A Grammar of Najamba (Dogon, Mali)

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color coding:

blue	*in italics*: regular phonemic transcriptions of Najamba
green	a) *in italics*: regular transcriptions of other languages
	b) not in italics:
	in brackets […] : phonetic (IPA) transcriptions
	in slashes /…/ : pre-surface representations
	after * : reconstructions

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

Dogon is considered to be a division of the Niger-Congo phylum, though this opinion is not universal. The genetic position within N-C is unclear at this point. One suggestion is that Dogon and Ijoid separated very early from the remainder of N-C.

As research on the various Dogon languages progresses, it has become increasingly clear that there is a primary "eastern" versus "western" genetic division, first articulated by Kirill Prokhorov. This split, more accurately a diagonal SW to NE, correlates roughly with the east versus west cliffs of the main Dogon plateau. The "eastern" group also extends northeast of the main plateau into the zone of smaller inselbergs in the Douentza and Boni areas. (1) gives an rough breakdown, from NE to SW, showing the approximate geographical alignment of the two divisions. Jamsay, Najamba-Kindigué, Toro So, and Tengou-Togo are internally complex and each likely contains more than one language. Yanda Dom and Tebul Ure are actually on the eastern cliffs, geographically separated from the rest of "western" Dogon, with "easten" Tommo So intervening between them on the high plateau.

(1)	western	eastern
		Toro Tegu
		Ben Tey, Bankan Tey
	Najamba-Kindigué-Bondu group	Jamsay group, Nanga
	Yanda Dom, Tebul Ure	
	Tiranige	Tommo So
	Dogulu	Donno So, Toro So group
	Bunoge, Mombo, Ampari, Penange	Tengou-Togo group
		Tomo Kan

Among the typical features of western Dogon languages are 2Sg pronoun *o* (versus eastern *u*), and at least vestiges of inanimate nominal class suffixes derived from *ko/kɔ and/or *ke/kɛ.

The Najamba-Kindigué group is the most northerly of the western division. Across the east-west divide, Najamba is in contact with Jamsay and Tommo So, while Kindigué is mainly in contact with Tommo So.

1.2 Najamba-Kindigué (Bondu-So) language and its dialects

The choice of an official term for the language under study here is difficult. For background on terms used in earlier surveys, see Hochstetler (2004: 26).

The exonym used particularly by Tommo So speakers in the main plateau is **Bondu-So** (stem *bòndú*, plus *sɔ́* 'talk, language'). The endonymic version of this is "bondum-dom"

(cited by Hochstetler from older literature). This is not an endonym in current use by speakers of the language covered in this grammar, though it may turn out to be used on the high plateau (see below).

The endonym *nàjàmbá-gé* denotes the language spoken primarily in two parallel valleys cutting into the high plateau going west from near Douentza, and on the enclosing heights. For the term, see (280a-b) in §8.4.4.1; for the noun-class suffix see §4.1.3.6. A popular etymology of the ethnic term *nàjàmbá* is an amalgam of *nàlé* 'friend' and *jàmbá* 'betray(al)', alluding to an event in an origin narrative.

The dialectal situation in another set of villages, north of the core Najamba zone and on or near the main highway from Douentza to Mopti-Sevare, is more complicated. The growing tendency is for people in this zone to describe their dialects collectively as *pǒ: yɔ́ː* with exaggerated "dying-quail" intonation (prolonged, with slowly falling pitch). This is based on a shared greeting (*pǒ:*) and its standard reply *yɔ́ː* . However, this informal term can be extended to include Najamba and Bondu varieties.

The term **Kindigué** (*kìndì-gé*) was apparently once limited to the dialects of certain villages on the heights, such as Ambaka and Koli, but it is now often used more broadly to include the varieties spoken in the Koïra village cluster, and sometimes to include all varieties of the highway area plus the Bondu varieties on the high plateau around Borko. People in the Koïra village cluster also refer to their variety by a specific term **Kolobinye** (*kɔ̀lɔ̀bì-ɲɛ́*), an irregular derivative of the native name for Koïra itself (*kɔ́lɔ̀bì*).

The dialectal complexity of the highway area has become more complicated in recent decades because residents of some of the main villages on the heights have moved down and northward to the plains near the highway to found satellite villages. The original Mougi village on the heights is still occupied, but it has also spawned three new villages on the plains (Dimbatoro, Béguima, and Néma), which are still considered part of Mougi in the broad sense. Old (or Upper) Mougi still considers itself Najamba, but the newer villages are in closer contact with Koïra and other older villages.

The village of Sinda, which is on the highway and therefore in the *pǒ: yɔ́ː* or Kindigué area geographically, is considered by Kindigué/Kolobinye speakers to be a Najamba outlier. Speakers of Najamba proper also recognize the affinity between their language and the variety spoken in Sinda, though they consider the latter to be distinctive and refer to it by its own name *sìndà-gé*. Sinda is socially set apart by its large contingent of members of the blacksmith caste. An immediate neighbor of Sinda is Siba, which is said to have been founded by Songhay.

The varieties spoken on villages on the high plateau to the west such as Dogani, Borko, and Tintam increasingly refer to their language as **Bondu** (*bòndú*), which is primarily an exonym used by Tommo people. Others include these varieties as part of *pǒ: yɔ́ː* or Kindigué. These dialects have yet to be investigated. The term "Bondu So," which ends in the word for 'language' in Tommo So, has been applied to the entire Najamba-Kindigué-Bondu dialect group occurs in some earlier Dogon surveys.

The term Najamba will be used in this grammar, which does not describe Kindigué or Bondu varieties. The hyphenated term Najamba-Kindigué or Najamba-Kindigué-Bondu will be used to refer to the entire dialect complex.

Contact languages are as follows. French is taught in schools, though to date relatively few individuals living in the villages can speak French passably. Fulfulde is spoken in some

small villages in the area, and is the traditional lingua franca of the administrative and market town Douentza, though it is now slowly giving way to Bambara there. Jamsay is spoken in some nearby villages such as Fombori, and is a kind of Dogon-internal lingua franca in the Douentza area. Tommo So is spoken in the valleys immediately to the south of the two main Najamba valleys (see below), and on the high plateau beyond the cliffs. There is some contact between the most westerly villages on the high plateau and speakers of Tiranige, which is called *kèlgá* in Najamba.

1.2.1 Songhay influence

The nearest extant Songhay language is Tondi Songway Kiini, spoken in a few villages including Kikara to the north-east of Douentza. There are no Songhay-speaking groups in the Najamba-Kindigué-Bondu zone. However, there is some ethnohistorical and lexical evidence suggestive of earlier Songhay contacts.

The village of Siba just off the highway claims to have been founded by Songhay in the time of Askia Mohamed (late Middle Ages). A similar Songhay origin is claimed in Tintam, which is said to be the oldest Bondu village in the Borko-Dogani area. The Songhay surname Maiga is common in Siba but not in Tintam. Badiari village in the core Najamba area has a blacksmith population which also has surname Maiga.

The official village name Koïra Béri, evidently now an exonym, is clearly from Songhay *koyra be:ri* 'big village/town'. However, the current Kindigué (Kolobinye) endonym for the village is unrelated to this.

Words of likely Songhay origin found in Najamba but not in Jamsay or other nearby Dogon languages include: *bàndí* 'back' and irregularly related *bàndè-bándè* 'going backward' (Songhay *bande*), *mágà:* 'thigh below hip' (Songhay *maka*), *dǎy* 'well (n)', *párŋgá* 'donkey' (Songhay *farka*), *gándè-gàndè kán* '(do) chest-to-chest' (maneuver in wrestling; Songhay *gande* 'chest'), *sá:bú kán* 'give thanks to God' (Songhay *yerkoy saabu* 'God be praised!'), *tàgá* '(God's) creation' (Songhay *taka*), *bùgú* '(Fulbe) hut' (Songhay *bugu*), *kùrsà-kùrsá* 'skin disease with rashes' (Songhay *kursa*), and last but not least *táŋkúndé* 'elephant' (Songhay *tarkunda*).

Of special historical importance is Najamba *jǎ:* 'since' (§15.2.5, §17.5.1.2). Within Dogon its only known congeners are Toro Tegu and Bankan Tey (Walo village) *zǎ:* . Toro Tegu has historically been in contact with Humburi Senni (HS), and Bankan Tey is still in daily contact with Tondi Songway Kiini (TSK), so the Dogon distribution of *jǎ:* and *zǎ:* hugs the Dogon-Songhay front line.

Interestingly, eastern Songhay including HS and TSK has *zǎ:*, while western Songhay (Timbuktu, Djenné) has *ja:* (atonal), reflecting the western merger of *z and *j. The *j* in Najamba *jǎ:* is a possible indication that the former Songhay group in contact with Najamba-Kindigué spoke a western Songhay variety.

1.3 Environment

The core Najamba speaking villages known to me are listed in (2), with approximate coordinates in degrees, minutes, and decimal fractions of minutes. They are situated in the

two narrow valleys going west from Douentza and the adjacent heights. People from these villages refer to their ethnicity and language as Najamba.

(2) Villages of core Najamba valleys and enclosing heights

official name	native name	north	west
Adia	*ă:jà*	14 57.770	03 06.682
Assakarba	*dô:*	14 59.143	03 00.232
Badiari	*bàjâl*	14 57.743	02 59.555
Dindari	*dìndăl*	14 57.973	03 06.363
Dioni	*jŏn*	14 56.500	03 05.528
Kubewel	*kúnjà-gâ:*	14 59.061	03 02.049
Lamorde	*dìmbìrá*	14 57.741	03 06.027
Madina	*màdínà*	14 58.414	03 03.092
Mougi (Upper)	*mùgî:*, *mùgì-kî:*	15 00.504	03 09.934
Neri	*nĕl*	14 57.068	03 07.327
Olkia	*òl-kíyá*	14 55.688	03 03.881
Orodou	*òlò-dû:*	14 58.311	03 04.425

Madina and Orodou were originally on the nearby heights, but moved down to their current locations on the plain at some point following Malian independence (1960).

A characteristic of Malian maps is that the names of villages are frequently those used by Fulbe, i.e. in Fulfulde. This accounts for divergences, up to and including complete suppletion, between the vernacular (Dogon) names and those on the maps.

The main surnames in these villages are those in (3). Parenthesized comments with "ex" indicate the geographic origin of settlers with that surname. There are no large concentrations of blacksmiths, usually one family per village. Blacksmiths are considered to be people of caste and do not intermarry with Dogon.

(3)

surname	in Najamba	villages
Balobal	*bálóbàl*	Adia
Dambawo-Damba	*dàmbáwó-dàmbà*	Dindari (dominant)
Diarra	*járà*	Upper Mougi (blacksmiths), Temba (blacksmiths)
Doumbo	*dúmbò*	Olkia (ex Dourou near Bandiagara)
Gaba	*gá:bà*	Assakarba
Guindo	*gíndò*	Kubewel
Isabere	*ìsébèrè*	Assakarba
Kassambara	*kàsàmbárà*	Kubewel
Kénoba	*kénòbà*	Neri
Koliyaba	*kólyàbà*	Olkia (ex Dioni)
Kondoo-Kondo	*kòndó:-kòndò*	Lamordé (dominant)

Maiga	*máygà*	Badiari (blacksmiths), Kubewel (blacksmiths), Maiga (blacksmiths)
Ombotimbe	*òmbòtímbɛ̀*	Olkia (ex Kendié [Tommo])
Ongoiba	*ɔ̀ŋɔ́ybà*	Kubewel (dominant), and Upper Mougi (dominant), Adia, Badiari
Ouologuem	*wɔ̀lɔ̀gɛ̂m*	Kubewel
Pelkouliba	*pɛ́lkùlí:bà*	Madina (dominant), Orodou (ex Wadouba zone [Tommo]), Kubewel
Samasségou	*sàmàségù*	Mougi (blacksmiths), Néma (blacksmiths)
Tabalaba	*tàbàlá:bà*	Dioni (dominant), Orodou (ex Dioni)
Tembiné	*tɛ̀mbìnɛ́*	Kubewel
Tembo	*témbò*	Adia (dominant), Orodou (ex Adia), Kubewel
Toloba	*tólòbà*	Kubewel
Yalkouyé	*yàlkúyɛ̀*	Olkia (ex Dioni), Orodou (ex Dioni), Badiari
Yombolba	*yɔ̀mbɔ́lbà*	Neri (ex Toulé [Tommo])

The most unusual among these surnames are the iterative *dàmbá-wó-dàmbà* and *kòndó:-kòndò*. The first is said to derive from *dàmbá* 'push', referring to disputes. *kòndó:-kòndò* is said to derive from *kóndí* 'repair (v)', referring to resolution of disputes. Tabalaba, the surname at the ancient village of Dioni, is from *tàbàlâ:* 'flat stone area'.

Some of the other surnames are much more common in other Dogon and non-Dogon ethnic groups. Diarra and Samassékou are mostly Fulbe. Maiga is Songhay. Ongoiba is mostly Jamsay. Ouologuem is mostly Tommo. Guindo is mostly Toro So.

Villages on or near the main highly north of the last heights are in (4). People from these villages generally refer to the dialects spoken in this zone as *pǒ: yɔ́:*, and may refer to some of them as Najamba, as Kindigué, or by village-specific terms.

(4) Villages on or near main highway

a. Sinda area

Siba	*síbà*	15 01.634	03 04.563
Sinda	*sìndá*	15 01.938	03 04.826

b. core Kindigué

Ambaka	*àmbàká:*	14 54.978	03 07.180
Kol	*kól*	15 00.524	03 11.889

c. Koïra cluster	*kóyrà*		
Koïra Noumaldé	*kòyrà-ébàn*	15 02.374	03 11.814
	koyra-lumorde (Fulfulde)		
	(note: *ébàn* and *lumorde* mean 'marketplace')		
Koïra Madina	*kòyrà-màdínà*	15 02.848	03 12.490
Koïra Béri	*kòyrà-dòlê:*	15 02.950	03 11.532
	koyra-karawal (Fulfulde)		
	(note: *dòlê:* and *karawal* mean 'hard, barren ground')		
d. new villages settled from Mougi			
Beguima	*bègímà*	15 02.464	03 08.573
Dimbatoro	*dùbàtólò*	15 02.468	03 09.220
Nema	*né:mà* < Fulfulde	15 02.273	03 07.529
	old name *gwé:-tábàlà:*		
e. other			
Ibissa	*ìbíjà*	(15 03	03 16)
Noumbori	*nùmbǒl*	15 03.054	03 09.727
Songoli	*sòŋôl*	15 02.043	03 13.051
Tabako	*tàbâ:*	15 02.266	03 06.185

Surnames of the villages near the highway are in (5).

(5)

surname	in Najamba	villages
Balobal	*bálóbàl*	Sinda
Dambélé	*dámbèlè*	Siba
Diarra	*járà*	Sinda (blacksmiths), Tabako (blacksmiths)
Dicko	*díkò*	Tabako (ex Tanga [Tiranige])
Diombélé	*jɔ́mbélè*	Songoli (ex Dogani)
Kassambara	*kàsàmbárà*	Sinda (dominant)
Kindimilba	*kìndìmbílbà*	Noumbori (dominant)
Koungoulba	*kùŋgúlbà*	Songoli
Maiga	*máygà*	Siba
Ongoiba	*ɔ̀ŋɔ́ybà*	Dimbatoro, Béguima, and Néma (dominant), Tabako
Porolba	*póròlbà*	Koli (dominant)
Poudiougou	*pùjúgù*	Koïra Béri, Koïra Madina
Samassékou	*sàmàségù*	Tabako (blacksmiths)
Sangalba	*sáŋgàlbà*	Koïra (all 3 villages)
Soukanaba	*sùkánàbà*	Tabako
Yombolba	*yɔ̀mbɔ́lbà*	Ambaka (dominant)

We have not done detailed mapping in the "Bondu" area on the high plateau. Some of the locations are in (6). Parenthesized coordinates are estimates from maps.

(6)

official name	native name	north	west	
Aina	*áynà*	14 49.562	03 33.192	
Borko	*bɔ́lɔ̀*	14 57.243	03 21.248	
Dempare	*dèmbâl*	15 02.652	03 22.056	
Dogani	*dògǎn*	14 53.817	03 25.240	
Gobina	*dògàn-gò:gìná*	14 53.592	03.36.205	part of Dogani
Kidibili	*kìndìbîl*	(14 59.5	03 17)	on old map only
Kongoro	*kɔ̀ŋgélɛ̀*	14 57.504	03 21.216	
Koundé	*dògàn-kúndè*	(14 54	03 26)	part of Dogani
Koutoumel	(?)	(14 52	03 30)	
Menti	*méndù*	14 54.580	03 23.649	
Namare	*nàmàré*	(15 02	03 16)	
Nombol	*bɔ̀lɔ̀-nɔ́mbɔ̀l*	14 58.059	03 21.588	
Oumé	*úmè*	14 55.099	03 22.743	
Pouti	*púrù* (old name)	(14 52.5	03 31)	
Tiangali	*sàŋǎl*	14 50.290	03 30.839	two villages
Sirou	*bǔl*	14 51.959	03 28.372	
Tapou	*tábù*	14 49.406	03 34.139	
Tintam	*tíndàm*	14 56.390	03 20.788	

Many of the villages along the highway, and some from around Borko, frequent the weekly market of Boré instead of or in addition to that of Douentza. There are also small weekly markets at Koira Beri, Borko, and Dogani.

The major economic activity is millet (*Cenchrus spicatus*) farming in the plains. Minor crops grown in the same fields are sorghum, sesame, peanuts, okra, cow-peas (*Vigna unguiculata*), roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), cotton, and a little maize and peanuts. The rainy season is roughly June to September, with a harvest in late October or early November. During the long dry season, some off-season (*contre-saison*) gardening of cash crops is carried out: onions, garlic, lettuce, tomatoes, chili peppers, sweet potatos, cassava. Small-scale livestock herding is practiced (sheep, goats, cattle). Transportation of goods to and from the villages is chiefly by donkey cart. Donkeys and camels also serve as mounts; horses seem to have disappeared from the immediate zone in recent times (though they are still found in some villages closer to Mopti-Sévaré.

Schools were built in the 1990's in Koira Beri, Kubewel, and Adia. A number of other villages have also recently built schools. There is currently a generation of students who are reaching high-school age and are heading to Douentza or other larger towns to continue their studies.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Najamba

I am unaware of any previously published or otherwise circulated professional linguistic work on Najamba.

Abbie Hantgan, a 2013 Linguistics Ph.D. at Indiana University and a member of the Dogon languages project, had been a Peace Corps volunteer in the village of Koira Beri in the

Kindigué zone in 1998-2000. At that time she acquired a practical speaking knowledge of the local Kindigué, as well as Fulfulde. She subsequently did some fieldwork on Kindigué as part of the Dogon project, with emphasis on phonology and verbal morphology. Her other assignments on Bangime (Mali) and Tiefo (Burkina) took up most of her time during our Dogon-based project, and her dissertation was on Bangime (Hantgan 2013). She has, however, published on the Bondu (i.e. Kindigué) vowel harmony system (Hantgan & Davis 2012).

1.4.1 Fieldwork

My data are from the villages of Kubewel and Adia, which occur (along with a few smaller villages) in a horshoe valley that opens up (on the east) to Douentza.

The fieldwork began in a small way in 2004-5, while I was working mainly on Jamsay and based in Douentza. I began with a 4-day visit to Kubewel and a 2-day visit to Adia, during which I and my Dogon assistants elicited flora-fauna vocabulary and collected or observed specimens. Several tapes were also recorded during these visits. Data for an initial working lexicon were later elicited in Douentza with a Najamba speaker over a five-day period.

In June-December 2006, I again worked mainly on other languages, but at the end of that session I did two weeks of grammatical elicitation on Najamba and sketched some sections of the grammar (mainly morphology). We also did a one-day follow-up trip to Kubewel to check on some plant and animal terms. In 2007 and 2008 I was able to spend a total of two months on Najamba and wrote a draft of this grammar. The final editing of the grammar was completed in early 2017.

1.4.2 Acknowledgements

The initial 2005-5 work was done on the margins of a project focused on Jamsay, financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The core fieldwork on Najamba was done in 2006-2008 as part of a larger Dogon project funded by the National Science Foundation. Additional fieldwork was done opportunistically in later years through 2017. The NSF grants focused on Dogon languages were BCS-0537435 (2006-09), BCS-0853364 (2009-13), and BCS-1263150 (2013-17). The University of Michigan helped out with bridging funds between NSF grants and by paying a substantial portion of my salary during fall 2006 and winter 2008.

2 Sketch

The most striking feature of Najamba, as opposed to other Dogon languages, is its flourishing noun-class system. Objectively inanimate nouns are divided into three classes, one of which, the pseudo-animate, is identical morphologically to the single class of animate nouns (humans and higher animals). The two specifically inanimate classes share an inanimate plural category (distinct from the plurals of animates and pseudo-animates), but the two differ from each other in the singular. Najamba has a Swahili-like agreement system whereby the inanimate noun classes, in singular and plural forms, are reflected by agreement in modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives). Other western Dogon languages have reduced versions of this class system, ranging from semi-productive (Tebul Ure) to completely frozen (southwestern subgroup, e.g. Mombo).

Another striking feature of Najamba is the elaboration of participles, distinguishing subject from object agreement, in focalized and relative clauses. These participles also participate in noun-class agreement. As a result, there is more morphological detail here than in any other of our other Dogon grammars.

2.1 Prosody

Najamba is a tonal language. H is high tone, L is low tone. Syllables may be H, L, falling <HL>, rising <LH>, or bell-shaped <LHL>. All regular stems (nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals) have a lexical tone **melody** with one (rarely two) H-tone element(s). Some stems have /H/ lexical tone melody, others have /LH/, /HL/, or /LHL/ melody, spread out over the relevant number of syllables, but none is lexically all-L toned.

These lexical melodies are modified or overridden by tone **overlays** imposed by inflectional suffixes (verbs) or by syntactic constructions (nouns, adjectives, numerals). Inflected verbs (stem plus suffix) and verbal participles have a variety of tone formulae that are either entirely controlled by the inflectional category (tone overlays), or a combination of lexical melody and partial overlay.

For basics of Dogon tonosyntax, see Heath & McPherson (2013), McPherson & Heath (2016), and related work.

2.2 Inflectable verbs

Verb stems may be simple, or may include one or more derivational suffixes following the basic verb stem. Derivational categories include reversive (‘untie’, ‘unlock’) and causative. An opposition between mediopassive (middle) and transitive verbs, both marked by suffixes, is highly productive in this language. Adjectives generally have associated inchoative verbs (‘become ADJ’). The verbs are phonologically similar to the adjectives, but there is no rigorous derivational relationship between them. I therefore analyse the adjectives and the

related verbs are equal members of word-families. Factitives ('cause to become ADJ') can be derived from the inchoatives.

Inflectional categories are expressed by suffixes that follow any derivational suffixes that may be present. Indicative verbs typically have an **aspect-negation** (AN) suffix, followed by a pronominal-subject suffix: Vb-AN-Pron. The perfective (positive) and the 3Sg subject category are unmarked (zero suffixes).

Indicative AN categories marked by nonzero suffixes are perfective negative, present, future, present negative, and future negative. Pronominal-subject categories are 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg (unmarked), and 3Pl. The morphology (AN-suffix allomorphy, tone formulae) often points to a division between 1st/2nd person categories on the one hand, and 3Sg and 3Pl on the other, but sometimes 3Pl is quite distinctive.

Instead of English-style "tense" (past versus present), calculated by directly comparing the time (point or interval) of the denoted eventuality with the moment of speaking, Najamba (like other Dogon languages) has a higher-level distinction between nonpast (unmarked) and past (marked) temporal frameworks, with parallel aspectual categories. English *I sat* is translated as a perfective-aspect form within the nonpast framework, while *I had sat* is translated as a corresponding aspect form within the past framework.

Each verb has a lexical tone melody, usually either /H/ or /LH/. Two irregular monosyllabic verbs have /HL/ and there is one /LHL/ verb. In addition, each verb belongs lexically to either the -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} or the +ATR {*e o*} **harmonic class**. Each verb has three stem-forms, the choice being determined by the inflectional category. These are here called the **E-stem**, the **A/O-stem**, and the **I-stem**. In addition, each AN category comes with a full or partial tone overlay on the stem, though many AN categories preserve the initial tone (H or L) of the verb. For each AN suffix, therefore, the stem-vocalism (e.g. A/O-stem) and tone formula must be separately specified. Most nonzero AN suffixes require the A/O-stem, but each has its own tone formula, and in some cases (present negative versus future negative) the only difference is in the tones.

Stem tone formulas for the various AN categories are combinations of H, L, and the variable X (the latter represents the initial lexical low or high). For example, ((X))H*(L) means that the H tone is obligatory, the final L tone is present if there is a syllable available, and the initial X (lexical H or L) is expressed if there is yet another syllable or mora available after that. Any further syllables are filled by spreading the medial H tone.

The **chaining form**, which is often used in this grammar as a citation form, is the form of the verb in nonfinal position in verb chains. It shows the lexical tone melody. Factoring out the tones, the chaining form is unusual in that it is based on the E-stem of verbs of the -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} harmonic class, but on the I-stem of verbs of the +ATR {*e o*} harmonic class.

A few representative forms are given here for 'slaughter' (i.e. 'cut the throat of') and 'go'. Both are lexically /H/-toned, but 'slaughter' is of -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} harmonic class and 'go' of +ATR {*e o*} class.

(7)	category	'slaughter'	'go'	stem vocalism
	chaining	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*ín* (< /ín-í/)	E-stem, I-stem
	perfective	*sɛ̀mɛ̀-*	*ìnè-*	E-stem
	future (1st/2nd)	*sɛ̀mà-mbô-*	*ìnò-mbô-*	A/O-stem
	future negative	*sɛ̀mă-ndì-*	*ìnŏ-ndì-*	A/O-stem
	verbal noun	*sɛ́mí-lé*	*ín-lé*	I-stem

'Slaughter, cut the throat of' is a typical verb with an E-stem *sɛmɛ-*, an A/O-stem *sema-*, and an I-stem *semi* (which undergoes Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion to *sem*). I take the lexically basic form to be *sɛ́mɛ́*, a version of the E-stem that is used as the chaining form. From the representation *sɛ́mɛ́* we can see that the lexical melody is /H/ rather than /LH/ and that the ATR-harmonic class is {*ɛ ɔ*} rather than {*e o*}. From the E-stem, in addition to the chaining form *sɛ́mɛ́*, we get perfective *sɛ̀mɛ̀-* (recall that the perfective has zero AN suffix), which gives us pronominal-subject forms such as 1Sg *sɛ̀mɛ̀-ḿ* 'I slaughtered'. Other AN categories are based on the A/O-stem: perfective negative *sɛ́má-l-* 'did not slaughter', present *sɛ́mà-ɲjò-* 'slaughters', future *sɛ̀mà-mbó-* 'will slaughter' (form for 1st/2nd person categories), future negative *sɛ̀mă-ndì-* 'will not slaughter', and present negative *sɛ́mà-ndí-* 'will not slaughter'. The progressive is expressed by the uninflectable form *sɛ́mà-mbò* (cf. English *-ing*) plus an inflected form of quasi-verb *bò-* 'be' as auxiliary. The I-stem is not used for this verb in any basic AN category, but it occurs in the verbal noun *sɛ́m-lé* 'slaughtering' (< /sɛ́mí-lé/). For verbs of the +ATR {*e o*} harmonic class, the I/U stem rather than the E-stem is used in the chaining form, as well as in the verbal noun.

In addition to regular verbs, which are aspectually dynamic (distinguishing perfective from imperative), there are stative verbs which do not make aspectual distinctions. These can be derived statives, related to regular verbs (stative 'be seated' versus dynamic 'sit down'), or they can be defective stative-only **quasi-verbs** like 'want', 'know', 'be (somewhere)', 'have', and 'can'.

There is a perfect AN inflection with auxiliary verb *jò-* and variants, related to the 'have' quasi-verb. An experiential perfect ('have ever/never VP-ed') is expressed by auxiliary verb *tár* (cf. *tár* 'look at') plus the same *jò-*.

There is a periphrastic progressive translatable as the English *be VERB-ing* type, with a pronominally uninflected progressive in *-mbò* plus an inflected *bò-* 'be', as in *sɛ́mà-mbò bò-* 'is slaughtering'.

Suffixally expressed deontic modal categories are the imperative and the hortative. The imperative extends beyond second person subject, and the hortative extends beyond first inclusive ('let's) subject.

In relative clauses, regular AN-inflected verbs are replaced by verbal participles that agree with the head NP in nominal features. Under subject focalization, a distinct set of participles (not agreeing with the focalized constituent) is used.

2.3 Nouns

Most nouns have distinct singular and plural forms at word level.

Najamba has a rather unusual (for Dogon) nominal morphology in which many nouns, here labeled **mutating**, express the number distinction by a **stem-final vowel mutation** from back (or low) to front vowel, or vice versa (e.g. *ɔ:* versus *ɛ:*). Most such nouns end in a long vowel. Another morphological type of nouns, **suffixing**, lack this type of mutation, but have either a singular suffix (inanimates) or a plural suffix (animates). In the suffixing inanimates, the singular suffix is usually optional. Adjectives are also of these two types, either mutating or suffixing, and in principle have full sets of animate and inanimate forms.

The mutating nouns are interesting because the back/low (hereafter "O") form and the front (hereafter "E") form are mapped in different ways onto the singular/plural distinction. For **grammatically animate** nouns (denoting humans, animals, and some inanimates such as weapons), the E form is singular while the O form is plural. For grammatically inanimate nouns, on the other hand, the E form is used in the plural. In the singular, grammatically inanimate nouns split into two subclasses, one of which is E and the other O. I therefore speak of **E/E** and **O/E** inanimate classes (the second symbol in each case represents the plural), as opposed to the **animate** (or **E/O**) class. Many nouns that denote inanimate entities are (pseudo-)animate E/O as opposed to E/E or O/E.

Examples of mutating nouns are *tɔ̀jɔ̌:* 'blister', plural *tɔ̀jɛ̌:* (inanimate O/E); and *sàmbé* 'spear', plural *sàmbú:* (animate).

Examples of suffixing nouns are: *kî:* 'head', plural *kî:-mbò* (animate); *búmbɛ́-ŋgó* 'track (of snake)', plural *búmbɛ́* (inanimate O/E); and *dǎy-ŋgé* 'well (water)', plural *dǎy* (inanimate E/E).

2.4 Unpossessed noun phrases (NP)

A simple noun phrase may contain a noun, a modifying adjective, and a final determiner such as a definite morpheme. Adjectives have substantially the same morphology as nouns (except that adjectives also have special predicative forms). Adjectives, like nouns, may be either mutating or suffixing. Mutating adjectives have just two forms (E and O). Suffixing adjectives, if semantically compatible with the full range of animate and inanimate nouns, have richer paradigms than suffixing nouns since they allow inanimate singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge* and also allow animate plural *-mbo*.

The adjective and the determiner take their agreement class from the noun. For a mutating adjective, the E form is singular for animates (including pseudo-animates that are objectively inanimate), and plural for the main inanimate classes. The O form is plural for animates, and singular for the majority of inanimates.

Examples of singular and plural NPs are (8a) and (8b). 'Pond' is an E/E-class inanimate, and therefore takes the E form of the (mutating) adjective 'big' in both singular and plural.

(8) a. *tàgà:*^{L} *gìndé:* *ké*
pond^{L} big.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the big pond'

b. *tàgɛ̀:*^{L} *gìndé:* *yé*
pond.Pl^{L} big.InanPl Def.InanPl
'the big ponds'

In (8), the nouns have dropped tones to {L} before the modifying adjective (and in some other syntactic contexts). This tone-dropping is indicated by superscript ^{L} "pointing" (in this case rightward) to the tonosyntactic controller.

A suffixing noun ('egg') and a suffixing adjective ('big') co-occur in (9). 'Egg' is inanimate (O/E class). Again, tone-dropping applies to a noun before a modifying adjective.

(9) a. *pòl-ŋgò*^{L} *bĭn-gó* *kó*
egg-**InanSg.O**^{L} big-**InanSg.O** Def.InanSg.O
'the big egg'

g. *pòlè*^{L} *bìní:* *yé*
egg.Pl^{L} big.InanPl Def.InanPl
'the big eggs'

An NP may also contain a numeral or other quantifier ('each', 'all'). Numerals behave differently from modifying adjectives in that they do not control tone-dropping on the preceding noun (or noun plus adjective). This suggests that the noun plus adjective unit should be considered the core NP, which is then subject to wider determination and quantification. The basic linear order is (10). An example showing this order is (11).

(10) [N Adj] Num Det 'all'

(11) *[nì:-mbò*^{L} *bĭn-bó]* *tà:ndî:* *bè*^{L} *dîn*
[bird-Pl^{L} big-Pl] three Def.AnPl^{L} all
'all three (of the) big birds'

2.5 Possession

A nonpronominal possessor NP precedes the possessum (possessed noun or NP). A pronominal possessor may likewise precede the possessum, but as indicated just below there is another option. If the possessor (pronominal or not) precedes the possessum, the **possessed core NP** (noun plus any adjectives) is subject to **tone-dropping** due to the possessor. Thus *ólé* 'house' keeps its H-tones in definite *ólé ké* but is L-toned in *mí* ^{L}*òlè ké* 'my house' and in *[ánè mó]* ^{L}*òlè ké* 'the man's house' (*ké* is a definite determiner, inanimate E-class). If the core NP contains an adjective, the adjective has already forced tone-dropping on the noun. When the noun-adjective core NP is preceded by a possessor, the possessor forces tone-dropping on the entire core NP (N-Adj), the incrementally audible effect being that the adjective drops its tones.

By contrast, NP elements (numerals, determiners, quantifiers) that follow the core NP (i.e. noun plus adjective) are **not tone-dropped** under the influence of a possessor. In (12a), the core NP is tonosyntactically bracketed and the {L} overlay applies to the adjective as well as to the noun. In (12b), only the noun is tone-dropped, while the numeral is tonosyntactically free.

(12) a. *mí* ^{L}*[òlè* *gìndè:]* *ké*
1SgPoss ^{L}[house **big.InanSg.E**] Def.InanSg.E
'my big house' (*ólé*, *gìndé:*)

b. *mí* ^{L}*òlè* *tà:ndî:* *yé*
1SgPoss ^{L}house **three** Def.InanPl
'my three houses'

If the possessor is a pronominal, it may alternatively follow the core NP (plus a cardinal numeral, if present). In this case there is an appositional construction of the type 'house [my Poss]', where 'Poss' represents any of a set of pronoun-like classificatory elements used only in this context, and agrees with the possessum in nominal features (AnSg, AnPl, InanSg.E, InanSg.O, InanPl). Thus (13a) 'my big house' is expressed as '[big house] [my Poss]'. The possessed core NP may be directly followed by a numeral, which therefore precedes the possessor and the classifier. However, if a determiner and/or a universal quantifier are present, they follow the possessor phrase (13b).

(13) a. *[òlè*^{L} *gìndé:]* *[mí* *gè]*
[house^{L} big.InanSg.E] [1SgPoss Poss-InanSg.E]
'my big house'

b. *[òlè*^{L} *gìndé:* *tà:ndî:]*
[house.Pl^{L} big.InanPl three]
[mí *yè]* *yè*^{L} *dîn*
[1SgPoss Poss-InanPl] Def.InanPl^{L} all
'all my three big houses'

2.6 Postposition phrase (PP)

Adpositions are postpositional. Simple postpositions are *mà* (in some combinations, *má*), which is used in dative, instrumental, and locative functions, and purposive *nèn* 'for'. Accusative *gì* (direct objects and recipient of 'give') also behaves like a postposition, coming at the end of the NP and not co-occurring with any other postposition. There are many compositve postpositions that end in *mà* but also have an original possessed noun, as in *[[X kùl] mà]* 'inside X', originally 'in [X's belly]' (< *kûl* 'belly'). See chapter 8 for the postpositions and other adverbial elements.

2.7 Main clauses and constituent order

Constituent order is SOV when the subject and object are both unfocalized nonpronominal NPs.

(14) *[nò:*[L] *kúlmá]* *èndê:* *gàlì-yɛ̀-∅* *mɛ́,*
[person[L] adult] child scold-MP-3SgSbj if,
èndê: *kòŋ-kámà* *gìné* *já-ndì-∅*
child anything say can-FutNeg-3SgSbj
'If an adult scolds a child, the child can't say anything.'

The verb (or serialized verb chain) is normally clause-final, except for subordinators (chapters 15-17) and clause-final emphatics (§19.5). Aspect, tense, negation, and deontic modal categories are expressed by verbal morphology and/or by auxiliaries juxtaposed tot he verb. Adverbs and adverbial phrases occur in various preverbal positions, including clause-initial before subjects.

2.8 Participles

In relative clauses and related subordinated clause types, and in the presence of a focalized subject, the main-clause verb (with pronominal subject marked by the final suffix) is replaced by a verbal **participle** that agrees in nominal features but not pronominal person with the head NP. In relatives, there is a distinction in some inflectional categories between subject and nonsubject participles. Najamba has the richest participial morphology of any Dogon languages that has been studied to date.

Verbal participles resemble nouns and adjectives morphologically. Like them, some participles are mutating (final long vowels switch between back/low and front depending on agreement category), while others are suffixing (animate plural suffix *-mbo*). See §14.3 for the elaborate morphology of relative-clause participles, and §13.1.1 for participles in subject-focus clauses.

2.9 Relative clauses

A relative clause is characterized by the features in (15).

(15) a. the central part of the head NP (maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num) is internal to the relative clause, but is subject to tone-dropping as though followed by a reference restricting modifier;
b. the verb takes participial form, agreing in nominal features (noun class, plurality) with the head NP, and in some AN categories distinguishing subject from nonsubject relativization;
c. if the head NP is not the subject, a pronominal subject is expressed by a special set of subject morphemes immediately preceding the participle;
d. a determiner and/or the 'all' quantifier that have scope over the relativized NP appear in postparticipial position.

For details see Chapter 14.

2.10 Focalization

Focus particle *yà:* follows a focalized non-verb constituent (NP, adverbial phrase), which is fronted to clause-initial position. The particle is sometimes omitted.

When the focalized constituent is the subject, which is already clause-initial, the verb takes the form of a subject-focus participle, agreeing with the subject in class and number features (but not person). When a nonsubject constituent (object, adverbial phrase, etc.) is focalized, the verb has its normal main-clause form.

See chapter 13 on focalization.

2.11 Interclausal syntax

Najamba can combine two or more verbs into a chain (§15.1). In direct chains, the final verb is inflected, while nonfinal verbs occur in the chaining form (morphologically bare except for taking E-stem or I-stem segmental form). Directly chained verbs can only be separated by an intervening pronominal-subject proclitic in nonsubject relatives.

Loose chains may involve two or more distinct VPs (with shared subject) or distinct clauses. In a loose chain, nonfinal verbs have an overt subordinator, usually indicating how the two eventualities compare in time (simultaneous versus sequenced) and to some extent whether their subjects are coindexed or disjoint (chapter 15).

Higher verbs like 'know (that …)' take regular main clauses as complements (§17.3.2). Quoted clauses may be framed by an inflected 'say' verb or by uninflected quotative particle *wa*, which can occur both after the subject and clause-finally (§17.1.2).

Other subordinated clause (or VP) types include conditionals (chapter 16), verbal-noun complements (§17.4), and purposive clauses (§17.6).

3 Phonology

3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1 Syllables

Typical syllables of Najamba are *Cv*, *Cv:*, and *CvL* with final sonorant. *Cv:L* is also found but uncommon.

NCv syllables are difficult to isolate. They are likely present in the few stems with medial *LNC* triple clusters like *rmb* in *gùrmbâ:* 'pigeon' (§3.2.11.4). Medial *NC* clusters, with homorganic nasal and voiced stop, as in *bàndí* 'back (body)', arguably syllabify with the following vowel (*bà.ndí*), but it is difficult to test this. The few words beginning with *NCv*, such as *ǹdɛ́* 'give' and the examples in §3.2.11.1 below, are pronounced with L-toned syllabic nasal in isolation or post-pausally.

The initial *C* position may be vacant in word-initial syllables.

3.1.2 Embryonic metrical structure

Najamba shows relatively little of the metrical patterning that pervades the phonology (especially the verb morphophonology) of the northern Dogon languages that I have studied, where the second syllable of *CvCvCv...* is subject to frequent vocalic reduction (to a high vowel or schwa, or to zero).

Nonmonosyllabic verb stems do shift their final vowel to /i/ before the reversive suffix, which has allomorphs *-lɛ́* and *-l* (§9.1), and the /i/ is then subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.4.2.1) in the relevant phonological environment. However, "stem-final" is not a metrically defined position in the usual sense.

3.1.3 Weight (light and heavy stems)

The distinction between prosodically light and heavy stems is less important in Najamba than in some other Dogon languages. There is a progression in verbal tonology from *Cv-* to *CvCv-* to *Cv:Cv-* to *CvCvCv-*, and so forth. However, this is largely a function of the way complex autosegmental sequences are mapped onto verb stems with different syllable and mora counts. The most common pattern is that an overlay associated with an inflectional category, such as present tense, must be fully applied to the stem before the stem's own lexically defined onset tone (H or L) can be realized. This is not a matter of weight per se.

More interesting is the strong *Cv(N)Cv* bias of derived statives based on stance and 'hold' verbs and some others, see the list in (423) in §11.2.3. That *Cv(N)Cv* is a real target is shown by the dropping of the mediopassive suffix in trisyllabic inputs like *íŋgí-yɛ́* 'stand up' and its retention in bisyllabic inputs like *bǐ(-)y* 'lie down' < /bì(-)yí/, producing syllabically parallel *íŋgà* 'be standing' and *bíyò* 'be lying down'. This "Goldilocks" bias, not too long and not too short, for derived statives is widespread in Dogon languages.

3.2 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes are in (16). Somewhat marginal phonemes are enclosed in parentheses. Very marginal ones are in double parentheses. Largely absent from the inventory are nasalized sonorants {y^n w^n r^n}, which are common in eastern Dogon languages.

(16) Consonants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
labial	*p*	*b*	*m*	*(f)*			*w*	*((wⁿ))*		
alveolar	*t*	*d*	*n*	*s*	*((z))*	*l,r*				
alveopalatal	(*c*)	*j*	*ɲ*	*((š))*	*((ž))*		*y*	(*yⁿ*)		
velar	*k*	*g*	*ŋ*							
laryngeal									*(h)*	*((ʔ))*

c is IPA [tʃ], *j* is [dʒ], *š* is [ʃ], *y* is [j].
key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (*c* is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3. nasals; 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives; 6. liquids; 7. semivowels; 8. nasalized semivowels; 9. aspiration; 10. glottal stop.

Voiceless obstruents occur chiefly in stem-initial position.

3.2.1 Fulfulde preglottalized consonants (*ɓ ɗ ƒ*)

Fulfulde **preglottalized** consonants {ʼb ʼd ʼy} are (inaccurately) represented in Fulfulde orthography as implosives {ɓ ɗ} (and y with a similar hook). They are here represented as {*ɓ ɗ ƒ*} since the implosive *y* symbol is not available to me typographically. They occur in some unassimilated loanwords, usually varying with voiced stops in more fully nativized pronunciations. Examples: *ɗĭllɛ́* 'sneeze', *jáɓɛ́* '(container) catch (dripping liquid)', *táƒɛ̀-táƒɛ̀ kán* 'break up (into subgroups)'.

3.2.2 Alveopalatals (*c*, *j*, *ɲ*)

Voiced affricate *j* and nasal *ɲ* are legitimate phonemes, occurring before back as well as front vowels. Examples: *kájábí* 'wait', *tɔ̀jɔ́:* 'blister', *kè:njú* 'year', *ɲàmí* 'malfunction', *ɲémélé-ɲémélé* 'blinking', *àlè ɲúmbé* 'light rain'.

By contrast, *c* (i.e. [tʃ]) is marginal, occurring chiefly before front vowels {*i e ɛ*} and typically varying with [k] or palatalized [k^{y}]. Examples with consistent *c* include Fulfulde loanwords *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* 'change (money back)', *wáccɛ́* 'chew cud', and *ɲécé* 'spur on (horse)'.

There are a few loanwords with clear *c* before a non-front vowel: *cárdì* 'silver (metal)', *cámbòl* 'diabetes', *cá:gàl* 'spine below nape', *cá:ŋgò* 'carrion' (nativized variant *sá:dì*), *cáldì* 'forks (in sticks)', *tɛ̀mɛ̀ cóndì* 'flour sieve', *cókì* 'game played with a knife', *dáncùgù* 'sleeveless boubou'.

Expressive vocabulary: *cɛ́kɛ̀y-cɛ́kɛ̀y* 'rattling sound', *có→* (exclamation), *cím-cím* 'sound of chirping'.

3.2.3 Representations of initial *Cw*… and *w*…

A small number of stems appear to begin in *Cwv*, where *v* is a front or low vowel. The *w* is audible before {*a ɛ e*}. The consonant *C* is a velar or a coronal. An additional initial homorganic nasal may occur before the *C* (*ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* 'dog'). All examples known to me are presented in this section. It is necessary to discuss the options for lexical representation of these stems before attempting to formulate phonological rules for the alternations they show.

The nouns, adjectives, and numerals in (17a-c) undergo no relevant phonological alternations, so for them there is no direct evidence for any representation other than the one shown.

(17)

	stem	gloss	plural
a.	*gwă:*	'country, land'	*gwɛ̌:*
	swâ:	'whip (branch)'	*swɛ̂:*
	ŋ̀gwɛ̌:	'dog'	*ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbó*
	dwà:nâ:	'private field'	*dwà:nɛ̂:*
	kwàndé	'curving'	
	dwă:n	'(a) swagger'	
	dɛ̀bɛ̀-swă:	'space under granary'	
	twây	'nine'	
	úŋwá	'this year'	
b.	*dwɛ̌ỳ^{n}*	'fast'	*dwɛ̌y^{n}-mbò*
c.	*swɛ̂y*	'seven'	

There are several verbs that begin with *Cwɛ́* or *Cwé* in the chaining form. Those in *Cwɛ* (18a-b) change to *Cwa* but keep the initial *Cw* in the many suffixal combinations that require the A/O form. However, these verbs simplify to *Cu-* in the verbal noun with suffix *-lé*, and

the verb ‘arrive’ (18b) has a causative that begins in *Cǒ:-*. There is one verb with *Cwé* in the chaining form, and this not only has *Cu-* in the verbal noun but also *Co-* as the A/O stem (18c).

(18)		chaining	gloss	A/O stem	verbal noun
	a.	*kwɛ́*	‘eat’	*kwa-*	*kú-lé*
		ŋwɛ́	‘go in’	*ŋwa-*	*ŋú-lé*
		ŋwɛ́	‘hear’	*ŋwa-*	*ŋú-lé*
		dwɛ́	‘pound in mortar’	*dwa-*	*dú-lé*
		dwɛ́	‘insult’	*dwa-*	*dú-lé*
		twɛ́	‘slash earth (to sow)’	*twa-*	*tú-lé*
		swɛ́	‘pour; spit’	*swa-*	*sú-lé*
	b.	*dwɛ̂:*	‘arrive at, reach’ (cf. *dǒ:-ndí* ‘complete (job)’)	*dɔ:-*	*dúy-lé, dú:-lé*
	c.	*gwé*	‘go out’	*go-*	*gú-lé*
	d.	*ŋwǎn*	‘sing’	*ŋwana-*	*ŋwán-lé*

If we take the *Cwv* forms as underlying, we need a rule deleting *w* in the sequence *Cwv* where *v* is any rounded vowel {*u o ɔ*}. /Cwu/ → *Cu* is illustrated in all of the verbal nouns in (18), and /C*wo*/ → C*o* is seen in A/O form *go-* for /gwo-/ in (18c). To exemplify /Cwɔ/ → *Cɔ* we must consider pronominally inflected such as the perfective of *kwɛ́* ‘eat’: *kwɛ̀-∅* ‘he ate’, *kw-à:* ‘they ate’, but *k-ɔ̌:* ‘you-Sg ate’ for /kw-ɔ̌:/.

This *w*-deletion rule would have to be formulated in such a way that the initial *C* slot must be non-null, since the rule does not apply to forms of *wé* ‘come’ (A/O form *wo-*, verbal noun *wú-lé*), and since there are stems beginning in *w* plus rounded vowel: *wúy* ‘(water) fill up’, *wǒr* ‘pull off’, *wɔ̀lɛ́* ‘become accustomed’.

This detail demonstrates that the *w*-deletion rule would have to be prosodically sensitive, applying only to a *w* that is noninitial in the syllabic onset. But this raises the possibility that the *Cwv* pronunciation itself is prosodically motivated.

In the nouns shown in (19) below, the unsuffixed forms (which are singular for some stems and plural for others) have *w* (usually but not always preceded by another consonant) and a long *e:* or *ɛ:* . Before a singular or plural suffix (of *-CCv* shape in either case), the /w/ appears to fuse with the long vowel. One way to formulate this is to have the *w* spread into (the first mora of) the syllabic nucleus, merging its features [+round, +high] with the /ɛ:/ or /e:/ to give, say, /oɛ/ and /oe/, respectively. The former surfaces as *o* (see ‘cloths’ in (19a)), which may also reflect the shortening of stem vowels that occurs in some nouns before one of the *-CCv* number suffixes. The latter (i.e. /oe/) resyllabifies to *oy* (see ‘seedstock’ and ‘mouse’), where *y* is the phonetically closest nonsyllabic segment to /e/.

(19)		unsuffixed	gloss	suffixed
	a.	*twɛ̌:*	‘seedstock; sowing’	singular *tǒy-ŋgò*
		swɛ̌:	‘cloths’	singular *sò-ŋgó*
	b.	*wɛ̌:* (/òê:/)	‘mouse’	plural *ǒy-mbò*

Another possibility is to suggest underlying forms of the type /tòê:/, /òê:/, and (harmonically correct) /sɔ̀ɛ̌:/. We could then assume that the *-CCv* number suffix (here as elsewhere) induces shortening of the stem vowel, resulting in e.g. /tòé-ŋgò/ (after tonal rules). In unsuffixed /tòê:/, the /o/ **desyllabifies** before the long front vowel, producing *twɛ̌:* . In the suffixed form /tòé-ŋgò/, there is a more even-handed competition between /o/ and (short) /e/ to occupy the syllabic nucleus position, and here the /o/ happens to win out and the /e/ desyllabifies, forming an acceptable intervocalic triple consonant cluster *yŋg* with the suffixal consonants.

This analysis might make it unnecessary to posit a *w*-Deletion rule in such cases as *k-ɔ̌:* ‘you-Sg ate’. Instead of deriving this from /kw-ɔ̌:/ by *w*-Deletion, we could derive it from e.g. /kɔ̀-ɔ́/, with a phonetically unremarkable coalescence of the identical vowels. However, in a form like O-class nonsubject perfective participle *ŋ-ɔ̌:* ‘that (someone) heard’ from *ŋwɛ́* ‘hear’, I hear a bell-shaped tone rather than the expected falling tone. This points to a pre-surface representation /ŋw-ɔ̂:/ or /ŋo̯-ɔ̂:/ where the nasal is followed by a nonsyllabic segment that (in a syllabic onset) does not bear a tone but that is articulated with lower pitch than a following H-toned vowel. When this nonsyllabic /w/ or /o̯/ is elided (*w*-Deletion), the output is <LHL> toned, with the initial L reflecting the lower pitch of the elided element. So if we adopt the *w*-less analysis of the relevant forms, the derivation would be /ŋɔ́ɛ́-ɔ̀/ → /ŋo̯ɛ́-ɔ̀/ → /ŋo̯ɔ́-ɔ̀/ → /ŋo̯ɔ̌-ɔ̀/ → *ŋ-ɔ̌:* .

There is no strong argument against applying the *w*-less analysis to the forms given earlier (17-18). Among other things, *twɛ̌:* ‘seedstock’ in (19a) is clearly related to the verb *twɛ́* ‘slash earth (to sow)’ in (18a). The nouns and numerals in (17) all involve trimoraic syllables, i.e. *Cwv:* (with long vowel) or *CwvC*. So representations like /gòă:/ for *gwă:* ‘country’ and (harmonically correct) /sɔ̀ɛ́ỳ/ ‘seven’ would give the correct outputs. Similarly, in (18), we could represent ‘eat’ as /kɔ́ɛ́/ and ‘go out’ as /góé/.

The phonetics also give support to an analysis with e.g. /kɔ́ɛ́/ and /góé/ instead of /kwɛ́/ and /gwé/. In *kwɛ́* ‘eat’, what is written as “*w*” is actually a nonsyllabic [o̯], so that [ko̯ɛ́] is a suitable phonetic transcription. *gwé* ‘go out’ is likewise best transcribed phonetically as [go̯é], though naturally [o̯] is harder to distinguish from [w] than is [o̯].

I am inclined to favor the analysis in terms of /ɔ/ and /o/ instead of /w/. However, in the interests of simplifying the orthography (by avoiding nonsyllabic diacritics) I will transcribe e.g. *kwɛ́* and *gwé*.

3.2.4 Intervocalic *w* is rare

Also notable is the fact that, except for monosyllabics like *kwɛ́* ‘eat’ and *wé* ‘come’, and occasional Fulfulde loans like *háwé* ‘persuade’, no verb stem ends in a syllable of the form *w* plus vowel. By contrast, other sonorants (including *y*) are very common in this position.

A handul of nouns also show singular/plural alternations that might suggest loss of original *w in some positions with resulting contraction. However, I can find no support from other Dogon languages for the internally reconstructed forms in (20). For example, 'cow' reconstructs as *nă: and 'woman' arguably as *yă: .

(20)

gloss	singular	plural	possible internal reconstruction of Sg
'cow'	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*	*nàwɛ́:
'woman'	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*	*yàwɛ́:
'opposite-sex sib'	*ùbùlŋgɛ́:*	*ùbùlŋgàwó:*	*ùbùlŋgɛ́wɛ́
'slave'	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:*	?

3.2.5 Voiced velar stop *g* and *g*-Spirantization (*g*→*ɣ*)

Some spirantization of *g* to [ɣ] was observed, as in e.g. Jamsay, intervocalically between *a* or *ɔ* vowels. I have no evidence of incipient phonemicization of the spirantized variant and will transcribe *g*.

3.2.6 Velar nasal (*ŋ*)

A phonetic [ŋ] occurs in the homorganic velar cluster *ŋg*, as in *-ŋgó* (nominal suffix) and *níŋgí:* 'door shutter'. The corresponding voiceless cluster *ŋk* is less common but occurs in loans and frozen compounds: *bànàŋkú* 'cassava' (<Bambara), *jànjàŋkàbá* 'multiple millet spikes on a single stem'.

ŋ also occurs prevocalically, where its status as an independent phoneme is clearer. Examples: *núŋá:* 'boubou (garment)', *ànjáŋálà* 'forked stick', *díŋóndí* 'calm down', *káŋŋè* 'gold' (< Fulfulde), *dóŋé* 'cloth for carrying'.

3.2.7 Voiceless labials (*p*, *f*)

p is common stem-initially as in other Dogon languages. *f* occurs in a few regional terms probably borrowed from other languages: *fùgâ:ⁿ* 'light metal', *àlfâ:* 'holy man' (< Arabic via Songhay), *ká:fây* 'saber', *mălfâ* 'rifle', *yá:fɛ́* 'pardon, forgive' (< Arabic).

3.2.8 Laryngeals (*h*, *ʔ*)

Phoneme *h* occurs in Fulfulde loanwords, e.g. *hámpɛ́* 'chew (tobacco)', *héllɔ̀* 'reverse side'.

Glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in the usual *unh-unh* type of interjections and does not have phonemic status.

3.2.9 Sibilants (*s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*)

s is the only real sibilant phoneme. There is no particular tendency to palatalize it phonetically before *i* or other front vowels.

A marginal phonemic *š* occurs in a handful of loanwords, chiefly *ínšâllâ:w* 'if God wills' (< Arabic) and *šínwâ:* 'Chinese'.

z was likewise find in a very small number of borrowings: *zàndàrmâ:* 'gendarme', *ózpórê:* 'forestry official' (Fr *Eaux et Forêts*), *làzìdâ:ⁿ* 'adjutant (military rank)', *sàrzâ:ⁿ* 'sergeant'.

ž is recorded in *álžérì* 'Algeria' (alongside *álánzérì*)

3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants

The nasalized sonorant phonemes {*wⁿ yⁿ rⁿ*} are common in eastern Dogon languages. I have not observed *rⁿ* in Najamba, and I know *wⁿ* only in one recent loanword: *àbìyɔ̂wⁿ* 'airplane' (Fr *avion*). *yⁿ* is uncommon but it does occur syllable-finally in several expressive terms including adjectival intensifiers (21a-c), in one or two probable loanwords (21d), and more interestingly in a handful of native terms (21e-f).

(21)

a.	*kǎyⁿ→*	'bared (teeth)'
	pǎyⁿ	'wide open (eyes)'
b.	*dŭyⁿ-dŭyⁿ*	'very red' (intensifier)
	káyⁿ-káyⁿ	'very hard' (intensifier)
	jáyⁿ-jáyⁿ	'very undercooked' (intensifier)
	táyⁿ-táyⁿ	'adequately sugared'
c.	*dàndàndǎyⁿ*	'enormous'
d.	*làtěyⁿ* (Pl)	'soldering metal' (singular *làtĕ-ŋgó*)
e.	*dwěyⁿ-yè*	'fast; hot' (suffixal forms *dwěyⁿ-ŋgò* or *dwĕ-ŋgò*, etc.)
f.	*gìyⁿɛ́*	'fart (v)', cf. noun *gìyɛ̀-ŋgó* (plural *gìyɛ́*)

3.2.11 Consonant clusters

3.2.11.1 Initial *CC* clusters

A nasal may occur before a homorganic voiced stop. The nasal is phonetically L-toned when the word is pronounced in isolation, but this is not phonemic. A relatively small number of stems begin in such sequences. Many of them are loans (from Fulfulde), but some basic vocabulary is also involved. The lists in (22) begin with the clearly or probably native Dogon

vocabulary (e.g. ‘give’, ‘listen to’, ‘thirst’, ‘honey’, ‘earth’, ‘dog’) and conclude with clearly or probably borrowed forms.

(22) *mb* *m̀búy\\m̀bùyè* ‘sip (tea)’, *gìrò-m̀bùlǎ:* ‘face’ (variant *gìrò-mùlǎ:*), *m̀báyrà:rì* ‘pre-dawn meal in Ramadan’, *èmbà m̀bóyrì* ‘sorghum variety’, *m̀búnìyà* ‘red-brown’, *m̀bú:dù* ‘currency unit’, *m̀bɛ́ddà* ‘highway’, *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* ‘change (money back)’

nd *ǹdɛ́* ‘give’, *ǹdíy* ‘listen to’, *ǹdúŋgùwàl yàl* ‘year of famine in early 20th Century’, *ǹdɔ̀ré* ‘Guinea worm’ (variant *nɔ̀ré*)

nj *ǹjǐ:* ‘honey’, *ǹjâ:* ‘earth (dirt)’, *ǹjéŋgó* ‘thirst’, *ǹjùlû:* ‘broom’, *ǹjɛ́:* ‘simple, bare’, *àjǎn ǹjèŋgèy* ‘moonless night sky’, *[ǹjěm má] ín* ‘travel’, *ǹjá:lò èndè* ‘bastard child’

ŋg *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* ‘dog’, *ŋ̀gâ:n* ‘there’, *ŋ̀gú* ‘that’, *ŋ̀gîn* ‘here’, *ŋ̀gín* ‘hot season’, *á:r ŋ̀gíy* ‘come to an agreement’, *ŋ̀gú:rè* ‘livelihood’, *ŋ̀gúmàlà* ‘hornless ram’

The fact that initial *NC* does not have a tone-bearing nasal is clearly shown by third-person perfective *ǹdɛ̂-* ‘gave’ (3Sg *ǹdɛ̂-∅* ‘he/she gave’, 3Pl *ǹd-â:*), where the {HL} overlay is borne entirely by the full syllable. Phonemically these forms are *ndɛ̂-*, and L-tone on the nasal (in independent, i.e. postpausal position) is added by a low-level rule.

3.2.11.2 Medial geminated *CC* clusters

Geminate clusters within a stem are not typical of native Dogon vocabulary in Najamba. There are many borrowings, especially from Fulfulde, with various consonants other than *h* as medial geminate: *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* ‘change (money back)’, *púddì* ‘henna’, *ánnɔ̀:rà* ‘image’, *káŋŋɛ̀* ‘gold’, *láyyá:rì* ‘sacrificial ram’, and many others.

Examples that do not appear to be borrowings are in (23). Some were probably composite originally (23b) or belong to a hypocoristic register (23c), but those in (23a) have numerous Dogon cognates and may be old.

(23)

	CC	stem	gloss	comment
a. authentic-looking				
	ll	*kóllí*	‘cough (v)’	
	"	*pállà:*	‘woven cloth’	
b. probably composite (originally)				
	mm	*sàmmá*	‘fast, quickly’	cf. *sǎŋ* ‘now’, *má* ‘in’
	"	*tùmmɔ̂:*	‘pestle’	also *tùmàndô:*
	nn	*ànné*	‘how’	variant *àŋìné*, cf. adverbial *né*

c. hypocoristic kin term

yy *ǎyyà* ‘mama’

3.2.11.3 Medial non-geminate *CC* clusters

Clusters of nasal and homorganic **voiced stop** are common: *bɔ́ŋgɔ̀:* ‘navel’, *yàmbí* ‘cover (foot)’, *yɛ́ndɛ̀* ‘west’, *gìnjâ:* ‘noise’. Clusters of nasal and homorganic **voiceless stop** are less common, and occur chiefly in Fulfulde and other loanwords: *hámpɛ́* ‘chew (tobacco)’, *sɔ́ntɛ́* ‘be unsold’, *dáncùgù* ‘sleeveless boubou (garment)’, *m̀bù:dù-táŋkà* ‘a colonial coin’.

