be M
 Djiguiba (in Bambara): mààmà, mààmà bózó ou bien mààmà
 Mama, Mama Bozo or M
 N: màámà nààpùwò
 Mama N

Djiguiba: ‘You, old man, (what is) your name?’

N: ‘Mama.’

Djiguiba: ‘Mama. (Is that) Mama Bozo, or (just) Mama?’

N: ‘Mama Napo.’

(19:08) Djiguiba (in Bambara): *nààpòò, é té kòmótò yè dé,*
 N, 2Sg not.be K be Emph

N: mhm
 uh.huh

Djiguiba (in Bambara): *é yé nààpóó dé,*
 2Sg be N Emph,

[unintelligible]

Djiguiba (in Bambara): *sí-sàⁿ á ká kúmà*
 2Sg be N Emph,

Djiguiba: ‘Napo. (So) you are not (a) Komoto?’

M: Uh-huh

Djiguiba: ‘You are (a) Napo.’

[unintelligible]

Djiguiba: ‘He may speak now.’

[Project manager Djiguiba, not a Bozo, was holding the microphone throughout the recording]

(19:17) M *án-dùwó túbé*
 2Sg-Indep name

D *ndírìsà, kòmótò*
 D, K

Djiguiba: *dirísà kòmótò*
 D K

M: ‘Your name?’

D: ‘Drisa Komoto.’

Djiguiba: ‘Drisa Komoto.’

(19:26) M *bon, [sááwù ñùnù] íⁿ ñà bá = [ám píyé] tíyé*
 okay, [now Top] 1Pl Ipfv Fut [2Sg too] ask.Pfv

[kííñ-káyⁿ-yⁿ ní],
[skiff-work(n)-DefSg Inst],

[ám píyé] gà [kííñ-káyⁿ-yá]-wááné nì,
[2Sg too] be [skiff-work(n)-Agent]-master it.is,

‘Okay, now we will ask you-Sg too about skiff-building. You-Sg too are a master boat-builder.’

- (19:32) M *donc*, áá gà júgú mà-lé-méé tíí-nì,
 so, 2Pl Ipfv tree Rel-Pl-Pl do-Ipfv,
 [bé kííη kóηð],
 [Seq skiff assemble.Pfv],
 ‘So, the trees that you-Pl use, to build a skiff.’
- (19:35) M áá yè [[júgú-ùⁿ síífè-èⁿ sááⁿ] ηá sìní
 2Pl said [[tree-DefSg kind-DefSg all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv
 [bé kííⁿ kóηð]],
 [Seq skiff assemble.Pfv],
 ‘You-Pl have said that any kind of tree (=wood) can assemble (=make up) a skiff.’
- (19:38) M *mais*, [[η ηúnù] pà] júgú-yè, gà júgú-yè,
 but, [[1Sg Top] Comit] tree-Pl, be.Loc tree-Loc,
 áⁿ nà kííη kóηð [nú-méé ní]
 2Sg if.Pfv skiff assemble.Pfv [Dem.Def-Pl Inst]
 ‘But, as far as I am concerned, trees are trees (that), if you have assembled (a skiff)
 with those (woods),’
- (19:43) M è tá wíí kiláⁿ mánáá-tííⁿ-yⁿ,
 3Pl IpfvNeg long.life get.Ipfv well(adv),
 áⁿ ηà bí-yé kásà-má = [à tè]
 2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 ‘They (=skiffs) don’t last very long. You may come and happen to find (that ...)’
 [*< wíí*]
- (19:45) M [[kémbèrè píyé] gà yôⁿ]
 [[certain.ones too] be.Loc there.Def]
 [è gá wíí kiláwⁿ,
 [3Pl Ipfv long.life get.Ipfv,
 ‘... there are some others (=tree species), (and) they last a long time.’
- (19:47) M jóⁿ ηá [mùwó júgú-síífà-síí yè síífà-síí lùwó] nì
 Dem.Def Ipfv [which? tree-kind-any and kind-any Foc.Pl] it.is
 D [júgú-síífá mèèⁿ] í káⁿ— [íím pà] bôⁿ,
 [tree-kind Rel] 3ReflSg should— [1Pl Comit] here,
 M: ‘That is (=means) which kinds of tree?’
 D: ‘The kind of tree that should— among us here.’
 [*yè ‘and’; ‘kinds’ iterated to emphasize multiplicity or distributivity*]

(19:53) D wùwó-yàwⁿ, gwéré-yàwⁿ, kòó-yàwⁿ, sìⁿyé-yàwⁿ,
Khaya-DefSg, tree.sp.-DefSg, *Vitellaria*-DefSg, *Pterocarpus*-DefSg,
 kú-yè— kú-yé gà júgú-[táfàrì-nà] nì
 (hesitation)— Dem-Pl be tree-[become.good-Ppl] it.is
 ‘*Khaya* (caillécédrat), gwéré tree, *Vitellaria* (karité), *Pterocarpus*. Those are the good trees.’

