A Grammar of Ben Tey (Dogon of Beni)

Dogon language family
Mali

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

July 2015

author’s email
schweinehaxen@hotmail.com

color codes
blue: regular phonemic transcription of Ben Tey forms
green: reconstructions, IPA, underlying, other Malian languages
Contents

1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Dogon languages ............................................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Ben Tey language ......................................................................................................... 1
  1.3 Locations and environment .......................................................................................... 2
  1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Ben Tey ............................................................. 3
      1.4.1 Fieldwork ............................................................................................................. 3
      1.4.2 Audiovisual and internet ...................................................................................... 3
      1.4.3 Acknowledgements ............................................................................................ 4

2 Sketch .................................................................................................................................. 5
  2.1 Prosody .......................................................................................................................... 5
  2.2 Inflectable verbs ........................................................................................................... 6
  2.3 Noun phrase (NP) ......................................................................................................... 7
  2.4 Postposition phrase (PP) ............................................................................................. 7
  2.5 Main clauses and constituent order .............................................................................. 7
  2.6 Relative clauses ........................................................................................................... 8
  2.7 Verb-chaining .............................................................................................................. 9
  2.8 Interclausal syntax ...................................................................................................... 10
  2.9 Quotations ................................................................................................................... 10

3 Phonology .......................................................................................................................... 11
  3.1 General ......................................................................................................................... 11
  3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words ..................................................... 11
      3.2.1 Syllables ............................................................................................................. 11
      3.2.2 Metrical structure ............................................................................................ 11
  3.3 Consonants ................................................................................................................... 12
      3.3.1 Alveopalatals (c, j, n) ......................................................................................... 13
      3.3.2 Voiced velar stop g and g-Spirantization (/g/ → y) ................................................. 13
      3.3.3 Velar nasal (ŋ) .................................................................................................... 13
      3.3.4 Voiceless labials (p, f) ......................................................................................... 13
      3.3.5 Laryngeals (h, ŋ) ............................................................................................. 14
      3.3.6 Sibilants (s, š, z, ź) .......................................................................................... 14
      3.3.7 Nasalized sonorants (rʷ, wʷ, yʷ) ....................................................................... 14
      3.3.8 Consonant clusters ............................................................................................ 15
          3.3.8.1 Initial CC clusters ......................................................................................... 15
          3.3.8.2 Medial geminated CC clusters ..................................................................... 15
          3.3.8.3 Medial non-geminate CC clusters ................................................................. 15
          3.3.8.4 Medial triple CCC clusters ......................................................................... 16
          3.3.8.5 Final CC clusters ......................................................................................... 17
  3.4 Vowels ............................................................................................................................ 17
      3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels .............................................................................. 17
3.4.2 Nasalized vowels .......................................................... 17
3.4.3 Initial vowels.................................................................... 18
3.4.4 Stem-final vowels .......................................................... 18
3.4.5 Vowel harmony .......................................................... 18
3.5 Segmental phonological rules ............................................. 19
  3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes ................................ 19
  3.5.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading ........................................ 19
  3.5.2 Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs ................................ 20
  3.5.2.1 Suffixal Vowel-Spreading .................................... 20
  3.5.2.2 Presuffixal V2-Raising ......................................... 20
  3.5.3 Vocalic rules sensitive to syllabic or metrical structure ........... 21
  3.5.3.1 Vowel-Lengthening before verbal derivational suffix ....... 21
  3.5.3.2 Syncope and Apocope ......................................... 21
  3.5.4 Local consonant cluster and consonant sequence rules ........ 22
  3.5.4.1 Derhoticization (/i/ to n) ....................................... 22
  3.5.4.2 Rhotic Assimilation ........................................... 22
  3.5.4.3 /y/ → n in perfective negative ................................ 22
  3.5.4.4 /y/ → l in hortative negative and purposive ............... 22
  3.5.4.5 /r...r/ becomes l...r or l...l in verbal morphology ........ 22
  3.5.4.6 /w w"/ → m ..................................................... 23
  3.5.4.7 /i/ → d .......................................................... 24
  3.5.4.8 CCC simplification ............................................. 24
  3.5.5 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences ................. 24
  3.5.5.1 VV-Contraction ............................................... 24
  3.5.6 Local vowel-consonant interactions ................................ 25
    3.5.6.1 Fluctuation between short high vowels {i u} .............. 25
    3.5.6.2 Monophthongization (/iy/ to i; /uw/ to u) ................ 25
  3.6 Cliticization .............................................................. 25
    3.6.1 ‘it is’ clitic = m ~ = Ø ........................................ 26
    3.6.2 Past clitic = bê- .................................................. 26
    3.6.3 Stative negative = râ- .......................................... 26
  3.7 Tones ........................................................................ 26
    3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns ............................................... 26
      3.7.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem .......................... 26
      3.7.1.2 Lexical tone patterns for verbs ......................... 27
      3.7.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems 28
      3.7.1.4 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals ... 30
      3.7.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems ...... 32
      3.7.1.6 Tone-Component location for tri- and quadri-tonal noun stems 35
      3.7.1.7 Possibility of lexically /L/-toned nouns ............... 37
    3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns ...................................... 38
      3.7.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems ...................... 38
      3.7.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems ..................... 38
      3.7.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals ....... 39
    3.7.3 Tonal morphophonology .......................................... 39
      3.7.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs) ............... 39
      3.7.3.2 Phonology of {HL} and {LH} tone overlays .......... 40
      3.7.3.3 Tone-Grafting (1Sg possessor) .......................... 41
4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology ........................................51

4.1 Nouns ...........................................................................................................51
   4.1.1 Simple noun stems ................................................................................51
   4.1.2 Irregular human nouns (‘child’, ‘boy’, ‘girl’) ........................................52
   4.1.3 Use of singular and plural suffixes with kin terms .................................53
   4.1.4 ‘So-and-so’ (mān, â-mān) ..................................................................53
   4.1.5 Reduplicated noun stems .....................................................................54
      4.1.5.1 Frozen CI- or Cû- reduplication in nouns ...................................54
      4.1.5.2 Other reduplicated and iterated nouns ........................................55
   4.1.6 Frozen initial ā- in nouns ....................................................................57

4.2 Derived nominals .........................................................................................57
   4.2.1 Characteristic derivative (-gû-) .............................................................57
   4.2.2 Verbal nouns (-Ī- ~ -Ī) .................................................................57
   4.2.3 Deverbal nominals with final ī: and y ...............................................58
   4.2.4 Uncompounded agentives ...............................................................59
   4.2.5 Irregular reduplicated nominal (tí-tûrû) ...........................................60
   4.2.6 Deadjectival abstract nominals .......................................................60

4.3 Pronouns .......................................................................................................62
   4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns ....................................................................62
   4.3.2 Discourse-definite function of inanimate pronoun kû .........................63

4.4 Demonstratives and definites ......................................................................64
   4.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’) and definite markers .............64
   4.4.2 Demonstrative adverbs ......................................................................65
      4.4.2.1 Locative adverbs .......................................................................65
      4.4.2.2 Emphatic/approximative modifiers of adverbs .........................65
      4.4.2.3 ‘Like this/that’ (ānjây) ............................................................66
   4.4.3 Presentatives ......................................................................................66

4.5 Adjectives .....................................................................................................67
   4.5.1 Underived adjectives ........................................................................67

4.6 Participles .....................................................................................................70

4.7 Numerals ......................................................................................................70
   4.7.1 Cardinal numerals ..............................................................................70
      4.7.1.1 ‘One’, ‘same (one)’, and ‘other’ ................................................70
      4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’ ................................................................................71
      4.7.1.3 Decimal units (‘10’, ‘20’, ...) and combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, ...) ....72
5. Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

5.1.1 Compounds of type (x n) ...................................................... 77
5.1.2 Compounds with final verbal noun, type (x n) .......................... 77
5.1.3 Agentive compounds of type (x v-Ppl) ................................. 78
5.1.4 Compounds with -yê ‘child of’ ............................................ 80
5.1.5 ‘Woman’ (yä-, yä-), ‘man’ (ärnä-) ..................................... 80
5.1.6 Possessive-type compounds (n n, n n) ................................. 81
5.1.7 ‘Owner of’ (Sg bôngbông bông) ........................................ 81
5.1.8 Loose and tight compounds with nā: (‘authentic’, ‘entire’) ............ 82
5.1.9 Instrumental relative compounds with -yê (‘oil for rubbing’) ........ 82
5.1.10 Resultative compounds ending in nominalized verb (-u) .......... 83
5.1.11 Phrasal compounds ......................................................... 83

5.2 Adjectival compounds .......................................................... 83
5.2.1 Bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (n á) .......................... 83
5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final ...................................... 84
5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final ...................................... 84

6. Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents ............................................. 85
6.1.1 Linear order .................................................................... 85
6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.) ......... 86
6.1.3 Bifurcation of NP (in relatives) ......................................... 86
6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping of NPs ...................... 86

6.2 Possessives ........................................................................... 88
6.2.1 Nonpronominal NP possessor ............................................ 88
6.2.2 Pronominal possessor ....................................................... 91
6.2.3 Domain of possessor-controlled tone overlay ...................... 92
6.2.4 Recursive and embedded possession .................................. 95

6.3 Noun plus adjective ............................................................... 96
6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective .............................................. 96
6.3.2 Adjective-like partitioning quantifier gâmbû ‘certain’ .............. 100
6.3.3 Expansions of adjective .................................................... 100
6.3.3.1 Adjectival intensifiers .................................................. 100
6.3.3.2 ‘Near X’, ‘far from X’ .................................................... 103
6.3.3.3 ‘Good to eat’ ............................................................. 104

6.4 Cardinal numeral .................................................................. 104
6.4.1 Noun (and adjective) plus cardinal numeral ....................... 104
6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion ............................................ 104

6.5 Noun (or core NP) plus demonstrative .................................. 105
6.5.1 Prenominal kú (pseudo-possessor as strong discourse-definite) ...................................................... 105
6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives ................................................................................................................. 106
6.6 Free plural (bè) ..................................................................................................................................... 107
6.7 Definite (kù, bù) .................................................................................................................................... 108
6.8 Universal and distributive quantifiers .................................................................................................... 109
6.8.1 ‘Each X’ and ‘all X’ (wóy, dàⁿ-wóy, cèm – cèw) ................................................................................. 109
6.8.2 [X wóy→ X] ‘from (one) X to (another) X’ .......................................................................................... 109
6.8.3 ‘(Not) any X’ (kà:–) ............................................................................................................................ 110

7 Coordination ............................................................................................................................................ 111
7.1 NP coordination ..................................................................................................................................... 111
7.1.1 NP conjunction (X ya→, Y ya→) ......................................................................................................... 111
7.1.1.1 Conjunction with final quantifier ................................................................................................... 111
7.1.1.2 Interrogation of one coordinand .................................................................................................... 112
7.1.2 NP conjunction (X bè→, Y bè→) .......................................................................................................... 112
7.1.3 wè:y ‘as well as’ .................................................................................................................................. 113
7.1.4 “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s ......................................................................................................... 113
7.2 Disjunction ............................................................................................................................................ 113
7.2.1 ‘Or’ (ma→) with NPs and pronouns ................................................................................................. 113
7.2.2 ‘Or’ (ma→) with adverbs .................................................................................................................. 114
7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction ................................................................................................................... 114

8 Postpositions and adverbials .................................................................................................................. 117
8.1 Tonal locatives (absent) ......................................................................................................................... 117
8.2 Accusative =nì = n̄ .............................................................................................................................. 117
8.3 Dative and instrumental .......................................................................................................................... 118
8.3.1 Dative mâ: ~ l̄ mə: ................................................................................................................................ 118
8.3.2 Instrumental ɲ̄ yⁿ .................................................................................................................................. 118
8.4 Locational postpositions ......................................................................................................................... 119
8.4.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions ............................................................................................. 119
8.4.2 ‘In, on, at’ (wö) .................................................................................................................................. 119
8.4.3 ‘Inside, within’ (X ɬ̄ pîrê) ....................................................................................................................... 120
8.4.4 ‘On; on the head of’ (X ɬ̄ kú l̄ wö) ........................................................................................................... 120
8.4.5 ‘On’ ([X ɬ̄ mā:nî] l̄ wö) ................................................................................................................................ 121
8.4.6 ‘Close to, near’ (X ɬ̄ d̄ sū l̄ wö) ............................................................................................................... 121
8.4.7 ‘In front of’ (X ɬ̄ jîrê) ............................................................................................................................ 121
8.4.8 ‘Behind, after’ ([X ɬ̄ tûlû] l̄ wö) ................................................................................................................. 122
8.4.9 ‘Beside’ ([X ɬ̄ bèlê] l̄ wö) .......................................................................................................................... 122
8.4.10 ‘Under’ ([X ɬ̄ bûlò] l̄ wö) ......................................................................................................................... 123
8.4.11 ‘Between’ ([X Y] ɬ̄ gûlû l̄ wö, [X Y] ɬ̄ bɛr̄ kêlûw) ......................................................................................... 123
8.5 Purposive and causal postpositions ....................................................................................................... 124
8.5.1 Purposive gîn (and variants) ‘for’ ..................................................................................................... 124
8.5.2 Causal déngêy and gîn ‘because of’ .................................................................................................... 124
8.5.3 Causal [[X ɬ̄ nî:] wö] ............................................................................................................................. 124
8.6 Other adverbials (or equivalents) ......................................................................................................... 126
8.6.1 Similarity (gâyⁿ→ ‘like’) ................................................................................................................... 126
8.6.2 Extent: èsî→, dîyⁿ→ wö ‘a lot’ illû, dêm→, dâⁿ-wö ‘a little’ ........................................................................... 126
8.6.3 Specificity ........................................................................................................................................... 126
9 Verbal derivation ..............................................................................133
9.1 Reversive verbs (-řv-) ..................................................................133
9.2 Deverbal causative verbs ..............................................................134
  9.2.1 Productive causative suffix (-wû-) .................................................134
  9.2.2 Minor causative suffix (- GLUT-) ...............................................135
9.3 Passive (-wû-) ..............................................................................136
9.4 Mediopassive -yv- and transitive -řv- ~ -ıv- .................................136
9.5 Passive (-yêy) ............................................................................137
9.6 Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation ..............................139
9.7 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs ..................................139
9.8 Denominal verbs ........................................................................141
9.9 Obscure verb-verb relationships ................................................142

10 Verbal inflection .............................................................................93
10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs ...........................................93
10.1.1 Suffixes or chained verb stems? ................................................93
10.1.2 Overview of categories ................................................................93
10.1.3 Verb-stem shapes .................................................................95
  10.1.3.1 Generalizations about verb-stem shapes ...............................95
  10.1.3.2 Monosyllabic verbs .............................................................96
  10.1.3.3 ‘Come’ (yê) .......................................................................98
  10.1.3.4 ‘Bring’ (jê) .......................................................................98
  10.1.3.5 Lexical tone distinctions in Cv verbs ....................................100
  10.1.3.6 Cvyn verbs ......................................................................101
  10.1.3.7 Bisyllabic verbs ..................................................................102
  10.1.3.8 Trisyllabic verbs ...............................................................103

vii
10.2 Positive indicative AN categories .................................................................105
10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect and stative) ......................105
  10.2.1.1 Unsuffixed perfective with {L} toned stem .......................................105
  10.2.1.2 Unsuffixed perfective with lexical tones, 3Sg -w̱, 3Pl -má........................106
  10.2.1.3 Variant third-person perfective C्- with <HL> tone .........................107
  10.2.1.4 Other variant third-person perfectives ............................................108
  10.2.1.5 Perfective-1a -rē-, perfective-1b -rī- ..............................................109
  10.2.1.6 Resultative -sō- ...............................................................................111
  10.2.1.7 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ -tā- ................................................112
  10.2.1.8 Recent perfect -fē- ...........................................................................113
  10.2.1.9 Reduplicated perfective (Cl- plus {HL}, 3Sg -ifikasi) .........................114
  10.2.1.10 Stative ( {H}, 3Sg -f) .......................................................................115
  10.2.1.11 Reduplicated stative (Cl- plus {HL}, 3Sg -ifikasi) ............................116
10.2.2 Imperfective positive system .................................................................118
  10.2.2.1 Unsuffixed imperfective (unreduplicated) ........................................118
  10.2.2.2 Reduplicated imperfective (Cl-, 3Sg -ṇi) ..........................................121
  10.2.2.3 Progressive (and habitual) (-rā-) ......................................................123
10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs .................................................................124
  10.2.3.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs ..........................................124
  10.2.3.2 Perfective negative (-rī-) and related forms ..................................124
  10.2.3.3 Imperfective negative (-ṇi-dō-, -rā = rā-) ......................................126
  10.2.3.4 Stative negative (=rā- without reduplication) ................................128
10.3 Pronominal-subject suffixes for indicative verbs ....................................129
  10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes ...............................................................129
10.4 Deictic temporal clitics and particles .......................................................131
  10.4.1 Past = bē ( = bē-) and its conjugated forms ....................................131
     10.4.1.1 Past unsuffixed imperfective (positive and negative) ..................132
     10.4.1.2 Past stative ................................................................................133
     10.4.1.3 Past perfect ................................................................................133
     10.4.1.4 Past of perfective-1a ..................................................................135
     10.4.1.5 Past progressive ..........................................................................135
     10.4.1.6 Past of ‘be’ and ‘have’ ................................................................136
  10.4.2 ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, (not) yet’ ...............................................................137
10.5 Imperatives and hortatives ........................................................................137
  10.5.1 Imperative and prohibitive .................................................................137
  10.5.2 Imperative stem ..................................................................................138
  10.5.3 Irregular imperative stems ..................................................................142
  10.5.4 Imperative plural (positive) -n ( -ṇi) ...................................................142
  10.5.5 Prohibitive -r̥ ~ -l̥, plural -r̥-nī ~ -l̥-nī ~ -l̥-nī .................................142
  10.5.6 Hortatives (-nī, Pl -māỹ) and their negation (-r̥-nī ~ -l̥-nī) ..............143
  10.5.7 Quoted imperative (-ỹ ~ -y) and its negation (-r̥-y) .........................146
  10.5.8 Quoted imperative form with 1Sg subject reference .........................149
  10.5.9 Quoted hortative ...............................................................................150
11 VP and predicate structure ......................................................................151
  11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure ............................................................151
     11.1.1 Verb types (valency) .......................................................................151
     11.1.2 Valency of causatives ....................................................................152
11.1.3 Verb Phrase .................................................................................................152
11.1.4 Fixed subject-verb combinations .................................................................152
11.1.5 Idiomatic and cognate objects ......................................................................153
11.1.5.1 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb .........................154
11.1.5.2 Grammatical status of cognate nominal ......................................................157
11.1.6 ‘Do’ or ‘be done’ káyⁿ ..................................................................................157
11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, ‘have’, and other statives .......................................................158
11.2.1 Copula clitic = m̕ (= ɔ) ‘it is …’ .......................................................................158
11.2.1.1 Unconjugated positive forms .....................................................................158
11.2.1.2 Conjugated positive forms (1st/2nd persons) ..............................................162
11.2.1.3 Conjugated positive forms (3Pl = ɔ-b̪ɛ) .......................................................163
11.2.1.4 Unconjugated negative ‘it is not …’ (= m̕ = d̕a, ɔ = ra) .............................164
11.2.1.5 Conjugated negative ‘it is not …’ forms (1st/2nd persons) .........................165
11.2.1.6 Conjugated negative ‘it is not …’ forms (3Pl) .............................................166
11.2.2 Existential and locational quasi-verbs and particles .....................................166
11.2.2.1 Existential (yá) .........................................................................................166
11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verbs (b̪와 ~ b̪u- ‘be’, ɔ̂n- ‘not be’) ..............................167
11.2.2.3 Existential quasi-verbs with yá ..................................................................169
11.2.3 ‘Be in, on’ ..................................................................................................169
11.2.4 Stative stance verbs ‘be sitting’, ‘be lying down’ ........................................169
11.2.5 ‘Doesn’t connect’ (dimb̪a-w̕ = rā-) .............................................................170
11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs ...................................................................170
11.2.6.1 ‘Remain’ (b̪ɛ) .........................................................................................170
11.2.6.2 ‘Become, happen’ (táng̕i-) .......................................................................171
11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb ........................................................................171
11.3.1 ‘Say’ (g̕uⁿⁿ) ...............................................................................................171
11.4 Adjectival predicates .....................................................................................173
11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates with ‘be’ quasi-verb (b̪u-) ..............................173
11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with ‘it is’ clitic ( = m̕, etc.) .........................................176
11.4.3 Bare-stem adjectival predicates ..................................................................178
11.4.4 Negative adjectival and stative predicates ( = rā-) ......................................178
11.4.5 Past forms of adjectival predicates ( = b̪ɛ-`=, = b̪ɛ-) ...................................179
11.5 Possessive predicates ....................................................................................181
11.5.1 ‘Have’ (yá s̀o-, negative s̀o-ló-) ..............................................................181
11.5.2 ‘Have possession of’ ( s̀o-) .......................................................................182
11.5.3 ‘Belong to’ predicates (ɔ̂n k̕ɔⁿ, ɔ̂n n̕ɔ̂-m) .....................................................183

12 Comparatives ....................................................................................................185
12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives ..........................................................................185
12.1.1 ‘More, most’ (m̕òge) ..................................................................................185
12.1.2 ‘Surpass’ (l̕aw̕a) .........................................................................................187
12.1.3 ‘Be better, more’ (r̕é̂w) ..............................................................................187
12.2 Symmetrical comparatives ...........................................................................188
12.2.1 Expressions with g̕uⁿⁿ → ‘like’ ....................................................................188
12.2.2 ‘Equal; be as good as’ (b̪u-) ....................................................................188
12.2.3 ‘Equal(ly)’ (c̕i-c̕ew, c̕ew-c̕ew) .................................................................189
12.2.4 ‘Equal(ly)’ and ‘since’ (b̪u-`) .................................................................189
12.2.5 ‘Attain, equal’ (d̕s-) ...............................................................................190
13 Focalization and interrogation ................................................................. 191
  13.1 Focalization ....................................................................................... 191
    13.1.1 Subject focalization ................................................................. 191
    13.1.2 Object focalization ................................................................. 193
    13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverbial ..................................... 194
  13.2 Interrogatives ................................................................................... 194
    13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogative (ma) ............................................ 195
    13.2.2 ‘Who?’ (ām) ........................................................................... 196
    13.2.3 ‘What?’ (ąjê), ‘with what?’ , ‘why?’ ..................................... 197
    13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (ān-dā : ān, āngōy) ..................................................... 197
    13.2.5 ‘When?’ ................................................................................. 199
    13.2.6 ‘How?’ (āngāy) ..................................................................... 199
    13.2.7 ‘How much?’, ‘how many?’ (āngā) ....................................... 199
    13.2.8 ‘Which?’ (ām, āngū) .............................................................. 200
    13.2.9 ‘So-and-so’ (ā-mā:n) ............................................................ 200
    13.2.10 ‘Whatchamacallit?’ ............................................................ 200
    13.2.11 Embedded interrogatives ....................................................... 201

14 Relativization .......................................................................................... 203
  14.1 Basics of relative constructions ..................................................... 203
    14.1.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause ........ 204
    14.1.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause ................. 206
    14.1.3 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head ............................ 206
    14.1.4 Headless relative clause .......................................................... 206
    14.1.5 Preparticipial subject pronominal in nonsubject relative clause 207
    14.1.6 Participialized verb in relative clause ..................................... 207
      14.1.6.1 Participles of unsuffixed perfective verbs (-m, -mà, -w) ......... 207
      14.1.6.2 Participles of unsuffixed imperfective (-m, -t, -mà, -w) ........ 208
      14.1.6.3 Participles of bù: ‘be’ and só: ‘have’ ................................... 210
      14.1.6.4 Participles of stative verbs ................................................ 211
      14.1.6.5 Participles with positive perfective-system suffix .................. 211
      14.1.6.6 Participles with positive imperfective-system suffix ........... 213
      14.1.6.7 Participles of negative verbs ............................................. 214
      14.1.6.8 Relative-clause participle including past clitic =bè- .................. 216
    14.1.7 Relative clause involving direct verb chain ................................ 218
    14.1.8 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping) 218
    14.1.9 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping) .... 219
    14.1.10 Relative morpheme (kà:-) ....................................................... 220
  14.2 Subject relative clause ..................................................................... 222
  14.3 Object relative clause .................................................................... 224
  14.4 Possessor relative clause ................................................................. 226
  14.5 PP relative clause .......................................................................... 227

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses .............................................. 229
  15.1 Chaining ............................................................................................ 229
    15.1.1 Verbal noun of directly chained verbs ................................... 229
15.1.2 Tone overlay of nonfinal verb stem in chain ................................................. 230
  15.1.2.1 Medial chained verb occasionally with \{L\} tone overlay ............................ 230
  15.1.2.2 Nonfinal chained verb with \{HL\} tone overlay ......................................... 230
15.1.3 Direct chains including a time-of-day verb ..................................................... 231
15.1.4 Direct chains ending in \dúwɔ\- ‘leave’ .......................................................... 231
15.1.5 Direct and loose chains with ‘go’ and ‘come’ ................................................. 231
15.1.6 Chains including \má\₃:\lú\- ‘be/do/put together’ ............................................. 232
15.1.7 Negation of verb chains .................................................................................. 233
15.1.8 VP-chaining with same-subject past sequential = \nì\-\=\=nì ................................ 233
15.1.9 VP-chaining with same-subject future sequential = \náy\₃ ................................... 234
15.1.10 VP-chaining with different-subject = \nì\-\=\=\=nì .......................................... 238
15.1.11 Chaining with perfective linker \tí\ ............................................................... 240
15.1.12 Chaining with \jìr\-jè\- → ‘go with’ ............................................................... 241
15.1.13 Chaining with \jù\w\₃\₅ ‘do first, proceed to’ ..................................................... 242
15.2 Adverbial clauses ......................................................................................... 242
  15.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses .............................................................................. 242
    15.2.1.1 Noun-headed temporal relative clause (‘the time when …’) ......................... 242
    15.2.1.2 ‘While X was VP-ing’ (-m\=\=\=w = báy\-, -m\=\=\=w ðé\-, m\=\=\=w nì) ...................... 243
    15.2.1.3 ‘While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê\-\=w kú náy\-) ........................................... 245
    15.2.1.4 ‘(While) X continue(-s/-ed) to VP’ (-m\-, tún\=m, tún\=n, jè\-, ðé\-, \=w\, \=w) ..................... 245
    15.2.1.5 ‘While VERB-ing’ (iterated imperfective as adverb) .................................. 247
    15.2.1.6 ‘Before …’ (\=m\-, -\=re\-) ............................................................ 248
    15.2.1.7 Clause-final = \=rā: ‘when’ .................................................................... 250
    15.2.1.8 Lengthened final vowel in complement of ‘be tired’ .................................... 250
    15.2.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where …’) ............................................................ 251
    15.2.3 Manner adverbial clause (dáy\₃\ldots ‘how …’) .................................................. 252
    15.2.4 Headless adverbial clause (-\=w) ................................................................ 252
    15.2.5 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’ ............................................................ 253
    15.2.6 ‘As though …’ clause (gáy\₃\rightarrow) ............................................................ 253
    15.2.7 ‘Be really true that …’ (-m\=\=w ðé\=bè) ......................................................... 254

16 Conditional constructions ............................................................................... 255
  16.1 Hypothetical conditional with de ‘if’ ............................................................... 255
    16.1.1 Extensions of de (dè\=w\=y, dè\=w \=w\=y) ......................................................... 255
    16.1.2 -\=w kú ðé (perfective) and -\=w ðé (pseudoconditional) .............................. 256
  16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles .................................................................................. 257
    16.2.1 kàlà ‘even if …’ ......................................................................................... 257
    16.2.2 tān ‘as soon as …’ ...................................................................................... 257
  16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’) ......................... 257
  16.4 ‘Unless’ antecedent ........................................................................................ 258
  16.5 Counterfactual conditional ............................................................................. 258

17 Complement and purposive clauses ............................................................... 261
  17.1 Quotative complement ................................................................................. 261
    17.1.1 ‘Say that …’ with ‘say’ verb (gáy\₃\ldots) ......................................................... 261
    17.1.1.1 Quotative subject (QuotSbj) má\-\~ mā: ...................................................... 261
    17.1.1.2 Complement with regular AN-marked verb ............................................. 262
17.1.1.3 Complement with stative verb or quasi-verb ........................................ 265
17.1.1.4 Complement with adjectival predicate .................................................... 265
17.1.1.5 Construction with preposed quative verbal .............................................. 266
17.1.2 Quative clitic wa (→ ba after nasal) .............................................................. 267
17.1.3 Jussive complement ...................................................................................... 268
  17.1.3.1 Quoted imperative with suffix -y ~ -y ...................................................... 268
  17.1.3.2 Embedded hortative (-ń, -māỵ) ................................................................. 269
17.2 Factive (indicative) complements.................................................................... 270
  17.2.1 ‘Know that …’ complement clause ............................................................ 270
  17.2.2 ‘The fact that …’ with final determiner ...................................................... 270
  17.2.3 ‘See (find, hear) that …’ ............................................................................. 271
17.3 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements ............................................. 271
  17.3.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase ............................................................... 272
  17.3.2 ‘Begin’ (túmdì-) plus nominal complement .............................................. 273
  17.3.3 ‘Prevent’ (gà:lì-) plus nominal complement ............................................. 273
  17.3.4 ‘Consent’ (àwù-) plus nominal complement ........................................... 274
  17.3.5 Obligational ‘must’ (wá:jìbù) plus nominal subject .................................... 274
  17.3.6 ‘Dare’ (dà:lè, sù:sè-) plus nominal complement ...................................... 275
  17.3.7 ‘Cease’, ‘desist’ (dù:wɔ́-) plus nominal complement ................................. 275
  17.3.8 ‘Want’ (jì:rè-, mà:-yì- ~ mɔ́:yì-, negative mì-rá-) plus complement .......... 275
  17.3.9 ‘Forget’ (irë-, ‘remember’ (jì:lì-) plus nominal complement ................. 277
  17.3.10 ‘Be afraid to’ (à:-yì-) plus complement ................................................. 277
17.4 Complements with simple bare stem (direct chains) .................................... 277
  17.4.1 ‘Finish’ (dùmdù-) plus nominal complement or chained verb ............... 278
  17.4.2 ‘Help’ (bàrì-) plus chained verb .............................................................. 278
  17.4.3 Capability .................................................................................................. 279
  17.4.3.1 ‘Be able to, can’ (bèrè-, ‘get’) plus chained verb .................................. 279
  17.4.3.2 gɔ̀:rɔ́ ‘be capable of’ ............................................................................. 279
17.5 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses ......................................................... 279
  17.5.1 Purposive clauses ...................................................................................... 279
  17.5.1.1 Verb with purposive suffix (-rą: ~ -rè) .................................................... 279
  17.5.1.2 Quasi-purposive clause in manner-adverbial form (dù:ỵ) ....................... 280
  17.5.1.3 Clauses ending in purposive postposition gìn ........................................ 281
  17.5.1.4 Purposive clause with [...jèy [HL nì:] ]wò ............................................. 281
  17.5.2 Causal (‘because’) clause ......................................................................... 281
  17.5.2.1 Clause-initial sàbù ‘because’ ................................................................. 282
  17.5.2.2 Causal clause with gìn and variants ...................................................... 282
  17.5.2.3 Clauses with final causal dèngèy .......................................................... 282
  17.5.2.4 Causal clause with final [HL nì:]wò ...................................................... 283
17.5.3 Negative purposive (= prohibitive) clause .................................................. 283

18 Anaphora ........................................................................................................ 285
  18.1 Reflexive and emphatic pronouns .................................................................. 285
  18.1.1 Third-person reflexive pronouns (dà, Pl dà) ............................................ 285
  18.1.2 Reflexive possessor (dà, Pl dà) ................................................................... 285
  18.1.3 Expressions with ‘head’ (kù) ...................................................................... 286
  18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns with nàŋàndà: ‘all’ ...................................................... 287
  18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns .............................................................. 287
1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

This work is part of a larger project on Dogon languages. Dogon is a family of at least twenty languages and many more locally named varieties. The family is traditionally considered to be part of the vast Niger-Congo family, which includes Bantu, Mande (e.g. Bambara and Boso), and West Atlantic (e.g. Fulfulde). However, to date this has not been established.

1.2 Ben Tey language

The language is referred to by its speakers in Beni and Gamni villages as bë:n tèy, literally ‘Beni’s language’. I write is as Ben Tey, abbreviation BenT. The Koumboye dialect is local called kùmbôy tèy ‘Koumboye’s language.’

The combined population of Beni, Gamni, and Komboy was said to be around 3000 in 2004-5.

The genetically most closely related Dogon languages are Bankan Tey and Nanga. Bankan Tey is spoken in Walo, north of Douentza at the base of Gandamiya inselberg. Nanga is spoken in several villages south of Beni including Anda, Namakoro, and Wakara.

Jamsay is spoken as a second language by virtually every native speaker Ben Tey. It is the lingua franca among Dogon in the zone. Many young people have gone to school recently in Jamsay-speaking Dianwely Maoudé, which also has a modest market on Tuesdays. Jamsay is replacing Ben Tey as in-group language among younger speakers in Gamni, though Ben Tey is still locally dominant in Beni.

Fulfulde is also widely spoken as a second language. It is used locally in contacts with Fulbe people, who are commissioned by Dogon livestock owners to herd the animals, and whose women make the rounds selling fresh and curdled milk. Fulfulde is also the primary language of Douentza, which has the major regional market on Sundays.

Other local Dogon languages that are often known to people from Beni are Nanga and Tommo-So.

Bambara is not yet widely spoken in the area. However, many young men and some young women migrate annually to Mopti, Bamako, or other southern cities for seasonal work. Others stay in the south for several years, often working as domestics or street pedlars, then return to their native village. These people pick up a basic knowledge of Bambara in the south.

French is the major language of education and is spoken to a variable extent by those who have passed through the school system.
1.3 Locations and environment

Ben Tey is spoken in the communities in (1). GPS readings are in degrees, minutes, and decimal fractions (.000 to .999) of minutes.

Beni and Gamni are located on a large flat rocky shelf between an inselberg cliff and the sandy plain. Standard Jamsay is spoken in villages in the plains such as Dianwely. Farther south on the same rocky shelf as Beni and Gamni is the village of Pergue, where an unusual dialect of Jamsay is spoken. Across the sandy plains from Beni is another long inselberg ridge leading in the north to Fombori near Douentza. Koumboye is located at the base and on the lower slopes of this inselberg.

(1) a. village of Beni (bèn), locally also called bèn ná: ‘Beni mother’ (i.e. ‘Beni proper’) to distinguish it from (b). Coordinates are N 14 51.144 by W 02 56.785, about 3 km SSE of Dianwely Maoudé, a Jamsay-speaking market town some 13 km south of Douentza. Beni is on the edge of the rocky shelf overlooking the plains on one side and a deep ravine on the other. Beni people cultivate fields in the plains below, primarily millet, and some light herding (often entrusted to local Fulbe); there is some off-season gardening in the ravine (African eggplant, chili pepper, yam, lettuce, sugar cane, onion) along with guava and mango; other activities are bee-keeping (apiaries in trees and in caves), spinning and weaving (cotton cloth), and oil extraction from fruit pits (wild grape Lannea, wild date Balanites, and karité Vitellaria). Surnames are Kagoye and Morogoye.

b. Beni-Djinekala (bèn jìrè kàlá "Beni house new", archaic name mà-tàŋà), an offshoot of Beni proper; coordinates N 14º 51.248´ by W 02º 56.860´. Same activities and surnames as Beni.

c. Gamni (gàmmù) village, on the same rocky shelf as Beni but at the base of the cliffs some distance from the plains at N 14 50.770´ by W 02 54.965´. Cultivated fields are mostly on the rocky shelf, some light herding, no significant off-season gardening. Other industries are indigo dye-ing (Timte women), weaving, wooden beds, and leather sandals. Surnames are Djire, Dielekoumaga, and Timte. Younger people are becoming Jamsay-dominant, while most older people are bilingual.

b. Koumboye (kùmbòy) hamlet cluster, about 6 km south of Douentza, at the base and on the lower slope of the mountain ridge including Fombori (2 km from Douentza). Kumboy’s coordinates are N 14 56.043 by W 02 55.586. Mostly scattered thatch huts on the plains at the base of the mountain, but two families have stone houses on the lower slope. Farming and light herding, no gardens. Industries include woven doum-palm fans and mats, and wooden beds and stools. Surnames are Ouologuem, Seiba, and Guindo. There are no close social relations with Beni-Gamni.

Beni and Gamni are said to be among the oldest villages in the zone, pre-dating the Jamsay-speaking villages in the plains.

In the past, Beni and Walo were closely affiliated, with the chiefhood rotating from one to the other on the death of a chief (Hogon). Walo is well-separated from the Ben Tey-
speaking communities, as Walo is north of Douentza while Beni, Gamni, and Kouboye are south of Douentza. Combined with the strict Islamization of the entire zone, which has led to a ban on most traditional ceremonies and to the destruction of masks, idols, and tomtoms, this geographical separation has led to a severe attenuation of social relations between Beni and Walo.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Ben Tey

The existence of this language was long unknown both to western scholarship and to Dogon government linguists in Bamako. Aside from myself, the only linguist known to have visited the area is Roger Blench, who made a brief survey of the language of Walo in March 2005. He was told that the Walo variety was a dialect of the language under study here. He referred to the language provisionally as Walo-Kumbe in a survey report and word list disseminated on his website since 2005.

1.4.1 Fieldwork

I began work on Jamsay in mid-2004. Jamsay is the major Dogon language of the zone south of Douentza, with extensions to Mondoro and to near Koro. It is therefore a kind of Dogon lingua franca in this area, and is widely spoken as a second Dogon language by native speakers of Ben Tey, Nanga, Najamba, and Toro Tegu languages.

During September 2004 I began surveying these four non-Jamsay Dogon languages, spending one week for each in a representative village. Much of this early work involved making contacts, and doing flora-fauna vocabulary (many insects and plants are only collectible in the late rainy season). I returned to Beni for 4-6 day visits on several subsequent occasions.

Additional fieldwork on Ben Tey was done in 2006-11 as part of the larger project. Texts were recorded and transcribed, an extensive general lexicon developed, and the grammar drafted. A few details were checked between 2011 and 2015.

1.4.2 Audiovisual and internet

This grammar and the text transcriptions/translations are in conventional print form. The lexical data are currently included in a pan-Dogon spreadsheet that is also the basis for the lexical pages in the project website:

http://www.dogonlanguages.org

The flora-fauna terms are currently in separate spreadsheets on Dogon flora and Dogon fauna, also available on the project website.

The lexical senses (in English and French), and the flora and fauna taxa, are associated with five-digit reference numbers (internal to our project). Audiovisual materials, which include photos (jpg), short video clips that illustrate individual lexical senses, and longer videos that might be described as amateur documentaries. The photos and the short lexical clips have the relevant five-digit number codes in their file names, so it is relatively easy to go back and forth between lexical entries and associated images and clips.
With help from Salif Morogoye and Minkailou Djiguiba, I have produced a number of videos about practical activities in Beni, including agriculture, food preparation, collecting honey, and weaving. These may be viewed on the project website or on my personal page at Linguistics Dept, U Michigan.

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

The original Jamsay-focused project, which included the first short visit to Beni, was funded by grant PA-50643-04 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The larger Dogon project during which most of the work on BenT has been done has been supported by the National Science Foundation: grants BCS-0537435 (2006-09), BCS-0853364 (2009-13), and BCS-1263150 (2013-16). Additional support has been obtained from the University of Michigan.
2 Sketch

In this chapter a few major features of the language are introduced. For all topics raised, much fuller coverage can be found in the following chapters.

2.1 Prosody

The most important linguistic-theoretical interest of Dogon languages is the grammaticalization of (usually stem-wide) tone overlays, which erase lexical tone melodies and are controlled by a nearby word. I call this tonosyntax, defined as the imposition of a tone contour on one or more words (the targets) by another word or constituent (the controller). A brief summary of the tone overlays in BenT is in §3.7.2. Tone overlays are indexed by superscripts like $^L$ or $^{HL}$, positioned on the edge of the targeted word that “faces” the controller. These superscripts are not phonetic diacritics, since the tone overlays have already been applied to the targeted word; the superscripts are simply indexes that a tonosyntactic process has applied.

Some Dogon languages, including BenT, also have more exaggerated word-final “intonational” contours (prolongation, with or without slowly falling pitch as in the dying-quail intonation), which can be lexicalized, grammaticalized, or (as in English) discourse-sensitive. See §3.8 for a summary.

The syllabic tones in BenT, whether lexical or grammatical, are H, L, $<$HL$, <$LH$, and bell-shaped $<$LHL$. The latter occurs lexically in some monosyllabics, and can also be created secondarily by combining tones from a stem syllable and a suffix, or by docking a floating L-tone (1Sg possessor) on a monosyllabic noun. There is no $<$HLH$>$ syllable tone.

Stems (except for some expressive adverbials) must have at least one H-tone. The normal lexical melodies are /H/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/, and /HLH/, the latter exemplified by bišém ‘tree sp. (Acacia tortilis)’. /HLH/ is disallowed in most Dogon languages, but it is allowed in Toro Tegu as well as in BenT. Nouns with contours like /HLHL/ are treated prosodically by native speakers as compounds.

Tone overlays controlled by elements to the right are always {L}, i.e. stem-wide L-tone, also known as tone-dropping. {L} is overlaid on a noun before an adjective, on a noun or adjective before a demonstrative, ib a word (not already tone-dropped) in the head NP of the relative, on a verb stem before a negative inflectional suffix, or on a verb in the unsuffixed perfective.

BenT also has the intonational prolongation feature (symbol $\to$) built into some lexical stems, chiefly expressive adverbials like dém-$\to$ ‘straight, directly’. BenT makes extensive use of phrase-final intonational features (prolongation, rise or fall in final pitch) in parallelistic constructions (‘X or Y’, polar interrogative ‘will you go, or will you not go?’).

Possessed nouns (plus any adjectives and numerals) have a different tone overlay controlled by a preceding possessor (NP or pronoun). The possessor-controlled overlay is {HL} if the possessor is a determined/quantified NP or a pronoun For simple (undetermined and unquantified) nonprominal possessors, the overlay on the possessed NP is {HL} after final H-tone and {L} after final L-tone. There are further complications, including differences
between alienable and inalienable (kin-term) possession as to whether numerals are included in the targeted domain.

1Sg possessor is marked only by a floating L-tone that docks on the left edge of the possessed noun. The latter has the possessor-controlled {HL} overlay, which combines with the floating L-tone of the 1Sg to produce \{LHL\}, more accurately represented as \(L+\{HL\}\). For a rare noun like \(b\text{ëy}^n\) ‘beard’ that already consists of a lexically \(<LHL>\) syllable, the possessed stem with the \{HL\} overlay is \(\text{H}_L\text{ëy}^n\), and the 1Sg form with the extra L-tone on the left edge is therefore \(L^1\text{H}_L\text{ëy}^n\) ‘my beard’, identical (to my ears) to the unpossessed form.

Because a possessor has tonal effects on a noun to its right, while an adjective or demonstrative has tonal effects on a noun to its left, we must consider what happens when the noun is caught in the cross-fire. In BenT, a possessor has tonosyntactic control over the possessed sequence consisting maximally of a noun, one or more modifying adjectives, and a following numeral, as in Poss \(\text{H}_L[N\text{ Adj Num}]\). The relevant possessed-noun overlay, \{HL\} or \{L\}, targets the full domain.

There is a process reminiscent of terminal intonation modulation in verbal morphology, where 1Sg -\(y\) and 1Pl -\(y\), and likewise 2Sg -\(w\) and 2Pl -\(w\), differentiate plural from singular by means of prolongation of the preceding vowel and by imposition of \{HL\} (falling) pitch on the final syllable. Whether this can be handled using ordinary phonological length and tone, or must be classified as intonational, is discussed in §3.8.3.

### 2.2 Inflectable verbs

The system of derivational and inflectional categories is similar to those of other Dogon languages. The major suffixal derivations (chapter 9) are re\-\(s\)\-\(s\) for verbs, and in\-\(c\)\-\(h\)\-\(o\)\-\(a\)\-\(t\)ive and fact\-\(i\)\-\(t\)ive for adjectives. There are also some passive-like constructions. The verb stem, simple or suffixally derived, is followed by an aspect-\(n\)\-\(e\)g\-\(a\)- \(t\)ion suffix plus a pronominal-subject suffix, or by a modal suffix that also includes pronominal-subject information. For example, \(t\text{ój-ë-z-w}\) ‘you-Sg have sowed (seeds)’, the verb is followed by recent perfect \(j\text{ë-}\) and then by 2Sg subject \(-\text{w}\).

The principal AN categories are based on the intersection of the perfective-imperfective aspectual opposition with polarity (positive, negative). The core of the indicative system therefore consists of the four poles perfective (positive), perfective negative, imperfective (positive), and imperfective negative. There is little morphological connection between positive and negative forms. The (positive) perfective and imperfective both have a (more or less) unsuffixed basic form, and a few more specialized categories marked by suffixes. The perfective (positive) system therefore includes marked experiential perfect, recent perfect, and resultative, while the imperfective (positive) system includes a reduplicated variant and a marked progressive that can also be habitual.

At a higher level, these AN categories are subordinated to an opposition between present (unmarked) and past (marked by a conjugated clitic). For example, past imperfective is a higher-level past category dominating imperfective.

Stative \(\text{forms}\) can be derived from some regular verbs including stance verbs (‘be sitting’ as opposed to dynamic ‘sit down’), and there are several defective stative quasi-verbs (‘be’, ‘have’, etc.). Suffixally marked modal categories are imperative and hortative. There is a special verb form for quoted imperatives (QuotImprt).
An example of a verb form is ló-rè-w ‘you-Sg went’, markup go-Pfv1a-2SgSbj. The perfective-1a is a suffix form used with motion verbs and more or less mediopassive intransitives (including inchoatives derived from adjectives).

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

For nouns, the main morphological feature is the opposition between (animate) singular -m, and zero both for (animate) plural and for inanimate (undifferentiated singular and plural). In several other Dogon languages, human or animate singular is *-n(u), versus plural *-m or similar. Rather than trying to reconcile BenT animate singular -m, it is more reasonable to derive BenT -m from *-n(u) via *-ŋ (preserved in Nanga).

Typical modifying adjectives have a three-way suffixal distinction, with -m (animate singular), zero (animate plural), and -w (inanimate). Such adjectives directly follow the noun, and control tone-dropping on it. A numeral or determiner may follow the adjective. Numerals and definite kù do not control tone-dropping on a preceding word, but demonstrative pronouns do.

As previously indicated, a possessor may precede the noun and its modifiers. A possessor controls an {HL} or {L} overlay.

An example of a NP is [yà L pè-m] HL-[injè përû] ‘(a/the) old woman’s ten dogs’. The NP yà L pè-m is marked up [woman L old-AnSg], where superscript L indexes tonosyntactic tone-dropping of the noun. The animate singular suffix shows up only once, at the end of the core NP (noun plus any adjective). The adjective controls tone-dropping on the noun, which appears without an adjective as yà-m. This NP functions as preposed possessor of the noun-numeral sequence that would otherwise appear as injè përû, mark-up ‘dog-Pl ten’, with zero marking of animate Pl. This noun-numeral combination is subject to a possessor-controlled {HL} tone overlay. The mark-up of the possessed NP is HL-[dog ten], realized as [HL dog Lten].

2.4 Postposition phrase (PP)

Postpositions include dative mâ:, instrumental nà-y ‘with’, and locative wo. The latter is atonal, and gets its tone by spreading from the final tone of the preceding NP or pronoun. Postpositions do not usually affect the form of the NP complement, except for minor tone sandhi.

Complex postpositions are created by combining locative wo with a form that functions like a possessed noun. For example, ‘behind X’ is expressed as [[X HL tûlù] Lwò], literally ‘in X’s rear’, where tûlù ‘rear’ takes possessed-noun {HL} overlay.

Examples of PPs are, with another composite postposition, [tìwⁿ L bélè] HL-wo ‘beside (a/the) tree’ (originally ‘in/at the tree’s side’), mark-up [[tree HL side] in], and the simple PP injè nà-y ‘with what?’, mark-up [what? with].

2.5 Main clauses and constituent order

BenT is verb-final. The basic order of nonpronominal constituents is SOV. Pronominal objects and dative PPs immediately precede the verb unless focalized or topicalized. There is
no case-marking for subject NPs. Object NPs including pronominals have an optional accusative clitic =ni that sometimes marks object focus. Temporal, and to some extent spatial, adverbs often precede the subject NP, especially when they describe the general spatiotemporal setting. In (2a), ‘yesterday’ typically precedes the subject, but the place name ‘Douentza’ follows it because it is a complement of ‘come’. ‘Yesterday’ can also follow the subject NP (2b). On the other hand, (2c-d) show both temporal and spatial adverbs preceding subjects.

(2) a. yéŋù bɔ: dúwánsán yé-w = bê-∅
yesterday 1SgPoss-father D come-3Sbj=Past-3Sbj ‘My father came to Douentza yesterday.’

b. bɔ: yéŋù dúwánsán yé-w = bê-∅
[=(a)]

c. yéŋù bë:n bɔl èsîⁿ→ mirë-∅
yesterday Beni rain(n) a.lot rain.fall.Pfv-3Sbj ‘Yesterday it rained a lot in Beni (village).’

d. yéŋù [3rë: sá:] àsūw"ë-[yî-tëː]
yesterday [outback around] fight.Pfv-3PlSbj ‘Yesterday the young men had a fight (squabble) in the fields.’

e. nũ: nàw"ã: bãyⁿ→ kûwò-ɔ̀
person.Pl meat a.lot eat.meat.Pfv-3PlSbj ‘The people ate a lot of meat.’

f. yî-tëː nãyⁿ→ sûy3-rë
children thus hit-PrOH ‘Don’t-2Sg hit children like that!’

Many of the common “adverbs,” other than full PPs and spatiotemporal adverbs, are expressive adverbials syntactically (§8.6.7).

2.6 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in BenT are fairly similar to those in Jamsay and other Dogon languages (other than Toro Tegu). The head NP remains, up to and including a numeral, inside the clause, but peripheral elements (determiners, non-numeral quantifiers) appear after the verb. The “verb” is a participle, agreeing with the head NP (not the subject, if distinct) in animacy and number. However, the agreement suffixes differ in form from those on nouns and those on adjectives. A relative morpheme kà:ⁿ optionally occurs at the end of the clause-internal head NP. The relative clause as a whole controls tone-dropping on one or more words in the clause-internal head NP. The noun in the head NP is not repeated as a possessed noun after the entire relative clause as it can be in Jamsay and Togo Kan. In nonsubject relatives, if the
subject is pronominal it is expressed by an independent pronoun that is proclitic to the participle. In a nonsubject relative, if the subjects of the relative and main clauses are coindexed third persons, the relative clause has a reflexive pronoun as subject (§18.2.3).

The schemas in (3) give the general idea of how main clauses are converted into subject and nonsubject relatives. ‘Stone’ is tone-dropped in (3c) as the head NP, but not in (3b) where it is not the head. The main clause (3a) has a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb, but the relative clauses (3b-c) replace this with a participle that agrees with the head NP.

(3) a. main clause
   [stone see-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
   ‘I see a stone.’

b. subject relative
   [person-Pl stone see-Ipfv.Ppl-AnPl Definite]
   ‘the people who see a stone’

c. nonsubject (in this case, object) relative
   [stone-1Sg see-Ipfv-Inan Definite]
   ‘the stone that I see’

Among several peculiarities of BenT relative clauses is the use of agentive forms as imperfective participles for animate heads (§14.1.6.6).

Relativization is covered in chapter 14.

2.7 Verb-chaining

Verbs and VPs may be chained together. In these cases, the final verb has its regular inflected form. In a direct verb-verb chain, the nonfinal verbs are in the bare stem, which is also used in some inflectional forms, and the verbs in question are immediately adjacent (i.e. in a compound-like structure). This is typical of semantically tight combinations where each verb denotes an aspect of a larger event structure (co-events). An example is dɛ̌ y dùs-ɔ́ ‘put down and leave’, where the nonfinal verb remains in the bare stem while AN and pronominal-subject affixes occur only on the final verb.

There are also looser chains, where one complete clause or VP is linked to another by means of a clause-final subordinator like =náy (§15.1.9) or other morpheme on the nonfinal VPs. In loose chains, the eventualities denoted by the various clauses may be spatiotemporally distinct and need not be construable as co-events.

Both direct verb-verb chains, and (to a large extent) loose chains such as those with =náy, are associated with same-subject (SS) sequences. The corresponding different-subject (DS) clause-final subordinating particle is =nl ~ =ǹ, which suspiciously resembles the accusative morpheme that is optionally added to direct-object pronouns and other NPs. For example, yê =náy ‘come=and.SS’ occurs in contexts like ‘I came and (then) went back’, while yê =ǹ ‘come=and.DS’ can occur (with a preceding subject NP or pronoun) in contexts like ‘He came and (then) I went away’.

Chaining (serialization) and switch-reference subordination is described in detail in chapter 15.
2.8 Interclausal syntax

VP chains and relativization account for a good part of the interclausal syntax, since some matrix verbs like ‘can(not)’ take the form of direct chains, and since many spatiotemporal and manner adverbal clauses are special cases of relativization. In addition, a subordinated clause (or VP) may be expressed with the verb in verbal-noun form.

The basic clause-final ‘if’ particle in conditional antecedents is de, which takes its tone from the preceding word. This particle also occurs in pseudo-conditional clauses that function to link one future event to another that will follow it in time (§16.1.2).

2.9 Quotations

Quotations have a rather complex syntax (§17.1). Quoted material can be framed by an explicit ‘say’ verb gůy~, or just by a clause-final unconjugated quotative clitic wa. The subject of a quoted sentence is set off by a special quotative subject (QuotSbj) morpheme. First and second person pronominal subjects are not expressed in the usual way by suffixation on the verb. Instead, they appear as independent pronouns with the quotative subject morpheme at the beginning of the clause, and the verb has an unmarked 3Sg suffix. However, 3Pl subject is marked on the verb. This is one of several cases in BenT (mirrored in several other Dogon languages) where 3Pl subjects get special favored treatment in verbal agreement. The schema in (4) shows how a 1Sg subject is treated in main clauses and in the corresponding quotation.

(4) a. donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
   ‘I tied the donkey.’

   b. [1Sg QuotSbj] donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot
   ‘(X) said that I tied the donkey.’

When the quoted speaker (or thinker) is coindexed to a NP within the quoted matter, i.e. when the original speaker (thinker) used “I/me,” it takes the form of a logophoric pronoun. So if (4a) were uttered by X, and the current speaker is quoting him/her, we get the schema (5).

(5) [LogoSg QuotSbj] donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot
   ‘(X) said that he/she (=X) tied the donkey.’

Logophorics have the same form as third-person reflexive pronouns in BenT (unlike e.g. Tomo Kan, where the two series differ in form).

Imperatives (‘go!’) and hortatives (‘let’s go!’) can also be quoted, but here too there is a special morphosyntax for such (jussive) complements. In addition to the usual hortative (‘let’s go!’), there is a quoted imperative (QuotImprt) verb form. It is used in wishes/imprecations like ‘may God be with you’ and in quoted or indirect commands like ‘let him (=tell him to) come!’ (§10.5.7, (§17.1.3:1).
3 Phonology

3.1 General

Syllables and metrical structure are briefly covered in §3.2. The consonants are presented in §3.3, followed by vowels in §3.4. The vowel-harmony system (§3.4.5) is not much of a factor in the morphophonology. Segmental (i.e. non-tonal) phonological processes are covered in §3.5, followed by remarks on cliticization in §3.6. The tonology is §3.7, and intonation patterns (some of them grammaticalized) are reviewed in §3.8.

3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.2.1 Syllables

Monosyllabic words are Cv, Cv:, or CvC, rarely Cv:C.

Verb stems are fond of the Cv shape. Nearly all monosyllabic verb stems are of this monomoraic shape, for example dɔ̀ ‘burn’, mǎ ‘shape (pottery)’, ló ‘go’. The vowel is lengthened before a derivational suffix such as reversive or causative, but remains short before an inflectional suffix or when chained to another following verb. Even a rising tone does not force an additional mora: ɣɛ̀- ‘come’, nǔ- ‘hear’, ɔ̌- ‘jab’. We do get a long vowel in jɛ̀- ‘bring’ with its <LHL> tone.

With the exception of a few Cv nouns and adjectives, stems other than verbs have at least two moras, so vowel-final monosyllabic stems are usually of the shape Cv:, as in ɔ̀-tɔ́ ‘sack’, ɛ́mbɛ́ ‘bag’.

The defective noun ná ‘time(s)’ is always short-voweled. It is always closely combined with a following numeral or other quantifier: ná ɣɛ̀y ‘twice’. Other nouns and adjectives that appear to be lexically Cv are /yá/ ‘woman’, /nǔ/ ‘person’, /ô/ ‘mouse’, /sô/ ‘horse’, reduplicated / tô-tô/ ‘hawk’, /pɛ̀/ ‘old’, and /lǔ/ ‘other’. However, the vowels of these stems are lengthened when they are unsuffixed, presumably because they all have contour tones; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition §3.7.4.1.

BenT (like Najamba) has a large number of nouns ending in a final long vowel with falling tone. For example, ‘meat’ is nòw’ lá; compare Jamsay nòw’ and Toro Tegu námá. The final rising tone is also found in two Dogon languages subgrouped with BenT: Nanga námá, Bankan Tey námá. If we reconstruct *námá-, we must consider the possibility that BenT and its relatives have preserved a trace of an original L-toned suffix.

3.2.2 Metrical structure

Weak positions in metrical structure are characterized by raising and/or reduction of short vowels. Metrical structure is not a major factor in BenT in (uncompounded) noun, adjective, or numeral stems. The initial syllable is arguably a strong position, and there are many bisyllabic stems with an initial heavy syllable, e.g. bɔ́x’tɔ́ ‘sack’, jémbé ‘bag’. However, nouns
like sègérè ‘filtering basket’ show no phonological signs of strong and weak positions; in particular, the second syllable of a trisyllabic stem is stable. In a bisyllabic stem, a final short high vowel \{i u\} may be apocopated under some conditions, e.g. CvCi → CvC (§3.5.3.2, below).

In verbs, there are some suggestions of metrical structure insofar as some types of nonmonosyllabic verb stems show alternations between final a and a somewhat unstable high vowel \{i u\}. Other Dogon languages often associate the high vowel in such alternations with weak metrical position (the high vowel may reduce to schwa, is subject to coloring by nearby consonants and vowels, and may be deleted entirely). However, there is a cart-and-horse issue here; does weak metrical position favor raising and lenition of a vowel, or does an independently occurring vocalic alternation happen to feed into lenition of the high-vowel alternant?

In BenT, the verbs with a final-vowel alternation have final a in the imperative, and final high vowel (or zero) throughout the remainder of the paradigm, including forms where the final high vowel is “strengthened” by a tautosyllabic final consonant. For example, ‘think’ has imperative mà:nà, bare stem mà:ní (e.g. in chains), perfective mà:ní-ù-, imperfective mí-mà:ní-nù, etc.

In verbal derivation, there are some cases where the final vowel of a bisyllabic input is raised before a derivational suffix, as in tárâ- ‘paste (on), affix’, reverse tálí-ri- ‘remove (something pasted or affixed)’, where the second syllable of tálí-ri- is our focus. However, there are several reversives like gòlò-ró ‘uncover (someone)’, kúmjó-ró- ‘uncrumple’, etc., where no raising of the second-syllable vowel is observed. So metrical structure plays a relatively small role in BenT phonology.

### 3.3 Consonants

The consonants are listed in (6).

(6) Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w[cm]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r[cm]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveopalatal</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(ʃ)</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y[cm]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laryngeal</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(ʔ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(c\) is IPA [tʃ], \(j\) is [dʒ], \(ʃ\) is [ʃ], \(y\) is [j].

key to columns: 1) aspirated voiceless stops (\(c\) is somewhat affricated); 2) voiced stops; 3) nasals, 4) voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5) laterals; 6-7) respectively unasalized and nasalized sonorants; 8-9) laryngeals
3.3.1 Alveopalatals (c, j, n)

As elsewhere in the northeastern Dogon language zone, there is some fluctuation between \{k g\} and \{c j\} pronunciations before front vowels \{i e \}. Where both pronunciations have been recorded, I normalize the transcription as \{c j\}.

\(n\) is fairly common before a vowel. Examples: \(\text{jë\text{y}n} \) ‘eat a meal’, \(\text{jà\text{r}ì} \) ‘hold near fire’, \(\text{nà\text{r}ù} \) ‘night’, and \(\text{ni\text{w}n} \) ‘do for a long time’.

An interesting alternation of \(y\) and \(n\) is intransitive \(\text{yù\text{r}ù} \) ‘(someone) wake up’ and transitive \(\text{ni\text{r}ù} \) ‘wake (someone) up’. In other languages, cognates have either a nasal element in both forms (Jamsay \(n\), Bankan Tey \(nj\)), or a non-nasal element in both forms (Nanga and Najamba \(w\)).

3.3.2 Voiced velar stop \(g\) and \(g\)-Spirantization (/g/ → \(γ\))

Spirantization of intervocalic /g/ to \(γ\) is fairly common, though not obligatory, when intervocalic within a word and flanked by vowels from the set \{a o\}. Thus \(\text{kù-dàyà} \) ‘agate’, \(\text{dà\text{r}ù}\) ‘state of being disdained’. One may consider \(g\) to be phonologically basic.

Historically, some original \(*g\) have been deleted between nonhigh vowels, resulting in long vowels in BenT. For example, \(\text{àrsèː-m} \) ‘domestic animal’ reflects \(*(\text{g})\text{àrsègè} \), cf. Jamsay and Nanga \(\text{gàrsègè} \). It is ultimately from Arabic. Likewise \(\text{dàs} \) ‘Dogon (people)’ and \(\text{às} \) ‘chiefs’ derive from \(*\text{dàgù} \) and \(*\text{gàgù} \). For deletion of \(*n\) in similar contexts see §3.3.3 below.

3.3.3 Velar nasal \((n)\)

Aside from the homorganic clusters \(ng\) and \(nk\), we get \(n\) in \(\text{ànà\text{y}n} \) ‘how?’, \(\text{pàŋà} \) (variant \(\text{pàŋgà}\) ‘strength’, \(\text{ŋà\text{y}⇌} \) ‘thus’, \(\text{dàŋ ðàŋò} \) ‘get dressed’, \(\text{sòŋgò} \) ‘spinal cord’, and several other stems.

As with \(*g\), original \(*n\) has disappeared intervocally in certain words, e.g. \(\text{nàːm} \) ‘cow’ (*\(\text{nàŋà} \)), though it is retained in \(\text{nàŋà-nà\text{r}ù} \) ‘butter (from cow’s milk)’, which may have been borrowed from the identical form in Jamsay. In \(\text{sèw} \) ‘make thorn-branch fence’, we seem to have \(w^n\) for \(*n\) (Jamsay \(\text{sàŋà} \), Nanga \(\text{seŋ} \)).

3.3.4 Voiceless labials (p, f)

As in other Dogon languages, \(f\) is not a full-fledged consonant, and a borrowed word containing it may show \(p\). Thus \(\text{màrù} \) ‘rifle’, \(\text{kàpè} \) (alongside \(\text{kàfè} \)) ‘coffee’, \(\text{pùrù-pùrù} \) ‘wheat-flour fritters’.

I have recorded \(f\) in some loanwords that I assume also have variants with \(p\): \(\text{cè:\text{fàm} \) ‘fever’, \(\text{tè:ù} \) ‘fee paid to witness of livestock sale’, \(\text{fàrò} \) ‘wheat-flour fritters’, \(\text{nà:\text{fògà} \) ‘trouble-makers’, \(\text{dà:\text{fè} \) ‘good-for-nothing adult’, \(\text{nà:\text{fà} \) ‘usefulness’, \(\text{mà:ù} \) ‘red sauce’, \(\text{sà:ù} \) ‘evening prayer’, and a few others. However, I also recorded \(f\) in \(\text{jìsfü} \) (intensifier for ‘wet’)
3.3.5 Laryngeals (h, ?)

*h* occurs in loans, chiefly from Fulfulde (some of these were originally Arabic). One of these is the important particle *hāl* ‘until, all the way to’. Others include *hālē* ‘trust (verb)’, *hārām* ‘a Muslim holy day’, *ḥījji* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’, and *ḥīlē* ‘dupe, trick’.

? (glottal stop) is found in *gūrūnā:nà* ‘Koran (book)’, where it reflects Arabic ?, and in the semi-linguistic utterance *ṣ?ṣ?* ‘nope!’. A glottal stop is also inserted after a *v* (for Cv-) reduplicative segment before a vowel-initial stem, see e.g. §10.2.1.9.

3.3.6 Sibilants (s, š, z, ñ)

Only *s* is clearly established as a phoneme. Other sibilants {š z ñ} occur in a few loanwords from French: *álážérī* ‘Algeria’, *zánármá* ‘gendarmes’, *šínwā* ‘Chinese’. There is no strong tendency to phonetically palatalize *s* before front vowels.

3.3.7 Nasalized sonorants (rⁿ, wⁿ, yⁿ)

These nasalized sonorants can be independent phonemes in (noninitial) intervocalic position within words. In stems like *bārā’dá* ‘beat (tomtom)’, *kāw-ná* ‘mash (to press out oil)’, *éw-né* ‘milk (a cow)’, *pí:y-ná* ‘confine’, *diy-ná* ‘old’, and *gáy-n* ‘put’, the sonorant is the only nasal or nasalized segment. In such words, BenT intervocalic *w^n* corresponds to *m* in some other languages, e.g. BenT * núw-n*, Jamsay *nim*, Nanga *nim* ‘cow-pea’.

*yⁿ* and *wⁿ* may also occur syllable-finally, though only *yⁿ* is common here: *gáy-n* ‘put’, *káy-n* ‘do’, *pěw-n* (sound of fart).

When a consonant from the set {rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ} occurs in a word with a preceding nasal or nasalized consonant, and no intervening non-nasal consonant, the nasalization in {rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ} may be attributed to Nasalization-Spreading, which normally operates from left to right within a word. In such cases, the sonorant is lexically unspecified for nasalization. Examples are *nág-ná* ‘meat’, *néw-né* ‘taste’, *när-ná* ‘mother’, *jéméy-n* ‘metal protrusions on rifle cock’, *múy-n* ‘(shoulder) be dislocated’. However, the predictability of nasalization is compromised by cases where *m* reflects *mb*, as in *márá* ‘become lost’ (cf. Bankan Tey *mbárá*), where the *r* is not nasalized.

In e.g. *nár-liyn-n-wú* (for /nár-liyni-wú/) ‘expand (e.g. one’s herd)’, we observe spreading of nasalization across the entire word, which includes a suffix (elsewhere -w). This is possible when there is no intervening nonnasal consonant to block the spread from left to right.

A syllable-final *yⁿ* or *wⁿ* in a nasalizing environment could be transcribed with or without the nasalization diacritic. I generally transcribe without the diacritic, except for verbs (in the citation form with final vowel apocopated), since when suffixes are present the final semivowel is intervocalic and clearly nasalized. Thus noun *siy-naw* ‘lover’, pronounced [si:**n**aw], and verb *nár-liyn-n-wú* ‘expand (e.g. one’s herd)’.

In *dú:y-n* ‘(wound) swell’, *éw-néy-n* ‘milk (noun)’, *jír-néy* ‘rainy season’, and some few other stems, there are two mutually reinforcing consonants from the set {rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ}. Given that Nasalization-Spreading primarily works from left to right, if one must identify a (lexically) primary nasalized consonant it would be the leftmost one.

Initial *wⁿ* was heard in certain words, suggesting a modest tendency for nasalization to spread from the right to the onset of the word. Examples: some pronunciations of the
(undoubtedly borrowed) term for ‘rice or millet pancake’ (wⁿɔ́ɲù, but also wóːɲù, etc.); the final element (not otherwise attested) in kɔ̀njɔ̀-wⁿɔ́́yⁿ ‘strong, effervescent millet beer’ (cf. kɔ̀njɔ̀ ‘millet beer’); wⁿɔ́rⁿù ‘(vine) spread out’. There is no general leftward Nasalization-Spreading, as shown by examples like wɔ̀mbí ‘uproot peanuts’ and yàmdí ‘be useless’. ‘Woman’ is yàː-m, plural yàː (unasalized).

3.3.8 Consonant clusters

3.3.8.1 Initial CC clusters

Word-initial CC sequences are nasal-stop sequences ɲg and m̯b. ɲg is seen in demonstrative ɲgú ‘this’ and in some other deictics, in ɲgó ‘not be’, and a few Fulfulde loanwords like ɲgú:rɛ̀ ‘livelihood’. Initial m̯b, which often alternates with simple m, is illustrated by m̯bɔːː ‘m’outh’ and m̯bɔw ~ mɔw ‘interethnic cousinhood’; intermediate pronunciations like [m̯bɔː] with a faint oral release on the nasal are also observed.

When spoken in isolation, or after a word ending in a consonant, the initial nasal is syllabified separately. It is pronounced with low pitch in this position, but arguably this is phonetic pitch rather than phonological tone.

3.3.8.2 Medial geminated CC clusters

Geminated medial CC clusters are generally limited to Fulfulde (and other) borrowings.

Geminated clusters in words not likely to have been borrowed are:

ll: ɪlła ‘slightly’, kɪllíyé ‘be lost to sight’, pɛllí ‘break or cut off’, ɪllé ‘lift from underneath’.

nn: dànní ‘hunt (verb)’, kɔ̀nnɔ̀ ‘ladle (noun)’ (variant of kɔ̀túnɔ̀).

Other geminated clusters attested in probable loanwords are exemplified below:

bb: tɔbbɛ-tɔbbɛ ‘spotted’.
cc: hɔccɛ́ ‘chew cud’.
dd: sàddà àyí ‘be responsible for’.

Other clusters in words not likely to have been borrowed are:

ff, hh, ss, ww.

3.3.8.3 Medial non-geminate CC clusters

These clusters typically begin with a syllable-final sonorant. The following syllable-initial consonant may be any full-fledged consonant phoneme. The most common type is the homorganic nasal-stop cluster. Those found in native vocabulary are:
\textit{mb}: témбу ‘traditions’.
\textit{nd}: sündù ‘child’s medicine’.
\textit{nt}: bënté ‘loincloth’.
\textit{nj}: kànjù ‘millet beer’.
\textit{ng}: kóngóró ‘chew on (bone)’
\textit{ŋk}: yóŋkù ‘soul’

Attested in Fulfulde loanwords:
\textit{mp}: hámpré ‘chew (tobacco)’.

There are no attestations for \#nc.

Another cluster that occurs in native vocabulary is this:
\textit{lg}: jélgè → ‘dangling’.

Other non-geminate \textit{CC} clusters attested are found mostly in loanwords, especially from Fulfulde. They include many combinations beginning with a sonorant \{\textit{y w r}\}.

\textit{yb}: hàybé ‘watch over’.
\textit{yk}: táyké ‘notice’.
\textit{yl}: léylà ‘night of 27th of Ramadan’.
\textit{yn}: làyné ‘chant (invoking God)’.
\textit{yr}: bóyrì ‘porridge’.
\textit{yt}: sèytâ:n ‘demon’.
\textit{wd}: jáwdù ‘livestock’.
\textit{wg}: fìwgù ‘be disoriented’.
\textit{wl}: dáwlè ‘renown’.
\textit{wt}: sáwt ‘be fed up’.
\textit{wy}: ñwyì ‘(hen) brood’.
\textit{wy}’n: jàwyì ‘branch out’.
\textit{rb}: dárboy ‘sword’.
\textit{rd}: wírdù ‘saying one’s beads’.
\textit{rg}: dòrgù ‘ransom’.
\textit{rk}: ñrkèle ‘armpit’.
\textit{rm}: bármá ‘pot’.
\textit{rn}: fàrnì: ‘wheat-flour fritters’.
\textit{rp}: màrpà: ‘rifle’.
\textit{rs}: mórsinè ‘large gunpowder horn’.
\textit{rt}: sártù ‘deadline’.
\textit{lb}: àlbárkà ‘thanks!’.
\textit{lc}: àlcêw ‘stirrup’.
\textit{lj}: áljútì ‘Friday’.
\textit{lk}: àlkàmì:sà ‘Thursday’.

3.3.8.4 Medial triple \textit{CCC} clusters

These are rare and occur only in Fulfulde loans. The attested clusters, illustrated below, consist of a sonorant \textit{y} or \textit{r} plus a homorganic nasal-stop cluster.

\textit{yn}: pòygòl ‘illumination’.
\textit{yj}: sàŋýøjì ‘Songhay (people)’.
\textit{rd}: bëndè ‘cattle disease’.
\textit{mb}: kàrmbù ‘horse’s muzzle’
In poorly assimilated loanwords there are also a few cases like *kɔmplɛ:* ‘(clothing) outfit’ (Fr *complet*).

3.3.8.5 Final **CC** clusters

None.

### 3.4 Vowels

#### 3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

The inventory of oral vowels is the same as for other Dogon languages. The vowel qualities are high {\textipa{i u}}, mid-height [+ATR] {\textipa{e o}}, mid-height [-ATR] {\textipa{ɛ ɔ}}, and low \textipa{a}. The qualities all occur in short and long forms.

(7) \begin{tabular}{c c c c}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short oral</th>
<th>Long oral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{u}</td>
<td>\textipa{u:}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{o}</td>
<td>\textipa{o:}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{ɛ}</td>
<td>\textipa{ɛ:}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{a}</td>
<td>\textipa{a:}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{ɛ}</td>
<td>\textipa{ɛ:}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{i}</td>
<td>\textipa{i:}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{tabular}

#### 3.4.2 Nasalized vowels

Phonemically nasalized vowels are fairly rare, except for a reasonable number with \textipa{a:vowel}. Examples below are sorted by vowel quality. Those with a high vowel have an expressive or onomatopoeic character. I know of no cases with +ATR \textipa{e} or \textipa{o} vocalism. The attested nasalized vowels are in (8).

(8) \begin{tabular}{c c c c}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short nasal</th>
<th>Long nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{u^n}</td>
<td>\textipa{u:.n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{ɛ^n}</td>
<td>\textipa{ɛ:.n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{a^n}</td>
<td>\textipa{a:.n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{ɛ^n}</td>
<td>\textipa{ɛ:.n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textipa{i^n}</td>
<td>\textipa{i:.n}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{tabular}

\textipa{jî^n} ‘odor’, \textipa{gî^n} (or \textipa{gîy^n}) ‘fart (noun)’, \textipa{cî^n-cà^n-cî^n} ‘creaking sound (onomatopoeic)’, \textipa{èsi^n→} ‘very much’ (intonational prolongation makes identification of phonological length
impossible), \( jíⁿ-jàⁿ \) ‘staggering or stumbling along’ (expressive adverbial), \( sîⁿ \) ‘liquid animal fat (for sauce)’.

\( sûⁿ-sûⁿ \) ‘breathe’.

\( kôⁿ \) ‘possession (of someone)’; \( jôⁿ-jôⁿ \) ‘make a criticism’.

\( cêⁿ \) ‘inheritance’.

\( aⁿ \) and \( aⁿ ; -kâⁿ \) ‘doers’ (agentive) as in \( sîrdì-kâⁿ \) ‘magicians’; \( gâⁿ \) ‘put-ers’ (agentive) as in \( yû:rû-gâⁿ \) ‘fortune-tellers who analyse fox tracks’, \( pâⁿ \) ‘take (a step)’, \( âjâyⁿ-jâⁿ \) ‘sow (seeds) in a pit with manure’.

---

3.4.3 Initial vowels

Words may begin with any oral vowel quality. Examples are \( árwú \) ‘thunder (verb)’, \( éwⁿⁿy \) ‘milk’, \( êwⁿⁿy \) ‘sit’, \( ôsù \) ‘road’, \( ùsû \) ‘sun’, \( êrëy \) ‘ripe’, \( ôrû \) ‘fresh’. Long vowels are uncommon but attested: \( í:nny \) ‘iron’.

3.4.4 Stem-final vowels

A fairly large number of nouns end in a long vowel, often with a <HL> or <LHL> tone: \( nàwⁿⁿaⁿ \) ‘meat’, \( lèmdéⁿ \) ‘tongue’

3.4.5 Vowel harmony

The active vowel-harmonic sets in Dogon languages are \{e o\} versus \{e o\}, whether analysed in terms of relative height or in terms of the feature \[±ATR\]. Typically vowels from the same set may co-occur, but mixing the two sets (especially within an unsegmentable stem) is not allowed. High vowels \{i u\} are extraharmonic and may combine with vowels of either set, while the relationship of \( a \) to the harmonic sets is variable. The languages differ as to whether vowel harmony extends through to the end of words (i.e. from stem or suffix, or vice-versa). In compounds, each stem may have its own harmonic character. Since nouns and adjectives have little suffixal morphology, the issues generally apply only to verbal derivation and inflection.

In BenT, uncompounded stems of all word-classes respect harmony at the lexical level and do not mix the two active sets. To a large extent this is a trivial consequence of the strong preference for repeating the same mid-height vowel quality across a stem, as in \( jëmbéⁿ \) ‘bag’, \( cë:léⁿ \) ‘do well’, \( sîrûⁿ \) ‘sprinkle’, and \( dôsôⁿ \) ‘(rain) strike’. In other words, even combinations of \( e \) with \( a \), or of \( e \) with \( o \), are uncommon. However, we do seem to have harmonic effects in the nativization of loanwords such as \( pîstôléⁿ \) ‘pistol’ from French, and \( hô:léⁿ \) ‘trust (verb)’ from Fulfulde.
3.5 Segmental phonological rules

3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.5.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading

Nasalization (from a nasal or nasalized consonant) can spreads from left to right within a word, affecting the sonorants \( \{ r \ w \ y \} \), which become \( \{ r^\prime w^\prime y^\prime \} \). The spreading occurs over intervening vowels, but is blocked by an intervening non-nasal consonant. Spreading is iterative within a word, so that e.g. /n…r…w…/ becomes \( n^\prime r^\prime w^\prime \). I do not normally transcribe the nasalization in word-final position in nouns and other non-verb words.

In reversive verbs (§9.1), note \( pî_y^\prime_r^\prime \) ‘shut’, reversive \( pî:a_r^\prime_r^\prime \) ‘open’ (i.e. ‘un-shut’). A causative example is \( áw_y^\prime_y^\prime \) ‘be swollen’, causative \( áw_y^\prime Y^\prime -w^\prime u \) ‘cause to swell’.

The situation is complicated by cases where the potential target of Nasalization-Spreading is separated by a vowel from a preceding original \( *mb \) or \( *ng \) cluster that now alternates between the original nasal-stop pronunciation and a simple nasal \( \{ m \} \), or that has now shifted entirely to the simple nasal pronunciation. In most such cases, Nasalization-Spreading fails to apply, which makes it important to transcribe nasalization in other words with similar sequences where it does apply. Examples of non-application are in (9).

Nasalization-Spreading does apply in \( èmêy^\prime \) ‘sorghum’ (compare Bankan Tey \( èmbêy \)) and for younger speakers in \( mày^\prime \) ‘hard’ (archaic \( ìnbây \) is also attested).

(9) a. \bámârà \ ‘Bambara (ethnicity)’
\mârâ \ ‘become lost’ (cf. Bankan Tey \( ìbârâ \))
\mî-râ- \ ‘not want’ (cf. Bankan Tey \( ìibrâ- \))
\dâmây \ ‘courtyard’ (cf. Bankan Tey \( ðámbây \))
\sùmbôy \ ‘earth, dirt’ (cf. Bankan Tey \( ðùmbôy \))

b. \tángây \ ~ \tángây \ ‘side’
\ŋû-rû \ ~ \nû-rû \ ‘here’
\kângôrò \ ~ \kàngôrò \ ‘stem’
\ångôrò \ ~ \ångôrò \ ‘husband’

Furthermore, some verbal inflectional endings undergo Nasalization-Spreading while others do not. In particular, the (third) plural category appears to be allergic to secondary nasalization. For example, perfective negative suffix \(-rí-\) is regularly nasalized to \(-r^\prime í-\) in combinations like \( nî-r^\prime í-\) ‘did not give’ (verb \( nî-\)), hence 3Sg \( nî-r^\prime í-ò \), 1Sg \( nî-r^\prime í-ý^\prime \), 1Pl \( nî-r\prime í-ý^\prime . \), 2Sg \( nî-r\prime í-ù^\prime w \), and 2Pl \( nî-r\prime í-ù^\prime w . \), but the 3Pl form is \( nî-r-á \) ‘they did not give’ with unasalized \( r \). Likewise, a suffix \(-yè\) with various plural or 3Pl functions (plural of adjectives, 3Pl of imperative), does not nasalize: \( nî-yè \) ‘they do/will give’. Other suffixes that do not nasalize are perfective \(-rê-\) (\( nû: -rê-\) ‘did not go in’), progressive \(-râ-\) (\( nû: -râ-\) ‘is not going in’), and purposive \(-râ: -rê: \).
3.5.2 Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs

3.5.2.1 Suffixal Vowel-Spreading

Reversive suffix -rv- occurs (disregarding nasalization of the rhotic to r” in the forms -rô- (interchangeable with -ro-), -rõ-, and -rê-. The less common surface forms -rô- and -rê- continue the o or e vocalism of the input stem or at least its final syllable (kúmjó-rô- ‘uncrumple’, gólô-rô- ‘uncover’, néngé-rê- ‘become uncaught’). The example píré-rí- ‘get unbossed’ shows that -rí- may occur even where the phonological conditions permitting -rê- appear to be present. For the data, see §9.1.

Causative -wú- has invariant suffixal vocalism (§9.2.1), as does the minor causative suffix -gí- (§9.2.2). The vocalism of transitive suffix -rv- (rarely -l-, §9.4) is consistent with that of reversive -rv- (surface forms are -rû- and -rê-). In di-rê- ‘bathe (someone)’ from intransitive dî-yê- ‘bathe’, and in sf-lê- ‘take down’ from intransitive sf-yê- ‘go down’, the suffixal e is carried over from the intransitive stem-final vowel, even though its syllable is truncated in the causative. Data are in §9.2.

Deadjectival inchoatives are tricky, since they are not necessarily formed by adding a suffix directly to the adjective. Focusing on the form of the inchoative verb itself, we note that stem-wide vocalism limited to {o u} vowels is associated with -lô- ~ -rô-, i.e. with suffixal o (dûgû- ‘fat’, inchoative dûgû-lô-; dûsû- ‘heavy’, inchoative dûsû-lô-; kûnjú-m ‘coarse’, inchoative kûnjú-lô-, õrá-m ‘smooth’, inchoative ólô-rô-; nûm ‘difficult’, inchoative nûm-dô-). There are some unusual cases where an e or a in the adjective is associated with a shift to e vocalism the suffix and in the stem itself in the inchoative (érîm ‘sweet’, inchoative élê-rê-; pîtê ‘white’, inchoative pîlê-rê-; jêwê- ‘black’, inchoative jêm-dê-; pârû-m ‘sour’, inchoative pâlê-rê-; gârû-m ‘bitter’, inchoative gâlê-rê-). We also get suffixal e in sîn ‘pointed’, inchoative sîm-dê-, i.e. in the one case where the adjective has only i vowel(s). Other stems with an {e a}, and all stems with an ñ anywhere in the stem, have i in the suffix: gûrê- ‘long’, inchoative gûlû-rî-; èsû- ‘good’, inchoative èsù-lî-; àsù-m ‘half-sweet, slightly bitter’, inchoative ìsí-lî-, and a few others. See §9.7 for more data.

3.5.2.2 Presuffixal V2-Raising

In verbal derivation, the final syllable of a CvCv- (or similar) input sometimes shifts to a high vowel.

In reversives, a shift from stem-final {e a} to a high vowel occurs in several cases (which also have i as the suffixal vowel): pêgê- ‘nail (verb)’, reversive pêgî-rî- ‘remove (nail)’; pâyá- ‘tie’, reversive pâgî-rî- ‘untie’, ìrê- ‘forget’, reversive îlî-rî- ‘remember; târê- ‘paste, affix’, reversive tâlî-rî- ‘unpaste, remove (something affixed)’. I know of no reversives involving input stem-final ñ. When the input stem-final is {e o}, no shift occurs in this vowel before the suffix: gôrô- ‘cover’, reversive gôlô-rô- ‘uncover’; néngéyê- be caught in tree’, reversive néngé-rê- ‘become uncaught’, pîrê- ‘get unbossed’, pîrê-rî- ‘get unbossed’. For data see §9.1.

There is no shift in stem-final vowel quality before causative -wû- (§9.2.1). With a different causative suffix allomorph, we do get vowel raising in îrê- ‘go up’, causative îlô-rî- ‘take up’. Similarly, the two verbs with causative -gî- (kâwá- ‘separate oneself’ and sâyá- ‘be dispersed’) delete the stem-final a, presumably after first raising it to a high vowel: kâw-gî- ‘separate (X from Y)’, sây-gî- ‘disperse (others)’.
Overall there is reasonable evidence for a process raising stem-final {e a ɔ} in nonmonosyllabic stems to a high vowel (variably pronounced i or u) before a verbal derivational suffix other than causative -wu-.

3.5.3 Vocalic rules sensitive to syllabic or metrical structure

3.5.3.1 Vowel-Lengthening before verbal derivational suffix

\(Cv\) with short vowel is an acceptable shape for verb stems, e.g. \(tɔ́ \text{‘step on’}\). Such short vowels are lengthened before derivational (but not inflectional) suffixes: reversive derivative \(tɔ́-rǐ\) ‘remove foot from (something that one has stepped on)’ but e.g. perfective (inflectional) \(tɔ́-wù\) ‘stepped on’. Causative examples include \(pɛ́- \text{‘eat (meal)’}\), causative \(nɛ́-wù\) ‘feed, give food to’ and \(nú-\text{‘enter’}\), causative \(nú-\text{‘cause to enter’}\).

Failure to lengthen was observed in irregular (frozen) causatives that involve truncation of an intransitive \(Cv-yy\) stem to \(Cv\), rather than an underlying /\(Cv/\) stem: \(dì-yé\) ‘bathe, take a bath’, causative \(dì-\text{‘bathe (someone)’}\); \(sì-yé\) ‘go down’, causative \(sì-lé\) ‘take down’.

3.5.3.2 Syncope and Apocope

A short high vowel \(\{i u\}\) can be deleted at the end of an unsuffixed stem (nouns, verbs, etc.), or at the end of a stem before a consonant-initial suffix (verbs). The deletion is generally optional. Syncope denotes deletion before a suffix, while Apocope is the term for word-final deletion not specifically involving a following word. For a discussion of weak metrical positions, those that lend themselves to reduction or deletion of a vowel, see §3.2.2, above.

When the stem in question ends in \(\ldots yi\) or \(\ldots wu\), the deletion is very common and the variant without the final high vowel is the most common form heard. For example, verb \(dèwù\) ‘cover (something)’ is normally heard as \(dèw\), both as simple \(dè\) in chains and in suffixed forms like perfective-1b \(dèw-tì:-∅\). Pronunciations \(dèwù\) and \(dèwù-tì:-∅\) are possible in careful speech. The bisyllabic character of such verbs is better brought out in e.g. imperative \(dèwà\) (with a vowel mutation) and imperfective \(dì-\text{‘he/she covers’}\). Other verbs with similar patterns include \(àwù\) ‘receive’, \(dà:yí\) ‘encounter’, and \(wàyí\) ‘hold’, which are heard as \(à\), \(dà\), and \(wà\) in the relevant environments.

Of the other sonorants, \(r\) is frequently associated with Syncope and Apocope in similar positions. Examples are \(nàrì\) ‘call’, \(bàrì\) ‘help’, and \(làrì\) ‘chase’, which are often heard as \(nà\), \(bà\), and \(là\).

Nouns like \(yàrù\) ‘cloudy weather’ have both full and reduced (\(yà\)) pronunciations, with the full pronunciation favored in isolation and the reduced one common before a consonant-initial word, as in \(yàr gò\) ‘cloudy weather go out (= end)’.
3.5.4 Local consonant cluster and consonant sequence rules

3.5.4.1 Derhoticization (/rⁿ/ to n)

It is difficult to find contexts where a short vowel following /rⁿ/ obligatorily syncopates (or apocopates). The forms of the word-family ‘red’ retain a vowel after rⁿ, e.g. adjective bárⁿà ‘red’. There is no synchronic rⁿ in e.g. káyⁿ ‘do, make’.

The best example of /rⁿ/ → n is probably the agentive compound tin-tīrⁿ⁻m ‘wood-gatherer’, whose initial is the noun tīrⁿú ∼ tīrⁿí ‘firewood’.

Stem- or word-final …rⁿi or …rⁿu optionally drop the vowel before certain consonants, especially alveolars {t d n}, and in this case the /rⁿ/ may be realized as n.

3.5.4.2 Rhotic Assimilation

There are no synchronically clear cases, since a short high vowel after r or rⁿ does not usually totally syncopate or apocopate. For a list of stems with ll, which in other northeastern Dogon languages sometimes arise from *rl, see §3.3.8.2.

3.5.4.3 /yⁿr/ → n in perfective negative

Perfective negative /-r̥i/ combines with final /yⁿ/ in verb stems to produce -nî-. The three verbs with final yⁿ are káyⁿ ‘do, make’, gáyⁿ ‘put’, and guyⁿ ‘say’. Their perfective negative forms are kâ-nî-, gâ-nî-, and gu-nî-. The origin of this shift is more complex than the synchronic data suggest. ‘Do, make’ has cognates in other Dogon languages with bisyllabic shape and a medial consonant {n j rⁿ}, e.g. Jamsay kárⁿá-.

3.5.4.4 /yⁿr/ → l in hortative negative and purposive

The /yⁿ/ of the three Cvyn verbs (see preceding section) combine with hortative negative -r̥-m/ (§10.5.6) to give -lê-mî. Thus ká-lê-mî ‘let’s not do!’ from káyⁿ ‘do’, and gâ-lê-mî ‘let’s not put!’ from gáyⁿ. The same fusion occurs with purposive subordinator /-r̥á:/ (§17.5.1.1), e.g. kâ-lá: ‘in order to do’.

3.5.4.5 /r…r/ becomes l…r or l…l in verbal morphology

Reversive verbs (§9.1) normally add -r̥- suffix to the stem. When the stem is of the shape Cvyr with medial r, the output in most cases is Cvyl-rv- rather than #Cvyr-rv- (10a), converging with the output from input stem Cvyl (10b). This suggests that a dissimilatory shift of /r…r/ to l…r has taken place in the reversives in (10a). That this is not fully productive is suggested by one exception in (10c), which involves a somewhat less common reverse (therefore less likely to be lexicalized).
The causative suffix allomorph -rú- is responsible for a similar, though frozen and isolated, alternation in ʊ̀rú- ‘go up’, causative ʊlú-rú- ‘take up’.

Similar alternations take place in deadjectival inchoative verbs, where we get e.g. े́řù-m ‘sweet’, inchoative élé-rí- ‘become sweet’, and gùrù- ‘long’, inchoative gùlù-rí- ‘become long’; for more examples see §9.7.

These alternations are typical of suffixal derivation, but are not systematic in AN inflection. In particular, perfective negative -rú- does not regularly induce the shift of an r in the stem to l. Thus tèrè-rí- ‘did not chop’, gùrù-rí- ‘did not steal’, bàngirì-rí- ‘did not hide’, etc.

However, the verb bèrè- ‘get, obtain’ does combine with perfective negative -rú- as bèl-li- ‘did not get’, a form that is multiply attested in texts. The key difference between bèl-li- and e.g. tèrè-rí- is syncope, which is not regular for Cvrv- verbs with final non-high vowels but which does apply idiosyncratically to /bèrè-rí-. When syncope does apply, the resulting /rú/ cluster is realized as Il. Evidently /rú/ is disfavored. Indeed, rr clusters do not occur within stems, in native Dogon vocabulary, though there are some Fulfulde loans like yàrrù-rè ‘tolerance’.

Another example of the Il output from /rú/ after syncope is siyè-l = là: from /sìyè-rí = rà:/ ‘it has not gone down’ (text 2005.1b.05). Another is dà:l-li-, syncopated variant of dà:rlí- ‘did not please’.

The shift /vrú/ to Il is arguably accomplished in two stages, a dissimilation to /rúl/ or /l(ə)rú/ (perhaps before syncope), followed by an assimilation (after syncope) to Il. There is one attestation of unassimilated rl, namely láyà:r=x = lá ‘it isn’t a sacrificial animal’, for /láyà:rlí = rà/, text 2005.1b.04, where only the dissimilation has occurred (noun láyà:Hú is a multisyllabic Fulfulde loanword and apparently resists modification of its rhotic, but the clitic shifts r to l. On the other hand, we have seen unassimilated lur from /vrú/ in unsyncopated reversives (10a). Underlying /vrú/ also becomes as Il after syncope in tàl-li-, syncopated variant of tàll-ri- ‘did not transform’ (§10.2.3.2).

3.5.4.6  {w wʷ} → m

When a stem with shape like Cvvw- or Cvwwv- undergoes Syncope or Apocope of the final vowel, the new syllable-final semivowel is converted to m under limited conditions. This may occur in conjunction with a shift in a following consonant from {r l} to d as well.

The adjective ìm ‘plump’ corresponds to inchoative verb (‘become ADJ’) áw¾é- ‘become plump’. Here the alternation of m with w is clearly conditioned by syllabic position.

Many other inchoatives are formed using inchoative derivational suffix -lú- or less often -rú- (§9.7). In the case of ‘black’, we get adjective jéw¾é- but inchoative
verb stem is vowel occur in verbal morphology. The usual reduplicative syllable is an initial
í morpheme, where the few suffixes are consonant
features of the first vowel.

Thus  ámb ‘hot, fast’, animate singular ámb-n, animate plural ámb-n. The shift also does not occur before reverse derivational suffix -rí- (§9.1), to judge by the one known example: ámb ‘cover (object)’, reverse ámb-rí- ‘uncover (object)’. It does not apply before the minor causative suffix -gí- in ámb-‘separate oneself’, causative ámb-‘separate (X from Y)’.

3.5.4.7 /r/ → d

Negative clitics beginning with r, and verbal derivational suffixes beginning with r, shift the liquid to d after a nasal.

The most common case is stative negative clitic =rá-. It becomes =dá in e.g. i = m = dá ‘it isn’t me’, where it follows the ‘it is’ clitic =m, see §11.3.4.

See also dim-di- ‘cause to follow’ with transitive suffix (§9.4) from /dimbi-ri/-, and tím-di- ‘uncover (remove lid)’ from /timbí-ri/- with reverse suffix (§9.1), in both cases after Syncope.

3.5.4.8 CCC simplification

If a disallowed triple consonant cluster is produced by syncope from /CCvC/, the cluster is simplified. The examples known to me involve /mbvr/ becoming md, for example in dim-di- ‘take (sth) along’, transitive of mediopassive dimbi-yí- ‘follow’, and in tím-di- ‘take lid off’, reverse of tímbi- ‘put a lid on’. I interpret this as deletion of the /b/, followed by hardening of /r/ to d, see §3.5.4.7 just above.

3.5.5 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.5.5.1 VV-Contraction

Contraction of two vowels to one vowel occurs in verbal morphology.

In verbs, the progressive suffix appears as :-rè-, i.e. as lengthening of a stem-final vowel followed by rà. The suffix could be represented as /-vè/- with an underspecified initial vowel (“v”) that contracts with a preceding short vowel to form a long vowel with the quality features of the first vowel.

The perfective-1b suffix likewise appears as :-rè-, and could be represented as /-vè-./

There are no opportunities for VV-Contraction to arise in nominal inflectional morphology, where the few suffixes are consonant-initial.

Hiatus between vowels requires a glottal stop (arguably nonphonemic), as in the noun /-èw-yè-w ‘tree sp.’ (Spondias), which may be reduplicative. Clearer cases of reduplication occur in verbal morphology. The usual reduplicative syllable is an initial Cl-, but when the verb stem is vowel-initial (as in èw-yè- ‘sit’) we get reduplicated forms like /-èw-yè-w ‘he/she is sitting’, again with glottal stop between the i and the first e.
3.5.6 Local vowel-consonant interactions

3.5.6.1 Fluctuation between short high vowels {i u}

There is much fluctuation between the two short high vowels, especially in noninitial syllables of verb stems. While the same verb can be heard in different variants in the same positions, some of the fluctuation involves assimilation to an adjoining consonant, especially semivowels y versus w but also {j c p} versus m, and/or to a non-low front versus back vowel in an adjoining syllable (this vowel may itself be unstable).

My general sense is that short high vowels in noninitial syllables of verb stems tend toward unrounded [i] when adjacent segments are not rounded or labial. Thus yɔ̀lì- ‘(meat) become tender’ seems more common than yɔ̀lù- in spite of the initial -syllable ɔ, while the causative yɔ̀lù-rù-wù- favors rounded vowels because of the w of the causative suffix.

3.5.6.2 Monophthongization (/iy/ to i; /uw/ to u:)

Syllable-final (i.e. word-final or preconsonantal) /iy/ monophthongizes phonetically to [i:], and /uw/ likewise monophthongizes to [u:]. In general I transcribe ɔy and uw since this brings out the morphological structure more clearly.

Examples are the perfective-1b combinations 1Sg -tí-ỳ [tíì], and 2Sg -tú-ẁ [túù], and a few similar cases in verbal inflectional morphology. This transcriptional practice permits an orthographic distinction in the perfective-1b between 1Sg -tí-ỳ and 3Sg -tì-∅ (the latter is from -tì-∅/ with the /ì/ lengthened to permit articulation of the contour tone), although the two are homophonous.

Further examples occur in bare stems of nonmonosyllabic verb stems ending in sequences like /…iyi/ and /…iwu/. When the final short vowel syncopates or apocopates, we get syllable-final /iy/ and /uw/, which then monophthongize. This happens with e.g. dɔ̀gìyí- ‘look up at’, bàngì-yí- ‘hide (oneself)’, and gɔ̀njúwú- ‘turn around (and go back)’, which appear in some contexts as [dɔ́gi:] etc..

Inanimate suffix -w may be added to adjectives that end in u, as in yɔ̀rù-ẁ ‘tender (e.g. meat)’, which is heard as [jřrù].

3.6 Cliticization

The boundary between clitics (enclitics) and suffixes is not sharp. All clitics are of the phonological (rather than floating) type; that is, they are independent functional elements that happen to be pronounced as part of the preceding word. The best candidates for clitic status are those mentioned below.

If Nasalization-Spreading is determined to be characteristic of word-internal morphology, the failure of a “suffixal” {y w r} to be nasalized after a nasal syllable could be taken as an indicator of clitic status. In this analysis, passive -yèy (§9.5), adjectival plural -yè (§4.5.1), and even progressive -rà (§10.2.2.3) would have to be reassigned to clitic status. I am reluctant to do this, since the progressive is in other respects clearly suffixal, but readers may disagree.
3.6.1 ‘it is’ clitic = ḿ ~ = ∅

The ‘it is’ morpheme is classified as a clitic on phonological as well as semantic grounds. The phonology of this clitic is complex and heavily morphologized, and I cover it in the section on this clitic (§11.2.1).

3.6.2 Past clitic = bè-

The motivation for treating this as a clitic is that it constitutes an outer morphological layer with its own pronominal-subject inflection, following a (somewhat reduced) internal verb-suffix combination; see §10.4.1.

3.6.3 Stative negative = rá-

Stative negative = rá- (§10.2.3.4) is more clitic-like than the regular perfective and imperfective negative suffixes. It is added to already complete word forms, rather than replacing a positive suffix. It can also be added to the positive ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.4).

3.7 Tones

Tones at the level of syllables are H[igh], L[ow], <LH> (rising), <HL> (falling), and bell-shaped <LHL>. There are no <HLH> syllables, though /HLH/ melody is allowed in nonmonosyllabic stems. Angled brackets are used to express contour tones within a syllable. Stem- or word-level patterns involving more than one syllable, including at least one contour tone, are expressed as e.g. H.<HL> (H followed by <HL>).

**Contour-toned syllables usually have at least two moras.** In other words, light Cv syllables are normally simple H or L. Exceptions are Cv verb stems, and initial Cv syllables in nouns when 1Sg possessor (floating L-tone) docks from the left to create Cv. In these exceptional cases, the rising tone is difficult to hear. Heavy Cv or CvC and superheavy Cv:C syllables may be H, L, <LH>, <HL>, or <LHL>. There is no increase in duration for <LHL> as opposed to <HL> or <LH> syllables; the three tone segments are articulated over a similar duration, with the initial L-tone segment generally brief. Thus jë: ‘bring’ does not have noticeably greater duration than e.g. cë: ‘scale’, and gåw ‘tall’ is pronounced with a short vowel.

3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.7.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

Lexically, each stem must have at least one H-tone segment, i.e., at least one H, <LH>, <HL>, or <LHL> syllable. This applies to noun, adjective, numeral, verb, and adverb stems. It does not necessarily apply to functional elements such as pronominal clitics and clause-final subordinating morphemes.
For the possibility that some nouns might have no lexical H-tones, see §3.7.1.7. Whether lexical or not, even these nouns must have at least one H-tone element in surface forms, except when an \{L\} overlay has erased all lexical tones.

3.7.1.2 Lexical tone patterns for verbs

In their bare stem (used in chains and before many inflectional suffixes), regular verbs end in an H-tone. The primary tone melodies are /H/ (all-high) and /LH/ (rising). Every verb is lexically either /H/ or /LH/, except for one /LHL/ verb, \(jê\): ‘bring’. A verb-stem-initial voiced obstruent \(\{b\ d\ j\ g\}\) is strongly associated with /LH/ melody, and the counterexamples are mostly Fulfulde loanwords. A verb-stem-initial voiceless obstruent \(\{p\ t\ c\ k\ s\}\) is strongly associated with /H/ melody. Stems beginning with a sonorant or with zero initial consonant (i.e. with initial vowel) have a lexical choice between /H/ and /LH/. The voicing of noninitial consonants is irrelevant to lexical tone melody. As will be indicated below, the strong association between initial-obstruent voicing and tone melody applies only to verb stems, and even for verbs it is often overridden.

For /LH/ stems, the tone break is just before the right edge of the stem. The patterns are therefore \(Cv\), \(C\acute{e}\), \(C\acute{e}C\acute{v}\), \(C\acute{e}:C\acute{v}\), \(C\acute{e}C\acute{e}C\acute{v}\), etc. This pattern is enforced for suffixal derivatives as well as for underived stems; for example, a \(C\acute{e}C\acute{e}\) stem has suffixal derivatives of the shape \(C\acute{e}C\acute{e}-C\acute{v}\).

Examples of lexical verb stems of one syllable (not counting reduplicative \(Ci\)-) are in (11). For a fuller list see §10.1.3.

(11) Monosyllabic verb tone melodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nû)</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nî)</td>
<td>‘eat (meal)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kây)</td>
<td>‘do, make’</td>
<td>§10.1.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LH/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gô)</td>
<td>‘go out’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yê)</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>§10.1.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nû)</td>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gây)</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>§10.1.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gûy)</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>§10.1.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. &lt;LHL&gt; melody (only example)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jê)</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>§10.1.3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some bisyllabic and longer stems of /H/ and /LH/ melodies are in (12).
Nonmonosyllabic verb tone melodies

a. /H/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tīwé</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páyá</td>
<td>‘tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pégírí</td>
<td>‘unbutton’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tógóró</td>
<td>‘chew’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. /LH/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jiyé</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wàrá</td>
<td>‘do farm work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wà:r’i</td>
<td>‘spread out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biliré</td>
<td>‘roll oneself (on the ground)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàŋgírí</td>
<td>‘break in half’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cv:Cv- stems with /LH/ melody are pronounced Cv:Cv- in careful speech. However, especially when the final vowel is {i u} and the medial consonant is a sonorant, syncope can occur, resulting in Cv:Cv-. A pronunciation Cv:Cy- is also possible, with the pitch rise jumping the gun. An example is bà:rú- ~ bà:ri- ‘go around (obstacle)’, whose alternative pronunciations include bà:r- and bà:ri- (with faintly articulated final vowel).

These lexical melodies are subject to modification in inflected forms. See chapter 10 for details.

3.7.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

Nouns are subject to the general rule that there must be at least one H-tone segment in the stem, but are otherwise rather unconstrained. Unlike verbs (in their lexical melody), nouns may end in either an L- or H-tone.

Examples of lexical stems of one syllable (not counting reduplicative Ci-) are in (13). The animate singular suffix -m present in some examples does not affect the tone.

(13) stem gloss

a. H tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yí-m</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>‘time(s)’ (with numeral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná:</td>
<td>‘entire (e.g. plant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔ:m</td>
<td>‘(a) Dogon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. <LH> tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yǎ:</td>
<td>‘women’ (Sg. yǎ-m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pǒ:</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něm</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. <HL> tone
   kü: ‘head’
   kô: ‘scab’
   yû: ‘millet’
   dâm ‘gunpowder’

d. <LHL> tone (fairly full list, excluding C̃-y verbal nouns)
   ð̃: ‘guinea-fowls’
   ŋ̃: ‘fiber, tree bark’ (contrast ɔ̃: ‘chiefs’)
   dĩ: ‘Dogon’
   mĩ: ‘cut (wound)’
   g̃ô: ‘fire’
   g̃à:n ‘pigeons’
   b̃ē:n ‘beard’
   b̃ā:n ‘tibia of bird’s leg’

   with initial L-toned Ci-/Cu- reduplication
   tl-t̃i: ‘hyenas’ (Sg tl-t̃i:-m)
   ci-c̃è: ‘beetles, bugs’
   kĩ-kā: ‘grasshoppers’
   sî-s̃i: ‘grubs, worms’
   j̃i-jē:n ‘flies’
   t̃u-t̃u: ‘termites’
   tl-t̃y: ‘dancing ground’

   with initial H-toned Ci-/Cu- reduplication
   g̃i-g̃a:n ‘crows’
   gū-gū: (pèrè-girè gū-gū: ‘vinaceous dove’)

   with L-toned compound initial
   sàwā-s̃ē: ‘tall grass sp. (Andropogon)’

e. <HLH> tone
   [none]

Some rather complex tonal patterns occur in noun stems of two or more syllables. However, these stems are probably understood as prosodically composite by native speakers. Hyphenation is usually omitted in (14), but the natural prosodic break is suggested by spaces (not used elsewhere) and by the tone formulae above. If divided in the manner suggested, the tone patterns of the components are unremarkable.

(14) stem gloss
  /H/ /LH/
  á-kùngûr̃ ‘giant turtles’ (§4.1.6)

  /H/ /LHL/
  k̃ɔr p̃è: ‘tree sp.’ (Piliostigma)
  sâ gò: ‘ostriches’
  tîŋ gò: ‘hornbills’
  ʈ- ꞉w’r̃è ‘tree sp.’ (Spondias)
\[\text{pété pé}: \text{‘grasshopper sp.’ (Oedaleus)}\]
\[\text{sə̀gırə̀ sə̀}: \text{‘grasshopper sp.’ (Kraussella)}\]
\[\text{pélé giré}: \text{‘doves’}\]
\[\text{-sá kélé}: \text{‘tiny scorpions’ (compound final)}\]

/\text{LH}/ /\text{H}/
\[\text{pòrú yóló} \text{‘weaver (bird)’}\]
\[\text{gòróm gómjó} \text{‘millipedes’}\]

/\text{LH}/ /\text{HL}/
\[\text{jòlóm jórù} \text{‘herb sp.’ (Xysmalobium)}\]
\[\text{pèlém pérù} \text{‘tall herb sp.’ (Aeschynomene)}\]

/\text{LH}/ /\text{LH}/
\[\text{mài kirə̀} \text{‘tree sp.’ (Maerua)}\]

/\text{LH}/ /\text{LHL}/
\[\text{ārə̀ wēy} \text{‘tree sp.’ (Crataeva)}\]
\[\text{bā: kó}: \text{‘glossy starling sp.’}\]
\[\text{tùtù: bëndè} \text{‘herb sp.’ (Cassia)}\]
\[\text{kèrë̀y kë:sù} \text{‘shellfish’}\]

/\text{L}/ /\text{LHL}/
\[\text{yì-të}: \text{‘children’ (plural of yì-\text{m})}\]
\[\text{yà-të}: \text{‘female (lizard)’ (cf. yà- ‘woman’)}\]
\[\text{kòtò kò}: \text{‘lice’}\]

With these compound-like forms factored out, the regular lexical tone melodies for noun stems are /\text{H}/, /\text{HL}/, /\text{LH}/, /\text{LHL}/, and /\text{HLH}/. The melodies are best illustrated with stems of two syllables, not counting any initial reduplication (15). /\text{LHL}/ is rather typical of BenT nouns. /\text{L}/ is ruled out by the constraint that all noun stems must have at least one H-tone element. This constraint insures that tonosyntactically controlled tone-dropping is always audible.

(15) melody stem gloss

/\text{H}/ \text{ki-kéré-m} ‘cricket’
/\text{HL}/ \text{tèrò} ‘mountain’
/\text{LH}/ \text{jèsú} ‘body’
/\text{LHL}/ \text{sèngû:} ‘waterjar’
/\text{HLH}/ \text{bìsèm} ‘tree sp. (Acacia tortilis)’

3.7.1.4 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

\textbf{Adjectives} are generally mono- or bisyllabic. The tone patterns (allowing for possible accidental gaps) appear to be the same as for nouns.
The inventory of numerals is more limited. The attested tone patterns are illustrated in (17). There is no clear indication that numerals differ from nouns, and adjectives, in their tonal possibilities.

(16)  stem          gloss

a. /H/ melody
   nínáyⁿ  ‘respectable’
   pílɛ́  ‘white’

b. /LH/ melody
   lā-  ‘other’ (*lā-w, lā-m, lā:*)
   mā:  ‘dry’
   gōlú  ‘crooked’
   kôrôy  ‘empty, bare’
   bôlôrôy  ‘half-ripe’

c. /HL/ melody
   ɔ́w  ‘hot’
   kâlâ  ‘new’
   ɛ́rù-  ‘sweet’ (*ɛ́rù-m, etc.)
   tâm  ‘cold’

d. /LHL/ melody
   mènjé-  ‘thin’ (*mènjé-w etc.)
   sòsù-  ‘nearby’ (*sòsù-w, etc.)
   sô:rô  ‘young’

(17)  stem          gloss

a. /H/ melody
   pérú  ‘ten’

b. /LH/ melody
   tà:nú  ‘three’
   nǐ:yⁿ  ‘four’
   nùmúyⁿ  ‘five’
   tê:sîm  ‘nine’

c. /HL/ melody
   súyⁿɔ́yⁿ  ‘seven’
   gá:rây  ‘eight’

d. /LHL/ melody, in part
   tûwⁿɔ́5-  ‘one’ (*tûwⁿɔ́5|tûwⁿɔ́5-m|tûwⁿɔ́5-yɛ́, cf. tûwⁿɔ́5: ‘same’)
3.7.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

The bitonal melodies are /HL/ and /LH/. Both are well-attested for nouns and other non-verb stems. In some /LH/ cases, one could argue that the final H-tone is secondary.

There is no suspense about tone-component location when the stem is monosyllabic, or a bimoraic (i.e. CvCv) bisyllabic (18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(18)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;</td>
<td>bì:&quot;</td>
<td>‘tree sp.’ (Sclerocarya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gùy:&quot;</td>
<td>‘sedge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jìx:&quot;</td>
<td>‘hares’ (Sg jìx:&quot;-m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sè:</td>
<td>‘mongooses’ (Sg sè:-m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;HL&gt;</td>
<td>sù:</td>
<td>‘francolin (bird)’ (Sg sù:-m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>à:&quot;</td>
<td>‘bee’ (Sg à:&quot;-m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ò:</td>
<td>‘mice’ (Sg ò-m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L.H

| wàr"ú | ‘tree sp.’ (Anogeiusssus) |
| dûrú | ‘spear for fruits’ |
| sîsì | ‘father’s sister’ |

H.L

| lòsù | ‘duiker (mammal)’ |
| wàrà | ‘daba (hoe)’ |

In bisyllabics of the types Cv:Cv and CvCCv, the tone break is at the syllable boundary (19).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(19)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.H</td>
<td>pè:lú</td>
<td>‘tree sp.’ (Detarium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kà:rù</td>
<td>‘crack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kà:sá</td>
<td>‘wool (fabric)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jàmbá</td>
<td>‘betrayal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jòlòjò</td>
<td>‘foot-chain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.L</td>
<td>jà:sù</td>
<td>‘shiftlessness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tò:rù</td>
<td>‘idol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dàwlè</td>
<td>‘recognized value’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sàlgù</td>
<td>‘ablutions’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32
When the second syllable of a bisyllabic stem has two moras, the situation is more complex. Stems of this shape with /LH/ melody have the tone break at the syllable boundary if the final syllable is \( Cv \): with long vowel (20a), but delay it to the final moraic boundary when the final syllable is diphthongal \( Cvy \) (20b). Stems of this shape with /HL/ melody have the tone break at the syllable boundary if the final syllable is \( Cv \): (20c), but those with final \( CvC \) (diphthongal or not) divide into two sets, one with syllable-boundary tone break (20d) and the other with final-mora break (20e). (20d) seems to be typical of native vocabulary, (20e) of Fulfulde loanwords.