3.2.11.4 Medial triple *CCC* clusters

Triple clusters involve a nonnasal sonorant plus a nasal and a homorganic voiced stop. These clusters may be stem-internal, but only *rmb* and *rŋg* are common: *pùrmbǎ:* ‘buttock’, *ùjùrmbó* ‘sweat (n)’, *gùrmbâ:* ‘pigeon’, *gírŋgí-y* ‘precede’, *jɔ́:rŋgàl* ‘donkey disease’, ‘*párŋgá* ‘donkey’, *kárŋgá* ‘vestibule’. Clusters *wnd*, *ynj*, and *ynd* are attested in Fulfulde loans: *bà:-gò líwndù* ‘herder’s staff’, *kóynjòl* ‘anthrax’, *háyndíné* ‘amaze’.

These clusters are also created at the boundary of a noun or adjective stem plus a number suffix, either singular *-ŋgo* or *-ŋge* or plural *-mbo*, as in *àntól* ‘ganglions’ with singular *àntól-ŋgó*, and *là:ró* ‘slow-witted’ with plural *lǎ:r-mbó*. We can add *yŋg* in this context, e.g. *pǒy-ŋgò* ‘baby-carrying cloth’.

3.2.11.5 Final *CC* clusters

None.

3.3 Vowels

3.3.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

The phoneme inventory is in (24).

(24)

short:	*u*	*o*	*ɔ*	*a*	*ɛ*	*e*	*i*
long:	*u:*	*o:*	*ɔ:*	*a:*	*ɛ:*	*e:*	*i:*

3.3.2 Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels are not typical phonemes in Najamba. A search through the working lexicon yielded the following cases.

Semilinguistic **interjections**: *hɔ́:ⁿ* ‘take (this)!’, *ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ* ‘uh-huh!’ (‘yes’), *ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ* ‘nope!’.

Onomatopoeias: *kòmìlìyâːⁿ* 'humming sound', *kíːⁿ-kàːⁿ-kíːⁿ* 'creaking sound', *hãːⁿ→* (or *hàːⁿ-kíːⁿ*) 'hee-haw' (donkey's braying), *síːⁿ-síːⁿ* 'chirping sound'

Definite or likely **loanwords** (including *Wanderwörter*): *wúsùlàːⁿ* '(modern) incense', *másôːⁿ* 'builder' (Fr *maçon*), *bògàlâːⁿ* 'bogolan (vegetative yellow and brown dyes for clothing)', *pìpàlâːⁿ* 'square fan', *pàⁿtàlôːⁿ* 'pants' (Fr *pantalon*), *sæ̀ːⁿtúrù* 'belt' (Fr *ceinture*), *kálásôːⁿ* 'underpants' (Fr *caleçon*), *tàgù-tàlôːⁿ* 'high-heeled shoes' (Fr *talon* 'heel'), *mìsɔ̀ːrɔ̀ lìlôːⁿ* 'lacy head shawl' (Fr *nylon*), *vàlâːⁿ* 'straight row of plants in field', *bìdôːⁿ* 'canisters' (Fr *bidon*), *fùgâːⁿ* 'aluminum alloy', *sàrsôːⁿ* 'toy wheel', *kélérôːⁿ* 'bugle' (Fr *clairon*), *làzìdâːⁿ* 'adjutant' (military rank), *lìyètìnâːⁿ* 'lieutenant', *sàrzâːⁿ* 'sergeant', *mɔ̀ndìlàtôːⁿ* 'eucalyptus balm', *bòròdíyàⁿ* 'bananas'.

Probable **native Dogon** term: *sɔ̀ⁿnɛ́ndɛ̀* 'sand'.

3.3.3 Initial vowels

An initial vowel in a stem is observed when the usual syllable-initial consonantal slot is unfilled. Most stems begin with a consonant but there is a respectable minority of vowel-initial stems. There is no obvious preference for a particular vowel-quality other than the usual harmonic considerations that would also apply if an initial consonant were present.

Nouns: *áfà:rù* 'gun mechanism plate', *úbú* 'manure', *ɔ̀nɔ̂ː* 'mountain pass', *ìnɔ̌ː* 'tooth', *èndêː* 'child', *ɛ́mɛ̀ː* 'milk'.

Adjectives: *àndằː* 'other', *èmɔ́ː* 'moist', *ílà* 'ripe', *ónànà* 'smooth'.

Numerals: none.

Verbs: *àbí* 'receive', *ímbí* 'implant', *úl* 'vomit', *ɛ́yɛ́* '(bride) move to husband's house', *ér* 'throw', *ɔ́ŋɛ́* 'start to make money', *óbí-y* 'sit down'.

Initial long vowels are less common, as is also true of vowels in initial syllables beginning with a consonant. I can cite *à:lé* 'rain', *á:ràbù* 'Arab', *ɛ̃̀ː* 'tongs', *ɛ̃̌ːbɛ̀* 'uncastrated goat', and *ằ:yɛ̀* 'chins', the verbs *á:lɛ́* 'pull in to oneself' and *ằ:n* 'cook in a pot with a little oil', and the Fulfulde loans *ɔ́:lɛ̀* 'yellow' and *ɔ́:rɛ́* '(herder) leave with herd in the morning'.

3.3.4 Stem-medial vowels

3.3.4.1 Stem-medial vowels in verbs

In underived **trisyllabic** verbs, the medial vowel is often a short high vowel, with the actual pronunciation as [i] or [u] affected by neighboring segments and by vowels in flanking syllables. Examples are *némbíl* (perfective *nèmbìlɛ̀*) 'beg', *nùgúl* 'frisk', *dùndúl* 'roll', *námílɛ́* 'squash', *kúgújí* 'drag', *pɔ́bílɛ́* 'wipe off (sweat)', *yɛ̀gílɛ́* 'wave vigorously', *dìŋgílɛ́* 'cut in half', *kɔ́bíjɛ́* 'poke', *gɛ̀ŋgírɛ́* '(hawk) sway' (cognate nominal *gɛ̀ŋgírà*), and many others. Derived trisyllabic and longer verbs with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-y*, or reversive *-lɛ́* ~ *-l* require the I-stem of the preceding verb, so these derivatives too automatically have a high vowel in the immediately presuffixal syllable.

Non-high medial vowels do occur, however. In a case like *kájábí* 'think', one suspects a denominal origin (cf. *kàjábù* 'thought'). In e.g. *dèndélí-y\\dèndèlì-yɛ̀* 'be globular', from *déndèlɛ̀* 'round, globular', only the final vowel has shifted to *i* before the derivational suffix.

Causative suffixes (*-m*, *-ndí*, *-gí*) follow the A/O-stem of the verb and so by definition have medial *a* or *o*. See §9.2 for examples.

In quadrisyllabic verb stems, the second vowel may match the first, as in *yɛ̀ndélí-yé* (variant *yàndálí-yé*) 'glide'.

3.3.4.2 Stem-medial vowels in nouns and other stems

In nouns of three syllables, there is always the possibility of an original compound, in which case the vocalism may not be harmonically or otherwise "correct." Quadrisyllabic and longer nouns are probably structured prosodically as compounds even when etymologically unitary, so I disregard them here.

In **trisyllabic** nouns with no compound-like appearance, one observes a range of medial vowel patterns, especially when loanwords are included. Often the medial vowel is identical in quality to the vowel of the both **flanking** syllables: *kàkàrâ:* 'wing', *séŋélɛ́* 'chain', *jámbálá* 'pick-hoes', *yémbélé* 'scarification', *bámbàrà* 'Bambara', *jàmálà* 'thief', *déndèlè* 'globular objects', *kègélè* 'runt', *mèlégè* 'genie', *pèrɛ́ndɛ̀* 'hot chili peppers'. Or it is identical to the vowel of the **preceding** syllable only: *kèkérî:* 'clitoris', *á:ràbù* 'Arab', *gòlònjé* 'lazy person', *ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀mɛ́* 'camel', *ɲàlàlé* 'co-wife', *gágàlî:* 'gallbladder', *jòmbòmbá* 'object sent by sorceror', *tàndàmê:* 'key', *àmàlé* 'in-law', *kúndúlé* 'intact wholes', *sògòjé* 'rags', *màsàkû:* 'sweet potato' (< Bambara compound), *wè:gérù* 'violin', *làsá:sì* 'modern rifle', *mìsídè* 'mosques' (< Arabic), *àlmá:mù* 'imam' (< Arabic). Or it is identical to the vowel of the **following** syllable only: *dómbélé* 'crest of rooster', *ŋ̀gúmàlà* 'hornless ram', *ámbìrì* 'chief' (< Arabic), *bájɔ̀ndɔ̀* 'sleeved hoe (type)', *bòbírì* 'reed flute', *tòŋgèré* 'shallow hole', *kùmbɛ̀rɛ́* 'baobab seeds', *tókàrà* 'namesake' (< Fulfulde). ATR-harmony is respected, so *e* and *o* may combine, or *ɛ* and *ɔ*, but the two sets are not mixed. A final vowel from the set {*e ɛ o ɔ*} may really be an agreement marker, so the relationship between the medial and the final vowel may be complicated by morphophonology.

We see a medial **high** vowel in *kòmìlé* 'dry outer bark', *tɛ̀ŋílɛ̀* 'Tengou (southern Dogon)', *pètíŋé* 'cloves', *gémílɛ́* 'charcoal' (cf. *gémɛ̀* 'black'), *sé:kù:jò* 'Itinerant holy man' (< Fulfulde), *àlsìâ:m* 'Muslim' (< Arabic), *gàrí:bù* 'mendicant pupil' (< Arabic). Note that vowel harmony is again respected in spite of the intervening extraharmonic high vowel. In *jèŋgíyè:* 'great-grandchild' and *sèjíyè* 'grandchild', both denoting kin of junior generations, a minor **diminutive** pattern is present (§4.2.1). Additional nouns as *kɔ̀ríyɔ̀* 'calabash' might be reconsidered in this light.

Other, minor medial-vowel patterns occur chiefly in borrowings: *màdèmbá* 'corn', *bùyà:gí* 'guava' (regional word), *dùndàngé:* 'shacks', *sàkó:sì* 'travel bags' (Fr *sacoche*), *málè:kà* 'angel' (< Arabic), *dùwáɲè:* 'customs officer' (Fr *douanier*), *tùbàlá:jì* 'baggy pants' (< Fulfulde).

Vocalism is unstable in the word for 'wind (airflow)'. One speaker gave the (unsuffixed) plural as *énáné:*, another as *éné* ~ *énéné*. The singular is *énáná-ŋgó* ~ *éná-ŋgó*.

3.3.5 Stem-final vowels

3.3.5.1 Stem-final vowels of nouns, adjectives, numerals

Nouns and numerals have lexically variable final vowels (or final consonants. Taking the singular of nouns as lexically basic (except where derived suffixally from an unsuffixed plural or collective), the full set of vowel qualities is exemplified in (25). As the examples suggest, the length and tone of the final vowel is also lexically variable, independently of vowel quality.

(25)

noun	gloss
nàmâː	'meat'
dɔ́gɛ̀	'Dogon (person)'
ínè	'goat'
ìnɔ̌ː	'tooth'
gólò	'fire'
gùjú	'skin'
tàgîː	'shoes'

There are only a few basic numeral stems (see §4.7.1), so the full range is not citable, but there is no reason to think that any special restrictions on phonological shape (other than those that apply to nouns) are applicable.

Adjectives also have a range of final vowels, but the situation is complicated here by the fact that adjectives have several agreement forms, and in some cases do not occur in a bare-stem form. Those adjectives that occur with no apparent suffix end in front and low vowels: *dùmbé* 'blunt', *pílɛ̀* 'white', *ílà* 'ripe', *mènjíː* 'thin'. Other adjectives have two agreement forms (back/low versus front) with final alternations *uː*↔*iː*, *oː*↔*eː*, *ɔː*↔*ɛː*, and *aː*↔*ɛː* . These adjectives can perhaps be represented as ending in a vowel specified for height but not for [±back], the latter feature being supplied by an agreement morpheme that fuses with the final vowel.

3.3.5.2 Verb-stem vocalic ablaut (E-stem, A/O-stem, I-stem, chaining form)

Verb stems end in vowels, and this final vowel varies depending on the morphological context. (26) presents representative forms showing each final vowel. The verbal noun (VblN) is based on the **I-stem**, which ends in *i* or (for a few monosyllabics) *u*. The perfective, which has no AN suffix, is based on the **E-stem**, which ends in *e* or *ɛ*. Most nonzero inflectional suffixes, and some derivational suffixes, require the **A/O-stem**, which ends in *a* or *o*. The **chaining form** is segmentally identical to the E-stem for verbs of the {*ɛ ɔ*} ATR-harmonic class, and to the I-stem for verbs of the {*e o*} ATR-harmonic class. It does, however, usefully display the lexical tone.

The split in (26) is between verbs of -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} class, whose final vowels alternate between +high (usually *i*, in a few cases *u*), *ɛ*, and *a*, and verbs of the {*e o*} +ATR class,

whose final vowels alternate between +high (as before), *e*, and *o*. Medial short high vowels are subject to syncope.

(26)

gloss	chaining	VblN	perfective	A/O stem (tone variable)
a. H/*ɛ/a*				
'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kú-lé*	*kwɛ̀-*	*kwa-*
'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́jí-lé*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-*	*keja-*
'pick fruit'	*bɛ̀lɛ́*	*bɛ́l-lé*	*bɛ̀lɛ̀-*	*bela-*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ́gí-lé*	*dɔ̀gɛ̀-*	*doga-*
b. H/*e/o* (monosyllabic)				
'come'	*wé*	*wú-lé*	*wè-*	*wo-*
'bring'	*jê:*	*jí:-lé*	*jê:-*	*jô:-*
'sleep'	*nóy*	*nóy-lé*	*nòyè-*	*noyo-*
'do well'	*kóndí*	*kóndí-lé*	*kòndè-*	*kondo-*
'go down'	*súgí*	*súgí-lé*	*sùgè-*	*sugo-*
'catch'	*ìbí*	*íbí-lé*	*ìbè-*	*ibo-*

The presuffixal A/O stem, though it occurs with most of the inflected forms and is therefore highly conspicuous in usage, also requires the shift of nonfinal {*ɛ ɔ*} vowels in the stem to {*e o*}, as seen in the first syllable of *keja-* 'cut'. Many of the inflections that use the A/O stem also impose nonlexical tone overlays on the stem. This suggests that the A/O stem cannot be taken as lexically basic.

3.3.6 ATR harmony

Some kind of vowel harmony involving particularly the mid-height vowels +ATR {*e o*} versus -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} is common in Dogon languages. Najamba is no exception, but its system of vowel harmony works in somewhat unusual manner.

In general, {*i a u*} are **extraharmonic**, i.e., they may co-occur with vowels of either active harmonic class.

3.3.6.1 ATR harmony in verbal morphology

The pattern of vowel harmony at work in verbal morphology can be observed in (27). Disregard the tones for present purposes.

(27)

gloss	chaining	perfective	future (1st/2nd person)
a. {ɛ ɔ} harmonic class			
‘drink’	*né*	*nɛ̀-*	*nà-mbó-*
‘hit’	*dɛ̀njɛ́*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-*	*dɛ̀njà-mbó-*
‘run’	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-*	*yòbà-mbó-*
‘tie’	*págí*	*pàgɛ̀-*	*pàgà-mbó-*
b. {e o} harmonic class			
‘come’	*wé*	*wè*	*wò-mbó-*
‘go’	*ín*	*ìnè-*	*ìnò-mbó-*
‘sleep’	*nóy*	*nòyè-*	*nòyò-mbó-*

The lexical ATR-harmonic class can always be seen clearly in the perfective, which ends in *ɛ* or *e*. The chaining form also respects (or at least does not violate) this lexical class, but the shift to final *i* in some stems, and the deletion of this /i/ after sonorants, disguises the ATR-harmonic class in some verbs, namely, those whose nonfinal vowels are extraharmonic {*a u i*}.

The evidence as to the relative **markedness** of the {*ɛ ɔ*} and {*e o*} is mixed. {*ɛ ɔ*} is strongly predominant in monosyllabic (i.e. single-vowel) stems. In addition, nonmonosyllabic stems with at least one harmonically sensitive nonfinal vowel are also mostly of {*ɛ ɔ*} type, so e.g. *CɛCɛ* and *CɔCɛ* stems are more common than *CeCe* and *CoCe* in the perfective. However, when the nonfinal vowels are from the set of extraharmonic vowels, if anything final *e* predominates.

The lexical vocalism is dramatically changed in the many derived and inflected forms based on the A/O stem of the verb, such as the future in the rightmost column of (27), where two major changes occur. First, the stem final vowel becomes *a* for the {*ɛ ɔ*} class, and *o* for the {*e o*} class. Secondly, any nonfinal vowels from the set {*ɛ ɔ*} are converted to the corresponding vowels from the set {*e o*}. For example, the *ɔ* in *yɔ̀bɛ́* ‘run’ changes to *o* in future *yòbà-mbó-* (27a). As a consequence, in all of the relevant inflections and derivations, the only telltale clue that the underlying stem is of the {*ɛ ɔ*} class is the stem-final *a* (rather than *o*) before the suffix, even though *a* itself is extraharmonic.

As a result, it is necessary to think in terms of an {*e o*} **overlay** on the verb stem in the A/O stem, i.e. in the future and several other suffixal categories. This is comparable to the various tone overlays that are separately applied to verb stems in many of the same morphological contexts.

Derivational suffixes for verbs may adopt the ATR-harmonic class of the input them, or they may disregard it and present their own independent vocalism. In the first group are reversive *-lɛ́* or *-l* (< /-lí/), mediopassive *-yɛ́* or *-y* (< /-yí/), and transitive *-rɛ́* or *-r* (< /-rí/). The variants with underlying final /i/ occur with +ATR stems. In the second group are three causative suffixes, *-m* (< /-mí/), *-ndí-*, and *-gí-*. These causative suffixes require the A/O-stem and therefore have +ATR (*e o*} harmony.

3.3.6.2 ATR harmony in nominal morphology

There is no harmonic interaction between stems and a final number suffix, inanimate singular *-ŋgo* or-*ŋge*, or animate plural *-mbo*. These suffixes acquire their tones, but not their vocalism, from the preceding stem. The stem may contain vowels of either the {*ɛ ɔ*} or {*e o*} harmonic class.

Harmony is generally respected in alternations of final vowels (class markers) in mutating (as opposed to suffixing) stems. These alternations distinguish singular and plural for nouns, and class as well as singular and plural for adjectives. For example, there are final-vowel alternations between *ɛ* and *ɔ* (28a) and between *e* and *o* (28b). In these examples, the nonfinal stem vowels are extraharmonic {*u i*} which cannot themselves mutate.

(28)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'death'	*tìbɔ̌:*	*tìbɛ̌:*
		'side'	*tíŋgɔ́:*	*tíŋgɛ́:*
	b.	'shadow'	*kìndô:*	*kìndê:*
		'animal pen'	*kìlǒ:*	*kìlě:*
		'hunched back'	*gùnjò-gùnjô:*	*gùnjò-gùnjê:*
	c.	'old, worn-out (object)' [distinct from *kúnjɛ́:* 'old (person, animal)', plural *kúnjɔ́:*]	*kùnjě:*	*kùnjǒ:*

Array (29) below shows the same final-vowel alternations, but these examples do have, in addition, a harmonically sensitive nonfinal vowel. In (29a), this vowel remains unaffected by the harmonically conservative final-vowel change. In the irregular noun 'child' (29b), the nonfinal vowel adopts the quality of the final vowel, but there is no shift in harmonic class.

(29)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'midriff'	*bɛ̀rɛ̀-bɛ̀rɔ̂:*	*bɛ̀rɛ̀-bɛ̀rɛ̂:*
		'navel'	*bɔ́ŋgɔ̀:*	*bɔ́ŋgɛ̀:*
		'testicles'	*dɔ́lɔ̀:*	*dɔ́lɛ̀:*
	b.	'child'	*èndê:*	*òndô:*

However, there are some cases where the ATR-harmonic class of the **entire stem** does shift from singular to plural (30). The generalization about these cases is that {*e o*} harmonic class is associated with the O agreement form (singular for some nouns, plural for others (including humans and animates), while the {*ɛ ɔ*} harmonic class is associated with the E agreement form. In (30a), we have E/O agreement type, i.e. with O agreement in the plural. In (30b-c), on the other hand, O agreement is found with the singular and E agreement with the plural.

(30)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘woman’	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*
		‘cow’	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*
		‘slave’	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:* (or: *gùndɛ́-mbó*)
		‘opp-six sibling’	*ùbùlŋgɛ́:*	*ùbùlŋgàwó:*
	b.	‘cloth’	*sò-ŋgó*	*swɛ̌:*
	c.	‘heart and liver’	*kɛ́ndà:*	*kɛ́ndɛ̀:*

The *a*-vowel in *yàwó:* etc. in (30a) is structurally parallel to the stem-final *a* in verbs of lexical {*ɛ ɔ*} class that have undergone the {*e o*} harmonic melody overlay in the A/O stem (see preceding section).

3.3.6.3 ATR harmony in adjectival morphology

Many adjectives end in long vowels that shift between front and back/low (symbolized here as “E” and “O”) to agree with the nominal category of the referent. In most cases the ATR-harmonic class of the adjective remains constant. For example, we have alternations of *ɛ* and *ɔ* (31a) and of *e* and *o* (31b). (31c) shows two related adjectives that differ in ATR class. In one adjective, the ATR-harmonic class shifts from singular to plural (31d).

(31)		gloss	E	O
	a.	‘ruined’	*bùgɛ̂:*	*bùgɔ̂:*
		‘big’	*gìndɛ́:*	*gìndɔ́:*
	b.	‘tall’	*gàbô:*	*gàbɛ̂:*
	c.	‘old (thing)’	*kùnjɛ̌:*	*kùnjɔ̌:*
		‘old (person)’	*kúnjɛ́:*	*kúnjɔ́:*
	d.	‘nasty, bad’	*nɛ̀:ndɛ́:*	*nɛ̀:ndá:*

3.3.7 Ideal lexical representations of verb stems

The **ideal lexical representation** of a verb stem is a blend of the chaining form (which brings out the lexical tone melody) and the E-stem (which brings out the ATR-harmonic class). For verbs of the -ATR class {*ɛ ɔ*}, the chaining form by itself is sufficient to fully characterize the stem. This is because the chaining form has the segmental structure of the E-stem, as in *bɛ̀lɛ́* ‘pick fruit’ (chaining form *bɛ̀lɛ́*, E-stem *bɛlɛ* with variable tone). Chaining forms like *dɔ̀gɛ́* ‘leave’ show that the chaining form for old *CɔCɔ verbs derives directly from the E-stem.

However, for verbs of the +ATR-harmonic class {*e o*}, the chaining form derives from the I-stem, which does not always directly indicate (though one can always infer) this harmonic class. The ideal representation for these verbs is therefore a blend of the tone melody of the chaining form with the segments (notably the final vowel) of the E-stem, even though this combination of tones and segments does not exist as an actual form: /págé/ 'tie' (blended from /págí/ and /page/), /ìbé/ 'catch', etc. In the lexicon it would suffice to present just the chaining form (*págí*, *íbí*), since the final *i* tells us indirectly that the {*e o*} ATR-harmonic class is at hand. But this puts a burder on the end-user, and an idealized representation is more transparent.

In a more radical **autosegmental** decomposition, one would extract the ATR-harmonic class and/or the tone melody as ontologically distinct entitities. This would leave a stripped-down lexical carcass with the consonants and the vowels, except that {*e ɛ*} would merge as (underspecified) *E*, and {*o ɔ*} would merge as *O*. We could then think of the lexical representations as having up to three components, even without further extraction of, say, a metrical structure.

(32) *bèlɛ́* equals {*bElE*, -ATR *ɛ/ɔ*, LH}
págí equals {*pagE*, +ATR *e/o*, H}

I have mixed feelings about such a decomposition. It seems more reasonable to me to think of the ATR-harmonic class, and the tone melody, as being extractible (by native speakers) from the chaining form or a slight idealization thereof.

3.3.8 Vocalic sound symbolism

As in other Dogon languages, there are some pairs of verbs and expressive adverbials (EAs) that differ in vocalism in a fashion suggesting size or intensity symbolism. A verbal example is the pair *gùnjí* '(squirrel) dig up (seeds)' and *gɔ̀njɛ́* 'dig (small hole in sand)'. Another, with correspondences in some other Dogon languages, is *púllí* 'break (e.g. cigarette)' and *péllí* 'break off, prune (flowering stem of onion)'.

Among EAs I can cite *pàràjày né* 'having small spots or stripes' and *pùrùjày né* 'blotched, having large spots'.

Usually in Dogon languages the semantic distinctions involve size or other quantity, with front vowels like *ɛ* and *e* suggesting diminution. However, I do not have enough Najamba data on this point to attempt a close analysis.

3.4 Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.4.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading

There is no general Nasalization-Spreading rule of the type /nawa/ → *naw^{n}a* as found in eastern Dogon.

However, *l* is often heard as something very close to [n] after a nasal syllable, i.e. after *Nv* with some nasal consonant *N*. This happens constantly with *là* 'also, too', since such combinations as *mí là* 'I too' and *mó là* 'he/she too' are very common. I initially transcribed *mí nà*, *mó nà*, etc. However, the *l* does not quite merge with *n* in such cases, and speakers are quick to correct the linguist's mispronunciation of such combinations with *n* instead of *l*. Perhaps the nasalized allophone of *l* is a tap of some sort. A close instrumental study would be useful.

3.4.1.2 *g* ~ *ŋ* and *ŋg* ~ *ŋ* alternations

There is no productive alternation of this type. For example, the adjectival stem *wàgí* 'distant' has a related verb *wàgá-ndí* with no change in the *g*. Likewise, *súgí* 'go down' has a causative *súgó-ndí*. (Cognates of these stems in eastern Dogon do show *g*/*ŋ* alternations.)

Two word-families offer possible cases of (historical) alternations. One set consists of noun *dɔ́gú* 'prop' or 'pillar', noun *dɔ̌ŋ* 'pillar of stacked stones or bricks', and verb *dɔ̀ŋɛ́* 'prop (something) up'. In the collocation *dɔ́gú dɔ̀ŋɛ́* 'put in a prop', *dɔ́gú* behaves like a cognate nominal.

Also suggestive is the set *tégé* '(e.g. roof) leak', *tégí* '(liquid) drip', and *téŋí-yé* '(rainwater) form puddles on roof'.

ŋg alternates with *ŋ* irregularly in *tíŋgé* 'go past', causative *tíŋá-ndí* 'cause to go past'.

3.4.2 Syncope and apocope (vowel deletions)

3.4.2.1 Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (in verbs)

In verbal morphology, deletion applies to a stem-final short /i/ after an intervocalic medial sonorant {*ŋ n l r y w*} and usually *m*.

There are not many opportunities for deletion of stem-final vowels in verbs, since most derivational and inflectional suffixes require the A/O-stem of the verb (final *a* or *o*). However, deletion of the stem-final vowel does occur in the verbal noun (suffix *-lé*) and in the reversive derivation (§9.1), which require forms of the stem ending in /i/. For example, before reversive suffix *-lé-* or /-lí-/ (on the latter see below), the stem-final vowel shifts to *i* in all cases where it is not deleted (33a). Assuming that the shift to /i/ occurs in all verb stems before this suffix, we conclude that /i/ is deleted after a sonorant in (33b-c).

(33)

	stem	perfective	gloss	reversive	gloss
a.	*tímbɛ́*	*tìmbɛ̀*	'cover with lid'	*tímbí-lɛ́*	'take lid off'
	dàgí	*dàgè*	'lock'	*dàgí-lɛ́*	'unlock'
	gìbí-r	*gìbì-rè*	'put on wrap'	*gìbí-l*	'take off wrap'
	yàmbí	*yàmbè*	'cover'	*yàmbì-lé*	'uncover'
b.	*téŋɛ́*	*tèŋɛ̀*	'hobble'	*téŋ-lɛ́*	'unhobble'

c.	*tá:n*	*tà:nè*	'step on'	*tá:n-lé*	'remove foot from'
	kíl	*kìlè*	'fence in'	*kíl-lí*	'remove fence from'

In (33c), a good case can be made that the input verbs have also undergone deletion of final /i/ in the chaining forms *tá:n* and *kíl*. Likewise for the suffix itself in reversive *gìbí-l* 'take off wrap' in (33a). In this analysis, these verbs have chaining forms /tá:ní/, /kílí/, and /gìbí-lí/, which satisfy the conditions for deletion of the final /i/. The supposition that final /i/ is present here is based on circumstantial rather than direct evidence. Final /i/ does occur in the chaining form of other verbs, where an intervocalic sonorant does not precede the /i/; see *dàgí* and *yàmbí* in the leftmost column in (33a), and *kíl-lí* in the reversive column in (33c). /i/ is the only stem-final vowel that has this peculiar distribution. {*o ɔ a ɛ e*} occur as final vowels in verb stems with no tendency to syncopate, and the remaining vowel, *u*, does not occur stem-finally in any nonmonosyllabic verb.

An exception is verb *mèmí-lé* 'untwist cord', a fairly uncommon reversive of *mèmé* 'twist cord'. A similar phonological environment involving verbal noun suffix *-lé* does require Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion, as in *mém-lé* 'twisting (cord)'.

3.4.2.2 High-Vowel Syncope (in non-verbs, after sonorant, *b* or *g*)

For nouns and adjectives, there is no exact equivalent to the Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion described just above for verbs. For example, several nouns have a shift from stem-final *u* (singular) to *i* (plural), and the *i* is not deleted. There are numerous such examples involving *r*, e.g. *jùrú* 'waterbag', plural *jùrí*.

However, nouns and adjectives do have a similar process by which a stem-final high vowel {*u i*} is deleted before a nominal suffix (singular or plural). As with the verbs, the deletion is associated with a preceding intervocalic unclustered sonorant, but with the nouns and adjectives the deletion may extend to cases involving a preceding peripheral voiced stop {*b g*} if the suffix begins with a homorganic nasal.

Examples include agentives like *nàmà-sèmé* 'butcher', *gɔ̀lè-gòlé* 'farmer', and *tè:-kèré* 'wood-gatherer' (§5.1.4), which have plurals *nàmà-sě-mbó* (with /mmb/ simplified to *mb*) *gɔ̀lè-gŏl-mbó*, and *tè:-kĕr-mbó*. The deleted vowel is /u/ (raised from /e/), as seen in nonsyncopating agentive plurals like *kèlè-mìjú-mbó* 'cowry-tosser'.

Singular suffix *-ŋgo* is phonologically similar to plural *-mbo* (the two are associated with different sets of nouns). Many nouns shift a final /e/ to *i* or *u* (*kìjé* 'husked grain spikes', singular *kìjú-ŋgó* ; *dámbè* 'tinder', singular *dámbì-ŋgò*). After an unclustered intervocalic sonorant, this high vowel deletes: *à:lé* 'rain(s)', singular *ă:l-ŋgó*.

The most interesting cases of syncope involve a peripheral voiced stop {*b g*} instead of a sonorant. Here the peripheral voiced stop appears to be attracted to a homorganic nasal-stop cluster {*mb ŋg*} in the number suffix, resulting in syncope of the intervening high vowel, followed by further fusion of the consonants, but no vocalic lengthening.

Consider *dàbàrù-dàbé* 'magician', an example of a productive compound type ending in an agentive (§5.1.4). The expected plural is #*dàbàrù-dàbú-mbó*. The /u/ preceding plural *-mbó* should not syncopate, because it is preceded by an obstruent. However, in fact we get *dàbàrù-[dă-mbó]* 'magicians', where the /u/ has in fact disappeared, and the resulting /bmb/ has simplified to *mb*. Another example is *tìmè:-ìbé* 'tree-catcher' (i.e., forestry officer),

plural *tìmɛ̀:-[ǐ-mbó]*. I treat this as an extension of syncope, followed by consonantal assimilations. By contrast, intervocalic deletion of the *b* would have produced long vowels, as it in fact does in plurals of some other nouns (see the following section).

There are parallel examples of nouns whose disappearing consonant is *g* rather than *b*, preceding singular suffix *-ŋgo*. Examples (with plurals or collectives first): *yógé* 'millet', singular *yó-ŋgó* ; *nègé* 'oil', singular *nĕ-ŋgó* ; *kèndà-[tèg-î:]* 'lunch', singular *kèndà-[tĕ-ŋgò]*. Before *-ŋgo*, stem-final /e/ often shifts to a high vowel such as /i/, and stem-final long /i:/ typically shortens to *i*. Therefore the cases of *g*-Deletion probably involve Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (syncope), and resulting contraction of /gŋg/ to *ŋg*. Example: /nègí-ŋgó/ 'oil' → /nĕg-ŋgó/ → *nĕ-ŋgó*. Again, the fact that the presuffixal vowel is short suggests a syncope plus consonant-assimilation derivation, rather than deletion of intervocalic *g* plus *vv*-Contraction.

3.4.3 Intervocalic Labial-Deletion

There are some common suffixes on noun, adjective, and verb stems that begin with *mb* (animate plural *-mbo*, future *-mbô-*). If the stem preceding such a suffix ends in *vmv*, where *v* is a vowel from the set {*a ɛ ɔ*}, the *m* is often deleted, although the full pronunciation is also possible. Thus *gɛ́mɛ̀* 'black', plural *gɛ́mɛ̀-mbò* or more often *gɛ̂:-mbò* ; *mɔ̀mɛ́* 'fetish', plural *mɔ̌:-mbò* or *mɔ̀mɛ́-mbò* ; verb *dăm* 'speak', 1Sg future *dàmà-mbó-m̀* or *dà:-mbó-m̀*. This process is clearly an intervocalic deletion, leading to a contraction of the flanking vowels into a long vowel.

I observed no deletion of *m* in e.g. *kɔ̀mɔ̂:-mbò* 'sickles' or *kɛ̀rɛ̀-nàmâ:-mbò* 'wild animals', where the potentially targeted *m* is followed by a long vowel. However, a preceding long vowel does allow the deletion: *sǎ:mà* 'sick person', plural *sǎ:-mbò* (< /sǎ:mà-mbò/) with <LHL> tone on the first syllable.

Deletion of /b/ in the same position is less common but is attested, especially with the verb *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run', as in 'and (then)' chaining form *yɔ̌:-mbò* (< /yɔ̀bɛ́-mbò/), and progressive *yô:-mbò* (< /yóbà-mbò/).

(34) Intervocalic Labial-Deletion (optional)

$$\{m,b\} \rightarrow \varnothing \quad // \quad \{a\ \varepsilon\ \mathfrak{o}\}\ \underset{[\text{-long}]}{\_\_} \quad \{a\ \varepsilon\ \mathfrak{o}\}\ mb$$

The other potential target for this deletion process would be *w*, but this semivowel is essentially absent from word-medial intervocalic position in Najamba, the exceptions being Fulfulde loans like *háwɛ́* 'persuade'. My assistant did not delete the *w* in *háwɛ̀-mbò* 'persuade and (then) …'.

I did not observe deletion of *g* in a comparable environment. This is observed with (imperfective) *-ŋga-* participles of *págí* 'tie', which appeared as e.g. future participle *pàgă-ŋgà* rather than #*pă:-ŋgà*. The example tested was *nò: [pègè-mbó bé] pàgă-ŋgà mó* 'the person who ties the animals'.

3.4.4 Intervocalic and preconsonantal *y*-Deletion

Intervocalic /y/ in several nouns is likewise apparently deleted in some nouns before singular suffix *-ŋgo* or *-go* (35). The unsuffixed plural (or collective) of these nouns ends in *e*, which often shifts to /i/ before this suffix. Therefore we could analyse these examples as instances of Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion followed by contraction of /yŋg/ to *ŋg*. However, the examples diverge regarding the vowel length of the stem vowel in the suffixed singular. In (35a), the vowel is long *a:*, suggesting that the /y/ is deleted intervocalically, triggering subsequent contraction of two short vowels into a long vowel (/ae/ → *a:*). This would be parallel to Intervocalic Labial-Deletion. In (35b), however, the vowel is short, lending itself to a syncope plus *CC*-cluster reduction analysis whereby the /y/ is deleted before a consonant, e.g. /sáyè-gò/ → /sáy-gò/ → *sá-gò*.

(35)

	singular	plural	gloss
a.	*bǎ:-ŋgó*	*bàyé*	‘small gourd’
	bǎ:-gò	*bǎyè*	‘stick’
	sà:-gó	*sàyé*	‘torch’
	ǎ:-gò	*ǎyè*	‘branch’
	tǎ:-ŋgó	*tǎyè*	‘rifle cock’
b.	*sá-gò*	*sáyè*	‘cotton’
	mànà ǎ-ŋgó	*mànà àyé*	‘plain millet cakes’

These processes affect only a few noun stems and are probably highly morphologized. I note in passing that Najamba does not reduce other triple clusters with sonorant plus homorganic nasal and voiced stop, and that the triple cluster *yŋg* is unreduced in *jǎy-ŋgò* (cognate nominal of verb *jǎy* ‘sow seeds in a pit with some manure’) and in *pǒy-ŋgò* ‘baby-carrying cloth’.

3.4.5 Local consonant cluster rules

3.4.5.1 Summary of consonant cluster adjustments

Najamba is rather thin on *CC*-cluster processes, in comparison to eastern Dogon (especially Toro Tegu) where syncope often feeds such processes. The one notable process is shift of /rl/ to *ll*, and even this is not always carried out.

3.4.5.2 /rl/ → *ll*

This shift does not occur in verbal nouns with suffix *-lé*. We therefore always get e.g. *tár-lé* ‘(act of) looking’. However, there is one irregular reversive verb (usual suffix *-lé* or *-l*), and one transitive verb (usual suffix *-ré* ~ *-r* or less often *-lé* ~ *-l*) paired with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, that show *ll*. One other reversive (‘take off hat’) fluctuates between *rl* and *ll*.

(36)	input verb	gloss	derived verb	gloss
	ìrɛ́	'forget'	*íl-lí-yɛ́*	'remember'
	gɔ̌r	'put on hat'	*gɔ̌r-lí* ~ *gɔ̌l-lí*	'take off hat'
	ɛ́rí-yɛ́	'be tangled'	*ɛ́l-lɛ́*	'tangle (sth)'

3.4.6 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.4.6.1 *vv*-Contraction

Numerous suffixes consist of, or begin with, vowels that replace the final vowel of the preceding morpheme.

(37)	suffix	category
	-û:	nominalization (§4.2.3.7)
	-î:	instrument nominal (§4.2.3.6)
	-o: ~ *-ɔ:*	2Sg subject
	-e: ~ *-ɛ:*	2Pl subject
	-ɛ: ~ *-a:*	3Pl subject
	-e: ~ *-ɛ:*	participle
	-o: ~ *-ɔ:*	participle

A suffixal high vowel {*i u*} replaces the final stem vowel. The latter leaves no trace, since these suffixes also determine the tone of the derived stem.

For the non-high suffixal vowels, we get variable output vowel quality and tone. Tone is covered in §3.6, below. The 3Pl subject forms are highly irregular and morphologized, varying with inflectional category in a way that makes a phonological analysis inadvisable. For the remaining suffixes with non-high vowels, the final vowel quality is determined by the ATR-harmonic class of the stem. Therefore one could think of e.g. 2Sg *-o:* ~ *-ɔ:* as having a slightly underspecified representation as a back rounded mid-height vowel /-O:/ (*O* is archiphoneme for *o* and *ɔ*), acquiring its final "coloring" from ATR-harmonic processes.

Verb stems also have vocalic alternations of the type *sɛmɛ*, *sema-*, and /semi-/ → *sém* for the verb 'slaughter'. These are referred to as the E-stem, A/O-stem, and I-stem, respectively. The E-stem is lexically basic, revealing the lexical ATR-harmonic class (and, in the chaining form, the lexical tone). The A/O- and I-stems impose a -ATR {*e o*} melody on the stem, but also change the stem-final vowel in a manner that could be interpreted as addition of a suffixal vowel that replaces the stem-final vowel.

For nouns and adjectives, the main issue relevant here is the analysis of the agreement endings that mark singular and plural number (in different ways for different classes of stems). Most nouns show final alternations of the type singular {*u o ɔ a*} → plural {*i~e e ɛ ɛ*}, with a back or low vowel shifting to a front vowel. There are also a few nouns that have the opposite shift, from front (singular) to back (plural) vowel. The tone and length

of the final vowel are lexically variable. One way to analyse this is to tease apart a lexical representation including tone, length, and some vocalic features from abstract "E" and "O" agreement elements, specified as front and back, respectively, that fuse with the lexical vowel to produce the observable forms. Such an analysis is appropriate for adjectives (which acquire agreement status from a noun), and could also work for nouns. For nouns, we could alternatively take the singular form as lexically basic, and add the "E" (for most stems) or "O" (for the minority) to form the plural.

Consider the typical examples in (38), showing final *ɔɛ*. The **skeleton** is derived by extracting the agreement element E or O, using *ɑ* as the archiphoneme for *ɔ* and *ɛ* (specified for lower mid height, but not for backness or rounding). The skeleton can be further decomposed if the ATR-harmonic class is extracted from the remainder.

(38)	gloss	singular	plural	skeleton
	'fruit'	*ɔ̀mɔ̂:*	*ɔ̀mɛ̂:*	*ɔ̀mɑ̂:*
	'horn'	*kɛ́lɔ̀:*	*kɛ́lɛ̀:*	*kɛ́lɑ̀:*
	'garden'	*bɔ̀rɔ̌:*	*bɔ̀rɛ̌:*	*bɔ̀rɑ̌:*
	'side'	*tíŋgɔ́:*	*tíŋgɛ́:*	*tíŋgɑ́:*
	'long sack'	*bɔ̀:rɔ́*	*bɔ̀:rɛ́*	*bɔ̀:rɑ́*

If we analyse e.g. *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* as the combination of skeleton /ɔ̀mɑ̂:/ and the abstract O element (i.e. [+back, +round]), we need a simple *vv*-Contraction (or, more accurately, feature-fusion) rule to produce the outputs. If on the other hand we take singular *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* to be lexically basic, its plural *ɔ̀mɛ̂:* would have to be produced by combining /ɔ̀mɔ̂:/ with agreement element E (i.e., [-back, -round]), whereby the features of E replace the (opposite) features of the final lexical vowel.

3.4.6.2 Monophthongization (/iy/ to *i:*, /uw/ to *u:*)

Within a syllable, /iy/ is heard as *i:* . The clearest cases of this are with verb stems (derived or not) ending in /…vyí-/ in the A/O- and I-stems ("*v*" is any vowel). The final /i/ is deleted after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant (§3.4.2.1). If *v* is /i/ (39b), orthographic "iy" is pronounced [i:]. This is very common, since *v* is /i/ the regular vowel of medial (noninitial and nonfinal) syllables in verb stems.

(39)		gloss	A/O-stem	underlying	phonetic
	a.	'learn'	*bǎy*	/bàyí/	[bǎj]
	b.	'become blind'	*gìrbǐ-y*	/gìrbí-yí/	[gìrbǐ:]

Presumably /uw/ would also be heard as as *u:*, but I can find no examples where the underlying form clearly has /w/. This is because (nonomonosyllabic) verb stems ending in …*wv*- ("*v*" is any vowel) are absent.

3.4.7 *Cv-* to *Cv:-* lengthening (verbs before derivational suffixes)

Monomoraic *Cv-* verb stems are lengthened to *Cv:-* before derivational suffixes, with some exceptions.

Most *Cv-* and *Cwv-* verbs that are attested with the productive causative suffix *-m* undergo this lengthening. Examples are *ŋwé* 'go in' with cauastive *ŋwá:-m* 'take in', and *né* 'drink' with causative *nă:-m* 'give drink to'. Irregularly, *gwé* 'go out' has a short vowel in (archaic) causative *gŏ-m*. See (299b-c) in §9.2.1 for further examples.

A similar process may be active in verbs with the transitive suffix *-rɛ́* ~ *-r*, but in these cases there are difficulties in modeling how the derivations work phonologically. See (308) in §9.3.3 for the relevant pairs.

3.5 Cliticization

3.5.1 Phonology of *=y* ~ *=i:* 'it is' enclitic

The 'it is' enclitic has phonological alternations somewhat like those in Jamsay, but in Najamba the enclitic has no intrinsic tone. After a vowel, it is heard as *=y*, with a tone spread from that of the vowel. After a consonant, it is heard as *=i:*, and here again it acquires its tone from the preceding syllable.

When the noun ends in a bimoraic *CvC* with contour tone <LH> or <HL>, the addition of *=i:* forces resyllabification as …<*Cv*> <*Ci:*>, so the second tone component of the contour tone is realized on the *i:* . In (40), the angled brackets in the 'it is' form indicate syllabification.

(40)

	form	with 'it is'	gloss
a.	*dwă:n*	<*dwà:* > <*n=í:*>	'elegance'
	gĕn	*gèn=í:*	'blood' (2005-2a)
b.	*ó ǹ*	<*ó* > <*n=ì:*>	'your mother' (2005-2a)
	kên	<*ké* > <*n=ì:*>	'there' (2005-1a)
	mâ:n	<*má:* > <*n=ì:*>	'So-and-So'

3.6 Tones

Tones at the level of syllables are H[igh], L[ow], falling <HL>, rising <LH>, and bell-shaped <LHL>. In this notation, angled brackets < > represent syllable boundaries. A notation with curly brackets such as {LH} denotes a more abstract tone overlay that may be realized over a variable number of syllables. Likewise with lexical tone melodies like /LH/.

The most complex and least common syllable-level tone is <LHL>. Lexical <LHL> is observed in a few monosyllabic nouns in their unsuffixed form(s). Unanalysable noun stems are in (41a). One variant of the reciprocal morpheme is in (41b).

(41)

	form	gloss	related form
a.	*ɛ̌:*	‘tongs’	singular *ɛ̌:-gò*
	ǎ:	‘chin’	plural *ǎyɛ̀*
	mɔ̌:	‘neck’	plural *mɔ̌ɛ̀*
	yɔ̌:	‘voice’	plural *yɔ̀wɛ̂:*
b.	*tɔ̃:n*	reciprocal object	*tò-mbó* (§18.3.1)

<LHL> tones are also produced by grammatical tones applied to monosyllabic verb stems. For example, future *kwǎ-m̀* ‘he/she will eat’—more properly /kòá-m̀/) with <LHL> tone—is distinct from imperative *kwá-m̀* ‘eat!-2Pl’ (/kóá-m̀/).

<LHL> tones are also produced in nominalizations based either on monosyllabic verbs or on verbs of shape /Ciyv/ (“*v*” is any vowel) that are reduced to *Ciy-* (phonetic [Ci:]) before nominalizing suffix *-n*.

(42)

	form	gloss	related form
a.	*bǐỳ-n* [bǐ̃:n]	‘bedding’	*bǐy\\bìyɛ̀* ‘lie down’
	tèmbèn-mǐ̃:-n	‘brick factory’	*mɛ́:\\mɛ̀:* ‘make (bricks)’
	ìnjè-dǐỳ-n [...dǐ̃:n]	‘outhouse’	*ínjé* ~ *íŋgé* ‘water’, *dìyɛ́* ‘bathe’
b.	*nì:-tɛ̃:*	‘slingshot’	*nǐ:* ‘bird’, verb *tɛ́:\\tɛ̀:* ‘sting’
	twɛ̃:	‘seedstock’	singular *tǒy-ŋgò*, verb *twɛ́* ‘sow’

3.6.1 Lexical tone melodies

3.6.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

In their lexically basic forms, stems (verbs, nouns, adjectives, numerals) may not be /L/-toned, i.e. it must have an H-tone. The lexical tone melody, spread over the relevant syllables, may be all-high /H/, rising /LH/, falling /HL/, or bell-shaped /LHL/, and in longer nouns (mostly of compound origin) occasionally /HLHL/ or the like. As a result, a stem- or word-level {L} overlay is always audibly distinct from the lexical melody.

3.6.1.2 Lexical tone melodies for verbs

Regular verbs divide into two primary lexical melodic classes. One is level high /H/, the other is rising /LH/. The exceptions are two monosyllabic <HL> verbs, and one bisyllabic L<HL> verb.

For an inventory of monosyllabic verbs, see §10.1.1. Nearly all monosyllabic stems are all-high, with shapes *Cv́*, *Cwv́*, *Cv́:* in the chaining form. However, *jɛ̂:* ‘bring’ and *dwɛ̂:* ‘arrive’ have unique falling melodies. In addition, short-voweled *Cv́* and *Cwv́* verbs split into three groups based on whether they lengthen their vowel before perfective negative *-l-* and, if

they do lengthen, whether the tone of the stem is H or L (§10.1.4.2). A similar split occurs before causative *-m* (§9.2.1), but some of the verbs in question have distinct tonal forms before the perfective negative and causative suffixes. One is tempted to infer the lexical tone from these forms, but the inconsistency between perfective negative and causative suggests that these tonal patterns may be frozen vestiges of original lexical tones that are no longer clearly valid synchronically.

Bisyllabic and longer verbs are lexically either /H/ or /LH/, except for a single /LHL/ verb, *dìnɛ̂:* 'find, encounter'. This is also the only nonmonosyllabic verb stem ending in a long vowel. For {LH} verbs, the tone break is between the first and second **vocalic moras**, hence *Cv̀Cv́*, *Cv̌:Cv́*, *Cv̀Cv́Cv́*, *Cv̌:Cv́Cv́*, etc. Note in particular that in *Cv̌:Cv́*…, with long vowel in the first syllable, the break is within the duration of this vowel, which therefore has rising tone: *dǎ:ná-m* 'have (sb) roast (sth)', *bǎ:rɛ́* 'teach', *bŭ:jí-y* 'be in poor shape'. In the case of *Cv̌:Cv́* verbs with medial sonorant and {*ɛ o*} ATR-harmonic class, and therefore subject to deletion of final /i/ in the chaining form, having the break in the long first syllable, instead of at the syllable boundary, makes it unnecessary to shift tones following Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion: *dǎ:n* 'roast' (/dǎ:ní/).

For *Cv̀CCv́*, *Cv̀CCv́Cv́*, etc., especially where the first of the clustered consonants is a sonorant (as it is in native Dogon forms of these shapes), one might expect a similar tone break within the initial *CvC* syllable. Instead, these verbs have the break point at the syllable boundary: *yàmbí* 'cover', *dùŋgí* 'stuff, cram', *bìndí* 'turn over'.

However, a *Cv̀Cv́Cv́* verb appears as *Cv̌CCv́* when syncope has removed the medial vowel (§3.6.4.4). This happens in reversive *gǒr-lɛ́* 'pull back (arm)', syncopated from /gɔ̀rí-lɛ́/, derived from *gɔ̀rɛ́* 'hold out (arm)'.

The tone breaks described above are valid for the **chaining form**, which surfaces with its lexical melody. Tone overlays imposed on the stem by an inflectional suffix or derivational category have their own patterns of application to stems of various prosodic shapes.

In verbs (but not other word-classes), there is a fairly good correlation between choice of lexical tone melody and initial consonant. In particular, initial **voiceless** obstruents (stops and sibilants) strongly favor the **{H}** melody, while initial **voiced** stops strongly favor the **{LH}** melody. Nearly every nonmonosyllabic verb beginning in a stop follows this pattern, though there are several counterexamples involving Fulfulde borrowings with initial voiced stop, e.g. *bátɛ́* 'hold (meeting)', *gá:jɛ́* 'chat', *jámbɛ́* 'betray'. Initial sonorants, and the absence of an initial consonant, are compatible with either /H/ or /LH/ melody, which in this case are lexically arbitrary.

3.6.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

Uncompounded nouns have a range of melodies: /H/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/, and in a few cases /HLHL/. The melody is strictly lexical, and unlike the case with verbs it does not correlate with initial consonant type. /LH/ and /LHL/ are especially common. /HL/ is realized as H*L on trisyllabic stems, with the tone break coming near the end (right edge). /LH/ is similarly realized as L*H on trisyllabic stems.

(43)

melody	example	gloss
/H/	*úbú*	‘manure’
	bándá	‘courtyard’
	kóbá:	‘band of cloth; brick mold’
	dómbélé	‘crest (of rooster)’
/HL/	*pâ:*	‘bowl-shaped jar’
	kwê:	‘food’
	dɔ́gɛ̀	‘Dogon person’
	dágù:	‘medication’
	jápɛ̀rɛ̀	‘donkey saddle’
	gáfâkà	‘saddlebag’
/LH/	*yě:*	‘woman’
	gwǎ:	‘country’
	nàlé	‘friend’
	èlǎ:	‘dew’
	gè:jú	‘thin thread’
	gòlònjé	‘lazy person’
	àrbàkàndé	‘gum arabic’
/LHL/	*bǎyè*	‘stick’
	tɑ̃̂:	‘leopard’
	ǹjâ:	‘earth’
	èndê:	‘child’
	dě:rù	‘tree-top’
	sògòlû:	‘yellow dye’
	ànjíkò:	‘roselle (variety)’
/HLHL/	*púlàndê:*	‘Fulbe person’ (original diminutive)
	gágàlî:	‘gallbladders’ (old reduplication)
	jálòsárì	‘plow (n)’ (borrowing)

The lexical melody as seen in singulars is generally retained in plurals, whether suffixal or by vocalic mutation.

3.6.1.4 Lexical tone melodies for adjectives and numerals

In their modifying (i.e. postnominal) forms, adjectives have a range of lexical tone melodies. The nonsuffixing adjectives, which have participle-like final long vowels that switch between front and back/low qualities to agree with nouns, may be /H/, /LH/, or /LHL/, e.g. *nálá:* ‘good’, *ɛ̀mɔ́:* ‘fresh, moist’, *pàlâ:* ‘small’, and *dùlɔ̌:* ‘first’. The /LHL/ melody, realized syllabically as L<HL>, is especially common. /LH/ may have its tone break at the syllable

boundary as with *èmɔ́:*, or in the middle of the final long vowel as with *dùlɔ̌:* . Using syllabic notation these are L.H and L.<LH>, respectively.

The suffixing adjectives, whose most basic form ends in a vowel from the set {*e ɛ a o i: ɛ:*} or in a suffix *-yè*, are /H/ (*kómbé* 'skinny'), /LH/ (*dùmbé* 'blunt', *sògòjé* 'worn-out'), /HL/ (*pílɛ̀* 'white', *yégèlè* 'cool'), or /LHL/. The latter is realized as <LH>.L or L.<HL> depending on moraic structure (*gɨ̌rbà* 'blind', *bùrî:* 'tender'). /LHL/ melody is normal in the subtype with suffix *-yè* (§4.5.1.2).

There are only a few numerals, but they appear to be similar in tonal possibilities to nouns. The only /H/ numeral is *kúndú* 'one', which behaves like an adjective. For the other basic numeral stems, the melodies are a) /HL/ realized as H.H.L, H.L or <HL> depending on syllable count (*píyɛ́lì* 'ten', *kúlèy* 'six', *nô:y* 'two'), b) /LHL/ (*tà:ndî:* 'three'), and c) for the noun-like larger numerals /LH/ realized as L.H or <LH> (*mùjú* 'thousand', *sɨ̌ŋ* 'hundred').

3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.6.2.1 Grammatical tone overlays and formulae for verb stems

Verb stems and suffixed verbs are subjected to a wide range of **tone formulae** (typically a mix of overlay and lexical melody on the stem plus a suffixal tone). The formulas associated with the verb stem in various inflectional categories are summarized in (44). In each case the hyphen represents the break between stem and inflectional suffix, so ((X))H*(L)-L means ((X))H*(L)- stem and L-toned suffix. H* means one or more H-toned moras, L* means one or more L-toned moras. X represents the initial tone of the verb-stem lexical melody. Single parentheses mean that the tonal feature is audibly realized only when a mora not already tonally marked is available. Double parentheses mean that the tonal feature is audible only if there is a mora available after single parentheses have been opened. The extra H's or L's in H* and L* beyond the obligatory single H or L are activated when another syllable is available after all parenthesized elements have been realized. For example, (X)H*((L))-L is realized as H-L, XH-L, XHL-L, and XHH-L, depending on the number of syllables or moras. The italicized rows involve categories whose tone formula is derived from that of another category listed. In participles, *α:* represents a variable mid-height long vowel {*ɛ:*, *e:*, *ɔ:*, *o:*} expressing agreement with the head NP of a relative (E or O category) but respecting the verb's lexical ATR value.

(44)

	category	suffix	tone formula
a.	indicative positive		
	perfective	(zero)	L*- (but see below)
	present	*-ɲjò-*	((X))H*(L)-L
	future		
	1st/2nd	*-mbó-*	L*-<HL>
	3Sg	*-m̀*	L*H-L
	3Pl	*-mbà*	L*H-L

b. indicative negative

perfective negative		
1st/2nd, 3Sg	*-l* (< /-lí-/)	X(H*)-H (stem with lexical melody)
3Pl	*:-ndí*	L*-H
present negative	*-ndí*	(X)H*L-H
future negative	*-ndì*	L*H-L

c. deontic modal positive

imperative (Sg addressee)	(zero)	H*
imperative (Pl addressee)	*(based on Sg)*	
hortative (Sg addressee)	*-ý*	L*-H
hortative (Pl addressee)	*-ỳ*	L*H-L

d. deontic modal negative

prohibitive (*-là*)	*-là*	(X)H* ((L))-L
prohibitive (*-nɔ̂:*)	*-nɔ̂:*	L*-<HL>
hortative negative	*(based on prohibitive -là)*	

e. uninflected and nominal forms

verbal noun	*-lé*	H*-H
verbal noun	*-ndá:*	H*-H
agentive	(zero)	L* (H)
progressive	*-mbò*	((X))H*(L)-L

f. participles (positive)

perfective		
subject	final *ɑ́:*	(X)H* (-)H
nonsubject	final *ɑ̀:*	(X)H* (-)L
present		
subject	*-ŋgà*	((X))H*L-H
nonsubject	*-ŋgà*	((X))H* (L)-L
future		
subject	*-ŋgà*	L*H-L
nonsubject	*-ŋgà*	L*H-L

g. participles (negative)

perfective negative		
subject	*-l-ɑ́:*	(X)H*-H
nonsubject	*-l-ɑ̀:*	L*-L
present negative		
subject	*-nd-ɑ́:*	((X))H*L-H
nonsubject	*-nd-ɑ̀:*	((X))H*(L)-L
future negative		
subject/nonsubject	*-nd-ɑ̀:*	L*H-L
nonsubject	*-nd-ɑ̀:*	L*H-L

h. subject-focalization participles (positive)

perfective	*(equals inflected 3Sg perfective)*	
present	*-nj-è:*	L*-L
future	*-mb-ê:*	L*-<HL>

i. subject-focalization participles (negative)

perfective	*-l-è:*	L*-L
present	*-nd-é:*	(X)HL-H
future	*-nd-è:*	L*H-L

Several of these formulae are rather simple. We have **{L}** tones in the **stem** in the 1st/2nd person perfective (and to some extent the third person perfective), the 1st/2nd person future, the 3Pl perfective negative, the singular-addressee hortative, and the prohibitive variant with *-nɔ̂:* . The stem is also {L}-toned in many of the participial forms. Conversely, we have {H}-toned stem in the imperative singular and in the verbal noun with *-lé* or *-ndá:* .

There are three other tonal patterns for stems. The first (disregarding the suffixal tone) is **L*H-**, with at least one L and at least one H mora, with intervening moras L-toned (<LH>, LH, LLH, etc.). This is the characteristic **future** stem-tone formula, appearing (always before an L-toned suffix) in the third person future, throughout the future negative, and in several future participles. However, future forms based on suffix *-mbô-*, i.e. the 1st/2nd person future positive inflections along with the future positive subject-focalization form in *-mb-ê:*, have {L}-toned stem (before the initial H-tone of the suffix).

The second is basically H*L-, i.e. the mirror image of L*H-, but all categories whose formulae include the H*L- overlay allow the stem-initial mora to express the lexical distinction between /H/ and /LH/, at least if there are enough moras to go around. Representing the lexical initial tone as X, these formulae are therefore of type **XH*L** (i.e. either LH*L, or HH*L equivalent to H*L) when maximally expressed. The full formulae, showing the pecking order of the tone components, are (X)H*L- in the present negative with suffix *-ndí* (the final L must be expressed in the stem, since the suffix is H-toned), (X)H*((L))- in the prohibitive with *-là* suffix (X has priority over L), and ((X))H*(L)- in the present with *-njò-* suffix (L has priority over X).

From monomoraic *yɛ́* 'see', present negative *yâ-ndí-* shows falling (i.e. <HL>) stem before the suffixal H-tone, while prohibitive *yá-là* and present *yá-njò-* have only an H-tone on the stem before the L-toned suffix. Bimoraic /LH/-toned *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run' brings out the variable pecking order between the X and the L in XH*L-, as we see in prohibitive *yòbá-là* (where the final L-tone of the stem is missing), and present *yóbà-njò-* (where the initial lexical L-tone is missing). The present negative is *yóbà-ndí-*.

The remaining formula is that of the perfective negative (excluding the 3Pl). For stems of two or more syllables, it is clearly XH*-, i.e., either H*- (for lexical /H/ melody) or LH*- (for lexical /LH/ melody). The most unusual feature of this inflection is that it brings out otherwise missing lexical tone distinctions among monomoraic verbs (*Cv-*, *Cwv-*), which are elsewhere treated as H-toned. Thus *ŋwɛ́* 'go in' has perfective negative /ŋwá:-lí-/, while the elsewhere usually homonymous *ŋwɛ́* 'hear' has perfective negative /ŋwà:-lí-/, with only the lexical X tone appearing on the stem. One hesitates to ascribe lexical tones solely on the basis of one negative inflection (there is also some evidence for such a lexical tonal distinction of

these verbs in their causatives, but the perfective negative and the causative disagree as to which verbs are treated as H-toned and which are treated as L-toned). If, however, we decide that the perfective negative does in fact reveal lexical tones for monomoraic verbs, we should represent the tone formula as **X(H*)-**, with obligatory expression of the lexical variable X.

Since the dominant lexical tone melodies for verbs are /H/, notationally equivalent to H(H*), and /LH/ realized as LH*, the formula **X(H*)** is generally indistingushable from the lexical melody itself. It is therefore possible to argue that the perfective negative has **no tone overlay**.