[*these are large trees: Khaya senegalensis (a kind of mahogany), Vitellaria paradoxa (shea tree), Pterocarpus erinaceus; gwéré (unidentified) is now locally extinct*]

(20:00) D rímàà nú-méé gá fḍ-rò— rǰkàà [ándámá-díyḗⁿ làà]
 whether Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv become-Ipfv— but [Adam-child QTop]
 [sú màⁿ] ná fḍ [[áⁿ hìnḗ-ḗⁿ] ní]
 [thing Rel] if.Pfv become.Pfv [[2Sg ability-DefSg] Inst]
 ‘That is, those turn into (skiffs)—. But a human being (=you), what comes to be in your means (=what you can afford),’

(20:03) D áⁿ ñá wàá sà-nà bí-yé,
 2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def.Foc buy-Ipfv come-Ipfv,
 [áṅ káyⁿ] ñà bí-yé [ń tîⁿ [à ní]],
 [2Sg work(n)] Ipfv come-Ipfv [3ReflSg do.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],
 ‘That (wood) [focus] is what you-Sg buy and bring. Your job will come and be done with it (=the chosen wood).’

[*wàá dialectal for discourse-definite nó-ò ~ nó-gò ‘that (focus)’ (§13.1.1); ‘come’ plus perfective VP (§15.1.2)*]

(20:06) D ná= áⁿ ná sìní [bé à kúⁿ]
 if 2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Ipfv [Seq 3Sg catch.Pfv]
 [áⁿ nà [hágè-liyáⁿ mḗḗn] tîⁿ [áⁿ sí-ìⁿ]-yⁿ]
 [2Sg if.Pfv [extent-Dimin Rel] do.Pfv [2Sg hand-DefSg]-Loc]
 ‘If you-Sg are able to take good care of it, if the short period (of time) that you spend with it in your hand(s),’
 [*< súú ‘hand’*]

(20:08) D nóⁿ ñà bí-yé kàsà-má= [à tḗ]
 Dem.Def Ipfv come-Ipfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
 [áⁿ màgó] màṅá gà,
 [2Sg need(n)] become.good.Pfv Pfv,
 ‘That will come and find that your-Sg need has been well satisfied.’

- (20:10) D siyè-tànàà áⁿ ñá bùwó sà-nà
 day-other 2Sg Ipfv mate buy-Ipfv
 ‘Some time later you-Sg will buy a replacement (skiff).’
 [bùwò ‘agemate; double, substitute’]
- (20:14) M á *donc*, [áá gà [kíím bórón] kóṅḍ-nò]
 ah so, [2Pl Ipfv [skiff big] assemble-Ipfv]
 [áá gà [kíím míyè-gù] kóṅḍ-nò],
 [2Pl Ipfv [skiff small-Adj] assemble-Ipfv],
 ‘So, you-Pl assemble big skiff(s) and you-Pl assemble small skiff(s).’
- (20:17) M yàrà [mùwó *différence* síí] gà
 whether [which? difference any] be.Loc
 [[[kíím bórón] yè [kííⁿ-níyéⁿ míyè-gù] nàáⁿ wò]
 [[[skiff big] and [skiff-Dimin small-Adj] between] Foc]
 ‘What difference is there between a big skiff and a little skiff?’
- (20:22) D [*différence* mà-réé] gé= [è nàáⁿ],
 [difference Rel-Pl] be.Loc [3Pl between],
 [à sááⁿ] yè [ń hágè] nì
 [3Sg all] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is,
 ‘The differences that there are between them, each one has its (respective) capacity.’
 [‘X with its ...’ with yè (§7.1.5)]
- (20:26) D [[[kíím bórón] sání [ń hágè] nì]
 [[skiff big] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is],
 [[kííⁿ míyè-gù] sání [ń hágè] nì]
 [[skiff small-Adj] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is],
 ‘A big skiff has its capacity (and) a little skiff has its capacity.’
 [‘X with its ...’ with sání replacing yè (preceding segment)]
- (20:28) D [[à sáán] tà-wúwòⁿ wú] gà yáwⁿ,
 [[3Sg all] stand.VblN-place Foc] be.Loc there.Def,
 áⁿ ñá= [à bóró-òṅ] káyⁿ [mèén tè] [mèéⁿ ní],
 2Sg Ipfv [3Sg big-DefSg] work(v).Ipfv [Rel Dat] [Rel Inst],
 ‘There is the position (=role) of each of them. If you-Sg build a big one for someone
 for some (price),’
 [double-headed relative with postpositional complements (§14.1.2, §14.4.4)]