(20) stem       gloss

a. LH with break at syllable boundary
   \( \text{final } Cv: \)
   \( \text{sà:yú:} \quad \text{‘wild fonio grass’} \)
   \( \text{ɔ̀rɔ̀} \quad \text{‘(the) bush, outback’} \)
   \( \text{dùmdò} \quad \text{‘end (finish)’} \)

b. L\(<LH>\) with break in middle of final syllable
   \( \text{final } Cvc \)
   \( \text{pèrèy} \quad \text{‘caïlcédrat tree’} \)
   \( \text{jàmsèy} \quad \text{‘grass sp.’} \)
   \( \text{ɔ̀sɔ̀} \quad \text{‘tree sp.’ (Grewia)} \)
   \( \text{cìrgèy} \quad \text{‘spike, point (of spear)’} \)
   \text{morphologically composite}
   \( \text{gù:-gù} \quad \text{‘shrub sp.’ (Calotropis)} \)
   \( \text{à-kì} \quad \text{‘edible winged termites’} \)

c. H.L. with break at syllable boundary
   \( \text{final } Cv: \)
   \( \text{wúrò} \quad \text{‘shrub sp.’ (Salvadora)} \)
   \( \text{sinjì} \quad \text{‘knee’} \)
   \( \text{kúrì} \quad \text{‘rosary, prayer beads’ (variant)} \)

d. H.L. with break at syllable boundary
   \( \text{final } Cvc \) (also a few numerals like \( súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ \) ‘seven’)
   \( \text{ɛwⁿèyⁿ} \quad \text{‘milk’} \)
   \( \text{sòmòyⁿ} \quad \text{‘spices’} \)
   \( \text{ʃwⁿɔ̀yⁿ} \quad \text{‘cemetery’} \)
   \( \text{térèw} \quad \text{‘truth’} \)
   \( \text{sàdàm} \quad \text{‘expense’} \)

e. H.<HL> with break in middle of final syllable
   \( \text{final } Cvc \) (mostly Fulfulde loans)
   \( \text{dàrbòy} \quad \text{‘single-edged sword’} \)
   \( \text{kà:fiy} \quad \text{‘sword’} \)
   \( \text{pòynəgöl} \quad \text{‘illumination (on horizon)’} \)
   \( \text{tìləy} \quad \text{‘certainty’} \)
   \( \text{gàrbəl} \quad \text{‘animal market’} \)
In bitonal trisyllabic stems that are not treated prosodically as composite, if the final syllable has only one mora, the tone break is always at the final syllable boundary (21). Some quadrisyllabic L.L.L.H cases are also included in (21), but they are most likely structured prosocially as L.L-L.H compounds.

(21) stem gloss

L.L.H with final monomoraic syllable
- ñsró ‘baobab tree’
- kěrkélé ‘tree sp.’ (Dalbergia)
- gàngàrá ‘herb sp.’ (Cassia)
- biyá:kú ‘guava’

L.L.L.H with final monomoraic syllable
- dōn-gōm-dō:kú ‘bury herb sp.’ (Pupalia)
- kàmàkàrò ‘vine sp.’ (Leptadenia)
- àsàpèrú ‘herb sp.’ (Cassia)

H.H.L
- kóngólù ‘doum palm’
- tí-táwrú ‘tree sp.’ (Boscia)
- sàtèllè ‘tree sp.’ (Bauhinea)
- ná:fígù ‘trouble-maker’

However, there are a minority of trisyllabic /LH/ noun stems that shift tones after the first syllable (22). I suspect that most of these examples are etymologically composite (L-HH with L-toned initial). ànsá:rá is borrowed and was probably contracted from *ànisá:rá as in some other local languages.

(22) stem gloss

L.H.H
- cèmkúsù ‘tall herb sp.’ (Sesbania)
- sàsànggôm ‘grass sp.’ (Aristida)
- sùpùrgù ‘nightjars’
- tàwèrè ‘ducks’
- ànsá:rá ‘white people’

As with bisyllabics, if the final syllable is bimoraic, there may be (in theory) a lexical choice in trisyllabic nouns between having tone breaks at the final syllable boundary, or in the middle of the final syllable, though good examples (not composite prosodically) are difficult to find. In most cases the break is in the middle of the final syllable (23).
(23) stem gloss

L.L.<LH> or L.L.L.<LH> with tone break in middle of final syllable

- bā:rⁿ̀pm(-)bām 'tall grass sp.‘ (Panicum)
- pūtumn(-)pù: 'herb sp.' (Commelina)
- ěsègɛ rê 'lemon grass sp.'

H.H.<HL> with tone break in middle of final syllable

bàlāngâl 'donkey-cart poles'

3.7.1.6 Tone-Component location for tri- and quadri-tonal noun stems

Leaving compounds aside, /LHL/ is moderately common as a tone melody for nouns and other non-verb stems. There are also several cases of /HLH/.

Bisyllabic /LHL/ may be realized as L.<LH> (24a) or <LH>.L (24b-c). The difference between L.<LH> and <LH>.L usually correlates with syllabic structure. If the final syllable ends in a long vowel, we get L.<LH> (24a); if the final syllable is monomoraic, we get <LH>.H (24b). Judging from (24c), a final sonorant (or at least a final semivowel) is disregarded.

(24) stem gloss

a. L.<HL>, ends in long vowel

inanimate

- òmdô: 'tamarind’
- kùrō: 'wild grape’ (Lannea)
- mɔ̀rⁿɔ́: 'wild date’ (Balanites)
- jîmbé: 'shrub sp.’ (Ferretia)

animate

- ěnjé: 'chickens’ (Sg ěnjé-m)
- cèŋgâ: 'agama lizards’ (Sg cèŋgâ-m)

b. <HL>.L, ends in short vowel

- kèrsù 'grass sp.’ (Cynodon)
- yû:ṟù 'sand foxes’

c. <HL>.L (disregarding cpd initial), ends in CvC syllable

- gà:yⁿ-kɔːlû 'tree sp.’ (Ficus sur)’
- kèlè-pā:lû 'spleen’

However, there is something circular about the correlation of tone contour with final vowel length. This is because a word-final short-voiced /Cv/ can be easily lengthened to Cv: by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). One could therefore posit underlying /òmdô/ etc. for (24a), with the same syllabic and moraic structure as e.g. kèrsù in (24b). The animate nouns ‘chickens’ and ‘agama lizards’ in (24a) have singulars with suffix -m after a short vowel.

Examples of the /LHL/ melody with noun stems of three or four syllables are in (25). If the final syllable is short, we get (L.)L.H.L. (25a). If the final syllable has a long vowel, we
get L.L.<HL>. The data on nouns with a final short vowel plus semivowel are too sparse to allow generalizations (25c-d).

(25) stem gloss

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. L.H.L or L.L.H.L, ends in short vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làngòrò</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèkúrù</td>
<td>‘bush sp. (Hibiscus)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà:ní:kò</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Celtis)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lásá:sù</td>
<td>‘rifle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà:dù:kúyò</td>
<td>‘squirrels’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàbàtérù</td>
<td>‘colubrid snake sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wògòtórò</td>
<td>‘donkey cart’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| b. L.L.<HL> or L.L.L.<HL>, ends in long vowel |   |
| mìn-mìrù: | ‘scorpions’ |
| èdùnú: | ‘owls’ |
| àságu: | ‘tree sp. (Combretum)’ |

| c. L.H.L, ends in short vowel plus semivowel |   |
| kànárì: | ‘watermelon’ |
| tìngirì: | ‘segment’ |
| sà:nì:yà | ‘spine’ |

So much for /LHL/. The other tritonal pattern, /HLH/, is less common. The examples known to me are in (26). They are of the type (H).H.<HL>, with rising tone in the final syllable. The final <LH>-toned syllable drops to L-tone before an H-tone, and is pronounced as a more or less level mid-tone prepausally. That the final syllable is structurally <LH> is brought out by the fact that a following possessum (or noun-based postposition) has {HL} rather than {L} tone overlay. See §3.7.4.5 for the phonology.

(26) stem gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H.&lt;HL&gt;</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá:nì:ám</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Acacia nilotica)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìsèm</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Acacia tortilis)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà:nì:yà</td>
<td>‘nére tree (Parkia biglobosa)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè:nì:rém</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Cassia sieberiana)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dάnì:gy</td>
<td>‘grass sp. (Dactyloctenium)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mì:yà:m</td>
<td>‘aromatic sedge tubers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnicities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pùlù:</td>
<td>‘Fulbe (people)’, Sg púlù-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàrgà:</td>
<td>‘Bozo (people)’, Sg sàrgà-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jèmbè:</td>
<td>‘blacksmiths’, Sg jèmbè-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bù:sàm</td>
<td>‘marrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hú:kúm</td>
<td>‘tent’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I know of three bisyllabic <LH> nouns, all flora terms: yàmbòm ‘tree sp. (Gyrocarpus americanus)’, ñ:màbòm ‘grass sp. (Andropogon gayanus)’, and kë:lëy ‘tree sp. (Cola cordifolia)’. It is possible that these, or at least the first two, are analysed (by native speakers) as compounds prosodically.

We can summarize the analysis of tone-element positioning in nouns as follows: the tone breaks are located as far to the right as possible, but there is some variation as to whether break points occur at syllable or mora boundaries in cases where the two can be distinguished.

3.7.1.7 Possibility of lexically /L/-toned nouns

Most apparently /LH/-toned animate nonmonosyllabic noun stems that end in a short vowel are arguably lexically L-toned with a final H-tone added by phonological rule (to satisfy an output constraint against all-low stems). The examples in (27a) simply add singular -m to the final-H-toned stem. By contrast, those in (27b), which constitute a majority, have singulars with final-syllable rising tone (with the H-tone on the suffixal -m). One could argue that the stems in (27b) lack a lexical H-tone.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{plural} & \text{singular} & \text{gloss} \\
\hline
\text{a.} & \text{wàrú} & \text{wàrú-m} & \text{‘antelope sp.’} \\
& \text{mùnjú} & \text{mùnjú-m} & \text{‘Mossi’ (ethnicity)} \\
& \text{tëngû} & \text{tëngû-m} & \text{‘Tengou’ (ethnicity)} \\
& \text{bir”i-pigirí} & \text{bir”i-pigirí-m} & \text{‘spotted skink sp.’} \\
\text{b.} & \text{àw“á} & \text{àw“á-m} & \text{‘aardvark’} \\
& \text{àwà} & \text{àwà-m} & \text{‘snake’} \\
& \text{ùlù} & \text{ùlù-m} & \text{‘whiptail lizard’} \\
& \text{ànjú} & \text{ànjú-m} & \text{‘tree snake sp.’} \\
& \text{ár”a-màrò} & \text{ár”a-màrò-m} & \text{‘grey heron’} \\
& \text{sèrù-kùw“á} & \text{sèrù-kùw“á-m} & \text{‘crowned crane’} \\
& \text{ìnjé} & \text{ìnjé-m} & \text{‘dog’} \\
& \text{gùló} & \text{gùló-m} & \text{‘slave’} \\
& \text{nì-niw“é} & \text{nì-niw“é-m} & \text{‘sheep’} \\
& \text{pèrë} & \text{pèrë-m} & \text{‘cat’} \\
& \text{kòlòrò} & \text{kòlòrò-m} & \text{‘genet (mammal)’} \\
& \text{ásèmbë} & \text{ásèmbë-m} & \text{‘stripped skink’} \\
& \text{sàr“à-galârà} & \text{sàr“à-galârà-m} & \text{‘mongoose sp.’} \\
& \text{àbù:lò} & \text{àbù:lò-m} & \text{‘spotted skink sp.’} \\
& \text{á-kùngûrò} & \text{á-kùngûrò-m} & \text{‘giant tortoise’} \\
\end{array}
\]
If we were to decide to represent these stems as /L-toned lexically, there would be no reason not to do the same for inanimate nouns and kin terms that have LH-tones with the H-tone on the final mora.

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.7.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

Verbs have a bare stem that is used in most aspect-negation categories (but not the derived stative or the imperative). Verbs are lexically either /H/ toned, or have a rising tone pattern /LH/ with the rise on the final syllable.

In the perfective negative (suffix -rí-), and in the unsuffixed perfective, regular verbs undergo tone-dropping to {L}. The exception is the irregular verb jɛ- ‘bring’, which preserves its unique /LHL/ melody in both of these morphological contexts.

Modifications of the tone melody of the bare stem also occur in several other inflections. In the unsuffixed imperfective, monosyllabics and bimoraic bisyllabics shift to {H}-toned stems if not already lexically /H/. Within the perfective system, the reduplicated perfective and the reduplicated stative have a {HL} overlay on the stem (following the reduplicative segment).

Significant tonal changes also occur in the imperative and hortative forms.

3.7.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

When they are present, tone overlays on noun stems completely erase lexical melodies.

Nouns undergo tone-dropping to {L} when followed by a reference-restricting modifier (adjective, demonstrative pronoun); see §6.1.4. Thus isè: ‘village’, isè:L èsú ‘a good village’, l isè:L ñgá ‘that-Distant village’. There is no tone-dropping before definite singular kù or definite plural bù; which are only borderline reference restrictors.

When a noun has escaped tone-dropping from such NP-internal controllers, if the NP functions as head NP of a relative clause, the noun drops its tones. Therefore in a relative like ‘a village that I know’ or ‘the village that is on top of the hill’, isè: ‘village’ will appear as isè: even without a following adjective or demonstrative. This is best modeled by having the relative clause (another reference restrictor) originate as a postnominal modifier, then allowing the portion of the overall NP to the left of the relative clause move down/rightward into the relativization site, but only after tone-dropping §14.1.1.

In some kinds of compounds, a nominal compound initial drops its tones; see §5.1.1-3.

Nouns, and more generally core NPs (also including, for example, an adjective) have an {HL} or {L} overlay when preceded by a possessor. In the case of {HL}, the H-tone element is confined to the first syllable of a bisyllabic or longer noun, or to the first mora of a monosyllabic noun (Cv: or CvC). This {HL} contour is clearly heard when the possessor ends in an H-tone, as in d[H] isè: ‘your-Sg village’. When the possessor ends in an L-tone, we get an apparent {L} overlay, as in d: [L] isè: ‘your-Pl village’. One can argue whether this is a true {L} overlay, or is the more general {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an idiosyncratic tone-assimilation process applying (locally) to the first syllable of the possessed noun, deleting the H-tone. See §3.7.3.4 for discussion.
3.7.2.3  Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

A modifying (i.e. NP-internal) adjective not followed by a reference restrictor (another adjective or a demonstrative) has its regular tones in most syntactic environments. The same is true of all cardinal numerals.

An adjective that is followed by another modifying adjective in the same NP drops its tones, as a noun would in the same position. Therefore only the final word in a core NP (noun plus adjectives) escapes tone-dropping.

In adjectival predicates with following ‘be’ verb bû-, the final mora of the adjective shifts to H-tone, with some further adjustments. The adjective ends up with H- or LH-tones at word level. The phonological analysis depends on whether the adjectival stems (minus nominal suffixes) are assumed to have /H/ and /LH/ melodies, or are assumed to have /HL/ and /LHL/. See §11.4.1.

If a demonstrative pronoun follows a core NP, the final word in the core NP is tone-dropped. See (124a-c) in §6.5.2.

Numerals do not interact tonally with a preceding core NP. Therefore in e.g. [[house¹ big] [two] ‘two big houses’, there is no tonal interaction between the numeral and the core NP, and both have the same tones they would have elsewhere. However, a demonstrative pronoun following the numeral forces tone-dropping on the numeral and on (the last word of) the core NP. For example, in [[[house big]¹ [two¹]¹] that] ‘those two big houses’, the demonstrative forces tone-dropping on both ‘big’ and ‘two’. For an example see (125b) in §6.5.2.

Any modifying adjectives and/or numerals in a NP are bundled together with the noun in constituting the target domain of the possessed-noun tone overlay required by a preceding possessor. Since the possessed-noun overlay is {HL} or {L}, and since the initial H-tone in {HL} never extends beyond the first syllable of the noun, the effect is that a modifying adjective or a numeral in the tonal scope of a possessor always appears in L-toned form. A complicating factor is that the order of adjective and numeral may be inverted in the presence of a possessor. See, for example, (102a-e) in §6.2.3.

A modifying adjective or a numeral that has dodged all of these bullets is still subject to stem-wide tone-dropping when the NP in question is the head of a relative clause (§14.1.1).

3.7.3  Tonal morphophonology

3.7.3.1  Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

Verbs, whether underived or suffixally derived (e.g. causative, reversive), may have a lexical all-high /H/ or rising /LH/ tone melody. In the /LH/ case, the break between the L- and H-toned portions is at the onset of the stem-final syllable. In cases like wäsá- ‘remain’ and its causative wäsá-wú- (the latter often subsequently apocopated to wäsá-ú), we see that the /LH/ melody is (re-)applied to the derived trisyllabic stem, there being no tonal trace of an earlier cycle with an H-tone on the sa syllable.

As in e.g. Jamsay, this suggests an autosegmental analysis with /LH/ on a tonal tier separate from the segmental tier.
3.7.3.2 Phonology of {HL} and {LH} tone overlays

We start with {HL}. Lexically /HL/-toned nouns position the tone break near the right edge. For example, trisyllabic nouns have syllable sequence H.H.L if the final syllable is light, and either H.H.L or H.H.<HL> if the final syllable is heavy (§3.7.1.5).

However, tonosyntactic {HL} overlay works differently. The main context for this overlay is the possessor-controlled {HL} on possessed nouns (the target domain includes an adjective, and under some conditions a following numeral), see §6.2. {HL} is also overlaid on adjectives in comparative clauses after mɛ́egɛ́ ‘more, most’ (§12.1.1). There is also a type of ‘while VERB-ing’ clause involving {HL} overlaid on an imperfective verb (§15.2.1.5), and the reduplicated perfective has {HL} on the base following L-toned reduplicant, §10.2.1.9.

If the domain targeted for {HL} has more than one syllable, the H-tone is positioned on the initial syllable and the L-tone is spread out over the remaining syllables. Thus in ú tàngùrùm ‘your-Sg stool’, the initial H-tone is coterminous with the syllable [tuŋ]. If the target domain is monosyllabic, the {HL} overlay is, as we would expect, realized as a falling tone: ú HLbɛ́yⁿ ‘your-Sg beard’, phonetically [ūbɛ́] with the L-tone on the final semivowel.

Although a modifying adjective following the noun is included in the target domain of the possessed-noun tone overlay controlled by the possessor, the boundary between the noun and the adjective is still recognized. For example, a monosyllabic noun like pɛ́yⁿ ‘meal’ has falling tone in (28c), even though an adjective follows. If the boundary between the noun and the adjective were not recognized, so that the segmental string /pɛ́ydumdɔ̀ː/ were treated as an undifferentiated unit, we would have expected that the tone break between the H and the L of the {HL} overlay would have occurred at the syllable boundary (#ú pɛ́yⁿ dûmdɔ́ː), as in e.g. ú ársèː ‘your animal’.

(28) a. pɛ́yⁿ
   meal
b. ú HLpɛ́yⁿ
   2SgPoss HLmeal
   ‘your-Sg meal’
c. ú HL[pɛ̂yⁿ dûmdɔ́ː]
   2SgPoss HL[meal last]
   ‘your-Sg last meal’

Lexically /LH/-toned trisyllable noun stems are usually realized as L.L.H, or L.L.<LH> if the final syllable is heavy, but there are a number of cases of L.H.H compounds, see §3.7.1.5. /LH/-toned trisyllabic verb stems likewise appear as L.L.H with the tone break near the right edge.

The same bias is found in tonosyntactically controlled {LH} overlays. This pattern occurs in the final of agentive compounds, as in tógóró-[tógùrù-m] ‘meat-chewer’ (§5.1.3) from verb tógóró ‘chew’.
3.7.3.3 Tone-Grafting (1Sg possessor)

The only clear case of a floating tone that must be grafted (or docked) onto an adjacent morpheme is the 1Sg possessor morpheme. Possessors precede possessed nouns, and pronominal possessors control {HL} overlay on the possessum, with the H-tone on the first syllable (or the first mora of a monosyllabic stem).

The 1Sg possessor morpheme is a floating L-tone, so when it is grafted onto the left edge of the possessed noun, the possessed noun ends up with {LHL}, analysable as L+{HL}. If the noun is monosyllabic, this produces an <LHL> syllable. If the noun has more than one syllable, we get rising tone on the first syllable, then L-tones starting with the second syllable.

(29) noun gloss possessed {HL} ‘my …’

a. ná: ‘hand’ ná: ná:
b. túngürüm ‘stool’ túngürüm túngürüm
c. bánàkù: ‘cassava’ bánàkù: bánàkù:

The articulatorily and perceptually difficult case is (29c), because the 1Sg possessor form has a rising tone on a nonfinal monomoraic Cv syllable. On occasion the H-tone element spills slightly into the onset of the second syllable, which makes it easier for an addressee to catch the bell-shaped LHL-tones. I have also noticed pronunciations, especially in elicitation, where an initial voiced consonant, especially {b m}, is slightly prolonged, again making it easier to hear the tones.

3.7.3.4 Phonology of possessed noun tone overlays

A possessed noun, with or without a following adjective and/or numeral, is subject to an overlay {HL} or {L}. Some syntactic types of possessor require {HL} on the possessum. Other syntactic types of possessor require either {HL} or {L} on the possessum, depending on whether the possessor itself ends in an H- or L-tone.

The basic rules for choosing between {HL} and {L} overlay on the possessum are these. First, if the possessor is a determined NP, defined here as one ending in definite kù or in a non-numeral quantifier such as plural bè, it controls {HL} on the possessum. An example is júrò bèjì yi-të: ‘(the) children of (the) houses’, for markup see (93a) in §6.2.1. Further examples are in (31) below. Second, if the possessor is a pronoun or an undetermined NP, i.e. one ending in a noun, adjective, or numeral, its final tone (L or H) determines the form of the overlay. Final L on possessor requires {L} on possessum, as in á:mádù júrò ‘Amadou’s house’ (91a). Final H on possessor requires {HL} on possessum, as in yà-mì jìùrò ‘(the) woman’s house’ (92a).

The same distribution of {H} and {HL} overlays on the possessum occur when the possessor is itself possessed, like ‘your uncle’ in (30e), the final possessum
(‘village’) always has \{L\} overlay, but this is only because the medial possessum (‘uncle’) itself has \{HL\} or \{L\} overlay and therefore always ends in an L-tone.

(30)  a. \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{diy}^{\text{a}} \text{á}]^{\text{Lisè}}: \]
‘a big men’s village’ (=a village of big [=old] men)

b. \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{èsá}^{\text{L}}]^{\text{HLisè}}:
‘a big men’s village’ (=a village of good men)

c. \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{kúròy}]^{\text{Lisè}}:
[man.Pl] six]^{\text{L}} village
‘a village of six men’

d. \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{tà:nú}]^{\text{HLisè}}:
[man.Pl] three]^{\text{HL}} village
‘a village of three men’

e. \[ú^{\text{HL}} \text{lésù}]^{\text{Lisè}}:
[2SgPoss]^{\text{HL}} uncle]^{\text{L}} village
‘your-Sg uncle’s village’

Only \{HL\} overlay is allowed when the possessor ends in plural \text{bè} (31a-b) or definite \text{kù} (31c), so we get strictly the \{HL\} overlay on \text{HLisè}: in spite of the L-tones of these particles.

(31)  a. \[ú^{\text{HL}} \text{lésù} \text{bè}]^{\text{HLisè}}:
[2SgPoss]^{\text{HL}} uncle Pl]^{\text{HL}} village
‘your-Sg uncles’ village’

b. \[pèrè \text{bè}]^{\text{HLisè}}:
[sheep Pl]^{\text{HL}} village
‘a village of sheep-Pl’

c. \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{m} \text{kù}]^{\text{HLisè}}:
[[man-AnSg Def]^{\text{HL}} village
‘the man’s village’

One might assume that \{HL\} on the possessum is also controlled by a postnominal demonstrative (‘this’, ‘that’). This is correct, but since all such demonstratives end in an H-tone (§4.4.1) we can’t be certain that their final tones are not a factor.

One might speculate that the (historical) reason why definite \text{kù} and plural \text{bè} allow following \{HL\}-toned possessums is that they were originally H-toned *kù and *bè. Definite \text{kù} is etymologically an offshoot of near-distant demonstrative \text{kú}, and the definite marker is still heard with H-tone in a few combinations, for example with ‘it is’ clitic in \[\text{ára}^{\text{L}} \text{m} \text{kú}]^{\text{HL}} ‘it’s the (aforementioned) man’ (333b) in §11.2.1.1. Likewise, \text{bè} becomes \text{bé}: before some clitics and simple postpositions, see (127) in §6.6. But these H-toned forms are vestigial, and there is no phonological process in BenT that would account for dropping
underlying H-tones to L in these morphemes. In most contexts, definite ƙù is distinct from near-distant ƙú, precisely by their tones (§4.4.1). So the fact that NP-final ƙù and bè control {HL} overlay is synchronically a morphosyntactic fact.

Still, one is tempted to unify the {HL} and {L} melodies, taking one of them as underlying and the other as derived by a tone sandhi process, even if morphosyntactically conditioned. Since {HL} has the broader distribution, we could take it as basic and derive {L} by a tone-sandhi rule (perhaps called “Initial H-Tone Suppression”) of the type L#HL → L#LL, essentially a tone-flattening process by which the final L-tone of the first word spreads into the second word, killing its initial H.

There are scattered examples elsewhere in the grammar of more or less similar alternations. mègè ‘more’ can be lowered to mègè after a dative comparandum, which always ends in an L-tone. However, the tone-lowering here is optional (§12.1.1). A better comparison is with the alternation of <HL> and L-toned forms of conjugated ‘it is’ clitics matching the final tone of the preceding noun, e.g. 1Sg =m-i-ŋu versus =m-i-ŋu” (§11.2.1.2). This could be analysed as an L#HL → L#LL process. However, here too it is unclear whether the HL-toned or L-toned forms are more basic. Moreover, there is no regular L#HL → L#LL process in BenT. This is shown by the persistence of initial H-tone on the stative negative clitic in 1Sg X=m=ɗà-ŋu ‘I am not X’, and in 3Pl X=rà-bñ ‘they are not X’ after L-tone as in injè: =O=rà-bñ ‘they are not dogs’ (§11.2.1.5-6). Unpossessed nouns with lexical /HL/ melody (§3.7.1.3) do not lose their H-tone after a word ending in L. So an L#HL → L#LL process, if we posit one, would have to be quite severely morphologically restricted. This makes it difficult to argue that such a tone sandhi process should be separated from the overlay process itself.

The other way to reduce {HL} and {L} to one basic overlay is to choose {L} for this honor. In this case, the {HL} version requires a tone sandhi rule of the type H#LL → H#HL, i.e. a rightward spreading of a final H-tone into the onset of an L-toned word. Again, however, this would have to be sharply restricted morphologically, to possessed NPs and to the ‘it is’ clitic paradigm. Elsewhere there are many combinations of H-final word and following L-initial word, as in ú [nù L yàyà-dó-m kùj ‘you-Sg who fell’ (427) or gàmbú dàwà-y: ‘we left some’ (110b). Many African languages have productive H#LL → H#HL processes, but not BenT.

I therefore see no good alternative to the complex, two-part rule formulated above, making reference both to syntactic type of the possessor and, if the possessor is an undetermined nonpronominal NP, the final tone of the possessor.

See §6.2.1 for more detail.

3.7.3.5 Atonal-Syllabic-Suffix Tone-Spreading

The 3Pl pronominal-subject suffix has a wide range of allomorphs depending on the AN category (-bñ, -yè, etc.). Of interest here is the 3Pl perfective-1b form -tï-yà. The perfective-1b suffix is /-tï/- (3Sg -tï-ɔ with an extra mora added, 1Sg -tï-ŋu, 2Sg -tï-ù, etc.). The general tonal structure of verbal inflectional suffixes suggests that 3Pl -ya (like most other pronominal-subject suffixes) is atonal, acquiring its tone from the preceding morpheme. To get from /-tï-ya/ to -tï-yà, the L-tone part of the HL-tone in /-tï/- must be delinked from the perfective-1b suffix and must be transferred to the 3Pl ending -ya.

Arguably, the same thing is going on in the recent perfect, with suffix /-jë-/ 5. The 3Pl form appears as -jë-à; which could be derived from /-jë-a/ via /-jë-à/.
A similar process may be at work in a suffix -ma, which occurs both as yet another 3Pl subject allomorph, in experiential perfect -tâ-mâ (§10.2.1.7), and as a participial suffix for (animate) plural head NP in perfective relative clauses (§14.1.6.1). If we represent the experiential perfect suffix as -tâ- with <HL> tone, its other forms (-tâ-m, -tâ-w) are analysable as having atonal suffixes. One could envision a similar analysis for -tâ-mâ, namely as underlying /-tâ-mâ/, the only difference being that this time the final L-tone element is realized on a syllabic suffix.

3.7.4 Low-level tone rules

3.7.4.1 Contour-Tone Mora-Addition

At the end of a word, a mora is added to a final short-voweled Cv syllable, lengthening its vowel, to allow a contour (i.e. non-level) tone to be articulated with ease. Contour tones are <HL>, <LH>, and <LHL>. In the case of final <LH>, lengthening is pre-empted when the preceding syllable is L-toned. In this case, Final-Cv <LH>-to-H Reduction (§3.7.4.3) applies, simplifying the final <LH> to H, at which point there is no contour tone and therefore no basis for adding a mora (i.e. lengthening the vowel).

Contour-Tone Mora-Addition is observable in verbal morphology, when an aspect-negation (AN) suffix of the shape /-Cv/- is followed by 3Sg (zero) pronominal-subject ending. The relevant suffixes are perfective-1b /-tî/- (§10.2.1.5) and recent perfect /-jê/- (§10.2.1.8). The 3Sg forms are heard as -tî:-∅ and -jê:-∅, respectively, which show the extra mora in the form of vowel length. For the underlying short vowel of the AN suffixes, cf. e.g. 3Pl perfective-1b -tî-yâ and 2Sg recent perfect -jê-â.

All cases of this type in verbal morphology involve falling tone. In nouns and adjectives, examples with rising as well as falling tone can be adduced. ‘Woman’ is an example of rising tone. In singular yâ-m, the suffixal sonorant is sufficient to carry to final H-tone element, but in the unsuffixed plural /yâ/ there is no such cushion, so the vowel is lengthened and we get yâ: ‘women’. A bisyllabic example is /pûlîs/ ‘Fulbe (ethnic group)’, where singular pûlî-s corresponds to plural pûlî-s. However, if the penult is L-toned, lengthening does not apply to a final rising tone, which instead shifts to H-tone as mentioned earlier. An example is /înjê/ ‘dog’ with singular înjê-m and plural înjê. A final short <HL> vowel in a noun stem is lengthened in all available examples, which are either monosyllabic, or nonmonosyllabic with L-toned penult: /û/ ‘mouse’ with singular ô-m and plural ô; /cêngû/ ‘agama lizard’ with singular cêngû-m and plural cêngû.

Adjectives are treated like nouns as far as the data reveal. Adjectives: /pê/- ‘old’ with animate singular pê-m and animate plural pê:, /nâ:rûâ/ ‘easy, cheap’ with animate singular nâ:rû-a and animate plural nâ:rû:ä. The only relevant numeral is ‘one’, and here the data are somewhat tricky, as both tûwû-s: and tûwû-s are attested (in different senses) alongside tûwû-s-¥m, see §4.7.1.1. There is no lengthening of vowels in non-final syllables. Contour tones are rare in monomoraic nonfinal syllables, but they can be created secondarily by adding the 1Sg possessor morpheme (floating L-tone) to a noun. The result is a noun whose first syllable begins with LH tones, as in úrû ‘my house’ (ûrû ‘house’). Speakers have difficult articulating the contour tone on the first syllable (the H-tone element may spill into the onset of the second syllable), but I have never observed lengthening of the first-syllable vowel to accomodate the contour tone.
3.7.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

In cases where a vowel-final stem is followed by an atonal suffix consisting of a (sonorant) consonant, such as 1Sg -y, 1Pl -y-ː, 2Sg -w, or 2Pl -w-ː in inflected verbs, or (animate) singular -m for nouns and adjectives, the tone of the stem-final vowel spreads to the end of the syllable. This is phonetically trivial when the tone in question is a simple high or a simple low. When it is a contour tone (falling, rising, or <LHL>), the final tone gravitates toward the suffixal sonorant. For example, recent perfect -jê- combines with (atonal) 2Sg -w as -jê-w, where the pitch drop is roughly cotermious with the final semivowel. Likewise, in yà-m ‘woman’ from noun stem /yà/ plus (atonal) animate singular -m, the H-tone peaks on the suffixal nasal.

3.7.4.3 Final-ČV <LH>-to-H Reduction (after L-tone)

A few nonmonosyllabic animate noun stems ending in short vowels have an L-toned penult, and a final short syllable that has <LH>-tone when animate singular -m is present but becomes H-toned when unsuffixed (i.e. in the plural). Example: injé-m ‘dog’, plural injé. See (37c) in §4.1.1, below.

It seems reasonable to posit lexical representations of the type /injë/ with a rising-toned short final vowel. When a suffix consisting of a sonorant consonant is added, the rising tone is articulated over the now bimoraic final syllable, as in injé-m, phonetically [indzëm]; see Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2), above. When there is no suffixal consonant, the rising tone cannot be articulated since the final syllable is monomoraic. If it is a falling tone as in /cèngù/ ‘agama lizards’, or if it is a rising tone following an H-toned syllable as in /jèmbë/ ‘blacksmiths’, the vowel is lengthened by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (cèngù: ‘agama lizards’, jèmbë: ‘blacksmiths’). This lengthening is pre-empted in stems like ‘dog’, i.e. those with underlying final /…ČV(C)ČV/, by Final-ČV <LH>-to-H Reduction, resulting in final …ČVČV.

Another type of final <LH>-to-H raising affects final rising-toned long vowels in nonmonosyllabic stems that are followed by a word beginning in an H-tone. Examples of the words affected are yàrì: ‘sky’, kòmbì: ‘burrow, animal’s hole’ (distinct from kòmbì: ‘shell’), and ârsè: ‘(livestock) animal’. The raising seems to be most consistent before monosyllabic postpositions (locative wò) and similar clitic-like elements, but it is at least optional in some other combinations.

Examples (using the nouns just listed), involving locative wò, are yàrì: wò ‘in the sky’ and kòmbì: wò ‘in the burrow’. An example with conjunction particle yá-ː is ârsè: yá-ː ‘animals and …’. An example with a numeral is ârsè: kùròy ‘six animals’, contrast ârsè: léy ‘two animals’.

<LH>-to-H raising does not apply to monosyllabic stems. For example, mà: ‘dry’ remains rising-toned in gùrp mà: wò ‘in the dry season’, as does tà: ‘pond’ in tà: wò ‘in the pond’.
3.7.4.4  <LHL>.H to downstepped <LH>.H

There are few opportunities for a <(L)HL> syllable to be followed within a word by an H-toned suffix or clitic. This is because verb stems (with one exception) end in an H-tone, and because nominal suffixes are atonal (acquiring their surface tone by spreading) or L-toned.

However, there is one <LHL>-toned verb, jëɁ- bring'. When it is followed by an H-toned suffixal or clitic syllable, the verb stem simplifies to <LH> and its final L-tone is heard as downstep (partial pitch drop) on the H-toned suffix or clitic. An example is perfective negative jëɁ-ʾrɪ-ə ʾhe/she didn’t bring’. The symbol १ indicates downstep of the following syllable. If the suffixal/clitic syllable is <HL>-toned, the delinking and downstep do not occur; instead, the falling tone is clearly articulated. See §10.1.3.4 for more examples.

The external conditions for downstep are also present in some complex verb forms. The most common is the imperfective negative -rù-dó- (3Pl form -rù-n-ẽ) which is preceded by an H-tone (§10.2.3.3). However, in this case the L-tone does not delink; it is clearly audible on the -rù- formative. The pitch of the following -dó- is usually lower than that of the preceding H-tone, so we have a kind of downdrift, but this is not quite the same as downstep.

A somewhat similar reduction of <LHL> syllable to <LH> occurs in certain combinations involving the high-frequency noun yi-tẽ: irregular plural of yi-m ‘child’ (§4.1.2), especially in yi-tẽ: mà:, which can be either dative mà: ː ¹mà: (§8.3) or quotative-subject mà: ː ²mà: (§17.1.1.1). Since both morphemes take L-toned form after an L-tone, the underlying final L-tone of yi-tẽ: is manifested indirectly. Similarly, a possessum or noun-like postposition following yi-tẽ: takes {L} rather than {HL} tone overlay, as it would after any common noun ending in L-tone: [yi-tẽ: ¹tùlù] wò ‘behind the (children)’.

3.7.4.5  H.<LH> to H.M, or to H.L before H

There are a number of H.<LH> bisyllabic noun stems, see (26) in §3.7.1.6. In isolation, the structurally <LH> syllable is usually pronounced as a level mid-tone, as in bã:ɿr₄am ‘tree sp. (Acacia nilotica)’ pronounced [bá:r₄ℓam]. That it is structurally <LH> is shown by the fact that a following possessum, including noun-based postpositions, have {HL} rather than {L} tone overlay, which occurs when a common-noun possessor ends in an H-tone: [bá:r₄am h₄tùlù] ¹wò ‘behind (a/the) acacia’. However, in this combination the noun has lost its final H-tone. púl₃: ː ə = r₃-b₃  ‘they are not Fulbe (people)’, see (345c) in §11.2.1.6, with H.<LH>-toned púl₃: ‘Fulbe (people)’ followed by H-toned stative negative = r₃, I hear [púl₃:rab₃], i.e. the ʒ: is not dropped to ʒ:, and the ceiling for the pitch of H-tones is lowered.

3.8  Intonation contours

3.8.1  Phrase and clause-final nonterminal contours ( Ɂ, ɀ, →, →Ɂ, →ɀ)

Especially in texts transcribed from recorded dialogues, I use arrows from time to time to indicate a conspicuous terminal intonation of a clause.

In many cases, intonation functions in BenT, as in English, to characterize the pragmatic relationship between a phrase or clause and others that it adjoins. Dogon discourse is rich in parallelistic phrasing. A final pitch rise ( Ɂ) and/or prolongation (→) is typical of nonfinal phrases in such parallel constructions; I use →Ɂ to indicate that both prolongation and at least
somewhat higher than usual pitch are present. The final phrase in the parallelistic progression typically has neutral or unusually low final pitch; the latter is indicated by ↓. Where the final phrase ends with intonational prolongation in addition to a low pitch, I use →↓.

Before (rather than after) a word or syllable, ↓ indicates downstep.

3.8.2 Lexically built-in intonational prolongation (→)

Many expressive adverbials have a lexically built-in intonational prolongation, symbol →. This is distinct from vowel length, as seen especially in cases like dém→ ‘straight’, where the prolonged segment is the final nasal, not the vowel. For examples of expressive adverbials, see §8.6.7.

3.8.3 Dying-quail word-final prosody (∴)

This final-syllable prosody involves prolongation and a terminal low pitch.

In Jamsay, a conspicuous dying-quail intonational effect is observed on both coordinands in NP or pronoun conjunction. This is not the case in BenT conjoined NPs. Instead, in BenT the dying-quail effect is used to pluralize pronominal-subject suffixes, taking the corresponding singular as input. This is also the case in Nanga, but with many differences in detail.

The phonetic implementation of ∴ is also different from language to language. In Jamsay, the final syllable begins with high or low pitch depending on its phonological tone, so a pitch decline is only observable when the phonological tone is high (or falling). In Jamsay, the prolongation applies to the syllable coda, so that Cvū with final nasal prolongs the nasal rather than the vowel. H-toned Cvn∴ is heard as [Cvñ], with most of the pitch decline realized slowly as the nasal is prolonged.

In BenT, ∴ with pronominal-subject suffixes is realized as [HL] pitch, erasing the phonological tone, combined with lengthening of the vowel. In Nanga, the phonetic realization of ∴ is more complex, and in some contexts it involves the penult as well as the final syllable.

In BenT, prosodic effects of this general type (prolongation and final low pitch) are associated with plural pronouns and with their associated pronominal-subject suffixes in verbal inflection. However, there is an issue whether this is intonational (notably, with high variability in duration) or phonological (combination of ordinary tones and vowel-length).

First, consider the plural independent pronouns as they relate to the corresponding singulars (32).

(32) person singular plural

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>ib</td>
<td>ib:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>ēr̩ē</td>
<td>bū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logophoric/reflexive</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In three of the four persons, the plural is transparently derived from the singular by lengthening the vowel and by transitioning from high to low pitch. The remaining plural
form, $bû$: is unrelated segmentally to the corresponding singular but shows the same prosodic shape as the other plurals. Structurally, an interesting possibility would be to transcribe the plurals as $î:,$ $û:,$ $bû:,$ and $â:,$ with the understanding that $â:,$ is phonetically implemented as length plus terminal low pitch. This would essentially match the Jamsay dying-qual intonational effect. Since the BenT pronouns lack coda consonants, it is moot whether the extra duration would be on such a coda consonant if present (as in Jamsay).

However, I cannot detect any consistent audible difference between the duration of the syllabic nucleus in the plural pronouns and that of ordinary stems of CV: shape, in similar clausal positions. Independent pronouns are always nonfinal in clauses, except in rather artificial citation-form pronunciation. In nonsubject relative clauses, these pronouns occur in immediate preverbal (i.e. preparticipial) position, so it is possible to compare their duration with those of CV: nouns as objects in subject relatives. The plural pronouns in (33a) directly precede the participle, as does ‘millet’ in (33b). I was unable to detect any difference in the pitch or duration of the long <HL>-toned vowels in the pronouns and in ‘millet’ in this position. Likewise, in (33a), no prosodic distinction was audible in the sequence of ‘millet’ and a plural pronoun.

(33)  a. $ûsù^L$ $yù:$ $û: (î:, bû:, â:)$
dayL millet 2PlSbj (1PlSbj, 3PlSbj, LogoPlSbj)

$kósù-î:$ $kù$
harvest.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the day when we (you-Pl, they, they-Logophoric) harvested the millet’

b. $àrⁿà^L$ $yù:$ $kósù-m$ $kù$
manL millet harvest.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the man who harvested the millet’

Similar examples, this time with a CV: noun (‘water’) as the comparandum, are in (34). Again, I could detect no prosodic difference between the plural pronouns and the noun.

(34)  a. $ûsù^L$ $nî:$ $î: (û:, bû:, â:)$
dayL water 1PlSbj (2PlSbj, 3PlSbj, LogoPlSbj)

$nî-û:$ $kù$
drink.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the day when we drank the water’

b. $àrⁿà-m^L$ $nî:$ $nî-m$ $kù$
manL water drink.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the man who drank the water’

3Pl $bû:$ is also homophonous (to my ear) with inanimate participial $bû-î:$ from the existential-locational quasi-verb $bû-$ ‘be’ (§14.1.6.3), and with 3Sg $bû-∅$ ‘he/she/it is’ in adjectival predicates (§11.4.1).

I will therefore transcribe the plural pronouns as $î:, û:, bû:,$ and $â:.$ However, the prosodic derivation from singualrs suggested above remains attractive.

The situation is different for pronominal-subject suffixes on verbs. Unlike independent pronouns, inflected verbs are clause-final (except for emphatic particles and clause-linking morphemes). Furthermore, the relevant prolongation and pitch modification occur in
noninitial syllables within the verb (or tightly-knit verb chain, if suffixally marked perfective verbs are analysed as chains). A further difference is that the pronominal-subject cases involve superheavy CV:C rather than just CV: syllables. Such syllables are rare even in monosyllabic stems and do not otherwise occur at the end of multisyllabic words (in the absence of a compound break). Since the terminal prosody of the relevant inflected verb forms stands out in sharp relief in this context, and since it is typically clause-final (prepausal), I consider it to be intonational in the same sense as the Jamsay dying-quail intonation on coordinands, although the phonetic implementation differs from BenT to Jamsay. I will therefore transcribe the relevant plural-subject forms as the corresponding singular-subject forms plus ∴.

This dying-quail intonation applies to 1Pl and 2Pl suffixes on indicative (but not imperative or hortative) verbs and other predicates. There is no logophoric category in verbal inflection, as logophoric subjects have the usual 3Sg and 3Pl verbal suffixes.

1Sg suffix -y and 2Sg -w are word-final in verbs, following the stem and any nonzero AN suffix. The effect is to create a final CV:y or CV:w syllable with “v” a short vowel. In the great majority of cases, this syllable is noninitial in the word (or tightly-chained sequence). A monosyllabic CV:y or CV:w inflected verb is possible when a CV stem (verb or quasi-verb) is followed directly by the pronominal suffix (in the unsuffixed perfective). A monosyllabic CV:y or CV:w inflected verb occurs in similar forms of Cv: ‘bring’.

The dying-quail effect is realized on 1Pl and 2Pl counterparts of these 1Sg and 2Sg forms as follows: the vowel is prolonged, and a falling [HL] pitch contour replaces the regular phonological tone of the final syllable.

(35) gives examples for 1Pl suffixes; the 2Pl forms with -w: are parallel prosodically. The table shows the 1Sg form in the central column. The right-hand column shows the phonetic realization of the 1Pl form, which consists structurally of the 1Sg form plus the ∴ effect. Verbs in (35) are dùyə ‘pound (in a mortar, to dislodge grains from grain spike)’ in several forms, lò ‘go’ (perfective-1a), and bi-yé ‘lie down’ (statives).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Type</th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1Pl (i.e. 1Sg plus ∴)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘have’ (H-toned)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be there’</td>
<td>yá bú-y</td>
<td>[jábú:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective-1a</td>
<td>ló:j-rè-y</td>
<td>[ló:j-rè:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplicated static</td>
<td>bi-bỳè-y</td>
<td>[bìbì:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple static</td>
<td>yá bì-yè-y</td>
<td>[jábì:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsuffixed perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective negative</td>
<td>dùyə:j-rí-y</td>
<td>[dùjə:j-rí:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective-1b</td>
<td>dùyə:j-tí-y</td>
<td>[dùjə:j-tí:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiential perfect</td>
<td>dùyə:j-tá-y</td>
<td>[dùjə:j-tá:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>dùyə:j-só-y</td>
<td>[dùjə:j-só:j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent perfect</td>
<td>dùyə:j-jé-y</td>
<td>[dùjə:j-jé:j]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49
Whether the 1Sg form has a final syllable with H-tone (35a), L-tone (35b), or <HL>-tone (35c), the 1Pl has <HL>-tone. In other words, ∴ erases the input tone on this syllable. The vowel (but not the suffixal semivowel) is also noticeably prolonged; in (35c) prolongation is the only audible change from the 1Sg.

To determine whether the dying-quail effect can be expressed by regular phonological vowel-length and regular falling tone, it would be necessary to compare the forms in the 1Pl column of (34) with other Cv:y and Cv:w syllables in comparable positions in the word and the clause. Such syllables do occur in noun and verb stems, but only in a limited number of surface monosyllabics. All verbs of these (apparent) shapes are really bisyllabic Cv:yi and Cv:wu, respectively.

Among true nouns, the only examples of Cv:y and Cv:w stems known to me are tâ:yⁿ ‘shed’, pɔ:yⁿ ‘fonio (a cultivated grain)’, dúwâ:w ‘blessing’ (<Arabic), and jîrè:j:yⁿ as cognate nominal in the collocation jîrè:j:yⁿ jè:yⁿ ‘glare at’. ‘Shed’ and ‘fonio’ are frozen diminutives with *-yⁿ, see §5.1.4. There are also a few Cv:-m nouns including the animate singular suffix, e.g. nâ:-m ‘cow’ and â:-m ‘monitor lizard’.

Among adjectives, I can cite wâ:w ‘distant’ and the related noun (‘distance’) or adverb (‘far away’) wâ:w, gɔ:w ‘short’, suffixed forms of dâ:- ‘small’ (dâ:-w, dâ:-m), and gâ:yⁿ in îr²j gâ:yⁿ ‘molar tooth’.

The marginal status of superheavy syllables in final syllables of nonmonosyllabic stems, combined with the productivity of the prosodic features in 1Pl and 2Pl suffixal forms, suggests that the latter do have a special prosodic status outside of the regular tone system. I will therefore transcribe them with ∴ following the transcription used for the singular.
4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple noun stems

**Inanimate** nouns (including flora terms) have no regular singular/plural distinction. Thus *tiwɛ̀ny* (tree) may denote a single tree or a number of trees. These nouns appear as simple stems with zero suffix.

Most **animate** (including human) nouns take animate singular -*m* suffix and zero plural suffix. For exceptional animate nouns that do not allow animate singular -*m*, including several kin terms, see §4.1.3. I will often simplify “animate singular” to “singular” and “animate plural” to “plural,” especially in interlinear (Sg, Pl).

(36) Nominal Suffixes

- *m* (animate) singular
- -∅ (animate) plural, inanimate

Animate singular suffix -*m* may follow a vowel or a semivowel. It is omitted when the noun is followed by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun (in this case, the noun is also tone-dropped). Because of alternations of final long and short vowels there are some phonological decisions to make. Length patterns for final vowels in nonmonosyllabic animate stems of two or more syllables are exemplified in (37).

(37) Animate nouns (nonmonosyllabic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>before adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. final level-toned short vowel not subject to lengthening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘European’</td>
<td>ânsá:rá-m</td>
<td>ânsá:rá</td>
<td>ânsá:rá ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>ārⁿá-m</td>
<td>ārⁿá</td>
<td>ārⁿá ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
<td>wòngûrò-wàrù-m</td>
<td>wòngûrò-wàrù</td>
<td>wòngûrò-wàrù ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. final &lt;HL&gt;-toned short vowel subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Messor ant’</td>
<td>ci-cèrⁿá-m</td>
<td>ci-cèrⁿá</td>
<td>ci-cèrⁿá ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. final short &lt;LH&gt;-toned after L-tone, simplified to H-tone, §3.7.4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>injé-m</td>
<td>injé</td>
<td>injé ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>âwá-m</td>
<td>âwá</td>
<td>âwá ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. final short &lt;LH&gt;- after H-tone, subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘blacksmith’</td>
<td>jèmbé-m</td>
<td>jèmbé</td>
<td>jèmbé ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Fulbe’</td>
<td>pûlɔ-m</td>
<td>pûlɔ</td>
<td>pûlɔ ¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. final <LH>-toned long vowel not subject to shortening (only known ex.)
   ‘animal’ àrséː -m àrséː àrséː

f. final semivowel (rare)
   ‘Jamsay’ jámsáy-m jámsáy jámsáy很久
   ‘X’s kinsman’ X tìw-m X tìw —

The basic types of monosyllabic animate nouns are in (38).

(38) Animate nouns (monosyllabic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>before adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. short &lt;LH&gt; or &lt;HL&gt; tone subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>yà-m</td>
<td>yà:</td>
<td>yà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>nù-m</td>
<td>nù:</td>
<td>nù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hawk’</td>
<td>tì-tè-m</td>
<td>tì-tè:</td>
<td>tì-tè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. long vowel not subject to shortening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td>ɔː-m</td>
<td>ɔː:</td>
<td>ɔː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hyena’</td>
<td>tì-tà-m</td>
<td>tì-tà:</td>
<td>tì-tà:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compounds may preserve archaic Cv- forms of stems that are now regularly Cvː. For more examples and discussion, see §6.3.1.

Animate singular -m is a puzzle historically. Jamsay and other languages outside the BenT/Bankan Tey/Nanga subgroup have human/animate singular -n(v) (possibly related to a noun ‘person’) and human/animate plural -m, -ombo, etc. I suspect that BenT (and Bankan Tey) -m is a mutation from *-n, possibly via a lenited *-ŋ (preserved in Nanga as a rare singular suffix in e.g. yà-ŋ ‘woman’). The ‘it is’ (also focalizing) clitic very likely played a decisive role. Its fullest variant is =m but it is often reduced to =∅ in BenT. It readily fuses with nominal suffixes to the left, and with pronominal-subject suffixes to the right, in a manner favoring resegmentations and reanalyses.

4.1.2 Irregular human nouns (‘child’, ‘boy’, ‘girl’)

As an uncompounded noun, ‘child’ has the forms in (39a). The singular has suffix -m as expected. The plural is irregular, though it begins in the same yi segmental sequence. Since yi in yi-tèː has L-tone, yi-tèː may have originated as a noun-adjective sequence (‘child-small’). As compound final with human reference (39b), we get -yì-m (with <HL>-tone) and regular plural -yìː in terms for ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ (39b).

(39) | a. ‘child’  | yì-m    | yì-tèː       |
| b. ‘boy’     | əsùwː-yì-m | əsùwː-yìː ~ əsùwː-[yì-tèː:] |
| ‘girl’     | yà:-yì-m  | yà:-yìː ~ yà:-[yì-tèː:] |
For -yî: as compound final with nonhuman reference (e.g. ‘seed/fruit of X’), see §5.1.4.

4.1.3 Use of singular and plural suffixes with kin terms

Many kin terms (and a few other nouns) have a distinctive morphosyntax; I refer to them as “inalienable” although they may occur in unpossessed as well as possessed forms.

Most kin terms do not require the animate singular suffix -m in either possessed or unpossessed forms (but see below). Instead, the unsuffixed form is interpreted as singular, and plural particle bè is added to mark plurality. Thus năr’a ‘mother’, plural năr’a bè ‘mothers’, possessed ú năr’a ‘your-Sg mother’ and ú: năr’a bè ‘your-Pl mothers’.

In the terms for ‘cross-cousin’ and ‘younger sibling’ (usually same-sex but not always), animate singular suffix -m appears consistently in possessed forms. It is usually absent in unpossessed forms, though I did record tîyè-m as a variant of tîyè for ‘cousin’.

(40) gloss singular plural

| a. ‘(a) cousin’          | tîyè, tîyè-m | tîyè bè  |
| ‘your-Sg cousin’         | ú tîyè-m  | ú tîyè bè  |

| b. ‘younger sibling’     | ònjò         | ònjò bè  |
| ‘your-Sg y. sibling’     | ú ònjò-m  | ú ònjò bè  |

As noted just above, animate singular -m is not required with most kin terms even when the reference is singular. However, -m can be used with apparently unpossessed singular kin terms when they have specific reference, that is, when a specific possessor is implied. In the indefinite context ‘I don’t have a (father, mother, …)’, singular -m is absent (bî: năr’a: ònjò: dérè-m). However, in texts one finds such forms as bî:-m ‘(the) father’ and năr’a:-m ‘(the) mother’, with a contextually clear, already named possessor, i.e. as alternatives to an explicit third-person possessor combination. Other attested forms of this type are ònjò:-m ‘younger sibling’ and dérè:-m ‘elder sibling’.

The term for ‘child’ (singular yî:-m, plural yî- tô), which is in essence a common noun that can also be used (with a possessor) as a kin term, has singular -m in unpossessed and possessed forms (yî:-m ‘a child’, ú: tô yî:-m ‘your child’).

4.1.4 ‘So-and-so’ (mâ:n, à-mâ:n)

The ‘So-and-so’ noun, denoting a variable personal name, is à-mâ:n or mâ:n (as in Jamsay). It is common in descriptions of generic activities, as in a text about name-giving ceremonials (baptisms) where the generic father is quoted as saying ‘I want the newborn child to be called So-and-so.’
4.1.5 Reduplicated noun stems

4.1.5.1 Frozen Cì- or Cù- reduplication in nouns

Examples of a more or less frozen initial Cì- or Cù- reduplication are in (41). The form is often but not always heard as Cù- when the first syllable of the base has a rounded vowel. The reduplicant is normally L-toned, but there are a handful of apparent H-toned cases. If the base is V-initial, the resulting vowel sequence is pronounced with a glottal stop.

(41) Cì- and Cù- nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>related form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. insects/arthropods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cì-cē:-m</td>
<td>‘beetle, bug’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-kā:-m</td>
<td>‘grasshopper’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-sī:-m</td>
<td>‘grub, worm’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū-tū:-m</td>
<td>‘termite’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-gē:”-m</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cì-cēr”ů:-m</td>
<td>‘Messor ant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cì-cēw”è:-m</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nì-nɔ:r”ỹ:-m</td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mù-mùr”ũ:-m</td>
<td>‘scorpion’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gù-gōngóːrũ:-m</td>
<td>‘ant’ (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-toned reduplicant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kí-kéré:-m</td>
<td>‘cricket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. birds/bats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gì-ɡîsì:-m</td>
<td>‘bat; swift’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tì-țe:-m</td>
<td>‘hawk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. other fauna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù-kɔsû:-m ~ ki-kɔsû:-m</td>
<td>‘viper sp.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nì-niwa”ę:-m</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tì-tă:-m</td>
<td>‘hyena’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gù-gûsû:-m</td>
<td>‘giant pouched rat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. plants and plant parts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ji-)jiːlę́y</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gù-gûmtòːró</td>
<td>‘bush sp. (Datura)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ji-ļăm]-dòːrõ</td>
<td>‘thorny herb (Tribulus)’</td>
<td>dòːrõ ‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù-koːmbi:- ~ kì-koːmbi:</td>
<td>‘tree bark’ also unredup.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-toned reduplicant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ľew”r”ě</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Spondias)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tì-taːwru</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Boscia angustifolia)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú-kɔːrɔ</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Sarcocephalus)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kí-kɔsɔ</td>
<td>‘dried-out leaves on ground’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. body parts and similar

sù-sò: ‘sweat’
pì-pà: ‘shank’
gù-gùwà: ‘front-leg section (butchery)’
ki-kílè: ‘shade’
gí-gílì: ‘soft spot below knee’
tì-tàsì: ‘calf (of leg)’

H-toned reduplicated syllable

nà:-[ti-tàw] ~ -[ti-tàw] ‘elbow’
nà: ‘hand’

f. verbal concepts

kù-kò: ‘cowardice’
lù-ló:rùm ‘cowardice’
tí-tírù ‘mission’
tí-tì ‘send’

H-toned reduplicant

tí-tà ‘dancing ground’

dú-dà ‘mound’

H-toned reduplicated syllable

dì-dà ‘vat, basin’

H-toned reduplicated syllable

dì-dà ‘vat, basin’

h. artefacts

dì-dè: ‘statuette’
dì-dè:-m ‘midgit’
tù-tù:lu ‘horn (for blowing)’
pi-pàtàrà ‘vat, basin’

H-toned reduplicated syllable

dì-dà ‘large basin/vat’

i. substances

kù-kùmbò ‘smoke’
pi-pòtù ‘mud’

4.1.5.2 Other reduplicated and iterated nouns

The data are presented in (42) without further commentary.

(42) a. Cò-CòCòCò (noisy birds, onomatopoeic)
kàw”-kàr”àw”-m ‘white-bellied bustard’
cèw”-cèr”èw”-m ‘black-headed lapwing’

b. final -Cv: or -CvC with repeated initial C

final is <LHL>-toned

kàtà-kà:-m ‘spotted thick-knee’
pètè-pè:-m ‘grasshopper sp. (Oedaleus)’
sègèrèjè-sè:-m ‘small grasshopper sp. (Kraussella)’
kɔ̀-kɔ́-m
[kì-ka-ra]-kày
final is <HL>-toned
tì-tà: kò-rö"-kày
final is <LH>-toned
pùtùm-pù:
wà:rùm-wà:
bà:rùm-bùm

‘louse’
‘gravelly terrain’ (variant kàgà-rà-kày)
‘spotted hyena’ (tì-tà: ‘hyena’, 2 spp.)
‘herb sp. (Commelina)’
‘vine sp. (Cissus)’
‘tall grass sp. (Panicum)’

‘shrub sp. (Calotropis)’
‘herb sp. (Evolvulus)’
‘hawk-moth’ (hums)
‘herb sp. (Scoparia)’

‘tree sp. (Grewia flavescens)’
‘woodpecker’
‘loud chatter’
‘noise, din’
‘hubbub’
‘black cricket’
‘rattling sound’
‘croaking (of toad)’
‘creaky sound’
‘motorcycle’ (archaic)

‘burry herb sp. (Pupalia)’

‘tall herb sp. (Aeschynomene)’
‘tiny grass sp. (Tripogon)’
‘giant millipede’

Roughly similar to (42b) are expressive adverbials gòmbò-gòm and jémbé-gém, both meaning ‘jutting out’ (along with gòmbò-gòmbò→).
4.1.6 Frozen initial à- in nouns

An original *â- prefix of unclear meaning may survive in the ‘so-and-so’ noun à-mân with variant mâ:n, in à-jèrú ‘wrestling’, in cognate nominals à-pétù ‘(a) jump’ and à-jày’ ‘act of sowing in a pit with manure’ (§11.1.5.1), and in several fauna terms: à-kî: ‘edible winged termites’, à-bù:lô:m ‘spotted skink’, à-sèmbè:m ‘five-lined skink’, and à-kûngûrî:m ‘giant tortoise’. In some other cases where Jamsay has initial à, the BenT form lacks this vowel: kèngû:m ‘agama lizard’, pàrâ:m ‘millet-cake meal’, tèmbû ‘tradition(s)’ (Jamsay à-cè:n ~ cèn, à-pâlû, à-têm). I refrain from segmenting the initial à in àsàpèrû ‘herb sp. (*Cassia nigricans)’ and àsàgùsè: ‘tree sp. (*Combretum)’, since they can be parsed prosidically as CvCv-CvCv compounds (àsàgùsè: is also a borrowing, from Songhay).

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Characteristic derivative (-gû-)

The characteristic nominal derivational suffix is -gû-. The animate singular is -gû- and its plural is -gû. Examples are in (43).

(43) stem gloss characteristic gloss
a. mostly nominal
dày ‘wealth’ dáy-gû- ‘rich person’
b. mostly adjectival
lòyà ‘filth’ lòyà-gû- ‘dirty (one)’
tèrè ‘intelligence’ tèrè-gù- ‘smart (one)’

4.2.2 Verbal nouns (-î: ~ -ỳ)

The regular verbal noun suffix is -î:. With a monosyllabic Cv- or Cvː-stem we get Cv-ỳ with short stem vowel). For longer stems (which always end in a short vowel), the -î: replaces the final vowel.

The stem syllables drop tones to {L} before the suffix. This is automatic with nonmonosyllabic stems. Most monosyllabic stems respect the rule, hence Cv-î:, but there are a few exceptional monosyllabic stems with H-toned verbal noun (Cv-ỳ).

With monosyllables, the -î: suffix shows a tendency to desyllabify. One can transcribe either Cv-î: or Cỳ-ulary (or even C=y), for example dò-î: or dò-(346,704),(370,727) ‘arriving’. I still hear three tonal components (L, H, L), so if we transcribe C=y we must recognize that the two moras manage to express three tone components.

The rare semivowel-final verb-stem type, namely in gày’ ‘put’ and kày’ ‘do’, has a <LHL> verbal noun pattern Cà-î:” (or Cà-ỳ”), indistinguishable from that of Cà(”)- stens.
A number of verbs have a high-frequency cognate nominal (§11.1.5.1) that is often used instead of the verbal noun. However, even here the regular verbal noun is also in use, especially in combination with the cognate nominal (i.e. in compound form). For example, the phrase jày jàyá- ‘fight a fight’ with cognate nominal jày ‘(a) fight’ has a verbal noun jày⁻L- [jày⁻î:] ‘fighting fights’, where the cognate nominal takes the form of an L-toned compound-initial.

Suffix -ú after {L}-toned nonmonosyllabic stem, which corresponds in form to the productive Jamsay verbal noun, is found in BenT only in its secondary Jamsay function as a device for converting verbs into resultative modifiers (compound finals or adjectives), see §5.1.10.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominals with final í: and ý

A number of nouns or adjectives have an H-tone and final í:, suggesting that this was once a regular suffixal derivation. In (45a), the noun is still clearly related to the verb or other stem from the same word-family. In (45b), the noun is isolated, and whether it belongs with (45a) even historically is unclear. Adjectives or perhaps compound finals are in (45c).

(45) stem gloss related form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(44)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>VblN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. nonmonosyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>bàngí</td>
<td>bàng⁻í:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td>súyɔ̌</td>
<td>súy⁻í:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tie’</td>
<td>pàyá</td>
<td>pàg⁻í:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td>píyé</td>
<td>píy⁻í:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘winnow in wind’</td>
<td>ñér“yí:</td>
<td>ñér“y⁻í:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. monosyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>nɔ̌</td>
<td>nɔ̌-ý</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>lɔ̌</td>
<td>lɔ̌-ý</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. irregular monosyllabic verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>jê:</td>
<td>jê-ý</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Cvyⁿ stems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>gàyⁿ</td>
<td>gàⁿ-ýⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>kàyⁿ</td>
<td>kàⁿ-ýⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of verbs have a high-frequency cognate nominal (§11.1.5.1) that is often used instead of the verbal noun. However, even here the regular verbal noun is also in use, especially in combination with the cognate nominal (i.e. in compound form). For example, the phrase jày jàyá- ‘fight a fight’ with cognate nominal jày ‘(a) fight’ has a verbal noun jày⁻L- [jày⁻î:] ‘fighting fights’, where the cognate nominal takes the form of an L-toned compound-initial.

Suffix -ú after {L}-toned nonmonosyllabic stem, which corresponds in form to the productive Jamsay verbal noun, is found in BenT only in its secondary Jamsay function as a device for converting verbs into resultative modifiers (compound finals or adjectives), see §5.1.10.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominals with final í: and ý

A number of nouns or adjectives have an H-tone and final í:, suggesting that this was once a regular suffixal derivation. In (45a), the noun is still clearly related to the verb or other stem from the same word-family. In (45b), the noun is isolated, and whether it belongs with (45a) even historically is unclear. Adjectives or perhaps compound finals are in (45c).
understanding this, and it is clearly not typical of agentives. A stem giŋjo (678) in the sample text, an

in the unsuffixed plural, and the stem has

predominant agentive formation,

singular

Agentives (always animate) are based on verb stems but have nominal inflection. The regular

4.2.4 Uncompounded agentives

Agentives (always animate) are based on verb stems but have nominal inflection. The regular

singular suffix -m is used, and the plural is unsuffixed, as with other animate nouns. In the

predominant agentive formation, the stem ends in i ~ u before animate singular -m and with u

in the unsuffixed plural, and the stem has {LH} overlay.

Most agentives include a compound initial, so for further examples of the forms see

(§5.1.3). jöngú-m ‘healer’ (Pl jöngú) is attested both in a simple form, see C’s second turn in

(678) in the sample text, and with a cognate nominal as {L}-toned compound initial:

jöngi-jöngú-m.

One older speaker used a morpheme -mù in apparent agentive plural function, following

a stem-shape identical to that of the singular (46). My younger assistant had difficulty

understanding this, and it is clearly not typical of agentives.
two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river). [2005.2a.08]

I can cite one uncompounded noun with agentive sense in common use (47), but it does not have the same morphological structure as the productive agentive compound construction.

(47)  verb  gloss  agentive  agentive plural
   dànní-  ‘hunt’  dànnà-m  dànnà

Underived nouns with agentive-like sense include wáyá:jè-m ‘butcher’ and jémɓè-m ‘blacksmith’. Most such nouns really denote a social category or caste rather than a trade as such.

4.2.5 Irregular reduplicated nominal (tı-tírù)

The noun tì-tírù ‘mission, commissioned task’ (also in Jamsay) is irregularly related to the verb tì- ‘send (sb, on a mission)’.

4.2.6 Deadjectival abstract nominals

Abstractive nominals are most common with scalar adjectives. In (48), the modifying adjectives (leftmost column) are shown in the inanimate form, which is generally expressed by the suffix -w (opposed to animate singular -m and animate plural -yè). Adjectives already ending in a consonant, including those with a final formative -m, have no suffix (48b). The productive abstractive nominal has {LH} tone overlay, with only the final mora H-toned. In most cases the abstractive is segmentally identical to the inanimate form of the adjective, including the suffixal -w. However, some ñ-final adjectives have inanimate -w but no suffix on the nominal (48a). Many abstractive nouns shift to an {H}-toned form in comparative constructions, after mègè ‘more’, specifying the domain of comparison (e.g. ‘X is more than Y with respect to height’). Some other abstractive keep their {LH} tones in comparatives. The forms used with mègè recur in predicative adjectives before ‘be’ quasi-verb variant bù-, see §11.4.1. Not shown here is a {HL}-toned form that is also used in comparatives, but which is syntactically adjectival rather than nominal (§12.1.1).
Abstractive nominals from adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss (nouns)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>with {H} or {LH}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. *u*-final, no {H}-toned form

_inanimate -w_

- dūgū-w ‘fat, thick’
- dūsū-w ‘heavy’
- səsū-w ‘near’
- yərū-w ‘soft’
- njərū-w ‘light’

_inanimate -∅_

- məsū-Ø ‘nasty’
- əsū-Ø ‘good’

b. consonant-final

_final w or m, no {H}-toned form_

- gāw-Ø ‘tall’
- wā:w-Ø ‘distant’
- əm-Ø ‘plump’

_like preceding, but reduplicated in basic abstractive form_

- tām-Ø ‘cold, cool’
- nūm-Ø ‘difficult’

_final -m formative, {H}-toned in comparative_

- ərū-m ‘sweet’
- gərū-m ‘bitter’

-fin ends in vowel other than *u* *

_{H}-toned form in comparative_

- diyā-w° ‘big’
- wərū-s-w° ‘deep’
- kāwā-w ‘thick’

_no {H}-toned form_

- gūr-Ø ‘long’

For ‘big’, cf. also the noun *diyā* ‘status of being the oldest freeborn man in the village’. *wā:w* can also be used adverbially (‘far’).

In addition to these morphologically marked abstractivities, ordinary adjectives are attested in nominal function. These are arguably headless core NPs with the noun omitted. They do not allude to scales, rather they have a more absolute sense (cf. take the good along with the bad). (49) is from a passage discussing the typically bad relations among co-wives (women who share a husband). The first adjective ‘bad’ is combined with a semantically light noun ‘thing’; the second adjective ‘good’ has no noun.
(49) \( \text{yà-nòrù mà:] kò:\text{-}nò mòsù] jà:wò,} \)
\( \text{[co.wife Dat] [thing\text{-}bad] normal,} \)
\( ësù [ër\text{-}nò mà:] jà:wò=rà \)
good \( \text{[3Sg Dat] normal=StatNeg} \)
‘(For) to a co-wife, (giving/doing) something bad is normal. (To give) something good to her isn’t normal.’ (2005.1a.05)

There are no nominals derived from expressive adverbials.

### 4.3 Pronouns

#### 4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

The basic morphological series are those in (50).

(50) a. independent (also used for preparticipial subject [e.g. in relative clauses], and optionally for object)

b. accusative (optional for direct object)

c. pronominal-subject suffix on verbs

d. possessor form, also used for complements of postpositions

The basic forms are given in (51). 3Sg and 3Pl are animate categories (including humans and animals), while Inan[imate] applies to plants and non-living things.

(51) Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>indep.</th>
<th>accusative</th>
<th>_Verb</th>
<th>Poss/PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>̀i</td>
<td>̀i=nì</td>
<td>̀i-́y</td>
<td>∅ (+L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>̀i:</td>
<td>̀i: =nì</td>
<td>̀i: -́y.:</td>
<td>̀i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>̀u</td>
<td>̀u=nù</td>
<td>̀u-́w</td>
<td>̀u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>̀ù:</td>
<td>̀ù: =nì</td>
<td>̀ù: -́w.:</td>
<td>̀ù:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>̀érnù́</td>
<td>̀érnù́ =nì</td>
<td>̀érnù́</td>
<td>[see below] ̀érnù́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>̀bù:</td>
<td>̀bù: =nì</td>
<td>̀bù:</td>
<td>[see below] ̀bù:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan</td>
<td>̀kù</td>
<td>̀kù=nù</td>
<td>̀kù</td>
<td>[see below] ̀kù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RefSG</td>
<td>̀á</td>
<td>̀á=nì</td>
<td>̀á</td>
<td>[see below] ̀á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RefPI</td>
<td>̀à:</td>
<td>̀à: =nì</td>
<td>̀à:</td>
<td>[see below] ̀à:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphology is rather simple and regular. In both first and second persons, there is a singular/plural split expressed by vowel-length and tone (the singular has a short vowel and H-tone, the plural has a long vowel and <HL>-tone). The accusative is \( =nì \) except for 2Sg \( ̀u=nù \) and inanimate \( ̀kù=nù \), where the short \( ̀u \) of the first syllable has induced rounding in the suffixal syllable.
Of interest is the use of \( \varepsilon_r \) as all-purpose nonsuffixal 3Sg morpheme. It is evidently
cognate to Jamsay \( \text{ënê} \), which however is an anaphoric 3Sg pronominal (used for reflexive
possessor and as a logophoric). It is likely that Jamsay (not BenT) shifted the functions of this
morpheme.

In the verbal suffixes, the animacy opposition is neutralized, so 3Sg and Inan[imate] have
the same forms. For this 3Sg/Inan category, and even more so for often irregular 3Pl, the form
of the verbal suffix depends on the AN category. This is seen in (52), using \( \text{lô-} \) ‘go’ and (for
the perfective-1b) \( \text{dàmbî-} \) ‘push’. For fuller discussion of pronominal-subject suffixes, see
§10.3.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{category} & \text{3Sg/Inan} & \text{3Pl} \\
\hline
\text{perfective-1a} & \text{lô-}rê-\emptyset & \text{lô-r-à} \\
\text{perfective-1b} & \text{dàmbî-ti-}rê & \text{dàmbî-ti-yà} \\
\text{imperfective} & \text{li-}lô-\emptyset & \text{li-}lô-yê \\
\text{perfective negative} & \text{lô-}rî-\emptyset & \text{lô-r-à} \\
\text{imperfective negative} & \text{lô-}m-\emptyset & \text{lô-m-n-ê} \\
\end{array}
\]

4.3.2 Discourse-definite function of inanimate pronoun \( \text{kù} \)

Inanimate \( \text{kù} \) in its various forms can be used to denote an abstraction, such as a situation or
eventuality just described in preceding discourse. A good example of this is (53), where \( \text{kù} \)
toward the end resumes the earlier proposition.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nù-m} & \text{ér}rê & \text{gôr}rê\emptyset, & \text{person-AnSg} & \text{3SgObj} & \text{be.stronger.Pfv-3SgSbj}, \\
\text{[bê:n nù-m]} & \text{kù} & \text{àw-rî-} & \text{[B person-AnSg]} & \text{InanSgObj} & \text{accept-PfvNeg-3SgSbj} \\
\text{‘(That) someone (else) has dominated (=been stronger than) him, the person (=man)
of Beni did not accept that.’} & \text{[2005.2b.04]}
\end{array}
\]

This discourse-resuming function of \( \text{kù} \) is apparent in a number of adverbial phrases that
resume something just stated. For example, instrumental PP \( \text{[kù pây]‘with that’ or ‘in that
way’} \) is a common phrase in texts, connecting one clause or paragraph to the next.

\( \text{kù} \) can also be used as a \text{prenominal} pseudo-possessor \( \text{(kù \( ^{\text{inh}} \) X)} \) in a similar resumptive
fashion. This construction functions as a \text{strong discourse-definite}, as opposed to the weak
discourse-definite postnominal \( \text{kù} \) (i.e., \( \mathit{X \text{kù}} \)), see §4.4.1 below and §6.5.1. In this
prenominal pseudo-possessor function, the interlinear abbreviation is “DiscDef.” Prenominal
\( \text{kù} \) and postnominal \( \text{kù} \) often co-occur: \( \text{kù} \( ^{\text{inh}} \) \mathit{X kù} \).
4.4 Demonstratives and definites

4.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’) and definite markers

Animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns and definite markers are shown in (54). They follow nouns, adjectives, and numerals within NPs. As usual, overt pluralization of inanimates is optional.

(54)     form (Sg) | gloss       | Pl form
A. deictic categories (control tone-dropping)
  a.  mū:   ‘this’ (proximal, animate)   | mū: bè
       ūgū    ‘this’ (proximal, inanimate) | ūgū bè
  b.  -m kū  ‘that’ (near-distant, animate)  | -m kū bè
       -∅ kū  ‘that’ (near-distant, inanimate) | -∅ kū bè
  c.  ūmbá ~ ūmbá́  ‘that’ (far-distant, animate) | ūmbá bè
       ūgá    ‘that’ (far-distant, inanimate) | ūgá bè

B. definite marker (does not control tone-dropping)
  d.  -m kū  ‘the (same)’ (definite, animate) | -∅ bû:
       -∅ kū  ‘the (same)’ (definite, inanimate) | -∅ kū bè

[see also the strong discourse-definite prenominal kû, §4.3.2]

For more on the definite morphemes, see §6.7. Definite plural bû: is identical in form to the 3Pl independent pronoun. Definite kû is normally distinguishable from near-distant kū by tones (including those on the preceding noun if present).

The deictic categories (proximal, near-distant, far-distant) apply to entities at successive distances from the speaker. Near-distant is often specifically associated with the addressee, but the precise spatial range is flexible and relative. The far-distant category can be used in discourse as a kind of obviative, denoting the ‘other’ of two paired or otherwise homologous protagonists or locations (“Meanwhile, the other brother was …”). For example, in a tale where Hare and Hyena travel together, after a passage focusing on Hyena the topic shifts to Hare, who is reintroduced into the discourse as ūmbá ‘that (far-distant) one’. A similar example is ūmbá́ in the second line of (660) in the sample text. Except for this special case, the usual postnominal discourse-definite forms are those in (54d).

The animate singular suffix -m is not used on the noun stem before mū: or ūmbá. Example: yā-m ‘woman’, yā mū: ‘this woman’, yā ūmbá ‘that woman’. One could argue that the m of mū: and that of ūmbá are actually instances of the (animate) singular suffix -m, but since the demonstratives can be used absolutely (mū: ‘this one’, ūmbá ‘that one’), and since they are not dropped in the plural, I take the m to be part of the demonstrative. Before near-distant kū and definite kû, -m is present on animate singular nouns.: yā-m kū ‘that (aforementioned) woman’, cf. plural yā: kû bè.

Tone-dropping occurs on a modified noun before all of the deictic demonstratives: proximal, near-distant, and far-distant. **Tone-dropping does not occur before definite kû.** Tones (on both words) distinguish near-distant from definite NPs (55).
The plural is expressed by adding bè. For mü: and mbá, the noun (if present) has the same form as in the singular: yā-m ‘woman’ and plural yā: ‘women’, with demonstrative yā:L mü: ‘this woman’ and plural yā:L mü: bè ‘these women’. For near-distant kú, the plural is expressed by adding kú bè to the regular plural form of the noun (with tones dropped): yà:L kú bè ‘that (aforementioned) woman’, plural yà:L kú bè ‘those (aforementioned) women’ (the plural is based on yā: ‘women’ with long vowel).

4.4.2 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.2.1 Locative adverbs

The adverbs in (56) are the most common all-purpose spatial adverbs based on demonstrative stems, and may be used to indicate specific, well-defined locations. The forms with -dá: (sometimes pronounced -rá:; though not by all speakers) denote a more general space (56).

(56)  

a. ñgú:rù ~ ñú:rù  ‘here’  
   ñgá:rù ~ ñá:rù  ‘there’ (deictic)  
   yà:  ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

b. ñgú:dá:  ‘around here; on this side’  
   ñgá:dá: ~ àngá:dá:  ‘around there; on that side’  
   yá:dá: ~ yá:rá:  ‘around there’ (discourse-definite)  
   kú:dá: ~ kú:rá:  ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

4.4.2.2 Emphatic/approximative modifiers of adverbs

jà:ti, a regional emphatic (e.g. Fulfulde), can be added to a demonstrative adverb: ñgú:rù já:ti ‘right here’, yà: já:ti ‘right there (in that same place)’.

For approximate location, there are expressions like bèlè ñgú:rù ‘around here’ and (especially for younger speakers) tàngày ñgú:rù ‘around here’.

For ‘the near/far side of X’ (with reference to the deictic center and to a fixed location X), we get expressions involving a motion verb ‘reach’ or ‘pass’ (57).

(57)  

a. 1SgPoss.1St field  
[bé:ní  ú  d3:ré  mà:]  bè-Ø  
[Bení  2SgSbj  reach-Pfv1a  before]  be-3SgSbj  
‘My field is this side of Bení.’ (lit. “… it is before you reach Bení”)
b. \( L^{\text{III}} \text{îr}^\text{à} \)
1SgPoss. \( \text{III.field} \)
\[ [\text{bé:n}i \quad \text{láwá:-r}\
\quad \text{w} \quad \text{d}\text{é}] \quad \text{bù-Ø} \]
\[ \text{Beni pass-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if] be-3SgSbj \]
‘My field is on the far side of Beni (lit. “... it is when you have passed Beni’)

4.4.2.3 ‘Like this/that’ (\( \text{ànjáy}^\text{a} \))

\( \text{ànjáy}^\text{a} \) ‘like this, like that, thus’ is normally accompanied by a visual demonstration or by preceding explanatory text. It differs tonally from \( \text{ànjáy} \) ‘how?’.

4.4.3 Presentatives

The presentative morpheme is \( \text{úngòy} \), used with following ‘be’ quasi-verb, a stance or motion verb, or a VP denoting an activity. A subject NP generally precedes \( \text{úngòy} \), presumably as a topicalized NP. However, a subject NP can optionally follow \( \text{úngòy} \) if there is at least one other constituent separating the subject NP from the verb. Non-subject NP’s (if not topicalized) follow \( \text{úngòy} \).

(58) a. \( \text{á:m} \quad \text{úngòy} \quad \text{bù-Ø} \)
chief-AnSg here’s! be-3SgSbj
‘Here’s the chief!’

b. \( \text{úngòy} \quad \text{y-è:} \)
here’s! come.lpfv-3PlSbj
‘Here they come!’

c. \( \text{úngòy} \quad \text{éw-yè-y} \)
here’s! sit-MP.lpfv-1SgSbj
‘Here I am, sitting!’, (= ‘I’m sitting over here!’)

d. \( \text{úngòy} \quad \text{bírè} \quad \text{bírè-m} \)
here’s! work(n) work.lpfv-3SgSbj
‘Here he/she is, working!’

e. \( M \quad \text{úngòy} \quad \text{bírè} \quad \text{bírè-m} \)
e’. \( \text{úngòy} \quad M \quad \text{bírè} \quad \text{bírè-m} \)
M here’s! M work(n) work.lpfv-2SgSbj
‘Here is M (personal name), working!’
### 4.5 Adjectives

#### 4.5.1 Underived adjectives

The adjectives in (59) are used in modifying function after a noun. There is frequently a three-way distinction between inanimate -\textit{w}, (animate) singular -\textit{m}, and (animate) plural -\textit{yê} (59a). In another important set of forms, the inanimate form is unsuffixed, versus singular -\textit{m} and plural -\textit{yê} (59b). If the stem itself ends lexically in -\textit{m}, both the inanimate and animate singular forms are unsuffixed, or at least have no audible suffix, and the -\textit{m} is heard before animate plural -\textit{yê} (59c). A number of adjectives have -\textit{m} as an inanimate/animate singular suffix, versus animate plural -\textit{yê} without the -\textit{m} (59d). There are a handful of adjectives with a noun-like unsuffixed plural instead of animate plural suffix -\textit{yê} (59e). For nouns that do allow -\textit{yê}, the suffix is sometimes omitted in collective contexts. For example, the phrase \textit{nùâ dyà\text{"a}} ‘big (i.e. old) people’ occurs frequently in texts with collective plural sense, although the form \textit{dyà\text{"a}-yê} is attested elsewhere.

A number of other adjectives have incomplete paradigms for semantic reasons. They are inapplicable either to inanimates (59f) or to animates (59g). In (59g), if the only existing form ends in -\textit{m}, the decision whether to segment it as the inanimate or animate singular suffix mentioned above, or to take it as part of the lexical stem, can be decided when there is an associated inchoative verb. The absence of -\textit{m} from the inchoative verb suggests segmentation in the cases of bisyllabic \textit{ásù-m}, \textit{páà-rú-m}, and \textit{káñjù-m}. The inclusion of -\textit{m} in the inchoative verbs for monosyllabic \textit{slím-}\text{"ô} ‘pointed’ and \textit{núm-}\text{"ô} ‘difficult’ shows that in these cases the -\textit{m} is lexical. No verb corresponding to \textit{gá\text{"a}m-}\text{"ô} ‘foul’ or to \textit{gúm-}\text{"ô} ‘bland’ is known, so this test does not work for them. However, all monosyllabic \textit{Cvm} stems that do have full paradigms (\textit{kú\text{"a}m-}\text{"ô} ‘plump’, \textit{tám-}\text{"ô} ‘cold, slow’) or for which the inchoative-verb test is available (\textit{slím-}\text{"ô}, \textit{núm-}\text{"ô}) have lexical -\textit{m}, so there is no good reason to segment the -\textit{m} as a suffix in monosyllabic \textit{gá\text{"a}m-}\text{"ô} and \textit{gúm-}\text{"ô}.

The suffixes -\textit{w} (inanimate) and -\textit{m} (animate singular) are atonal (in my analysis), so the tone of the final syllable of the adjectival stem proper simply fills out the relevant syllable including the suffix; see Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2). An alternative analysis in which these suffixes are L-toned would work for many cases, but -\textit{m} is atonal as nominal suffix (animate singular), and is clearly not L-toned in several adjectives in (59b) and (59f). The suffix -\textit{yê} is always L-toned.

Nasalization-Spreading affects inanimate -\textit{w} (which is tautosyllabic with the source of the nasalization), but \textit{y} in plural -\textit{yê} is unaffected. In general, -\textit{yê} acts like an independent particle and does not interact phonologically with the stem. It reflects a very old plural noun *\textit{yê*} (Nanga \textit{yê} ‘things’) that evolved into a plural suffix for adjectives or demonstratives (e.g. Najamba adjectival inanimate plural \textit{yê}), or into a plural possessive classifier (e.g. Nanga \textit{h\text{"a}l\text{"a} yê}).

(59) Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Inan</th>
<th>AnSg</th>
<th>AnPl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Inan -\textit{w}, Sing -\textit{m}, Pl -\textit{yê} (Inan … â\text{&quot;a} \textit{w} arguably just lengthened … â\text{&quot;a} \text{&quot;ô})</td>
<td>\textit{dyà\text{&quot;a}-w}</td>
<td>\textit{dyà\text{&quot;a}-m}</td>
<td>\textit{dyà\text{&quot;a}-yê}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H\text{&quot;a}L/\text{-toned, stem-final unrounded vowel}</td>
<td>\textit{káwà-w}</td>
<td>\textit{káwà-m}</td>
<td>\textit{káwà-yê}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘small, young’  dâ: -w  dâ: -m  dâ: -yè
like preceding, colors (for bâr“â-y”, jèw“ê-y”, see discussion below)
‘red’  bâr“â-w”  bâr “â-m  bâr “â-yè
‘black’  jèw“ê-w”  jèw “ê-m  jèw “ê-yè
/L.H/ -toned
‘good’  èsú ~ èsú-w  èsú-m ~ èsí-m  èsí-yè
/L.HL/-toned
‘fat, thick’  dûgû-w  dûgû-m  dûgû-yè
‘heavy’  dûsû-w  dûsû-m  dûsû-yè
‘soft (skin)’  yîrû-w  yîrû-m  yîrû-yè
‘lightweight’  pèr“û-w”  pèr “û-m  pèr “û-yè
‘nearby’  sèsû-w  sèsû-m  sèsû-yè
‘bad, ugly’  m̀sû-w  m̀sû-m  m̀sû-yè
‘long, tall’  gûrî-w  gûrî-m  gûrî-yè
‘thin’  mènje-w  mènje-m  mènje-yè

b. Inan -∅, Sg -m, Pl -yè
/H/-toned
‘white’  pîlê-∅  pîlê-m  pîlê-yè
‘respectable’  nînà “∅  nînà “m  nînà “yè
‘skinny’  kômbo-∅  kômbo-m  kômbo-yè
‘living’  úw³-∅  úw³-m  úw³-yè
/HL/-toned
‘hot, fast’  5w-∅  5w-m  5w-yè
‘new’  kàlà-∅  kàlà-m  kàlà-yè
/L.H/-toned
‘old’  pè-∅  pè-m  pè-yè
‘empty, bare’  kòrò-∅  kòrò-m  kòrò-yè
‘unripe, raw, fast’  cèsù-∅  cèsù-m  cèsù-yè
‘crooked’  gùlù-∅  gùlù-m  gùlù-yè
/L.HL/-toned
‘tight’  ëw-∅  ëw-m  ëw-yè
‘short’  gį-w-∅  gį-w-m  gį-w-yè
‘distant’  wá:w-∅  wá:w-m  wá:w-yè
‘young’  sò:rò-∅  sò:rò-m  sò:rò-yè
‘flat’  pàngà-pàtà-∅  pàngà-pàtà-m  pàngà-pàtà-yè
‘easy, cheap’  nà:r “a-∅  nà:r “a-m  nà:r “a-yè

c. m-final with Inan -∅, Sg -∅, Pl -yè
/L.HL/-toned
‘plump’  ām-∅  ām-∅  ām-yè
/LH/-toned
‘cold, slow’  tām-∅  tām-∅  tām-yè
d. Inan -m, Sg -m, Pl -yè
/HL/-toned
‘sweet; sharp’  ěrù-m  ěrù-m  ěrù-yè
‘bitter’  gáru-m  gáru-m  gáru-yè
For ‘red’ and ‘black’ there are alternative forms, perhaps archaic, with suffix -y instead of -w and with L<HL> tones. These forms occur in a few highly lexicalized combinations, all inanimate. For ‘black’: sêngû jèwê-y" ‘earthenware cooking pot’ (lit. “black pottery”) and êlêy jèwêy” ‘groundnut’ (lit. “black peanut”). For ‘red’: nàwâ: bârâ-y” ‘flesh, muscle tissue’ (lit. “red [i.e. not cooked] meat”), and combinations of bârâ-y” with terms for certain fruits (mango, wild grape, zaban, kola) denoting ripeness as manifested by redness.

A probably unresolvable issue is whether inanimate forms of u-final stems like dügû-w should be treated as having inanimate suffix -w, or as having suffix -Ø with long vowel due to Contour-Tone Mora-Addition. In the latter case, they should be transcribed as dügû:Ø, and shifted from (59a) to (59b). There is no audible difference between û: and ûw in BenT, to my ear.

Vowel-length is distinctive in Cv(:) and Cv(:)C adjectives, as in nouns. We see consistent long vowels in dâ: ‘small, young’ (59a), and in gês w ‘short’ and wês w ‘distant’ (59b), though in the two latter cases the final -w might be segmentable. lâ: ‘other’ (59e) and perhaps pê-
‘old’ (59b) are lexically short-voweled, but are lengthened when unsuffixed (and not tone-dropped) by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). Plural pë: -yè might argue against this formulation, but -yè itself is arguably a clitic or even a separate particle (it does not interact phonologically with the stem, for example resisting Nasalization-Spreading). We also have short-voweled CvC adjectives (św- ‘hot, fast’, św- ‘tight’, ām- ‘plump’, tām- ‘cold’).

Many adjectives use a form segmentally identical to the inanimate modifying form (but with final H-toned syllable) as an all-purpose predicative form for all pronominal categories (§11.4.1).

The two semantically adjective-like elements meaning ‘many, much’ are jō→ and bāy”→. Both are syntactically (expressive) adverbials, though like adjectives they immediately follow the element they have scope over. They have no suffixal morphology. Tone-dropping (as for nouns before true adjectives) occurs only sporadically with jō→, so that in e.g. ūrō jō→ ‘many houses’, ūrō ‘house’ has lexical tones. However, there are some textual occurrences where a noun is tone-dropped before jō→.

4.6 Participles

Participles are forms of verbs with more or less adjective-like suffixes that agree with the head NP of a relative clause. The forms are rather complex and depend on the aspect-negation (AN) category of the verb. For the morphology, see §14.1.6.

4.7 Numerals

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

4.7.1.1 ‘One’, ‘same (one)’, and ‘other’

The numeral for ‘1’ is based on a stem tūwⁿ, which has a presuffixed (and occasionally unsuffixed) form tūwⁿ₃ (note the L.<HL> tone pattern). It is treated as a modifying adjective, so a preceding noun drops tones and omits its own inflectional suffix (the L.<HL> pattern is likewise characteristic of adjectives). Examples: nà:₃ tūwⁿ₃-m ‘one cow’ (nā:m ‘cow’), ār₄ tà tūwⁿ₃-m ‘one man’ (ār₄-m), kūrⁿ₄ tūwⁿ₃ ‘one stone’ (kūrⁿì).

In the sense ‘(the) same’ (indicating identity or other substantive sameness), the inanimate form is tūwⁿ₅ with L.<HL> tones, and the animate forms are the same singular tūwⁿ₅-m and plural tūwⁿ₅-yè as in the numeral function. The ‘same’ function is most common in predicates, either as a modifier of a predicative noun (60a) or as an adjectival predicate (60b).

(60) a. [nù¹ mū: bè] [nù¹ tūwⁿ₅-yè]  
   [person¹ Prox.An Pl] [person¹ one-Pl]  
   ‘Those people are the same (e.g. of a single extended family).’

b. [kɔ₃rɔ₃kɔ₃ yà→] [pul₃ yà→] tūwⁿ₅:  
   [Songhay and] [Fulbe and] same.be  
   ‘Songhay and Fulbe (ethnicities) are the same.’
The common phrases ‘one (=same) mother’ and ‘one (=same) father’, used in phrases distinguishing full from half-siblinghood, are nàrⁿá ðtwⁿⁿ and bɔ: ðtwⁿⁿ, respectively.

In the phrase ðusú ðtwⁿⁿ-m ‘one day’ (i.e. a certain day in the past), we unexpectedly get -m suffix (elsewhere animate singular), as in (527) in §15.2.4 and in (616) in §18.2.2. I am hesitant to suggest a connection with the use of suffix -m for both animate singular and inanimate in some adjectives, such as érũ-m ‘sweet’ (§4.5.1).

Warning: English ‘same’ in the discourse-definite sense (‘that same dog that I mentioned before’) can be expressed using definite kû (§6.7) or a prenominal demonstrative pseudo-possessor kú (§4.3.2).

4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

The forms of these simple numerals are in (61).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(61)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td>yéy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td>tâ:nú – tâ:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘4’</td>
<td>nũ:yⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘5’</td>
<td>nũmũyⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘6’</td>
<td>kũrũy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘7’</td>
<td>sũyⁿ'yⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘8’</td>
<td>gá:ũy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘9’</td>
<td>těːsũm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>pẽrũ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals ‘6’ to ‘8’ have a fixed H.L tone pattern with final y (or yⁿ), a pattern that is conspicuous when reciting the numeral sequence.

With numerals other than ‘1’, a preceding modified noun has its regular tones (no tone-dropping occurs).

With a preceding noun and before a pause (or in isolation), numerals with final-syllable <LH>-tone (i.e. ‘2’ to ‘5’ and ‘9’) regularly omit the final H-tone component and appear with all-L-tone: nã: yéy ‘two cows’, árũ nũmũyⁿ ‘five houses’. The lexical <LH>-tone reappears if there is a following modifier, like the definite marker in nã: yéy bû: ‘the two cows’ and in árũ nũmũyⁿ kû ‘the five houses’. The lexical tone is also usually audible when an NP ending in the numeral is followed quickly by a verb or other clause-internal constituent: nã: yéy sẽwⁿ-e-yⁿ ‘I slaughtered two cows’. The lexical tone is also audible in isolation (e.g. in counting sequences): yéy ‘two’.

Both the preservation of the tone of a preceding modified noun, and the dropping of the final <LH>-tone of the numeral prepausally after a modified noun, distinguish noun-numeral combinations for numerals ‘2’ and up (62a) from ordinary sequences of noun plus modifying adjective (62b), including the numeral ‘1’ (62c) and ordinals.

(62) a. nã: yéy
cow two
two cows
### 4.7.1.3 Decimal units (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, …)

The decimal terms, with *pérú* ‘10’ as the base, are in (63). *pérú* is modified in various ways when compounded with a following single-digit numeral to produce ‘20’ through ‘90’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(63)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td><em>pérú</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘20’</td>
<td><em>pèrī-yèy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘30’</td>
<td><em>pé-tà:n ~ pè-tà:nú</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘40’</td>
<td><em>pè-ní:yَا</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘50’</td>
<td><em>pè-nûmûyَا</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘60’</td>
<td><em>pèr-kûròy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘70’</td>
<td><em>pèr-sûyَاyَا</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘80’</td>
<td><em>pèr-gâ:rày</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘90’</td>
<td><em>pèr-tè:sím</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When one recites the list out loud, as one would do in counting, one notices more readily that adjacent decimal terms have similar forms of *pérú*-.* Thus ‘30’ through ‘50’ begin with *pè-*, while ‘60’ through ‘90’ begin with *pèr*-.* The tonal difference between these two variants correlates inversely with the first tone component of the following single-digit numeral, so we get H-toned *pè*- before an L-initial numeral in ‘30’ to ‘50’, and L-toned *pèr*- before an H-initial numeral in ‘60’ through ‘90’. However, there is no phonological basis for the loss of *r* in *pè*- and its preservation in *pèr*. Note that in ‘30’ and ‘90’ the following numeral begins in *t*.

As with the numerals ‘2’ to ‘9’ (see just above), a modified noun preceding a decimal numeral has its regular lexical tones (64a-b). If the decimal numeral itself ends in an <LH>-toned syllable (‘20’ through ‘50’), the <LH>-tone reduces to L-tone prepausally and in isolation (64a) but not before another constituent (64b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(64)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>ūrò</em></td>
<td><em>pèrī-yèy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>nà:</em></td>
<td><em>pè-nûmûyَا</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A decimal term may be combined with a single-digit (‘1-9’) numeral to produce **compound numerals** like ‘11’ and ‘59’. The morpheme sü: follows the single-digit numeral; I gloss it as ‘plus’ but it is confined to numerals.

(65)  

a.  

| péré  | tūwⁿ sé sü:] |
| ten   | [one plus]   |

‘eleven’

b.  

| pē-nůmůyⁿ | tē:sǐm sü:] |
| ten-five  | [nine plus] |

‘fifty-nine’

c.  

| ˚sū | pē-tā:n tā:n sü:] |
| day  | [ten-three three plus] |

‘thirty-three days’

4.7.1.4 Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, …) and their composites

The key stems are in (66). They can be considered to be nouns, and (like any countable noun) can be followed by any of the numerals given above.

(66)  

gloss          form

a.  

‘hundred’  

| té:mdérè | (<Fulfulde) |

b.  

‘thousand’  

| mùsú |

c.  

‘million’  

| mǐlyⁿ:ⁿ | (<French) |

Like other numerals ‘2’ and up, these numerals do not force tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun: nā: té:mdérè ‘(one) hundred cows’, nā: mùsú ‘(one) thousand cows’, nā: mǐlyⁿ:ⁿ ‘(one) million cows’.

The archaic term sūngú is still used among older people for ‘80’ in connection with currency (see below).

These nouns may be directly followed by a **single-digit** numeral ‘2’ to ‘9’ denoting the number of higher units: té:mdérè yěy ‘two hundred’, mùsú tā:n ‘three thousand’. A single-digit numeral ending in <LH>-tone drops to L-tone under the usual conditions, hence e.g. té:mdérè yěy prepausally.

Numerals involving **more than one level** (‘1-99’, hundreds, thousands) normally require repetition of a modified noun (67).

(67)  

| [péré mùsú yěy] | [péré té:mdérè nůmůyⁿ] |
| sheep thousand two | sheep hundred five |

‘two thousand, five hundred, (and) twenty sheep’
When there is no modified noun, *ya*→, which might be analysed as a variant of the ‘and’ particle, is optionally used between a hundred (or thousand) term and a ’1-99’ term. In careful speech, it is grouped prosodically with the following component (68). It is always heard with intonational prolongation. Although there may be prosodic breaks after the two nonterminal right brackets in (68), these breaks are associated with nonterminal intonation (i.e. anticipating more to come), so the final <LH>-tones in *yěy* and *nùmýy*º are audible.

(68)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thousand</th>
<th>two</th>
<th>hundred</th>
<th>five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[mùsú</td>
<td>yěyº]</td>
<td>[té:mdérè</td>
<td>nùmýy*º]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ýa→</td>
<td>pèrí-yěy]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[and</td>
<td>ten-two]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two thousand, five hundred, (and) twenty’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.1.5 Currency

The official unit is the CFA franc. In all native languages, the unit for currency expressions less than one million CFA francs is what in colonial times was called the riyal, equivalent to five CFA francs. Thus ‘100’ when referring to money means ‘100 riyals’, i.e. ‘500 CFA francs’. The noun meaning ‘riyal’ is *bú:dù*, shared with Fulfulde, Jamsay, and some other regional languages. ‘5 CFA francs’ is therefore *bú:dù tùw*º₅, ‘10 CFA francs’ is *bú:dù yěy*, etc.

For very large amounts, *mìly*:º ‘million’ is used, meaning ‘one million CFA francs (not riyals)’.

4.7.1.6 Distributive numerals

A numeral may be iterated to denote price per unit, or other distributive numeral (e.g. ‘ten each’, ‘ten by ten’, ‘ten at a time’).

(69)  

| mango | [pèrí-yěy | pèrí-yěy] | tìyé-yè |
|-------| [ten-two | ten-two] | sell.lpfv-3PlSbj |
| ‘They sell mangoes for twenty riyals (=100 francs) each.’ |

With ‘1’, the form is invariant *tùw*º₅-*tùw*º₅ even with animate referents (70). Compare animate singular *tùw*º₅-*m*.

(70)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cow-Pl</th>
<th>one-one</th>
<th>come.lpfv-3PlSbj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nǎ:-Ø</td>
<td>tùwº₅-tùwº₅</td>
<td>yè-bɔ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The cows came one by one.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.7.2.1 ‘First’ and ‘last’

These ordinals differ in form from the bulk of ordinals (on which see just below). They both end in ɔ́, which is otherwise not observed with numerals or with modifying adjectives. As with ordinary adjectives, a modified noun drops its tones before ‘first’ and ‘last’.

(71) a. ụrò ́L kúyɔ́: house ́L first
     ‘the first house’

b. ụrò ́L dàmdɔ́: house ́L last
     ‘the last house’

Singular forms are seen in nù ́L kúyɔ́:-m ‘the first person’ and nù ́L dàmdɔ́:-m ‘the last person’. The plurals are nù ́:nú kúyɔ́: and nù ́:nú dàmdɔ́:.

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix -né)

All other numerals have an ordinal with suffix -né after tone-dropped numeral stem. Slightly irregular forms are tày-né ‘third’ and pɛ̀r-né ‘tenth’. Representative examples are in (72). Ordinals behave morphosyntactically like modifying adjectives and induce tone-dropping on a preceding noun: ụrò ́L yèy-né ‘the second house’.

(72)     form                     gloss
          a. single-digit numeral
             yèy-né                     ‘second’
             tày-né                     ‘third’
             nù:-né                     ‘fourth’
             kùròy-né                   ‘sixth’
             pɛ̀r-né                     ‘tenth’
          b. decimal
             pɛ̀rì-yèy-né                 ‘twentieth’
          c. decimal plus single-digit numeral
             pɛ̀rè tùw˘sà:-nè            ‘eleventh’
          d. hundred
             tɛːmdɛ̀rè-né                 ‘hundredth’
          e. hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels)
             tɛːmdɛ̀rè yàː pɛ̀rì-yèy-né    ‘hundred and twentieth’
4.7.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’, or more accurately ‘large fraction’, is pékéré. (Someone’s) ‘share’ of a whole is kériyêy, e.g. kériyêy ‘my share’. The noun or adjective ‘some, certain (ones)’ is gàmbú (variant gàm), see §6.3.2.
5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

Many compounds are expressed with the initial X in its regular (lexical) tone, and the final N in all-L tone (tone-dropped), schematically (x ǹ). This is indistinguishable from the possessive construction with any possessor X other than a first or second person pronoun.

(73) a. bé:nì ¹lyà:
   B ¹woman.Pl
   ‘the women of Beni’

b. isê: ¹ ámb- pounded
   village ¹chief-AnSg
   ‘village chief’

In addition to these productive types, the lexicon (especially for flora-fauna) contains many compounds where both initial and final have tone patterns not attributable to tone-dropping or to possessor control. For example, in nà:⁻lêmèdè: ‘herb sp. (Portulaca)’, we have an unexpected H-toned variant of nà: ‘cow’ before lêmèdè: ‘tongue’. One would have expected #nà:⁻lêmèdè: matching Bankan Tey nà:⁻lêmèbirè: (applied to the same herb sp.). The regularly possessed form is nà: lêmèdè: ‘cow’s tongue’, but this is not used as the flora term. There are quite a few compounds, and prosodically compound-like terms with four or more syllables, that likewise do not fit into the productive patterns that I focus on in this chapter. Some that have a reduplicative flavor are listed in §4.1.5.2.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (x ǹ)

In this construction, the initial drops its tones, while the final has its regular lexical melody. The initial may denote the source, location, substance, or other characteristic of the referent denoted by the final noun.

(74) a. màrpà:¹-giyé
   rifle¹-dance
   ‘rifle dance (dance in which rifles are shot off)’ (màrpà:

b. ènjë¹-sùwš
   chicken¹-excrement
   ‘chicken excrement’ (ènjë-m)

c. kù:¹-ùrùyê:
   head¹-pain
   ‘headache’ (kù.)
d. \textit{sùkɔ̀rɔ̀-kilɔ̀}:
\begin{itemize}
  \item sugar\textsuperscript{L}-kilo
  \item ‘kilo of sugar’ (\textit{sùkɔ̀rɔ̀})
\end{itemize}

e. \textit{pèrɛ̀-kù}:
\begin{itemize}
  \item sheep\textsuperscript{L}-head
  \item ‘sheep’s head’ (\textit{pèrɛ̀-m})
\end{itemize}

f. \textit{ìnjè-ùrò}
\begin{itemize}
  \item dog\textsuperscript{L}-house
  \item ‘doghouse’ (\textit{ìnjè-m})
\end{itemize}

Tone-dropped initials are flagged with superscript \textsuperscript{L} in this section, but I usually omit word-
internal superscripts in texts.

5.1.2 Compounds with final verbal noun, type (\textit{x ŋ})

This (\textit{x ŋ}) pattern is also used when the final is a verbal noun and the initial denotes the
complement (usually a direct object), as in (75).

\begin{itemize}
  \item (75) \textit{nàwùnù-[kùw-i:]}
  \item meat\textsuperscript{L}-[eat-VblN]
  \item ‘eating meat’
\end{itemize}

In some compounds of this structure, the verbal noun functions as an adjective-like modifier
for the noun, which is therefore the logical head. An example is \textit{nì:\textsuperscript{L}-[tègìr-i:] ‘antivenin}
(antidote for snakebite)’ in line 7 of (671) in the sample text, with \textit{nì: ‘water’ and verbal noun
of tègìrì ‘revive’, i.e. ‘water (liquid) of/for reviving’. However, this type of sense, where the
compound final specifies the \textbf{function or purpose} of the entity, can also be expressed by
instrumental relative compounds (§5.1.9).

5.1.3 Agentive compounds of type (\textit{x ŋ-Ppl})

Most agentives are not simple (‘dancer’), rather they are compounds with an initial \textit{L}-toned
noun (‘dance-dancer’). In the regular pattern described in this section, the initial drops its
tones, while the final has \{LH\} tones with just the final syllable high. Examples with ordinary
noun as compound initial are in (76).

\begin{itemize}
  \item (76) \textit{màŋgòrò\textsuperscript{L}-[tiyì-m]}
  \item mango\textsuperscript{L-}[sell.Agent-AnSg]
  \item ‘mango seller’ (\textit{màŋgòrò tiyế-})

  \item \textit{àršè\textsuperscript{L}-[bèrè-m]}
  \item animal\textsuperscript{L-}[tend.Agent-AnSg]
  \item ‘herder, shepherd’ (\textit{àršè: bèrè-})
\end{itemize}
The plurals are màngòró^{L,HI} [tìyú, àsè; ^{L,HI} bèrè, and wèrè^{L,HI} dànní.]

Of the examples in (76), that in (76a) illustrates the regular morphophonology of the agentive verb (i.e., the compound final), in that the stem has a final i ~ u before singular -m, and a final u in the unsuffixed plural form. (For trisyllabics, the medial vowel also raises.) The final in ‘herder’ (76b) is related to the noun bèrè: ‘pasture’. ‘Hunter’ (76c) belongs to the same word-family as verb dànní- ‘hunt’ but is not a regular derivational form.

Examples with cognate nominals as compound initials are in (77).

(77) a. yògú^{L,HI} [yògú-m]
running^{L,HI} [run.Agent-AnSg]
‘runner’ (yògú yòyò-)

b. bìrè^{L,HI} [bìrì-m]
work(n)^{L,HI} [work.Agent-AnSg]
‘worker’ (bìrè bìrè-)

Further examples of morphologically regular agentive finals are in (78). The initial has the same form in the singular and plural agentives. (78a) shows the shift of the final vowel from low or mid-height to high in the agentive, for verb stems of two or more syllables. This does not apply to monosyllabic stems, and gáyⁿ’ put’ loses its final semivowel (78b).

(78) verb gloss agentive gloss singular plural
a. sèwé- ‘saw’ kàsù^{L,HI} [sèwⁿú-m] -sèwⁿú ‘calabash-cutter’
cèwⁿè- ‘build’ úró^{L,HI} [cèwⁿú-m] -cèwⁿú ‘homebuilder’
tíyé- ‘weave’ gàrú^{L,HI} [tíyí-m] -tìyú ‘basket-weaver’
tírⁿè- ‘get wood’ tìn^{L,HI} [tìrⁿ-m] -tīrⁿ ú ‘wood gatherer’
wàrà- ‘farm’ wòngüró^{L,HI} [wàrú-m] -wàrú ‘farmer’
nùwⁿè- ‘sing’ nùwⁿū^{L,HI} [nùwⁿú-m] -nùwⁿú ‘singer’
jíyé- ‘dance’ jíyè^{L,HI} [jíyí-m] -jíyú ‘dancer’
tí- ‘send’ lè:tèrè^{L,HI} [tiyí-m] -tìyú ‘letter-sender’
b. tòrò- ‘pound’ tòrí^{L,HI} [tòrú-m] -tòrú ‘pounder (of grain)’
pètè- ‘jump’ ápètú^{L,HI} [pètú-m] -pètú ‘jumper’
c. tò- ‘stomp’ gùsù^{L,HI} [tò-m] -tò: ‘(hide-)tanner’
gáyⁿ- ‘put’ gàrà^{L,HI} [gáⁿ-m] -gáⁿ ‘(indigo-)dye’
kàyⁿ- ‘do, make’ màsù^{L,HI} [kàⁿ-m] -kàⁿ ‘evil-doer’
dù- ‘carry’ dù^{L,HI} [dù-m] -dù: ‘porter, carrier’
d. tógòró- ‘chew’ tógòró^{L,HI} [tógòrú-m] -tógòrú ‘meat-chewers’
These agentic compounds should be distinguished from the superficially similar resultative compounds (alternatively, noun-adjective sequences) presented in §5.1.10.

As indicated before, tone superscripts are used here, but are usually omitted in text transcriptions.

5.1.4 Compounds with -yì: ‘child of’

With a nonhuman referent, a compound with L-toned initial followed by -yì: ‘child’ can denote the fruit or other product (of a plant), or other small object closely associated with a larger object. The larger entity may be unmarked, or may itself be a compound with -ná: (§5.1.8).