3.6.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

There is only one tone overlay for Najamba nouns: stem-wide tone-dropping to {L}. This affects a) a noun followed by a modifying adjective (§6.3.1) or by a demonstrative (§6.5.2) but not by a definite morpheme (§6.5.3); b) a noun with a preceding possessor, whether NP or pronoun (§6.2); c) a noun not already tone-dropped that functions as head NP of a relative clause (§14.2.1); and d) a noun functioning as the initial in compounds (§5.1.1-2, §5.1.4).

3.6.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

When a modifying **adjective** is added to a noun within an NP, the adjective forces tone-dropping on the noun, as noted above. The noun-adjective sequence is now a core NP, and at this point it is the adjective that is exposed to tone-dropping from the wider morphosyntax. For example, if a second modifying adjective is added, the first adjective is tone-dropped (§6.3.3.1). Similarly, a following demonstrative tone-drops an adjective (§6.5.2). If a core NP (N-Adj) is possessed, the possessor forces tone-dropping on the entire N-Adj combination (§6.2.1). And if N-Adj serves as internal head NP of a relative clause, the adjective drops tones (§14.2.1).

Numerals do not directly interact tonally with a preceding core NP (noun, or noun plus one or more adjectives). When a numeral follows a core NP, both the numeral and the core NP have the tones that they would have independently. However, when the numeral is followed by a demonstrative (§6.5.2), or when the entire expanded NP (core NP plus numeral) is the internal head of a relative (§14.2.1), both the core NP and the numeral are tone-dropped. Likewise, when such an expanded NP has a possessor (‘my three dogs’), the possessor imposes tone-dropping on both the core NP (‘dog’) and the numeral (§6.2.1).

3.6.3 Tonal morphophonology

3.6.3.1 Atonal-Suffix Tone-Spreading

Certain suffixes have no intrinsic tone. Instead, they acquire their tone by spreading from the preceding morpheme.

The most conspicuous examples are the syllabic nominal animacy-number suffixes: inanimate singular *-ŋgo* ~ *-go* and *-ŋge* and animate plural *-mbo*. (Some nouns take the singular suffix, some take the plural suffix, and some take neither.)

The tonology is partially obscured by modifications to stem-final vowels before these suffixes. However, in (45) we can see the basic pattern by which the suffix acquires its tone from the preceding stem.

(45)

	gloss	singular	plural (or collective)
a.	'father's sister'	*sèjí:*	*sèjí-mbó*
	'elder'	*kúlmá*	*kúlmá-mbó*
	'chicken'	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*
	'Arab'	*á:ràbù*	*á:ràbù-mbò*
b.	'corn'	*màdèmbá-ŋgó*	*màdèmbá*
	'squash'	*góné-ŋgó*	*góné*
	'sweet potato'	*màsàkû:-ŋgò*	*màsàkû:*
	'froth'	*bùjè-bújè-ŋgò*	*bùjè-bújè*

3.6.3.2 Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising

Many nouns, adjectives, and verbs end in a long <LH>-toned vowel. Before particles or other words beginning with an H-tone (except over a pause or similar prosodic break), this rising tone is raised (or leveled) to a **flat H-tone**. Monosyllabic words (*Cv̌:*, *CvčC*, *Cv̌:C*) are unaffected, and retain their contour tones.

The combinations in question are very common. Among the H-toned particles that induce this effect on a preceding word are those in (46).

(46)

	particle	type of preceding word
a.	*mɛ́* 'if/when …'	perfective (positive) verb (1st/2nd person)
b.	*dîn* 'all'	noun, adjective
	definite determiners	noun, adjective
c.	*má* (locative)	noun, adjective

Examples with *mɛ́* **'if/when …'** are in (47). The form of the relevant word when it appears without the particle is shown in parentheses after the free translation. In (47a), the raising of the vowel increases the acoustic difference between 'you-Sg sat down' and *òbì-y-ò:* 'they sat down'. In (47c), the verb is monosyllabic and does not raise and level its tones before *mɛ́*. In (47d), the initial nasal is treated as a syllable for this purpose, so the final vowel raises.

(47) a. *òbì-y-ó:* *mɛ́*
sit-MP-2SgSbj if
'if/when you-Sg have sat down' (< *òbì-y-ǒ:*)

b. *dìmbì-yɛ́-y* *mɛ́*
follow-MP-1PlSbj if
'if/when we have followed' (< *dìmbì-yɛ̀-ý*)

c. *y-ǒ:* *mɛ́*
see.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if/when you have seen'

d. *ǹd-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
give.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if/when you-Sg have given' (< *nd-ǒ:*) (2005-1a)

There are passages in my texts where the *mɛ́* was actually omitted, leaving the raising of the tone of the final syllable of the verb as an index of its virtual presence.

Examples with **quantifier** *dîn* 'all, every, each' are in (48).

(48)

	gloss	regular form	with *dîn* ('all, every, each')
a.	'village'	*sɔ̀njǒ:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: dîn*
	'road'	*ùsfǒ:*	*ùsfɔ́: dîn*
	'hands'	*nùmɛ̌:*	*nùmɛ́: dîn*
	'other'	*àndɛ̌:*	*àndɛ́: dîn*
b.	'person'	*nǒ:*	*nǒ: dîn*
	'foot'	*nă:*	*nă: dîn*

Examples with **definite** determiners are in (49). Demonstratives are not relevant here since they force tones on the preceding noun or adjective to drop.

(49)

	gloss	regular form	with definite determiner
a.	'village'	*sɔ̀njǒ:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: ké*
	'road'	*ùsfǒ:*	*ùsfɔ́: kó*
	'hands'	*nùmɛ̌:*	*nùmɛ́: yé*
	'other'	*àndɛ̌:*	*àndɛ́: yé*
b.	'person'	*nǒ:*	*nǒ: mó*
	'foot'	*nă:*	*nă: kó*

The situation with **locative** postposition *má* is tricky, since this postposition also has an L-toned variant *mà*. The L-toned variant has a more general distribution (for example, it is

used after definite determiners of any tonal type), and is a strong candidate to represent the lexical (underlying) tone. In the interpretation suggested here, *mà* first rises to *má* after some (but not all) words ending in an H-tone element (i.e. in a syllable with high or rising tone). Then this newly H-toned variant *má* induces Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising when the (nonmonosyllabic) stem ends in a long vowel with rising tone.

(50)		gloss	regular form	with *má* (‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’)
	a.	‘road’	*ùsfɔ̃ː*	*ùsfɔ́ː má*
		‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌ː*	*sɔ̀njɔ́ː má*
		‘other (place)’	*àndɛ̌ː*	*àndɛ́ː má*
		‘hand’	*nùmǎː*	*nùmáː má*
	b.	‘foot’	*nǎː*	*nǎː má*

The tonal change also applies when the following H-toned element is a pronoun (51a), a numeral (51b), or a verb (51c), among other elements.

(51)				
	a.	*ànè àndɛ́ː*	*mí yè*	‘another man saw me’
	b.	*sɔ̀njɛ́ː*	*nôy*	‘two villages’ (*sɔ̀njɛ̌ː*)
	c.	*ànè àndɛ́ː*	*ínè*	‘another man went’

3.6.4 Low-level tone rules

3.6.4.1 Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (absent)

Contour tones require a minimum number of moras (timing units) to play out. However, I know of no case where a floating tone is added to a syllable and where the nucleus of that syllable is audibly lengthened to accomodate the extra tone component.

3.6.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

When a syllable with a contour (falling or rising) tone is extended by the addition of a syllable-final consonant (in the form of a suffix or enclitic), the contour tone is phonetically realized by stretching the first tone component, so that the final tone component is realized on the last possible mora.

For example, *nùmǎː* ‘hand’ with final rising-toned syllable can be followed by the ‘it is’ enclitic *=y*, which has no intrinsic tone of its own. The final tone element of the stem (in this case, H) spreads into the semivowel of the enclitic. The first tone element (here, L) then pushes right, confining the H-tone to this semivowel (phonetic [nùmàːj́]). A similar example with falling tone is *nàmâː* ‘meat’, which combines with the same ‘it is’ enclitic as phonetic [nàmáːj̀].

In spite of the phonetics, I prefer to transcribe e.g. *nùmǎː=ý* ‘it is a hand’ and *nàmâː=ỳ* ‘it is meat’, since this clarifies the actual source of the contour tone.

3.6.4.3 Final-Tone Resyllabification

A stem-final syllable with contour tone, <LH> or <HL>, may precede an atonal but syllabic enclitic, namely the *=i:* variant of the 'it is' enclitic (§3.5.1). In this combination, the final tone element of the stem shifts onto the enclitic. Thus /gěn=i:/ 'it's blood' surfaces as *gèn=í:*, and /kên=i:/ 'it's there' surfaces as *kén=ì:* .

A similar process occurs in some suffixed nouns, though it is not regular. Inanimate examples like *gìyé* 'farts (n)', singular *gìyè-ŋgó* are in (95d). Examples generally involving vowel-shortening like *nǒ:* 'person', plural *nò-mbó* 'people', are in (113a).

3.6.4.4 Stranded-Tone Re-Linking

When a tone is stranded due to the deletion of a vowel and resulting resyllabification, it is realized on the preceding syllable within the word. This is the case in the verb *gǒr-lé* 'pull back (arm)', syncopated from /gɔ̀rí-lé/, mentioned in §3.6.1.2 above.

The process is fairly common in suffixed nouns, which often trigger syncope of a stem-final vowel. Since the suffixes are syllabic but atonal, a simple tone of the deleted vowel also appears on the suffix. An example is *àlmá:mù* 'imam', plural *àlmâ:m-bò* (§4.1.3.8). Another is *wòlé* 'vein; root', plus *wǒl-ŋgò* (§4.1.3.2). If the deleted vowel is contour-toned (my examples are with <HL> vowels), its leftmost tone element moves further left onto the final surviving syllable of the stem, while its rightmost tone element appears on the suffix only. An example is *gágàlî:* 'gallbladders', singular *gágǎl-ŋgò* (§4.1.3.2), where the <HL>-tone of the deleted vowel is split between stem-final and suffixal syllables.

3.6.4.5 <HLH>-to-<HL>Reduction

There are few opportunities to test the behavior of underlying <HLH> toned syllables. This is not an acceptable surface sequence within a syllable, unlike the fully acceptable bell-shaped <LHL>.

However, there are two morphological contexts where this sequence arises, and where it is resolved by dropping the final H-tone element. In both situations, one or another of the three verbs that end in a lexical falling tone occur with a single-consonant suffix that would normally be H-toned, so we ought to get a final <HLH> syllable. The verbs are *dwê:* 'arrive', *jê:* 'bring', and *dìnê:* 'find'. One suffixal combination is the 3Sg perfective negative, whose underling form is /-lí-/ with an H-toned vowel, seen more clearly in e.g. 1Sg *-lú-m* and 1Pl *-lí-ỳ*. Word-finally, i.e. in the zero 3Sg form, the *í* of /-lí-/ is deleted. In other verbs, when the stem-final ends in an L-tone, the H-tone of /-lí-/ is preserved, and fuses with the L-tone to form a rising <LH>, as in *nǎ-l-∅* 'he/she did not drink'. For 'arrive', 'bring', and 'find' we should therefore have 3Sg #*dɔ̃:-l-∅*, #*jõ:-l-∅*, and #*dìnɔ̃:-l-∅*, respectively, with <HLH> tones on the final syllable, after the final /i/ has been deleted. The actual surface forms are, however, *dɔ̂:-l*, *jô:-l*, and *dìnɔ̂:-l*, with falling (i.e. <HL>) rather than <HLH> tone on the final syllable.

These three verbs have perfective positive stems with the same lexical <HL> final syllable. Such pronominal-subject suffixes as 1Sg *-ḿ* are elsewhere H-toned after the

perfective stem, which for most verbs is entirely L-toned, as in *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-mɔ́* 'I fell'. With the three verbs mentioned above, the H-tone is absent: *jê:-m* 'I brought', *dwê:-m* 'I arrived', *dìnê:-m* 'I found.

To summarize, if the H-tone of the deleted suffixal vowel initially combines with the tone of the stem-final syllable, the resulting <HLH> must be reduced to <HL>.

(52) <HLH> syllable reduces to <HL>

Alternatively, a constraint against <HLH> syllables could be formulated, blocking the development of <HLH> at any level.

3.7 Intonation contours

3.7.1 Phrase and clause-final nonterminal contours (↗, ↘, →, →ˆ, →ˇ)

In texts, the following conventions are used to indicate intonational features: ↗ terminal high pitch at the end of a nonfinal clause or other constituent, usually marking incompetion in the middle of a parallel series, ↘ for a notable pitch drop at the end of the final clause or other constituent in such a parallel series, → prolongation (with no special pitch shift) either as part of the lexical item (see the following section) or to set up the following clause, →ˆ combination of → and ↗, and →ˇ for prolongation plus progressive pitch lowering.

A typical textual example of ↗ followed by a parallel but series-ending ↘ is (508b) in §14.2.5.

3.7.2 Adverbs and particles with lexically specified prolongation (→)

A number of expressive adverbials have final → built into their lexical form (§8.4.8.1). In Najamba, the prolongation is less conspicuous than in eastern Dogon languages like Jamsay, since in Najamba the adverbials are followed by a particle *nɛ̀*.

3.7.3 Dying-quail word-final intonation (absent)

The dying-quail final intonation or intonation-like grammaticalized terminal prosody, common in Jamsay and to some extent other eastern Dogon languages, is largely absent from Najamba. The only prosodic pattern that approaches it is one pronunciation of *ma→* 'or' (§7.2.2).

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Nominal categories

4.1.1.1 Nominal morphological categories

The categories relevant to nouns (and NPs) are those in (53).

(53) a. singular vs. plural
b. animate (including pseudo-animate) vs. inanimate
c. agreement classes (based on agreement with modifiers)

In terms of their own morphology, nouns are of the types in (54), based on the relationship between the form of the singular noun and the corresponding plural.

(54) a. singular equals plural, no suffixes or mutations
b. singular distinguished from plural by stem-final vowel mutation
c. singular unmarked, plural has suffix *-mbo* (animates & pseudo-animates)
d. plural unmarked, singular has optional suffix *-ŋgo* ~ *-go* or *-ŋge* (inanimates)

Type (54a) consists of a fairly small number of nouns that simply do not distinguish singular from plural. This includes mass nouns not easily divided into units (e.g. 'honey'), nouns with a unique denotatum ('God', 'sun'), and unassimilated loanwords ('shroud'). Many "mass" nouns are actually countable nouns in Najamba and often appear in plural form; this includes most crops.

However, (54a) also includes some inanimates that behave like English *sheep*, in that the same invariant nominal form may function morphosyntactically as either singular or plural, as verified by agreement in suffixing adjectives and in determiners. The known examples of this are in (55).

(55)

gloss	singular	plural
Sg has same form as Pl, E/E-class inanimates		
'house'	*ólé*	*ólé*
'courtyard'	*bándá*	*bándá*
'field'	*yàlî:*	*yàlî:*
'well (water)'	*dǎy*	*dǎy*
'day'	*déŋán*	*déŋán*
'night'	*ɲám*	*ɲám*
'pocket'	*jíbà*	*jíbà*

Many nouns have either a suffixal plural (56a) or a suffixal singular (56b), while others ("mutating" stems) make the distinction by vocalic changes (56c).

(56)

	gloss	singular	plural`
a. suffixal plural (animates)			
	'agama lizard'	*tìŋgá*	*tìŋgà-mbó*
b. suffixal singular (inanimates)			
	'shed'	*gúlì:-ŋgè*	*gúlì:*
	'stem'	*sìmbá-ŋgó*	*sìmbá*
c. vocalic mutation (animates and inanimates); see §4.1.2 below			
	'goat'	*ínè*	*ínà:*
	'skin'	*gùjú*	*gùjé*

Singular suffixation and plural suffixation are not completely symmetrical, however. Animate plural suffix *-mbo* is effectively obligatory when its semantic conditions are fulfilled, while the inanimate singular suffixes (O-class *-ŋgo* ~ *-go*, E-class *-ŋge*) are usually optional. That is, the unsuffixed stem may be used in singular as well as plural functions, which can still be distinguished by agreement with adjectives and determiners.

Two nouns have suppletive plurals. These are the ontologically basic terms that together can denote all living and inanimate entities (57a-b). See §4.1.3.1 below for closer analysis.

(57)

a. animal		
'living thing, critter'	*yê:*	*bómbò*
b. inanimate		
'thing'	*kóŋgò*	*yèpà:bé*

4.1.1.2 Nominal agreement categories

The maximum set of agreement categories for nouns is that in (58).

(58) Agreement categories

animate singular	animate plural
inanimate singular E-class	inanimate plural
inanimate singular O-class	

The categories "animate" and "inanimate" are grammatical rather than biologically correct. Essentially all animals (including insects and shellfish), along with humans, are grammatically animate. However, there are many nouns denoting inanimate (at least for us) entities that are grammatically animate; I refer to them as **pseudo-animates**.

All five agreement categories are distinguished by determiners. For example, there are five definite markers (59).

(59) Definite determiners

	singular	plural
animate	*mó*	*bé*
inanimate	*ké*	*yé*
	kó	

For suffixing adjectives, animate singular and inanimate plural are both unmarked and therefore homophonous. The three marked categories have distinct suffixes (60).

(60) Categories distinguished by suffixing adjectives

	singular	plural
animate	zero	*-mbo*
inanimate	*-ŋge*	zero
	-ŋgo (*-go*)	

Mutating adjectives, which use final-vowel changes instead of suffixes to distinguish class and number, make only a binary distinction between what I label as E and O morphological forms. These two categories are mapped onto the categories of (58) above as shown in (61).

(61) Categories distinguished by mutating adjectives

	singular	plural
animate	E	O
inanimate	E	E
	O	

That is, animates have E/O agreement (singular/plural), and inanimates (depending on class) have either E/E or O/E agreement. In the E/E type, the adjective is the same for singular and plural nouns.

Since some nouns and some adjectives are suffixing, while other nouns and adjectives are mutating, all four combinations (e.g. mutating noun and suffixing adjective) occur. In a N-Adj combination, whether the noun is suffixing or mutating has no bearing on the form of the adjective.

4.1.1.3 Semantics of animate and pseudo-animate nouns

Nouns denoting **humans** and **animals** (including insects) are grammatically animate. They have no singular suffix, but many take the animate plural suffix *-mbo* (for the phonology, see §4.1.3.7-8 below). There are also some mutating nouns that distinguish singular from plural by stem-final vowel shifts rather than by suffixation.

The grammatical animacy of a noun is tested by the form taken by a modifier (determiner or adjective). For suffixing adjectives, the unmarked form is used when modifying singular animate nouns, and the form with animate plural suffix *-mbo* is used when modifying plural animate nouns (again, regardless of the way plurality is expressed morphologically on the noun itself). For mutating adjectives, the E variant is used for animate singular, and the O variant is used for animate plural.

The definite determiners used with animate nouns are animate singular *mó* and animate plural *bé*.

Examples of nouns denoting humans and animals are in (62).

(62)

	singular	plural	gloss
a.	*nàlé*	*năl-mbó*	'friend'
	yáyè	*yây-mbò*	'woman who has given birth'
	gòlònjé	*gòlònjú-mbó*	'lazy person'
	dùbé	*dùbú:*	'blacksmith'
	dɔ́gè	*dɔ́gɔ̀:*	'Dogon (person)'
	yĕ:	*yàwó:*	'woman'
	èndê:	*òndô:*	'child'
b.	*gàŋ-kírí*	*gàŋ-kír-mbó*	'aquatic tortoise'
	tă:	*tă:-mbò*	'leopard'
	gàndá	*gàndà-mbó*	'mollusc'
	ínè	*ínà:*	'goat'
	nĕ:	*nàwó:*	'cow'

A considerable number of nouns (**pseudo-animates**) denoting inanimate objects are grammatically animate in their morphology and in their agreement patterns. Most of these nouns are from the semantic categories in (63).

(63) Pseudo-animate nouns (treated as animate grammatically)

a. implements with blades
b. implements with points or hooks
c. firearms
d. certain garments (pants and footwear)
e. vehicles
f. ritually powerful objects
g. musical instruments
h. stones

i. woven covers
j. apiaries (for honey)

Examples of (63a), **blade** implements, are *lâ:m* 'razor blade' (Fr *lame*), *pòlé* 'knife', *sìlbé* 'folding knife', *gùlâ:* 'chopping ax' (among other ax/hatchet terms), *jálòsárì* 'plow', *dàbá* 'daba' (among other hoe terms), *ká:fà:* 'sword', *and kɔ̀mɔ̂:* 'sickle'. Perhaps *pìndî:* 'trap' also belongs here.

Examples of (63b), **pointed or hooked** implements, are *kèmé* 'point' (and its compounds), *sílbàl* 'simple awl', *mènjénè* 'needle', *tòndòmbèlé* 'metal hook', *dùrî:* 'pole with hook (for pulling off fruits)', *sàmbé* 'spear', and *dǐ:* 'thorn'. Perhaps *tàndàmê:* 'key' also belongs here.

Examples of (63c), **firearms**, are *mălfà* 'rifle, musket', *làsá:sì* 'modern rifle', and *gă:lè* 'rifle mechanism'.

Examples of (63d), **garments** (pants and footwear) are *yábà* 'pants', *tùbàlá:jì* 'baggy pants', *bɛ̀ntɛ́* 'loincloth', *tènî:* 'uniform' (Fr *tenue*), and *tàgî:* 'shoe' along with several compounds beginning with *tàgù-* 'shoe' such as *tàgù-bà:bî:* 'modern sandal'. Since the garments in question cover the midsection or the feet, this category might be compared with that of woven covers (below.

Examples of (63e), **vehicles**, are *mòtô:* 'motorcycle', *wògòtórò* 'donkey or ox cart', *dàmbà-dámbà* 'push-cart', *nègèsó:* 'bicycle', *bàtô:* 'steamboat', and *àbìyɔ̂w*^{n} 'airplane' (Fr *avion*).

Examples of (63f), **ritually powerful** objects, are *sábɛ̀* 'amulet' (also 'paper'), *nɔ̀mbɛ́* 'rainbow' (i.e. "Nommo" the river god), *jòmbùmbá* 'object sent by sorceror', *dɛ̌:rɛ̀* 'statuette (of animist god)', *mɛ̀légɛ̀* 'djinn (genie)', and *mɔ̀mɛ́* 'fetish (animist idol)'.

Examples of (63g), **musical** instruments, are *bònî:* 'tomton', *bàrá* 'calabash tomtom', *gɔ́ŋɛ̀* 'hourglass-shaped tomtom', *bòbírì* 'reed flute', and *wɛ̀:gérù* 'violin'.

Examples of (63h), **stones**, are *tɛ̀ŋgɛ̂:* 'oil grindstone', *kìn-dàŋgú* 'mountain boulder', and *ɛ̀ŋîn* 'hearth (three stones on which pots are set, over a fire)'. For *kìnû:* 'stone' itself, see below.

Examples of (63i), **woven covers** (also used as e.g. pot or calabash covers), are *pìpàlâ:*^{n} 'square fan' and *pɛ̀ndú* 'woven concave winnowing van'.

Examples of (63j), **apiaries**, are *kòbî:* 'apiary in tree' and *ɲìmá* 'apiary in cave'.

Those not fitting into any category include *sà:gé* 'month', *bùndɛ̀-ɔ̀mɛ̂:* 'rolling pin (for ginning cotton)', *dòŋɛ́* 'rag used as cushion for load on head' and *tɛ́mɛ̀* 'sieve' (Fr *tamis*).

The majority of animates (human, animal, or pseudo-animate) have an unsuffixed bare stem in the singular and animate plural suffix *-mbo*. However, there are a significant minority that use stem-final vowel mutations instead of suffixation. These nouns have a stem-final front vowel in the singular, which becomes a back or low vowel in the plural. An example is *nà:jî:* 'goat kid', plural *nà:jû:* . For more discussion and lists of examples, see §4.1.2.5, below. Whether an animate noun expresses plurality by suffixation or by stem-final vowel mutation is irrelevant to agreement.

Out of some 250 flora terms elicited, only one is pseudo-animate. This is *nàŋgá* (plural *nàŋgá-mbó*), which denotes the dangerous prostrate herb *Tribulus terrestris*. The fruits of this plant have thorn-like spines that are painful to step on, so the noun can be thought of as belonging to the 'pointed or hooked implement' category.

kìnû: **'stone'** is an inanimate O-class singular, but it becomes pseudo-animate in the plural *kǐn-bò* (< /kǐn-mbò/).. This animacy shift applies to modifier agreement as well as to the form of the noun itself.

dúmɛ́-ŋgó **'(livestock) animal'** is also an inanimate O-class singular. Its plural varies between *dúmɛ́:* and *dúmɔ́:*, and agreement likewise varies between inanimate plural or animate plural. Inanimate plural agreement occurs in (449a) in §12.1.2, versus possible animate plural agreement in (666f) in §17.6.1. The original sense was probably 'possession' (cf. English *chattel*), related to the common verb *dùmɛ́* 'get, obtain. This semantic history may help explain the unusual morphology and inconsistent agreement pattern.

4.1.1.4 Semantic categories of O/E and E/E class inanimates

All nouns denoting inanimate objects or abstractions, other than those in the pseudo-animate categories described just above, take E-agreement with mutating adjectives (and may be followed by inanimate plural definite *yé*) in the plural, which involves no suffixation of the noun. In the singular, there are two classes. One of them has O-agreement with mutating adjectives, and may be followed by inanimate singular O-class definite morpheme *kó*. This is the **O/E class** (E being the plural agreement category). The other class, in the singular, has E-agreement with mutating adjectives, and may be followed by inanimate singular E-class definite morpheme *ké*. This is the **E/E class**.

Both classes include **suffixing** nouns (which take, often optionally, inanimate singular E-class suffix *-ŋgɛ* or O-class suffix *-ŋgo* or *-go*), **mutating** nouns (which express the difference between singular and plural by a change in stem-final vowel quality), and **invariable** nouns (no difference in the form of singular and plural nouns, though agreement brings out the distinction. The morphology of suffixing and mutating nouns is described in detail in the sections below. Examples of invariable nouns are *déŋán* 'day/days' (E/E class) and *tɛ̀:ré* 'miracle' (O/E).

The E/E class is smaller, and it is simplest to describe its semantic range and then recognize O/E as the default for all inanimates not otherwise accounted for. The semantic groups in (64) have been observed.

(64) E/E class nouns

a. some topographic features
b. holes
c. dwellings and other built structures
d. some body parts
e. liquids
f. time

Examples below are cited in the (generally optional and in some cases rather uncommon) suffixed form of the singular if attested.

Examples of (64a), **topographic** features, are *kéŋgé* 'place', *gwǎ:* 'country', *yàlî:-ŋgɛ̀* '(cultivated) field', *dwà:nâ:* 'private field', *dàgâ:* 'open bare land', *bɔ̀rɔ̌:* 'plains', *sɛ́:nɔ̀:* 'sandy plains', *kùbǐ:-ŋgé* 'dense forest', *pɛ̀mbɛ̌:-ŋgé* 'street outside house', *sɛ̀:-dûn-gɛ̀*

'pounding area (where women pound millet ears in large mortars)', *yél-ŋgé* 'high spot near a depression', *yáyrè-ŋgè* 'depression (in plains)', *sàmbâ:* 'meadow', *pɔ̀ndɔ̂:* 'riverbed (oued)', *jìmdú* 'moist edge of pond', and *kɛ̀lbɛ̀-dúlè-ŋgè* 'termite mound'. Most of these denote zones that may extend horizontally. By contrast, terms for the hills and mountains that (often abruptly) punctuate these flat expanses (*kóŋgó:* 'mountain', *pɛ̀gɛ̀lɔ̂:* 'hill', *ɔ̀nɔ̂:* 'mountain pass') are O/E, as are terms for earthly substances like *ǹjâ:* 'earth (dirt)'.

Examples of (64b), **holes**, which grade into topographic features, are *dɔ̌l-ŋgé* 'hole (perforation)', *dǎy-ŋgé* 'well (water)', *dúlé-ŋgé* 'pit (hole in earth)', *tɛ̌:-ŋgé* 'natural deep hole in rock', and *tòŋgèré-ŋgé* 'shallow hole'. However, *góló:* 'ditch, channel' is O/E.

Examples of (64c), **dwellings and other structures**, are *ólé* 'house', *mìsídè-ŋgè* 'mosque', *dùndàŋgɛ́:-ŋgè* 'shack', *gúlì:-ŋgè* 'shed', *pàndǎ:* 'first room in house', *tárbà* 'hunting shelter', *tògòjê:* 'niche in wall', *táŋà* 'granary', and *kárŋgá* 'covered vestibule'. Others like *bándá* 'courtyard', *ébán* 'market', and *dá:kà* 'Fulbe camp' could be included here or under topographic features.

Examples of (64d), **body parts**, are *kî:-ŋgè* 'head' and *ìbí-ŋgé* 'mouth'. As body parts are divided between E/E and O/E classes, there is further discussion of their semantics below.

Examples of (64e), **liquids**, are *íŋgé* 'water', *gɛ̌n-gé* 'blood', *kɔ̀njɛ́-ŋgé* 'millet beer', *jàbìré* 'sauce', *níŋgé* 'green sauce', *ǹjĭ:* 'honey', *bà:nâ:* 'porridge', *sòlé* 'cream of millet', *à:lé* 'rain', and *ɛ́mè:* 'milk'. Some other E/E nouns like *sɛ́:jè:-ŋgè* 'spring (water)' and *tàgǎ:* 'pond, pool' could be placed here or under topographic features. *nɛ̌-ŋgó* 'oil' is O/E.

Examples of (64f), **time**, including prayers (which occur at fixed hours and may be used as time-of-day indicators), are *déŋán* 'day', *wákàtì* (or *wágàtì*) 'time (moment)', *ɲám* 'night', *ùjú* 'daytime', *ɛ́ŋgú* 'tomorrow', *ègǎ:* 'early morning', *dèndà:jú* 'early PM', *púllò* 'twilight', *jùgîn* 'week', *ásè* 'Saturday', *lá:sàrà* 'late afternoon prayer' (and terms for other time-specific prayers), and *sân* 'prayer'. However, O/E agreement was observed for *jènǎ:* 'rainy season'. Either O/E or E/E agreement is possible for *ŋ̀gín* 'hot season' and *kènjû:* 'year' (homonym of *kènjû:* 'pick'hoe').

Human and animal **body parts** are a domain where some nouns are E/E and others are O/E. There is some correlation with semantic subdomains (65).

(65)

gloss	singular
a. E/E class	
abstractions	
'soul'	*kíndè:*
'soul'	*kínjàn*
'name'	*ínèn*
body/torso	
'body'	*gòjí-ŋgé*
'chest (body)'	*gènjè-gènjê:-ŋgè*
'chest (body)'	*pélè-ŋgè*
'back (body)'	*bàndí-ŋgé*

joints

‘joint’	*dígìn-gè*
‘knee’	*nà:-kínjì-ŋgè*
‘elbow’	*nùmà-kínjì:*

head to shoulders

‘head’	*kî:-ŋgè*
‘middle of head’	*dánà:*
‘side of face’	*tɛ́gɛ̀lɛ̀:-ŋgè*
‘mouth’	*ìbí-ŋgé*
‘nose’	*kìŋjâ:*
‘chin’	*ă:-ŋgè*
‘upper shoulder; wing’	*kàkàrâ:*

b. O/E class

abstractions

‘voice’	*yɔ̌:*
‘side’	*tíŋgɔ́:*

head to shoulders

‘fontanel’	*bɔ́nɛ̀-ŋgò*
‘face’	*gìrò-m̀bùlă:*
‘eye’	*gìró*
‘tongue’	*nĕndɔ̀:*
‘tooth’	*ìnɔ̌:*
‘gap between teeth’	*ɲálbɛ̀-ŋgò*
‘ear’	*súnù:*
‘cheek’	*tùrû:*
‘scarification’	*yémbélé-ŋgó*
‘neck’	*mɔ̌:*
‘throat’	*pòrò-pòrô:*

belly to midsection

‘belly’	*kûl*
‘navel’	*bɔ́ŋgɔ̀:*
‘navel (protruding)’	*bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀-bɔ̀ŋgɔ̂:*
‘midriff’	*bèrɛ̀-bèrɔ̂:*
‘thigh below hip’	*mágà:*
‘buttock’	*pùrmbă:*
‘testicles’	*dɔ́lɔ̀:*
‘penis’	*jógú*
‘vagina’	*dúmbú*
‘foreskin’	*múrù*
‘clitoris’	*kèkér-ŋgò*
‘womb; female genitalia’	*púrú*

limbs/extremities

‘hand’	*nùmǎ:*
‘foot’	*nà:-gó*
‘palm (hand)’	*nùmà-tábíjà:*
‘fist’	*nùmà-kúmbù:*
‘heel’	*nà:-dɔ́rɔ̀:*
‘finger’	*nùmà-séndɔ̀:*
‘fingernail’	*kóbùlù:*

internal organs

‘liver’	*kéndà:*
‘heart’	*kèndà: sósòrò:*
‘spleen’	*kèndà: nánàgà:*
‘windpipe’	*yɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀-yɔ̀gɔ̂:*
‘placenta’	*ógɔ̀:*
‘lung’	*búbùjû:*
‘kidney’	*bɔ́:jè-ŋgò*
‘gallbladder’	*gágǎl-ŋgò*
‘gizzard’	*kèkê:-ŋgò*
‘intestines’	*bìndú*
‘colon’	*bɔ́rbɔ́rdè-ŋgò*
‘vein; root’	*wǒl-ŋgó*

hair etc.

‘tuft of hair’	*bàkɛ́lɔ̀:*
‘beard’	*bê:-ŋgò*
‘hair; feather’	*kùlɛ́-ŋgó*
‘sideburns’	*kàlàkàmbé-ŋgó*

bone and cartilage

‘cartilage’	*dúmbà:*
‘lower jaw’	*jàjàgâ:*
‘shoulderblade’	*pápàrà:*
‘hip’	*tínì:-ŋgò*
‘bone’	*kìná-ŋgó*
‘back of skull above nape’	*dɔ̀rɔ̂:*
‘mane’	*yéndè-ŋgò*
‘horn’	*kɛ́lɔ̀:*

skin and fat

‘skin’	*gùjú*
‘animal fat’	*sî:-ŋgò*
‘ganglion’	*àntól-ŋgó*

protrusion

‘hump’ (variant)	*júŋgà:*
‘crest (rooster)’	*dómbélé-ŋgó*
‘breast’	*ónjù:*
‘tail’	*dúlɔ̀:*
‘antenna’	*jɔ́mbɔ̀:*

Having described in some detail the lexical inventory of pseudo-animates (inanimates treated grammatically as animate) and that of the E/E inanimate class, it suffices to say that all other inanimates are of the **O/E** class.

This includes abstractions (including those denoting actions), inanimate bodies and forces in nature, and many artifacts (except weapons and implements with blades, hooks, or points). A few examples (shown with singular suffix in cases where this suffix is attested) to show the semantic range are *kɔ̀mbé-ŋgó* 'war', *sá-gò* 'cotton', *énè-ŋgò* 'potash', *énáná-ŋgó* 'wind (air current)', *sónà-ŋgò* 'soil', *gà:gó* 'hunger' (originally *gà:-gó), *yámbú:* 'blanket', *dúmù:* 'disease', *dágù:* 'medication', *úbú* 'manure', *jèmbó* 'pain', *pó:lò:* 'waterskin', *gólò* 'fire', *ùfɔ̃:* 'road', *tìmɔ̂:* 'tree', *sɔ̀njɔ̌:* 'village', *kɔ̀ríyɔ̀* 'calabash', *tìbɔ̌:* 'death', *jɔ̀mbɔ́:* 'shoulderbag', *kàlǎ:* 'price', and *ká:bú* 'mat'.

Substantially all **flora** terms (except for the spiny-fruited *Tribulus*, mentioned earlier as a pseudo-animate) are O/E class inanimates. The semantic class enforces O/E agreement even with flora terms that are based on a noun of another agreement class. For example, *Diheteropogon* grass (whose inflorescences have long, stiff awns) is called *kìr-gá: sàmbè*, literally 'herder's spear'. By itself, *sàmbé* 'spear' is pseudo-animate, and 'the red spear' is therefore *sàmbè bánè mó*, with animate singular agreement on the adjective and on the final definite morpheme. However, 'the red *Diheteropogon* grass' is *kìr-gá: sàmbè bán-gò kó*, where the adjective and the definite determiner have O/E (here, singular O) agreement.

Examples where the "same" noun stem occurs with different agreement-class forms in different senses include a) *bɛ̀mbɛ́*, plural *bɛ̀mbɛ́-mbó* 'firefly' (animate), versus *bɛ̀mbɛ́-ŋgó*, plural *bɛ̀mbɛ́* '*Abrus* bush' (O/E inanimate); and b) *pòlé*, plural *pǒl-mbó* 'knife' (pseudo-animate), versus *pǒl-ŋgó*, plural *pòlé* 'egg' (O/E inanimate). 'Knife' and 'egg' are accidental homophones, cf. Dogul Dom *pòló* 'egg' and *pòlgó* 'knife'. 'Firefly' and '*Abrus* bush' (whose bright red-and-black seeds are made into necklaces by children), though separated by animacy, might go back to a single lexical item.

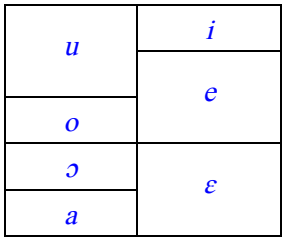
4.1.2 Mutating noun stems

Mutating nouns have counterparts among adjectives (§4.5.1.1) and verbal participles (§14.3).

4.1.2.1 Back/low vowel (singular) versus front vowel (plural)

A large number of nouns, mostly inanimates with O/E type agreement, have a singular ending in a back or low vowel {*u o ɔ a*}, opposed to a plural ending in a front vowel {*i e ɛ*}. The length and tone of the vowel are lexically determined, and are held constant across the two forms in nearly every case. The vowel-quality mutations are those in (66), to be read left to right.

(66) singular plural



From a glance at (66), we see that a) the singular vowel cannot be predicted from the plural vowel except in the case of *i* ; and b) one can usually predict the plural from the singular, but singular *u* corresponds to two plural qualities *i* and *e*.

Using ↔ as the symbol for mutations (e.g. *o*↔*e*, with the singular on the left), let us examine the number of stems in question. From the nouns in my working lexicon, my count of uncompounded **nouns** (including a relatively small number of well-assimilated loanwords) is as indicated in (67). Note that *u*↔*i* is four times as common as *u*↔*e*. The numbers would rise somewhat if noun-like compound finals were included.

(67)

mutation	# of nouns
u↔*i*	68
u↔*e*	15
o↔*e*	38
ɔ↔*ɛ*	57
a↔*ɛ*	79
total	*255*

For the *u*↔*i* and *u*↔*e* mutations, the numbers can be broken down by vowel-length and (for long final vowels) by tone (68).

(68)

	u↔*i*	*u*↔*e*
final short *u*	42	10
final *û:*	14	2
final *ù:*	10	4
final *ú:*	2	0

The number of *u*↔*i* nouns with final *û:* would be much larger if compounds were included, since many of these are nominals with a suffix *-û:*, see (399a) in §11.1.3.2. Even leaving these aside, there is a clear preponderance of *u*↔*i* over *u*↔*e*.

The *u*↔*i* and *u*↔*e* nouns, excluding the *u*↔*i* nouns ending in *-û:* derivational suffix, can also be broken down by the vowel of the penultimate syllable (69).

(69)

penultimate vowel	*u*↔*i*	*u*↔*e*
u	17	6
i	5	1
o	9	1
e	3	3
ɔ	2	—
ɛ	3	—
a	15	3

The quantitative data do not give much reason to think that the choice between *i* and *e* as the plural of *u* can be explained phonologically.

The full set of *u*↔*e* stems known to me, including noun-like compound-finals, are in (70).

(70)

gloss	singular	plural
a. another *e*-vowel in stem		
'tree-top'	*dě:rù*	*dě:rè*
'cowry'	*kèlû:*	*kělè* ~ *kèlê* (collective), cf. *kèlî:* plural
'thin thread'	*gè:jú*	*gè:jé*
b. singular with final long vowel, plural with final short vowel		
'mash (from oil)'	*dúnjù:*	*dúnjè*
'bobbin'	*dă:lù:*	*dă:lè*
'medication'	*dágù:*	*dágè*
'yellow dye'	*sògòlû:*	*sògólè*
'heart of palm'	*sìm-póndù:*	*sìm-póndè*
c. other		
'corner'	*yó:bùndù*	*yó:bùndè*
'skin'	*gùjú*	*gùjé*
'intestines'	*bìndú*	*bìndé*
'manure'	*úbú*	*úbé*
'large beer jar'	*dùdùmbú*	*dùdùmbé*
'watermelon'	*kàndú*	*kàndé*

In (70a), possibly the presence of an *e*-vowel in the penult has favored *e* over *i* as plural vowel. However, there is no clear synchronic phonological rule of this type, and three cases of plural *i* can be cited: *ké:sù*↔*ké:sì* 'metal jewelry box' (regional, < Fr *caisse*), *àljébù*↔*àljébì* 'bit (mouthpiece)' (regional, < Arabic), and the compound *kì:-èrú* 'hairstyle' (cf. verb *érέ* 'braid, do the hair of').

The set (70b) is highly distinctive in that the long /u:/ of the singular is shortened as well as fronted in plural /e/. There are no such vowel-length discrepancies in the many *u*↔*i* nouns.

A few representative examples of the other mutation types are presented below.

u↔i : *ká:bú↔ká:bí* ‘mat’, *pátù↔pátì* ‘goatskin waterbag at well’, *gíbú↔gíbí* ‘woman’s wrap (garment)’, *górú↔górí* ‘hat’, *tùrû:↔tùrî:* ‘cheek’, *dúmù:↔dúmì:* ‘disease’, *súnù:↔súnì:* ‘ear’.

o↔e : *sìjǒ:↔sìjě* ‘line’, *kóŋgó:↔kóŋgé:* ‘mountain’, *tùmbó↔tùmbé* ‘mound’, *gìró↔gìré* ‘eye’, *bó:lò:↔bó:lè:* ‘thread’, *gólò↔gólè* ‘fire’.

ɔ↔ɛ : *ɔ̀nɔ̂:↔ɔ̀nɛ̂:* ‘mountain pass’, *símɔ̀:↔símɛ̀:* ‘cement’ (Fr *ciment*). *jɔ̀mbɔ́:↔jɔ̀mbɛ́:* ‘shoulderbag’, *nɛ̌ndɔ̀↔nɛ̌ndɛ̀* ‘tongue’, *dúlɔ̀:↔dúlɛ̀:* ‘tail’.

a↔ɛ : *làmpá↔làmpɛ́* ‘lamp’ (international word), *gìyâ:↔gìyɛ̂:* ‘dance’, *gwǎ:↔gwɛ̌:* ‘country’, *nùmǎ:* ‘hand’, *tárbà↔tárbɛ̀* ‘hunting shelter’.

4.1.2.2 Frequency of stem-final long vowels in mutating noun stems

Even from these lists, readers familiar with Dogon languages will be struck by the large percentage of nouns that end in a long vowel. Based on noncompounded nouns with final-vowel mutations in my lexicon (excluding flora-fauna), the statistics look like these (71).

(71)

mutation type	monosyllabic		bisyllabic or longer	
	Cv	*Cv:*	*…Cv*	*…Cv:* (%)
u↔i	0	0	42	26 (38%)
u↔e	0	0	8	5 (38%)
o↔e	0	0	14	30 (68%)
ɔ↔ɛ	0	2	6	49 (86%)
a↔ɛ	0	3	12	64 (81%)

For the mid-height and low vowels, the percentage of stems ending a long vowel is quite remarkable, and even for singular *u* the percentage is substantial. Given that alternations of final *o:* and *e:*, *ɔ:* and *ɛ:*, and *a:* and *ɛ:* are also found with many adjectives and participles, this suggests that (historically) most nouns formerly ended in either a singular or plural suffix that phonologically fused with the original stem-final vowel.

The predominance of final long vowels is even more striking when we note that many of the nouns with final short vowels are obvious or probable loanwords. In the case of *o↔e*, the inventory of **final-short-vowel stems** is further swollen by several cases where original plural *-mbo or singular *-ŋgo ~ *-go has become fused to the stem. For the mid-height and low vowels, the inventory of final-short-vowel stems is as follows, with forms given in the singular.

(72) *o↔e*

a. likely loans: *pàgùmbó* ‘tea bag’, *màŋgórò* ‘mango’

b. end in *…mbó* (possible frozen plural *-mbo): *jàŋgùmbó* ‘fruit cluster’, *kùjùmbó* ‘handful of food’, *yòmbó* ‘prepared food’, *gìmbó* ‘odor’ (verb *gǐŋ* ‘emit odor’), *tèndùmbó* ‘row (e.g. of plants)’ (adjective *tèndô:* ‘straight’)

c. end in …*ŋgó* or …*gó* (frozen singular *-ŋgo or *-go): *ɲàŋgó* ‘weeping’ (verb *ɲé* ‘weep’), *káŋgó* ‘challenge’ (verb *káŋ*), *jɔ̀:gó* ‘shame’ (verb *jɔ̀yɛ́*), *gà:gó* ‘hunger’ (Jamsay *jɛ̌:*), *gògó* ‘cold weather’ (Nanga etc. *gɔ̀yɔ́*)

d. native Dogon: *gìró* ‘eye’, *gólò* ‘fire’, *tùmbó* ‘mound’

(73) *ɔ↔ɛ*

a. likely loans: *ánɔ̀:rɔ̀* ‘image’ (< Arabic), *sɛ́kkɔ̀* ‘straw hanging mat’ (< Fulfulde), *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* ‘shawl’ (< Fr *mouchoir*)
b. native Dogon (or likely so): *ɔ̀mbɔ̀lɔ́* ‘misfortune’, *bɔ̀:rɔ́* ‘long thin sack’, *nɛ̌ndɔ̀* ‘tongue’,

(74) *a↔ɛ*

a. likely loans: *làmpá* ‘lamp’, *m̀bɛ́ddà* ‘highway’ (< Arabic), *kárŋgá* ‘covered entryway’, *bàrà:dá* ‘tea kettle’ (< Arabic), *bármá* ‘modern pot’ (regional), *dísà* ‘elegant fabric’, *gíbà* ‘pocket’ (< Arabic)

b. native Dogon (or likely so): *bándá* ‘courtyard’, *kùŋgá* ‘black mat border’, *gànjàlá* ‘opening in kitchen wall’, *tárbà* ‘hunting shelter’, *gàjá* ‘scarification’

4.1.2.3 Final-vowel mutations as single-feature suffixes

Even synchronically, one could perhaps think of the noun stems that undergo final-vowel mutations as being based on a lexical stem ending in a vowel that is underspecified for the [±back] feature. If so, this would be amalgamated with number suffixes consisting only of the feature [+back] (singular) or [-back] (plural).

A slightly less aggressive version of this would be to take the singular as lexically basic, in all of its vocalic splendor, consider the plural suffix to be the feature [-back], and have this feature oust the backness feature of the noun stem.

In implementing any such phonological analysis, in order to account for the existence of both *ɔ↔ɛ* and *a↔ɛ*, it might be necessary to recognize a distinction (not audible on the surface) between true *ɛ* (in *ɔ↔ɛ*) and an underlying /æ/ that is eventually raised to *ɛ* (in *a↔ɛ*).

4.1.2.4 Segmental phonological alternations in mutating nouns

For the most part, there is no difference between the singular and the plural other than the shift between back/low and front stem-final vowel. However, there are some nouns that have a slightly more complex phonology.

Most of the alternations involve a trisyllabic stem with a medial high vowel that fluctuates between *i* and *u*. It is an interesting question whether this is a low-level phonetic adjustment to the different final vowel, or whether it represents a spread of the ablaut-like mutation process itself to encompass a noninitial penult. The forms known to me are in (75).

(75)

gloss	singular	plural
‘wooden lock’	*tàŋà-kɔ́gúrú*	*tàŋà-kɔ́gírí*
‘dream’	*mànjùr-û:*	*mànjìr-î:*
‘shard for serving food’	*kòbùlû:*	*kòbìlî:*
‘fingernail’	*kóbùlù:*	*kóbìlì:*
‘half of split peanut’	*kábùlò:*	*kábìlè:*
‘tea bag’	*pàgùmbó*	*pàgìmbé*
‘fruit cluster’	*jàŋgùmbó*	*jàŋgìmbé*

Such alternations do not usually apply to mid-height or low vowels in the same penultimate position. However, I have recorded occasional examples of such alternations, sometimes as variant pronunciations. All examples known to me are in (76).

(76)

gloss	singular	plural
‘mango’	*màŋgórò*	*màŋgérè*
‘spoon’	*gɔ̀njɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*gɔ̀njɛ̀rɛ̂:* (~ *gɔ̀njɔ̀rɛ̂:*)
‘wooden milk bucket’	*káràwà*	*kárɛ̀wɛ̀*
‘open space with soil in hills’	*tòndòló*	*tòndèlé*

For the noun *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* (variant *mùsɔ́:rɔ̀*) ‘head shawl’ (< Fr *mouchoir* with a semantic shift), one assistant gave the regular plural *mùsɔ́:rè*, while another fluctuated between *mìsɛ́:rè* and *mìswɛ́:rè* (the latter arguably representable as /mìsɔ́ɛ́rè/).

Another type of vocalic alternation, cutting across the ATR opposition, occurs with bisyllabic nouns in the *a*↔*ɛ* mutation type. Here there is a regular alternation between *e* (in the singular with final *a*) and *ɛ* (agreeing with the final *ɛ* of the plural), and likewise between *o* (singular) and *ɔ* (plural). The only counterexamples to this alternation are *táŋà* ‘granary’ (Pl *táŋɛ̀*) and the loanword *m̀bɛ́ddà* ‘highway’ (Pl *m̀bɛ́ddɛ̀*). With these two exceptions, all bisyllabic *a*↔*ɛ* nouns with a mid-height vowel in the intial (i.e. penultimate) syllabic show *e*/*ɛ* or *o*/*ɔ* alternations. I have six examples of this alternation, although for ‘dew’ the plural is marginal.

(77)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘liver (and heart)’	*kéndà:*	*kéndɛ̀:*
	‘boundary stones’	*pégá:*	*pégɛ́:*
	‘edible leaves’	*bèlâ:*	*bɛ̀lɛ̂:*
	‘dew’	*èlă:*	*ɛ̀lɛ̆:* (marginal)
b.	‘flexible liana branch’	*òbâ:*	*ɔ̀bɛ̂:*
	‘band of cloth; brick mold’	*kóbá:*	*kɔ́bɛ́:*
	‘difficulty, problem’	*tórrà*	*tɔ́rrɛ̀*

Given that singular *a* requires plural *ɛ*, it is not surprising that ATR-harmonic considerations require a harmonically correct vowel in the first syllable of the plurals. What is more notable is the fact that (except for the loanword *m̀bɛ́ddà*) there are no bisyllabic singulars with an {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel in the first syllable preceding *a* in the final syllable. This suggests that /a/ is compatible with {*e o*} but not with {*ɛ ɔ*} ATR-harmonic classes.

This is supported by study of the nouns with *ɔ↔ɛ* mutations. Out of the 57 nouns of this type in my lexicon, there are none with *a*-vowel in the penult. There are two with *a*-vowel in the antepenult: *ánɔ̀ːrà* 'image' (< Arabic), *bàkɛ́lɛ̀ː* 'tuft of hair'. By contrast, *a*-vowels are common in the penult of nouns with *ɔ↔ɛ* mutations (*kàlóː* 'boundary', *kànjôː* 'crack', etc.).

In one stem, the phonological oddity is the presence of *w* before the *e*-vowel of the plural (78).

(78) 'roselle (variety)' *ànjíkòː* *ànjíkwèː*

This term denotes varieties of roselle that are grown for their calices (used in cooking). The more general term for 'roselle' (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), which has many easily distinguishable cultivars, is *ánjè*. The morphology of *ànjíkòː* is non-transparent, but native speakers presumably divide it approximately as *ànjí-kòː* . The final might be represented as singular /kwòː/, plural /kwèː/. Deletion of *w* between a consonant and a back rounded vowel is regular, cf. *k-ɔ̌ː* 'you-Sg ate' from *kwɛ́* 'eat, cf. (18-19) in (§3.2.3).

The term for 'cowry (shell)' (now also 'money') is also somewhat problematic (79).

(79) *kèlûː* 'cowry shell' (singular)
kèlîː 'cowry shells' (plural)
kělè ~ *kèlê* 'cowries (collective); money'

This is one of the nouns with long *uː* in the singular and short *e* in the plural (or rather, for this noun, the collective); see (70b) in §4.1.2.1, above. Plural *kèlîː* is phonologically unproblematic, since it retains the tones and prosodic structure of the singular. The collective form, which is actually in most common use ('money'), is problematic since it is prosodically bimoraic but has the same LHL tone sequence as in the trimoraic singular and plural forms. The fact that the medial /l/ is a sonorant is probably helpful in allowing speakers to fit this tripartite tone contour onto two moras. I usually heard the form as *kělè* with just a hint of L-tone in the transition from the *k* to the first *e*.

The monosyllabic stems that have final mutations are also interesting phonologically. Those known to me are in (80).

(80)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	'country'	*gwǎː*	*gwɛ̌ː*
	'earth'	*ǹjâː*	*ǹjɛ̂ː*
b.	'neck'	*mɔ̌ː*	*mɔ̌è*

c.	'voice'	*yɔ̃:*	*yɔ̀wɛ̂:*
	'bowl-shaped jar'	*pâ:*	*páyɛ̀* (variant *pâ:*)

The forms in (80a) present no major problems. One can argue whether 'earth' is mono- or bisyllabic. 'Country', parallel to other stems with orthographic *Cw…* onsets, may be best analysed phonologically as singular /gòàá/ and plural /gɔ̀ɛ̀é/. The plural is pronounced [gɔ̰ɛ̆:].

The forms in (80b-c) illustrate the difficulty of deriving the plurals directly from the singulars by changing the backness feature of the final vowel. 'Neck' in (80b) is another bimoraic stem with a tripartite <LHL> tone melody. Leaving aside the issue how to apportion the three tone components, the singular/plural relationship suggests a representation like singular /mɔɔ/, with only the second moraic element subject to fronting in the plural.

On the other hand, the two cases in (80c) suggest that the lexical representation contains the medial semivowel audible in the plural, and that this is deleted in the singular. The singulars could therefore be represented as /yɔ̀wɔ̂:/ and /páyà/. Deletion of the medial semivowel in /yɔ̀wɔ̂:/ is more reasonable (phonetically and in terms of supporting Najamba examples) than that in /páyà/, which is rather unusual typologically and is never observed in such Najamba forms as *wàyá-ŋgó* 'thick-Sg' (from *wàyɛ́:*) or *áyá-m* 'cause to be tired' (causative of *áy* 'be tired'). Therefore an alternative analysis is to take 'bowl-shaped jar' as singular /páà/, plural /páɛ̀/, and think of the *y* in *páyɛ̀* as epenthetic.

Phonologically similar alternations also occur with singulars and plurals of suffixing (i.e. not mutating) nouns of the sort covered below.

4.1.2.5 Front vowel (singular) versus back/low vowel (plural)

A fairly small number of stems have a mutation between a front vowel in the singular and back/low vowel int the plural. This is the opposite of the more common pattern described in the sections above. The attested alternations are those in (81), leaving vowel-length changes aside.

(81)

singular	plural
i	*u*
e	*a*
	o
ɛ	*ɔ*
	a

This is close to the mirror image of what we saw for the majority (back to front) mutation type, except for the singular/plural relationships *e↔a* (for just two nouns) and (disharmonic) *ɛ↔o* (also for just two nouns).

I will start *in medias res* with singular *e*, since the 'child' term will figure in the discussion of other nouns below.

(82)

gloss	singular	plural
a. *e↔a:*		
'man'	*ánè*, *ánì*	*ánà:*
'goat'	*ínè*	*ínà:*
b. *e:↔o:*, core example		
'child'	*èndê:*	*òndô:*
c. *e:↔o:*, deriving from (b)		
'rival'	*bà:ndê:*	*bà:ndô:*
d. *e↔u:*		
'uncastrated (goat)'	*ě:bè*	*ě:bù:*
'amulet; paper'	*sábè*	*sábù:*
'spear'	*sàmbé*	*sàmbú:*
'person without fingers'	*dùmbé*	*dùmbú:*
'Nanga (ethnicity)'	*náŋè*	*náŋù:*
'blacksmith (caste)'	*dùbé*	*dùbú:*
'leatherworker (caste)'	*jàmbé*	*jàmbú:*
e. *e:↔u:/o:*, originally derived from (b)		
'Fulbe (person)'	*púlàndê:*	*púlàndû:*, *púlàndô:*

The unusual final *e↔a:* alternation in (82a) involves vowel length as well as quality. For 'man' the phonology is made even more difficult by the existence of variant final vowels in the singular. The important noun 'child' (82b) shows an *e↔o* mutation that spreads into the initial syllable. This noun may be a restructuring of an old compound 'person-child', cf. Tiranige *ndà:* and Tommo So *ndé* 'person', and Tommo So *í:* and Dogul Dom *ěg* 'child', among other relevant Dogon forms. The term for 'rival' is a somewhat frozen compound of *bǎ:* 'father' and the Najamba 'child' term (males of similar age within an extended family are the prototypical rivals).

The alternation of final *u:↔e* (82d) is the mirror image of the *e↔u:* alternation seen for a few nouns in (70b) in §4.1.2.1, above (e.g. *dágù:* 'medication, plural *dàgè*). The noun 'Fulbe (person)' (82e) probably originated as a compound ending in 'child' (82b), but has been partially assimilated into this *u:↔e* type (82d).

The data involving singular *ɛ(:)* are rather messy. For *ɛ:↔a:* I can cite the set of derived nouns ending in characteristic *-gɛ́:* (§4.2.2.1), here exemplified by 'herder' (83a), plus two ethnic terms (83a). The nouns with *ɛ↔ɔ:* also include ethnic terms and other nouns that characterize human types, along with one kin term denoting an important relationship (83b).

(83)

gloss	singular	plural
a. *ɛː↔aː*		
‘herder’	*kìr-gɛ́ː*	*kìr-gáː*
‘Tuareg clan’	*dàːgɛ̌ː*	*dàːgǎː*
‘northern Dogon’	*bàːlɛ̌ː*	*bàːlǎː*
b. *ɛ↔ɔː*		
‘Sorko, Bozo’	*sɔ́lgɛ̀*	*sɔ́lgɔ̀ː*
‘Dogon’	*dɔ́gɛ̀*	*dɔ́gɔ̀ː*
‘Tommo’	*tɔ́mbɛ̀*	*tɔ́mbɔ̀ː*
‘enemy’	*àndàmɛ̂ː*	*àndàmɔ̂ː*
‘impoverished person’	*gìríyɛ́ː*	*gìríyɔ́ː*
‘close second cousin’	*nìyɔ̀mɛ̂ː*	*nìyɔ̀mɔ̂ː*

The most unusual mutations are those where *ɛː* (in one case, short *ɛ*) in the singular corresponds to *awoː* (with a shift in ATR-harmonic class) in the plural (84a), see (30a) in §3.3.6.2. There is one similar example with *aː* in the singular (84b).

(84)

gloss	singular	plural
a. *ɛː↔awoː* with shift in ATR-harmonic class		
‘woman’	*yɛ̌ː*	*yàwóː*
‘cow’	*nɛ̌ː*	*nàwóː*
‘opposite-sex sibling’	*ùbùlŋgɛ́ː*	*ùbùlŋgàwóː* (Pl also *ùbùlŋgà-mbó*)
‘slave’ (variant Pl)	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwóː*
b. *aː↔awoː*		
‘able-bodied man’	*èndwǎː*	*òndàwóː*

Two of the three nouns with *iː↔uː* in (85a) below denote juvenile livestock animals. The other livestock animal (*pɛ̀gɛ́* ‘sheep’) has a juvenile term *pɛ̀gɛ̀ èndɛ̂ː*, plural *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbò òndɔ̂ː*, clearly ending in *èndɛ̂ː* ‘child’ or its plural *òndɔ̂ː* ‘children’. It is probably ill-advised to try to derive the forms for ‘goat kid’ and ‘calf’ directly from a similar compound containing *èndɛ̂ː*, but if we compare these two nouns with *ínàː* ‘goats’ and *nɛ̌ː* ‘cow’ (plural *nàwóː*), we can isolate endings *-jîː* and *-mbîː* that arguably contain a diminutive *-îː* . There is no specifically diminutive sense in *tàgîː* ‘shoe’ (85b), but one cannot rule out a diminutive origin.

(85)

gloss	singular	plural
a. *iː↔uː*, juvenile animals		
‘goat kid’	*nàːjîː*	*nàːjûː*
‘calf’	*nàːmbîː*	*nàːmbûː*

b. *i:↔u:*, other

'shoe'	*tàgî:*	*tàgû:*

4.1.3 Suffixing noun stems with final *-ŋgo* ~ *-go,* -*ŋge*, or *-mbo*

Most nouns that do not distinguish singular from plural by mutations of the final vowel have either a **singular suffix** (and an unmarked plural/collective), or a **plural suffix** (and an unmarked singular). For nouns that make no morphological singular/plural distinction, see (55) in §4.1.1.1 above.

The suffixes *-ŋgo* ~ *-go,* -*ŋge*, and *-mbo* induce modifications of stem-final vowels in many stems. These reductions take the form of shortening of long vowels, raising /e/ to *i*, rounding and backing /i/ to *u*, and lowering /ɛ/ to *a*.

4.1.3.1 Nouns *kóŋgò* 'thing', *bómbò* 'critters', *kéŋgé* 'place', *íŋgé* 'water'

The historical relationship between O/E-class inanimate singular *-ŋgo* (-*go*) and the noun *kóŋgò* **'thing'** (usual plural *yèpà:bé*) cannot be determined by internal reconstruction alone. Two mutually exclusive choices present themselves. One possibility is that *kóŋgò* contains (now frozen) singular *-ŋgo. The other is that singular *-ŋgo* is a phonologically reduced form of an older classifier based on *kóŋgò* 'thing'. It's worth mentioning that singular *kó* and plural *yé* occur as inanimate demonstratives and as definite morphemes.