(20:32) D áⁿ ɲá = à káyⁿ [ɲóⁿ ní],
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Inst],
 mìyé-gù-éⁿ ɲà káyⁿ [mèén tè] [mèéⁿ ní],
 small-Adj-DefSg Ipfv be.worked.Ipfv [Rel Dat] [Rel Inst],
 ‘... you-Sg build it (=skiff) for that (price). If a small one is built for someone for some (price),’

(20:34) D áⁿ ɲá = à káyⁿ [ɲóⁿ ní],
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Inst],
 [[jòɲò-nàɲ]-káyⁿ] ɲà yáwⁿ, [tànàà káyⁿ] ɲà yáwⁿ,
 [[kin]-work(n)] be.Loc there.Def, [other work(n)] be.Loc there.Def,
 ‘...you-Sg build it (=skiff) for that (price). There is work for kinsmen, and there is work for others.’

nails for skiff building

(20:40) M áà [kíɲ jáátì-yàwⁿ]
 ah [skiff exactly-DefSg]
 áá gá = à kóɲò-nò [[mùwó fá síí ní],
 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [[what? thing any] Inst],
 áá gá = à kóɲò-nò [[póóntì wú níⁿ] nà,
 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [[nail Foc] Inst] Q.
 ‘Ah, the skiff itself, what do you-Pl assemble it with? Do you-Pl assemble it with nails?’

[< French pointe]

(20:45) M *ou bien* áá gá = à kóɲò-nò [fá-síí fá tànàà-yé dùwò] ní]
 or 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [thing-kind other-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst]
 D [póóntì-yàm píyé], kíɲ-káyⁿ-yá ɲùnù,
 [nail(n)-DefSg too], skiff-work.VblN-Agent Top,
 M: ‘Or do you-Pl assemble it with other kinds of thing [focus]?’
 D: ‘Nail(s) too, as for the boat-builder,’

(20:51) D [màⁿ ná káyⁿ [[hú màⁿ] ní]
 [Rel if.Pfv work.Pfv [[thing Rel] Inst]
 [áⁿ ɲà káyⁿ [wàà ní]],
 [2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]],
 ‘Whatever (materials) anyone (=you-Sg) has worked with, that [focus] is what you will work with.’
 [*< mǎⁿ nà with tone shifted; wàà dialectal for discourse-definite ɲó-ò ‘that (focus)’ as @ 20:03*]

(20:54) D [áⁿ ná= à fùwòⁿ] [áⁿ ɲà káyⁿ [kííɲ-kóɲó-míyáⁿ ní]],
 [2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg like.Pfv] [2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [skiff-assemble-iron Inst]],
 [áⁿ ná= à fùwòⁿ] [áⁿ ɲà káyⁿ [póóntì ní]],
 [2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg like.Pfv] [2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [nail Inst]
 ‘If you-Sg like (it), you will work with (traditional) iron skiff-building nails. If you-Sg like (it), you will work (=build) with (modern) nails.
 [*kííɲ-kóɲó-míyáⁿ is a nail forged by blacksmiths from melted down gas drums; póóntì (French pointe) is a modern nail purchased in towns*]

(20:57) D [ɲúmú sí] tá káyⁿ [[tàbà ɲ-kóòⁿ] ní] dé?,
 [person any] IpfvNeg work.Ipfv [[foot Link-one] Inst] Emph,
 sááⁿ yè [[ń tàbá wò] nì
 all and [[3ReflSg foot Foc] it.is
 ‘No person works with (=on) one foot. Everyone has his foot (i.e. method).’