(79) a. m̀ⁿⁿàⁿ⁻yì:
   wild.date-child
   ‘wild date’ (m̀ⁿⁿàⁿ or m̀ⁿⁿàⁿ⁻ná: ‘wild date tree’)

   b. [nùm⁻náⁿ⁻yì:]
      [ʔ-big]-child
      ‘small round grinding stone’ (held in hand for grinding on nùm⁻náⁿ: ‘large flat grinding stone’)

These compounds are distinct from simple possessor-possessed combinations involving yì⁻m ‘child’ or related forms, like that in (80). Here the possessor has its regular tones, while the possessed noun has an {HL} or {L} overlay.

(80) ürò nì⁻yì⁻tè: L
    house L children
    ‘the children of the house’

Numerous nouns with final rising tone and ending in yⁿ, such as tǎ:yⁿ ‘shed’, èmè:yⁿ ‘sorghum’, dò:yⁿ ‘ashes’, jèmè:yⁿ ‘waterjar shard’, and pò:yⁿ ‘fonio (grain)’, originated as diminutive compounds with *⁻yⁿ (another ‘child’ form) after L-toned stem. Compare Nanga tά:n, è:mbè, dùyá, jè:mbè, and pò:n. The BenT forms, however, are now frozen.

5.1.5 ‘Woman’ (yà-, yà:-), ‘man’ (árⁿà-)

‘Woman’ is singular yà⁻m, plural yà:. The short-voweled form yà is used as a compound initial (or preadjectival noun form) in yà⁻ⁿ⁻gùrə-m ‘adolescent girl’, yà⁻ⁿ⁻ságtá-rí⁻m ‘full-grown woman’, yà⁻ⁿ⁻pè⁻m ‘old woman’, yà⁻l⁻dà⁻m ‘junior wife’, yà⁻l⁻díyⁿ⁻a⁻m ‘senior wife’, yà⁻ⁿ⁻nòrːá⁻ ‘co-wife’, yà⁻l⁻bírmː ‘betrothal’, yà⁻l⁻{-tàl⁻ː] ‘bridal procession’ and yà⁻l⁻kàlː⁻m ‘new bride’. The phonologically more regular long-voweled preadjectival form yà⁻l⁻ is less common but occurs in yàː⁻ yì⁻m ‘girl’ and yàː⁻ kú⁻m ‘unmarried woman’.

‘Man’ is árⁿà⁻m, plural árⁿá. It has the regular form árⁿá as compound initial or before an adjective: árⁿá⁻l⁻pè⁻m ‘old man’, árⁿá⁻l⁻kú⁻m ‘bachelor’, etc.

As modifying adjectives (‘female’, ‘male’), the same forms as in the nouns ‘woman’ and ‘man’ are used, with appropriate agreement.
5.1.6 Possessive-type compounds (ⁿ ſⁿ, ſⁿ ᶑⁿ)

A construction indistinguishable in form from a possessor-possessed combination may be lexicalized and function as a compound. The initial is a noun with its lexical tones, and the final is {HL}- or {L}-toned following the usual rules for possessor-controlled tone overlays. Such combinations compete with the basic (ˣ ſⁿ) compound type, but are generally less thoroughly lexicalized, and new ones can readily be constructed.

There are many examples in the flora-fauna vocabulary. For example, pètè-pè:-m denotes a conspicuous and abundant grasshopper (*Oedaleus senegalensis*), which is common in fields and meadows. Less conspicuous species of the same subfamily that occur in gravelly terrain are called ki-kàrà-kày ʰpètè-pè:-m, literally “gravel’s *Oedaleus.*” Creatures associated with a specific plant sp. have similar names, e.g. ᵃrù-pìrú ʰL ki-kà:-m ‘grasshopper sp. (*Acrodideres*)’, literally “Guiera tree’s grasshopper.”

5.1.7 ‘Owner of’ (Sg bọŋɡɔ ∼ bọŋɔ)

As an uncompounded noun, we have bọŋɡɔ-m ∼ bọŋɔ-m ‘owner’, plural bọŋɡɔ ∼ bọŋɔ ‘owners’.

Much more often, this noun has possessed-noun tone overlay, i.e. {HL} or {L} depending on the structure and final tone of the preceding noun or NP. In this construction there is no singular -m, instead we get singular ʰL bọŋɡɔ ∼ ʰL bọŋɔ, with the plural expressed by adding plural bè.

(81) a. ũrò ʰL bọŋɔ	house ʰL owner
‘home-owner (head of household)’

b. wògòtórò ʰL bọŋɔ bè
cart ʰL owner Pl
‘cart-owners’

c. [ũrò tàːŋ]L ᵃŋù [ʰL bọŋɔ]
[house three]L Prox.Inan
‘the owner of these three houses’

d. [ũrò kù] ʰL bọŋɔ
[house Def] ʰL owner
‘owner of the (aforementioned) house’

The sense can be ‘owner of X’ or more generally ‘someone associated with X’ (e.g. ‘resident or native of X village’). For the latter, see two examples near the end of (673) in the sample text.

81
5.1.8 Loose and tight compounds with *ná*: (‘authentic’, ‘entire’)

With flora terms, adding *ná*: to the L-toned noun as compound initial unambiguously denotes the entire plant. *ná*: is often omitted since the most common reference is to the entire plant, but without *ná*: the noun can also loosely denote the fruit or other part. *ná*: can also be used adjectively in the sense ‘(the) main, (the) primary’, denoting the most prototypical or most important member of a set. Since the initial noun is {L}-toned in both noun-adjective sequences and noun-noun compounds, there is no sharp boundary between the two analyses.

(82)  

a. ọ̀s̀r̀ọ̀-ná:  
    baobab\(^1\)-entire  
    ‘baobab tree’

b. tà:y\(^a\)-ná:  
    shelter\(^1\) main  
    ‘togu-na, main palaver shelter of a village’

c. sìngò\(^l\)-ná:  
    boubou\(^l\) main  
    ‘large, elegant boubou (man’s robe)’

d. yù:\(^l\)-ná:  
    millet\(^l\) main  
    ‘ordinary millet’

*nùm-ná*: ‘large grindstone’ is now fused; the small grindstone held in the hand while grinding on the larger stone is \([nùm-nà]\)-yî:, not \#nùm-yî:.

5.1.9 Instrumental relative compounds with *-yè*: (‘oil for rubbing’)

A loose compound consisting of a nominal compound initial (L-toned) and an imperfective verb with suffix *-yè* is used to define a type of object by its typical function. The verb stem plus *-yè* has the form of a 3Pl imperfective, but here it is used as a participle; see discussion of (436) in §14.1.6.2.

In the cases relevant to the present section, e.g. ‘drinking water’ is phrased as ‘water (that) they drink’. This and other examples are in (83).

(83)  

a. nì:\(^l\)-[nìs\(s\)-yè]  
    water\(^4\)-[drink.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]  
    ‘drinking water’

b. nì:\(^l\)-[diyé-yè]  
    water\(^4\)-[bathe.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]  
    ‘water for bathing’

c. péy\(^n\)-[pé-yè]  
    food\(^4\)-[eat.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]
5.1.10 Resultative compounds ending in nominalized verb (-ú)

There are also some combinations where a verb in L-toned form with suffix -ú functions as a compound final (or, arguably, modifying adjective) to a preceding {L}-toned noun. The final denotes an event or process that has left the entity in a changed state. (In Jamsay, the form in -ú is the productive verbal noun for nonmonosyllabic verb stems, but it is also used in resultative modifying functions.)

(84) a. yù:¹-[yàg-ú]
millet¹-[fall-Nom]
‘fallen-off millet grain spikes’ (verb yàyà ‘fall’)

b. nàw²à:¹-[sìmb-ú]
meat¹-[roast-Nom]
‘roasted (=grilled) meat’ (verb símbé)

c. pìr²à:¹-[sàr-ú]
cream.of.millet-[coarsely.grind-Nom]
‘coarsely ground millet’ (verb sàrà)

Perhaps also mùr³à:¹-[kès-ú] ‘long pants’ (verb kèssé ‘cut’).

These resultative compounds superficially resemble agentive compounds with incorporated theme nouns (§5.1.3).

5.1.11 Phrasal compounds

[kàː lè] ìré-m ‘I am bigger than a grasshopper’, borrowed entirely from Jamsay, denotes tiny birds such as the cricket warbler (*Spiloptila [=Prinia] clamans*).

sò:-ìmí-lè-m, from a Tommo-So phrase meaning ‘talk-doesn’t-like’, i.e. unsociability, denotes a psychid caterpillar that carries its sheath around and hides in it when disturbed.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (ń ń)

In this type, the initial has its usual tones, while the final has an {HL} tone overlay. In the uncommon case where the final has more than two tones, the H spreads to the penultimate syllable, leaving just one L-toned syllable.
5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final

Examples are in (85).

(85) a. àrⁿᵃⁿ[L pîré-HL dúgù-m kù man][HL belly-][HL fat(adj)-AnSg] Def ‘the big-bellied (=pot-bellied) man’ (dügù)

b. àrⁿᵃⁿ[L pîré-HL dúgù-yê man][HL belly-][HL fat(adj)-Pl]
‘big-bellied men’

c. pîré[HL ] [pátá-pátá]-m belly-[HL flat]-AnSg ‘flat-bellied’ (pátá-pátá)

d. kû:[HL kóröy-m head][HL empty-AnSg]
‘empty-headed’ (kóröy)

e. lôsó:[HL césì-m foot-][HL fast]-AnSg ‘fleet-footed’ (césì) [2005.2a.09]

A double bahuvrihi is tém:[HL dúgù nàwⁿ⁻á-HL érù, literally “fat-femured, sweet-meated.”] It denotes (and accurately describes) the grasshopper Acorypha glaucopsis. This compound also occurs in Jamsay.

5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final

Examples are in (86).

(86) a. nà:[L kû-[HL nî:yⁿ]-m cow][HL head-][HL four-AnSg]
‘four-headed cow’ (nî:y)

b. giré-[HL tûwⁿ⁻β]-m eye-[HL one]-AnSg
‘one-eyed person’ (< /tûwⁿ/)

c. sàmbà:[L mô:-HL yêy spear][HL mouth-][HL two]
‘spear with blades at both ends’ (yêy)
6  Noun Phrase structure

6.1  Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1  Linear order

The ordering of elements within NPs is indicated in (87).

(87)  Order within NP

a.  prenominal possessor
    b1. possessor NP
    b2. pronominal possessor
        b2. inanimate kú ‘its’ in discourse-anaphoric sense

b.  noun

c.  modifying adjective(s)

d.  cardinal numeral (or distributive)

e.  deictic demonstrative pronoun ‘this/that’

f.  definite morpheme kú (∼ kû)

g.  plural bè

h.  universal quantifier ‘all’ (dàⁿ-wôy)

The primary ordering relationships can be seen in (88). (88a) has all slots filled except that for numerals. A numeral does occur in (88b).

(88)  

a.  ṣ:mádù ̀ùrò ̀dïyà-wán ǹgú kú bè dàⁿ-wôy
    Amadou ̀house ̀big-Inan Prox.Inan Def Pl all
    ‘all of those big houses of Amadou’

b.  ú ̀ùrò dïyàwàn tà:nú kù
    2SgPoss ̀house big three Def
    ‘your-Sg three big houses’

When plural bè is combined with a demonstrative, the sequence is tightly-knit and may be followed by a numeral: mû: bè yêy ‘these two’.
6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

ŋ̀gú ‘this’ (inanimate, proximal) can be used absolutely: ŋ̀gú mā: ní ‘give me this!’.
An adjective can be used absolutely, with an understood but unexpressed noun: [bárⁿà-wⁿ kù] mā: ní ‘give me the red one!’.
A numeral can be used absolutely: tà:nú mā: ní ‘give me three!’.

6.1.3 Bifurcation of NP (in relatives)

As head NP of a relative (chapter 14), a NP is (seemingly) bifurcated, with a core portion remaining clause-internal and the remainder appearing after the verbal participle.

The bifurcation point in a long head NP is usually after, but may also be before, the numeral. So at least the core NP, and often an entire N-(Adj-)Num sequence, remains clause-internal. Late-NP morphemes (determiners, ‘all’, the independent plural morpheme), and occasionally the numeral, follow the verb-participle. See chapter 14 for more examples. (89a) shows the numeral following the participle, (89b) shows it preceding.

(89) a. [[nà: L jèwⁿà]L yàgdé-s:ⁿ à:nú bùː]
[[cow black]L fall-Reslt-Ppl AnP three DefPI] yá yǐː-rà-w mā
Exist see-Prog-2SgSbj Q ‘Do you-Sg see the three fallen black cows?’

b. [[nà: kùròy]L ì í ẹwé-mà bùː]
[[cow six]L 1SgSbj buy-Pfv Ppl DefPI] ān-dáː b-èːⁿ
where? be-3PlSbj ‘Where are the six cows that I bought?’

In §14.1 below, I show that apparent “bifurcation” is due to the initial location of the relative clause in the position between numeral and determiner, prior to movement.

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping of NPs

BenT NPs have internal structure over and above linear ordering of NP elements and the location of the bifurcation point in relatives. This section gives a schematic outline of this internal structure. Examples and further details are given in later sections in this chapter and in chapter 14 on relative constructions.

The following elements control tone overlays on an adjacent noun or on a word-string containing the noun: adjectives, demonstratives, relative clauses, and possessors. Elements that do not control tone overlays on other words in the NP are numerals from ‘2’ up’, definite morphemes, ‘all’ quantifiers, and discourse-functional elements (topic, ‘also’, ‘even’, ‘only’). The generalization is this: elements that restrict reference by intersecting the set denoted by a common noun, thereby including and excluding specific individuals in the set, are tonosyntactic controllers.
The noun stem (simple or compound), plus any modifying adjectives, constitutes the core NP. Within the core NP, leaving aside the tonal effects of a possessor NP, all nonfinal words drop their tones. In other words, an adjective controls the tone overlay on the noun and any preceding adjective. Therefore N-Adj appears as \([N^k \text{ Adj}]\), and N-Adj₁-Adj₂ appears as \([N^k \text{ Adj₁}^\downarrow \text{ Adj₂}]\), analysable tonosyntactically as \([N \text{ Adj₁}^\downarrow \text{ Adj₂}]\).

An additional feature of core NPs is that animate singular -m, the only overt animacy-number suffix that can appear on a noun, is added to the adjective if one is present. Thus \(ìnjé\text{-}m\) ‘(a) dog’, but \(ìnjé^\downarrow \text{jéw}^\downarrow\text{-}m\) ‘(a) black dog’. See §6.3 below for full treatment of N-Adj combinations.

A numeral follows the core NP. \(ìm\) ‘1’ behaves like an adjective. Higher numerals have no tonal interaction with preceding nouns or N-Adj sequences, and do not show animacy-number agreement. See §6.4 for examples.

A demonstrative pronoun (§6.5.2) controls \([L]\) on a preceding word or word-string going back to the noun. The resulting combinations are \([N^k \text{ Dem}]\), \([N^k \text{ Adj}^\downarrow \text{ Dem}]\), \([N \text{ Num}^k \text{ Dem}]\), and \([N^k \text{ Adj Num}^k \text{ Dem}]\), where all words enclosed in a bracket marked with following ‘superscript are tone-dropped under the control of the word to the right.

Definite morphemes (§6.7) have the same linear position as demonstratives, but they do not control \([L]\) on preceding words. Universal quantifiers (‘all’) and discourse-functional morphemes bring up the rear in the NP. They too fail to control \([L]\) on preceding words.

These comments take care of postnominal modifiers (except relative clauses). The only tone overlay controlled by any of these postnominal elements is \([L]\), and it always targets words to the left of the controller. However, an NP may also be preceded by a possessor, either a pronoun or a nonnominal NP. Possessors also control tone overlays on the noun (and some postnominal modifiers). In BenT, the possessor controls either \([HL]\) or \([L]\) on the possessed NP depending on its own structure and final tone. Simple possessed nouns therefore appear either as \([\text{Poss}^\downarrow \text{N}]\) or as \([\text{Poss} \downarrow \text{N}]\). Here the tone superscript is on the left edge of the noun, “pointing” toward the controller, which in this case targets words to its right.

When multiple right-to-left (R-to-L) controllers occur in the same NP, the effect is that all nonfinal words are tone-dropped. There is no uncertainty about the output, but there is an analytical question whether tone-dropping applies cyclically or in one step. For example, in \([N^k \text{ Adj}^\downarrow \text{ Dem}]\) both the noun and the adjective are \([L]\)-toned. This result can be achieved either by having the demonstrative tone-drop both preceding words, or by having the adjective tone-drop the noun on an inner cycle and then having the demonstrative tone-drop the adjective.

When a possessor (the only L-to-R controller) co-occurs with one or more R-to-L controllers, conflicts ensue. This is most obvious when the possessor is of the type that controls \([HL]\) rather than \([L]\) on the following possessed NP. Just one example of conflict resolution will be given in this section. In (90a-b), \(ùrò\) ‘house’ and \(ìnjé\text{-}m\) ‘dog’ have overlaid \([HL]\) overlay controlled by the preceding possessor ‘(a) woman’.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
(90) & a. & \(yà\text{-}m\) & \\
 & & \(\text{HL} \text{ùrò}\) & \\
 & & \(\text{hl} \hat{\text{è}}\text{gù}\) & \\
 & & \text{woman-\text{AnSg}} & \text{\text{HL} house Prox.Inan} \\
 & & & ‘this house of a woman’ (< \text{ùrò}) \\

 & b. & \(yà\text{-}m\) & \\
 & & \(\text{HL} \text{ìnjé}\) & \\
 & & \(\text{mù}:\) & \\
 & & \text{woman-\text{AnSg}} & \text{\text{HL} dog Prox.An} \\
 & & & ‘this dog of a woman’ (<\text{ìnjé}\text{-}m) \\
\end{tabular}
In the absence of a possessor, the demonstrative controls \{L\} on the noun: \(\text{ùrò} \text{ŋ̀gú} \) ‘this house’. However, in (90a-b) the demonstrative has no effect on the tone of ‘house’ or ‘dog’ (or for that matter on ‘woman’). One could emphasize the demonstrative’s lack of tonosyntactic effect by showing the Poss-N sequences as tonosyntactic islands, e.g. \(\text{Cyà-m} \text{ìnjè} \text{mù}\).

### 6.2 Possessives

Several Dogon languages sharply distinguish alienable from inalienable (kinship) possession; for example, pronominal possessors precede kin terms but follow alienables. This does not happen in BenT, where all possessors are pronominal.

There is likewise no tonosyntactic distinction between simple alienable and inalienable Poss-N combinations, as both types of possessors control \{HL\} and \{L\} tone overlays under the same conditions. However, when additional postnominal modifiers are added, specifically numerals, some distinctions between alienable and inalienable possession become apparent. In addition, kin terms have some distinctive morphological features.

1Sg possessor is segmentally zero but is expressed by a floating L-tone that docks on the left edge of the possessed NP, which always has \{HL\} tone overlay, resulting in a bell-shaped surface melody that we can represent as L+\{HL\}. For possessors other than 1Sg, the basic rules for possessum overlays are as follows.

a) If the possessor is a pronoun or an undetermined NP (i.e. not ending in definite \(\text{kù}\) or plural \(\text{bè}\)), the final tone of the possessor determines the overlay. Possessor-final H-tone requires \{HL\}-toned possessum, while possessor-final L-tone requires \{L\}-toned possessum.

b) If the possessor is an NP ending in definite \(\text{kù}\) or plural \(\text{bè}\), the following possessum gets the \{HL\} overlay, even though \(\text{kù}\) and \(\text{bè}\) are L-toned.

The possessum also gets \{HL\} if the possessor ends in a demonstrative. However, since all demonstratives end in H-tones, the correct overlay could be produced by either (a) or (b).

For detailed discussion of possible (but flawed) ways to model the relationship between \{HL\} and \{L\} overlays, see §3.7.3.4

### 6.2.1 Nonpronominal NP possessor

There is no genitive marking on the possessor, which has its normal form and is simply juxtaposed to a following possessed noun. The latter, however, undergoes a tonal change to \{L\} or to \{HL\}.

When the possessor is a nonpronominal NP ending in a noun, modifying adjective, or cardinal numeral, the final tone of the possessor determines the tone of the possessum. If the NP ends in an H-tone (including rising <LH>), the possessum has \{HL\} overlay, with the H component on the first syllable (or the first mora of a monosyllabic stem). If the NP ends in an L-tone (including falling <HL>), the possessum has \{L\} overlay.

In the following examples, the unpossessed form of the possessed noun, revealing the lexical tones, is shown in parentheses after the free translation. In (91), the possessor NP ends in an L-tone, so the possessed noun has the \{L\} overlay.

---

88
(91)  

a. á:màdù ìrò
Amadou  house
‘Amadou’s house’ (ùrò)

b. á:màdù ìyà-m
Amadou  woman-AnSg
‘Amadou’s woman (=wife)’ (yà-m)

c. á:màdù ìnjè-m
Amadou  dog-AnSg
‘Amadou’s dog’ (ìnjè-m)

d. á:màdù wògòtòrò
Amadou  pushcart
‘Amadou’s pushcart’ (wògòtòrò)

e. [yà  gà:ray] ìnjè-m
[woman  eight]  dog
‘the dog of (the) eight women’ (ìnjè-m)

f. [yà  dà:-m] ìnjè-m
[woman  small-AnSg]  dog
‘the dog of (the) small woman’ (ìnjè-m)

In (92), the possessor NP ends in an H-tone, so the possessed noun has the {HL} overlay.

(92)  

a. yà-m ìrò
woman-AnSg  house
‘(the) woman’s house’ (ùrò)

b. yà-m ìnjè-m
woman-AnSg  dog-AnSg
‘(the) woman’s dog’ (ìnjè-m)

c. yà-m wògòtòrò
woman-AnSg  pushcart
‘(the) woman’s pushcart’ (wògòtòrò)

d. [yà  yèy] ìnjè-m
[woman.Pl  two]  dog-AnSg
‘the dog of (the) two women’ (ìnjè-m)

f. [yà  pè-m] ìnjè-m
[woman  old-AnSg]  dog-AnSg
‘the dog of (the) old woman’ (ìnjè-m)

If the possessor NP ends in a free plural morpheme bè or in a determiner (definite or demonstrative), we again get {HL} on the possessed noun. The plural and definite
morphemes end in an L-tone (93a-b), while demonstratives end in an H-tone (93c), so in these cases the syntactic category of the final word in the possessor (determiner, non-numeral quantifier) trumps the phonology (final tone of possessor). If the possessor is itself a possessed NP, as in ‘[X’s Y]’s Z’, but it does not end in one of these determiners/quantifiers, it is treated as undetermined. The first possessor (X) will always control \{L\} or \{HL\} on the next NP (Y). Therefore, so [X’s Y] always ends in an L-tone, and as possessor it will then always control \{L\} on a following possessum (Z), as in (93d). See also §6.2.4 on recursive possession.

(93)  

\begin{align*}  
a. & \quad \text{[úrò bè]} \quad \text{HIL yi-tè:} \quad \text{HIL children} \\
& \quad \text{‘(the) children of (the) houses’ (yi-tè:)} \\
b. & \quad \text{[nù: yéy kù]} \quad \text{HIL injè-m} \quad \text{HIL dog-AnSg} \\
& \quad \text{‘the dog of the two people’ (injè-m)} \\
c. & \quad \text{[nù [mù:]} \quad \text{HIL injè-m} \quad \text{HIL dog-AnSg} \\
& \quad \text{‘this person’s dog’} \\
d. & \quad \text{LIL bò:} \quad \text{LIL injè-m} \quad \text{LIL dog-AnSg} \\
& \quad \text{1SgPoss.LIL father} \quad \text{LIL dog-AnSg} \quad \text{LIL} \\
& \quad \text{‘my father’s dog’} \\
\end{align*}

The phonology of the \{HL\} overlay is illustrated in more detail in (94). In (94a), there is no audible change since the lexical melody happens to already be /HL/. In (94b-d) we do observe audible changes. The monosyllabic stems in (94b) end up with <HL>-tone. The nonmonosyllabic examples have H-tone on the first syllable, whether this first syllable is short (Cv-), heavy (CvC-, Cv-), or superheavy (Cv:C-) (94c-e).

(94)  

\begin{align*}  
gloss & \quad \text{lexical form} \quad \text{\{HL\} possessed form} \\
\text{a. ‘house’} & \quad \text{úrò} \quad \text{HIL úrò} \\
& \quad \text{‘road’} \quad \text{ósù} \quad \text{HIL ósù} \\
& \quad \text{‘water’} \quad \text{nì:} \quad \text{HIL nì:} \\
\text{b. ‘women’} & \quad \text{yà:} \quad \text{HIL yà:} \\
& \quad \text{‘person’} \quad \text{nù-m} \quad \text{HIL nù-m} \\
\text{c. ‘fabric’} & \quad \text{òròsú} \quad \text{HIL óròsú} \\
& \quad \text{‘children’} \quad \text{yì-tè:} \quad \text{HIL yì-tè:} \\
\text{d. ‘mango’} & \quad \text{màngòrò} \quad \text{HIL màngòrò} \\
& \quad \text{‘stool’} \quad \text{tùngùrùm} \quad \text{HIL tùngùrùm} \\
& \quad \text{‘dog’} \quad \text{injè-m} \quad \text{HIL injè-m} \\
& \quad \text{‘kola nut’} \quad \text{gòːrò} \quad \text{HIL gòːrò} \\
\end{align*}
e. ‘short hoe’   \( \text{dà:mbâ} \quad \text{HL \ dà:mbâ} \)

6.2.2 Pronominal possessor

Pronominal possessor forms are in (95). They are identical to the forms used as postpositional complements, reflecting the close relationship between possessor-possessed and complement-postposition constructions (§8.2-5). Except for the zero 1Sg, these forms are also identical to those used as independent pronoun, as preparticipial subject pronominal, and optionally as direct object.

(95) category possessor form (preceding possessed noun)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>possessor form (preceding possessed noun)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>(zero, with floating L-tone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>( \hat{i} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>( \hat{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>( \hat{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>( \hat{\text{er}^\text{e}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>( \hat{b\text{u}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan</td>
<td>( \hat{k\text{u}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ReflSg</td>
<td>( \hat{\text{a}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ReflPl</td>
<td>( \hat{a} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tonal pattern of the following possessum depends on which pronominal possessor is at hand, as summarized in (96). Except for the special case of 1Sg possessor, the pronominal data are consistent with those seen for nonpronominal NPs above. Specifically, if the possessor ends in an H-tone, the possessed noun has \{HL\} tone overlay, while if the possessor ends in an L-tone, the possessed noun has all-L tones.

(96) possessors possessed noun

a. 1Pl \( \hat{i} \); 2Pl \( \hat{u} \); 3Pl \( \hat{b\text{u}} \); 3ReflPl \( \hat{a} \) \{L\}

b. 2Sg \( \hat{u} \); 3Sg \( \hat{\text{er}^\text{e}} \); 3ReflSg \( \hat{a} \); Inan \( \hat{k\text{u}} \) \{HL\}

c. 1Sg (segmentally zero) L+\{HL\}

The **1Sg possessor is segmentally zero**, but is expressed by a bell-shaped tone overlay on the possessed noun. The initial L of this tone pattern is presumably the real 1Sg possessor morpheme, i.e. a floating L-tone that “docks” on the onset of the possessed noun, while the residual …HL is identical to the \{HL\} overlay controlled by other singular possessors. However, the details of tone association for the 1Sg differ from those that are valid for the other pronouns that precede \{HL\}-overlaid possessed nouns. Consider the data in (97).
earlier phonetic expression of the 1Sg possessor connection with this, I have noticed occasional pronunciations of the 1Sg possessor form articulate both the onset of the second syllable. This is understandable, since it to the right by the

In the 1Sg possessor forms, we observe the following:

(a) a monosyllabic stem has <LHL> tone (97a).
(b) in bisyllabic and longer stems: the initial syllable has <LH>-tone and the rest of the word is L-toned

Phonetically, when the initial syllable is monomoraic (CV), the H-tone component is pushed to the right by the L-tone of the 1Sg possessor morpheme, and the H-tone may spill over into the onset of the second syllable. This is understandable, since it is difficult to clearly articulate both the L and H components of a rising tone on a nonfinal CV syllable. Possibly in connection with this, I have noticed occasional pronunciations of the 1Sg possessor form where an initial voiced consonant, especially {b m}, is slightly prolonged and allows an earlier phonetic expression of the 1Sg possessor’s L-tone, so that e.g. L+HL bérè ‘my stick’ approaches phonetic [ʒbːérè].

92
For human and other animate nouns, the tone overlays apply to the entire input noun including singular -m (99a) and the regular plural form (99b).

\[(99)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>...2Sg</th>
<th>...1Pl</th>
<th>...1Sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.  <code>ìnjè-m</code></td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>ìnjè-m</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pèrè-m</code></td>
<td>‘sheep-Sg’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>pèrè-m</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yà-m</code></td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>yà-m</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yì-m</code></td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>yì-m</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.  <code>ìnjè</code></td>
<td>‘dogs’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>ìnjè</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pèrè</code></td>
<td>‘sheep-Pl’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>pèrè</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yà</code></td>
<td>‘women’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>yà</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yì-tè</code></td>
<td>‘children’</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>HL<code>yì-tè</code></td>
<td>ı:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.3 Domain of possessor-controlled tone overlay

The domain of the possessor-controlled overlay normally extends to the end of the core NP, i.e. includes any modifying adjectives (100a-b). This is indicated by placing the overlay diacritic, e.g. HL, at the left edge of the bracketed string that functions as the targeted domain. All but one of the examples in (100) are of the type [Poss (HL[N Adj (Adj)])], where the overlay, either {HL} or {L}, extends to the final adjective. The exception is that the controller pecking order is optionally reversed in the specific case of inalienable [Poss [N Adj]] when the possessor is a monomoraic (C)v pronominal (2Sg ú, 3Refl/LogoSg ì). This sequence can therefore appear either as [Poss HL[N Adj]] or as [Poss N]L Adj, as shown by the two options in (100c). In the variant [ù lèsù]HL mòsù-m, the (phonologically light) 2Sg pronoun ú is tone-dropped along with the following noun, while the adjective surfaces with its lexical tones. This option is not available with alienable possession (100e), or even in inalienable possession when the possessor is phonologically heavy (100d) or is integrated segmentally into the possessed noun, i.e. in the 1Sg possessor form (100f).

\[(100)\]

a.  ú | HL`ùrò dìyàwù` |
2SgPoss | HL`ùrò big-Inan` |
‘your-Sg big house’ (<ùrò, dìyàwù) |

b.  ú | HL`lèsù` | mòsù-m |
2SgPoss | HL`lèsù` [uncle bad-AnSg] |
i.e. in the 1Sg possessor form (100f)
With alienable possession, a numeral ‘2’ or greater is also included in the scope of the possessor-controlled overlay. The schema here is [Poss [H]L [N Num]] (101a). Inalienables sometimes follow the same [Poss [H]L [N Num]] pattern. More often, an inalienable possessor treats the numeral as external to the overlay, resulting in [Poss [H]N Num] where {H}L is applied only to the noun. The observable difference is whether the numeral is tone-dropped (101b). In the external-number type, plural particle bè may follow the noun, further suggesting the peripherality of the following numeral. I suspect that the variant that follows the alienable pattern was biased by elicitation context (where alienable and inalienable examples were elicited together).

(101) a. ú HL [úrò pèrù] (kù)
2SgPoss HL [house ten] (Def)
‘your-Sg ten houses’

b. ú HL [lésù pèrù] (bù:)
or: ú HL lésù bè pèrú
2SgPoss HL uncle Pl ten (DefPl)
‘your-Sg ten uncles’

The wide-domain alienable overlay is unaffected by Adj-Num Inversion (§6.4.2). (102) below shows the same wide domain of the {HL} overlay in both uninverted (102a) and inverted (102b) versions, which are schematized respectively as [Poss [H]L [N Adj Num]] and [Poss [H]L [N Num Adj]]. As one might expect from the externality of the numeral in the previous inalienable examples, Adj-Num Inversion is more problematic for inalienables. One speaker, whose outputs follow a logical pattern, produced the uninverted version (102c) as [[Poss N] L Adj] Num, with the final numeral tonosyntactically external as expected. His inverted version was (102d), schematically [[Poss N Num] L Adj]. Here, shifting the adjective to the end allowed it to control a broadened domain that now includes the numeral. Another speaker broke the inverted version up into three parts (102e), namely a) [ú HL lésù] ‘your uncle’, b)
pérú ‘ten’ (note the lexical /H/ melody), and e) m̀sì-yè ‘bad-AnPl’, whose normal tone overlay is nowhere to be seen. (102e) may be unrepresentative, but it does make some sense insofar as it takes the tonosyntactic externality of the numeral to an extreme.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(102) a. } & \text{ú } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{[úrò } \text{ diy}^{\text{a}-\text{w}^n} \text{ pérù]} \text{ (kù)} \\
& \text{2SgPoss } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{[house } \text{ big-Inan } \text{ ten]} \text{ (Def)} \\
& \text{‘your-Sg ten big houses’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(102) b. } & \text{ú } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{[úrò } \text{ pérù } \text{ diy}^{\text{a}-\text{w}^n}]} \text{ (kù)} \\
& \text{2SgPoss } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{[house } \text{ ten } \text{ big-Inan]} \text{ (Def)} \\
& \text{[= (a)]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(102) c. } & \text{[ú } \text{ lèsù] } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ m̀sì-yè } \text{ pérù} \\
& \text{[2SgPoss } \text{ uncle] } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ bad-AnPl } \text{ ten} \\
& \text{‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(102) d. } & \text{[ú } \text{ lèsù } \text{ pérù] } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ m̀sì-yè} \\
& \text{[2SgPoss } \text{ uncle } \text{ ten]} \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ bad-AnPl} \\
& \text{[= (c)]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(102) e. } & \text{[ú } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{lèsù] } \text{ pérù } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ m̀sì-yè } \text{ (bù:) } \\
& \text{[2SgPoss } \text{ uncle } \text{ ten} \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ bad-AnPl} \text{ (DefPl)} \\
& \text{[= (c,d)] [from another informant]}
\end{align*}
\]

Late-NP morphemes such as wòy ‘all, each’ are not included in a possessor-controlled domain under any conditions (104).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(103) } & \text{ú } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{lèsù } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ úrò } \text{ wòy] } \\
& \text{[2SgPoss } \text{ HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ uncle/HL}^{\text{HL}} \text{ house } \text{ each]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘all/each of your-Sg uncles/houses’

The same is true with definite markers like plural bù; which occurs optionally in several preceding examples where it has no tonal effect on other words. The discourse-functional particles covered in chapter 19 (e.g. topic kày, kálà ‘even’, sày ‘only’) likewise have no effect on the form of preceding words in the NP.

For [ÇPoss ]HLN ⊆ Dem], where the possessor-noun behaves as a tonosyntactic island, see [[ú ]HL lèsù m̀: bè] ‘these uncles of yours’ in §6.6.

6.2.4 Recursive and embedded possession

Complex possessed NPs of the type [X’s Y’s Z] are normally bracketed as [[X’s Y’s Z]. Y in [X’s Y] has either {L} or {HL} overlay depending on what X is, and is L+{HL} with (segmentally zero) 1Sg possessor. In any case, [X’s Y] ends in an L-tone, and as a possessor it controls {L} on the following possessum Z. Examples are in (104).
6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

A noun may be followed by one or more modifying adjectives. For this purpose, ordinals (‘first’, ‘second’, …) function as modifying adjectives. The adjectives agree with the noun in nominal features (animate singular and plural, inanimate). In fact, many adjectives overtly distinguish the unsuffixed animate plural from inanimate (suffix -w). With nouns, animate plural and inanimate both have zero suffix.

Simple examples are in (105). When an adjective is added, it controls {L} on the noun (105b-c). When two adjectives follow the noun, the final adjective controls {L} on the two preceding words (105d).

\[(105)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{nàr`à} \quad \text{bò}:
\]
\[\text{1SgPoss.\text{\textit{Η}}} \text{mother} \quad \text{father}
\]
\[\text{‘my mother’s father’}
\]
\[b. \quad [\text{ú} \quad \text{nàr`à}] \quad \text{bò}:
\]
\[\text{[2SgPoss \text{\textit{Η}}} \text{mother} \quad \text{father}
\]
\[\text{‘your mother’s father’}
\]
\[c. \quad [\text{á:mádù} \quad \text{nàr`à}] \quad \text{bò}:
\]
\[\text{[Amadou \text{\textit{1}}} \text{mother} \quad \text{father}
\]
\[\text{‘Amadou’s mother’s father’}
\]

When they occur without an adjective, most animate nouns other than kin terms have animate singular suffix -m, which is opposed to a suffixless plural. When an adjective follows the noun, the suffix appears only on the adjective, not on the noun.

Different patterns of final vowel length are observed. For monosyllabic animate Cv(\_), noun stems, the common pattern is (106a), with consistent long vowel. A few nouns with <HL> or <LH> tone (106b) are Cv- before animate singular -m and (often) when {L} is imposed on them by a controller to the right. However, all of these nouns happen to have contour tones. Without the {L} overlay, or when unsuffixed, these nouns lengthen their vowel to Cv- by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1).
(106) Monosyllabic animate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>before adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. underlying Cv; length retained in all positions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cow’</td>
<td>ná:-m</td>
<td>náː</td>
<td>náːL ěsú-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘francolin’</td>
<td>sú:-m</td>
<td>súː</td>
<td>súːL dúgu-m ‘big …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘monitor liz.’</td>
<td>áː-m</td>
<td>áːn</td>
<td>áːnl plé-m ‘white …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘honey bee’</td>
<td>áː-m</td>
<td>áːn</td>
<td>áːnl mísú-m ‘nasty …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplicated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘grub, worm’</td>
<td>sí-sí:-m</td>
<td>sí-síː</td>
<td>sí-síːL dáː-m ‘small …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beetle, bug’</td>
<td>cí-cí:-m</td>
<td>cí-cíː</td>
<td>cí-cíːL mísú-m ‘beetle sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hyena’</td>
<td>tì-tá:-m</td>
<td>tì-táː</td>
<td>tì-táːL plé-m ‘white (i.e. striped) hyena’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. underlying Cv, Cṽ, lengthened when contour tone audible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>nū-m</td>
<td>nūː</td>
<td>nūL ěsú-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>yá-m</td>
<td>yáː</td>
<td>yáL ěsú-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td>sō-m</td>
<td>sōː</td>
<td>sōL jëwu̥-m ‘black …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;HL&gt;-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mouse’</td>
<td>ó-m</td>
<td>óː</td>
<td>óL jëwu̥-m ‘black …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hawk’</td>
<td>tì-të:-m</td>
<td>tì-tëː</td>
<td>tì-tëːL dúgu-m ‘big …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. irregular monosyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like (b) but H-toned singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>yì-m</td>
<td>yìː</td>
<td>yìːL ěsú-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(human ‘children’ expressed by irregular yì-tëː)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compounds and possessed forms complicate the situation. ‘Hyena’ is now usually treated as Cv; (106a), but occurs as Cv- in two archaic compounds: tā-dùngù-m ‘lion’ and tā-pèr
3-m ‘leopard’. Conversely, ‘woman’, and ‘horse’ (106b) have Cv- forms in some compounds. For those with ‘woman’ see §5.1.5. For ‘horse’ as compound initial I have Cv- in e.g. sò-cètù ‘horse race’ but Cv- in e.g. sò-nèm ‘horse bridle’ (I suspect there is inter-speaker variation in the ‘horse’ compounds, though the ‘woman’ compounds are fixed).


For longer animate nouns, the patterns are those in (107). If we take the stem-final vowels to be underlyingly short in (107a-d), but long in (107e), we can account for all the data based on the underlying final tone, in the cases of (107c-d) also considering the preceding tone. Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1) lengthens the vowels of the unsuffixed plurals in (107b,d). This lengthening is pre-empted in (107c) by Final-Cv <LH>-to-H Reduction (§3.7.4.3), which fails to apply here because of the H-tone in the preceding syllable.
(107) Nonmonosyllabic animate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>with {L} overlay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. final short level H- or L-tone, no lengthening in plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘left-hand’</td>
<td>bārıyā-m</td>
<td>bārıyā</td>
<td>bārıyā́L Ṗsū-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>īsī-m</td>
<td>īsī</td>
<td>īsīL jēwé̂-m ‘black …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cricket’</td>
<td>kī-kēré-m</td>
<td>kī-kēré</td>
<td>kī-kēré́L bārā-ḿ ‘red …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. final &lt;HL&gt;, lengthened in plural (§3.7.4.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘agama lizard’</td>
<td>cēngū-m</td>
<td>cēngū</td>
<td>cēngū́L Ṗsū-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bird’</td>
<td>nī:ŷ-̄m</td>
<td>nī:ŷi:</td>
<td>nī:ŷi: bārā-ḿ ‘red …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘scorpion’</td>
<td>mū-mū́̄-̄m</td>
<td>mū-mū́̄u:</td>
<td>mū-mū́̄u: māsū-ḿ ‘nasty …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘frog’</td>
<td>ēkūnjū-̄m</td>
<td>ēkūnjū</td>
<td>ēkūnjū́L dūgū-ḿ ‘big …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. final short &lt;LH&gt; after L, flattened to H in plural (§3.7.4.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘owner’</td>
<td>bōng3-m</td>
<td>bōng</td>
<td>ñōró bōng3 ‘house owner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wasp’</td>
<td>ārgālā-̄m</td>
<td>ārgālā</td>
<td>ārgālā́L māsū-ḿ ‘bad …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>āwā-̄m</td>
<td>āwā</td>
<td>āwā́L bārā-ḿ ‘red …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. final short &lt;LH&gt; after H, lengthened in plural (§3.7.4.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘blacksmith’</td>
<td>jēmbē-̄m</td>
<td>jēmbē</td>
<td>jēmbḗL Ṗsū-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Fulbe’</td>
<td>pūl̄-̄m</td>
<td>pūl̄</td>
<td>pūl̄́L Ṗsū-m ‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. final underlying long vowel (never shortened)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;</td>
<td>‘animal’</td>
<td>ārsē-̄m</td>
<td>ārsē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimates lack the -m and -yè suffixes, but similar issues arise in comparing independent and tone-dropped (e.g. preadjectival or compound-initial) forms. Again we start with monosyllabics. The majority pattern is (108a), where again the final vowel is always long, compare the animates in (106a) above.

(108) Inanimate monosyllabic nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>tone-dropped</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. underlying Cv; length retained in all positions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hand’</td>
<td>nā:</td>
<td>nāL dūgū-w</td>
<td>‘big …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>nī:</td>
<td>nīL tām</td>
<td>‘cold …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tree sp.’</td>
<td>bī:̂-̄n</td>
<td>bīL géw-Ø</td>
<td>‘tall …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘millet’</td>
<td>yū:</td>
<td>yūL Ṗsū-w</td>
<td>‘good …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>gō:</td>
<td>gōL dūgū-w</td>
<td>‘big …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>kū:</td>
<td>kūL dā:-w</td>
<td>‘small …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplicated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
<td>sū-so:</td>
<td>sū-soL pārū-m</td>
<td>‘sour …’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shrub sp.’</td>
<td>gū:-gū:</td>
<td>gūL dūgū-w</td>
<td>‘big …’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For kù: ‘head’ (especially as abstraction), tone-dropped kùⁿ is productive, as in kùⁿ-bàr̩nî: ‘fontanel’ and kùⁿ-dùgù-w ‘big head’. However, (probably archaic) kùⁿ-occurs in kùⁿ-tó-gó-ro ‘head’, kùⁿ-célè ‘crown of head’, kùⁿ-kò-sù: ‘top and back of head’, and kùⁿ-tù-núrî: ‘head of bed’, cf. also the composite postposition [X ḳu n] ḳo ‘on (the head of) X’ (§8.4.4). Similarly, nà: ‘hand’ keeps its long vowel in most combinations, e.g. nàⁿ-dùgù-w ‘big hand’, but a short form occurs in the probably archaic nàⁿ-bànàyⁿ ‘left hand’ and nàⁿ-né-yⁿ ‘right hand’, and in old verbal-noun compounds denoting span measures using the arm or hand (nàⁿ-sù-y, nàⁿ-tà-yⁿ). These data further support the view that *CV was formerly more widespread.

Nonmonosyllabic inanimates are in (109). The type with final short vowel (109a) is unproblematic and only token examples are given. Of the stems with final long vowel in the independent form, most retain length under tone-dropping before an adjective (109b). However, a few appear with short vowels when tone-dropped before an adjective (109c). I treat them as underlying short vowels, lengthened by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition. The stems in question occur very often with adjectival modifiers or compound finals.

(109) Nonmonosyllabic inanimate nouns

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{gloss} & \textbf{independent} & \textbf{with \{L\} overlay} & \textbf{gloss} \\
\hline
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘eyes’ & jirë & jirëⁿ-pë & ‘white eyes’ \\
\item ‘soap’ & sàmnà & sàmnàⁿ-jëwⁿ-wⁿ & ‘black soap’ \\
\end{itemize}
\end{tabular}

b. underlying CV, CV̅, lengthened when contour tone audible [none]
<H>-toned final syllable
‘tomtom’ bàlpɔː  bàlpɔː I èsù-w ‘good…’
c. underlying final short <HL> syllable (/kɔ̀sù/ etc.)
‘calabash’ kɔ̀sùː kɔ̀sù L pɛː-ɔ  ‘old …’
‘foot’ lɔ̀sː lɔ̀sː L èsù-w ‘good …’
‘pottery’ sɛngûː sɛngû L èsù-w ‘good …’


6.3.2 Adjective-like partitioning quantifier gàmbú ‘certain’

An NP containing this partitioning quantifier denotes a strict subset of a set, or a portion of a whole. The pronunciation varies from gàmbú to gàm. It is treated syntactically like a cardinal numeral, so both gàmbú and the preceding NP keep their usual tones.

(110) a. nùː: gàmbú lòː-r-àː;
person certain go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
nùː: gàmbú wàsùː-r-àː;
person certain remain-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
‘Some people went away, some (=others) stayed.’

b. yùː bélé gàmbú juː = ní,
millet part certain eat=and,
bélé gàmbú dūwɔː-yː;
part certain leave.Pfv-1PlSbj
‘We ate some of the millet and left some (=the rest).’

c. [[fɔ̀rɔ  gàmbú] wój lò-ɔ wè]
[[place certain] in] go.Pfv-2SgSbj if
‘if you-Sg go to certain spots’ [2005.1a.10]

Further examples of paired gàmbú ~ gàm clauses are in B’s turns in (659) and (665) in the sample text.

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjectival intensifiers

Like all Dogon languages and others in the zone, BenT is rich in interjection-like or stem-iterated intensifiers for adjectival and some other senses. The closest English equivalents are those seen in phrases like brand new and dead drunk, but the BenT intensifiers are more distinctive phonologically (by virtue of intonational prolongation, or some form of iteration or reduplication), and generally do not also occur as ordinary nouns or other stems. There is no
sharp distinction between these intensifiers, which may co-occur with a semantically more
ordinary adjective (or other stem) with the same general sense, and expressive adverbials,
which are more autonomous.

The first and largest batch of examples are full-stem iterations, mostly H-toned (111a-c).
The pattern CVC-CVC is found when C_2 = C_4 is an obstruent, versus CV-CVC when C_2 =
C_4 is a sonorant. Minor patterns are listed in (111d-f). In most cases the stem is a “nonsense”
 syllable not found elsewhere in the lexicon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(111)</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>associated stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. CVC-CVC, H-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>párú-dú-párú-dú</td>
<td>‘shiny new’</td>
<td>kálà ‘new’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kálà-kálà</td>
<td>‘very dry’</td>
<td>mā: ‘dry/hard’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. CV-CVC-V, final C = obstruent, H-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bédú-bédú</td>
<td>‘very fine (powder)’</td>
<td>bútš ‘fine’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bédú-bédú</td>
<td>‘very supple (hide)’</td>
<td>yórú ‘supple’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bédú-bédú</td>
<td>‘very soft’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cétú-cétú</td>
<td>‘very short’</td>
<td>gšw ‘short’, cété ‘runty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cétú-cétú</td>
<td>‘nauseating’</td>
<td>(2nd /i/ influenced by the preceding /č/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kátú-kátú</td>
<td>‘very bitter’</td>
<td>gárim ‘bitter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúsú-kúsú</td>
<td>‘glare at’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúsú-kúsú</td>
<td>‘very black’</td>
<td>jéw ‘black’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>légé-légé</td>
<td>‘sharply pointed’</td>
<td>sím ‘pointed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púlú-púlú</td>
<td>‘very hot’</td>
<td>ōw ‘hot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tükí-tükí</td>
<td>‘very dusty, lots of dust’</td>
<td>kú-kör ‘dust’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tégú-tégú</td>
<td>‘very dusty, lots of dust’</td>
<td>kú-kör ‘dust’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>párú-párú</td>
<td>‘very white’</td>
<td>pilé ‘white’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. CV-CVC, final C = sonorant, H-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóm-bóm</td>
<td>‘very thick (linear object)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bútú-bútú</td>
<td>‘very red’</td>
<td>bár ‘red’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>céw-céw</td>
<td>‘very lightweight’</td>
<td>pér ‘lightweight’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dém-dém</td>
<td>‘very straight’</td>
<td>dém ‘straight’ (adverb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dém-dém</td>
<td>‘very straight’</td>
<td>dém ‘straight’ (adverb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dön-dön</td>
<td>‘furious, seething’</td>
<td>célé bár ‘be angry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúy-dúy</td>
<td>‘very rotten’</td>
<td>ámb ‘rotten’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáy-gáy</td>
<td>‘very full (sated)’</td>
<td>bá ‘(meal) sate (sb)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáy-gáy</td>
<td>‘very tight (rope)’</td>
<td>ōw ‘tight (rope)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>géy-géy</td>
<td>‘very tight (tomtom)’</td>
<td>ōw ‘tight (rope)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káy-káy</td>
<td>‘very crowded’</td>
<td>étí ‘(market) be crowded’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káy-káy</td>
<td>‘very hard’</td>
<td>m(‘)aw ‘hard’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéy-kyé</td>
<td>‘very tight (tomtom)’</td>
<td>ōw ‘tight (rope)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kýy-kýy</td>
<td>‘very hard’</td>
<td>mā: ‘dry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúy-kúy</td>
<td>‘very stocky’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péy-péy</td>
<td>‘very unripe (fruit)’</td>
<td>césú ‘unripe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péy-péy</td>
<td>‘very unripe (fruit)’</td>
<td>césú ‘unripe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical item</td>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>associated stem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pál-pál</td>
<td>‘very hot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèw-pèw</td>
<td>‘completely used up’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púl-púl</td>
<td>‘brand new’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sél-sél</td>
<td>‘very tall’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sél-sél</td>
<td>‘very long and thin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sól-sól</td>
<td>‘very long’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táw-táw</td>
<td>‘very (sun)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táw-táw</td>
<td>‘very fast’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tém-tém</td>
<td>‘fully inflated’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èsè-[tèw-tèw]</td>
<td>‘very unfertilized (field)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èsè-[tèw-tèw]</td>
<td>‘very bland (meal)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC-CvC, final</td>
<td>C = sonorant, rising tones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tỳ’-tày”</td>
<td>‘very sweet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCv-CvCv, final</td>
<td>C = sonorant, L.H-L.H toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lórò-lóró</td>
<td>‘clean-shaven (head)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèrè-lèrè</td>
<td>‘cleaned up completely’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèw”è-nèw”è</td>
<td>‘very smooth/sleek’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèr”è-cèr”è</td>
<td>‘very thin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv-CvCv-CvCv</td>
<td>L.L.H-L.L.H toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèr”èy”è-cèr”èy”è</td>
<td>‘brand new’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kálà</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more modest number of intensifiers show more unusual, partially reduplicated forms (112). Some of these clearly share phonological material with the semantically related ordinary term (‘very sour’, ‘very heavy’, ‘foul, stinking’, and ‘very sweet’, and perhaps àsásà ‘very bright’ if related to the word-family including noun èsè ‘light’). Others are unrelated to any ordinary lexical item.

(112) form       gloss       associated stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jàw”y”if</td>
<td>‘ramify’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúsúsú</td>
<td>‘very heavy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèr”ènènè</td>
<td>‘very cold’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pòrôlòlò</td>
<td>‘foul, stinking’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàràlìlà</td>
<td>‘very sour’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.Cv.Cv.Cv.Cv</td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td>‘be sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ýlèsè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The isolated examples in (113) are not iterative or reduplicative, but have some prosodic similarity to the quadrisyllabic examples in (112b), above. The first part of lèrè-gèdèw may be related to lèrè-lèrè in (111e), above.

(113) form gloss associated stem

a. lèrè-gèdèw ‘absolutely everything’ náŋána: or dàⁿ-wôy ‘all’

b. kâŋárⁿáná ‘(running) very fast’ ñw ‘fast’

The remaining examples have no reduplicative features. Those in (114a) are of shape CòC(ù), including several with final unvoiced stop (not allowed as final consonant in ordinary stems) and one with f, a supposedly “non-Dogon” consonant. Those in (114b-c) have built-in “intonational” prolongation of the final consonant (symbol →). Aside from pútúm→, which is attested with two distinct senses (114b), these are of the shape CVC→ with a final sonorant. None of the intensifiers in (114a-c) is phonologically related to the corresponding semantically related stem.

(114) form gloss associated stem

a. interjection-like
   jôfù ‘very wet’  ôrá ‘wet’
   cêk ‘completely, every bit’
   lôk, lôŋ ‘sole, lone’  tûwⁿ5 ‘one’
   pép ‘very full (container)’  bá ‘be full’

b. prolongation, final sonorant, bisyllabic (CVC→)
   pútúm→ ‘with many flowers’  pùrⁿũ ‘flower’
   pútúm→ ‘very foggy’  náŋá ‘mist, fog’

c. prolongation, final sonorant, monosyllabic H-toned (CV→)
   póm→ ‘enormous’  dìyⁿ ‘big’
   jàyⁿ→ ‘very uncooked (meat)’  cèṣu ‘raw, uncooked’
   tâyⁿ→ ‘very full (sated)’  bá ‘(meal) sate (sb)’

d. prolongation, final sonorant, monosyllabic <LH>-toned (CVC→)
   cèyⁿ→ ‘tiny’
   kàyⁿ→ ‘emaciated’  kómbó ‘lean’
   kàyⁿ→ ‘oversized (eyes, teeth)’  sálá:; dà:, tè:, ilá: ‘small’
   jîrè dâm→ ‘totally blind’  jîmdá ‘blind’
   (contains jîrè ‘eye’)

6.3.3.2 ‘Near X’, ‘far from X’

Adjectives ‘near’ and ‘far, distant’ can be expanded by adding an adverbial phrase when used as predicates (115b), but not when used as simple modifying adjectives (‘the nearby house’, etc.).
(115)  a.  ùrò  wà:w / sà:sú  bù−∅
   house  distant / near  be-3SgSbj
   ‘The house is far away/nearby.’

   b.  ùrò  [liːː]  nà:y[w]  wà:w / sà:sú  bù−∅
   house  [village with]  distant / near  be-3SgSbj
   ‘The house is far from/close to the village.’

6.3.3.3 ‘Good to eat’

‘Grasshoppers are good to eat’ is phrased as ‘[grasshoppers’ eating-VblN] is sweet’ (116). The verbal noun in this case is L-toned as a possessed noun (following a possessor that ends in an L-tone).

(116)  [kì-kàː]  kùw-ː]  èrùm
   [Rdp-grasshopper  eat.meat-VblN]  be.sweet
   ‘Eating (of) grasshoppers is sweet.’ (kùw-ː)

6.4 Cardinal numeral

6.4.1 Noun (and adjective) plus cardinal numeral

A noun, or more generally a core NP (noun with or without following modifying adjectives), may be followed by a cardinal numeral. Both the core NP and the numeral have the same tones they would have in isolation. In other words, there is no tonal interaction between the core NP and the numeral (they are in a kind of prosodic “apposition”). In (117), the tone-dropping on ‘cow’ is due to the adjective, not the numeral.

(117)  a.  nàː  tàː:nú
   cow  three  ‘three cows’

   b.  [nàː  díy'à]  tàː:nú
   [cow  big.Pl]  three  ‘three big cows’

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In bare NPs or in NPs with only a final definite morpheme like kù, the order N-Adj-Num is fixed. However, in the presence of a possessor or a demonstrative, or when the NP is the head of a relative clause, the adjective and the numeral optionally (but often) switch positions. We may think of the possessor, the demonstrative, and the relative clause as licensors of this inversion. These same elements are also reference-restricting elements that can function as tonosyntactic controllers.
In (118), the order is fixed. In (119-21), the numeral and adjective may occur in either order, the inversion having been licensed by the demonstrative (119), the possessor (120), or the relative clause (121). The numeral is bolded in the interlinear.

(118) ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  diy”à-wⁿ numeralbig-Inan  kùròy six  (kù)  ‘six big houses’ (inverted #ǹdò kùròy diy”à-wⁿ (kù) was rejected)

(119) a. [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  diy”à-wⁿ numeralbig-Inan  kùròy six]¹  ĕgú bè ‘these six big houses’

b. [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  kùròy diy”à-wⁿ]¹  ĕgú bè [=(a)]

(120) a. üú two-SgPoss  [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  diy”à-wⁿ numeralbig-Inan  kùròy six]¹  ĕgú bè ‘your-Sg six big houses’

b. üú two-SgPoss  [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  six big-Inan]¹  ĕgú bè [=(a)]

(121) a. [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  diy”à-wⁿ numeralbig-Inan  kùròy six]¹  yàgá-w fall-Partpl.Inan  ĕgú bè ‘the six big houses that fell’

b. [ùrò¹ housebig-Inan  six big-Inan]¹  yàgá-w fall-Partpl.Inan  ĕgú bè [=(a)]

It is difficult to determine whether switching from Adj-Num to Num-Adj order allows the adjective to control tone-dropping on the numeral. This is because other controllers are also present (they license the inversion), as we see from the fact that ‘six’, lexically kùròy as in (118), is tone-dropped to kùròy in all of the (a) as well as (b) examples in (119-21). However, in §6.2.3 above I showed that inalienably possessed [Poss N⁰ Adj Num] (102c) can be inverted to [[Poss N Num]¹ Adj] (102d), which does allow the adjective to control {L} on a target domain to its left that includes the numeral.

6.5 Noun (or core NP) plus demonstrative

6.5.1 Prenominal kù (pseudo-possession as strong discourse-definite)

It was pointed out in §4.3.2, above, that the inanimate pronoun kù may be used to resume a proposition or other abstraction from preceding discourse. As a (pseudo-)possessor, i.e. in NP-initial position, kù is a strong discourse-definite demonstrative (‘that same X we were
talking out"). For example, (122) occurs in a text just after the initial mention of two groups of settlers (who followed different routes). Like true possessors, \(kù\) controls a tone overlay on the “possessed” noun and its immediate modifiers.

\[(122) \quad \text{[DiscDef} \quad \text{[HI group two] \quad \text{Def]}}, \quad \text{[HI bùnùgòy yèy] \quad kù],} \quad \text{[3ReflPlSbj separate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan \quad Def]} \quad 3\text{Ref} \quad \text{Pfv-Ppl.Inan} \quad \text{Def} \quad \text{á:} \quad \text{kàwá-ìw \quad kù} \quad \text{[2005.2a.08]} \]

‘Those two (just-mentioned) groups, (when) they separated.’

The \{HL\} tone overlaid on the noun \(bùnùgòy\) ‘group’ shows that \(kù\) behaves tonosyntactically like a possessor. A case might be made for a literal syntactic interpretation along these lines in some passages, but in (122) such a reading would be quite abstract and somewhat forced: ‘the two groups of that (discourse/situation)’. In any event, \(kù\) basically functions here as a discourse-definite demonstrative, stronger than the simple NP-final definite morpheme \(kù\). Pseudo-possessor \(kù\) and the postnominal definite \(kù\) (or other determiner) often co-occur, as in (123).

\[(123) \quad \text{[DiscDef} \quad \text{[HI pàr"ù \quad kù] \quad yà:\text{-}jiyé,} \quad \text{[HI night \quad Def]} \quad \text{woman\text{-}dance(n)} \quad \text{jiyé \quad ná-yè = b-à:} \quad \text{dance \quad spend.night.Ipfv-3PPlSbj=Past-3PPlSbj} \quad \text{[2005.1b.01]} \]

‘That night (the night of that same day), they used to dance the women’s dance all night.’

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives

A postnominal demonstrative pronoun controls tone-dropping on a preceding string within an NP, beginning with the noun. (124a) shows N\(^L\) Dem, (124b-c) show [N Adj]\(^L\) Dem.

\[(124) \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{ùró} \quad \text{úgú} \quad \text{house\text{-}Prox.Inan} \quad \text{‘this house’ (ùró)} \quad \text{[2005.1b.12]} \]

\[\text{b.} \quad \text{ùró} \quad \text{bár”a-w"} \quad \text{úgú} \quad \text{[house\text{-}red-Inan]} \quad \text{Prox.Inan} \quad \text{‘this red house’ (ùró bár”a-w")} \quad \text{[2005.1b.12]} \]

\[\text{c.} \quad \text{yà} \quad \text{bár”a} \quad \text{mù:} \quad \text{[woman\text{-}red]} \quad \text{Prox.An} \quad \text{‘this red (=brown-skinned) woman’} \quad \text{[2005.1b.12]} \]

Animate singular \(-m\) (the only nonzero nominal suffix) is omitted before demonstratives beginning in \(m\) (which perhaps result from resegmentation), but is present in near-distant \(-m\) \(kù\). See §4.4.1 for discussion.

If a N-Adj combination (core NP) is followed by a numeral and then a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative controls \{L\} on the entire string to its left. Both ‘house’ nor ‘six’
show lexical tone melodies (125a), but both are tone-dropped before the demonstrative in (125b).

(125)  a. ùró kùróy  
    house  six  
    ‘six houses’

b. [ùró kùróy]L ñgú  
    [house  six]L Prox.Inan  
    ‘these six houses’

6.6 Free plural (bè)

Postnominal plural particle bè is morphosyntactically quite unlike the regular plural marking for animate nouns, which is zero suffix versus singular -m, as in ná:-m ‘cow’ versus ná: ‘cows’ and in yá-m ‘woman’ versus yá: ‘women’. Free plural bè occurs late in the NP, often well-separated from the noun. It follows demonstrative pronouns: [⊂ HL lésù ⊃ mǔ: bè] ‘these uncles of yours’ [⊂2SgPoss HL uncle ⊃ this Pl]. It also occurs after the verb-participle in relative clauses.

Free plural bè is optional with inanimate nouns when denoting a nonsingular set. Ordinarily such nouns make no singular/plural distinction, either in the NP or in subject agreement. Thus kùró ‘stone’ or ‘stones’, alternatively kùró bè to clearly specify plural ‘stones’.

(126) yá: òmdò: yá-w bè  
    there tamarind stand.Stat-Ppl.Inan Pl  
    ‘the tamarind trees that are standing there’ [2005.1a.05]

bè is also regularly used with nouns denoting animate beings, if the nouns (for one reason or another) are not capable of marking grammatical number suffixally. This is the case with some kin terms that do not allow singular suffix -m and therefore have no suffixal distinction between singular and plural. For example, ‘your-Sg (maternal) uncle’ is ú HL lésù, and its plural ‘your-Sg uncles’ is ú HL lésù bè.

When accusative clitic =m ~ =ǹ or locative postposition wo is added to bè, the results are bè: =m ~ bè: =ǹ and bè: wó, respectively, with a long vowel and an H-tone. The lengthening is difficult to analyse.

(127)  a. [ ámb: injíː-rè-∅ dè]  
    [morning get up-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]  
    [sèytà:n mǔ: bè: =ǹ] tš:rú:m wà  
    [seytan] Prox.An Pl=Acc instruct.Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot  
    ‘(It is said:) if he gets up in the morning, he gives orders to these seytans’ [2005.1b.11]

b. [bú: yè [súli bè:] wó] b-ɛm-bò]  
    [3Pl come [forest Pl in] be-3PlSbj-3PlSbj]  
    ‘They (=dwarves) come and stay in the (dense) forests’ [2005.1b.11]
When the ‘it is’ clitic (also used for focalization) is added to bè, we get [...] bè: = ∅ (§11.2.1.1). An example is in C’s second turn in (661) in the sample text.

We also find H-toned (but unlengthened) bè before the dative postposition mà: (128a) and before wôy ‘all’ (128b) and optionally in other contexts where the relevant NP is closely grouped prosodically with some following material.

(128) a. [cërêy jê:]  
[money bring]
[[fâ: bè: mà:] nî-yê]
[[3Refl|Poss father PI Dat] give.|pfv-3PLSbj]  
‘They bring money and give (it) to their fathers.’ [2005.1b.06]

[[3PI L pond PI all] water see.|pfv-3PLSbj] Quot  
‘(It is said:) they (=short people) even see water in their (=dwarves’) ponds.’ [2005.1b.11]

Therefore plural bè, like definite kù, shows signs of being underlingly (or at least historically) H-toned, though in phrase-final position it is always heard as L-toned.

With animate nouns that already distinguish singular from plural by suffixes, bè is at best marginal. This statement does not apply to conjunctions of the type [[yâ: bè→] [ârⁿà bè→]] ‘men and women’ (§7.1.2).

6.7 Definite (kù, bû:)

The definite morpheme is kù for (animate) singular and for inanimates: nà:-m kù ‘the cow’, kûrⁿà kù ‘the stones’. Inanimates are optionally pluralized by adding plural bè to kù, as in kûrⁿà bè ‘the stones’. (Animate) plural has a special definite form, bû:, as in nà: bû: ‘the cows’, though kù can also be used in this context.

Unlike the demonstrative pronouns, definite kù and bû: do not interact tonally with the preceding words in the NP.

Definite kù does not usually co-occur with demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’) at the end of a noun-headed NP. However, kù does occasionally follow demonstratives that function as referential-tracking devices, where kù indicates that the referent is the same as one previously introduced; see nîrⁿà kù ‘that (same) other one’, with far-distant demonstrative in obviative function, in (660) in the sample text.

kù can also follow a personal pronoun, as in [êrⁿê kù] ‘he’ (reactivating a previously introduced discourse referent) in the second line of (666) in the sample text.

kù may occur before other NP-final discourse particles such as nêy (and variants) ‘now’ and topic kày. In this non-NP-final position, kù may appear as H-toned kû. However, in specific textual passages it can be difficult to distinguish between e.g. [noun kû X], where X is a discourse particle added to a definite noun, from [noun] [kû X], where kû is an inanimate pronoun (e.g. resuming an already described situation.
6.8 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.8.1 ‘Each X’ and ‘all X’ (wôy, dâⁿ-wôy, cêm ~ cêw)

The stylistically unmarked quantifier for ‘all’ and ‘each’ is wôy, which is often extended as dâⁿ-wôy (variants dô-wôy, dêⁿ-wôy), with no apparent change in meaning. In (129a), it is clearly distributive ‘each’ and occurs with a noun in singular form with no determiner. In examples like (120b-c), with the universal-quantifier sense ‘all’, the nouns are marked as plural (if morphologically possible) and allow definite determiners.

(129) a. \([\text{ár}ⁿ-\text{à-wôy} \quad \text{l-mà:}] \quad [\text{yû:} \quad \text{sà:gù}]\]
\([\text{[man-AnSg each]} \quad \text{[Dat]}] \quad [\text{millet} \quad \text{sack}]\]
\(\text{tûw}ⁿ-\text{tûw}ⁿ \quad \text{nì-y}:\)
one-one  give.lpfv-1PISbj
‘We will give one sack of millet to each man.’

b. \([\text{mà:} \quad \text{bû:} \quad \text{dâⁿ-wôy}] \quad \text{sà:t} \quad \text{r-à:}\]
\([\text{cow.Pl Def.Pl all]} \quad \text{animal.die-Pfv1a-3PISbj}\]
‘All of the cows died (without being slaughtered).’

c. \([1^{\text{HL}} \text{yîtê:} \quad \text{dâⁿ-wôy}] \quad \text{ɲàr}ⁿ-\text{y}\]
\([\text{1SgPoss. lit.children all]} \quad \text{call.lpfv-1SgSbj}\]
‘I will call (= summon) all of my children.’

For wôy as right-edge marker in regular conditional antecedents, see §16.1.1 below.

Another ‘all’ quantifier is cêm ~ cêw, which may reflect Jamsay influence. It too is used as a kind of right-edge marker, specifically in willy-nilly conditional antecedents (§16.3). In reduplicated or iterated form (cê-cêw, cê-wêcêw) it means ‘equal(ly)’ (§12.2.3).

For the more emphatic sóy ‘entirely’ and noun nàðànà: ‘entirety’ (becoming lit. nàðànà: when “possessed”), see §§8.6.7.5.

6.8.2 \([X \text{ wé } \rightarrow X]\) ‘from (one) X to (another) X’

The combination \([X \text{ wé } \rightarrow X]\), where X is a common noun denoting a set of entities, means ‘from (one) X to (another) X (in succession)’ or ‘each X (independently)’. It can function as a stylistically strong way of saying ‘each/every X’.

(130) a. \(əsùwⁿ-\text{yî-m} \quad \text{wé } \rightarrow \quad əsùwⁿ-\text{yî-m}, \quad \text{t}: \quad \text{lô-n}\]
\(\text{boy-child-AnSg to boy-child-AnSg, pond go.lpfv-3SgSbj}\]
‘Each boy (=young man) goes to a water source (e.g. pond), (and) he gets water and brings (it).’ [2005.1a.11]
b. [démdé  wé→ démdé]  
[roofing  to  roofing]  
[bɔ̀-ųrò  mɔ̀:li=này”]  
dembí-yè  
[father-house  assemble=then.SS]  
cover.Ipfv-3PlSbj  
‘From (one) roof-building to (another) roof-building (=on each roof-building occasion), the villagers will get together and do the roofing.’ [2005.1a.11]

It is possible that wé→ is a variant of wê:y ‘as well as’ (§7.1.3).

6.8.3 ‘(Not) any X’ (kâ:n)

The stem kâ:n ‘any’ modifies the noun, which is singular in form (where morphologically relevant). The animate singular is kâ:n-m. There is no suffix for inanimate singular. This morphology suggests that kâ:n is structurally a noun rather than an adjective or numeral-like quantifier. Specifically, kâ:n resembles a nominal compound final, see §5.1.1.

The preceding noun has {L} overlay, and animate singular -m (the only nonzero animacy-number suffix that occurs in nouns) is omitted on the noun (nà:l  kâ:n-m ‘any cow’, yà:l  kâ:n-m ‘any woman’, àr”à:l  kâ:n-m ‘any man’). The tonal and morphological facts are consistent with compound-initial status.

The verb (or other predicate) is negated.

(131)  
a. [yì¹  kâ:n-m]  
[call-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj]  
‘I will not call (= summon) any child(ren).’

b. [ùrò¹  kâ:n]  
[buy-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj]  
‘I will not buy any house.’

c. [kɔ̀:n¹  kâ:n]=rá-∅  
[not.be-3SgSbj]  
‘It isn’t anything.’

kɔ̀:n¹  kâ:n ‘nothing, anything’, nù¹  kâ:n-m ‘nobody, anybody’, and ɔr”ɔ:^L  kâ:n ‘nowhere, anywhere’ are common combinations.

kâ:n may be used in the sense ‘any’ in a conditional antecedent clause in the absence of negation, like English any (132).

(132)  
[[kɔ̀:n¹  kâ:n]  
yì-jé-w  
dè], …  
[[if]  
‘if you-Sg see anything, …’

In several other Dogon languages, cognates of kâ:n (< *kámà) also occur in positive contexts in distributive sense ‘each X’. I have not observed this in BenT. For the possible relationship between kâ:n ‘(not) any’ and relative morpheme kâ:n, see the end of §14.1.10.
7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

A conjoined NP ‘X and Y’ of the type \([X \text{ ya} \rightarrow Y \text{ ya} \rightarrow]\) or \([X \text{ be} \rightarrow Y \text{ be} \rightarrow]\) does not systematically undergo tone-dropping as relative-clause head, though a full study might reveal the existence of variants with at least partial tone-dropping (e.g. of the second coordinand only) as in e.g. Jamsay. See §14.1.3 for discussion.

7.1.1 NP conjunction (\(X \text{ ya} \rightarrow, Y \text{ ya} \rightarrow\))

The common NP conjunction construction is symmetrical, with a particle \(\text{ ya} \rightarrow\) following each conjunct. The individual coordinands may be singular or plural.

(133) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{[áir\text{"àn} yà\rightarrow']} & \quad \text{[yá: yá\rightarrow']} \\
\text{[man.Pl and]} & \quad \text{[woman.Pl and]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘men and women’

The vowel of \(\text{ya}\) is extended intonationally (\(\rightarrow\)) after both conjuncts. The phonological tone is carried over from the final tone of the preceding conjunct, but the parallelistic structure lends itself to sharp intonational modification of the pitch. The pitch on the first \(\text{ya}\rightarrow\) is typically rather high (symbol ꜛ) even when phonologically L-toned, and the pitch on the second \(\text{ya}\rightarrow\) is either close to what one would expect from the phonological tone (no symbol) or else has the pitch lowering typical of the final phrase in a series (symbol ꜜ). In careful speech (in elicitation sessions), the intonational differences between the first and the second \(\text{ya}\rightarrow\) tend to level out.

The same construction is used with two pronouns (134a), or with a pronoun and a nonpronominal NP (134b).

(134) a. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{[í yá\rightarrow']} & \quad \text{[ú yá\rightarrow']} \\
\text{[1Sg and]} & \quad \text{[2Sg and]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I and you-Sg’

b. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{[í yá\rightarrow']} & \quad \text{[\text{L+HL} bś: yà\rightarrow']} \\
\text{[1Sg and]} & \quad \text{[1SgPoss.\text{HL father} and]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I and my father’

7.1.1.1 Conjunction with final quantifier

A concluding ‘all’ quantifier, such as emphatic \(sõy\) ‘all, every last one’ (in context also ‘both’) may be added at the end of a conjunction. In this case, there is less noticeable intonational variation on the \(\text{ya} \rightarrow\) conjunction itself.
In (136), one of the two ‘X and Y’ coordinands is the interrogative ‘who?’ A literal translation is “who? and a lion fought a fight?” No syntactic island here!

(136) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
[[\text{who? and}] & [\text{lion-AnSg and}] \\ 
\text{fight(n)} & \text{fight.Pfv-3PlSbj} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Who was it who fought with a lion?’ [2005.2b.05]

7.1.2 NP conjunction (\(X \text{ bè} \rightarrow, \ Y \text{ bè} \rightarrow\))

The conjunctive particle \(ya\rightarrow\) is optionally replaced by \(bé\rightarrow\), with the same variable intonational prolongation and the same pitch pattern. This is most common when either a) the coordinands are plural (including inanimates not otherwise overtly marked for plurality), or b) the overall conjunction functions as a list that is, or might have been, extended to more than two coordinands.

(137) a. \[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{mán.Pl and}] & [\text{woman.Pl and}] \\
\end{array}
\]
‘men and women’

b. \[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{KHL tàngây}] & [\text{ŋgú}] \\
[\text{HL side}] & \text{Prox.Inan} \\
[\text{HL nú:}] & [\text{bé \rightarrow}] \\
[\text{HL people and}] & [\text{P Pl.Inan}] \\
\end{array}
\]
‘If this Kortyom side (=area) goes (=extends) between us (=Beni) and the people of Pergué (a village)’ [2005.1a.06]

c. \[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{onion and}] & [\text{doun-\text{l-child and}]}, [\text{cow-\text{excrement and}]}, \\
\text{ŋáy}^\text{m} \text{ úgúró-y:}, & [\text{hál cè:lé-\text{m}}] \\
\end{array}
\]
‘We give it a smell using onion, and doun-palm nuts, and cow manure, until it’s good.’ [2005.1a.09]

In (137c), instrumental postposition \(ŋáy^m\) takes scope over the conjoined sequence, but is set off prosodically. This is typical of such conjoined NPs.

An abbreviated construction \([X \text{ bè} \rightarrow X]\), with the same common noun \(X\) repeated in singular form, with just one occurrence of \(bé\), is also attested. It means, in effect, ‘all X’s’.

In (135) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
[\text{mán.Pl and}] & [\text{woman.Pl and}] & [\text{children and}] & [\text{all ló-yè}] \\
\end{array}
\]
go.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘Men, women, and children are all going.’
7.1.3 wē:y ‘as well as’

A phrase-final morpheme wē:y is recorded in the sense ‘as well as, along with’ (French ainsi que). The phrasing is [[X wē:y] Y] ‘X, as well as Y’ (139). The textual context of the example suggests an emphasis on the accumulated quantity of territory. This particle is also used in ‘a fortiori’ clauses (§12.3). It can be intonationally prolonged as wē:y→, and could perhaps be transcribed wéy∴ with dying-quail intonation. It may be related to wē→ in the [X wē→ X] ‘from X to X’ construction (§6.8.2).

7.1.4 “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s

Verbs are not conjoined using the same mechanisms found with NP or pronominal conjunction. Instead, they may be chained in various ways; see chapter 15.

7.2 Disjunction

The ‘or’ disjunction ma is difficult to separate from the interrogative particle ma in polar (yes/no) interrogatives, which often take the parallelistic form ‘X, or not X?’ Pragmatically, ‘X or Y’ suggests doubt as to whether X or Y (or both) are valid, so ‘X or Y’ and interrogative ‘X? or Y?’ are closely related. In both cases, ma is clause-final, is obligatory after the first phrase and commonly repeated after the second, gets its phonological tone from the end of the preceding word, and is highly subject to intonational prolongation and pitch modification.

7.2.1 ‘Or’ (ma→) with NPs and pronouns

The disjunctive particle is ma, which regularly shows intonational prolongation (symbol →). In (140a-b), a single occurrence of ma→ occurs, between the two coordinands. There is no clear intonational break either before or after the particle, except when the speaker hesitates (e.g. while searching for a term as right coordinand).
In either example, a second occurrence of `ma→` after the second coordinand is possible but not required.

7.2.2 ‘Or’ (`ma→`) with adverbs

An example is (141), with temporal adverbs.

(141) [íyé `mà→] [íy’n `mà→] yè-m
    [today or] [tomorrow of] come-Lpfv.3SgSbj
    ‘He/She will come today or tomorrow.’

My assistant also gave a version of this with ‘it is’ clitic on ‘today’ and ‘yesterday’, beginning [íyé = ɪ mà→] …

7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction

It is especially difficult to distinguish the ‘or’ particle from the interrogative particle in these cases, where two propositions are involved. The elicited examples (142) and (143) were designed to force a disjunctive rather than interrogative reading.

In (142), the two ‘if’ clauses do not exhaust the set of possibilities, since the “Goldilocks” scenario remains in play (it might rain just the right amount, not too much or too little). Therefore the context does not lend itself to a ‘whether X or Y’ interpretation, which would verge on a polar interrogative.

(142) [bòlú   mir’è-r”-r-O   mà→’]
    [rain(n)  rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj or]
    [mir’è] lòyù-r-r-o   mà→’]
    [rain.fall overflow-Pfv1a-3SgSbj of]
    yú:   gó-m-dó-O
    millet go.out-Lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj
    ‘If it doesn’t rain, or if it rains too much, the millet won’t come out.’

In (143), the speaker is making a promise in two alternative versions, and an interrogative reading (in the usual sense) is not possible.
(143) [yě-ŷ
[come-lpfv.1SgSbj or]
[mà→']

[nū-m tī-ŷ
[person-AnSg send-lpfv.1SgSbj or]
[mà→']

‘(Either) I will come (myself), or I will send someone.’
8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Tonal locatives (absent)

No synchronic tonal locatives of the Jamsay type have been observed. It may be of historical interest that úrò ‘house’ has the falling tone pattern of Jamsay tonal locative úrò ‘at home’ (based on /H/-toned Jamsay noun úrò ‘house’). However, in BenT úrò shows the lexical melody.

8.2 Accusative =nì ~ =ǹ

Accusative =nì (postvocally also =ǹ) which I transcribe as a clitic, could be taken as a suffix (but then it is the only suffix added directly to pronouns), or as a postposition (but it interacts in its segmental phonology with the preceding element in a manner not typical of postpositions). Like postpositions, it occurs at the end of an already complete NP.

It is optional even in clear direct-object function. For its forms with personal pronouns, including 2Sg ú = nù and inanimate kú = nù where the clitic vowel has assimilated to the pronoun’s back rounded vowel, see §4.3.1. The clitic is also used (optionally) with other NPs (144), though it is most common with personal names. The clitic is particularly common when the direct object is focalized (§13.1.2).

(144) [bɔ᷈ː(=nì)] yi-ŷ
    [1SGPoss-1HL father(=Acc)] see.Pfv-1SGSbj
    ‘I saw my father.’

The accusative morpheme is occasionally added to other nonsubject NPs that have some focal properties. See, for example, [úsúrí wó = ǹ ‘(we come) on (=because of) a request’ in (654) in the sample text, and yâ: = ǹ ‘there’ at the end of B’s long turn in (676) in the sample text.

An interesting issue is whether there is an affinity, perhaps even morphemic identity, between accusative =nì ~ =ǹ added to nouns and pronouns, and different-subject chaining morpheme =nì ~ =ǹ added to a nonfinal clause in a (loose) clause chain (§15.1.10). Shades of Choctaw?

The accusative occurs optionally on objects of imperatives, as on objects of other inflected verbs. An example is the (culturally unlikely!) (145).

(145) [L+HL bɔː(=nì)] sãoŋ
    [1SGPoss-1HL father(=Acc)] hit.Imprt
    ‘Hit-2Sg my father!’

However, the accusative morpheme does not occur in head NPs in object relatives (§14.3.1).
8.3 Dative and instrumental

8.3.1 Dative mà: ~ l mà:

This postposition has a basic form mà:, becoming L-toned l mà: after a segmentally nonzero NP (possessed or unpossessed) or pronoun that ends in L- or <HL>-tone. The L-toned variant l mà: is homophonous with the L-toned form of quotative subject (QuotSbj) morpheme mà:, which occurs in clause-initial NPs (chiefly subjects, §17.1.1.1). Its relationship to mà: ‘before’ (§15.2.1.6) is unclear. The 1Sg dative form is <LHL> toned L+ma<: with no segmentally overt pronominal (146c).

(146) a. [sùmáylà l mà:] bú:dù ní-tí:-Ø
[Soumaila l Dat] money give-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
‘I gave the money to Soumaila.’

b. ěw³rë [ú mà:] i-]?éw³rũ-ỹ
story [2Sg Dat] Rdp-narrate.Lpfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She will tell you-Sg a story.’

c. bú:dù L+mà: ní-Ø
money Dat.1Sg give.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She gave me the money.’

d. [ú HLúrõ-jëngi:] l mà:] ní-ũ<
[[2SgPoss HLhouse-neighboring] l Dat] give.Lpfv-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg will give (honey) to your-Sg neighboring house (=neighbors)’ [2005.1a.09]

The dative is used for the indirect object of ‘give’ and ‘say’, and in more abstract contexts like (147), which occurs in a text about collecting honey from apiaries.

(147) [[jëyë kù mà:] ànjày< kà:u-rà-ũ<
[[honey Def Dat] how? do-Prog-2PlSbj
‘What do you-Pl do for (=with) the honey?’ [2005.1a.09]

‘X call Y “Z” ’ (Y discourse referent, Z its name or other designation) is expressed as ‘X say Z [Y-Dative].’

(148) [kú mà:] tòy-bisì gú<ũ<
[DiscDef Dat] sowing-moist say.Lpfv-1PlSbj
‘We call that (activity) “toy-bisi.” ’ [2005.1a.10]

8.3.2 Instrumental này<

Standard instrumental senses (‘with/by means of a stick’) and more abstract extensions (‘by force’) are expressed by the postposition này<. It appears as l này< after an undetermined noun or core NP ending in L- or <HL>-tone.
The instrument is also used in various more or less **spatial functions** (150a-b) and in expressions denoting **points in time** (150c). The instrumental therefore competes to a limited extent with locative postpositions.

(150) a. 

> [û: yà] [ìsè: kù] [ñây"n] wà:n bà:wú:w smtp v. 2005.1a.07


> ‘you-Pl are far from the village.’

b. 

> [ést] [ñây"n] tì-yè

> [shoulderbag Inst] pour.out.Ipfv-3PlSbj

> ‘They dump (the millet spikes) with (=from) the shoulderbags?’ [2005.1a.10]

c. 

> [[midì trente dògùrù] [ñây"n]]

> [noon thirty time [Prox.Inan] Inst]

> ‘at 12:30 (PM)’

The high-frequency phrase [kù ñây"n] ‘with that’ can be translated in context ‘at that point’, ‘that being the case’, or just ‘then’. It essentially resumes a situation just described, as background for the next section of discourse.

### 8.4 Locational postpositions

#### 8.4.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions

As in all languages of the zone, spatial adverbials including locative PPs denote locations only and are neutral as to whether the referent in question is located in, heading toward, arriving at, or departing from the location. This information is expressed in motion verbs, either alone or chained to other verbs. *gò*- ‘go out, exit, leave’ expresses the ablative (‘from’) when combined with a preceding locational expression. In its absence, *lò*- ‘go’ or other motion verb normally implies allative (‘to’) when combined with a locational.

#### 8.4.2 ‘In, on, at’ (*wo*)

The most general locative postposition is *wo*, appearing as *wó* or *wò*. The tone is carried over from the preceding tone.

The postposition is used in various temporal (151a) as well as spatial (151b) senses. It competes most directly with the semantically more precise *pirè* ‘inside’ (§8.4.3, below).
wo is also part of many of the complex postpositions described below. Since the immediately preceding stem is usually a noun-like element that takes possessed-noun {HL} overlay, wo appears in L-toned form as \[^{1}\text{wò}\] in these combinations.

8.4.3 ‘Inside, within’ \((X_{\text{HL}}\text{pirê})\)

This postposition, based on noun pirê: ‘interior’ but with final short vowel, is sometimes interchangeable with locative wo (see above). However, \[^{1}\text{pirê}\] is more concrete, meaning ‘inside, within’, with reference to a container-like entity (house, sack, etc.) capable of enclosing something. The form is \[^{1}\text{pirê}\] after L- or <HL>-tone.

\[(151)\] a. \[^{1}\text{pirê}\] \[^{1}\text{wò}\] bê:\[^{1}\text{wò}\] \[^{1}\text{êśi}→\text{birê-ý}₇\]

[house \[^{1}\text{inside}\] be-3PlSbj

‘They are in(side) the house.’

b. \[^{1}\text{sûkôrê}\] \[^{1}\text{jemé}\] \[^{1}\text{pirê}\] \[^{1}\text{gây}^{n}\text{-tí-ý}\]

[sugar \[^{1}\text{bag}\] \[^{1}\text{inside}\] put-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I put-Past the sugar in(side) the sack.’

8.4.4 ‘On; on the head of’ \((fX_{\text{HL}}\text{kû})\[^{1}\text{wò}\) \)

This composite postposition is historically related to kû: ‘head’, though it is now phonologically distinct from \[^{1}\text{kû}\] \[^{1}\text{wò}\] ‘on the head’. For vestiges of short-voweled forms of ‘head’ see discussion of (108) in §6.3.1. In \((fX_{\text{HL}}\text{kû})\[^{1}\text{wò}\), I assume that monomoraic intermediate /kû/ is realized as [kû] before a tightly phrased L-toned syllable. \((fX_{\text{HL}}\text{kû})\[^{1}\text{wò}\]

is used in contexts where something is (physically or metaphorically) weighing down on the reference object or person. The metaphor is resonant in a society where people, especially women, carry burdens (pails of water, large baskets full of millet or other products) on their heads over long distances.
The whole burden of (supporting) the family is on you-Sg.’

8.4.5 ‘On’ ([X^{HL}mànî:]^{L}wò)

The complex postposition mànî:^{L}wò consists of locative wo and a form ^{HL}mànî: that has the {HL} tone pattern of a possessed noun. It is related to the adverb mànî: ‘above’. The tonal form mànî:^{L}wò occurs after an L-tone.

In most cases this postposition specifies location of a smallish object at or near the apex of, or on the upper side, of the reference object. However, it may be extended to a wall, if the focal object gives the impression of being supported by it. This is the case with house geckos, lizards capable of moving or “standing” on walls (155).

8.4.6 ‘Close to, near’ ([X^{HL}dósù]^{L}wò)

This complex postposition is frozen, there being no noun #dósù or the like. Nevertheless, ^{HL}dósù has the HL pattern typical of bisyllabic possessed nouns.

8.4.7 ‘In front of’ ([X^{HL}jírè)

This postposition has the form ^{HL}jírè, becoming ^{L}jírè after L- or <HL>-tone.
(157) a. [tórò] jìrè bù-∅
    [mountain] in.front.of be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is in front of (the) mountain.’

b. tiwⁿyⁿ jìrè
   tree in.front.of
   ‘in front of (the) tree’

‘In front of the house’ is generally expressed as ‘at the doorway’ (158).

(158) [ôrùmó:] wó yá éw-yé-ώ
    [doorway in] Exist sit-Mp-IPfV-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She is sitting in front of the house.’

8.4.8 ‘Behind, after’ ([X hôlû] wô)

The possessed form of the noun tôlû ‘rear (area)’, cf. tôlû-kêlê ‘back (body part)’, is the basis for a compound postposition, with locative wo. The regular possessed forms of tôlû are used.

(159) a. [úrò tôlû] wô
    [house rear] in
    ‘behind (the) house’

b. [ú tôlû] wô
    [2SgPoss rear] in
    ‘behind you-Sg’

c. L-hôlû wô
    1SgPoss.rear in
    ‘behind me’

8.4.9 ‘Beside’ ([X hôlê] wô)

The noun hôlê ‘side (of object or body)’ is the basis for [X hôlê] wô ‘beside, at the side of’.

(160) a. [tiwⁿyⁿ hôlê] wô
    [tree side] in
    ‘beside (the) tree’

b. [lô hôlê] wô
    [1Pl side] in
    ‘beside us’
8.4.10 ‘Under’ ([X \text{HL} bòlò] \text{L} \text{wò})

The noun \textit{bòlò} ‘bottom, lower part’ is used in the compound postposition \([X \text{HL} bòlò] \text{L} \text{wò}\) ‘under’. We get \text{L} bòlò \text{L} \text{wò} after a L- or <HL>-tone.

\[(161)\]
a. \text{ Séwè} \text{[jëmbé \text{HL} bòlò] \text{L} \text{wò} yá \text{b́-Ø}}
   \text{paper \[\text{sack \text{HL} \text{underside}] \text{L} \text{in}\] \text{Exist be-3SgSbj}}
   \text{ ‘The paper is under (the) sack.’}

b. \text{[ù: \text{L} bòlò] \text{L} \text{wò}}
   \text{[2P]Poss \text{L} \text{underside] \text{L} \text{in}}
   \text{ ‘under you-PI’}

The noun \textit{bìrⁿí} ‘rear end’ is used in the sense ‘at the base of’, when the reference object is e.g. a tree or a mountain.

\[(162)\]
\text{[tìwⁿ̃yⁿ \text{HL} bìrⁿí] \text{L} \text{wò}}
\text{[tree \text{HL} \text{bottom] \text{L} \text{in}}
\text{ ‘at the base of (=under) the tree’}

8.4.11 ‘Between’ ([X Y \text{HL} gálù] \text{L} \text{wò}, [X Y \text{HL} bérkélàw])

[[X Y \text{HL} gálù] \text{L} \text{wò}] is a compound postposition meaning ‘between X and Y’. It can also mean ‘within (a duration)’.

\[(163)\]
\text{[[üsí pérú] \text{HL} gálù] \text{L} \text{wò}}
\text{[[day ten] \text{HL} \text{between] \text{L} \text{in}}
\text{ ‘within ten days’ [2005.1a.14]}

\text{HL bérkélàw} ‘between’, based on noun \textit{bér-kélà}: ‘middle’, is used in its literal (spatial) sense (164). If both endpoints are specified, they are conjoined (§7.1.1).

\[(164)\]
\text{[bénì yà→] \text{HL bérkélàw}}
\text{[Douentza and] \text{HL between}}
\text{ ‘between Beni and Douentza’}

It can be used in literal and figurative senses with human reference objects. Of course a single NP or pronoun denoting the endpoints can be used instead of a conjunction (165).

\[(165)\]
\text{ù: \text{L} bérkélàw}
\text{1PI \text{L} \text{between}}
\text{ ‘between us’ (literally, or e.g. in confidence between us)
8.5 Purposive and causal postpositions

8.5.1 Purposive *gin* (and variants) ‘for’

This postposition is illustrated in (166). It can have purposive or causal (‘because of’) sense, but the purposive sense (‘for’, ‘in order for’) is most prominent. The variant forms attested are *gin, gini, gùn*, and *gùnì*. The postposition is slightly mutated from *gùnyⁿ = nì* (variant *gìyⁿ = nì*), a same-subject clause-linking form of *gùyⁿ ~ gìyⁿ* ‘say’. In other words, ‘he came for meat’ originated as ‘saying (=thinking) meat, he came’. This use of a quotative expression in purposive contexts is typical of Dogon languages, and other African languages.

(166) a. [nàwⁿì: gìn] yè-y
   [meat Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I came for the meat [focus].’

   b. [ú gìn] yè-y
   [2Sg Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I came on account of you-Sg.’

For *gin* with a clausal complement (purposive or causal clause), see §17.5.3 and §17.5.2.2. In the latter section, I point out that native speakers are aware of the relationship between *gin* (with its variants) and the ‘say’ verb *gùyⁿ ~ gìyⁿ* (§11.3.1), which combines with the same-subject clause chaining clitic =nì as *gù = nì* or *gì = nì*. So there is a connection between e.g. ‘I came on account of you’ and ‘I came saying/thinking “you.”’

8.5.2 Causal *dèngèy* and *gin* ‘because of’

The postposition *HL dèngèy* has a {HL} overlay, cf. noun *dèngèy* ‘reason, cause’. It can be glossed ‘because of’, specifying the causal factor that impels an action. *gin* (see preceding section) may also be used in this context, though its core meaning is purposive (future-oriented).

(167) [bòlú *HL dèngèy] nù-bò
   [rain because.of] go.in.Pfv-3PlSbj
   ‘They went inside because of the rain.’

8.5.3 Causal [[X *HL nì:] wò]

This is a complex postposition involving a noun-like element *nì*: and locative *wò*. Particle *nì*: is not used in similar sense elsewhere, but I will gloss it as ‘cause’ in interlinear. The lexical tone of *nì*: cannot be determined, since X always functions as a possessor and imposes an overlay on *nì*: either {HL} or {L}. The final tone segment of *nì*: is therefore always L, and this spreads into the locative postposition, which is therefore always L-toned *wò*.

[[X *HL nì:] wò] can be translated ‘because of X’ or ‘on account of X’. There is no sharp semantic distinction between this and other causal constructions, but in the textual examples
[\{X \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] usually expresses a human motivation rather than physical causality. That is, [\{X \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] describes the background situation within which the following eventuality makes sense.

The most common combinations are [\{kù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] ‘because of that, for that (aforementioned) reason’ and [\{ŋ̀gù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] ‘because of this/that, for this/that reason’. [\{kù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] is always anaphoric, resuming prior discourse and establishing it as the motivational background for the following eventuality (168a). [\{ŋ̀gù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] is based on the inanimate proximal deictic demonstrative (ŋ̀ ‘this’) and may be cataphoric (prospective), when the speaker is about to describe a motivational background, as in (168b) in the context of its text (the speaker went on to give the explanation).

(168) a. târî: [\{kù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] collective.hunt [\{DiscDef \text{cause}\} \text{in}]
târ-yè = b-à: 
  hunt.Lpfv-3PLSbj=Past-3PLSbj 
  ‘They used to do the collective hunt for that purpose.’ [2005.1b.01]

b. í: [\{yì-tè\} \text{L}_nèw\text{èː}\} [\{ŋ̀gù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}]
1PL [children \text{benefit}] [\{Prox.Inan \text{cause}\} \text{in}]
ká:"rà-y":
do-Lpfv-1PLSbj
  ‘(As for) us, the benefit of (having) children, because of this [focus] we do (it, i.e. have lots of children).’- [2005.1b.07]

The textual context for (169) contrasts two motivations for slaughtering a goat, dùsù ‘respectfulness’ (i.e. to honor someone), and kálá ‘sanction’ (i.e. as a penalty), and both nouns occur in the frame [\{X \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}].

(169) nùw\text{ò́}y\text{̀}n [\{dùsù \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}]
  now [\{respect(n) \text{cause}\} \text{in}]
  [nù: mâ:] [people Dat]
bèr\text{̀} [\text{goat}]
bù: sèw\text{ò́}-nù 
  3PLSbj slaughter.Lpfv-Ppl
  ‘Now it’s due to respectfulness that (there is) a goat that they slaughter for (other) people,’ [2005.1b.04]

In (170), [\{X \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}] is not obviously causal. Instead, it gives a context for the main predication, and can be approximately glossed ‘with respect to’ or ‘in the context of’.

(170) ènji: [\{kòs̄y \text{HL}_n\text{iː}\} \text{wò}]
  roselle [\{harvest \text{cause}\} \text{in}]
  [ènji: kùy\text{̀}s\text{́}i: ñù-rù]
  [roselle first ripen.Lpfv-3SGSbj]
  ‘Roselle, with respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first.’ [2005.1a.10]
8.6 Other adverbials (or equivalents)

8.6.1 Similarity (gâyⁿ→ ‘like’)

This high-frequency adverbial most often follows, and has scope over, an NP or adverb.

(171) yâ-m gâyⁿ→
    woman-AnSg like
    ‘like a woman’

Other examples are in (677) and (682) in the sample texts.

8.6.2 Extent: èsiⁿ→, dîyⁿà-wⁿ wó ‘a lot’ illá, dêm→, dâ:-wó ‘a little’

Adverbial ‘a lot, greatly, thoroughly’ is usually èsiⁿ→. An occasional alternative is dîyⁿà-wⁿ wó, cf. adjective dîyⁿà- ‘big’, noun dîyⁿà-wⁿ ‘size’, and locative wó. For ‘a lot’ in the quantitative sense (‘many, much’) see bâyⁿ→ and jô→ (§4.5.1) See also the intensifiers used with specific adjectival concepts (§6.3.3.1). Adverbial (or nominal) ‘a little’ is either  illá ~ ëllá, dêm→, or dâ:-wó, cf. adjective dâ:- ‘small’ and noun dâ:-w ‘smallness’.

(172) a. èsiⁿ→ ni:yⁿi-∅
    a.lot sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She slept a lot.’

b.  illá ni:yⁿi-∅
    a.little sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She slept a little (=briefly).’

c.  dêm→ ni:yⁿi-∅
    a.little sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
    (= b)

These adverbs are often superceded by more specific expressions, notably intensifiers §6.4.4.1.

Emphatic ‘be/do a lot, excessively, too much’ can be expressed by ìyóⁿ- ‘overflow’, see line 5 of (671) in the sample text.

8.6.3 Specificity

8.6.3.1 ‘Approximately’ (gâyⁿ→)

Particle gâyⁿ→ ‘like’ (§8.6.1) may be used to indicate approximate quantity (173b).

(173) a. [úrò péru] s-èⁿ:-bó
    [house ten] have-3PISbj-3PISbj
    ‘They have ten houses.’
b. \[ [\text{úrò} \quad \text{pérú}] \quad \text{gày}^n \rightarrow ] \quad \text{s-è}^n \cdot \text{bó} \]
\[ [\text{house} \quad \text{ten}] \quad \text{like}] \quad \text{have-3PlSbj-3PlSbj} \]
‘They have like (= approximately) ten houses.’

8.6.3.2  ‘Exactly’ (\text{còk})

Particle \text{còk} ‘exactly’ specifies the exactness of a quantity.

(174) \[ [\text{úrò} \quad \text{pérú}] \quad \text{còk}] \quad \text{s-è}^n \cdot \text{bó} \]
\[ [\text{house} \quad \text{ten}] \quad \text{exactly}] \quad \text{have-3PlSbj-3PlSbj} \]
‘They have exactly ten houses.’

For exactness of locations, see §4.4.2.2.

8.6.3.3  ‘Specifically’ (\text{tè} \rightarrow)

\text{tè} \rightarrow is used in contexts where the speaker emphasizes the precise identity (rather than quantity) of a referent. It can, for example, be used with singular pronouns as well as with other NPs and pronouns.

(175) \[ [\text{ù} \quad \text{tè} \rightarrow] \quad \text{lùgùró:-rà-ý} \]
\[ [\text{2Sg specifically}] \quad \text{look.for-Lpfv-1SgSbj} \]
‘I’m looking specifically for you-Sg.’

8.6.4  Evaluation

8.6.4.1  ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

\text{èsi}^n \rightarrow can mean ‘well’, evaluating the quality of someone’s performance or knowledge, in addition to its quantitative sense ‘a lot, greatly’ (§8.6.2).

(176) \[ \text{èsi}^n \rightarrow \quad \text{bèn}^L \cdot \text{tèy} \quad \text{jùw}^5 \cdot \text{m} \]
well \quad \text{Beni language} \quad \text{know-Lpfv.3SgSbj} \]
‘He/She knows Beni language well.’

The verb \text{cé:lé} has meanings like ‘make, manufacture’ (transitive) or ‘be made, manufactured’ (intransitive), usually with the connotation ‘make well’ or ‘be well-made’. In many contexts the ‘well’ component becomes dominant, resulting in translations like ‘(rainy season) turn out well’.

There is no adverb ‘\text{badly}’, so other ways of phrasing the relevant concepts are used. For example, adjective \text{mòsù} ‘bad’ can modify a direct object noun, perhaps a cognate nominal.

(177) \[ \text{bìrè}^L \quad \text{mòsù} \quad \text{bìrè-mù} \]
\[ [\text{work(n)}^L \quad \text{bad}] \quad \text{work-Lpfv.3SgSbj} \]
‘He/She works does poor work (= works badly).’
8.6.4.2 ‘Appropriate, right’ (jâ:wⁿ)

A phrase with jâ:wⁿ ‘normal, right, (socially) acceptable’ can be used. It behaves syntactically as a predicative adjective. The positive form is jâ:wⁿ bû:. The negative is jâ:wⁿ = rá ‘it isn’t right’. For the morphosyntactic frames see §11.4.1 (positive) and §11.4.4 (negative).

8.6.5 Manner

There is no productive morphological mechanism for producing manner adverbials (cf. English -ly). It is very easy to chain verbs together, so most “manner adverbials” are really chained verbs or VPs. Postpositional phrases like pânjâ ‘by force’ are also common.

8.6.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.6.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (178).

(178) a. ɪyé ‘today; nowadays’
    ɪyà ‘again’
    pências ‘again’ (verb ‘do again’)
    yèngù ‘yesterday; formerly, in the old days’
    íyé ð̄̄z̄à tă:nă ‘day before yesterday’
    núwⁿy ‘now’
    ñè (and variants) ‘now’ (especially topicalizing)

b. ɛ́yⁿ, ɛ́yⁿ dé ‘tomorrow; in the future’
    ërénâ: ‘day after tomorrow’
    ërênâ: tângó ‘second day after tomorrow’
    tângó ti: ‘third day after tomorrow’
    lêg-têrê ‘fourth day after tomorrow’
    bà:nây ‘fifth day after tomorrow’

c. jëyⁿ ‘last year’
    nàngûrù ‘next year’
    nỳɔw ~ nỳyⁿ: ‘this year’

8.6.6.2 ‘First’ (kûy:ɔ́)

‘First’ as adverb, in the sense of chronological sequencing of events, is kûy:ɔ́. As in English, this is identical to the ordinal adjective ‘first (of a series)’.
8.6.6.3 Spatial adverbs

Deictic locative adverbs (‘here’, ‘there’) are presented in §4.4.2.1. Other locative adverbs are listed in (180).

(180) a. mānī: ‘above, top, summit’
    bōlō: ‘below, bottom, down’

b. dū: jirē, dū ārā: ‘east’
    tēŋi ārā:, tēŋ ārā: ‘west’
    bōsōn ārā:, bōsōn ‘north’
    mūnjūrō ārā:, gāw ārā ‘south’
    [mūnjūrō ārā: is now archaic]

c. tūlī:-tūlī: ‘going backward, in reverse’
    tūlī ārō, tūlū ārā: ‘in the rear’
    jirē: ‘forward, in front’ cf. jirē ‘eye’

Note the morpheme ārā: in several cardinal-direction terms, but ārā: in tūlū ārā: ‘in the rear’ (cf. Jamsay dāyā).

‘Left hand’ is nā-bānāyān, ‘right hand’ is nā-ŋēyān (with nā ‘hand’). Nowadays these can be used as directional terms, as in ‘turn left’.

8.6.7 Expressive adverbials

As in all Dogon languages there are many expressive adverbials. Many of them end in a syllable that is protracted intonationally (symbol $\rightarrow$). A few of the most important are given in the following sections. §6.3.3.1 presents adjectival intensifiers, which belong to the larger class of expressive adverbials.

These forms may be used adverbially. They are rather independent, and do not constitute subconstituents of syntactic phrases like NP and PP (181a). However, they can be made predicative by adding an auxiliary verb, either stative quasi-verb bù- ‘be’ to denote a state (181b), or the regular verb bě- (elsewhere ‘remain’) in the inchoative sense ‘become’. ŋō- ‘not be’ is the negative in the stative sense (181b). The syntax even of predicative forms of expressive adverbials is clearly distinct from that of predicate nouns and predicate adjectives.

(181) a. yī-m bě:n dém → yāgō lō-∅
    child-AnSg Beni straight run go.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘The child ran straight to Beni.’
b. ósù  dém→  bù-∅
road  straight  be-3SgSbj
‘(The) road is straight.’

c. béré  dém→  bě-ːrè-∅
stick  straight  become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘The stick became straight.’

d. ósù  dém→  ńgó-∅
road  straight  not.be-3SgSbj
‘(The) road is straight.’

8.6.7.1  ‘Straight’ (dém→, sèⁿ→)

‘Straight’ in the sense of a direct, non-meandering trajectory or path is expressed by the adverbial dém→. The m is prolonged. Examples are in the immediately preceding section.
‘Straight’ in the context ‘look straight at’ is sèⁿ→ or variant sè→.

(182)  í=nì  sèⁿ→  tìnì-bó
1Sg=Acc  straight  look.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They looked straight at me.’

8.6.7.2  ‘Apart, separate’ (déyⁿ→)

To indicate that two objects, or classes of object, are physically separated or are conceptually distinct, both NPs are followed by adverbial déyⁿ→ in a parallelistic construction.

(183)  [ářⁿà  déyⁿ→]  [yā:  déyⁿ→]
[man.Pl  apart]  [woman.Pl  apart]
‘Men and women are separate (or: are distinct).’

8.6.7.3  ‘Always’ (àsú→), ‘never’ (àbádá)

‘Always, forever, eternally’ is àsú→, which was perhaps originally a phrase including ìsù ‘day’. This adverbial is also found in some other Dogon languages (Nanga, Najamba).
‘Never’, also an emphatic negative (‘in no way’, ‘not on your life’) is the ubiquitous àbádá from Arabic. It is used as an addition to a regular negative clause.

8.6.7.4  ‘All together’

No adverbial meaning ‘together’ (cf. Jamsay sí-sòːⁿ and cognates in other northwestern Dogon languages) was elicitable. Instead, a verb chain beginning with mɔːlù ‘be/do together’ is the only way to express e.g. ‘we work together’. See §15.1.6.
8.6.7.5 ‘All, entirely’ (sóy, nàŋànà:)

sóy (with interjection-like emphasis) can be used to emphasize that an eventuality applies to the entirety of a set. It is therefore basically an emphatic version of ‘all’ (the less emphatic form is wôy).

(184) [úrò kù] sóy nàwºáː.-rê-Ø
[house Def] all.Emph be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘All (= every last one of) the houses were ruined.’

nàŋànà: ‘entirety’ (of a group or mass) as possessed noun can emphasize that an eventually applies in a complete or extreme fashion to one or more objects. As a possessed noun the surface form is [X HI nàŋànà:] or, if X is an undetermined and unquantified NP ending in an L-tone, [X L nàŋànà:].

(185) a. [L+HI úrò kù] HI nàŋànà: nàwºáː.-rê-Ø
[1SgPoss-HI house Def] HI entirely be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘My house was completely ruined.’

b. [bù: l nàŋànà:] sêllê-r-á
[3PlPoss l all] be.healthy-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
‘They are all sick.’

c. [kù HI nàŋànà:] dûwºáː.-rê-Ø
[InanPoss HI all] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘It (e.g. sugar) is finished (= depleted).’

For nàŋànà: in emphatic pronoun function, see §18.1.4.

8.6.8 Iterated adverbials

8.6.8.1 Distributive adverbial iteration

Iteration of a numeral is used to indicate distribution over time and space (‘two by two’, ‘two apiece’, etc.). In the market, iteration can also indicate the price per unit.

(186) a. yéy-yéy yé-bó
two-two come.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They came two by two.’

b. màn gorò pèrî-yéy pèrî-yéy
mango ten-two ten-two
‘Mangoes are twenty riyals (= 100 francs CFA) apiece.’
8.6.8.2 ‘Scattered, here and there’ \((kálù-kálù, kôl-kôl, \̄sr₃-\̄sr₃)\)

Adverb \(kálù-kálù\) and variants \(kål-kål\) and \(kôl-kôl\) (cf. Jamsay \(kân-kân\)) indicate scattered (not dense) occurrence in several locations not very far apart. I know of no simple (uniterated) form of the stem.

(187) \(yí-m\) sùw₃ kálù-kálù sùw₃-∅
child-AnSg excrement here.and.there defecate.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘The child defecated (a little bit) here and there.’

Another iterated adverbial with similar meaning is \(\̄sr₃-\̄sr₃\), iteration of \(\̄sr₃\) ‘place’.

8.6.8.3 Other adverbs with iterated stem

The iterations of adjective stems in (188), with L-toned initial and \{HL\} toned final, are used as adverbs. The formation is distinct (in form and sense) from distributive iterations.

(188) form gloss related adjective
\(nà:r₃\̄-nà:r₃\̄\) ‘easily’ \(nà:r₃\̄\) ‘easy’
\(nùm-nùm\) ‘with difficulty’ \(nùm\) ‘difficult’
9 Verbal derivation

9.1 Reversive verbs (-rv-)

The reversive verb-to-verb derivation is like that with English un- (or dis-, etc.). The basic suffix is -rv-. The derived stem preserves the lexical /H/ or /LH/ stem-level melody of the input verb, but /LH/ is spread over the entire derived stem. The derivation is most common with (underlying) bisyllabic stems (189a). The inner stem itself shifts its (presuffixal) vowel to a high vowel, here written i except where syncopated. This is a weak metrical position in a trisyllabic verb. However, some other reversives discussed below fail to raise the presuffixal vowel, suggesting that this raising is not fully productive. In (189b), the verbs are pí:yⁿ¬ and pí:-rⁿ¬i-, to judge by imperatives pí:yⁿ¬a ‘shut!’ and pí:-rⁿ¬a ‘open!’, but the phonology is murky since pí:yⁿ¬i- is usually pronounced [píⁿ:]. Stative pí-pí:yⁿ¬-wⁿ ‘it is shut’ clearly has a short i in the medial syllable, suggesting that an alternative representation of ‘shut’ as /píⁿ/- may also be present. This would then suggest an alternative analysis of ‘open’ as /píⁿi-rⁿi-/, and perhaps of pí:yⁿ¬i- as /píⁿi-yⁿ¬i-/. (189c) shows a dissimilation of /r/ to l before the suffixal r, see §3.5.4.5. In (189d), the end of the input stem is truncated before the suffix, and suffixal /r/ shifts to d after m (§3.5.4.7). In (189e), a final -yv- is lopped off before -rv-. In the case of ‘caught’/‘uncaught’, this truncation might be attributed to the unacceptability of a trisyllabic stem before the reversive suffix, and/or to deletion of mediopassive -yv- before another derivational suffix. The ‘lock’/‘unlock’ case is synchronically messy and isolated (compare Nanga dágá/dágí-rí and Bankan Tey dǎ:ʾn/dà:ʾn-rⁿ), (189f) shows lengthening of Cvn- stem to Cvn- before the derivational suffix (§3.5.3.1).