Although the usual plural of *kóŋgò* 'thing' is suppletive *yèpà:bé* 'things', when *kóŋgò* denotes an unspecified living thing (synonym in this case: *yê:*) it has a distinct plural *bómbò* 'critters', used to denote unidentified living things of any size. For example, the general term for snake is singular *kòŋgò jàlá-ŋgò* (literally "long thing," perhaps originally a taboo euphemism), and plural *bòmbo jàlá-mbó*. The relationship of *bómbò* to animate plural *-mbo* is like that of *kóŋgò* 'thing' to singular *-ŋgo*, but raises the same chicken-and-egg historical linguistic issue.

Similar points can be made about the historical relationship between E/E-class inanimate singular *-ŋge* and the noun *kéŋgé* 'place' (plural identical to singular). The E/E class includes many terms for topographic and other places. Adverb *kên* 'there' is also likely related. However, the E/E-class also includes nouns denoting liquids, whose prototype is *íŋgé* 'water', which also ends in *ŋgé*. One possibility is that *-ŋge* may have derived independently from both 'place' and 'water'.

4.1.3.2 Segmental phonology of nouns with singular *-ŋgo*

The phonology associated with nominal suffixes *-mbo*, *-ŋgo* ~ *-go*, and *-ŋge* is complex. I begin the analysis with *-ŋgo*, covering segmental and tonal phonology in successive subsections. The process will then be repeated for *-ŋge* (§4.1.3.6) and for *-mbo* (§4.1.3.7-8), which in many respects are phonologically parallel to *-ŋgo*.

For the semantics associated with the O/E inanimate class, see §4.1.1.4. As with other classes, O/E nouns can be suffixing or mutating. Among the many suffixing O/E nouns,

physical objects or forces, and body parts (of humans, plants, etc.) are especially well-represented. Some glosses are 'ball', 'mortar (for pounding)', 'waterjar', 'star', 'mud brick', 'bottle', 'food', 'animal', 'oil', 'millet', 'salt', 'baggage/gear', 'ladder', 'egg', 'seedstock', 'fritters', 'cow-peas', 'cloth', 'gum arabic', 'egg', 'beard', 'hip', stem', 'leaf', 'grain', 'sorghum', 'charcoal', 'froth', 'ashes', 'iron/metal', and 'wind'. Some nouns, however, are more abstract, e.g. 'war', 'applause', 'fart', 'marriage'.

In somewhat over 50% of these stems, there is **no phonological change** to the stem when singular *-ŋgò* is added. Examples are in (86). Many of the stems shown have phonological shapes that would have allowed stem-final vowel modifications. Note especially the final long vowels that are unshortened in (86a), and the final {*e o*} vowels that are not raised or syncopated in (86b).

(86)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'gizzard'	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:*	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:-ŋgò*
		'hip'	*tínì:*	*tínì:-ŋgò*
		'pack (of cigarettes)'	*pákɛ̀:*	*pákɛ̀:-ŋgò*
		'gum (resin)'	*ɲâ:*	*ɲâ:-ŋgò*
		'firewood'	*té:*	*té:-ŋgó*
		'grain'	*sê:*	*sê:-ŋgò*
	b.	'crest (of rooster)'	*dómbélé*	*dómbélé-ŋgó*
		'ball'	*dóndòlò*	*dóndòlò-ŋgò*
		'squash'	*góné*	*góné-ŋgó*
	c.	'bone'	*kìná*	*kìná-ŋgó*
		'hair, feather'	*kùlɛ́*	*kùlɛ́-ŋgó*
		'fontanel'	*bɔ́nɛ̀*	*bɔ́nɛ̀-ŋgò*
		'chaff'	*ɔ̀yɛ́*	*ɔ̀yɛ́-ŋgó*
		'peanut'	*ɛ́lɛ́*	*ɛ́lɛ́-ŋgó*
		'chain'	*séŋélɛ́*	*séŋélɛ́-ŋgó*
		'potash'	*énɛ̀*	*énɛ̀-ŋgò*

However, the other half of suffixing O/E stems do show at least one segmental change before the suffix. The general pattern is that a stem-final vowel is weakened (shortened, deleted, or raised to a high vowel).

In (87) the final vowel is **shortened** with no further change. All examples in my lexicon of final-vowel shortening with no other modification are shown.

(87)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	'bark fiber'	*bá:jí:*	*bá:jí-ŋgó*
b.	'swelling'	*àmìyɛ̂:*	*àmìyɛ́-ŋgò*
	'animal'	*dúmɛ́:, dúmɔ́:*	*dúmɛ́-ŋgó*
	'food'	*kwɛ̂:*	*kwɛ́-ŋgò*
	'supper'	*ɲɛ̀nɛ̂:*	*ɲɛ̀nɛ́-ŋgò*

Another presuffixal change is that the stem-final vowel may be **raised** from /e/ to *i* or *u* (88a-b), or **lowered** from /ɛ/ to *a* (88c). All known uncompounded examples are shown, along with a few compounds.

(88)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a. /e/ → *i*			
	'applause'	*pómbè*	*pómbì-ŋgò*
	'papaya'	*mánjé*	*mánjí-ŋgó*
	'stray crop plant'	*tèbé*	*tèbí-ŋgó*
	'tinder'	*dámbè*	*dámbì-ŋgò*
	'thing tilted to one side'	*bàmbé*	*bàmbí-ŋgó*
b. /e/ → *u*			
	'fritters'	*tónjè*	*tónjù-ŋgò*
	'roselle'	*ánjè*	*ánjù-ŋgò*
	'cow-peas'	*númbé*	*númbú-ŋgó*
	'husked grain spike'	*kìjé*	*kìjú-ŋgò*
	'mashed *Sclerocarya* seeds'	*énjé*	*énjú-ŋgó*
	'rags'	*sògòjé*	*sògòjú-ŋgó*
	'gum arabic'	*àrbàkàndé*	*àrbàkàndú-ŋgó*
	'blinders'	*gìrè-yàmbé*	*gìrè-[yàmbú-ŋgó]*
c. /ɛ/ → *a*			
	'bier'	*pándɛ́*	*pándá-ŋgó*
	'clove'	*pètíŋɛ́*	*pètíŋá-ŋgó*
	'bracelet'	*nùmà-sàgɛ́*	*nùmà-[sàgá-ŋgó]*
	'sorghum bundle'	*èmbà-tágɛ̀*	*èmbà-[tágà-ŋgò]*

Shortening and **raising** (/e: / → *i*) are combined in one noun (89).

(89)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
	'mosquito net'	*sáŋgɛ́:*	*sáŋgí-ŋgó*

In a large number of examples, the stem-final vowel is **deleted** (syncopated). Elsewhere in Najamba morphophonology, for example in the chaining form of verbs (§10.1.2), a stem-final **short high** vowel is deleted after an **unclustered sonorant**. There is good reason to extend this analysis to these nominal alternations. However, few suffixing E/O nouns end in a short high vowel. In fact, most nouns with final *u* are of the mutating rather than suffixing type. An exception is the loanword 'citrus', which does have final /u/ that syncopates before the singular suffix (90a).

Much more common are nouns whose stem-final /e/ is deleted (90b). I assume that it is first **raised** to a high vowel, and then undergoes High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2). Deletion of the final vowel is not usual in the case of /ɛ/, which is either retained without change as in (86c) and (87b) above, or in a few cases lowered to *a* as in (88c) above. However, in two nouns a final /ɛ/ does delete (90c).

(90)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'citrus'	*lèmbúrù*	*lèmbûr-ŋgò*
	b.	'wood chips'	*tè:-kòmìlé*	*tè:-kòmĭl-ŋgó*
		'roselle plant'	*dòné*	*dŏn-gó*
		'baggage'	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		'waterjar'	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		'wood chips'	*tè:-kòmìlé*	*tè:-kòmĭl-ŋgó*
		'round object'	*déndèlè*	*déndèl-ŋgò*
		'small woven prayer mat'	*kùnà-déŋgélé*	*kùnà-[déŋgél-ŋgó]*
		'vein; root'	*wòlé*	*wŏl-ŋgó*
		'hard seed'	*kélé*	*kél-ŋgó*
		'sesame'	*pă:lè*	*pă:l-ŋgò*
		'tamarind seed'	*à:lé*	*ă:l-ŋgó*
		'intact whole'	*kúndúlé*	*kúndúl-ŋgó*
		'dry outer bark'	*kòmìlé*	*kòmĭl-ŋgó*
		'shell (of pod)'	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*
		'egg'	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
			(contrast *pòlé*, Pl *pŏl-mbó* 'knife')	
	c.	'salt'	*nèmɛ́*	*nĕm-gó*
		'object w. flattened sides'	*pɔ̀mbìrɛ́*	*pɔ̀mbŭr-ŋgó*

In (91), the final long high vowel has first been **shortened**, then **deleted** by High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2). In (91a), its final-syllable <HL> tone has been redistributed, with the H moving leftward while the L is expressed on the suffix. See Stranded-Tone Re-Linking (§3.6.4.4).

(91)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘purchase’	*dòn-î:*	*dŏn-gò*
		‘gallbladder’	*gágàlî:*	*gágăl-ŋgò*
		‘clitoris’	*kèkérî:*	*kèkér-ŋgò*
	b.	‘mortar’	*túní:*	*tún-gó*
		‘ladder’	*bíní:*	*bín-gó*
		‘sale’	*tùlî:*	*tŭl-ŋgò*

Three nouns show a **shift in ATR-harmonic** class from -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} in the plural/collective to +ATR {*e o*} in the singular (92). One could argue that the unsuffixed plural/collective shows the lexical ATR-harmonic class, and that the *o*-vowel of the singular suffix has (idiosyncratically) affected stem-vocalism in these nouns. However, the alternation is not productive, and many other nouns illustrated above show {*ɛ o*} stem vowels before singular *-ŋgo*.

(92)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘cloth’	*swĕ:*	*sò-ŋgó*
		‘marriage’	*èyĕ:* ~ *ĕ:*	*èyà-ŋgó*
			[cf. verb *éyé* ‘(bride) move to husband’s house’]	
	b.	‘iron’	*íné:*	*íné-ŋgó*

In (93a), the phonological issue is the disappearance of the medial *g* of the stem before *-ŋgó*. One would expect #*nègv́-ŋgó* and #*yógv́-ŋgó*, with some vowel *v* (either the unaltered lexical *e*, or a high vowel). There is no general intervocalic *g*-Deletion rule, as seen in (93b).

(93)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘oil’	*nègé*	*nĕ-ŋgó*
		‘millet’	*yógé*	*yó-ŋgó*
	b.	‘bracelet’	*nùmà-sàgɛ́*	*nùmà-[sàgá-ŋgó]*
		‘sorghum bundle’	*èmbà-tágɛ̀*	*èmbà-[tágà-ŋgò]*

I argue in §3.4.2.2 that examples like (93a) are best analysed in terms of first raising stem-final /e/ to a high vowel like /i/, followed by an expanded form of High-Vowel Syncope. Syncope usually applies after sonorants rather than after obstruents like *g*, so an extension is needed. Syncope in this case is favored by the homorganic relationship between the intervocalic *g* of the stem and the *ŋg* of the suffix. Therefore the suggested derivation is of the type /nègé-ŋgó/ → /nègí-ŋgó/ → /nĕg-ŋgó/ (syncope) → *nĕ-ŋgó* (simplification of unpronounceable /gŋg/ via via /ŋŋg/ to *ŋg*).

The remaining set of segmental alternations leads us into the tricky area of vowel/semivowel relationships; see §3.4.6. The relevant forms that involve singular suffix *-ŋgo* are in (94).

(94)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'plain millet cakes'	*mànà àyé*	*mànà ă-ŋgó*
	b.	'small gourd'	*bàyé*	*bă:-ŋgó*
		'rifle cock'	*tàyê:*	*tă:-ŋgò*
	c.	'seedstock'	*twĕ:*	*tŏy-ŋgò*
	d.	'baby-carrying cloth'	*pŏyyè* (Pl variant *pòî:*)	*pŏy-ŋgò*

In (94a-b), *y* is present in the unsuffixed plural/collective but disappears before singular *-ŋgo*. In (94a) the vowel preceding *-ŋgo* is short, suggesting a derivation with syncope followed by preconsonantal *y*-Deletion, /àyé-ŋgó/ → /ăyŋgó/ → *ăŋgó*. In (94b), on the other hand, the vowel preceding *-ŋgo* is long, pointing to intervocalic *y*-Deletion followed by *vv*-Contraction. See §3.4.4 for discussion of these minor, probably morphologized processes involving /y/.

In (94b), the relationship between *twĕ:* and *tŏy-ŋgò* revolves around competition between the back rounded element and the front unrounded element for status as syllabic nucleus. Taking the lexical form as /tòéè/, in the unsuffixed form the *e*-vowels are well-positioned for this purpose, and the /o/ ends up as a densyllabified semivowel *w*. In the singular, if the final /e/ is chopped off by some process or other, the resulting /tòé-ŋgò/ could allow the first /o/ to become syllabic nucleus, reducing the /e/ to nonsyllabic status.

In (94c), the relationship of *pŏyyè* to *pŏy-ŋgò* is probably best handled by raising and syncopating the final /e/. The reduction of /yyŋg/ to *yŋg* would be routine.

4.1.3.3 Tonology of nouns with singular *-ŋgo*

We now turn to the **tonology** of the singular/plural alternations involving singular suffix *-ŋgo*. First up are those cases where a stem-final vowel is **not syncopated** to zero before the suffix (95). If the stem is /H/-toned, the H-tone spreads to the suffix (95a). If the stem is tonally contoured, but has a final vowel with a flat H- or L-tone, this too may spread to the suffix (95b-c). However, there are a few nouns, some showing a shortened final vowel, that divide an LH tone into L on the stem and H- on the suffix (95d).

(95)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'bark fiber'	*bá:jí:*	*bá:jí-ŋgó*
		'mortar'	*túnˊ-gó*	*túní:*

b.	‘applause’	*pómbè*	*pómbì-ŋgò*
	‘tinder’	*dámbè*	*dámbì-ŋgò*
c.	‘stray crop plant’	*tèbé*	*tèbí-ŋgó*
	‘husked grain spike’	*kìjé*	*kìjú-ŋgò*
	‘corn’	*màdèmbá*	*màdèmbá-ŋgó*
	‘fonio’	*pɔ̀ŋ́*	*pɔ̀ŋ́-ŋgó*
	‘sorghum’	*èmbá*	*èmbá-ŋgó*
	‘stem’	*sìmbá*	*sìmbá-ŋgó*
	‘leaf’	*kòmbá*	*kòmbá-ŋgó*
	‘baobab seed’	*kùmbɛ̀ɾ́*	*kùmbɛ̀ɾ́-ŋgó*
	‘chaff’	*ɔ̀ý*	*ɔ̀ý-ŋgó*
d.	‘fart’	*gìý*	*gìyɛ̀-ŋgó*
	‘cloth’	*swɛ̌:*	*sò-ŋgó*
	‘marriage’	*èyɛ̌:* ~ *ɛ̌:*	*èyà-ŋgó*

If the unsuffixed stem ends in a syllable with a contour tone, the final tone element spreads to the suffix. If the stem-final syllable is not reduced, it retains its contour tone before the suffix (96a-d).

(96)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘beard’	*bɛ̂:*	*bɛ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘animal fat’	*sî:*	*sî:-ŋgò*
	‘gum (resin)’	*ɲâ:*	*ɲâ:-ŋgò*
	‘sapling’	*ùrî:*	*ùrî:-ŋgò*
	‘grain’	*sɛ̂:*	*sɛ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘gizzard’	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:*	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘canister’	*bìdɔ̂:^{n}*	*bìdɔ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘sweet potato’	*màsàkû:*	*màsàkû:-ŋgò*
b.	‘papaya’	*pàpây*	*pàpây-ŋgó*
	‘mud brick’	*tèmbên*	*tèmbên-gò*
	‘bottle’	*bùtêl*	*bùtêl-ŋgò*
c.	‘rope’	*sɨ̌:*	*sɨ̌:-ŋgó*
	‘ashes’	*dɔ̀dɛ̌:*	*dɔ̀dɛ̌:-ŋgó*
d.	‘(male) elegance’	*dwă:n*	*dwă:n-gó*
	‘(female) elegance’	*gùlăn*	*gùlăn-gó*
	‘flower’	*pùnĕn*	*pùnĕn-go*

In some nouns, a stem-final long vowel with <HL> tone is **reduced to a short vowel** before singular *-ŋgo*. In this case, the tone components are separated. The H is realized on the

shortened stem-final vowel, while the L is realized on the suffix (97a). Similarly, an <LHL> tone is divided into <LH> (rising) on the stem-final and L on the suffix (97b).

(97)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'swelling'	*àmìyê:*	*àmìyé-ŋgò*
		'food'	*kwê:*	*kwé-ŋgò*
		'supper'	*ɲènê:*	*ɲèné-ŋgò*
	b.	'slingshot'	*nì:-tɛ̃:*	*nì:-tɛ̌:-ŋgò*

If a stem-final vowel is **deleted** by High-Vowel Syncope before *-ŋgo*, its tone is expressed on the syllable to the left (in addition to the final tone component spreading to the suffix). Syncope generally occurs after an unclustered sonorant, the few other cases (if they involve syncope at all) being after a /b/ or /g/ that is (then) itself deleted before *-ŋgo* (§3.4.2.2). The effect is that the post-syncope stem-final syllable always ends in a sonorant consonant, and is therefore easily capable of bearing a contour tone. As usual, if the stem is /H/-toned, the H spreads to the suffix (98a). If the deleted vowel is L-toned and the preceding syllabls is H-toned, my only example being 'citrus' (Bambara loanword), the output is a falling tone on the stem-final in addition to an L-tone on the suffix (98b). Parallel to this, and in a much larger number of examples, if the deleted stem-final vowel is H-toned and follows an L-tone on the preceding syllable, we end up with <LH> tone on the stem-final before H-tone on the suffix (98c). However, in (98d) *pă:lè* 'sesame' passes up the opportunity to keep all three tone components on the stem, and the result is singular *pă:l-ŋgò* with <LH> first syllable, instead of #*pẵ:l-ŋgò* with <LHL> tone.

(98)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'mortar'	*túní:*	*tún-gó*
		'millet'	*yó-ŋgó*	*yógé*
		'intact whole'	*kúndúlé*	*kúndúl-ŋgó*
		'mosquito net'	*sáŋgé:*	*sáŋgí-ŋgó*
		'cow-peas'	*númbé*	*númbú-ŋgó*
	b.	'citrus'	*lèmbúrù*	*lèmbûr-ŋgò*
	c.	'baggage'	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		'egg'	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
		'shell (of pod)'	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*
		'vein; root'	*wòlé*	*wŏl-ŋgó*
		'waterjar'	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		'salt'	*nèmɛ́*	*nɛ̌m-gó*
		'oil'	*nègé*	*nĕ-ŋgó*
		'object with flattened sides'	*pɔ̀mbìrɛ́*	*pɔ̀mbŭr-ŋgó*
		'shell (of pod)'	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*

	‘dry outer bark’	*kòmìlé*	*kòmĭl-ŋgó*
	‘tamarind seed’	*à:lé*	*ă:l-ŋgó*
		(contrast *à:lé* ‘rain’)	
	‘egg’	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
		(contrast *pòlé*, plural *pŏl-mbó* ‘knife’)	
d.	‘sesame’	*pă:lè*	*pă:l-ŋgò*

In some cases, including a large set of instrumental nominals illustrated here by ‘bra’, the deleted stem-final segment is a **long vowel** with a **falling** (<HL>) tone, preceded by an L-toned syllable. The end result is a new stem-final ending in a sonorant, with rising tone, followed by an L-toned suffix (99a-b). If the falling-toned stem-final long vowel is preceded instead by an H-toned syllable, my only example being ‘clitoris’ (99c), the high component of <HL> simply merges inaudibly with the lexical H-tone.

(99)

	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘lunch’	*kèndà-[tèg-î:]*	*kèndà-[tĕ-ŋgò]*
	‘sale’	*tŭl-ŋgò*	*tùlî:*
	‘bra’	*ònjù-[dŏŋ-gò]*	*ònjù-[dòŋ-î:]*
b.	‘gallbladder’	*gágăl-ŋgò*	*gágàlî:*
c.	‘clitoris’	*kèkér-ŋgò*	*kèkérî:*

4.1.3.4 Singular *-go*

Trivially, *-go* occurs instead of *-ŋgo* after many stems that end (perhaps after syncope of a final vowel) in a nasal consonant.

(100)

	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘male elegance’	*dwă:n*	*dwă:n-gó*
	‘purchase’	*dòn-î:*	*dŏn-gò*
b.	‘salt’	*nèmé*	*nĕm-gó*
c.	‘okra’	*gɔ́ŋ*	*gɔ́ŋ-gó*

In cases like these, I favor taking the suffix to be /-ŋgo/, which may lose its initial nasal when clustered with a preceding nasal. This is because *-ŋgo* is much more common than *-go* in environments where the two can be distinguished.

However, there are a number of cases of *-go* instead of *-ŋgo* after a vowel, where there is no evidence that a nasal has been deleted. The full set of examples is given in (101). The preceding vowel is always *a*, sometimes from /ae/, but (in one case) *ɛ* (‘tongs’).

(101)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘foot’	*nă:*	*nà:-gó*
		‘tongs’	*ĕ:*	*ĕ:-gò*
	b.	‘cotton’	*sáyè*	*sá-gò*
		‘branch’	*ăyè*	*ă:-gò*
		‘stick’	*băyè*	*bă:-gò*
		‘torch’	*sàyé*	*sà:-gó*

The two nouns in (101) diverge in the tonal treatment of the singular, which has an L-toned stem in ‘foot’ but a rising-toned stem in ‘tongs’.

The nouns in (101b) have *y* between *a* and *e* in the plural collective, versus a simple *a*-vowel (short in ‘cotton’, long in the other cases). The phonology of these nouns should be compared to counterparts with suffix *-ŋgo*, see (94a-b) in §4.1.3.2, above. Again, the options are to include *y* in the lexical representation and get rid of it in the singular by some form of *y*-Deletion, or to take the *y* in the plural/collective as an epenthetic element separating *a* from *e*.

4.1.3.5 Cases of frozen *-ŋgo and *-go

By “frozen” singular suffix, I mean that either no plural can be elicited (‘sun’ with unique referent), or that the plural is based on the entire singular stem (with a final-vowel mutation). In either case, there is no evidence from paradigmatic alternations that is available to the language learner to indicate segmentability. For those nouns with a suffixal plural, there is concrete paradigmatic evidence of unsegmentability. All known examples are in (102), including related forms (right column).

(102)	gloss	form	comment or related form
	‘hunger’	*gà:gó*	Pl *gà:gé* ; Jamsay *jĕ:*, Nanga *gìyɛ́*
	‘cold (weather)’	*gògó*	Pl *gògé* ; Nanga etc. *gɔ̀yɔ́*
	‘sun’	*ùjúŋgó*	unique referent; Ben Tey etc. *ùsú*
	‘weeping’	*ɲàŋgó*	Pl *ɲàŋgé* ; with verb: *ɲàŋgó ɲé* ‘weep’

In addition, H-toned *-ŋgó* ~ *-gó* is used (in a more transparently segmentable fashion) as derivational suffixes producing abstractive nominals from nominal or (more often) adjectival stems (§4.2.2.3). There are several cognate nominals derived from verbs that show frozen *-ŋgo and *-go, along with two that appear to show frozen animate plural *-mbo, see (400b-d) in §11.1.3.2.

4.1.3.6 Segmental and tonal phonology of nouns with singular *-ŋge*

-ŋge is less common than *-ŋgo*. Nouns ending in *-ŋge* have E/E type agreement with adjectives (e.g. *nálé:* 'good' for both singular and plural noun), and it is clear that *-ŋge* and *-ŋgo* are identical except for agreement class. This leads us to expect that the phonology of *-ŋge* will match that of *-ŋgo*. This expectation is verified for the most part. Therefore the data will be presented here with only brief commentary; see §4.1.3.2-3 for more details on similar phonological patterns for *-ŋgo*.

The **tone** of the suffix is spread from the final tone of the preceding stem. The noun undergoes no segmental change between unsuffixed plural/collective and suffixed singular in most cases; a few typical examples are in (103a). (103b) is a complete list of relevant nouns that end in *e* after an unclustered sonorant, i.e. in an environment where raising to a high vowel and then deleting the stem-final vowel would not have been difficult, but where the *e* survives unscathed before *-ŋge*.

(103)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'back (body)'	*bàndí*	*bàndí-ŋgé*
		'side of face'	*tégèlè:*	*tégèlè:-ŋgè*
		'blood'	*gĕn*	*gĕn-gé*
		'chest (body)'	*pélè*	*pélè-ŋgè*
		'street outside'	*pèmbĕ:*	*pèmbĕ:-ŋgé*
	b.	'pit (hole)'	*dúlé*	*dúlé-ŋgé*
		'shallow hole'	*tòŋgèré*	*tòŋgèré-ŋgé*
		'termite mound'	*kèlbè-dúlè*	*kèlbè-dúlè-ŋgè*

Shortening of a stem-final long vowel with no other change is observed in (104a). **Raising** of /e/ to *i* occurs in one instance (104b). **Deletion** of a high vowel, or of /e/ (presumably after it is raised to a high vowel) occurs in (104c). Deletion of a long /e:/ (presumably after shortening and raising) occurs in (104d). All known examples of these patterns are presented here. The deletions are attributable to High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2).

(104)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'thickening into syrup'	*dá:nì:*	*dá:nì-ŋgè*
		'forehead'	*géndè:*	*géndè-ŋgè*
		'knee'	*nà:-kínjì:*	*nà:-kínjì-ŋgè*
	b.	'green sauce'	*níŋgé*	*níŋgí-ŋgé*
	c.	'residue of liquid'	*tègèlè-tégèlè*	*tègèlè-tégèl-ŋgè*
		'pounding area'	*sè:-dúnì*	*sè:-dûn-gè*
		'high spot near depression'	*yélé*	*yél-ŋgé*
	d.	'hole at base of house'	*dòlé:*	*dŏl-ŋgé*

The **tonology** is generally straightforward, following the same lines as for *-ŋgo*. I know of no cases where a noun with /LH/ melody shifts the H entirely onto the suffix *-ŋge*, parallel to *sò-ŋgó* 'cloth', *èyà-ŋgó* 'marriage', and *nà:-gó* 'foot'. However, there is one frozen case of this type, *gèndèŋgé* 'side, end (e.g. of blanket)', for which no plural was elicitable; cf. postposition *gèndɛ̀* 'around' (§8.2.9).

The other frozen example known to me is *úmέŋgé* (note the shift in ATR-harmonic pattern from *ɛ* to *e*), which is attested only in the temporal adverbial PP *úmέŋgé má* 'early'.

One may ask whether there are any examples of singular *-gé* without the nasal, parallel to nouns with singular *-go* instead of *-ŋgo*. There is a suffix *-gé*, but it functions as an abstractive derivational suffix (building derived nouns from nominal and adjectival stems), rather than as a simple singular suffix; see §4.2.2.2.

4.1.3.7 Segmental phonology of nouns with plural *-mbo*

Nouns that take *-mbo* are (grammatically) animate, and have an unsuffixed singular. The set of nouns that takes*-mbo* is (therefore) disjoint from the sets of inanimate nouns that take singular suffix *-ŋgo*, *-go*, or *-ŋge*.

In (105), the stem undergoes no segmental or tonal change when *-mbo* is added. This is the case with about 75% of attested stems that take this suffix.

(105)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'elder'	*kúlmá*	*kúlmá-mbó*
		'holy man'	*àlfâ:*	*àlfâ:-mbò*
		'mendicant pupil'	*gàrí:bù*	*gàrí:bù-mbò*
	b.	'cat'	*gáŋà*	*gáŋà-mbò*
		'horse' (variant)	*bǎn*	*bǎn-bó*
	c.	'trimming ax'	*kɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*kɔ̀rɔ̂:-mbò*
		'ceremonial rifle'	*màlfâ-bùgá*	*màlfâ-bùgá-mbó*
		'simple awl'	*sílbàl*	*sílbàl-mbò*

As with the singular suffixes, various reductions and shifts of stem-final vowels are observed. The following data, which include all examples from an early working lexicon, are presented in an order that facilitates comparison with the phonological analyses of the singular suffixes (see especially §4.1.3.2).

Shortening of a stem-final long vowel, with no other segmental change, is illustrated in (106).

(106)	gloss	singular	plural
	'father's sister'	*sèjí:*	*sèjí-mbó*
	'great-grandchild'	*jèŋgíyè:*	*jèŋgíyè-mbò*
	'elder same-sex sibling'	*dèlǎ:*	*dèlà-mbó*

‘person’	*nŏ:*	*nò-mbó*
‘visitor’	*bèmbă:*	*bèmbà-mbó*
‘owner, master’	*dòmbă:*	*dòmbà-mbó*
‘younger same-sex sibling’	*ɔ̀jɔ̌:*	*ɔ̀jɔ̀-mbó*
‘husband’	*nɔ̀gɔ̌:*	*nɔ̀gɔ̀-mbó*

A final mid-height vowel is **raised** from /e/ to *u* systematically in human **agentives**, many of which also include a compound initial (§4.2.3.5, §5.1.4). Example: *dùmɔ̀:-hàybé* ‘livestock custodian’, plural *dùmɔ̀:-[hàybú-mbó]*. In addition to this morphologically specialized type, a few other nouns show raising from /e/ to *i* (107a) or to *u* (107b). There are no nouns that lower final /ɛ/ to *a* before *-mbo*.

(107)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘folding knife’	*sìlbé*	*sìlbí-mbó*
	‘woman after childbirth’	*yàygé*	*yàygí-mbó*
b.	‘widow’	*yà-pàndé*	*yà-pàndú-mbó*
	‘rag as head cushion’	*dòŋé*	*dòŋú-mbó*
	‘lover, concubine’	*gòjé*	*gòjú-mbó*
	‘lazy person’	*gòlònjé*	*gòlònjú-mbó*
	‘month, moon’	*sà:gé*	*sà:gú-mbó*
	‘long straight knife’	*pòlè-gàŋgé*	*pòlè-gàŋgú-mbó*
	‘grindstone’	*nùŋgɛ́*	*nùŋgú-mbó*
	‘mother’s brother’	*nèjĭ:*	*nèjù-mbó*
	‘stepmother’	*mòjĭ:*	*mòjù-mbó*

In a fairly large number of nouns, a final short vowel is **deleted** by High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2). This is possible when this vowel is preceded by an unclustered intervocalic sonorant (nasal, liquid, semivowel). The vowel is usually high {*u i*} or upper mid-height {*e o*}, but sometimes {*ɛ ɔ*} and in one case even *a*. We can still argue for a two-step process of raising to high vowel, then syncope of this high vowel by High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2), but the evidence is less persuasive in the case of plural *-mbo* than it is for inanimate singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge*.

The data in (108) are organized by vowel quality (in the singular).

(108)

	gloss	singular	plural
a. {*u i*}			
	‘imam’	*àlmá:mù*	*àlmâ:m-bò*
	‘imam’s respondent’	*àlmú:jìnì*	*àlmú:jìn-bò*
	‘reed flute’	*bòbírì*	*bòbîr-mbò*
	‘plow’	*jálòsárì*	*jálòsâr-mbò*

b. {*e o*}

‘horse’ (variant)	*bàné*	*bà-mbó*
‘genie’	*gínè*	*gîn-bò*
‘rifle mechanism’	*gă:lè*	*gă:l-mbò*
‘metal hook’	*tòndòmbèlé*	*tòndòmbĕl-mbó*
‘orphan’	*àjàbàlé*	*àjàbăl-mbó*
‘friend (same-sex)’	*nàlé*	*nàl-mbó*
‘statuette’	*dĕ:rè*	*dĕ:r-mbò*
‘woman who has given birth’	*yáyè*	*yây-mbò*
‘senior twin’	*pàyé*	*păy-mbó*
‘chicken’	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*

c. {*ɛ ɔ*}

‘older of two young children’	*èndè: nèbèndɛ́*	*òndò: nèbèndɛ́-mbó*
‘Tengou (ethnicity)’	*tèŋílè*	*tèŋûl-mbò*
‘circumcision loincloth’	*yàbà-dɔ́ndɔ́lɔ́*	*yàbà-dɔ́ndɔ́l-mbó*

d. {a}

‘sick person’	*să:mà*	*să:m-bò*

In (109), a long high vowel is deleted. Presumably it is first shortened as in (106) above, then the short vowel is deleted by High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2), as in (107) above.

(109)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘unmarried person’	*kùmî:*	*kŭm-bò*
	‘tomtom’	*bònî:*	*bŏ-mbò* ~ *bŏn-bò*
b.	‘stone’	*kìnû:*	*kĭn-bò*

When *-mbo* follows a noun ending in …*bv* or …*mv* (“*v*” is any short vowel), the labial is optionally deleted (intervocalically), with subsequent contraction of the two adjacent vowels into a long. This labial deletion is arguably haplologic, favored by the **homorganic** labial *mb* of the suffix.

(110)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘camel’	*ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀mɛ́*	*ɲɔŋɔ̆:-mbó*
	‘pointed implement’	*kèmɛ́*	*kĕ:-mbó*
	‘fetish’	*mɔ̀mɛ́*	*mɔmɛ́-mbó* ~ *mɔ̆:-mbó*
	‘sieve’	*tɛ́mè*	*tɛ́mè-mbò* ~ *tê:-mbò*
b.	‘pants’	*yábà*	*yábà-mbò* ~ *yâ:-mbò*

A modification of the quality of the vowel in a medial syllable is attested (111) but uncommon. For the plural of 'traditional chief', a suitable derivation is /òbèlé-mbó/ → /òbèlú-mbó/ (raising) → *òbŭl-mbó* (syncope with simultaneous tone relocation and idiosyncratic shift of the features of the deleted /u/ to the preceding syllable).

(111)	gloss	singular	plural
	'traditional chief'	*òbèlé*	*òbŭl-mbó*

4.1.3.8 Tonology of nouns with plural *-mbo*

Like singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge*, plural *-mbo* gets its tone by spreading from the left. This can be seen in examples in the preceding section. In most cases, there is no change in the tones of the stem when the suffix *-mbo* is added.

However, when the stem-final vowel is deleted, if its tone diverges from that of the preceding syllable, there is an issue as to how the tone is relocated.

A stem-final L-toned vowel that is deleted following an H-toned syllable results in a falling tone (112a). Conversely, a stem-final H-toned vowel that is deleted following an L-toned syllable may result in a rising tone (112b). See Stranded-Tone Re-Linking (§3.6.4.4).

(112)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'imam'	*àlmá:mù*	*àlmâ:m-bò*
		'imam's respondent'	*àlmú:jìnì*	*àlmú:jìn-bò*
		'reed flute'	*bòbírì*	*bòbîr-mbò*
		'plow'	*jálòsárì*	*jálòsâr-mbò*
		'woman who has given birth'	*yáyè*	*yây-mbò*
		'chicken'	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*
	b.	'senior twin'	*pàyé*	*păy-mbó*
		'metal hook'	*tòndòmbèlé*	*tòndòmbĕl-mbó*
		'orphan'	*àjàbàlé*	*àjàbăl-mbó*

Before plural *-mbo*, when a stem-final long vowel with <LH> tone is shortened, the H-tone element is expressed on the suffix only (113a). There are also some cases where the same pattern (H-tone on suffix only) occurs without shortening (or deletion) of the stem-final vowel (113b). In (113c), a deleted stem-final high vowel following an L-toned syllable likewise expresses its H-tone only on the suffix; this contrasts with what we just saw in (112b), above. If a deleted L-toned stem-final vowel follows a rising-toned syllable, instead of an <LHL> syllable, the rising-toned syllable remains constant in the plural, so the stem-final L-tone is realized only on the suffix (113d).

(113)

	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘person’	*nŏ:*	*nò-mbó*
	‘elder same-sex sibling’	*dèlă:*	*dèlà-mbó*
	‘visitor’	*bèmbă:*	*bèmbà-mbó*
	‘grandfather’	*pòbă:*	*pòbà-mbó*
	‘owner, master’	*dòmbă:*	*dòmbà-mbó*
	‘younger same-sex sibling’	*ɔ̀jɔ̌:*	*ɔ̀jɔ̀-mbó*
	‘husband’	*nɔ̀gɔ̌:*	*nɔ̀gɔ̀-mbó*
	‘mother’s brother’	*nèjĭ:*	*nèjù-mbó*
	‘stepmother’	*mòjĭ:*	*mòjù-mbó*
b.	‘cross-cousin’	*tĭ:*	*tì:-mbó*
	‘bird’	*nĭ:*	*nì:-mbó*
	‘entire tree’ (< ‘mother’)	*nĭ:*	*nì:-mbó*
	‘dog’	*ŋgwĕ:*	*ŋgwè:-mbó*
	‘sores on inside of eyelid’	*gàndá*	*gàndà-mbó*
c.	‘co-wife’	*ɲàlàlé*	*ɲàlàl-mbó*
	‘horse’ (variant)	*bàné*	*bà-mbó* (Pl also *băn-bó*)
d.	‘rifle mechanism’	*gă:lè*	*gă:l-mbò*
	‘statuette’	*dĕ:rè*	*dĕ:r-mbò*
	‘mouse’	*ŏyè*	*ŏy-mbò*

4.1.4 Frozen *Cv-* reduplication in nouns and adjectives

Najamba does not have a large number of nouns that look like they begin in a *Cv-* reduplication, comparable to those with *Ci-*, *Cu-*, or *Cv-* (with a copy of the first stem vowel) in eastern Dogon languages. The few examples of this type in Najamba are in (114). They show repetition of the first vowel.

(114)

noun/adjective	gloss
dùdùmbú	‘large jar for millet beer’
bɛ̀bɛ̂: ~ *bɛ̀bɔ̂:*	‘feeble, having lost strength’
bébé	‘deaf-mute’
gɛ̀gɛ́lɛ̀	‘stuttering’
gɛ̀gɛ́rɛ̀	‘very fast speech’
tátágá	‘arrogance’
gɔ̀n-gò púpújú	‘worn-out waterjar’
gìrè-gɛ̀gɛ̀lɛ́	‘furtive look’ (*gìré* ‘eyes’)

4.1.5 Frozen full-stem iterations in nouns

CvCv-CvCv iterations used as nouns (or adverbs) are fairly common. In a few cases the iteration is related to an attested shorter stem, but in many the iteration is the only form in its word family. Most examples involve an iterated bisyllabic element. The data in (115) are grouped by tone patterns.

(115) a. LL-HL

wèlè-wélè	'immature peanut pod'
bùjè-bújè	'froth, suds, soap lather' (verb *bùjɛ́* 'foam')
bùrè-búrè	'sediments'
kɛ̀jɛ̀-kɛ́jɛ̀:	'twigs' (Sg *kɛ̀jɛ̀-kɛ́jɔ̀:* ; verb *kɛ́jɛ́* 'cut')
yàgà-yágà	'lightweight nickel alloy (for bracelets)'
ɲèmè-ɲémè	'trivial chatter'
ɲàmà-ɲámà	'bric-à-brac, junk'
kùbù-kúbù	'machete blade' (local Fr *coupe-coupe*)
jà:rà-já:rà	'incitement' (cognate nominal for verb *já:rɛ́*)
dòlà-dólà	'race, competition' (*dɔ̀lɛ́* 'be in front')
yòbà-yóbà	'race' (*yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run')
bìlà-bílà	'exchange' (verb *bìlɛ́*)
bùlà-búlà	'blue'
dàmbà-dámbà	'push-cart' (*dàmbí* 'push', cf. local Fr *pousse-pousse*)
mɔ̀:-[wùndà-wúndà]	'meningitis' (swollen neck)

b. HL-HL

yúgù-yúgù	'pile of used European clothing'

c. LL-LH

pɔ̀tɔ̀-pɔ̀tɛ́	'mud'
kùrsà-kùrsá	'skin disease with rashes'
dɛ̀mɛ̀-dɛ̀mɛ́	'odd jobs'

d. LH-LHL

yòlà-yòlâ:	'aggressive provocation'
ɛ̀njɛ̀-ɛ̀njɛ̂:	'corner; cavity in rocks' (verb *ɛ́njɛ́* 'slip X into'
kàlè-kàlê:	'external stairway' (< Fr *escalier* ?)
gɛ̀njɛ̀-gɛ̀njɛ̂:	'chest (body)' (variant *jɛ̀n-jɛ̀njɛ̂:*)
kìndò-kìndô:	'(someone's) shadow' (< *kìndô:* 'shade')

e. LL-LH

pòndò-pòndǒ:	'board, plank'
mɛ̀nɛ̀-mɛ̀nɛ̌:	'lightning flashes'
kùndà-kùndǎ:	'cloud'

f. HH-LL

níŋí-nìŋɛ̀:	'sauce pots' (cf. *níŋgɛ́* 'sauce')

g. LH-LL
bènán-bènàn ‘dilemma, quandary’ (…*bènàn mà* ‘between’)

A variant on the productive LL-HL tone pattern of (115a) is the LLL-HLL pattern in *tègèlè-tégèlè* ‘residue of liquid collecting in bottom of recipient after pouring’.

There are numerous reduplicated (semi-)onomatopoeic terms denoting sounds (cf. English *chomp*, *bang*, *crunch*, *rustle*). Examples are *kùgúrùm-kùgúrùm* (or *kàgáràm-kàgáràm*) ‘chomp-chomp (loud chewing)’ and *sáy^{n}àm-sáy^{n}àm* ‘crunch-crunch (e.g. walking through a field)’.

With a **change in vowel quality** we have the regional word *tèŋgè-táŋgá* ‘dancer on stilts (from central Dogon country)’, *pí:lì-pá:là* ‘deceptive talk’, and *kóróy-kàràỳ* ‘hurried, hasty (action)’ The shift to *a*-vowels in the second occurrence is noteworthy and has parallels in other Dogon languages. In onomatopoeic and similar terms for noises, a three-part ABA pattern with *a*-vowels and L-tone in the medial B occurrence is attested in *kɔ̌:-kà:-kɔ̌:* (sound of toad croaking) and in *hó:-hà:-hó:* ‘loud chattering’. For some reason a similar pattern occurs in *tò:-tà:-tô:* ‘sixth day after tomorrow’ (one week from today).

4.1.6 Frozen initial *à-* in nouns

This is not a synchronically noticeable pattern in Najamba. The forms in (116) may be of historical interest.

(116) *àjáŋàlà* ‘forked end (of stick)’ cf. Jamsay *à-jăŋ*
àsàŋálà ‘hail(-stones)’ cf. Nanga *bòndì-sàŋár^{n}â* ‘hail’ (*bòndí* ‘rain’)
àjăn ‘sky’

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Diminutives

There are no productive morphological diminutive formations. See §5.1.6 for a few (mostly frozen) compounds ending in ‘child’.

In kinship terminology, the pair *jènjê:* ‘great-grandparent’ and its reciprocal *jèŋgíyè:* is suggestive. A somewhat similar pair is *nèjí:* ‘mother’s brother’ and its reciprocal *nèjìyê:* ‘sister’s child’. The ‘grandchild’ term *sèjíyè* has some resemblance to the junior-kin members of the preceding pairs. The apparent final *e/ɛ* endings in the junior terms may be related to the first syllable of *èndê:* ‘child’ (plural *òndô:*). This first syllable may represent the original stem *ĕ, since singular *èndê:* may have been back-formed from its plural. Compare Dogul Dom *ĕg* ‘child’ with a different original suffix and eastern Dogon forms like Tommo So *íí* ‘child’.

4.2.2 Denominal (and deadjectival) nouns

4.2.2.1 Characteristic derivative (-*gɛ́:, -gá:*)

A noun (or adjective) describing a person or other animate by reference to a salient characteristic (body part, attribute, or possession) can be formed by adding derivational suffix *-gɛ́:* (plural *-gá:*) to an {L}-toned form of the noun denoting the characteristic.

(117)

noun	gloss	characteristic	gloss
kínjàn	'life'	*kìnjàn-gɛ́:*	'living, alive'
gùnjù-gùnjô:	'hunched back'	*gùnjù-gùnjò:-gɛ́:*	'hunchback'
kùlɛ́	'hairs' (plural)	*kùlɛ̀-gɛ́:*	'hairy (person)'
tójú	'big testicles'	*tòjù-gɛ́:*	'one with big testicles'
nàndă:	'left (side)'	*nàndà-gɛ́:*	'left-handed person'
sî:	'animal fat(s)'	*sì-gɛ́:*	'fatty (animal, meat)'
sɛ́mbɛ́	'strength, force'	*sèmbɛ̀-gɛ́:*	'strong (person)'
ánì, Pl *ánà:*	'man'	*ànà-gɛ́:*	'fearless'

Inanimate examples have the expected distribution of *-gɛ́:* and *-gá:* depending on the class of the noun denoting the described entity. For example, from *sǐ:* 'animal fat' we get *sì:-gɛ́:* 'fatty' (singular E-class, and all inanimate plurals), and *sì:-gá:* (singular O-class). An example involving a pseudo-animate noun is *sàmbè kèlè-gɛ́:* 'wooden spear with metal tips', containing *sàmbɛ́* 'spear' and *kɛ́lɔ̀:\\kɛ́lɛ̀:* 'horn'.

4.2.2.2 Denominal or deadjectival abstractive (-*gɛ́*)

The abstractive suffix *-gɛ́* is attested with a few nouns and adjectives that denote **life stages or other classificatory characteristics**, generally of humans. In (118), the original noun drops tones to {L} before *-gɛ́*, but no other consistent vocalic change is seen.

(118)

noun	gloss	abstractive	gloss
èndwă:	'man (not old)'	*èndwà:-gɛ́*	'youth'
gìnè-mórù	'magician'	*gìnè-mòr-gɛ́*	'sleight-of-hand'
ánì (Pl *ánà:*)	'man'	*ànà-gɛ́*	'fighting mode'
gìndɔ́:, *gìndɛ́:*	'big; honored'	*gìndɛ̀-gɛ́*	'honor, esteem'

In (119), the original noun raises its final vowel to /i/, which then syncopates after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant.

(119)	noun	gloss	abstractive	gloss
	ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:	‘rich person’	*ɔ̀gɔ̀ndì-gé*	‘richness, wealth’
	là:ró	‘shiftless’	*là:r-gé*	‘shiftlessness’
	gòlònjé	‘lazy person’	*gòlònjì-gé*	‘laziness’

An apparent *yv* extension on the initial is seen in *sàfìyà-gé* ‘idiocy’ from noun *sáfì* ‘idiot’, and in *dɔ̀fìyɔ̀-gé* (variant of *dɔ̀fɛ̂-gé*) ‘cowardice’ from noun *dɔ́fɛ̂* ‘coward’.

The morphosyntactic flexibility of the suffix is suggested by *[nò:=là]-gé* ‘nonhumanness’ (not being considered to be a normal person), based on *nǒ:=là* ‘is not a person’. A similar example is *[jògò-ndì]-gé* ‘(state of) not having’, from *jògò-ndí-* ‘not have’.

The suffix *-gé* is also used in names of languages: *pùlàndì-gé* ‘Fulfulde language’, *bè:n-gé* ‘language of Beni’, etc. Speech is also relevant in *[kì:-jògò-ndì]-gé* ‘nonsense, blathering’ (cf. *kî: jògò-ndí* ‘not have a head’). -

4.2.2.3 Denominal or deadjectival abstractive (-*ŋgó*)

In the deajectival cases, the abstractive noun is segmentally identical to the form of the adjective with O-class singular suffix *-ŋgo*. However, the noun has an L-H formula, with the H-tone on the suffix. The forms shown are all that are known to me. The adjectives for **Cartesian dimensions** are well-represented (120a), as are a scattering of other adjectives (120b).

(120)		abstractive	gloss	adjective (O-class singular)
	a.	*mìn-gó*	‘depth’	*mǐn-gò* ‘deep’
		wàyà-ŋgó	‘width’	*wàyá-ŋgó* ‘wide’
		jàlà-ŋgó	‘length’	*jàlá-ŋgó* ‘long’
	b.	*nàm-gó*	‘expensiveness’	*nǎm-gò* ‘expensive, difficult’
		kèndà-[ɛ̌l-ŋgó]	‘happiness’	*ɛ̌l-ŋgò* (‘sweet, good’)
		dwɛ̀y-ŋgó	‘hot weather’	*dwɛ̌y^{n}-ŋgò* ‘hot’

A similar nominalization, but this time **denominal**, consists of *-ŋgó* or *-gó* (again H-toned, after {L}-toned stem) added to a noun denoting an **amical or amorous** relationship.

(121)	abstractive	gloss	noun (singular)
	nàl-ŋgó	‘friendship’	*nàlé* ‘friend’, Pl *nàl-mbó*
	gòjù-gó	‘illicit sex’	*gòjé* ‘concubine’, Pl *gòjú-mbó*

These abstractive nominals may be compared to cases of frozen inanimate singular O-class suffix *-gó or *-ŋgó, no longer clearly segmentable, covered in §4.1.3.5.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominalizations

In addition to the forms described in the following sections, readers are referred to the full list of cognate nominals in §11.1.3.2. Although the verb is often parasitic in form on the nominal, and the nominal may be a borrowing (often from Fulfulde), in some cases the nominal may have been derived from the verb.

4.2.3.1 Regular verbal noun *-lé*

The fully productive verbal noun is expressesd by adding the suffix *-lé* to the **I-stem** of the verb. For several monosyllabic verb stems, the I-stem has a *u*-vowel. For all other verbs, this stem ends in /i/, which is subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (when preceded by an unclustered sonorant. The I-stem requires {*e o*} rather than {*ɛ ɔ*} in any nonfinal mid-height vowels. The **entire** verbal noun is **{H}-toned**. Monosyllabic verbs that have regular verbal nouns are in (122a-b). The verbal noun of 'arrive' is variable (122c). Among the nonmonosyllabic stems, those in (122d) show Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion while those in (122e) do not.

(122)

	gloss	chaining	verbal noun
a.	'come'	*wé*	*wú-lé* (variant *wí-lé*)
	'insult'	*dwɛ́*	*dú-lé*
	'go out'	*gwé*	*gú-lé*
b.	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yí-lé*
	'remain'	*bɛ́*	*bí-lé*
	'weep'	*ɲɛ́*	*ŋí-lé*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jí:-lé*
	'make bricks'	*mɛ́:*	*mí:-lé*
c.	'arrive'	*dwɛ̂:*	*dúy-lé, dú:-lé*
d.	'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sém-lé*
	'cut in half'	*dìŋgílɛ́*	*díŋgíl-lé*
	'finish'	*pór*	*pór-lé*
e.	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógí-lé*
	'cut off (branch)'	*támbí*	*támbí-lé*
	'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújí-lé*
f.	'get'	*dìnɛ̂:*	*díní:-lé*

The verbal noun is readily formed from suffixally derived verbs, including passives.

(123)	gloss	category	chaining	verbal noun
	‘go around’	mediopassive	*gɔ̀ŋílí-yɛ́*	*góŋílí-y-lé*
	‘become long’	inchoative	*jàlá-ndí*	*jálá-ndí-lé*
	‘unlock’	reversive	*dàgí-lɛ́*	*dágí-l-lé*
	‘make big’	factitive	*gìndá-m*	*gíndá-m-lé*
	‘inflate’	causative	*píbíyó-m*	*píbíyó-m-lé*

4.2.3.2 Verbal noun with *-ndá:*

This less common verbal-noun formation is attested in several textual examples. In the forms preferred by both of my assistants, the vocalism is that of the **chaining** form of the stem (E-stem for verbs of the{*ɛ ɔ*} ATR-harmonic class, I-stem for those of the {*e o*} class). The tone overlay is {H} (124). For variants based on the A/O-stem, see below.

(124)		gloss	chaining	verbal noun
	a.	‘come’	*wé*	*wé-ndá:*
		‘insult’	*dwɛ́*	*dwé-ndá:*
		‘go out’	*gwé*	*gwé-ndá:*
	b.	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yɛ́-ndá:*
		‘weep’	*ɲɛ́*	*ɲɛ́-ndá:*
		‘bring’	*jê:*	*jé:-ndá:*
		‘make bricks’	*mɛ́:*	*mɛ́:-ndá:*
	c.	‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dwé:-ndá:*
	d.	‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sɛ́mɛ́-ndá:*
		‘cut in half’	*dìŋgílɛ́*	*díŋgílɛ́-ndá:*
		‘cut off (end)’	*pór*	*pór-ndá:1*
		‘come to an end’	*ìgí*	*ígí-ndá:*
	e.	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ́gɛ́-ndá:*
		‘cut off (branch)’	*támbí*	*támbá-ndá:*
		‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújɛ́-ndá:*
		‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*mámílí-yɛ́-ndá:*

In the absence of an NP-final determiner, a final semivowel /y/ that I take to be the ‘it is’ enclitic is usually added, resulting in *-ndá:=ý*. This use of ‘it is’ enclitic *=y* is reminiscent of its use in the passive (for indefinite subject), see §10.5. Before a determiner (definite *kó*), the enclitic *=y* is omitted.

As with the more general verbal noun in *-lé*, a nominal compound initial (usually an incorporated object) with {L} overlay may be added. Thus *ìŋgè-érá-ndá:=ý* ‘water-drawing’

(*íŋgé* ‘water’, A/O-stem of *érɛ́* ‘draw water’), or with a definite determiner *ìŋgè-érá-ndá: kó* ‘the water-drawing’.

In texts, I also found examples of verbs taking the A/O-stem instead of the chaining form (which is a mix of the E-stem and the I-stem). See *ìŋgè-érá-ndá:=ý* ‘water-drawing’, mentioned just below, and *[tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:=ý]* ‘going and getting wood’ in (125), below. My textual examples of this vocalism involve nominal compound initials and the final *=y* enclitic, details that may or may not be significant. My assistants preferred chaining-form vocalism even for these cases: *ìŋgè-érɛ́-ndá:=ý*, *[tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:=ý]*.

(125) *íyó* *[tè:-ŋgò]*^{L}*-[kérá-ndá:=ý]*
today [firewood-Sg]^{L}-[go.get-**VblN**=it.is]
[bà:-ólé *má]* *òndú-∅*
[father-house in] not.be-3SgSbj
‘Today, there is no going and getting wood in (i.e. among) families.’ (2005-1a)

4.2.3.3 Abstractive and other nominalizations with suffix *-n*

The abstractive is fairly common. In the predominant pattern, the stem is **L-toned**, except for a final H-tone on the *-n*. I transcribe e.g. *dùmɛ̌-n*, though *dùmè-ń* would also be reasonable.

The sense is **abstractive**, denoting a state or condition, cf. English *-ness* and similar nominalizations. The stem that serves as the basis for the derivative may be a verb or an adjective, or even a noun with adjective-like sense. In some cases the abstractive is part of a word-family with both verbs and adjectives and it is not always possible to determine a unique basis word. Shown in (126a-e), subdivided by semantic classes, are all uncompounded abstractives of this type in my working lexicon. It should therefore be representative, but many other forms can be elicited.

(126)

abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
a. conditions/states		
àyɨ̌-n	‘suffering, fatigue’	*áy* ‘be tired’
gìrìyɛ̌-n	‘poverty’	*gìríyɛ́:* ‘pauper’, *gìríyɛ́* ‘become poor’
gìrbă-n	‘blindness’	*gɨ̌rbà* ‘blind person’
tùgùmă-n	‘deafness’	*tùgúmà* ‘deaf person’
sà:mă-n	‘sickness’	*să:mà* ‘sick person’
dàgì-lì-yɛ̌-n	‘being unlocked’	*dàgí-lɛ́* ‘unlock’, MP *dàgí-lí-yɛ́*
b. qualities		
sɛ̀mɛ̌-n	‘slyness’	*sémɛ̀* ‘sly’
mà:mɨ̌-n	‘ability’	*mă:m* ‘be capable’
èjɛ̌-n	‘cleanness; light’	*éjɛ́* ‘be clean’, *èjê:* ‘clean’
gàbɨ̌-n	‘tallness, height’	*gàbê:* ‘tall’, *gàbí* ‘become tall’
kèlă-n	‘hatred’	*kélà-* ‘not like, dislike’ (§17.2.1.1)

c. actions

bògǐ-n	‘barking (of dog)’	*bògí* ‘bark’
màgǐ-n	‘magic’	*màgí* ‘do magic (tell fortunes)’
sòŋgă-n	‘(a) curse’	*sɔ́ŋgɛ́* ‘curse (someone)’

d. results of actions

dùmĕ-n	‘earnings; property’	*dùmɛ́* ‘obtain’
dɛ̀ŋĕ-n	‘loss’	*dɛ̀ŋɛ́* ‘lose’
ɲàmĭ-n	‘damage, harm’	*ɲăm* ‘damage, waste (v)’

e. other semantic categories

dàmă-n	‘totemic place’	*dàmá* ‘totem’
jìmbĕ-n	‘darkness’	*jìmbí* ‘become dark’

A possible frozen case is *gùlăn* ‘finery’.

The forms in (127) below also have an *-n* suffix, but they differ tonally from all examples given above. Those in (127a) constitute a natural semantic set (based on stance verbs), and all end with an L-tone, though other tonal details vary from form to form. (127b) have {H}-tones, along with an overlaid -ATR {*e o*} melody that is absent in (126). Most examples in (127a-b) denote **locations or Cartesian**-geometric positions. (127c) with LHL tones includes **cognate nominals** of body-function verbs; see (399b) in §11.1.3.2.

(127)

	abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
a.	*íŋgí-n*	‘height’	*íŋgí-yɛ́* ‘stand’
	óbì-n	‘place to sit’	*óbí-y*
	bĭỳ-n	‘bedding’	*bĭy* ‘lie down’
b.	*négí-n*	‘saltlick’	*nɛ́gɛ́* ‘lick’
	yóbí-n	‘race, running’	*yɔ̀bɛ́* ‘run’
c.	*àyî-n*	‘yawn’	*ăy* ‘yawn’
	bègî-n	‘hiccup’	*bègí* ‘have the hiccups’
	tègî-n	‘gunpowder chamber’	*tɛ́gɛ́* ‘put in a pinch of gunpowder’
	pèbî-n	‘whistling’	*pébí* ‘whistle’
	ìbî-n	‘place to catch’	*ìbí* ‘catch’

Possible frozen cases: *jùgîn* ‘week’, *búndán* ‘dancing ground’.

ébán ‘market’ does not correspond to a verb in Najamba, whose verb for ‘buy’ is *dɔ̀nɛ́*. However, note the compound initial in *èbà-kálú* ‘commerce’ and *èbà-gònɛ́* ‘merchandise’. *ɛ́bɛ́* ‘buy’ occurs in several other Dogon languages.

Nominal forms ending in *-n* are also fairly common as compound finals. Often the compounds denote locations; see §5.1.5.

4.2.3.4 Nominalizations with suffix *-ŋgán* (*-ŋgân*, *-gùl*, *-ŋgàl*)

The known examples of deverbal nominalization with *-ŋgán* are in (128). The vocalism is that of the I-stem, the examples showing a final /i/ that syncopates after an intervocalic unclustered sonorant. The suffix has H-tone. The stem itself has {H} or {L} overlay. The choice of stem tone appears to be based on prosodic weight, but there are too few examples for clear generalizations.

(128)

nominal	gloss	related verb or phrase
a. stem {H}-toned		
bí-ŋgán	'being; nature'	*bò* 'be', *bɛ́* 'remain'
gír-ŋgán	'pasture, herding'	*gìrɛ́ gír-ŋgán gìrɛ́* 'take (animals) to pasture'
b. stem {L}-toned		
nìgìl-ŋgán	'calculation'	*nìgìl-ŋgán nígíl* 'do a calculation'
sìŋgìl-ŋgán	'rest, relaxation'	*síŋgílí-y* 'rest, relax'
gàjì-ŋgân	'snatching'	*gàjí* 'snatch'
dùbì-ŋgán	'forging'	*dùbɛ́* 'forge (v)'

Other nouns ending in …*ŋgán*, but not transparently decomposible, include *páláŋgán* 'neighborhood, quarter (of a village or town)' and *sɔ̀ː-jíŋgán* 'neighbor'.

There is one example of *-ŋgàn* with suffixal **falling tone**, after a two-verb chain (129). See also *gùndà-ŋ̀gǎn* 'slavehood' from noun *gùndɛ́* 'slave' (§4.2.3.9).

(129) *yɔ̀bɛ̀-dɔ̀lɛ̀-ŋgân* 'race (competition)' *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run', *dɔ̀lɛ́* 'be in front'

A suffix *-gùl* is attested only in *ɲámá-gùl* 'damage, waste(n)', cf. transitive verb *ɲàmá-gí* 'damage (sth)', intransitive verb *ɲǎm* 'be damaged, malfunction', and regular nominalization *ɲàmǐ-n* 'damage, waste(n)'.

súmà-ŋgàl 'brand (on cow)' appears to have a deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ŋgàl*, cf. verb *súmɛ́* 'brand (a cow)'. Both verb and nominalization are borrowed from Fulfulde.

4.2.3.5 Uncompounded agentives

The productive agentive derivation is almost always expressed as a compound of the *basket-maker* type. In cases like 'runner' where no external object is manufactured or impinged on, a cognate nominal is the compound initial. The initial is {L}-toned. The final is the agentive form of the verb, which is characterized by +ATR {*e o*} vocalism and a final *e* vowel, with {LH} overlay expressed as H (monosyllabics), LH (bisyllabics), and LLH (trisyllabics). For examples and further discussion, see §5.1.4.

I have one attestation of an uncompounded agentive, namely *jòŋ́é* 'healer', see (788) in the sample text.

In addition, there is one noun that functions semantically as an agentive and is related to a verb, but it has /H/ melody. In the absence of any parallel forms, I take this noun to be a distinct lexical item of the same word-family as the verb, rather than as a derivative similar to the compound agentives.

(130) *tálé* 'hunter', plural *tál-mbó*
related forms: verb *tál\\tàlè* 'hunt', noun *tăl* 'hunt'

4.2.3.6 Instrument nominals (*-î:*)

This derivation is based on the relevant action verb.