(21:03) M á, áⁿ ɲá síní [kííɲ jáátì-yàwⁿ],
 ah, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [skiff exactly-DefSg],
 áⁿ ɲá síní à kóɲò-nò,
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv,
 bé kìⁿyé [[mùwó wáátì] pà],
 Seq arrive.Pfv [[which? time] Comit],
 ‘Ah, how much time does it reach (=take) for you-Sg to be able to assemble a real skiff?’
 [*clause restarted after heavy object NP (smoothed out in free translation)*]

(21:07) M *sìnáá*, *áⁿ* *ɲá* *sìní*→, [*súbá-núún* *jènì*] *tíi-nì*
 otherwise, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv, [week how.many?] do-Ipfv
 [*kííŋ-kóŋò*]-ȳ, [*kíím* *bóróⁿ*]-ȳ
 [skiff-assemble.VblN]-Loc, [skiff big]-Loc
ou bien [*kíí-níyéⁿ*-[*míyè-gù*]-ȳ
 or [skiff-Dimin-[small-Adj]]-Loc
 ‘In other words, you-Sg can do (=spend) how many weeks in building a skiff, in (that of) a big skiff or in (that of) a small skiff?’
 [*sìnáá* < *French sinon*]

(21:12) M *áⁿ* *ɲá* *sìní* [*súbá-núún* *jènì*] *tíi-nà* = *á-ȳ*,
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [week how.many?] do-Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
 D [[*súbá-núún*]-*dóó* *píyé*] *tá* = *á-ȳ*,
 [[week]-count(n) too] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
 M: ‘How many weeks can you-Sg do (=spend) in it?’
 D: ‘There’s no (fixed) number of weeks in it.’

(21:17) D *kéntá-ámá* *gà* *yáwⁿ*, *gòpó* *gà* *yáwⁿ*,
 be.healthy-Abstr be.Loc there.Def, disease be.Loc there.Def,
 [*kùbé-èŋ* *kíyéⁿ*]
 [day-DefSg a.certain]
áⁿ *ɲà* *kííŋ* *káyⁿ* [[*dóó-òŋ* *kíyéⁿ*] *ní*],
 2Sg Ipfv skiff work(v).Ipfv [[count(n)-DefSg a.certain] Inst],
 ‘There is good health and there is sickness. One time you do a certain (skiff) with a certain amount (of progress).’
 [*existential ‘be’* (§11.2.3.1); *the speaker uses ‘a certain day’ to mean ‘a certain occasion’ (lasting multiple days)*]

(21:21) D *án* *tá* *kíⁿyé* [*súbá-núú*]-ȳ,
 2Sg IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [week]-Loc,
 [*kùbé-èŋ* *kíyéⁿ*] *áⁿ* *ɲá* *kíⁿyé* [*kùbù* *cémé-é-kùwóⁿ*]-ȳⁿ,
 [day-DefSg a.certain] 2Sg Ipfv arrive.Ipfv [day fifteen]-Loc,
 ‘You-Sg don’t take (even) a week. Another time, you-Sg take fifteen days.’

(21:24) D *áⁿ* *ɲà* [[*kííⁿ* *ɲ-kóòm*] *pà*], [*kíyéⁿ* *ɲà* *yáwⁿ*]
 2Sg be.Loc [[skiff Link-one] Comit], [a.certain be.Loc there.Def]
 [*hàri* *áⁿ* *ɲà* [*kóó* *ɲ-kóòⁿ*] *tíi-nì* [[*kííⁿ-yèⁿ* *kíyém*] *pà*]
 [even 2Sg Ipfv [month Link-one] do-Ipfv [[skiff-DefSg a.certain] Comit]
 ‘... (while) you-Sg are with one skiff. There are some (times), you-Sg spend even a month with the particular skiff.’

boat races

(21:29) M áà, yàrà áá gà [nó-nì kíⁿ mà-ré-méé] káyⁿ,
 ah, whether 2Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link skiff Rel-Pl-Pl] work(v).Ipfv,
 yàrà [[sùyèŋ-kwèrè]-kìⁿ ɲá [è nàáⁿ] là]
 whether [[propel.VblN-hit.Antip.VblN]-skiff be.Loc [3Pl between] Q]
 ‘Ah, (I wonder) whether those skiffs that you-Pl build, whether the racing skiff is
 among them?’

[cf. (i) yè sùyèŋ-kwèrè gà ‘they boat-raced, they raced boats’]

(21:34) M *ou bien* [sùyèŋ-kwèrè-kìⁿ tá yôⁿ]
 or [propel.VblN-hit.VblN-skiff not.be.Loc there.Def]
 ‘Or is there no racing skiff?’