(189) input gloss reversive gloss

a. bisyllabic stem as input (predominant type)

dèwí- ‘cover (object)’
dèw-rí- ‘uncover (object)’
mèlí- ‘fold’
mèlì-rí- ‘unfold’
káli- ‘hook, hang up’
káli-rí- ‘unhook, take down (sth hanging)’
pégo- ‘nail(v)’
pégo-rí- ‘remove (nail)’
pégo- ‘button’
pégo-rí- ‘unbutton’
páyá- ‘tie’
páyá-rí- ‘untie’

b. phonology problematic (discussed above)

pí:yⁿ¬i- ‘shut’
pí:-rⁿ¬i- ‘open’

(189) input gloss reversive gloss

c. /r/ to l (§3.5.4.5)

góřó- ‘cover (person)’
gòłô-ró- ‘uncover (person)’
iré- ‘forget’
ilí-rí- ‘remember’
tárá- ‘paste, affix’
tárá-rí- ‘unpaste, detach’

d. syncope (§3.5.3.2), CCC simplification (§3.5.4.8), /r/ to d (§3.5.4.7)

támbí- ‘cover (w lid)’
támbí-rí- ‘uncover (remove lid)’

e. Mediopassive -ý- omitted
   néngi-yé- ‘be caught in tree’ néngé-ré- ‘become uncaught’
dá:ⁿ- ’lock’ dá:ⁿ-rí- ’unlock’
   [imperative dáⁿ]

f. Cv- lengthened to Cvⁿ before suffix (§3.5.3.1)
   tóⁿ- ’wind’ tóⁿ-rí- ’unwind’
wáⁿ- ’pull up (pants)’ wáⁿ-rí- ’let (pants) down’

Some frozen reversives are used only in chained form before gò-ló- ‘remove, take away’ if transitive (190a), and before gò- ‘go out, exit’ if intransitive (190b).

(190) a. gòngú-rú  gò-ló-tí-O
   fence.in-Rev  remove-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She removed the fence (opened up the space).’

   b. píré-rí  gò-ře-O
   get.bogged-Rev  go.out-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
   ‘It (e.g. truck) got unbogged.’

Reversive verbs attested only in this construction (with gò-ló- or gò-) are in (191). As in (189f), Cvⁿ verbs lengthen to Cvⁿ.

(191) input gloss reversive gloss

   a. transitive with gò-ló-
      gòngí- ‘wall/fence in’ gòngú-rú- ‘remove fence from’
      níngí- ‘tangle’ níngí-rí- ‘untangle’
      tó- ‘step on’ tó-ří- ‘remove foot from’
      kó- ‘roll up (pants)’ kó-řó- ‘let (pants) down’
      kúmjó- ‘crumple’ kúmjó-řó- ‘uncrumple’

   b. intransitive with gò-
      píré- ‘get bogged’ píré-ří- ‘get unbogged’

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative suffix (-wú-)

The productive derivational suffix for deverbal causatives is -wú-. It readily nasalizes to -wⁿú- by Nasalization-Spreading. It is often apocopated (or syncopated) to -w- (or wⁿ- if nasalized) word-finally and before consonants. (For a handful of cases where this suffix is passive rather than causative, see the following section.)

For inputs of more than one mora, the lexical /H/ or /LH/ melody is preserved in the -wú- derivative. Cv inputs also have their vowels lengthened.
(192) Causatives with -wú-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>input</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. {H}-toned from /H/ toned input (2+ syllables or CvC-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pété-</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>pété-wú-</td>
<td>‘make jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúwó-</td>
<td>‘eat (meat)’</td>
<td>kúwó-wú-</td>
<td>‘feed (with meat)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áwⁿyⁿ-</td>
<td>‘be swollen’</td>
<td>áwⁿyⁿ-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘cause to swell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>érē-</td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
<td>érē-wú-</td>
<td>‘let escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. {LH}-toned from /LH/ toned input (2+ syllables or CvC-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jùw-</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
<td>jùw-wú-</td>
<td>‘inform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gábⁿ-</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>gábⁿ-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘cause to put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wásá-</td>
<td>‘remain’</td>
<td>wásá-wú-</td>
<td>‘let remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dímbi-yí-</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
<td>dímbi-yí-wú-</td>
<td>‘make follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bùrò-</td>
<td>‘be reanimated’</td>
<td>bùrò-wú-</td>
<td>‘reanimate, bring back to life (e.g. fire)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúwⁿ-</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td>dúwⁿ-dú-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘cause to end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>göngirí-</td>
<td>‘spin’</td>
<td>göngirí-wú-</td>
<td>‘make spin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. {H}-toned from monosyllabic /H/ input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jé-</td>
<td>‘eat (meal)’</td>
<td>jé-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘give food to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ló-</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ló-wú-</td>
<td>‘allow to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nú-</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
<td>nú-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘make enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. {LH}-toned from monosyllabic /LH/ input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bé-</td>
<td>‘remain’</td>
<td>bé-wú-</td>
<td>‘cause to remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nò-</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>nò-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘give drink to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yò-</td>
<td>‘weep’</td>
<td>yò-wú-</td>
<td>‘make weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gò-</td>
<td>‘go out’</td>
<td>gò-wú-</td>
<td>‘take out’ (uncommon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nú-</td>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>nú-wⁿú-</td>
<td>‘make hear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.2 Minor causative suffix (-gí-)

The known cases of -gí- are in (193).

(193) Causatives with -gí-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>input</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>káwá-</td>
<td>‘separate self’</td>
<td>káw-gí-</td>
<td>‘separate (them)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáyá-</td>
<td>‘be dispersed’</td>
<td>sáy-gí-</td>
<td>‘disperse (them)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bùrò-</td>
<td>‘come back to life’</td>
<td>bùrò-gó-</td>
<td>‘resuscitate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòló-</td>
<td>‘be punctured’</td>
<td>mòl-gó-</td>
<td>‘puncture’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive -rú- ~ -jú- (§9.4 below) functions much like a causative in some combinations.
9.3 Passive (-wú-)

The verbal derivational suffix -wú- is normally causative. It is, however, passive in a very small number of combinations. All known examples are in (194).

(194) Passive -wú-

input  | gloss               | passive               | gloss               |
--- | --- | --- | --- |
témbú- | ‘find, encounter’   | témbú-wú- | ‘exist, be found (findable, regularly present)’ |
bère- | ‘get, obtain’       | bère-wú- | ‘be available, obtainable’ |
pá:mé- | ‘understand’        | pá:mé-wú- | ‘be understood’ |
gôr’s- | ‘be stronger than’  | gôr’s-wú- | ‘be mastered, dominated’ |
yî- | ‘see’               | yî-wú- | ‘be visible’ |

témbú-wú- and bère-wú- are often used in imperfective sentences, positive and negative: bère-wú-ì-ì-dó-Ø ‘it’s not obtainable’. These two passive verbs indicate that the entities in question can be found/obtained, i.e. occur in the relevant zone in reasonable number. On the other hand, the attestation of gôr’s-wú- is an impersonal passive (195).

(195) [i[yé  ké:lå]  bû:  gôr’s-wú-ì-m-dó-Ø
[Today even]  3Pl be.stronger.than-Pass-Ipfv-Neg
‘Even today one cannot dominate them (=men of Beni).’ [2005.2b.04]

In the perfective positive, the only form used for passive verbs with suffix -wú is a special form -wú-ìwú, as in (with Nasalization-Spreading) pá:mé-wù-ìwú ‘it has been understood’ (a phrase used to acknowledge understanding what an addressee has just said). The ending might be compared with static 3Sg -wú and related forms. Alternatively, but less convincingly it could be transcribed -wú-Ø and compared to other falling-toned 3Sg perfective-system forms (§3.2.1.3) as well as to perfective-1B -ìwú-Ø and recent perfect -jé:wú. No distinct plural form is used, hence gôrú témbù:wú-ìwú ‘thieves were findable’. The negative counterpart, however, is the regular perfective negative: pá:mé-wù-ì-yì-Ø ‘it has not been understood’.

9.4 Mediopassive -yû- and transitive -rû- ~ -î-

There are a small number of verbs that alternate between a mediopassive in -yû- and a causative-like transitive whose usual suffix is -rú- (196a). Monosyllabic (C)v- inputs are not lengthened to (C)v:wú- before either suffix (‘bathe’, ‘lie down’). Two irregular variations on this pattern have been found. In (196b), we appear to get -î- instead of -rú- in the transitive form. This derivational pair (‘go down’, ‘take down’) is also irregular in several other Dogon languages. In (196c), an expected /dimbi-rû/- syncopates to /dim-rû/-, then the tap /î/ (which can only occur intervocally) hardens to d (see §3.5.4.7).
Mediopassive/transitive alternations

a. \(-r\h-\) replaces \(-y\h-\) to form transitive
   \(\h-\h-y\h-\) ‘stand, stop’ \(\h-\h-r\h-\) ‘make stop/stand’
   \(\u\h-\h-y\h-\) ‘fear, be afraid’ \(\u\h-\h-r\h-\) ‘scare, frighten’
   \(\d\h\h-y\h-\) ‘bathe’ \(\d\h\h-r\h-\) ‘bathe (sb)’
   \(\e\h\h-y\h-\) ‘sit’ \(\e\h\h-r\h-\) ‘seat, cause to sit’
   \(\b\h\h-y\h-\) ‘lie down’ \(\b\h\h-r\h-\) ‘cause to lie down’
   \(\t\h\h-g\h\h-y\h-\) ‘kneel’ \(\t\h\h-g\h\h-r\h-\) ‘cause to kneel’

b. \(-l\h-\) is added to bisyllabic stem minus mediopassive \(-y\h-\) ending
   \(\s\h\h-y\h-\) ‘go down’ \(\s\h\h-l\h-\) ‘take (bring) down’

c. \(-d\h\h-\) after \(m\)
   \(\d\h\h-m\h\h-y\h-\) ‘follow’ \(\d\h\h-m\h\h-d\h\h-\) ‘cause to follow’

Nasalization-Spreading can apply: \(\h\h-t\h\h-r\h\h-y\h\h-y\h\h-\) ‘squat’, \(\h\h-c\h\h-r\h\h-y\h\h-y\h\h-\) ‘(lightning) flash’. In \(\h\h-t\h\h-m\h\h-y\h\h-y\h\h-\) ‘be soaked’, the suffix is unnasalized, as often after \(m\) from *\(m\h\h-b\h\h\h\).

There are also a handful of cases where \(-l\h-\) is added directly to an unsuffixed monosyllabic intransitive (197a), with \(C\h\h-v\h\h-\) lengthened to \(C\h\h-v\h\h-\) (§3.5.3.1) before the suffix, or where \(-r\h-\) is added directly to an unsuffixed bisyllabic intransitive (197b).

Transitive suffix added to unsuffixed intransitive

a. \(-l\h-\) added directly to (monosyllabic) stem
   \(\h\h-b\h\h-\) ‘learn (a trade)’ \(\h\h-b\h\h-\h\h-l\h\h-\) ‘teach (sb, a trade)’
   \(\d\h\h-\) ‘arrive’ \(\d\h\h-\h\h-l\h\h-\) ‘deliver’

b. \(-r\h-\) added directly to unsuffixed stem
   \(\h\h-u\h\h-r\h\h-\) ‘go up’ \(\h\h-u\h\h-l\h\h-u\h\h-r\h\h-\) ‘take up’

For \(l\ldots\h\h-r\ldots\h\h-r\) instead of expected \(r\ldots\h\h-r\) in ‘take up’ in (197b), see §3.5.4.5. For other cases of \(-r\h-\) or \(-l\h-\) being added to a stem without \(-y\h-\), see deadjustival factitives in §9.7.

There are many other verbs ending in \(\ldots\h\h-y\h\h-v\h\h-\) that may be frozen derivatives that originally contained the mediopassive suffix. Examples are \(n\h\h-f\h\h-y\h\h\h-y\h\h-\) ‘sleep’ (regular causative \(n\h\h-f\h\h-y\h\h-w\h\h-u\h\h-\)) and \(t\h\h-r\h\h-n\h\h-y\h\h-y\h\h-\) ‘squat’.

Transitivity alternations of this type are much more common in Najamba, where \(-y\h\h-\) is clearly identifiable as a mediopassive suffix.

9.5 Passive (-\(y\h\h-\))

A morpheme that is often heard as \(j\h\h-e\h\h-j\) can be added to an \(\{H\}\)-toned form of the unsuffixed verb stem to produce a resultative passive. I take this to be \(-y\h\h-\) (with H-tone) plus the ‘it is’
clitic, which in this phonological context is realized as a final L-tone element (§11.2.1). With (animate) 3Sg subject we get *-yéy = mì", where the ‘it is’ clitic is nonzero. So the form in -yéy is syntactically nominal rather than verbal, and I have some examples in NP function without the ‘it is’ clitic, e.g. *mùnjù-cëm [nàw-’yéy ‘poisoned arrow’, with an {L}-toned form of mùnjì-cëm ‘bow and arrow’] followed by the {H}-toned passive of nàw-’yá-ù ‘cause X to (=let X) drink’, or in this context ‘apply liquid to X’.

The initial y of -yéy is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading from the preceding stem (198a). This raises the possibility that the morpheme is a clitic not subject to word-internal processes. (198d) is a relative clause.

(198) a. [úró kù] cèw’i-yéy = O
   [house Def] build-Pass=it.is.Inan
   ‘The house was built.’

b. yégù bù: tôngú-yéy = O-bö
   yesterday since write-Pass=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘They (=letters) have been written since yesterday.’

c. 1L-HL tìyà-m jìyé-yéy = mì
   1SgPoss.HL friend-AnSg kill-Pass=it.is.3SgSbj
   ‘My friend has been killed.’ (jìyé-)

d. [àŋgyí tì-yéy kù] bù: = m
   [like.then sell-Pass Def] 3Pl=it.is
   ‘The ones who were sold like that were them.’ [2005.2b.02]
   [contraction of tìyé-yéy]

First and second person subjects are expressed with the corresponding conjugated forms of the ‘it is’ enclitic. The singular forms are added to (animate) singular suffix -m. -yéy- has H-tone in these combinations.

(199) a. 1SgSbj kill-Pass-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj
   ‘if I am killed, …’

b. 1PlSbj kill-Pass=it.is-1PlSbj
   ‘if we are killed, …’

In at least one combination, the form with -yéy functions as a modifying adjective. This is èlèy wà:mbú-yéy ‘roasted peanuts’ (local French cacahuètes), where èlèy ‘peanut’ is {L}-toned (as it should be before a modifying adjective). This term for ‘roasted peanuts’ competes with èlèy tìgà-làm-làm (partially borrowed from Fulfulde). I did not record -yéy in other such expressions; ‘roast meat’ (local French viande grillée) is nàwà: simbú (cf. verb sìmbè- ‘roast’).

The construction is negated by adding stative negative clitic =râ after -yéy, which again takes the falling-toned form -yéy- suggesting the presence of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.4).
9.6 Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation

Some verbs have no change in stem shape when shifting between intransitive and transitive functions. An example is ɓọ̀lú-, which can be intransitive ‘come together’ or transitive ‘bring together, assemble’.

9.7 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

For an adjective A, the inchoative means ‘(X) become A’, and the factitive (logically a causative of the inchoative) means ‘(Y) make (X) A’. Examples: pé- ‘become (=get) old’, pê:-wú- ‘make (sb, sth) old, age (sth)’.

In (201), the inchoative has no derivational suffix. It is cognate to the adjective, without there being any regular morphological relationship or clear derivational directionality.

In the more isolated cases in (202), factitive suffix -ɪ́- ~ -ŕ- (probably identical to the transitive suffix) is used instead of the usual causative suffix -wú-.

(200) [úrò  kù]  cèw"i-yẹ̀y = Ọ = ́d-Ọ
[house  Def]  build-Pass=it.is=StatNeg-3SgSbj
‘The house wasn’t built.’

(201) gloss | adj | inchoative | factitive
---|---|---|---
‘old’ | pè: | pè- | pè:-wú-
‘ripe’ | iredy | ired- | ired-wú-
‘half-ripe’ | bóloroy | bóloró- | bóloró-wú-
‘plump’ | ṣám | áw"á- | áw"á-wú-
‘red’ | bár"á- | bár"á- | bár"á-wú-
‘empty, bare’ | kóróy | kóró- | kóró-wú-
‘weak, diluted’ | séré | séré- | séré-wú-
‘crooked’ | gòhù | gòhí- | gòhí-wú-
‘skinny’ | kóbó | kóbó- | kóbó-wú-
‘easy, cheap’ | ná:r"á- | ná:r"á- | ná:r"á-wú-
‘rotten’ | ìmbú | ìmbí- | ìmbú-wú-

In the more isolated cases in (202), factitive suffix -ɪ́- ~ -ŕ- (probably identical to the transitive suffix) is used instead of the usual causative suffix -wú-.

(202) gloss | adj | inchoative | factitive
---|---|---|---
a. -li- after monosyllabic
‘full’ | bà: | bà- | bà:-li-
‘firm, solid’ | èw | è- | è:-li-
b. -ŕ-
‘tilted’ | jẹngú | jẹngí- | jẹngí-ŕ-
In many other cases, the **inchoative is derived suffixally**, though idiosyncratic segmental differences between it and the adjective are observed in certain cases. The factitive is again the **regular causative** of the inchoative. The most common type is with -ľv- in the inchoative (203a). If the input contains a medial liquid \{l r\}, the inchoative has l in the stem, and has -ľv- instead of -ľv- as suffix (203b). In other words, the only liquid sequence allowed in inchoatives is l...r, compare §3.5.4.5. If the input contains medial r, the output has n in the stem and -rľv- as the suffix (203c). A medial y in the stem is associated with suffix -nľv- in the only relevant example (203d). If the stem ends in m, including m from underlying /w/ after Syncope, the inchoative suffix is -dľv- (203e). In some but not all cases, suffix allomorphs -ľv- and -dľv- are associated with a stem-wide vowel-harmonic shift from e to e; note especially ‘sweet; sharp’ and ‘white’ in (203b).

(203) gloss adj inchoative factitive

a. Inchoative -ľv-, stem with no \{l r\}
- ‘squeezed’ pęngú pęngľ-li- pęngľ-li-wú-
- ‘thin’ męnjé- męnj-li- męnj-li-wú-
- ‘fat’ dęgü- dęgü-lo- dęgü-lo-wú-
- ‘coarse’ kęnjú-m kęnjú-lo- kęnjú-lo-wú-
- ‘short’ gš:w- gš:li- gš:ľ-wú-
- ‘good’ ęšú- ęš-li- ęš-li-wú-
- ‘bad, ugly’ mššú- mšš-li- mšš-li-wú-
- ‘heavy’ dęsú- dęsło-lo- dęsło-wú-
- ‘half-sweet’ ąši-m ąši-li- ąši-li-wú-

b. Inchoative -ľv- after stem with l (from l or r)
- ‘sweet; sharp’ ęrù-m ęlé-ró- ęlé-ró-wú-
- ‘white’ pillé- pillé-ró- pillé-ró-wú-
- ‘long, tall’ gűrš- gűrl-ró- gűrl-ró-wú-
- ‘smooth, sleek’ őrú-m őló-ró- őló-ró-wú-
- ‘salty, sour’ părù-m pálé-ró- pálé-ró-wú-
- ‘soft (skin)’ yýrú yýlri-ró- yýlri-ró-wú-
- ‘moist’ ąrú ąli-ró- ąlir-wú-
- ‘bitter’ gărù-m găré-ró- găré-ró-wú-

c. Inchoative -rľv- after stem with n (from r)
- ‘lightweight’ něřu-rů- něnľ-rů-rů- něnľ-rů-wů-
- ‘deep’ wšřš-rů- wšnl-rů-rů- wšnl-rů-wů-

d. Inchoative -nľv- after stem with y
- ‘big, adult’ díyů-rů- díyân-li-rů- díyân-li-wů-

e. Inchoative -dľv- after stem with m (from w or m)
- ‘black’ jěwě'- jěm-dě- jěm-dě-wú-
- ‘pointed’ sım sım-dě- sím-dě-wú-
- ‘difficult, costly’ núm núm-dó- núm-dó-wú-

A few adjectives containing a labial (including w) have an inchoative in -yľv- (204).
Various idiosyncratic cases are lumped together in (205).

(205) gloss adj inchoative factitive

’spacious’ káwà- w kám-dí- kám-dí-
’distant’ wà:w wàn-gí- wàn-gú-wú-
‘dirty’ làyá lág-gí- lág-gú-
‘clean’ ésè ésè- ésí-li-wú-

For ‘spacious’, the inchoative fits pattern (203e), above, but the factitive lacks an additional derivational suffix. For wá: (<*wágá) ‘distant’, inchoative wá-ngí- ‘go far away’ is now quite opaque morphologically, but the g was originally transposed (metathesized) from the *g of the stem; compare Jamsay wáýá ‘distant’, wá:ná-ŋá- ‘go far away’. lág-gí- ‘become dirty’ is the other case I know of with g in the suffix; compare Jamsay láyá:jó- ‘become dirty’ (and láyá ‘filth’). One could argue for a denominal rather than deadjectival inchoative here (see the following section). The factitive is lág-gú-, irregularly contracted from *lá-gú-wú-. For ‘clean’, the factitive is morphologically the causative of a putative inchoative with suffix -ÍV-, but the inchoative in common use is unsuffixed ésè-.

Adjectives with no corresponding derived verbs, or that have a suppletive inchoative and/or factitive, are in (206).

(206) Adjectives

gloss adj inchoative factitive

a. suppletive
‘small’ dá:- sálírí- sálírí-wú-

b. no verb attested
‘young’ jórôkólé- — —
‘unripe, raw’ cèsú — —
‘other’ láw — —
‘new’ kálà — —

9.8 Denominal verbs

A few scattered cases of verbs apparently derived from nouns (rather than adjectives) are in (207a-c). láyá ‘filth’ (207d) can also be an adjective ‘dirty’, so lág-gí- may really be deadjectival rather than denominal. The cases in (207e) exemplify noun-verb pairs with no
clear derivational directionality, perhaps best analysed synchronically as involving cognate nominals (§11.1.5.1), but in some cases the verb may be historically denominal.

(207) noun gloss verb gloss

a. suffix -rv-
dú: ‘load’ dù:-rv- ‘load (e.g. cart)’

b. suffix -lv-
pó: (greeting) pó:-lí- ‘greet’

c. suffix -gv-
úlì ‘forest’ úlú-gó- ‘(zone) become densely vegetated (e.g. after rains)’
lóyò ‘filth; dirty’ ló-gí- ‘get dirty’

d. bárme ‘injury’ bárme- ‘injure, wound’
ürýî: ‘pain’ ùrùyó- ‘be in pain’
kèrìyê ‘(a) share’ kèrìyé- ‘share, divide up’
tírâ: ‘family name’ tírí- ‘(griot) chant the ancestry of (sb)’

9.9 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Minor patterns are listed without comment in (208).

(208) verb gloss related verb gloss

ná- ‘spend night’ ná:-w’î- ‘greet in morning’
jiàw’á- ‘malfunction’ jiàngi- ‘do harm to, ruin’
10         Verbal inflection

10.1      Inflection of regular indicative verbs

Verbs have a lexically basic **bare stem** that occurs in nonfinal position in verb chains, and in most aspect-negation inflections. The only categories whose vocalism is not based on that of the bare stem are the imperative and the (derived) stative, both of which change the final vowel if the bare stem is nonmonosyllabic and ends in a high vowel. For most other verbs the stem-vocalism is invariable.

The bare stem as used in chains also preserves the lexical tone melody. This melody also surfaces in some aspect-negation inflections, but others impose a tone overlay. Because of its wide distribution, the bare stem is used here as the citation form. In many cases it is clearly unsegmentable. However, nonmonosyllabic verbs seem to be divisible into two classes, one of which has a final ĭ that may have originally been a suffix (or final-vowel mutation).

10.1.1    Suffixes or chained verb stems?

There is a general issue as to whether nonzero AN (aspect-negation) morphemes following verbs are suffixes or chained verbs. I transcribe them as suffixes, since some of the AN morphemes show clear phonological interactions with the stem (tone-dropping and/or consonantal interactions involving sonorants). However, several positive perfective-system AN morphemes (-tî-, -sô-, -tâ-, -jê-) do not induce tone-dropping, do not contain sonorants, and themselves have contour tones. These could be taken as separate verbs, chained with a preceding (uninflected) verb stem.

The best evidence for autonomous word status is the fact that these perfective-system “suffixes” can be separated from the main verb by preparticipial subject pronouns in relative clauses; see §14.1.7. For resultative sô-, experiential perfect tâ-, and recent perfect jê- preceded by subject pronouns, see (441a-c). For perfective-1b tî- preceded by a subject pronoun, see (497). However, perfective-1a -rê- and progressive -râ- cannot be separated from the preceding verb in this way and are therefore clearly always suffixes.

10.1.2    Overview of categories

The indicative categories primarily mark aspect and negation, though there are also some perfect categories (here treated as subcategories of the perfective aspect). It is useful to think of the aspect-negation (AN) system as the product of an intersection between a binary perfective/imperfective opposition and polarity (positive/negative).
Most inflected verb forms are of the type STEM-AN-Pron, i.e. a verb stem followed by an AN (aspect-negation) suffix then a pronominal-subject suffix. There are also some categories in both the perfective positive and imperfective positive systems with zero AN suffix, so their structure is just STEM-Pron (or STEM-∅-Pron). These unsuffixed AN categories occur in both reduplicated and unreduplicated forms. The reduplication is initial Ci- or Cv- (choice depends on speaker) in all three reduplicated categories: reduplicated perfective, reduplicated stative, and reduplicated imperfective. The unsuffixed AN categories, both reduplicated and unreduplicated, are distinguished from each other by tone overlays, by third person subject suffix allomorphs, and (in the case of the stative) by a change in stem-final vowel quality for some verbs.

The full set of categories is (209).

(209)  a. perfective positive system
unsuffixed perfective
   regular type with tone-dropped bare stem (§10.2.1.1)
   type with lexical melody, 3Sg -w, 3Pl -má (§10.2.1.2)
   other variants for 3Sg/3Pl only (§10.2.1.10)
reduplicated (unsuffixed) perfective (bare stem with {HL} tone)
stative
   unreduplicated, final nonhigh vowel, 3Sg -w, {H} tone (§10.2.1.10)
   reduplicated, {HL} tone on stem (§10.2.1.11)
perfective-1a -rɛ̀- after bare stem (motion verbs, intransitives) (§10.2.1.5)
perfective-1b -tî- after bare stem (mostly transitive/active verbs) (§10.2.1.5)
resultative -sô- after bare stem (§10.2.1.6)
experiential perfect -tâ- after bare stem (§10.2.1.7)
recent perfect -jê- after bare stem (§10.2.1.8)

b. perfective negative system (§10.2.3.2)
perfective negative -rí- after {L}-toned bare stem
experiential perfect negative -tà-li- after {L}-toned bare stem
recent perfect negative -jê-rì- after {L}-toned bare stem
stative negative (§10.2.3.4)

c. imperfective positive system
unsuffixed imperfective (bare stem, bisyllabic /LH/ shifted to {H}, 3Sg -nì) (§10.2.2.1)
reduplicated (unsuffixed) imperfective (same stem as unsuffixed imperfective) (§10.2.2.2)
progressive (also habitual) -rà- after bare stem (§10.2.2.3)

d. imperfective negative system (§10.2.3.4)
imperfective negative -nì-dò- after bare stem, bisyllabic /LH/ shifted to {H}

e. deontic modal categories
imperative
   imperative (positive) (§10.5.-4)
      singular addressee: imperative stem, no suffix
      plural addressee: -n ~ -nì added to imperative stem
prohibitive (imperative negative) (§10.5.5)
singular addressee: -ré after bare stem
plural addressee: -ré-ǹ ~ -ré-ǹi after bare stem

hortative (§10.5.6)

hortative (positive)
singular addressee: - tô after {L}-toned stem
plural addressee: -mâyⁿ after {L}-toned stem

hortative negative
singular addressee: -rê-ǹ after bare stem
plural addressee: -rê-mâyⁿ after bare stem

quoted imperative (QuotImprt) (§10.5.7-8)
quoted imperative (positive)
singular subject: -tória or -
plural subject: -bɔ́ added to 3Sg form

quoted imperative negative
singular subject: 3Sg: -ré- after bare stem
plural subject: -rê--bɔ́ after bare stem

quoted hortative (§10.5.9), based on regular hortative forms

The indicative (non-deontic) AN categories in (209a-d) are all based on the moment of speaking or some narrative “present” as deictic center. The deictic center can be shifted into the past by adding a conjugated past clitic. For details see §10.4.

10.1.3 Verb-stem shapes

10.1.3.1 Generalizations about verb-stem shapes

Verb stems not clearly containing a derivational suffix may be monosyllabic, bisyllabic, or trisyllabic. A causative suffix can be added to increase the stem-syllable count by one. Monosyllabic verbs are mostly short-voweled (monomoraic) Cv-. All stems of more than one syllable end in a short vowel (which, if a high vowel, is subject to Syncope and Apocope in some syllabic positions).

Lexical stem tone melodies are all-high /H/ and rising /LH/. The tone split in the /LH/ verbs is at the right edge, as seen in trisyllabic CvCyCy (as in e.g. Jamsay, but unlike e.g. Bankan Tey or Nanga where the tone shift occurs after the first mora, hence trisyllabic CvCyCy). As explained and exemplified in §3.7.1.2 above, except for a few loanwords stems with initial voiced obstruent {b d j g} have /LH/ melody, and those with initial voiceless obstruent {p t c k s} have /H/ melody. This leaves stems with initial sonorant or with no initial consonant, which have a lexical choice between /H/ and /LH/.

There is one irregular <LHL> monosyllabic stem: jê: ‘bring’.

A few examples of verb stems are in (210), given in the bare stem (which is used in nonfinal position in chains and before several suffixes).
(210) stem   gloss

nɔ́ ‘drink’
tí ‘send’
káyá ‘shave’
tówé ‘die’
bí-yé ‘lie down’
jàngí ‘knock together’
dúsúró ‘poke’

10.1.3.2 Monosyllabic verbs

A full list of Cv- verb stems known to me is (211). Within each set, the verbs are sorted with high vowels at the top. The initial C slot may be vacant, though I can cite only the two ɛ́ verbs as lacking the C. All oral vowel qualities are represented, though Cí and Cé- are relatively uncommon. Three stems with nasalized vowels are known; they are included in the list. Only regular inflectable verbs are included (see below for quasi-verbs and inflectional suffixes). If the verb is normally used with a cognate nominal or other fixed nominal, the relevant phrase is given in parentheses after the gloss.

For a discussion of the underlying high versus low lexical tone of the various Cv- verbs, see §10.1.3.5, below.

(211) form   gloss

a. /H/-toned Cv- after voiceless obstruent

cé ‘take (handful of food)’
cé ‘(grasshopper) bite off (grain)’
kó ‘eat (crushed millet)’
kò ‘yawn’ (mò:-kò: kò)
kó ‘(snake) slough (skin)’ (kò: kò)
pá ‘get a mate for’
pé ‘break off (protrusion)’
pé ‘get old’
pé ‘spend the first half of the day’ (ɔmɔ́y-pé: pé)
pó ‘skin and butcher (animal)’
pó ‘heap up (firewood)’ (tũ:n-pó: pó)
pó ‘whistle’ (pò: pò)
sá ‘reply’ (mò: sá)
sá ‘strain off water from’
sá ‘uproot (large plant) with daba’
sé ‘trim (hair, shrub)’
sò ‘scoop’; ‘shovel up’
só ‘dip briefly’
sú ‘breathe’ (sù:n sú:n)
tá ‘avoid (taboo)’ (tá: tá)
tá ‘(ripening fruit) begin to turn color’
tá ‘shoot’
tá  ‘(trap) be sprung’; ‘(bone) be fractured’
té  ‘(muddied water) become clear’
té  ‘be worried’ (tê: té)
tí  ‘send’
tó  ‘build (wall)’ (tô: tô)
tó  ‘sow (by slashing earth)’ ( tô y tô)
tó  ‘step on’
tó  ‘(millet) grow a stem’
tóⁿ  ‘coil up’

b. /JH/-toned CV- after sonorant or with zero initial consonant
é  ‘become tight’
é  ‘(woman) marry (man)’
ló  ‘go’
ɲé  ‘eat (meal)’ (ɲéy, ɲé)
lá  ‘choose, reserve’
ná  ‘spend night’
ní  ‘give’
nú  ‘go in’

b. /LH/-toned CV̆- after voiced obstruent
bá  ‘learn’
bá  ‘(container) be full’; ‘(person) be sated’
bêⁿ  ‘remain’
bô  ‘unsheathe’
bô  ‘sip’
dă  ‘endure’
dăⁿ  ‘lock’ (also dä:yⁿô)
dê  ‘be tired’
dê  ‘arrive, reach’
dê  ‘roast, burn’
dô  ‘carry (on head)’
gâ  ‘cut (grass, rice) with sickle’
gô  ‘go out’
gô  ‘jab’
jê  ‘pick (out)’
jê  ‘take out (hot coals)’
jê  ‘(man) marry (woman)’

b. /LH/-toned CV̆- after sonorant or with zero initial consonant
mâ  ‘shape (pottery)’
nû  ‘hear’
nô  ‘drink’
yî  ‘see’
yê  ‘come’
yê  ‘weep’ (yê: yê)
wô  ‘catch’
b. <LHL> toned CV:  
\( j\text{ē}: \)  ‘bring’

Except for the irregular verbs ‘come’ and ‘bring’ (discussed below), the quality of the vowel of these monosyllabic vowel-final verbs is stable across inflections, including the imperative. Quasi-verbs \( bû\text{-} \) ‘be (somewhere)’ and \( sô\text{-} \) ‘have’ may also be mentioned. I treat perfective-1b \(-tî\text{-}, \) resultative \(-sô\text{-}, \) experiential perfect \(-tâ\text{-}, \) and recent perfect \(-jê\text{-}, \) as inflectional suffixes, but they could alternatively be analysed as chained auxiliary verbs as mentioned above.

10.1.3.3 ‘Come’ (\( yê\))

Representative inflected forms of this verb are in (212).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
(212) & \text{form} & \text{category} & \text{comment} \\
\hline
\text{a. regular} & yê & \text{bare stem (in chains)} & \\
yê-rí & \text{perfective negative} & \\
\hline
\text{b. irregular} & yâ & \text{imperative} & \text{vowel shift} \\
yê-rê & \text{perfective-1a} & \text{rising stem-tone} \\
yî-yô-rî & \text{reduplicated imperfective} & /e/ \rightarrow e \\
\end{array}
\]

Although this is a monosyllabic CV- verb in BenT, it may have originated as a bisyllabic stem with rising tone (cf. Jamsay \( yêrê\)). The shift of the (final) vowel to \( a \) in the imperative stem is typical of nonmonosyllabic stems. Paradigmatic alternation of \( e \) with \( e \) is also found with the ‘come’ verb in Jamsay, though the details differ. There is no morphological causative or other suffixal derivative, as \( jê\): ‘bring’ is the functional equivalent of a causative.

10.1.3.4 ‘Bring’ (\( jê:\))

This verb is unique in having /LHL/ tone melody. It is therefore the only verb stem whose melody ends in an L-tone. The full bell-shaped <LHL> tone is heard in the unsuffixed forms (bare stem and imperative), and before several suffixes. Of particular interest is the fact that suffixes and clitics that force tone-dropping on other verb stems fail to drop the H-tone of ‘bring’. Suffix/clitic-controlled tone-dropping affects verbs with /H/ and /LH/ lexical melodies, but has no effect on the only /LHL/ verb. In other words, suffix/clitic-controlled tone-dropping applies only to stem-final H-tone autosegments (those adjacent to the suffix or clitic). The unsuffixed perfective, which for other verbs has \{L\} stem tone, likewise retains the full lexical <LHL> tone for this verb: … \( jê:-\text{∅} \) ‘he/she brought …’.

When the <LHL>-toned form \( jê:\-) \) is followed by suffix or clitic with \( H\text{-} \), but not <HL>, tone, tone sandhi applies. If the stem is followed by an H-toned suffix/clitic syllable, the verb simplifies to <LH>, but its original final L-tone is audible in the form of downstep (partial
pitch lowering) on the following H-toned syllable. One might expect this to apply when the suffix/clitic is <HL>-toned, but my assistant pronounces the full <LHL> tone on the verb in this case, which allows clear articulation of the falling tone on the suffix/clitic.

The imperfective (and therefore the imperfective negative which is built on it) has the form expected of a simple CV- verb, and shifts the stem vowel quality from e to e.

The causative is jë:-wú (less often jë:-wū-) ‘cause to bring’. The more common variant treats the stem as <LH> rather than as <LHL>.

Like yë- ‘come’, jë- ‘bring’ may have descended directly from a bisyllabic stem (cf. Jamsay jë:ré). In Toro Tegu, several paradigmatic forms are based on a tonally irregular <HL>-H toned stem zë:rá-. At an earlier time, all of these ‘bring’ forms derive from a two-verb combination ‘take, pick up’ plus ‘come’. The ‘take’ verb survives in BenT in specialized senses: jë ‘take out (hot coals)’ or ‘(man) marry (woman)’. There was also a complementary two-verb combination with ‘take, pick up’ plus ‘go’, meaning ‘deliver, convey, take (something, somewhere)’. The original two-part ‘bring’ and ‘convey’ construction is best preserved in Donno So.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(213) form</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. unsuffixed (no audible AN suffix)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jë:</td>
<td>bare stem</td>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā:</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-</td>
<td>unsuffixed perfective</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. imperfective jé-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jī-jē-m</td>
<td>reduplicated imperfective</td>
<td>e → e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jé-m-dó-</td>
<td>imperfective negative</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jé-m</td>
<td>inanimate imperfective participle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. suffix- or clitic-controlled tone-dropping resisted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-ří-ŷ</td>
<td>1Sg perfective negative</td>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LH&gt; plus downstepped H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-řř-Ø</td>
<td>3Sg perfective negative</td>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-řány&quot;</td>
<td>same-subject</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. non-tone-dropping suffixes and clitics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt; before &lt;HL&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-řì-</td>
<td>perfective-1b</td>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt; before &lt;L&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-řã-</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē-ma</td>
<td>plural perfective participle</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-ʁyb</td>
<td>1Sg unsuffixed perfective</td>
<td>&lt;LHL&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3Sg quoted imperative</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē-ũv</td>
<td>inanimate perfective participle</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē-m</td>
<td>singular perfective participle</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LH&gt; plus downstepped H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jē:-řini</td>
<td>same-subject</td>
<td>&lt;LH&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.1.3.5 Lexical tone distinctions in \(Cv\) verbs

\(Cv\) verbs (i.e. those with a single mora) distinguish /H/ from /LH/ melodies as do nonmonosyllabic verbs. However, the difference is difficult to hear in \(Cv\) verbs. It is easier to hear the difference in certain suffixal forms that provide one or more additional moras and that do not override the lexical melody. An example is the quoted imperative, which is \(Cv\-\dot{y}\) for some \(Cv\)-verbs and \(C\dot{v}\-\dot{y}\) for others. See §10.5.7 for lists.

The distinction between /H/ and /LH/ monosyllables is also respected in suffixal derivatives from these \(Cv\) stems (214). The stem vowel is lengthened before such a suffix (214).

(214) stem gloss derivative gloss

a. reverse from /H/ input
   \(t\dot{5}\) ‘step on’ \(t\dot{5}\-r\dot{\text{é}}\) ‘remove foot from’

b. causative from /H/ input
   \(p\dot{\text{é}}\) ‘eat (meal)’ \(p\dot{\text{é}}\-\text{w}^\ddot{\text{u}}\text{-}\) ‘give food to’
   \(l\dot{\text{o}}\) ‘go’ \(l\dot{\text{o}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘allow to go’
   \(n\dot{\text{ù}}\) ‘enter’ \(n\dot{\text{ù}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘make enter’
   \(s\dot{\text{á}}\) ‘reply’ \(s\dot{\text{á}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘make reply’

c. causative from /LH/ input
   \(b\dot{\text{ě}}\) ‘remain’ \(b\dot{\text{ě}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘cause to remain’
   \(n\dot{\text{ā}}\) ‘drink’ \(n\dot{\text{ā}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘give drink to’
   \(y\dot{\text{ā}}\) ‘weep’ \(y\dot{\text{ā}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘make weep’
   \(n\dot{\text{ù}}\) ‘hear’ \(n\dot{\text{ù}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘make hear’
   \(y\dot{\text{i}}\) ‘see’ \(y\dot{\text{i}}\-\text{w}^\text{u}\) ‘cause to see’
   \(b\dot{\text{ā}}\) ‘learn’ \(b\dot{\text{ā}}\-\text{I}^\text{f}\) ‘teach (sb, a trade)’
   \(d\dot{\text{ā}}\) ‘arrive’ \(d\dot{\text{ā}}\-\text{I}^\text{f}\) ‘deliver’

The perfective-1a with suffix \(-r\dot{\text{è}}\) and the progressive with suffix \(-r\dot{\text{à}}\) also make a distinction between /H/ and /LH/ verbs. The perfective-1a suffix is used with a subset of verbs, and is therefore not as useful as the fully productive progressive suffix. Relevant forms of \(Cv\)-verb stems are in (215). Those in (215a) have H-tone on the stem, those in (215b) have LH-tone.

(215) gloss stem perfective-1a progressive

a. ‘go’ \(l\dot{\text{o}}\) \(l\dot{\text{o}}\-\text{r}^\text{è}\) \(l\dot{\text{o}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘spend night’ \(n\dot{\text{á}}\) \(n\dot{\text{á}}\-\text{r}^\text{è}\) \(n\dot{\text{á}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘go in’ \(n\dot{\text{ú}}\) \(n\dot{\text{ú}}\-\text{r}^\text{è}\) \(n\dot{\text{ú}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘become tight’ \(\dot{\text{é}}\) \(\dot{\text{é}}\-\text{r}^\text{è}\) \(\dot{\text{é}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘send’ \(t\dot{\text{i}}\) \(\quad\) \(t\dot{\text{i}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘shoot’ \(t\dot{\text{ā}}\) \(\quad\) \(t\dot{\text{ā}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘reply’ \(s\dot{\text{á}}\) \(\quad\) \(s\dot{\text{á}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
   ‘eat (meal)’ \(p\dot{\text{é}}\) \(\quad\) \(p\dot{\text{é}}\-\text{r}^\text{à}\)
b. ‘(food) sate (sb)’ bǎ- bǎ:-rè- bǎ:-rā-
   ‘fill [intr]’ bā- bā:-rè- bā:-rā-
   ‘arrive’ dɔ̌- dɔ̌:-rè- dɔ̌:-rā-
   ‘go out’ gō- gō:-rè- gō:-rā-
   ‘remain’ bē- bē:-rè- bē:-rā-
   ‘get tired’ dē- dē:-rè- dē:-rā-
   ‘abound’ jō- jō:-rè- jō:-rā-
   ‘see’ yǐ- — yǐ:-rā-
   ‘catch’ wō- — wō:-rā-
   ‘endure’ dā- — dā:-rā-
   ‘pick’ jʒ̚- — jʒ̚:-rā-
   ‘slash (rice)’ gą- — gą:-rā-
   ‘jab’ gʒ̚- — gʒ̚:-rā-
   ‘shape, form’ mā- — mā:-rā-
   ‘hear’ nū- — nū:-rā-
   ‘come’ yē- — yē:-rā-
   ‘drink’ nʒ̚- — nʒ̚:-rā-
   ‘weep’ yʒ̚- — yʒ̚:-rā-

10.1.3.6 Cvyn verbs

Usually a verb heard as e.g. Cv(y)n (v = vowel) with a final semivowel reflects optional (but very common) syncope or apocope from bisyllabic forms like /Cv(y)i/. The fuller inflectional paradigm brings out the underlying bisyllabic quality. In particular, the imperative changes the final i to a. Several suffixal inflections also bring out the bisyllabic quality.

\[(216) \quad \text{gloss} \quad \text{bare stem} \quad \text{imperative} \quad \text{imperfective} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{‘shut’} & pǐ:yⁿ ~ pǐ:yⁿi & pǐ:yⁿä & pǐ:yⁿ⁻m-n²h⁻m \\
\text{‘fart’} & gǐ:yⁿ ~ gǐ:yⁿi & gǐ:yⁿä & gǐ:yⁿ⁻m-n²h⁻m \\
\text{‘take’} & ǎy ~ ǎý & ǎyä & ǎy⁻m⁻n²h⁻m \\
\text{‘hold’} & wāy ~ wāý & wāyä & wāy⁻m⁻n²h⁻m \\
\end{array}
\]

There are, however, three very common verbs with true Cvyn shape. All happen to have nasalized yⁿ (217). The imperative retains the Cvyn shape rather than ending in a second-syllable a. The yⁿ disappears in the imperfective (and other inflections based on it), which is of the form (Cⁿ-)Cⁿ⁻m, arguably from /Cⁿ⁻m/ with nasalized vowel.

\[(217) \quad \text{gloss} \quad \text{bare stem} \quad \text{imperative} \quad \text{imperfective} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{‘put’} & gāyⁿ & gāyⁿ & gi-gā⁻m⁻n²h⁻m \\
\text{‘do, make’} & kāyⁿ & kāyⁿ & ki-kā⁻m⁻n²h⁻m \\
\text{‘say’} & gūyⁿ & gūyⁿ & gū-gū⁻m⁻n²h⁻m \\
\end{array}
\]

The final yⁿ is also absent in the perfective negative: gā⁻n²h⁻m⁻n²h⁻m. The -n²h⁻m allomorph of the suffix is unique to these verbs (other verbs have -r-, or -r⁻ due to Nasalization-Spreading).
A causative form is indicated by the presence of -wán in the verb. The agentive forms of these verbs are marked with the prefix -gá-.

(i) 

Bisyllabic verbs may be of the segmental shape CvCv, CvCCv, or Cv:CV. The final vowel is always short. The initial position may be vacant (vCv), etc. The lexical tone is /H/ or /LH/. In the case of /LH/, the normal tone break is at the syllabic boundary, hence Cv̀Cv́, Cv̀CCv́, Cv:Cv́. However, in CvCv and Cv:CV verbs, when the final vowel is high {iu}, it may be lost by Syncope or Apocope, and in this case the first syllable (always a long syllable in this situation) has rising tone.

Except for the imperative, where final high vowels and final e shift to a, bisyllabic verbs have stable vowel qualities including the final vowel. That is, the bare stem, used in chains and with various inflectional suffixes, has constant vowel qualities (disregarding low-level deletion of high vowels in certain positions).

(218) chains pre suffixal imperative gloss

a. vowels identical except e : CaCa, C5Ca, CoCo, CeCe
   tawáją tawá- tawá 'touch'
   nára já nára- nára 'bear child'
   pótó já pótó- pótó 'toss'
   dombó já dombó- dombó 'roll on turban'
   téjé jé téjé- téjé 'speak'
   célé jé célé- célé 'do or make well'
   éw-yé jé éw-yé- éw-yé 'sit down'

b. identical e vowels: CeCe (shift to final a in imperative)
   éwé jé éwé- éwá 'buy'
   bèrè jé bèrè- bèrá 'get'

c. {iu} plus harmonic mid-height vowel except e : CiCe, CuCo, CuCó
   síjé jé síjé- síjé 'go down'
   gıyé jé gıyé- gıyé 'dance'
   kúwó jé kúwó- kúwó 'bite'
   nùw'5 jé nùw'5- nùw'5 'sing'
   súsó jé súsó- súsó 'be cured'
   dujó jé dujó- dujó 'insult'

d. i plus harmonic e : CiCe (shift to final a in imperative)
   jiyé jé jiyé- jiyá 'kill'
   bérè jé bérè- bérá 'work'

e. final high vowel (various preceding vowels)
   làri jé làri- làrà 'chase'
   dà:yi jé dà:yi- dà:yi 'encounter'
Although I have included \( \text{CvCCv} \) and \( \text{Cv:Cv} \) stems along with \( \text{CvCv} \) in this section, the phonologically most relevant division of nonmonosyllabic verbs is into **prosodically light** \( \text{CvCv} \) and **prosodically heavy** \( \text{CvCCv}, \text{Cv:Cv} \), and trisyllabic. This division is relevant to tone overlays in the imperative stem. Therefore nothing much is at stake in the issue whether e.g. káwrú ‘split (nut)’ is bisyllabic or, via Syncope of a medial high vowel, trisyllabic (\(/\text{káwúrú}/\).

10.1.3.8 Trisyllabic verbs

Verbs with three syllables may be derived or underived (some of the synchronically underived stems may have originated as derivatives). These verbs have fairly complex interactions between the vowels of the three syllables.

The first type to be considered **ends in** \( \text{e} \) or \( \text{o} \) (219). This ending is obligatory when the first vowel is likewise \( \text{e} \) or \( \text{o} \), and it is possible when the first vowel is high \{\( \text{i u} \}\). The **medial syllable has a high vowel** (\( \text{e}...\text{i}...\text{e}, \text{i}...\text{i}...\text{e}, \text{o}...\text{u}...\text{o}, \text{u}...\text{u}...\text{o} \)).

(219) \begin{array}{llll}
\text{chains} & \text{presuffixal} & \text{imperative} & \text{gloss} \\
\text{e}...\text{i}...\text{e} & \text{yègìsè} & \text{yègìsè-} & \text{yègìsè} & \text{‘cut up’} \\
\text{i}...\text{i}...\text{e} & \text{síríyé} & \text{síríyé-} & \text{síríyè} & \text{‘cut into strips’} \\
\text{bìlìré} & \text{bìlìré-} & \text{bìlìrè} & \text{‘roll over’} \\
\text{jìgìré} & \text{jìgìré-} & \text{jìgírè} & \text{‘sway’} \\
\text{o}...\text{u}...\text{o} & \text{kógúsó} & \text{kógúsó-} & \text{kógúsò} & \text{‘cough’} \\
\text{u}...\text{u}...\text{o} & \text{dùlúrò} & \text{dùlúrò-} & \text{dùlúrò} & \text{‘roll on ground’} \\
\end{array}

Patterns \( \text{e}...\text{e}...\text{e} \) and \( \text{o}...\text{o}...\text{o} \), which differ from those in (219) by not raising the medial vowel to \{\( \text{i u} \}\), occur occasionally in underived stems. For \( \text{e}...\text{e}...\text{e} \), I have recorded bèlèré- ‘smooth (e.g. a soap ball) by rubbing in one’s palm’, mèngèrè- (with variant mèngìrè-) ‘rub into balls (in one’s hands)’, and bègèrè- ‘belch’ (used with cognate nominal as bègèrè bègèrè- ‘belch, emits belches’). For \( \text{o}...\text{o}...\text{o} \), I can cite dólóró- ‘shape into balls’.

Additional stem-vowel sequences occur in **suffixal derivatives** of e.g. \( \text{CvCv-Cv} \) shape when a final non-high vowel of the input \( \text{CvCv} \) stem is not shifted to a high vowel in the
derivative. Examples are e…e…e in reversive pémbé-ré- ‘ungird, remove (woman’s) wrap’ and négé-ré- ‘become uncaught (from tree)’, and u…o…o in reversive kúmjó-ró- ‘uncrumple’.

The other general class of trisyllabic verbs ends in a high vowel, which may be either i or u depending on the surrounding vowels (and semivowels). The medial vowel is also a high vowel. There is a fair amount of fluctuation in pronunciation of these high vowels, but I think i is usually more basic, since phonetic [u] is most often heard in the presence of another rounded segment in the stem, i.e. from the set {u o ø w}.

The general pattern with a final high vowel is obligatory when the vowel of the first syllable is from the set {a e o}, and is possible when the first vowel is high {i u}. In the imperative, the final high vowel is replaced by a, and if the first vowel of the stem is from the set {a e o}, the vowel of the second syllable assimilates totally to this initial vowel (220).

(220)  chains  presuffixal  imperative  gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e…i…i</th>
<th>nèr&quot;lí</th>
<th>nèr&quot;lí</th>
<th>nèr&quot;lí</th>
<th>‘winnow (in wind)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pèdigi</td>
<td>pèdigi</td>
<td>pèdigu</td>
<td>‘winnow (by shaking)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèstî</td>
<td>sèstî-</td>
<td>sèstî</td>
<td>‘filter (liquid)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i…i/u…i/u</th>
<th>winjìwú</th>
<th>winjìwú</th>
<th>winjìwà</th>
<th>‘spin’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pinìwùi</td>
<td>pinìwùi</td>
<td>pinìwù</td>
<td>‘go back’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimbi-ye</td>
<td>dimbi-ye</td>
<td>dimbi-ya</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u…i/u…i/u</th>
<th>ñùnjùrù</th>
<th>ñùnjùrù</th>
<th>ñùnjùrù</th>
<th>‘quiver, move (while stationary)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a…i…i</th>
<th>dàngirì</th>
<th>dàngirì</th>
<th>dàngarà</th>
<th>‘break in half’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bàngirì</td>
<td>bàngirì</td>
<td>bàngarà</td>
<td>‘hide (something)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ø…i…i</th>
<th>gòngirì</th>
<th>gòngirì</th>
<th>gòngarà</th>
<th>‘go around’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In suffixally derived verbs, we can also cite patterns that do not occur with underived stems. These are cases where the middle vowel is non-high, in vocalic environments that require a medial high vowel in an underived stem. Examples: a…a…u in causative wàsà-wù- ‘let remain’, e…e…u in causative éré-wù- ‘let escape’, e…e…u in causative éw-yé-wù- ‘cause to sit’, i…e…i in reversive píré-ří- ‘get un bogged’, u…o…u in causative bùrò-wù- ‘reanimate’, and u…o…u in causative jìwà-wù- ‘inform’ (cause to know).
10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect and stative)

10.2.1.1 Unsuffixed perfective with \{L\} toned stem

The unsuffixed perfective (positive) is used instead of a marked perfective-system form **when another constituent is focalized** (whether or not it is overly marked with the focus clitic). In other words, the unsuffixed perfective is used when the verb is part of a defocalized clausal residue.

The unsuffixed perfective is characterized by an \{L\} tone overlay on the stem (tone-dropping). The only exception is \(\text{jɛ᷈}\) ‘bring’ (unsuffixed perfective \(\text{jɛ᷈}\)), although some monosyllabic verbs also have an alternative perfective with long falling-toned vowel (see below). I use the notation “.Pfv” in interliners.

(221) a. \(\text{ām-Ø} \quad \text{yù}: \quad \text{düyð-Ø}\)
   who?=Foc millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj ‘Who [focus] pounded the millet (ears)?’

b. \(\text{fù:tùmà=}m \quad \text{yù}: \quad \text{düyð-Ø}\)
   Fatouma=Foc millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj ‘It was Fatouma [focus] who pounded the millet (ears).’

c. \(\text{[kɔ̀:\text{ⁿ} ñjé]} \quad \text{düyð-Ø}\)
   [thing=what?] pound.Pfv-3SgSbj ‘What [focus] did she pound?’

d. \(\text{án-dá:} \quad \text{yù}: \quad \text{düyð-Ø}\)
   where? millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj ‘Where [focus] did she pound the millet (grain spikes)?’

The **paradigm** is (222), using \(\text{düyð-Ø} \)‘pound (grain spikes)’ and \(\text{lò-Ø} \)‘go’. In the 1Pl and 2Pl, the dying-quail (in)tonation (\(\text{∴}\)) consists of prolongation of the final vowel and superimposition of a [HL] pitch pattern on the final syllable, keeping an initial L-tone in the case of a monosyllabic. For this “tonation” process, phonetically intonation-like but grammaticalized and integrated with tones, see §3.8.3.

(222) **Paradigm of unsuffixed perfective (after \{L\}-toned stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>‘pound’</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>-ŷ</td>
<td>düyð-ŷ</td>
<td>lò-ŷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>-ŵ</td>
<td>düyð-ŵ</td>
<td>lò-ŵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>-ŷː</td>
<td>düyð-ŷː [dùj̃ː→j]</td>
<td>lò-ŷː [lò→j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-ŵː</td>
<td>düyð-ŵː [dùj̃ː→w]</td>
<td>lò-ŵː [lò→w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3Sg/Inan -∅ düyɔ́-∅ lɔ̄-∅
3Pl -bɔ́ ~ -bɔ̀ düyɔ́-bɔ̀ ~ düyɔ́-bɔ̀ lɔ́-bɔ́ ~ lɔ́-bɔ̀

Note the zero 3Sg, with no lengthening of the final vowel. The 3Pl suffix is often heard as H-toned -bɔ́ in elicitation, and it was heard as such in some textual examples. However, L-toned -bɔ̀ is also possible, especially when clause-final (pre-pausal). One speaker featured in the texts pronounced the 3Pl suffix as -bà (-bɔ̀) with a-vowel. (Jamsay likewise has this dialectal split, with -bà in the plains villages such as Dianwely and -bɔ̀ in some montane villages such as Perguè).

The unsuffixed perfective is common (in elicitation), though not obligatory, when a pronominal direct object is present (223), even when this object shows no overt signs of focalization. More generally, the mere presence of a preverbal constituent may suffice to license the unsuffixed perfective.

(223) a. í siyɔ́-∅
   1SgObj hit.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She hit me.’

b. érⁿé súyɔ́-ỳ
   3SgObj hit.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I hit-Past him/her.’

10.2.1.2 Unsuffixed perfective with lexical tones, 3Sg -w, 3Pl -mà

A distinct unsuffixed perfective, this time with lexical tone melody, has the pronominal-subject paradigm (224). The pronominal endings are all L-toned.

(224) Paradigm of alternative unsuffixed perfective (lexical tones)

category suffix 'pound'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>düyɔ́-ỳ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>-ỳ</td>
<td>düyɔ́-ỳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>düyɔ́-w  [homophonous with 3Sg]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>düyɔ́-ỳ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>-ỳ.</td>
<td>düyɔ́-ỳ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-w.</td>
<td>düyɔ́-w.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>düyɔ́-w.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>düyɔ́-w. [homophonous with 2Sg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>-mà</td>
<td>düyɔ́-mà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This paradigm is unusual. For some verbs, the 1st/2nd person forms are indistinguishable from the corresponding unsuffixed imperfectives, except that the latter is optionally reduplicated in some contexts.

On the other hand, 3rd person -w (Sg) and -mà (Pl) are identical in form to the suffixes used in perfective relative-clause participles, so the difficulty in interpretation is to distinguish these main clauses from relative clauses. When the subject is pronominal, one can observe whether it appears as a preparticipial pronoun. If so, the clause is subordinated...
(relative or similar). See §16.1.2 for clauses ending in -w kù dë and -w dë. However, the distinction between main clause (in a narrative sequence) and a subordinated clause is not very great in BenT discourse.

In addition, -w is the stative 3Sg subject suffix, and -mà also appears in the 3Pl subject form of the experiential perfect.

A textual example of 3Pl -mà is ló-mà ‘they went’ in line 7 of (684) in the sample text. For more 3Sg and 3Pl examples see (550a-c) in §17.1.1.2.

The clearest 1st/2nd person subject example in the texts is (225). The speaker was offering to add something to what someone else had said in an interview style text.

The greeting phrase jâm dɛ̀-nɛ́-ẁⁿ (‘peace plus you-Sg spent day’), see (653) in the sample text, is another probable example.

10.2.1.3 Variant third-person perfective Cỹ:- with <HL> tone

Some Cỹ- verbs have a variant third-person perfective with <HL> tone, which requires lengthening of the vowel by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). These forms function as alternatives to the regular unsuffixed imperfectives. However, the sense of (225) in the text was clearly perfective (or resultative), and my assistant rendered the example above into Jamsay with the perfective -2 (áɣá-sà-m ‘I heard’). Moreover, the assistant gave the (BenT) 3Sg subject counterpart to the 1Sg verb in the example as nū-ẁⁿ, and the 3Pl subject equivalent as nū-mà.

A 3Pl subject form has the usual 3Pl perfective allomorph -bɔ̀, as in nī:-bɔ̀ ‘they gave’. However, an informant rejected all potential 1st/2nd person subject combinations.

It is likely that the various <HL>-toned perfective-system inflectional suffixes, such as perfective-1b -tī:-O and recent perfect -jẽ:-O (shown here in their lengthened 3Sg forms), originated as similar formations (§10.2.1.5-8).

Textual examples are in (227). (227c) suggests that the <HL> form (like the regular unsuffixed perfective) may occur in clauses with a focalized constituent.
For {HL}-toned nonfinal verbs in chains, attested with verbs of conveyance (‘bring’, take [convey])’, see §15.1.2.2. The relationship between the two constructions, historical and synchronic, is unclear.

10.2.1.4 Other variant third-person perfectives

There is a perfective form táŋ¿- with a vague sense (here glossed simply as ‘do’), combined with a preceding chained VP. The unusual feature here is the {HL} tone pattern, which is reminiscent of the monosyllabic Cv¿- perfectives discussed in the preceding section. In (228b), táŋ¿- is phonetically reduced to tány- in allegro speech.

(227)  a. sù:-díyáy [bù: l.mà:]  
    francolin¿-thigh [3Pl l.Dat]  
    gò-ló [hl ní:-∅]  
    go.out-Caus [hl give.Pfv-3SgSbj]  
    ‘She took out and gave them the francolin thigh.’ [2005.2a.06]

    b. jɔ̂:n-m yè [hl dʒ:-∅],  
       hare-AnSg come [hl arrive.Pfv-3SgSbj]  
       [yè á dʒ-w kù dè]  
       ‘Hare came and arrived. When he had come and arrived, …’ [2005.2a.07]

    c. ūgú=m [xə²:-[lò-ɔː]] [kù] [hl jé:-∅]  
       Prox.Inan=Foc [outback l-[go-VblN] Def] [hl bring.Pfv-3SgSbj]  
       ‘This [focus] is what has brought (about) that going away (for work).’  
       [2005.1b.06]

The {HL} pattern in táŋ¿- suggests a connection with Jamsay táɲ¿¿; which (in this form) is confined to ‘if’ clauses (‘if it happens that …’). The BenT verb táŋ¿- can also mean ‘cross (e.g. river)’, ‘(fire) be lit’, or ‘become (something)’, and is clearly cognate to Jamsay táɲ¿- with similar meanings. In both languages the {HL}-toned perfective form of this verb is unique. Togo Kan táɲ¿ yè with L-toned form of yè ‘go’ corresponds to Jamsay táɲ¿; in conditionals and points to an original verb-chain.
A variant 3Sg form, apparently perfective, with final short \( \bar{i} \) replacing a lexical mid-height vowel is attested in (229), if correctly analysed.

(229) \[ \text{áywà [lɔ̀sɔ̂ kù]} \quad \text{dùr}^\text{ii} \text{-Ø} \]

well [foot Def] follow.track.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Well, she went following the tracks.’ [2005.2a.07]

10.2.1.5 Perfective-1a :-rê-, perfective-1b -tî-

The perfective-1 is a suffixally marked perfective. It has two versions, perfective-1a :-rê- (which lengthens the preceding vowel), and perfective-1b -tî-. Both are added to the bare stem of the verb, with no special tone overlay, so the lexical melodies appear. While the perfective-1a suffix contracts with the stem, the perfective-1b suffix has no phonological interaction with the stem, and could be analysed as a chained auxiliary verb following the bare stem of the main verb.

**Perfective-1a :-rê-** is used with motion verbs, stance verbs, and a wide range of basically static intransitives. The presence of a locational NP, arguably a “direct object,” with a motion verb does not affect the choice of perfective allomorph, so (230a) and (230b) have the same verb forms.

(230) a. \[ \text{ló:-rê-Ø} \]

\[ \text{go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj} \]

‘He/She went.’ (ló-)

b. \[ \text{bàmàkɔ̃ ló:-rê-Ø} \]

Bamako \[ \text{go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj} \]

‘He/She went to Bamako.’

c. \[ \text{éw-yé:-räː} \]

\[ \text{sit.down-MP-Pfv1a-3PlSbj} \]

‘They sat down.’ (éw-yê-)

d. \[ \text{tégé:-rê-Ø} \]

\[ \text{become.big-Pfv1a-3SgSbj} \]

‘He/She has grown up.’ (tégé-)

Some other verbs taking :-rê- include ụrọ- ‘go up’, gô- ‘go/come out’, yàyà- ‘fall (down)’, ìtìwé- ‘die’, and adjectival inchoatives like jèm-dé- ‘become black’ and bùrúá- ‘become red’.

Cv- verbs show their lexical /H/ or /LH/ melody in the perfective-1a. Examples of /H/ are ná:-rê- ‘spent night’ (ná-) and ló:-rê- ‘went’ (ló-). Examples of /LH/ are gô:-rê- ‘went out’ (gô-), dì:-rê- ‘arrived’ (dì-), and bê:-rê- ‘remained’ (bê-).

A handful of syntactically transitive verbs take :-rê-. They are noncanonical, non-impact transitives. An example is ‘forget’ (231).

(231) \[ \text{éwà: \text{iré:-rê-ý}} \]

market forget-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘I forgot the market.’ (iré-)
The paradigm of :rê- has 3Pl :r-àː, but is otherwise regular (232).

(232) | category | form         |
      |   |             |
1Sg  | :rê-ȳ |             |
2Sg  | :rê-ṓ |             |
1Pl  | :rê-ȳːː | pronounced \(rê-\to j\) |
2Pl  | :rê-ṓːː | pronounced \(rê-\to w\) |
3Sg/Inan | :rê-∅ |             |
3Pl  | :r-àː |             |

Perfective-1b -tî- is used with the great majority of transitives, and with several active intransitives, including verbs of speaking and thinking but not verbs of motion or stance. These active “intransitives” are marginally transitive, insofar as they are easily combined with cognate nominals in apparent direct-object function. Examples of such active intransitives are mànìː ‘laugh’, tégé- ‘speak’, pìyé- ‘shout’, mà:nì- ‘think’, which are optionally expanded with cognate nominals as màn mànì- ‘laugh (=give out) a laugh’, têy tégé- ‘speak words’, pìyé: pìyé- ‘shout (=give out) a shout’, and mànì: mà:nì- ‘think (=have) a thought’. These verbs take -tî- whether or not the cognate nominal is overt.

(233) a. yû: | dùyì-tî:-∅
     millet     pound-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
     ‘He/She pounded the millet (spikes).’

b. nà: [yì-m] | pàyá-tî:-∅
     cow-[child-AnSg]     tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
     ‘He/She tied up the calf.’

c. mànì | mànì-tî-ȳːː
     laugh(n)     laugh-Pfv1b-1PlSbj
     ‘We laughed.’

d. sù:ə | sù:ə-tî:-∅
     breathing     breathe-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
     ‘He/She breathed.’

VPs regularly expressed by a verb plus a noncognate nominal object also take -tî- (235).

(234) nì: | dìyì-tú-ːw
     water     bathe-Pfv1b-2SgSbj
     ‘You-Sg bathed.’

Among other verbs taking -tî- are nì- ‘give’, perception verbs like yì- ‘see’, reversives like pî:-r’î- ‘open’, and causatives like ɛw-rê- ‘cause to sit’.

110
The third person forms of -tî- are 3Sg/Inan -tî:-∅ (homophonous with 1Sg -tî-ỳ), and 3Pl -tî-yà (one could also segment this as -tî-y-à). The 1st/2nd person forms are based on -tî-, but the vowel assimilates to a following suffixal semivowel. Phonetically, the resulting homorganic vowel-semivowel combination monophthongizes. The paradigm is (235).

(235) category form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>2Sg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>2Pl</th>
<th>3Sg/Inan</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>tî-ỳ</td>
<td>tû-ā</td>
<td>tî-ā</td>
<td>tî-ā</td>
<td>tî:-∅</td>
<td>tî-yà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*péré-* or *pêté-* ‘jump’ takes :-rê- when formally intransitive, but when a cognate nominal is added it shifts to -tî-.

(236) a. *pêté:-rê-∅*

jump-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She jumped.’

b. *à-pêtù pêté-tî:-∅*

jump(n) jump-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She jumped (=made) a jump.’

Perfective-1b -tî- (but not perfective-1a :-rê-) could be interpreted morphophonologically as a chained auxiliary verb. An etymological connection with the verb tî- ‘send’ or ‘dump out’ is likely (tî ‘pour on’ is an improbable candidate); Donno So has especially relevant comparative data. In some constructions, a perfective-like tî- is separated from the main verb, or is treated as the final stem in a verb chain; see §15.1.11.

Both positive perfective suffixes, 1b -tî- and 1a :-rê-, correspond to -tî- in the perfective negative.

10.2.1.6 Resultative -sô-

The sense is resultative, i.e., the VP in question describes a state resulting from an action. It can be translated freely, depending on context, as a perfect (‘have VP-ed’) or with the present tense (‘I want’). For example, the event denoted by ùr3:-rê-∅ ‘he/she went up (=mounted)’ leads to the resulting state expressed by (237a). An example with a more clearly transitive verb is (237b).

(237) a. *sôm ùr3-sô-ā*

horse go.up-Result-3SgSbj
‘He/She is mounted on the horse.’
b. \([ú \text{hi,} būdù] \text{pē-só-} ġ\]
\([2\text{SgPoss hi,} \text{money}] \text{eat-Reslt-2SgSbj}\)
‘You-Sg have eaten (= spent) your money.’

Resultative -sō- is added to the bare stem of the stem, with no modification to the lexical tone melody. The paradigm is (238). Because the 3Sg has suffix -w, it is homophonous with the 2Sg. The 3Pl is irregular.

(238) category form

| 1Sg    | -sō-ŷ       |
| 2Sg    | -sō-ŵ       |
|        | homophonous with 3Sg |

| 1Pl    | -sō-ŷːː     |
|        | pronounced [sò→j] |
| 2Pl    | -sō-ŵːː     |
|        | pronounced [sò→w] |

| 3Sg/Inan | -sō-ŵ       |
|          | homophonous with 2Sg |
| 3Pl      | -s-ēːː      |

This suffix is undoubtedly related historically to ‘have’ quasi-verb só-, but the 2Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl differ tonally in the two paradigms (for ‘have’ we get 2Sg/3Sg só-ŵ and 3Pl s-ēːː with H-tones). A continuing synchronic connection between the two is suggested by the fact that resultative -sō- is sometimes negated as -sō-lō-, i.e. with the (irregular) negative form of só- ‘have’ (239).

(239) sólm árū-sō-lō-∅
horse go.up-Reslt-3SgSbj
‘He/She is not mounted on the horse.’

Resultative -sō- is circumscribed by competition with recent perfect -jē-, which however puts more emphasis on the recent completion of the event (‘has already VP-ed’). Perception verbs (‘I saw/have seen him’, ‘I [have] heard it’) strongly favor recent perfect -jē- (unlike the case in Jamsay, where the resultative -sā- is the unmarked positive past-time AN morpheme for these verbs).

10.2.1.7 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ -tā-

In positive utterances, the experiential perfect is common in questions (‘have you ever …?’), but it can also be used in indicatives (‘I have once …’). It indicates that the subject has, at any point in the past, performed the action denoted by the VP at least once.

(240) a. bámākɔ lō-tā-ŵ
Bamako go-ExpPf-2SgSbj
‘Have you ever gone to Bamako?’
b.  tá-dìngú-m   yì-tá-y
lion-AnSg   see-ExpPf-1SgSbj
‘I once saw a lion.’

c.  ŋú  nù-tá-mà
Prox.Inan   hear-ExpPf-3PlSbj
‘They have heard this (before).’

d.  ji-yè   ji-yé-tá-w
dance(n)   dance-ExpPf-3SgSbj
‘He/She danced (once).’

The suffix (arguably an auxiliary verb) is added to the bare stem of the verb, with no change in lexical tone melody. The paradigm is (241).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{category} & \text{form} \\
1Sg & -tá-y \\
2Sg & -tá-w \text{ homophonous to 3Sg} \\
1Pl & -tá-y: \text{ pronounced } [tâ\rightarrow j] \\
2Pl & -tá-w: \text{ pronounced } [tâ\rightarrow w] \\
3Sg/Inan & -tá-w \text{ homophonous to 2Sg} \\
3Pl & -tá-mà \\
\end{array}
\]

Because the 3Sg is expressed by -w, it is homophonous with the 2Sg. 3Pl -tá-mà has the -mà ending also seen in plural participles (in relative clauses with plural head NP)

10.2.1.8 Recent perfect -jé-

This AN suffix can be translated as ‘already’ plus past tense. It competes with the resultative, since the recent event in question often has a continuing effect, as in (242). However, it emphasizes recent completion.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{category} & \text{form} \\
\text{meal} & \text{eat-RecPf-1SgSbj} \\
\text{pass} & \text{RecPf-3SgSbj} \\
\end{array}
\]

-je- can be used with perception verbs nù- ‘hear’ and yì- ‘see’, which avoid regular perfective -tì- and resultative -sô-. Again, the context involves a recently completed event that results in a state. In (243a), for example, the speaker had been asking where the kettle was, and now indicates that he has located it.
(243)  a. sátálà yĩ-jé-ỳ
kettle see-RecPf-1SgSbj
‘I have (just) seen the kettle.’

b. ciwérù nũ-jé-ỳobble.
news hear-RecPf-2PlSbj
‘Have you-Pl heard the news?’

The suffix -jé- is added to the bare stem of the verb, with no change in the lexical tone melody. The paradigm is (244). The 3Sg form is not homophonous with the 2Sg form.

(244)  category     form

1Sg       -jé-ỳ
2Sg       -jé-ỳobble.

1Pl       -jé-ỳobble.  pronounced [ʤě-→j]
2Pl       -jé-ỳobble.  pronounced [ʤě-→w]

3Sg/Inan  -jé-∅
3Pl       -j-∅  (-jé-∅ also attested in a text)

For -jé- in durative clauses in narrative, see §15.2.1.4.

10.2.1.9  Reduplicated perfective (Cj- plus {HL}; 3Sg -∅)

In this form, there is an initial reduplication of the form Cj- (with fixed vowel ū) or Cj,ũ- (with a copy of the first stem vowel), depending on the speaker. If the first vowel of the stem is from the set {u o} (but not ɔ), the ū of the reduplicative segment shifts to u. If the verb begins with a vowel, there is no Cj in either the reduplicative segment or the base stem. A glottal stop is heard between the two occurrences of the vowel, as in ū-?urlò- ‘go up’ and j-явление- (jé-явление- ‘buy’).

The reduplicative segment has L-tone (as do all such reduplicative segments in verbal morphology). The base stem has {HL} tone overlay, erasing the lexical melody. The H-tone component is expressed on the first stem syllable, or on the first mora of a monosyllable. In third person forms only, a Cv- monosyllabic like wò- ‘catch’ has its short vowel lengthened to permit the <HL>-tone to be expressed; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). The tone overlay is illustrated in (245).

(245)  gloss     stem          reduplicated perfective

‘take’      āy-          j-          HL?āy-
‘catch’     wò-          wj-          HLwò-
‘want’      jũrũ-       jji-          HLjũrũ-
‘buy’       ēwě-        j-          HLjěwě-
‘go up’     ŭũũ-         ŭ-          HL?ũũ-
‘go back’  pĩnũw”ũ-     p-          HLpĩnũw”ũ-
The reduplicated perfective is not common in texts. An example is (246).

(246)  \text{\textit{ji}-}^{\text{HL}} \text{\textit{jɔ́r}-bɔ́} \\
Rdp-^{\text{HL}}\text{want.Pfv-3PlSbj} \\
‘They wanted.’

The paradigm is (247). The suffixes are the same as those of the unsuffixed perfective. Also shown are paradigms for \textit{wɔ́-} ‘catch’, illustrating the lengthening of the stem vowel in 3rd person forms for \textit{Cv-} monosyllables, and \textit{ɛ́wɛ́-} ‘buy’ as a more typical bisyllabic verb.

(247)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(category)</th>
<th>(suffix)</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{y}}</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wó-\text{\textit{y}}}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-\text{\textit{y}}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}}</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wó-\text{\textit{w}}}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-\text{\textit{w}}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{y}:}</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wó-\text{\textit{y}:}}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-\text{\textit{y}:}} [\textit{wé} \rightarrow \text{\textit{j}}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}:}</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wó-\text{\textit{w}:}}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-\text{\textit{w}:}} [\textit{wé} \rightarrow \text{\textit{w}}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{∅}}</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wô-\text{\textit{∅}}}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-\text{\textit{∅}}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>-bɔ́ ~ -bɔ́</td>
<td>\textit{wì}^{\text{HL}}\textit{wô-\text{\textit{bɔ́}} ~ -bɔ́}</td>
<td>\textit{i}^{\text{HL}}\textit{ʔéwɛ́-bɔ́ ~ -bɔ́}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This form is partially homophonous to the reduplicated stative, which is is attested with stance verbs like ‘sit’ (§10.2.1.11, below). The two are distinguishable by suffixal allomorphs in the third person. The reduplicated perfective and reduplicated stative are both distinguished from the reduplicated imperfective by stem tone (the latter ends in an H-tone).

10.2.1.10 Stative (\{}H\}, 3Sg -\text{\textit{w}})

An unreduplicated stative form is derived from certain verbs, particularly verbs of stance (position). The verb has the pronominal-subject paradigm (248). Its most distinctive feature is stative 3Sg -\text{\textit{w}}, homophonous to 2Sg -\text{\textit{w}} (contrast L-toned 1Sg -\text{\textit{y}}).

(248)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(category)</th>
<th>(suffix)</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{y}}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{y}}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{w}}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{y}:}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{y}}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}:}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{w}}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{w}}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>-\text{\textit{w}-bɔ́}</td>
<td>(yá) \textit{bìyè-\text{\textit{w}-bɔ́}}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unless there is a preceding focalized constituent (see below), the verb stem itself is H-toned except for the final syllable of the 1Sg form. The stem also ends in a non-high vowel. Verbs whose bare stem ends in a high vowel replace it with \textit{a} in the stative (the details are the same as for the reduplicated stative, see the following section for details). All attested examples
have **precisely bisyllabic** stems. For this purpose (presumably), mediopassive -钁- is omitted if it is the third syllable of the underlying stem: jëngi-י": ‘come up next to (sth)’, yá jëngé-ו": ‘it is up against (sth)’.

The verb is **preceded by a locational element**, such as presentational ŋóy ‘here’ s…’, a demonstrative adverb (‘here’, ‘there’, etc.), or existential yá (which is associated with predications of location). Examples: yá bi-钁-ו": ‘he/she is lying down’ (bi-钁-), and yá nóy’̀-ו": ‘it (e.g. teapot) is up on (e.g. burner)’ from nóy’̀ ‘be put up on’.

From dëyi- ‘put down, set’, the stative is yá dëyi-ו": with an ATR shift.

In the absence of such a preverbal locational element, the reduplicated stative is normally used, see below. An exception is that in contexts where a preceding constituent is focalized, an **L-toned unreduplicated** stative form may be used (249).

(249) [[kú HL:nì:] 1&wò] [nà: kù] dimbà-ו-DbContext.

‘It’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cattle.’ [2005.1a.15]

10.2.1.11 Reduplicated stative (Cl- plus {HL}, 3Sg -钁)

A stative reduplication is used with **stance verbs** (‘be sitting’, ‘be connected’, etc.). It belongs to the perfective system, as seen by the use of perfective third person suffix allomorphs, but it has stative sense. The reduplicative segment has the same form as for the reduplicated perfective (just above) and for the reduplicated imperfective (below).

The stem has **{HL} tone overlay**, again as in the reduplicated perfective. By contrast, the reduplicated imperfective always has a stem ending in an H-tone, and the simple (unreduplicated) stative (preceding section) has H-tones.

The reduplicated (and unreduplicated) stative **imposes a bisyllabic shape** on the stem proper (trisyllabic including the reduplicative segment), so for mono- and trisyllabic stems there is a clear difference between the reduplicated stative and the reduplicated perfective. Another difference between the two is in the form of **third person suffixes**. The **three-way distinction** for stance verbs with 3Sg subject is illustrated in (250).

(250)

a. *i- HL:*èw-钁-ו*
   
   Rdp:HL:sit-MP:Stat-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She is sitting (in sitting position)’. [stative]

b. *i- HL:*èw-钁-∅
   
   Rdp:HL:sit-MP:PFv-3SgSbj
   ‘He sat down.’ [perfective, uncommon]

c. *i-钁-èw-钁-ì*
   
   Rdp:sit-MP:IPfv.3SgSbj
   ‘He/She will sit down.’ [imperfective]

In the **first and second persons**, for bisyllabic stance verbs (including ‘sit’) that do not end in a high vowel there is no audible distinction between the reduplicated stative and the reduplicated perfective (251a-b), but the two of them are (jointly) audibly distinct from the reduplicated imperfective (251c).
as involving truncation of a final syllable to satisfy a bisyllabic output constraint.

systematically segment the stems in (253d), there now somewhat opaque (for probably originated as * examples in (253b general shortening of long vowels in the first stem syllable of the lopped off and the remaining alternations (For the verbs in (253a), the segmentation of (denoting stances and similar physical positions). Examples are in (253), in 3Sg subject form. I had no difficulty eliciting person categories. The three

(251) a. \(i^\text{HL} \text{?éw-yé-ý} \)
Rdp-sit-MP.Stat-1SgSbj
‘I am sitting (in sitting position)’. [stative]

b. \(i^\text{HL} \text{?éw-yé-ý} \)
Rdp.hi-sit-MP.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘He sat down.’ [perfective, uncommon]

c. \(i\text{-?éw-yé-ý} \)
Rdp-sit-MP.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will sit down.’ [imperfective]

In the reduplicated stative only, nonmonosyllabic verbs ending in a high vowel shift this vowel to a, a mutation that also takes place in the imperative stem. (Final e might also shift to a, but I have no example of a stative from such a verb.) For verbs undergoing this shift, the three-way distinction among the reduplications is audibly expressed even for first and second person categories. The 3Sg and 1Sg forms for \(díyí\) ‘be connected’ bring this out (252).

(252) ‘be connected’ 3Sg 1Sg
reduplicated stative \(dí^\text{HL} \text{díyà-û} \) \(dí^\text{HL} \text{díyà-ý} \)
reduplicated perfective \(dí^\text{HL} \text{díyì-Ø} \) \(dí^\text{HL} \text{díyì-ý} \)
reduplicated imperfective \(dí-diýí-û \) \(dí-diýí-ý \)

I had no difficulty eliciting reduplicated stative forms where they made sense semantically (denoting stances and similar physical positions). Examples are in (253), in 3Sg subject form. For the verbs in (253a), the segmentation of \(-yí/-yé-\) is based on intransitive/causative alternations (\(i^\text{-}rî\) ‘cause to stand/stop’, \(bî-rê\) ‘cause to lie down’, \(éw-rê\) ‘cause to sit’, \(tûngú-rû\) ‘cause to kneel’), though segmentability is semi-opaque. The \(-yí/-yé-\) is retained in the reduplicated stative when the root is monosyllabic. ‘Stand, stop’ appears to shorten its long \(i\), though one could alternatively argue that the \(-yí-\) suffix of the bare stem has been lopped off and the remaining \(i\)-treated as though /i\(ýí/-\) (253a). In any event, there is no general shortening of long vowels in the first stem syllable of the stative, see (253c). The examples in (253b-c) are prosodically straightforward. The trisyllabic verbs in (253d) probably originated as \(*\text{Cv(C)}\text{Cv-yv-}\) with mediopassive suffix \(*\text{-yv-}\), but segmentation is now somewhat opaque (for \(tûngû-yû\) the causative elicited was \(tûngû-yû/\text{i-wûú-}\)). Even if we segment the stems in (253d), there is no basis for claiming that intransitive \(-yv-\) is systematically omitted from the reduplicated stative, since the much clearer cases of \(-yí/-yé-\) in (253a) do not drop the suffix. I therefore prefer to analyse the examples in (253d) as involving truncation of a final syllable to satisfy a bisyllabic output constraint.

(253) gloss bare stem reduplicated stative
a. ‘stand, stop’ \(i\text{-yí-} \) \(i^\text{HL} \text{i-yà-w} \)
 (segmentation arguably \(i\text{-iýà-w} \))
‘lie down’ \(bî-yê-\) \(bî^\text{HL} \text{bî-yè-w} \)
‘sit’ \(éw-yê-\) \(i^\text{HL} \text{?éw-yè-w} \)
‘kneel’ \(tûngû-yû-\) \(tû^\text{HL} \text{tûngà-w} \)
b. ‘be tilted’  bèngí-  jì-HL bèngà-w  
‘be hanging’  kɔ́lì-  kji-HL kɔlà-w  
‘(mat) be laid out’  téyì-  tì-HL téyà-w  

c. ‘be right-side up’  táːřf-  tì-HL táːrà-w  
‘be arranged’  tɛ́ːli-  tì-HL tɛːlà-w  

d. ‘squat’  tɔ́r"îy̯í-  tì-HL tɔr"à-w  
‘sit up’  bɛ̀ŋɡiy̯í-  bi-HL bɛŋgà-w  

The reduplicated stative pronominal-suffix paradigm is (254). The 2Sg and 3Sg are homophonous. The 3Pl is built by adding the (perfective) 3Pl suffix -bɔ́ (~ -bɔ̀) to the 3Sg suffix -w. All of the pronominal endings are L-toned, unlike the case with the unreduplicated stative where only 1Sg -ỹ is L-toned.

(254)   category  suffix  ‘sit’

1Sg  -ỹ   i-HL ?éw-yè-ỹ
2Sg  -w   i-HL ?éw-yè-w
1Pl  -ỹː  i-HL ?éw-yè-yː  [ʔéwjè→j]
2Pl  -wː  i-HL ?éw-yè-wː  [ʔéwjè→w]
3Sg  -w  i-HL ?éw-yè-w
3Pl  -w-bɔ́ ~ -w-bɔ̀  i-HL ?éw-yè-w-bɔ́ ~ -bɔ̀

10.2.2  Imperfective positive system

10.2.2.1  Unsuffixed imperfective (unreduplicated)

An unreduplicated form with no segmentally characterized AN suffix is used in positive indicative clauses with present or future time reference. The pronominal suffixes are L-toned, so one could analyse the imperfective morpheme as a floating L-tone segment that docks on the pronominal suffix (compare Jamsay). However, I will not transcribe -∅ in imperfective forms.

Historically, it is possible that the ending was *-m- throughout the paradigm (except perhaps 3Pl), and that the nasal segment has vanished in the 1st/2nd person forms.

This is the normal all-purpose imperfective form used after an overtly focalized preverbal constituent, such as a WH-interrogative (255).

(255)  án-dá:  ló-ð̩
     where?  go.lpfv-2SgSbj
     ‘Where are you-Sg going?’ = ‘Where will you-Sg go?’

With a preverbal constituent that is not overtly focalized, or with no preverbal constituent, there is a choice between this form and the reduplicated imperfective (see the following
section). In elicitation, my assistant suggested that the reduplicated imperfective tended to have future sense (256).

(256)  

a. nàwⁿâ:  kúwó-ý  
meat eat.Ipfv-1SgSbj  
‘I eat meat.’

b. nàwⁿâ:  kù-kúwó-ý  
meat Rdp-eat.Ipfv-1SgSbj  
‘I will eat meat.’

c. nɔ́-m  
drink.Ipfv.3SgSbj  
‘He/She drinks.’

d. nì-nɔ́-m  
Rdp-drink.Ipfv.3SgSbj  
‘He/She will drink.’

The stem tone, and the third person pronominal suffixes, differ from those of the reduplicated perfective and of the reduplicated stative described in preceding sections. The stem tone of the unsuffixed imperfective, which always ends in an H-tone element, is determined as in (257).

(257)  

Stem tone of unsuffixed imperfective

a. lexical tone melody /H/ is preserved (all prosodic weights);

b. \{H\} overlay erases /LH/ melody: C\v/ and C\v^n/ monosyllabics, prosodically light bisyllabics (C\v\v/ and C\v\v\v/, but not C\v:C\v/) ending in a non-high vowel;

c. no change in lexical /LH/ melody: all nonmonosyllabic stems ending in a high vowel; all heavy bisyllabic (C\v:C\v/), trisyllabic and longer stems.

The only audible tonal change vis-à-vis the lexical melody is that /LH/-toned short-voweled bisyllabic stems ending in a non-high vowel, and rising-toned monosyllabic stems, have an \{H\} overlay (258c). This overlay does not apply to the frozen causative gò-ló- ‘take out, remove’ or to the parallel (and semantically close) jò-ló- ‘take away, convey (sth, somewhere)’ (258d). The overlay does not apply to any prosodically heavy stem. Minor segmental changes occur in the irregular verbs in (258b), and in three C\v^n/ verbs that lose the final semivowel.

(258)  
gloss bare stem unsuffixed imperfective

a. stem already /H/-toned, no audible change, all prosodic weights

‘go’  ló-  ló-  
‘tie’  pányá-  pányá-  
‘take down’  sí-lé-  sí-lé-  
‘go back’  píníwú-  píníwí-  
‘cough’  kógúsó-  kógúsó-
CV\textsuperscript{y}n, becoming CV\textsuperscript{y}n-
‘do, make’ k\textsuperscript{á}n-
\k\textsuperscript{á}n-

\textbf{b. irregular monosyllabics, shift of short or long /e(\^)\textsuperscript{y}/ to e}
‘come’ y\textsuperscript{é}- yé-
‘bring’ j\textsuperscript{é}- jé-

\textbf{c. prosodically light /LH/-toned stem, \{H\} overlay applies}
\textbf{CV}
‘go out’ gō- gō-
‘drink’ n\textsuperscript{á}- n\textsuperscript{á}-
‘hear’ n\textsuperscript{ú}- n\textsuperscript{ú}-
\textbf{CV\textsuperscript{y}n, becoming CV\textsuperscript{y}n-}
‘put’ gây\textsuperscript{n}- gâ\textsuperscript{n}-
‘say’ gûy\textsuperscript{n}- gû\textsuperscript{n}-
\textbf{CV\textsuperscript{y}CV}
‘pound (spikes)’ dùy\textsuperscript{š}- dùy\textsuperscript{š}-
‘steal’ gùró- gùró-
‘dance’ jiy\textsuperscript{é}- jiy\textsuperscript{é}-
‘fall’ yày\textsuperscript{á}- yày\textsuperscript{á}-
\textbf{CV\textsuperscript{y}BCV}
‘split’ ãmbó- ãmbó-
‘roll on turban’ dòmbó- dòmbó-
‘place in basket’ dûmbó- dûmbó-
‘stutter’ bëmbé- bëmbé-

\textbf{d. exceptional CV\textsuperscript{CV} verbs that resist \{H\} overlay}
\textit{transitive/causative -l\textsuperscript{v} ~ -r\textsuperscript{v}, mediopassive -y\textsuperscript{é}):}
‘take out’ gò-l\textsuperscript{ó}- gò-l\textsuperscript{ó}–
‘take away’ jò-l\textsuperscript{ó}- jò-l\textsuperscript{ó}–
\textit{mediopassive -y\textsuperscript{é}):}
‘make lie down’ bi-ré- bi-ré–
‘bathe’ di-y\textsuperscript{é}- di-y\textsuperscript{é}–

\textbf{e. light bisyllabic ending in high vowel, /LH/ preserved}
\textbf{CVCV}
‘receive’ àwú- àwú-
‘help’ bârû- bârû-
‘call’ nàr\textsuperscript{í}- nàr\textsuperscript{í}–
‘cover’ dèwú- dèwú–
‘put down’ dèyí- dèyí–
‘hold’ wàyí- wàyí–
‘laugh’ màní- màní–
\textbf{CV\textsuperscript{NCV}}
‘uproot’ wòmbú- wòmbú–

\textbf{120}
The pronominal paradigm is exemplified in (259), using ló- ‘go’, dùyɔ́- ‘pound (millet ears)’, and pàyá- ‘tie’. The 1st/2nd person forms are regular. In the third person, we get 3Sg/inanimate -m and 3Pl -yè (dialectally also -yà).

(259)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
<th>‘pound’</th>
<th>‘tie’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ló-óry</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-m</td>
<td>pàyá-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ló-ɔ́</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-w</td>
<td>pàyá-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ló-ɔ́</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-ɔ́</td>
<td>pàyá-ɔ́ [-yà→j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>ló-ɔ́-m</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-ɔ́-m</td>
<td>pàyá-ɔ́-m [-yà→w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
<td>ló-m</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-m</td>
<td>pàyá-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ló-yè</td>
<td>dùyɔ́-yè</td>
<td>pàyá-yè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3Pl -yè is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading, hence ní-yè ‘they (will) give’.

As this paradigm shows, the unsuffixed imperfective has no overt AN suffix. This could, in theory, result in confusion between the unsuffixed imperfective and the unsuffixed perfective. However, the two can always be distinguished. To begin with, the third person suffixes are different in the two paradigms. In addition, while the unsuffixed perfective drops stem tones to {L}, the unsuffixed imperfective stem always has at least one H-tone. Lexical /H/ melody is preserved, and lexical /LH/ is either preserved or overlaid to {H}.

10.2.2.2 Reduplicated imperfective (Cɔ́, 3Sg -ĩñ)

In the absence of a preverbal constituent, an unsuffixed imperfective is normally reduplicated. As a result, the reduplicated imperfective is very common in texts, much more so than the reduplicated perfective.

The reduplicative segment has the same form as for the reduplicated perfective (§10.2.1.9, above). However, the reduplicated imperfective has the same stem-tones as in the unreduplicated imperfective. A mono- or bisyllabic stem is entirely H-toned whether
the lexical melody is /H/ or /LH/. Heavier stems keep their lexical melody, either /H/ or /LH/. There is no lengthening of the short vowel of a Cv-monosyllable like wô- ‘catch’.

(260)  

a. li-lô-ê  
Rdp-go.Ipfv-1SgSbj  
‘I will go.’ (lô-)

b. ù-ùrê-ê  
Rdp-go.up-1SgSbj  
‘I will go up.’ (ùrê)

c. sù-sûyê-ê  
Rdp-hit.Ipfv-1SgSbj  
‘I will hit (it).’

d. i-ẽwê-ê  
Rdp-buy.Ipfv-1SgSbj  
‘I will buy (it).’ (ẽwê-

e. wì-wô-ùn  
Rdp-catch-Ipfv.3SgSbj  
‘He/She will catch.’ (wô-)

f. gû-gûlû-rû-ùn  
Rdp-long-Fact-Ipfv.3SgSbj  
‘He/She will lengthen.’ (gûlû-rû-

That imperfective verbs are often reduplicated in the absence of a preverbal constituent is illustrated in (261), which contains two perfective-imperfective sequences denoting actions performed in a given order in constructing a wooden apiary for honey bees. In the first sequence, the imperfective verb is not reduplicated because it has a preverbal object NP. In the second, there is only an implied object and the imperfective verb is reduplicated.

(261)  

kâm-di:.-rê-∅  
dô  wôy,  
wide-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj  if  all,  
mô:.-tîmbî:  
jûrê-ŷ:.,  
mouth-covering  want.Ipfv-1PlSbj,  
tîmbî-ţi-ŷ:;  
dê,  ù-ùgûrô-ŷ:;  
cover-Pfv1b-1PlSbj  if,  
Rdp-scent.Ipfv-1PlSbj  
‘When it (=section of hollowed tree trunk) has become wider, we look for a covering (to close up the opening). When we have covered (the opening), we give it (=apiary) a smell.’ [2005.1a.09]

The paradigm is (262). The specifically imperfective suffixes for 3Sg and 3Pl are noteworthy.
The reduplicated imperfective is distinguished from the reduplicated perfective by the tone of the stem. The reduplicated imperfective has H-tones for light stems, and preserves lexical /H/ or /LH/ for heavy stems. The reduplicated perfective and the reduplicated stative have {HL} tone overlay on the stem. The third person endings also distinguish the reduplicated imperfective from the others.

The 3Sg form of the reduplicated imperfective (suffix -m̀) should not be confused with a temporal adverbial construction with initial H-toned reduplication, {HL} stem overlay, and final -m, type í-ò́yá-m ‘while standing’ (§15.2.1.9).

### 10.2.2.3 Progressive (and habitual) (:-rà-)

A form with suffix :-rà-, lengthening the stem vowel, has progressive and habitual functions. I will label it the **progressive**. The stem has its lexical tone melody.

(263) a. **bírê** **bírê:-rà-̀ỳ**
work(n) work-Prog-1PlSbj
‘We are working (now).’ (**bírê**)  

b. **dànní:-rà-̀w**
hunt-Prog-3SgSbj
‘He/She hunts (regularly).’ (**dànní**)  

c. **bërù-m** **wò:-rà-̀ỳ**
goat-AnSg catch-Prog-1SgSbj
‘I am catching the goat.’ (**wò**)  

d. **l1-HL kù: í ùrùyò:-rà-̀w**  
1SgPoss.HL head 1SgObj hurt-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
‘My head is/was hurting me’ (= ‘I have/had a headache’)

The **paradigm** is (264). The 3Sg is homophonous to the 2Sg, as in stative inflections. The 3Pl adds -bò ~ -bò to the 3Sg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(262)</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>-ỳ</td>
<td>lì-lò-ỳ́</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>lì-lò-̀ẃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>-ỳ::</td>
<td>lì-lò-ỳ::</td>
<td>[lò→j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-w::</td>
<td>lì-lò-̀w::</td>
<td>[lò→w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>-m̀</td>
<td>lì-lò-ḿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>-yè</td>
<td>lì-lò-yè́</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm is (264). The 3Sg is homophonous to the 2Sg, as in stative inflections. The 3Pl adds -bò ~ -bò to the 3Sg.
(264) category suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>category</th>
<th>suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŷ : pronunciation [râ ⇆ j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŵ : pronunciation [râ ⇆ w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>:-râ-ŵ-bô (often heard as :-râ-ŵ-bô๑)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


/LHL/-toned jê:- ‘bring’ has jê:-râ- ‘brings’.

The progressive verb form is optionally preceded by existential particle *yá* (§11.2.2.1). For an example see (89a) in §6.1.3. This implies an affinity between progressive and stative.

Examples of the progressive in the sample text are in B’s first turn in (654), C’s first turn in (660), C’s first turn in (664), and in (669) and (678).

10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs

10.2.3.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs

There is little resemblance in form between positive and negative inflectional categories. Most perfective and perfect positive categories correspond to perfective negative *-řî*. Most imperfective positive categories correspond to imperfective negative *-râ-(n)dô*.

10.2.3.2 Perfective negative (-řî-) and related forms

The basic perfective negative is formed with suffix *-řî*, before which a stem has {L} overlay.

The *řî* is subject to Nasalization-Spreading, becoming *řî* after a nasal, in *nu*-fř-ō ‘he/she did not hear’, bârâ-řî ‘did not beat (toment)’, dûw’ô-řî ‘did not finish (was not used up)’, and ni yô-řî ‘did not sleep’. Nasalization-Spreading does not apply to the 3Pl form -ř-ā, hence *nu*-ř-ā ‘they did not hear’.

Verbs of the shape *Cv*-a combine *y* / and suffixal *řî* as *n* : gû-ři ‘did not say’ (*gû*), gâ-ři ‘did not put’ (*gâ*), ķâ-ři ‘did not do’ (*kâ*), see §3.5.4.3.

*bêřî*- get, obtain forms bêl-řî ‘did not get’ (showing syncope of the stem-final vowel and *řî* replaced by *Il*, §3.5.4.5). By contrast, other verbs with final *ř* plus vowel have unsyncopated forms: tôrô-řî ‘did not pound’, sô:rô-řî ‘did not slide in’, pêřî-řî ‘did not clap’. The verb tâlî- ‘transform, convert’ has tâl-řî as a variant of tâl-řî ‘did not
transform’, showing that when a short high vowel is syncopated the resulting /r/r/ cluster is realized as /l/. One might use this datum to argue that the conversion of /r...r/ to /l...l/ in bèl -li- (see beginning of this paragraph) has an intermediate (dissimilated) stage /l...r/.

(265) a. yè́-rî-∅
   come^1^-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She didn’t come.’

b. ù yè́-rî-ŷ
   2SgObj see^1^-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
   ‘I didn’t see you-Sg.’

c. bû: pàɣà rà-规章制度
   3P|Obj tie^1^-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
   ‘You-Sg didn’t tie them up.’

d. lố-rà
   go^1^-PfvNeg-3P|Sbj
   ‘They didn’t go.’

The irregular /LHL/ toned ‘bring’ (jê:-) is not subject to the {L} overlay on the stem. Its perfective negative is 3Sg subject jê:-rî-∅ prepausally, with <LH> tone on the stem and downstepped H-tone on the suffix. It is jê:-rî-, with <LHL> tone on the stem, before a clause-final particle or with a nonzero pronominal suffix.

The pronominal-subject paradigm is (266).

(266) Paradigm of perfective negative

category     suffix

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1Sg    | rî-ŷ | pronounced [rį:]
| 2Sg    | rû-ŵ | pronounced [rů:]
| Pl     | rî-ŷ : | pronounced [rį—]
| 2Pl    | rû-ŵ : | pronounced [rů—]
| 3Sg/Inan | rî-∅ | (not subject to Nasalization-Spreading)
| 3Pl    | r-ā | (not subject to Nasalization-Spreading)

Note the phonetic monophthongization in the 1Sg and 2Sg, and the H-tone of the 2Sg form. 3Sg/Inan -rî-∅ does not lengthen its vowel.

The experiential perfect negative is formed by adding perfective negative allomorph -lî- to an L-toned form of experiential perfect -tâ-, resulting in -tà^1^-lî-. The preceding stem also has {L} tone overlay, showing that the final suffix controls tones on the entire word. The combination is common, as it is the usual way to express ‘have never VPed’. The pronominal endings are the same as for perfective negative -rî-.
a. **bàmàkɔ́ lò-tà¹-li-ýy**
   Bamako go-ExpPf-Neg-1SgSbj
   ‘I have never gone to Bamako.’

b. **ŋ̀gú yì-tà¹-l-a**
   ProxInan see-ExpPf-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
   ‘They have never seen this (before).’

The synchronically puzzling shift of *r* to *l* is best explained historically, since cognates of *-tà* contain a rhotic (e.g. Jamsay *-tèrè*), and since underlying */rv-r/ sequences in verbal morphology may shift one or both rhotics to *l* (§3.5.4.4-5). Perfective negative *-rí-* may follow recent perfect *-jè-* in the sense ‘have not finished VP-ing’. In this combination, the main verb stem keeps its lexical tone, but *-jè-* drops its tone to *jè*<sup>+</sup>. In other words, the main verb and *-jè-* behave tonally like two verbs in a chain. The pronominal endings are the same as for simple *-rió-*.

An explicit negation of resultative *-sò-* (cf. quasi-verb *sò-* ‘have’) is not common in texts, but it is elicitable. The negative paradigm is identical to that of ‘have’, thus *-sò-lò-* plus the pronominal-subject suffix. For an example, see (619c) in §18.3.1. Segmentation of the irregular 3Pl form is difficult.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm of resultative negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.3.3  Imperfective negative (*-m-dó-, -rà = rá-*)

The imperfective negative is based on *-m-dó-* except for an irregular 3Pl form *-m-n-é*. In careful speech, *-m-dó-* is heard as [mòndó], i.e. the nasalization extends beyond the transition from labial to alveolar place of articulation. Native speakers correct the linguist’s pronunciation when the [n] is left out.

The *-m-* is identifiable with the 3Sg *-m* suffix in the unsuffixed imperfective (positive). Furthermore, the stem of the imperfective negative has the same tones as those of the corresponding unsuffixed imperfective, H or LH depending on the stem. This strongly
suggests that the imperfective negative -m-dó- is directly built on the unsuffixed imperfective (positive), specifically on the 3Sg form of the latter, merely adding a negative suffix -dó. Thus dúyö₃- ‘pound (millet ears)’, unsuffixed imperfective (positive) dúyö₃- with H-toned stem, and imperfective negative dúyö₃-m-dó- with the same tones. In interliners I gloss -m- in this combination as “Ipfv” and -dó- as “Neg.”

The paradigm is (270). Segmentation of the irregular 3Pl form is again difficult.

(270)  Paradigm of imperfective negative

category     suffix
1Sg           -m-dó-ŷ
2Sg           -m-dó-ও
1Pl           -m-dó-ŷː;
2Pl           -m-dó-ওː;
3Sg/Inan      -m-dó-∅
3Pl           -m-n-ɛ̀

A similar =m =dá is the negation of the ‘it is’ clitic =m (§11.2.1.4).

The HLH tone sequence involving stem plus -m-dó- is pronounced with a lower pitch on -dó- than on the H-toned part of the stem. Since this is a predictable phonetic implementation (a kind of downdrift), I do not mark it explicitly and do not consider it to constitute downstep (§3.7.4.4).

Examples are in (271).

(271) a.  tê: n₃-m-dó-∅
   tea drink-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She doesn’t drink tea.’

   b.  ŋ̀gú-rù bíréé bíré=m-n-ɛ̀
   here work(n) work-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj
   ‘They don’t work here.’

The final H-tone is often heard as low in texts when prepausal. The H-tone is easier to hear before a clause-final particle such as emphatic kòy.

Progressive :-rā-, whose positive conjugation already shows stative features (3Sg -ও), is negated by adding conjugated stative negative =rā-, resulting in :-rā=rā-. The verb stem retains the same tones as in the positive.

(272) a.  ñyé duwⁿ₃-rā=rā-∅
   today leave-Prog=StatNeg-3SgSbj
   ‘Nowadays it (=water) doesn’t cease (=run out).’ [2005.1a.04]
The paradigm is (273). Only the final stative negative clitic is conjugated.

(273) Paradigm of progressive negative category suffix

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-ý} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-ó} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-ý} )</td>
<td>pronounced [\text{rá→j}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-ó} )</td>
<td>pronounced [\text{rá→w}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-ó} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>(\text{- rá-bó} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.3.4 Stative negative (\(=\text{rá} \) without reduplication)

Compare positive example (274a), from §10.2.1.11 above, with its negative counterpart (274b).

(274) a. \(\text{i-řéw-yè-ý} \)

Rdp-sit-MP.Stat-1SgSbj

‘I am sitting.’

b. \(\text{èw-yè-ō = rá-ý} \)

sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-1SgSbj

‘I am not sitting.’

In the negative form (274b), the reduplicative segment is gone. The stem drops to L-tone, as it does before the perfective negative suffix \(-\text{ři-}\). Negative clitic \(=\text{rá} \) is added to \(-\text{ō} \), which could be identified morphemically with \(-\text{ō} \), the 3Sg subject allomorph used in the stative positive (cf. \(\text{i-řéw-yè-ó} \) ‘he/she is sitting’). However, \(-\text{ō} = \text{rá} \) is the basis for the entire stative negative paradigm (275), not just the 3Sg, so I gloss it in this combination as “Stat” in interlinear.

(275) category suffix

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>(-\text{ō} = \text{rá-ý} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>(-\text{ō} = \text{rá-ń} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The H-toned 2Sg suffix has parallels in other negative paradigms (perfective negative, progressive negative).

10.3 Pronominal-subject suffixes for indicative verbs

10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

To pull together data from the various AN categories given above, the basic forms of first/second person pronominal-subject suffixes on inflected verbs are those in (276).

(276) category suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>2Sg (sometimes H-toned -w)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>-ŷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>-ŵ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is an issue as to whether these suffixes have intrinsic tones or get their tones from the preceding morpheme. Many of the AN categories have suffixes that end in a falling tone in the zero 3Sg form, and the unsuffixed perfective stem is L-toned. In these forms, the L-tone on a first/second person suffix could be analysed as due to Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2). The test is therefore what happens when the first/second person suffix follows an H-tone. This happens in the perfective negative with suffix -rí- and in the stative negative with -rá-, but here the evidence is split. The 1Sg combination has falling tone in both (-rí-ŷ, -rá-ŷ) suggesting an intrinsic L-tone on 1Sg -ŷ. However, the 2Sg combinations have H-tone (-rí-ẁ, -rá-ẁ), implying that the tone has spread from the negative suffix to the 2Sg suffix. The 1Pl and 2Pl suffixes are moot in this respect, because of their dying-quail intonation which overrides final-syllable L- or H-tone.

Segmental irregularities in combinations involving first/second person suffixes are minor and usually have a clear phonological basis. 1Sg -ŷ undergoes monophthongization with a preceding i, both in the marked perfective -tí-ŷ and in the perfective negative -rí-ŷ. The original falling tone of the AN suffix is preserved in the <HL>-toned monophthong. A parallel monophthongization with 2Sg -w occurs in the marked perfective-1b -tí-ẁ and in the perfective negative -rí-ẁ).

For 3Sg/Inan, the allomorphs are as in (277).
The \(-\ddot{w}\) in (277c) suggests a morphological connection with \(-w\) as an adjectival suffix (inanimate). In verbal morphology, 3Sg \(-\ddot{w}\) entails homophony between 3Sg and 2Sg. The lengthening of the vowel of the AN suffix in (277b) is necessary to permit the contour tone to be expressed; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). In the specific case of perfective \(-tî:\-\emptyset\), the lengthening results in (accidental) homophony with the 1Sg, which monophthongizes from /-tî-\(\ddot{y}\)/ to phonetic \([tî:]\).

As with the first/second person suffixes, one can argue whether the nonzero 3Sg allomorphs, \(-\ddot{w}\) and \(-\ddot{m}\), are intrinsically L-toned, or acquire their tones by spreading from the left.

The 3Pl forms are especially irregular (278). In parsing texts, it is particularly worth noting that 3Pl \(:-r-\ddot{a}:\) is from perfective-1a \(:-r-\ddot{e}:\) and not from progressive \(:-r-\ddot{a}:\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(277)</th>
<th>3Sg/Inan allomorph</th>
<th>AN category</th>
<th>suffix + 3Sg/Inan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>-(\emptyset)</td>
<td>unsuffixed perfective</td>
<td>-(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated perfective</td>
<td>-(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective-1a</td>
<td>-(\ddot{r}-\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective negative</td>
<td>-(\ddot{r}-\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imperfective negative</td>
<td>-(\ddot{r}\ddot{h}\ddot{d}-\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative negative</td>
<td>-(\ddot{w}-\ddot{r}\ddot{d}-\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>-(\emptyset) (long vowel)</td>
<td>perfective-1b</td>
<td>(+\ddot{t}-\cdot\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>recent perfect</td>
<td>(+\ddot{j}-\cdot\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>-(\ddot{w})</td>
<td>experiential perfect</td>
<td>-(\ddot{t}-\ddot{a}-\ddot{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>-(\ddot{s}-\ddot{d}-\ddot{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>-(\ddot{r}-\ddot{a}-\ddot{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>(+\ddot{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated stative</td>
<td>(+\ddot{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>-(\ddot{m})</td>
<td>unsuffixed imperfective</td>
<td>(+\ddot{m})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated imperfective</td>
<td>(+\ddot{m})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(278)</th>
<th>3Pl allomorph</th>
<th>AN category</th>
<th>AN suffix + 3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>-(\ddot{b}) (-b(\ddot{b}))</td>
<td>unsuffixed perfective</td>
<td>(-\ddot{b}) ~ (-b\ddot{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>(:-\ddot{r}\ddot{a}-w-b\ddot{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated perfective</td>
<td>(-b\ddot{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated stative</td>
<td>(-\ddot{w}-b\ddot{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative negative</td>
<td>(-\ddot{w}-\ddot{r}\ddot{a}-b\ddot{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b1.</td>
<td>-(\ddot{a}) (-(\ddot{y}\ddot{a}))</td>
<td>perfective-1a</td>
<td>:(-r-\ddot{a}:) (&lt; :(-r-\ddot{e}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective-1b</td>
<td>:(-\ddot{r}-\ddot{y}\ddot{a}) (&lt; :(-\ddot{r}-\ddot{e}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>recent perfect</td>
<td>(-\ddot{j}-\ddot{a}:) (&lt; (-\ddot{j}-\ddot{e}-\ddot{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective negative</td>
<td>(-r-\ddot{a}:) (&lt; (-r-\ddot{r}-\ddot{e}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b2.</td>
<td>-(\ddot{y}\ddot{e})</td>
<td>unsuffixed imperfective</td>
<td>(-\ddot{y}\ddot{e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reduplicated imperfective</td>
<td>(-\ddot{y}\ddot{e})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b3. -è imperfective negative -în-n-è (< -în-dó-)

c. -mà experiential perfect -tà-mà

One could perhaps group (278b1-b3) together into a set \{à -è -yà -yè\}, but the phonological relationships among the variants are opaque. The quite distinct form -bó (278a) resembles the 3Pl independent pronoun bû:, while the allomorph -mà (278c) could be identified with the plural perfective participial suffix (in relative clauses).

-bó is basically H-toned. The other 3Pl allomorphs are heard with L-tone, but in those cases one could argue that the L-tone is spread from the left.

10.4 Deictic temporal clitics and particles

10.4.1 Past = bè- (= bê-) and its conjugated forms

The past clitic = bè- or = bê- repositions the deictic center from which an eventuality is observed into a past time frame. The L-toned, always short-voweled form = bè- is used in certain combinations where it follows an L-toned verb form. The form = bê- with falling tone, which expands to = bê:-Ø when followed by zero 3Sg suffix (by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition, §3.7.4.1), is used when the preceding verb form ends in an H-tone, and in a few other combinations.