In one pattern, instrument nominal suffix *-î:* is added to the tone-dropped form of the stem, and replaces the stem-final vowel. The *-î:* suffix is heard without change in the plural, which carries no further suffixes. Nonfinal vowels in the verb stem may be of -ATR {*e o*} but not of +ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} ATR class, suggesting that the verb is in the A/O-stem.

The singular suffix *-ŋgo* may be added to the nominal. The suffix combination /*-î:-ŋgo*/ is then usually expressed as *-í-ŋgò* with shortened *i*-vowel. This *í* is audible after a consonant cluster or an obstruent, but it syncopates after an unclustered sonorant. If syncope applies, it leaves no segmental trace of the original /-î:-/, although its tones are expressed on the flanking morphemes; see Stranded-Tone Re-Linking (§3.6.4.4). Occasionally (when the instrument nominal has no additional compound initial) the suffix complex is expressed as *-î:-ŋgò* with long falling-toned *î:*, see 'scrubber' (131c).

(131)

	singular	plural	verb
a.	*ɲèc*^{L}*-í-ŋgò* sift^{L}-Inst-Sg 'couscous steaming pot'	*ɲè*^{L}*-c-î:*	*ɲècé* 'coarsely sift (couscous)'
b.	*dèb*^{L}*-í-ŋgò* cover^{L}-Inst-Sg 'cover(ing)'	*dèb*^{L}*-î:*	*dèbé* 'cover'
c.	*bìb*^{L}*-î:-ŋgò* rub^{L}-Inst-Sg 'scrubber (for bathing)'	*bìb*^{L}*-î:*	*bìbé* 'rub'
d.	*ùgù-r*^{L}*-ú-ŋgò* burn-Tr-Inst-Sg 'incense'	*ùgù-r*^{L}*-î:*	*ùgí-r* 'burn (incense)'
e.	*tŭl*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò* sell^{L}-Inst-Sg '(a) sale'	*tùl*^{L}*-î:*	*túlé* 'sell'

f. *dŏn*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò* *dòn*^{L}*-î:* *dɔ̀nɛ́* ‘buy’
buy-Inst-Sg
‘purchase’

g. *bĭl*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò* *bìl*^{L}*-î:* *bìlɛ́* ‘exchange’
exchange-Inst-Sg
‘exchange, barter’

h. *tĕŋ*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò* *tèŋ*^{L}*-î:* *téŋɛ́* ‘hobble (quadruped)’
hobble-Inst-Sg
‘hobbles (rope tied around animal’s forelegs to reduce motion)’

In another set of cases, *-î:* is singular, and is pluralized by adding *-mbò*.

(132) singular plural verb

a. *dùr*^{L}*-î:* *dùr*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *dùrɛ́* ‘shoot (arrow), heave (spear)’
shoot^{L}-Inst
‘pole with hooked metal tip for pulling off fruits’

b. *bìmb*^{L}*-î:* *bìmb*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *bìmbɛ́* ‘file (something)’
file(v)^{L}-Inst
‘file (tool)’

c. *sòb*^{L}*-î:* *sòb*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *sɔ́bɛ́* ‘make hole in wooden handle’
make.hole^{L}-Inst
‘awl for puncturing wooden handles’

d. *èmb*^{L}*-î:* *èmb*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *émbɛ́* ‘hold by pinching’
pinch^{L}-Inst
‘tweezers’

e. *sèm*^{L}*-î:* *sèm*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *sémɛ́* ‘saw (cut)’
saw(v)^{L}-Inst
‘saw (for cutting calabashes)’ (Pl also pronounced *sĕm-∅-mbò*)

f. *kòj*^{L}*-î:* *kòj*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *kɔ́jɛ́* ‘scrape’
scrape^{L}-Inst
‘scraper (for pots)’

g. *wò:l*^{L}*-î:* *wò:l*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *wɔ́:lí-yɛ́* ‘scrape out (calabash)’
scrape.out^{L}-Inst
‘calabash scraper’ (used in making calabashes)

h. *kèj*^{L}*-î:* *kèj*^{L}*-î:-mbò* *kéjɛ́* ‘cut’
cut^{L}-Inst
‘heavy wedge (chisel) for piercing metal’

The majority of instrument nominals with suffix *-î:* are compounds including a nominal initial that denotes the typical direct object (‘egg-beater’). For examples and discussion, see §5.1.11. This semantic pattern should be distinguished from the basically noun-adjective sequence exemplified by /sàmbè sòb-î:/ ‘spear (*sàmbé*) with sharp tips’, ending in the same *sòb-î:* seen above in (132c).

4.2.3.7 Deverbal nominals with suffix *-û:*

There are also a number of nouns ending in *-û:* (plural *-î:* by a regular vowel shift) that are clearly related to verbs. Some are instrumental in sense (133a), but other semantic relationships are also observed (133b). Possible frozen instrumental nominals, not involving a transparently related verb, are in (133c). In (133d), *-û:* occurs both on a simple verb and on its causative (suffix *-m-*). Further examples are in the list of cognate nominals with *-û:* in (399a) in §11.1.3.2.

(133)

	noun	gloss	associated verb
a.	*dànj-û:*	‘thick-ended pestle’	*dànjí* ‘pound (grain spikes)’
	ǹjùl-û:	‘broom’	*ǹjúl* ‘sweep’
	gòb-û:	‘trigger’	*gɔ̀bɛ́* ‘pull (trigger)’
	pèg-û:	‘screw’	*pɛ́gɛ́* ‘drive in (post)’
	jìbìr-û:	‘bellows’	*jìbí* ‘fan’
b.	*dòmb-û:*	‘turban’	*dòmbí* ‘put on (turban, shawl)
	gòŋ-û:	‘roof beam’	*gɔ̀ŋɛ́* ‘enclose; fence in’
c.	*jùnjû:*	‘stirring stick’	*jǐy* ‘stir with stick’
	àjû:	‘kneading stick’	*gùgúl* ‘knead’
d.	*màn̄d-û:*	‘laughter’	*màn̄dí* ‘laugh’
	màn̄dà-m-û:	‘joke’	*màn̄dá*-m ‘cause to laugh’
	bèbìl-û:	‘bellowing’	*bèbíl* ‘(bull, billygoat) bellow’

4.2.3.8 Deverbal nominal with suffix *-rú*

This nominalization is clearly present only in the cases in (134), since for them a corresponding verb is present. The plurals are *énjí-rí* and *tímbí-rí*, as the shift from final *u* to (plural) *i* also affects the medial vowel quality.

(134)	a.	*énjú-rú*	'prop to rebalance'	*énjɛ́* 'slide/slip (object) in'
	b.	*tímbú-rú* (also *tímbú:*)	'lid'	*tímbɛ́* 'cover, put a lid on'
	c.	*págú-rú*	'(sth used as) belt'	*págí* 'tie'

Possible frozen case: *tàŋà-kɔ́gúrú* 'wooden bolt'. Given the alternation of *tímbú-rú* with *tímbú:*, other cases of nouns with final *ú:* might be considered here (*yámbú:* 'blanket', *níŋgú:* 'door shutter').

4.2.3.9 Minor denominal nominals

Isolated formations not attributable to a productive pattern are given in (135). For (135a), compare suffix *-ŋgăn* with deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ŋgán* (§4.2.3.4).

(135)		noun	gloss	related form(s)
	a.	*gùndà-ŋ̀găn*	'slavehood'	*gùndɛ́* 'slave'
	b.	*kínjàn*	'life; livelihood'	*kíndè:* 'soul', *kìndò-kìndô:* '(someone's) shadow', *kìndô:* 'shade'

4.3 Pronouns

Except for some morphophonological complexity in subject suffixes on verbs, pronouns are quite regular and transparent. For each category, there is a single "basic" form used independently, as preverbal subject proclitic (in relative clauses), as prenominal possessor, and before postpositions or discourse-functional particles, including accusative *gì* in object function. Before all-purpose postposition *mà* (§8.1.2), 1Sg *mí* contracts to *ḿ* resulting in *ḿ mà*, while the rest of the paradigm is regular. Except in relative clauses, pronominal subjects are normally expressed as suffixes on the verb. In the case of first and second persons, the suffixes are closely related to the basic forms.

(136)		basic	subject _Vb	subject Vb-_	object	possessor (preposed)
	a. 1Sg	*mí*	*mí*	*-m*	*mí gì*	*mí ...*
	1Pl	*í*	*í*	*-y*	*í gì*	*í ....*
	b. 2Sg	*ó*	*ó*	*-ɔ* ~ *-o*	*ó gì*	*ó ...*
	2Pl	*é*	*é*	*-ɛ* ~ *-e*	*é gì*	*é ...*

c.	3AnSg	*mó*	*mó*	*-∅*	*mó gì*	*mó ...*
	3AnPl	*bé*	*bé*	*-ɛ ~ -a*	*bé gì*	*bé ...*
d.	InanSg O	*kó*	*kó*	*-∅*	*kó gì*	*kó ...*
	InanSg E	*ké*	*ké*	*-∅*	*ké gì*	*ké ...*
	InanPl	*ké*	*ké*	*-∅*	*ké gì*	*ké ...*

kó is often a discourse-definite 'that'. In this function, *kó* could be considered to be the corresponding near-distant demonstrative (in discourse-definite function) with zero noun. For possessor-like prenominal *kó* in strong discourse-definite function see §6.5.1.

(137a) exemplifies a 1Sg possessor combined with a 1Sg subject suffix on the inflected verb. Accusative *[mí gì]* occurs in (137b). The preverbal (actually, preparticipial) form /mí/, which is typical of nonsubject relative clauses, is illustrated in (137c).

(137) a. *[[mí bà] gì] kělè ǹdɛ̀-ḿ*
[[**1SgPoss** father] Acc] money give.Pfv-**1SgSbj**
'I gave (the) money to my father.'

b. *núŋá: [mí gì] ǹdɛ̀-∅*
boubou [**1Sg** **Acc**] give.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She gave me a boubou.'

c. *ŋgwɛ̀:*^{L} *mí gìy-ê: mó*
dog^{L} **1SgSbj** kill.Pfv-PplNonSbj Def.AnSg
'the dog that I killed'

4.4 Determiners

4.4.1 Deictic demonstrative pronouns ('this'/'that')

There is a three-way spatial distinction among deictics: **proximate** 'this', **near-distant** 'that (near you or just over there), and **far-distant** 'that (in the distance)'. There is one paradigm for **animates** (humans and animals), including pseudo-animates. There is another paradigm for **inanimates** (including plants). There are distinct singular and plural forms for each category.

In addition to its canonical deictic sense, the animate singular proximate demonstrative *ŏm* is also used, in parallel clauses, to refer alternately to the two members of a pair who have been previously introduced as discourse referents ('There were two brothers; one (*ŏm*) was ..., the other (*ŏm*) was ...').

A far-distant form may be used opportunistically in texts to denote a counterparty to the most topical referent, in a fashion recalling the Algonquian **obviative**. For example, in a passage about two companions, animate singular far-distant *òmá:* may be used several times to denote the less topical of the two.

The animate demonstrative forms are given in (138).

(138) **Animate** demonstrative pronouns

	Sg	Pl
proximate	*ǒm*	*èbíyɛ̀*
near-distant	*mó*	*bé*
far-distant	*òmá:*	*èbá:*

When a deictic demonstrative pronoun modifies a preceding noun, the noun keeps its normal singular or plural segmental form, but **drops its tones**. In other words, demonstratives pattern tonosyntactically like modifying adjectives. (139) illustrates this with *pègɛ́* 'sheep' and plural *pègɛ̀-mbó*. The near-distant demonstratives are identical in form to definite morphemes (§4.4.2.2). However, demonstratives including near-distant ones, unlike definite morphemes, control tone-dropping on the preceding noun.

(139) a. *pègɛ̀*^{L} *ǒm*
sheep^{L} **Prox.AnSg**
'this sheep'

b. *pègɛ̀-mbò*^{L} *èbíyɛ̀*
sheep-Pl^{L} **Prox.AnPl**
'these sheep'

c. *pègɛ̀*^{L} *mó*
sheep^{L} **NearDist.AnSg**
'that sheep (near you or just over there)'

d. *pègɛ̀-mbò*^{L} *bé*
sheep.Pl^{L} **NearDist.AnPl**
'those sheep (near you or just over there)'

e. *pègɛ̀*^{L} *òmá:*
sheep^{L} **FarDist.AnSg**
'that sheep (in the distance there)'

f. *pègɛ̀-mbò*^{L} *èbá:*
sheep.Pl^{L} **FarDist.AnPl**
'those sheep (in the distance there)'

Another series, based on *ínɛ̀* 'goat' and its plural *ínà:*, is this: *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ǒm* 'this goat', *ìn-à:*^{L} *ébíyɛ̀* 'these goats', *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *mó* 'that-Near goat', *ìnà:*^{L} *bé* 'those-Near goats', *nɛ̀*^{L} *òmá:* 'that-Far goat', *ìnà:*^{L} *èbá:* 'those-Far goats', . Another with the human *yɛ̌:* 'woman' and its plural *yàwó:* is: *yɛ̀:*^{L} *ǒm*, *yàwò:*^{L} *èbíyɛ̀*, *yɛ̀:*^{L} *mó*, *yàwò:*^{L} *bé*, *yɛ̀:*^{L} *òmá:*, and *yàwò:*^{L} *èbá:* . Note that the lexically specific forms of the singular and plural are respected.

For inanimates, there are two agreement classes of nouns with distinct singulars (E-class and O-class), but the two classes merge into a single inanimate plural category (140).

(140) **Inanimate** demonstrative pronouns

	InanSg (O)	InanSg (E)	InanPl
proximate	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gí*	*ěy*
near-distant	*kó*	*ké*	*yé*
far-distant	*ŋ̀gwá:*	*ŋ̀gá:*	*èyá:*

A series with *bă:-gò* 'stick', plural *bǎyè*, is (141). This nous is of O/E inanimate class. Again, the singular/plural distinction on the noun is maintained, and the noun drops its tones.

(141) a. *bà:-gò*^{L} *ŋ̀gú*
stick-InanSg.O^{L} **Prox.InanSg.O**
'this stick'

b. *bàyè*^{L} *ěy*
stick.Pl^{L} **Prox.InanPl**
'these sticks'

c. *bà:-gò*^{L} *kó*
stick-InanSg.O^{L} **NearDist.InanSg.O**
'that stick (near you or just over there)'

d. *bàyè*^{L} *yé*
stick.Pl^{L} **NearDist.InanPl**
'those sticks (near you or just over there)'

e. *bà:-gò*^{L} *ŋ̀gwá:*
stick-InanSg.O^{L} **FarDist.InanSg.O**
'that stick (in the distance there)'

f. *pègè-mbò*^{L} *èyá:*
stick.Pl^{L} **FarDist.InanPl**
'those sticks (in the distance there)'

Inanimate class E/E is exemplified by *táŋà* 'granary': singulars *tàŋà*^{L} *ŋ̀gí*, *tàŋà*^{L} *ké*, *tàŋà*^{L} *ŋ̀gá:*, plurals *tàŋà*^{L} *ěy*, *tàŋà*^{L} *yé*, *tàŋà*^{L} *èyá:* .

Examining the paradigms above, we observe that the far-distant forms are (irregularly) related to the proximate forms, but involve an ending *á:* .

4.4.2 Definite morphemes

4.4.2.1 Discourse-definite *í*

A morpheme *í*, homophonous to the basic 1Pl pronominal, occurs once in a text as a resumptive discourse-definite form. After describing the idyllic good old days (lots of food and peace), see (712) in the sample text, the speaker resumes that description with *í* (142).

(142) *… kày [íyó nù:], í òndú-∅*
… Topic [today now], DiscDef not.be-3Sg
'… as for (that). Nowadays, this (situation) does not exist.'

Given the *hapax legomenon* status of this form, I cannot vouch for its productivity.

4.4.2.2 Regular definite determiners

Regular definite morphemes are identical in form to the corresponding near-distant deictic demonstratives, including marking for number and agreement class. See the near-distant forms in the animate and inanimate demonstrative paradigms in §4.4.1 above. In spite of this homophony, definite determiners can always be identified by their failure to control tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun.

(143) a. *[pègé mó] [[ínè mó] mà]*
[sheep **Def.AnSg**] [[goat Def.AnSg] Dat]
mó gìn-ɔ̂:
AnSgSbj say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
'(As) the sheep-Sg said to the goat, ...'

b. *[pègè-mbó bé] [[ínà: bé] mà]*
[sheep.Pl **Def.AnPl**] [[goat.Pl Def] Dat]
bé gìn-ɔ̂:
AnPlSbj say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
'(As) the sheep-Pl said to the goats, ...'

c. *[kìnû: kó] dèŋè-∅*
[stone **Def.InanSg.O**] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The stone fell.' (*kínû:*)

d. *[kǐn-bò bé] dèŋ-à:*
[stone-Pl **Def.AnPl**] fall.Pfv-3PlSbj
'The stones fell.' ('stone' is animate in the plural)

If *mó*, *bé*, and *kó* in these examples had been near-distant determiners, the preceding nouns would have been tone-dropped: *pègè*^{L} *mó*, *pègè-mbò*^{L} *bé*, *kìnù:*^{L} *kó*, and *kìn-bò*^{L} *bé*.

4.4.3 Determiner sandwich (e.g. *mó X mó*)

An element with the form of a definite determiner may occur on **both sides** of the noun, which drops its tones to {L}. The controller of the tone-dropping is technically ambiguous, since a) a definite determiner is identical to a third person pronoun, so the occurrence on the left could be taken syntactically as a **possessor**, which would force tone-dropping on the following possessum; and b) a definite determiner has the same form as a **near-distant demonstrative** pronoun, which forces tone-dropping on the preceding modified noun. In textual occurrences, the NP in question is discourse-definite rather than deictic, so I opt for the former (possessor) analysis for morphosyntactic purposes, even though the "possessor" is coindexed with the possessum. Evidence for this analysis is provided by similar frames consisting of a preceding determiner and a following 'each/all' quantifier, see discussion of (146) below.

In (144), the speaker reintroduces a discourse referent ('the woman') who was part of earlier discourse, after a short digression. The excerpt is from a general discussion about marriage, so the woman in question is generic, though at this point discourse-definite.

(144) *[mó* *ˡyè:* *mó]* *báŋgàl* *kàn-ó:* *mɛ́,*
[**AnSgPoss** ˡwoman **Def.AnSg]** marriage do.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[yɛ̌: *mó]*
[woman Def.AnSg]
'**That woman** (whom I was talking about earlier), when you marry her, the woman, …' (2005-1a)

Especially with inanimate singular *kó*, which (in addition to denoting objects) may also be used more abstractly to denote a situation ('in that case', etc.), there is some question whether the leftmost occurrence should be understood as referring to an external possessor, or as part of a determiner sandwich (*kó … kó*), in examples like (145).

(145) a. *jɛ̌njà* *[kó* *ˡsèmbɛ̀* *kó]*
God [**InanSg.O.Poss** ˡstrength **Def.InanSg.O**]
jɛ̌njà *[í* *gì]* *ǹdí-ná*
God [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us that strength' (or: '… the strength of/for that') (2005-1a)

b. *jă:* *[ɲă:* *mà]* *mó* *j-ɔ̀:,*
since [yesterday in] AnSg take.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
íyó *[[kó* *ˡsàrù:* *kó]* *mà* *yà:]* *bò-y*
today [**InanSg**.O.Poss ˡquestion **Def.InanSg.O**] in Foc] be-1PlSbj
'it (questioning) having begun (=having fone on) since yesterday, today <u>that questioning</u> [focus] is what we are (still) in.' (2005-1a)

Another example is *ké* ˡ*yàl ké* 'that (just mentioned) year' in (620b) in §16.2.1. See also the discussion of nonproximate animate presentatives *òmá:mò:* and *èbá:bè:* in §4.4.4.

Structurally and semantically similar to a determiner sandwich is a construction with initial determiner, followed by a noun and a quantifier *dîn* 'all, each'. Again, the NP resumes

an already stated discourse referent, but this time the discourse referent is generic and the NP denotes any member of the set. The free translation is 'any/no such X'. Observe in (146) below that *kéŋgè* 'place' undergoes tone-dropping to ^{L}*kèŋgè* in the relevant occurrence (third line). Since *dîn* 'all, each' does not induce tone-dropping on nouns, the tone-dropping must be due to the preceding determiner, here *ké*. This supports the view that the determiner functions as a possessor in this construction.

(146) *[[kèŋgè*^{L} *ŋ̀gîn]* *bèlí-yɛ́* *nɛ̀]*
[place^{L} here] get.up then.SS]
[hâl *[dúwánsá* *mà]* *d-ɔ̌:],*
[until [D in] arrive.Pfv-2SgSbj]
[ké ^{L}*kèŋgè* *dîn]* *òndú-∅*
[**Inan.Sg.E** ^{L}place **all**] not.be-3SgSbj
'(To find a spot where one can discreetly urinate), you will get up from here (the village) (and go) all the way to Douentza, there is no such spot.' (2005-1a)

4.4.4 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.4.1 Spatial adverbs

A three-way distance distinction is again present in demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'there'). The near-distant adverb *kên* 'there (near you or just over there)' is also used as the discourse-definite (anaphoric) adverb 'there (=in the aforementioned place)'. This is similar to the pattern in determiners, where near-distant demonstrative pronouns have the same form as definite determiners (though a preceding modified noun has different tones in the two cases).

(147) a. *ŋ̀gîn* 'here' (proximate)
ŋ̀gí mà
ên

b. *kên* 'there' (deictic, near-distant)
ké mà

c. *ŋ̀gâ:n* 'there' (deictic, far-distant)

d. *kên* 'there' (discourse-definite)
ké mà

kên may be related historically to the (E-class) noun *kéŋgé* 'place', which might have once been morphologically decomposable, see §4.1.3.1 above. *ŋ̀gí mà* and *ké mà* are demonstratives plus the postposition *mà*, which here has locative function.

4.4.4.2 Deictic adverb plus approximative *-dɛ̀*

The 'here/there' adverbs (preceding section) may add suffix *-dɛ̀*, which forces -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel harmony on the stem (the effect being that *e* shifts to *ɛ*). The sense is 'around here/there', i.e., a more approximate location than the simple adverb would have.

(148) a. *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* 'around here'
én-dɛ̀

b. *kén-dɛ̀* 'around there' (deictic, near-distant)

c. *ŋ̀gá:n-dɛ̀* 'around there' (deictic, far-distant)

d. *kén-dɛ̀* 'around there' (discourse-definite)

In (149), *ŋ̀gí mà* and *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* are used to denote two distinct but equidistant locations ('east' and 'west'). In other words, *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* here functions as a kind of **obviative**.

(149) *ùjúŋgó* *[ŋ̀gí* *mà]* *túmbò-ɲjò-∅,*
sun [here] rise-Pres-3SgSbj,
ùjúŋgó *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* *déŋà-ŋjò-∅*
sunSg here-Approx fall-Pres-3SgSbj
'The sun rises here (pointing to east), and the sun sets here (pointing to west).' [2005-2a]

See also interrogative *ăn-dɛ̀* 'whereabouts?' (§13.2.2.3).

4.4.4.3 Demonstrative manner adverbials 'like that' (*kɛ̀nɛ́*), 'like this' (*ɲɛ̀nɛ́*)

kɛ̀nɛ́ is a manner adverb 'like that, in that way, thus'. See (370c) in §10.4.2.1, (389) in §10.5.2, (616) in §16.1.3, and (742) in the sample text. In most of my examples, *kɛ̀nɛ́* denotes a manner that has already been either shown or described, or that is otherwise jointly known. However, since the related locative adverb *kɛ̂n* can be either near-distant (deictic) or discourse-definite, it may be that *kɛ̀nɛ́* can also shift between these semantic frames.

A similar adverb is *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* 'like this'. It denotes a manner that is currently being demonstrated or that has just been described. See (737) in the sample text.

The second syllable of these adverbs may be related to the adverbial particle *nɛ̀* (§8.4.8.1).

4.4.5 Presentatives (*úŋgò:*, *éyè:*, *ómò:-m*, *òmá:mò:*, etc.)

The presentative form follows the relevant NP. Inanimate and animate presentatives are distinguished. The **inanimate** forms are in (150). They resemble inanimate proximate demonstratives (singulars *ŋ̀gú* and *ŋ̀gí*, plural *ěy*).

(150) InanSg.O InanSg.E InanPl

úŋgò: *íŋgè:* *éyè:*

Inanimate examples are in (151).

(151) a. *[tìmɔ̂:* *kó]* *úŋgò:*
[tree Def.InanSg.O] **Presntv**.InanSg.O
'Here's the tree.'

b. *[táŋà* *ké]* *íŋgè:*
[granary Def.InanSg.E] **Presntv**.InanSg.E
'Here is the granary.'

c. *[tìmɛ̂:* *yé]* *éyè:*
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] **Presntv**.InanPl
'Here are the trees.'

Animate presentatives are based on inflected forms of a special quasi-verb related to the animate demonstratives. The quasi-verb is *ómò:* in the singular, *ɛ́bɛ̀:* in the plural, compare animate proximate demonstratives *ŏm* (singular) and *èbíyɛ̀* (plural). If the subject is pronominal, it is represented by an independent pronoun preceding the quasi-verb.

1Sg *-m* and 1Pl *-y* may be added (152a below). No distinctive second person forms were elicitable. This may be because the stems already end in the vowels typical of 2Sg and 2Pl suffixes, so such suffixes would be absorbed by the quasi-verb's final vowel. The (apparent) third person forms may also be used with a second person pronoun. There is a special set of partially reduplicative forms used in third (and therefore also second) person reference when the referent is visible but some distance away (152c).

(152) Presentative (animate)

a. first person
1Sg *ómò:-m*
1Pl *ɛ́bɛ̀:-y*

b. Proximate, third person (also extended to second person)
AnSg *ómò:*
AnPl *ɛ́bɛ̀:*

c. Nonproximate, third person (also extended to second person)
AnSg *òmá:mò:*
AnPl *èbá:bɛ̀:*

Comparing nonproximate presentatives *òmá:mò:* and *ɛ̀bá:bɛ̀:* to the far-distant demonstratives *òmá:* and *èbá:* (§4.4.1 above), we can imagine a kind of determiner sandwich (§4.4.3) flanking a distant or nonproximate morpheme *-á:-*.

Animate presentative examples are in (153).

(153) a. *yɛ̌:* *ómò:*
woman **be**.Sg
'Here is a/the woman.'

b. *yàwó:* *ɛ́bɛ̀:*
woman.Pl **be**.Pl
'Here are (the) women.'

c. *mí* *ómò:-m*
1Sg **be**.Pl-1SgSbj
'Here I am.'

d. *í* *ɛ́bɛ̀:-y*
1Pl **be**.Pl-1PlSbj
'Here we are.'

e. *é* *ɛ́bɛ̀:*
2Pl be.Pl
'There you-Pl are.'

4.5 Adjectives

4.5.1 Underived adjectives

Adjectives behave morphologically much like nouns in Dogon languages. Nouns and adjectives are also closely related to verbal participles, which occur in relative clauses and in subject-focalized clauses.

N-Adj combinations are similar in some ways to noun-noun compounds. When an adjective modifies a noun, the noun itself is tone-dropped (N^L Adj), just as the initial in many noun-noun compounds is tone-dropped (N^L-N). However, while compound initials are not usually separately pluralizable, in N-Adj combinations both words have their normal suffixal morphology, marking noun class and number.

Adjectives, like nouns, divide into two morphological types, suffixing and mutating, which behave exactly like their noun counterparts. **Suffixing** adjectives that are semantically compatible with the full range of nouns have four distinct forms. The first agrees with animate singular and inanimate plural nouns. This form is either unmarked as with nouns (zero suffix), or it has a suffix *-ye* not used with nouns (compare inanimate plural near-distant demonstrative or definite *yé*). Other forms show the usual nominal suffixes: animate plural *-mbo*, inanimate singular -*ŋgo* or *-ŋge*. The two nouns 'stone' and 'animal' (154d)

often switch animacy values from singular to plural, and modifying adjectives may respect the switch, showing inanimate *-ŋgo* in the singular but animate *-mbo* in the plural.

Mutating adjectives have just two forms, E and O, marked by vowel-quality shifts in (at least) the final syllable. The E form is animate singular, inanimate plural, and (for E/E noun class) inanimate singular. The O form is animate plural and (for O/E noun class) inanimate singular.

The relationship between adjectival forms and the categories of modified nouns is summarized schematically in (154).

(154)

gloss	Sg, Pl	form of adjective			
		mutating		suffixing	
		Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
a. animate		E	O	*-ye* ~ ∅	*-mbo*
‘person’	*nǒ:*, *nò-mbó*				
‘donkey’	*párŋgá, párŋgá-mbó*				
‘spear’	*sàmbé*, *sàmbú:*				
b. inanimate O/E/ye		O	E	*-ŋgo*	*-ye* ~ ∅
‘hand’	*nùmǎ:, nùmɛ̌:*				
‘stick’	*bà:-gó*, *bǎyè*				
‘rope’	*sǐ:-ŋgó*, *sǐ:*				
c. inanimate E/E		E	E	*-ŋge*	*-ye* ~ ∅
‘place’	*kéŋgé*				
‘well’	*dǎy* (~ *dǎy-ŋgé*), *dǎy*				
d. inanimate O/E/mbo (rare)		O	E	*-ŋgo*	*-mbo*
‘stone’	*kìnû:, kǐ-mbò*				
‘animal’	*dúmɛ́-ŋgó*, *dúmɔ́:*				

4.5.1.1 Mutating adjectives

The two forms of these adjectives are distinguished by a shift between **back/low** and **front** final long vowels, represented as O and E, respectively. The O↔E alternations attested for adjectives are *a:*↔*ɛ:*, *ɔ:*↔*ɛ:*, *o:*↔*e:*, and *u:*↔*i:* . The forms are closely related to those of mutating nouns (§4.1.2.1) and participles (§14.3). For adjectives, the final vowels are always long (this is true for most, but not all, mutating nouns).

The way the two forms map onto noun-class and number categories is shown in (155).

(155)

ending	category
front vowel (E)	animate singular
	inanimate plural
	inanimate singular (E/E class)

back/low vowel (O)	animate plural
	inanimate singular (O/E class)

Consider the adjective ‘good’, with two forms *nálɛ́:* and *nálá:* . For the human and animate nouns in (156a), *nálɛ́:* is singular and *nálá:* is plural. For the inanimates in (156b), the reverse is true. A smaller class of nouns have *nálɛ́:* in both singular and plural (156c). ‘Stone’ (156d) is variable in the singular.

(156)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘person’	*nò: nálɛ́:*	*nò-mbò nálá:*
		‘child’	*èndè: nálɛ́:*	*òndò: nálá:*
		‘donkey’	*pàrŋgà nálɛ́:*	*pàrngà-mbò nálá:*
	b.	‘hand’	*nùmà: nálá:*	*nùmè: nálɛ́:*
		‘stick’	*bà:-gò nálá:*	*bàyè nálɛ́:*
		‘rope’	*sì:-ŋgò nálá:*	*sì: nálɛ́:*
	c.	‘head’	*kì: nálɛ́:*	*kì: nálɛ́:*
		‘place’	*kèŋgè nálɛ́:*	*kèŋgè nálɛ́:*
	d.	‘stone’	*kìnù: nálá:* (or: *nálɛ́:*)	*kì-mbò nálá:*

The distribution of final vowels *ɛ́:* and *á:* is as indicated in (157), disregarding ‘stone’.

(157)	example	agreement class	Sg	Pl
	‘person’	animate (always E/O)	*ɛ́:*	*á:*
	‘hand’	inanimate O/E-class (both subclasses)	*á:*	*ɛ́:*
	‘head’	inanimate E/E-class	*ɛ́:*	*ɛ́:*

In other words, the majority inanimate agreement class and the animate class have the opposite stem-final vowel alternations. The minority E/E inanimate class (‘granary’) has a single adjectival form with the front vowel. (It is possible to distinguish singular from plural in such cases as ‘good granary’ versus ‘good granaries’ either in the noun itself or, more reliably, in a definite or other determiner following the adjective).

The vocalic opposition *á:* versus *ɛ́:* for ‘good’ is one of several vocalic oppositions used by different adjectives (158). These are all of the basic type back/low {*u o ɔ a*} versus front {*i e ɛ*}. The two members of each alternation are distributed over class/number categories in the same way as *a:* and *ɛ:* in (156) above.

(158)

alternation	example (O, E)	gloss
aː↔*ɛː*	*nálâː, nálêː*	‘good’
ɔː↔*ɛː*	*bɔ̀bɔ̂ː, bɔ̀bêː*	‘weak’
oː↔*eː*	*gàbôː, gàbêː*	‘tall’
uː↔*iː*	*bàndìgíː, bàndùgúː*	‘last’

There are **two back/low vowels** {*aː ɔː*} that correspond to *ɛː*. This distinction is phonologically conditioned rather than lexically arbitrary. Adjectives whose nonfinal syllable contains a vowel from the set {*a e*} have final *aː*, while those whose nonfinal syllable contains a vowel from the set {*ɔ ɛ u i*} have final *ɔ́ː*.

Examples of these types are in (159).

(159)

gloss	back/low-form	front-form	
a. *aː* ~ *ɛː*			
‘good’	*nálâː*	*nálêː*	
‘small, young’	*pàlâː*	*pàlêː*	
‘bad, ugly’	*nèːndâː*	*nèːndêː*	(with ATR switch)
‘new’	*kàndâː*	*kàndêː*	
‘other’	*àndâː*	*àndêː*	
‘kindly’	*pàːgâː*	*pàːgêː*	
ordinals (3rd+)	…-*nâː*	…-*nêː*	
b. *ɔː* ~ *ɛː*			
‘fresh; moist’	*èmɔ́ː*	*èmɛ́ː*	
‘weak’	*bɔ̀bɔ̂ː*	*bɔbêː*	(variants *bɛ̀bɔ̂ː*, *bèbêː*)
‘rotten’	*gɔ̀mɔ̂ː*	*gɔ̀mêː*	
‘loose, slack’	*yɔ̀rɔ̂ː*	*yɔ̀rêː*	
‘big, adult’	*gìndɔ́ː*	*gìndɛ́ː*	
‘first’	*dùlɔ̌ː*	*dùlɛ̌ː*	
‘old’	*kúnjɔ́ː*	*kúnjɛ́ː*	
‘ugly’	*tàŋɔ̂ː*	*tàŋêː*	
‘crooked’	*kɔ̀ndɔ̂ː*	*kɔ̀ndêː*	
‘fragile’	*bùgɔ̂ː*	*bùgêː*	
c. *oː* ~ *eː*			
‘wet’	*tèmbôː*	*tèmbêː*	
‘tall’	*gàbôː*	*gàbêː*	
‘straight’	*tèndôː*	*tèndêː*	
‘unripe, raw’	*kòlôː*	*kòlêː*	
‘crowded’	*àŋgôː*	*áŋgêː*	
‘dry’	*màyôː*	*màyêː*	
‘second’	*nòjǒː*	*nòjěː*	
‘firm’	*màlôː*	*màlêː*	

‘curved’	*tòndô:*	*tòndê:*
‘crooked’	*pòndô:*	*pòndê:*
‘dense’	*kùrô:*	*kùrê:*
‘flat’	*dàgô:*	*dàgê:*
‘pointed’	*sèmbô:*	*sèmbê:*
‘pointed’	*sèrô:*	*sèrê:*

d. *i:* ~ *u:*

‘last’	*bàndùgú:*	*bàndìgí:*

4.5.1.2 Suffixing adjectives (*-ye* ~ ∅, *-ŋgo*, *-ŋge*, *-mbo*)

Suffixing adjectives have the same class-number suffixes as suffixing nouns (§4.1.3), including inanimate singulars *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge*, and animate plural *-mbo*. The remaining form (animate singular, inanimate plural) either ends in a lexical vowel (long or short depending on the adjective) or has a suffix *-ye* that does not occur with nouns.

Consider the paradigm of ‘white’ (160). This stem does not use the suffix *-ye*.

(160)

class	Sg	Pl
Animate	*pílɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
Inanimate		
O/E/ye	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò*	*pílɛ̀*
O/E/mbo	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
E/E	*pílɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀*

Aside from the usual reductions in stem-final vowels before the *-ŋgo*, *-ŋge*, and *-mbo* suffixes (also found in nominal morphology), there are no vocalic alternations in the stem for suffixing adjectives (certainly none based on agreement). A more or less exhaustive array showing adjectival forms is in (161). The stems in (161a-d) do not allow the suffix *-ye*, while those in (161e) require it for animate singular and inanimate plural. For semantic reasons (e.g. restriction to +animate or to -animate modified nouns), some adjectives show only partial paradigms.

(161)

gloss	InanSg (O and E)	InanPl/AnSg	AnPl
a. final short {*e ɛ a*}			
bisyllabic			
‘bent’	*gɔ̀ndú-ŋgó* ~ *-ŋgé*	*gɔ̀ndé*	*gɔ̀ndú-mbó*
‘blunt’	*dùmbú-ŋgó* ~ *-ŋgé*	*dùmbé*	*dùmbú-mbó*
	[with humans: ‘having legs broken or paralyzed’]		
‘skinny’	—	*kómbé*	*kómbú-mbó*
‘white’	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
‘red’	*bán-gò* ~ *-gè*	*bánè*	*bán-bò*

‘black’	*jɛ́mɛ̀-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*jɛ́mɛ̀*	*jɛ́mɛ̀-mbò*
‘skinny (tree)’	*kɛ́mbɛ́-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*kɛ́mbɛ́*	—
‘ripe, cooked’	*ílà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgé*	*ílà*	—
‘blind’	—	*gĭrbà*	*gĭrbà-mbò*
‘curving’	*kwàndú-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*kwàndé*	—
‘curvy’	*pàmbú-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*pàmbé*	—
‘tilted’	*bàmbí-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*bàmbé*	—
trisyllabic {HL}			
‘cool’	*yégèlè-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*yégèlè*	*yégèlè-mbò*
‘coarse’	*yágàjà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*yágàjà*	*yágàjà-mbò*
‘coarse (skin)’	*kágàjà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*kágàjà*	*kágàjà-mbò*
trisyllabic {LH}			
‘worn-out’	*sògòjú-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*sògòjé*	—
‘damaged’	*kògŏl-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*kògòlé*	—

b. final long *i:*

bisyllabic			
‘thin’	*mènjú-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*mènjí:*	*mènjú-mbó*
[InanSg equals AnPl also *mènjú:*]			
‘fat, thick’	*bĭn-gó ~ -gé*	*bìní:*	*bĭn-bó*
[InanSg equals AnPl also *bìnú:*]			
‘short’	*dèndú-ŋgó*	*dèndí:*	*dèndí-mbó*
[InanSg equals AnPl also *dèndú:*]			
‘tender’, soft’	*bŭr-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*bùrî:*	*bŭr-mbò*
‘rancid’	*pìbú-ŋgò*	*pìbî:*	—

c. final long *ɛ:*

bisyllabic			
‘flat, wide’	*wàyá-ŋgó ~ ŋgé*	*wàyɛ́:*	*wàyá-mbó*
‘empty’	*ìnjɛ́-ŋgó ~ ŋgé*	*ìnjɛ́:*	*ìnjɛ́-mbó*
‘long’	*jàlá-ŋgó ~ -ŋgé*	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlá-mbó*
trisyllabic			
‘slow’	*támàlà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*támàlɛ̀:*	*támàlà-mbò*
[InanPl equals AnSg also *támàlà*]			
‘smooth’	*ónànà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*ónànɛ̀:*	*ónànà-mbò*
[InanPl equals AnSg also *ónànà*]			
‘foul’	*kújàjà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*kújàjɛ̀:*	*kújàjà-mbò*
‘crispy’	*sínànà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*sínànɛ̀:*	—
‘lightly salted’	*ɛ́jɛ̀jɔ̀-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*ɛ́jɛ̀jɛ̀:*	*ɛ́jɛ̀jɛ̀-mbò*
‘bitter’	*ámàlà-ŋgò ~ -ŋgè*	*ámàlɛ̀:*	—

d. final short *o*

bisyllabic			
‘worthless’	*lă:r-ŋgó*	*là:ró*	*lă:r-mbó*

e. suffix *-yè*

Cvy			
‘hard, solid’	*mǎy-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*mǎy-yè*	*mǎy-mbò*
‘good’	*nɛ̌y-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*nɛ̌y-yè*	*nɛ̌y-mbò*
‘hot; fast’	*dǒy^{n}-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*dǒy^{n}-yè*	*dǒy^{n}-mbò*
bisyllabic			
‘slow’	*pɛ̀jú-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*pɛ̀jí-yè*	*pɛ̀jí-mbò*
‘narrow’	*pɛ̀mbí-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*pɛ̀mbí-yè*	—
‘sour, salty’	*ǎm-gò* ~ *-gè*	*àmí-yè*	*ǎm-bò*
[human sense: ‘loud-talking’]			
‘sweet’	*ɛ̌l-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*ɛ̀lí-yè*	*ɛ̌l-mbò*
‘sharp’		*ɛ̀lí-yè*	*ɛ̀lú-mbò*
‘pungent’	*kɛ̀rú-ŋgò*	*kɛ̀rí-yè*	—
‘difficult’	*nǎm-gò* ~ *-gè*	*nàmí-yè*	*nǎm-bò*
‘heavy’	*nǐm-gò* ~ *-gè*	*nìmí-yè*	*nǐm-bò*
‘bitter’	*gàlú-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlú-mbò*
‘nearby’	*dǔm-gò* ~ *-gè*	*dùmí-yè*	*dǔm-bò*
‘deep’	*mǐn-gò* ~ *gè*	*mìní-yè*	—
‘distant’	*wǎŋ-gò* ~ *gè*	*wàgí-yè*	—
‘thin (wall)’	*ènú-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*èní-yè*	—
‘lightweight’	*yɛ̌r-ŋgò* ~ *-ŋgè*	*yɛ̀rí-yè*	*yɛ̌r-mbò*

ɛ̀lí-yè ‘sweet’ and ‘sharp’ (and more generally ‘good’) is related to another adjective *ɛ́lɛ̀lɛ̀:* (*ɛ́lɛ̀lɛ̀-ŋgò*) that means more specifically ‘sweet, sugary’.

The adjective meaning **‘much, many’** is invariant in form: *ségín*.

4.5.2 Adjectives containing frozen negative suffix (*nè:ndá:*, *èndá*)

nè:ndá: (O) ~ *nè:ndɛ́:* (E) **‘bad, ugly’** likely contains (historically) the stem seen in *nɛ̌y-yè* ‘good’. The remainder of the ‘bad’ stem is most likely based on reinterpretation of an original negative predicate, the synchronic version of which is *nèy=lá* ‘it isn’t good’ (from *nɛ̌ỳ* ‘it is good’). A negative participle might also have been involved in some way. That *nè:ndá:* is no longer segmentable into ‘good’ plus a negative morpheme is shown by the fact that it has its own chain of derivatives, such as inchoative *néndá-ndí* ~ *néndá-ndí-yɛ́* ‘become bad’, and by the fact that it (as predicate *nè:ndá* ‘it is bad’) can itself be negated: *nè:ndà=lá* ‘it isn’t bad’.

The adjective *ɛ̀lí-yè* **‘sweet’** (and more generally ‘pleasing’) has predicative form *ɛ̀lú-m̀* ‘it is sweet’. It too has an antonym whose modifying adjective form is *èndá:* (O) ~ *èndɛ́:* (e) ‘not sweet’ (hence ‘displeasing, unpleasant’), undoubtedly another original negative participial that is now frozen into a unit. Its inchoative is *éndá-ndí* ‘become not sweet’, compare *ɛ́lá-lí-yɛ́* ‘become sweet’. Although the ‘not sweet’ adjective is the common way to deny sweetness, the ‘sweet’ adjective can be directly negated in predicative function: *ɛ̀lù-m=ndá* ‘it isn’t sweet’. Parallel to this, predicative *èndá* ‘it is displeasing’ may be negated: *èndà=lá* ‘it is not displeasing’.

Adjective *àndǎ:* ~ *àndɛ̌:* ‘left (hand/foot)’ might also be looked at in this connection, see end of §8.4.7.3.

4.5.3 Adjectival suffix *-ndé*

I know of two adjectival stems with suffix *-ndé*, plural *-ndú-mbó*, added to {L}-toned stem without changing the positive-negative polarity. They may modify a human noun like *nǒ:* 'person' or they may be used absolutely as nouns ('proud one', etc.).

(162)

form	gloss	related form
gàndàl-ndé	'proud, vain'	*gándàl* 'vanity'
tàtàgà-ndé	'arrogant'	*tátágá* 'arrogance'

4.5.4 Suffix *-lù:* (O) ~ *-lì:* (E) '-ish'

The suffix *-lù:* (O) ~ *-lì:* (e), with a meaning similar to '-ish', may be added to an adjective stem. It is most common with color adjectives (163a-b) but it is elicitable with others (163c). The formation is basically adverbial, and may be followed by adverbial particle *né* (§8.4.2.1, §8.4.8.1) and made predicative with auxiliary *bò-* 'be'. If the adjective is longer than bisyllabic, it is truncated to a bisyllabic (163b).

(163)

	adjective	with *-lù:*	'gloss'
a.	*bánè*	*bànù-lù:*	'reddish'
	gɛ́mɛ̀	*gèmɛ̀-lù:*	'blackish'
	pílɛ̀	*pìlɛ̀-lù:*	'whitish'
	wɛ́rɛ̀	*wèrɛ̀-lù:*	'greenish'
b.	*búlà-búlà*	*bùlà-lù:*	'bluish'
	nòl-púnè-ŋgò	*nòlò-lù:*	'greenish'
c.	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlà-lù:*	'longish'

An example is (164).

(164) *[jàlà-lù: nɛ́] bò-∅*
[long-ish Adv] be-3SgSbj
'It is rather long.'

Also of interest is *gɛ̀mìlmbó:* ~ *gɛ̀mìlmbɛ́:* 'shiny black' (from *gɛ́mɛ̀* 'black'), applied for example to glossy starlings.

4.6 Participles

Participles are noun-like forms of verbs, used in relative clauses and related subordinated clause types (§14.3) and in subject-focalized clauses (§13.1.1). Depending on the aspect-negation (AN) category, the participle ends in either a long-voweled agreement suffix (*-ɛ:* ~ *-e:*, *-ɔ:* ~ *-o:*) similar to the endings of mutating adjectives and nouns, or in a (positive imperfective) morpheme *-ŋga* that may be followed by animate plural *-mbò*. The tones of the suffixes depend on the particular AN category.

4.7 Numerals

Numerals follow modified nouns. They may precede or follow modifying adjectives, see Adjective-Numeral Inversion (§6.4.2).

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

4.7.1.1 'One', 'same (one)', and 'other'

The numeral '1' modifying a noun behaves like an ordinary adjective ('big', 'red', etc.), in that it forces tone-dropping on the noun. The neutral numeral '1' is *kúndú* (O) ~ *kúndé* (E).

(165)

gloss	noun	'one ...'
a. O-class inanimate		
'tree'	*tìmɔ̂:*	*tìmɔ̀:*^{L} *kúndú*
'stick'	*bǎ:-gò*	*bà:-gò*^{L} *kúndú*
'eye'	*jìró*	*jìrò*^{L} *kúndú*
'hand'	*nùmǎ:*	*nùmà:*^{L} *kúndú*
'tree'	*tímɔ̂:*	*tìmɔ̀:*^{L} *kúndú*
'skin, hide'	*gùjú*	*gùjù*^{L} *kúndú*
'stone'	*cínû:*	*cìnù:*^{L} *kúndú*
b. E-class inanimate		
'well'	*dǎy*	*dày*^{L} *kúndé*
'shed'	*gúlì:-ŋgè*	*gùlì:*^{L} *kúndé*
'granary'	*táŋâ*	*tàŋà*^{L} *kúndé*
'house'	*ólé*	*òlè*^{L} *kúndé*
'courtyard'	*bándà*	*bàndà*^{L} *kúndé*
'tomtom'	*bónî:*	*bònì:*^{L} *kúndé*
c. animate		
'dog'	*ŋ̀gwɛ̌:*	*ŋ̀gwè:*^{L} *kúndé*
'sheep'	*pɛ̀gɛ́*	*pɛ̀gɛ̀*^{L} *kúndé*

‘donkey’	*párŋgà*	*pàrŋgà*^{L} *kúndé*
‘person’	*nǒ:*	*nò:*^{L} *kúndé*

kúndú can also mean ‘(one and) the same, identical’, predicated of two entities. See textual example (670) in §17.6.3.

In counting (reciting the list of numerals: ‘1, 2, 3, ...’), the form for ‘1’ is *tô:y* (which conveniently rhymes with the following *nô:y* ‘2’). *tô:y* is also an adverb ‘first(ly)’ (§8.4.7.2). In combinations with decimal terms like ‘20 + 1’ (i.e. ‘21’), the form is *tómày* (§4.7.1.3).

A more emphatic adjective translatable as ‘(a/the) single ...’ is *tɔ̀mê:* (E) ~ *tɔ̀mô:* (O) as in *nǒ: tɔ̀mê:* ‘one single person’. The noun **does not drop tones**, suggesting that the numeral here is really an adverbial, is appositional, or is treated like nonsingular numerals. The phrase *déŋán tɔ̀mɔ̂:* (variant *déŋán tɔ̀mê:*) ‘one day’ is used in narrative, as in English, to mean ‘one (=a certain) day’, generally when the narrative is re-set to a later time. Close siblinghood is expressed by the adverbial phrases *nǐ: tɔ̀mê:* ‘(having) one (=the same) mother’ and *bǎ: tɔ̀mê:* ‘(having) one father’, which are juxtaposed when both mother and father are shared. Although the numeral ‘one’ is obligatory, it may agree morphologically with a plural subject, as in predicative *nǐ: tɔ̀mɔ̂:=ỳ* ‘we (=you and I) are of the same mother’.

Irregularly related to the preceding are *tòmá* in e.g. *mì tòmá* ‘I alone, I by myself’, and adverb *tómá* ‘only’ (§19.4.1).

4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

The single-digit numerals ‘2’ to ‘20’ are in (166). There is no difference between the forms used in counting (‘1, 2, 3, …‘) and those that modify a preceding noun.

(166)

gloss	form	comment
‘2’	*nô:y*	
‘3’	*tà:ndî:*	
‘4’	*ké:jèy*	
‘5’	*nùmî:*	
‘6’	*kúlèy*	
‘7’	*swêy*	phonetic [sɔ̰êj]
‘8’	*sá:gì:*	
‘9’	*twây*	phonetic [tɔ̰âj]
‘10’	*píyélì*	

Numerals greater than ‘1’ follow the modified noun but do not induce tone-dropping. The noun takes its regular plural form. Thus *pègè kúndé* ‘one sheep’, but *pègè-mbó nô:y* ‘two sheep’, *pègè-mbó píyélì* ‘ten sheep’, etc.

4.7.1.3 Decimal units (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, …)

The decimal units (integral multiples of ‘10’ up to ‘90’) are in (167).

(167)

gloss	form
‘10’	*píyɛ́lì*
‘20’	*pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y*
‘30’	*pɔ́-tà:ndî:*
‘40’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*, *pɔ̀lɛ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*
‘50’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*
‘60’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlèy*
‘70’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swêy*
‘80’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gì:*
‘90’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-twây*

The mini-sequence **‘20’-’30’** is based on *pɔ̌:-* or *pɔ́-* plus the relevant digit, with *nô:y* ‘2’ slightly reduced to *-nɔ̀y* (the vowel is shortened, and ATR-harmonized to the preceding vowel). The remaining terms are based on *pɔ̀lɔ́-* (dialectally *pɔ̀lɛ́-*) plus the digit term, with ‘4’ slightly reduced to *-kɛ́jɛ̀y* (the first vowel is shortened). The first vowel in the digit term in ‘30’ and ‘80’ is not shortened.

For ‘80’, an alternative (and now archaic) form is *kɛ̀:sŭm*. For speakers who use this, ‘90’ is the somewhat opaque *[kɛ̀:sŭm má] ké píyɛ́lì*, i.e. ‘80’ plus ‘10’.

The decimal terms, like the single-digit terms from ‘2’ up, follow a modified noun (in plural form, without tone-dropping): *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:* ‘fifty sheep’.

A decimal (or larger) term D combined with a **single-digit term** S takes the form [D *sìgá* S]. In interlinears I will gloss *sìgá* as ‘plus’, but it occurs only in such numerals. When S is ‘1’, it takes the form *tómày*. In ‘11’ to ‘19’. The forms taken by the D term before *sìgá* also differ somewhat from their independent forms, in that final semivowels are removed, and final long vowels are shortened or in one case (‘50’) deleted. In all cases, the final tone is H. The independent forms and those used before *sìgá* are shown together in (168). Examples are in (169).

(168)

gloss	independent	with following *sìgá* (and digit)
‘10’	*píyɛ́lì*	*pɛ́: sìgá …*
‘20’	*pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y*	*pɔ̌:-nɔ́ sìgá…*
‘30’	*pɔ́-tà:ndì:*	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá…*
‘40’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ́ sìgá …*
‘50’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nŭm sìgá …*
‘60’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlêy*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlé sìgá …*
‘70’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swêy*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swé sìgá …*
‘80’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gì:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gí sìgá …*
‘90’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-twây*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-twá sìgá …*

(169) a.

pɛ́:	*sìgá*	*tómày*
ten	plus	one

‘eleven’

b. *pɔ̀lɔ́-kéjɛ́* *sìgá* *nùmî:*
ten-four plus five
'forty-five'

c. *pɔ̌:-nɔ́* *sìgá* *tà:ndî:*
ten-two plus three
'twenty-three'

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

The larger units are given in (170). For *sǐŋ* 'hundred', the final nasal tends to assimilate in position to a following consonant.

(170) a. 'hundred' *sǐŋ* (for currency often: *tɛ́:mɛ̀ndɛ́rɛ̀*)
b. 'thousand' *mùjú*
c. 'million' *mílyɔ̂:^{n}* (< Fr)

sǐŋ is felt to be the authentic Najamba term, but as in all Dogon languages in the Douentza-Boni areas the Fulfulde loanword *tɛ́:mɛ̀ndɛ́rɛ̀* is also common with reference to currency. Fulfulde is still an important lingua franca in the large towns and in weekly markets.

These numerals behave like common nouns in that they may be followed by single-digit numerals in their regular forms: *sǐn nô:y* 'two hundred', *mùjú tà:ndî:* 'three thousand', *mílyɔ̂: nùmî:* 'five million'. When the sense is understood to be 'one hundred' or 'one thousand', the '1' numeral is typically omitted. For 'one million' the '1' numeral may be present or absent.

When an unmodified '(one) hundred' or '(one) thousand' is followed by a smaller numeral other than a single digit (as in '220' or '1200'), the regular conjunctive particle *má* 'and' is added to the larger term (171a-b). This morpheme is not used when the larger-unit term is itself modified, as in 'two hundred' or 'five million' (171c-d).

(171) a. *[pègè-mbó* *sǐm* *má* *pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y]* *jógò-m*
[sheep-Pl hundred **and** ten-two] have-1SgSbj
'I have one hundred twenty sheep.' (*sǐŋ*)

b. *pègè-mbó* *mùjú* *má* *[sǐn* *nô:y]*
sheep-Pl thousand **and** [hundred two]
'one thousand two hundred sheep'

c. *pègè-mbó* *[sǐn* *nô:y]* *pɔ́-tà:ndî:*
sheep-Pl [hundred two] ten-three
'two hundred and thirty sheep'

d. *pègè-mbó* *[mùjú* *nô:y]* *[sǐn* *tà:ndî:]*
sheep-Pl [thousand two] [hundred three]
'two thousand three hundred sheep'

The ‘million’ term *míly̰ːⁿ*, a loanword, does not easily enter into compactly expressed combinations of these types. Typically the ‘million’ term (with or without its own modifiers) and a numeral phrase denoting a lesser quantity are conjoined by *má* ‘and’. If a modified noun is present, it is repeated.

(172) *[[pègè-mbó mìly̰ːⁿ^L kúndú] má] [pègè-mbó mùjú píyélì]*
[[**sheep-Pl** million^L one] **and**] [**sheep-Pl** thousand ten]
‘one million, ten thousand sheep’

A single-digit add-on uses *sìgá*. When the higher numeral is also modified by a single digit ‘3’ to ‘9’ (as in ‘301’), this single-digit term undergoes the same segmental modifications seen above in combinations of single-digits with decimal terms (e.g. ‘12’, ‘57’). However, *nôːy* ‘two’ modifying ‘hundred’ or ‘thousand’ (as in ‘203’ or ‘2006’) does not undergo a segmental reduction. All single-digit terms preceding *sìgá* (including ‘2’) end in an H-tone. For ‘(one) hundred/thousand’, *má* ‘and’ is used before *sìgá*. The paradigm of *sǐŋ* ‘hundred’ is presented in (173); that of *mùjú* ‘thousand’ is entirely parallel.

(173)

gloss	independent	with following *sìgá* (and digit)
‘100’	*sǐŋ*	*sǐm má sìgá …*
‘200’	*sǐn nôːy*	*sǐn nóːy sìgá…*
‘300’	*sǐn tàːndîː*	*sǐn tàːndí sìgá…*
‘400’	*sǐn kéːjèy*	*sǐn kéːjé sìgá …*
‘500’	*sǐn nùmîː*	*sǐn nǔm sìgá …*
‘600’	*sǐn kúlèy*	*sǐn kúlé sìgá …*
‘700’	*sǐn swêy*	*sǐn swé sìgá …*
‘800’	*sǐn sáːgìː*	*sǐn sáːgí sìgá …*
‘900’	*sǐn twây*	*sǐn twá sìgá …*

4.7.1.5 Currency

The local currency for several decades has been the West African CFA franc. In all native languages, amounts under a million francs are expressed in multiples of the 5 CFA unit (in some languages still called by a term such as “riyal” originally denoting a French-colonial coin not in use since Independence). In Najamba this currency unit is called *kèlûː* or, loaned from Fulfulde, *m̀búːdù*. Both terms can also mean ‘money’. *kèlûː* (Pl *kělè*) also means ‘cowry shell(s)’, which were formerly used as a kind of currency (and still used as decorations, and by fortune-tellers). Since 5 CFA is worth about one American penny, numeral phrases denoting currency sums are often quite large. One effect is that it is usually unnecessary to specify that one is talking about currency. Thus 100,000 CFA francs is expressed literally as “twenty thousand riyals” (*cèlûː mùjú pɔ̌ːnòy*), or more often as just “twenty thousand” (*mùjú pɔ̌ːnòy*), there being few other countable entities of this magnitude.

For sums beginning with 1,000,000 CFA francs, expressions based on the French loan *míly̰ːⁿ* are used. Here this noun denotes one million CFA francs, not one million riyals.

4.7.1.6 Distributive numerals

Distributives are adverbial in nature, specifying a spacing (in position or time) between more or less identical entities, which may express any grammatical relation in the clause. Distributives are expressed as iterations of numerals (174).

(174) a. *kúndú-kúndú* *jénjá*
one-one take
'Take (them) one at a time (one by one).'

b. *[yàwó:* *bé]* *tán-tán* *w-ô:*
[woman.Pl Def.AnPl] **three-three** come.Pfv-3PlSbj
'The women came three at a time (by threes).'

Some reductions occur in the forms of the numerals. For single-digit terms, the forms are those in (175). Note the **uniform H-tones**, and minor segmental reductions seen in other combining forms of these numerals. For '1', the distributive has distinct O and E forms depending on the noun class.

(175)

gloss	form	distributive
'1'	*kúndé, kúndú*	*kúndé-kúndé, kúndú-kúndú*
'2'	*nô:y*	*nóy-nóy*
'3'	*tà:ndî:*	*tán-tán*
'4'	*ké:jêy*	*kéjé-kéjé*
'5'	*nùmî:*	*núm-núm*
'6'	*kúlêy*	*kúlé-kúlé*
'7'	*swêy*	*swé-swé*
'8'	*sá:gì:*	*ságí-ságí*
'9'	*twây*	*twá-twá*
'10'	*píyélì*	*píyél-píyél*

Examples involving larger numerals are in (176) below. The main issue is how much of a complex numeral to repeat in the distributive. The distributive of '20' is either a full iteration based on the combining form *pɔ́:-nɔ́* (as used before *sìgá* in '21' through '29'), or an interesting partial reduplication of the single-digit component only, where the reduplicant takes the combining form (*-nɔ́-*) and the base takes the fuller form *-nóy*. The second alternative is most often used in connection with currency (i.e. items that are sold for '20 riyals', equivalent to 100 francs CFA each). Distributives for '30' through '90' are constructed by adding the respective single-digit distributive, from (174) above, to *pɔ̌:-* or *pɔ̀lɔ́-*. Distributives based on unmodified 'hundred' or 'thousand' involve stem-iteration with lexical tone melodies preserved. Distributives based on complex numerals containing the single-digit connective *sìgá* iterate only the following single-digit term, as in '35' in (176).

(176)

gloss	form	distributive
'20'	*pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y*	*pɔ̌:-nɔ́-pɔ̌:-nɔ́* *pɔ̌:-nɔ́-nôy* (especially for currency)
'30'	*pɔ́-tà:ndî:*	*pɔ́-tán-tán*
'50'	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-núm-núm*
'100'	*sǐŋ*	*sǐŋ-sǐŋ*
'200'	*sǐŋ nô:y*	*sǐŋ nóy-nóy*
'1000'	*mùjú*	*mùjú-mùjú*
'35'	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá nùmî:*	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá núm-núm*

4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.7.2.1 'First' and 'last'

'First' as ordinal adjective is *dùlɛ̌:* (E) ~ *dùlɔ̌:* (O). Like (other) modifying adjectives, but unlike numerals from '2' up, it forces tone-dropping on the noun. There is no difference between inanimate and animate.