(21:37) D [màⁿ ná= à sé]
 [Rel if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv]
 [[í fàⁿ] ná fò [[hú màⁿ] ní],
 [[LogoSg share(n)] if.Pfv become.Pfv [[thing Rel] Inst],
 ‘If whoever (=the buyer) says “mine must become whatever,” ’
 [double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

(21:39) D áⁿ ɲà ɲóⁿ yàá [ɲó-òⁿ ní]
 2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def put.Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]
 kiyéⁿ ɲá= à sé-ré tíⁿyé-kíⁿ,
 a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv carry.on.head-skiff,
 ‘That [focus] is what you-Sg (=the boatmaker) put (=do with) that. Someone says
 (=orders) a cargo skiff.’

(21:42) D kiyéⁿ ɲá= à sé-ré jááⁿ-múndé-kíⁿ,
 a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv fishhook-check.VblN-skiff,
 kiyéⁿ ɲá= à sé-ré
 a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv
 [[í fàⁿ] mòtééri gà bé dwá= á-y],
 [[LogoSg share(n)] motor Ipfv Fut enter.Pfv 3Sg-Loc],
 ‘Someone (else) says, a skiff for checking fishhook traps. Someone (else) says, “a
 motor will go into mine.” ’

[cf. jááⁿ mùndé ‘check a fishhook trap (to see what it has caught)’]

- (21:47) D [mǎⁿ nà [hú màⁿ] sé]
 [Rel if.Pfv [thing Rel] say.Pfv]
 [[áⁿ fàⁿ] ɲá fò-ró [wàà ní]],
 [2Sg share(n)] Ipfv become-Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]],
 ‘Whatever someone (=you) says (=orders), that [focus] is what yours will become.’
[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]
- (21:51) M àà [ɲó-nì jááⁿ-múndé-kíⁿ-yè]
 ah [Dem.Def-Link fishhook-check.VblN-skiff-Pl]
 sání [ɲó-nì [súyéɲ-kwéré]-kíⁿ-yè],
 and [Dem.Def-Link [propel.VblN-hit.Antip.VblN]-skiff-Pl]
 ‘Ah, those skiffs for checking fishhook traps and those racing skiffs,’
[< sùyéɲ-kwéré-kìⁿ, cf. verb sùyéɲ-kwéré(-lè) ‘race boats’]
- (21:54) M [yára mènèni-bààná— [[è sááⁿ] mènèni-bààná-yé] gà kòòⁿ ní nà]
 [whether (hesitation)— [[3Pl all] fix.VblN-manner-Pl] be one it.is Q]
 ńtáà è mènèni-bààná-yé gá bùwó bày fá-líyáwⁿ
 or 3Pl fix.VblN-manner-Pl Ipfv Recip leave.Ipfv a.little
 ‘(I wonder) whether the ways of making both of them are the same, or whether they
 diverge a little.’
*[yára ... ńtáà ‘whether ... or ...’ (§13.2.1.4, §13.2.1.8); ‘leave each other’ = ‘diverge,
 be different’]*
- (21:59) D [ē mènèni-bààná-yé] gá bùwó bày,
 [3Pl fix.VblN-manner-Pl] Ipfv Recip leave.Ipfv,
 ‘The ways of making them do diverge.’
- (22:02) D [[kíⁿ-níyéⁿ míyè-gú-ùⁿ] sání [ɲ káyⁿ-bàáná wù] nì]
 [[skiff-Dimin small-Adj-DefSg] and [3ReflSg build-manner Foc] it.is]
 [[kí^m bóróⁿ-òⁿ] sání [ɲ káyⁿ-bàáná wù] nì],
 [[skiff big-DefSg] and [3ReflSg build-manner Foc] it.is],
 ‘A little skiff has its manner of being built, (and) a big skiff has its manner of being
 built.’
- (22:05) M àà, ókè ní ná= à fàámùⁿ ɲà
 ah, okay 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv
 [unintelligible background chatter]
 ‘Ah, okay, I have understood it.’

marriage customs

[not transcribed, begins 22:11]

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Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