I suspected originally that L-toned = bè- might really just be a downstepped version of <HL>-toned = bê-, but careful listening indicated that = bê- is entirely L-toned. The pitch does not rise from the preceding L-tone, and there is no falling tone internal to the syllable = bê-.

= bê ~ = bê is conjugated for pronominal subject, in two paradigms that occur in distinct constructions. The regular paradigm including tones is (279). The 1st/2nd person forms are based on = bê- and are regular in form. 3Sg/Inan = bê:-Ø has a long, <HL>-toned vowel. 3Pl = b-à: can be interpreted as the contraction of = bê:- (or presurface / = bê-/) with 3Pl -a.

The paradigms of the two variant forms of the clitic are in (279).

(279) category <HL>-tone form L-tone variant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>category</th>
<th>&lt;HL&gt;-tone form</th>
<th>L-tone variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>= bê-ŷ</td>
<td>= bê-ŷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>= bê-ŵ</td>
<td>= bê-ŵ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>= bê-ŷ:</td>
<td>= bê-ŷ: both pronounced [bê-&gt;j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>= bê-ŵ:</td>
<td>= bê-ŵ: both pronounced [bê-&gt;w]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
<td>= bê:-Ø</td>
<td>= bê-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>= b-à:</td>
<td>= b-à:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first and second person forms are unremarkable. In the 3Sg, the <HL>-tone form has a long vowel as noted above. The 3Pl forms involve a suffixed /-a/ that contracts with the /e/ of the clitic.

There are four major combinations of the past clitic with inflectable verb stems: past unsuffixed imperfective, past progressive, past stative, and past perfect (a better label than
past perfective, as we will see). There are positive and negative versions for each of these. The past perfect marks pronominal subjects both on the verb proper and on the clitic, though the 3Sg and 3Pl suffixes on the verb proper appear to be participial. In the other past AN categories, either -m- (imperfective) or -w- (stative) generalizes as the ending of the verb before the past clitic, except that (in most cases) the 3Pl has double suffixal marking, on the verb proper and again on the past clitic.

The past forms of the unsuffixed positive AN categories are first up here: unsuffixed imperfective, static, and unsuffixed perfective, in that order, before turning to combinations with nonzero AN suffixes. The corresponding negations will also be given immediately after each positive type.

10.4.1.1 Past unsuffixed imperfective (positive and negative)

The past unsuffixed imperfective is rather common (‘was working’, ‘used to work’). The verb form preceding the clitic generalizes the -m̀ suffix that, in the simple inflected paradigm, expresses 3Sg/inanimate subject, to all subject categories except 3Pl. So we see -m̀ = b̌ɛ̀- for example with 1Sg (280a), 1Pl (280b), and 3Sg subjects (280c). The past clitic is L-toned because it follows the L-toned suffix -m. Before the past clitic, I gloss -m̀ simply as ”Ipfv" in interliners. In the 3Pl, the regular 3Pl imperfective suffix -yɛ̀- appears before the past clitic, so there is double marking of the 3Pl category (280d).

(280) Past unsuffixed imperfective

a. bírë bírë-m̀ = b̌ɛ̀-y
   work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘I was working.’

b. bírë bírë-m̀ = b̌ɛ̀- ∴
   ‘We were working.’

c. bírë bírë-m̀ = b̌ɛ̀-̌O
   ‘He/She was working.’

d. bírë bírë-yè = b-à:
   ‘They were working.’

The morpheme sequence -m̀ = b-à: does not belong here; instead, it is a variant of -mà=b-à: (3Pl past perfect), §10.4.1.3.

A textual example of -yè = b-à: is (281).

(281) nànjànà: ñng’rò-ùrò yè tángú-rì
   entirely husband4-house come transfer.Ipfv-3SgSbj,

áñày” kà”-yè = b-à:
   thus do.Ipfv-3PIsbj=Past-3PIsbj
   ‘she (=bride) would definitively come and move to the husband’s house. They used to do thus.’ [2005.1.a.14]

The past imperfective negative is based on the conjugated imperfective negative with suffix complex -m-dò-. This form of the suffix complex occurs in all subject categories except 3Pl. The latter adds the 3Pl form of the past clitic to the already 3Pl suffix complex “m-n-è-. Since -m-dò- and 3Pl -m-n-è- end in a H-tones, the past clitic takes its falling-tone form.
Past imperfective negative

a. bírɛ́ bírɛ́-m-dó = bé-ᶿ́
   work(n) work-lpfv-Neg=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘I was not working.’

b. bírɛ́ bírɛ́-m-dó = bé-ᶿ́ ;
   ‘We were not working.’

c. bírɛ́ bírɛ́-m-dó = bɛː-Ø
   ‘He/She was not working.’

d. bírɛ́ bírɛ́-m-ɛ́ = b-âː;
   ‘They were not working.’

10.4.1.2 Past stative

In the past stative (chiefly for stance verbs: ‘I am/was sitting/standing’), the verb form preceding the past clitic has the regular stative stem shape segmentally, but it is H-toned. The initial reduplication is optionally present. The stative stem is followed by suffix -ẃ-, which has generalized from 3Sg stative -ẘ, but here also has H-tone, so the past clitic has its falling-toned form. The 3Pl has -ẃ- before the past clitic, as do the other pronominal categories. The -ẃ- suffix before the past clitic is glossed simply as “Stat[ive]” in interlinear. Since statives like ‘be sitting’ make no perfective/imperfective distinction, the past suffix is especially useful with these verbs. The examples in (283) use the stative form of èw-�é- ‘sit’.

(283) Past stative

a. (ìʔ)èw-�é-ẃ = bé-ᶿ́
   (Rdp-)sit-MP-Stat=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘I was sitting.’

b. (ìʔ)èw-�é-ẃ = bé-ᶿ́ ;
   ‘We were sitting.’

c. (ìʔ)èw-�é-ẃ = bɛː-Ø
   ‘He/She was sitting.’

d. (ìʔ)èw-�é-ẃ = b-âː;
   ‘They were sitting.’

Negative counterparts add stative negative clitic =rá- before the past clitic. The stative negative clitic controls {L} overlay on the preceding stem. Thus èw-�é-ẃ = rá = bé-ᶿ́ ‘I was not sitting’.

10.4.1.3 Past perfect

The third and last positive AN category with no audible AN suffix is the unsuffixed perfective. The (more or less) related form used with the past clitic is somewhat different formally, and the sense is past perfect (‘had VP-ed’). It is used, for example, in counterfactual conditional clauses (§16.5), and I will refer to it as past perfect (instead of past perfective).

Before the past clitic, the verb takes the bare stem (including H-tones, which are suppressed in the regular inflected unsuffixed perfective). The verb, moreover, takes a full set of pronominal-subject suffixes, so the subject is marked both on the verb and on the past clitic. The suffixes for first and second person subject are L-toned, so the past clitic takes its
**L-toned** form. *CV* verbs like *yɛ̌-* ‘come’ that have /LH/ tones in some similar syllabic positions have **H-tone** (284).

(284) Past perfect (first/second person)

a. *yɛ́-w̃ = bɛ̀-w̃*
   come-2SgSbj=Past-2SgSbj
   ‘You-Sg had come.’

b. *yɛ́-ỹ = bɛ̀-ỹ:
   come-1PISbj=Past-1PISbj
   ‘We had come.’

c. *kú gɔ̀-lɔ̀-ỹ = bɛ̀-ỹ*
   Inan.Sg go.out-Caus-1SgSbj=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘I had taken it out.’

In the past perfect, **special third person suffixes** are used in the verb preceding the clitic: 3Sg/inanimate -w̃ (285a), and 3Pl -mà̌- or less often -m̃- (285b). The 3Pl suffix variant -mà̌- is identical in form to the plural perfective participial suffix -mà. In this light, one might connect the 3Sg -w̃- suffix to the inanimate perfective participial suffix -w̃, though it seems odd that a specifically inanimate morpheme would generalize to animate 3Sg. The 3Pl variant -m̃- could cause the uninitiated to misparse a 3Pl past perfect as a 3Pl past imperfective. Thus *lɔ̀-m̃ = bɔ̀-ɔ̀:* ‘they had gone’ (text 2005.1a.08) was initially misconstrued by the fieldworker as ‘they were going’ by analogy to (non-3Pl) past imperfective forms like 3Sg *lɔ̀-m = bɛ̀-∅* ‘he/she was going’. However, the sense ‘they were going’ is actually expressed by *lɔ̀-ỹ = bɔ̀-ɔ̀:*

(285) Past perfect (third person)

a. *yɛ́-w̃ = bɛ̀-∅*
   come-3SgSbj=Past-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She had come.’

b. *yɛ́-mà = bɔ̀-ɔ̀:
   come-3PISbj=Past-3PISbj
   ‘They had come.’

A version of the past perfect in relative-clause form with suffix -w̃ is recorded in a text: *yɛ́-w̃ = bɛ̀-w̃* ‘they (locusts) had come (many years earlier)’ [2005.1a.08].

The past perfect negative (‘had not VP-ed’) is built on the perfective negative with -rì-, which (as usual) controls {L} overlay on the preceding verb. The form in -rì- with no further suffix generalizes to all subject categories except 3Pl, which has its regular perfective negative form -r-ð̃ before the past clitic (286d).
(286) Past perfect negative

a. \( yɛ̀-rɪ=bɛ̀-y \)
   \( \text{come}^{-}\text{-PfvNeg}=\text{Past-1SgSbj} \)
   ‘I had not come.’

b. \( yɛ̀-rɪ=bɛ̀-w \)
   ‘You-Sg had not come.’

c. \( yɛ̀-rɪ=bɛ̀:-Ø \)
   ‘He/She had not come.’

d. \( yɛ̀-r-á=b-á: \)
   ‘They had not come.’

10.4.1.4 Past of perfective-1a

Though the combination is uncommon, an explicitly perfective-1a form with suffix \( :-rɛ̀- \) is attested with the past clitic. In (287), the speaker first used this form, then restarted the clause and repeated the same verb without the past clitic, suggesting that he preferred the latter phrasing. My assistant did indicate that the combination with past clitic is grammatical, though not common.

(287) \[[kú\text{HL} \text{år}ⁿ \text{-gùsù}] \] [\([\text{DiscDef} \text{HL} \text{year}] \) \([\text{ten-five} \text{ five} \text{ plus}] \)
\( d3:\text{-rɛ̀}=bɛ̀-Ø \)
\( \text{gùy}ⁿ\text{-bô—} \),
\( \text{arrive-Pfv1a=Past-3SgSbj] \) \( \text{say.Pfv-3PlSbj—} \),
\( d3:\text{-rɛ̀-Ø} \)
\( \text{gùy}ⁿ\text{-bô} \)
\( \text{arrive-Pfv1a} \) \( \text{say.Pfv-3PlSbj} \)
‘That year was the 55th year since they (=locusts) had (last) arrived, they said.’
[2005.1a.08]

10.4.1.5 Past progressive

The past progressive with suffix \( :-rɛ̀- \) can be followed by the past clitic. In this combination, the form that generalizes throughout the paradigm has suffix \( :-w- \) (as in the past stative) added to the progressive suffix. In the 3Pl, I recorded a form with \( -rɛ̀-w-bô \) before the clitic.

(288) Past progressive

a. \( bɪrɛ \)
   \( \text{work(n)} \)
   \( \text{work-Prog-Stat=Past-1SgSbj} \)
   ‘I was working.’

b. \( bɪrɛ \)
   \( \text{bɪrɛ:-rɛ̀-w}=bɛ̀-Ø \)
   ‘He/She was working.’

c. \( bɪrɛ \)
   \( \text{bɪrɛ:-rɛ̀-w-bô}=b-á: \)
   ‘They were working.’

The past progressive negative adds stative negative \( =rål- \) before the past clitic (289).
(289) Past progressive negative

a. *bírë*  
   *birë*:râ=râ=bë-y
   work(n) work-Prog=StatNeg=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘I was not working.’

b. *bírë*  
   *birë*:râ=râ=bë:-Ø
   ‘He/She was not working.’

c. *bírë*  
   *birë*:râ=râ=b-â:
   ‘They were not working.’

For *kâⁿ-wⁿ=bë* ‘it happened’ and its negation *kàn-i=bë*, see §11.1.6.

10.4.1.6 Past of ‘be’ and ‘have’

Defective stative quasi-verbs ‘be (somewhere)’ and ‘have’, and their negations, can combine with the past clitic. For *was*, the stem itself ends in an H-tone, with or without *yâ*, and the 3Pl form is doubly conjugated.

(290) Paradigms of ‘was’ and ‘was not’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>‘was’</th>
<th>‘was not’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td><em>bú=bë-ŷ</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=bë-ŷ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td><em>bú=bë-ŵ</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=bë-ŵ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td><em>bú=bë-ŷ:.</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=bë-ŷ:.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td><em>bú=bë-ŵ:.</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=bë-ŵ:.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td><em>bú=bë:-Ø</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=bë:-Ø</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td><em>b-ɛⁿ: = b-â:</em></td>
<td><em>ŋgó=b-â:</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*bë*- may also replace *bú-*, as in *yá bë:-Ø* ‘there used to be … (3Sg)’ in text 2005.1b.01.

For ‘have’, the positive forms (except the doubly-conjugated 3Pl) are based on *só-ŵ-*, with stative -*ŵ*.-

(291) Paradigms of ‘had’ and ‘did not have’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>‘had’</th>
<th>‘did not have’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td><em>só-ŵ=bë-ŷ</em></td>
<td><em>sò-ló=bë-ŷ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td><em>só-ŵ=bë-ŵ</em></td>
<td><em>sò-ló=bë-ŵ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td><em>só-ŵ=bë-ŷ:.</em></td>
<td><em>sò-ló=bë-ŷ:.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td><em>só-ŵ=bë-ŵ:.</em></td>
<td><em>sò-ló=bë-ŵ:.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The resultative verb form, with suffix -só-, is occasionally combined with past clitics, and has the same forms as for ‘have’.

(292) mɔ̀su mà:ní-só-w = bɛ̀-w kálà
bad think-Result-Stat=Past-2SgSbj even
‘even if you-Sg were to think (something) evil’ [2005.1b.07]

10.4.2 ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, (not) yet’

‘Still’ is àsú→ (also ‘always’), optionally expandible as àsú→dàⁿ wóy.

(293) [àsú→dàⁿ wóy] sèllè-ri-∅ má
[still all all] be.healthy-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Q
‘Is he/she still sick?’

‘Up to now, as of now’ can be expressed as dɔ̂m kálà or as núwⁿyⁿ kálà, with kálà ‘even’.
‘(Not) yet’ is expressed with a negative predicate plus dɔ̂m ‘(up to) now’.

(294) dɔ̂m yè-rí-∅
up.to.now come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘He/She hasn’t come yet.’

10.5 Imperatives and hortatives

10.5.1 Imperative and prohibitive

A representative paradigm of positive and negative imperatives is in (295), for the verb ‘come’ (yè). The (positive) imperative is based on the imperative stem (§10.5.2, below), which for this verb involves a shift in the final vowel to a. The prohibitive (=negative imperative) forms are based on a dedicated prohibitive suffix -ré-. In both cases, there is no further affixation for 2Sg addressee, while 2Pl addressee is marked by a suffix -h.

(295) form gloss
yá ‘come!-Sg’
yá-h ‘come!-Pl’
yè-ré ‘don’t come!-Sg’
yè-ré-h ‘come!-Sg’

Because basic reflexive-object pronouns (á, plural â:) are limited to third person subjects, they cannot be used to test whether imperatives have a syntactically operative covert second person subject. In (296a), the object is 2Sg with no reflexive marking, compare (296b) with a disjoint subject. NPs with possessed kù: ‘head’ can occur in imperatives as in other types of
clause, but their status as anaphors is questionable (296c). Reciprocal objects are also allowed in plural-subject imperatives (296d). Optional accusative marking of objects, as in (296a), shows that these NPs have the same grammatical status as objects in ordinary clauses.

For some verbs the imperative stem has the same vocalism as the unsuffixed perfective, in which case the distinction between e.g. 2Sg imperative (296a) and 3Sg perfective (296e) is made only by tone overlay.

(296)  

a. \[\text{ú = } nì\] \[\text{súy}5\]  
\[\text{2Sg=Acc} \quad \text{hit.Imprt}\]  
‘Hit-2Sg yourself!’

b. \[\text{ú = } nì\] \[\text{súy}3-b5\]  
\[\text{2Sg=Acc} \quad \text{hit.Pfv-3PISbj}\]  
‘They hit-Past you-Sg.’

c. \[\text{[ú Hl;} \text{kû:] } \text{súy}5\]  
\[\text{[2SgPoss Hl;head]} \quad \text{hit.Imprt}\]  
‘Hit-2Sg yourself!’

d. \[\text{tú:} \quad \text{súy}5-û\]  
Recip  \[\text{hit.Imprt-Imprt.Pl}\]  
‘Hit-2Pl each other!’

e. \[\text{ú = } nì\] \[\text{súy}3-∅\]  
\[\text{2Sg=Acc} \quad \text{hit.Pfv-3SgSbj}\]  
‘He/She hit-Past you-Sg.’

10.5.2 Imperative stem

The imperative stem, which is used without further modification as a singular-addresssee positive imperative (‘come!’), is not always identical to the simple bare stem used in chains and before indicative suffixes. The imperative stem and the bare stem are identical for H-toned monosyllables not ending in e (297a), for HH-toned bisyllabic CvCv stems (bimoraic, with light initial syllable) ending in {a e o ɔ}, i.e. not ending in a high vowel or in e (297b), and for Cvyn stems (297c). As always, the stem-initial C position in these schemas may be vacant.

(297) /H/ melody, prosodically light

gloss \quad \text{bare stem} \quad \text{imperative}

a. monosyllabic
‘go’ \quad ló \quad ló
‘spend night’ \quad ná \quad ná
‘give’ \quad ní \quad ní
‘enter’ \quad nú \quad nú (homophonous with ‘hear’)

138
b. light bisyllabic, final nonhigh vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Bare Stem</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jump’</td>
<td>pété</td>
<td>pété</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>tégé</td>
<td>tégé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go down’</td>
<td>sí-yé</td>
<td>sí-yé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘affix, paste’</td>
<td>tará</td>
<td>tará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘choke’</td>
<td>pɔ́rɔ́</td>
<td>pɔ́rɔ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Cayⁿ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Bare Stem</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>káyⁿ</td>
<td>káyⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>gáyⁿ</td>
<td>gáyⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb stems with other shapes undergo an audible tonal change to **final L-tone**, and/or a **mutation of the final vowel to a**. These changes are predictable from the phonological form of the simple bare stem.

/LH/-melody monosyllabic stems, and /LH/-melody bisyllabic stems with light first syllable, i.e. CvCv, have {H} overlay in the imperative. Because of this, all Cv and CvCv stems (regardless of lexical tone melody) have H-toned imperatives. Therefore the identity between bare stem and imperative for the lexically /H/-toned Cv and CvCv stems described above is accidental (resulting from a phonetically inaudible {H} tone overlay on an already /H/ toned verb). (298) shows audible {H} overlay on lexical /LH/ melodies.

(298) /LH/ melody, prosodically light

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. monosyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go/come out’</td>
<td>gō</td>
<td>gō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>nɔ̃</td>
<td>nɔ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. CvCv, final nonhigh vowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pull’</td>
<td>básá</td>
<td>básá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stop up’</td>
<td>múso</td>
<td>múso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sprinkle’</td>
<td>misé</td>
<td>misé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>jiyé</td>
<td>jiyá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trimoraic bisyllabic** stems, which have a heavy initial syllable, and all bisyllabic stems regardless of syllable weight that **end in a high vowel {i u}**, add a **stem-final L-tone formative** in the imperative. If the lexical melody is /H/, the result is an HL tone pattern (299a,c). If the lexical melody is /LH/, the result is an <LH>-L pattern (299b,d). In the case of bimoraic lexical CvCv stems (299d), the <LH> portion of <LH>-L is expressed chiefly on the first syllable even though this syllable is monomoraic. Phonetically, there can be some spillover of the H-tone element into the onset of the second syllable. A similar issue of phonetic realization was seen with 1Sg possessor forms of CvCv noun stems (§6.2.2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. prosodically heavy, /H/ melody, final nonhigh vowel</td>
<td>‘screw in’ pí:rè</td>
<td>pí:rè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>éw-yé</td>
<td>éw-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘do well’</td>
<td>cé:lè</td>
<td>cé:lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. prosodically heavy, /LH/ melody</td>
<td>final high vowel</td>
<td>‘think’ mà:ní</td>
<td>mà:nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘rake up’</td>
<td>yàwrú</td>
<td>yàwrà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>dūmdú, dūmdí</td>
<td>dūmdà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final nonhigh vowel</td>
<td>‘sneak up on’ yò:rò</td>
<td>yò:rò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. prosodically light (CvCv, CvNCv), /H/ melody, final high vowel</td>
<td>‘look’ tíní</td>
<td>tínà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hang up’</td>
<td>kɔ́lì-</td>
<td>kɔ́là</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘encounter’</td>
<td>témbí</td>
<td>témbà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. prosodically light (CvCv, CvNCv), /LH/ melody, final high vowel</td>
<td>‘put down’ dɛ̀yí</td>
<td>dɛ̀yà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘chase away’</td>
<td>lári</td>
<td>lárà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘help’</td>
<td>bǎrí</td>
<td>bǎrà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>áyí</td>
<td>áyà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘dig’</td>
<td>gànjí</td>
<td>gànjà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems of three syllables also shift the final tone to low. An /H/-melody verb shifts from H.H.H to H.H.L (300a). /LH/-melody trisyllabics shift from L.L.H in the bare stem to L.H.L in the imperative; the lexical H-tone element is preserved, but displaced to the medial syllable (300b).

(300) Trisyllabic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody</td>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>ínjírí</td>
<td>ínjírà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘cough’</td>
<td>kógúsó</td>
<td>kógúsò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LH/ melody</td>
<td>‘roll on ground’ dūlùrò</td>
<td>dūlùrò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘roll over’</td>
<td>bìlìré</td>
<td>bìlìrè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>bàŋgírí</td>
<td>bàŋgàrà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
<td>gòŋgírí</td>
<td>gòŋgàrà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the tonal changes, the imperative may change the final vowel to a, and if so this may affect the medial vowel (in trisyllabics).
If the stem ends in \( \varepsilon \), it shifts to \( a \), even in \( C \varepsilon \) monosyllabics (301a). If it already ends in \( a \), the imperative also has \( a \), and it is moot whether a vowel mutation has occurred (301b). If it ends in \( \{ e\,o\,ɔ\} \), there is no mutation to \( a \) (301c). Monosyllabic \( Ci \) and \( Cù \) verbs also do not mutate (301d). Bi- and trisyllabic stems ending in a high vowel all shift it to \( a \) (301e-f). In the case of trisyllabics, the shift to final \( a \) induces the medial vowel, elsewhere a high vowel (due to weak metrical position), to harmonize with the initial vowel (301f).

(301) Vocalism of imperative stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. final ( e \rightarrow a )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>monosyllabic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>( yê- )</td>
<td>( yá )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take (hot coals)’</td>
<td>( jê- )</td>
<td>( já )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>( jê:- )</td>
<td>( jâ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bisyllabic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hone’</td>
<td>( nê'ê- )</td>
<td>( nê'â )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>( jiyé- )</td>
<td>( jýâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swallow’</td>
<td>( mir'ê- )</td>
<td>( mír'â )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. stem already ( a )-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tie’</td>
<td>( pâyâ )</td>
<td>( pâyâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bear (child)’</td>
<td>( når''â )</td>
<td>( nár''â )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spend night’</td>
<td>( nâ )</td>
<td>( nâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. no change in final ( { e,o,ɔ} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>monosyllabic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>( nɔ̌ )</td>
<td>( nɔ̌ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘catch’</td>
<td>( wό )</td>
<td>( wό )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bisyllabic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take down’</td>
<td>( sî-lé- )</td>
<td>( sî-lè )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do well’</td>
<td>( cē:lé )</td>
<td>( cē:lè )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘file’</td>
<td>( di:sé- )</td>
<td>( di:sè )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat (meat)’</td>
<td>( kûwō )</td>
<td>( kûwô )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td>( súyɔ̌ )</td>
<td>( súyɔ̌ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. no change in final high vowel in monosyllabics with high vowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>( yî- )</td>
<td>( yî )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>( nû- )</td>
<td>( nû ) (homophonous with ‘enter’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. final high vowel ( \rightarrow à ), bisyllabics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fill’</td>
<td>( bà:li- )</td>
<td>( bà:lä )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td>( dâmbî- )</td>
<td>( dâmbâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tamp down’</td>
<td>( dëŋgî- )</td>
<td>( dëŋgâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘clean off’</td>
<td>( kâ:sî- )</td>
<td>( kâ:sâ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘caress’</td>
<td>( pû:râ- )</td>
<td>( pû:râ )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
f. trisyllabics with medial high vowel
   all vowels high
   ‘twist’ \(\text{únjúwú}–\text{únjúwà}\)
   final high vowel, initial nonhigh vowel, medial vowel changes
   ‘hide’ \(\text{bàŋgirí}–\text{bàŋgárà}\)
   ‘go around’ \(\text{gàŋgùrù}–\text{gàŋgùrà}\)

10.5.3 Irregular imperative stems

All verbs including ‘come’, ‘go’, and ‘take’ have regular imperative stems.
Certain greetings are imperative-like in form, and have a plural-addresssee form ending in \(-nì\) that resembles imperative plural suffix \(-n\), but these greetings are somewhat irregular and difficult to parse; see §19.5.

10.5.4 Imperative plural (positive) \(-n\) (\(-nì\))

The (positive) plural-addresssee imperative is expressed by adding \(-nì~n\) to the imperative stem. An imperative of the tonal type \(\text{bàrá} \, 'help!'\) simplifies to plural-addresssee \(\text{bàrá-\text{-n}}\), which to my ear is homophonous to the corresponding form of \(\text{bàrá} \, 'gather!'\) (302b).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
(302) & gloss & bare stem & Imprt Sg & Imprt Pl \\
\hline
a. various shapes & & & & \\
‘go’ & \(\text{łó}–\text{łó–n}\) & \(\text{łó}–\text{łó–n}\) & \\
‘come’ & \(\text{yé}–\text{y–á}–\text{yá–n}\) & \(\text{yá–n}\) & \\
‘twist’ & \(\text{únjúwú}–\text{únjúw–á}–\text{únjúw–á–n}\) & \(\text{únjúw–á}–\text{únjúw–á–n}\) & \\
‘tie’ & \(\text{páyá}–\text{páyá}–\text{páyá–n}\) & \\
‘hide’ & \(\text{bàŋgirí}–\text{bàŋgár–á}–\text{bàŋgár–á–n}\) & \\
‘think’ & \(\text{mà:ní}–\text{mà:n–á}–\text{mà:n–á–n}\) & \\
‘finish’ & \(\text{dùmdú}–\text{dùmdí}–\text{dùmdí–á}–\text{dùmdí–á–n}\) & \\
‘put down’ & \(\text{dèyí}–\text{dèy–á}–\text{dèy–á–n}\) & \\

b. distinct bare stems, homophonous imperatives & & & & \\
‘gather’ & \(\text{bàrá}–\text{bárá–n}\) & \(\text{bárá–n}\) & \\
‘help’ & \(\text{bàrí}–\text{bàrù}–\text{bàrù–n}\) & \\

10.5.5 Prohibitive \(-rè\) ~ \(-lè\), plural \(-rè–n\) ~ \(-rè–nì\) ~ \(-lè–n\) ~ \(-lè–nì\)

The prohibitive stem includes a suffix \(-rè\), which has no phonological interactions with the stem. It is compatible with any stem-vocalism (i.e. its vowel does not harmonize to stem-
vowels e or o). The rhotic is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading under the influence of a nasal in the stem. The verb occurs in the bare stem, with its lexical tone melody.

(303) gloss  bare stem  prohibitive

\begin{align*}
\text{'go'} & \quad \text{lo} & \quad \text{lo-ré} \\
\text{'go in'} & \quad \text{nú} & \quad \text{nú-ré} \\
\text{'come'} & \quad \text{ye} & \quad \text{ye-ré} \\
\text{'hear'} & \quad \text{nú} & \quad \text{nú-ré} \\
\text{'drink'} & \quad \text{nʒ} & \quad \text{nʒ-ré} \\
\text{'take out'} & \quad \text{gô-ló} & \quad \text{gô-ló-ré} \\
\text{'do well'} & \quad \text{cé:lé} & \quad \text{cé:lé-ré} \\
\text{'hit'} & \quad \text{sûyô} & \quad \text{sûyô-ré} \\
\text{'swallow'} & \quad \text{mir"é} & \quad \text{mir"é-ré} \\
\text{'hide'} & \quad \text{bàngìrî} & \quad \text{bàngìrî-ré} \\
\text{'pinch'} & \quad \text{ɛ́mbi-} & \quad \text{ɛ́mbi-ré} \\
\text{'get up'} & \quad \text{ínjírî} & \quad \text{ínjírî-ré} \\
\text{'twist'} & \quad \text{únjúwú-} & \quad \text{únjúwú-ré} \\
\end{align*}

The three Cyyⁿ stems have prohibitives with -łé, whose l replaces the yⁿ of the stem, leaving no trace of nasalization. Thus gâyⁿ ‘put’, prohibitive gâ-łé ‘don’t put!’ . Likewise kâ-łé ‘don’t do!’ , gû-łé ‘don’t say!’ .

The prohibitive stem is used without further modification as the singular-addressee prohibitive (‘don’t-Sg …!’). For plural addressee, the suffix -ǹ ~ -nì is added, as for the (positive) imperative. Thus nú-ré ‘don’t-Sg go in!’, nú-ré-ǹ ‘don’t-Pl go in!’

10.5.6 Hortatives (-ḿ, Pl -mâyⁿ) and their negation (-rê-ḿ ~ -lê-ḿ)

For a singular addressee, the hortative suffix is -ḿ following the bare stem in {L}-toned form. Prototypically, the speaker encourages the addressee(s) to join the speaker in carrying out some action.

(304) a. lô-ḿ
    go-Hort
    ‘Let’s-2 go!’

\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \quad \text{ɲéyⁿ } & \quad \text{ɲè-ḿ} \\
\text{meal} & \quad \text{eat-Hort} \\
\text{‘Let’s-2 eat (the meal)!’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{c. } & \quad \text{ɛ́w-ỳè-ḿ} \\
\text{sit-MP-Hort} & \quad \text{‘Let’s-2 sit down!’} \\
\end{align*}

Further examples of the simple hortative are in (305). Stems ending in a short high vowel pronounce it as u before -ḿ, and if there are no other i vowels or palatal consonants the
rounded pronunciation spreads leftward to a noninitial medial syllable, as in ‘hide’. The *Cvy* stems (‘say’, ‘put’, ‘do’) lose the final semivowel.

(305) gloss bare stem hortative

a. final nonhigh vowel
   ‘hit’  súyɔ́ súyɔ́-m

b. final high vowel
   ‘hide’ bàngirí bàngirí-r ì
   ‘go back’ píníwɔ̀ bàngirí-r ì
   ‘pinch’  ámbì- ámbì-r ì

c. *Cvy*
   ‘say’  gùyɔ́ gùyɔ́-m
   ‘put’  gàyɔ́ gàyɔ́-m
   ‘do’  kàyɔ́ kàyɔ́-m

The suffix `-mâyɔ́` is added to a verb stem with {L} tone overlay to produce a **3+-plural** hortative, normally used when the speaker is addressing two or more persons, so the implied subject is first person plural (minimally three referents).

(306) a. lò-mâyɔ́
go-hort.Pl
   ‘Let’s-3+ go!’

b. ɲẹ́yɔ́ ɲẹ́-mâyɔ́meal eat-hort.Pl
   ‘Let’s-3+ eat (the meal)’

c. ðw-yè-mâyɔ́sit-MP-hort.Pl
   ‘Let’s-3+ sit down’

A **hortative negative** is formed by adding -rẹ́-m or (plural) -rẹ́-mâyɔ́ to the stem (which has its regular tones). The negative element -rẹ́- has some similarity to perfective negative -rí-, but -rẹ́- does not force tone-dropping on the verb stem, and its r is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading triggered by a nasal in the stem. It is therefore to be directly connected to prohibitive -rẹ́.

(307) a. lò-rẹ́-m
  go-neg-hort
  ‘Let’s-2 not go!’

b. ɲẹ́yɔ́ ɲẹ́-rẹ́-m
  meal eat-neg-hort
  ‘Let’s-2 not eat (the meal)’
c.  élw-yé-rè-m̀
sit-MP-Neg-Hort
‘Let’s-2 not sit down!’

d.  ló-rè-mâyⁿ
go-Neg-Hort.Pl
‘Let’s-3+ not go!’

For nú- ‘enter’ and nǔ- ‘hear’, I recorded nú-rè-m̀ ‘let’s-2 not go in!’ and nǔ-rè-m̀ ‘let’s-2 not hear!’.

The r of -rè-m̀ combines with the final nasal of Cvéⁿ verb stems as l. Thus káyⁿ ‘do, make’ has ká-lè-m̀ ‘let’s not do!’; gáyⁿ ‘put’ has gá-lè-m̀ ‘let’s not put!’.

As mentioned before, the prototypical context for a hortative is that the speaker proposes to the addressee(s) that they jointly perform an action. There are textual examples with hortative -m̀ in a clause proposing an action by a third party. For example, near the end of B’s turn in (685) in the sample text we see éře jìyé jùwⁿ-m̀ ‘let him (=the linguist) kill (=turn off the recorder)’.

The hortative form in -m̀ can also be used as a 1Sg hortative, where the speaker exhorts the addressee(s) to allow the speaker to do something. This requires an explicit 1Sg pronoun í preceding the verb, and the examples I have of this also involve a syntactic frame including either imperative dùwɔ́ ‘leave (=let, allow)’ or a special invariant form jë: (cf. verb jë: ‘bring’) with similar sense, as in (308a). The corresponding plural-subject form has 1Pl pronoun î:

(308)  a.  í:yà, jë: í ayí-m̀
stand.Imprt, let! 1SgSbj take-Hort.1Sg
‘Stand-2Sg (=wait), let me take (=get) it!’

b.  í:yà-n, jë: í: ày-màyⁿ
stand.Imprt-Imprt.Pl, let! 1SgSbj
‘Stand-2Pl (=wait), let us (instead of you-Pl) take (=get) it!’

A quoted form of a clause like (308), with logophoric á instead of 1Sg í, is attested in a text (2005.2a.07).

In (309), the 1Sg hortative construction is used to make an offer to help.

(309)  [í kálà]  [yà: úllà¹ í nù-w]
[1Sg too] [there a.little¹ 1SgSbj hear.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
[fùllà sày]  yà: bàrù-m̀
[‘a.little only] there help-Hort
‘I too, what little I have heard there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.’ [2005.2b.04]

See also §17.1.3.2, below, on explicitly embedded hortative clauses.
10.5.7 Quoted imperative (-ý ~ -ỳ) and its negation (-ré-ý)

A third-person subject form here labeled **QuotImpr** (in earlier drafts: third-person hortative) occurs in imprecations and wishes of the type ‘may/let (e.g. God) him/her/them VP’, expressing a wish or imprecation. In this function it may be conjugated for 3Pl subject. The QuotImpr form is also used in quoted commands (jussives), which use the quotative-subject construction instead of conjugating the verb (§17.1.3.1).

The QuotImpr suffix is -y, added directly to the stem. It is subject to Nasalization-Spreading. There is no distinct plural-subject form, except in imprecations (which lack the quotative-subject construction).

For **Cv**- monosyllabic stems, the lexical tone melody is preserved (310a-b), so the suffix is H-toned -ý (or nasalized -ýⁿ). ‘Bring’ keeps its lexical <LHL> tones, and the whole word comes out as <LHL> rather than <LHLH> (310c). The three **Cvy** verbs have QuotImpr forms homophonous to the bare stems (310d).

(310) **Monosyllabic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>QuotImpr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ló</td>
<td>ló-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>nɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go in’</td>
<td>nú</td>
<td>nú-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sow’</td>
<td>tɔ́</td>
<td>tɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spend night’</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>ná-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘reply’</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>sá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
<td>tá</td>
<td>tá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(woman) marry (man)’</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>é-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘choose, reserve’</td>
<td>lá</td>
<td>lá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LH/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>yɛ́</td>
<td>yɛ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>nɔ̀</td>
<td>nɔ̀-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>yɪ́</td>
<td>yɪ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go out’</td>
<td>gɔ́</td>
<td>gɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘catch’</td>
<td>wɔ́</td>
<td>wɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>dɔ́</td>
<td>dɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>nù</td>
<td>nù-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘learn’</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>bá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(food) sate (sb)’</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>bá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shape (pottery)’</td>
<td>mǎ</td>
<td>mǎ-ýⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /LHL/ melody (only example)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>jê:</td>
<td>jê:-ý</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

146
d. Cvỳⁿ (segmentation of QuotImprt ambiguous)
/LH/ melody
‘put’ gayⁿ gayⁿ-∅ (or: gàⁿ-yⁿ)
‘say’ guyⁿ guyⁿ-∅ (or: guⁿ-yⁿ)
/H/ melody
‘do, make’ káyⁿ káyⁿ-∅ (or: káⁿ-yⁿ)

Bi- and trisyllabic verbs ending in a non-high vowel are illustrated in (311). When the lexical melody is /H/, the QuotImprt remains H-toned if bimoraic (311a), but HL-toned with the low on the final syllable prosodically heavy (311b). Frozen causatives gò-lò- ‘take out’ (cf. gò- ‘go out’) and sí-lé- ‘take/bring down’ (cf. sí-yé- ‘go/come down’), along with another verb of conveyance jò-lò- ‘convey, take (somewhere)’, are treated for this purpose as prosodically heavy (311c). For bisyllabic stems (CvCv, CvCCv) with /LH/ melody, the QuotImprt has an L-toned stem followed by an H-toned suffix -ý (311d). Trisyllabic stems with /LH/ melody have bell-shaped L.H.L tone in the QuotImprt (311e).

(311) Nonmonosyllabic stems with final non-high vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>QuotImprt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody, CvCv (light)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>césé</td>
<td>césé-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td>súyɔ́</td>
<td>súyɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tie’</td>
<td>páyá</td>
<td>páyá-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go down’</td>
<td>sí-yé</td>
<td>sí-yé-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /H/ melody, heavy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do well’</td>
<td>cè:lé</td>
<td>cè:lé-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>éw-yé</td>
<td>éw-yè-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
<td>hálkɛ́</td>
<td>hálkɛ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cough’</td>
<td>kógúsò</td>
<td>kógúsɔ-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. CvCv-, frozen causatives (all relevant examples)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take down’</td>
<td>sí-lé</td>
<td>sí-lè-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take out’</td>
<td>gò-lò</td>
<td>gò-lò-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘convey’</td>
<td>jò-lò</td>
<td>jò-lò-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /LH/ melody, CvCv- and CvnCv- (light)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leave’</td>
<td>dùwɔ́</td>
<td>dùwɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>bìrɛ́</td>
<td>bìrɛ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go up’</td>
<td>úrɔ́</td>
<td>úrɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvnCv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘roll turban’</td>
<td>dòmbɔ́</td>
<td>dòmbɔ́-ý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stutter’</td>
<td>bèmbɛ́</td>
<td>bèmbɛ́-ý</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. /LH/ melody, heavy
   ‘poke’ dûsû̀rò dûsû̀rò-̀y

Bi- and trisyllabic stems ending in a high vowel are in (312). The bisyllabic ones, whether lexically /H/ (312a) or /LH/ (312b), have an HL-toned QuotImp. In the trisyllabic cases, the first syllable preserves the initial tone of the lexical melody, so we get H.H.L for /H/ trisyllabics (312c) and L.H.L for /LH/ trisyllabics (312d).

(312) Nonmonosyllabic stems with final high vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>bare stem</th>
<th>QuotImprt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody, bisyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ignite’</td>
<td>tálí</td>
<td>tálí-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘look’</td>
<td>tìní</td>
<td>tìnì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘encounter’</td>
<td>tèmbí</td>
<td>tèmbì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘begin’</td>
<td>tùmdí</td>
<td>tùmdì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘split nut’</td>
<td>káwrú</td>
<td>káwri-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LH/ melody, bisyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘help’</td>
<td>báří</td>
<td>bářì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cover’</td>
<td>dèwí</td>
<td>dèwì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘receive’</td>
<td>áwú</td>
<td>áwì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hold’</td>
<td>wàyí</td>
<td>wàyì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dig’</td>
<td>gànjí</td>
<td>gànjì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>dûmdú, dûmdí</td>
<td>dûmdì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘encounter’</td>
<td>dà:yí</td>
<td>dà:yì-̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /H/ melody, trisyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go back’</td>
<td>pînìwⁿí</td>
<td>pînìwⁿì-̀y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the QuotImprt are in (313). For the syntax of jussives and further examples, see §17.1.3.1. Some greeting formulae may contain quoted imperatives (§19.5).

(313) a. jînjè ú hêtík-̀y
     God 2SgObj destroy-QuotImprt
     ‘May God destroy you-Sg!’ (hêtík-̀)

b. jînjè ú dùwɔ-̀y
    God 2SgObj leave-QuotImprt
    ‘May God leave you-Sg (in peace)!’ (dùwɔ-̀)
\text{c.} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{Sg-QuotImprt} \\
\text{'May S (person's name) go!' (ló-)} \\

-\text{ý} \text{ undergoes monophthongization} \text{ with a preceding i, resulting in a phonetic long [i:] with the appropriate tone. Thus, the QuotImprt forms in (314a-b) are pronounced [nǐ:] and [bārǐ:], respectively.} \\

(314) \text{a.} \quad \text{jǐnjè jām [ú mà:] nǐ-ý} \\
\text{God peace [2Sg Dat] give-QuotImprt} \\
\text{'May God give you-Sg peace (and well-being)!’ (nǐ-)} \\

\text{b.} \quad \text{jǐnjè ú bārǐ-ý} \\
\text{God 2SgObj help-QuotImprt} \\
\text{'May God help you-Sg!’ (bārǐ-)} \\

In such imprecations, which lack the quotative-subject construction, the 3Pl-subject QuotImprt (positive) adds \text{-bó} (i.e. the 3Pl subject allomorph used with the unsuffixed perfective and a few other inflected verb forms) to the QuotImprt suffix: \text{gó-ý-bó ‘may they go out!’, gânjì-ý-bó ‘may they dig!’, pàyá-ý-bó ‘may they tie!’}. \\

The \text{QuotImprt negative} \text{ is expressed by -rɛ́-ý added to the regular bare stem of the} \text{ stem:} \text{gó-rɛ́-ý ‘may he/she not go out!’, gânjì-rɛ́-ý ‘may he/she not dig!’} \text{ Without further suffixation this functions as the 3Sg-subject QuotImprt.} \\

The 3Pl-subject QuotImprt negative adds \text{-bó} \text{ to the QuotImprt negative suffix complex in imprecations:} \text{gó-rɛ́-ý-bó ‘may they not go out!’, gânjì-rɛ́-ý-bó ‘may they not dig!’} \\

10.5.8 Quoted imperative form with 1Sg subject reference \\

To verify that an interlocutor or a third party wants the speaker to perform an action, the speaker may use a phrase like those in (315), essentially an implied indirect quotation based on an imperative. Local French equivalents have clause-initial \text{de plus infinitive} (\text{d'acheter du lait?}, etc.). An overt independent pronoun can be added if necessary (315g). \\

(315) \text{a.} \quad \text{éwɛ́-ý} \quad \text{mé} \\
\text{milk buy.Ipfv-QuotImprt Q} \\
\text{‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to buy some milk?’ (éwɛ́-)} \\

\text{b.} \quad \text{yù: dúyá-ý} \quad \text{mé} \\
\text{millet pound-QuotImprt Q} \\
\text{‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to pound the millet (ears)?’ (dúyá-)} \\

\text{c.} \quad \text{gó-ý} \quad \text{mé} \\
\text{go.out-QuotImprt Q} \\
\text{‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to go out?’ (gó-)}
Here *ma* is the standard morpheme for polar interrogatives. Since the 1Sg subject suffix is -y (atonal), one is initially inclined to assume that this suffix is present in the verbs of (316). However, inspection of the forms (especially the tones) shows that the verb here is in the QuotImprt form (see preceding section). All of the examples in (315) can also be read as true jussive sentences: ‘(Did you/they ask/tell) him/her to go out?’ and so forth.

In most cases, the question format and the conversational context make it clear that the subject is 1Sg. It is possible, however, to add an explicit independent pronoun to clarify the pronominal category of the subject. This can be done, for example, to specify 1Pl (exclusive) instead of 1Sg subject.

10.5.9 Quoted hortative

Quoted hortatives are based on the regular hortative forms -m and -mây (§10.5.6). The two forms can be neutralized in quotations as the simpler form -m (316).

(316) \[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{för: sóy}] \quad \text{lô-m}\quad \text{giv\".bš} \\
[\text{1Pl all]} \quad \text{go-Hort] say,Pfv-3PlSbj}
\end{array}
\]

‘They said, let’s all go!’
11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb types (valency)

Verbs are intransitive (no direct object) or transitive. The distinction in transitivity is less
important than in e.g. English since some verbs occur with a cognate nominal as a kind of
pro-forma object.

*ní* ‘give’ takes a dative NP denoting the recipient, and a direct object denoting the entity
transferred (317).

(317) a. \[pɛ̀rm \ mā: \ ní-ti:-∅\]
    \[sheep-AnSg 1Sg.Dat give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She gave me a sheep.’

b. \[[sɛyduto ] \ [mær] \ pɛ̀rm \ ní-ti:-∅\]
    \[S \ [Dat] \ sheep-AnSg \ give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She gave a sheep to Seydou.’

c. \[mā: \ ní-ti:-∅\]
    \[1Sg.Dat \ give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She gave (it) to me.’

cɛːrl ‘show’, however, takes two direct objects.

(318) a. \[pɛ̀rm \ [i] \ cɛːrl-ti:-∅\]
    \[sheep-AnSg \ 1SgObj \ show-Pfv1b-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She showed me a sheep.’

b. \[i \ cɛːrl-ti:-∅\]
    \[1SgObj \ show-Pfv1b-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She showed (it) to me.’

Basic directional motion verbs gô ‘go out; leave, depart from’, yê ‘come’, and lô ‘go’ may
take simple NPs (not explicitly marked by postpositions as locative) as apparent direct
objects. However, one could argue for a covert locative postposition in such cases.

(319) a. \[bɛːn \ gô = ń\] \[dûwànsân \ yê-∅]\n    \[B \ leave=and.SS \ D \ come.Pfv-3SgSbj\]
    ‘He/She left Beni and came to Douentza.’
    (= ‘He/She came from Beni to Douentza.’)
b.  îsê:  lò-Ø
village  go.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She went to a/the village.’

‘Say’ (gûyⁿ – gîⁿ) takes a dative complement denoting the person addressed.

(320)  [kà.:¹  kà:.”]  mā:  gi-ní-Ø
[thing¹  any]  1Sg.Dat  say-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘He/She didn’t say anything to me.’

11.1.2 Valency of causatives

Most causatives are simple transitive verbs derived from intransitive inputs. However, it is also possible to make causatives from already transitive input verbs. In this case, there are two direct objects, one of which represents the logical subject (agent) of the embedded clause.

(321)  a.  ɔ̀sɔ̀rɔ̀-nìngú  í  pè:-wí-Ø
baobab¹-sauce  1SgObj  eat-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She fed (= caused me to eat) millet cakes (with baobab sauce).’

b.  pèrè-m  í  sèwàwà-Ø
sheep-AnSg  1SgObj  slaughter-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She had me slaughter the sheep-Sg.’

11.1.3 Verb Phrase

The concept of verb phrase (VP), excluding the subject but including direct objects and other arguments, is most useful in the context of the chaining of a VP to another VP (or to a verb), with subjects held constant. See chapter 15.

11.1.4 Fixed subject-verb combinations

In the following phrases, the subject precedes the verb stem. The most obvious examples are those involving weather and celestial bodies, along with emotions; a few examples are in (322).

(322)  subject  verb  gloss  comment

a.  üsú túmbó-  ‘sun rise’  túmbó- also ‘emasculate by crushing (testicles)’
    üsú yàyá-  ‘sun set’  yàyá-  ‘fall’

b.  bòlú mirⁿé  ‘rain fall’  mirⁿé-  ‘(water) submerge (sb)’, also ‘frustrate (sb) by being stingy’, ‘swallow’
c. yär gô- ‘cloudy weather go out (= end)’ (circa October)
yär dô- ‘cloudy weather approach’ (circa May-June)

[~ yărû]

d. X cêlé bâr’â- ‘X get angry’ (‘X liver get.angry’)

In (322a), the other senses of verb tûmbô- listed under “comments” might give rise to rather violent, Goya-esque celestial imagery. Jamsay tûmó- and Nanga tûmbô- have similar semantic ranges. However, Bankan Tey úsù tûmbô ‘sun rise’ is unrelated to tûwô ‘hammer with …’, suggesting that the two senses of BenT tûm- may reflect accidental homophony. Najamba tûmbí- means ‘(sun) rise’ and also e.g. ‘(tree) grow leaves’, suggesting a more benign cosmic image.

The ‘X get angry’ construction may well have originated as ‘[X’s liver] become.red’, where cêlé (or kêlê) ‘liver (plus heart)’ is the seat of the emotions, and the ‘get angry’ verb originally meant ‘become red; become fiery’. However, X (not X’s liver) is now the syntactic subject. In (323a), the HL tones of cêlé are incorrect for a noun possessed by hô: ‘my father’ (which ends in an L-tone), cf. hô: 1cêlé ‘my father’s liver’ with {L}-toned ‘liver’. In (323b), cêlé is separated from the subject by an intervening constituent. The same-subject (SS) subordinator in the first clause in (323c) confirms that ‘my father’ and not ‘liver’ is subject of the second clause.

(323)

a. \(L^H+HL\) hô: cêlé bâr’â-:rê-∅
1SgPoss-HL father liver be.angry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘My father got angry.’

b. hô:\(L^H\) jây\(^n\) cêlé bâr’â-:rê-∅
1Sg-with
‘My father got angry at me.’

c. [Prox.Inan see=and SS] yî=nô cêlé bâr’â-:rê-∅
liver be.angry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He saw this and got angry.’

Similar constructions where a body-part or other noun functions as a pseudo-subject (really a kind of adverb) are X pâr’â gô- ‘X show(s) off’, X cîn-dârû gô- ‘X have a bloody nose (nosebleed)’, and X mô:-nî: gô- ‘X slobber’. Although the blood and the saliva are what ‘go out’ (gô-), the syntactic subject in each case is X, an NP that is not a possessor (there is no possessor-controlled tone overlay on the pseudo-subject).

11.1.5 Idiomatic and cognate objects

Some examples of fixed combinations of object noun and verb are in (324). Many more can be found in the lexicon.

(324) a. with jây\(^n\) ‘put’
 sè:njè: jây\(^n\) ‘tell a story (tale)’
 álbâtârá jây\(^n\) ‘tell a riddle’
gà:jè gáyⁿ
’sell (crack) a joke’
sò:rú gáyⁿ
’slip a stone (under); sheathe (knife)’
háccèlê gáyⁿ
‘pay attention to’
kòrⁿ gáyⁿ
‘(e.g. lion) let out a roar’
gùr-gàdáy gáyⁿ
‘tie hobbles on (quadruped)’
tòròmbá:sù gáyⁿ
‘tie a slipknot’

b. with káyⁿ ‘do, make’ (complement may be nominal or adverbial)
cè:rè káyⁿ
‘be amazing (to sb)’
dàwru káyⁿ
‘take actions’
kútòbá káyⁿ
‘(imam) read fixed part of sermon’
tàbû:r káyⁿ
‘give unofficial sermon’
sírdì káyⁿ
‘do magic tricks’

c. others (among many)
wóngòrò wàrá- ‘do (manual) farm work (in field)’
ɲèyⁿ bìr- ‘cook a meal’

11.1.5.1 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

A representative set of pairs of verb and cognate nominal are given in (325). It is somewhat difficult to sort them into groups, since both the noun and the verb are of variable shape. Since verb shapes are tightly constrained, the bias in organizing the data is toward the shape of nouns. In general, the order proceeds from cases where the noun may derive from a specific suffixal pattern, most likely deverbal (325a-h), to cases where the noun seems autonomous and the verb may be secondary (325i-p). Fulfulde borrowings bring up the rear.

(325) noun verb gloss of combination

a. noun in form of verbal noun (§4.2.2)
sèrⁿ-ì: sèrⁿé- ‘(woman) emit cry of joy’
tòŋ-ì: tòŋgú- ‘write, do some writing’
tèy tègé- ‘speak’
tàrî: târâ- ‘lay egg’

b. CVy noun, CVý verb (cf. §4.2.3)
with ATR shift
 tôy t5- ‘sow (seeds); sow the seedstock’

c. with ATR shift
lèmdë: lèmdë- ‘request, beg’
sè:nnjë: sè:nnjí- ‘do the second round of weeding’
pàrá: pàrì- ‘cook pàrâ: (a dish with cow-peas)’

d. bisyllabic noun with final falling-tone vowel
¿èmdè: ¿èmdë- ‘request, beg’
sè:nnjë: sè:nnjí- ‘do the second round of weeding’
pàrâ: pàrì- ‘cook pàrâ: (a dish with cow-peas)’

e. bisyllabic, noun ends in vy diphthong not present in verb (cf. §4.2.3)
final y in noun only
jimbày jimbì- ‘double up, have two’
kòsòy \ kòsú- \ ‘harvest (with knife), do the harvest’

\textit{final y in noun corresponds to yv in verb}
mònògòy \ mònòguyô- \ ‘(insects) be one on top of the other’

f. noun ends in long \textit{í}: (cf. §4.2.3)

ūsùrí: \ ūsùrú- \ ‘ask a question’

jéwí: \ jéwé- \ ‘curse, utter a curse’
góngùrí: \ gòngùrú- \ ‘make a circuit (trip)’
tiúìrúí: \ tiúìrúû- \ ‘formally counsel’

\textit{g. /LH/-toned bisyllabic noun ending in \textit{u} (possible old VblN)}
kòrú \ kòrš- \ ‘lie, tell a lie’
tiúrúí \ tiúrûû- \ ‘go search for firewood’

\textit{h. /HL/-toned bisyllabic noun ending in \textit{u} not present in verb}
pérú \ péré- \ ‘clap, applaud’
sálú \ sálá- \ ‘pray, perform the Muslim prayer’
dúrú \ dúró- \ ‘let out a groan’
mànú \ màní- \ ‘laugh, let out a laugh’
bémìbú \ bémìbé- \ ‘stutter’
dómìbù, dòm \ dómìbó- \ ‘roll turban (on head)’

\textit{with ATR shift}
yògò \ yògû- \ ‘run’
jòngù \ jòngí- \ ‘treat (medically), provide care to’

\textit{i. Cv: noun, Cv- verb}
yò: \ yò- \ ‘weep’
pò: \ pó- \ ‘give out a whistle’
tá: \ tá- \ ‘avoid, respect (a taboo)’

\textit{j. bisyllabic, verb and noun end in same non-high vowel}
jìyé \ jìyé- \ ‘dance’
sìwɔ́ \ sìwɔ̀- \ ‘defecate, take a shit’
tìwé \ tìwé- \ ‘(a) death occur’
bìrè \ bìrè- \ ‘work, do a job’
dìwɔ́ \ dìwɔ̀- \ ‘perform black magic’
gòsò \ gòsó- \ ‘divide into parts’
gùã́ \ gùã̀- \ ‘vomit’
bérè \ bérè- \ ‘gain, make a profit’
cèmùè \ cèmùè- \ ‘have fun, stage festivities’
èwììrùí \ èwììrùûí- \ ‘converse, chat’
nùwùì \ nùwùû- \ ‘sing, perform a song’

\textit{k. trisyllabic, verb and noun end in same non-high vowel}
yímirè \ yímirè- \ ‘(beggar) sing koranic verses’

\textit{l. noun Cv\textit{y}, verb bisyllabic with final non-high vowel}
jà́y \ já́yà- \ ‘fight, engage in a fight’
m. verb and noun end in high vowel or zero
   giyⁿ  ‘fart, let out a fart’
   tá:yⁿ  ‘build a shed (stall)’
   cél  ‘dig rainwater channel’
   dáwrú  ‘cast a spell’

n. bisyllabic, noun ends in non-high vowel, verb ends in high vowel
   p ámbó  ‘compete, be in a race’
   dānná  ‘hunt, go on a hunt’

o. Cv Cv Cv, noun with HHL tone
   gölhró  ‘snore’
   bégré  ‘belch’

p. other
   ùwáw  ‘be afraid’

q. Fulfulde borrowing, final e in noun and verb, noun HL, verb HH
   tíné  ‘make a profit’
   jáyré  ‘poke fun at’
   pillé  ‘tell a story’
   wá:tí  ‘swear an oath’ (<Fulfulde)

r. Fulfulde borrowing, final e in noun, verb ends in high vowel
   wá:jé  ‘preach a sermon’

In (326), there is a partial cognate relationship. In (326a), the noun has an initial vocalic formative that is absent in the verb. In (326b), the final syllable of the noun is truncated in the verb. In (326c), the noun is really a frozen noun-adjective sequence (cf. cèsú ‘unripe; raw’), with the verb based on the noun only. In (326d), the noun contains a compound initial that is disregarded in the verb.

(326)  noun  verb  gloss of combination

a. initial a- on noun but not on verb (%4.1.6), noun with final u
   à-pétù  pé-té-  ‘jump, take a jump’
   à-jáyⁿ  jáⁿ-  ‘sow in a pit with manure’

b. final syllable of noun truncated in verb (noun probably borrowed)
   sámbál  sámbí-  ‘hire (sb) by the day’

c. noun-adjective combination
   píyé cèsú  píyé-  ‘give out a shout’

d. noun has compound initial
   árⁿa-tá:  tá-  ‘scold’
   jírè-ní:  ní:yⁿí-  ‘sleep’ (jírè ‘eye’)
   cél-bégu  bègé-  ‘hiccup’
nà:-sinjēy sínjē- ‘draw lines’

11.1.5.2 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

The cognate nominal may be modified adjectivally (327b) or quantified over (327c).

(327) a. jáy jáyá-ti:∅
    fight(n) fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She fought (= got into) a fight.’

    b. [jày₁ diy̩°-wⁿ] jáyá-ti:∅
       [fight(n)₁ big] fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
       ‘He/She fought (= got into) a big fight.’

    c. [jày yêy] jáyá-ti:∅
       [fight(n) two] fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
       ‘He/She fought (= got into) two fights.’

11.1.6 ‘Do’ or ‘be done’ káyⁿ

The verb ‘do, make’, also used intransitively (‘be done’), has bare stem káyⁿ, perfective káyⁿ-tî-, unsuffixed imperfective káⁿ- (3Sg káⁿ-mñ), and imperative káyⁿ. The perfective negative is kà-ní-, and the imperfective negative is káⁿ-ñîr-dô-.

The intransitive forms of káyⁿ can also mean ‘happen, take place’, with reference to e.g. a celebration or other activity. Only 3Sg/Inan forms with inanimate subject are attested. In the positive example (328a), the verb is in stative form with stative 3Sg suffix -ẁ. (328b) is perfective negative. Both have the past clitic, with (as usual) =bê after an L-tone and =bê: after an H-tone.

(328) a. cêmné káⁿ-ñî=bê:∅
    festivity be.done-PfvNeg=Past
    ‘The festivities (e.g. dancing) had not taken place.’

b. cêmné kà-ní=bê:
    festivity be.done-PfvNeg=Past
    ‘The festivities had not taken place.’

For some fixed collocations involving káyⁿ and a noun or adverb, see (324b) in §11.1.5, above.
11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, ‘have’, and other statives

11.2.1 Copula clitic $=m$ (=Ø) ‘it is …’

This clitic has unconjugated and pronominally conjugated forms. The morphological analysis is tricky because the clitic itself sometimes appears only in the form of a slight tone change on a noun or adjective. There has also probably been a partial historical fusion with nominal suffixes (animate singular -$m$, animate plural/inanimate -$Ø$), but the split in ‘it is’ clitic allomorphs groups (animate) plural with singular, so there is no clean synchronic connection.

For the ‘it is’ clitic with passive -$yé-$, see §9.5.

11.2.1.1 Unconjugated positive forms

A clitic with various allomorphs is added to an NP (e.g. an independent pronoun) or to an adverbial in predicative function, as an identificational predicate. We begin with the impersonal form of the clitic, which is not conjugated for subject pronominal category. It resembles ‘it is …’ in English, as in ‘it’s me’ or ‘it’s dogs [focus] that I don’t like.’ This form is identical to the 3Sg conjugated form, as in ‘he/she/it is …’. The full set of conjugated forms is described in the following subsection.

After a pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, or demonstrative adverb (all of which end in vowels), the clitic is $=m$, with L-tone. In (329) and later examples, the ordinary form is given in parentheses after the translation. Note that animate and inanimate referents are involved.

(329) a. $ér^{n}é =m$
   3Sg=it.is
   ‘It’s him/her.’ ($ér^{n}é$)

b. $î =m$
   1Sg=it.is
   ‘It’s me.’ ($î$)

c. $bû : =m$
   3Pl=it.is
   ‘It’s them.’ ($bû$)

d. $ňgû -rû =m$
   here=it.is
   ‘It’s here.’ ($ňgû-rû$)

h. $ňgû =m$
   Prox.Inan=it.is
   ‘It’s this.’ ($ňgû$)

i. $[är^{n}â \quad mû:] =m$
   [man$^\dag$ \quad Prox.An]=it.is
   ‘It’s this man.’ ($är^{n}â mû$)
Inanimate nouns take a (segmentally) zero allomorph of the ‘it is’ clitic. We first consider vowel-final stems. If the final vowel is otherwise H-toned, as in ɔ̀r ‘bush (outback)’ or bòlú ‘rain’, it appears in the ‘it is’ construction with <HL>-tone. A final short vowel is lengthened to permit this contour tone to be articulated; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). Likewise, if the stem-final vowel is <LH>-toned, as in tǎ ‘water source’, in the ‘it is’ combination it appears with bell-shaped <LHL> tone. In other words, the ‘it is’ clitic in this instance is audible only by grafting of a segmentally empty L-toned morpheme (floating L) at the right edge of the stem. There is no audible change when the ‘it is’ clitic is added to a noun that already ends in a long L- or <HL>-toned vowel, like ɪsेय ‘village’, its possessed form ɪsेय; and tɔ́rɔ ‘mountain’ (330a-c). The final L-tone is audible in (330d-f).

(330) a. ɪsेय = ⌀
   village=it.is
   ‘It’s a village.’ (ɪsेय)

b. [u
   [2SgPoss
   it.is
   ‘It’s your-Sg village.’ (u
   from ɪsेय)

c. tɔ́rɔ = ⌀
   mountain=it.is
   ‘It’s a mountain.’ (tɔ́rɔ)

d. ɔ̀rɔ = ⌀
   outback=it.is
   ‘It’s the bush (=outback).’ (ɔ̀rɔ)

e. bòlú = ⌀
   rain=it.is
   ‘It’s (the) rain.’ (bòlú)

f. tǎ = ⌀
   water.source=it.is
   ‘It’s a water source (pond etc.).’ (tǎ)

If the noun ends in a consonant (either lexical or suffixal), the clitic again appears as (segmental) zero, with a final L-tone component that is audible only when the noun would otherwise end in an H- or <HL>-toned syllable (331a-b). It is inaudible when the noun would otherwise already end in an L- or <HL>-toned syllable (331c-d). Care must be taken to distinguish animate singular suffix -m (which has no intrinsic tone) from the ‘it is’ clitic allomorph = m. However, historically it is likely that the ‘it is’ variant =  mı was partially shaped by resegmentation of old animate singular forms.

(331) a. injé-m = ⌀
   dog-AnSg=it.is
   ‘It’s a dog’ (injé-m)
b.  \textit{tù:-bùnúgòy} = \emptyset  \\
   age.group-group=it.is  \\
   ‘It’s a group of age-mates.’ (\textit{tù:-bùnúgòy})

c.  \textit{árⁿà-m} = \emptyset  \\
   man-AnSg=it.is  \\
   ‘It’s a man.’ (\textit{árⁿà-m})

d.  [[\textit{árⁿà-L} \text{man} \text{Prox.An} = \text{it.is} ] \text{hl: woman} = \emptyset]  \\
   ‘It’s the woman (= wife) of this man.’ ([… \text{hl: yà-m}], from \text{yà-m})

The (usually optional) plural particle \textit{bè} behaves as though H-toned \textit{bé}, and therefore appears (regularly) as \textit{bé} = \emptyset (lengthened to permit the <HL>-tone to be articulated).

(332)  
\begin{itemize}
\item a.  \textit{isê:} \textit{bè}  \\
   village \text{pl}  \\
   ‘(some) villages’
\item b.  \textit{isê:} \textit{bè} = \emptyset  \\
   village \text{pl}=\text{it.is}  \\
   ‘It’s (some) villages.’
\end{itemize}

Definite particle \textit{kù} is treated as though it were H-toned inanimate pronoun \textit{kú}. We therefore get \textit{kú = m} (333), homophonous to \textit{kú = m} ‘that’s it’.

(333)  
\begin{itemize}
\item a.  \textit{árⁿà-m} \textit{kù}  \\
   man-AnSg \text{def}  \\
   ‘the (aforementioned) man’
\item b.  \textit{[árⁿà-m \text{man-AnSg \text{def}=\text{it.is}]} = \text{m}}  \\
   ‘It’s the (aforementioned) man’
\end{itemize}

There are quite a few nouns that end in a long <HL>-toned vowel, whether underlying or due to lengthening by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition; see (109b-c) in §6.3.1. The ‘it is’ form is homophonous to the simple independent form, e.g. \textit{kòsù:} ‘calabash’, \textit{kòsù} = \emptyset ‘it is a calabash’.

**Vowel-final animate nouns**, including personal names like ‘Amadou’ and certain kin terms like ‘father’, present analytical problems. In the singular, the ‘it is’ combination has a final à in every where the stem lacks this final consonant elsewhere. In (334a,c), ‘father’ lacks (animate) singular suffix -\textit{à} in other contexts, but a final à appears in the ‘it is’ combinations (334b,d). (334d) shows final à after a personal name in the ‘it is’ construction. One can argue whether the à in (334b,d-e) is the ‘it is’ clitic itself, or a morphosyntactically specialized instance of (animate) singular suffix -\textit{à}. I will take it to be the ‘it is’ clitic.
(334)  a. \[ \text{ú} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{bɔ́:} \]
    \[ \text{2SgPoss} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{father} \]
    ‘your-Sg father’

  b. \[ \text{müː} \hspace{1cm} [\text{ú} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{bɔ́:}] = \text{m} \]
    \[ \text{Prox.An} \hspace{1cm} [\text{2SgPoss} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{father}] = \text{it.is} \]
    ‘This (man) is your-Sg father’

c. \[ \text{bɔ́:} \]
    father
    ‘(a) father’

  d. \[ \text{bɔ́:} = \text{m} \]
    father=it.is
    ‘It’s a father.’

e. \[ \text{á:mádù = m} \]
    A=it.is
    ‘It’s Amadou (man’s name).’

Some other singular kin terms are more complex, since they have (animate) singular -m and \{HL\} tone overlay in their possessed forms, as for ‘mother’ in (335a-d). In the possessed form, the ‘it is’ clitic is now inaudible, as we see by comparing (335b) to (335a). In the unpossessed forms, however, the ‘it is’ clitic is clearly audible as =\(\text{m}\) (335d), contrast (335c).

(335)  a. \[ \text{ú} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{nárⁿà-m} \]
    \[ \text{2SgPoss} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{mother-AnSg} \]
    ‘your-Sg mother’

  b. \[ \text{müː} \hspace{1cm} [\text{ú} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{nárⁿà-m}] = \text{∅} \]
    \[ \text{Prox.An} \hspace{1cm} [\text{2SgPoss} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{mother-AnSg}] = \text{it.is} \]
    ‘This (woman) is your-Sg mother’

c. \[ \text{nárⁿá} \]
    mother
    ‘(a) mother’

  d. \[ \text{nárⁿá = m} \]
    mother=it.is
    ‘It’s a mother.’

In the plural, kin terms take plural particle \(bè\). In the ‘it is’ combination, we get the same \(bè: = \text{∅}\) described above.

(336)  a. \[ \text{ú} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{bɔ́:} \hspace{1cm} \text{bè} \]
    \[ \text{2SgPoss} \hspace{1cm} \text{HL} \text{father} \hspace{1cm} \text{Pl} \]
    ‘your-Sg fathers’ (i.e. father and father’s brothers)
It’s your-Sg fathers.’

Likewise, for ‘… are your-Sg mothers’, … ü nár à bê := ∅.

11.2.1.2 Conjugated positive forms (1st/2nd persons)

The simple clitic =m̀ can be conjugated for 1st/2nd person subject.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
\text{category} & \text{after H-tone} & \text{after L-tone} \\
1\text{Sg} & = m-î-ȳ^n & = m-î-ȳ^n \\
2\text{Sg} & = m-û-ô^n & = m-û-ô^n \\
1\text{Pl} & = m-î-ȳ^n:; , = m-û-ô^n:; & = m-î-ȳ^n:; , = m-û-ô^n:; \\
2\text{Pl} & = m-û-ô^n:; & = m-û-ô^n:;
\end{array}
\]

The tone alternations are similar to those of possessed nouns following undetermined possessors; see §3.7.3.4. In both cases it is difficult to determine whether the HL-toned or L-toned variant is structurally basic, and any tone-sandhi rule that could be proposed to account for the alternations would have to be morphosyntactically restricted.

For some speakers, the 1Pl and 2Pl clitics are added to a noun stem without singular -m, as in [bê:n nù] = mû-ȳ^n: ‘we are the people of Beni’ [2005.1a.06], as pronounced by an older speaker. For other speakers, including my younger assistant (born 1986), even the plural-subject forms are (at least seemingly) added to nouns that are singular in form (with animate singular suffix -m), when the subject is 1Pl or 2Pl. The audible effect is that we hear a geminate [mm] in (338b) as well as (338a), and in (338d) as well as (338c). My assistant pronounced the same expression just given as [bê:n nû-m] = mi-ȳ^n: ‘we are the people of Beni’, in the same recorded text.

The further examples in (338) have interlinearss that take the first m to be the (animate) singular suffix.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(338) a.} & yî-m = m-î-ȳ \\
& \text{child-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj} \\
& \text{‘I am a child.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(338) b.} & yî-m = m-î-ȳ:; \\
& \text{child-AnSg=it.is-1PlSbj} \\
& \text{‘We are children.’ (cf. yî-tê: ‘children’)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(338) c.} & pûlô-m = m-û-ô \\
& \text{Fulbe-AnSg=it.is-2SgSbj} \\
& \text{‘You-Sg are a Fulbe.’}
\end{array}
\]
d. \( \text{púlɔ́}=m=\text{m-ū-}\ddot{w} : \)
   Fulbe-AnSg=it.is-2PlSbj
   ‘You-PI are Fulbe.’

However, there are indications that the geminate [mm] may function for these speakers as an allomorph =mm- of the =m- ‘it is’ clitic, rather than as the sequence of animate singular -m- and the =m- clitic. In this analysis, the examples in (338) above are segmented as \( \text{yì}=\text{mm-ı-}\ddot{y} \), \( \text{yì}=\text{mm-ı-}\ddot{y} : \), \( \text{púlɔ́}=\text{mm-ū-}\ddot{w} \), and \( \text{púlɔ́}=\text{mm-ū-}\ddot{w} : \). The best evidence for this is that the geminated mm is heard after vowel-final singular nouns (339).

(339) a. \( \text{á:mádù}=\text{mm-ı-}\ddot{y} \)
   A=it.is-1SgSbj
   ‘I am Amadou.’

b. \[\text{[éŕé } \text{̃}\text{H}L\text{bò:}]=\text{mm-ı-}\ddot{y} \]
   \[\text{[3SgPoss } \text{̃}\text{H}L\text{father}]=\text{it.is-1SgSbj} \]
   ‘I am his/her father.’

However, there is also some counterevidence to this (re-)analysis. In a case like \( \text{púlɔ́}=m \) ‘Fulbe person’, plural \( \text{púlɔ́}: \) ‘Fulbe (people)’, there is a difference in stem-final vowel length, correlated with presence/absence of the (animate) singular suffix -m. We saw in (338d) above that \( \text{púlɔ́}=m=\text{m-ū-}\ddot{w} : \) ‘you-PI are Fulbe’ resembles \( \text{púlɔ́}=m \) with short vowel. A similar example is \( \text{nù-m}=\text{m-ī-}\ddot{y} : \) ‘we are people’, cf. \( \text{nù-m} \) ‘person’ and its long-voweled plural \( \text{nù} \) ‘people’. A partisan of the =mm- analysis of the clitic could respond that the shortening may be due to a (perhaps morphologized) phonological rule, e.g. /\( \text{pùlɔ́}=\text{mm-ū-}\ddot{w}/ \) with long /ɔ:/ shortening to ɔ.

For the noun \( \text{yì-m} \) ‘child’ and (irregular) plural \( \text{yì-tè} \) ‘children’, the idiomatic expressions seem to be based on \( \text{yì-m} \), e.g. \( \text{yì-m}=\text{m-ı-}\ddot{y} : \) ‘we are children’ (338b). However, in elicitation I also recorded \( \text{yì-tè}: =\text{mì-m-ı-}\ddot{y} : \) ‘we are children’, based on the irregular plural stem.

11.2.1.3 Conjugated positive forms (3Pl = ɔ-bɔ́)

The 3Pl conjugated form is = ɔ-bɔ́, with an ending that resembles 3Pl subject inflectional suffix -bɔ́ (-bɔ́) in certain verb paradigms including the unsuffixed perfective, see (278) in §10.3.1. Unlike the case with 1Pl and 2Pl clitics just illustrated, an animate noun takes its normal morphological plural form (without singular suffix -m), e.g. \( \text{púlɔ́}: \) ‘Fulbe (people)’, before 3Pl = ɔ-bɔ́. However, the stem (if otherwise ending in H- or <LH>-tone) undergoes the tonal changes characteristic of the = ɔ clitic allomorph (see above), for example in ‘dogs’ in (340c). Nouns (such as ‘father’ and ‘village’) that would otherwise take plural particle bè omit this particle before = ɔ-bɔ́. In (340a), an H.<LH> noun is realized as H.L before the H-toned clitic; see §3.7.4.5 on the tones.

(340) a. \( \text{púlɔ́}=\text{ɔ-bɔ́} \)
   Fulbe.Pl=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘They are Fulbe.’
b. ɪsɛː = ə-bɔ́
   village=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘They are villages.’

c. [müː bɛ̃] [u̯ bɔ́ ə]-[∅]
   [Prox.An PI] [2SgPoss ‘father’]=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘These (men) are your-Sg fathers’

d. yi-tɛː = ə-bɔ́
   children=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘They are children.’ (never #yɪ-m = bɔ́)

e. ɪnjɛː = ə-bɔ́
   dogs=it.is-3PlSbj
   ‘They are dogs.’ (ɪnjɛ́)

11.2.1.4 Unconjugated negative ‘it is not …’ ( = m̩ = dá, ə = râ)

Where the positive ‘it is’ form has =m̩, the corresponding negative is expressed by =m̩ = dá-. The stem has the same tones as with the positive =m̩ clitic. In slow speech, the negative morpheme is pronounced […ndá], and native speakers correct the linguist’s pronunciation when the [n̩] is omitted. However, in normal allegro speech I hear just […ndá] with no distinct alveolar nasal, and the phonetic [n] can be explained as a timing divergence between the labial release and the closing of the velar passage in the articulation of the m. I therefore transcribe =m̩ = dá, and I take =dá to be a postnasal form of stative negative =râ-.

(341) a. kú = m̩ = dá
   Inan=it.is=StatNeg
   ‘It isn’t that (discourse-definite).’

b. í = m̩ = dá
   1Sg=it.is=StatNeg
   ‘It isn’t me.’

c. á:mádù = m̩ = dá
   A=it.is=StatNeg
   ‘It isn’t Amadou.’

d. ŋ̀gú = m̩ = dá  dé
   Prox.Inan=it.is=StatNeg if
   ‘if it isn’t this’ (= ‘other than this, aside from this’)

The ‘if it isn’t …’ construction illustrated in (341d) is very common, with demonstrative ŋgú ‘this’ (inanimate) or discourse-definite kú ‘that (aforementioned)’ as the host of the clitic.

For inanimate nouns or adjectives, the ‘it is not …’ construction is expressed by = ə = râ. As with the positive = ə, the stem must end in an L-tone.
(342)  a.  \( \text{\textit{isê}}: = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    village=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not a village.’ (\( \text{\textit{isê}} \))

    b.  \( \text{\textit{ú}} \)  \( \text{\textit{village}} \) = it.is = StatNeg
    ‘It is not your-Sg village.’ (\( \text{ú} \) from \( \text{\textit{isê}} \))

    c.  \( \text{\textit{tórà}} = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    mountain=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not a mountain.’ (\( \text{tórà} \))

    d.  \( \text{\textit{drnɔ́}} = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    outback=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not the bush (=outback).’ (\( \text{drnɔ́} \))

    e.  \( \text{\textit{bòlû}} = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    rain=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not (the) rain.’ (\( \text{bòlû} \))

    f.  \( \text{\textit{tà}} = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    water.source=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not a water source (pond, etc.).’ (\( \text{tà} \))

    g.  \( \text{\textit{kɔ́sù}} = \emptyset = \text{rá} \)
    calabash=it.is=StatNeg
    ‘It is not a calabash.’

11.2.1.5 Conjugated negative ‘it is not …’ forms (1st/2nd persons)

This = \( \text{m̀ = dá} \) ‘it is not’ clitic sequence can be conjugated pronominally for 1st/2nd person subject (343).

(343)  a.  \( \text{\textit{injɛ́-m̀ = dá-ý}} \)
    dog-AnSg=it.is=StatNeg-1SgSbj
    ‘I am not a dog.’

    b.  \( \text{\textit{pùlù-m̀ = dá-ù}} \)
    Fulbe-AnSg=it.is=StatNeg-2SgSbj
    ‘You-Sg are not a Fulbe (person).’

The paradigm for first and second person categories is (344). The 2Sg ends in H-tone.

(344)  ‘It is not’ (1st.2nd person)

    1Sg  \( = \text{m̀ = dá-ý} \)
    2Sg  \( = \text{m̀ = dá-ù} \) (H-toned)
11.2.1.6 Conjugated negative ‘it is not …’ forms (3Pl)

The 3Pl conjugated form is \( = \emptyset = \text{rá-bó} \), with a 3Pl subject morpheme added to the end. The construction is based on the regular plural form of the noun, as for the irregular plural ‘children’ in (345b) and \( \text{púlú} \): ‘Fulbe (people)’ in (345c). However, the noun is subject to the usual final tonal modification associated with the \( = \emptyset \) clitic if it would otherwise end in H- or <LH>-tone, as with ‘dogs’ in (345a), which appears with final <HL>-tone and has its final vowel lengthened accordingly by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1).

(345) a. \( \text{injé} = \emptyset = \text{rá-bó} \quad \text{dog=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj} \)
   ‘They are not dogs.’ (\( \text{injé} \))

b. \( \text{yì-té} = \emptyset = \text{rá-bó} \quad \text{children=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj} \)
   ‘They are not children.’ (\( \text{yì-té} \))

c. \( \text{púlú} = \emptyset = \text{rá-bó} \quad \text{Fulbe=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj} \)
   ‘They are not Fulbe (people).’ (\( \text{púlú} \); cf. 340a and §3.7.4.5)

11.2.2 Existential and locational quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1 Existential (\( \text{yá} \))

The morpheme \( \text{yá} \) is used before a positive stative (quasi-)verb of existence or possession.

(346) a. \( \text{nàw}^\text{vá}: \quad \text{yá} \quad \text{bú-} \emptyset \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{Exist} \quad \text{be-3SgSbj} \)
   ‘There is some meat.’

b. \( \text{bèrù-m} \quad \text{yá} \quad \text{só-} \emptyset \quad \text{goat-AnSg} \quad \text{Exist} \quad \text{have-1SgSbj} \)
   ‘I have a goat.’

For \( \text{bú-} \sim \text{bú-} ‘be’, see §11.2.2.2-3 just below. For \( \text{só-} ‘have’ see §11.5.1, below.

The existential morpheme is disallowed if there is a focalized constuent, such as a WH- interrogative (347).

(347) a. \( [\text{kò-nL} \quad \text{ùnjé}] \quad \text{bú-} \emptyset \quad [\text{thing} \quad \text{what?}] \quad \text{be-3SgSbj} \)
   ‘What is there?’
b.  ámb = ∅  bérù-m  só-∅
   who?=Foc  goat-AnSg  have-3SgSbj
   ‘Who has a goat?’

In other words, yá is disallowed before a defocalized ‘be’ or ‘have’ quasi-verb. These quasi-verbs occur only in a single (positive) series, and so cannot themselves express the distinction between ordinary and defocalized status. In effect, yá rectifies this morphological gap. The form with yá is the functional equivalent of a suffixally marked perfective, while the form without yá is the equivalent of the (defocalized) unsuffixed perfective. yá is also disallowed in negative clauses (348).

(348) a.  nàw"á:  ŋ̀gó-∅
    meat  not.be-3SgSbj
    ‘There is no meat.’

b.  bérù-m  só-lô-ṳ́
    goat-AnSg  have-Neg-1SgSbj
    ‘I do not have a goat.’

yá is, however, compatible with conditional antecedents (349).

(349)  nàw"á:  yá  bú-∅  dé
    meat  Exist  be-3SgSbj  if
    ‘If there is some meat, …’

With the ‘have’ quasi-verb, my assistant made a distinction between presence and absence of yá even in positive contexts, whereby yá só- indicates ownership or other lasting possession, and só- indicates temporary possession (custody). See §11.5.1-2, below. yá is occasionally used with progressive and imperfective verb. A progressive example is (89a) in §6.1.3. Imperfective examples are (474) in §15.1.2.1, and (612b) in §18.2.1. Although yá is not very common in these constructions, the fact that it can occur at all suggests an affinity between progressiveness, constant recurrence, and stativity.

11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verbs (bù- ~ bú- ‘be’, ŋ̀gó- ‘not be’)

A locational predicate ‘be (in a place)’ is expressed by an inflected form of quasi-verb bù- following the locational expression, which may be a place name (without spatial postposition) (350a), a locative demonstrative adverb (350b), or a locational PP (350c). In this construction, bù- is L-toned and has a short vowel (unless lengthened by a suffix). L-toned bù- is also used to make expressive adverbials into predicates (§8.6.7). I will usually cite the stem as bù-. However, in a number of other constructions we get H-toned bù- or a form based on it. The H-toned form occurs after existential yá (§11.2.2.3) and is the likely basis for <HL>-toned variant bû- in adjectival predicates (§11.4.2) and for relative-clause participles like inanimate bû-oncé (§14.1.6.3).
(350) a. **dúwⁿ.ssán** **bù-∅**  
Douentza be-3SgSbj  
‘He/She/It is in Douentza’

b. **ŋ̀gu-rù** **bù-ỹ**  
here be-1Sg  
‘I am here.’

c. **[ũrò tǔlǔ-dá:] b-ė:**  
[hause behind] be-3PlSbj  
‘They are behind the house.’

The **paradigm** is (351). Only the 3Pl form is irregular. There is a single positive paradigm, morphologically comparable to the unsuffixed (L-toned) perfective of regular verbs. This single series is used without reference to temporal boundaries, and is usually translatable with a present-tense English verb.

(351) category form

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td><strong>bù-ỹ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td><strong>bù-ṳ́</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td><strong>bù-ỹ:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td><strong>bù-忤:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td><strong>bù-∅</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3Pl | **b-ė:** ~ **b-ė:**-bɔ́

The **negative** counterpart is **ŋ̀go⁻** (352).

(352) **báṃakɔ́  ŋ̀go⁻y**  
Bamako not.be-1SgSbj  
‘I am not in Bamako.’

The negative paradigm is (353). The 2Sg form (disregarding the nasal) is H-toned **ŋ̀go⁻-w**, not <HL>-toned #**ŋ̀go⁻-w**. The other 1st/2nd person forms are regular. The 3Pl form **ɲé-bɔ́** consists of 3Pl subject allomorph -bɔ́ plus a thoroughly irregular allomorph **ɲé⁻** instead of **ŋ̀go⁻**.

(353) category form

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td><strong>ŋ̀go⁻y</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td><strong>ŋ̀go⁻w</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td><strong>ŋ̀go⁻y:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td><strong>ŋ̀go⁻w:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td><strong>ŋ̀go⁻∅</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td><strong>ɲé-bɔ́</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.2.2.3  Existential quasi-verbs with *yá*

In existential function (and in vaguely defined locational function, e.g. ‘be present’ with no locational adverb), the ‘be’ quasi-verb is preceded by existential *yá*.

(354)  
a.  *súkɔ́rɔ́ yá bú-∅*  
sugar  Exist  be-3SgSbj  
‘There is some sugar.’

b.  *pɛ̀rɛ̀ yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ*  
sheep.Pl  Exist  be-3PISbj  
‘There are some sheep.’

c.  *yá bú-ỳ*  
Exist  be-1SgSbj  
‘I am present.’

The **paradigm** is in (355). The ‘be’ verb takes the H-toned form *bú-*, and the 2Sg (for which we might expect <HL>-toned #*bú-w*) appears as H-toned *bú-w*. The 3Pl form *b-ɛ̀:ⁿ*, however, is L-toned, as it is in locational function without *yá*.

(355)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td><em>yá bú-ỳ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td><em>yá bú-w</em> (H-toned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td><em>yá bú-ỳ:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td><em>yá bú-w:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td><em>yá bú-∅</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td><em>yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ ~ yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ́</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.3  ‘Be in, on’

No suppletive stative verbs of the type ‘be (put) in’ or ‘be on’, as in Jamsay, have been noted for BenT. The combination *yá bú-* ‘be (in a place)’ is used in all such contexts, with an appropriate locational. For postpositions meaning ‘on’ see §8.4.4-5.

11.2.4  Stative stance verbs ‘be sitting’, ‘be lying down’

I have recorded no suppletive or irregular stative stance verbs comparable to those of Jamsay (where stative ‘be sitting’ and active ‘sit down’, for example, are expressed by different lexical items).

The reduplicated stative stem (§10.2.1.11) is used with stance verbs to denote static position (356). The same verbs occur in other AN stems in the active sense (‘sit down’, ‘stand up’, ‘lie down’, etc.).
(356) a. i-íew-yè-y
    Rdpsit-MP.Stat-1SgSbj
    ‘I am sitting.’

b. i-íyà-y
    Rdps-stand.Stat-1SgSbj
    ‘I am standing.’

c. bi-bi-yè-ń
    Rdplie.down-MP.Stat-2SgSbj
    ‘You are lying down (= in prone position).’

11.2.5 ‘Doesn’t connect’ (dìmbà-ń = rá-)

Parallel to Jamsay *díg = lá*, BenT uses *dìmbà-ń = rá- ‘does not follow’ (which may take pronominal-subject suffixes). In form, this is the negative (with stative negative clitic = rá-) of the stative, cf. positive *di-dìmbà-ń* ‘it follows, is positioned following (something else)’. The phrase can be translated contextually as ‘(I) don’t care whether …’ or ‘it doesn’t matter whether …’. The context lends itself to parallelistic constructions (357).

(357) [námb-b = φ] dìmbà-ń = rá-bá’]
    [night = it.is follow-Stat = Neg-3PISbj]
    [morning = it.is follow-Stat = Neg-3PISbj]
    ‘They don’t care whether it’s night or morning (= day).’

11.2.6 Morphonologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 ‘Remain’ (bè)

This verb is used to indicate the stability of a situation. It is not used in the sense ‘(quantity) be left over’, which is expressed by wásá-.

(358) a. ñay’nà bá-y
    thing thus remain.Stat-3SgSbj
    ‘The problem has remained like that.’

b. ñay’nà bá-ří-Ø
    thus remain-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
    ‘It didn’t remain like that.’

The bare stem is bè. As (358b) shows, the verb has a regular perfective negative. The primary positive paradigm in stative function is (359). An unusual feature is that the third person forms end in -y and are homophonous to the 1Sg forms.
In contrast to its usual sense ‘remain, stay’, bè is inchoative (‘become’) when it follows an expressive adverbial (eg. ‘become straight’). See §8.6.7 for examples and for more on the syntax of expressive adverbials.

11.2.6.2 ‘Become, happen’ (tàŋfí-)

In addition to káyⁿ- ‘be done’ (hence ‘happen, take place’), on which see §11.1.6 above, there is a verb tàŋfí- ‘become’, with NP complement (360).

(360) ḥ:-m tàŋfí:-rè-Ø
    chief-AnSg become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
    ‘He became chief.’

See also ‘he has become a man’ (ářⁿa-m tàŋfí:-rè-Ø) in B’s turn in (664) in the sample text.

tàŋfí- also denotes other types of transition in the senses ‘(fire) be lit’, ‘(liquid) freeze’, and ‘(person) move out, relocate’, and with láwá ‘go past’ in the chain tàŋfí láwá ‘go across (sth); step over’.

11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb

11.3.1 ‘Say’ (gûyⁿ-)

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, following a quotation, is gûyⁿ- (variant gîyⁿ-). It is one of three monosyllabic Cv’yⁿ stems. These are the only CvC or otherwise C-final verbs in the language (§10.1.3.6). The imperfective 3Sg is gû-gû=m. The same-subject chaining form is gû=ní ~ gi=ní, and this is the probable etymological source of purposive postposition gîn ~ gînî ~ gûn ~ gûnî (§8.5.1).

For uninflectable quotative particle wa, commonly used instead of an inflected ‘he/she said’ verb, see §17.1.2.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

If there is a focalized constituent (as in ‘that [focus] is what is good’), an adjectival predicate is a {L}-toned inanimate form of the adjective (§11.4.3).
In the absence of focalization, there are two adjectival predicate constructions. One has the relevant inflected form of the **locational-existential quasi-verb** bû- ‘be (in a place), exist’ following the adjective (which has **invariant “inanimate” form**). bû- has falling tone in this function (§11.4.1 below). The other construction has the adjective, in animate or inanimate form (depending on referent), followed directly by a pronominally conjugated ‘it is’ clitic (§11.4.2 below).

Some adjectives are regularly used with bû-, others with ‘it is’ clitics. There is a fairly good correlation between the choice of predicate construction and the final segment of the stem and/or with presence/absence of inanimate suffix -w.

bû- is common with stems that have inanimate suffix -w (361a) and is required with those ending in labial {w u m} (361b-d). These are the modifying forms, not the predicative forms, on which see the following section.

(361) **Adjectives with bû- predicative form**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>modifying form (inanimate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. vowel-final, with inanimate suffix -w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'big, adult'</td>
<td>díyà-wⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spacious'</td>
<td>káwà-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'good'</td>
<td>èsû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fat'</td>
<td>dûgû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'long'</td>
<td>gùrû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'heavy'</td>
<td>dûsû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nearby'</td>
<td>sàsû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small'</td>
<td>dà-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thin'</td>
<td>mënjê-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'soft'</td>
<td>yêrû-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lightweight'</td>
<td>nêrû-wⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. with final w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tight; brave'</td>
<td>ëw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hot'</td>
<td>sêw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'distant'</td>
<td>wā:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. with final u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'crooked'</td>
<td>gûlû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bad, ugly'</td>
<td>mûsû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. with final m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'plump'</td>
<td>ãm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cold, slow'</td>
<td>tâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'coarse'</td>
<td>kûnjû-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives that take ‘it is’ clitics in their predicative forms are in (362). This construction is found with some vowel-final adjectives that take inanimate -w (362a), and is required with vowel-final adjectives that have zero inanimate marking (362b), as well as with adjectives
ending in y (362c). Again, the forms in (362) are modifying adjectives, not predicates (on which see §11.4.2 below).

(362) Adjectives with ‘it is’ clitic in predicative form

gloss     modifying form (inanimate)

a. vowel-final, with inanimate suffix -w
   'unripe'  kèsù-w
   'deep'    wôr̥³-w
   'other'   lâ-w
   'red'     bûr̥â-wⁿ
   'black'   jëw̃ò-wⁿ

b. vowel-final, with zero inanimate suffix
   'white'   pîlé
   'skinny'  kômbô
   'living'  ùwⁿ̄š
   'old'     pë:\
   'weak, diluted'  sèrè
   'new'     kâlâ
   'flat'    pâtâ-pâtâ
   'easy, cheap'  nâ:rⁿ̄á
   'runty’   cëtë-m (animate singular)

c. final y
   'half-ripe’  bôlôróy
   'empty’     kôrôy

11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates with ‘be’ quasi-verb (bû-)

In the regular pattern described here, the form of the predicative adjective is often but not always segmentally identical to the inanimate modifying adjective, but it usually differs tonally. The adjective is followed by an inflected form of bû-, a special <HL>-toned version bû- of the locational-existential ‘be’ quasi-verb bû- ~ bû- (§11.2.2.2-3). The 3Sg (and inanimate) form is bû:-Ø, and the 3Pl form is bû:-$\ddot{e}$. While the predicative adjective itself is invariant in form, a Sg/Pl distinction is made in this way by the quasi-verb.

The predicative adjective before bû- is either {LH}- or {H}-toned, depending on the adjective. In most cases this form is tonally distinct from the inanimate modifying form, which respects the lexical tone melody of the adjective, often /HL/ or /LHL/, less often /LH/, and only rarely /H/. The form of the predicative adjective is identical to that of the abstractive nominal, specifically the form, {H}-toned for some adjectives, used in comparative constructions to specify the domain of comparison (§12.1.1).
In (363), glosses inan modifying predicative with \( b_{\text{-}} \) -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(363)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Inan modifying</th>
<th>predicative with ( b_{\text{-}} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /LH/ in both functions, no nonzero suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final ( u )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
<td>( g₃lú-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( g₃lú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nearby’</td>
<td>( s₃sú-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( s₃sú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bad, ugly’</td>
<td>( m₃sú-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( m₃sú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>( èsú-\emptyset (~ èsú-w) )</td>
<td>( èsú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LHL/ modifying with ( -w ), {LH} predicative without ( -w )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final ( u )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>( d₃sú-w )</td>
<td>( d₃sú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>( d₃gú-w )</td>
<td>( d₃gú )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘soft’</td>
<td>( y₃r₃-w )</td>
<td>( y₃r₃ )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lightweight’</td>
<td>( n₇r₇₇-w^n )</td>
<td>( n₇r₇₇ )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final ( o )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>( g₄r₃-w )</td>
<td>( g₄r₃-w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /LHL/ modifying, {LH} predicative, both with final ( w ) with ( -w )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thin’</td>
<td>( m₇n₇₇-w )</td>
<td>( m₇n₇₇-w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical final ( w )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>( g₃:w-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( g₃:w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>( g₇w-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( g₇w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘distant’</td>
<td>( w₇:w-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( w₇:w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final consonant, no suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘plump’</td>
<td>( ām-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( ām )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /HL/ modifying, {H} predicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final ( a ), with ( -w )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>( d₃:-w )</td>
<td>( d₃:-w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘big, adult’</td>
<td>( d₇y₇₇:-w^n )</td>
<td>( d₇y₇₇:-w^n )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spacious’</td>
<td>( k₇w₇₇-w )</td>
<td>( k₇w₇₇-w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final ( u ), with ( -m )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sweet, sharp’</td>
<td>( ér₄-m )</td>
<td>( ér₄-m )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘coarse’</td>
<td>( k₄n₄₇-m )</td>
<td>( k₄n₄₇-m )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final consonant, no suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>( ₃₇w-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( ₃₇w )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cold, slow’</td>
<td>( t₇m-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( t₇m )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. irregular output {H} with nasal extension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tight; brave’</td>
<td>( ₑw-\emptyset )</td>
<td>( ₑn )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘full’</td>
<td>( b₄-w )</td>
<td>( b₄n )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even aside from the outright irregularities in (363e), the tonal phonology is somewhat opaque. Analysis depends on whether the final L in the /LHL/ and /HL adjectives in the middle column of (363a-d) is attributed to the stem (with suffixes inanimate \( -w \) and animate...
singular -m underlyingly atonal) or to the suffix. In the first analysis, to get the correct outputs in the rightmost column we would need a rule converting /LHL/ to {LH} and /HL/ to {H}. Call it Adjectival Final L-Tone Deletion. In the second analysis, the final L is not part of the stem proper, and the tones in the rightmost column are exactly the lexical melodies, so no tone rule is needed. This second analysis is preferable but I leave the question open.

Examples of the adjectival predication type with 3Sg/Inan bû:\n
- ∅ are in (364). bû:\n- ∅ is homophonous with 3Pl pronoun bû: and with inanimate participial bû-w (§14.1.6.3).

(364) a. mősú  bû:-∅
    bad    be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is nasty’ (mősú)

b.  ámb  bû:-∅
    plump  be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is plump.’ ( ámb)

c. mënje-w  bû:-∅
    thin-Inan be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is thin.’ (mënje-w)

d. gɔ:w  bû:-∅
    short  be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is short.’ (gɔ:w)

e. káwà-w  bû:-∅
    spacious-Inan be-3SgSbj
    ‘It is spacious.’ (káwà-w)

f. d́y`á-w  bû:-∅
    big-Inan be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is big.’ (d́y`á-w)

g. ɛ́rú-m  bû:-∅
    sweet-Inan be-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She/It is sweet.’ (ɛ́rú-m)

See also nùm bû:-∅ ‘(it) is difficult’ in line 4 of (673) in the sample text.

For 3Pl subject, b-ê: ‘they are’ follows the adjective (365).

(365) a. mősú  b-ê:∅
    bad    be-3PlSbj
    ‘They are bad.’ (mősú)

b.  ámb  b-ê:∅
    plump  be-3PlSbj
    ‘They are plump.’ ( ámb)

For first and second person subject, the appropriate inflected form of bû- ‘be’ is used (366).
a. *mɔ̀sú*  *bû-y* (or: *bî-y*)
   bad  be-1SgSbj
   ‘I am bad’ (*mɔ̀sú*)

b. *aṁ*  *bû-y*
   plump  be-1SgSbj
   ‘I am plump.’ (*aṁ*)

c. *aṁ*  *bû-:w*:
   plump  be-2PlSbj
   ‘You-Pl are plump.’ (*aṁ*)

For adjectives that have a suffix -w or -m when modifying an inanimate noun, this suffixal form is used predicatively for all pronominal categories.

a. *mɛ̀njɛ́-w*  *bû-ː∅*
   short-Inan  be-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She/It is thin.’

b. *mɛ̀njɛ́-w*  *bû-y*
   short-Inan  be-1SgSbj
   ‘I am thin.’ (*gɔː:-w*)

c. *mɛ̀njɛ́-w*  *bû-ːː*
   short-Inan  be-1PlSbj
   ‘We are thin.’ (*gɔː:-w*)

11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with ‘it is’ clitic (= *m*, etc.)

Adjectives may function predicatively without an overt ‘be’ quasi-verb. In this case, the adjective itself has the same suffixed form it has as a modifying adjective, except that **animate plural is merged into inanimate** (except as noted below). We therefore get *-m* for animate singular reference, and *-w* or zero (depending on the adjective, §4.5.1) for animate plural as well as for inanimate reference. An exception is that the 1Pl and 2Pl forms add *-m* instead of zero.

The adjective is then followed by the conjugated ‘it is’ clitic forms in (368).

(368) category form

| 1Sg  | = *m-iy*                        |
| 2Sg  | = *m-ûw*                        |
| 1Pl  | = *m-iyː*                       |
| 2Pl  | = *m-ûwː*                       |
Examples with pilé ‘white’ and jéwⁿè ‘black’ (the latter taking inanimate singular -w suffix) are in (369). Both ‘black’ and ‘white’ have their regular “inanimate singular” forms (pilé, jéwⁿè-wⁿ) for inanimate or plural reference (369a-b). The lengthening and <HL>-tone in pilé:-∅ = ∅ are due to the clitic; a rendition pilé-∅ = ; would capture this better but is typographically ungainly. For animate singular reference, the adjective ends in (animat e) singular -ḿ for both ‘white’ and ‘black’ (369c-d), producing a geminated mm̂ at the boundary.

For animate plural reference, ‘white’ is pilé-m̂ (“animate singular”) while ‘black’ is jéwⁿè-wⁿ (morphologically “inanimate”) in (369e-f).

(369) a. [ú HL bérè] [2SgPoss HL stick] pilé:-∅ = ∅ (jéwⁿè-wⁿ = ∅)
white-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj (black-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj)
‘Your-Sg stick is white (black).’

b. [ú HL bérè kù bè] [2SgPoss HL stick Def PI] pilé:-∅ = ∅ (jéwⁿè-wⁿ = ∅)
white-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj (black-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj)
‘Your-Sg sticks are white (black).’

c. pilé-m = m-iy (jéwⁿè-m = m-iy)
white-AnSg=it.is.1SgSbj (black-AnSg=it.is.1SgSbj)
‘I am white (black).’

d. pilé-m = ∅ (jéwⁿè-m = ∅)
white-AnSg=it.is.3SgSbj (black-AnSg=it.is.3SgSbj)
‘He/She/It (person, animal) is white (black).’

e. pilé:-∅ = bɔ́ (jéwⁿè-wⁿ = bɔ́)
white.Inan=it.is.3PlSbj (black.Inan=it.is.3PlSbj)
‘They (e.g. people, sheep) are white (black).’

f. pilé-m = m-iy (jéwⁿè-wⁿ = m-iy)
white-AnSg=it.is.1PlSbj (black-Inan=it.is.1PlSbj)
‘We are white (black).’

g. pilé-m = m-ìw (jéwⁿè-wⁿ = m-ìw)
white-AnSg=it.is.2PlSbj (black-Inan=it.is.2PlSbj)
‘You-Pl are white (black).’
11.4.3 Bare-stem adjectival predicates

A predicate consisting of just the inanimate form of the adjective, in \{L\}-toned clause-final form, occurs after a focalized constituent. For example, the regular predicative form ɛ̀sù bù- `be good’ is replaced by ɛ̀sù in (370a). The other examples in (370) show that the adjective is inanimate in form even with a human singular or plural subject.

(370)  
a. \(kù=m\) ɛ̀sù  
Inan=Focus good  
‘That [focus] is what is good.’ (2005.1a.05)  
b. ŋ̀gú=m ɛ̀sù  
Prox.Inan=Focus short/sweet-Inan  
‘This [focus] is what is short/sweet.’  
c. \(kù=m\) dùgù / wà:w  
[Inan=Foc big/distant.Inan  
‘That [focus] is what is big/far away.’  
d. \(í=m\) diyⁿà-\textsuperscript{a}wⁿ  
1Sg=Focus big-Inan  
‘It’s \(I\) [focus] who am big (adult).’  
e. \(bù=:m\) diyⁿà-\textsuperscript{a}wⁿ  
3Pl=Focus big-Inan  
‘It’s they [focus] who are big (adult).’

11.4.4 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (\(=\text{rá}\-\))

The **stative negative** clitic \(=\text{rá}\-) is added to the form of the adjective used as **modifier of an inanimate noun**. After a nasal, the clitic takes the form \(=\text{dá}\-\), which in careful pronunciation comes out as \(=\text{ǹdá}\-\). The negative suffix induces **tone-dropping** on the stem. The regular pronominal-subject suffixes follow \(-\text{rá}\-\). The paradigm is (371). The 2Sg suffix is H-toned (as in other negative-suffix paradigms). The 3Pl is also H-toned.

(371)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{y})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{w}) (H-toned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{y}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{w}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg/Inan</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{b}) (H-toned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>(=\text{rá}-\text{b}) (H-toned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with 3Sg (animate), inanimate, and 3Pl referents are in (372).
Examples with mòsù ‘bad, ugly’ showing a fuller range of pronominal subjects are in (373).

(373)  a. mòsù-∅ = rá-∅
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-3SgSbj
      ‘He/She/It is not bad.’

     b. mòsù-∅ = rá-bɔ́
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-3PlSbj
      ‘They are not bad.’

     c. mòsù-∅ = rá-ŷ
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-1SgSbj
      ‘I am not bad.’

     d. mòsù-∅ = rá-wój
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-2SgSbj
      ‘You-Sg are not bad.’

     e. mòsù-∅ = rá-ŷ :.
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-1PlSbj
      ‘We are not bad.’

     f. mòsù-∅ = rá-wój :.
      bad-Inan¹=StatNeg-2PlSbj
      ‘You-Pl are not bad.’

11.4.5 Past forms of adjectival predicates ( = bɛ̀-, = bɛ̂-)

The past clitic (§10.4.1) may be added to a positive or negative adjectival predicate to relocate the time frame into the past. Variant = bɛ̀- with falling tone, therefore surfacing with long vowel when not followed by a consonantal suffix, is used when the adjectival form used in this construction ends in an H-tone. When the adjective ends in an L-tone, we get L-toned and short-voweled = bɛ́-.

Examples with third person subjects are in (374). In the 3Pl, two constructions are possible. One has = bɔ́= b-ɔ́:, beginning with the 3Pl subject suffix used in perfective positive forms (374b). The other has 3Pl past = b-a: added to the plural form of the adjective with suffix -yɛ̀ (374d). Further examples (not reproduced here) confirm that either construction may be used with any adjective. For example, (374d) can also be expressed as jéw’ɛ̀ = bɔ́= b-a:.
(374)  a.  *púlɔ̀m mɔ̀sú = ɔ = bɛ̂-ɔ*

Fulbe-AnSg  bad=be.3SgSbj=Past-3SgSbj
‘The Pullo (=Fulbe man) used to be bad.’

b.  *púlɔ̀: mɔ̀sú = bɔ̀ = b-à:*

Fulbe.Pl  bad=be.3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
‘The Fulbe-Pl used to be bad.’

c.  *jéwⁿè = bɛ̀-

black-AnSg=Past-3SgSbj
‘He/She was black.’

d.  *jéwⁿè = bɛ̀-

black-Inan=Past-3SgSbj
‘It (inanimate) was black.’

e.  *nì: tám-ɔ = bɛ̂-ɔ:

water  cold-Inan=Past-3SgSbj
‘The water was cold.’

Examples with first/second person subjects are in (375).

(375)  a.  *jéwⁿè = bɛ̀-

black-AnSg=Past-1PlSbj
‘We were black.’

b.  *gùrɔ́-w = bɛ̀-

long-Inan=Past-1PlSbj
‘We used to be tall.’

c.  *kómbɔ = bɛ́-w

skinny=Past-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg used to be skinny.’

d.  *dùgú = bɛ̀-y

fat=Past-1SgSbj
‘I was fat.’

e.  *dùgú = bɛ̀-y:

fat=Past-1PlSbj
‘We were fat.’

Past negative examples are in (376). The structure is the same as above, except for the addition of stative negative clitic = rá, which forces tone-dropping on the adjective.
11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘Have’ (yá só-, negative sò-ló-)

The common ‘have’ predication is a stative quasi-verb só- that occurs in a single paradigm, generally with present (or timeless) time reference. In positive clauses with no focalized constituent, and when possession in the sense of ownership or other lasting possession is involved, existential yá (§11.2.2.1) immediately precedes re the quasi-verb.

(377) úrò yá só-y
house Exist have-1SgSbj
‘I have a house.’

The paradigm is (378). The 2Sg and 3Sg forms with H-toned suffix -ẉ are homophonous. The 3Pl is idiosyncratic but is also H-toned.

(378) category form

1Sg só-y
2Sg só-ẉ (H-toned, homophonous to 3Sg)

1Pl só-y::
2Pl só-w::

3Sg/Inan só-w (H-toned, homophonous to 2Sg)
3Pl s-é:n ~ s-é:n-bɔ (H-toned)

In the negative, the form is sò-ló-, used without existential yá.

(379) nǎ:m sò-ló-ẉ
cow-AnSg have-Neg-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg don’t have a cow.’
The **negative paradigm** is (380). The 2Sg suffix is again H-toned, but the 2Sg and 3Sg forms are segmentally distinct. The 3Pl form is again idiosyncratic and difficult to segment (the front vowels may constitute two plural morphemes).

(380) category form

1Sg  sò-łó-ŷ
2Sg  sò-łó-ŵ (H-toned)
1Pl  sò-łó-ŷ:
2Pl  sò-łó-ŵ:
3Sg/Inan sò-łó-∅
3Pl  sè-né
(alternative segmentation s-è-ŋ-e)

11.5.2 ‘Have possession of’ (sò-)

Jamsay distinguishes the basic ‘have’ verb sà, denoting ownership, from verbs of temporary possession (custody) jìnè and jèrè, roughly ‘hold’. BenT has no such lexical distinction. However, **L-toned** sò- **without existential** yá can in some situations be used to express temporary possession, as in (381b). The core sense is ‘be holding, have in custody’.

(381) a. nǎ:m yá sò-ŷ
cow-AnSg   Exist have-1SgSbj
‘I have (= own) a cow.’

b. nǎ:m sò-ŷ

cow-AnSg have-1SgSbj
‘I have a cow (with me).’

In (382), the locative adverbials appear to be (contrastively) focalized, so existential yá is absent.

(382) ú ğgú-rù sò-ŵ dè,
2Sg  here have-2SgSbj  if,
[ǹʈā yà] ğgá-rù sò-ŵ
[FarDist.An also] there.Dist have-3SgSbj
‘If you-Sg have (one) here, that (other person) too has (one) there.’ [2005.1a.06]

This construction without yá did not occur in my data in connection with having money in one’s pockets. Here the full construction was used even when the context was clearly about temporary possession.

(383) pèrî-vèy yá sò-ŵ
ten-two Exist have-2SgSbj
‘Do you have twenty riyaals (= 100 CFA francs) on you?’

182
11.5.3 ‘Belong to’ predicates (HL\textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n}, HL\textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m})

The noun \textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} ‘thing’ is used in predicate genitives (‘X belongs to Y’). It takes possessed form HL\textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} or \textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} (1Sg possessor \textsuperscript{L+HL}\textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} ‘is mine’). The subject X is typically a discourse-definite, or deictically anchored, inanimate entity. The ‘it is’ clitic is presumably present, but it has no audible manifestation since HL\textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} and variants already end in a long vowel and final L-tone.

(384) a. [ùrò\textsuperscript{L} ñgù] [house\textsuperscript{L} Prox.Inan] \textsuperscript{L+HL}\textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n}=∅
‘This house belongs to me (=is mine).’

b. bú:dù [F \textsuperscript{HL}k:\textsuperscript{n}=∅]
money [F \textsuperscript{HL}thing=it.is]
‘The money belongs to F (personal name).’

For animate (but nonhuman) subject, the noun \textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} ‘(unspecified) animal, critter’ or its plural \textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} replaces \textsuperscript{k}:\textsuperscript{n} ‘thing’. The possessed forms are singular \textsuperscript{HL}\textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} or \textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} (1Sg \textsuperscript{L+HL}\textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m}), and plural \textsuperscript{HL}\textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} or \textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m} (1Sg \textsuperscript{L+HL}\textsuperscript{y}:\textsuperscript{m}). Again, the ‘it is’ clitic is presumably present but has no audible manifestation, as the possessed-noun tone overlay is already falling.

(385) pèrè\textsuperscript{-m} [ú \textsuperscript{HL}y:\textsuperscript{m}=∅]
sheep-AnSg [2SgSbj \textsuperscript{HL}animal-AnSg=it.is]
‘The sheep-Sg is yours-Sg.’
12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 ‘More, most’ (mégé)

The noun mégé ‘more, most’ is common in comparatives. This stem is pronounced with H-tones in isolation (386e). In most actual examples it follows a dative (which always ends in an L-tone), denoting the comparandum. Some speakers usually pronounce it in L-toned form as łmégé in this position, behaving tonally like nouns following a possessor ending in an L-tone. Other speakers clearly pronounce H-toned mégé in post-dative position, and this form is shown in the examples below (though some were originally transcribed with łmégé).