(177) a. *pòlɛ̀*^{L} *dùlɛ̌:*
knife^{L} first.InanE
'the first knife'.

b. *pòl-mbɔ̀*^{L} *dùlɔ̌:*
knife-Pl^{L} first.AnPl
'the first knives'

c. *yɛ̀:*^{L} *dùlɛ̌:*
woman^{L} first.InanSg.E
'the first woman'

d. *yàwɔ̀:*^{L} *dùlɔ̌:*
woman.Pl^{L} first.AnPl
'the first women'

In complex numerals ending in '1', such as '21', the numeral *tómây* has an ordinal *tòmà-nɛ̌:* or *tòmà-nă:* (see the following section).

Adverbial 'first' as in 'we will finish the work **first**, then we will eat' is *gǐrmà*. A related form *gìrŋgí:* (pl *gìrŋgú:*) means 'first, in the lead (in a race or other competition)', cf. French *en tête*.

'Last' as ordinal (opposite to 'first' in a finite temporal sequence, or as in bringing up the rear in a competition) is *bàndìgí:*, plural *bàndùgú:*, regardless of animacy.

(178) a. *pòlè*^{L} *bàndìgí:*
knife^{L} last
'the last knife'

b. *pòl-mbò*^{L} *bàndùgú:*
knife-Pl^{L} last.Pl
'the last knives'

c. *yè:*^{L} *bàndìgí:*
woman^{L} last
'the last woman'

d. *yàwò:*^{L} *bàndùgú:*
woman.Pl^{L} last.Pl
'the last women'

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals with suffix *-nĕ:* (E) ~ *-nă:* (O)

There are no animacy distinctions in ordinals. 'Second' (*nòjĕ:*, *nòjŏ:*) is irregular, though the onset *nò* resembles the onset of other forms of '2'.

Ordinals from 'third' up are based on a suffix *-nĕ:* (E) or *-nă:* (O). For animates, *-nă:* is plural. When the ordinal suffix is added to a single-digit stem, various minor segmental changes are observed. In a complex numeral phrase, the suffix is added to the final numeral stem.

The relevant stem drops its tones before the suffix. Tone-dropping applies to the entirety of tightly-knit decimal combinations, as in 'thirtieth', and it extends to the *sìgá* 'plus' linker in complex numerals ending in a single-digit term ('11', '28'). However, tone-dropping does not extend to decimal or larger terms at the beginning of complex numerals. Thus in 'eleventh', based on a cardinal numeral of the form 'ten plus one', the ordinal drops the tones of 'plus one' but not of "ten."

(179)

E agreement	O agreement	gloss
a. single-digit numeral		
nòjĕ:	*nòjŏ:*	'second'
tàn-nĕ:	*tàn-nă:*	'third'
kèjè-nĕ:	*kèjè-nă:*	'fourth'
nùm-nĕ:	*nùm-nă:*	'fifth'
kùlè-nĕ:	*kùlè-nă:*	'sixth'
swè-nĕ:	*swè-nă:*	'seventh'
sàgì-nĕ:	*sàgì-nă:*	'eighth'
twà-nĕ:	*twà-nă:*	'ninth'
pìyèl-nĕ:	*pìyèl-nă:*	'tenth'

b. decimal

pɔ̀:-nòy-nɛ̌:	*pɔ̀:-nòy-nă:*	‘twentieth’
pɔ̀-tàn-nɛ̌:	*pɔ̀-tàn-nă:*	‘thirtieth’
pɔ̀lɔ̀-kɛ̀jɛ̀-nɛ̌:	*pɔ̀lɔ̀-kɛ̀jɛ̀-nă:*	‘fortieth’

c. decimal plus single-digit numeral

pɛ́: sìgà tòmà-nɛ̌:	*pɛ́: sìgà tòmà-nă:*	‘eleventh’

d. larger units (unmodified)

tɛ̀:mɛ̀ndɛ̀rɛ̀-nɛ̌:	*tɛ̀:mɛ̀ndɛ̀rɛ̀-nă:*	‘hundredth’
sìn-nɛ̌:	*sìn-nă:*	‘hundredth’
mùjù-nɛ̌:	*mùjù-nă:*	‘thousandth’

e. hundred plus decimal numeral (two levels)

sĭn pɔ̀:-nòy-nɛ̌:	*sĭn pɔ̀:-nòy-nă:*	‘hundred and twentieth’

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

The formulae used in this chapter to quickly capture the structure of a compound type make use of the abbreviations n[oun], v[erb], a[djective]. "x" is a variable word-class (usually a noun or PP. Using x as a prop to exemplify diacritics, x̄ means lexical tones (i.e. no tone change in compounding), x́ means {H} overlay, x̀ means {L} overlay, and x̌ means {LH} overlay. For example, the formula (x̀ n̄) means that the compound begins with a stem of variable word class with all tones dropped, and ends in a noun with its regular tones.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (x̀ n̄)

The productive type of noun-noun compound is of this type, with {L}-toned noun or less often a simple PP as initial, and with a final noun that shows its regular tone melody (181). The ^{L} superscript would be appropriate at the right edge of the initial, but I omit it here.

(180)

compound	gloss	components	
sùn-[kìná-ŋgó]	'bone behind ear'	*súnù:* 'ear'	*kìná-ŋgó* 'bone'
gìrò-gùjú	'eyelid'	*gìró* 'eye'	*gùjú* 'skin'
kìnjà-gìró	'nostril'	*kìnjâ:* 'nose'	*gìró* 'eye'
dàwà-tòndô:	'ink gourd'	*dáwà* 'ink'	*tòndô:* 'can (n)'

Either the initial or (less often) the final may itself be a compound.

(181)

compound	gloss	components
[nà:-pègèlɔ̀:]-gìró	'anklebone'	*nă:* 'foot', *pègèlɔ̌:* 'hill', *gìró* 'eye'

The final syllable of the initial may be reduced, especially by shortening a long vowel. There are some examples of High-Vowel Syncope (§3.4.2.2). Neither process is obligatory in compounds. Presumably the established, high-frequency compounds are most likely to be reduced.

Similar compounds with tone-dropped initials are those with final verbal noun (§5.1.2), agentives with an added compound initial (§5.1.4), compounds with a final ending in suffix *-n* (§5.1.5), 'child' compounds (§5.1.6), and 'egg-beater' type instrument nominals (§5.1.11). In some such cases the initial can be a short PP instead of a noun.

Since nouns also drop their tones before modifying adjectives, it is not always possible to distinguish a **noun-adjective** sequence from a noun-noun **compound**. There are several cases where a stem that allows nominal suffixation occurs in only one or two combinations with a

preceding {L}-toned noun stem. This may make it impossible to determine whether the second element is a compound final or a postnominal adjective with narrow semantic range.

5.1.2 Compounds with final verbal noun, type (x̀ n̄-*lé*)

A verbal noun with suffix *-lé* may take an {L}-toned compound initial. This is a subtype of the (ǹ n̄) compound type (preceding section). Usually the initial is a noun, denoting the object (182a) or occasionally the subject (182b). It may also be a simple PP (182c).

(182) a. *bàn*^{L}*-[ná:-m-lé]*
horse^{L}-[drink-Caus-VblN]
'(time for) letting horses drink'

b. *ùjùŋgò*^{L}*-[déŋ-lé]*
sun^{L}-[fall-VblN]
'sunset'

c. *[sùnù-mà]*^{L}*-[ŋú-lé]*
[ear-in]^{L}-[hear-VblN]
'what someone has heard'

Further examples can be found in the subsections of §17.4.

5.1.3 Possessive-type compounds of type (n̄ ǹ)

Compounds where the initial noun has its lexical tones (n̄) and the final drops to {L} are identical in form to the sequence of **possessor** plus possessum. Compare English compounds like 'rabbit's foot' and 'pot of gold'.

(183)

compound	gloss	components	
gɔ̌ŋ ^{L}*nìŋgè*	'okra sauce'	*gɔ̌ŋ* 'okra'	*níŋgé* 'green sauce'
yógé ^{L}*bà:nà:*	'millet porridge'	*yógé* 'millet'	*bà:nâ:* 'porridge'
[gìró dù:] ^{L}*kìnà-ŋgò*	'cheekbone'	*gìró* ^{L}*dù:* 'eye-base'	*kìná-ŋgó* 'bone'
pègèlô: ^{L}*nò:*	'mountaineeer'	*pègèlô:* 'hill'	*nǒ:* 'person'

In lexical elicitation, assistants sometimes gave this possessive-type compound first, then (in follow-up) rephrased the same combination as an (x̀ n̄) compound. For example, *yógó* ^{L}*bà:nà:* could be glossed literally as 'porridge of millet' (cf. *cream of wheat*). It can easily evolve into *yògè*^{L}*-bà:nă:* .

5.1.4 Agentive compounds of type (x̀ v̌)

In an agentive compound (cf. *basket-maker*, *rabbit hunter*), the initial represents the NP theme, which would otherwise appear as a direct object in most cases. This noun appears in bare form and in L-tone, as in other noun-noun compounds. The final is a verb stem in agentive form (§4.2.3.5), with +ATR vocalism and {LH} overlay (the H appearing on the final syllable or mora).

The examples below involve bisyllabic verb stems. In (184a) the initial and final are unrelated in form. In (184b) the initial is a cognate nominal.

(184)	agentive	gloss	noun	verb (chaining)
a.	*nàmà*^{L}*-sèmé*	'butcher'	*nàmá* 'meat'	*sémé* 'slaughter'
	dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ^{L}*-tìyé*	'basket-maker'	*dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̂:* 'basket'	*tíyé* 'weave'
	ɔ̀lè^{L}*-ɔ̀njé*	'house builder'	*ólé* 'house'	*ɔ́njé* 'build'
	kɔ̀rìyɔ^{L}*-sèmé*	'calabash-cutter'	*kɔ̀ríyɔ* 'calabash'	*sémé* 'saw'
	gàlà^{L}*-gàné*	'dye-er'	*gàlá* 'indigo'	*găn* 'put'
	gùjù^{L}*-kòndé*	'tanner'	*gùjú* 'skin'	*kóndé* 'make well'
	tè^{L}*-kèré*	'wood-gatherer'	*té:* 'firewood'	*kéré* 'search for (firewood)'
	kèlè^{L}*-mìjé*	'cowry-tosser'	*kělè* 'cowries'	*mìjí* 'toss'
	gè:jù^{L}*-tìyé*	'weaver'	*gè:jú* 'thread'	*tíyé* 'weave'
b.	*dàbàrù*^{L}*-dàbé*	'magician'	*dàbárù* 'magic'	*dàbí* 'do (magic)'
	dùgà^{L}*-dùgé*	'sorceror'	*dúgô:* 'sorcery'	*dùgí* 'do (sorcery)'
	ŋwànà^{L}*-ŋwàné*	'singer'	*ŋwànă:* 'song'	*ŋwăn* 'sing'
	mànà^{L}*-màné*	'cook'	*mànâ:* 'meal'	*măn* 'cook'
	gɔ̀lè^{L}*-gòlé*	'farmer'	*gɔ́lè:* 'farming'	*gɔ̀lé* 'do farming'
	sàn^{L}*-sàné*	'Muslim'	*sân* 'prayer'	*sán* 'perform (prayer)'
	jɔ̀ŋɔ̀^{L}*-jòŋé*	'healer'	*jɔ̀nɔ̌:* 'healing'	*jɔ̀ŋé* 'treat (the sick)'

Such agentives have human or at least animate reference. The **plural** is therefore formed by suffixing *-mbo*. This suffix induces the shift of the preceding stem-final /e/ to *u*, as in *gùjè-kòndú-mbó* 'tanners' and *kèlè-mìjú-mbó* 'cowry-tossers'. The /u/ syncopates if it is preceded by an unclustered stem-medial sonorant, as in *mànà-măn-bó* 'cooks'. It is also syncopated when preceded by unclustered stem-medial *b* (which fuses with the suffixal *m*), as in *dàbàrù-dă-mbó* 'magicians' from singular *dàbàrù-dàbé*. For the cases involving *b*, see the end of §3.4.2.2.

Examples based on **monosyllabic** verbs are in (185). In the plural, the verb appears as *Cí-* from *Cv́* stems, and as *Cú-* from *Cwv́* stems. The verbs here are *né* 'drink' and *twé* 'slash earth to sow (seeds)'. The monomoraic shapes like *ní-* and *tú-* are too short to overtly bear a rising tone, so the tone simplifies to H.

(185)

singular	plural	gloss
kɔ̀njɛ̀-né	*kɔ̀njɛ̀-[ní-mbó]*	‘drinker of millet beer’
twɛ̀-twɛ̌	*twɛ̀-[tú-mbó]*	‘sower of seeds’

The verb stem may be **trisyllabic**, in which case the {LH} overlay is realized as L.L.H. Examples are *sɛ̀ː-ènìyɛ́* ‘grain winnower’ (plural *sɛ̀ː-ènǐy-mbó*) and *[nèmbìl-ŋgò]-nèmbìlé* ‘beggars (from another village)’. The verb may contain a causative or other derivational suffix: *[sìyà-màlè]-[sìyà-mé]* ‘carpenter (who carves wood with a hatchet)’, plural *[sìyà-màlè]-[sìyǎ-m-bó]*, based on causative *síyá-m\\sìyà-mè* ‘carve (wood)’.

In one example, the initial is a **locative PP**, tone-dropped to {L}.

(186) *[kìː-mà]*^{L}*-yé* plural: *[kìː-mà]*^{L}*-[yí-mbó]*
[head-in]^{L}-see.Agent
‘diviner (including palm-reader)’ (cf. *kîː mà* ‘in/on the head’, *yɛ́* ‘see’)

Mediopassive suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is optionally omitted in the agentivized verb stem. For example, the cognate collocation *yál yàli-yɛ́* ‘take a stroll’ can form a full-sized agentive *yàl-yàlì-yé* (plural *yàl-yàlǐ-y-mbó*), or a simplified one *yàl-yàlé* (plural *yàl-yàl-mbó*). The other derivational suffixes (reversive, causative) are central to the sense of the verb and are not deleted: *[òlè-gìrì]-[dàgì-lé]* ‘unlocker of doors’ from *òlè gírì* ‘door’ and reversive *dàgì-lé* ‘unlock’, *òndòː-kwàː-mé* ‘feeder of children’ from *òndôː* ‘child’ and causative *kwáː-m* ‘cause to eat, feed’.

5.1.5 Compounds with final suffix *-n*, (ǹ v̌-*n*) or (ǹ ǔ-*n*)

In (187), the compound denotes the location where the action occurs. The compound initial is {L}-toned, and the nominalization with *-n* has {LHL} overlay realized as L<HL>. The formula is therefore (ǹ v̂-*n*). The *-n* nominal has no plural.

(187)

	compound	gloss	noun + verb
a.	*ɲàllò-[kànî-n]*	‘conversation place’	*ɲállò kán* ‘make conversation’
	kèlèn-[kànî-n]	‘defecating place’	*kélén kán* ‘go to the defecating area at edge of village’
b.	*mànà-[mànî-n]*	‘kitchen’	*mànâː* ‘meal’, *mǎn* ‘cook meal’
c.	*kòmbì-[dèbî-n]*	‘sanctuary in rocks’	*kòmbîː* ‘cave(s)’, *dèbɛ́* ‘cover’
d.	*pùmɛ̀rɛ̀-[sànî-n]*	‘holy-day prayer place’	*púmɛ̀rɛ̀* ‘community prayer on Muslim holidays’, *sán* ‘pray’
e.	*mɔ̀mɛ̀-[nàː-mí-ǹ]*	‘place for sacrifices’	*mɔ̀mɛ́* ‘fetish’, *nǎː-m* ‘cause to drink’

There are also uncompounded *-n* nominals like *óbì-n* ‘place to sit’, see (127a-b) in §4.2.3.3, but the tones are somewhat different.

In (188), the compound denotes a state. The initial is again {L}-toned, but this time the nominalized verb has {LH} overlay with the final rise realized phonetically on the *-n* suffix. For uncompounded abstractive nominals of this type, see (126) in §4.2.3.3.

(188) a. *kèndâ-ɲàmǐ-n* ‘anxiety (waiting)’ *kéndà:* ‘heart’, *ɲǎm* ‘be ruined’

b. *pèrê-dùmĕ-n* ‘being pampered’ *péré dùmé* ‘be pampered’

Possibly belonging here is *à:lè-mă:n* ‘drought, dry spell’. The initial is clearly *à:lé* ‘rain’, and the final is obscurely related to *mǎy* ‘hard’.

In *òlè-súgí-n* ‘host (who lodges a visitor)’, *-súgí-n* corresponds obscurely to *súgó-ndí* ‘cause to go down’ (with uncommon causative suffix *-ndí*), hence ‘lodge, provide lodging for’ (one “goes down” to one’s home after the day’s work).

5.1.6 Compounds of type ‘X-child’

The uncompounded noun for ‘child’ has singular *èndê:* and plural *òndô:* . It is a common compound final with names of animal species, as in *pègè-èndê:* ‘sheep-child’ (i.e. ‘lamb’) and *kòr-èndê:* ‘chicken-child’ (i.e. ‘chick’).

However, unlike the case in eastern Dogon languages, this term does not occur in Najamba compounds of the type ‘baobab-child’ to denote the fruit or other productive part of a tree or plant species. Instead, ‘fruit of X’ is expressed using a distinct noun, *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* ‘fruit’. Likewise, ‘child’ compounds are not widely used to denote small objects paired with larger objects.

However, there are some (semi-)frozen nouns ending in …*ndê:* (plural …*ndô:*) or in …*ndô:* (plural …*ndê:*) that appear to have originated as ‘X-child’ compounds.

(189)

singular	gloss	components or comments
nùmàndê:	‘small grindstone’	held in hand, used on large grindstone (*nùŋgé*)
tùmàndô:	‘pestle’	synonym *tùmmɔ̂:*, used with mortars (*túní:*)
ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:	‘rich person’	*ɔ̀gɔ́* ‘chief’
bà:ndê:	‘rival’	*bǎ:* ‘father’
púlàndê:	‘Fulbe person’	plural *púlàndû:* ~ *púlàndô:*

Its original composite origin suggests why ‘Fulbe person’ is a rare /HLHL/-melody noun.

5.1.7 Compounds with ‘man’ (*ánè*) or ‘woman’ (*yĕ:*)

The uncompounded noun for ‘man’ is *ánè* ~ *ánì* (dialectal variants), plural *án-à:* . That for ‘woman’ is *yĕ:*, plural *yàwó:* . These forms are also used as adjectives following e.g. names of animals. For example, *nĕ:* denotes ‘bovine, cattle’, and may be specified for sex as *nè:*^{L} *ánè*

'bull' or *nè:*^{L} *yě:* 'cow'. Adult male livestock animals are usually described more specifically as 'castrated male' or 'uncastrated male'.

The nouns meaning 'man' and 'woman' may be modified by adjectives. Examples with 'woman' are *yè:*^{L} *ká:bà* 'full-grown woman with children (up to age 40)' and *yè:*^{L} *kùmî:* 'unmarried woman' (plurals *yàwò:*^{L} *ká:bà-mbò*, *yàwò:*^{L} *kŭm-bò*). Compare *àn*^{L} *kùmî:* 'unmarried man' (plural *ànà:*^{L} *kŭm-bó*). However, there are some combinations where 'woman' takes a special form *yà-* (in one case, *yà:-*) instead of *yě:*. Since *yà-* does not change in the plural, while *yě:* is replaced by *yàwó:* in the plural (even with a following adjective), *yà-* must be considered to be a dedicated compound initial, as opposed to an ordinary modified noun. At least two of the combinations have male equivalents, with invariant *ànà-* as the initial.

(190)		form	gloss	plural
	a.	*yà-sílè*	'old woman'	*yà-síl-mbò*
		yá-yè	'woman who just gave birth'	*yâ-y-mbò*
		yà-pàndé	'widow'	*yà-pàndú-mbó*
		yà-púnà	'menstruating woman'	*yà-púnà-mbò*
		yà:-bû:	'blood relatives (maternal)'	—
	b.	*ànà-pàndé*	'widower'	*ànà-pàndú-mbó*
		ànà-bû:	'blood relatives (paternal)'	—

The compound finals *-sílè*, *-yè*, and *-bû:* in (190) above are not attested in other combinations. 'Old man' is *ànè kúnjé:*. For the 'widow(er)' terms, compare the verb *pándí-lé* '(man) marry (widow)'. For 'menstruating woman', compare *pùnă:* 'menstrual blood' and *pùnàn-ólé* 'house for menstruating women'.

5.1.8 'Owner of' (*dòmbă:*)

The uncompounded noun 'owner' is *dòmbă:* (plural *dòmbà-mbó*). It occurs in (possessive) compounds of the type 'X's owner', where X can be any NP (including a pronoun), as in *mó* ^{L}*dòmbà* 'his/her/its master' The singular is usually heard as ^{L}*dòmbà* with final short vowel. It is common in possessive-type compounds, as in *ólé* ^{L}*dòmbà* 'house owner' (plural *ólé* ^{L}*dòmbà-mbò*). Since the possessor noun (here 'house') has full NP form, its grammatical number varies independently of that of the 'owner' noun. Therefore 'house owner', 'house owners', 'houses owner', 'houses owners' are all possible, depending on how many structures and how many proprieters are involved. This is a possibility for possessive-type compounds but not for the (x̀ n̄) compound type where the initial is normally just a bare noun stem.

Further examples illustrating the range of usage follow. Those in (191a) are simple compounds with a preceding noun. In (191b) we have a similar compound that functions as an adjectival phrase, modifying a preceding {L}-toned noun.

(191) a. *dàlídì* L*dòmbà* ‘one who commands respect’
sɔ̀njɔ̌: L*dòmbà* ‘old-stock person’ (from an old family in a village)
dè-dégè L*dòmbà* ‘fortune-teller who holds seances’
tó:rù L*dòmbà* ‘fetish-worshiper’
né:dì L*dòmbà* ‘mild-mannered person’

b. *sàmbè*L *[dúgà:* L*dòmbà]* ‘spear with clanging attachments’

The nouns in (191) are *dàlídì* ‘respectability, prestige’, *sɔ̀njɔ̌:* ‘village’, *dè-dégè* ‘idol, statuette’, *tó:rù* ‘fetish’, *né:dì* ‘mild temperament, *sàmbé* ‘spear’, and *dúgà:* ‘amulet’.

In (192), excerpted from (736) in the sample text, the compound initial is actually a verb form. For the generalized use of pseudo-1Sg subject in anaphoric contexts, see §18.2.2.

(192) … *[àybà-mbó-m̀* L*dòmbà:]=ỳ*
… [humiliate-Fut-LogoSbj Lowner]=it.is
‘(It’s you who) are involved in humiliating …’

For *dòmbâ-n* ‘the fellow’, see §18.2.3 below.

5.1.9 Product-of-action compounds (‘boiled eggs’) (*-bà:*)

The initial in these expressions is a noun denoting a category of entities, in {L}-toned form (as in noun-noun compounds and in noun-adjective sequences). The second element is a kind of adjective alluding to the process of making a particular kind of this category (compare English *boiled eggs*, *fried eggs*, *poached eggs*, etc.).

The most common construction is one where the verb takes its chaining form, i.e. the E-stem for verbs with -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism and the I-stem for those with +ATR {*e o*}. This is followed by *-bà:*, which functions as a unit morpheme. Historically at least, it is a **participle** of the **past passive** *=b-à:=ỳ* (§10.5.1).

(193)	*tèŋgà:rè*L *kɔ́bɛ́-bà:*	‘large conical hat’	*kɔ́bɛ́* ‘apply hide to’
	*sàbè*L *kɔ́bɛ́-bà:*	‘amulet’	*kɔ́bɛ́* ‘apply hide to’
	*pùnè*L *ɲɛ̀ŋɛ́-bà:*	‘sifted flour’	*ɲɛ̀ŋɛ́* ‘sift’
	*gòrù*L *túpíné-bà:*	‘embroidered skullcap’	*túpíné* ‘embroider’
	*sàpùn*L *màŋgí-bà:*	‘soap ball’	*màŋgí* ‘shape into balls’
	*sòlè*L *jàŋgí-bà:*	‘cream of millet (type)’	*jàŋgí* ‘pound with water’
	*sòlè*L *ă:n-bà:*	‘cream of millet (type)’	*ă:n* ‘cook in pot with oil’
	*yàlì*L *bɨ̌:-r-bà:*	‘field lying fallow’	*bɨ̌:-r-* ‘cause to lie down’

If the entity denoted is countable, the plural is expressed by the noun, holding the *-bà:* form constant: *sàbù:*L *kɔ́bɛ́-bà:* ‘amulets’.

In *[sè:*L *năm-bà:]* L*pùnè* ‘ground millet cooked between two hot stones’, the product-of-action expression (*sê:* ‘grains’, *năm* ‘grind’) is morphosyntactically the possessor of *púnè* ‘flour’.

5.1.10 Function-of-noun compounds ('water for drinking') (*-mb-à:*)

These expressions are of the type 'drinking water', i.e. 'water for drinking'. The verb denotes the action that the entity is intended for. The noun is {L}-toned, and may be considered the head NP of a relative clause. The verb ends in *-mb-à:*, a participle-like ending that is closely related to present passive *-mb-à:=y* (§10.5.3). Consistent with this morphological association, the verb is in the **A/O-stem**. It has tonal formula **((X))H*(L)**, i.e., there there is an obligatory H-tone, then a stem-final L-tone if another (final) syllable is available, and finally the lexical initial tone X is also expressed if there is another available mora at the beginning. Any remaining moras between the initial lexical tone and the stem-penultimate H-tone are also H. So the stem appears as H, HL, XHL, XHHL, etc., depending on prosodic structure.

(194)	a.	*sìrà*^{L} *hámpà-mb-à:*	'chewing tobacco'
	b.	*sìrà*^{L} *síŋgí-yò-mb-à:*	'snuff (sniffing tobacco)'
	c.	*ìŋgè*^{L} *ná-mb-à:*	'drinking water'
	d.	*ìŋgè*^{L} *díyà-mb-à:*	'bathing water'
	e.	*sò-ŋgò*^{L} *gòrí-yò-mb-à:*	'cloth head covering' (*gòrí-y* 'put on one's hat')
	f.	*tàbà*^{L} *námà-mb-à:*	'tobacco for crushing'
			(often pronounced *tàbà*^{L} *nâ:-mb-à:*)

In the plural, only the initial noun changes: *swè:*^{L} *gòrí-yò-mb-à:* 'cloth head coverings', plural of (194e).

tàbà^{L} *námà-mb-à:* (variant *tàbà*^{L} *nâ:-mb-à:*) 'tobacco for crushing' (194f) is distinct from the superficially similar *tàbà*^{L} *năm-bà:* 'crushed tobacco (for snuff or for chewing)', both from verb *năm* 'crush, grind'. The latter is a product-of-action compound of the type described in the preceding section.

5.1.11 Instrument-nominal compounds in *-î:* ('egg-beater')

For the main type of uncompounded instrument nominal ('steamer', 'covering', 'scrubber') with singular *-í-ŋgò* and plural *-î:*, see (131) in §4.2.3.6. Compounds based on such nominals add an initial that denotes a common direct object of the relevant action (cf. *egg-beater*). The entire compound may function absolutely as a noun, or it may be an adjective modifying a noun that denotes the general class of objects, as in 'calabash for drawing milk'.

In elicitation, my primary assistant typically adjusted the grammatical number of the nominal initial to that of the compound, e.g. singular 'egg-beater' versus plural 'eggs-beaters'. He had some experience teaching French (and Dogon) grammar, and at times self-consciously applied this "rule of grammar" in our vocabulary elicitation sessions. In less self-conscious speech, the nominal initial tends to be stable, taking singular or collective form for mass nouns, and plural or collective form for countable nouns.

(195) plural instrumental (component noun and verb)

a. *ònjù*^{L}*-[dòŋ*^{L}*-î:]* *ónjù:* ‘breast’, *dɔ̀ŋɛ́* ‘put under’
breast^{L}-[put.under^{L}-Inst]
‘bras’ (Sg *ònjù*^{L}*-[dɔ̌ŋ*^{L}*-∅-gò]* ‘bra’)

b. *[sà-gò]*^{L}*-[hà:s*^{L}*-î:]* *sá-gò* ‘cotton’, *há:sɛ́-* ‘card (v)’
[cotton-Sg^{L}]-[card(v)^{L}-Inst]
‘cotton card(er)s (for carding ginned cotton)’ (Sg *[sà-gò]*^{L}*-[hà:s*^{L}*-í-ŋgó]*)

c. *ìnɛ̀:*^{L}*-[gìj*^{L}*-î:]* *ìnɔ̌:\\ìnɛ̌:* ‘tooth’, *gìjɛ́* ‘brush’
tooth.Pl^{L}-[brush(v)^{L}-Inst]
‘chewsticks’ (stick used like toothbrush) (Sg *ìnɔ̀:*^{L}*-[gìj*^{L}*-í-ŋgò]*)

d. *kɔ̀rìyɛ̀*^{L} *ɛ̀mɛ̀*^{L}*-[ɛ̀m*^{L}*-î:]* *ɛ́mɛ̀:* ‘milk (n)’, *ɛ́mɛ́* ‘milk (v)’
calabash-Pl^{L} milk(n)^{L}-[milk(v)^{L}-Inst]
‘calabashes for milking’ (Sg … *ɛ̀mɛ̀-[ɛ̌m*^{L}*-∅-gò]*)

e. *ɛ̀lɛ̀*^{L}*-[à:n*^{L}*-î:]* *élé* ‘peanut’, *ă:n* ‘roast w. oil’
peanut.Pl^{L}-[dry.roast^{L}-Inst]
‘pot for dry-roasting millet or peanuts (in a little oil)’ (Sg *ɛ̀lɛ̀-[ă:n*^{L}*-∅-gò]*)

Other examples from the lexicon, now shown in the singular: *gòn-gò* ^{L} *ìnjè-[n* ^{L}*-í-ŋgò]* ‘waterjar for drinking water’), *nà:*^{L}*-[tàmb*^{L}*-í-ŋgò]* ‘foot-pedal (for loom)’, *kɔ̀rìyɔ̀*^{L} *bègìlù:*^{L}*-[bègìl*^{L}*-í-ŋgò]* ‘winnowing calabash’, *gòlò*^{L}*-[kěr*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò]* ‘fire lighter’ (i.e. traditional flint lighter), *pà:*^{L} *ìŋgè*^{L}*-[dĭy*^{L}*-∅-ŋgò]* ‘basin for bathing’, *dèbì*^{L}*-[dèb*^{L}*-í-ŋgò]* ‘stopper for closing gunpowder chamber’, *kà:bù*^{L} *sàn*^{L}*-[săn*^{L}*-∅-gò]* ‘mat for praying’, *kì:*^{L}*-[tŭŋ*^{L}*-∅-gò]* ‘pillow’ (“head-rester-er”, verb *túŋgɛ́* ‘rest [head]’).

In *[yèmbì-lè]*^{L}*-[yèmb*^{L}*-ú-ŋgò]* ‘square fan’, *yémbí-lé* is the verbal noun of *yèmbɛ́* ‘(to) fan’, the verb that is the basis for *[yèmb-ú-ŋgò]*.

In (196), the instrument compound (which by itself means ‘straining basket for liquids’) is the possessor of the class noun.

(196) *ìŋgè*^{L}*-[sèj*^{L}*-î:]* ^{L}*tɛ̀mɛ̀*
water^{L}-[filter(v)^{L}-Inst] ^{L}sieve
‘water-filtering sieve’ (*íŋgé* ‘water’, *séjɛ́* ‘filter’, *tɛ́mɛ̀* ‘sieve’)

In the case of *gì:-pòlè*^{L} *dàmb*^{L}*-î:* ‘small harvesting knife (pushed into base of millet grain spike)’, the semantic relationship is different. *dàmb* ^{L}*-î:* ‘pusher’ can also be used by itself in the same sense. However, *gì:*^{L}*-pòlé* ‘harvest knife’ does not denote the logical object (since the knife itself does the pushing). Instead, ‘harvest knife’ is the larger class of implements of which this is a type. In other words, it is a ‘pushing harvest-knife’, not a ‘pusher of harvest-knives’.

In the other type of uncompounded instrument nominal, *-î:* is the singular and **plural suffix** *-mbò* is added to it, see (132) in §4.2.3.6. above. This is uncommon as compound final,

but one example is attested (197). It has an interesting semantic shift, and may have originated as a euphemism.

(197) singular instrumental (component noun and verb)

tèndɛ̀^{L}*-[kòmìl* ^{L}*-î:]* *tèndɛ́* 'shell', *kómíl* 'crack open'
shell^{L}-[crack.open^{L}-Inst]
'scraper (for removing baby's excrement)'

5.1.12 Other nominal compounds

The compounds in (198) are somewhat opaque and do not fit any productive pattern.

(198) a. *mìsɔ̀:rɔ̀*^{L} *tɔ̃:-mb-ò:*
'simple head shawl (modern fabric)'

b. *mìsɔ̀:rɔ̀-gì* ^{L} *tɔ̃:-mb-è:*
[= (a)]

c. *bà:-gò* ^{L} *túb-á:*
'staff (stick) with forked end'

Compounds (198a-b) have *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* 'head shawl' (< Fr *mouchoir*) as initial. The final looks like a frozen participle. No verb of this shape is in use, but my assistant suggested a connection with adverbial *tɔ̃:-tɔ̃:* 'simple, plain'.

(198c) begins with *bă:-gò* 'stick, staff'. The final is a participle or adjective, related obscurely to the verb *túbí-yɛ́-* 'lean on'.

5.2 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihi compounds have meanings like 'four-footed' or 'fleet-footed'. They describe an individual or subset from a class ('person', 'animal', etc.) by characterizing or quantifying a body part or similar attribute. The bahuvrihi compound is by nature adjectival, but it may also be used absolutely, with the relevant class noun understood.

5.2.1 Noun-adjective bahuvrihi ("Blackbeard") compounds (n̄ ā)

In the bahuvrihi construction attested with adjectives, the attribute noun is followed by the adjective, **both** keeping their **regular tones** (instead of the noun dropping tones before the adjective). **Agreement** on the adjective is with the **class noun** (overt or covert), hence with 'person' in 'black-hearted (person)', not with the attribute noun ('heart'). Thus compare (199a) with *kèndà:*^{L} *gɛ́mɛ̀-ŋgò* '(a) black heart' (plural *kɛ̀ndɛ̀:*^{L} *gɛ́mɛ̀* 'black hearts'), noting the tones and (in the singular) the agreement.

(199) a. *nò:*^{L} *kéndà:-gɛ́mɛ̀*
person^{L} heart-black
'cruel ("black-hearted") person'

b. *tìŋgà*^{L} *kî:-bánè*
agama^{L} head-red
'red-headed agama lizard'

c. *èndè:*^{L} *kî:-bìní:*
child^{L} head-big
'big-headed child'

The plurals, respectively, are *nò-mbò*^{L} *kéndà:-[gɛ̂:-mbò]* 'cruel persons', *tìŋgà-mbò*^{L} *kî:-[bân-bò]* 'red-headed agamas', and *òndò:*^{L} *kî:-[bĭn-bó]* 'big-headed children'. The class noun ('person', etc.) and the final adjective agree, while the form of the attribute noun is unchanged from its form in the singular bahuvrihi.

Further examples: *gùjú-gɛ́mɛ̀* 'black-skinned one (African)', *gùjú-bánè* 'red-skinned one (white person)', *sɛ́mbɛ́-pàlɛ̂:* 'having little strength (weak)', *gòjí-màlɛ̂:* 'having a firm body (energetic)', *kìŋjâ:-sèrɛ̂:* 'having a pointed snout', *pò:lò*^{L} *ìbí-wàyá:* 'waterskin with wide mouth', *[bí-ŋgán][nàmí-yè]* 'of difficult nature' (one who is difficult to get along with); *kî:-[mă̋y-yè]* 'hard-headed' (i.e., stubborn), *dánà-bìní:* 'big-headed person', *nă:-gɔ̀ndé* 'having bent leg(s, bowlegged'), *nɔ́:nɔ̀-nɛ̀:ndɛ́:* 'unlucky, ill-fated', *nɔ́:nɔ̀-[nɛ̌y-yè]* 'fortunate, blessed with good fortune'.

5.2.2 Noun-numeral bahuvrihi ('four-footed') compounds (*-mbé*)

In another construction, attested in my data only with numerals, a suffix with agreement forms *-mbé* (E) or *-mbó* (O) is added to the {L}-toned sequence of the attribute noun and the adjective or numeral. I will gloss the suffix as 'having' in interlinears.

(200) a. *nà:*^{L}*-kɛ̀jɛ̀*^{L}*-mbé*
foot^{L}-four^{L}-having
'quadruped, four-footed' (*nă:*, *kɛ́:jɛ̀y*)

b. *nɛ̀:*^{L} *kì:*^{L}*-nòy*^{L}*-mbé*
cow^{L} head^{L}-two^{L}-having
'two-headed cow' (*kî:*, *nô:y* ; plural *nàwò:*^{L} *kì:*^{L}*-nòy*^{L}*-mbó*)

As (200a) suggests, some numerals have a reduced form before the suffix in this construction. A final semivowel is dropped ('7', '9', but not '2'). A final short high vowel is dropped after an unclustered sonorant ('10'). A final long vowel is shortened ('3', '8'), or dropped after an unclustered sonorant ('5').

(201)

gloss	numeral	‘having X head(s)’
‘1’	*kúndé*	*kì:^{L}-kùndè^{L}-mbé*
‘2’	*nô:y*	*kì:^{L}-nòy^{L}-mbé*
‘3’	*tà:ndÎ:*	*kì:^{L}-tà:ndì^{L}-mbé*
‘4’	*ké:jèy*	*kì:^{L}-kèjè^{L}-mbé*
‘5’	*nùmî:*	*kì:^{L}-nùm^{L}-bé*
‘6’	*kúlêy*	*kì:^{L}-kùlè^{L}-mbé*
‘7’	*swêy*	*kì:^{L}-swè^{L}-mbé*
‘8’	*sá:gì:*	*kì:^{L}-sà:gì^{L}-mbé*
‘9’	*twây*	*kì:^{L}-twà^{L}-mbé*
‘10’	*píyɛ́lì*	*kì:^{L}-pìyɛ̀l^{L}-mbé*
‘1000’	*mùjú*	*kì:^{L}-mùjù^{L}-mbé*

5.2.3 Noun-adverbial bahuvrihi compounds

A bahuvrihi may end in an adverbial phrase, including the adverbial particle *nè* (§8.4.8.1). Such adverbials often have expressive adjective-like senses and may be used predicatively (with *bò-* ‘be’). These bahuvrihis are often used in insulting and mocking expressions.

(202) a. *pùrmbɛ̌:* *[sɔ̀jí→* *nè]*
buttock [skinny Adv]
‘one with skinny buttocks’

b. *pùrmbɛ̌:* *[gèŋgìrí→* *nè]*
buttock [tilted Adv]
‘one with tilted buttocks’

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

The order of words within an NP is (203). Only one of the possessor slots (203a,e) may be filled. In (203f), usually only one determiner may occur, but the combination of definite plus quantifier may follow a demonstrative.

(203)
a. possessor (NP or pronoun)
b. noun
c. modifying adjective(s)
d. cardinal numeral
e. pronominal possessor with possessive classifier
f. 1. demonstrative determiner
   2. definite determiner
g. universal quantifier ('all' or 'each')

Examples are in (204). "Psm" (possessum) in interlinears indicates possessive classifiers.

(204) a. *[ḿ* *^{L}bà]* *òlè^{L}* *gìndɛ́:* *nô:y*
[1SgPoss ^{L}father] house^{L} big two
'my father's two big houses' *poss-n-adj-num*

b. *[òlè* *nò:y]^{L}* *ěy*
[house two]^{L} those.Inan
'those two houses' *n-num-dem*

c. *òlè^{L}* *gìndɛ́:* *dîn*
house^{L} big each
'each big house' *n-adj-quant*

d. *òlè^{L}* *ěy* *yè^{L}* *dîn*
house^{L} these.Inan Def.InanPl^{L} all
'all these houses' *n-dem-def-quant*
chunked tonosyntactically as *[òlè^{L} ěy]* plus *[yè^{L} dîn]*

e. *ánà:* *bé*
man.Pl Def.AnPl
'the men' *n-def*

f. *ànà:*^{L} *măy-mbò* *bé*
man.Pl^{L} solid-Pl Def.AnPl
'the solid (=able-bodied) men' *n-adj-def*

g. *òlè*^{L} *gìndɛ́:* *kɛ́:jèy* *yé*
house^{L} big four Def.InanPl
'the four big houses' *n-adj-num-def*

h. *òlè*^{L} *gìndɛ́:* *tà:ndî:*
house.Pl^{L} big.InanPl three
[mí *yè]* *yè*^{L} *dîn*
[1SgPoss Psm.InanPl] Def.InanPl^{L} all
'all my three big houses' *n-adj-num-poss-def-quant*

There are two alternative positions for possessors. A nonpronominal possessor such as 'my father' in (204a) always precedes the possessum ('houses'). A pronominal possessor may either precede in bare form, as in *[ḿ* ^{L}*bà]* 'my father' itself in (204a), or follow with an attached animacy-number classifier that agrees with the possessum, as in (204h). To the extent that the classifier is still recognizably a noun-like word ('thing', 'critter'), in apposition to the main noun, the pronominal possessor can be said to still be prenominal.

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of adjectives, demonstratives, etc.)

An NP may be constructed with the central noun slot empty. This can happen when the lexical category (e.g. 'tree') is understood from previous discourse context or other shared knowledge, or when the lexical category is indefinite ('what is this?'). The NP may take the form of an adjective (205a), a determiner (205b), or a numeral (205c). However, adjectives and numerals often take a semantically light ontological noun ('person', 'thing','place', etc.) in similar contexts.

(205) a. *[gìndɔ́:* *kó]* *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-∅,*
[big.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
[mènjú: *kó]* *íŋgà-∅*
[small.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] stand.Stat-3SgSbj
'The big one fell down, the small one is (still) standing.'
(after being asked how the two trees in the courtyard are doing after a windstorm)

b. *ŏm* *nálɛ́:,* *òmá:* *nálɛ́:=là-∅*
Prox.AnSg good.AnSg, FarDist.AnSg good.AnSg=it.is.not-3SgSbj
'This one is good, that one (over there) is no good.'
(two motorcycles)

c. *[tà:ndî:* *yé]* *dèŋè-∅,*
[three Def.InanPl] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[nô:y *yé]* *íŋgà-∅*
[two Def.InanPl] stand.Stat-3SgSbj
'Three fell, two are standing.' (trees)

6.1.3 Apparent bifurcation in relatives

In relative clauses, the main part of the head NP remains inside its clause but undergoes tone-dropping. This internal head includes any possessors, modifying adjectives, and/or cardinal numerals. By contrast, any determiners and/or 'all' quantifiers that have scope over this NP are seemingly shifted to the position immediately following the (verbal) participle at the end of the relative clause.

This is best modeled by taking the relative clause to be part of the head NP prior to movement, inverting their apparent relationship (chapter 14).

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

Tone-dropping to stem-wide {L} applies to a noun when followed by a modifying adjective or demonstrative.

(206) a. *pègɛ̀*^{L} *ǒm*
sheep^{L} this.AnSg
'this sheep' (< *pègɛ́*)

b. *pègɛ̀*^{L} *nálɛ́:*
sheep^{L} good.AnSg
'a good sheep'

c. *[pègɛ̀* *nàlɛ̀:]*^{L} *ǒm*
[sheep good.AnSg]^{L} this.AnSg
'this good sheep' (< *pègɛ̀*^{L} *nálɛ́:*)

d. *[òlè* *gìndɛ̀:]*^{L} *bán-gè*
[house big.InanSg.E]^{L} red-InanSg.E
'a big red house' (< *ólé*, *gìndɛ́:*)

In examples like 'this good sheep' (206c) and 'a big red house' (206d), there is no way to tell whether the rightmost word has induced simultaneous tone-dropping on both preceding words, or whether tone-dropping is cyclical (bottom-up), with each modifier inducing tone-dropping on the adjacent element.

Tone-dropping does not apply to a noun before a cardinal **numeral** or before *dîn* as **distributive** quantifier ('each').

(207) a. *pègè-mbó* *nùmî:*
sheep-Pl five
'five sheep'

b. *pègé* *dîn*
sheep each
'each sheep'

When *dîn* as **universal** quantifier 'all' follows a noun with a definite marker, the marker but not the noun (or any intervening modifiers) drops tones. In (208a-b) this tonosyntactic grouping (chunking) is expressed by bracketing, but elsewhere I often omit the brackets. The 'all' quantifier also also controls tone-dropping on independent pronouns (§6.6.1).

(208) a. *pègè-mbó* *[bè*^{L} *dîn]*
sheep.Pl [Def.AnPl^{L} all]
'all (of) the sheep'

b. *ólé* *[yè*^{L} *dîn]*
house [Def.InanPl all]
'all (of) the houses'

6.2 Possessives

There are two ways to construct a possessum with the meaning 'X's Y', when X is a pronoun ('my house', 'his goat'). In one, the possessor X (in its regular form) precedes the possessum Y, which drops its tones. The formula here is therefore **[X ^{L}Y]**, where ^{L} indexes tone-dropping. In the second, the possessum Y comes first, in its regular form, followed by a possessed nominal classifier that agrees with Y in number and animacy. The formula is **[Y$_{i}$ [X Class$_{i}$]]**, where subscript "i" indicates number and animacy categories. The two constructions are exemplified in (209a-b), using *ŋgwě:* 'dog'.

(209) a. *mí* ^{L}*ŋgwè:*
1SgPoss ^{L}dog
'my dog'

b. *ŋgwě:* *[mí* *yè]*
dog [1SgPoss Psm.AnSg]
'my dog'

Only the type [X ^{L}Y] is available when X is a nonpronominal NP. When Adjective-Numeral Inversion applies in an NP, even a pronominal possessor must be preposed, see §6.4.2.

6.2.1 Possessor precedes possessed [X ^{L}Y]

The possessor NP has its regular form, and appears to the left of the possessed core NP. The latter drops its tones (210a). If the core NP contains one or more modifying adjectives, all stems other than the final adjective are already tone-dropped, so the only audible tone-dropping due to the possessor is that of the final adjective (210c). A cardinal numeral following the core NP is also tone-dropped under the influence of a possessor (210d). If a N-Adj or N-Num inner sequence is sandwiched between two controllers, such as a preceding possessor and a following demonstrative, the inner sequence is doubly condemned to tone-dropping (210f). Any determiners and non-numeral quantifiers that follow at the end of an NP are not affected tonally by the presence of a possessor, though determiners are tone-dropped before *dîn* 'all' by a separate, local process. Possessums may end in a definite determiner agreeing with the head (210b-d) but it is optional.

(210) a. *á:màdù* ^{L}*òlè*
Amadou ^{L}house
'Amadou's house' (< *ólé*)

b. *á:màdù* ^{L}*pègè* *mó*
Amadou ^{L}sheep Def.AnSg
'Amadou's sheep-Sg' (< *pègé*)

c. *á:màdù* ^{L}*[òlè* *gìndè:]* *ké*
Amadou ^{L}[house big.InanSg.E] Def.InanSg.E
'Amadou's big house' (< *òlè*^{L} *gìndé:*)

d. *á:màdù* ^{L}*[òlè* *nùmì:]* *yé*
Amadou ^{L}[house five] Def.InanPl
'Amadou's five houses' (< *ólé nùmî:*)

e. *á:màdù* ^{L}*òlè* *[yè*^{L} *dîn]*
Amadou ^{L}house.Pl [Def.InanPl^{L} all]
'all of Amadou's houses' (< *á:màdù* ^{L}*òlè* *yé*)

f. *á:màdù* ^{L}*[òlè* *kùlèy]*^{L} *ěy*
Amadou ^{L}[house six]^{L} Prox.InanSg.E
'these six houses of Amadou's'

Kin terms are treated generally like other possessums (211a-c), but see §6.2.4 below.

(211) a. *á:màdù* ^{L}*nì:*
Amadou ^{L}mother
'Amadou's mother'

b. *á:màdù* *L nèjì* *[mò* *L* *dîn]*
Amadou *L uncle* [Def.AnPl *L* all]
'all of Amadou's uncles' (< *á:màdù* *L nèjì* *mó*)

c. *á:màdù* *L [nèjì-mbò* *nùmì:]* *bé*
Amadou *L* [uncle-AnPl five] Def.InanPl
'Amadou's five uncles (< *nèjì-mbó* *nùmî:*)

6.2.2 With possessive classifier [Y_i [X $Class_i$]]

The possessive classifiers are listed in (212). They make the usual distinctions in nominal morphology: between singular and plural, between animate and inanimate, and (within inanimate singular) between O and E classes. Animate singular and inanimate plural are homophonous, as with adjectives and nouns.

(212) Possessive classifiers

animacy	singular	plural
animate	*yɛ̀*	*bɔ̀*
inanimate.O	*gɔ̀*	*yɛ̀*
inanimate.E	*gɛ̀*	*yɛ̀*

At least *yɛ̀* (in both functions) and *gɔ̀* are likely derived from simple nouns, reconstructed approximately as *kɔ̀ 'thing (singular)' and *yɛ̀ with two disjoint senses 'critter (singular)' and 'things (plural)'. There is comparative evidence for this in other Dogon languages. Najamba itself has the following (likely composite etymologically): *kóŋgò* 'thing', *yèpà:bé* 'things', *yɛ̂:* 'critter' (any animate being), and *bómbò* 'critters', cf. §4.1.3.1.

This construction is available as an option when the possessor is pronominal (see below for nominal possessors). Examples of each of the classifiers are in (213). I can find no sharp lexical restrictions on this construction. Inalienables (kin terms and body parts) may occur either in this construction (213g) or with a preposed pronominal possessor, though the latter is preferred especially for core kin terms.

(213) a. *pègé* *[ɔ́* *yɛ̀]*
sheep.Sg [2SgPoss Psm.AnSg]
'your-Sg sheep-Sg'

b. *pègè-mbó* *[ɔ́* *bɔ̀]*
sheep-Pl [2SgPoss Psm.AnPl]
'your-Sg sheep-Pl'

c. *bă:-gò* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
stick-Sg [1SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]
'my stick'

d. *bǎyè* *[mí* *yɛ̀]*
stick.Pl [1SgPoss Psm.InanPl]
'my sticks'

e. *táŋà* *[mɔ́* *gɛ̀]*
granary [3SgPoss Psm.InanSg.E]
'his/her granary'

f. *táŋɛ̀* *[mɔ́* *yɛ̀]*
granary.Pl [3SgPoss Psm.InanPl]
'his/her granaries'

g. *dèlá:* *[mí* *yɛ̀]*
elder.sibling [1PlPoss Psm.AnSg]
'my elder (same-sex) sibling' (*dèlă:*)

The shift of /dèlă:/ to *dèlá:* before H-toned *mí* in (213g) is by Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising (§3.6.3.2).

The possessor pronominal is closely fused with the classifier phonologically, and the two could be transcribed as one word. In particular, the *ɔ* or *ɛ* of the classifiers obligatorily induces harmony on a mid-height vowel of the pronominal. This affects second and third person forms (214).

(214)

category	usual form	before classifier
2Sg	*ó*	*ɔ́*
2Pl	*é*	*ɛ́*
3Sg	*mó*	*mɔ́*
3Pl	*bé*	*bɛ́*

Other contractions also occur, but they are optional. The /y/ or /g/ of the classifier may lenite or disappear, resulting in optional contractions of the type /mɔ́ gɔ̀/ → phonetic [mɔ̂:] and /ɛ́ yɛ̀/ → phonetic [ɛ̂:]. 1Sg *mí* may drop its vowel and have its nasal assimilate, as in /mí gɔ̀/ → phonetic [ŋ̀gɔ̀].

Modifiers such as numerals and adjectives may follow the possessed noun, preceding the pronominal possessor (215).

(215) a. *pègè-mbó* *nùmî:* *[ɔ́* *bɔ̀]*
sheep-Pl **five** [2SgPoss Psm.AnPl]
'your-Sg five sheep'

b. *pègɛ̀*[L] *jɛ́mɛ̀* *[ɔ́* *yɛ̀]*
sheep[L] **black** [2SgPoss Psm.AnSg]
'your-Sg black sheep-Sg'

Determiners, relative-clause participles, and/or universal quantifiers may follow the possessor (including the classifier). A demonstrative, like *ǒm* in (216a), or a relative clause as in (216b), has no audible tone-lowering effect on preceding words. This is presumably because any tone-lowering would be limited to the immediately preceding possessive classifier, which is always already L-toned. The demonstrative or relative clause cannot control tone-lowering on the pronominal possessor morpheme, or on the noun and any modifiers. Determiners are themselves tone-dropped before the universal quantifier by a local process (216b).

(216) a. *pègɛ́* *[ɔ́* *yɛ̀]* *ǒm*
sheep [2SgPoss Psm.AnSg] this.AnSg
'this sheep-Sg of yours-Sg'

b. *ólé* *tà:ndî:* *[mí* *yɛ̀]* *dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ́:* *yɛ́*
house three [1SgPoss Psm.InanPl] fall.Pfv-Ppl.InanPl Def.InanPl
'my three houses that fell'

c. *pègɛ̀-mbó* *[ḿ* *bɔ̀]* *[bɛ̀*[L] *dîn]*
sheep-Pl [1SgPoss Psm.AnPl] [Def.AnPl[L] all]
'all (of) my sheep'

A possessive consisting of NP or pronoun plus classifier may occur without an overt possessed noun. If the possessor is a nonpronominal NP, inanimate *gɔ̀* and *gɛ̀* are realized with *k* replacing *g*. An example is *jɛ̌njà kɔ̀* 'God's' in (763) in the sample text. This is further evidence that classifier *gɔ̀* is a reflex of *kɔ̀ 'thing'. A pronominal example is *ɔ́ gɔ̀ kó* 'yours (definite)' in (463c) in §13.1.1.1 below, which includes definite *kó*.

For the use of these classifiers in predicates of the type 'Y is X's (=Y belongs to X)', see §11.5.2.

6.2.3 Choice among possessive constructions

Only the [x [L]y] construction is available when the possessor is a nonpronominal NP. For pronominal possessor, the choice is as follows.

The classifier construction is avoided with a few basic kin terms, in which case only the [x [L]y] construction is in normal use (217a). Both constructions were readily elicited for body parts like 'foot' (217b-c), with no discernible change in meaning, as well as for clearly alienable possessions like 'rope' (217d-e).

(217) a. *mí* [L]*bà*
1SgPoss [L]father
'my father'

b. *mí* [L]*nà:-gò*
1SgPoss [L]foot-Sg
'my foot'

c. *nà:-gó* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
foot-Sg [1SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]
'my foot'

d. *mí* [L]*sì:-ŋgò*
1SgPoss [L]rope-Sg
'my rope'

e. *sǐ:-ŋgó* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
rope-Sg [1SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]
'my rope'

6.2.4 Possessed forms of kin terms

Most kin terms behave like other nouns in the relationship between **absolute** (unpossessed) and **tone-dropped possessed** forms. For example, *bɔ́jɔ̀* 'father's younger brother' occurs as possessum in *mí* [L]*bɔ̀jɔ̀* 'my …'.

Several kin terms end in a long *i:* or *a:* in the absolute form that corresponds to a short vowel in the form with preceding possessor (218a). This is systematic, unlike the inconsistent phonetic shortening of final long vowels in other nouns in {L}-toned possessed form. The 'great-grandparent' term (218b) keeps its long *ɛ:* . There is no shortening in the monosyllabic noun 'cross-cousin' (218c).

(218)

	absolute	after possessor	gloss
a.	*nèjǐ:*	[L]*nèjì*	'mother's brother'
	sèjí:	[L]*sèjì*	'father's sister'
	pòbǎ:	[L]*pòbà*	'grandparent'
b.	*jɛ̀njɛ̂:*	[L]*jɛ̀njɛ̀:*	'great-grandparent'
c.	*tǐ:*	[L]*tì:*	'cross-cousin'

For 'father' and 'mother', special possessed forms are in use. For all pronominal possessors, 'father' is reduced from *bǎ:* to [L]*bà*, and 'mother' is reduced from *nǐ:* to just [L]*ǹ*, which syllabifies with the pronominal. 1Sg *mí* [L]*bà* 'my father' often reduces further to *ḿ* [L]*bà*. For 3Sg possessor, in addition to forms with *mó* as possessor, parallel to those for the other pronominal persons, there are special alternative forms with suffix *-ǹ* after a long vowel, forming an <LHL> syllable, with no preceding pronominal possessor. After any nonpronominal NP, *bǎ:* 'father' and *nǐ:* 'mother' have their regular tone-dropped forms [L]*bà:* and [L]*nì:* .

(219)

gloss	absolute	'my'	'your'	'his/her'	after NP (X)
'father'	*bă:*	*ḿ* L*bà*	*ó* L*bà*	*mó* L*bà* *bă:-ǹ*	X L*bà:*
'mother'	*nĭ:*	*mí* L*ǹ*	*ó* L*ǹ*	*mó* L*ǹ* *nĭ:-ǹ*	X L*nì:*

Examples of a possessed kin ('maternal uncle') without and with postnominal modifiers are in (220a-c). In (220c), either the possessor or the demonstrative would suffice to control tone-dropping on 'uncle'.

(220) a. *á:màdù* / *mí* L*nèjì* *nɛ̀:ndɛ́:* *(mó)*
A / 1Sg Luncle nasty (Def.AnSg)
'Amadou's/my evil uncle' (< *nèjĭ:*, *nɛ̀:ndɛ́:*)

b. *á:màdù* / *mí* L*nèjù-mbò* *kúlèy* *bé*
A / 1Sg Luncle-AnPl six Def.AnPl
'Amadou's/my six uncles' (< *nèjù-mbó*, *kúlèy*)

c. *á:màdù* / *mí* L*nèjì*L *ŏm*
A / 1Sg LuncleL Prox.AnSg
'this uncle of Amadou's/mine'

There are also a range of related forms. Related to 'father' are the vocative *bâ:* 'dad!', along with *bàbâ:*, a respectful vocative that may be addressed to any man. The father's brothers are called *bà*L *gìndɛ́* 'big father' (elder than father) and *bɔ́jɔ̀* (younger than father), the latter term possibly containing a form of 'father' etymologically.

For 'mother' there is an alternative stem *íyà*, mainly vocative ('mom!'), but also occasionally used in reference: *mí* L*ìyà* 'my mom'. The mother's sisters are referred to as *númbɔ̀* (elder) and *ɲɔ̆njɔ̀* (younger).

6.2.5 Recursive and embedded possession

Recursion (stacking) of possessors is of course possible. All possessed nouns are tone-dropped, leaving only the initial possessor tonally independent. A determiner (usually definite) may occur after any nonpronominal noun. Determiners are not subject to tone-dropping except when followed by an 'all' quantifier.

(221) a. *[mó* L*kòŋgòl]* L*bìrɔ̀:*
[AnSgPoss Lhonor] Lwork
'the work of his honor' (i.e. what he was obligated to do) (2005-1a)

b. *[sěydù* L*bà:* *mó]* L*òlè*
[S L father Def.AnSg] L house
'the house of Seydou's father'

One can argue about whether all of the stacked possessums are simultaneously tone-dropped by the highest possessor, or whether tone-dropping applies cyclically from the bottom up, e.g. to 'work' and then 'honor' in (221a). I prefer the one-step model, but there is no way to prove that cyclical tone-dropping is not possible.

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

The adjective follows the noun and forces the noun to drop tones. The noun is number-marked as it would be by itself (recall, though, that inanimate singular suffixes *-ŋgo*, *-go*, *-ŋge* are optional in most contexts, and they are sometimes omitted on the noun when they are present on the adjective). The adjective agrees with the nominal categories of the noun, with the details depending on the morphological class of adjective (222b)

(222)

	singular	plural	adjective gloss
a.	*sǐ:-ŋgó* rope-Sg	*sǐ:* ropes	
b.	*sì:-ŋgò* L *nálá:*	*sì:* L *nálé:*	'good'
	sì:-ŋgò L *gɛ́mè-ŋgò*	*sǐ:* L *gɛ́mè*	'black'
	sì:-ŋgò L *jàlá-ŋgó*	*sǐ:* L *jàlɛ́:*	'long'

The combination of noun plus adjective(s) constitutes the **core NP**, which may be followed by a numeral and/or a determiner, and/or preceded by a possessor.

6.3.2 Adjective *gàndí* 'certain (ones)'

The adjective *gàndí* is used with countable entities in the sense 'certain (ones), some (as opposed to others)'. It typically occurs twice in parallelistic passages, translatable as 'some … , (while) others …'. For human reference the full noun-adjective sequence is of the type *nò-mbò* L *gàndí* 'certain people', with plural noun (*nò-mbó* 'people') in {L}-toned form before an adjective. This is often simplified to just *gàndí* when the class of entities is already clear from preceding discourse (223).

(223) *gàndí* *ínà:* *sèmă-mb-à,*
certain.ones goat.Pl slaughter-Fut-3PlSbj,
gàndí *pègè-mbó* *sèmă-mb-à*
certain.ones sheep-Pl slaughter-Fut-3PlSbj
'Some (people) will slaughter goats, while others will slaughter sheep-Pl.'

gàndí is not used to my knowledge in the singular sense 'a certain (individual)'. However, it may occur with what translates into English as a mass noun, to denote partitioned segments, in parallelistic constructions of the same type. I note that such "mass" nouns as 'millet' are readily pluralized in Najamba. See, for example, (448a-b) in §12.1.2.

(224) *[yògè*^{L} *gàndí]* *sàŋgí* *kwă-mb-à:=ỳ,*
[millet^{L} **some**] now eat-Fut-Pass=it.is
gàndí *bèjŏ-mb-à:=ỳ*
some store-Fut-Pass=it.is
'Some of the millet will be eaten now, some (the rest) will be stored.'

Alternatively, *gàndí* may fail to control tone-dropping on the noun. In this case, we must take it as either an adverb, an appositional noun, or a numeral, since these elements do not control tone-dropping. In (225) below, lines 1 and 3, *gàndí mà* 'in certain (ones)' has no tonal effect on the preceding *kéŋgè* 'place'. The general point of the passage is that there used to be much vegetation by the roadside, so a solitary traveler had little protection. One might also translate *gàndí mà* as an adverb ('sometimes').