Abstr	abstractive nominal
Adj	adjective
Agent	agentive nominal
ATR	advanced tongue root (vowel feature)
Bar	Baratou village (near Djenné)
BCM	bidirectional case marker (§11.1.2.1)
C	consonant (in formulae like CvCv)
Caus	causative
Comit	comitative (‘with X’)
Counterf	counterfactual conditional
Dat	dative postposition
Def	(discourse-)definite
Dem	demonstrative
Dimin	diminutive
DiscFunct	discourse-functional
Emph	emphatic (clause-final particle)
ExpPf	experiential perfect
Foc	focus
Fut	future
H	high (tone)
Hort	hortative
Imprt	imperative
Inch	inchoative (deadjectival verb)
Inst	instrumental postposition
Ipfv	imperfective
Iter	iteration (full reduplication)
L	a) low (tone) b) any sonorant (in formulae like CvL)
Loc	locative
Logo	logophoric
M	mid tone
N	a) noun (in e.g. “N-Adj”) b) nasal consonant (in formulae like CvN)

(n)	noun, in glosses like ‘work (n)’
Neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
Obj	object
Pf	perfect (in ExpPf)
Pfv	perfective
Pl	plural
Poss	possessive, possessor
PP	postpositional phrase
Ppl	participle, in relative clauses
Pron	pronoun
Proh	prohibitive
Prsntv	presentative (‘here’s X!’)
Purp	purposive
Q	question
QTop	interrogative topic (‘what about X?’)
Recip	reciprocal
Refl	reflexive
Rel	relative marker (in relative clause)
S	subject (in e.g. “SOV order”)
Sbj	subject (in e.g. “2PISbj”)
Sbj/Obj	bidirectional case marker
Sbjn	subjunctive
Seq	sequential
Sg	singular
Stat	stative
Tom	Tombona village (near Djenné)
Top	topic
V	a) verb (in e.g. “SOV order”) b) vowel (in names of phonological rules)
v	vowel (in formulae like CvCv)
(v)	verb, in interlinear glosses like ‘fight (v)’
VbIN	verbal noun
VP	verb phrase

Symbols

*	reconstructed
#	ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested

/L/, /LH/, etc.	lexical tone melody of a stem
<HL>, <LH>, <LHL>	contour-toned syllable, e.g. <HL>, <LH>, <LHL>
M.M.H, etc.	syllable-by-syllable tone pattern of a word
→	gradient prolongation of final segment of a word
↗	higher-than modal final pitch
=	clitic boundary
tone diacritics on vowels	
á, etc.	high tone (H)
à, etc.	low tone (L)
ā, etc.	mid tone (M)
â, etc.	falling high-low tone (HL)
ã, etc.	falling mid-low tone (ML)
ǎ, etc.	lexical low-high (LH) or sandhi-induced low-mid (LM) tone

ã, etc.

bell-shaped tone (LML)

Index

1. selected morphemes

notes:

in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;

alphabetization: ε follows e, ɔ follows o, nasals ordered n then ŋ then ŋ ;

atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;

some pronunciation variants due to tone sandhi are shown in parentheses

perfective/imperfective pairings shown as e.g. bày/bàý or bá(-rá)

a

à (á)	3Sg pronominal proclitic, §4.3.1
á =	2Sg pronominal proclitic (denasalized before vowel), see á ⁿ
=à (clause-final)	(see rà)
áá	2Pl pronominal proclitic, §4.3.1
-ama	a) collective suffix on terms for ethnicities, §4.1.3.1 b) deadjectival inchoative suffix, §9.4.4
á ⁿ	2Sg pronominal proclitic, §4.3.1
bá(-rá)	‘exit (verb)’, §3.2.12.2, §10.1.3 in verb-verb combinations, §15.1.1.6 causative bá-rí/bá-rì, §9.1.2 (cf. báá)
báá/báá	‘remove’, §9.1.2
baana	
bààná	‘manner’ compound final, §8.4.3.3, §9.3.1.4, §14.4.4, §15.5.3 head of adverbial manner relative clause, §15.5.3
bàánà	‘only’, §19.3.2.2
bààgù ~ bààngù	‘fast’, §5.2.3
báásè	(see <i>béyásè</i>)
bààtiyám pà	postposition, ‘in the vicinity of’, §8.2.5.3
bari	
bá-rí/bá-rì	‘take out’, §9.1.2 (cf. bá, báá)
bà-rì/bà-rí	‘prevent’, §17.4.8.4
bày/bàý	‘leave’, §15.3.1.2 ‘give up, abandon (doing)’, §15.3.1.2 ‘let, allow’, §17.4.8.3