(386)

a. [Łmà:] mégé Hdīyâ-wⁿ
   Dat.1Sg  more Hbig(ness)
   ‘He/She is older than I (am).’

b. [ǔ mà:] mégé gãw bî-ỹ
   [2Sg  Dat] more tall(ness) be-1SgSbj
   ‘I am taller than you-Sg (are).’
   (bî-ỹ occasional variant of bũ-ỹ)

c. [ũ: Łmà:] mégé jũw-ỹ
   [2Pl  ŁDat] more know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I know more than you-Pl (do).’

d. [Łmà: ɛrãe nĩ-w kũ]
   [1Sg.Dat 3SgSbj give.Pfv-Ppl.Inan  Def]
   [ũ: Łhël kã-wn] Łmà:] mégé
   [2SgPoss  ŁhPoss  ŁDat] more
   ‘She gave me more than (she gave) you.’
   (lit: “What she gave me [is/was] more than yours.”)

e. ɛrãe = ǐ mégé ɲe-ɔ
   3Sg=Foc more eat.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She ate more (or: the most).’

If the domain of comparison is adjectival and scalar, e.g. height or sweetness, it is optionally expressed in the form of a deadjectival abstractive nominal following mégé. Abstractives, in other contexts, have an {LH} tone overlay. Many of them end in a suffix -w that resembles the inanimate suffix on modifying adjectives (which, however, generally have a different tone pattern). After mégé, several of these abstractive nominals shift to {H}-tone. dīyâ-wⁿ ‘bigness, size’ in (386a) exemplifies this shift, compare the usual {LH}-toned abstractive.
diy”â-w”. By contrast, gâw ‘tallness, height’ in (386b) keeps its /LH/ melody in comparatives. For more examples and details, see §4.2.6.

mé gé can also occur with an {HL}-toned form of the adjective distinct from both the regular {LH}-toned abstractive and the {H}-toned form with mé gé. That the {HL}-toned form is an adjective rather than an abstractive nominal is shown by the fact that it takes nominal suffixes that agree with the referent. In addition, it occurs with a preceding tone-dropped noun, and is clearly internal to the NP. This construction can be translated as a comparative (with implicit comparandum), or as a superlative. Examples are in (387).

(387)  

a. màngoròL mégréL HL bâr”à-w”  
mangoL more HL red-Inan  
‘the reddest mango’ or ‘a redder mango’

b. nùL mégréL HL bâr”à-m  
_personL more HL red-AnSg  
‘the reddest (=brownest) person’ or ‘a redder (=browner) person’

c. màngoròL mégréL HL dùsù-∅  
mangoL more HL heavy-Inan  
‘the heaviest mango’ or ‘a heavier mango’

d. yàL mégréL HL dûgû-yê  
_womanL more HL fat-AnPl  
‘the fattest women’ or ‘some fatter women’

Further examples showing the form of the {HL}-toned adjective (rightmost column), in comparison to the regular adjectival form (middle column) are in (388). Only inanimate forms are given. Except in (388b), the only differences are tonal. The {HL} overlay is realized as H.L.L on trisyllabics, the only attested example being that in (388e).

(388) Inanimate modifying and {HL} comparative adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>{HL} after mégré</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -w</td>
<td>(not homorganic to preceding vowel) retained after mégré</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>gûr̥-w</td>
<td>HL gûr̥-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>bâr”à-w</td>
<td>HL bâr”à-w”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spacious’</td>
<td>kâwà-w</td>
<td>HL kâwà-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>diy”à-w”</td>
<td>HL diy”à-w”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -w</td>
<td>(following u) as inanimate modifier, omitted after mégré</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>dùsù-w</td>
<td>HL dùsù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>dûgû-w</td>
<td>HL dûgû</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

186
12.1.2 ‘Surpass’ (láwá)

láwá ‘pass by’ can be used in the sense ‘surpass’ (389).

(389) kúyš: [ér“é mā:] mégé júwš-m = bē-ỹ,
    first [3Sg Dat] more know-Lpfv=Past-1SgSbj,  
gā: núw“ỹ“ i láwá-jē:-∅
    but now 1SgObj pass-RecPf-3SgSbj
‘I used to know more than he/she (did), but now he/she has surpassed me.’

12.1.3 ‘Be better, more’ (irēw)

The form irēw ‘better’ is used with ‘be’ quasi-verb to constitute the predicate. The comparandum is dative. Negation is with the stative negative =rá- (§10.2.3.4), which induces tone-dropping (390b).
188

(390) a. $[u \ m:\] \ ir\ew \ bu\-y$
   $[2\text{Sg } \text{Dat}] \ \text{better } \text{be-1SgSbj}$
   ‘I am better than you-Sg (are).’

   b. $l^1m:\ \ ir\ew = r\-b\o$
   $\text{Dat.1Sg } \text{better=Neg-3PlSbj}$
   ‘They are not better than I (am).’

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 Expressions with $g\=y^n\rightarrow \text{‘like’}$

The ‘like’ particle may be used to indicate approximate equality on some measure.

(391) $[[[u \ m:\] \ d\=y^n \ i \ ni\-w^n]] \ g\=y^n\rightarrow ]$
   $[[[2\text{Sg } \text{Dat}] \ \text{manner}(\text{SgSbj}) \ \text{give.Pfv-Ppl.Inan} \ \text{like}]]$
   $[\text{f\=re}^{\text{Sg}} \ \text{m\=a:}] \ ni\-y$
   $[3\text{Sg } \text{Dat}] \ \text{give.Pfv-1SgSbj}$
   ‘I gave him like the way (=as much as) I gave you-Sg.’

12.2.2 ‘Equal; be as good as’ ($b\=a$)

The stative quasi-verb $b\=a$- ‘equal’ is used in transitive symmetrical comparatives. One
comparandum may be subject, the other direct object (392b).

(392) a. $[a\-j\=er\u \ w\o] \ [a \ ^{hl}b\=i:] \ b\=a\-w$
   $[\text{wrestling in}] \ [3\text{ReflSgSgPoss }^{hl}\text{father}] \ \text{equal.Stat-3SgSbj}$
   ‘He, is as good as his, father in wrestling.’

   b. $[a\-j\=er\u \ w\o] \ [a \ ^{hl}b\=i:] \ b\=a\-r\=i^{\emptyset}$
   $[\text{wrestling in}] \ [3\text{ReflSgSgPoss }^{hl}\text{father}] \ \text{equal-PfvNeg-3SgSbj}$
   ‘He, is not as good as his, father in wrestling.’

The paradigm (for positive clauses) is (393). The negative counterparts are based on the stem
$b\=a\-ri^{\cdot}$, which is morphologically a perfective negative.

(393) category form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>2Sg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>2Pl</th>
<th>3Sg</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>$b=a-y$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>$b=a-w$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>$b=a-y^{\cdot}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>$b=a-w^{\cdot}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$b=a-w$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$b=a-m\o$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.2.3 ‘Equal(ly)’ (cí-cév, cèw-cèw)

The stem cí-cév ‘equal’ can be used as a predicate. It may be followed by a ‘be’ quasi-verb. If the comparanda are expressed as NPs, the ‘be’ quasi-verb is optionally omitted (394b).

(394) a. cí-cév b-è:n-bò
equal be\textsuperscript{1}-3PlSbj-3PlSbj
‘They are equal.’

b. [sèydù yà\rightarrow'] [á:mádù yà\rightarrow'] [àjèrù wò] cí-cév
[Seydou and] [Amadou and] [wrestling in] equal
‘Seydou and Amadou are equal (=equally good) in wrestling.’

A related adverbial is the reduplicated cèw-cèw ‘equally’ (395).

(395) [sèydù yà\rightarrow'] [á:mádù yà\rightarrow'] cèw-cèw wàrà-bò
[Seydou and] [Amadou and] equally farm.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘Seydou and Amadou did farming (=weeding) to the same extent.’

For simple cèw in ‘willy-nilly’ conditional antecedents see §16.3. Jamsay cèw ‘all’ and its derivatives may be the sources of these forms.

12.2.4 ‘Equal(ly)’ and ‘since’ (bà\rightarrow)

An adverbial (with final intonational prolongation) bà\rightarrow, possibly related to the verb bà- ‘equal (be equal to)’ (§12.2.2), can be glossed ‘as much (as sb/sth else)’. It may be used predicatively, with following bu- ‘be’. The usual context is size (dimensions).

In the combination with following bu- (396), one can clearly hear the rising tone.

(396) [nà:\textsuperscript{1} mù:] gò:-m bà\rightarrow bu-∅
cow\textsuperscript{1} ProxSg elephant equally be-3SgSbj
‘This cow is as big as an elephant.’

bà\rightarrow is also used in the negated ‘… not so much as X’ construction. Here bà\rightarrow is phrase-final, and it is often heard as L-toned.

(397) tǎmbù-m
[(mìbá \textsuperscript{hil} tám:b-ì)] bà\rightarrow
kick.Ipfv-3SgSbj [FarDist.An \textsuperscript{hil} kick-VblN] equally
ůrùyò-m-dò
hurt-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
‘It (=centipede) stings, (but) it doesn’t hurt as much as the other one’s stinging.’
[2005.1b.09]

bà\rightarrow is also used in the temporal sense ‘since’ after a noun denoting a time, as in jèy’n bà\rightarrow ‘since last year’. A better gloss is ‘(going) back to last year’ or ‘(since) as early as last year’. In the fixed phrase kùyò: bà\rightarrow ‘long ago, (back) in the old days’, the gloss ‘since’ is
inappropriate insofar as there is no reference to the ensuing time span. The sense ‘(going) back to (time T)’ expresses roughly the same telescopic convergence as ‘equal to (X)’.

12.2.5 ‘Attain, equal’ (dɔ̌-

In the sense ‘X come to equal Y’ (e.g. as the culmination of a gradual improvement), the verb dɔ̌- ‘arrive, reach (destination)’ may be used.

(398) a. [àjèrú wó] àbádá [ü] HL.bɔ̃
[wrestling in] never [3ReflSgPoss HL.father]
dɔ̌-m-dô-∅
arrive-Lpzv-Neg-3SgSbj
‘He, will never (come to) be as good in wrestling as his father.’

b. gàwá i dɔ̌-jɛ̂:-∅
height 1SgObj arrive-RecPf-3SgSbj
‘He/She has (now) reached the same height as (= is now as tall as) me.’

12.3 ‘A fortiori’ (wê:y)

The particle wê:y, sometimes wê:y→ with intonational prolongation, means ‘a fortiori, much less’. It could also be transcribed as wé:y. with dying-quail intonation. For this form in the sense ‘as well as’, see §7.1.3.

(399) a. ìnjìrí bèrè-ṁdô-ỹ [wê:y jiye] get.up can-LpzvNeg-1SgSbj [much.less dance]
‘I can’t (even) get up, much less (can I) dance.’

b. [[dɔ̌:-m yà] [nà: l 1 générùm kù] yì=này”]
[[Dogon-AnSg too] [cow entire Def] see=and.SS]
jùwɔ̃-m-dô-∅
know-Lpzv-Neg-3SgSbj
wê:y [nà: -dàrɔ 1, này”] mɔ̃:lù-∅
a.fortiori [cow’-tail Inst] gather.Pzv-3SgSbj
‘The Dogon person for his part would not know (=recognize it) if he had seen the entire cow, never mind (just) with the cow tail.’ [2005.1a.16]
13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

The overt focus clitic is =m. It is identical in form to an allomorph of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1), but unlike the ‘it is’ clitic it is not conjugated for pronominal subject category.

This clitic is used after pronouns, demonstratives, and personal names. However, it is not often directly added to ordinary common noun stems. Perhaps this is because it would be difficult to distinguish from (animate) singular suffix -m. For example, if the focus clitic were added to ár"á ‘men’, this would produce #ár"á=m, which would be homophonous to singular ár"á-m ‘man’. The result is that noun-headed NPs can function syntactically as focalized, without an overt focus morpheme. This focalization is indirectly manifested, in the perfective (positive and negative) by the use of L-toned verb forms, including the (positive) unsuffixed perfective. For subject focus, focalization is also manifested, for 1st/2nd person categories, by the use of a 3Sg pronominal-subject suffix on the verb.

Focalization is largely confined to positive utterances for pragmatic reasons, but negative utterances allow focalization in the right context (‘it was the women [focus] that he/she did not bring’). Existential particle yá is used chiefly with a following quasi-verb bù- ‘be’ or só- ‘have’. These quasi-verbs are defective and do not themselves distinguish ordinary from (L-toned) defocalized forms. Instead, yá is present in ordinary contexts and is disallowed when a constituent is focalized (it is also absent under negation). See §11.2.2.1-3 for details and examples.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

In the (positive) perfective aspect, the unsuffixed perfective stem (L-toned) is regular for past-time reference. The verb shows regular third person subject prefixes, -Ø for 3Sg/Inan, and -bɔ́ for 3Pl.

(400) a. sëydù=m lò-Ø
    Seydou=Foc go.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who went.’

    b. kúr"ù yàyà-Ø
    stone fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘It was a stone [focus] that fell.’

    c. ár"à yè-bɔ́
    man.Pl come.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘It was the men [focus] who came.’
For 1st/2nd person subject, the unsuffixed perfective is again used, but the verb has zero (pseudo-)3Sg inflection.

(401)  a.  í=ṁ  lò∅
       1Sg=Foc  go.Pfv-3SgSbj
       ‘It’s I [focus] who went.’

       b.  û=ṁ  lò∅
       2Pl=Foc  go.Pfv-3SgSbj
       ‘It’s you-Pl [focus] who went.’

In the imperfective, the (positive) form in common use is the unsuffixed imperfective, without reduplication. Again, the 1st/2nd person subject forms require the (pseudo-)3Sg form of the verb, which in this case is -ṁ. True third person subject forms have the usual 3Sg or 3Pl suffix on the verb.

(402)  a.  í=ṁ  ló-ṁ
       1Sg=Foc  go-lpfv.3SgSbj
       ‘It’s I [focus] who will go.’

       b.  û=ṁ  ló-ṁ
       2Pl=Foc  go-lpfv.3SgSbj
       ‘It’s you-Pl [focus] who will go.’

       c.  sëydù=ṁ  ló-ṁ
       Seydou=Foc  go-lpfv.3SgSbj
       ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who will go.’

       d.  árⁿ  ló-yë
       man.Pl  go-lpfv-3PlSbj
       ‘It’s men [focus] who will go.’

In the perfective negative, the defocalization of the verb entails a drop in the tone of the AN suffix, elsewhere -rí, to L-toned -rí-.

(403)  a.  sëydù=ṁ  ló-1-ṛ-∅
       Seydou=Foc  go-1-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
       ‘It was Seydou [focus] who did not go.’

       b.  ì=ṁ  ló-1-ṛ-∅
       1Pl=Foc  go-1-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
       ‘It was we [focus] who did not go.’

       c.  árⁿà  ló-1-1-à
       man.Pl  go-1-PfvNeg-1-3PlSbj
       ‘It was the men [focus] who did not go.’
When focus =mith is absent, only the tone on the AN suffix identifies the clause as focalized. Thus (403c) differs only subtly from unfocalized ář”á ló-r-á ‘men did not go’.

In the **imperfective negative**, the verb stem retains its lexical tone. The AN suffix complex is -m-dó-. 1st/2nd person subject requires (pseudo-)3Sg suffix on the verb.

(404) a. sěydù=m ñó-m-dó-∅
    Seydou=Foc go-Lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj
    ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who will not go.’

b. ù=m ñó-m-dó-∅
    2Sg=Foc go-Lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj
    ‘It’s you[Sg] [focus] who will not go.’

c. bù:=m ñó-m-n-ɛ́
    3Pl=Foc go-LpfvNeg-3PlSbj
    ‘It’s they [focus] who will not go.’

The subject (or topic) of an ‘it is X’ construction can also be focalized. See e.g. ěř”é=m jöŋú=m=∅ ‘it’s he [focus] who was the healer’ in B’s first turn in (679) in the sample text. In this construction, the focalized subject (topic) and the predicate may look alike morphologically.

13.1.2 **Object focalization**

When the focalized constituent is the direct object, we get the same patterns for AN verbal morphology as in subject focalization. Specifically, we get the L-toned unsuffixed perfective, the L-toned negative AN forms, and the unreduplicated unsuffixed imperfective as basic verb forms. However, in object focalization, the verb carries the **full set of subject pronominal suffixes**.

Nouns and pronouns that take =mith for subject focus may take accusative clitic =nì (§8.2) when functioning as focalized objects. This is usual with pronouns and seems common with personal names, but it is not very common with other nouns.

(405) a. sěydù=nì yì-y
    Seydou=Acc see.Pfv-1SgSbj
    ‘It was Seydou [focus] that I saw.’

b. yà: yì-Ɋ
    woman,Pl see.Pfv-2SgSbj
    ‘It was the women [focus] that you-Sg saw.’

c. kûr”ù jìsè-y
    stone throw.Pfv-1SgSbj
    ‘It was the stone [focus] that I threw.’
d.  í=ni      yi-w
1Sg=Acc see.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘It was me [focus] that you-Sg saw.’

In (405b-c), only the use of the unsuffixed perfective verb form suggests that ‘women’ and ‘stone’ may be focalized.

In all of my elicited examples, the word with =ni clitic is immediately preverbal.

Below are examples of the perfective negative (406a), the imperfective (406b), and the imperfective negative (406c). As in subject relatives, the perfective negative and imperfective negative suffixes have L-tone (-rì-, -mdò-) under focalization.

(406)  a.  sëydù=ni     yi-)rù-w
Seydou=Acc see-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
‘It was Seydou [focus] that you-Sg did not see.’

b.  yà:  jò-ló-m
woman.Pl convey-Caus-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘It’s the women [focus] that he/she will take (there).’

c.  yà:  jò-ló-mdò-∅
woman.Pl convey-Caus-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘It’s the women [focus] that he/she will not take (there).’

13.1.3  Focalization of PP or other adverbial

Since PPs and similar adverbials have inanimate reference (to times, places, and manners), there is no reason to expect them to allow focus clitics. In (407), ‘in(side) the house’ is focalized, but this is discernible only because the verb is in the unsuffixed (L-toned) perfective.

(407)  [úrò  pirè]  birè-b5
[house  inside]    work.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘It was in the house [focus] that they worked.’

13.2  Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are expressed by a clause-final particle ‘yes/no?’ particle that is not easily distinguished from an ‘or’ disjunction. There is also the usual array of content (WH) interrogatives like ‘who?’

In textual examples, we observe a tendency to topicalize a constituent, then (after a pause) add a question, with a WH word either as predicate (with ‘it is’ clitic, indistinguishable from the focus clitic) or immediately before the predicate. However, ordering is variable, and clause-initial position for the WH word is also possible. The examples in (408) illustrate the various linear positions of WH words. Repetitions of the same question, perhaps slightly rephrased, can show different ordering (408a,d). In (408c) the nominal WH word (‘what?’) is adjacent to a coindexed relative head.
13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogative (ma)

The particle *ma* can be added to a statement to make it into a question. It is subject to optional intonational prolongation. The pitch is also subject to an intonational rise, but its basic phonological tone is copied from the immediately preceding tone. It may, alternatively, have falling pitch (*mâ* →). An example is (409a). Another option is to express both the positive and negative alternatives, linked by *mà* → ‘or’, as in (409b). This is pragmatically interpreted as a question. When two or more occurrences of *ma* occur, as in (409c), I take clause-final *ma* to be interrogative, and *ma* at the beginning of the second and later options to be disjunctive.
a. yẹ:-r-à: mà
come-Pfv1a-1a PlSbj Q
‘Did they come?’ (or: ‘Have they come?’)

b. yẹ:-r-à: mà→ yẹ:-r-á
come-Pfv1a-3 PlSbj or come-PfvNeg-3 PlSbj
‘Did they come, or did they not come?’

c. hɔ́nɔ́ hálkërè gàyⁿ→ mà:nù-ώ:: mà→,
for EXAMPLE: destruction like think.Pfv-2 PlSbj Q,
mà→ [kɔ̌.t. àdùnà:x“ù-pàw“à] gàyⁿ→ mà:nù-ώ:: mà→
or [thing ^ world ^ ruination] like think.Pfv-2 PlSbj Q
‘For example, did you-Pl think it was like (divine) destruction? Or did you-Pl think it was some kind of ruination of (=from) the world (of the living)?’

[2005.1a.08]

13.2.2 ‘Who?’ ( ìm )

‘Who?’ is usually ìm, but this form can also be treated as a ‘which?’-type adjectival interrogative and therefore extended as nù L ìm ‘which person?’ = ‘who?’.

In subject function, ìm ‘who?’ takes the focus clitic =m (410).

(410) a. ìm=m tê: sírí-tî
who? =Foc tea cook-1Pfv.3 Sg Sbj
‘Who will make (=boil) the tea?’

b. ìm=m lò-∅
who? =Foc go.Pfv-3 Sg Sbj
‘Who went?’

In direct object function, the accusative clitic =nî is optional.

(411) a. ìm( = nî) yî-多种形式
who?=Acc see.Pfv-2 Pl Sbj
‘Who(m) did you-Sg see?’

b. [nù L ìm (= nî)] [ürò L pirè:] yî-多种形式
[person who?=Acc] [house ^ inside] see.Pfv-2 Pl Sbj
‘Who(m) did you-Pl see inside the house?’

c. sé:dù [nù L ìm] jiyè-∅
S [person ^ who?] kill.Pfv-3 Pl Sbj
‘Who(m) did Seydou kill?’
13.2.3 ‘What?’ (ǹjé), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

ǹjé ‘what?’ may be used by itself, or it may be combined with the noun ‘thing’ to form kɔ̀.nL ǹjé ‘what (thing)?’. In this combination it functions adjectivally, and so induces tone-dropping on the noun (412c-d).

(412)  a.  ǹjé  lúgúró-rà-òw  
    what?  look.for-Prog-2SgSbj  
    ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’

    b.  ǹjé  pé-yɛ́  
        what?  eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj  
        ‘What will we eat?’

    c.  [kɔ̀.nL ǹjé]  ú  bèrè-∅  
        [thing  what?]  2SgObj  get.Pfv-3SgSbj  
        ‘What has gotten (=is ailing) you-Sg?’

    d.  [kɔ̀.nL ǹjé]  sè:dù  bèrè-∅  
        [thing  what?]  S  get.Pfv-3SgSbj  
        ‘What has gotten (=is ailing) Seydou?’

‘With what?’ is expressed as the instrumental of kɔ̀.nL ǹjé.

(413)  [[kɔ̀.nL ǹjé]  này]  bìrɛ̀-w  
       [[thing  what?]  Inst]  work.Ipfv-2SgSbj  
       ‘With what do you-Sg work?’

‘Why?’ is ǹjé gì-này (variant ǹjé gù-này). gì-này was originally a clause-linking form of gùy ‘say’ (§15.1.9). Another subordinated form of this verb is the source of purposive postposition gĩm (§8.5.1).

(414)  [ǹjé  gi-này]  [kú  hL.nì;  kù]  
       [what?  for]  [DiscDef  hL.water  Def]  
       kɔ́wɔ̀-m-h-n-ɛ́  
       get.water-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj  
       ‘Why do they not take the water of that (place)?’ [2005.1a.05]

13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (án-dá;  án, ángɔ́y)

The common interrogative adverb ‘where?’ is án-dáː. The -dáː is a common final element in deictic locative adverbials (§4.4.2.1). Perhaps án- is historically related to ṃ  ‘who?’ or ‘which?’.

(415)  a.  án-dáː  lò-w  
       where?  go.Ipfv-2SgSbj  
       ‘Where are you-Sg going?’
b. án-dá:  gó-̀m
   where?  exit-Ipfv.3SgSbj
   ‘Where does he/she come from?’

c. án-dá: sí-yé-ỳ
   where?  go.down-MP.Ipfv-1SgSbj
   ‘Where will I go down (=lodge)?’

d. [[àrsè:  bû=ni]  án-dá:  jò-́ló-yè]
   [[animal  Def.Pl=Acc]  where?  convey-Caus-Ipfv.3PlSbj
   ‘Where do they take the livestock animals?’ [2005.1a.15]

e. sè:dù  án-dá:  nàwⁿ  â:  èwè-∅
   S  where?  meat  buy.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘Where did Seydou buy the meat?’

Predicative ‘X be where?’ can be expressed by locational-existential quasi-verb bû- plus án-dá: ‘where?’. For fixed entities such as mountains, houses, and villages), the ‘where?’ adverb may be ángòy or án-dá:.

(416)  a. ìsè:  ángòy  bû-∅
   "  án-dá:  "
   village  where?  be.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘Where is the village?’

   b. [tɔ́rɔ́  bè]  ángòy  b-é:ⁿ
      [ "  " ]  án-dá:  "
      [mountain  Pl]  where?  be.Pfv-3PlSbj
      ‘Where are the mountains?’

   c. án-dá:  bû-́w
      where?  be.Pfv-2SgSbj
      ‘Where are you-Sg?’

A simple form èn is also attested. The focalized form is èn = ∅, where the focus (‘it is’) clitic accounts for the final L-tone element. ‘Where are you-Sg going?’, cf. án-dá: ló-́w, = in (415a) above, can therefore also be expressed as èn = ∅ ló-́w.

(417)  èn = ∅   gò-jè:-∅
       where?=Foc  go.out-RecPf-3SgSbj
       ‘Where did it (=motorcycle) come from?’ [2005.1b.06]

This form may also be expanded as ɔ́rɔ́ èn = ∅ ‘(in) what place?’, where èn functions like an adjective, cf. ɔ́rɔ́ ‘place’.
13.2.5 ‘When?’

‘When?’ expressions can be of the type ‘which day?’ based on the noun ãsù ‘day’, or of the type ‘in/with which time?’ based on the noun dògùrù or (from Fulfulde) synonym wákátu ∼ wáyátu ‘time’.

(418) a. [ângú ãsù] L wò [which? in]
‘when?’ (= ‘on which day?’)

b. [[dògùrù ñjé] ñyâ’] yé-īn
[[time what? Inst]] come-Lpfv.3SgSbj
‘When (= with what time?) will he/she come?’

c. sé:dù [[dògùrù ñjé] ñyâ’] yé-∅
S [[time what? Inst]] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘When did Seydou come?’

13.2.6 ‘How?’ (àñáy’)

‘How?’ is àñáy’ (419a) or its extension àñáy’ ñyâ’. It may be used predicatively with bà- ‘be’ (419b). The iterated form àñáy’-àñáy’ is used adverbially (419c). àñáy’ is used with káy’ ‘do’ in the sense ‘do what?’ (419d).

(419) a. túñ’: àñáy’ cé:lé-ī
mortar how make.well.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘How do you-Sg make a (wooden) mortar?’

b. àñáy’ bà-∅
how? be-3SgSbj
‘How is it?’ (= ‘What’s the situation?’)

c. àñáy’-àñáy’ tégé:-râ-’w:
how?-how? speak-Prog-2SgSbj
‘How (= what) are you-Pl talking (about)?’

d. àñáy’ ká:-râ-’w
how? do-Prog-2SgSbj
‘What are you-Sg doing?’

13.2.7 ‘How much?’ ‘how many?’ (à:ngá)

‘How much?’ or ‘how many?’ is à:ngá. It is adverbial, and when “modifying” a preceding noun, the latter is not tone-dropped. From this are derived distributive à:ngá-à:ngá ‘how much/how many (per unit)?’, which is usually predicative with ‘it is’ clitic, and ordinal à:ngáy-né ‘how many-th?’ (answer would be ‘first’, ‘third’, etc.).
(420)  a.  pêrê  à:ngá  èwê-w
    sheep.Pl  how.many?  buy.Pfv-2SgSbj
    ‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’

   b.  màngòrò  à:ngá:à:ngâ:=∅
    mango  how.much-how.much=it.is
    ‘How much (apiece) are the mangoes?’

13.2.8  ‘Which?’ (àm, àngû)

àm (also ‘who?’, §13.2.2) is used with animate referents, àngû with inanimates. As adjectival
‘which?’, these control tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun (421a-b). They may also
be used absolutely, either when the relevant set is already understood, or after specifying this
set in a preclausal topocalized phrase (421c). In the case of àm, the absolute use converges
with the sense ‘who?’. Both àm and àngû may be pluralized by adding free plural particle bè
(421d).

(421)   a.  [pêrêL  àm]  jórë-w
    [sheepL  which.Sg?]  want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
    ‘Which sheep-Sg do you-Sg want?’

   b.  [tiwâ:yînL  àngû]  jórë-w
    [treeL  which.Inan?]  want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
    ‘Which tree do you-Sg want?’

   c.  [yû:  yâ→]  [èméy  yâ→]
    [millet  and]  [sorghum  and]
    àngû=ì̃  mègè  èsù
    which?=Foc  more  good
    ‘(Between) millet and sorghum, which is better?’

   d.  [pêrêL  àm  bè]  jórë-w
    [sheepL  which.Sg?  PL]  want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
    ‘Which sheep-Pl do you-Sg want?’

13.2.9  ‘So-and-so’ (à-mâ:n)

‘So-and-so’, i.e. a substitute for a variable personal name (French un tel, une telle), is
à-mâ:n, mâ:n, or mâ:nù.

13.2.10  ‘Whatchamacallit?’

The expression k3:a  kú=à ‘the thing’ can be used as a ‘whatchamacallit?’ filler while a word
or name is being searched for.
13.2.11 Embedded interrogatives

An embedded interrogative in a context like ‘I don’t know [who/what/where …]’ can take its original interrogative form (422a). Alternatively, it is replaced by a relative clause headed by an appropriate semantically light noun (nung ‘person’, kọ́ ‘thing’, dógů́rú ‘time’, urù ‘place’, dáy ‘manner’) (422b).

(422) a. [[kọ́ːal njé] pé-ûː. m̩→]
    [[thing what] eat.1plSbj Q]
    júwá-m-dó-û
    know.1plSbj
    ‘I don’t know what we are going to eat.’

b. [[ʊgú-rù dáy gó-yè] júwá-m-dó-û]
    [here manner exit.1plSbj] know.1plSbj
    ‘I don’t know how to get out of here.’ (lit. “… the way that they exit here”) [for -yè see discussion of (436) in §14.1.6.2]
14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative constructions

As in most other Dogon languages, BenT has what are traditionally called internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs). As a first schematic approximation, ‘the goat that Seydou brought to the market yesterday’ is expressed as [yesterday Seydou [goat, (kà:ⁿ)] [market to] bring-Pfv.Ppl.AnSg Def]., where ‘goat’ is coindexed with the entire NP.

The following are major features of BenT relatives.

- the head may be in any grammatical function within the relative clause, such as subject (§14.2), object (§14.3), possessor of another NP (§14.4), complement of a postposition (§14.5), or a spatiotemporal or manner adverbial (§15.2.1.1, §15.2.2-3);
- the overt head, maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num, is internal to the relative clause, though it may happen to be initial in that clause (§14.2-3);
- if the internal head is an unmodified noun, animate singular -m (the only nonzero animacy-number suffix for nouns) is omitted on the head noun (as it is before an adjective);
- the overt head is the target of tone-dropping controlled by the relative clause, though this may be rendered ineffectual by a possessor-controlled tone overlay (tonosyntactic island);
- an optional relative morpheme kà:ⁿ (§14.1.10), unusual for Dogon languages, can occur at the end of the internal head;
- the relative-clause verb is a participle (Ppl) marking the usual aspect-mood-negation inflectional categories, and agreeing in animacy-number features with the head, but not agreeing in pronominal-subject category with the subject (§14.1.6);
- late-NP elements associated with the head NP (determiners, ‘all’, discourse-function morphemes) constitute a coda following the participle, some of whose elements control tone-dropping on the participle (§14.1.8-9);
- in nonsubject relatives, if the subject is a pronoun, it is expressed as a proclitic subject pronoun (§14.1.5) immediately preceding the verbal participle;
- postpositions that are expected to occur with the internal occurrence of the head NP (‘the man to/with whom …’) are generally omitted (§14.5);
- in possessor relatives (‘the man whose …’), the possessor NP is treated like other head NPs, and a coindexed resumptive pronominal possessor precedes the possessum (§14.4);
- the entire construction (including the coda) functions as a regular argument in the higher phrase or clause, e.g. as subject, object, or complement of a postposition;
- Jamsay-type doubling of the head noun following the relative construction (including its coda) did not occur in BenT texts but was accepted in adverbial relative clauses (§15.2.1.1).

In comparison to neighboring Dogon languages, the most notable distinctive features of BenT are the relative morpheme kà:ⁿ and the omission of animate singular -m on the internal head.
The BenT construction can be accounted for by assuming an underlying English-like construction where the relative clause (RC) is one among several postnominal modifiers within the NP, following the maximal Poss-N-Adj-Num string but preceding late-NP elements, e.g. \([\text{goat (Adj) (Num)}]_{kà:} \ldots \text{Verb-Ppl} \text{Def}]\). After tonosyntax and case morphosyntax, the bolded pre-RC string then moves into the linear position of the relativization site, becoming the internal head in e.g. \[_\ldots \text{goat (Adj) (Num)}]_{kà:} \ldots \text{Verb-Ppl} \text{Def}]\).

This analysis accounts for the morphological and tonosyntactic form of the internal head. Tone-dropping is controlled in right-to-left fashion by the relative clause, likw that controlled on nouns by following adjectives and demonstratives. Relative clauses, adjectives, and demonstratives restrict reference in the same manner, so they form a natural class, along with possessors.

14.1.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

In other syntactic contexts, a NP is of the form (423), disregarding some details (see chapter 6). The symbol ** indicates the break point within the NP, such that any morphemes to the right follow the participle when the NP functions as relative-clause head.

(423) (possessor) [noun adjective(s) numeral] ** determinant ‘all’ DF

The maximal form of the internal head is therefore (424), while the late-NP elements appear after the verbal participle.

(424) (possessor) [noun (adjectives) numeral]

In the absence of a possessor, (424) appears as N, [N\text{\textsuperscript{L}} Adj], [N Num], or [N\text{\textsuperscript{L}} Adj Num]. These all end in one or more words that are (so far) tonosyntactically free, although in some sequences the noun has already been tone-dropped by a following adjective. When such sequences occur as internal heads in relative clauses, the final word(s) undergo further tone-dropping, becoming respectively N\text{\textsuperscript{L}}, [N Adj]\text{\textsuperscript{L}}, [N Num]\text{\textsuperscript{L}}, and [N Adj Num]\text{\textsuperscript{L}}, with every word now \{\text{L}\}-toned. For example, in (425a) both ‘red’ and ‘six’ have at least one H-tone, which disappears when this string (except the final definite morpheme) becomes an internal head (425b).

(425) a. \([\text{nà:\textsuperscript{L}}} \quad \text{bàr\textsuperscript{a}}] \quad \text{kùròy} \quad \text{bú:}\n\text{[cow\textsuperscript{L}} \quad \text{red.Pl}] \quad \text{six} \quad \text{Def.Pl}\n\text{‘the six brown cows’}

b. \([\text{[nà:} \quad \text{bàr\textsuperscript{a}}} \quad \text{kùròy]}_{\text{L}}\n\text{[\{cow.Pl\textsuperscript{L}} \quad \text{red.Pl}] \quad \text{six]}_{\text{L}}\n\text{í} \quad \text{éwé-mà} \quad \text{bú:}\n\text{1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl} \text{Def.Pl}\n\text{‘the six brown cows that I bought’}

If an NP with the structure in (424), above, contains an alienable possessor, the possessor controls an overlay such as \{HL\} on the remaining sequence, with the H limited to the first
syllable (or, for a monosyllabic noun, the first mora). We here focus on cases like (426a) where the \{HL\} overlay remains audible, specifically on the possessed noun \textsuperscript{HL}nâ: ‘cows’ that immediately follows the possessor. In such cases, there is no tonal change when the same Poss-N-Adj-Num string functions as head NP in a relative (426b). In other words, possessor control of \{HL\} trumps relative-clause control of \{L\}. If relative-clause control were dominant, we would have gotten the incorrect (426c); note the tones on ‘cows’.

However, with inalienable possession the tonosyntactic issues discussed in connection with (102) in §6.2.3 above come into play. Recall that numerals in Poss-N-(Adj)-Num sequences are included in the possessor-controlled overlay for alienable possessors but usually not for inalienables. In (426d), there are two phonetically slightly different outputs. In one, the numeral is separately tone-dropped by the relative clause, leaving the Poss-N-Adj sequence to take its normal form, here with the monomoraic pronominal possessor included in the domain of \{L\}. In the other, the relative-controlled \{L\} has a wide domain and tone-drops all of the words in the head NP. When Adj-Num Inversion applies, as in (426e), the numeral is tonosyntactically bound by the following adjective and the relative-controlled \{L\} has a wide domain.

(426)   a. û \textsuperscript{HL}[nâ: bàr”à kùròy] bû:
2SgPoss \textsuperscript{HL}[cow.AnPl red.Pl six] Def.AnPl
‘your-Sg six brown cows’

   b. û \textsuperscript{HL}[nâ: bàr”à kùròy]
ī \textsuperscript{éwé-mà} bû:
2SgPoss \textsuperscript{HL}[cow.AnPl red.Pl six]
1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
‘your-Sg six brown cows that I bought’

\textbf{not:}

c. #û \textsuperscript{HL}[nâ: bàr”à kùròy] L
#2SgPoss \textsuperscript{HL}[cow.AnPl red.Pl six] L
ī \textsuperscript{éwé-mà} bû:
1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
[intended sense = (b)]

d. [fù lèsù] L mɔ̀si-yè] pèrù] L
or: [û lèsù mɔ̀si-yè] pèrù] L
[2SgPoss uncle bad-Pl ten]
ī sùyɔ̀-mà kù
1SgObj hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles who hit-Past me’

e. [fù lèsù pèrù mɔ̀si-yè] L
[[2SgPoss uncle ten bad-AnPl] L
ī sùyɔ̀-mà kù
1SgObj hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles who hit-Past me’
14.1.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

A pronoun may not function directly as internal head of a relative. Instead, it is preposed to the clause, its place as internal head within the clause taken by tone-dropped nù\(^L\) 'person'.

\[(427) \quad ú \quad \mid \begin{array}{lll} nù^{L} & yàyà-sô-m & kù \end{array} \mid \quad 2\text{SgSbj} \quad \text{[person}^{L} \quad \text{fall-Reslt-AnSg} \quad \text{Def]} \quad \text{‘you-Sg who fell’ (lit. ‘you-Sg, the person who fell’)}\]

'I, whom you see (here)’ is expressed by a construction that could be parsed literally as ‘I, this (thing) that you see’, with the participle pointing to an implicit inanimate rather than animate singular head noun; see ú yì-rà-ÿ ñgù→ in C’s first turns in (660) and (664) in the sample text.

14.1.3 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Conjoined NPs are uncommon as heads of relative clauses, since the preferred construction is parallel relative clauses (‘the boys who swim and the girls who swim’). However, conjoined NPs are possible as relative heads. In my limited data, the conjoined NP keeps its regular prosody, i.e. it is not tone-dropped under the influence of the relative-clause participle. In other words, conjoined NPs behave as tonosyntactic islands, impervious to syntactically controlled prosodic processes.

\[(428) \quad \text{is an elicited example involving } be→ \text{as conjunctive particle (§7.1.2).}\]

\[(428) \quad \mid \begin{array}{lll} [\text{man.AnPl} & \text{and}] \quad [yà: & \quad \text{bé}→] \quad [\text{woman.AnPl} & \quad \text{and}] \quad \text{jáy} \quad \text{jáyá-mà} \quad \text{kù} \quad \text{fight(n)} \quad \text{fight.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl} \quad \text{Def}] \quad \text{án-dá:} \quad \text{b-ê}→:^{a} \quad \text{where?} \quad \text{be-3PlSbj} \quad \text{‘Where are [the men and women] who quarreled?’}\]

A similar example with ya→ as the conjunctive particle is in lines 5-6 of (665) in the sample text.

14.1.4 Headless relative clause

Headless relatives are not typical when the referent is a person, animal, or object. Even when referentially vague (e.g. ‘anyone who …’), a semantically light noun such as nù\(^L\) ‘a person (who …)’ or kɔ̀:\(^L\) ‘a thing (that …)’ is most often present. However, especially when the (potential) head NP is a semantically light noun meaning something like ‘time’, ‘place’, or ‘manner’, it may be omitted, resulting in a headless relative that functions as a spatiotemporal or manner clause. The omitted head NP may be even more abstract than these glosses suggest (e.g. ‘situation’). For examples and discussion, see §15.2.4.
14.1.5 Preparticipial subject pronominal in nonsubject relative clause

(429), to be read vertically from top to bottom, shows preparticipial subject pronominals in the second row. They have their usual independent form. They immediately precede the verb-participle, and are required when the subject of a nonsubject relative is pronominal. The interlinear word glosses are to the right.

(429) \( \text{inj}\text{è}^\perp \quad \text{dog}^\perp \)
\( \{ \text{i} \text{ ù} \text{ ú} \text{ è} \text{ bù} \text{ á} \text{ á} : \} \)
\( \text{lárú-rî} \quad \text{chase.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg} \)
\( \text{kù} \quad \text{Def} \)

‘the dog that I/we/you-Sg/you-Pl/3Sg/they/LogoSg/LogoPl chased’

Examples occur throughout this chapter, for example in the object relatives in §14.3 below.

14.1.6 Participialized verb in relative clause

Relative clauses have participles instead of regular verbs inflected for pronominal subject category. In a relative, the participle agrees in number and animacy with the head noun, not the subject. The categories are therefore (animate) singular, (animate) plural, and inanimate. The morphology of the suffixes will now be described.

14.1.6.1 Participles of unsuffixed perfective verbs (-m̀, -mà, -ẁ)

In the perfective positive, the bare stem (segmentally equivalent to the unsuffixed perfective, but with lexical tones) is directly followed by the participial suffixes. The suffixally marked perfectives (perfective-1a/1b, resultative) do not normally occur with participial suffixes. For the occasional participle based on other suffixally marked categories from the perfective positive system (recent perfect, experiential perfect), see §14.1.6.5, below.

The stem has its lexical vocalism and tone (e.g. bisyllabic H.H or L.H). In particular, it does not drop tones as does the unsuffixed perfective in main clauses (where this stem expresses defocalization). Thus \( \text{yàyá-} \) ‘fall’ and \( \text{tíwé-} \) ‘die’ have their regular lexical forms in such perfective participles as (animate) singular \( \text{yàyá-m̀} \) and \( \text{tíwé-m̀} \).

The perfective participial suffixes are in (430). (Animate) singular -m̀ and inanimate -ẁ also occur with modifying adjectives, while (animate) plural -mà is idiosyncratic.

(430) Perfective (positive) participial suffixes (after bare stem)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(animate) singular} & -m̀ \\
\text{(animate) plural} & -mà \\
\text{inanimate} & -ẁ \\
\end{array}
\]

For \( Cv^- \) verbs with rising tone melody, the rising tone appears in the participles with -m̀ and -ẁ, whose heavy syllables allow expression of <LHL> tone. Thus, for ‘come’, \( \text{yè-} \text{m̀} \) and \( \text{yè-ẁ} \). In plural \( \text{yè-mà} \), the H-tone element may spill into the first part of the second syllable, in which case a phonetic transcription \( \text{[jèmà]} \) approximates its pronunciation.
Some perfective participle examples are in (431).

(431) a. ùrò₇ L yàyá-w
      house₇ fall.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
      ‘the house that fell’

b. ùrò₇ L bù: dɔ̌-w kù
      house₇ 3PlSbj burn.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
      ‘the house that they burned’

c. ̀r̩à₇ L ló-m
      man₇ go.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg
      ‘the man who went’

d. ̀tî-wɛ̀: L tîwɛ̀-mà
      child.Pl₁ die.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl
      ‘the children who died’

The participles ending in -ẁ (animate singular) and -mà (animate plural) are indistinguishable from the 3Sg and 3Pl forms (respectively) of an alternative unsuffixed perfective form that is common in narrative (§10.2.1.2).

14.1.6.2 Participles of unsuffixed imperfective (-m, -∅, -mù, -yɛ)

In relative clauses based on (positive) unsuffixed imperfective verbs, there is a set of participles that are used in subject relatives and optionally in nonsubject relatives. Nonsubject relatives are also attested with a distinct participial construction. We begin with the first, most general type.

In the unsuffixed imperfective positive, which is optionally reduplicated in the animate participles as it is in the regular inflected form, when the head NP is the subject of its clause, the inanimate participle is identical to the 3Sg form of the inflected paradigm, with suffix -mù (L-toned).

The animate forms have singular -m and plural zero, in either case with final-syllable H-tone. These forms are typical of agentive nominals (§4.2.4, §5.1.3). For animate plural, an archaic variant -mù is attested, see dîmbi-yì-mù in (655) in the sample text.

Consistent with this agentive connection, a nonmonosyllabic verb stem shifts its final vowel to u (varying with i in some contexts, notably in the singular after y) in the two animate participles. Also consistent with agentive morphology is the {LH} tone overlay on animate participles.

(432) Imperfective (positive) participles
      (primary type, required in subject relatives, optional in others)

      a. agentive nominal form (final vowel shifts to u, {LH} overlay)

      (animate) aingular    -m
      (animate) plural      -∅ (archaic -mù)
b. based directly on unsuffixed imperfective stem

Animate -m

In addition, a **direct object** in the form of a noun without a following determiner or external quantifier takes **L-toned form**, see (466a-c) in §14.2.1 below. This matches the (incorporated-object) {L\} -toned nominal compound initials that occur with most agentives (§5.1.3). However, in the imperfective participles, the initial reduplication is optionally present. Representative participial paradigms are in (433).

(433)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Ipfv participles)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Sg (animate)</th>
<th>Pl (animate)</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>yáyá-</td>
<td>(yì-)yágú-m</td>
<td>yáyá-m</td>
<td>yáyá-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go down’</td>
<td>sì-yé-</td>
<td>(sì-)sì-yí-m</td>
<td>sì-yé-m</td>
<td>sì-yé-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go up’</td>
<td>ürő-</td>
<td>(ù-)ũũù-m</td>
<td>ürő-m</td>
<td>ürő-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hurt’</td>
<td>bármé-</td>
<td>(bì-)bármú-m</td>
<td>bármé-m</td>
<td>bármé-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td>pìyé-</td>
<td>(pì-)pìyí-m</td>
<td>pìyé-m</td>
<td>pìyé-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ló-</td>
<td>(lì-)lô-m</td>
<td>ló-m</td>
<td>ló-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>yé-</td>
<td>(yì-)yé-m</td>
<td>yé-m</td>
<td>yé-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>jé-</td>
<td>(jì-)jé-m</td>
<td>jé-m</td>
<td>jé-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples involving **subject relatives** are in (434). In the interlinear glosses for the participles, I favor syntactic over morphological analysis (see above), so for example the animate imperfective participles are glossed with Ppl (i.e. participle) rather than as agentives.

(434)  

a. ̀ùrò¹ ¹(yì-)yáyá-m

(Rdp-)fall.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan

‘the house that will fall’

b. ̀àrⁿà¹ ¹(lì-)lô-m

(Rdp-)go.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg

‘the man who will go’

c. ̀yì¹ tìwú-m  kù

child¹ die.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the child who will die’

d. ̀yì¹ yágú-m  kù

child¹ fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the child who will fall’

e. ̀yì-[tì]tìwá

child.Pl¹ (Rdp-)die.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl

‘the children who will die’

209
The same participles are also used in nonsubject relatives. The object relatives below have participles agreeing with object head NPs that are, respectively, inanimate (435a), animate singular (435b), and animate plural (435c). The participles belong to the type described and exemplified above for subject relatives. (435d) is a textual example with inanimate head.

(435)  

a. **nàwⁿá:** L i: kúwó-m  
meat¹ 1PISbj eat.meat.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan  
‘the meat that we will eat’

b. **pɛ̀rɛ:** L i: sèwⁿú-m  
sheep¹ 1PISbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg  
‘the sheep-Sg that we will slaughter’

c. **pɛ̀rɛ:** L i: sèwⁿú  
sheep¹ 1PISbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl  
‘the sheep-Pl that we will slaughter’

d. **[[tòy:] L ìmà:] ɔ̀r ɔ̀-m**  
[[sowing dry] place² 2SgSbj sow.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] Lboundary  
‘at the boundary of the place (=part of the field) where you are doing the dry-sowing’ [2005.1a.10]  

However, the texts also include examples like (436), where the participle (agreeing with animate plural head NP, not with the 2Sg subject) has a suffix -yɛ̀ that could be (mis-)parsed as a 3Pl-subject main-clause imperfective form. In other words, in another context jɔ́rɔ́-yɛ̀ can also mean ‘they like/want’.

(436) **[[nù:] êsi-yɛ̀] L**  
[[[person² good-Pl]¹] L]  
ú jɔ́rɔ́-yɛ̀] Lmà:] ní-ùⁿ  
2SgSbj like.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl] ¹Dat] give.Ipfv-2SgSbj  
‘You-Sg will give (honey) to the good people that you love.’ [2005.1a.09]

The option of using -yɛ̀ instead of the agentive-like participle described above is limited to plural subjects. An example with nonspecific ‘they’ is (422b) in §13.2.11. Participial -yɛ̀ is also required in instrumental compounds of the type ‘drinking water, water for drinking’, phrased as ‘water that (they) drink’, with understood nonspecific ‘they’ as subject (not head NP); see §5.1.9 for discussion and examples.

14.1.6.3 Participles of bù- ‘be’ and sò- ‘have’

**Quasi-verbs** bù- ‘be’ and sò- ‘have’ have similar participles (437). They are based on H-toned variants bù- and sò-, which also occur after existential yá (§11.2.2.3, §11.5.1).
Including suffixes, the participles are <HL>-toned. The plural participles are identical segmentally to the corresponding 3Pl inflected forms, which are irregular. Inanimate bû-\=w is homophonous with bû:-\=C ‘he/she/it is’ (with predicative adjective) and with 3Pl pronoun bû: ‘them’, but I transcribe them differently to bring out their morphological structure.

(437) category ‘be’ ‘have’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bû-m</td>
<td>sô-m</td>
<td>bû-=w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b-=:n</td>
<td>s-=:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A participial form of negative sô-\=lô- ‘not have’ occurs at the end of C’s long turn in (664) in the sample text.

14.1.6.4 Participles of stative verbs

Participles can also be formed from statives derived from active verbs. Statives do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, but have morphological affinities to the perfective system, and they use perfective participial suffixes. The participles have {HL} tones, as in the 1Sg form of the unreduplicated stative paradigm (§10.2.1.10) and as in the entire reduplicated stative paradigm (§10.2.1.11). Replication itself is absent from the participles.

(438) a. tiw*rôy-n:\= L ànjá-dá: íyà-\=w kû

   ‘the tree that is standing over there.’

   b. nù L ànjá-dá: íyà-m kû

   ‘the person who is standing over there.’

   c. nù L ànjá-dá: íyà-mà bû:

   ‘the people who are standing over there.’

14.1.6.5 Participles with positive perfective-system suffix

As noted above, perfective (positive) participles are normally built on the simple bare stem, rather than on a suffixally characterized form from the perfective system of AN categories. Perfective-1a -\=rê- does not occur in participles in my data. Perfective-1b -\=tî- is attested in a participle (439), but the combination is infrequent.

(439) [dògùrû L kà:\=C] yêy bû: gây-n-\=tî-\=w wôy

   [time L Rel] honey 3PI Sbj put-Pfv1b-Ppl.Inan all

   ‘When they (=bees) have made honey, …’ [2005.1a.09]
It was possible to elicit participles including **recent perfect** -jɛ́ (440a-c), **experiential perfect** -tâ- (440d-f), and **resultative** -sô- (440g-i). The endings for the recent perfect and experiential perfect are those found in perfective participles (for animates, singular -m and plural -mà; for inanimates, -w). The resultative likewise has (animate) singular -m (hence -sô-m) and inanimate -w (in -sô-w), but the (animate) plural is -s-ɛ́ⁿ, like the 3Pl inflected form.

(440)  **Participles of recent perfect, experiential perfect, resultative**

**Recent perfect**

a. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{ñèy}^{\text{a}} \text{ñè-jê-m} \)
   personL meal eat-RecPf-Ppl.AnSg
   ‘a person who has (already) eaten’

b. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{ñèy}^{\text{a}} \text{ñè-jê-mà} \)
   personL meal eat-RecPf-Ppl.AnPl
   ‘people who have (already) eaten’

c. \( \text{kùr}^{\text{a}} \text{l} \text{yâyá-jê-w} \)
   stoneL fall-RecPf-Ppl.Inan
   ‘a stone that has already fallen’

**Experiential perfect**

d. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{ngú-rù} \text{yê-tâ-m} \)
   personL here come-ExpPf-Ppl.AnSg
   ‘a person who has (ever) come here’

e. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{ngú-rù} \text{yê-tâ-mà} \)
   personL here come-ExpPf-Ppl.AnPl
   ‘people who have (ever) come here’

f. \( \text{kùr}^{\text{a}} \text{l} \text{yâyá-tâ-w} \)
   stoneL fall-ExpPf-Ppl.Inan
   ‘a stone that has (ever) fallen’

**Resultative**

g. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{sô-m} \text{ùr3-sô-m} \)
   personL horse-AnSg go.up-Reslt-Ppl.AnSg
   ‘a person who has mounted (= is mounted on) a horse’

h. \( \text{nù} \text{l} \text{sô:} \text{ùr3-sê:n} \)
   personL horse-Pl go.up-Reslt-Ppl.AnPl
   ‘people who have mounted (= are mounted on) horses’

i. \( \text{kɔ̀:n} \text{l} \text{sô-m} \text{ùr3-sô-w} \)
   thingL horse go.up-Reslt-Ppl.Inan
   ‘a thing that has mounted (= is mounted on) a horse’
A preparticipial subject pronoun may intervene between the verb stem and a marked perfective-system suffix participle. In this construction, the “suffix” behaves more like an auxiliary verb (§10.1.1). This is seen with resultative sô- (441a), Experiential perfect tâ- (441b), recent perfect jê- (441c), and perfective-1b tî- (441d). An assistant rejected a similar separation of verb and inflectional suffix/auxiliary in the case of perfective-1a -tê-.

(441) a. mô-ɲɛ̀yⁿL gâyⁿ ú só-ît kù
mouth-foodL put 2SgSbj Resit-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the food that you-Sg have put down (there)’ [2005.1b.02]

b. yî-tá-yè [jök tû-m] kɔ̀yⁿL
see-ExpPf-3PISbj [[InanPoss companion-AnSg] thingL
yî bû: tâ-w]
see 3PISbj ExpPf-Ppl.InanSg
‘They have (at some point) seen, there used to be something that they had (at some point) seen of that sort’ [2005.1b.01]

c. nàwⁿà: L kûwô ú jê-ît kù
meatL eat.meat 2SgSbj RecPf-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the meat that you-Sg have (just) finished eating’

d. ùsùL [sêngû: kû] āy
dayL [waterjar Def] take
sî-lé ú tî-w
go.down-Caus 2SgSbj Perf1b-Ppl.Inan
‘the day you-Sg took and brought down the waterjar’
[adapted from textual example (497)]

14.1.6.6 Participles with positive imperfective-system suffix

The progressive suffix -rê- is attested in participial form, with ordinary nominal suffixes for animates (singular -n, plural zero), and with (adjective-like) -w for inanimates.

(442) a. àrⁿàL yîyôsi-rê bû:
manL run-Prog DefPl
‘the men who run’

b. àrⁿàL yîyô-ś-rê-m kù
manL run-Prog-AnSg Def
‘the man who runs’
c.  [léré-léré  nù  kówó:-rà]
   [occasionally person draw.water-Prog]
   yá  b-è;ⁿ-bò
   Exist be-3PISbj-3PISbj
   ‘There are some people who draw it (water) from time to time.’ [2005.1a.05]

d.  jáy  ú:  jàyá:-rà-ú  kù
   fight(n)  2PISbj fight-Prog-Ppl.Inan  Def
   ‘when you-PI have a fight’ [2005.1b.05] (headless relative)

14.1.6.7  Participles of negative verbs

**Perfective negative** -ř̀- occurs in relatives with the paradigm in (443). The stem has the same {L₁}-toned version of the bare stem as before -ř̀- in its inflected forms. The morphology of the participial suffixes is not transparent. All three participles have falling tone on the suffix complex. Adding a final L-tone element directly to the 3Pl and 3Sg/Inan inflected forms would account for the plural and inanimate participles. However, the singular ends in -m̀, which could be taken as the regular nominal and adjectival (animate) singular suffix.

(443)  Perfective negative participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(animate) singular</th>
<th>-rú-m̀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(animate) plural</td>
<td>-r-à:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>-ř:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are in (444).

(444)  a.  yì  yìyò-rú-m̀  kù
       child  run-PfvNeg-Ppl.AnSg  Def
       ‘the child who did not run’ (yì-m)

b.  yì-tè:  yìyò-r-à:  bû:
    children  run-PfvNeg-Ppl.AnPl  DefPl
    ‘the children who did not run’ (yì-tè:)

c.  kùrⁿù  yàyà-rí:  kù
    stone  fall-PfvNeg-Ppl.Inan  Def
    ‘the stone that didn’t fall’ (kùrⁿù)

**Imperfective negative** -m̀-dó- has the participial forms in (445). The stem has the same segmental form and tone pattern as in the inflected paradigm. In the participial suffixes, we have the same pattern as with the perfective negative, namely, the plural and inanimate participles are identical to the corresponding inflected forms except that a **final L-tone** is added at the right edge (hence the final falling tone), while the singular ends in -m (also with falling tone).
Imperfective negative participles

(445)  Imperfective negative participles

(animate) singular  -m-dó-m (<-m-dó-L-m)
(animate) plural  -m-n-è: (<-m-n-è-L)
inanimate  -m-d-ò: (<-m-d-ò-L)

Examples of imperfective negative participles are in (446).

(446)  a.  yì  L  yò-ɣò-m-dó-m  kù
child  L  run-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.AnSg  Def
‘the child who does not run’ (yí-m)

b.  yì-tè:  L  yò-ɣò-m-n-è:
children  L  run-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.AnPl  DefPl
‘the children who do not run’ (yì-tè:)

c.  kùrⁿ ù  L  yá-ɣá-m-d-ò:
stone  L  fall-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.Inan  Def
‘the stone that didn’t fall’ (kùrⁿù)

Stative negative clitic =rá-, which is used in stative negative verbs (§10.2.3.4) and with various nominal and adjectival predicates (§11.2.1.4, §11.4.4), has the participial forms in (447). The (animate) plural form is homophonous to the inanimate form, probably by accident (underlying /=rá-à/ versus /=rá-L/ or the like).

(447)  Stative negative participles

(animate) singular  =rá-m
(animate) plural  =r-à:
inanimate  =r-à:

Examples are in (448), cf. inflected stative èw-yè-w =rá-Ø ‘he/she is not sitting’.

(448)  a.  nù L  èw-yè-w =rá-m
personL  sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.AnSg
‘a person who is not sitting’

b.  nù L  èw-yè-w =r-à:
personL  sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.AnPl
‘people who are not sitting’

c.  kɔ̀ n L  èw-yè-w =r-à:
thingL  sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.Inan
‘a thing that is not sitting’
14.1.6.8 Relative-clause participle including past clitic \(=bɛ\)-

For regular inflected forms including the past clitic, see §10.4.1. The participles have the suffix combinations in (449), regardless of the final tone of the preceding verb form. In other words, the participles are all based on the falling-toned variant \(=bɛ\)-. Except for the 3Pl, the suffixes (-\(m\), -\(w\)) are those of perfective participles.

(449) Participles of past \(=bɛ\)-

(animate) singular \(=bɛ\-\(m\)
(animate) plural \(=b\-\(j\):
inanimate \(=bɛ\-\(w\)

These suffixes are also used in the negative versions of the participles, since the negation is expressed on the preceding verb form rather than in the past clitic.

Participles corresponding to the past unsuffixed imperfective, as in \(bɪrɛ\ bɪrɛ\-\(m\) = \(bɛ\)-∅) ‘he/she was working’, are in (450). As usual for this category, the verb form preceding the clitic has imperfective -\(m\)-.

(450) a. \(nʊ\)\(^L\) \(bɪrɛ\) \(bɪrɛ\-\(m\) = \(bɛ\)-\(m\)

person\(^L\) work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg
‘a person who was working’

b. \(nʊ\)\(^L\) \(bɪrɛ\) \(bɪrɛ\-\(m\) = \(b\-\(j\):\)

person\(^L\) work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnPl
‘people who were working’

c. \(kɔ\,n\)\(^L\) \(bɪrɛ\) \(bɪrɛ\-\(m\) = \(bɛ\)-\(w\)

thing\(^L\) work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan
‘a thing that was working’

d. \(kù\,yɛ\,š\) \(bù\) \(kù\,yɛ\,š\-\(m\) = \(bɛ\)-\(w\)

first 3PlSbj do-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan Def
‘What they used to do formerly (was …)’ [2005.1b.01] (headless)

Negative counterparts have -\(m\)-\(dō\)- before the clitic: \(nʊ\)\(^L\) \(bɪrɛ\ bɪrɛ\-\(m\)-\(dō\) = \(bɛ\)-\(m\) ‘a person who was not working’.

See also \(wàrɛ\-\(m\) = \(bɛ\)-\(w\) in (507) in §15.2.1.3.

Participles corresponding to the past stative, e.g. \((i\)-?\)\(ɛw\-yɛ\-\(w\) = \(bɛ\)-∅) ‘he/she was sitting’ (§10.4.1.2), are in (451).

(451) a. \(nʊ\)\(^L\) \(ɛw\-yɛ\-\(w\) = \(bɛ\)-\(m\)

person\(^L\) sit-MP-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg
‘a person who was sitting’

b. \(nʊ\)\(^L\) \(ɛw\-yɛ\-\(w\) = \(b\-\(j\):\)

person\(^L\) sit-MP-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnPl
‘people who were sitting’

216
Negative counterparts are of the type \( nù \) \( \dot{y}è = \dot{b}è - m \) ‘a person who was not sitting’, with stative negative = \( \dot{r}â - \).

Participles corresponding to the past perfect (i.e. the past form of the morphological perfective), cf. \( \dot{y}è = \dot{b}è - \emptyset \) ‘he/she had come’, are in (452). In elicitation, my assistant produced (animate) singular and inanimate participles with the past clitic added directly to the bare stem of the verb, but (animate) plural participles with a plural morpheme -mà before the clitic. This can be identified as the (animate) plural suffix in simple perfective participles (e.g. \( nù \dot{y}è - mà \) ‘people who came’).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(452) a.} & \quad nù^L \quad \dot{y}è = bè - m \\
& \text{person}^L \quad \text{come}=\text{Past-Ppl.AnG} \\
& \text{‘a person who had come’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad nù^L \quad \dot{y}è - mà = b - ā: \\
& \text{person}^L \quad \text{come-PI}=\text{Past-Ppl.AnPl} \\
& \text{‘people who had come’} \\
\text{c.} & \quad kò^L \quad \dot{y}è = bè - w \quad \text{(or: \( \dot{y}è - w = bè - w \))} \\
& \text{thing}^L \quad \text{come}=\text{Past-Ppl.Inan} \\
& \text{‘a thing that had come’}
\end{align*}
\]

In other examples, the same assistant again used -mà = b - ā: in plural participles, but used -m = bè - m (in form, identical to the past unsuffixed imperfective participle) for the (animate) singular. See plural bârmé -mà = b - ā: ‘who-PI had been hurt’ and singular bârmé -m = bè - m ‘who-Sg had been hurt’ in (469a-b) in §14.4. This suggests that the pattern with \( = bè - \) added directly to the unsuffixed bare stem, as in (452a) and (452c), above, is unstable. In the inflected past perfect, the 3Sg form has suffix -w- before L-toned = bè -, and is therefore distinguished only by tones from the past stative, on which see §10.4.1.2.

Negative counterparts: \( nù \) \( \dot{y}è - rî = bè - m \) ‘a person who had not come’, plural \( nù \) \( \dot{y}è - r - ā = b - ā: \) ‘people who had not come’, inanimate \( kò^L \) \( \dot{y}è - rî = bè - w \) ‘a thing that had not come’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A participle of the past form of ‘have’ is in (453).} \\
\text{(453) [nù^L \quad kà:"n] \quad \text{ŋgá-dá:} \quad [ù^\text{HL} \quad kš:"n]} \\
& \text{[person}^L \quad \text{Rel]} \quad \text{around.there} \quad [\text{2SgPoss \quad \text{HL.thing]}]} \\
& \text{[kàrwá \quad só - m = bè - m \quad kù]} \\
& \text{[trust \quad \text{have-Stat}=\text{Past-Ppl.AnSg} \quad \text{Def}]} \\
& \text{‘the person there who had (the use of) your-Sg thing (=land) entrusted to him’} \\
& \text{[2005.1b.05]}
\end{align*}
\]
14.1.7 Relative clause involving direct verb chain

There is no difficulty forming relatives from chains of verbs (or VP’s). For example, the combination of ǎy (from /ày/) ‘pick up’ and jó-ló- ‘convey, take (somewhere)’ in the simple sentence (454a) corresponds to the relative clause in (454b). The nonfinal chained verb occurs in the simple bare stem in both cases. The pre-participial pronominal subject in (454b) intervenes between the two chained verbs.

(454) a. sèngù: ǎy jò-ló-tí-ý
   waterjar pick.up convey-Caus-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
   ‘I picked up and took (conveyed) the waterjar.’

   b. sèngù L ǎy í jò-ló-ũ kù
   waterjarL pick.up 1SgSbj convey-Caus.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
   ‘the waterjar that I picked up and brought’

In nonsubject relatives like this, the position just before the final verb of the subject pronominal allows us to identify direct verb chains in otherwise ambiguous constructions. See the discussion of marked perfective elements (suffixes or chained auxiliaries) in §10.1.1.

Another example, this time with a subject relative, is (455b) from the simple main clause (455a). The verbs are péré ‘jump’ and sí-yé- ‘go down’.

(455) a. péré sì-yé-∅
   jump go.down-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She jumped down.’

   b. nù L péré sì-yé-m ì kù
   personL jump go.down-MP.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
   ‘the person who jumped down’

In textual example (456), the L-toned head kɔ̀:ⁿ ‘thing’ is logically the object of ‘get water’ in the initial clause, which is chained (by =náyⁿ) to the following negated main clause. Here, however, the speaker changed the syntax in mid-stream, beginning with a relative construction (note the {L}-toned kɔ̀:ⁿ ‘thing’) but ending with a regular inflected verb.

(456) [kɔ̀:ⁿ L kòwɔ =náyⁿ]
   [thingL get.water=then.SS]
   [kù-tógórò ‘náyⁿ] dù-rú-ũ
   [head with] carry-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
   ‘something that (you-Sg) take and (so) you-Sg don’t (have to) carry (water) on the head’ (i.e. an alternative way to transport water) [2005.1a.05]

14.1.8 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping)

Definite morphemes, plural bè, and the ‘each/all’ quantifier wòy, follow the relative clause, though they have semantic scope over the head NP.
These morphemes do not induce tonal changes on a preceding word when they occur at the end of regular, main-clause NPs. As we would expect, they likewise have no tonal interactions with the preceding word in a relative clause, which is normally the participle. The examples in (457) involve participles that end in an L-tone.

(457) a. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàyá-}\text{mù} \quad \text{kù} \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the cow that fell’

b. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàyá-}\text{mà} \quad \text{bù}^{L}. \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl
‘the cows that fell’

c. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàyá-}\text{mà} \quad \text{wòy} \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl all
‘all the cows that fell’

d. \( \text{kùr}^{\text{nù}}^{L}. \text{yàyá-}\text{wè} \quad \text{bè}^{L}. \)
stone\(^{L}\) fall.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Pl
‘(some) stones that fell’

e. \( \text{kùr}^{\text{nù}}^{L}. \text{yàyá-}\text{mù} \quad \text{bè}^{L}. \)
stone\(^{L}\) fall.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Pl
‘(some) stones that fall’

The examples in (458) involve participles that end in an H-tone.

(458) a. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàgú-}\text{m} \quad \text{kù} \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the cow who falls’

b. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàgú} \quad \text{bù}^{L}. \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl
‘the cows who fall’

c. \( \text{nà}^{L}. \text{yàgú} \quad \text{wòy} \)
cow\(^{L}\) fall.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl all
‘all the cows that fall’

14.1.9 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping)

**Demonstrative pronouns** force tone-dropping on preceding words (final word of core NP, plus any cardinal numeral) within a regular NP. In relative clauses, where demonstrative pronouns immediately follow the participle, they force tone-dropping on this participle. In addition, \( \text{mù}^{L} \): ‘this’ has the same ability to lop off a final animate singular -\( \text{m}^{L} \) suffix as it does with preceding nouns. Therefore in (459a), the singular perfective participle \( \text{yàyá-}\text{mù} \) appears
as {L}-toned, suffixless yàγàL before mû. In (459b), the plural counterpart yàγá-mà drops its tones to yàγá-màL before the demonstrative.

(459) a. nàL yàγàL mû: cowL fall.PfvL Prox.An ‘this cow that fell’ (yàγá-mû)


14.1.10 Relative morpheme (kà:ⁿ)

There is often no relative pronoun or other relative morpheme, other than the participial form of the verb. However, a relative morpheme kà:ⁿ, immediately following the head NP, does occur in several textual passages, especially those spoken in deliberate or formal styles. In (460a), the fact that the speaker paused at this point in the clause may be significant. Another example is (460b), from the (rather formal) interview-style question leading into a text about the history of Beni.

(460) a. [térèw = ∅ wà] [bèr-hòggòL kà:ⁿ] [truth=it.is Quot] [goat-herd Rel] [á HL nà:] [wò] [[LogoSgPoss hand] [in] ér“é dúw-uvw kù nàpànà:] 3SgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def all ‘She said: it was true; the whole herd of goats that, he (=Lion) had left in her hand(s), …’ [2005.2a.06]

b. [ɔ̀r“óL kà:ⁿ] gó=ní, ḗgú-rù yê=ń, [place Rel] go.out=and.SS, here come=and.SS, [ɔ̀r“óL kà:ⁿ] ī: éw-yé-vw kù, [place Rel] 1PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def [[kú HL kábà:r] [ú mâ:] [bèrê-ỳ:] dè] [[InanPoss news] [2Sg Dat] get.Pfv-1PlSbj if] jòrò-ỳ.: want.Ipfv-1PlSbj ‘The place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.’ [2005.2a.08]

Further examples of kà:ⁿ are in (461).

When(=ever) they (=bees) have made honey, you-Sg yourself, at night you-Sg will go and tie a straw torch, (and …)’ [2005-1a.09]

b. [[nù\(^L\)]\(kà:\(^n\)\)]
   [person.Pl\(^L\) Rel]
   [ā:\(^tnà:\)] hàybù
   [[kù\(\text{ill.}\)], wò\(\text{in}\)] [nà:\(\text{kù}\) dimbà-\(w-bó\)
   [[DiscDef \(\text{ill.}\text{cause}\) \(\text{in}\) \(\text{cow.Pl} \text{ Def}\) follow-Static-3PlSbj]
   ‘(The/any) people who watch over their (own) cows, it’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cows.’ [2005-1a.15]

c. [kỳ:\(r^a\)], kà:\(n\)] ā:\(\text{nù-rà-w\(L\)}\) úgú,
   [roar\(n\) \(\text{Rel}\) 3LogoPISbj hear-Prorg-Ppl.Inan\(L\) Prox.Inan,
   jàw\(á\): \(\text{[kỳ:\(n\)}\(\text{ill.}\): \(\text{[èr\(\text{e}\)}\(\text{pây}\) \(\text{pây}\) \(\text{yày\(á\)}\)= \(\text{dá}\)
   crowd \(\text{[thing\(L\)} \(\text{with}\) \(\text{fight(v).Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg]}=\text{not.be}
   wà dè Quot Emph
   ‘(he said:) (in view of) this roar that they were hearing, a crowd (of people) was not what would fight with it (=lion).’ [2005-2b.05]

d. ú [[nù\(^L\)] \(kà:\(^n\)\)] [lkỳ: \(\text{yà→}\)] [nù-n\(\text{ùr\(n\)}\(\text{u}\) \(\text{yà→}\)]
   2Sg [person\(^L\) \(\text{Rel}\) \(\text{[hunger and]}\) \(\text{[thirst and]}\)
   \[nù\(^L\)] \(kà:\(^n\)\)] dà-m\(í\)
   [person\(^L\) \(\text{Rel}\) endure.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg
   ‘you-Sg (as) a person who (can) endure hunger and thirst’ [2005-1b.10]

d. [gàm kù] yà: dùwà-bò,
   [some Def] there leave.Pfv-3PlSbjbj,
   [[gàm\(\text{L}\)] \(kà:\(^n\)\)] \(\text{inijí-mà}\)
   [some\(^L\) \(\text{Rel}\) get.up- Ppl.Pfv.AnPl]
   [[nù\(\text{ù}\)] \(\text{yà→}\)] \(\text{[dèr\(\text{e}\)}\(\text{m}\) ya→] \(\text{inijí-mà}\)
   [y.sib-Sg and] [e.sib and] get.up-Ppl.Pfv.AnPl Def,
   [bü:\(\text{mà}\)] yùlì \(\text{wò}\) \(\text{yè} = \text{n}\)
   [[3Pl \(\text{QuotSbj}\)] Yuli \(\text{Loc}\) come=and.SameSubj
   ëw-\(yè-bó\) \(\text{wà}\)
   sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbjbj Quot
   ‘They left some (people) there. Some (=the others) who got up, the younger brother and the elder brother who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).’ [2005-2a.08]

e. nàw\(á\): [dògùrù\(\text{L}\)] kà:\(n\) gò-\(r\(\text{e}\)-\(w\)
   meat \(\text{[time\(L\) \(\text{Rel}\) go.out-Pfv1a-Ppl.Inan all}
   ‘any time (=whenever) meat (=a game animal) comes out’ (< dògùrù)
f. [[pɛ̀rɛ̀ tə:nù]¹ L kà:ⁿ] l: sèw̃ù-m kù
[[sheep three]¹ Rel] 1PlSbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
‘the three sheep-Pl that we will slaughter’

A synchronic connection between relative kà:ⁿ and the compound-final-like quantifier kà:ⁿ ‘(not) any’ is initially suggestive. The tonal difference could be attributed to tone-dropping on kà:ⁿ as part of a relative head. kà:ⁿ ‘(not) any’ has an animate singular form kà:ⁿ-m that has no counterpart with relative kà:ⁿ, but this too could be explained as a morphological consequence of being a relative head (we noted above that simple head nouns do not allow -m).

However, relative kà:ⁿ occurs freely in positive as well as negative contexts and with any noun, N-Adj, or N-Num combination. By contrast, kà:ⁿ ‘(not) any’ is attested only in negative clauses and semantically similar contexts, and it is occurs chiefly in a few high-frequency combinations. Overall, the examples with relative kà:ⁿ do not require a maximized reading (‘any X that…’). A maximalized reading can be forced by adding wọy ‘all’ as in (461a,e), but some other examples clearly have specific readings.

A diachronic connection between relative kà:ⁿ and the quantifier kà:ⁿ ‘(not) any’ is possible but uncertain. The only known cognate relative marker is Toro Tegu kà: ~ kà:ⁿ. The BenT quantifier kà:ⁿ ‘(not) any’ has cognates like Yanda Dom kámà and Nanga kámâ that point to an etymon *kámâ.

14.2 Subject relative clause

We have already seen the component features of relative clauses that are relevant: tone-dropping of head NP, participial suffix, relocation of determiners and external quantifiers to postparticipial position. In subject relatives there are no pre-participial subject pronouns since the subject is always the head NP.

Simple perfective subject relatives (without objects) are illustrated in (462). Imperfectives are exemplified later in this section.

(462) a. yéngù yà L yè-mì kù
yesterday woman¹ come.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the woman who came yesterday’
[linear order also: yéngù yà L yè-mì kù]

b. yà L yè-mà bù:
woman¹ come.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
‘the women who came’

c. yì L yàyá-mì kù
child¹ fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the child who fell’

d. yì-tè: L yàyá-mà bù:
child.Pl¹ fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
‘the children who fell’
Nonpronominal direct object NPs in a subject relative have the same form as in main clauses. The optional accusative clitic can appear with human objects (463c).

(463) a. yà\(^L\) éléy tíyé-ỳ kù
    woman\(^L\) peanuts sell.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
    ‘the woman who sold (the) peanuts’

b. yi\(^L\) injé-m sùyǐ-ỳ kù
    child\(^L\) dog-AnSg hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
    ‘the child who hit the dog’

c. yi\(^L\) [á \(^{HL}\) bò\(^j\)](= à) sùyǐ-ỳ kù
    child\(^L\) [3RefSGPoss \(^{HL}\) father\(\) (= Acc) hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
    ‘the child who hit his/her (own) father’

A pronominal direct object in a subject relative clause has its normal main-clause form, often with the accusative clitic (464).

(464) a. yi\(^L\) i=̄ni sùyǐǐ-ỳ kù
    child\(^L\) 1Sg=Acc hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
    ‘the child who struck me’

b. yi\(^L\) i=̄ni sùyú-m kù
    child\(^L\) 1Sg=Acc hit.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
    ‘the child who hits me’

c. yi-tè:\(^L\) i=̄ni sùyú-∅ kù
    child.Pl\(^L\) 1Sg=Acc hit.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
    ‘the children who hit-Present me’

d. kùr”ù\(^L\) i=̄ni dònji-ò kù
    stone\(^L\) 1Sg=Acc bump.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
    ‘the stone that bumped me (=that I stubbed my toe on)’

Relative clauses with quasi-verbs bù- ‘be’ and só- ‘have’ are in (465).

(465) a. [árǝrû\(^L\) ŋgú-rù b-è\("\) bû:] júwǝ-ỳ
    [man\(^L\) here be-Ppl.AnPl DefPl] know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
    ‘I know the men who live here.’

b. [yà\(^L\) nà=m só-ỳ kù] júwǝ-ỳ
    [woman\(^L\) cow-AnSg have-Ppl.AnSg Def] know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
    ‘I know the woman who has a cow.’
In an imperfective subject relative, a nonpronominal NP object not followed by a determiner or an external quantifier appears with L-tone. This suggests that the object NP here is a **compound initial** before the participle, which makes sense since the participle has the form of an agentive nominal. A modifying adjective, like ‘good’ in (466c), also drops its tones, so a **core NP** (noun plus adjective) as a whole can function here as a compound initial. Such compound initials are generic in reference. When the object NP contains a demonstrative like ŋ̀gú ‘this’ (inanimate) in (466d), a cardinal numeral as in (466e), or other external quantifier, a generic interpretation is not possible, and the object NP takes its normal form, with no tone-dropping or other evidence of compounding.

(466)  
a. yà¹ əlèy¹-tiyú bù:  
   woman¹ peanuts¹-sell.ɪpʃv.ɪn.ppl.ən.pl Defpl  
   ‘the women who sell peanuts’

b. yà¹ əlèy¹-[tiyí-m] kù  
   woman¹ peanuts¹-[sell.ɪpʃv.ɪn.ppl.ən.sg] Def  
   ‘the woman who sells peanuts’

c. yà¹ əlèy-ɛ̀sù¹-tiyú bù:  
   woman¹ [peanuts¹-good¹]-sell.ɪpʃv.ɪn.ppl.ən.pl Defpl  
   ‘the women who sell good peanuts’

d. yà¹ əlèy¹ ŋ̀gú tiyú bù:  
   woman¹ [peanuts¹ Prox.Inan] sell.ɪpʃv.ɪn.ppl.ən.pl Defpl  
   ‘the women who sell these peanuts’

e. yà¹ mànɡóɾò péɾú tiyí-m kù  
   woman¹ [mango ten] sell.ɪpʃv.ɪn.ppl.ən.sg Def  
   ‘the woman who sells ten mangoes.’

### 14.3 Object relative clause

The main difference between object relatives and the subject relatives illustrated just above is that object relatives (like all nonsubject relatives) may have a pronominal subject, which if present is expressed as a pre-participial independent pronoun. As in other kinds of relatives, the head NP is tone-dropped, the verb takes participial form agreeing with the head NP, and determiners and non-numeral quantifiers are in postparticipial position.

Of interest is the fact that accusative =nì ~ ǹ, which is optional for direct objects in main clauses, is not allowed in object relatives. For example, in (467b), yi-téː¹ ‘children (who...’ cannot be followed by =nì ~ ǹ, although in the corresponding main clause yi-téː: bù:(=ǹ) ‘the children’ has optional accusative marking. There are two possible explanations. One is that, for nonpronominal NPs, overt accusative marking is associated in main clauses with at least some degree of focus, and focalization is not possible in relatives (even subject relatives including objects). The other explanation is that the accusative is subject to the same prohibition that applies to postpositions in connection with relative head NPs.

Simple perfective examples are in (467).
(467)  

a.  
\[ \text{meat}^{\text{1IPsbj}} \text{ eat.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def} \]

\[ \text{nàw}^{\text{1}} \text{ ñ} \text{ kûwó-} \text{m} \text{ kù} \]

‘the meat that we will eat’

b.  
\[ \text{child.Pl}^{\text{2SgSbj}} \text{ see.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl} \]

\[ \text{yì-tê}^{\text{1}} \text{ ú} \text{ yî-mà} \text{ bû:} \]

‘the children who(m) you-Sg saw’

[cf. main clause \[ \text{bû:}^{\text{1IPsbj}} \text{ = bê-} \text{w} \text{ ‘you had seen the children’} \]

c.  
\[ \text{cow}^{\text{1SgSbj}} \text{ tie.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def} \]

\[ \text{nà:}^{\text{1}} \text{ í} \text{ páyá-m} \text{ kù} \]

‘the cow that I tied up’

d.  
\[ \text{stone}^{\text{1SgSbj}} \text{ throw.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def} \]

\[ \text{kùr}^{\text{1}} \text{ õ} \text{ jísé-} \text{w} \text{ kù} \]

‘the stone that I threw’

e.  
\[ \text{yéngù}^{\text{1}} \text{ yì-tê}^{\text{1}} \text{ ú} \text{ yî-mà} \text{ bû:} \]

‘the children who(m) you-Sg saw yesterday’ (< \text{yì-tê}>)

f.  
\[ \text{yéngù}^{\text{1}} \text{ sêydù}^{\text{1}} \text{ yì-tê}^{\text{1}} \text{ yî-mà} \text{ kù bè} \]

‘the children who(m) Seydou saw yesterday’ (< \text{yì-tê}>)

Imperfective examples are in (468).

(468)  

a.  
\[ \text{meat}^{\text{1IPsbj}} \text{ eat.Lpfv-Ppl.Inan Def} \]

\[ \text{nàw}^{\text{1}} \text{ õ} \text{ kûwó-} \text{m} \text{ kù} \]

‘the meat that we will eat’

b.  
\[ \text{child.Pl}^{\text{2SgSbj}} \text{ see.Lpfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl} \]

\[ \text{yì-tê}^{\text{1}} \text{ ú} \text{ yî:} \text{ bû:} \]

‘the children who(m) you-Sg will see’

c.  
\[ \text{stone}^{\text{1SgSbj}} \text{ throw.Lpfv-Ppl.Inan Def} \]

\[ \text{kùr}^{\text{1}} \text{ õ} \text{ jísé-} \text{m} \text{ kù} \]

‘the stone that you will throw (away)’

In all nonsubject relative clauses, including object relatives, if the relative-clause subject is coindexed with a third-person main-clause subject (‘Seydou, has found [the shoulderbag that he, left]’), the relative-clause subject is expressed by a reflexive pronoun. See §18.2.3 for examples and discussion.
14.4 Possessor relative clause

The possessor is positioned to the left of the possessed NP. In elicited examples, there is a **resumptive pronoun** coindexed with this possessor NP, functioning as (local) possessor of the possessed noun, which therefore takes possessed-noun tone overlay. The possessor NP to the left is tone-dropped, as head NP. A postparticipial definite morpheme, if present, agrees with the head NP (469a-c), though we sometimes find singular kù where plural bû: would have been possible (469d).

In general, the participle agrees in nominal features with the possessor NP rather than with the possessed NP. This is observed in the examples in (469) below, except that when both possessor and possessed NPs are human there is some fluctuation in participial agreement. For example, in (469b) my main assistant unexpectedly had the participle agree with the adjacent possessed noun ‘children’ rather than at a distance with the relativized-on possessor ‘man’. (469b) was checked with another speaker, who produced the expected possessor agreement. When the possessor is human and the possessed NP inanimate, participial agreement was always with the possessor, as in (469d-f). I conclude that cases like (469b) are aberrant and reflect elicitation difficulties combined with adjacency effects.

(469) a. [àrⁿàL [érⁿé HL yi-mí] bármé-mí = bê-mí kù] [manⁿ [3SgPoss HL child-AnSg] be.hurt-IpFv=Past-Ppl.AnSg Def] tèmbí-ří-y find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj ‘I didn’t (= couldn’t) find the man whose child had been hurt.’
   [for slippage between past perfect and past imperfective participles, see discussion following (452) in §14.1.6.8]

b. [àrⁿàL [érⁿé HL yi-té:] bármé-má = b-á: kù] [manⁿ [3SgPoss HL child-Pl] be.hurt.Pfv=Ppl.AnPl=Past-3PlSbj Def] tèmbí-ří-y find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj ‘I didn’t (= couldn’t) find the man whose children had been hurt.’
   [given by another informant with bármé-mí = bê-mí as in (469a)]

c. [àrⁿàL [bú: L yi-té:] bármé-má bú:] [manⁿ [3PlPoss L child-Pl] be.hurt.Pfv=Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl] tèmbí-ří-y find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj ‘I didn’t (= couldn’t) find the men whose children were hurt.’

d. [yì-té: L [bú: L kù: bármé-má kù] [childⁿ [3PlPoss L head be.hurt.Pfv=Ppl.AnPl Def] súsé-r-à: heal-Pfv1a-3PlSbj ‘The children whose heads were hurt have healed.’]
In line 4 of (674) in the sample text, translated ‘a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed)’, relative marker kàːⁿ appears instead of a resumptive pronoun. The possessed noun írù ‘breast’ is /HL/ toned lexically, and follow-up elicitation with other nouns indicated that the noun in this context retains its lexical tones rather than having the possessed-noun {HL} or {L} overlay.

14.5 PP relative clause

In elicitation, my main assistant consistently omitted the postposition. The head NP in (470a-b) corresponds to a dative in unrelativized counterparts (§11.1.1). The head noun in (470c) is logically instrumental, while that in (470d) is logically locative. The alternative, preferred by another speaker who was checked on this point but probably less common, is to add the postposition to a resumptive third person pronoun. Compare (470a) to this other speaker’s version (470e). One suspects that the type with resumptive pronoun is favored by elicitation using cues from French, where the postposition is overt (l’homme auquel j’ai…).
d. [jèmbè L. súkórá i gëⁿ⁻wô kù] [sack¹ sugar 1Singb put.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def] ánn-dá: bù
where? be-3Singb
‘Where is the sack in which I put Past the sugar?’

e. àr"à L. [éré mà:] bù:dù i ní-m kù man¹ [3Sing Dat] money 1Singb give.Pfv-Ppl.AnSing Def ‘the man to whom I gave the money’ [from a different speaker]
15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbal clauses

15.1 Chaining

In the purest form of verb or VP chain, which I call direct chains, the nonfinal verb appears in the simple bare stem. The final verb has whatever inflected or other form it would have without the chained verbs. In direct chains, the nonfinal verbs are often directly adjacent to the final verb, but this is not obligatory. Direct chains may be partially lexicalized, and some verb-verb combinations might be described as compounds.

Direct chaining suggests conceptual integration of the co-eventualities denoted by the individual verbs. It is understood that the subjects of the verbs are identical (coindexed). The free translation is generally based on a conjoined VP with a shared subject or on a phrasal verb.

(471)  

a.  
\[
\text{éw-ýé} \quad [\text{ɲəy}^n \quad \text{ɲe-ý}^n ::]
\]
\[
\text{sit-MP} \quad \text{meal} \quad \text{eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj}
\]

‘We will sit down and eat.’

b.  
\[
\text{péré} \quad \text{si-ýé-ːrɛ̀ -∅}
\]
\[
\text{jump} \quad \text{go.down-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj}
\]

‘He/She jumped down.’

There is also a type with \{HL\} tone overlay on the nonfinal verb (§15.1.2.2).

In loose chains, which can often be translated with ‘and’, the nonfinal clause or VP ends with an overt subordinating morpheme. The VPs or clauses are less tightly integrated, prosodically or conceptually, and the respective verbs may be widely separated. There are same-subject (SS) and different-subject (DS) subordinators.

For purposive clauses, which are not always easily distinguished from chains denoting sequences of actions (cf. ‘go and eat’ versus ‘go to eat’), see §17.5.1.

15.1.1 Verbal noun of directly chained verbs

A verbal noun may be formed from a direct verb chain. The final verb has its usual verbal noun form in -ːː -ɲː (§4.2.2). The nonfinal verbs (usually just one) appear as L-toned compound initials.

(472)  

a.  
\[
\text{péré} \quad \text{si-ýé-ːrɛ̀ -∅}
\]
\[
\text{jump} \quad \text{go.down-MP-}
\]

‘jump down’

b.  
\[
\text{père}^1-[\text{si-ý-ːː}]
\]
\[
\text{jump}^1-[\text{go.down-MP-VblN}]
\]

‘(act of) jumping down’
Such a verb-VblN compound may also be possessed (e.g. by the logical subject NP), in which case the overlaid possessed-noun \{HL\} overlay overrides the compound tone pattern. This happens to \(l̃o^1-[d̃3-\ddot{y}]\) ‘going and coming’ (\(l̃o^-, d̃3\)) in (473).

(473) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{month three} & \text{go.}[\text{arrive-VblN}]\\
\end{array}
\]
\(\text{‘(upon) three month’s going and arriving (}=\text{elapsing})’ [2005.1a.09]\)

15.1.2 Tone overlay of nonfinal verb stem in chain

15.1.2.1 Medial chained verb occasionally with \{L\} tone overlay

There is no distinctive tonal treatment for medial chained verbs, i.e. those sandwiched between the initial and final verbs. However, \{L\} overlay is sometimes observed in medial chained verbs, including iterations of the same initial verb. This seems to be a basically metrical process, with relaxed articulation of the medial verb.

(474) \[
\begin{array}{lll}
gā: \text{woman-child run} & \text{Exist go.}[\text{lpfv-3Psbj}]
\end{array}
\]
\(\text{‘But now girls keep running away.’ [2005.1b.06]}\)

15.1.2.2 Nonfinal chained verb with \{HL\} tone overlay

In this construction, the uninflected nonfinal verb has \{HL\} tone overlay, while the final verb has its regular tone and inflection. This construction is attested with combinations containing a verb of conveyance (‘take/convey’, ‘bring’) as first element. A direct object (if present) precedes the two verbs.

(475) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
a. \text{bag } \text{Caus put.down-}\text{Pfv1b-1SGsbj} & \text{‘I took (there) and put down the bag.’ (j̃0-l̃0)}
\end{array}
\]

b. \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{horse-ANsg } \text{Caus show.Pfv-3SGsbj} & \text{‘He took (there) and showed the horse.’ (j̃0-l̃0)}
\end{array}
\]

c. \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{meat } \text{Pfv-3SGsbj} & \text{‘He/She brought and ate the meat.’ (j̃e)}
\end{array}
\]

d. \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{meat } \text{lpfv-3SGsbj} & \text{‘He/She will bring and eat the meat.’ (j̃e)}
\end{array}
\]

A possible connection is with the \{HL\}-toned alternative perfective verb form (§10.2.1.3).
15.1.3 Direct chains including a time-of-day verb

Verbs like *ná*- ‘spend the night’ and *dērɛ́*- ‘spend the (mid-)day’ may be chained to a preceding VP denoting a prolonged activity.

(476) a. jìyé jìyé nà-bó
dance(n) dance(v) spend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They danced all night.’

b. tê: sírí dērɛ̀-yè
tea boil spend.day.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘They spend the day boiling (= making) tea.’

15.1.4 Direct chains ending in *dūwɔ́* ‘leave’

This verb is often directly chained to a preceding VP that denotes an act of placing something. It can often be omitted in a free English translation.

(477) a. [jémbé kù] dèy dūwɔ́-∅
[bag Def] put.down leave.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She put the bag down and left it.’

b. nà:-m pàyá dūwɔ́-y
cow-AnSg tie leave.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will tie up and leave the cow.’

15.1.5 Direct and loose chains with ‘go’ and ‘come’

The linear order of ‘go’ and ‘come’ is iconic, matching the chronology of motion events. For the very common ‘go and come (back)’, a direct chain including the bare stem *ló* ‘go’ is used (478a). For the less uncommon ‘come and go’, a same-subject subordinated form of ‘come’ occurs (478b).

(478) a. ló yɛ́-y
go come.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will go and come (back).’

b. yɛ́ = ɗ ló:-rɛ́-∅
come=and.SS go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She came and went.’

Most other instances of ‘go and VP’ or ‘come and VP’ are expressed suffix *-r̥ː* ~ *-r̥ː*: on the final non-motion verb, a construction that I classify as purposive (§17.5.1.1).
15.1.6 Chains including \(mɔ̀:lú\)-‘be/do/put together’

The intransitive verb \(mɔ̀:lú\)-‘come together, assemble’ can be directly chained to a following verb or VP in the sense ‘(do) together’. The linear order of the two verbs makes sense, since coming together normally occurs before the activity itself. For example, ‘work together’ is logically ‘get together and (then) work’ rather than ‘work and (then) get together’ (479a).

That a direct chain is a kind of verb-verb compound is suggested by the fact that \(mɔ̀:lú\) is adjacent to the second verb even when this means that it follows complements of that verb, such as a direct object (479d) or cognate nominal (479c). In other words, the direct chain “inherits” the argument structure of the second verb. The chronology can also be made explicit by an overt subordinator, see (486a-b) in §15.1.9 below.

(479) a. \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(bìrɛ́-râ-ỳ\): \(\text{come.together}\) work-Prog-1PlSbj
   ‘We work together.’

b. \([dɔ́:  bɛ́ →]\) \([púlɔ́:  bɛ́ →]\)
   [Dogon.Pl and] [Fulbe.Pl and]
   \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(bɛ́: t= b-â:\)
   \(\text{come.together}\) be-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
   ‘Dogon and Fulbe (ethnicities) used to be (=live) together.’

c. \([yáː  bɛ́ →]\) \([årⁿa  bɛ́ →]\)
   [woman.Pl and] [man.Pl and]
   \(jîyé\) \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(jîyé-yè\)
   dance(n) \(\text{come.together}\) dance.Ipfv-3PlSbj
   ‘Women and men will dance together.’

d. \([í  yá→]\) \([sèyɖù  yà→]\)
   [1Sg and] [Seydou and]
   \(l+ṇa\) \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(wârá-yè\)
   1SgPoss.HL field \(\text{come.together}\) farm.Ipfv-1PlSbj
   ‘Seydou and I will farm my field together.’

\(mɔ̀:lú\)-can also be transitive ‘bring/put together, assemble (them)’. It can therefore be chained with a transitive verb, indicating that the objects (not subjects) are together (480).

(480) a. \([sà:kù  yèy  kú]\) \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(dèyì-y\)
   [sack two Def] \(\text{put.together}\) put.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I put down the two sacks together.’ (yɛ́y)

b. \([àwá-m  yà→]\) \([ḏ-m  yà→]\)
   [snake-AnSg and] [mouse-AnSg and]
   \(mɔ̀:lú\) \(dùwɔ̃-y\)
   \(\text{put.together}\) leave.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I left the snake and the mouse together.’
15.1.7 Negation of verb chains

If the chain denotes essentially a single complex event, as usual with direct chains, negating the final inflected verb suffices to negate the entire chain, or any part of it.

\[(481)\]
\[nàwⁿâ:\quad \text{HL jê:} \quad kùwò¹\text{-rf-∅} \]
meat \quad \text{HL bring} \quad \text{eatL-PfvNeg-3SgSbj}

‘He/She will not bring and eat the meat.’

15.1.8 VP-chaining with same-subject past sequential \(=ní~=nì\)

A common device for linking two clauses with the same subject is to put the verb of the first clause in a form ending with \(=ní\), often reduced to \(=nì\), following the bare stem (with its lexical tone). The interlinear gloss is “and.SS.” The tone distinguishes this clitic from the segmentally homophonous different-subject clitic \(=nì~=nì\), on which see §15.1.10.

\(=nì~=nì\) is added to the bare stem of the verb. For \(Cv\) verb stems, such tonal distinctions as that between \(nú\)- ‘go in’ and \(nù\)- ‘hear’ were audible (482c), though not consistently. The one \(<\text{LHL}>\) monosyllabic, ‘bring’, is heard with \(<\text{LH}>\)-tone plus downstep of the H-tone of the clitic (482d). Representative data are in (482).

\[(482)\]
gloss bare stem with \(=ní\)

a. \(Cv=ní\)
   ‘go’ \(ló\) \(ló=ní\)
   ‘spend night’ \(ná\) \(ná=ní\)
   ‘shoot’ \(tá\) \(tá=ní\)

b. \(Cv=ní\)
   ‘come’ \(yê\) \(yê=ní\)
   ‘arrive’ \(dʒ\) \(dʒ=ní\)

c. ‘hear’ and ‘go in’ distinguished (though not easily)
   ‘hear’ \(nù\) \(nù=ní\)
   ‘go in’ \(nú\) \(nú=ní\)

d. ‘bring’ (<\text{LHL}> tone preserved)
   ‘bring’ \(jê:\) \(jê:='nì\)

e. \(Cvyn\)
   ‘put’ \(gâyⁿ\) \(gâyⁿ=ní\)
   ‘do’ \(kâyⁿ\) \(kâyⁿ=ní\)
   \(irregular\)
   ‘say’ \(gùyⁿ\) \(gù=ní\)
f. bisyllabic
‘tie’ páyá páyá = ní
‘take out’ gò-lò gò-lò = ní
‘leave’ dùwò dùwò = ní

g. trisyllabic
‘poke’ dùsùró dùsùró = ní

Some examples are in (483).

(483) a. [yà-m isè: gò = ní] yè:-rè-Ø
[woman-AnSg village go.out=and.SS] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘A woman left the village and came (here).’

b. [wàrà ãy = ní] òr’ü: lò:-rè-Ø
[daba pick.up=and.SS] outback go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He took a daba (hoe) and went to the bush (= fields).’

My assistant used this subordinator consistently for past-time event sequences with the same subject NP. In future (and generalized) time contexts, he used =náyⁿ (see the following section) for similar same-subject sequential events.

There is also a phrase kú=m̀ ní in the texts, consisting of kú=m̀ ‘it is that’ (i.e. ‘that’s it’) plus a ní that might be equated morphemically with same-subject =nì, but that merely resumes the situation established by preceding discourse. kú=m̀ ní is set off prosodically from preceding and following material. An example is at the beginning of (657) in the sample text. kú=m̀ without ní is even more common.

15.1.9 VP-chaining with same-subject future sequential =náyⁿ

This clitic is attached to an uninflected verb stem that drops its tones to {L}. This tone-dropping does not occur with other clause-final particles. The exception to tone-dropping is that the only <LHL>-toned monosyllabic stem, ‘bring’, retains its tones; the final L is expressed as downstep (ᵜ), i.e. as partial pitch-lowering of an H-tone, on =náyⁿ (484d).

(484) gloss bare stem with =náyⁿ

a. Cv =náyⁿ
‘go’ lò lò =náyⁿ
‘spend night’ nà nà =náyⁿ
‘shoot’ tà tà =náyⁿ

b. Cv =náyⁿ
‘come’ yè yè =náyⁿ
‘arrive’ ðò ðò =náyⁿ
c. ‘hear’ and ‘go in’ merged
   ‘hear’  nù  nù = náyⁿ
   ‘go in’ nù  nù = náyⁿ

d. ‘bring’ (<LHL> tone preserved but final L expressed as downstep)
   ‘bring’  jè:  jè: = ‘náyⁿ

e. bisyllabic
   ‘tie’  páyá  páyá = náyⁿ
   ‘take out’ gò-lò  gò-lò = náyⁿ
   ‘leave’ dùwɔ̀  dùwɔ̀ = náyⁿ

f. trisyllabic
   ‘poke’ dùsùró  dùsùrò = náyⁿ

My assistant regularly used = náyⁿ to link two same-subject clauses denoting future (including imperative) and generalized-time (gnomic) event sequences. He rejected = náyⁿ in reports of similar same-subject event sequences in the past, using = ní (preceding section) instead. For example, = náyⁿ was regular in future-time lò = náyⁿ yé-yé ‘I will go and come [back]’ and in imperative lò = náyⁿ yá ‘go and come [back]!’), but it was replaced with = ní in past-time lò = ní yé-yé ‘I went and came [back]’.

Textual examples like those in (485) generally bear out the future or generalized-time context. The interlinear gloss is “then.SS.”

(485) a. [ùrɔ̀  L = náyⁿ]  [á:  L diyⁿ̄å  =  L nàyⁿ]
   [go.up  = then.SS]  [LogoPlPoss  ̄l.desire  with]
   lò-yè  wà,
   go.Ipfv-3PlSbj  Quot
   (They said:) they (two) could mount (it) and go at their pleasure’ [2005.2a.06]

b. [ŋú-ɾù  L = náyⁿ]
   [here]
   gò- lò  béré-tr-dó-∅
   [Amba  mate] go can-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
   ‘… he could not walk (a distance) on the order of leaving here (= Beni) and going to Amba (village)’ [2005.2b.02]

c. [nù  L  diyⁿ̄å]  [áɲáyⁿ  L wò ]  bë:-rè-∅  dè,
   [person  big.Pl]  [like.that  ̄l.in]  remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj  if,
   [jiyε = náyⁿ  ni]  pégë-tr-n-é  wà  kóy’T
   [kill  = then.SS  Emph] put.in-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj  Quot  Emph
   ‘the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole)’ [2005.2a.08]
The combination of \( =\) (\( n\acute{a}\)) with \( m\tilde{e}:\tilde{l}\tilde{u}\) ‘assemble, get together’ is common. Compare English get together and \((\text{VP})\), where the assembling temporally precedes the joint action. The alternative is a direct chain with \( m\tilde{e}:\tilde{l}\tilde{u}\) preceding the other verb (§15.1.6 above).

(486) a. \([\tilde{u}\tilde{s}\tilde{u}\ s\tilde{u}y^\text{"o}y^\text{a}]\ d\tilde{\text{s}}-\text{r}\tilde{e}\-\emptyset\ d\tilde{\text{e}}\)  
\([\text{day} \quad \text{seven}] \quad \text{arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj} \quad \text{if}\)  
\([m\tilde{e}:\tilde{l}\tilde{u}=\text{then.SS}] \quad \text{in}^\text{"o}y^\text{a}:\tilde{t} \quad \text{g}\tilde{a}^\text{"o}y^\text{a}:\text{."} \)  
\([\text{assemble}^\text{L} = \text{then.SS}] \quad \text{name} \quad \text{put.Pfv-1PISbj}\)  
‘When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.’  
[2005.1a.02]
b. \[ mɔːl = náy^n \]
[assemble\(^i\) = then.SS]

\[ \text{[isê: wóy]} \quad \text{[[pongú yēy] mɔːlú]} \]
[village all \[neighborhood two\] assemble

\[ báy bär=q-́w.; \quad dë] \quad [ló gənji-yē]
bell beat-lpfv.2plSbj if [go dig.lpvf-3plSbj]

‘Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would assemble and you-Pl would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water).’

[2005.1a.04]

The temporal-sequence element is apparently challenged by (487). English speakers would understand ‘help’ and ‘put roof on’ as temporally coextensive. However, in Dogon languages ‘help’ is just a contextual sense of a verb whose core meaning is ‘add, increase’. Therefore ‘help you do the roofing’ is really ‘add (oneself, i.e. join) you, (and then) do the roofing’, so a sequential reading is reasonable.

(487) \[ yē [ú bär=náy^n] \quad \text{dēmbí-yē} \]
come [2sgobj help\(^i\) = then.SS] put.roof.lpvf-3plSbj

‘They (=young men) will come and help you, and do the roofing’

The same-subject element of the syntax of \( = náy^n \) is challenged by (488), since the person doing the hiding (=stealthy activity) is the (generic) ‘you-Sg’, not the ‘he’ subject of the following main clause. However, \( bàngiyi = \text{hide} \) (here, by extension, ‘do secretly’) is conceptually linked to ‘get and chew tobacco’, so there is a kind of same-subject structure here.

(488) \[ [bàngiyi = náy^n] = dà-∅ \quad dé, \]
\[ [\text{hide} = \text{then.SS} = \text{statNeg-3sgSbj}\] if,
\[ tāwà bēré bámpé-wà-li-dô-∅ \]
tobacco get chew.tobacco-caus-lpvf-Neg-3sgSbj

‘Other than (you) hiding (=in secret), he would not allow (you) to get and chew tobacco’ [2005.2b.03]

In (489), there is some fuzziness as to who the subject of ‘talk’ is. The quoted speaker is with a group, and one could infer that his request is for a collective discussion. However, one could alternatively construe the implied subject of ‘talk’ as coindexed with the quoted speaker, so this is not a clear counterexample to the same-subject requirement.

(489) \[ nē: kày] \quad [[yā-m kù] \quad \text{ill. tēy kù] tēgè = náy^n]\]
[now Top] \[ [[\text{woman-AnSg Def} \quad \text{ill.word Def}] \quad \text{talk}\(^k\) = \text{then.SS}]\]
á lò-ú bá
Logosg go\(^k\)-Hort Quot

‘He said; now they (he?) should talk about (=discuss) the matter of the woman so he might go.’ [2005.2a.01]

The combination \( lò = náy^n \) ‘going’ is used in durative background clauses of the type ‘that (situation) continues, (until . . .)’. Such clauses connect the eventuality just described with a succeeding one over a span of time. No concrete referential subject is implied (490a). The
expression may be expanded by chaining ló 'go' to a preceding āy 'take'. This construction can be logically interpreted along the lines of 'taking (the preceding situation) and going (forward), …' (490b). One can justify the same-subject subordinators by assuming a higher "subject" such as the narrative itself. Jamsay yàná máyⁿ, … 'taking …' is also used in this way. Incidentally, <LH>-toned dà:y in (490a) is morphologically the QuotImprt (§10.5.7), not the <LHL>-toned verbal noun dà:y.

(490) a. [lò =náyⁿ] hâl ló [[ùsú pé-nǐ:y] dà:y] [goⁿ=then.SS] until go [[day ten-four] arrive-QuotImprt] ‘this (= a woman’s post-partum seclusion) goes on until forty days are complete’ [2005.1a.01]

b. [tòyⁿ L mǎ: kù] tò-jé-ɔ̀ dé wò:-wòy, [sowing¹ dry Def] sow-RecPf-2SgSbj if all, [[ně: kày] āy lò =náyⁿ] [[now Top] take goⁿ=then.SS] [jìrⁿeyⁿ dà:-rè-∅ —] [rainy.season arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj—] ‘If you-Sg have done the dry sowing, from then until the rainy season has arrived—’ [2005.1a.10]

The combination gùⁿ =náyⁿ or giⁿ =náyⁿ, based on gùyⁿ (variant gǐyⁿ) ‘say’, has more or less literal sense in (491a). However, it can also function as a purposive postposition, as in interrogative [njè gi¹ =náyⁿ] ‘why?’ (‘for what?’, §13.2.3), and as in (491b).

(491) a. [nù-m gùⁿ =náyⁿ] là-w [kn³ⁿ L kàⁿ] [person-PL say =then.SS] other-Inan [thingⁿ any] ‘There is no longer any (act) of (people saying).…’ [2005.2a.08]

b. dà:-m kày, [gùl₃-m = O gùⁿ =náyⁿ] Dogon-AnSg Top, [slave-AnSg=it.is say =then.SS] [pùl₃-m bùrè-jè-∅ dë] [màrè-m-dë-∅] [Fulbe-AnSg get-RecPf-3SgSbj if] keep-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj ‘A Dogon (man), if he has gotten a Fulbe (in this fashion), he would not keep him to be a slave’ [2005.2b.02]

15.1.10 VP-chaining with different-subject =nì ~ =nì

A common construction for combining two clauses with different subjects is for the first clause to end in clitic =nì, or its common reduced form =nì, after the simple bare stem of the verb, which keeps its lexical tone melody. Only the tone of the clitic distinguishes it from same-subject clitic =nì ~ =nì, described just above (§15.1.8). A pronominal subject is expressed as an independent pronoun immediately preceding the verb, as in nonsubject relatives.

The clause with =nì ~ =nì denotes an eventuality that chronologically precedes the eventuality denoted by the following clause. =nì ~ =nì is therefore most directly in opposition to same-subject =náyⁿ.
(492) a. [ú HL úr⁴á] ú wàrá = nì,  
[2SGPoss HL field] 2SGSbj farm=and.DS,  
yá: gö:-m gö-Ø  
there elephant go.out.Pfv-3SGSbj  
‘When you-Sg had farmed in your field, an elephant appeared there.’

b. [i: lâr = nì] lò-r-á  
[1PLSbj chase.away=and.DS] go-PfvNeg-3PLSbj  
‘We (tried to) chase them away, but they wouldn’t go.’ [2005.1a.08]

c. hà: ne: [î: tîni = nì]  
well, now [1PLSbj look=and.DS]  
[ngú kày] [dàwⁿá kù]  
[Prox.Inan Top] [thing Def]  
[dàwⁿá] dà:yí=nì = dá  
[thing be.compatible.Ipfv-Pl.Inan]=StatNeg  
‘Well now, we looked (=considered), and (we felt) the problem was something that would not last long.’ [2005.1a.17]

d. [isê: kù] bû: ēggé = nì,  
[village Def] 3PLSbj abandon=and.DS,  
yá: ú bê:-rê-ŵ dê  
[there 2SGSbj remain-Plf-2SGSbj if]  
[[fâm HL kɔ́'] = Ø]  
[who? Def thing]=it.is  
‘If they have abandoned the village, and (if) you-Sg remain there, it (village) is whose?’ [2005.1a.07]

e. [bû: yé = nì cêm] [[kɔ̃sɔy wó] lò-ŷ::]  
[3PLSbj come=and.DS all] [[harvest in] go-Pfv-1PLSbj]  
‘As soon as they (=locusts) came, we went to the harvest (=to the fields to harvest).’ [2005.1a.08]

In (493), we have a DS clause with = nì, followed by an SS clause with = nì, and a final clause (whose subject is identical to that of the SS clause). The DS clause happens to itself be complex (with kɔ́sú ‘harvest’ chained to ná ‘spend night’), but this is not directly pertinent here.

(493) [ná:ù wó] kɔ́sú i: ná = nì,  
[night in] harvest 1PSbj spend.night=and.DS  
[bû: ūrɔ́ = nì] [[tiwⁿ éyⁿ wó] bi-ŷê-bɔ]  
[3PLSbj go.up=and.SS] [[tree in] lie.down-MP.Pfv-3PLSbj]  
‘We stayed up all night harvesting, while they (=locusts) went up and lay down (=slept) in the trees.’ [2005.1a.08]

Instead of expressing a change of subject as [X Verb-DS] [Y Verb], an alternative is to change the first clause to same-subject (SS), and add a medial clause with just the verb kɔ́sú ‘do’ carrying the DS marking. Schematically, instead of ‘X went-DS, (then) Y ate’, we rephrase as
'X went-SS and did-DS, (then) Y ate'. This construction is very common in narrative as a way to make a clear subject switch.

(494) a. [bôlô: sî-yê = nî] [êrⁿé káyⁿ = nî]
    [down go.down-MP=and.SS] [3SgSbj do=and.DS]
    [înj-m [[êrⁿé HL tîlû] ñwô] dim-di-bô] wá
    [dog-AnSg [[3Sg HL behind] 1in] follow-Caus.Pfv-3PIbsbj]
Quot
    ‘When she came down, when she did that, they made a dog follow after her, it is said.’ [2005.2a.04]

b  ãrⁿé : ló = nî  ñû:  káyⁿ = nî,
    outback go=and.SS 2PISbj do=and.DS,
    yi-të: cêmné cêmné-yê
    child.Pl fun have.fun.lpfv-3PISbj
Quot
    ‘When you-Pl have gone (out) to the bush, the children will play.’

It is worth asking whether there is an affinity (in the mind of native speakers) between this =nî ~ =n̄ and the same phonological shape functioning (after a noun or pronoun) as optional accusative morpheme (§8.2). I first encountered a morphemic identity between different-subject switch-reference marking on verbs, and accusative marking on direct objects, in Choctaw (Muskogean family, southeastern U.S.). However, in Choctaw the structure is made clearer by the use of nominative (subject) markers as corresponding same-subject subordinators. No such parallelism is possible in BenT or other Dogon languages, in the absence of overt nominative morphology.