(225) *kéŋgè*^{L} *[gàndí* *mà]* *[hâl* *nŏ:* *wé* *nè]*
place^{L} [**certain** in] [until person come then.SS]
[[ó *gì]* *[dɛ̀mbù* *né]* *[ìbŏ-ŋgà=ỳ* *káná-l-∅* *mɛ́]*
[[2Sg Acc] [surprise Adv] [catch-Fut.PplSbj=it.is do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if]
kéŋgè *[gàndí* *mà]* *yá-m=bà-l-ó:,*
place [**certain** in] see-Pres=Past-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
[pŭllò *yà:]* *kùrè-∅* *mé* *díndì*
[twilight Foc] be.dense.Pfv-3SgSbj if all
'In certain places if a person came, if he didn't surprise you and catch hold of you (you wouldn't know he was there); in certain (other) places you didn't (couldn't) see (the person), if the twilight [focus] was dense (dark).' (2005-1a)

A similar textual example is (226). The /H/-toned *dúmɛ́:* 'animals' (variant *dúmɔ́:* also possible here) is not tone-dropped.

(226) *[dúmɛ́:* *[gàndí* *bè*^{L} *dîn]* *dòŋg-â:]* *ìn-ó:* *mɛ́*
[animal.Pl [**certain** Def.AnPl^{L} all] touch-Purp] go.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you went in order to touch any other (livestock) animals' (2005-1a)

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

More than one modifying adjective may follow the noun within a core NP. The order of adjectives is partially predictable, with color and other material-related adjectives first, followed by size, then by abstract (e.g. evaluative) adjectives.

(227) a. *[gòn-gò* *bàn-gò]*^{L} *gìndɔ́:*
[waterjar-InanSg.O red-InanSg.O]^{L} big-Inan.Sg.O
'a big red (i.e. brown) waterjar'

b. *[gòn-gò* *gìndɔ̀:]*^{L} *nálá:*
[waterjar-InanSg.O big-InanSg.O]^{L} good-Inan.Sg.O
'a good big waterjar'

In such sequences, only the final adjective has lexical tones (including at least one H-tone), while the preceding words are tone-dropped. There is no way to determine whether the final adjective forces tone-dropping simultaneously on all preceding words within the core NP (which I think is the best analysis), or whether tone-dropping applies cyclically, with each adjective forcing tone-dropping in turn on the preceding word.

Even the final word in the core NP may undergo tone-dropping due to wider morphosyntactic considerations, for example as head NP of a relative clause.

6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

Some expressive adverbials (§8.4.8) function semantically as adjectival intensifiers. Examples are in (228). Many are iterations (228a), unrelated to any lexical item.

(228)

	intensifier	gloss	adjective
a.	*tám-tám*	'very sweet'	*èlí-yè* 'sweet, delicious'
	tál-tál	'completely clean'	*éjɛ́* 'become clean'
	táw-táw	'very white'	*pílè* 'white'
	"	'very fast; very hot'	*dwɛ̌y-yè* 'fast; hot'
	jáw-jáw	'very fast; very hot'	*dwɛ̌y-yè* 'fast; hot'
	jáy^{n}-jáy^{n}	'very uncooked/raw'	*kòlô:* 'raw, uncooked'
	dǔy^{n}-dǔy^{n}	'very red'	*bánè* 'red'
	káy^{n}-káy^{n}	'very hard'	*mǎy-yè* 'hard'
	búy-búy	'very soft'	*bɛ́rɛ́dè* 'soft'
	púl-púl	'very new'	*kàndǎ:* 'new'
	kátí-kátí	'very bitter'	*gàlí-yè* 'bitter'
	kɔ́lɔ́ŋ-kɔ́lɔ́ŋ	'very dry'	*màyó:* 'dry'
	tóróm-tóróm	'very sour'	*àmí-yè* 'sour'
	kírím-kírím	'very black'	*jɛ́mè* 'black'

b.	*pépɛ́p*	'very full (to the brim)'	*jòyó:* 'full'
c.	*sɛ́bú-sɛ́bú*	'very lanky'	—
d.	*sɛ́m-sɛ́m*	'very sharply pointed'	*sèmbô:* 'pointed'
e.	*yɔ́mbù*	'very wet'	*tèmbô:* 'wet'
f.	*pèjéjé*	'very cold'	*yégèlè* 'cold'
g.	*lók*	'(just) one'	see §4.7.1.1

These intensifiers are mainly used as adjuncts to predicative forms of the adjectives. They are more "colorful" semantically than the glosses suggest. For example *lók* in (230g) might be translated in context as 'one (lousy) _', as in 'he gave me one lousy dime'. *pèjéjé* in (230g) might be glossed 'bitterly (or freezing) cold', and so forth.

Like other expressive adverbials, these intensifiers do not normally combine with other words into phrases. They are basically adverbial, added to already complete sentences.

6.3.3.3 'Near X', 'far from X'

A predicate adjective (§11.4) 'near' or 'far, distant' may take a locative complement denoting the reference point.

(229) a. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *ké]* *[pègèlô:* *mà]* *dŭm̀*
[village Def.InanSg.E] [hill **in**] **near**.3SgSbj
'The village is near a/the (rocky) hill.'

b. *[dăy* *ké]* *[[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *ké]* *mà]* *wàgú-m̀*
[well Def.InanSg.E] [[village Def.InanSg.E] **in**] **far**-3SgSbj
'The well is far from the village.' (< *sɔ̀njɔ̆:*)

Such a locative complement is not commonly used with adjectives functioning as NP-internal modifiers.

6.3.3.4 'Good to eat'

In this construction, the adjective (e.g. 'good') is the predicate (§11.4). The action verb is expressed as a verbal noun with H-toned postposition *má* 'in'.

(230) a. *[bì:-ŋgó* *ɔ̀mɔ̀:]* *[ónjí-lé* *má]* *èlú-m̀*
[Sclerocarya-Sg fruit] [suck-**VblN** **in**] **be.good**-3SgSbj
'The fruit of *Sclerocarya* tree is good to suck.'

b. *[sògólù:* *[L]bà:-gò]* *[támbí-lé* *má]* *mǎy*
[Anogeissus [L]stick-Sg] [cut-**VblN** **in**] **hard**.3SgSbj
'The wood of *Anogeissus* tree is hard to cut.'

This construction is not attested within an NP (?'a good-to-suck fruit').

6.4 Noun plus cardinal numeral

6.4.1 Noun (and adjective) plus cardinal numeral

The numeral 'one' is morphosyntactically an adjective. It therefore agrees in nominal features with the noun, and the noun drops its tones (231a). Other numerals do not agree with nouns, and do not interact with them tonosyntactically (231b).

(231) a. *gòn-gò* *kúndú*
waterjar-InanSg.O one.InanSg.O
'one waterjar'

b. *gòné* *nùmî:*
waterjar.Pl five
'five waterjars'

c. *[gòné[L]* *bánè]* *nùmî:*
[waterjar[L] red.InanPl] five
'five red (=brown) waterjars'

Numerals remain with the core NP in relative clauses ('the five waterjars that I left here'), rather than following the verbal participle (chapter 14).

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In an indefinite NP consisting of noun-adjective-numeral, as in '(I have) three big houses', the order of elements is fixed (232):

(232) *òlè[L]* *gìndɛ́:* *tà:ndî:*
house[L] big.InanPl three
'three big houses'

When a demonstrative (233) or a preposed possessor (234) is added, the numeral and adjective optionally switch positions. An assistant rejected a version with a postposed pronominal possessor. Inversion also optionally occurs when the NP is head of a relative clause (235). We can think of demonstratives, possessors, and relative clauses as licensors of this inversion. These are also, along with modifying adjectives, the reference-restricting elements that regularly control tone-dropping on the noun and any intervening words in the

NP. In (233-235) the numeral is bolded in the interlinear to make the reordering easy to follow.

(233) with demonstrative

a. *[òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:]*^{L} *ěy*
[house big.InanPl **three**]^{L} Prox.InanPl
'these three houses'

b. *[òlè* *tà:ndì:* *gìndè:]*^{L} *ěy*
[house **three** big.InanPl]^{L} Prox.InanPl
[=(a)]

(234) with preposed possessor

a. *mí* ^{L}*[òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:]* *(yé*)
1SgPoss ^{L}[house big.InanPl **three**] (Def.InanPl)
'my three houses'

b. *mí* ^{L}*[òlè* *tà:ndì:]* *gìndé:* *yé*
1SgPoss ^{L}[house **three**] big.InanPl Def.InanPl
[=(a)]

(235) with relative clause

a. *[òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:]*^{L} *dèŋ-ê:* *yé*
[house big.InanPl **three**]^{L} fall.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanPl Def.InanPl
'(I see) the three houses that fell'

b. *[òlè* *tà:ndì:* *gìndè:]*^{L} *dèŋ-ê:* *yé*
[house **three** big.InanPl]^{L} fall.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanPl Def.InanPl
[=(a)]

An assistant rejects (symbol #) inversion when the only candidate for an inversion licensor is a definite marker, as in (236a-b) below. A minor, supporting role for definite marking in inversion is suggested by an assistant's comment that definite *yé* was required in inverted (234b) above, in addition to the possessor, but optional in uninverted (234a).

(236) a. *òlè*^{L} *gìndè:* *tà:ndî:* *yé*
house^{L} big.InanPl **three** Def.InanPl
'the three big houses'

b. # *[òlè* *tà:ndì:]*^{L} *gìndè:* *yé*
[house **three**] big.InanPl Def.InanPl
[intended sense = (a)]

6.5 Noun plus determiner

6.5.1 Prenominal *kó*

A prenominal *kó* could be interpreted morphologically as inanimate singular pronoun *kó* in possessor function, or else as inanimate singular near-distant demonstrative *kó*. In some examples, the *kó* itself appears to be nonreferential, or at least not clearly referential. As with a true possessor-possessed sequence, the head noun drops its tones.

(237) *jěnjà* *[kó* *^{L}jàm]* *[í* *gì]* *ǹdí-ná*
God [InanSgPoss ^{L}peace] [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us the peace of that (i.e. that peace)' (2005-2a)

Since there is another *kó* that functions as inanimate postnominal demonstrative or definite marker, a determiner sandwich *kó* ^{L}N *kó* is common (§4.4.3). See *kó* ^{L}*yàrù kó* 'that debt' in (738) in the sample text, and *kó* ^{L}*sèmbɛ̀ kó* 'that strength' in (145a) in §4.4.3.

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives

For the paradigms of demonstratives, see §4.4.1. A demonstrative may be used **absolutely**, i.e. by itself (*ŋ̀gú* 'this one'), or it may follow a noun, core NP, or sequence of core NP plus numeral. In (238), we see that the demonstrative forces **tone-dropping** on the noun or adjective that precedes it. The noun or adjective is otherwise unchanged, and in particular it keeps its regular number marking, even though the demonstrative also includes number and agreement-class information.

(238) a. *gòn-gò*^{L} *ŋ̀gú*
waterjar-InanSg.O^{L} Dem.InanSg.O
'this waterjar'

b. *gònè*^{L} *ěy*
waterjar.Pl^{L} Dem.InanPl
'these waterjars'

c. *[gòn-gò* *bàn-gò]*^{L} *ŋ̀gú*
[waterjar-InanSg.O red-InanSg.O]^{L} Dem.InanSg.O
'this red waterjar'

In (239a), the demonstrative follows a noun plus numeral combination. The demonstrative controls tone-dropping simultaneously on the noun and the demonstrative. Without the demonstrative, both the noun and the numeral have regular tones, including at least one H-tone (239b).

(239) a. *[gònè* *nùmì:]*^{L} *ěy*
[waterjar.Pl five]^{L} Prox.InanPl
'these five waterjars'

b. *gònέ* *nùmî:*
waterjar.Pl five
'five waterjars'

When any NP containing a demonstrative functions as head NP of a relative, the demonstrative (like a definite marker) follows the verbal participle, and is therefore separated from the internal head NP, see §14.2.8.

6.5.3 Definite morphemes

Definite markers are identical in form to near-distant demonstratives (§4.4.1). However, as definite markers, these morphemes **do not control tone-dropping**. Contrast the near-distant demonstrative in (240a) with the homophonous definite marker in (240b). The only difference is in the tones of the preceding noun.

(240) a. *bà:-gò*^{L} *kó*
stick-InanSg.O^{L} NearDist.InanSg.O
'that stick (near you)'

b. *bă:-gò* *kó*
stick-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the stick'

A definite morpheme almost never co-occurs with a true postnominal demonstrative. The combination is attested only when the two are followed by an 'all' quantifier, see (204d) in §6.1.1 above. Examples like that probably involve chunking of a long NP into smaller portions, with the definite marker grouped and the quantifier constituting one chunk.

Definite markers are best thought of as weak demonstratives, "pointing" to preceding discourse or to shared knowledge.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 'Each X' and 'all X' (*dîn*, *kámà*)

The invariant particle *dîn* may function as a distributive quantifier 'each' or as a universal quantifier 'all'. Plural personal pronouns, and postnominal determiners (definite and demonstrative), are elsewhere H-toned but drop to L-tone before *dîn* (241).

(241)

category	usual form	with *dîn*
a. plural pronouns		
1Pl	*í*	*ì* L *dîn*
2Pl	*é*	*è* L *dîn*
3Pl	*bé*	*bè* L *dîn*
b. plural near-distant determiners		
Def.AnPl	*bé*	*bè* L *dîn*
Def.InanPl	*yé*	*yè* L *dîn*

Typical **distributive** examples are in (242). *dîn* is here added to the singular form of a countable noun, with no determiners.

(242) a. *nŏ:* *dîn*
person each
'each person'

b. *tìmɔ̂:* *dîn*
tree each
'each tree'

Distributive *dîn* may be added to a possessed singular noun (243).

(243) *[[[èndê:* *[mí* *yè]]* *dîn]* *gì]* *bú:dì* *ǹdɛ̀-ḿ*
[[[child [1SgPoss Psm.AnSg] **each**] Acc] money give.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I gave money to each of my children.'

In the **universal** sense 'all', *dîn* is typically added to a plural definite NP (or to a plural personal pronoun with specific reference). Recall that the Najamba counterparts of English mass nouns like 'sugar' are readily pluralizable.

(244) a. *nò-mbó* *[bè* L *dîn]*
person-Pl [Def.AnPl^{L} all]
'everybody, all the people'

b. *tìmɛ̂:* *[yè* L *dîn]*
tree.Pl [Def.InanPl^{L} all]
'all the trees'

c. *súkàrà* *[yè* L *dîn]*
sugar.Pl [Def.InanPl^{L} all]
'all the sugar' (lit.: 'all the sugars')

See also (210e) ‘all of Amadou’s houses’ and (211b) ‘all of Amadou’s uncles’ in §6.2.1 above.

A distinction between universal (‘all’) and distributive (‘each’) readings is verified by pronominal-subject agreement. (245a) shows 3Sg agreement and is therefore distributive, while (245b) shows 3Pl agreement and is therefore universal.

(245) a. *[nǒ: dîn] [kó gì] dìmbì-yɛ̀-∅*
[person **each**] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Pfv-**3SgSbj**
‘Everyone (i.e. each person) has followed (done) that.’ (2005-1a)

b. *[nò-mbó [bɛ̀*^{L} *dîn]] [kó gì] dìmbì-y-à:*
[person-Pl [Def.AnPl^{L} **all**]] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Pfv-**3PlSbj**
‘All of the people have followed (done) that.’

A purely distributive morpheme *kámà* ‘any’ is part of a very small number of fixed phrases with semantically light ontological nouns, which are always singular in form in this combination. The high-frequency forms are *nò:*^{L} *kámà* ‘anyone’ (*nǒ:* ‘person’) and the irregular *kòŋ-kámà* ‘anything’ (cf. *kóŋgò* ‘thing’). The noun undergoes tone-dropping. An assistant rejected the combination of *kámà* with *kéŋgɛ̀* ‘place’.

6.6.2 ‘No X’

Expressions like ‘no children have died’ where (in English) the negation combines with ‘some/any’ to produce a negative quantifier within the NP, are expressed in Najamba with a negative predicate following an NP with ordinary quantifier (e.g. ‘one’). *hâl* ‘even’ (§19.1.4) may be added for emphasis (‘not even’).

(246) *[hâl [èndè:*^{L} *kúndé]] tíbá-l-∅*
[until [child^{L} one.AnSg]] die-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘Not even one child (has) died.’ (= ‘No child died’)

6.6.3 Universal quantifier combined with a numeral

A numeral may be followed by a definite determiner and then *dîn*. It is easiest to elicit such examples when no noun preceding the numeral is present.

(247) *[kúlèy [bɛ̀*^{L} *dîn]] tìb-à:*
[six [Def.AnPl^{L} all]] die.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘All six (people) died (were killed).’

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction 'X and Y' (*ma→*)

In ordinary NP conjunction, both the left and the right conjunct are followed by the coordinator *ma→* 'and'. This particle adopts the phonological tone of the ending of the preceding word, but is subject to intonational modification of its pitch and duration. In allegro speech the intonational prolongation is not always heard.

(248) *[ánà:* *mà→]* *[yàwó:* *má→]*
[man.Pl **and**] [woman-Pl **and**]
'men and women'

For *má* (not prolonged) in composite numerals, see §4.7.1.4.

In several other Dogon languages, including Jamsay, *ma→* is the disjunction 'or' and can also function as clause-final polar (yes-no) interrogative. A more or less homophonous *ma→* (but likely with some intonational difference) still functions as a disjunction in Najamba (§7.2.2 below). The clue as to whether conjunction or disjunction is at hand is that *ma→* 'and' follows NPs and similar constituents, while *ma→* 'whether?' (interrogative) is clause-final and so follows predicates.

7.1.2 "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

Verbs and VPs are "conjoined" by the various subordinating (loose chaining) mechanisms described in Chapter 15. See especially *-mbò* 'and (then)' (§15.1.3), sequential *nè* 'then' (§15.1.5), and different-subject *-n* (§15.1.6).

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 'Or' (*wàlá→*)

The disjunctive particle *wàlá→* (a regional form ultimately from Arabic) intervenes between the two coordinands.

(249) a. *ánà:* *wàlá→* *yàwó:*
man.Pl **or** woman.Pl
'men or women'

b. *kúndú* *wàlá→* *nôːy*
one **or** two
'one or two'

c. *[dènjàːjú* *má]* *nàmâː* *wàlá→* *númbé* *kwá-ɲjò-y*
[evening in] meat **or** cow.peas eat-Pres-1PlSbj
'In the evening we eat meat or cow-peas.'

7.2.2 NP (and adverbial) disjunction (…*ma→*, *wàlá→*)

Two constructions are available. In one, which is closely related to the form of polar interrogatives (§13.2.1.2), the particle *ma→* 'whether?' with intonational prolongation is added to the end of the first option. The particle has no intrinsic tone in this function, but typically adopts the preceding tone, which may then be modified or overridden phonetically by intonational pitch raising or lowering (transcription: *mà→ˀ* or *mà→ˡ* after an L-tone, *má→ˀ* or *má→ˡ* after an H-tone. In some examples it has a falling pitch not unlike the dying-quail intonation of Jamsay and Togo Kan (transcription: *mâ→*, roughly equivalent to *maːː* in those languages). I have noticed this pitch pattern when the 'whether?' disjunction functions like a subordinated clause; see (650) in §17.4.5 ('I forgot that …'), (653) in §17.4.7 ('I'm afraid that …'), and (500a-b) in §13.2.5.

Idiosyncratic intonational patterns would help distinguish this disjunctive function of *ma→* 'whether?' from the more or less homophonous 'and' conjunction (§7.1.1). However, the risk of confusion is low, since the 'and' conjunction follows nonpredicative constituents, usually NPs, while disjunctive *ma→* occurs clause-finally after predicates.

In (250a), *ma→* is repeated after the second option (such repetition is optional). In this case, the pitch may be lower on the final *ma→* regardless of phonological tone, since a sharp final pitch drop serves to indicate finality. In (250b), *ma→* occurs at the end of the first option, and is followed by (always low-pitched) *mà→* 'or' at the beginning of the second option.

(250) a. *[ɔ́ːrɛ̀* *mà→]* *[níŋgé* *má→ˡ]*
[rice **whether?**] [sauce **whether?**]
'(Do you want) cooked rice, or millet cakes (with sauce)?'

b. *[móttì* *mà]* *nàː-mbó-ỳ* *mà→ˀ,*
[Mopti in] spend.night-Fut-1PlSbj **whether?**,
mà→ *[ségù* *mà]=ỳ*
or [Segou in]=it.is
'We will stop for the night in Mopti or in Segou.'

For more complex constructions where *ma→* is embedded under a higher clause, cf. English *whether*, see §16.3 (willy-nilly conditionals) and §17.4.7 ('be afraid that …').

The disjunction *wàlá→* 'or' may also be inserted between the two disjunctive options (251). This is a local variant of a regionally widespread form of Arabic origin.

(251) *[[bà:ná:* *[L]dòmbà]* *wàlá→* *túmbílé]* *y-ɔ̌:* *mé,* *yóbá*
[[outback [L]owner] **or** hyena] see.Pfv-2SgSbj if, run.Imprt
'If you-Sg see a lion or a hyena, flee!'

7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction

In an interrogative asking whether X or Y (two usually incompatible propositions) is true, *ma→* may appear as a disjunctive particle at the end of the first clause. The regular interrogative particle *ló* may appear at the end of the entire sequence.

(252) *[ŋ̀gí* *nù:]* *[ḿ* *mà]* *kóndò-∅* *mà→ˈ*
[Prox.InanSg.E now] [1Sg Dat] be.done.well.Stat-3SgSbj **or**
kóndò-ndí-∅ *ló*
be.done.well-StatNeg-3SgSbj **Q**
'Is this done well for me now, or is it not done well?' (2005-1a)

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Accusative *gì* and all-purpose postposition *mà* ~ *má*

8.1.1 Accusative *gì*

Direct object NPs (animate or inanimate) and pronouns may be followed by accusative case-marker *gì*. It is optional but rather common. Although grammatically a (structural) case marker, it patterns morphosyntactically as a postposition, appearing just once, after an NP (pronominal or otherwise).

(253) a. *[[dôm kó] gì] dàmá-m̀*
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] **Acc**] speak-Fut.3SgSbj
'He will speak the words.' (2005-1a)

b. *[[nă: ó gɔ̀rɛ̀=b-ɛ̀: kɛ́] gì] bìndí nɛ̀*
[[foot 2SgSbj stretch.Pfv=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] **Acc**] turn then.SS
'having turned (shifted) the part (edge of the blanket) where you had stretched out your legs, …' (2005-1a)

c. *[ó gì] nɔ̀gɛ̀-∅ díndì*
[2Sg **Acc**] discourage.Pfv-3SgSbj all
'if it discouraged you' (2005-1a)

In combination with pronouns, /gì/ may be reduced to *ì* (or less), and the difference between its (reduced) presence and absence is phonetically subtle. This is especially true of 1Sg *[mí gì]* and 1Pl *[í gì]*, where elision of the /g/ results in a falling-toned form, phonetic [mî:] or [î:], which in allegro speech simply shade into the unmarked pronominal forms *mí* and *í*.

Accusative *gì* rather than dative *mà* is regularly used to mark the recipient of 'give'.

(254) a. *jěnjà jâm [í gì] ǹdí-ná*
God peace [1Pl **Acc**] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us peace!' (2005-1a)

b. *jěnjà ùsfɔ̃́: [dòmbâ-n gì] ǹdá:-l-∅ mɛ́ tán↗*
God path [fellow **Acc**] give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if only
'If God hasn't given the path to the fellow' (2005-1a)

c. *[[[ó* *[L]kèndà:]* *mà]* *ònd-ó:]* *sàgù]*
[[[2SgPoss [L]heart] in] not.be-PplSbj.InanSg.O] responsibility]
[nǒ: *gì]* *ǹd-ó:* *mé↗*
[person **Acc**] give.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you have given the responsibility (right to speak) of what is not in your heart to a person' (2005-1a)

gì also occurs with *gìné* 'say' and *dǎ:ndí* 'tell'.

(255) a. *[[nò:[L]* *kúlmá]* *gì]* *dôm* *dámá* *gìn-à:* *mé*
[[person[L] elder] **Acc**] speech speak.Imprt say.Pfv-3PlSbj if
'if they tell (ask) an elder to speak' (2005-1a)

b. *[í* *gì]* *dá:ndí-lé* *kó↗,* *gày-nô:-wò:*
[1Pl **Acc**] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-Proh-Hort.3Pl
'May they not neglect (delay) to tell us (the information)!' (2005-1a)

However, the pragmatic equivalent of an indirect object of 'say' is usually expressed as a vocative at the beginning of the quotation itself. Instead of 'I said to him: jump!', the usual Najamba pattern is 'I said: (hey) So-and-So, jump!'.

8.1.2 Locative-instrumental postposition *mà* and variant *má*

The most common and structurally basic variant is *mà* (§8.1.2.1) An H-toned variant *má* occurs under some conditions (§8.1.2.2).

8.1.2.1 L-toned *mà*

The L-toned variant is used after all words or particles ending in an L-tone, and after many that end in an H-tone: all determiners (definite morphemes, demonstrative pronouns), basic spatial terms (e.g. *bàndí* 'rear', *gǐr* 'front'), human and animal terms (e.g. *nǒ:* 'person', *yě:* 'woman'), and some others.

ólé 'house' is H-toned, but the final syllable is low in *ólè mà* 'at home'. This is reminiscent of the more pervasive "tonal locative" of Jamsay, except that in Jamsay the tonal change by itself is sufficient to mark the form as a locative adverb phrase. In Najamba, this tone shift does not apply to *bà:-ólé* 'native village' (lit. "father-house"), the locative of which is *bà:-ólé má* with H-toned *má*.

In the spatial domain, this very common postposition can be used in static locative, allative, and ablative functions. It is also used in dative-benefactive ('for, to') and instrumental function ('by means of'). In other words, it is an all-purpose postposition. It is not unusual to have two or more PPs with this postposition in the same clause, in different functions (256).

(256) *[ké mà] [mó mà] kòndó-m̀*
[InanSg.E in] [AnSg **Dat**] be.good-Fut.3SgSbj
'It will be good for him in that place.' (2005-1a)

'For him' in (256) illustrates the **dative-benefactive** function. This applies to optional benefactives that can be added to a wide range of verbs. The recipient of 'give' and the addressed recipient of 'say', by contrast, are accusative (§8.1.1).

mà has static **locative** function 'in, at' in (257a-d).

(257) a. *[dǎy mà] b-è:*
[well(n) **in**] be-3PlSbj
'They are at the well.'

b. *[ŋ̀gállù mà] bírɔ́: dùmè-ḿ*
[city **in**] work(n) get.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I found work in the city.'

c. *[[mí* ^{L}*gòjì] mà] péndɛ́ bô:-∅*
[[my ^{L}body] **in**] sore.Pl be-3SgSbj
'There are sores on my body.' (*gòjí*)

d. *tìŋgá [[òlè*^{L}*-gègèlɛ́ kɛ́] mà] ínò-njò-∅*
agama [[house^{L}-wall Def.InanSg.E] **in**] go.Pres-3SgSbj
'The agama lizard is climbing on the wall.'

See also the more explicit 'inside (X)' compositve postposition *[[X kùl] mà]* in §8.2.1 below. Speakers often preferred this fuller construction to translate 'in (a house, a recipient, etc.)'.

With a human complement, in spatial contexts *mà* means 'in the presence of' or 'at the house of', cf. French *chez*.

(258) *[[mí* ^{L}*ǹ] mà] sùgò-mbó-m̀*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}mother] **in**] go.down-Fut-1SgSbj
'I will go down (spend the night) at my mother's.'

Allative function, in conjunction with a verb of motion like 'go' or 'run', is expressed by the same postposition *mà*. The vectorial element is contributed by the verb, not by the postposition, which I continue to gloss simply as 'in'.

(259) a. *[dúmánsá mà] ínò-njò-∅*
[Douentza **in**] go-Pres-3SgSbj
'He/She is going to Douentza.' (< *dúmánsâ*)

b. *[[mí* ^{L}*sɔ̀ŋjɔ̀:] mà] ìnè-ḿ*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}village] **in**] go.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I went to my village.'

The same postposition can be used in what translates as **ablative** function ('from X'). This requires a verb like 'go out'. Again, it is the verb (not the postposition) that contributes the vectorial element.

(260) a. *[[mɔ́* *[L]sɔ̀ɲjɔ̀:]* *mà]* *gwè-∅*
[[3SgPoss [L]village] **in**] go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
'She exited from (=left) her village.'

b. *[náfâ* *mà]* *gwè-∅*
[usefulness **in**] go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It has become kaput.' (lit. "it has gone out of usefulness")

Several **composite** spatial postpositions described in the sections bellow include *mà* in one of these spatial contexts, along with what was originally a noun, cf. English *in front of*, *in back of*, etc.

Instrumental (and related) senses occur in *sɛ́mbɛ́ mà* 'by force' and in (261).

(261) *té:-ŋgó* *[[gùlâ:* *mó]* *mà]* *kɛ̀jɛ̀-∅*
wood-Sg [[ax Def.AnSg] **with**] cut.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She cut the (piece of) wood with the ax.'

Temporal readings ('during') occur mainly with subordinated clauses, as in the 'since …' construction (§15.2.5).

8.1.2.2 H-toned *má*

In most combinations involving just an **inanimate** noun and the postposition (without an intervening modifier or determiner), if the noun ends in an H-tone, the postposition takes H-toned form *má*. Evidently the final H-tone (idiosyncratically) spreads from the noun into the postposition. Some of the examples are common phrases similar to English *in town*, (diplomatic register) *in country*, (British) *in hospital*, etc. In the subset of these cases where a nonmonosyllabic noun ends in an <LH>-toned long vowel, the tone is flattened as H-tone by Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising (262b).

(262)

gloss	noun	with *má*	gloss with *má*
a. noun with final H-toned syllable			
'market'	*ɛ́bán*	*ɛ́bán má*	'at/to (the) market'
'outback'	*kɛ́rɛ́*	*kɛ́rɛ́ má*	'in/to the outback'
'evening'	*dɛ̀njà:jú*	*dɛ̀njà:jú má*	'in the evening'
'night'	*ɲám*	*ɲám má*	'at night'
'daytime'	*dɛ́ŋán*	*dɛ́ŋán má*	'in the daytime'
'courtyard'	*bándá*	*bándá má*	'in/to the courtyard'
'force'	*sɛ́mbɛ́*	*sɛ́mbɛ́ má*	'by force'
'knife'	*pòlé*	*pòlé má*	'by means of a knife'

‘fan’	*pèndú*	*pèndú má*	‘by means of a fan’
‘skin’	*gùjú*	*gùjú má*	‘by means of a skin (hide)’
‘eye’	*gìró*	*gìró má*	‘by means of the eye(s)’

b. noun with final <LH>-toned syllable

‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: má*	‘in/to the village’
‘garden’	*bɔ̀rɔ̌:*	*bɔ̀rɔ́: má*	‘in/to the garden’
‘bowl’	*gùmbă:*	*gùmbá: má*	‘in/to the bowl’
‘road’	*ùsfɔ̃:*	*ùsfɔ́: má*	‘in/to the road’
‘street’	*pèmbɛ̌:*	*pèmbɛ́: má*	‘in/to the street’

It is difficult to find examples with a final *CV̌C* or *Cv:C* syllable, to test whether the presence of the final consonant blocks Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising. In the few examples tested, the rising tone did not level out to H. In the complex number *[kɛ̀:sŭm má] ké píyɛ́lì* ‘90’, from *kɛ̀:sŭm* ‘80’ (§4.7.1.3), I hear <LH> rather than H tone on the *sŭm* syllable.

H-toned *má* is also used after **adjectives** that end lexically in an H-tone or in an <LH>-toned syllable that flattens to H.

(263) *[[nò:*^{L} *àndɛ́:]* *má]*
[[person^{L} other.AnSg] **with**]
[[ó ^{L}*hàkkìlè]* *mà]* *ó* *jò-ŋgà]*
[[2Sg ^{L}mind] in] 2SgSbj have-PplNonSbj]
kànà-m
do-Fut.3SgSbj
‘what you have in your mind is with another person’ (< *àndɛ̌:*) (2005-1a)

Adding a possessor to the noun causes tone-dropping on the noun (or adjective), so there is no H-tone to spread into the postposition: *[[mí* ^{L}*sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà]* ‘to my village’. Likewise, adding a determiner (even if H-final) after the noun forces reversion to L-toned *mà*, as in *sɔ̀njɔ̀:*^{L} *ŋgí mà* ‘to this village’.

8.2 Other spatial postpositions

8.2.1 ‘In, inside of’ (^{L}*kùl mà*)

‘In X’ or ‘inside of X’ can be expressed by a compositve postposition that literally means “in the belly of X.” The noun *kûl* ‘belly’ functions as possessum, and the phrase takes the form *[[X* ^{L}*kùl] mà].*

(264) a. *[[ólé* ^{L}*kùl]* *mà]* *nóyò-njò-∅*
[[house ^{L}**belly**] **in**] sleep-Pres-3SgSbj
‘He is sleeping in(side) the house.’

b. *[[mí* *^{L}jìbà]* *^{L}kùl]* *mà*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}pocket] ^{L}**belly**] **in**
'in my pocket'

c. *[òlè^{L}* *ségín]* *[[[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *ké]* *^{L}kùl]* *mà]* *bô:-∅*
[house^{L} many] [[[village Def.InanSg.E] ^{L}**belly**] **in**] exist-3SgSbj
'There are many houses in the village.'

This postposition is used with temporal sense 'while …' with headless nonsubject relatives (§15.2.4).

8.2.2 'About' (^{L}*dòm*)

The sense '(speak) about X', i.e. '(speak) on the subject of X' is expressed as "(speak) the talk of X." The noun for 'talk, language, words' is *dôm*, which here appears in {L}-toned possessed form.

(265) *[[nì:-m̀bó* *bé]* *^{L}dòm]* *dà:^{n}-mbó-ỳ*
[[bird-Pl Def.AnPl] ^{L}**speech**] speak-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will talk about the birds.' (< /dàm-mbó-ỳ/)

8.2.3 'On' (^{L}*kì: mà*)

The nouns meaning 'head' are *dánà* and *kî:* . Of these, *dánà* has a literal sense denoting the physical body part, while *kî:* has a wider range of senses including 'intelligence'. *kî:* is also part of a compound postposition that literally means 'in/on the head of X', where X is expressed as the possessor. We therefore get *[[X ^{L}kì:] mà]*. This compositve postposition may be translated freely as 'on X', denoting location on a surface or resting on the top of a larger object. It can also be translated 'onto X' or 'off of X' (='from on top of X') in combination with a verb of motion.

(266) a. *[màŋgórò* *kó]*
[mango Def.InanSg.O]
[[[tà:bǎl *kó]* *^{L}kì:]* *mà]* *bò-∅*
[[[table Def.InanSg.O] ^{L}**head]** **in**] be-3SgSbj
'The mango is on (top of) the table.'

b. *[sìbá-ŋgó* *kó]*
[bundle-Sg Def.InanSg.O]
[[[ká:bù *kó]* *^{L}kì:]* *mà]* *béjó*
[[[mat Def.InanSg.O] ^{L}**head]** **in**] put.Imprt
'Put-Sg the bundle (of millet grain spikes) on the mat!'

c. *màŋgórò* *[[mí* *^{L}kì:]* *mà]* *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-∅*
mango [[1Sg ^{L}**head]** **in**] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'A mango fell on me.'

d. *á:màdù* *[[[ká:bù* *kó]* *^{L}kì:]* *mà]* *bɛ̀lì-yɛ̀-∅*
Amadou [[[mat Def.InanSg.O] ^{L}**head]** **in**] get.up-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou has gotten up off the mat.'

8.2.4 'Next to, beside' (*sɔ̀n*)

The postposition *sɔ̀n* indicates position near the side of the reference object.

(267) a. *[[ólé* *ké]* *sɔ̀n]*
[[house Def.InanSg.E] **beside**]
'beside the house'

b. *[[mí* *sɔ̀n]* *bò-∅*
[[1Sg **beside**] be-3SgSbj
'He/She is next to me.'

It is also possible to add locative *mà*, resulting in (slightly assimilated) *[X sɔ̀m] mà*, apparently with identical meaning. An example is (456) in §12.1.5.

I know of no related noun or adjective, so I do not mark *sɔ̀n* with ^{L} possessum superscript, but it is reasonable to think that its origin is denominal as with other composite postpositions. It is conceivable that the noun *sɔ̀njɔ̌:* 'village', which has no known cognates elsewhere in Dogon, is somehow related.

8.2.5 'In front of' (^{L}*gìr mà*)

The compositve postposition *[[X gìr] mà]* means 'in front of'.

(268) a. *[[mí* *^{L}gìr]* *mà]*
[[1Sg ^{L}**front]** **in]**
'in front of me'

b. *[[[ólé* *ké]* *^{L}gìr]* *mà]*
[[[house Def.InanSg.E] ^{L}**front]** **in]**
'in front of the house'

The noun *gǐr* on which this is based occurs in the adverbial PP *gǐr mà* 'in front, ahead'. A more distant etymological relationship with *gìró* 'eye' is a possibility.

8.2.6 'Behind', 'after' ([L]*bàndì mà*)

'Behind X' is expressed with the compositve postposition [L]*bàndì mà*. Like other spatial postpositions it can be glossed as a static locative, as an allative, or as an ablative depending on the verbal context.

(269) a. *[[[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *ké]* [L]*bàndì]* *mà]* *ìnè-∅*
[[[village Def.InanSg.E] [L]**behind]** **in]** go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He has gone behind the village'

b. *[[mí* [L]*bàndì]* *mà]* *b-ɛ̂:*
[[1SgSbj [L]**behind]** **in]** be-3PlSbj
'They are behind me.'

The noun on which this is based is *bàndí* 'back (of body)', which is also the source of adverbial PP *bàndí mà* 'behind, in the rear'. *bàndí* itself may be a borrowing from Songhay *bande* (§1.2).

[L]*bàndì mà* also occurs in temporal contexts in the sense 'after X' (270). Here, however, it competes with temporal clauses that have senses like 'when X has ended, …'.

(270) *[[láyyà* [L]*bàndì]* *mà]* *wó-ǹ*
[[Feast.of.Ram [L]**behind]** **in]** come-Fut.3SgSbj
'He/She will come after the Feast of the Ram.'

Iterative adverbial *bàndè-bándè* 'going backward' is also related.

8.2.7 'Under' ([L]*dù: mà*)

'Under X' is *[X* [L]*dù:] mà*.

(271) a. *[tàgú:* *bè]*
[[shoe.Pl Def.InanPl]
[[[tà:bǎl *kó]* [L]*dù:]* *mà]* *gán-è:*
[table Def.InanSg.O] [L]**under]** **in]** be.in.Stat-3PlSbj
'The shoes are under the table.' (*tàgû:*)

b. *[[[tímɔ́:* *kò]* [L]*dù:]* *mà]* *nóyò-njò-∅*
[[[tree Def.InanSg.O] [L]**under]** **in]** sleep-Pres-3SgSbj
'He/She is sleeping under the tree.' (*tímɔ̂:*)

c. *òɛ̂:* *[[kínú:* *kò]* [L]*dù:]* *mà]* *ŋwè-∅*
mouse [[stone Def.InanSg.O] [L]**under]** **in]** go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The mouse went in under the rock.' (*kínû:*)

The noun on which this is based is *dû:* 'bottom, lowest part'. The relevant adverbial PP is *dú: mà* 'below'.

8.2.8 'Between' (ᴸ*bènàn mà*)

This is expressed by the compositve postposition ᴸ*bènàn mà*. The complement may be a simple NP or pronoun denoting a set of two or more entities, or a conjoined NP.

(272) a. *[í* ᴸ*bènàn]* *mà*
[1Pl ᴸ**between**] **in**
'between us'

b. *[[ǎ:jà* *mà→]* *[kúnjà-gâ:* *mà→]* ᴸ*bènàn]* *mà*
[[Adia and] [Kubewel and] ᴸ**between]** **in**
'between Adia and Kubewel (villages)'

The noun on which this is based is *bènán* 'middle'.

8.2.9 'Around' (*gèndɛ̀*)

Postposition *gèndɛ̀* means 'around, in the area of'. There is a related noun *gèndɛ̀ŋgé* 'side, end (e.g. of blanket)' with somewhat frozen singular *-ŋge (§4.1.3.6). Since it is not obvious to speakers that the postposition is a special use of a noun, I omit the ᴸ possessum superscript.

(273) a. *[yàlî:* *gèndɛ̀]* *dɔ̀gɛ̀-m̀*
[field **around**] leave.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I left (it) in the area of the fields.'

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ̌:* *gèndɛ̀]* *[ínɛ̀* *mó]* *tár* *tìyɛ̀-m*
[village **around**] [goat Def.AnSg] look.at send.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I saw the goat (from a distance) in the vicinity of the village.'

For the abstract sense 'approximately' with a locational, see §8.4.3.1.

8.3 Purposive-causal (*nɛ̀n*)

The purposive-causal postposition is *nɛ̀n*. It can be used in purposive sense, denoting a hoped-for outcome of an activity (274a-b). It is also used in causal sense, denoting a preexisting eventuality that led to a response (274c).

(274) a. *[[yógé* *yé]* *nɛ̀n]* *wɛ̀* *jɔ̀gà*
[[grain.spike.Pl Def.InanPl] **for**] come Perfect.3PlSbj
'They have come for the millet grain spikes.'

b. *[jénjà nèn] núŋá: [mí gì] ǹdɛ̀-∅*
[God **for**] boubou [1Sg Acc] give.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She gave me a boubou for God (=for free).'

c. *[[màyín kó] nèn] [[bé* L*gwà:] mà] g-ò:*
[[drought Def.InanSg.O] **for**] [[3PlPoss L land] in] go.out.Pfv-3PlSbj
'Because of the drought, they have left their country.' (< *gwă:*)

nèn is also the 'than' postposition in asymmetrical comparatives (§12.1.2, §12.1.4). In this function it may follow PPs and accusative NPs as well as bare NPs.

8.4 Other adverbials (or equivalents)

Some of the adverbs described below require, or are at least commonly followed by, adverbial particle *nɛ̀*.

8.4.1 Similarity (*dân* 'like', *mùlí-y* 'resemble')

'Like X' is expressed as *[X dân]*. It is similar to a PP, but *dân* is not L-toned like other postpositions. The 'like' particle has no tonal effect on the X constituent. The X constituent is an NP or adverb (e.g. PP).

(275) a. *[éná-ŋgó dân] ìnó-m̀*
[wind-InanSg.O **like**] go-Fut.3SgSbj
'He (= traveling merchant) will go (= from market to market) like the wind.' (2005-1a)

b. *kà: [íyó dân] máyá-ndá-l-∅*
but [today **like**] hard-Inch-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'But it (= life) wasn't as hard as nowadays.' (2005-1a)

Since a "relative clause" is syntactically an expanded NP (§14.1), it may be followed by *dân*. For *dân* indicating approximate quantity, see §8.4.3.1. For 'like this/that' with a demonstrative, see §8.4.6. For *dân* in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.1-2. For *dân* in manner adverbials ('like the way …'), see §15.2.3.

There is also a (perfective subject) **participle** *dàmb-é:* (E) or *dàmb-ó:* (O), which means 'being like (something)'. It generally occurs in negative sentences ('there is nothing like …'). No main-clause verb related to this could be elicited. It may be a compressed form of *dân* 'like' plus the participial variant *b-é:* ~ *b-ó:* (§14.3.10) from *bô:* 'be (somewhere)' (§11.2.2.1). (276) is excerpted from (533) in §14.3.5.

(276) *[mó dàmb-é: là] òndú-∅*
[AnSgObj **be.like**-PplSbj.AnSg also] not.be-3SgSbj
'There is (likewise) no one like him/her.' (2005-1a)

The transitive verb ‘X resemble Y’ is *mùlí-y*.

8.4.2 Extent

8.4.2.1 ‘A lot’, ‘a little’ (*ségín*, *nă:n nè*, *tégì nè*)

‘Much/many’ is expressed by the adjective *ségín* (invariant), see (264c) in §8.2.1 above and (403a) in §11.1.3.3. *ségín* can also used absolutely (without a noun) in the sense ‘a lot’, see (432a) in §11.3.1. The related verb is *ségé* ‘be abundant or numerous’. There is also a derived noun *sègĕ-n* ‘number, amount’.

Adverbial ‘a lot, very much, to a great extent’ is *nă:n nè*. It also means ‘(done) well’. Juxtaposed to another adverb or similar expression it means ‘very’, see (721) in the sample text.

Adverbial ‘a little, somewhat’ is *tégì nè*.

8.4.2.2 ‘Totally’ (*láy*)

This is an emphatic element when clause-final. However, it is adverbial morphologically, and may occur in the typical adverbial phrase (*láy nè*). An example is (509) in §14.2.5.

The phrase *[[láy nè] ìgí]* with *ìgí* ‘be finished’ is idiomatic for ‘(man) die without leaving heirs’.

8.4.3 Specificity

8.4.3.1 ‘Approximately’

dân ‘like’ (§8.4.1) can indicate an approximate quantity (277a). For time expressions, a possessed form ^{L}*wàgàtì mà* ‘at the time of’ may be used (277b). For spatial locations, postposition *gèndè* ‘around’ is available (277c).

(277) a. *[pègè-mbó* *pǒ:-nɔ̀y* *dân]* *jógò-m*
[sheep-Pl ten-two **like**] have-1SgSbj
‘I have something like twenty sheep.’

b. *[[[sà:gé* *tìbɔ̀-nd-ô:]* ^{L}*wàgàtì]* *mà]* *ìnò-mbó-ỳ*
[[[month die-Fut-PplSbj.InanSg.O] ^{L}**time**] in] go-Fut-1PlSbj
‘We will go (there) around the end of the month.’

c. *[kúnjà-gâ:* *gèndè]* *à:lé* *tègè-∅*
[K **around**] rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘It rained around (in the vicinity of) Kubewel (village).’

8.4.3.2 'Exactly' (*tɛ́mbɛ́*)

tɛ́mbɛ́ insists that the quantity, time, or location is precise. In (278a-b), it is adverbial in function, as shown by the fact that it follows the locative postposition *mà* in (278b). With time expressions it is adjectival, modifying *mìdî:* 'noon', and preceding the locative postposition (278c).

(278) a. *pègè-mbó* *pǒ:-nòy* *tɛ́mbɛ́* *jógò-m*
sheep-Pl ten-two **exactly** have-1SgSbj
'I have exactly twenty sheep.'

b. *[[kúnjágâ:* *mà]* *tɛ́mbɛ́]* *à:lé* *tègè-∅*
[K at] **exactly**] rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It rained right at Kubewel (village).'

c. *[[mìdî:* *tɛ́mbɛ́]* *má]* *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
[[noon **exactly**] in] eat-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will eat at noon sharp.'

8.4.3.3 'Specifically, personally' (^{L}*kì: mà*)

In (279), a reflexive construction of the form "in my head" (= 'myself'), see §18.1, occurs along with *tɛ́mbɛ́* 'exactly' to emphasize the specificity of the subject.

(279) *[[mí* ^{L}*kì:]* *mà]* *tɛ́mbɛ́* *nàmâ:* *kùbó-nù-ḿ*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}**head]** **in]** **exactly** meat eat.meat-PresNeg-1SgSbj
'I personally do not eat meat.'

8.4.4 Evaluation

8.4.4.1 'Well' and 'badly'

Where possible, an adjective 'good' (*síyɛ̀-*, *nàlá:*) or 'bad' (*nɛ̀:ndá:*) is added to a direct object or other relevant constituent, so there is no true adverb.

(280) a. *[nàjàmbà-gɛ̀*^{L} *síyɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]* *dámà-nj-ò:*
[Najamba-InanSg.E^{L} **good**-InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgSbj
'You-Sg speak Najamba well.' (lit. "You speak good Najamba")

b. *[nàjàmbà-gɛ̀*^{L} *nɛ̀:ndɛ́:]* *dámà-nj-ò:*
[Najamba-InanSg.E^{L} **bad**.InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgSbj
'You-Sg speak Najamba badly.' (lit. "You speak bad Najamba")

The verb *kóndí* ‘do well’ and its mediopassive *kóndí-y* ‘be done well’ are used in a wide range of contexts including ‘(artisan) make (product)’, ‘repair (something damaged)’. Here the evaluative ‘well’ is built-in.

8.4.4.2 ‘Proper, right’ (*yàgí*)

The verb *yàgí* ‘means ‘be proper, right, normal, appropriate, acceptable’, with reference to behavior. It is regularly followed by *jòg-â:*, participle of ‘have’, here a perfect auxiliary. In (281), the sense of the bracketed phrase in (281) is like that of French *comme il faut*.

(281) *[yàgí jòg-â: dân] gɔ̀l-ɔ̌:*
[**be.right** have-PplSbj like] do.farming.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg have done the farming in the right way.’

yàgí may take a “complement,” really a clause-like subject, in verbal noun form (§17.4.9).

yàgí jòg-â: is negated as perfective negative *yàgá-l-ó:* ‘it isn’t right’. This confirms that *yàgí* in (281) is a verb.

8.4.5 Epistemic modals (‘maybe’, ‘definitely’)

For ‘maybe’, see *nɛ̀ bă-m̀* in §15.1.1.5.2. For ‘definitely, certainly’, see *táffɔ̀rɔ̀* or *tìlây* in §17.3.5. These are higher predicates rather than clause-internal adverbs.

8.4.6 Manner

A manner adverbial based on an adjectival concept may be expressed by chaining the corresponding inchoative verb (‘be/become ADJ’) to a following inflected verb.

(282) a. *dòyá-ndí-mbò yóbà-njò-∅*
rapid-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgSbj
‘He/She runs rapidly.’

b. *péjá-ndí-mbò yóbà-njò-∅*
slow-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgSbj
‘He/She runs slowly.’

‘Thus’ is expressed as ‘like this/that’, e.g. *kó dân* ‘like that (discourse-definite)’, *ŋ̀gú dân* ‘like this (deictic)’. For *dân* ‘like’ see §8.4.1 above.

The nouns *bí-ŋgán* ‘being; nature, essence’ and *ùsfɔ̃:* ‘path, way’ can be used in manner expressions. An example of *ùsfɔ̃:* is (326) in §10.1.3.3. An example of *bí-ŋgán* is (660b) in §17.5.1.2.

For manner adverbial clauses (‘how …’) , see §15.2.3.

8.4.7 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Some basic adverbs (generally nouns that may be used adverbially) are in (283). (283b) is a series of terms extending from 'tomorrow' through to one week from today, along with term for 'two weeks from today'.

(283) a.

íyó	'today; nowadays'
ɲă:	'yesterday; formerly, in the old days'
íyó tà:ndì	'day before yesterday'
săŋ	'now'

b.

éŋgú	'tomorrow; in the future'
éndèn	'day after tomorrow'
èndèn tô:	'second day after tomorrow'
tòndì kándà	'third day after tomorrow'
tòndì mínà	'fourth day after tomorrow'
bùrùdù tô:	'fifth day after tomorrow'
tò:-tà:-tô:	'sixth day after tomorrow' (one week from today), cf. §4.1.5
pěl-ŋgò	'two weeks from today'

c.

gŏl	'last year'
nàŋgŭl	'next year'
úŋwá	'this year'

The terms for 'yesterday', 'today', and 'tomorrow' also mean, respectively, 'in the past (= in the old days)', 'nowadays', and 'in the future'. Some of the texts compare the good times of the past (pre-1970) with the hard times of the present, or changes in social mores, and the temporal setting at any given point is regularly expressed as *ɲă:* 'yesterday' or *íyó* 'today'. See, for example, (712) in the sample text.

The texts do not often talk about the future, but 'tomorrow' = 'in the future' can be illustrated by the textual passage in (284). The context is that of a farmer writing down an annual agricultural calendar or schedule this year with dates and locations (e.g. for planting) that can be followed in subsequent years. See also (764) in the sample text.

(284) *[[ké gì] tɔ́ŋé] ó dùm-ô:,*
[[InanSg.E Acc] write] 2SgSbj get.Pfv-PplNonSbj,
[éŋgú là] [dèŋàn^{L} *ké yà:] wò-mb-ê:*
[**tomorrow** also] [day^{L} NearDist.InanSg.E Foc] come-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc
'If you have had a chance to write them (times and places), in the future ("tomorrow") too, it's <u>that day</u> [focus] that will come.' (2005-1a)

For adverbial clauses with *jă:* 'since …' and *hâl* 'until …', see §15.2.5 and §17.5.1.2.

8.4.7.2 'First' (*tô:y*, *gĭrŋgí-y*)

tô:y is also the form of the numeral '1' in counting sequences ('one, two, three, …') (§4.7.1.1). As an adverb it may mean 'firstly (before something else)' (285a) or 'at first, initially'. The sense 'firstly' may also be expressed by a form of the word-family centered on *gĭr* 'in front', such as the verb *gĭrŋgí-y* 'precede, go ahead (of others)' (285b).

(285) a. *tô:y* *[bírɔ́:* *kó]* *bìré-y* *mé*, …
firstly [work(n) Def.InanSg.O] work.Pfv-1PlSbj if, …
'We will do the work first, (then …)'

b. *[bírɔ́:* *kó]* *gìrŋgì-yé-y* *mé,*
[work(n) Def.InanSg.O] **precede**-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
yòmbó *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
cooked.food eat-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will work first, (then) we will eat a meal.'

8.4.7.3 Nondemonstrative spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs, generally nouns with adverbial functions, are in (286). For demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'there', etc.) see §4.4.4.1.

(286) a. *kî:* 'above, top, summit' lit. "head"
dû: 'below, bottom, down'

b. *dûn* 'east'
yɛ́ndɛ̀ 'west'
kórál 'north'
tómbál 'south'

c. *bàndè-bándè* 'going backward, in reverse'
gĭr má 'forward' *gìró* 'eye'

kórál 'north' and *tómbál* 'south' might have originated as suffixal derivatives, but I cannot work out etymologies. They may be inter-Dogon borrowings, cf. Tommo So *kɔ́lɔ́lú* 'north' and *túmbálú* 'south' (McPherson 2013: 271).

'Left' and 'right' are not attested as directional terms. Cardinal direction terms and 'backward' or 'forward' are used instead. Adjective 'right (hand, foot)' is *ɲè-ŋgó* (plural *ɲɛ̌:*), which also means 'plain, simple'. Adjective 'left (hand, foot)' is *nàndă:* (O) ~ *nàndɛ̌:* (E). Cognates occur in several Dogon languages. Cognates of *ɲɛ̌:* are suggestively similar in form to the verb 'eat'. McPherson derives Tommo So *nàándá* 'left' from a homophonous noun meaning 'area at the edge of the village for defecating'. An alternative or complementary line of inquiry might lead to comparison with adjectives including a fused negative suffix like *nè:ndá:* 'bad' (§4.5.2), in which case the relevant verb might be 'drink' (Najamba *nɛ́*, with many cognates).

8.4.8 Expressive adverbials

Expressive adverbials (EAs) can function as adverbs (with no precise thematic role in the clause). They can be made into stative predicates (denoting a continuing process or state) by preposing them to a conjugated form of *bò-* 'be (somewhere), be present' or its negation *òndí-* ~ *òndú-* 'not be (somewhere), be absent'. Examples are *[dém→ nè] bò-∅* 'it is straight' and its negation *[dém→ nè] òndí-∅* 'it is not straight'. There does not seem to be a dedicated inchoative ('become …') auxiliary, but change of state can be indicated by *kán* 'do' as clause-final verb.

8.4.8.1 Expressive adverbials with and without adverbial *nɛ̀* ~ *nè* or *gà*

Expressive adverbials, which include (or blur into) adjectival intensifiers, commonly occur with following adverbial **particle** *nɛ̀* in sentential context (for *gà* see below). When the adverbial has {*e o*} vowel harmony, this spreads into *nɛ̀*, which becomes *nè*. A minority of these adverbials are lexically **/L/-toned**, in which case the particle is **H-toned** (287h), a kind of tone polarization. Some iterated adverbials are used with no adverbial particle (287c). Adverbial *nɛ́* is also perhaps a (somewhat frozen) part of *ànnɛ́* ~ *àŋìnɛ́* 'how?' (§13.2.5) and of *kɛ̀nɛ́* 'like that' and *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* 'like this' (§4.4.4.3).

While *nè* is the usual adverbial particle, a morpheme *gà* with partially overlapping function also turned up with a few EAs, including EAs derived from certain adjectives (such as color) with suffix *-y*, before *kán* 'do'.

(287) a. *[sìjé:-sìjé-y* *gà]* *kánè-∅*
[striped-EA **Adv**] be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It has become striped.'

b. *[gìndɛ́-y / bánè-y / pílè-y / gɛ́mè-y* *gà]* *kánè-∅*
[big-EA / red-EA / white-EA / black-EA **Adv**] be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It has become big/red/white/black.'

As in most other Dogon languages, EAs are abundant. Some examples are in (288), grouped by phonological features. The iterative stems in (288a) belong to a type especially common with adjectival intensifiers (§6.3.3.2). The examples in (288e,g) show lexicalized "intonational" prolongation (→). Probably because of the following *nɛ̀*, this prolongation is less conspicuous in Najamba than in eastern Dogon languages, which have no similar adverbial particle.

(288)

form	gloss	related form/comment
a. full iteration of mono-/bisyllabic, tones repeated (usually all-high)		
dúŋgáy-dúŋgáy nè	'lumbering along'	
ɲóŋóy-ɲóŋóy nè	'(walking) stiffly'	
gáráŋ-gáráŋ nè	'fit, in good shape'	
dáŋgó-dáŋgó nè	'conpicuously visible'	also *dóŋgó-dóŋgó nè*

góló:-góló: nè	‘lined (e.g. paper)’	
sìjé:-sìjé: nè	‘striped’	noun *sìjě:* ‘stripes’
tɔ̀ŋě:-tɔ̀ŋě: nè	‘blotched, with large spots’	
légí-légí nè	‘soaring, at the summit’	
dóm-dóm nè	‘conpicuously visible’	
yɔ́r-yɔ́r nè	‘poorly, weakly (work)’	adjective *yɔ̀rê:*
dím-dím nè	‘towering high’	also just *dím nè*
géŋ-géŋ nè	‘fit, in good shape’	
táy^{n}-táy^{n} nè	‘adequately sugared’	
jém-jém nè	‘somewhat elongated (half-full sack)’	
ɲém-ɲém nè	‘flimsy, insubstantial’	
dûm-dûm nè	‘scattered’	
dɔ̂y-dɔ̂y nè	‘almost alongside (e.g. in a race)’	
dây-dây nè	‘freely, for nothing’	also just *dây nè*
mĕy-mĕy nè	‘flickering’	
gĕŋ-gĕŋ nè	‘staggering’	

b. like (a), based on *-n* nominal (§4.2.3.3)

[déŋí-n]-[déŋí-n] nè	‘(walk) clumsily, falling’	*dɛ̀ŋɛ́* ‘fall’

c. full iteration of trisyllabic, LHL-LLL tones (not used with *nè*)

dìníyà-dìnìyà	‘(going along) bumpily’
gèŋgíryà-gèŋgìryà	‘(walk) tilting to one side then the other’
jùmbíyà-jùmbìyà	‘(walk) with head bent forward’
wùndíyà-wùndìyà	‘meandering’

d. three-part full iteration with L-toned *a* in medial

gĕŋ-gàŋ-gĕŋ nè	‘struggling under heavy load’

e. reduplicated *Cv̀-Cv̀Cv́→* with “intonational” prolongation

bè-bèlí→ nè	‘out of shape physically’
gò-gòló→ nè	‘(door) ajar, slightly open’

f. onomatopoeic

sɔ́rrrr nè	‘dripping rapidly’	
kă:-kă: nè	‘(laugh) loudly (ha! ha!)’	used with *màndí* ‘laugh’

g. unreduplicated with “intonational” prolongation →

gɔ̀ŋgìrí→ nè	‘rickety, shaky’	
gèŋgìrí→ nè	‘precariously positioned’	
jèmbèlé→ nè	‘improperly placed’	
dòndòló→ nè	‘in a circle, round’	also *dèndèlé→ nè*
jùgùjí→ nè	‘woolly, furry’	*jùgújí-y* ‘be woolly’
yùgùjí→ nè	‘woolly, furry’	*yùgújí-y* ‘be woolly’
péndè→ nè	‘brick-shaped (elongated)’	

bέndɛ̀→ nɛ̀	‘brimming, full (with liquid) to the rim’	
térɛ̀→ nɛ̀	‘brimming, full (with liquid) to the rim’	
sɔ́rɔ̀→ nɛ̀	‘short and cylindrical’	also *sórò→ nɛ̀*
púɟɛ̀→ nɛ̀	‘foaming, frothily’	cf. verb *bùɟɛ́* ‘foam’
dùrí→ nɛ̀	‘sticking out, extruding’	
pɔ́→ nɛ̀	‘right now, immediately’	
ɲăy^{n}→ nɛ̀	‘wide open (eyes)’	
păy^{n}→ nɛ̀	‘wide open (eyes)’	
kăy^{n}→ nɛ̀	‘blazing (sun)’	
dɔ̆y→ nɛ̀	‘(e.g. child) walking clumsily’	
séw→ nɛ̀	‘silently’	
jéy→ nɛ̀	‘(looking) hard (at something)’	
géŋ→ nɛ̀	‘squeezing tightly’	
káŋ→ nɛ̀	‘squeezing tightly’	
búm→ nɛ̀	‘solidly built (body)’	
púy→ nɛ̀	‘solidly built (body)’	
wá→ nɛ̀	‘gaping, wide open’	

h. other, with **L-tones** then **H-toned** *nɛ́*

pàràjày nɛ́	‘having small spots or stripes’
pùrùjày nɛ́	‘blotched, having large spots’
yùgùjày nɛ́	‘woolly, furry’
téndèlè: nɛ́	‘having too much momentum to stop’
gàŋgàlà nɛ́	‘wide, extending laterally’ (person, horned animal)
dìyàw nɛ́	‘(umbrella, tree) be spread out overhead’
jùŋgày nɛ́	‘(e.g. fruits) in clusters’
ɲàŋày nɛ́	‘(e.g. fruits) in clusters’
yùjày nɛ́	‘(tree) with roots spreading’
sùyày nɛ́	‘(bush) with thick foliage’
bòjù nɛ́, *bɔ̀jù nɛ́*	‘soaking wet’

i. other, with L-toned *nɛ̀*

tégì-tégì nɛ̀	‘slightly, a little’	
gómbóŋ nɛ̀	‘protruding horizontally’	
símbɛ́y nɛ̀	‘hanging out over’	
búndúm nɛ̀	‘filled out (bag)’	
kóróy nɛ̀	‘(ears etc.) turned out’	
júrúm nɛ̀	‘withdrawn and downcast’	
kájàl nɛ̀	‘(running) hard’	
yágáw nɛ̀	‘inconsequential, insignificant’	
sém nɛ̀	‘pointed’	cf. adjective *sèmê:*

Like other adverbials, these can be made **predicative** by adding a conjugated form of *bò-* - ‘be’, hence *[gɔ̀ŋgìrí→ nɛ̀] bò-* ‘be rickety, shaky’.