	bé X bày, ‘while’ clause, §15.4.1 relationship to dábày, §9.3.2
be	
bé/bí-yé	‘come’, §10.1.6.2 syntax, §15.1.1.5, §15.1.2, §15.2.6.1 verbal noun bí-yé, §4.2.1.2
bé	a) sequential sequential VP, §15.2 sequential clause, §15.2.4-5 b) future (gà bé), §10.2.2.2
bé ⁿ /bé-né	‘return’, §10.1.3, §15.1.1.5 ‘do again’, §15.2.6.3
béyàsè, béyàsè (etc.)	‘that’ complementizer, §17.1.4, §17.3.1-4
bô ⁿ	‘here’, §4.4.3.1
bùú-mù ⁿ	postposition ‘below, under’, §8.2.7.5
bùwò	reciprocal, §18.4
buwọy	
bùwó-ỵ	‘together’, §18.4.3
búwóỵ	‘instead of, in the place of’, §8.2.4.5
daa	
dàà	purposive-causal (‘for’) postposition, §8.3.1
dáá	‘mouth’ in some collocations, §9.5.2 (cf. dós, -ráá, -rós)
dáá ⁿ	‘distant’, §6.3.1.1, §8.4.4.2
dábày	‘abandon, give up’, §9.3.2
dàmà	a) ‘only’, §19.3.2.1-2 b) ‘as soon as’, §17.2.2
dé ⁿ	‘be pleasing, be sweet’ stative predicate, §11.4.1.2 syntax, §17.4.6.1
dé?	clause-final admonitive particle, §19.4.1.4
débè(-rè)	‘return’ reflexive clause, §9.2 ‘do again’, §15.2.6.3
déè	currency unit, §4.6.1.6
déy clause-final mild emphatic,	§19.4.1.5
díyéw ⁿ ~ díyáw ⁿ	‘child’, §4.1.2 compounds, §5.1.7.2
dó	a) ‘enter’, §9.3.2 in verb-verb combinations, §15.1.1.6 verbal noun dwéé, §4.2.1.2

	dwéȳ and dwéè-, §9.3.2
	b) ‘give’ (with overt dative recipient), §9.3.3 syntax, §8.1.2.2
	c) ‘wear, put on (garment)’, §8.1.1.3
	d) ‘set (trap)’, §9.2.1
doo	
dóó	‘mouth’, §9.5.2 (see also -róó, dáá, -ráá)
-dóó	forming place nominals, §4.2.1.6
dúwò	‘give’ (dative-dropped), §9.3.3 (cf. dó)
duwo	
-dùwò (-dúwò)	stem for independent pronouns, §4.3.1
dùwò (dùwó)	focus marker after plural noun, §13.1.1’
dúwó ⁿ /dúwò ⁿ	‘finish’ with imperfective VP, §15.1.1.3 ‘already’ (clause-final), §8.4.5.2
e	
è (ē)	3Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
è (é)	variant of yè (see sò)
é	Logo/3RefIPi proclitic, §4.3.1, §18.1
= éé ⁿ	1Pl pronominal proclitic íí ⁿ , in contractions, §4.3.1
-è	(see -y-è)
fa	
fà ~ fwà ~ fò ~ fwò	‘become’ (with noun), §11.2.4.2 with adjective, §9.4.1
fà	‘thing’, §4.1.2, 6, §9.4.1
fá ~ fwá ~ fò	‘must’, §17.4.7.3
fá-líyéw ⁿ	‘a little’, §6.4.2, §8.4.3.1
fà ⁿ	‘(sb’s) share, portion’, §6.2.2.2 (cf. fèé-yàw ⁿ , fùwò)
féw	‘completely’, §19.4.1.3
fè-è ⁿ	(see fèé-yàw ⁿ)
fèé-yàw ⁿ (and variants)	default possessum, §6.2.2.2 (cf. fùwò)
fóy	‘nothing, (not) anything’, §6.3.2.3, §6.6.4
fùwò	in ‘belong to’ construction, §11.5.2 (cf. fèé-yàw ⁿ , fà ⁿ)
fùwò ⁿ /fùwó ⁿ	‘like’ (verb), §11.2.5.2 with complement VP, §15.2.8.2 with complement clause, §17.4.6.4
fò	
fó	‘all the way to; until’, §8.4.5.7, §17.2.3.2, §17.4.2 ‘until’ clauses, §17.2.3.2 (perfective), §17.4.2 (subjunctive)
fò	(see fà)