A particle nî (and variants) that may or may not be directly equatable with the different-subject subordinator is found here and there in the texts at the end of already well-formed clauses or phrases. If the phrase is an object NP or another apparently focalized nonsubject NP, I attribute it to accusative =nî. An example is érⁿé =m̄ = nî at the beginning of (679) in the sample text, with focalized érⁿé =m̄ ‘it was he (who …)’. More difficult cases involving clause-final nî in the sample text are jîyê =náyⁿ nî including same-subject =náyⁿ in line 3 of (675), and núm-dô:-rê nî with perfective-1a verb at the end of (683).

15.1.11 Chaining with perfective linker tí

A linking element tí related to perfective-1b suffix -tí- (§10.2.1.5) is exemplified in (495), where it is followed by =náyⁿ, and therefore drops its tone to òî. The linker indicates a chronological sequence, which fits with a perfective connection. The free translation reverses the order of the two relevant clauses to make the chronology clearer.
tí is also a regular verb with several senses including ‘send’ and ‘dump out’. This verb is likely related etymologically to the perfective-1b suffix, but they are distinct synchronically. They may co-occur: tí-tí:-∅ ‘he/she sent’, as in (629d) in §19.1.3. Furthermore, ‘send; dump out’ can to occur in medial position in chains in its literal sense. This is the case in (496a), where the preceding verb (ló- ‘go’) is incompatible with perfective-1b suffix (it forms perfective-1a ló:-rê-), so this example can only be parsed as a chain. Such sequences should, in principle, be distinguished from the perfective-linker construction in (495) above. The combination tó: tí- ‘spill’ is a lexicalized chain (i.e. a kind of verb-verb compound), so tí- is found even in the imperfective (tó: tí-ỳ ‘I will spill’) and in other non-perfective contexts like the ‘be able to’ construction in (496b).

(496) a. [bà:-rê dë] ló tí dúw-ɔ́-ẁ
[be.full-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if] go dump leave.Lpfv-2SgSbj
‘When it (=bag) is full, you-Sg go dump and leave it (in a small pile).’
[2005.1a.10]

b. nì: tó: tí béré-ŷ
water spill dump get.Lpfv-1SgSbj
‘I can spill water.’

In another construction, a final inflected tí-, separated from a preceding chained verb by an intervening subject pronominal, functions as an emphatic perfective, though a hint of the sense ‘send’ is still discernible. The construction is in relative-clause form, hence the preverbal pronoun (497). In this example, the quoted speaker triumphantly confirms that he has performed a nearly impossible feat that had been demanded of him.

(497) hàywà [sèngù: kù] ìy sf-lé á tí-ɔ́
well [waterjar Def] take go.down-Caus LogoSg Perf1b-Ppl.Inan
‘(He said:) well, now that he had (in fact) taken and brought down the waterjar (to them).’ [2005.2a.01]

15.1.12 Chaining with jí-jë—‘go with’

The word jí-jë— functions somewhat like a specialized nonfinal chained verb, where it is regularly followed by a verb of motion. It is not normally directly inflectable. The semantic contribution of jí-jë— is to indicate that the entity in motion is taking a person or thing along. It is preceded by an NP complement. The Jamsay counterpart jíjë has similar properties.

(498) [ỳa-m kù] jí-jë— gò-ɔ́.
[woman-AnSg Def] go.with go.out.Lpfv-2PlSbj
‘You-Pl will go out (of the village) with the woman.’

In BenT, unlike Jamsay, the final e is prolonged intonationally. This suggests that it is interpreted as containing the subordinator -jë—, which occurs in backgrounded durative clauses indicating the continuation of an activity; see (512) in §15.2.1.4.
In one text, the form *jí-jé* (looking like a regular verb) is followed by 3Pl subject -*mà*. The 3Sg subject counterpart is *jí-jé-w*, with a final -*w*. These forms are suggestive of perfective participial suffixes (§14.1.6.1).

(499) [[[sò: kù] III máni:] lì wò] náy"-yà,
    jí-jé-mà dè,
go with-3PlSbj if,
[[bùrùgù lì tû-m] ló] tìyé-yè
[B lìmate-AnSg] go sell.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘They would put them (=children) up on the horses. Taking them (=children) along, they would go for example to Bourougou (village) and sell them.’ [2005.2b.01]

15.1.13 Chaining with *jùwⁿ*‘do first, proceed to’

The verb *jùwⁿ* (not to be confused with unnasalized *jùw* ‘know’) occurs a number of times in the texts with a preceding chained VP. My assistant glosses *jùwⁿ* in isolation as ‘do first’, but the textual contexts suggest a free translation ‘proceed to VP’ or ‘now/then VP’, implying a brief temporal separation between two chronologically sequenced events.

An example (in hortative form *jùwⁿ*-m) is at the end of (685) in the sample text. Another is (500).

(500) [dòró yá bú-Ō dè]
thorn Exist be-3SgSbj if
[lo yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú]
go rake.up [repetitions]
mɔ:lu-w dè
assemble.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if
gò: gày" jùwⁿ-ős-w"fire put do.first.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘If there are thorns, you will go and keep raking them together, then you will proceed to put (=set) fire (in them).’ [2005.1a.10]

15.2 Adverbial clauses

15.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

15.2.1.1 Noun-headed temporal relative clause (‘the time when …’)

These are simple relative clauses with the noun *wákátù ~ wágátù ~ wàyátù* ‘time, moment’ or other temporal noun (‘day’, ‘year’, etc) as head, hence in {L}-toned form.

In (501a-b), a definite imperfective relative headed by ‘time’, and therefore with inanimate participle, is followed by instrumental *này“* ‘with’ to create a temporal adverbial clause describing simultaneous eventualities. (501c) is similar construction but with a perfective participle. Definite *kù* is heard as H-toned *kü* when followed by *này“*.  

242
equated precisely with any normal participial form of
With quasi
complex
imperfective
a preparticipial pronoun. Except for statives,
particular,
meaning
The clitic
15.2.1.2
especially §15.2.4, below.
[90x112]Raw_text

‘At the time when the chief was coming, I was working in the fields.’

‘at the time when I was coming’

‘When I arrived home, I found that my father had traveled.’

In (502a), the temporal relative (this time headed by ‘day’) is perfective in form. It functions as the subject of the larger sentence, so instrumental \(\text{pây}^{a}\) is absent. (502b) is a variant showing doubling of the head noun following the verbal participle.

Doubled head nouns were not observed in BenT texts, but examples like (502b) were accepted when proposed. The doubled head noun is normally simple (unmodified), and has the tonal form of a possessed noun. The syntax is therefore ‘(the) day of [the day the grasshoppers came]’, with the primary relative construction functioning as possessor.

For headless versions of temporal (and other adverbal) relative clauses, see §14.1.4 and especially §15.2.4, below.

15.2.1.2 ‘While X was VP-ing’ (\(-\text{m} \mid \text{w} = \text{båy}, \ -\text{m} \mid \text{w} \ dê, \ \text{m} \mid \text{w} \ nê\))

The clitic \(= \text{båy}\), apparently related to past \(= \text{bê} - \sim = \text{bê}\), is used in a temporal clause meaning ‘while X was VP-ing’. The clause has the syntactic structure of a relative clause; in particular, \(= \text{båy}\) does not conjugate for subjects, rather a pronominal subject is expressed as a preparticipial pronoun. Except for statives, \(= \text{båy}\) is preceded by an unconditioned imperfective verb with suffix \(\text{-m}\) (503a-c) cf. the past unsuffixed imperfective complex \(-\text{m} = \text{bê}\) (§10.4.1.1). Derived stative verbs have \(-\text{w}\) instead of \(-\text{m}\) (504c, below). With quasi-verb \(\text{bù}\) ‘be (somewhere)’ we get just \(\text{bù} = \text{båy}\). The clitic \(= \text{båy}\) cannot be equated precisely with any normal participial form of \(= \text{bê} - \) (\(= \text{bê}\)).

243
(503)  a. \[\text{[éř}^\text{ř} \ \text{tíní-m = bÀy]}\]
    \[3\text{SgSbj} \ \text{watch-lp}=\text{Past.Ppl}\]
    \[\text{[ér}^\text{ř} \ \text{hl.týá-m]} \ \text{sùy3-bš} \]
    \[3\text{SgPoss} \ \text{hl.friend-AnSg} \ \text{hit.Pfv-3PlSbj}\]
    ‘While he, watched, they struck his, friend.’

b. \[\text{[bù: tíní-m = bÀy]}\]
    \[3\text{PlSbj} \ \text{watch-lp}=\text{Past.Ppl}\]
    \[\text{[bù: } \ \text{ltìyà-m} \ \text{sùy3-∅} \]
    \[3\text{PlPoss} \ \text{L friend-AnSg} \ \text{hit.Pfv-3SgSbj}\]
    ‘While they, watched, he struck their, friend.’

c. \[\text{ɔ̀r}^\text{ř}: \ \text{bír ɛ́ í  bíré-m = bÀy,}\]
    outback \ \text{work(n)} \ \text{1SgSbj} \ \text{work-lp}=\text{Past.Ppl,}\n    \text{pùl5-m yê-∅} \ \text{Fulbe-AnSg} \ \text{come.Pfv-3Sgs}\n    ‘While I was working in the field(s), a Fulbe person came.’

A clause with \text{-m = bÀy} may be used as the complement of ‘see’ or ‘find’ in the sense of directly observing an event in progress (‘I saw him fall’, as opposed to the recognitional ‘I saw that he had fallen’). Examples are in (504); see also §17.2.3.

(504)  a. \[\text{[ér}^\text{ř} \ \text{yàyá-m = bÀy]} \ \text{yì-ri-ŷ} \]
    \[3\text{Sg} \ \text{fall-lp}=\text{Past.Ppl} \ \text{see-PfvNeg-1SgSbj}\]
    ‘I didn’t see him/her fall.’

b. \[\text{[i: yàyá-m = bÀy]} \ \text{yì-ŵ} \]
    \[1\text{Pl} \ \text{fall-lp}=\text{Past.Ppl} \ \text{see.Pfv-2SgSbj}\]
    ‘You-Sg saw us fall.’

c. \[\text{[ér}^\text{ř} \ \text{bíyé-w = bÀy]} \ \text{tèmbù-∅} \ \text{wà} \]
    \[3\text{Sg} \ \text{lie.down-Stat}=\text{Past.Ppl} \ \text{find.Pfv-3SgSbj} \ \text{Quot}\]
    ‘she found him lying (in bed), it is said.’

When I sought present-time versions of the \text{-m=w = bÀy} construction, my assistant used \text{-m=w} followed by conditional particle \text{dè} (or variant, e.g. \text{déy}) ‘if’ (505). This is not unusual since the ‘if …’ particle can often be glossed freely as ‘when …’. The construction resembles that with \text{-w dè} (§16.1.2), but in the present construction verbs other than statives have \text{-m} rather than \text{-w}. There are quite a few textual examples of \text{-m dè}.

(505) \[\text{[bír}^\text{ř} \ \text{í bíré-m dè]} \ \text{nù-řê} \]
    \[\text{work(n) 1SgSbj} \ \text{work-lpv if]} \ \text{go.in-ImprtNeg}\]
    ‘When I am working, don’t come in!’

A similar construction, common in narratives, has \text{-m=w nè}, ending with a reduced variant \text{nè} of topicalizing particle \text{né}: ‘now’. In (506) the phrase is repeated three times.
in each occurrence (508), or it is omitted as in inflection, repeated three or more times. The subject is expressed by a preparticipial pronoun invariable or its endpoint or result.

Several constructions are used in narrative to indicate prolongation of an activity. Any such construction provides a background for a new, foregrounded event. This new event may take place while the activity is continuing (while ...), or it may follow the activity or serve as its endpoint or result.

A construction that appears to be interchangeable with the -m = báy clause type described in the preceding section, but that is more transparent morphologically, has an inanimate past unsuffixed imperfective participle with suffix complex -m = bê≈w, followed by definite kú (H-toned here before a postposition) and instrumental postposition páyⁿ with'.

A construction provides a background for a new, foregrounded event. This new event may take place while the activity is continuing (while ...), or it may follow the activity or serve as its endpoint or result.

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)

While X was VP-ing’ (-m = bê≈w kú páyⁿ)
A more explicitly durative clause is -m followed by an adverb tíném (or any of several dialectal variants, e.g. tüném), which suggests an extended temporal continuation of an activity. Because it is an adverb, tíném is invariant for pronominal category of subject. There is no requirement for a preparticipial subject pronoun.

(509) ti-tâ:-m  [yàrìyî:-m  tíném]
Rdp-hyena-AnSg  [stroll-lpfv continuing]
mùmùrâ:-m  yì-∅
scorpion-AnSg  seePfv-3SgSbj

‘While Hyena was continuing to stroll around, (suddenly) he saw Scorpion.’

The verb plus tíném may be repeated three or so times for narrative effect. In (510), the light verb káy‘a‘ do’ substitutes for a more substantive VP given earlier in the discourse.

(510) bërê-m-n-é    wá,
be,able-lpfv-Neg.3Pl  Quot,
ápây‘  kâº-ðm  tíném  [kâº-ðm tíném]  [kâº-ðm tíném]
[like.that  do-lpfv continuing]

‘… they (=numerous suitors) couldn’t do it (=a heroic feat). They kept doing that (= trying and failing), they kept doing that, they kept doing that. (Then …)’
[2005.2a.01]

On tape, tíném often sounds L-toned, which I attribute to the influence of the preceding -m suffix. When tíném is followed by another element, such as bù- ‘be’ or bê- ‘remain’, the H-tone is clearer.

A variant tün₃ is attested in similar function (511). Most attestations of this variant are with bù- ‘be (somewhere)’. There is no subject pronoun, and no imperfective -m on the verb. Since bù- is a stative quasi-verb, it would not allow specifically imperfective suffixes in any event.

(511) [yâ:  bû  tün₃]  bû-tün₃  bû-tün₃  bû-tün₃  bû-tün₃,
[there  be  continuing]  …
[yâ-gûr₃  gò = ǹ]
[woman-young  go.out=and.SS]

‘They continued to be there for a long time. (Eventually) she grew up to become a young woman, …’ [2005.2a.04]

Another durative clause type in narrative is with -jê→ added directly to the verb stem. The verb may be single, or repeated up to four times. A morphological parsing as perfective jê-∅ ‘(3Sg) brought’, or a connection with recent perfect -jê-, are excluded since neither has the requisite durative sense. A more likely historical connection is with jî-jê→ ‘go with’ (§15.1.12), and some examples are compatible with this specific sense, but in other examples there is no indication of literal accompanied motion. Togo Kan same-subject ‘while’ subordinator -jê may be related.
247

(512) a. sì-y-å: tìmndi-∅ wà iyà,
go.down-Vb|N begin.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot again,
iyà aŋåy" sì-yé-jè→ sì-yé-jè→
again like that go.down-MP-continue go.down-MP-continue
‘He began to go down, it is said, again. He kept going down. (Then …)’ [2005.2a.01]

b. káy"-jè→ ye=ń h ál …
do-continue come=and.SS until …
‘Doing that (=singing the song just recited), he came until he …’ [2005.2a.01]

A somewhat different construction is of the type ‘X did that (=kept doing that) until X got
tired’. This is a fairly common narrative construction that does not necessarily denote literal
weariness. The verb dé- ‘get tired’ is used, in a conjugatable falling-toned perfective form
dè:- (e.g. 3Pl dé:-bɔ) or in a headless adverbal participial form dé-W, after an intonationally
prolonged form of a chained verb. The <HL> tone is found in one version of the perfective
for third person subject; see §10.2.1.3.

Often the activity in question is described in one clause, followed by a clause denoting its
prolongation with káy" ‘do’ replacing the VP. In one narrative containing songs, this
construction is regularly used after each snatch of song, preceding the next foregrounded
event, e.g. (513).

(513)
… [káy"-] HL dè:-∅ wà]
… [do HL get.tired,Pfv-3SgSbj Quot]
[sì-y-å: āw-řf-∅ wà], …
[go.down-MP-Vb|N accept'-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot]…
‘[song]. (He) did that (=sang) until he was tired (=for a long time). (But) she refused
to come down.’ [2005.2a.03]

For a different construction involving ‘get tired’, see §15.2.1.8 below.

Locative postposition wó is attested in a similar durative background clause in (514),
with an H-toned stative dímbá- ‘follow’ (i.e. continue as before) plus -w. This is
morphologically interpretable as a 3Sg subject form.

(514)
ŋú dímbá-w HL wò],
Prox.Inan follow.Stat-3SgSbj HL in,
ŋú dímbá-w HL wò],
Prox.Inan follow.Stat-3SgSbj HL in,
‘This (argument) keeps going on and on, then …’ [2005.1b.05]

15.2.1.5 ‘While VERB-ing’ (iterated imperfective as adverb)

Adverbs of the type ‘while VERB-ing’ can be derived from activity verbs by iterating a form
ending in m (compare imperfective -m before past clitic), with repeated {HL} tone overlay,
expressed as <HL>, H.L, and H.L.L on mono-, bi-, and trisyllabic stems, respectively. Like
the corresponding verb, the adverb may take a complement, such as a cognate nominal, and
examples of this are included in (515). The special phonological features in (515b-c) are
consistent with the phonology of the corresponding unsuffixed imperfective forms. *yáràm-yáràm* ‘while taking a walk (= strolling)’ (515f) reduces a trisyllabic stem to bisyllabic by lopping off a final mediopassive suffix. A similar reduction occurs in derived statives, see (253d) in §10.2.1.11).

(515) gloss verb ‘while VERB-ing’

a. ‘sow (seeds)’ *tòy tó-* *tòy tòm-tòm*
   ‘weep’ *yò: yò-* *yò: yòm-yòm*
   ‘shoot’ *tà-* *tàm-tàm*

b. ‘come’ *yè-* *yèm-yèm*
   ‘bring’ *jè:-* *jèm-jèm*

c. ‘do’ *kày*- *kàm-kàm*
   ‘put’ *gày*- *gàm-gàm*

d. ‘dance a dance’ *jiyi jiyè-* *jiyi jiyèm-jiyèm*
   ‘chase’ *lári-* *lári-üm-lárium*
   ‘roll on turban’ *dòmbò- dòmbòm-dòmbòm*

e. ‘cut up’ *yègísè-* *yègísèm-yègísèm*
   ‘roll over’ *bilirè-* *bilirèm-bilirèm*
   ‘cough’ *kògúsò-* *kògúsòm-kògúsòm*
   ‘winnow in wind’ *nèr’iy’i-* *nèr’iy’i-üm-nèr’iy’i-üm*
   ‘hide’ *bàngirí- bàngirim-bàngirim*
   ‘go around’ *gàngiri- gàngirim-gàngirim*

f. ‘walk around’ *yàrì-yì-* *yàràm-yàràm*

15.2.1.6 ‘Before …’ (*mà:, -rè*)

The usual ‘before …’ clause has a clause-final particle *mà:* following a perfective verb. If the subject is pronominal, it is expressed as a preverbal pronoun rather than as a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb. Whether there is a historical relationship between *mà:* ‘before’ and dative postposition *lì: mà:* or quotative subject particle *mà:* ~ *lì: mà* is unclear.

The modality of the ‘before …’ clause may be factive (the event in question did in fact take place) or hypothetical (the event may or may not take place).

(516) a. *í injirí:-rè mà:: gò:-r-à:= b-à:
   1SgSbj get.up-Pfv1a *before*, go.out-Pfv1a-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
   ‘Before I got up, they had (already) gone out.’

b. *bòlú yè:-rè mà: [úrò ná]
   [rain(n) come-Pfv1a *before*] [house enter.Imprt]
   ‘Go-Sg into the house, before the rain comes!’

248
c. [bù: yē-$rè$ mà:] làngý-$å$
   [3PLsbj come-Pfv1a before] hide.Imprt
   ‘Hide (yourself), before they come!’

d. [èr$^rè$ = nì fùy$^3$-$rè$ mà:] lò-$Ø$
   3Sg=Acc 1SgSbj hit-Pfv1a before go.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He went away before I (could) hit him.’

e. [bólù yē-$rè$ mà:] nù-$Ø$
   [rain come-Pfv1a before] enter.Pfv1-3SgSbj
   ‘He/She went in before the rain came.’

f. pèrè-m [í sêw$^rè$-$rè$ mà:] yỳy$^3$-$Ø$
   sheep-AnSbj [1SgSbj slaughter-Pfv1a before] run.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘Before I could slaughter the sheep, it ran away (= bolted).’

In the frequent combination with gùy$^n$ (and variants) ‘say’, a morpheme lè is added, hence göy$^n$ lè mà: ‘before saying’.

(517) [làwá-$rè$: bù: gì:~lè mà: wòy]
   [pass-Pfv1a-3PLsbj 3PLsbj say-? before all]
   ‘before they could say that they had passed through’ [2005.2a.02]

Another ‘before …’ or ‘by the time that …’ construction is seen in (518), which reports an ultimatum with a time limit. The suffix -$rè$ with no pronominal subject inflection is added to the chaining form of the verb (with no lengthening of the vowel). The word is {HL}-toned. A preverbal subject pronoun (logophoric in this example) is present. All textual examples of this type involve the verb ‘come’, but others were elicitable (hl. gö-$rè$ ‘before going out’, hl. pìnìw$^ʔ$-$rè$ ‘before returning’), hl. dûw$^3$-$rè$ ‘before leaving’). These examples show that the ‘before’ form has {HL} tone overlay with just the first syllable H-toned.

(518) [[ùsù$^L$ là-w] â: hl. yé-$rè$]
   [[day$^L$ other-Inan] LogoPLsbj hl. come-before]
   [[tà-dùngù-m hl. dùgù] ǹgù dà-rí-$Ø$],
   [[lion-AnSbj hl. size] Prox.Inan reach-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],
   [jáw wòy] [èrè mà:] ǹgò-$Ø$ wà
   [peace all] [3Sg Dat] not.be-3SgSbj Quot
   ‘(They said:) By the time they (=Hyena and Hare) came on another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her.’ [2005.2a.06]

‘Before S’ with some clause S can be paraphrased with a negation: ‘(at the time) when not (yet) S’. An association between -$rè$ ‘before’ and negation is suggested by examples like (519), which is a relative clause in form. A paraphrase ‘at the time when today had not (yet) come’ would match the syntactic form. Other negative suffixes/enclitics of the segmental shape -rv are not hard to find (prohibitive -$rè$, perfective negative -$rí$, stative negative = rà).
15.2.1.7 Clause-final =rà: ‘when’

There are occasional textual occurrences of a clitic =rà: following an inflected verb form (perfective or stative). My transcription assistant suggested emending by deleting the clitic. However, the examples suggest that the =rà: clause does provide a background for the next clause and I therefore translate it (roughly) as ‘when’. For example, in (520a), Warthog is digging to get at Hyena, and Hyena is advised to spray salt in Warthog’s eyes when he gets too close.

(520)  a. [tórú-m kù gánjì-m gánjì-m gánjì-m]
     [warthog-AnSg Def] dig-lpfv …
     [ér-é mā:] sāsā-lf-rē-Ø =rà:,
     come [3Sg Dat] near-lnch-lpfv1a-3SgSbj=when,
     [3SgPoss=eye lû] spray put-QuotImprt Quot,
     ‘The warthog was digging and digging; when he (=Warthog) came up close to him (=Hyena), he (=Hyena) should spray it (=salt, by spitting) into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s)’ [2005.2a.07]

b. yà-pê-m sù-diyá yîgô-Ø =rà:,
     woman-old-AnSg francolin-thigh not-be-3Sg=when,
     [iyé yà] [bû: lîmà:] bêrû-m wô-û wá
     [today also] [3Pl QuotSbj] goat-AnSg catch-QuotImprt Quot
     ‘The old woman didn’t have a francolin thigh, (so) she told them to take a goat this day too.’ [2005.2a.06]

c. [nù nínâyⁿ bû:] úrò jî =rà:;
     [person reliable Def.Pl] house not-be.3Pl=when,
     [children get-RecPf-3PlSbj if] catch.lpfv-3PlSbj
     ‘When the able-bodied people (=Dogon men) were not at home, if they (=Fulbe raiders) found children, they would take (=kidnap) them.’ [2005.2b.01]
(521) a. [tũ: mā:] bãt-á: ðɛ̌-rɛ̀-w.: dé wɔy
[Recip Dat] meet-Dur be.tired-Pfv1a-2PlSbj if all ‘when you-Pl are mutually tired of meeting with each other’ [2005.1b.05]

b. [kù wó] lîy-é: ðɛ̌-rɛ̀-∅
[Inan in] drag.on-Dur be.tired-Pfv1a-3SgSbj ‘(If) it drags on for a long time, …’ [2005.1b.05]

For a different construction involving ‘get tired’, see (513) in §15.2.1.4 above.

15.2.1.9 ‘While standing/sitting’ (type í-ʔyà-m)

A morphological construction involving initial H-toned reduplication, {HL} stem overlay, and invariant final imperfective -ðh is attested with three stance verbs: í-ʔyà-m ‘while standing’, ɛ́-ʔèw-yè-m ‘while sitting’, bi-ʔèi-yè-m ‘while lying down’. The association with stance verbs and the {HL} stem overlay suggest an affinity with the reduplicated stative (§10.2.1.11), as opposed to the reduplicated imperfective, but the invariant final -ðh and the H-tone of the reduplicative segment show that this is a distinct formation.

These forms are attached to a regular VP with the same subject, and function as one-word temporal adverbial clauses. The relevant textual passage is (522).

(522) [ũ kùyɔ́: ɛ́rⁿ ɛ́yì dé]
[2Sg first 3SgObj see.Pfv if]
[í-ʔyà-m tã-w] [Rdp-stand-lpfv shoot.lpfv-2SgSbj]
‘if you-Sg (=hunter) see it first (=before it sees you), you will shoot while standing’ (2005.1b.01)

15.2.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where …’)

The noun ɔ́rⁿ ɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘place’ (also ‘situation’) may be used, in L-toned form ɔ́rⁿɔ̀L, as head of a relative (which therefore takes an inanimate participle). ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ is distinct from ɔ́rⁿɔ́: ‘(the) bush, outback, (the) fields (away from the village)’.

(523) a. ɔ́rⁿɔ́L bîrë bũː bîrë-ðw
placeL work(n) 3PlSbj work.Pfv-Ppl.Inan ‘there where they worked’

b. sọ́f: ɛ́rⁿ ɔ̀ɔ̀L ɛ́w-yè-ðw
driver-AnSg placeL sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan ‘(the place) where the driver sat’
15.2.3 Manner adverbial clause (ḍāyⁿ … ‘how …’)

The head noun ḍāyⁿ ‘manner’, in L-toned form ḍāyⁿˡ, is the head of a relative clause in examples like (524).

(524)  ḍāyⁿˡ  bīrē  ēṛⁿé  bīrē:-rā-w
mannerˡ  work(n)  3SgSbj  work-Prog-Ppl.Inan
‘the manner in which (= how) he worked’

For quasi-purposive functions of such ḍāyⁿ clauses, see §17.5.1.2.

15.2.4 Headless adverbial clause (-ẁ)

Adverbial clauses may take the form of a headless relative clause (§14.1.4), i.e. with covert abstract head NP like ‘time’, ‘place’, ‘situation’, or ‘manner’ that takes inanimate participial suffixes. The most common interpretation is temporal or situational.

For example, (525a) has no head noun. The verb here takes the form of an inanimate perfective participle (suffix -ẁ). In context, the most common interpretation is as a temporal clause (‘when …’), which can be made explicit by adding a noun like ‘time’ in L-toned form as head NP (525b).

(525) a. àwā-m  ī  yī-w  ḡàyⁿ,
snake-AnSg  1SgSbj  yél- progressives
b. àwā-m  wāgātūˡ  ī  yī-w  ḡàyⁿ,
run-Pfv-1SgSbj  1SgSbj  see.Pfv-Ppl.Inan  with,
yɔ̀-yɔ̀  y run.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘(At the time) when I saw a snake, I fled.’

In (526a-b), universal quantifier wôy is added following the participle. This gives a (mildly) emphatic sense that can, in some contexts, be translated freely as ‘ever since …’. wôy is also common at the end of conditional antecedent clauses, §16.1.1.

(526) a. [ā:  yē-w  wāy]  gō-rā-∅
[3ReflPI come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan  all]  go.out-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
‘Since they, came, they, haven’t gone out.’

b. [ēṛⁿé  ḡārōgā-w  wāy]
[[3SgPoss  father]  get.sick.Pfv-Ppl.Inan  all]  go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘Since his, father got sick, he, hasn’t left his, village.’

Headless relative clauses with -ẁ are often used in narratives instead of regular main clauses. In such contexts they are often best translated as main clauses, each denoting one event among many in a chronological sequence. A typical example is (527), where two relative clauses in -ẁ (note the preparticipial subject pronominals) denoting sequential events are followed by a clause with a conjugated perfective verb.
One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin. They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman.

For ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂-m ‘one day’ with (pseudo-)animate singular suffix in this example, see §4.7.1.1.

The headless relative clauses in (526a) and (527) have subjects coindexed to the subjects of the following main clauses. This accounts for the third-person reflexive subject pronouns (here 3Reflexive plural â:); see §18.2.3.

15.2.5 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

The complete construction ‘since/from the time that …, until …’, can be expressed by using a loose chaining subordinator on the first verb (e.g. same-subject =ní, different-subject =nì), then an inflected clause beginning with hâl ‘until, all the way to’. This results in a biclausal adverbial that usually constitutes background for another (foregrounded) event expressed in the main clause.

(528) [[bîrɛ̃ tûmdû=ní] [hâl dûwɔ́-Ø]]
    [[work(n) begin=and.SS] [until leave.Pfv-3SgSbj]]
    [ɲɛ̃y^n] [ɲɛ́-r^ɛ-Ø] [meal eat-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]

‘From the time he started working until he stopped (working), he didn’t eat.’

The verb dûwɔ́-Ø in (528) is a conjugated perfective; the 1Sg equivalent would have dûwɔ́-y.

(529) is an example where the subjects of the ‘from’ and ‘until’ clauses are disjoint. Therefore the subordinating clitic in the ‘from’ clause is L-toned different-subject =nì.

(529) [[ɛ́ɾⁿō hɔ́: nɔ́-nì] [hâl [ɛ́ɾⁿō hɔ́ dérɛ̃] yɛ̀-Ø]]
    [until [3SgPoss HL father go=and.DS] [until [3SgPoss HL elder.sibling come.Pfv-3SgSbj]]
    [ɲɛ́y^n] [ɲɛ́-r^ɛ-Ø] [meal eat-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]

‘From the time that his father went (away) until his elder brother came, he didn’t eat.’

15.2.6 ‘As though …’ clause (gàyⁿ→)

In (530), the ‘like’ adverbial gàyⁿ→ is added at the end of a relative clause denoting a (generic) animate referent.
(530) | [[lisú yéy] nêyⁿ nê-rⁿú-mh | gayⁿ→] |
| [day two] meal eat-PfvNeg-Ppl.Inan like |
| [nêⁿ nê-râ-w] |
| [meal eat-Prog-3SgSbj] |
| ‘He is eating like (someone) who hadn’t eaten for two days.’ |

In (531), gayⁿ→ follows a regular main clause, and the free translation is ‘as though …’.

(531) | [bòlú mirⁿ-râ = râ-Ø | gayⁿ→] |
| [rain(n) rain.fall-Prog=StatNeg-3SgSbj like] |
| wôngóró wárâ-râ-w |
| farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj |
| ‘He/She is working in the field as though the rain were not falling.’ |

15.2.7  ‘Be really true that …’ (-m wô bè)

A construction meaning ‘if it is really true that …’, and contextually ‘X insist (=be dead set) on [VP-ing], X be determined to VP’, consists of the appropriate inflected form of bè ‘remain’, a clause ending in imperfective -m, and locative 1 wô (which often becomes bê after the nasal). The phrasing ‘remain on VP-ing’ is not far from the etymological sense of English insist on.

(532) a. | [[[érⁿ má:] yâ-sá mâ] jyr³-m] | 1bô |
| [[3Sg QuotSbj Y] love-1pfv] 1in |
| bè-rê-Ø dé wôy |
| remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all |
| ‘(they said): if he insisted on loving Yasama (girl’s name), …’ |
| [2005.2a.01; this required achieving a nearly impossible feat] |

b. | hâyâ [[[érⁿ má:] li-lô-m] | 1wô |
| well [[3Sg QuotSbj] Rdp-go-1pfv 1in] |
| bè-rê-Ø dé |
| remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if |
| ‘(another girl said to her): well, if she insisted on going (to get a giraffe’s tail), …’ [2005.2a.02] |

The phrasing [X 1 wô] bè-rê-Ø dé can also be used with X a manner adverb such as ápàyⁿ ‘thus, like that’. See (485c) in §15.1.9, above.

A perfective version of the clausal complement with wô, followed by bè-rê-Ø dé wôy, is (533).

(533) | [jâwⁿâ: injiri = nî] | [[[érⁿ má:] pôndé-rê] | 1wô |
| [crowd get.up=and.SS] [3Sg Dat] head.for-Pfv1a 1in] |
| bè-rê-Ø dé wôy |
| remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all |
| ‘if it were the case that a crowd got up and headed for it (=lion)’ [2005.2b.05] |
16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional with de ‘if’

The clause-final ‘if’ particle is de. When it is clause-final, its tone is carried over from the preceding morpheme. When followed by another particle it is H-toned dé, see §16.1.1 below.

In typical hypothetical conditionals specifying a causal relationship between two temporally bounded events, the antecedent has an inflected perfective verb followed by de, and the consequent is in the imperfective (534a-b).

(534) a. ɛ́yⁿ yē:-rē-ţ̣́ dè, tomorrow come-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if, nāwⁿā: tēmbū-ţ̣́ meat find.Ipfv-2SgSbj ‘If you-Sg (have) come tomorrow, you’ll find some meat.’

b. ērⁿē yē-rē-∅ dē, də, nē-ṁ-dō-ŷ.: 3Sg come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if, eat-Ipfv-Neg-1PlSbj ‘If he/she doesn’t come (=hasn’t come), we won’t eat.’

16.1.1 Extensions of de (dé wōy, dé wò wōy)

The most common extended variant of de ‘if’ is dé wōy. wōy is elsewhere a universal quantifier ‘all’ (§6.8.1). In rapid speech, an optional vocalic assimilation to dō wōy is common, but intermediate pronunciations also occur and I have normalized transcriptions to dé wōy. An extended form dé wō-wōy is also used. In all of these combinations, dé has H-tone regardless of the final tone of the preceding word.

dé wōy (or variant) is associated with more emphatic contexts (‘as soon as ...’, ‘unless ...’, etc.); for ‘unless ...’ see §16.4, below. However, in recordings one observes dé wōy also in contexts that are not particularly emphatic, more or less interchangeably with simple de.

One distinctive function of dé wōy (or variant) is marking the right edge of an antecedent clause, and especially the right edge of a multi-clausal antecedent. (This is a regional pattern.) The construction can be schematized as [[S₁ de, (S₂ de, ... Sₙ dé wōy), Sₙ₊₁], where Sₙ is the last in a string of two or more antecedent clauses, and is itself directly followed by the consequent clause (Sₙ₊₁).

(535) [[jîrⁿéyⁿ cē:lē:-rē-∅ dè],
[[rainy.season be.good-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if],
[bîrē ūśⁿ→ bîrē-tū-ţ̣́ dé wōy]],
work(n) very work-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if all],
yû: bāyⁿ→ bērē-ţ̣́ millet much get.Ipfv-2SgSbj
'If the rainy season is good (=rain is abundant), and you-Sg work hard, you-Sg will get a lot of millet.'

16.1.2 -w kù dè (perfective) and -w dè (pseudoconditional)

A construction with a verb form ending in -w, followed by definite kù and (apparent) ‘if’ particle dè in L-toned form dè, is used in narrative as an alternative to a regular perfective verb form. The -w is perhaps to be identified as the inanimate perfective participle suffix, but the construction is difficult to parse. If the subject is pronominal, it is expressed as a preparticipial pronominal. This syntactic feature distinguishes the current construction from a main-clause perfective verb form where -w functions as the 3Sg subject marker (§10.2.1.2).

(536)  [ònjó-m  kù  yà]  
[younger.brother-AnSg  Def  too]  
á  sä-w  kù  dè,  
3Refl  reply.Pfv-Pl.Inan  Def  if,  
[á  HL  dérè]  má:  
[3Refl  HL  elder.brother]  Dat  
‘… the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: …’ [2005.2a.08]

3Refl á expresses coindexation of the subject of the (headless) nonsubject relative to the subject of the following clause (not shown), see §18.2.3.

An informant indicated that the construction in -w kù dè can also be expanded as -w kù mà dè.

A similar construction with -w and dè but without the definite kù is also attested. The clause in -w dè denotes an eventuality that precedes the one described in the following clause, with no necessary causal relationship. All examples in my data involve future time. I label this the pseudoconditional. A similar construction occurs in some other Dogon languages, including Togo Kan.

(537)  a.  érⁿé = nì  í  sùyṣ-w  dè,  
3Sg=Acc  1SgSbj  hit.Pfv-Pl.Inan  if,  
[bɔr³-r₃-dó-Ø  dè]  yí-y .:  
[result-Lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj  if]  see.Lpfv-1PlSbj  
‘I will hit him and we’ll see whether nothing happens (as a result).’  
[bɔr³-r₃-dó-Ø  is used in such boasting utterances]

b.  érⁿé  gúⁿ-wⁿ  dè,  
3Sg  say.Pfv-Pl.Inan  if,  
[í  sùyṣ-w  dè,  
[1SgObj  hit.Pfv-Pl.Inan  if,  
ŋgù-rù  í  lárù-r₃]  bà  
here  1SgObj  chase.away-Lpfv.3SgSbj]  Quot  
‘He said he will hit me, and (that) he will run me out of here.’
c. [í yě-w dè] [ně-yⁿ birá]
[1SgSbj come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if] [meal cook.Impr]
‘Cook-2Sg the meal (only) when I have come back!’

d. [ně-yⁿ ñ: biré-w dè] pá
‘We’ll cook the meal, then (you) eat!’

For a superficially similar construction with -m dè (and stative -ẁ dè), see §15.2.1.2.

Historical interpretation of the origin of -w kù dè and -ẁ dè should consider the probably
related Nanga subordinators -sê gù-ndè and related forms. One possibility is that Ben Tey kù
and Nanga gù- derive from the ‘say’ verb (Ben Tey gùⁿ-, Nanga kíyé-, and many Dogon
cognates), although the erratic g/k correspondences make exact equation difficult.

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 kálà ‘even if …’

kálà ‘even’ may replace de ‘if’, resulting in an ‘even if …’ antecedent clause. Here the
consequent is not contingent on the antecedent.

(538) [yû: yá só-w kálà], ní-m-dó-Ø
[millet Exist have-3SgSbj even], give-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
‘Even if he/she has some millet, he/she won’t give (it).’

16.2.2 tán ‘as soon as …’

The particle tán, borrowed from the Fulfulde particle ‘only’, is another alternative to de ‘if’. It
suggests that only the (delayed) instantiation of the eventuality denoted by the antecedent
clause is holding up the instantiation of the eventuality denoted by the consequent clause.

(539) nûwⁿbyⁿ yě-w tán, sú:xrā
now come.Pfv-2SgSbj if, rest.Impf
‘When you-Sg have come, take a rest!’

A translation ‘as soon as …’ would also work. For another way to express ‘as soon as …’, see
(492f) in §15.1.10.

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’)  

cěw (likely borrowed from Jamsay cěw ‘all’) occurs in reduplicated or iterated form (cě-cěw,
cěw-cěw) in the sense ‘equally’ (§12.2.3). As simple cěw it occurs at the right edge of a
biclausal conditional antecedent of the type ‘(whether) S₁ or not-S₁’, or any other combination
of two component clauses that are (more or less) truth-conditionally antagonistic.
When the two disjuncts are expressed by verbs (not e.g. by adjectival predicates), with the subject held constant, the first verb may take inanimate participial form, as in (541).

(541) a. \[[árⁿ àm \kày\] \[lo\] \[m\] \[man-AnSg Top\] \[go=and.SS\] \[nàwⁿ-à-r'-∅\] \[cèw]\] 
   [be.ruined.Pfv-Ppl.Inan be.ruined-PfvNeg-3SgSbj equally] 
   ‘As for a man, when he goes, whether he will be ruined or he will not be ruined, 
   (he goes to earn money)’ [2005.1b.06]

b. \[[yĩ-m jê-∅→ jê:-r'-∅ \[cèw]\] \[child-AnSg bring.Pfv-Ppl.Inan bring-PfvNeg-3SgSbj equally] \[ya \[gòyⁿ-â'-∅\]]\] 
   [Exist wait.Stat-3SgSbj] 
   whether the child (eventually) brings (something) or does not bring (anything), he 
   (=father) waits for (something)’ [2005.1b.06]

### 16.4 ‘Unless’ antecedent

An ‘unless’ antecedent, i.e. one that specifies a necessary as well as sufficient (positive) 
condition, can be expressed (542) with a simple negative clause ending in dé wôy (
§16.1.1).

(542) \[[mòbìlí ñgú-ru làwà-r'-∅ \[dè\] \[wôy\] \[tiwé-y\].\]]\] 
   [vehicle here pass-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if all] die.Ipfv-1PISbj 
   ‘Unless a vehicle comes by here, we’ll die.’

### 16.5 Counterfactual conditional

In counterfactuals, both the antecedent and the consequent are expressed with past perfect 
predicates involving an inflected form of the L-toned past variant = bè- (§10.4.1). The 
unmarked verbal categories are as follows: for the antecedent, past static (positive) or 
perfective negative; for the consequent, past unsuffixed imperfective (positive) or past 
imperfective negative.

(543) a. \[àmò: yè-∅ = bè-∅ \[dè\] \[morning come-Stat=Past-3SgSbj if\] \[bòyrí bèrê-∅ = bè-∅\] \[porridge get-lpv=Past-3SgSbj\] \[‘If he/she had come in the morning, he/she would have gotten some porridge.’]
b. béré jëː-ři = bë-ỹ dë,
   stick bring-PfvNeg=Past-1SgSbj if,
   àwá-m ñ kúwó-ñ = bë-O
   snake-AnSg 1SgObj eat-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj
   ‘If I hadn’t brought my stick, the snake would have eaten me.’

c. [ú HL áyà:] mìr"é-ʊ = bë-ʊ dë,
   [2SgPoss HL ‘medication] swallow-Stat=Past-2SgSbj if,
   sëllë-ři ká-ři-dó = bë-ʊ
   be.healthy-PfvNeg do-Ipfv-Neg=Past-2SgSbj
   ‘If you-Sg had taken your medicine, you wouldn’t have gotten sick.’

The antecedent clause may also be based on a nominal or adjectival predicate (544).

(544) [ônjò-m = dá = bë-ʊ dë,
   [younger.sibling-AnSg=StatNeg=Past-2SgSbj if,
   ú jìyé-ři = bë-ỹ
   2SgObj kill-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj
   ‘If you-Sg were not my (younger same-sex) sibling, I’d kill you.’
17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 ‘Say that …’ with ‘say’ verb (gúyⁿ-)

The inflectable quotative verb is gúyⁿ- variant giyⁿ-. In the most common construction with inflected ‘say’ verb, this verb follows the quotation. There is also a construction for a preposed ‘say’ verb (§17.1.1.5).

Two major features of quotative clauses are a) the presence of a clause-initial quotative-subject phrase (NP or pronoun followed by QuotSbj má: ~ l’mà:), and b) the neutralization of pronominal-subject marking in the verb to 3Sg, except that the verb does agree with a 3Pl (regular or logophoric) subject.

The quotative clitic wa (§17.1.2, below) is omitted when the full ‘say’ verb follows the quotative complement.

17.1.1.1 Quotative subject (QuotSbj) má: ~ l’mà:

The majority of quoted clauses begin with quotative-subject phrase, consisting of either an independent pronoun or a nonpronominal NP, followed by quotative subject particle má: ~ l’mà:. For examples, see (547) in the following section. The quotative-subject phrase gives the addressee an “early warning” that the clause in question is quoted. It is present in most quotative clauses, elicited or textual. However, it is optionally omitted after a nonpronominal NP subject, especially a nonhuman one like ‘rainy season’ in (545).

(545) [kú-dá: jìr̥g̑yⁿ էšú bů:-ɔ] giyⁿ-bó
[there.DiscDef rainy.season good be-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They said that the rainy season is good there.’

On the other hand, occasionally a topical clause-initial NP or PP that is not a subject is followed by má: ~ l’mà:. In (546), the clause-initial constituent followed by QuotSbj ma: is a spatial PP rather than the subject. Perhaps this is favored by the low referentiality of the subject bŏl ‘rain’, cf. §11.1.4.

(546) [sùmőy wô má:] bŏl sî-yé-mí-òdô
[ground in] QuotSbj rain go.down-MP-lpfv-lpfvNeg
giyⁿ-bó wà
say.Pfv-3PlSbj Quot
‘they said that the rain wouldn’t come down on the earth, it is said.’ [2005.2a.04]
(sùmőy)

Quotative subject má: may be followed by NP-final discourse participles such as topic kày, see the end of C’s first turn in (660) in the sample text.
The quotative subject particle usually **acquires its tone by spreading** from the final tone of the preceding word, so it appears as *má:* after an H-tone and as *L má:* after an L-tone. However, if the constituent in question is a possessed NP, the possessed NP constitutes a tonosyntactic island and its final L-tone does not spread to *má*: See (548b) in the following section. This suggests that the quotative subject particle is lexically H-toned (*má*).

The L-toned form *L má:* is homophonous to *L má:* as L-toned form of dative postposition *má:* (§8.3.1). Both instances of *L má:* occur after NPs ending in an L-tone.

17.1.1.2 Complement with regular AN-marked verb

The quotative complement clause often has one or another of the regular AN (aspect-negation) forms of the verb. However, pronominal-suffix marking is restricted in these complements. The usual 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl suffixes are omitted, merging with 3Sg. There is, however, special marking of 3Pl subjects.

In (547), the verb inside the quoted clause ends in **imperfective -m̀**, which is used when the subject of the quoted clause is other than 3Pl. This -m̀ is identical to the 3Sg suffix in the inflected paradigm of the unsuffixed imperfective, but in morphological contexts where pronominal-subject distinctions are neutralized -m̀ is generalized to other pronominal categories (except 3Pl). Generealization of -m̀ also occurs in the past unsuffixed imperfective, preceding the conjugated past clitic =bè- (or variant). In these neutralizing contexts I gloss -m̀ simply as imperfective (Ipfv). A pronominal subject is expressed by a quotative-subject phrase (547b). Examples (547a,c) have logophoric subject because the subject of the quoted clause is coindexed with the quoted speaker (§18.2.1). 3Pl subject agreement on the final verb is exemplified in (547g-h).

(547)

a. [[á má:] yi-yé-m̀] giyⁿ-Ø

[[LogoSg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He, said that he, is coming.’

b. [[ú má:] yi-yé-m̀] giyⁿ-Ø

[[2Sg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’

c. sëydù [[á má:] júẁ-m̀-dó-Ø]

Seydou [[LogoSg QuotSbj] know-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj] giyⁿ-Ø

say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Seydou, said that he, doesn’t know.’

d. í [[érit́e má:] yi-yé-m̀]

1SgSbj [[LogoSg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] gi-ńi-ŷ

say-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I didn’t say that he/she is coming.’
The suffixally marked progressive may also be quoted (548). The 3Sg form -rà-w generalizes (548a-b,d), except for 3Pl subject (548c).

(548)  

a. [[á mà:] wóngóró wàrá.-rà-w]
   [[LogoSg QuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj]
   giyⁿ-∅
   say.Pfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He, says he, is farming.’

b. [[á yì-m mà:] wóngóró wàrá.-rà-w] giyⁿ-∅
   [[[[LogoP hLchild] QuotSbj]] ...]
   ‘He, says that his, child is farming.’

c. [[fá mà:] wóngóró wàrá.-rà-bɔ́]
   [[LogoPl tQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-Stat-3PlSbj]
   giyⁿ-bɔ́
   say.Pfv-3PlSbj
   ‘They, said they, are farming.’

d. [[í mà:] wóngóró wàrá.-rà-w]
   [1Pl tQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj
   giyⁿ-∅
   say.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘He/She said we are farming.’

The examples in (549a-b) have perfective verbs (549a-b). The perfective takes a (pronominally) unsuffixed form (except for 3Pl), identical in form to the zero 3Sg inflected form, but here transcribed as suffixless. The verb may have the unsuffixed perfective stem
(L-toned version of the bare stem) as in (549a). **Perfective-1** suffix -\textit{rè} is also possible (549b-c), as are perfective-1b suffix -\textit{fè} (549d) and other perfective-system markers such as recent perfect -\textit{jè} (549e). Agreement with 3Pl subject is observed in (549c-e).

(549)  a. [[\textit{î}: \textit{l-mà:}] \textit{á} \textit{sùyɔ̀}] \textit{gìyⁿ-∅}
[1Pl \textit{1-QuotSbj} LogoSgObj hit.Pfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
He\textsubscript{s} said that we hit him."

d. [[\textit{â}: \textit{l-mà:}] \textit{ɲɛ̀yⁿ-ɲɛ́-j-â:}] \textit{gí} \textit{yⁿ-∅}
[[\textit{LogoPl} \textit{1-QuotSbj}] meal eat-RecPf-3PlSbj] say.Ipfv-3PlSbj
They\textsubscript{s} will say that they\textsubscript{s} have already eaten.'

The alternative form of the unsuffixed perfective, with lexical tone on the verb stem and with 3Sg -\textit{wà} (generalized in quotatives to all first and second persons) and 3Pl \textit{-mà} (§10.2.1.2), is illustrated in (550).

(550)  a. [[\textit{í}: \textit{mà:}] \textit{wòŋgò́rò} \textit{wàrà-}\textit{wà}] \textit{gìyⁿ-∅}
[[\textit{1SgSbj} QuotSbj] farming farm.Pfv-Pl.Inan] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
He\textsubscript{s}/She said that I did farming.'

c. [[\textit{î}: \textit{l-mà:}] \textit{wòŋgò́rò} \textit{wàrà-mà}] \textit{gìyⁿ-∅}
[[\textit{child-Pl} \textit{1-QuotSbj}] farming farm.Pfv-Pl.AnPl] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
He\textsubscript{s}/She said that the children did farming.' (\textit{yì-tè}; cf. §3.7.4.4)
(551a-b) are perfective negative.

(551) a. [ú má:] wóngóró wàrà-rí-∅
    [2Sg QuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
    giyⁿ-∅
say.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She said that you-Sg didn’t do farm work.’

    b. [â: l mà:] wóngóró wàrà-r-á
    [LogoPlSbj 1QuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
    giyⁿ-∅
say.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He said that they didn’t do farm work.’

(552a-b) are imperfective negative.

(552) a. [î: l mà:] yàgó-m-dó-∅
    [1Pl 1QuotSbj] run-1pfv-Neg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/she said that we won’t run.’

    b. [â: l mà:] yàgó-m-n-ɛ́ giyⁿ-bó
    [LogoPl 1QuotSbj] run-1pfv-Neg-3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj
    ‘They said that they didn’t run.’

17.1.1.3 Complement with stative verb or quasi-verb

As expected, stative predicates follow the same patterns as aspectually-marked verbs in quotative complements, including merger of all 1st/2nd person pronominals into the 3Sg suffix on the verb. (553a-b) illustrates this with the ‘have’ quasi-verb, using 1Pl and (logophoric) 3Pl subjects.

(553) a. [î: l mà:] wògótóró yá só-w giyⁿ-∅
    [1Pl QuotSbj] cart Exist have-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She said that we have a cart.’

    b. [â: l mà:] wògótóró yá s-ɛ́:n giyⁿ-bó
    [LogoPl 1QuotSbj] cart Exist have-3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj
    ‘They said that they have a cart.’

17.1.1.4 Complement with adjectival predicate

The quotative clauses in (554) contain **adjectival predicates**. The adjective takes the same form it has before bù- ‘be’ (§11.4.1), except that with 3Pl subject we get suffix -bó (not -yè) on the adjective (554c).
17.1.1.5 Construction with preposed quotative verb

When the quotative verb precedes the quotation, a special construction is used. It is attested only for reported past speech events (‘X said, …’). The ‘say’ verb takes what appears to be the inanimate perfective participle form gúⁿ-ẁⁿ, and is followed by de (presumably the ‘if’ particle, but here without any modal force). If the subject of ‘say’ is pronominal, it is expressed as a preparticipial independent pronoun, as in (555a-c). The quoted clause follows after a prosodic break. The quotative subject construction with particle ma: is absent. Clause-final quotative clitic wa is possible but uncommon. As usual, except for 3Pl as in (555b), the verb has 3Sg subject form for all subjects.

(555)  

a. érⁿé ḡúⁿ-ẁⁿ  
    3Sg say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,  
    [ù:  l’mà:] ājíe káⁿ-rà-ẁ mà→ wà  
    [2Sg  l’QuotSbj] what? do-lpfv-3SgSbj Q Quot  
    ‘He/She said (= asked), “hey what are you-Pl doing?” ’

b. í: ḡúⁿ-ẁⁿ  
    1PlSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,  
    [yì-tè:  yè::-r-à:]  
    [child-Pl come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj]  
    ‘We said, the children have come.’

c. bû: ḡúⁿ-ẁⁿ  
    3PlSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,  
    ‘They said, …’
17.1.2 Quotative clitic \textit{wa} (\textit{\rightarrow ba} after nasal)

The \textbf{quotative} (Quot) clitic occurs at the end of a quotation. It may be repeated in a multi-clause quotation, at clause boundaries and similar junctures (for example, after a quoted vocative). In extended quotations, particularly of back-and-forth conversations between two or more parties, \textit{wa} replaces the more cumbersome inflectable ‘say’ verb. \textit{wa} may occur at the end of a quotation introduced by \textit{gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè}. However, \textit{wa} is not used at the end of a quotation that is directly followed by an inflected form of \textit{gúⁿ-\textit{say}} (i.e., \textit{wa} and \textit{gúⁿ-\textit{say}} may not occur adjacent to each other (unless they belong to different quotative levels).

The clitic is usually pronounced \textit{ba} after a nasal, e.g. after 3Sg imperfective -\textit{ñè}. As this suggests, the clitic is phonologically tightly bound to the quotation. It also adopts the final tone of the preceding word. In several Dogon languages, the clause-final quotative particle is identical in form to the quotative-subject particle. This is not the case in BenT, which has quotative subject particle \textit{ma}: and (clause-final) quotative particle \textit{wa}.

Although the clitic representation =\textit{wa} would be phonologically appropriate in BenT, I write the morpheme as a separate word on grounds of typographic clarity and in conformity with my practice in transcribing this particle in Jamsay and other Dogon languages.

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{dè}] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

The quotative clitic, unlike the ‘say’ verb, has a “hearsay” pragmatic quality. It is typically used when the attributed speaker is third person. Under most circumstances, first person attributed speaker (self-quotation, “I said that …”) has no need of a hearsay evidential. Use of a hearsay evidential in cases with second person attributed speaker (“you said that …”) is also pragmatically shaky in noninterrogative contexts, but it is common in requests for clarification or confirmation (\textit{X wà ‘did you say X?’}). The #? notation in (557) indicates that \textit{wa} is disallowed except in special cases.

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\begin{exe}
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\item \textit{wa} [ŋ̀ gúⁿ-\textit{wà} dè] [\textbf{Quot}]
\end{exe}
\end{exe}
17.1.3 Jussive complement

Jussive complements are reported imperatives or hortatives.

17.1.3.1 Quoted imperative with suffix -yí ~ -yì

In this construction, the imperative verb in the original utterance is replaced by the quoted imperative (QuotImprt) form with suffix -yí ~ -yì (§10.5.7), invariant for original addressee number. Singular-addressee imperative (558a) and plural-addressee imperative (558c) both correspond to the invariant quoted imperative yè-yì in jussives (558b,d-e). If the original addressee is referred to by a pronoun, it appears in a clause-initial quotative-subject phrase (558b,d-e).

(558)

a. yá
come.Imprt
‘Come-2Sg!’

b. [[í má:] yè-yì] giyⁿ.O
[[1Sg QuotSbj come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She told me to come.’

c. yá-ní
come-Imprt.Pl
‘Come-2Pl!’

d. [[í: ʰë má:] yè-yì] giyⁿ-há
[[1Pl ʰë QuotSbj come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They told us to come.’

e. [[bù: ʰë má:] yè-yì] giyⁿ.O
[[3Pl ʰë QuotSbj come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘He/She told them to come.’

A direct object NP, if present, has its usual form. For example, ‘sheep’ does not change from the imperative (559a) to the jussive (reported imperative) (559b).

(559)

a. perchè-n  sèwⁿá
sheep-AnSg  slaughter.Imprt
‘Slaughter-2Sg the sheep-Sg!’

b. [[ú má:] perchè-n  sèwⁿ-yì]
[[2Sg QuotSbj sheep-AnSg slaughter-QuotImprt] giyⁿ-yì
say.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I told you-Sg to slaughter the sheep-Sg.’
Negative counterparts are in (560). The form of the verb in the jussive clause (the original imperative) is hortative negative, with suffix complex -ré-y. Again, the original distinction between singular and plural addressee in the imperative verb is not carried over into the verb of the jussive.

(560)  

a. yé-ré
     come-ImprtNeg
     ‘Don’t-2Sg come!’

b. [lí má:] yè-rè-yí]
    giy⁻bš
    [1Sg Emph] come-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She told me not to come.’

c. yé-ré-ní
     come-ImprtNeg-2PlSbj
     ‘Don’t-2Pl come!’

d. [lí: ımá:] yè-rè-yí]
    giy⁻bš
    [1Pl QuotSbj] come-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
    ‘They told us not to come.’

e. pèrè-m  séw“é-ré
     sheep-AnSg   slaughter-ImprtNeg
     ‘Slaughter-2Sg the sheep-Sg!’

f. [ú má:] pèrè-m  séw“é-ré-yí]
    giy⁻y
    [2Sg QuotSbj] sheep-AnSg   slaughter-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt]
    say.Pfv-1SgSbj
    ‘I told you-Sg not to slaughter the sheep-Sg.’

By adding purposive postposition gin or variant (§8.5.1) to a quoted imperative, we get a kind of purposive clause; see §17.5.1.3.

Some greeting formulae appear to contain quoted imperatives (§19.5).

17.1.3.2 Embedded hortative (-misión, -máy”)

The hortative in -misión (for two referents) or -máy” (for three or more) can be embedded without change in a jussive. The subjects are expressed as quotative-subject phrases, with pronominal categories adjusted to the current speech event. Thus (561b) and (561c) are distinct jussives, but both derive from the same original utterance (“Let’s go to Sevare!”). (561b) has 1Pl subject (since the current speaker is included), while (561c) has a logophoric plural subject.

(561)  

a. lò-máy”
     giy⁻bš
     go-Hort.Pl say.Pfv-3SgSbj
     ‘He/She said, “let’s-3+ go!.”’
b. \( \text{ér}^\text{a} \text{gâ}^\text{a} \text{-dè} \)
3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
\([\text{fî} \text{mà:}] \text{sèwà:rà lò-mà} \) giy\(^{a} \text{-O} \)
\([\text{1Pl} \text{QuotSbj]} \text{Sevare go-} \text{Hort.Du} \) say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He said (to me), let’s (=he and I) go to Sevare.’
(‘He suggested that we [=he and I] go to Sevare.’)

c. \( \text{á:mádù [sèydù} \text{mà:}] \text{ér}^\text{a} \text{gâ}^\text{a} \text{-dè} \)
Amadou [Seydou \(1\text{Dat}\) 3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
\([\text{fà:} \text{mà:}] \text{sèwà:rà lò-mà} \) bà
\([\text{1LogoPl} \text{QuotSbj]} \text{Sevare go-} \text{Hort.Du} \) Quot
‘Amadou said to Seydou, “let’s go to Sevare!”.’
(‘A suggested to S that the two of them go to Sevare.’)

See also the discussion of 1Sg subject hortatives (§10.5.6, above).

### 17.2 Factive (indicative) complements

17.2.1 ‘Know that …’ complement clause

The complement of \( jùw\text{â} \text{-kû} \) ‘know’ takes regular AN suffixes, but instead of a pronominal-subject suffix on its verb, a pronominal subject (if present) is expressed by an independent pronoun preceding the verb, followed by quotative subject particle \( ma: \) (§17.1.1.1). In other words, the complement is treated as a quotation.

\[(562) \text{[fî má:] sèllè}^{1-\text{rf-O}} \text{jùwâ-mà} \]
\([1\text{Sg QuotSbj]} \text{be.healthy-Neg-3SgSbj]} \text{know.Lpfv-3SgSbj}
‘He/She knows that I am ill.’

The negative ‘not know (that …)’ is expressed with an embedded question, i.e. ‘not know (whether …)’, even when it is now common knowledge that the embedded proposition is true.

\[(563) \text{[fîr\text{ê} \text{HL yá:jî:] pâyà-tî-yà mà:]}
\[3\text{SgPoss HL marriage} \text{tie-Pfv1b-3PlSbj Q}
\text{jùwâ-mà-dà} = bê-y \]
know-Lpfv-Neg=Past-1Sg
‘I didn’t know that he had gotten married.’ (lit., “…, did they contract his marriage?”)

17.2.2 ‘The fact that …’ with final determiner

A regular main clause may be followed by an apparent definite \( kû \) or \( kù \) to constitute a factive clause that can be glossed ‘(the fact) that …’. The H-toned form is preferred in careful speech. It can be parsed either as the definite morpheme (which has H-toned form before postpositions), or as inanimate near-distant demonstrative \( kû \) (§4.4.1). The latter would be most appropriate for a proposition that was recently established in the discourse.
(564) [bòlù yè-rí-dò-∅] [kú] [njè: = ∅ kày*]
[rain come-lpfv-Neg-Ppl.Inan Def/NearDist.Inan] [what?=it.is do.Pfv]
‘The fact that rain isn’t coming, what caused it?’

For an example with L-toned definite kù as complement to ‘be afraid (that)’, see (585b) in §17.3.10.

In (565), in addition to the the final determiner, the verb of the factive clause is possessed (by its logical subject). Without the {HL} possessed-noun overlay, the verb form would be áwú-m-dò-∅ ‘it does not accept’.

(565) [á HL áwù-m-dò-∅] [kú]
[3RefIsgPoss HL accept-lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj Def/NearDist.Inan]
fyé go{l-rí-∅} today go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘This (fact that) it (=Beni) doesn’t accept (being pushed around), it didn’t come out (=just begin) today’ [2005.2b.04]

17.2.3 ‘See (find, hear) that …’

An ordinary main clause may function as the complement of a verb of recognition of a state of affairs. The common verb of this type is tèmbí- ‘find (a situation, or someone in a situation)’ (566a), but yì- ‘see’ is also used in this construction when the subject infers that an eventuality has taken place from circumstantial evidence (566b).

(566) a. [pèrè-m bèré-jè-v] tèmbí-ị
[sheep get-recpf-2sgsbj] find.Pfv-1sgsbj
‘I found that you-Sg had gotten a sheep.’

b. [bòlù yè-rí-∅] yì-jè-ị
[rain(n) come-lpfv-Neg-3sgsbj] see-recpf-1sgsbj
‘I saw (e.g. from observing the dry ground) that rain had not come.’

In examples of the type ‘X see [E]’, where X observed the event E (rather than recognizing from visual or other signs that X had taken place), we get a complement with imperfective suffix -m on the verb, followed by clitic =bày, see (594a-c) in §15.2.1.2.

‘Hear (that …)’ in the hearsay sense has a different syntax because it involves reported speech by a third party. It therefore has an initial quotative-subject phrase (particle mú).

(567) [[ụ má:] kàsì-y kàsù-jè:] nù-ị
[[2sg quot sbj] harvest(n) harvest-recpf] hear.Pfv-1sgsbj
‘I heard that you-Sg have already harvested.’

17.3 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

For the morphology of the basic verbal noun in -i: ~ -ị, see §4.2.2.
17.3.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase

If a simple noun (without a quantifier or determiner) functioning as direct object or as a similar nonsubject complement (such as the locational with ‘go’) directly precedes the verbal noun, it takes L-toned compound-initial form.

(568)  a.  bù:rù[^p-ɛ̌-ỳⁿ]   
[bread[^at]-VblN]  
‘eating bread’ (bù:rù)

b.  bè:nì[^l-ǒ-ỳ]  
[Beni[^go]-VblN]  
‘going to Beni (village)’ (bè:nì)

This construction can be extended to cases where the compound initial represents a core NP consisting of a noun and an adjective. In (569), the entire core NP, which elsewhere takes the form bù:rù[^jèwⁿ-èwⁿ] ‘black bread’, functions (in L-toned form) as the initial.

(569)  [bù:rù[^jèwⁿ-èwⁿ]][^ɲɛ̌-ỳⁿ]   
[bread[^black-Inan]][^eat-VblN]  
‘eating black bread’

NPs containing a postnominal quantifier (including cardinal numerals) and/or a determiner cannot be reduced to compound-initial form. These NPs are construed morphosyntactically as possessors, and therefore control possessed-noun {HL} overlay on the “possessed” verbal noun.

(570)  a.  [èlèy[^ŋ̀-gú]][^kúw-ì:]   
[peanut[^Prox.Inan]][^eat-VblN]  
‘eating these peanuts’ (kùw-ì:)

b.  [màngòrò[^nùm-yⁿ]][^ɲɛ̌-ỳⁿ]  
[mango five][^eat.VblN]  
‘eating five mangoes’ (ɲɛ̌-ỳⁿ)

If the direct object is separated from the verbal noun by an intervening constituent, such as a pronoun, there is no “possession” or compounding, and the verbal noun appears with its normal {LHL} tone overlay (571).

(571)  ú[^ènje]-mù  |[^èrⁿé]  |[^mà:]  |[^nì-ŋⁿ],
2Sg chicken-AnSg [3Sg Dat] give-VblN,
já:w[^bù:-∅]  
appropriate be-3SgSbj  
‘For you-Sg to give him/her a chicken, it’s right (=proper).’

A personal pronoun functioning logically as direct object may, as in main clauses, have either its unmarked independent form or it may occur with accusative clitic =n̄ =nì. In either
case, it behaves as a possessor. The verbal noun therefore appears with possessed-noun tone overlay, either \{{HL}\} after an H-tone or tone-dropped after an L-tone.

\[(572)\]

\[\text{a. } \text{i} \quad \text{HL} \text{jý-ì:} \]
\[1\text{SgPoss} \quad \text{HL} \text{kill-VbN} \]
\[\text{‘killing me’ (lit. “my killing”)} \]

\[\text{b. } \text{i=nì} \quad \text{L} \text{jý-ì:} \]
\[1\text{SgObj} \quad \text{L} \text{kill-VbN} \]
\[\text{‘killing me’} \]

\[\text{c. } \text{i}: \quad \text{L} \text{jý-ì:} \]
\[1\text{PlPoss} \quad \text{L} \text{kill-VbN} \]
\[\text{‘killing us’} \]

17.3.2 ‘Begin’ (\text{túmdí-}) plus nominal complement

‘Begin’ takes a verbal noun or other nominal as complement. In (573a), the complement is a cognate nominal. In (573b-c) it is a verbal noun, with a simple noun representing the direct object functioning as L-toned compound initial. In (573d) has a similar structure, but with a pronominal object. The latter can be expressed as simple \text{i} as in this example, or with accusative clitic as \text{i=nì}.

\[(573)\]

\[\text{a. } \text{nùwⁿò} \quad \text{túmdí-tí-yà} \]
\[\text{song} \quad \text{begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj} \]
\[\text{‘They have begun to sing.’} \]

\[\text{b. } \text{nùwⁿòL-[nùwⁿò-ì:]} \quad \text{túmdí-tí-yà} \]
\[\text{songL-[sing-VbN]} \quad \text{begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj} \]
\[\text{[= (a)]} \]

\[\text{c. } \text{nàwⁿòL-[kùw-ì:]} \quad \text{túmdí-yè} \]
\[\text{meatL-[eat-VbN]} \quad \text{begin-Ipfv-3PlSbj} \]
\[\text{‘They will begin to eat the meat.’} \]

\[\text{d. } \text{[i} \quad \text{sùy-ì:)} \quad \text{túmdí-tí:-O} \]
\[\text{[1SgPoss hit-VbN]} \quad \text{begin-Pfv1b-3SgSbj} \]
\[\text{‘He/She began to hit me.’} \]

17.3.3 ‘Prevent’ (\text{gà:lí-}) plus nominal complement

The complement is expressed as a verbal noun (or other nominal). The logical subject of the complement clause functions as a direct object of ‘prevent’.

273
(574) a.  í=nì  birè^L-[bir-ː:]  gà:lì-Ø
1Sg=Acc work(n)^{-}[work-VbLN]  prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She prevented me from working.’

b.  í=nì  ènjè^L-[tiy-ː:]  gà:lì-Ø
1Sg=Acc chicken^{-}[sell-VbLN]  prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She prevented me from selling the chicken.’

17.3.4 ‘Consent’ (àwú-) plus nominal complement

The verb àwú- ‘receive, accept (sth given)’, which is usually heard as ãw, is used in the sense ‘consent, give permission’ with a verbal noun complement. If there is no overt subject of the complement clause, it is understood that the main-clause subject has consented to perform the action (‘X agreed to come’) (575a). If there is a disjoint subject, it appears overtly (‘X agreed that Y could go’) (575b).

(575) a.  yê-ŷ  àw-jè:-Ø
come-VbLN  receive-RecPf-3SgSbj
‘He/She has consented to come.’

b.  [bàmàkɔ́  í]  lɔ-ŷ  àw-jè:-Ø
[Bamako 1SgSbj go-VbLN]  receive-RecPf-3SgSbj
‘He/She has agreed (=consented) to my going to Bamako.’

17.3.5 Obligational ‘must’ (wá:jìbù) plus nominal subject

The noun wá:jìbù or wá:jìbì ‘obligation’ (from Arabic via Fulfulde) is the predicate. Presumably an ‘it is’ clitic is attached to it (‘it is an obligation’), but the clitic is inaudible since it is an inanimate noun already ending in an L-tone. The NP denoting the necessary action functions as subject NP with (‘it is an obligation’ as predicate. This NP may be a verbal noun or other nominal. When the verbal-noun construction is used, the subject (agent) of the verbal-noun clause may be expressed either as a possessor of the verbal noun (576a), or as a dative preceding wá:jìbù = Ø (576b).

(576) a.  [bàmàkɔ́  êr^R^H  lɔ-ŷ]  wá:jìbù = Ø
[Bamako 3SgPoss go-VbLN]  obligation=it.is
‘He/She must go to Bamako.’ (lit. “His/Her going to Bamako (is) an obligation”)

b.  [ŋù-rù  wàs-ː:]  wá:jìbù = Ø
[here remain-VbLN 1Sg.Dat]  obligation=it.is
‘I must remain here.’ (lit. “Remaining here is an obligation for me”)

An alternative construction seen in a text puts wá:jìbù = Ø (or wá:jìbi = Ø) in front, followed by an imperfective clause. The flavor of the construction can be captured by the phrasing ‘definitely, we will …’. In (577), the imperfective clause has a verb with -mù since it is in a quotation (§17.1.1.2).
17.3.6 ‘Dare’ (dà:rí-, sú:sé-) plus nominal complement

dà:rí- has a range of senses including ‘crave’ and ‘miss (nostalgically)’. It can be used something like a ‘dare to, have the audacity to’ verb, though perhaps a better gloss would be ‘can’t help (doing)’. It takes a verbal noun or other nominal complement.

(578)  yë-upyter  dà:rí-m
  come-VblN dare-Lpfv.3SgSbj
  ‘He/She dares to come.’

Another verb sú:sé-, from Fulfulde, is also used with a similar syntax.

(579)  [ŋ̀gú-rù  èw-y-i:]  sú:sé-m
  [here sit-MP-VblN] dare-Lpfv.3SgSbj
  ‘He/She dares to sit here.’

17.3.7 ‘Cease’, ‘desist’ (dùwɔ-) plus nominal complement

The verb dùwɔ- ‘leave, abandon’ may be used to indicate the abandonment of an activity. In this context it takes a verbal noun or similar nominal complement.

(580)  dɔ̀rɔ̀gù-[nɔ̃-ɔ̃]  dùwɔ-ti:-Ø
  drug-[drink-VblN] leave-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
  ‘She has given up drinking (alcohol).’

For ‘finish (VP-ing) with dùmdú-~ dùmdí- ‘finish’, see §17.4.1, below.

17.3.8 ‘Want’ (jɔ̀rɔ-, mà:-yí- ~ mɔ̀já:-yí-, negative mì-rá-) plus complement

The verb jɔ̀rɔ- ‘want’ is morphologically regular as far as its paradigm goes. The common positive form is the unsuffixed imperfective (3Sg jɔ̀rɔ-m ‘he/she wants’, 3Pl jɔ̀rɔ-yè ‘they want’). However, there is a suppletive negative ‘not want’ verb, see below.

When the complement clause has the same subject, we get a verbal noun or similar nominal construction.

(581)  a.  bè:nì-[lɔ-ɔ̃]
  Beni-Go-VblN want-Lpfv.1SgSbj
  ‘I want (= would like) to go to Beni.’ ( bè:nì)
b. **núw**[^1]_{ły}^n bù:rù-[në-ży] jórš-ży mà

‘Do you-Sg want to eat some bread now?’ (bù:rù)

With different subjects, the verb of the complement takes imperfective form and ends with -mì, for all person-number categories of subject. The -mì could be taken as the inanimate imperfective participial suffix -mì, or else as a 3Sg subject imperfective suffix -mì that has generalized in this construction to all subject categories. A pronominal subject in the complement is expressed as a preparticipial pronoun.

(582)

a. **[érë này] ́i ló-mì** jórš-mì

[[3Sg with] 1SgSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] **want-Ipfv.3SgSbj**

‘He wants me to go with him.’

b. **[này bù: ló-mì]** jórš-ży

[1Sg with 3PlSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] **want-Ipfv-1SgSbj**

‘I want them to go with me.’

There is a less common near-synonym **má:-yí-** or **mëdá:-yí-** ‘wish for, want (sth)’, which is used with NP (not clausal) complement. There is a related noun **mbà:** ‘what one wants’.

The negative ‘not want’ verb is **mi-rá-** (the expected ![jórš-m-dó-](#) is ungrammatical) The segmentation is not transparent, but I will put the morpheme break in on the assumption that native speakers can discern a similarity to stative negative clitic ![rá-](#). Nasalization-Spreading does not apply to the rhotic, suggesting an internal reconstruction ![mbì-rá-](#), which is supported by e.g. Bankan Tey ![mbì-rá-](#).

**mi-rá-** occurs in the same syntactic constructions as positive **jórš-** as just described: for same subject a verbal noun complement (583a), for different subject an imperfective participial complement (583b).

(583)

a. **në-ży mì-rá-ży**

eat-VblN **want-Neg-1SgSbj**

‘I don’t want to eat’.

b. **[bù: ló-mì]** mì-rá-ży:


‘We don’t want them to go.’ [2005.1b.06]

(or: ‘We don’t like the fact that they go.’)

Related nouns are **jórš** ‘wanting’ (cognate to **jórš-**) and **nlù:** ‘(one’s) wish, what one wants’.

---

[^1]: The symbol `^n` indicates a note or reference number that is not visible in the text. It is used to denote additional information or sources that are not included within the main body of the text.
17.3.9 ‘Forget’ (írê-), ‘remember’ (ílì-rí-) plus nominal complement

Both ‘forget’ and ‘remember’ take verbal noun or similar nominal complements to express a same subject complement (‘forget/remember to VP’). ‘Remember’ is the suffixally derived reversive of ‘forget’ (§9.1), and may therefore be accompanied by ‘go out’ (584c).

(584) a. yè-ŷ írê:-rê-∅
come-VblN forget-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She forgot to come.’

b. tà:-nL-[dâⁿ-ŷⁿ] írê-ré
doorL-[lock.up-VblN] forget-ImprtNeg
‘Don’t-2Sg forget to lock the door.’ (tà:n, dâⁿ-)

c. tà:-nL-[dâⁿ-ŷⁿ] ílì-rí gô:-rê-y
doorL-[lock.up-VblN] remember go.out-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
‘I remembered to lock the door.’

17.3.10 ‘Be afraid to’ (ú:-yí-) plus complement

The verb ú:-yí- ‘fear, be afraid’ (cf. archaic causative ú:-rú- ‘frighten, scare’, noun ùwáw ‘fear’) takes a verbal-noun complement when the lower clause has the same subject (‘he is afraid to swim’), as in (585a). If the lower clause has a different subject (‘he is afraid that a snake will bit him’), we get a factive complement ending in a definite morpheme (585b), cf. §17.2.2.

(585) a. tàmɔ̀rɔ̀-L-[kùw-ũ] ú-ùwá-w
dateL-[eat-VblN] Rdp-fear-Stat.3SgSbj
‘He/She is afraid to eat dates.’

b. [érê=nl ú sùy-ũ-kù] ú-ùwá-w
[3Sg=Acc 2SgSbj hit-lpfv Def] Rdp-fear-Stat.3SgSbj
‘He is afraid that you will hit him.’

17.4 Complements with simple bare stem (direct chains)

I include these examples here since we usually think of them as involving a matrix-clause verb like ‘finish’ and a complement clause or VP. However, in BenT they are direct chains (serial construction), see §16.1. That is, the nonfinal VP (“complement clause”) ends in a verb in the simple bare stem, with lexical tones.

In BenT (more so than in e.g. Jamsay), one could seriously consider the possibility of reanalysing the apparent perfective-system AN “suffixes” -sô- (resultative), -jê- (recent perfect), and -tâ- (Experiential perfect) as separate auxiliary verbs. Since the preceding main verb occurs in its bare stem, if these AN morphemes are taken to be separate verbs, the main verb would have to be reanalysed as a nonfinal member of a direct chain. See §10.1.1 and (for pronouns that can intervene between main verb and auxiliary) §14.1.7.
17.4.1 ‘Finish’ (dùmdú-) plus nominal complement or chained verb

dùmdú- ∼ dùndi- is a transitive verb that can take a nominal complement (586a), or it can be directly chained to the nonfinal VP (586b).

(586) a. 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kòsìy} & \text{dùmdí-ti}-\varnothing \\
\text{harvest(n)} & \text{finish-Pfv1b-3SgSbj} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He/She finished harvesting (= finished the harvest).’

b. 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[yû: kòsì]} & \text{dùmdí-ti}-\varnothing \\
\text{[millet harvest(v)]} & \text{finish-Pfv1b-3SgSbj} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He/She finished harvesting the millet.’

The explicitly biclausal ‘finish VP- ing’ construction gets some competition from recent perfect -jɛ̀- and its negation -jɛ̀-rí-. For example, ‘finish eating’ was expressed with the verb dùmdú- by my assistant in contexts like the imperative (587a). However, in contexts favoring a perfect reading, he avoided dùmdú- and used the recent perfect (587b).

(587) a. 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ɲɛ̀}: & \text{dùmd-à} \\
\text{eat} & \text{finish-Imprt} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Finish-Sg up eating!’

b. 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{dɔ̃m} & \text{nɛ̀y}” & \text{nɛ̀-jɛ̀-rí-}y \\
\text{up.to.now meal} & \text{eat-RecPf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I haven’t finished eating.’

17.4.2 ‘Help’ (bàrí-) plus chained verb

As in other nearby Dogon languages, there is a verb with a range of senses including ‘add (to), increase’ and ‘help, assist’. The BenT verb is bàrí-. The semantic range suggests that ‘help’ is conceptualized as ‘reinforce (effort), add (oneself, to a collective effort)’. See discussion of (487) in §15.1.9.

An example of the ‘help’ sense with a clausal complement is (588). The individual being helped appears as a direct object with optional accusative clitic. The complement verb appears in its simple bare stem, as in chains, and may be preceded by other complements.

(588) 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{í=nì} & \text{[wòngóro wàrá] bàrí-m} \\
1Sg=Acc [farming do.farm.work] help-Ipfv.3SgSbj \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He/She will help me (to) do the farming.’

In BenT the semantic range of bàrí- does not extend to ‘gather’, which is expressed by bàrá-. The ‘add, increase; help’ and ‘gather’ verbs are homophonous in Jamsay and Toro Tegu.

278
17.4.3 Capability

17.4.3.1 ‘Be able to, can’ (béré- ‘get’) plus chained verb

The ‘be able to’ verb is béré-, which is also a simple transitive verb ‘get, obtain’. In the ‘be able to’ construction it occurs in imperfective form (positive or negative), so it is heard as {H}-toned béré-. The logical subject of the complement clause is coindexed with the subject of ‘be able to’ and is not overtly expressed in the complement, whose verb is in bare stem form as in chains. Direct objects or other complements have the same form as in main clauses.

(589) a. ínjírí béré-mh-dó-∅
    get.up can-lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj
    ‘He/She cannot get up.’

b. [tè: nọ] béré-yè
    [tea drink] can.lpfv-3PlSbj
    ‘They can drink tea.’

A more literal construal ‘acquire the means to VP’ (cf. English be in a position to VP) is possible in some cases. See bértí béré ᐱව-yè-∅ ‘Beni was able to be settled’ in B’s second turn in (676) in the sample text, where béré is nonfinal in a verb chain.

17.4.3.2 gòr“5- ‘be capable of’

gòr“5- is less common but more explicitly denotes capability. It often has a nonpropositional NP complement. Contextual glosses are ‘be capable of, be up to (a challenging task)’ and ‘be stronger than, be able to defeat (sb)’, see (53) in §4.3.2 and (195) in §9.3.

17.5 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.5.1 Purposive clauses

17.5.1.1 Verb with purposive suffix (-rá: ~ -ré:)

In one construction, purposive suffix -rá: ~ -ré: is added to an L-toned form of the relevant verb stem. This construction is common when the purposive is subordinated to a verb of motion.

(590) a. [pèré tiyè₁-rá:] yè-yè
    sheep.Pl sell₁-Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
    ‘I came in order to sell sheep-Pl.’

b. [fá Hl isè:] tìwè₁-rá:] yè-∅
    [[3ReflSgPoss Hl village] die₁-Purp] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
    ‘He has come back to his village to die.’
c. \{wóngórói \ wàrâ1-ré:] \ ló:-rë-Ø
(farming \ farm1\-Purp] \ go-Pfv\,1a-3\,Sbj
‘He/She went to do some farming.’

d. \{búrù \ ɛ́wê1-rá:] \ ló-ŷ
[bread \ buy\,-Purp] \ go.Ipfv\,-1\,Sbj
‘I will go and buy some bread.’

e. \{yû: \ lùgùrù1-rá:] \ lò-bɔ́
[millet \ look\,for\,-Purp] \ go.Pfv\,-3\,Pl\,Sbj
‘They went to look for (=try to get) some millet.’

See also (138) in §7.1.2 and (469g) in §14.4.

The three \(\text{Cvy}^n\) verbs fuse their \(y^n\) with the suffixal \(r\) to produce \(l\), hence apparent allomorph \(-lá:\). For the phonology see §3.5.4.4. The two clean examples are \(gáy^n\) ‘put’ (hence \(gá1-lá:\)) and \(káy^n\) ‘do’ (\(ká1-lá:\)). My assistant produced \(gùn^l-lá:\) from \(gùy^n\) ‘say’, in this instance preserving nasalization (on the vowel), but indicated that \(gùn^l-lá:\) is rare.

In (591), the higher clause (here a same-subject clause) and the embedded purposive clause share the same verb (‘arrive’). This is a stylistic narrative device that I try to capture with ‘finally’ in the free translation.

(591) \{tórú-m \ [ér^e \ ɛ́rⁿ \ ɛ́gànjí-m \ nê]
warthog-An\,Sg \ [3\,Sbj \ dig-Ipfv\,now] \ …
[ér^e \ ɛ́gànjí-m \ nê] \ [ér^e \ ɛ́gànjí-m \ nê]
(repetitions)
d31-rá:\ \ ɛ́r^n \ d3 = nì, …
arrive\,-Purp \ 3\,Sbj \ arrive=\=a\nd.SS, …
‘The warthog kept digging. When he had finally come close (to Hyena), …’
[2005.2a.07]

This explicitly purposive construction gets some competition from various types of VP chain, where the purposive element is implied rather than stated. This is common when the intended eventuality actually took place. In (592), the same-subject clitic \(=nì\) is used.

(592) \{gô: \ gáy^n = nì\ \ ki-kâ: \ jiýê-hɔ́
[fire \ put=\=a\nd.SS] \ Rdp\,-grasshopper \ kill.Pfv\,-3\,Pl\,Sbj
‘They set a fire and killed (= in order to kill) the grasshoppers.’

17.5.1.2 Quasi-purposive clause in manner-adverbial form (\(dày^n\))

In this construction, the purposive clause takes the form of a manner adverbial (§15.2.3), cf. English \(in\ such\ a\ way\ that\ …\) in vaguely purposive sense. The manner adverbial may precede or follow the main clause. Given the forward-looking temporal context, the verb of the manner adverbial will normally appear as an inanimate imperfective participle \((-\text{m})\ after imperfective stem).
We will fix the (donkey) cart, so that we may go to Walo (village)."

17.5.1.3 Clauses ending in purposive postposition gĩn

Here purposive postposition gĩn, gĩnĩ, gũn, or gũní ‘for; because of’ (§8.5.1) follows a verbal noun or other nominal denoting an action. The construction is uncommon in purposive contexts in my data. In (594), the verb of the complement is in quoted imperative form, as in jussives (i.e., reported imperatives, §17.1.3.1). This makes sense in that the postposition is related to gũyⁿ ‘say’, and specifically to gũyⁿ = nĩ ~ gũyⁿ = nĩ (same-subject past sequential subordinator, §15.1.8).

My mother sent me here (telling me) to draw water (at the well)."

Final gĩn is more common in causal (‘because’) clauses, see §17.5.4.2, below.

17.5.1.4 Purposive clause with [...jěy \(^{\text{HL}}\) nĩːj] \(^{\text{L}}\) wò

This construction occurred once in a text. For \([X \text{HL} \text{nĩːj}] \text{L wò}\) as a causal PP, see §8.5.3. jěy appears to be a purposive morpheme in (595). Without jěy, \([X \text{HL} \text{nĩːj}] \text{L wò}\) is attested but uncommon in causal (‘because’) clauses, see §17.5.2.4 below.

‘A hunter, himself, in order to make his sauce (=meal) good-tasting, he begins a hunt.’ [2005.1b.01]

17.5.2 Causal (‘because’) clause

The clauses under this rubric are translatable as ‘because …’. Unlike purposives, which are prospective in time reference, causal clauses are retrospective. They express a causal relationship between an eventuality that already exists (or has already occurred) and a second eventuality.
17.5.2.1 Clause-initial *sábû* ‘because’

This clause-initial particle, from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason, cause’, is now common (in various form)s in all languages of the zone. The following clause has regular main-clause form.

(596) 

\[
\text{[ŋ̀gdá: yú: írè-rí-∅]}, \quad \text{around.there millet ripen-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],}
\]

\[
sábû bólú ọ́gú-rú yè-rí-∅ \quad \text{because rain(n) fast-Inch come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj}
\]

‘The millet hasn’t ripened (well) there, because the rain did not come early (=the rain came late).’

17.5.2.2 Causal clause with *gìn* and variants

In §17.5.1.3 above, purposive-causal postposition *gìn, gìní, gün*, or *güní* (§8.5.1) occurs in a purposive clause. It is more common as a causal complement (‘because’). The clause takes normal main-clause form.

(597) 

\[
\text{[kɔ́: á: yá só-wí] gi-ní]}
\]

\[
\text{[hunger ReflPlSbj Exist have-3SgSbj] for}
\]

\[
\text{ìsè: gò-bó village go.out.Pfv-3PlSbj}
\]

‘They have left the village because they are/were hungry (“had hunger”).’

The origin of *gìn* as a same-subject anterior subordinated form of *guy*~*gi:* ‘say’ is not opaque to native speakers, and explains its ability to function in either purposive (prospective) or causal (retrospective) contexts. ‘Say’ here means ‘say to oneself, think’, and focuses on the agent’s motivations rather than on objective causal relationships among events. Therefore (597) could be literally glossed ‘they have left the village, saying (= thinking, on the grounds that) they-Logophoric were hungry’. Another clause-linking form, *gi=náy*~*gì=náy*, more transparently connected to ‘say’, is also attested (598).

(598) 

\[
\text{bé:nì yè-rí-dó-∅,}
\]

\[
\text{Beni come-lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj,}
\]

\[
[ñw só-ló-∅] \quad \text{gi=náy}
\]

\[
[kin have-Neg-3SgSbj] \quad \text{say = then.SS}
\]

‘She doesn’t come to Beni, since (= on the grounds that she has no kin (there).’

*gi=náy* also occurs in a negative purposive clause in (601) in §17.5.3.

17.5.2.3 Clauses with final causal *déngèy*

Clause-final *déngèy* (with possessed {HL} overlay) is more or less interchangeable with clause-initial *sábû.*
(599) [ŋgá-dá: yú: ìr-ří-∅],
[around.there millet ripen-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],
bọlú šgù-řú yè-ří-∅ déngéy
rain(n) fast-Inch come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj because
‘The millet hasn’t ripened (well) there, because the rain did not come early (=the rain came late).’

17.5.2.4 Causal clause with final HL ní:

The complex PP [X HL ní:] 1 wò ‘because of X, on account of X’, which generally refers to human motivation or reasoning rather than to physical causality (§8.5.3), is occasionally used with a clausal complement (600). For purposive [...] HL ní:] 1 wò, see §17.5.1.4 above.

(600) né: nè:-wⁿ-ř: ŋgó-∅,
now eat-Caus-VblN not.be-3SgSbj
[[[[kɔnL bù: nàngù-řú-ĩ]] ŋgó-∅]
[[[[thingL 3PlSbj be.ruined-Caus.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] not.be-3SgSbj]
HL ní:] 1 wò HL cause] 1 in
‘Now there is no feeding (= tending the animals), because there is nothing that they (= animals) (can) damage.’ [2005.1a.15]

17.5.3 Negative purposive (= prohibitive) clause

In (601), an imperfective main clause is followed by a negative purposive clause ending in gi=náy” ‘say and’.

(601) tèmbè-kù: bírė-ỹ:
roof replaster.Ipfv-1PlSbj
ní: sì-yë-řé-y gi=náy”
water go.down-MP-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt say’=then.SS
‘We will replaster the roof (with mud), so that (rain) water doesn’t come down (=leak).’
18  Anaphora

18.1  Reflexive and emphatic pronouns

The third person anaphoric pronouns are á (Sg) and â: (Pl). When used as reflexives (§18.2.1), or to coindex relative-clauses subjects with the higher subject (§18.2.3), I use 3ReflSg” and “3ReflPl” in interlinars. When used as logophorics (§18.2.2), I use “LogoSg” and “LogoPl.”

18.1.1 Third-person reflexive pronouns (á, Pl â)

There are no special reflexive forms for first or second person; one says ‘I hit me’, ‘you hit you’, etc.. Examples with ‘cut’ (perfective-1b form) are in (602).

(602) a. í césé-tí-ŷ ‘I cut myself.’
    ũ: césé-tí-ŷ: ‘We cut ourselves.’

b. ú césé-tú-ŵ ‘You-Sg cut yourself.’
  ū: césé-tú-ŵ: ‘You-Pl cut yourselves.’

For third person subjects, a direct object coindexed to the subject is expressed by a third-person reflexive pronoun, singular á or plural â; with optional accusative = nì ~ = ñ.

(603) a. á césé-tí:-∅
    3ReflSgObj cut-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
    ‘He cut himself.’

b. á: césé-tí-yà
    3ReflPlObj cut-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
    ‘They cut themselves.’

c. á: = ñ dàñigi-ǹ tìǹém bè-yè
    3ReflPlObj get.ready-Lpfv continue remain.Lpfv-3PlSbj
    ‘They would be getting themselves ready.’ [2005.2a.09]

18.1.2 Reflexive possessor (á, Pl â)

There is no special reflexive form for first or second person possessors. The regular possessor forms are used even when the clausemate subject is coindexed.
Third-person reflexives are used when the possessor of a nonsubject NP is coindexed to a third-person clausemate subject. Contrast (605a), where such coindexation applies, to (605b), where the clausemate subject and the possessor are disjoint.

(605) a. sêydù [á] HL lnjè-m ṭàr-tí-∅
   Seydou [3ReflSgPoss HL dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
   ‘Seydou, chased his (own) dog away.’

   b. sêydù [éř‘é] HL lnjè-m ṭàr-tí-∅
   Seydou [3SgPoss HL dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
   ‘Seydou, chased her (e.g. Hawa’s) dog away.’

A singular clausemate subject may be coindexed with a **more inclusive third person possessor**, e.g. denoting the family containing the subject referent. This requires a **plural reflexive** pronomial (606a). Of course the same plural form is used when the coindexed subject and possessor are both plural and denote the same set (606b).

(606) a. sêydù [á:] HL lnjè-m ṭàr-tí-∅
   Seydou [3ReflPlPoss 1 dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
   ‘Seydou, chased their (= his, family’s) dog away.’

   b. [sêydù yà→’] [á: màdù yà→’]
   [Seydou and] [Amadou and]
   [á:] HL lnjè-m ṭàr-tí-ýà
   [3ReflPlPoss 1 dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
   ‘Seydou, and Amadou, chased theirxy (jointly owned) dog away.’

This issue is especially relevant when the possessed noun is ‘house’, since one usually says ‘our house’, ‘their house’, etc., rather than ‘my house’ or ‘his/her house’, even in clauses like ‘I went to my/our house’.

18.1.3 Expressions with ‘head’ (**kû**):

Expressions of the literal type ‘my head’, etc., are not the common reflexives or emphatics in BenT. However, I did elicit a reflexive-like construction with datives (607). In the third person form (607b), the reflexive pronoun á is the possessor of ‘head’.
18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns with nàŋàŋà: ‘all’

For nàŋàŋà: ‘entirety’, usually appearing with {HL} or {L} overlay as a possessed noun, see §8.6.7.5.

The same construction (with pronominal possessor) may be used as an emphatic. This function is most clearly identified when the pronoun is singular in reference (608).

(608)  

\[
\text{1SgPoss.} \text{HL person.Pl} \quad \text{send.Ipfv-1SgSbj,} \\
\text{gà:} \quad [\text{í \text{HL nàŋàŋà:}}] \quad \text{go-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj} \\
\text{but} \quad [\text{1Sg \text{HL all}}] \quad \text{go-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj} \\
\text{‘I am sending my people, but I personally will not go.’}
\]

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

The logophoric pronouns are á (Sg) and á: (Pl). The same forms are also used as third person reflexive pronouns (§18.1.1-2).

18.2.1 True logophoric function

Logophorics are original 1Sg or 1Pl pronouns that occur somewhere within a “logophoric space,” i.e., within a (speech or thought) quotation attributed to an author who is a third person (not the current speaker or addressee). Another way to say this is that logophorics are a special type of third person pronominal coindexed to the attributed author of a proposition.

In (609), the logophoric is the subject of a quotative clause, and is therefore part of a quotative-subject phrase with particle ma: (§17.1.1.1). Recall that e.g. ‘He, said that he isn’t coming’ is a reformulation of the direct quotation ‘He said: “I am not coming.”’

(609)  

\[
\text{a.} \quad [\text{á \text{HL mà:}}] \quad \text{yé-m-dó-} (\text{∅}) \quad \text{gliy}^\text{\text{n-∅}} \\
\quad [\text{[LogoSg QuotSbj]} \quad \text{come-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj}] \quad \text{say.Pfv-3SgSbj} \\
\quad ‘\text{He, said that he, isn’t coming.’} \\
\text{b.} \quad [\text{á: \text{HL mà:}}] \quad \text{yé-m-n-ér} \quad \text{gliy}^\text{\text{n-béro}}
\]
They said that they aren’t coming.

In (610), the logophoric functions as direct object within its clause.

(610) a. búrâ: gúⁿ-ẁⁿ dè,
Boura say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[ú mā:] á sùyò] wà
[2Sg QuotSbj] LogoSgObj hit.Pfv] Quot
‘Boura says that you-Sg hit-Past him.’

b. yi-tê: bû: gúⁿ-ẁⁿ dè,
child-Pl 3PISbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[fí mā:] ì: sùyò] wà
[1Sg QuotSbj] LogoPlObj hit.Pfv] Quot
‘The children say that I hit-Past them.’

In (611a), the logophoric is the possessor of an object NP within its clause. Since the clausemate subject is second person, there is no ambiguity as to what the antecedent is. However, (611b) is ambiguous, since the possessive á could be parsed either as a reflexive possessor coindexed to the immediate clausemate 3Sg subject or as a logophoric possessor coindexed at a higher level to the attributed author.

(611) a. éřⁿë gúⁿ-ẁⁿ dè,
3SgSbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[ú mā:] hî jînjê-m] làri]
[2Sg QuotSbj] LogoSgPoss hî-dog-AnSg] chase.away.Pfv]
wà
Quot
‘She says that you-Sg chased her dog away.’

b. éřⁿë gúⁿ-ẁⁿ dè, [[séy dù แนะ]
3SgSbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if, [Seydou QuotSbj]
[á hî jînjê-m] làri]
wà
[LogoSgPoss hî-dog-AnSg] chase.away.Pfv] Quot
[3RefiSgPoss …
‘She says that Seydou (man’s name) chased her dog away.’

The notion of ‘author’ is stretched to cover examples of the type ‘X knows that …’ and especially ‘X heard that …’. In the case of ‘know’, the propositional knowledge may be unconscious rather than articulated verbally (even as thought). With ‘hear’, the focus is on the hearer as one who processes propositions that originate with other speakers. We do get logophoric (or, arguably, reflexive) third person pronouns in such cases, under the same conditions as with quoted speech. In (612), note logophoric object á=ǹ or á.

(612) a. [[fí mā:] á sùyò-m] jîwɔ́-m
[[1Sg QuotSbj] LogoSgObj hit-Ipfv] know-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He knows that I will hit him.’
18.2.2 Non-logophoric topic-indexing function

18.2.2.1 Nonreflexive resumptive pronouns for topicalized NP

In some other Dogon languages, logophoric/reflexive pronouns are used to resume the referent of a preposed topical NP: ‘As for Seydou, he-LogoSg/3ReflSg is going away.’

In elicitation, my Beni assistant treated the topical NP as part of the clause proper, even when marked by topic particle kày. Both the set-up cue with first person topic (614a) and that with the third person cue (614b) elicited this BenT structure. The cues were with quand même, which is usual in local French (e.g. Moi quand même, je pars à Bêni).

(614) a. [í kày] bèn ló-ỳ
   [1SgSbj Top] Beni go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
   ‘As for me (Moi quand même), I’m going to Beni.’

b. [sèy dù kày] bèn ló-m
   [S Top] Beni go-Ipfv.3SgSbj
   ‘As for Seydou, he’s going to Beni.’

It was possible to elicit a topical resumptive pronoun in (615), where the topicalized NP is heavy (a conjunction of two NPs). Here the topical resumptive pronoun is ordinary (i.e. nonreflexive) 3Pl bù:

(615) [[sèy dù yà→] [[à:màðù yà→] bù: ló-m-n-è
   [[S and] [A and] 3Pl go-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj
   Seydou and Amadou, as for them, they will not go.’
18.2.2.2 Reflexive resumptive pronouns in headless perfective relatives

Although the construction with preposed topic NP and resumptive third person reflexive pronoun is not typical of BenT, we do find something similar in narrative sequences involving headless perfective relatives (verb-participle ending with inanimate -\text{ẁ}) functionally equivalent to regular main clauses. This is rather common in texts. For example, in (616), the relative clause requires a preposed (preparticipial) subject pronoun, which takes third person reflexive form (3ReflPl \text{â}) under coindexation with ‘hyena and hare’ in the preceding clause.

(616) [[\text{tì-tü}:m \text{yà}]] [[\text{jā:-n} \text{yà}]]
[[\text{Rdp-hyena-AnSg and}] \text{[hare-AnSg and]}}
[\text{kù \text{hi-sérē}} \text{sè-né},
[\text{InanSg hi-awareness}] \text{have-StatNeg.3PlSbj},
[\text{ùsú tuw^-5-m}] \text{sù:-m \text{â}: \text{jìyé-ẁ}}, ...\]
[\text{day one-AnSg} \text{francolin-AnSg 3ReflPlSbj kill.Pfv-Ppl.Inan}
‘Hyena and Hare were not aware of that. One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin. ...’ [2005.2a.06]

A similar example is (536) in §16.1.2.

18.2.3 Relative-clause reflexive subject coindexed to higher subject

When a nonsubject relative clause has the same third person subject as the main clause, the relative-clause subject has reflexive/logophoric form (á, á). In (617a), there is no coindexation between main and relative clauses. In (617b), Seydou (man’s name) is subject of both clauses, and is expressed by á in the preverbal subject marker preceding the relative-clause participle. The head noun ‘shoulderbag’ plays no role in this anaphoric relation.

(617) a. [sèydù \text{èse} \text{L} \text{dùwś-ẁ} \text{kù} \text{yì-jë-y}]
[\text{S shoulderbag} \text{L leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def}] \text{see-RecPf-1SgSbj}
‘I found the shoulderbag that Seydou left.’

b. sèydù [èse \text{L} \text{á} \text{dùwś-ẁ} \text{kù}]
[\text{S [shoulderbag} \text{L 3ReflSgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def}]
\text{yì-jë:-∅}
\text{see-RecPf-3SgSbj}
‘Seydou, has found the shoulderbag that he, (himself) left.’

Because some temporal and other adverbial clauses (sometimes merely indicating chronological event sequences) have relative-clause form, such third person reflexive pronouns are not uncommon as subjects in texts. Examples involving two headless relatives (i.e. with covert temporal or similar heads) are (526a) and (527) in §15.2.4.
18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (tǔ):

The reciprocal pronoun tǔ: is invariant in form (i.e. it does not agree with the antecedent in pronominal category). It is related to the ordinary noun tǔ-m ‘companion, colleague’, plural tǔ::.

In the typical case, tǔ: functions as direct object (618a-b), as the complement of a postposition (618c), or as possessor of a nonsubject NP (618d), in each case with the clause-mate subject as antecedent. The clause is not detransitivized.

(618)

a. tǔ: yi-r-á
   Recip see-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
   ‘They didn’t see each other.’

b. [ǹjé gin] tǔ: sùy3-w.:;
   ‘Why did you-Pl hit each other?’

c. [tū: mâ:] bù:dù ní-ŷ ::
   [Recip Dat] money give.Lpfv-1PlSbj
   ‘We give money to each other.’

d. [tū: HL ónjó] jë-bë
   [Recip HL younger.sibing.Pl] marry.Pfv-3PlSbj
   ‘They (=two men) married each other’s (younger) sisters.’

In direct-object function, accusative clitic =nì (=ǹ) is optionally added.

(619)

a. tū:(=nì) sùy3-bë
   Recip(=Acc) hit.Pfv-3PlSbj
   ‘They hit each other.’

b. [ǹjé gin] tū:(=nì) sùy3-bë
   ‘Why did they hit each other?’

c. [fyë HL ìsù káلà] tū: =nì ìw3-sò-ló-ŷ ::;
   [today HL day even] Recip=Acc leave-Reslt-StatNeg-1PlSbj
   ‘Even nowadays, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other.’ [2005.2a.09]

In (620), noun tū-m appears in possessed form with a reflexive possessor, but the sense is essentially reciprocal.
18.4 Restrictions on reflexives

The syntax of reflexives appears to be very close to that in Jamsay. For example, the possessor of a subject NP may not serve as antecedent, so in (621) we get the ordinary 3Sg object pronominal even when it is coindexed to the subject possessor.

(621) [ér^e \_H[ìnj^-m] \_ér^e \_kùwò-\bigcirc] 3Sg\_Obj bite.Pfv-3Sg\_Sbj 'His, dog bit him.'  

A coordinand may not serve as antecedent with respect to the other coordinand. For example, in (622) there is no indication whether possessive \_ér^e `his' in the right conjunct is coindexed with the left conjunct `Amadou'.

(622) [á:mádù yà→] [ér^e \_H[bò: yà→]} yè:r-à:  

As with logophorics, it is possible to extend the coindexation from the subject of one clause into the object of a complement clause if there is no intervening third person subject. Therefore the third person subject equivalent of (623a) is (623b), with a reflexive pronominal object in the lower clause.

(623) a. [í = ñ \_ér^e \_sùy^-\_í:]} hâdè-\_y  

b. [á = ñ \_í \_sùy^-\_í:]} hâdè-\_ç]  

[1Sg=Acc 3Sg\_Sbj hit-Vbl\_N] prevent.Pfv-1Sg\_Sbj 'I prevented him/her from hitting me.'
19  Grammatical pragmatics

19.1  Topic

19.1.1  Topic (kày, kày dè, bàndè, kɔ̌yⁿ)

These particles may follow an NP or adverbial. kày is the common form. It may directly follow a nonpronominal topical NP (pronominal or otherwise) that is treated prosodically as clause-internal, as in (624a-b). kày usually occurs at a shift from one topical referent to another in the broader discourse.

\[ (624) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a. } [i \quad \text{kày}] \quad \text{ŋ̀gú-rù} \quad \text{wàsá-ý} \\
&Sg \quad \text{Top} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{remain.lpv-1Sbj}
\end{align*}
\]
\?('As for) me, I’m staying here.’

\[ (625) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{b. } [\text{íyé} \quad \text{kày}] \quad \text{̀bírɛ́} \quad \text{bírɛ́-̀m-dó-̀y} \\
&\text{today} \quad \text{Top} \quad \text{work(n)} \quad \text{work-lpv-Neg-1Sbj}
\end{align*}
\]
\?('As for) today, I’m not working.’

Alternatively, the topical constituent may be uttered in isolation form as a pre-clausal phrase, followed (after a prosodic break) by an appositional independent pronoun with the topic particle.

When the topical phrase is **postposed** to the main clause, kày can be extended as kày dè (with de ‘if’). Another form that can be used in this context is bàndè (which might be divided as bàn dè by analogy to kày dè, but which occurs as a frozen unit).

\[ (626) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{eat.meat-QuotImprt} \quad \text{wá} \quad [\text{érⁿé} \quad \text{bàndè}] \\
&\text{3Sg} \quad \text{Top} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{it.i}
\end{align*}
\]
\?('they said:) she should eat it, as for her.’ [2005.2a.06]

kɔ̌yⁿ is attested in texts, e.g. (626), and appears to function like the more common kày.

\[ (627) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{one speaker:} \quad [\text{dùrɛ́} : \text{l tɔ̀rɔ́} \quad \text{tùwⁿ́} \quad \text{kù}] \\
&D \quad \text{mountain} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{Def}
\end{align*}
\]
\['\text{Dure Mountain alone, that’s what belongs to you-Pl?}’

\[ (628) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{other speaker:} \quad [\text{kú} = \text{m} \quad [[\text{ǔ} : \text{L kɔ́ⁿ} = \emptyset ]]] \\
&\text{Inan=Def} \quad [[2PlPoss \quad \text{1thing}=\text{it.is}]]
\end{align*}
\]
\?('Yes, as for that, it belongs to us.’ [2005.1a.07]

There are many examples in the sample text, e.g. line 2 of (655), and twice in line 2 of (660).
19.1.2 ‘Now’ (núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, nɛ́)

The most common ‘now; at this time’ adverb is núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ. It may be used by itself as in (627). Topicalized as núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày ‘as for now’, it can spill into discourse marker function (‘now’ referring to a point in the discourse rather than to the time of an eventuality).

(627) a. núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ bïrè bïrè-ỹ::
    now work(n) work.lpfv-1PlSbj
    ‘Now we will work.’

b. [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] úsú dërⁿë- rè-∅
    [now Top] sun spend.daytime-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
    ‘Now the day is over (= it’s night.).’

There are several examples of núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày in the sample text, e.g. in line 4 of (668).

There is also a morpheme nɛ́: (variant nɛ́: ~ nɛ́yⁿ) which tends to function as a topic marker. This ‘now’ is discourse-centered rather than temporal, as the center of attention shifts from one topical referent to another. It can combine with kày in the phrase nɛ́: kày, as in (628a) and in C’s second turn in (656) in the sample text. Another combination is nɛ́: with a preceding personal pronoun as in (628b), or with an NP as in line 1 of (659) in the sample text.

(628) a. [nɛ́: kày] dëš- rè-ỹ::
    [now Top] arrive-Pfv1a-1PlSbj
    ‘Now we have arrived.’

b. ŋgú-dà:’, [ú nɛ́:] [móː] ŋgú dá:]
    aroundhere, [2Sg now] [mouth Prox.Inan around]
    [ú bʊ-w kù] pírⁿi-tú-w dè,
    [2Sg be-2SgSbj Def] open-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if,
    ‘Over here, you-Sg now, at the opening on this side, where you-Sg are, you’ll open it (= apiary) up, …’ [2005.1a.09]

A shortened, L-toned nɛ́ following a constituent can be analysed as an encliticized form of nɛ́:. There are two examples at and near the end of (684) in the sample text.

19.1.3 ‘Also, even’ (kàlà, yà)

The particle kàlà can be translated as either ‘also, too’ or ‘even’. In the sense ‘also, too’, something is added to a previously mentioned set (of entities, spatiotemporal coordinates, or eventualities). The sense ‘even’ is logically similar, but this time there is an element of surprise in the incremental addition.

The particle follows the constituent that differentiates the overall proposition from others already expressed or assumed. Even when it has logical scope over a VP (or entire clause), it is preferentially attached to a preverbal constituent, such as a cognate nominal. If there is no suitable nominal, it may follow the verb.
The unmarked sense ‘also, too’ with a clear connection to a specific constituent is exemplified in (629a-b). With clausal scope, the cognate-object type is (629c), while the postverbal type is (629d).

(629)  

(a)  [íkálà ló-ŷ [1Sg too] go.Ipfv-1SgSbj]  
‘I too will go.’

(b)  [íyé bíré bíré-ŷ:] [today work(n) work.Ipfv-1PlSbj]  
[[[ény o dé] kálà] bíré-ŷ:]  
[[[tomorrow] too] work.Ipfv-1PlSbj]  
‘We’re working today, and we’ll work tomorrow too.’

(c)  [gíyé gíyé-ṁ], [dance(n) dance-Ipfv.3SgSbj],  
[[[núw’o kálà] núw’o-ṁ]  
[[[song too] sing-Ipfv.3SgSbj]  
‘He dances, and he sings too.’  
(lit. “He dances dances, and songs too he sings.”)

(d)  lé:térë tí-ti:-∅, yì-yé-ṁ kálà  
letter send-Pfv1b-3SgSbj, Rdp-come-Ipfv.3SgSbj too  
‘She sent a letter, (and) she is coming too.’

A free translation with the marked sense ‘even’ is appropriate in (630). In positive sentences, ‘also, too’ and ‘even’ have no sharp boundary, and free translation of textual examples is sometimes arbitrary. The sense ‘even’ lends itself well to negation (‘not even’). In (630a), there is a clear focus on a constituent. In (630b), ‘even’ has clausal (or at least VP) scope but the particle is positioned after a noun.

(630)  

(a)  [ámbírì-m kálà jiyé jiyé-∅ [chief-AnSg even] dance(n) dance.Pfv-3SgSbj]  
‘Even the chief danced.’

(b)  [pó: kálà pó:-lí-ří-∅ [greeting even] greeting-Verb-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]  
‘He/She did not even say hello.’

‘Also, too’ is also expressed by the particle yà, which is probably related to ya used in conjunctions of the type (X ya→ Y ya→‘), see §7.1. Favorite combinations are those involving temporal sequences: lâ-w yà ‘another one’ (as in ‘tell us another one’), píníw’u yà ‘again’. That yà ‘also’ is distinct synchronically from the ‘and’ conjunctive particle is suggested by their co-occurrence in the first line of (663) in the sample text.
19.2 Presentential discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘Well, …’ (háyà)

háyà ‘well, …’ is a preclausal discourse marker. It is used in all languages of the zone. In BenT texts, it resembles English discourse marker well both in marking the beginning of a new narrative section, and in expressing mild disapproval. Both functions of háyà are evident in the passage whose free translation is (631).

(631) … They asked, what kind of remedy will make him heal? They (=others) said, he will heal with the tail of a giraffe. Well, one of the girls went out; she said, if her brother’s foot was to be healed, she would go in order to pull off a giraffe’s tail. One (other girl) replied, telling her (=first girl) not to go, (since) getting a giraffe’s tail is difficult. She (first girl) said, if God consents, she would go. She (=second girl) said, well, if she insisted on going, she should go and come back in health. [2005.2a.02]

19.2.2 ‘But …’ (gà:)

gà:, often with low pitch is another preclausal pragmatic marker. It occurs in most languages in the region. An example is near the end of C’s first speaking turn in (655) in the sample text.

19.2.3 ‘Lo, …’ (jákà)

The preclausal particle jákà, which I gloss as ‘lo, …’, is used in narrative preceding a clause denoting a surprising or key event. This is another regional particle found in most local languages.

19.3 ‘Only’ particles

19.3.1 ‘Only’ (sày)

The basic ‘only X’ phrase takes the form [X sày]. In many contexts including prepausally, sày has low pitch, but I normalize transcription as sày and take the low pitch to be intonational rather than phonological. In the examples below, sày follows a pronoun (632a), a nonpronominal NP (632b-c), an adverb (632d), and a PP (632e).

(632) a. [ú bár-i] mì-rá-y,  
    [2SgPoss help.Nom] want-StatNeg-1SgSbj,  
    [í sày] wárá-y  
    [1Sg only] farm.Lpfv-1SgSbj  
    ‘I don’t want your-Sg help, I’ll do the farming alone (=by myself).’
b. [[náː yèy] sày] sò-y
   [[cow two] only] have-1SgSbj
   ‘I have only two cows.’

c. [[náː yèy] sày] b-è:n
   [[cow two] only] be-3PlSbj
   ‘There are only two cows.’

d. [iyé sày] bírè bírè-m
   [today only] work(n) work-lpfv.3SgSbj
   ‘He/She will work today only.’

e. bù: [[náː yèy má:] sày] ni-bṣ
   3Pl [[person two Dat] only] give.Pfv-3PlSbj
   ‘They gave (some) to two people only.’

When sày has logical scope over a VP (or clause), it is nonetheless preferentially attached to an NP. This may be a cognate nominal of the sort that abounds in Dogon languages (633a). If there is no suitable NP for sày to attach to, it may follow the verb (633b).

(633) a. wóngóró wárá-m-dó-Ø,
   farming farm(v)-lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj,
   [yɔ: sày] yɔ:-râ-w
   [weeping only] weep-lpfv-3SgSbj
   ‘He doesn’t do farm work, he just cries.’

   b. yé-m-Ø sày
   come-lpfv-3SgSbj only
   ‘She just comes.’

A clause-final particle nà- can sometimes be translated as ‘merely’ or the like, but it is pragmatically more complex; see §19.3.4.

19.3.2 ‘Only (one)’ (lók)

lók is an intensifier for ‘one’, emphasizing that the quantity is not greater than one (perhaps against expectations). In some contexts, the free translation may include a disparaging adjective (e.g. ‘one lousy …’).

(634) [nàː tùwⁿ-s-m lók] sò-y
   [cow one-AnSg mere] have.Pfv-1SgSbj
   ‘I have (just) a single cow.’
19.3.3 ‘Only’ (tán)

The Fulfulde particle tán ‘only’, which occurs widely in languages of the zone (especially in conditional antecedents ‘if only’ or ‘as soon as’, see §16.2.2), can be used in the sense ‘only’ in phrase-final (typically prepausal) position, as an alternative to sāy.

(635) a. [kú dò:-wôy] àr“à-bérù tán
[DiscDef all] help only
‘All that is simply helping (someone).’ [2005.2b.04]

b. [[ú yí-tè: bù:] ló bîrê-yê] [[2SgPoss children DefPl] go work.lpfv-3pIsbj]
[úrò bî-yê-̀w tán] [house lie.down.lpfv-2sIsbj only]
‘Your children will go and work, you-Sg will just lie down at home.’ [2005.1a.13]

Clause-final tán is also used in a more complex discourse function, indicating a temporal and (usually) causal relationship between the clause in the question and a following clause. In this construction, tán can be glossed freely as ‘if’ or ‘as soon as’.

19.3.4 Clause-final adverbial nà ‘just’

Clause-final adverbial nà, with intonational prolongation, suggests a mild adversarial relationship between the clause containing it and the following clause (or a proposition negated by the following clause). The examples in (636) were given by my assistant, who was asked to formulate examples showing the typical function of the morpheme. ‘Just’ combined with an unstressed clause-final ‘now’ (pragmatic, not temporal) or ‘mind you’ in the free gloss seems to capture the flavor.

(636) a. cèmnè: = Ø nà→,
amusement=it.is just,
[kà.n] lâ-̀w] = Ø = rà-Ø
[thing other-Inan=it.is=StatNeg-3sIsbj]
‘It’s just (for) fun now, it’s not anything else.’ (cèmnè, lâ-w)

b. tìyè-mànù nà→, jày = Ø = rà-Ø
cross.cousin-laughter just, fight(n)=it.is=StatNeg-3sIsbj
‘It’s just horseplay (among cross-cousins) mind you, it’s not a (real) fight.’ (jày)

Textual examples are in (637).

(637) a. [ŋ̀ gú má:] sèsù-mànù là nà→
[prox.Inan QuotSbj] grandparent-laughing Quot merely
‘That was merely fun (=kidding) with the grandmother, it is said.’ [2005.2a.06]
b. [ìyé ụ: ɲàw“rê-wój nà→]
   [today 2PLSbj be.long.time-Pfv1a-2PLSbj merely]
   [fű: lƙɔ:”]=∅ kù]
   [2PPIPoss ¹thing]=it.is Def]
   Today, merely because you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim) it is
   your-Pl property.’ [2005.1b.05]

c. [[:ìsè: L ɲgú]]
   [[village¹ Prox.Inan] hìƙɔ:”]=∅ nà→]
   [[:ìsè: L ɲgá]]
   [[village¹ FarDist] hìƙɔ:”]=∅ =rá]
   ‘It (=field) simply belongs to this village, it doesn’t belong to that village (over
   there)’ [2005.1b.05]

See also the penultimate line in C’s first turn in (660) in the sample text.
This particle nà→ might be related to the ending of náŋánà: ‘all, entirely’ (§8.6.7.5).
Indeed, nà→ is attested once in NP-final position in a context where ‘just’ or ‘precisely’ is a
possible gloss; see C’s third turn in (661) in the sample text.

19.4 Phrase-final emphatics

In addition to the forms given below, see also já:tì ‘exactly’, confirming another speaker’s
statement, at the beginning of (682) in the sample text.

19.4.1 Clause-final kòy

kòy is a common clause-final emphatic. It is occasionally heard as kòy with rising pitch
(perhaps intonational in nature). The particle is regional (Fulfule, Dogon, Songhay, etc.). It
is used in contexts like (638), where the answer to the question is a strong confirmation of the
‘yes’ answer to the question.

(638) Q: ụrò ɲàw“rê-Ø mà
   house be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q
   ‘Was the house ruined?’
A: ɲàw“rê-Ø kòy
   be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Emph
   ‘It sure (as hell) was ruined.’

Examples in the sample text: end of (661), end of C’s turn in (663), line 5 of (670), beginning
of (674), line 3 of (675), beginning of (682).

19.4.2 Clause-final de

Clause-final de, another regional form, has an admonitive function. It is common in warnings,
including admonitive imperatives (positive or negative). English unstressed clause-final
'now' (in pragmatic function rather than in a temporal deictic sense) is a reasonable free translation. The tone is carried over from the preceding word, but the pitch is subject to intonation modification.

(639)  

a. `yàyà-ré dé
   fall-ImprtNeg Emph
   ‘Don’t fall down, now!’

b. gùrú táykà dé
   thief.Pl watch.out.Imprt Emph
   ‘Watch out for thieves, now!’

There is one example in the sample text, see end of (654).

19.4.3 Clause-final `yà:

A clause-final particle `yà: is used to emphasize the truth of an assertion, especially in the face of an expression of doubt from, or a contradicting assertion by, another party.

(640) tèrèw = ∅ `yà:
   truth=it.is Emph
   ‘It’s definitely the truth!’ [2005.1b.05]

19.4.4 Clause-final ga

The tone of this emphatic particle is spread from the preceding word-final tone. Following a word ending in a, ga is often pronounced [ya], with spirantization suggesting that the morpheme is cliticized to the preceding word.

Among other things, the particle is found as a mild emphatic with (direct or quoted) hortatives, imperatives, and similar constructions. In (641), the original imperatives are reported (in quoted speech) as quoted imperative verb forms.

(641) áywà [[bù:  bêrî-yî-m] mà:] well
   [[[kùlùrû l kù] îl pîrê] yá bû gá]
   [[[small.house l NearDist.Inan] îl inside] Exist be Emph]
   [dô wò-ý] wá
   [[arrive catch-QuotImprt] Quot
   ‘She said (to Lion and Hare): well, their goat kid was in that shack over there, they should go to (the shack) and take (the goat kid).’ [2005.2a.06]

In (642), a polite request (or suggestion) is phrased as an imperfective verb.
(642)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nàfà}:^1  & \text{ ì } \text{ tégé-} w \quad \text{kù kày, } \text{ á O,} \\
\text{value}^1  & \text{1PlSbj speak-Ppl.Ipfv.Inan} \text{ Def Top, ah O,} \\
\text{[bàrì béré-} w \quad dè} & \text{[dèm→ bàrì-} w \quad gā]} \\
\text{[add can.Ipfv-2SgSbj if]} & \text{[a.little add.Ipfv-2SgSbj} \text{ Emph]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The usefulness that we talked about. Ah, O [vocative], if you-Sg can add (anything), you will add a little.’ [2005.1a.17]

gā can also be used with indicative verbs, though it is less common here than kòy. In (643), gā seems to mark the building of suspense.

(643)  

\[
\begin{align*}
ló \quad \text{bànğı-yí-} w, & \quad \text{sí-yé-yè,} \\
go \quad \text{hide-MP.Ipfv-2SgSbj,} & \quad \text{go.down-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj,} \\
júwágìn-è \quad gá, & \quad \text{fyà \quad wó-} m, \\
\text{know-Ipfv-Neg.3PlSbj} \text{ Emph,} & \quad \text{again catch.Ipfv-3SgSbj,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You-Sg will go hide (yourself). They (=birds) will come down, they don’t know (=are not wary), it (=trap) will catch (a bird) again.’

Examples in the sample text: C’s turn in (663), and line 2 of (685)

19.4.5 Clause-final ‘(not) at all!’ particles (péy, pès)

The interjection-like ‘(not) at all!’ particle at the end of a clause or phrase is péy, or its iteration péy-péy. It may occur at the end of a negative predication, or it may be used by itself as a negative answer to a yes/no question.

(644)  

\[
\begin{align*}
a. \quad \text{bòlú} \quad \text{mirë-rí-∅} \quad \text{péy} \\
\text{rain(n)} \quad \text{rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj} & \quad \text{not.at.all} \\
\text{‘It didn’t rain (or: hasn’t rained) at all.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b. \quad \text{Q:} [\text{ù: } \text{l mà: dá:}] \quad \text{bòlú} \quad \text{mirë-} w \\
\text{[2P] \text{Dat around} rain(n)} \quad \text{rain.fall.Pfv-Stat.3SgSbj} & \quad \\text{‘Has it rained in your-Pl area?’} \\
\text{A:} \quad \text{péy-péy} \\
\text{not.at.all} & \quad \text{‘Not a bit.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A variant pès is also in use. Cf. fès in Fulfulde.

One may also use the emphatic adverb sóy ‘everything’ with a negative predicate, as in sóy mirë-rí-∅ ‘it didn’t rain at all’.

19.5 Greetings

The general verb ‘greet (someone)’ is pò-:líf, which ends in a transitive suffix that is also used as a causative and inchoative suffix allomorph. The noun ‘greeting’ is pò:. The verb phrase ‘reply to a greeting’ is pò: só (with verb só ‘reply’).
Time-of-day greetings and their responses are in (645). The -nì in the plural-addresssee version of some greetings can be identified with plural imperative -ni ~ -ǹ. The reply form ó.: has protracted dying-quail intonation.

(645) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>greeting (G)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. náyⁿ</td>
<td>‘good morning-Sg’</td>
<td>morning to 11 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náyⁿ-nì</td>
<td>‘good morning-Pl’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná: kɔ̀</td>
<td>(reply, archaic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó.:</td>
<td>(reply preferred by younger speakers)</td>
<td>(náyⁿ is irregularly related to verb ná- ‘spend night’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. pô:</td>
<td>‘good day-Sg’</td>
<td>11 AM to dusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pô:-nì</td>
<td>‘good day-Pl’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó.:</td>
<td>(reply)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. dêrⁿ-ýⁿ</td>
<td>‘good evening-Sg’</td>
<td>after sundown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dêrⁿ-ýⁿ-nì</td>
<td>‘good evening-Pl’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dêrⁿúwⁿá:</td>
<td>(reply, archaic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó.:</td>
<td>(reply preferred by younger speakers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stems náyⁿ (645a) and dêrⁿ-ýⁿ (645c) have a fairly clear (to native speakers) connection with the verbs ná- ‘spend night’ and dêrⁿé ‘spend the mid-day’, respectively. The apparent -ý suffix here is most likely the quoted imperative suffix -y (§10.5.7), which is used in indirect commands. Given the time references, (645a,c) are retrospective, referring to the time period already past.

Greetings of the ‘good night!’ variety (i.e. ‘may you have a good night’) are prospective.

(646) jînjà [lèsù wò] í: ná:-wⁿi-ýⁿ
God [good in] 1PIObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt
‘May God have us spend the night in goodness!’

The formal Arabic greeting, generally used among adult men, and in Muslim prayer, is àsálámú-àléykùm (or variant). The response is wà-àléykùm àsálám (or variant). The verb phrase ‘pronounce the Arabic greeting’ is sàlâm sàlmé (including the cognate nominal), sàlám gàyⁿ (with gàyⁿ ‘put’), or just sàlmé (the latter contains Fulfulde causative -ins-). Other Arabic exclamations include àlhámdùrùlâ:y ‘God be praised!’, and the invitational expression bisîmîlà ‘in God’s name’ (inviting someone to e.g. share a meal).

There are also some situation-specific greetings based on the location the addressee is in (if associated with a regular task or work), or is coming back from. The greeting phrase begins with the noun denoting the location (‘well’, ‘fields’, ‘market’, etc.).

(647) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>greeting</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>at or coming from…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ìrⁿːpô:</td>
<td>‘hello-Sg in the field’</td>
<td>field(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìrⁿːpô:-nì</td>
<td>‘hello-Pl in the field’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó.:</td>
<td>(reply)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b.  tá: pó: 'hello-Sg at the well'  well
    tá: pó:-nî 'hello-Pl at the well'
    ó.: (reply)

c.  dúyɔ̀-rù pó: 'hello-Sg at pounding'  pounding place
    dúyɔ̀-rù pó:-nî 'hello-Pl at pounding'
    ó.: (reply)

d.  ëwá: pó: 'hello-Sg at market'  weekly market
    ëwá: pó:-nî 'hello-Pl at market'
    ó.: (reply)

ó.: (in all contexts) has a variant àwá→. In work contexts, birá→ is used by older speakers as a response to pô: greetings.

An alternative greeting to someone in a field is [á yá→] [ɔ̀rɔ́: yá→], literally ‘you-Sg and (the) field(s)’. The plural-addressee equivalent replaces 2Sg pronoun ù with 2Pl ì:. The greeting construction ‘you and X’ that this illustrates is common in regional languages including Songhay. Another alternative in the same situation is pô: birá→.

The initial greeting and its response may be followed up by any of a variety of additional greeting formulae. Some of these are more current in, and probably borrowed from, other languages, like ñsé: (Bambara), jâm ‘peace’ (Fulfulde and Jamsay), jâm sày ‘only (= nothing but) peace’ (Jamsay, the source of the language name). Another follow-up, not (to my knowledge) borrowed, is kànjà-kànjà ‘peace’.

jâm ‘peace’ and sè→w, another term vaguely meaning ‘well-being’ or the like and confined to greetings, occur in phrases like (648) in these greeting sequences. Those with jâm may be borrowings from Jamsay.

(648)  a.  sè→w  bù-w
               well.being  be-2SgSbj
          ‘Are you well?’

          b.  jâm  dèrɔ̀-è-w
                      peace  spend.day-2SgSbj
          ‘Has your day been (spent) in peace?’

          c.  jâm  ná-w
                      peace  spend.night-2SgSbj
          ‘Did you spend the night in peace?’ (= 'Did you sleep well?’)

The reply to jâm ná-w" is jâm sày ‘peace only!’.

‘Excuse me!’ (e.g. after accidentally bumping someone) is kàwrù kày" or just kàwrù. Here kày" ‘do’ is imperative. The response is kàwrù bà-rí-∅.

On either of the two major Islamic holy days, and at marriages, the formulaic wish (649) is uttered.

(649)  jìnì  [nànglì  ëjìrè]  í:  cé-ri-ỳ
             God  [next.year  ³face]  1PObj  show-QuotImprt
          ‘May God show us the face of next year!’
The formulaic A-B sequence in (650) is exchanged among persons who meet where condolences are offered to the bereaved survivors of a departed one.

(650) A: \[[ťįnjē \text{l} \text{bīrē}] \text{l} \text{pāy}^\text{\textla} \text{pō}:nī]  
[[God \text{l} \text{work(n)}] with] greeting-Imprt.2Pl  
‘Greetings to you on the occasion of God’s doing!’
B: \text{ā:}\.  
[reply]  
A: \text{māynī \text{ēr}^\text{\textla} \text{yā:pā-nī}}  
take.courage 3SgObj pardon-Imprt.2Pl  
‘Take-2Pl heart and forgive him/her (the deceased)!’
B: \text{yā:pē-\text{ā}:}  
\text{ā:}  
pardon.Ípfv-1PlSbj [2Pl and] 3SgObj pardon-Imprt.2Pl  
‘We pardon (him/her). And you-Pl too, pardon-2Pl him/her!’
A: \text{yā:pē-\text{ā}:}  
pardon.Ípfv-1PlSbj  
‘We pardon (him/her).’

Some other greetings are in (651). \text{jām} ‘peace, well-being’ (< Fulfulde) is a common element in greetings in all local languages.

(651) greeting gloss situation

a. \text{jiŋjē ū jē:-\text{∅}}  
   \text{jiŋjē ū: jē:-\text{∅}}  
   \text{ā:}:  
   ‘God brought you-Sg!’ arriving traveler  
   (reply)

b. \text{lō jäm ḏō}  
   \text{lō jâm ḏō-nī}  
   \text{āmī:nā}  
   ‘go arrive-Sg in peace!’ departing traveler  
   ‘go arrive-Pl in peace!’  
   ‘amen!’ (reply)

c. \text{jiŋjē jäm ū ḏō-li-\text{∅}}  
   \text{jiŋjē jâm ū: dō-li-\text{∅}}  
   \text{āmī:nā}  
   ‘may God deliver you-Sg in peace!’ (= b)  
   ‘may God deliver you-\text{Sg in peace!’}  
   ‘amen!’ (reply)

At a leave-taking, (652) may be uttered.

(652) \text{jiŋjē jirē-[yī-\text{∅}] pādē-\text{∅}}  
   \text{God \text{ē} \text{eye} L-[\text{see-VblN}] God.\text{bring} .\text{about-QuotImprt}  
   ‘May God grant (= bring about) (our) seeing (each other again)!’

A representative greeting sequence occurs in (653) at the beginning of the sample text.
This is text 2005.2a.08, which like my other BenT texts was recorded in 2005. The live-burial sacrifice of Yasumoy (yà-sùmɔ́y ‘woman–…’) is central to the ethnohistory of the village, and a shelter near her burial site and dedicated to her memory is still maintained (it was formerly the site of an annual celebration). The text includes some song segments in Jamsay. The beginning consists largely of a long greeting sequence. Speakers C and B were older men, S was a younger assistant who served as interviewer and animator. In each segment, the BenT text is organized into lines with interlinear translation underneath; each entire segment is followed by an italicized free translation (which however seeks to capture the phrasing of the original rather than idiomatic English), then in square brackets [ ] any relevant comments and/or references to grammar sections.

The founding of Beni and Yasumoy’s sacrifice

(653) S: ́u: bê:n àŋ̄yⁿ=∅ èw-yè
2Pl Beni how?=Foc sit-MP
C: hà: B dêrⁿ-ê-yⁿ
well B spend.day-(greeting)
B: dêrⁿuwⁿá:
spend.day(greeting)
C: jâm dêrⁿ-ê-wⁿ
peace spend.day.Pfv-2SgSbj
B: jâm sây
peace only
C: hénjâ:n dêrⁿ-ê-wⁿ
greeting spend.night.Pfv-2SgSbj
B: jâm sây
peace only
C: [fì l. nú:] së:w dêrⁿ-ê-bô
[1PIPos ‘person.Pl] well.being spend.day.Pfv-3PlSbj
B: àlhâmdûrûllâ:y praise.to.God
C: [bâ:s l. kâ:”] dêrⁿ-ê-t’-∅
[trouble l. any] spend.day-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
B: jâm sây
peace only
C: tà:rê:yò: Fine
B: jâm dêrⁿ-ê-wⁿ
peace spend.day.Pfv-2SgSbj
C: jâm sây
peace only
B: [ú kórò:jù] jâm dèr"è-bà
[2SgPoss family] peace spend.day.Pfv-3PlSbj
C: jâm sày
peace only
B: [bà:s kà:"] dèr"è-\-r\-'\-∅
[trouble any] spend.day-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
C: jâm sày
peace only
B: tâ:→rê
Fine
C: àwá:
Fine
S: You-Pl, how did Beni get settled?
C: B [vocative], good evening.
B: Good evening to you.
C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
B: Only peace.
C: Have you spent the daytime in good health?
B: Only peace.
C: Have our people (=kin) spent the daytime safely?
B: Praise God.
C: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
B: Only peace.
C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
B: Only peace.
C: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?
C: Only peace.
B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
C: Only peace.
B: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
C: Only peace.
B: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?
C: Only peace.
B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
C: Only peace.
C: Fine.
B: Fine.
C: Fine.

[several greeting expressions are formulaic and the translations given are rough (e.g. “Fine”), see §19.5 for general treatment; dèr"úw"à: and héńjàń are archaic, no longer used by young people; 2Sg dèr"é-\-w\-a ‘spend night’ used after jâm ‘well-being’ is perfective, but shows the lexical /LH/ melody, cf. §10.2.1.2; speakers B and C have distinct 3Pl perfective suffix allomorphs -bà and -bɔ̀]

(654) B: bisímlà
please
C: háyà wó:di yà
well yes also
B: [úsúrí wój=ǹ yè:-rə-ŷː]
[question in]=Acc come-Prog-1PlSbj
C: nhùnh
uh-huh
B: áywà ī: bè:nì kù→, [3r"à: kà:"] gò=ǹ́
well 1Pl B Def, [place Rel] go.out=and.SS,
[ŋ̀gú-rù yě = á, [ŋ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ nù] kà:] ł: éw-yé-w kù,
here come=and.SS, [place L Rel] 1PISbj sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
[[InnanPoss H_news] [2Sg Dat] get.Pfv-1PISbj if] want.Pfv-1PISbj

C: jà:ti
exactly

B: å: [nù L dîy-a] [jînjë H lâw] = ∅ dê [å: L lâw] = ∅
2P1 [person L big.Pl] [God ltrust]=it.is Emph [2P1Poss ltrust]=it.is

B: Please.
C: Well, all right.
B: We are coming (=because of) a request.
C: Uh-huh.
B: Well, we (people of) Beni, the place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in
which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.
C: Exactly.
B: You-P1 the old people, it (=telling the story) is entrusted to God and it is
entrusted to you-P1.
[accusative =ní after nonsubject constituent other than direct object §8.2; relative
morpheme kà:] §14.1.10; =ní ∼ =ń same-subject subordinator §15.1.8; nù L dîy-a ‘old
people’ in collective without adjectival animate plural -yê, §4.5.1; [jînjë H lâw] = ∅ [å:
= ∅ is a common but somewhat opaque formulaic phrase, with noun lâw ‘trust, act of entrusting’]

(655) C: [jînjë H lâm-nà:m] Hlâtâw = ∅,
[[God Almighty] Hlttrust]=it.is,
[bê:n L órú-mò: kú kày],
[B H door Def Top],
[jînjë H lâw] = ∅ [å: L lâw] = ∅,
[God ltrust]=it.is [2P1 ltrust]=it.is,
ɡà: dìs; m̀ände gö = ní, ...
but Dogon, M go.out=and.SS, ...

B: wódì
yes
C: … bunúgòy yêy, [[mà: H lòs] dîmbì-yì-mù yà →’]
… group two, [[dry H road] follow-MP.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl and]
[[nì: H lòs] dîmbì-yì-mù yà →]
[[water H road] follow-MP.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl and]

B: wódì
yes
C: [kù H lúnnúgòy yêy kú],
[DiscDef H Group two Prox.Inan],
â: káwá-w kù
3ReflPISbj separate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def

B: wódì
Yes

C: It’s entrusted to Great God. The opening (‘doorway’) of Beni, it is entrusted to
God and it is entrusted to you-Pl. But the Dogon, leaving Mande…
B: Yes.
C: ... two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).
B: Yes.
C: Those two groups, they separated.
B: Yes.

[dimbi-yì-mù imperfective participle for animate plural (archaic allomorph, usually dimbi-yu with zero suffix; ä: 3Reflexive plural marking coindexation of relative-clause and main-clause subject §18.2.3; kàwà-wi perfective participle with inanimate head §14.1.6.1]

[plâwù yà] [kàwrà yôy] kàwà-bò [again too] [division two] divide.Pfv-3PlSbj
B: wò:dì
yes C: [nê: kày] tâ:n là:tè:-rè-Ô, [now Top] three become.real-Pfv1a-3SgSbj, äyàwà, äyà-în àyî-în yè=nî, yes, take-Lpv take-Lpv come=and.SS,
[û yì:-rî ầ ngû] ù: [bè:nì i nû:], [2SgSbj see-Prog.Ppl Prox.Inan] 2Pl [B i person.Pl],
[dày'å i nû-w'å] [way'å PlSbj go.in.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
[màndè à: gô-û], [M 3ReflPlSbj go.out.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
B: nà:m
yes C: éw-yé-în éw-yé-în yè múñwil
sit-MPv sit-MPv come Ì
B: múñwil, wò:dì
M, yes C: The ones who followed the water route, again they separated into two divisions.
B: Yes.
C: Now they had actually come to be three (groups). That went on. Eventually, this (village) that you-Sg see, you-Pl the people of Beni, how we came in (here), (how) they left (=came from) Mande.
B: Yes.
C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil (village).
B: Munwil. Yes.

[âyî-în äyî-în (and éw-yé-în éw-yé-în) backgrounded imperfective clause §15.2.1.1; ü yì:-rî ngû ‘this that you see’ with participle tone-dropped before demonstrative ngû §14.1.9, participle here in animate plural form perhaps referring to population (of village); dáy’å heading a manner adverbial clause §15.2.3; “Mande” refers to the Mande Empire of Sundiata in southern Mali]

(657) C: múñwil, kù=i nî, núîw’åy wò’t, nî, DiscDef=it.is and, now [B i family.name 1in],
M, DiscDef=it.is and, now
kà:gò́y mò̀rògò́y, kà:-kùn-wà-nàm bà,
Kagoy Morogoy, mouth-be-in?-difficult Quot,
sènèrè-isè-bèrè-Ø wà,
S-village-get.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot,
[fà-n = ì: lòrò-Ø mà]
[man-HumSg=Foc be.pregnant.Pfv-3SgSbj Q]
[je-n = ì: lòrò-Ø mà]
[wò:di íyé yà dèyà-wì]
today M Exist be.set.down.Stat-3SgSbj
B: wò:di
yes
C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and)
Morogoy. Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth, Sengere-get-the-village, Is-it-a-boy-
that-she-is-pregnant-with-or-Is-it-a-girl-that-she-is-pregnant-with? The pregnan-
belly-rip knife is set down (=exists) even today in Munwil.
B: Yes.
[ní phrase-finally not after a verb is here glossed ‘and’; patronymics kà:gò́y and mò̀rògò́y
are common in Beni; kà:gò́y is here etymologized as Jamsay kà: ‘mouth’ plus gò́-y
‘going out’; other complex phrases here are traditional formulae uttered by griots,
including Jamsay phrases; for kà:-kùn-wà-nàm cf. Jamsay kà: kùn ‘it is in (the) mouth’
and nàm ‘difficult’; stative yà dèyà-wì ‘it is set down’ §10.2.1.10]

(658) S: [mùnwił kù] [bèlè1 án-dá:] = mâ
[M Def] [side1 where?] =it.is
C: [mùnwił kù] [wà:lè lò:-rè-wì dè]
[M Def] [W go.Pfv1a-2SgSbj if]
[mùnwił lò-wì]
[M go.Pfv-2SgSbj]
B: wò:di pà:mé-ýn
yes understand.Pfv-1PlSbj
C: áywà [(kù hì mùnwił kù) wòj],
well [(DiscDef hì M Def) in],
[fyè hì ìsù kàlà] [pò: kù] yà dèyà-wì,
[today hì day also] [knife Def] Exist be.set.down.Stat-3SgSbj,
B: wò:di
yes
C: fyè [(ùrò kù) wòj],
today [[house Def] in]
[àsùwè1 ìm = Ø] dùmdò:-m = Ø mà,
[boy1 who?=Foc] last-AnSg=it.is Q,
[pùmèrè dà:-m dè]
[ritual.ground arrive.Ipfv-3SgSbj if]
[fyè kàlà] [pò: kù] dàriyí-wì dè]
[[today even] [knife Def] carry.on.shoulder.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
3SG=Foc ritual.ground go.Ipfv-3SGSbj

B: wō:dì

yes

C: kū = m̀ lèrìlèrì-kúréyé [pò: kū] = m̀

DiscDef=it.is LLK [knife Def]=it.is

S: That Munwil, it’s in the area of where (=in what area)?

C: That Munwil, if you-Sg have gone to Walo, you-Sg will go (on) to Munwil.

B: Yes, I understand.

C: Well, in that Munwil, even today, the knife is set down (=exists).

B: Yes.

C: Today in the house, who(-ever) is the last boy, when he goes to the ritual ground, even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it’s he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.

B: Yes.

C: That is the knife of Leri-Leri-Kure.

[‘ritual ground’ is the area at the edge of the village where the population assembles during major holy days; the youngest boy from the founding family of the village carries the knife to the ritual ground; locative postposition wō H-toned after definite kū §8.4.2; ām = Ø ‘who/which is it?’, i.e. ām plus ‘it is’ (=focus) clitic; dàriyì-̀ dè clause with -̀w dè §15.2.1.2]

(659) B: bày [lì: nù: kū néy”],

so [1PIPoss person.Pl Def now],

[∂àŋyà” [ŋ∑ay”] kàwà=m̀,

[how [1Inst] separate=and.SS,

[∂gbàm kù] kàrá àw-yè-bà]

[a certain Def] K sit-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj

[∂gbàm kù] [yàlì [wò]] àw-yè-bà

[a certain Def] [Y [1in] sit-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj]

C: áywà, kàrá gò-m̀ kù yà→ …

yes, K go.out.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def and …

B: wō:dì

yes

C: … áywà, ñgú-dá: yè-m̀ kù yà→ … yes, around.here come.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def and

B: nà:m

yes

C: [nàr”à tùw”ò”’s] [bɔ: tùw”ò”]

[mother one] [father one]

B: jā:ti

exactly

B: So, those people of ours now, how did they separate? One settled in Kara, (the other) one settled in Youli.

C: Well, the one who left Kara, …

B: Yes.

C: … yes, and the one who came around here, …

B: Yes.
C: ... one mother, one father (=they were full brothers).
B: Exactly.

[definite kù sometimes H-toned kù before an NP-final particle §6.7; gām ~ gambú ‘certain one(s)’ repeated to denote two parallel subsets §6.3.2; Kara and Youli were villages near Beni; perfective participle with -ḿ for animate singular head NP §14.1.6.1; ṣgú-dá: ‘around here, this way’ §4.4.2.1; NP conjunction with repeated ya→ §7.1.1]
= nì different-subject subordinator §15.1.10; plural bè ~ bé §6.6; [XIRDjósù]Pwò ‘next to X’ §8.4.6]

ô yè,
B: wò:dì
ô yè,
C: [Ịrọ̄dáñà yà→] [tèy Lsàw yà→] cêm] [territory and] [language trust and] all
[Ị[bè:n lônù] nà→ wò] bù-∅
[[B lperson.Pl just] in] be-3SgSbj
B: jà:tì, pà:mè-y.: kòy
ô yè,
C: Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chiefhood.
B: Yes.
C: Up until today, it’s our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.
B: Yes.
C: Both the territory and the entrusting of the words are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.
B: Exactly. We understand.
[Ị... bè:] = ∅ focalized form of plural bè §6.6; = ∅-bọ̀ ‘they are …’ §11.2.1.3; NP-final nà→, slightly emphatic ‘just’ §19.3.4]

(662) C: [bè:n dá:] yè:-rè-∅ dè, [B around] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, mòrọ̀gòy’, ẹ̀kà:gòy kù = m bù-∅
M(name), K(name) DiscDef=it.is be-3SgSbj
B: wò:dì
ô yè,
C: [òwà:lè kù] wò, à:wàndù’, mé:má
[W Def] in, A, M
B: mū: bè yèy
Prox.An Pl two
C: bù = m kásárù’, ọ̀dùro: yá
3Pl=it.is K, O and
B: wò:dì
ô yè,
C: ì [kày] ì:ngù = m L-HIL jàwọ́
[1Sg Top] Prox.Inan=Focal 1SgPoss. ILknowledge

312
C: When it came to Beni (village), Morogoy and Kagoy (patronymics), that’s what there was.

B: Yes.

C: In that Waló, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).

B: These two.

C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).

B: Yes.

C: As for me, this is my knowledge (=what I know).

([mú: bê ‘these’ §4.4.1, here followed by a numeral ‘two’; júwɔ́ 1Sg possessor form of júwɔ́ ‘knowledge’, whose basic possessed form is also júwɔ́ with overlaid HL tone]

(663) B: [[3:ðúró: kù yà→], [kásárú kù yà→ yà]
[O Def and], [K Def and also]
[[nà́rá: tùw*5] [bɔ́: tùw*5]] gùy*n-bɔ́
[[mother one] [father one] say.Pfv-3PISbj
báy [kù yà] áŋŋá=m=ĩ mà
so DiscDef also how=it.is Q

C: áywà, ü: [bɛ:n 1nù:] ŋgòy bù-w. ãà
yes, 2Pl [B 1person.PI] here’s be-2PISbj Emph,
[kù kày] [jìnje 1sàw*] = Ø [ü: 1sàw*] = Ø kòy
[DiscDef Top] [God 1trust]=it.is [2PILoss 1trust]=it.is Emph

B: [i kála dê:] [kɔ: 1yà:] i nù-w Bí déy]
[1Sg also if] [thing there 1SgSbj hear.Pfv-Pl.Indan if]

B: That Oduro and that Kasaru too, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said.

C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.

B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) is ….

[presentative ŋgòy ‘here’s …’; clause-final emphatics ãà §19.4.4 and kòy §19.4.1; object relative (§14.3) with ‘thing’ as head and preverbal subject pronominal; final déy seems to be a variant of dè ‘if’ (sentence cut off)]

(664) S: wày, [[á má:] kárá:-rè nà→]
grandpa, [[3Sg QuotSbj] be.independent-Pfv1a just]
ló-m-dó-Ø gùy*n-Ø,
go-lpfv-Neg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[[kárá:-rè kù] hill kòy] ŋjë: = Ø
[[be.independent-Pfv1a Def] hill meaning] what?=it.is

C: kárá:-rè kù,
[be.independent-Pfv1a Def,
[[i dê:] [[u yì:-rà-w Hill ŋgú→]
[[[1Sg Top] [2SgSbj see-Prog-Pl.IndanSg Hill Prox.Indan]
[doorway Hill inside] be.independent-Pfv1a Hill meaning]
ŋù-jè-w tân,
hear-RecPfv-2SgSbj if,
ή [[nù Hill áw-sò-ló-m]] = m-ì
1Sg [person accept-Reslt-Neg-Ppl.AnSg]=it.is-1SgSbj
B: är’á-m tàngí: repl
man-AnSbj become-Pfv1a-3Sbj

C: [nù:-m gu=ná”] ìlè-w [kà”]-lù
[person-AnSbj for other-Inan thingl any]
[ì] inílì-ìn] bóy yà: ìlùó-lù
[1SgSbj get.up.lpfv-1SgSbj] all there not.be-3Sbj, kù =m kàrá: repl,
Inan=it.is be.independent-Pfv1a-3Sbj

B: pà:me-w”ù-w”
understand-Pass-3Sbj

C: á”há” uh-huh

S: Grandpa, he said that he had kàrá-ed and he wouldn’t go. What is the meaning of that (word) kàrá?

C: That kàrá, if you-Sg have only heard (=understood) the meaning of “I whom you see here have kàrá-ed (=am independent) in a household (=family), I am a person who has not consented (=who has refused).”

B: He has become a man.

C: There is no longer anything of people saying “I will get up because of someone (else).”

B: Is it understood?

C: Uh-huh.

[wá:y ‘grandpa’ (vocative); the contextual sense of the verb kàrá- (homophone and folk-etymological source of village name kàrá) is explained to the younger speaker S, viz. ‘(man) become independent (e.g. of his parents)’, i.e. after moving to his own household and no longer being required to take orders; (Topical?) particle dè: after a pronoun is typical of this speaker; noun kàrá ‘meaning’ here is possessed by the preceding factive-quotative phrase; ñjè: =Ø ‘it is what?’ §13.2.3; pìrì ‘inside’ §8.4.3; tàn ‘if’ §16.2.2; -sò-ò- negative of resultative -sò- §11.5.1, here in participial form §14.1.6.3; ìlè-w is adverbial ‘otherwise, further’ (here, as often), §4.5.1; bóy for wóy ‘all’ after a nasal, §6.8..1; passive -wù-w §9.3]

(665) B: [ì kàlàn i ìlè-w” déy,
[1Sg also] lSg hear.PfV-Ppl.Inan if,
[kàrá kù] wó,
[K Def] in,
[gá:m kù] yà: dìwò-bò,
[Def certain] there leave.Pfv-3PI.Sbj,
[gá:m] kà”-lù
[Def certain] get.up.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl
[ì] inílì-mà
[Rel certain] kù,
[ì] inílì-mà
[Def, get.up.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl]
[[ònìjì-m yà→] [dìrè-m yà→]
[[younger.sib-AnSbj and] [elder.sib-AnSbj and]
ìnìlì-mà kù,
get.up.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def,
[[3PI lQuotSbj] [Y lIn] come=and.SS] sit-MP-3PI.Sbj Quot

C: jà:ti exactly
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is), in Kara, they left some (people) there. Some (others) who got up, the younger and elder brothers who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).

C: Exactly.

[relative morpheme kà:* after tone-dropped head NP §14.1.10; perfective participle with suffix -mà for animate plural head NP §14.1.6; conjoined NP ‘X and Y’ not tone-dropped as relative head NP §14.1.3]

(666) B: [yâli 1wò] yè=nì] bú: òw-yè=nì,
[Y 1in] come=and.SS 3PlSbj sit-MP=and.DS,
áywà [érê= kù] [dèrê-m kù],
yes [3Sg Def] [elder.sib-AnSg Def],
dännà-m =Ø bà,

C: [3ReflSgSbj go.down-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[úfi 1wò] sòrô á làwà-wì,
[forest 1in] penetrate.through 3ReflSgSbj pass.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[íurì kù wò yè útil=ni [érê= kày=ni,
[Imountain Def in] come go.up=and.SS 3SgSbj do=and.DS,
[bòlò: kù] èrê=tín=ni,
[below Def] 3SgSbj look=and.DS,
[áywà yà: [tèmbèrù 3ReflSgSbj] good be-3SgSbj very,
C: já:ti

B: When they came and settled at Yuli, well, he the elder brother, he was a hunter, it is said. The hunter kept going around. He got up and went down into the valley (=bottom) of Oloy, he went through the dense forest and emerged on the other side. He came and went up the rocky slope. When he looked down, (he saw) the place was pleasant, it was very good, the place (=land) for them to farm was good.

C: Exactly.

[yàrá=mì repeated as background durative §15.2.1.4; èndêm→ expressive adverbial §8.6.7; adjectival predicate with bû- ‘be’ §11.4.1; nonspecific 3Pl subject -yè in compounds §5.1.9 and §14.1.6.2]
á mǎ-ùⁿ̂t,
3RefSgSbj make.brick.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[([tàngyá]⁴ ṅgú]³ wọ] á dǔwɔ̌-w kù⁴,
[([sidé]² Prox.Inan] in 3RefSgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
ìnjírì = ní, lọ [á ǹọ̀njọ̀-m] tẹ́mbù-ɔ́, get.up=and.SS, go [3RefSgSbj hi-younger.sib-AnSg] find.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[ònjọ̀-m kù] á tẹ́mbù-ù wù, [younger.sib-AnSg Def] 3RefSgSbj find.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
áywá tèrèw = Ø wà, yes truth=it.is Quot,
[á mà:] ọ́rú kú-dá: yá yi-so-ù wà, [3RefSg QuotSbj] place there.DiscDef Exist see-Reslt-Ppl.Inan Quot,
ọ́rú⁴ lọ́w-yé-yè kú-dá: place⁴ sit-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj there.Def
yá yi-so-ù wà, Exist see-Reslt-Ppl.Inan Quot,

B: On top too, an excellent place for them to settle. When that had taken place, well, he made (=molded) one brick there, he left it on this side. He got up and went, and found his younger brother. When he found his younger brother, he said: it's true, he had seen a place over there, when he had seen a place to settle over there. [jìyé]-elsewhere means 'kill' (or 'be noisy'), here it occurs at the end of a chain in a kind of emphatic function; kú-dá: 'around there (discourse-definite)' §4.4.2.1; yì-so-ù is an L-toned version of yì-so-ù, participle based on resultative -sò- §14.1.6.5]

(668) B: ér̥é fọ̀ȳ̂ = ní,
3SgSbj say=and.DS,
[ònjọ̀-m kù yà] á sá-ù kù dè, [younger.sib-AnSg Def also] 3RefSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
[á ǹọ̀dérè] lì mà, [3RefSgPoss hi-elder.sib] lì Dat,
[núwɔ̌⁴yù káy] [á dùwɔ̌ tì = này]⁴ [now Top] [3RefSgSbj leave Perf=then.SS]
lọ́-rè-y wà, ér̥é mà:] lèmdè-ɔ́, go-Hort.Neg.3rd Quot, [3Sg Dat] beg.Pfv-3SgSbj,
š: wà, [bù: bù nè] [bù: bù nè] [bù: bù nè], okay Quot, [3PlSbj be while] (repetitions)
[ònjọ̀-m kù kálà] [ùsù tǔwɔ̌̂-3-m] [younger.sib-AnSg Def also] [day one]
yárá-ìn yárá-ìn á yé-ù kù dè, walk.around-Ipfv [repetition] 3RefSgSbj go.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
[é́r̥é kálà] [3ŕ̥3 kù] yì-ɔ́, [3Sg also] place Def] see.Pfv-3SgSbj,
ṣè~ á tìn̓f-ù̊ kù, direct.look 3RefSgSbj look.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,

B: When he had spoken, the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: now, he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (=younger) now. He pleaded with him. He (=elder) said, all right. They continued to be there. The younger brother
too, one day, when he was walking around and he came (there), he too saw the place, he had a good look at it.

[sâ- 'reply', in context also 'speak up (in a conversation or debate)'; 'to his elder brother' is a postverbal PP, typical of afterthought additions; -w kù dè §16.1.2, perfective linker tí (here in tí = náy"), §15.1.11; QuotImpr negative -ré-y' §10.5.7; bù nè, see end of §15.2.1.2]

(669) B: [[á 3ReflSgSbj] sà-w] [sâ-] [sá-w] [mà:] [hl elder.sib] [l Dat]
á sá-w kù dè,
3ReflSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
[[[ɛ́ ré-m] térèw tégè-ǹ] bà] [HL]
[[SgSbj QuotSbj] truth speak.Ipfv-3Sgs Quot]
[ɛ́ yé-yè QuotSbj ësú]
[placeL sit-MPL good]
[ɛ́ yé-yè guyⁿ-rà-w kù].
[placeL 3SgSbj say-Prog-Ppl.Inan Def]
[á má: [áyà] áyà: dà-w mà: kàlà] [HL]
yà: dàs-w mà: yà: [HL]
[LogoSgSbj QuotSbj also] today there.Def arrive.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Quot,
áywà [ǹgú náy"], ìnjúrì=ǹ [[[usú tìw"5-m]"],
yes [Prox.Inan Inst], get.up=and.SS [day one],
[à, yé-yè] yà: yè-bà,
[3RefPl two] there.Def come.Pfv-3PlSbj
B: He said to his elder brother: he (=elder) was speaking the truth; the good place for settling, the place that he (=elder) had spoken of; he too (=younger) had arrived there this day. Well, with (=after) that, the two of them got up one day and came there.

[ɛ́ yé-yè (tone-dropped by the following adjective) is probably haplographically elided from ɛ́ yé-yè 'a place to sit (=settle)'; ò occurs in this passage both in logophoric function §18.2.1 (lines 1, 4, 6, the latter plural to include the brother) and to express coindexation of the subject of a nonsubject relative clause with the main-clause subject §18.2.3 (line 2)]

(670) B: yà: bù: yé-rè',
there.Def 3PlSbj come-before,
[[dèrè-m kù] [á 3SgSbj] sè-dè] dìwó-tì=O]
[[elder.sib-AnSg Def] [3ReflSgPoss "marker" leave-Pfv1b-3SgSbj]
{kù = m [kásárù [hl nù-m] = O kù = m],
Inan=it.is [K hl person-AnSg]=it.is Inan=it.is,
[èrèéné hl sè-dè kù] yà: tèmbù-wù=O,
[3SgPoss hl marker Def] there find-Pass-3SgSbj,
[[ìdú-y kù kày"}] gà"-m-dò-y kòy],
[[go-VblN Def Top] put-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj Emph]
[èrèéné hl sè-dè kù] yà: tèmbù-wù=O,
[3SgPoss hl marker Def] there find-Pass-3SgSbj,
hà: [kù này"],
well [DiscDef Inst],
B: Before they came (=arrived) there, the elder brother left his marker. It’s he who is the person of Kasaru (neighborhood). His marker was found there. I won’t put (=recount) the going (away). His marker was found there. Well, with that he spoke up: that place, the sky is claimed, the earth is claimed. With that, he recuperated (=went back to) the place.

[‘-tè’ ‘before’ §15.2.1.6; -tì- perfective-1b §10.2.1.5; sé-dè ‘marker’ denotes a sign that lays claim to land; nì̀r’ayò: is a semantically obscure word (cf. nì̀rán far-distant demonstrative) used in the context of claiming land]

(671) B: [kù̀-dá: lo] [ā:] ₁ñinjè
[around.there.DiscDef go] [₁ReflPPIPoss ₁gear]
ā: bārà-w kù dè,
3ReflPISbj gather.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
infra = nì, aywà yè = ní, urbò cèwè-bò, get.up=and.SS, yes come=and.SS, house build.Pfv-3PISbj,
[ùrò cèwè = nî] yà: bù: bù nè,
[hause build=and.SS] there.Def 3PISbj be while,
awà lòyò-r à:, kù-kòsù, snake overflow-Pfv1a-3PISbj, RdP-viper,
kù-kòsù lòyò-r à:, kòwò-tì:: dé wà,y ó
RdP-viper overflow-Pfv1a-3PISbj, bite-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all,
ni:-[tègìr-i:] sò-ò-ô, he!,
antivenin have-Neg-3SgSbj, hey!,
[ŋgù kày]
[Prox.Inan Top]
dày nl dà:yi-m wò́y [wà, ìgò-ô wà]
[way be.suitable.0Pfv-Ppl.Inan all] not.be-3SgSbj Quot,
B: They (=two brothers) went and gathered up their baggage over there (at Yuli). They got up, well, they came and built a house. They built a house and were (living) there. Snakes were plentiful (there). Vipers, vipers (Echis spp.) were plentiful (there). If it (=viper) bites, there is no antidote. Hey, there is no way for that (place) to be suitable.

[‘overflow’ is commonly used in the sense ‘be/do a lot’, §8.6.2; ni:-[tègìr-i:] ‘antivenin, antidote (for snakebite)’ is a somewhat frozen compound containing nì: ‘water, liquid’ and the verbal noun of tègìrì ‘revive, breathe life back into (sb on the brink of death)’]

(672) B: [kù yà] [ā:] ₁màr]
[Inan also] [LogolPl ₁QuotSbj]
dà:-wò dèrò ŋgù-dá: égorie m bá,
a.little move.over this.way go.up-Hort Quot,
[kù Hl wa:yà:tù] [kù Páy],
[DiscDef Hl time] [Inan Inst]
B: That being the case, (they) said: let’s move up a little this way (to the rocky shelf above the ravine). At that time, then, this whole area was just a flat rocky shelf. There was no soil. Well, at that time, they came and built a house there on the shelf. They built (it) and they were (living) there.

[logophoric plural including singular speaker and an addressee; náŋàà: ‘entirety’ (possessed form) and sóy ‘entirely’, §8.6.7.5]

(673) B: yà: kálà bèy, 
there.Def also well,
áywà wá:jíbí pèyí pègè-r-á dé, 
yes necessity post implant-PfvNeg-3PlSbj if,
pèyí pègè-r-á dé wày, 
post implant-PfvNeg-3PlSbj if all,
[[‘[ŋ] mè yè] [[‘[ŋ] mè ́wà] nùm bù-Ø wà, 
[[place Def] [[‘[ŋ] mè-mp] difficult be-3SgSbj Quot,
áywà wò bè-r-Ø dè, 
yes in(that) remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[‘[ŋ]-dùrò [‘[ŋ]-bòŋò] ñ sà-wù kù dè, 
[O owner] 3RefSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
[[‘[ŋ]-bòŋò [‘[ŋ]-mà:] ];
[K owner] LDat]

B: (They) said: there too, well, necessarily, if they haven’t performed the sacrifice, if they haven’t performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult (=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=/from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one from Kasaru (=elder brother).

[pèyí pègè ‘implant a post’ here denotes a sacrificial ritual, described below; ́wè-yè ‘sit’ here functions as a noun and takes possessed-noun {HL} tone overlay; ́wò for [kù wò] ‘in that’ or the like; compound with ‘owner’ §5.1.7]

(674) B: wá:jíbí [pèyí kù] ́wà =m pègè-rë bà kòy, 
necessity [post Def] 3Sg=it.is implant.Lpfv-3SgSbj Quot Empth,
sàbù [[[‘[ŋ] là-jè:] tùlù] wò], 
because [[[place claim-RecPf behind] in]
[pèyí ́wà =m pègè-rë] bà, 
[post 3Sg=it.is implant.Lpfv-3SgSbj] Quot,
[[‘yà-gùrò kà:] írù gò célé = ŋ bù-Ø]]
[[woman-young Rel] breast go.out be.good=and.SS be-3SgSbj]
Exactly.

[C: When he said that he would bear the burden, the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill the girl (first) and then stick her in the hole; (instead) in life (=while she was alive) they would dig the spot until it (=hole) became deep; they would put her there (=in the hole), until it reached this level, and they would cover (her) up; the village would get its well-being (back).

B: (Younger brother said:) He (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice, because after (=since) he (=elder) was the first to claim the place, he (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice: a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed), she was healthy. (Elder brother said:) well, now, that being the case, he (=elder) bore the burden (=responsibility) of performing the sacrifice.

[subject focus construction with invariant 3Sg subject -m §13.1.1; sàbù ‘because’ §17.5.2.1; possessor relative ‘a young woman whose …’, this passage discussed in §14.4; [X hi tìlu] wò ‘after X’ §8.4.8]
(676) B: èsú bù:-Ø wà,
good be-3SgSbj Quot,
[á bù:-ùrò ŋ̀ jàm]
[LogoSgPoss father-house Prox.Inan] well-being
bì-bèrè-ò dé wòy,
Rdp-get.Ipfv-3SgSbj if all,
[á kálà] [kù kù] kù:-dù:
[LogoSg also] [Inan Def] head-load
dù:-jè: wà,
carry.on.head-RecPf Quot
hà: [ŋgù ná:y], èrè:kásá:rì yá:-yi-m kù = nì,
well [Prox.Inan Inst], 3Sg K woman-child-AnSg Def=Acc,
[yà-sùm:ù:yù] tà:yù kù wò,
[Í[kù Def] in]
yà: = nì èrè: pègè-bà
there.Def=Acc 3SgObj implant.Pfv-3PlSbj
C: já:tì
exactly
B: [kù ná:y=ni], bè:nì bèrè èw-yè:-Ø,
[Inan Inst=Acc], B get sit-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[ìyé ìsù kálà] [kù wò] bù:-yì:
[today day also] [Inan in] be-1PlSbj
C: já:tì
exactly
B: He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get well-being, he would bear the burden (head-load) of that. After that, she the girl of Kasaru, in the Yasumoy shed, there [focus] they stuck her in.
C: Exactly.
B: It was after that [focus] that Beni was able to be settled. Even today, we are in it.
C: Exactly.
[ŋ̀] reduced from ŋgú proximal inanimate demonstrative, §4.4.1; reduplicated imperfective §10.2.2.2; accusative =nì with direct object, then again with focused yà: ‘there’ §8.2; bèrè ‘get’ as nonfinal verb in chain means something like ‘acquire (the means) to …’

(677) B: [ŋgú gày= → nù-yù, [kù yà]
[Prox.Inan like] hear.Pfv-1SgSbj, [Inan also]
[jìnì jà:sù=Ø dé:] [ú kálà] [ú sàw] = Ø
[God trust]=it.is if] [2Sg also] [2SgPoss trust]=it.is
C: [[jìnì ìyà-nà:m] sàw] = Ø, áŋày=ì
[[God Almighty] trust.]=it.is, thus=it.is
B: nà:m
yes
C: jìnì i: sû:rè-ù
God 1PlObj preserve-QuotImprt
B: ámì:n
amen
D: [á ná:-wⁿ-ýⁿ kù] gũⁿ-ðⁿ
[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt Def] say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan

C: ³ⁿáh≤, á ná—,
uh-huh, LogoSgObj spend.night—,
[á ná:-wⁿ-ýⁿ] ³ⁿáh≤
[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt]
ɛ́rⁿ é gũⁿ-ðⁿ kù
3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def

B: é: kú áy d³-b³
yes Inan take burn.Pfv-3PlSbj

C: húyé, [á ná:-wⁿ-ýⁿ] well, [LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt]
ɛ́rⁿ é gũⁿ-ðⁿ kù
3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def

B: já:tì
exactly

C: húyé, kú kú=m well, Inan Inan=it.is

B: já:tì
exactly

B: I learned (it) like this. That too, it is entrusted to God (and) it is entrusted to you-Sg.
C: It is entrusted to great God. It is thus.
B: Yes.
C: May God preserve us.
B: Amen.
D: She told them to visit her (i.e. pay respects at her burial site).
C: Uh-huh, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
B: Yes, they took and burned it.
C: Well, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
B: Exactly.
C: Well, that is it.
B: Exactly.

[‘burned (=roasted) it’ may refer to a later animal sacrifice; QuotImprt -ý §10.5.7; verb ná:-wⁿ is morphologically the causative of ná:- ‘spend the night’, but its normal sense is ‘say good-morning to, greet (sb) in the morning’, and by extension ‘pay respects to (deceased person)’, i.e. at their burial location, perhaps annually]

(678) C: [tùwⁿ₃-m kù ³ⁿ-mː"]
[one-AnSg Def ³ⁿQuotSbj]
ú yì:-r₃-ô₃ ñgú]
[2SgSbj see-Prog-Ppl.Inan¹ Prox.Inan]
[kù tégé-ð₃ kù ³ⁿ-mː"]
[Inan speak.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def ³ⁿQuotSbj]

B: wó:dì
yes

C: jéngúː-ð = ∅ bà
heal.Agent-AnSg=it.is Quot
C: One person, this (thing) that you-Sg see, the one who (had) said that.
B: Yes.
C: He said, he was a healer.
B: He was a healer.
C: A healer.
B: Yes.

[jongu-m ‘healer’, uncompound agentive §4.2.4]

(679) C: [ép=e=m=n] kárá:kinÉ: kú=m
[3Sg=Foc=Acc] K Inan=it.is
B: kárá:kiri: kú=m, ép=e=m jongu-m=∅
K Inan=it.is, 3Sg=Foc healer-AnSg=it.is
C: è→
yes
B: wó:dì, wó:dì
yes, yes
C: àm’á kú yà-sùmõy”=m,
FarDist.Sg Def Y=it.is
hayà [yår kóró:-rẽ-∅ tån]
well [sky dry.up-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
[á ná:-w”-y”n] wà
[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt] Quot
B: wó:dì
yes
C: It’s he [focus] who was Karakinde [name].
B: Karakiri, that was it, it’s he [focus] who was the healer.
C: Yes.
B: Yes, yes.
C: The other one was Yasumoy. She (=girl) had said (before being buried): as soon as
the rains ended (=after the harvest), they should greet (=pay respects to) her.
B: Yes.
[ép=e=m=n] with focus =m plus, apparently, accusative =nì in focalizing function;
focalized subject (topic) of ‘it is’ predicate, end of §13.1.1; yàrú ‘sky (esp. cloudy, rainy
weather)’ occurs in collocations denoting seasonal transitions, §11.1.4]

(680) C: [[á ná:-w”-i”-y”” kú] III nì] wò,
[[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt Def] III cause] III in]
lyé [kú III dàw”a kú] yè:-rẽ-∅ dé,
today [DiscDef III matter Def] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
áywà ñjé:=∅ kú=m,
yes what?=foc Inan=it.is
C: Because of that (request) that they greet her, today if (the time for) that matter (=paying respects) has come. What is that?

B: Exactly.

[This song fragment and the following longer song excerpt are in Jamsay; the final quotative wá, here and below, is arguably external to the song proper]

(681) C:

[song:] kárá:kíndé: úŋgúró wá,  
yá yà-sùm ō yⁿ  
yà-sùm ō yⁿ hà:hây wá  
yà-sùm ō yⁿ hà:hây  
púlɔ̀-kómò lè: [bɛn lɛ] sá: kómò wá

C:

[song] Karakinde, get up!  
We are going, we are coming.  
Karakinde, get up!  
Yasumoy, hah-hey!  
Yasumoy, hah-hey!  
In the war of the Fulbe, the reply is by tomtoms.

(682) B: já:ti, té→ áŋpayⁿ=tū kòy,  
exactly, exactly thus=it.is Emph,  
[[ŋgû gâyⁿ→ té→] nū-ŷⁿ.:]  
[[Prox.Inan like exactly] hear.Pfv-1P]  
[[nû¹ diyⁿ kû] hín’ô:] kû=n  
[[person¹ big.Pl Def] hî’mouth] Inan=Acc

C: [ŋgû gâyⁿ→] giyⁿ-bò  
[Prox.Inan like] say PfV-3P

B: insá:la:w ërë jíyê-tû [nûwⁿyⁿ kày]  
if.God.wills 3SgSbj kill¹-Hort [now Top]

D: ɔ̀ Lg ɔ̌n lè sà: ɔ̀ Lg ɔ̌n  
matter¹ short-Inan, matter¹ short-Inan

B: nà:m  
yes

B: Exactly. It’s just like that. We heard (it) just like that, (from) the mouth(s) of the old people.

C: They said (it) like that.

B: If God wills, let him (=the linguist) kill (i.e. turn off the tape recorder) now.

D: A short matter, a short matter.

B: Yes.

[kû=n] might alternatively be analysed as definite and bracketed with the preceding NP; já:ti and té→ are both glossed ‘exactly’ but já:ti is often a one-word utterance that confirms the truth of another speaker’s statement, while té→ emphasizes the preciseness
of an identity, measure, etc., and may co-occur with the relevant NP, §8.6.3.3; hortative -nì with third-person subject §10.5.6]

(683) D: áywà [mégé mégé [yà-m kù] dỳǝ̃ ēr⁴⁶ = nì

yes [more more [woman-AnSg Def] abject 3Sg=Acc [dỳǝ̃ nl ñà:*] tàngú-ǝ̃ [yà-sùmɔ́y nì kù],
[way nl Rel] become.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] [Y Def]

B: wò:dì

yes

D: áywà, nù-m yà: nù:-rè-Ø dè,

yes, person-AnSg there go.in-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[ówá kù] kùwò-[jìy-ì:],
[snake Def] bite-[kill-VblN],
kù núm-dó:-rè-Ø nì
Inan difficult-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj (?)

B: wò:dì

yes

D: Well, the way the woman came to be more abject, (namely) Yasumoy.
B: Yes.
D: Well, if a person goes in there (=Beni), the snake’s biting and killing, that (=living)
became difficult (=intolerable).
B: Yes.
[dỳǝ̃ denotes an impoverished (abject, miserable) and socially very low status;
kùwò-[jìy-ì:] consists of the simple verbal noun jìy-ì: ‘killing’ with a preceding chained
verb stem kùwò- ‘bite’ in {L}-toned compound initial form, see §15.1.1; núm-dó- ‘become difficult/expensive’ is pronounced [nùmndó] or even [númnǿ]; another case of clause-final nì with no clear function, §15.1.10]

(684) D: áywà térió = Ø wà,

yes truth=it.is Quot,
ìsè: [bù: t̂ kà:*] = Ø gùⁿ-yè,
village [3PIPoss ³thing]=it.is say.Ipfv-3PISbj,
bù: = mì là', iyà [bù: ³mà:] [[ìsè: kù] = nì,pirè].
3PI=Foc claim.Pfv, again [3PI ³QuotSbj] [[village Def] inside]
núwⁿy[^3] kày] [péyí pégé-ì-n-è]
[now Top] [post implant-Lpfv-Neg.3PISbj]
[nù: = nì òwà kùwò jìy-yè]
[person.Pl=Acc snake bite kill.Ipfv-3PISbj]
[[kà:* nù:]] nù: dè:-w-yè]
[[³thing ³any] person.Pl be.tired-Caus.Ipfv-3PISbj]
[bù: mànì-ì nè]
[3PISbj laugh-Lpfv now]
[[tò: lò-mà dè] mànì-yè]
[[pond go.Pfv-3PISbj if] laugh.Lpfv-3PISbj]
[dùyⁿ₄rù mànì-yè]
[pounding.place laugh.Lpfv-3PISbj]
[bù: bògùrù-ì nè],
[3PISbj make.hubbub-Lpfv now],

325
D: Well, it’s true, they (=you) say that the village belongs to them; it was they who reserved (=first claimed it); again, they in the villages, they aren’t performing the sacrifice now; (therefore) the snakes are biting and killing people; various things (snakes etc.) are wearing (the) people out; they (=people from other villages) are mocking (them); if they go to a pond (to draw water), they (=others) are constantly mocking (them); they (=others) are mocking (them) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they are constantly making a hubbub (=gossiping).

[This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people (at the time) about the latters’ failure to make a sacrifice; -m né clause (with ‘laugh/mock’), §15.2.1.2; perfective ló-mà ‘they went’ §10.2.1.2; the ‘pounding place’ is a spot at the edge of the village where women congregate to pound millet grain spikes with oversized mortars and pestles]

(685) D: [kú náy”] =nì [á bɔ̀] mà:] [DiscDef Inst=Acc [3ReflSgPoss father] 3Dat]
dìyɔ̀=∅ gà] abjectness=it.is Emph
[[á mà:] wò] pége-ý wá,
[[LogoSgPoss head] in] implant-QuotImprt Quot,
yàr gô-ːrê-∅ dé wôy,
sky go.out-Pfv1-3SgSbj if all,
[[í tìwè kù] yɔ-ː] wá]
[[LogoSgPoss death Def] weep-QuotImprt Quot]
fìrê-ːrê-∅ wá],
[forget-NegImprt-QuotImprt Quot]
[ér”“ má:] áŋjáy” guy” “ wà!,
[3Sg QuotSbj] thus say.Pfv Quot,
B: jàtì jàtì pá:mé-w”–w” n,
exactly exactly understand-Pass.Pfv-3SgSbj,
tè→ áŋjáy” sèlì-∅,
exactly thus be.healthy.Pfv-3SgSbj
[núw”ý” kày] ér”é ji” “ júw”ɔ-m
[now Top] 3SgSbj kill proceed-Hort
D: kú=mì
Inan=it.is
D: It was in that (situation) that she (=girl) said to her father, it’s an abject situation; they should implant her on her head (=bury her alive as a sacrifice); (later) when the rainy season was over, they should weep for her death; they must not forget. She said (=spoke) like that.
B: Exactly, exactly. It (=what you say) has been understood, it is healthy (=valid)
exactly like that. Now, let him (=the linguist) proceed to turn it off.
D: That is it.
[júw”ɔ-five’ in a chain with the sense ‘proceed to’ §15.1.13]
Abbreviations and symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>accusative (in 1SgAcc), §6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>agentive nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>advanced tongue root (vowel feature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BenT</td>
<td>Ben Tey language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant (in e.g. CvCv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>causative, §9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Char</td>
<td>characteristic (nominal derivative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>dative, §8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Def</td>
<td>definite, §4.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det</td>
<td>determiner (demonstrative or definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>discourse-functional elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimin</td>
<td>diminutive, §4.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiscDef</td>
<td>(strong) discourse-definite, §4.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist</td>
<td>distant, in NearDist and FarDist (demonstratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>different-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>expressive adverbial, §8.4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emph</td>
<td>emphatic (clause-final particle), §19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exist</td>
<td>existential particle, §11.1.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExpPrf</td>
<td>experiential perfect, §10.1.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fact</td>
<td>factitive ('cause to become' with adjective), §9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foc</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>(delayed) future, §10.2.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>high (tone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hort</td>
<td>hortative, §10.6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprt</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch</td>
<td>inchoative ('become' with adjective), §9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>instrumental, §8.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipfv</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iter</td>
<td>iteration (full reduplication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>low (tone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo</td>
<td>logophoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>mediopassive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>noun (in interlinear glosses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf</td>
<td>perfect (in ExpPf, RecPf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfv</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>possessor, possessive (kè), §6.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>postpositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ppl</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pss</td>
<td>possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pron</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prox</td>
<td>proximal (demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proh</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purp</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QTop</td>
<td>interrogative topic ('what about X?'), §19.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quot</td>
<td>quotative particle, §17.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QuotSbj</td>
<td>quotative subject particle, §17.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recip</td>
<td>reciprocal, §18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refl</td>
<td>reflexive, §18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel</td>
<td>relative clause (verb participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev</td>
<td>reversive (verb derivation, §9.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sbj</td>
<td>subject (in e.g. “2PlSbjbj”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFoc</td>
<td>subject-focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject (subordinator)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Symbols

* reconstructed
# ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested
á, à, ā, ã, ã, ã̂ tones on vowels (or syllables), §3.7
š, š, š, š̂, š̃, š̄ tones on vowels (or syllables), §3.7
<...> a) contour tones on a single syllable, e.g. <HL> and <LH>
b) false starts in texts (omitted from translations), e.g. (665)
/.../ a) lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/, /H/
b) underlying or lexical representation, e.g. /gàrà/
{...} a) tone overlay, e.g. {HL}, {H}, {L}
b) enclosing any set, e.g. {u a l}
[...] a) phonetic (IPA) representation, e.g. [bű:] b) downstep
[...]^+ {L} tone overlay controlled by an element to the right, §6.1.4
[...]^+H like preceding but with extra H-tone on final syllable/mora
[...]_[H, [...)]{H} or {HL} tone overlay controlled by a possessor to the left, §6.2.1
[...)]{L} on demonstrative or numeral in certain combinations, §3.7.3.5, §4.6.1.4
→ “intonational” prolongation of final vowel or sonorant, §3.8.3
∴ dying-quail terminal intonation effect, §3.8.4
= clitic boundary, §3.6
& conjunction (in interlinear, e.g. X.& Y.& ‘X and Y’)
Index

sections:
1) prosody (tones, intonation)
2) Ben Tey morphemes
3) grammatical terms

1. Prosody (grammatical)

1a. Local grammatical tones

floating L-tone docking at left edge of noun for 1Sg possessor, §6.2.2
local L-tone added at right edge
prosodically heavy verb stems
    imperative stem (often with final vowel shifting to a), §10.5.2

b. stem-wide grammatical tones

{L} overlay
nominal initial in some compounds
ordinary noun-noun compounds, §5.1.1
incorporated noun in agentive and verbal-noun compounds, §5.1.2-3
possessed NP after unquantified, undetermined L-final possessor, §6.2
tone-dropped nouns etc. before a tonosyntactic controller, §6.1.4
noun or adjective before adjective, §6.3.1
noun, adjective, or numeral before demonstrative, §6.5.2
head NP in relative clause, §14.1.1
participle before demonstrative, §14.1.9
adjective
    predicative adjective before stative negative =rá-, §11.4.4
verb
    unsuffixed perfective, §10.2.1.1
    verb before perfective negative -trí-, §10.2.3.2
    verb before stative negative =rá-, §10.2.3.4
    verb stem before hortative -nú, §10.5.6
    verb stem before same-subject future sequential =núy”, §15.1.9
bù- ‘be’ (if we take it as lexically H-toned)
    after locational expression without existential yá, §11.2.2.2
\*\{HL\} overlay\*
realization of trisyllabic lexical \{HL\} as HHL, HH<HL>, or HLL, §3.7.3.2
nouns
possessor-controlled overlay on possessed noun, §6.2
possessive-type compounds, §5.1.6
adjectives
comparative form of adjective, §12.1.1
final in bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.1
numeral
final in bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.2
verbs
imperfective verb iterated as ‘while’ clause, §15.2.1.5
verb stem in reduplicated perfective, §10.2.1.9
verb stem in reduplicated stative, §10.2.1.11

\*\{LH\} overlay\*
realization of trisyllabic lexical /LH/ as LLH, LL< LH>, or LHH, §3.7.3.2
deverbal agentive nominal, §4.2.4, §5.1.3
as animate imperfective participles in subject relatives, §14.1.6.2

\*\{H\} overlay\*
prosodically light verb stem (Cv-, CvCv-)
in imperfective, §10.2.2.1
in imperative stem, §10.5.2
bù- ‘be’ (if we take it as lexically L-toned)
after existential yá, §11.2.2.3

c. intonation (and “intonation”)
dying-quail final intonation
1Pl and 2Pl pronominal-subject suffixes, §3.8.3
prolongation of final syllable
lexically built-in, §3.8.2
terminal intonation, §3.8.1
2. selected Ben Tey morphemes

[“v” represents a variable vowel]
[œ follows e, ơ follows o, ɛ and ɲ follow n]

-∅, suffix
- animate plural suffix
  on noun, §4.1.1
  on relative-clause imperfective
  participle, §14.1.6.2
- inanimate suffix on noun, §4.1.1
- ∅(L-toned), ‘it is’ clitic with
  inanimate noun, §11.2
-ā, logophoric singular and 3Sg reflexive
  pronoun, §4.3.1, §18.1-2
-ā.; logophoric plural and 3Pl reflexive
  pronoun, §4.3.1, §18.1-2
-ā-, frozen initial in a few nouns, §4.1.6
-ā: ~ -yà, 3Pl subject suffix allomorph,
  §10.3
- perfective-1a -á-yà and perfective-1b
  -:r-à:, §10.2.1.5
- recent perfect -j-à:, §10.2.1.8
- perfective negative -r-à, §10.2.3.2
- -ā;, in animate plural perfective Neg
  participle -r-à:, §14.1.6.7
  abádá, ‘never’, §8.6.7.3
-ām, interrogative
  ‘who?’; §13.2.2
  ‘which?’; §13.2.8
- ā-mān, ‘so-and-so’, §4.1.4, §13.2.9
-ān, ‘where?’, §13.2.4
- ān-dá: ‘be where?’, §13.2.4
- āngóy ‘where?’, §13.2.4
- āngóy: ‘how?’, §13.2.6
- āngóy”, ‘like this/that’, §4.4.2.3
- āngú, ‘how much/many?’, §13.2.7
- āngú, ‘which?’; §13.2.8
- āsú, ‘always’, §8.6.7.3
- āwú, ‘receive, consent’
- complement of ‘consent’, §17.3.3
  bā-, ‘be equal to’, §12.2.2
  bā→, ‘equally’, §12.2.4
  bāndé, topic, §19.1.1
  bāri-, ‘help’, §17.4.2
  = bāy, ‘while’, §415.2.1.2
  in complement of ‘see’, §17.2.3
  bāy”→, ‘many’, §4.5.1
  ɓê, ‘remain’, §11.2.6.1
  causative ɓê-wù-, §10.1.3.5
  -mò bê, ‘be really true that’, §15.2.7
  ‘become’ after expressive adverbial,
  §8.6.7
  ɓé (see ɓê)
  ɓé plural
  of noun, §4.1.3, §6.6
  of demonstrative, §4.4.1
  linear position in NP, §6.1.1
  linear position in relative clause,
  §14.1.8
  lengthened and H-toned ɓé: before
  some postpositions, §6.6
  H-toned ɓé
  before dative and ‘all’, §6.6
  before ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.1
  ‘and’, §7.1.2
  in relative clause head NP, §14.1.3
  ìíl ɓélè ɗ wò, complex ‘beside’ postposition,
  §8.4.9
  = bê-~ = bê-, past clitic on verbs, §10.4.1
  with adjectival predicates, §11.4.4
  participle = bê-ùn, b-ùn; ɓê-ùn,
  §14.1.6.8
  in counterfactual conditionals, §16.5
  b-ɛːn, animate plural participle of ɓù- ‘be’,
  §14.1.6.3
  bêrê-, ‘get’
  ‘be able to’ with chained complement,
  §17.4.2
  bérkèlày, ‘between’ postposition, §8.4.11
  ìíl bòlò ɗ wò, complex ‘under’ postposition,
  §8.4.10
  -bɔ́ ~ -bɔ́, 3Pl subject suffix allomorph
  with perfective, §10.2.1.1
  attested once with recent perfect,
  §10.2.1.8
  stative -w-ɓɔ́, §10.2.1.10
  with imperfective and progressive,
  §10.2.2.3
  with ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.3, §11.2.1.6
  bɔ́, ‘father’, §4.1.3
  bòŋjɔ́ ~ bɔŋjɔ́ ‘owners’, §5.1.7
  compounds (X bòŋjɔ́), §5.1.7
bù-, ‘be’ (locational-existential), §11.2.2-3
in relative clause, §14.1.6.3
bù- with adjectival predicate, §11.4.1
bù-, bù:-∅ (also homophonous to bù- withhold)
bù:, definite plural, §6.7
bù:, 3P1 pronoun, §4.3.1
bù:-∅, 3Sg form of bù- with adjectival predicate, §11.4.1
bù- withhold (homophonous to bù-), inanimate participle of bù- ‘be’, §14.1.6.3
célë, ‘do well’, §8.6.4.1
célë, ‘liver/heart’
in emotion expressions, §11.1.4
cêm ~ cèw ‘(all’ in Jamsay)
re duplicated or iterated in sense ‘equal(ly)’, §12.2.3
at the end of complex conditional antecedents, §16.3
cs k, ‘exactly’, §8.6.3.2
= dá, variant of = rá in = rá = dá ‘it is not’, §11.2.1.4-5
-dá: ~ -rá:, in adverbs ‘around here/there’, §4.4.2.1
in ‘where?’ interrogative, §13.2.4
dá:, in túlú dá: ‘in the rear’, §8.6.6.3
dá-, in cardinal direction terms, §8.6.6.3
dá:-wóy, ‘all’, §6.1.1, §6.8.1
dá:-rí-, ‘dare’, §17.3.6
dá:-wó, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
dá:n, ‘manner, way’
dá:n as head of manner adverbal clause, §15.2.3
in embedded manner interrogatives, §13.2.11
in quasi-purposive clause, §17.5.1.2
dé, clause-final adnotive particle, §19.4.2
de (no intrinsic tone), clause-final particle
‘if’ particle, §16.1
-fì dé, ‘while’, §15.2.1.2
-w kù dé, alternative perfective construction, §16.1.2
-w dé, future sequential, §16.1.2
dém–, ‘straight’, §8.6.7.1
déy”, ‘apart’, §8.6.7
dé, ‘get tired’
alternative perfective dé–, §10.2.1.3
dé: in prolonged-action construction, §15.2.1.4
dé after verb with lengthened final vowel, §15.2.1.8
dém–, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
déngéy, ‘because of’, §8.5.2
in ‘because’ clause, §17.5.2.3
-dó– (see -m-dó–)
dógúrú, ‘time’
in ‘when?’ questions, §13.2.5
hi, dósú l wó ~ l dósú l wó, complex ‘close to, near’ postposition, §8.4.6
dì-, ‘arrive, reach, attain’
in comparatives, §12.2.5
dúmdú:, ‘last’ (adjective), §4.7.2.1
dúmdú– ~ dúmdú:, ‘finish’, §17.4.1
dúw–, ‘leave’, §15.1.4
‘cease’ with complement clause, §17.3.7
-dý–, variant of -ré– suffix after m
reversive, §9.1
transitive, §9.4
inchoatives, §9.7
-é:n ~ -é:n animate plural
3P1 subject
resultative -s-é:n, §10.2.1.1
b-é:n, ‘they are’ with adjective predicate, §11.4.1
‘they have’ s-é:n, §11.5.1
animate plural relative-clause participles (agree with head)
b-é:n, from bù– ‘be’, §14.1.6.3
s-é:n, from só- ‘have’, §14.1.6.3
é:ré, 3Sg pronoun, §4.3.1
èsi–, ‘a lot’, §8.6.2
‘well’, §8.6.4.1
ga (no intrinsic tone), clause-final particle, §19.4.4
gà:, ‘but’, §19.2.2
hi, gálú l wó, complex ‘between’
postposition, §8.4.11
gám (see gámbo)
gámbo ~ gám, ‘some, certain (ones)’ or ‘sometimes’, §6.3.2
gà:l, ‘prevent’, §17.3.3
gày”–
‘like, similar to’, §8.6.1, §12.2.1
‘approximately’, §8.6.3.1
‘as though’, §15.2.6
gàw⁶, ‘put’, §10.1.3.6
verbal noun, §4.2.2
gàt⁴n, in imperfective, §10.2.2.1
fixed collocations, §11.1.5
-gàt⁴, minor allomorph of verbal
derivational suffixes
causative, §9.2.2
factive (of adjective), §9.7
denominal verb, §9.8
gì: (see gòy⁶)
gìn ~ gìn ~ gùn ~ gùni
purposive postposition, §8.5.1
in purposive clause, §17.5.1.3
in sense ‘because of’, §8.5.2
in causal (‘because’) clause, §17.5.2.2
gì-náy⁶n ~ gù-náy⁶n
used like purposive postposition, §15.1.9
ò̀yì gì-náy⁶n ‘why?’, §13.2.3
in negative purposive clause, §17.5.3
-gùn, nominal suffix
nonhuman characteristic denominal
suffix after [L]-tone, §4.2.1
gòɔ́ɔ̀s⁶ - ‘be capable of’; §17.4.3.2
gò-òló, ‘take out’
retains LH tones in imperfective, §10.2.2.1
gùn (see gìn)
gùñí (see gìn)
gù-náy⁶n (see gì-náy⁶n)
gòy⁶n ~ gì:⁶, ‘say’, §11.3.1 (see also gìn, gi-náy⁶n)
gù = ní ~ gi = ní, same-subject
subordinator
gùt⁴n, in imperfective, §10.2.2.1
dativic recipient, §11.1.1
quotative clause, §17.1
gì = náy⁶n, in negative purposive clause,
§17.5.3
hál, ‘until, all the way to’, §15.2.5
háyà, ‘well’, ‘(discourse marker), §19.2.1
l, 1Sg pronoun, §4.3.1
r, 1Pl pronoun, §4.3.1
-li: ~ (rarely) -iy, deverbal and instrument
nominals, §4.2.3
cognate nominals ending in í or y,
§11.1.5.1
-li: ~ -y, verbal noun suffix, §4.2.2
verbal-noun complements, §17.3
ílì-rí, ‘remember’ (un-forget), §17.3.9
íllá ~ úllá, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
iré, ‘forget’, §17.3.9
irèw, ‘be better/more’, §12.1.3
íyá, ‘again’, §8.6.6.1
íyé, ‘today, nowadays’, §8.6.6.1
já: imperative of jé: ‘bring’, §10.5.2
já:tí, emphatic, §19.4
with demonstrative adverbs, §4.4.2.2
já:w⁶n, ‘normal, right’, §8.6.4.2
jé-nójó, ‘while continuing’ clause, §15.2.1.4
jé-ní, recent perfect, §10.2.1.8
as chained verb, §10.2.3.2
jé-ní: ‘bring’, §10.1.3.4
alternative perfective jé-ní: ~, §10.2.1.3
jé-ní in imperfective, §10.2.2
imperative já:, §10.5.2
jéy, in a purposive construction, §17.5.1.4
jì-jé →, ‘go along with’, §15.1.12
jìrè ~ jìré, ‘in front of’ postposition, §8.4.7
jìré in cardinal direction terms, §8.6.6.3
jó →, ‘many’, §4.5.1
jó-ló, ‘take away’
retains LH tones in imperfective,
§10.2.2.1
jó-ròs, ‘want’
complement, §17.3.8
jùw⁶n, ‘do first’, §15.1.13
jùwó-rù, ‘know’
form of complement clause, §17.2.1
ká⁶ (see káy⁶)
ká:⁴, relative morpheme after head NP,
§14.1, §14.1.10
ká:⁴, ‘(not) any’, §6.8.3
káláh, ‘even, also’, §19.1.3
‘even if’, §16.2
káy, topic, §19.1.1, §18.2.2
káy⁶, ‘do, make’, §10.1.3.6, §11.1.6
kád⁴n in imperfective, §10.2.2.1
verbal noun, §4.2.2
variable transitivity, §11.1.6
causative of, §10.1.3.6
fixed collocations with object/adverb,
§11.1.5

334
combination with ‘how?’, §13.2.6
in different-subject construction,
§15.1.10
kòy, clause-final emphatic, §19.4.1
kó, ‘thing’, §11.5.3
kó = kòy ‘it belongs to K’.
§11.5.3
kòy, suffix on verb
kù, ‘head’
in reflexive construction, §18.1.3

kù, definite singular, §4.4.1, §6.7
linear position in relative clause,
§14.1.8
-w kù dè, ‘if’, §16.1.2
in factive complement clauses, §17.2.2

kù = mì ní ‘resuming a situation,
§15.1.8
H-toned variant of definite kù, §6.7

kù, definite singular, §4.4.1, §6.7
linear position in relative clause,
§14.1.8
-w kù dè, ‘if’, §16.1.2
in factive complement clauses, §17.2.2

kù, ‘head’
in reflexive construction, §18.1.3

mì, ‘first’, §4.7.2.1
as adverb, §8.6.6.2

láwá, ‘pass’
‘surpass’ in comparatives, §12.1.2
lè, particle after ‘say’ verb in ‘before’
construction, §15.2.1.6

-lé, prohibitive suffix allomorph, §10.5.5

ló, ‘go’
in verb chains, §15.1.5
-ló, negative, in sô-ló- ‘not have’, §11.5.1
ló, ‘just (one)’, §19.3.2

-lö (see -rö, -ró- verbal derivational suffix)
= mì ~ = ò (L-toned), ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2
with predicative adjectives, §11.4.2
as focus clitic, §13.1

-m (no intrinsic tone), animate singular
with noun, §4.1.1
with noun followed by demonstrative,
§4.4.1
with adjective, §4.5.1

-m, suffix on verb

hortative, §10.5.6
embedded hortatives, §17.1.3.2
animate singular in relative-clause
imperfective participle, §14.1.6.2

-m, suffix on verb
3Sg subject imperfective suffix,
§10.2.1.2-2
in temporal adverbial clauses
-m, variant of -mì with stative stance verbs,
§15.2.1.9
-mì without inflection, repeated for
prolongation, §15.2.1.4
-mì dè ‘while’, §15.2.1.2
-mì nè ‘while’, §15.2.1.2
-mì = bë-kù pày, ‘while was doing’, §15.2.1.3
in quotative clauses, §17.1
in complement of ‘see’, §17.2.3
in relative-clause participles
animate singular in perfective
participle, §14.1.6.1
animate singular in stative
participle, §14.1.6.4
inanimate in imperfective participle,
§14.1.6.2

ma (no intrinsic tone)
‘or’, §7.2

ma ~ mà-, yes-no interrogative, §13.2

mà, particle
-w kù mà dè, variant of -w kù dè
(perfective construction), §16.1.2

-mà, suffix on verb
3Pl subject suffix, §10.3.1
alternative form of perfective,
§10.2.1.2
with Experiential perfect, §10.2.1.7
animate plural in relative-clause
perfective participle, §14.1.6.1,
§14.1.6.4

mà, ~ mà, quotative subject, §17.1.1.1
in complement of ‘know’, §17.2.1

mà, clause-final in ‘before’ construction,
§15.2.1.6

mà, ~ mà, dative postposition, §8.3
raises tone of preceding plural bè to bè,
§6.6
‘than’ in comparatives, §12.1.1
má:n ~ -á-má:n, ‘So-and-so’, §4.1.4, §13.2.10
\[\text{wò, complex ‘on’ postposition, §8.4.5}\]
\(\text{má:yí}~\sim\text{má:yí:n}, ‘\text{want}’\)
complement, §17.3.8
\(-má:yí:\), plural-subject hortative suffix, §10.5.6
\(\text{má}dó:, ‘that (demonstrative), §4.4.1\)
\(-má:dó:, imperfective negative, §19.2.2.3\)
\(\text{3P subject } -má:n-\), §19.2.2.3
pariciples \(-má:dó:m, -má:n-\; , -má:dó:\);\)
\(\text{14.1.6.7}\)
mégè ~ mégè ‘more’, §12.1.1
\(-má:n-\), 3P subject imperfective negative, §19.2.2.3
\(\text{má:rá}, ‘\text{not want},’ §17.3.8\)
má:lù, ‘be/do/put together’
in verb chains, §15.1.6
\(\text{mó}, ‘\text{this},’ §4.4.1\)
\(\text{= mó (see = mó)}\)
\(\text{= mó}, \; -n\)
variant of \(\text{= mó (accusative), §8.2}\)
variant of \(\text{= mó (imperative plural), §10.5.4}\)
ná:, ‘authentic, entire’, §5.1.8
in compounds (flora), §5.1.8
\(\text{nà}, ‘\text{just (clause-final discourse marker), §19.3.4}\)\)
nájá: ~ nájá:, ‘entirety’, §8.6.7.5
in emphatic pronouns, §18.1.4
\(\text{ná: dù, ‘moher’, §4.1.3}\)
\(\text{= náy}, ‘\text{same-subject sequential linker in verb chains, §15.1.9}\)\)
nè, in \(-nè \; \text{or } -wè \text{ ‘while},’ §15.2.1.2\)
nè:, ‘now’ (topical), §19.1.2, §8.6.6.1
\(-nè:\)
\(-má:n-\), 3P subject imperfective negative, §10.2.3.3
\(\text{ordinal, §4.7.2.2pt}\)
with ‘how many?’ interrogative, §13.2.7
\(\text{ñgá}, ‘\text{that},’ §4.4.1\)
\(\text{ñgá:rù} ~ \text{ñá:rù}, ‘\text{there (deictic), §4.4.2.1}\)
\(\text{ñgá:rù} ~ \text{ñá:rù}, ‘\text{here},’ §4.4.2.1\)
\(\text{ñgò}, ‘\text{not be (locational-existential), §11.2.2}\)\)
\(\text{ñgú}, ‘\text{this (inanimate), §4.4.1}\)
\(\text{= ní} \sim \text{= ní}, \; \text{same-subject linker in verb chains, §15.1.8}\)
\(\text{= ní} \sim \text{= ní}\)
accusative, §8.2
lengthens and tone raises preceding plural \(\text{bè}, §6.6\)
compatible with focalized object, §13.1.2
different-subject in chains, §15.1.10
\(-ní \sim \text{~ ní} \text{imperfective plural, §10.5.4}\)
in prohibitive, §10.5.5
in greetings addressed to plural addressee, §19.5
\(\text{ní}, ‘\text{give},’\)
valency, §11.1.1
\(\text{ñú}, ‘\text{go in},’ \; \text{and } \text{nú} ‘\text{hear},’ §10.1.3.5\)
\(\text{homophonous in imperative, §10.5.2}\)
núw\(^{a}y\), ‘now’, §19.1.2, §8.6.6.1
\(-nú:, \text{minor inchoative suffix, §9.7}\)
páy\(^{a} ~ -náy\(^{a}\), instrumental postposition, §8.3.2
\(\text{áy}^{a}, ‘\text{place}\)
in spatial adverbial relatives, §15.2.2
\(\text{pész}, ‘(not) at all’, §19.4.5\)
péy, ‘(not at all),’ §19.4.5
\(\text{piré ~ pirè, ‘inside’ postposition, §8.4.3}\)
\(\text{= rá-, static negative}\)
with predicative adjective, §11.4.3
\(\text{stative -w = rá- formed from regular verb, §10.2.3.4}\)
with passive \(-yé-\), §4.4.2.1
progressive \(-rá = -rá-\), §10.2.3.3
with ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.4-5
pariciples \(\text{rá-rù} = \text{rá-}, §14.1.6.7\)
má:rá, ‘not want’, §17.3.8
\(-rá:, \; \text{in adverbs ‘around here/there},’ \)
\(\text{4.4.2.1}\)
\(\text{-rá:}, \; \text{progressive, §10.2.2.3}\)
= rà:, clause-final ‘when’ clause, §15.2.1.7
-ràː ~ -rè:, purposive clauses, §17.5.1.1
-rè-, perfective-1a, §10.2.1.5
-rè (uninflected) in ‘before’ construction, §15.2.1.6
-rè- ~ -lè-, prohibitive suffix, §10.5.5
in hortative negative, §10.5.7
-rè: (see -rā:, purposive)
-rī- ~ -rū-, perfective negative
L-toned after focalized constituent, §13.1.1
relative clause participles -rū-m, -r-ā:, - rī:, §14.1.6.7
-rū- (see -rī)
-rū, in deictic adverbs (‘here’, ‘there’), §4.4.2.1
-rū- ~ -lū-, derivational suffix on verb
reversive suffix, §9.1
transitive suffix, §9.4
inchoative (of adjectives), §9.7
denominal verb, §9.8
-rūv-, see -rv-
sāː, in decimal-digit compound numerals, §4.7.1.3
sābūː, ‘because’, §17.5.2.1
sāy, ‘only’, §19.3.1
sēː-to, ‘(looking) straight’, §8.6.7.1
sō- ~ sō-, ‘have’
H-toned ‘have’ with existential
particle, §11.5.1
L-toned ‘have’ without existential,
§11.5.2
relative-clause participles, §14.1.6.3
-sō-, resultative, §10.2.1.6
sōy, ‘all, entirely’, §8.6.7.5
in negative clause, §19.4.5
-tāː, experiential perfect, §10.2.1.7
tā-lī, experiential perfect negative,
§10.2.3.2
tān, ‘only’, §19.3.3
‘as soon as’, §16.2.2
tāngi, ‘become, happen’, §11.2.6.2
-tāngi ~ tān- at end of verb chain,
§10.2.1.4
tēː-to, ‘specifically’, §8.6.3.3
tēmbr-, ‘find’
complement clause, §17.2.3
-tī- ~ -tū- ~ -tī-, perfective-1b, §10.2.1.5
-tī as perfective-like linker in verb
chains, §15.1.11
-tī- (see -tī-)
tīnēm ~ tūnā, continuing action, §15.2.1.4
-tī- (see -tī-)
tū:, reciprocal, §18.3.1
tūndī-, ‘begin’, §17.3.2
tīnā, continuing action, §15.2.1.4
hl tūlũ tōw, complex ‘behind, after’
postposition, §8.4.8
tūw“aš ~ tūw“aš, ‘one’ (numeral), §4.7.1.1
ū, 2Sg pronoun, §4.3.1
ūː, 2Pl pronoun, §4.3.1
-ū, in resultative deverbal compound
finals, §5.1.10
ūllā’, a little’, §8.6.2
ūngōy, presentative, §4.4.3
ūsū, ‘sun, day’
in ‘when?’ questions, §13.2.5
possible relationship to āsū— ‘always’,
§8.6.7.3
in subject-verb collocations, §11.1.4
ū-, yī-, ‘be afraid (to)’
complement, §17.3.10
-w, suffix on verb (L-toned)
inanimate
with adjective, §4.5.1
in relative-clause perfective
participle, §14.1.6.1, §14.1.6.3-4
headless relative as adverbial
clause, §15.2.4
2Sg and 3Sg subject (homophonous)
resultative -sō-w, §10.2.1.6
experiential perfect -tā-w; §10.2.1.7
progressive -rā-w, §10.2.2.3
2Sg subject, distinct from 3Sg -ō or -m
perfective -w, §10.2.1.1
imperfective -w, §10.2.2.2
perfective-1a -rē-w and perfective-1b -tū-w, §10.2.1.5
recent perfect -jē-w, §10.2.1.8
imperfective negative -m-dō-w,
§10.2.3.3
-w dē ‘while’, §15.2.1.2
-w kū dē, alternative perfective
construction, §16.1.2
-w nɛ ‘while’, §15.2.1.2
-w, suffix on verb (H-toned)
2Sg and 3Sg subject (homophonous)
alternative perfective -w, §10.2.1.2
stative -w, §10.2.1.10-11
sɔ-w ‘have’, §11.5.1
2Sg, distinct from 3Sg -ɔ
perfective negative -rú-w, §10.2.3.2
resultative negative -sɔ-ho-w, §10.2.3.2
stative negative =râ-w

predicative adjective =râ-w, §11.4.3
stative verb =râ-w, §10.2.3.5
progressive =râ =râ-w, §10.2.3.4
‘it is’ =m̀=dá-w, §11.2.1.5
∴, 2Pl subject suffix on verb, §10.3.1

-wà, ~bà, quotative, §17.1.2
wá:jíbù, ‘must’, §17.3.5
wákàtù, ‘time’
in adverbial relative clause, §15.2.1.1
wè-, ‘from X to X’, §6.8.2
wè:y
‘a fortiori’, §12.3
‘as well as’, §7.1.3
wo (no intrinsic tone), locative
postposition, §8.4.2
lengthens and tone-rises preceding plural bè, §6.6
in prolonged-action construction, §15.2.1.5
-m wò bè, ‘be really true that’, §15.2.7
wóy, ‘each, all’, §6.8.1 (see also dá-wóy)
linear position in relative clause, §14.1.8
-wù-, verbal derivational suffix
causative, §9.2.1
in deadjectival factitives, §9.7
passive, §9.3
-ŷ suffix
1Sg subject on verb, §10.3.1
verbal noun suffix after monosyllabic stem, §4.2.2
quoted imperative (QuotImprt), §10.5.7
replaces imperative in quotations (jussives), §17.1.3.1
-ŷ, in greeting formulae, §19.5
-ŷ:, 1Pl subject suffix on verb, §10.3.1
-ŷ deverbational nominalizer (variant of -f), §4.2.3

in greetings, §9.4
QuotImprt, §10.5.7, §17.1.3.1
yá
existential
with ‘be, exist’, §11.2.2.1, §11.2.2.3
with ‘have’, §11.5.1
suppressed in the presence of focalization, §13.1
imperative of yè ‘come’, §10.5.2
yà, ‘also’, §19.1.3
ya→, ‘and’, §7.1.1
yà, ‘there (definite)’, §4.4.2.1
yà: ‘women’ (Sg yà-m), §4.1.1
yà-, yà: in compounds, §5.1.5

-yè, animate plural
with adjectives, §4.5.1
optional with imperfective nonsubject participles, §14.14.1.6.2
required in instrumental compounds, §5.1.9
3Pl subject of imperfective verb, §10.2.2.1-2
yè-, ‘come’, §10.1.3.3
yè- in imperfective, §10.2.2
imperative yà, §10.5.2
-yè, passive suffix, §9.5
yì ~ yì:, ‘child’, §4.1.2
in compounds, §5.1.4
yǐ, ‘see’, §10.1.3.5
complement clause, §17.2.3
yì-tà;, ‘children’, §4.1.2
yɔ: (Sg yɔ-m), ‘critter’ (any animate nonhuman), §11.5.3
X yɔ-m = ɔ ‘it belongs to X’, §11.5.3
-yv, verbal derivational suffix
mediopassive, §9.4
inchoative, §9.7
3. grammar

accusative, §8.2
Adjectival Final L-Tone Deletion, §11.4.1
adjective, §4.5
  syntax (in NP), §6.3
  expansions of adjective, §6.3.3
  inchoative and factitive verbs, §9.7
  adjectival predicate, §11.4
  bahuvrihi compounds, §5.2.1.1
comparative, §12.1
  ordinals, §4.7.2
  lexical tones, §3.7.1
  grammatical tones, §3.7.2.3
Adjective-Numeral Inversion, §6.4.2
  failure of adjective to control tone-dropping in Poss-N-Num-Adj, §6.2.3
adverb (see also expressive adverbal)
adverbs (other than PPs), §8.6
  adverbial clause, §15.2
‘a fortiori’, §12.3
‘again’, §§8.6.6.1
agentive, §4.2.4
  compounds, §5.1.3
‘all’ (see quantifier)
‘also’, §19.1.3
ambi-valent (see valency)
AN (aspect -negation), §10.1
anaphora, chapter 18
apocope, §§3.5.3.2
approximative, §4.4.2.2
aspect (see AN, perfective, perfect, imperfective, stative)
aspect-negation (AN) suffix, §10.1
Atonal-Syllabic-Suffix Tone-Spreading, §3.7.3.3
autosegmental, §3.7.3.1
bahuvrihi, §5.2.1
‘be’
  ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1
    in adjectival predicates, §11.4.2
  locational/existential ‘be/exist (somewhere)’, §11.2.2.2
  ‘become’ (see also inchoative)
    with NP, §11.2.6.1
    with adjective, §9.7
    with expressive adverbal, §8.6.7
  ‘be able to’, §17.4.3.1-2
  ‘because’ (see causal)
  ‘become’ (for nouns see ‘be’; for adjectives see inchoative)
  ‘before …’ clauses, §15.2.1.6
  bifurcation (of NP in relative clause), §6.1.3, §14.1.8-9
  bracketing (within NP), §6.1.4
  ‘but’, §19.2.2
causal
  postposition (‘because of’), §§8.5.2-3
  causal clauses (‘because’), §17.5.2
  causative, §9.2
  valency of, §11.1.2
CCC simplification, §3.5.4.8
  chaining (of verbs or VPs), chapter 15
  in relative clause, §14.1.7
  verbal suffix versus chained auxiliary verb, §10.1.1
characteristic nominal, §4.2.1
cliticization, §3.6
clusters (of consonants), §3.3.8
  phonological rules affecting clusters, §3.5.4
cognate nominal, §11.1.5
‘come’ (see ‘motion’)
comparatives, chapter 12
compounds, chapter 5
  agentive, §5.1.3
  nominal, §5.1
  adjectival, §5.2
  bahuvrihi, §5.2.1
  verbal noun, §5.1.2
  ‘owner’, §5.1.7
  instrumental, §5.1.9
conjunction
  of NPs, §7.1
conditionals, chapter 16 (see also pseudo-conditional)
  counterfactual, §16.5
coordination, chapter 7
  no anaphoric relationship among coordinands, §18.4
consonants, §3.3
Contour-Tone Mora-Addition, §3.7.4.1
Contour-Tone Stretching, §3.7.4.2
dative, §8.3.1
deadjectival verb, §9.7
definite, §6.7
  prenominal discourse-definite kú, §4.3.2, §6.5.1
defocalized verb, §13.1
  perfective verb, §10.2.1.1
  with existential particle, §11.2.2.1
deficitic (see demonstrative)
derminastics
  demonstrative pronouns, §4.4
  syntax (in NP), §6.5
  follow verb in relative clause, §6.1.3, §14.1.9
  demonstrative adverbs, §4.4.2
demotic verb, §9.8
Derhotacization, §3.5.4.1
determiners (see definite, demonstrative)
different-subject (see switch-reference)
discourse markers, §19.2
discourse-definite (strong), §6.5.1
disjunction, §7.2
dissimilation (see also tone polarization)
  liquid C’s in some reversive verbs, §3.5.4.5
distributive
  numerals (iterated), §4.7.1.6
  ‘each’, §6.8
  ‘do’, §11.1.6 (see káy” in morpheme index)
downstep, §3.7.4.4, §10.1.3.4, §15.1.8-9
dying-quail, §3.8.3
emphatic
  modifiers of adverbs, §4.4.2.2
  phrase-final particles, §19.4
  pronouns, §18.1.4
  ‘even’, §19.1.3
  ‘even if’, §16.2.1
existential, §11.2.2.1
experiential perfect, §10.2.1.7
expressive adverbial, §8.6.7
  intensifiers, §6.3.3.1
extent (see quantifier)
factive
  suffixal derivation, §9.7
  factive complement clause, §17.2
  ‘fear’, §9.4
  complement clause, §17.3.10
Final-Cv <LH>-to-H Reduction, §3.7.4.3
focalization, §13.1 (see also defocalization)
fraction, §4.7.3
‘from’, §6.8.2, §15.2.5
  ablative expressed by verbs, §8.4.1
‘give’ (see ní in morpheme index)
‘go’ (see ‘motion’)
greetings, §19.5
harmony (see vowel harmony)
  ‘have’, §11.5.1-2 (see also possession)
headless
  NP, §6.1.2
  relative clause, §14.1.4
hortative, §10.5.6-8
  embedded, §17.1.3.2
imperative, §10.5.1-4 (see also prohibitive)
  embedded imperative (jussive), §17.1.3.1
  imperfective
    unsuffixed imperfective, §10.2.2.1
    reduplicated, §10.2.2.2
    participles, §14.1.6
    imperfective negative, §10.2.3.3
    participles, §14.1.6.7
    in ‘while’ complement clauses, §15.2.1.1-5
inalienable, §6.2
  tonosyntax, §6.2.3
inchoative (suffixal derivation), §9.7
Initial-H-Tone Suppression, §3.7.3.4
instrumental
  instrumental postposition, §8.3.2
  instrument nominals, §4.2.3
  instrumental relative compounds, §5.1.9
  intensifier, §6.3.3.1 (see also expressive adverbial)
terrogatives, §13.2
  polar interrogative vis-à-vis ‘or’
  conjunction, §13.2.1
  embedded, §13.2.11
intonation, §3.8
iteration (of the full stem), see also reduplication
adverbs and adverbials, §8.6.8
  imperfective verbs, §15.2.1.5
iterated noun stems (lexical), §4.1.5.2

distributive iteration
numerals, §4.7.1.6

‘it is’, §11.2.1
phonology, §3.6.1
jussive, §17.1.3
kin terms
 nominal suffixation, §4.1.3
 numeral external to possessor-controlled tone overlay, §6.2.3
 supplative vocative, §3.8.3

‘know’, §17.2.1
‘like’ (see similarity)
linear order
within NP, §6.1.1
 Adjective-Numeral Inversion, §6.4.2

locative (see also spatial)
adverbs, §4.4.2
locative postposition, §8.4.2
logophoric, §18.2.1
manner (see also similarity)
manner adverbs, §8.6.5
manner adverbial clause, §15.2.3
mediopassive (verbal derivative), §9.4
metrical structure, §3.2.2
modal (see also imperative, hortative, ‘be able’) obligation, §17.3.5
‘proper, right’, §8.6.4.2

Monophthongization, §3.5.6.2
‘more’, §12.1.1
‘be more’, §12.1.3

motion and transfer verbs
use perfective-1a, §10.2.1.5
‘come’ (yɛ̃), §10.1.3.3
‘bring’ (jɛ̃), §10.1.3.4
‘go’ (lː), §10.1.3.1-2
lː = này in durative background clauses, §15.1.9
‘arrive, reach’ (dɔ̃), §10.1.3.1
in comparatives, §12.2.5
in ‘from X to Y’ construction, §15.1.9
‘go in, enter’ (mü), §3.7.1.2
‘go out’ (gô-)
in ablative function, §8.4.1
with reversives, §9.1

‘take out’ (gò-lː), §10.2.2.1
with reversives, §9.1
irregular tonal behavior, §10.2.2.1
‘take away’ (jò-lː), §10.2.2.1
irregular tonal behavior, §10.2.2.1
‘(go) along with’ (jí-jɛ̀→), §15.1.12

Nasalization-Spreading, §3.5.1.1

nasalized vowels, §3.4.2

negation
 of indicative verbs, §10.2.3
 participles, §14.1.6.7
 of past clitic, §10.4.1.1
 of imperative (prohibitive), §10.5.5
 of hortative, §10.5.6
 of ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.4-6

stative negative
 with stative forms of regular verbs, §10.2.3.4
 with adjectival predicates, §11.4.3
 of locational-existential ‘be’, §11.2.2.2
 of ‘have’, §11.5.1
 of ‘want’, §17.3.8
interaction with quantifier, §6.8.3
of chained verbs, §15.1.7

nominalization
dejectival
 as basis for comparative, §12.1.1
denominal, §4.2.1
deverbal, §4.2.2-5
 in resultative compounds, §5.1.10
nouns, §4.1
 lexical tone melodies, §3.7.1.3,
§3.7.1.5-7
grammatical tone overlays, §3.7.2.2

noun phrase, chapter 6

numerals, §4.7
lexical tone melodies, §3.7.1.4
grammatical tone overlays, §3.7.2.3
in bahuvrihi compounds, §5.2.1.2
syntax within NP, §6.1.1, §6.4
ordinals, §4.7.2
obligation, §17.3.5
object (see also accusative)
idiomatic and cognate objects, §11.1.5
focalized, §13.1.2
head of relative clause, §14.3
‘only’, §19.3

341
ordinals, §4.7.2
participle, §14.1.6
passive (see also mediopassive)
  passive suffixes, §9.3, §9.5
past clitic
  with verbs, §10.4.1
  with adjectival predicates, §11.4.4
in participles, §14.1.6.8
perception verb
  complement clause, §17.2.3
perfect
  Experiential perfect, §10.2.1.7
  negative, §10.2.3.2
recent perfect, §10.2.1.8
  negative, §10.2.3.2
perfective (see also perfect)
  perfective positive system, §10.2.1
  unsuffixed perfective, §10.2.1.1
    with {L}-tone and 3Sg -∅, §10.2.1.1
    with {HL}-tone and 3Sg -ik, §10.2.1.2
perfective negative, §10.2.3.2
reuplicated perfective, §10.2.1.9
perfective-like linker in verb chains, §15.1.11
plural
animite plural suffix on nouns and
  adjectives, §4.1.1, §4.5
bè near end of NP, §6.6
possession
possessed NP, §6.2
1Sg possessor expressed as floating
  L-tone, §3.7.3.3
pseudo-possessor (Inan kū), §6.5
possessive predicates
‘X have Y’, §11.5.1-2
‘Y belong to X’, §11.5.3
compounds, §5.1.6
possessor as head of relative clause, §14.4
postposition, chapter 8
  focalized, §13.1.3
  PP complement as head of relative clause, §14.5
presentative, §4.4.3
Presuffixal V2-Raising, §3.5.2.2
progressive, §10.2.2.3
participles, §14.1.6.6
prohibitive, §10.5.5
prolongation (intonational), §3.8.1-2
pronouns, §4.3
possessor, §6.2.2
pronominal-subject suffixes, §10.3
preparticipial subject pronouns
  (relative clause), §14.1.5
anaphoric (reflexive, logophoric, reciprocal), chapter 18
emphatic, §18.1.3-4
pseudo-conditional, §16.1.2
purposive
  purposive and causal postpositions, §8.5
  purposive clause, §17.5.1
‘put’ (see gáy' in morpheme index)
quantiifier
‘certain (ones), some’, §6.3.2
‘all’, §6.8.1
  after participle in relative clauses, §14.1.8
‘each’, §6.8.1
‘any’, §6.8.3
extent (see also intensifier)
  ‘a lot’, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
  ‘many/much’, §4.5.1
quasi-verb, §11.2.2
question (see interrogatives)
quotation, §17.1
  ‘say’ verb, §11.3.1
  quotative (Quot) clitic, §17.1.2
  quotative subject (QuotS) particle, §17.1.1.1
  quotative complement, §17.1.1
quoted imperative, §10.5.7
  with 1Sg subject, §10.5.8
jussive clause, §17.1.3
quoted hortative, §10.5.9
recent perfect, §10.2.1.8
reciprocal, §18.3
reduplication (see also iteration)
  initial Cv- in nouns, §4.1.5.1, §4.2.5
  other reduplications in nouns, §4.1.5.2
in verb morphology
  perfective, §10.2.1.9
  stative, §10.2.1.11
  imperfective, §10.2.2.2
reflexive, §18.1
relative clauses, chapter 14
  headless, §14.1.4
  as adverbal clause, §15.2.1.1, §15.2.2-4
‘remain’, §11.2.6.1
resultative
  resultative verbal inflection, §10.2.1.6
  resultative compounds, §5.1.10
reversive (suffixal derivation), §9.1
Rhotic Assimilation, §3.5.4.2
same-subject (see switch-reference)
  ‘say’, §11.3.1 (see also quotation)
    related to purposive and causal
      morphemes, §§8.5.1, §15.1.9,
      §17.5.1.3, §17.5.5.2
  ‘send’
    related to perfective-1b, §10.2.1.5,
    §15.1.11
sequential (subordinated clauses)
  same-subject, §15.1.8-9
similarity
  ‘like’, §8.6.1
  ‘like this/that’, §4.4.2.3
  ‘since …’
    clauses, §15.2.4-5
  ‘So-and-so’, §4.1.4
spatial (see also locative)
  postpositions, §8.4
    demonstrative adverbs, §4.4.2.1
    other spatial adverbs, §8.6.6.3
    spatial adverbal clause, §15.2.2
specificity (‘approximately’, ‘exactly’),
  §8.6.3.1-3
spirantization, §3.3.2
stative
  stative form of regular verbs,
    §10.2.1.10
    reduplicated, §10.2.1.11
    participles, §14.1.6.4
  past stative, §10.4.1.2
    ‘be’, ‘become’, ‘it is’, §11.2.1-2
    participles, §14.1.6.3
  stative negative (see negation)
    ‘have’ (see possession)
subject
  pronominal-subject agreement on verb,
    §10.3
fixed (low-referentiality) subjects,
  §11.1.4
covert subject of imperative, §10.5.1
focalized, §13.1.1
head of relative clause, §14.2
Suffixal Vowel-Spreading, §3.5.2.1
switch-reference
  same-subject clauses, §15.1.8-9 (see
    also chaining)
  same-subject relative clause, §18.2.3
  different-subject clauses, §15.1.10
syllables, §3.2.1
Syncope, §3.5.3.2
temporal adverb
  simple adverbs, §8.6.6.1
  adverbial clauses, §15.1.9
  ‘take, pick up’ (àyí)
    in ‘from … to/until … ‘ construction,
    §15.1.9
  ‘than’
    expressed by dative, §12.1.1
  ‘together’, §15.1.6
tones, §3.7
tone-dropping (see tonosyntax)
Tone-Grafting, §3.7.3.3
tonosyntax
  tone-dropping
    within NP, §6.1.4
    head NP of relative, §14.1.1
    possessor-controlled, §6.2
topic
  topical NP, §19.1
  topic-indexing use of reflexive
    pronoun, §18.2.2
  ‘until’
    clause, §15.2.5
valency, §11.1.1-2
  ambi-valent verbs, §9.6
  of causatives, §11.1.2
verb
  stem shapes, §10.1.3
    vocalism, §3.5.2
    lexical tone melodies, §3.7.1.2
  grammatical tone overlays, §3.7.2.1
derivational morphology, chapter 9
inflectional morphology, chapter 10
participles in relative clauses, §14.1.6
verbal noun
uncompounded, §4.2.2
of chained verbs, §15.1.1
compounds, §5.1.2
verbal noun complement, §17.3.1
verb phrase, §11.1.3 (see also chaining)
vocative
of kin terms, §3.8.3
in quotation, §17.1.2
vowels, §3.4
vowel harmony, §3.4.5
phonological rules affecting vowels,
§3.5.5
monophthongization, §3.5.6
lengthening before verbal derivational
suffix, §3.5.3.1
VV-Contraction, §3.5.5.1
‘want’, §17.3.8
‘whatchamacallit?’, §13.2.10
‘while’ clauses, §15.2.1.2-5
‘with’ (see instrumental and ‘together’)