fǒ-sààli	‘until’ clauses, §17.2.3.2, §17.4.2 (subjunctive)
fwà	(see fà)
ga	
gà (gá)	a) imperfective positive, following the subject, §10.2.2.1 b) ‘be’ (copula or locational), §11.2.2.1, §11.2.3.1 c) perfective positive (following the verb), §10.2.1.1
-ga	deadjectival inchoative verb, §9.4.5
gày (see kày)	
gíyé ⁿ	‘place’, §4.1.2 head of spatial adverbial relative, §15.5.2
gíyé	experiential perfect, §10.2.1.2
-gù	in adjectives with diminutive sense, §4.5.1.2
hàli	a) ‘before ...’ with sequential clause, §15.2.5 b) ‘even’, §19.1.4 ‘even if ...’, §16.2.1 c) ‘since ...’, §17.2.3.1
hàri	variant of hàli
húmàà	(see m̀m̀àà)
í ⁿ	1Pl pronominal proclitic, §4.3.1
jáátì	‘exactly’, §8.4.2, §19.4.1.2
jàté	‘amount’, §12.2.3.1
jèni ⁽ⁿ⁾	‘how much?’, ‘how many?’, §13.2.2.7
kàà ⁿ	postposition, source (of fear), §8.2.8
ká ⁿ	‘should’, §15.2.14
kánàà	postposition, ‘on the torso of’, §8.2.4.2
kàrà	‘must’, §17.4.7.3
kàsà-mà	a) ‘coincide with’, §15.1.1.7 b) ‘become equal’, §12.2.2
kaw ⁿ	
káw ⁿ	postposition ‘at the place of, chez’, §8.2.4.3
ká(w) ⁿ	‘be equal’, §12.2.1
kày ~ kây ~ gày ~ ñày	presentative, §4.4.4.1
kéné	‘in the middle of, amidst’, §8.2.4.6
kè	clause-final emphatic in affirmative answers, §19.4.1.6
kilà(w) ⁿ /kìlá(w) ⁿ	‘finish’ with place-nominal complement, §15.3.3.1
kín ^m	progressive (dialect 1)
kíyé	‘pass, go past’ ‘surpass’ in asymmetrical comparatives, §12.1.1
kíyéw ⁿ	‘thus, like this/that’, §4.4.3.2

kónó/kónò	‘remain’, §11.2.4.1
kòḁ ⁿ	a) ‘one’, §4.6.1.1 b) ‘only, alone, exclusively’, §19.3.2.2
kòní ~ kwàní	clause-initial interrogative particle, in greetings, §13.2.1.2
kòtó pà	postposition, ‘behind’, §8.2.7.4
kòtíyè	postposition, ‘behind’, §8.2.7.4
kú	‘this/that’, mainly deictic, §4.4.2.1
kù-nù ~ kú-nù	‘this/that’ (prenominal), §4.4.2.1, §6.5.1
kùbù	‘sun’ (in collocations), §11.1.1.2
kùbù-ḁḁ	‘sun’, §11.1.1.2
kùmà	postposition ‘on’ or ‘over’, §8.2.7.1
kúmé	(see under <i>kúⁿ/kú-nú</i>)
kú ⁿ /kú-nú	‘catch’ intransitive kúmé/kúmè, §9.3.1.1 verbal noun kúmé, §4.2.1.2
kunu	
kúnú	progressive (dialect 2)
kú-nú	(see <i>kúⁿ/kú-nú</i>)
kú-nù	(see under <i>kú</i>)
kù-nù	(see under <i>kú</i>)
kù ⁿ wà/kù ⁿ wá	‘fear, be afraid’, §8.2.8, §11.2.5.6 with sequential VP (‘fear to VP’), §15.2.9 with indicative clausal complement, §17.3.4 with prohibitive or subjunctive complement, §17.4.5
kwá(-rá)	a) ‘hit’ intransitive kwéré/kwérè, §9.3.1.1 b) ‘help’, §15.2.12
kwàtíyè	(see <i>kòtíyè</i>)
kwéré	(see <i>kwá</i>)
là	(see <i>rà</i>)
laa	
-láà	collective suffix on nouns, §4.1.3.2
làà (láá)	interrogative topic, §19.1.2
láá	‘at (edge of)’, §8.2.5.5
-liyew ⁿ	diminutive, §5.1.7.3-4
luwɔ	
-lùwò	stem for third-person independent pronouns, §4.3.1
lùwò	focus marker after plural noun, §13.1.1
màà/màá	‘seek, want’ with complement VP, §17.4.6.2

mà ⁿ (mà-)	relative marker (singular), §14.1.1
mà ⁿ sáá ⁿ	‘anyone’, §6.6.3
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