8.4.8.2 ‘Straight’ (*dé→ nè*, *dém→ nè*)

The adverb ‘straight (direct trajectory to a location)’ is *dé→ nè* ~ *dém→ nè*. The *m* in *dém→* is intonationally prolonged, as in Jamsay and some other Dogon languages.

(289) a. *[dé→ nè] [dúmásá mà] ìn-ò:*
[straight Adv] [D in] go.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They went straight to Douentza (with no detours or stops).’

b. *[ŋ̀gîn gwé-mbò] [[dém→ nè] [kúnjà-gâ: mà] ìnè-ḿ]*
[here go.out-and.SS] [[**straight Adv**] [K in] go.Pfv-1SgSbj]
‘I went straight from here to Koubewel.’

Iterated *dém-dém* is used as an intensifier for ‘straight’.

The gloss ‘straight’ in the sense ‘not crooked’, referring to e.g. a stick, is expressed by an unrelated adjective *tèndô:* ~ *tèndê:* .

8.4.8.3 ‘Apart, separate’ (*nágá*)

nágá ‘apart, separate, distinct’ is a predicate indicating the physical separation or distinct identity of two or more entities. It may be iterated for distributive sense (290a), or it may occur twice in parallel clauses (290b). It may be conjugated by adding *bò-* ‘be’.

(290) a. *nágá-nágá b-è:*
separate-separate be-3PlSbj
‘They are distinct (not the same).’

b. *[èmbá yé] nágá,*
[sorghum Def.InanSg.E] **separate**,
[yógó yé] nágá
[millet Def.InanSg.E] **separate**
‘Sorghum and millet are distinct.’

‘X and Y are (not) the same’ is often expressed as ‘X and Y are (not) one’.

(291) *[yàwó: má→] [ánà: má→] kúndú=lá*
[woman.Pl and] [man.Pl and] **one**=it.is.not
‘Women and men are not the same.’

8.4.8.4 ‘Always’ (*àsú:*), ‘never’

‘Always, constantly’ is *àsú:* .

(292) *bíré:* *tà:ndî:* *yé˥,*
work(n).Pl three Def.InanPl,
[yé *gà]* *àsú:* *[gĭr* *mà]* *ínò-njò-∅*
[Near.InanPl Top] **always** [front in] go-Pres-3SgSbj
'The three types of work, they always go in front.' (2005-1a)

The phrase *wágátì dîn* 'every time' may also be used.

'Never' is *àbádá* (from Arabic). It common in conversation as an emphatic negative ('not at all, not on your life').

For the experiential negative construction for verbs ('have ever done', 'have never done'), see §10.1.3.2.

8.4.8.5 'Carelessly'

yògòrò-yógòrò (variant *yògòlè-yógòlè*) is a noun or adjective meaning 'careless(ness)', denoting sloppy or nonchalantly performed work.

8.4.8.6 'Together' (*sɔ̆:*)

Adverbial '(being) together' is *sɔ̆:* .

(293) *sɔ̆:* *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
together eat-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will eat together.'

'Neighbor' is *sɔ̀:*^{L}*-jíŋgán*, which may begin with this morpheme.

8.4.9 Distributive adverbial iteration

For distributive numerals ('two by two', etc.), see §4.7.1.6. Similar examples involving iterations of other stems are in (294).

(294) a. *dûm-dûm nɛ̀* 'scattered, here and there' (adverb)

b. *tég-tég* 'dripping, one drop at a time', cf. *tégí* '(a) drop'

c. *lú:bà-lú:bà* 'by turns'
gɔ́rrɛ̀-gɔ́rrɛ̀ 'by turns'

d. *sórtòl-sórtòl* 'arranged in rows'

A more productive construction has explicit 'and' conjunctions (§7.1.1). For example, 'house by house' is expressed as 'house and house'.

(295) *jàmálà-mbò* *[ólé* *má→]* *[ólé* *má→]* *ŋw-à:*
thief-Pl [house and] [house and] go.in.Pfv-3PlSbj
'The thieves went in house by house.'

9 Verbal derivation

This chapter covers derivational suffixes attached directly to the stem, or to other derivational suffixes, preceding AN and pronominal-subject inflectional suffixes. A passive construction with several variants is discussed in connection with verbal inflection (§10.5) since it interacts with aspect-negation (AN) marking.

9.1 Reversive verbs (*-lɛ* ~ *-l*)

Dogon languages typically have a range of reversive verbs, formed by derivational suffixation, and Najamba is no exception. The reversive suffix is *-lɛ* (-ATR) or *-l* < /-li/ (+ATR) in the chaining form. The final vowel of the stem shifts to *i* before the suffix. Stems with nonfinal *a*-vowels are +ATR in their underived stems (hence stem-final *e* in the E-stem, *o* in the A/O-stem), but their reversive suffix shifts to -ATR (296c). The lexical tone melody of the input verb is respected and reapplied to the derived stem.

Both the simple stem and the reversive suffix, but not both in the same word, are subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.4.2.1). In the underived chaining form, deletion occurs if the final /i/ is preceded by an intervocalic sonorant, as in *kíl* 'fence in' from /kílí/. In reversives, since the final vowel of the input stem shifts to /i/ for all verbs, deletion of this presuffixal /i/ occurs in examples like /úlí-lɛ́/ → *úl-lɛ́* 'disinter' (296a). Reversives that preserve +ATR vocalism from the input stem have suffixal /-lí/ in the chaining form, and the /i/ is deleted in e.g. /mùndí-lí/ → *mùndí-l* 'uncrumple' (296d). However, deletion cannot apply both to stem-final and suffixal /i/ in the same word. When the stem-final /i/ is in position to delete, it does delete, and this creates a consonant cluster that prevents the word-final suffixal /i/ from deleting, as we see in /kílí-lí/ → *kíl-lí* 'remove fence from' (296d).

(296)

input	gloss	reversive (chaining)	gloss
a. /H/ melody, -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}			
téŋɛ́	'hobble'	*téŋ-lɛ́*	'unhobble'
tímbɛ́	'cover with lid'	*tímbí-lɛ́*	'take lid off'
níŋgɛ́	'shut'	*níŋgí-lɛ́*	'open'
úlɛ́	'bury'	*úl-lɛ́*	'disinter'
sɔ́ŋgɛ́	'curse (v)'	*sɔ́ŋgí-lɛ́*	'retract a curse'
b. /LH/ melody, -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}			
gùbɛ́	'hook, hang up'	*gùbí-lɛ́*	'unhook, take down'
mɛ̀mɛ́	'twist (cord)'	*mɛ̀mí-lɛ́*	'untwist (cord)'
(unusual undeleted /i/ in *mɛ̀mí-lɛ́*, checked with two speakers)			
gɔ̀rɛ́	'hold out (arm)'	*gɔ̌r-lɛ́*	'pull back (arm')'

c. stem *a*-vowels, shift from +ATR {*e o*} to -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}

págí\\pàgè	‘tie’	*págí-lɛ́*	‘untie’
tá:n\\tà:nè	‘step on’	*tá:n-lɛ́*	‘remove foot from’
dàgí\\dàgè	‘lock’	*dàgí-lɛ́*	‘unlock’
yàmbí\\yàmbè	‘cover’	*yàmbí-lɛ́*	‘uncover’
ságí\\sàgè	‘put up’	*ságí-lɛ́*	‘take (back) down’

d. simple stem and reversive have +ATR {*e o*} vocalism

kíl\\kìlè	‘fence in’	*kíl-lí*	‘remove fence from’
mùndí	‘crumple’	*mùndí-l*	‘uncrumple’
gŏr	‘put on (hat)’	*gŏr-lí*	‘take off (hat)’
		(also pronounced *gŏl-lí*)	

e. tone shift

dìyɛ́	‘carry on head’	*díl-lɛ́*	‘take (load) off head’

(cf. *dĭ:-rɛ́* ‘put (load) on someone else’s head’, §9.3.3)

The examples in (297) are more complex. In (297a-b), mediopassive suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* in the input verb (in one case absent) follows the reversive suffix *-lí-*. Minor patterns are represented in (297c-d). In (297e), the input has a more or less frozen transitive suffix *-rɛ* ~ *-r* (§9.3.2) that is absent in the reversive.

(297)

a.	*ságí-yɛ́*	‘be caught (in tree)’	*ságí-lí-yɛ́*	‘get free (from tree)’
	dàŋgí-yɛ́	‘be stuck (to sth)’	*dàŋgì-lí-yɛ́*	‘become unstuck’
b.	*nìgíjí-y*	‘be tangled’	*nìgíjí-lí-y*	‘be untangled’
	tóndí-y	‘be bent’	*tóndí-lí-y*	‘be straightened’
	tíbí-y	‘get stuck’	*tíbí-lí-y*	‘get unstuck’
	no mediopassive suffix in input			
	dèmbɛ́	‘get bogged’	*dèmbí-lí-yɛ́*	‘get unbogged’
c.	*jìbí-y*	‘attach (wrap)’	*jìbĭ-l*	‘untie, take off (wrap)’
d.	*ìrɛ́*	‘forget’	*íl-lí-yɛ́*	‘remember’
e.	*pégɛ́-rɛ́*	‘drive in (nail)’	*pégí-lɛ́*	‘remove (nail)’
	jŭ:-r	‘flip over’	*jŭ:-l*	‘unflip, put back right-side-up’

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative suffix *-m*

Causative derivatives have a wide range of senses including ‘cause X to VP’, ‘let/allow X to VP’, and ‘have X VP’.

The productive causative suffix is *-m* in its chaining form (298), apocopated from /-mi/ by Post-Soronant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.4.2.1). The preceding verb stem takes the A/O-stem. Causative *-m* can readily follow mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (298d).

(298)

	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	*ǎy*	‘be tired’	*àyá-m*	‘make weary’
	jùgɛ́	‘recognize’	*jùgá-m*	‘cause to know’
	tíŋgɛ́	‘go past’	*tíŋgá-m*	‘take past’
	dènɛ́	‘spend day’	*dèná-m*	‘have (sb) spend day’
	wɔ̀lɛ́	‘get used to’	*wòlá-m*	‘accustom (sb)’
	fɔ́ːrɛ́	‘dress up’	*fɔ́ːrá-m*	‘adorn’
b.	*sán*	‘be dispersed’	*sáná-m*	‘disperse’
	wàjí	‘be left over’	*wàjá-m*	‘cause to remain’
c.	*tómbí*	‘jump’	*tómbó-m*	‘cause to jump’
	pór	‘escape’	*póró-m*	‘let escape’
	ín	‘go’	*ínó-m*	‘cause to go’
	sín	‘be full, sated’	*sínó-m*	‘make full (sated)’
	kúbí	‘eat (meat)’	*kúbó-m*	‘give meat to’
d.	*píbí-y*	‘be inflated’	*píbí-yó-m*	‘inflate’
	gìgílí-y	‘rotate’ [intr]	*gìgílí-yó-m*	‘cause to rotate’
	dìmbí-yɛ́	‘follow’	*dìmbí-yá-m*	‘cause to follow’
	káːjí-yɛ́	‘overflow’	*káːjí-yá-m*	‘cause to overflow’
	tágí-yɛ́	‘put on (shoe)’	*tágí-yá-m*	‘put shoe on (sb)’
	bèlíyɛ́	‘get up’	*bèlíyá-m*	‘cause to get up’

When the base stem is a **monomoraic**, i.e. *Cv́* or *Cwv́*, three treatments are observed. The vowel remains short in one case (299a). In all the others, the vowel is lengthened. In this case, there is a split between two sets of verbs. Some have an H-toned causative (299b), while others have an LH-toned causative (299c).

(299)		input	gloss	causative	gloss
	a.	*gwé*	‘go out’	*gŏ-m*	‘take out, remove’
	b.	*kwɛ́*	‘eat (meal)’	*kwá:-m*	‘feed’
		ŋwɛ́	‘go in’	*ŋwá:-m*	‘take in’
		swɛ́	‘pour’	*swá:-m*	‘cause to pour’
	c.	*ɲàŋgó ɲɛ́*	‘weep’	*ɲàŋgó ɲă:-m*	‘cause to weep’
		nɛ́	‘drink’	*nă:-m*	‘give drink to’
		yɛ́	‘see’	*yă:-m*	‘cause to see’
		bɛ́	‘remain’	*bă:-m*	‘cause to remain’
		jɛ́	‘take’	*jă:-m*	‘cause to take’
		ŋwɛ́	‘hear’	*ŋwă:-m*	‘cause to hear’
		dwɛ́	‘pound’	*dwă:-m*	‘cause to pound’

The split between (299b) and (299c) strongly suggests that there was originally a melodic distinction of /H/ versus /LH/. This split is neutralized in most inflected and derived forms. However, there is one inflectional category that shows a similar split: perfective negative (§10.1.4.2), although the inventory of /H/ versus /LH/ verbs does not exactly match that in the causative.

A representative set of forms (chaining form and inflectional) for two of the causatives is in (300). ‘Have (someone) spend day’ brings out the +ATR quality of the A/O stem.

(300)	category	‘have (sb) spend day’ < *dɛ̀nɛ́*	‘let escape’ < *pór* /pórí/
	bare stem	*dɛ̀ná-m*	*póró-m*
	VblN	*dɛ́ná-m-lé*	*póró-m-lé*
	3Sg Pfv	*dɛ́ná-mɛ̀*	*póró-mɛ̀*
	3Sg Pres	*dɛ́ná-mà-njɔ̀*	*póró-mɔ̀-njɔ̀*
	3Sg Fut	*dɛ̀nà-má-m̀*	*pòrò-mó-m̀*
	3Sg PfvNeg	*dɛ̀ná-má-l*	*póró-mó-l*
	3Sg ProgNeg	*dɛ̀ná-mà-njɔ̀-ndí*	*póró-mɔ̀-njɔ̀-ndí*
	3Sg FutNeg	*dɛ̀nà-mă-ndì*	*pòrò-mŏ-ndì*

9.2.2 Minor causative suffixes *-ndí*, *-gí*

All examples known to me of causative *-ndí* with no other derivational suffixation are in (301a). The suffix is added to the **A/O-stem** of the verb (see especially ‘cause to get up’). The *-ndí* causative generally preserves the lexical tone melody of the stem, /H/ or /LH/, the latter being reapplied to the whole derived stem. The examples in (301b) have *-ndí* added to transitive *-ré-* (see §9.2.2), forming a doubly transitivized derivative corresponding to mediopassive *-yɛ́*. In (301c), the irregular /HL/ melody of the underived stem is replaced in

the causative by the /LH/ melody that is typical of verbs beginning in a voiced stop. In (301d), a cluster *ŋg* in the input is simplified to *ŋ* in the causative.

(301)		input	gloss	causative	gloss
	a.	*ìlɛ́*	'go up'	*ìlá-ndí*	'cause to go up'
				(cf. also *índí* 'lift')	
		ìgí	'be finished'	*ìgó-ndí*	'finish, use up'
		súgí	'go down'	*súgó-ndí*	'take down'
		bìlɛ́	'change, turn'	*bìlá-ndí*	'lengthen (thread) by winding between sticks'
		tɔ́gɛ́	'(fire) be lit'	*tógá-ndí*	'light (fire)'
		gìlí-yɛ́	'be rekindled'	*gìlá-ndí*	'rekindle (fire)'
		bɛ̀lí-yɛ́	'get up'	*bɛ̀lá-ndí*	'cause to get up'
		dàgí	'be rebalanced'	*dàgá-ndí*	'rebalance (e.g. chair)'
		mùlɛ́	'come together'	*mùlá-ndí*	'bring together, assemble'
		dɔ̀lɛ́	'be excessive'	*dòlá-ndí*	'do too much'
		wùlɛ́	'wake up'	*wùlá-ndí*	'wake (someone) up'
	b.	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	'stand, stop'	*íŋgí-rá-ndí*	'halt (someone)'
		íbí-yɛ́	'fear, be afraid'	*íbí-rá-ndí*	'scare (someone)'
	c.	*dwɛ̂:*	'arrive'	*dɔ̌:-ndí*	'cause to arrive'
	d.	*tíŋgɛ́*	'pass by'	*tíŋá-ndí*	'cause to pass by'

Possible frozen cases, no longer clearly segmentable, include *sélóndí* 'tease' and *dìŋóndí* 'console'.

The known examples of minor causative suffix *-gí* are in (302).

(302)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
	ɲăm	'malfunction'	*ɲàmá-gí*	'damage, waste'
	sél	'be diluted'	*séló-gí*	'dilute, water down'
	pár	'snap' [intr]	*párá-gí*	'pull off'
	sán	'disperse' [intr]	*sáná-gí*	'scatter; expose (secret)'
		(cf. regular causative *sáná-m* 'cause to disperse'		
	dìbí	'be lost'	*dìbó-gí*	'cause to be lost'
	újí	'crumble' [intr]	*újó-gí*	'crumble' [tr]
	dŏl	'be punctured'	*dòló-gí*	'puncture'
	tójɛ́	'be blistered'	*tójá-gí*	'cause blisters'

Possible frozen cases, no longer clearly segmentable, include *kímógí-* 'extinguish (fire)', *dàmágí* 'denigrate' (cf. *dăm* 'speak'), and *gìnágí* 'break in half'.

Obscurely related to *dàmágí-* 'denigrate' and *dăm* 'speak' is another verb, *dămgí-y* '(two or more persons) have a debate (argument)'. The tone suggests syncope of a medial high vowel, pointing to a prototype *dàmígí-yí. Perhaps this too contains suffix *-gí*, but the stem-vocalism (*dàmí-) is not consistent with the A/O-stems seen in (302).

At least one causative with *-ndí* can itself function as input to the productive causative with suffix *-m*. This is *ìgó-ndí* 'finish (something)' (causative of *ìgí* 'be finished'), which has a regular *-m* causative, viz., *ìgó-ndó-m* 'cause (someone) to finish'.

Omitted here are occasional examples where both an underived and a causative verb (suffix *-in-*) have been borrowed from Fulfulde, e.g. *jáŋgí* 'study' and causative *jáŋgíné* 'teach'.

9.3 Transitive and and mediopassive suffixes

9.3.1 Mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* derived from unsuffixed verb

The **mediopassive ("MP")** suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is quite productive. It's semantic core is indeed mediopassive (i.e. middle voice), and its distribution is reminiscent of the Romance (e.g. Spanish) reflexive. The mediopassive nature is especially clear in cases where *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is opposed to a transitive derivative with suffix *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* (less often *-lé* ~ *-l*), on which see the following section.

English passives with unspecified external agents ('be eaten', 'be seen', 'be given') are usually translatable as simple transitives with generic **third plural** subject. For example, 'it isn't eaten (= is inedible)' is phrased as *kó kwă-ndì-yà* 'they won't (= don't) eat it', and 'the (cooked) food has been completely eaten up' is phrased as *[yòmbó kò dîn] kwɛ́ kìr-ò:* 'they completed eating all the food'. 'X be born' is usually expressed as 'they gave birth to X' (*[X gì] nàl-à:]*), which sounds illogically plural but which is consistent with the flexible semantics of 'give birth', which is not strictly limited to the genetrix as subject (compare English active *have* in *Mary and Bob are expecting to have a child soon*); see (461) in §12.3. A mediopassive version similar to the English construction is also possible: *[X nàlì-yè]*.

In most examples the morphophonology of the mediopassive derivation is straightforward. In all examples known to me, the suffix is added to a form of the stem ending in *i*, which is not subject to syncope. For nearly all verbs, this form of the verb is identical to the **I-stem** as used before verbal noun suffix *-lé*. However, monosyllabic stems of the shape *Cwé* have mediopassive *Cí-yé* versus verbal noun *Cú-lé*. The only example in common use is this: transitive *swé* 'pour, spill', verbal noun *sú-lé*, and mediopassive *sí-yé* 'be spilled, be poured'. I was also able to elicit *yí:-yɛ́* ~ *yí-yɛ́* 'be seen' (transitive *yɛ́* 'see', verbal noun *yí-lé*). Perhaps the suffixal semivowel *y* has forced the use of homorganic *i* rather than *u*. Except sometimes in *yí(:)-yɛ́* 'be seen', where the flanking homorganic /y/ semivowels mask the length of the *i* (facilitating ambiguity and historical shifts), a *Cv-* stem does not lengthen its vowel before the mediopassive suffix.

The examples in (303) involve a mediopassive in *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* in opposition to a morphologically **unmarked** transitive. Many other such pairs can be found in the lexicon, or readily elicited.

(303) a. *wùjí* ‘swing (something)’
wùjí-y ‘(something) dangle’

b. *pɛ́:* ‘let (mud-manure mix) ferment’
pí:-yɛ́ ‘(mud-manure mix) ferment’

c. *mɔ̀mbɛ́* ‘assemble (a group)’
mɔ̀mbí-yɛ́ ‘(group) be assembled’

d. *kábílɛ́* ‘separate (X from Y)’
kábílí-yɛ́ ‘(individual) separate oneself’

e. *yàmbí* ‘cover (someone)’
yàmbí-yɛ́ ‘cover oneself’
(reversive *yàmbí-lɛ́* ‘uncover’)

f. *nìgíjí* ‘mix (X and Y)’
nìgíjí-y ‘(X and Y) be mixed’

g. *tóndí* ‘bend, curve (something)’
tóndí-y ‘be curved’

h. *bìnɛ́* ‘lean (something, against something)’
bìní-yɛ́ ‘lean one’s shoulder (against something)’

i. *dùmɛ́* ‘get, obtain’
dùmí-yɛ́ ‘be obtainable (available)’

j. *bàrí* ‘add, increase (something)’
bàrí-yɛ́ ‘(e.g. herd) increase, expand’

The mediopassive suffix may **follow** the reversive suffix, as in *níŋgí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(e.g. door) be opened’ from *níŋgí-lɛ́* ‘open (door)’, reversive of *níŋgɛ́* ‘shut (door)’. Other Vb-Rev-MP examples are *dáŋgí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(something stuck on) become unstuck, be taken off’ and *nɔ́ggí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(something caught in a tree) become un-caught, get free’.

The mediopassive suffix **cannot** follow causative *-m*. However, the opposite sequence mediopassive-causative is common. It appears as *-yá-m* or *-yo-m* depending on ATR-harmonic class. An example is the derivational chain of *bìlɛ́* ‘change (something)’, mediopassive *bìlí-yɛ́* ‘(something) evolve, change’, and causative of mediopassive *bìlí-yá-m* ‘transform (something)’. Other Vb-MP-Caus examples (among many) are *píbí-yó-m* ‘inflate’ (cause to be inflated) and *yùgúlí-yó-m* ‘drive (someone) crazy’ (cause to become crazy).

The mediopassive suffix may follow the minor, more lexicalized causative allomorphs. *bàndí-gí* ‘cause to remain behind’ (noun *bàndí* ‘back’) has mediopassive derivative *bàndí-gí-y* ‘remain behind’.

There are many verbs that end in …*yɛ́* or …*y* that fit the mediopassive semantics for the suffix, but for which segmentation is not transparent due to the lack (at least in my current knowledge of Najamba lexicon) of attested counterparts without the suffix or with a different suffix. My practice is to hyphenate where the sense is consistent with mediopassive semantics. A few among many examples are in (304).

(304)

gèlí-yɛ́	'keep'
yèndɛ́-lí-yɛ́	'flap in wind' (cf. *yèndí* 'hang or drape (over sth)')
túbí-yɛ́	'lean on (a cane)'
pírí-y	'fly (away)' (poor semantic match with *pír* 'catch, trap')
pírgí-y	'(dying animal) flop around'
bá:lí-yɛ́	'wilt, shrivel'
gèrí-y	'bend over backward'
gìmbí-y	'lean forward, bow'
áŋí-yɛ́	'cross one's arms'

9.3.2 Paired mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*

Mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, introduced in the preceding section, is sometimes paired with a corresponding **transitive** with suffix *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or less often *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*. The transitive adds an agent to an otherwise intransitive or simple transitive verb. There is only a limited danger of confusion between the *-lɛ́* ~ *-l* variant of the transitive suffix and the reversive suffix *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*, on which see §9.1, above.

Mediopassive-transitive doublets occur, for example, in verbs of change of stance (305a) and in verbs of donning garments (305b). In (305a), one is tempted to say that *-r* is semantically a causative ('cause to sit'). However, the comparison with (305b) suggests that the apparent intransitive ('sit down') might really be a mediopassive ('seat oneself'), i.e. with both an agent and a coindexed object. Compare Spanish *sentarse* 'sit' and *ponerse el sombrero* 'put on one's hat'.

(305)

a.

óbí-y	'sit down'
óbí-r	'cause to sit, seat (someone)'

b.

gìbí-y	'put a hat on (oneself)'
gìbí-r	'put a hat on (someone else)'
gìbí	'replaster (wall)'

(cf. reversive *gìbí-l* 'take hat off [oneself or someone else]')

Further mediopassive-transitive pairings are in (306).

(306)

a.

jɛ̀ŋgí-yɛ́	'(something) tilt'
jɛ̀ŋgí-lɛ́	'cause (something) to tilt'

b.

kúmbí-y	'hold (something)'
kúmbí-r	'entrust (something, to someone else)'

c. *ɛ́rí-yɛ́* ‘become tangled’ (also ‘be tripped’)
ɛ́l-lɛ́ ‘tangle (something)’
(< *ɛ́rɛ́* ‘trip up’)

d. *síbí-y* ‘hide oneself’
síbí-r ‘hide (something)’
(dubiously related to *síbí* ‘lay the second layer in basket or bag’)

e. *tóndí-y* ‘be curved’
tóndí-r ‘bend, curve (something)’
tóndí "

f. *dògí-y* ‘be facing up’
dògí-r ‘hold (something) facing up’
(probably unrelated to *dògí* ‘(woodpecker) peck deeply into tree’)

g. *dàbí-yɛ́* ‘lie in wait for’
dàbí-lɛ́ ‘stalk (prey)’

h. *dìgí-yɛ́* ‘(objects) be joined (at ends)’
dìgí-rɛ́ ‘join (two objects)’

i. *gògí-y* ‘(bowl) be hung (e.g. on rock)’
gògí-r ‘hang (bowl, e.g. on rock)’
gògí "

j. *sɔ́bí-yɛ́* ‘(knife) sink in’
sɔ́bí-rɛ́ ‘skewer (e.g. meat, for brochette)’
sɔ́bɛ́ ‘jab, puncture’

k. *dìmbí-yɛ́* ‘follow (someone)’
dìmbí-rɛ́ ‘chase away, drive out; align (in rows)’

In (307), the transitive form has an irregular suffix complex including the minor causative suffix *-ndí* (§9.2.2).

(307) a. *íŋgí-yɛ́* ‘stop, stand’
íŋgí-rá-ndí ‘cause to stop or stand’

b. *íbí-yɛ́* ‘fear, be afraid’
íbí-rá-ndí ‘scare (someone)’

9.3.3 Paired *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* after *Cv-* stem

Array (308) presents apparent examples of the opposition of mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r*, but this time after **monomoraic *Cv-*** stems. The semantic relationships (stance, holding, etc.) are consistent with the other examples of this pairing given above. If this analysis is accepted, it would follow that *Cv-* is lengthened to *Cv:-* before the transitive suffix (§3.4.7), but not before the mediopassive.

(308)	a.	*bǎy* (or: *bǎ-y*)	'learn'
		bǎ:-rɛ́	'instruct (someone)'
	b.	*nóy* (or: *nó-y*)	'sleep'
		nó:-r	'put (someone) to sleep'
	c.	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́* (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	'bathe' (*íŋgɛ́* 'water')
		íngɛ́ dǐ:-rɛ́	'cause to sit, seat (someone)'
	d.	*dìyɛ́* (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	'carry on one's head'
		dǐ:-rɛ́	'put on (someone else's) head'
	e.	*póy* (or: *pó-y*)	'carry on back'
		pó:-r	'put (something) on the back of (someone else)'
	f.	*bǐy* (or: *bǐ-y*)	'lie down, go to bed'
		bǐ:-r	'cause to lie down, put to bed'

In spite of the the similarity between *Cv(-)yv-* and heavier *CvCv-yv* mediopassives, there are reasons to suspect that native speakers do not clearly segment the *Cvyv-* intransitive shape. The first is the failure of the vowel to lengthen, as just noted. The second is that there are stative inflected forms, and cognate nominals, that include the *yv* syllable for *Cvyv* verbs, but that omit suffixal *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* after longer stems. For example, stative *bíyò-* 'be lying down' preserves the *yv* input syllable, whereas statives of nonmonosyllabic stems drop mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (§11.2.3). The cognate nominal for *nóy* '(go to) sleep' is likewise *nóyè* 'sleep'. I therefore hesitate to hyphenate the intransitives as *bǎ-y*, *nó-y*, etc., though readers may consider this possibility.

The alternative is to treat doublets like those in (308) as adding the transitive suffix to an **unsegmentable** input stem of the shape *Cvyv-*. This would require a slightly irregular *y*-Deletion rule, compare §3.4.4, after which the two newly adjacent vowels would contract into a long vowel. For example, *bǎ:-rɛ́* in (308a) above would be derived from /bàyá-rɛ́/ via /bàá-rɛ́/.

A similar ambiguity arises in the formation of derived statives from some of these same verbs; see discussion of (423b) and (426b) in §11.2.3.

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

A number of adjectives have an associated intransitive **inchoative** verb ('be/become X'), with no obvious derivational suffixation in either direction, and not always with the same lexical tone melody. The adjective and the inchoative verb are clearly members of the same word-family, but their forms are independently lexicalized. In (309), an inanimate singular form of the adjective (A) is shown, along with the inchoative ('become A') and the **factitive** ('cause to become A'). The factitive is morphologically the causative of the inchoative, and ends in causative *-m*.

(309)

gloss	adjective	inchoative	factitive
a. -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} class in adjective and inchoative			
/LH/ melody in inchoative			
'rotten'	*gɔ̀mɔ̂:*	*gɔ̀mɛ́*	*gòmá-m*
'big, adult'	*gìndɔ́:*	*gìndɛ́*	*gìndá-m*
'black'	*jɛ́mɛ̀*	*jɛ̀mɛ́*	*jèmá-m*
'feeble' (variant)	*bɛ̀bɔ̂:*	*bɛ̀bɛ́*	*bòbá-m*
/H/ melody in inchoative			
'old (person)'	*kúnjɛ́:*	*kúnjɛ́*	*kúnjá-m*
'ripe'	*ílà*	*ílɛ́*	*ílá-m*
b. +ATR {*e o*} class in adjective and inchoative			
/LH/ melody in inchoative			
'blunt'	*dùmbé*	*dùmbí*	*dùmbó-m*
'tall'	*gàbô:*	*gàbí*	*gàbá-m*
'hard'	*măy-yè*	*măy*	*màyá-m*
/H/ melody in inchoative			
'skinny'	*kómbé*	*kómbí*	*kómbó-m*
'straight'	*tèndô:*	*téndí*	*téndó-m*
'cramped'	*àŋgô:*	*áŋgí*	*áŋgá-m*
'sour, salty'	*àmí-yè*	*ám*	*ámá-m*

In a minority pattern (310), the inchoative is formed in the same way, but the factitive has a minor causative suffix *-ndí*. This is to be distinguished from inchoative (i.e. intransitive) suffix *-ndí* discussed juste below.

(310)

gloss	adjective	inchoative	factitive
'slack, loose'	*yɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*yɔ̀rɛ́*	*yòrá-ndí*
'full'	*jòyó:*	*jŏy*	*jòyó-ndí*

The inchoatives and the adjective stems themselves do show consistency in ATR-harmonic class (the causative requires {*e o*} vocalism). There is no consistency between adjective and inchoative in tone melody, however. The inchoatives follow the usual pattern by which /H/

melody is required by initial voiceless obstruents (such as stops), while /LH/ melody is strongly associated with voiced stops.

Many other adjectives are verbalized by means of an overt inchoative **suffix** *-ndí*, from which is formed a factitive by adding causative *-m*. The inchoative suffix (like the causative suffix) requires the **A/O-stem**, which requires +ATR stem vocalism. Again, the tone melody of the inchoative (and therefore of the factitive) correlates with the voicing of the initial consonant if it is an obstruent, but is subject to a lexical choice for stems beginning with a sonorant or with no consonant.

(311)	gloss	adjective	inchoative	factitive
a. verbs have /LH/ melody				
	‘fat, thick’	*bìnú:*	*bìnó-ndí*	*bìnó-ndó-m*
	‘hot; fast’	*dwěy^{n}-yè*	*dòyá-ndí*	*dòyá-ndá-m*
	‘flat; spacious’	*wàyɛ́:*	*wàyá-ndí*	*wàyá-ndá-m*
	‘distant’	*wàgí-yè*	*wàgá-ndí*	*wàgá-ndá-m*
	‘nearby’	*dùmí-yè*	*dùmó-ndí*	*dùmó-ndó-m*
	‘bitter’	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlá-ndí*	*gàlá-ndá-m*
	‘thin’	*mènjí:*	*mènjó-ndí*	*mènjó-ndó-m*
	‘long’	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlá-ndí*	*jàlá-ndá-m*
	‘deep’	*mìní-yè*	*mìnó-ndí*	*mìnó-ndó-m*
	‘short’	*dèndú-ŋgó*	*dèndó-ndí*	*dèndó-ndó-m*
	‘thin’	*mènjú-ŋgò*	*mènjó-ndí*	*mènjó-ndó-m*
b. verbs have /H/ melody				
	‘heavy’	*nìmí-yè*	*nímó-ndí*	*nímó-ndó-m*
	‘good’	*nɛ̌y-ŋgò*	*néyá-ndí*	*néyá-ndá-m*
	‘narrow’	*pèmbî:*	*pémbá-ndí*	*pémbá-ndá-m*
	‘slow’	*pèjí-yè*	*péjá-ndí*	*péjá-ndá-m*
	‘sweet’	*èlí-yè*	*élá-ndí*	*élá-ndá-m*
	‘difficult’	*nàmí-yè*	*námá-ndí*	*námá-ndá-m*
	‘small, young’	*pàlâ:*	*pálá-ndí*	*pálá-ndá-m*
	‘hard’	*mǎy-ŋgò*	*máyá-nd-í:*	*máyá-ndá-m*

Many verbs are attested with a different inchoative suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, which is suspiciously similar in form to the mediopassive suffix. It is added either directly to the stem (312a), or to the already inchoative suffix *-ndí-* (just illustrated above) to form a fused suffix complex (312b). The corresponding factitive is formed by adding causative suffix *-m*.

(312)	gloss	adjective	inchoative	factitive
a.	‘coarse’	*yágàjà*	*yàgájí-yɛ́*	*yàgájí-yá-m*
	‘ripe, cooked’	*ílà*	*ílí-yɛ́*	*ílí-yá-m*
	‘cool’	*yégèlè*	*yègílí-y*	*yègílí-yó-m*
	‘slow’	*támàlà*	*támálí-yɛ́*	*támálí-yá-m*

	‘smooth, sleek’	*ónánà*	*ónání-yɛ́*	*ónání-yá-m*
	‘blind’	*gǐrbà*	*gǐrbí-y*	*gǐrbí-yó-m*
b.	‘sweet’	*èlí-yè*	*élá-ndí-yɛ́*	*élá-ndí-yá-m*
	‘bad, ugly’	*nè:ndá:*	*néndá-ndí-yɛ́* (also *néndá-ndí-*)	*néndá-ndí-yá-m*
	‘bitter’	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlá-ndí-yɛ́*	*gàlá-ndí-yá-m*
	‘feeble’ (variant)	*bèbô:*	*bèbá-ndí-yɛ́*	*bèbá-ndí-yá-m*
	‘slow’	*pèjí-yè*	*péjá-ndí-yɛ́*	*péjá-ndí-yá-m*

Two verbs have a factitive **suffix** *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* added directly to the stem, paired with an inchoative with *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (313). The pairing of transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is much more productive in other semantic domains (§9.3.2).

(313)

	gloss	adjective	inchoative	factitive
a.	‘wet’	*témbô:*	*témbí-y*	*témbí-r*
b.	‘curved’	*tòndô:*	*tóndí-y*	*tóndí-r* (also *tóndí*)

The colors ‘white’ and ‘red’ have complex inchoatives with mediopassive *-yɛ́* added to *-lí-*. The usual factitive, on the other hand, adds causative *-m* to an inchoative without derivational suffix. This unsuffixed inchoative is unattested for ‘white’ and ‘red’, but is attested for the third member of the core color-term triangle, ‘black’, see (309a) above.

(314)

gloss	adjective	inchoative	dactitive
‘white’	*pílɛ̀*	*pílá-lí-yɛ́*	*pílá-m*
‘red’	*bánè*	*báná-lí-yɛ́*	*bàná-m*

9.5 Denominal verbs

There are no productive denominal verbalizations. Examples of word-families including a noun and a verb where a case can be made for such a verbalization are in (315).

(315)

a.	*bàndí*	‘back (body)’	*bàndí-gí*	‘cause to remain behind’
b.	*sérè*	‘witness(n)’	*sérí-y*	‘testify’

bàndí ‘back’ (315a), a borrowing from Songhay, is part of a larger word family including postposition *[[X* ^{L}*bàndì] mà]* ‘behind X’ and adverb *bàndè-bándè* ‘going backward’ (§8.2.6). *sérè* ‘witness’ (315b) is the local instance of a regionally widespread word family including Fulfulde *seede*, cf. Arabic root √šhd.

9.6 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Occasionally a pair of verbs is at least seemingly related, but they do not follow any well-trodden derivational channel.

(316)	a.	*ùgí*	'roast, bake'	*ùgí-r*	'burn (incense)'
	b.	*gŭl*	'dig'	*gùnjí*	

9.7 "Underived" trisyllabic verbs

Many trisyllabic verbs that cannot be transparently segmented into a bisyllabic stem plus a derivational suffix may have originated as such derivatives. Most of them (excluding Fulfulde borrowings) end in *…gɛ́* ~ *gí*, *…jɛ́* ~ *jí*, *…rɛ́* ~ *r*, *…lɛ* ~ *l*, *…yɛ* ~ *y*, *…mɛ* ~ *m*, which resemble attested derivational suffixes.

Examples: *námílɛ́* 'apply mud', *gèŋgírɛ́* '(hawk) sway from side to side in flight', *kúmbíjí* 'cause (e.g. leaf) to curl'.

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

For an initial impression of the morphology of inflected verbs and their participles (which are used in relative clauses), the paradigm of *yɛ́* 'see' in (317) may be useful. In the "inflected" column, the 3Sg subject form is given for indicative categories (317b-c), 2Sg for the imperative (317d), and 1Pl dual inclusive for the hortative (317e). Participles agree with the head nouns (not subjects) of their relative claues, explaining the variable vocalic endings. Participles ending in *-ŋgà* have an (animate) plural form *-ŋgà-mbò*. There are tonal differences between subject relatives and nonsubject participles in some AN categories.

(317)

	category	simple	conjugated	participle	
				subject	nonsubject
a.	chaining form	*yɛ́*			
	verbal noun	*yí-lé*			
	progressive	*yá-mbò*			
b.	perfective		*yɛ̀-∅*	*y-ɛ́:/-ɔ́:*	*y-ɛ̂:/-ɔ̂:*
	present		*yá-njò-∅*	*yá-ŋgà*	*yá-ŋgà*
	future		*yá-m̀*	*yǎ-ŋgà*	*yǎ-ŋgà*
			or:	*yà-ŋgà*	*yà-ŋgà*
c.	perfective negative		*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yà:-l-é:/-ó:*	*yà:-l-è:/-ò:*
	future negative		*yǎ-ndì-∅*	*yǎ-nd-è/-ò:*	*yà-nd-è/-ò:*
	present negative		*yâ-ndí-∅*	*yâ-nd-é/-ó:*	*yá-nd-è/-ò:*
d.	imperative		*yá*		
	prohibitive I		*yá-là*		
	prohibitive II		*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:*		
e.	hortative		*yà-ý*		
	hortative negative		*yá-là-ỳ*		

The details about each category, including full pronominal paradigms where relevant, and with examples of a variety of prosodic stem shapes, will be given in the various sections below and (for participles) in chapter 14 on relative clauses. However, certain points can be mentioned here before we get into the nitty-gritty.

One stem, which I call the **E-stem** although I take it to be lexically basic in Najamba, always ends in *e/ɛ* (for 'see', *ɛ*). This stem is the basis for the chaining form, the perfective (positive), and the prohibitive-II with suffix *-nɔ̂:* . What I call the **I-stem** usually ends in *i* as it

does for ‘see’, though some other monosyllabics have *Cu-*. This stem occurs before verbal noun suffix *-lé*, and before the reversive derivational suffix. All remaining forms in (317) are based on the **A/O stem** (for ‘see’, *ya-*). As will be shown below, the A/O stem also involves a neutralization of nonfinal stem vowels of the -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} and +ATR {*e o*} classes, so this stem cannot be taken as lexically basic. Synchronically in Najamba (unlike the case in some other Dogon languages), I take *i/u* and *a/o* to be morphologically conditioned mutations of the lexical stem final *e/ɛ*, and do not hyphenate any of them.

The tone **formula** of a complete verb form (including suffixes) is in some cases entirely determined by the inflectional category. It combines fixed suffixal tones with a tone overlay on the stem. For example, the verbal noun with suffix *-lé* is always entirely {H}-toned. In some forms (chaining, perfective negative), the onset of the verb form respects the distinction between /H/ and /LH/ lexical melodies, though the tones of the remainder of the word are determined by the grammatical category. Since only one verb is presented in (317) above, and a monosyllabic at that, the relevance of lexical melodies will only emerge in the relevant sections below.

In **participles**, tone formulae play two distinct roles in differentiating categories. For the participial suffix *-ŋga-*, the difference between e.g. *x́x̀-ŋgà-* and *x̀x́-ŋ́gà-*, where each *x* represents a stem syllable, distinguishes tenses (present versus future). However, the tone formulae for this suffixal participle are not sensitive to the distinction between subject and nonsubject participles. On the other hand, mutating participles, which end in a long-vowel (perfective, plus both negative indicative categories) use tones to distinguish subject from nonsubject participles. There is an H-tone element somewhere in the subject participle that corresponds to an L-tone in the nonsubject participle. Participles are described in chapter 14 rather than in the present chapter.

10.1.1 Stem shapes

10.1.1.1 Regular verbs

All monosyllabic verb stems with full paradigms that are known to me are in (318). I include *ǹdɛ́* ‘give’, which differs only in having an extra homorganic nasal in the onset, whose L-tone is automatic, and in having an irregular bisyllabic variant. It is the last item in (318a). The verbs in (318) are grouped by phonological similarity. Most (318a-d) have short vowels in the forms shown (though *Cv-* lengthens to *Cv:-* before derivational suffixes, see §3.4.7). Long vowels do occur in some verbs (318e-g). Lexically, as seen in the chaining and perfective forms, most of the verbs (318a,c,e-f) have *ɛ*-vowel, while a few (318b,d,g) have *e*-vowel. Also, as seen in the chaining forms, there is only one tonal possibility for (monomoraic) *Cv-* stems (318a-b), and *Cwv-* stems behave like *Cv-* stems (318c-d).

(318)

	chaining	perfective	A/O	gloss
a.	*jɛ́*	*jɛ̀-*	*ja-*	‘take’
	yɛ́	*yɛ̀-*	*ya-*	‘see’
	bɛ́	*bɛ̀-*	*ba-*	‘remain’
	ɲɛ́	*ɲɛ̀-*	*ɲa-*	‘weep’

	né	*nè-*	*na-*	‘drink’
	ǹdɛ́	*ǹdɛ̀-*	*ǹda-*	‘give’ (bisyllabic variant *ǹdírɛ́* etc.)
b.	*wé*	*wè-*	*wo-*	‘come’
c.	*kwɛ́*	*kwɛ̀-*	*kwa-*	‘eat’
	ŋwɛ́	*ŋwɛ̀-*	*ŋwa-*	‘go in’
	ŋwɛ́	*ŋwɛ̀-*	*ŋwá-*	‘hear’
	dwɛ́	*dwɛ̀-*	*dwa-*	‘pound in mortar’
	dwɛ́	*dwɛ̀-*	*dwa-*	‘insult’
	twɛ́	*twɛ̀-*	*twa-*	‘slash earth (to sow)’
	swɛ́	*swɛ̀-*	*swa-*	‘pour; spit’
d.	*gwé*	*gwè-*	*go-*	‘go out’
e.	*dwɛ̂:*	*dwɛ̀:-*	*dɔ:-*	‘arrive at, reach’
f.	*né:*	*nè:*	*na:-*	‘stay up at night’
	tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	‘sting’
	tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	‘avoid (taboo)’ (noun *tă:*)
	tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	‘sprout; grow (hair)’
	mɛ́:	*mɛ̀:*	*ma:-*	‘make bricks’
	kɛ́:	*kɛ̀:*	*ka:-*	‘shave’
	kɛ́:	*kɛ̀:*	*ka:-*	‘tell (a riddle)’ (noun *ámbà-kà:*)
	pɛ́:	*pɛ̀:*	*pa:-*	‘let ferment (e.g. earth)’
	wɛ́:	*wɛ̀:*	*wa:-*	‘remain to the end of the farming season’
g.	*jɛ̂:*	*jɛ̂:*	*jô:-*	‘bring’

For the possibility of analysing the verbs in (318c-e) as having desyllabified {*o ɔ*} rather than true *w*, see discussion following (18) in §3.2.3.

In several other Dogon languages, monosyllabic verbs split into two tonal classes, like longer stems. LH-toned *Cv̌(:)-* is associated in those languages with initial voiced obstruents, and occurs with a subset of stems with initial sonorants or with no initial consonant. For example, ‘go in’ and ‘hear’ are distinguished tonally in these languages in at least some forms, in some languages including the bare stem. For Najamba, I hear only a small phonetic tone depression in the onset of e.g. *jɛ́* ‘take’ and *gwé* ‘go out’, not enough to justify a phonemic rising tone. I likewise hear no difference between the bare stems of ‘go in’ and ‘hear’, or between ‘insult’ and ‘arrive’. However, the original tone-class differences do survive in Najamba in the perfective negative and in the causative derivation.

Mention may also be made of several defective stative verbs, quasi-verbs, and inflectable clitics with monosyllabic (or in one case nonsyllabic) forms (chapter 11): *bɛ́-* ‘be, remain’, *bò-* ‘be (somewhere)’, *bô:-* ‘be present’, past enclitic *=bɛ̀-*, *=lá-* ‘is not’, and *=y* ‘it is’.

There are many bisyllabic verbs. They can be grouped into four open classes by the intersection of lexical tone **melody** /H/ versus /LH/, always (except for *Cv-* stems) observable

in the chaining form, with lexical **ATR** class: -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} versus +ATR {*e o*}, (nearly) always observable in the perfective ending *ɛ* or *e*.

(319)

	chaining	perfective	A/O-stem	gloss
a. /H/ melody, -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}				
	síyɛ́	*sìyɛ̀*	*siya*	‘be spilled’
	tɛ́gɛ́	*tɛ̀gɛ̀*	*tega*	‘(rain) fall’
	pɔ́mbɛ́	*pɔ̀mbɛ̀*	*pomba*	‘compete’
b. /H/ melody, +ATR{*e o*}				
	tún	*tùnè*	*tuno*	‘put (in)’
	píjí	*pìjè*	*pijo*	‘spray’
	ɲúmbí	*ɲùmbè*	*ɲumbo*	‘drizzle’
c. /LH/ tone, -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}				
	dɔ̀gɛ́	*dɔ̀gɛ̀*	*doga*	‘leave’
	yɔ̀bɛ́	*yɔ̀bɛ̀*	*yoba*	‘run’
	dɔ̀nɛ́	*dɔ̀nɛ̀*	*dona*	‘but’
d. /LH/ tone, {*e o*}				
	gǒ-m	*gò-mè*	*go-mo*	‘take out’
	dànjí	*dànjè*	*danjo*	‘(rain) strike hard’
	bǎl	*bàlè*	*balo*	‘gather’

10.1.1.2 Irregular verbs

There is one *CvCv:* verb with final high vowel and /LHL/ melody. This is *dînê:* ‘find (by chance), encounter’. Tonologically, it has similar properties to the two monosyllabic verbs *jê:* ‘bring’ and *dwê:* ‘arrive’, the only verbs that have /HL/ melody. These three stems keep their tone melodies in a range of inflectional contexts. Regular verbs (all but these three) have either /H/ or /LH/ melody, the choice being partially predictable from initial consonant. For regular verbs, the lexical is overridden by inflection-specific grammatical tone overlays in several inflectional categories.

‘Give’ varies between *NCv* shape (third-person perfective *ǹdê-*, irregular imperative *ndí*) and an extended shape *NCirv* (third-person perfective *ǹdírɛ̀-*, imperative *ǹdírà-*). The extended form can be compared to the transitive derivation with *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or *-lɛ́* ~ *-l* (§9.3.2-3), but it does not increase the already disyllabic valency of the simple ‘give’ verb.

10.1.2 The chaining form

In nonfinal position in chains, verbs have their **chaining** form. For verbs of the -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} class, the chaining form is based on the E-stem, and therefore ends in *ɛ*. For verbs of the +ATR {*e o*} class, the chaining form is based on the I-stem, which in most cases ends in /i/.

The /i/ is subject to deletion after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant. Examples involving (underlying) bisyllabic stems are *nóy* 'sleep', *ín* 'go', *năl* 'give birth', and *tár* 'look' (compare perfectives *nòyè-*, *ìnè-*, *nàlè-*, *tàrè-*). Trisyllabics: *óbí-y* 'sit', *tógíl* 'chew (kola nuts)', *wùjí-y* 'turn around' (perfectives *òbì-yè*, *tògìlè*, *wùjì-yè*).

The chaining form exhibits the lexical tone melody, which is either /H/ or /LH/, except for two monosyllabic verbs with /HL/ (*dwê:* 'arrive', *jê:* 'bring') and one bisyllabic with /LHL/ (*dìnê:* 'find'). The /LH/ melody is expressed as LH*, with a single initial L-tone followed by one or more H-tones to fill out the rest of the stem. Monosyllabic stems are /H/-toned. Examples of the /LH/ melody are *màmílí-yɛ́* 'go back', *gìnágí* 'break', *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run', and *năl* (< /nàlí/) 'give birth'. Examples of the /H/ melody are *íŋgí-yɛ́* 'stand, stop', *nóy* (< /*nóyí*/) 'sleep', and monosyllabics *kwɛ́* 'eat', *gwé* 'go out', and *wé* 'come'.

The chaining form is the best **citation** form. It directly expresses the lexical tone melody. It either expresses directly, or allows one to infer, the ATR-harmonic class, since all {*ɛ ɔ*} stems have an overt final /ɛ/ in this form, and all {*e o*} stems either have an overt *e* or *o* somewhere in the stem or have extraharmonic vowels from the set {*u i a*} and end in a sonorant. Thus from chaining form *tár* 'look' we can infer perfective *tàrè-*.

In the inflected forms to which we now turn, both the lexical harmonic class and the lexical tone melody are frequently overridden by harmonies and tone overlays or formulae imposed by specific AN (aspect-negation) suffixes.

10.1.3 Perfective and imperfective systems

The indicative aspect-negation (AN) categories are those in (320). The perfective has zero suffix, while all others have suffixes or are periphrastic. The categories in (320) do not include past-shifted categories, on which see below.

(320) a. perfective positive system
perfective
experiential perfect

b. imperfective positive system
present
progressive
future

c. perfective negative system
perfective negative
experiential perfect negative

d. imperfective negative system
present negative
future negative
progressive negative

A recurrent feature in the imperfective systems is a partially segmentable nasal, either *m* or assimilated *n* or *ŋ*, at the beginning of aspectual suffixes. It occurs in *-m=bɛ̀-* (past imperfective, future-in-past), present *-njɔ̀-*, future *-mbɔ̂-*, progressive *-mbɔ̀*, present negative *-ndí-*, future negative *-ndí-*, present relative participial *-ŋgà*, and future relative participial *-ŋ́gà*. The 3Sg future portmanteau is just *-m̀*, and this may well reflect an original labial point of articulation. In addition to imperfectives, the nasal extends in part to statives, as in past stative *-m=bɛ̀-* and stative participle *-ŋgà*. The nasal can therefore be described negatively as a general non-perfective. If the nasal is segmented, this will require relabeling of the remaining morpheme. For example, future *-mbɔ̂-* and progressive *-mbɔ̀* could be connected to *bɔ̀-* 'be (somewhere)'. For a possible survival of *gà without the nasal, see §14.3.11. However, I do not hyphenate except in *-m=bɛ̀-*, whose morphological structure is transparent.

The aspect-negation suffixes are followed (in simple main clauses) by pronominal-subject suffixes (§10.2). The basic AN suffixes and the pronominal-subject suffixes are not completely independent morphophonologically, and it is necessary to give sample pronominal-subject paradigms for each AN suffixal category covered below.

All of the categories in (320) are normally compared to the moment of speaking as the temporal reference point. For example, a simple perfective denotes an event that is already completed at this reference point. The reference point can be shifted to a **past-time** point by adding the inflectable past enclitic *=bɛ̀-*, which follows some AN suffixes and therefore constitutes a parallel inflectional system to (320), see §10.3.

Imperatives and hortatives (deontic modals) have their own distinctive morphology, see §10.4.

10.1.3.1 Perfective

The all-purpose perfective (positive) stem denotes completed individual events and is common in narratives. Various past imperfectives are expressed differently, with past enclitic *=bɛ̀-* added to the relevant imperfective stem (§10.3).

The perfective (except for the 3Pl subject form) is based on the **E-stem**, and therefore ends in either *ɛ* or *e* depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the stem. The **3Pl** form is based on the **A/O stem**. The E-stem is transparently the basis for 1Sg and 1Pl forms. The 2Sg, 2Pl, and 3Pl subject forms undergo *vv*-Contraction, but the contracted vowel takes the ATR value of the stem-final vowel. In addition, non-stem-final vowels are -ATR or +ATR based on their lexical ATR class.

For all but three irregular verbs, 1st/2nd person forms have an {LH} tone overlay, i.e. {L}-toned stem followed by H-toned suffix. 3Sg and 3Pl forms are {HL} when pronounced in isolation, but frequently drop to {L}-toned in actual clauses when preceded by at least one constituent, and **always** drop to {L} before 'if' particles *mé* and *dé* in conditional antecedents and before interrogatives *ló* and *ma→*.

The three irregular verbs are /LHL/-toned *dìnɛ̂ː-* 'find (by chance)' (3Sg *dìnɛ̂ː-∅*, 3Pl *dìnɔ̂ː-∅*) and /HL/-toned *dwɛ̂ː-* 'arrive' (3Sg *dwɛ̂ː-∅*, 3Pl *dɔ̂ː-∅*) and *jɛ̂ː-* 'bring' 3Sg *jɛ̂ː-∅*, 3Pl *jɔ̂ː-∅*). These irregular verbs keep their lexical melody throughout the perfective paradigm, even in 1st/2nd person forms and in third-person forms in all contexts, including before 'if' and interrogative particles.

1Sg and 3Sg forms are given for a few representative verbs in (321).

(321)

gloss	perfective		
	1Sg	3Sg in isolation	3Sg before *mɛ́* 'if'
a. -ATR			
'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ́njɛ̀-∅*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwɛ̂-∅*	*kwɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'cut'	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-ḿ*	*kɛ́jɛ̀-∅*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'see'	*yɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɛ̂-∅*	*yɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'drink'	*nɛ̀-ḿ*	*nɛ̂-∅*	*nɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*íŋgé díyɛ̀-∅*	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɔ́bɛ̀-∅*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'go back'	*màmìlìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*mámìlìyɛ̀-∅*	*màmìlìyɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
b. +ATR			
'come'	*wɛ̀-ḿ*	*wɛ̂-∅*	*wɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'go'	*ìnɛ̀-ḿ*	*ínɛ̀-∅*	*ìnɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'sleep'	*nòyɛ̀-ḿ*	*nóyɛ̀-∅*	*nòyɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
'break'	*gìnàgɛ̀-ḿ*	*gínàgɛ̀-∅*	*gínàgɛ̀-∅ mɛ́*
c. tonally irregular			
/HL/ melody			
'bring'	*jɛ̂:-m*	*jɛ̂:-∅*	*jɛ̂:-∅ mɛ́*
'arrive'	*dwɛ̂:-m*	*dwɛ̂:-∅*	*dwɛ̂:-∅ mɛ́*
/LHL/ melody			
'find'	*dìnɛ̂:-m*	*dìnɛ̂:-∅*	*dìnɛ̂:-∅ mɛ́*

The verbs in (321a) belong to the -ATR {ɛ ɔ} class. The stem therefore ends in ɛ, and any preceding stem vowels of mid height must be ɛ or ɔ. The verbs in (321b) belong to the +ATR {e o} class, so they end in e and may have preceding {e o} but not {ɛ ɔ} vowels. (321c) illustrates the three verbs whose lexical melodies end in a falling tone.

The full pronominal-subject paradigm shows that the 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl are tonally parallel to the 1Sg. However,the 2Sg and 2Pl suffixes are vocalic and therefore contract with the stem-final /e/ or /ɛ/. The 3Pl is tonally parallel to the 3Sg (*gínàg-à:* 'they broke').

The **3Pl** requires {e o} vocalism in nonfinal stem vowels, even in verbs that have {ɛ ɔ} vocalism in all other perfective forms. For such stems, the contracted 3Pl suffixal vowel is heard as *-à:*, which corresponds in vowel quality to the final *a* that these stems have in the A/O stem (322). This (along with other details) suggests that the 3Pl, alone of the perfective forms, is based on the A/O-stem.

(322)

gloss	1Sg	3Sg	3Pl
'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ́njɛ̀-∅*	*dɛ́nj-à:*
'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwɛ̂-∅*	*kw-â:*
'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɔ́bɛ̀-∅*	*yób-à:*

Sample full paradigms are in (323).

(323)

category	'ate'	'hit'	'go'	'sleep'	'break'
1Sg	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*ìnè-ḿ*	*nòyè-ḿ*	*gìnàgè-ḿ*
1Pl	*kwɛ̀-ý*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ý*	*ìnè-ý*	*nòyè-ý*	*gìnàgè-ḿ*
2Sg	*k-ɔ̌:*	*dɛ̀nj-ɔ̌:*	*ìn-ǒ:*	*nòy-ǒ:*	*gìnàg-ǒ:*
2Pl	*kw-ɛ̌:*	*dɛ̀nj-ɛ̌:*	*ìn-ě:*	*nòy-ě:*	*gìnàg-ě:*
3Sg	*kwɛ̂-∅*	*dɛ́njɛ̀-∅*	*ínè-∅*	*nóyè-∅*	*gínàgè-∅*
3Pl	*kw-â:*	*dɛ́nj-à:*	*ín-ò:*	*nóy-ò:*	*gínàg-à:*

For 'give', the only *NCv* verb stem known to me, the perfective is either *ǹdɛ̀-* (3Sg *ǹdɛ̂-∅* 'he/she gave', 3Pl *ǹd-â:)* or irregular bisyllabic *ǹdirɛ̀-* (3Sg *ǹdírɛ̀-∅*, 3Pl *ǹdír-à:*). See §3.2.11.1 for the phonology of initial *NC* clusters. The additional syllable in the bisyllabic variant resembles the transitive derivational *-rɛ́* ~ *-r*, which elsewhere adds a higher agent to another verb (usually intransitive). The conceptual structure of 'give' intrinsically includes a beneficiary (the recipient), and this isolated stem alternation in Najamba is reminiscent of the use of the cognate transitive derivational suffix in benefactive function in Tiranige.

10.1.3.2 Experiential perfect 'have ever' (*tár jò-*)

The experiential perfect is expressed periphrastically. The semantically substantive verb occurs in its chaining form. It is followed in the positive by what appears to be the verb *tár* 'look (at)', also in chaining form, then an inflected form of perfect auxiliary *jò-*. The negative counterpart is constructed with perfective negative *tárá-l-* 'did not look'; for the perfective negative paradigm see (339) in §10.1.4.2 below. For other functions of perfect *jò-* see §10.1.3.3 just below. Examples of the experiential perfect are in (324).

(324) a. *[bàmàkó mà] ín tár jò-m*
[Bamako in] go have.ever Perfect-1SgSbj
'I have (once) gone to Bamako.'

b. *èndɛ̂: dɛ̀njɛ́ tárá-lú-m*
child hit have.ever-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I have never hit a child.'

The use of *tár* 'look' arguably reflects a basic split in Dogon thought between knowledge, facts, customs, etc. that were transmitted to the current generations by their elders, and those that were witnessed or produced by the younger generations themselves. In texts, the speaker will often specify whether a historical event (such as the introduction of the plow) was 'encountered, found' (verb *dìnɛ̂:*), i.e. took place before the speaker's childhood, or was initially observed (*tár*) by the speaker.

Most other Dogon languages have a similar experiential perfect including a verb-like element *tárá*, *tá*, or the like following the main verb in a chain-like construction, but so far as is presently known none of these other languages has a cognate of the independent Najamba verb *tár* 'look'. Therefore it is far from certain that 'look' and the experiential perfect morpheme are etymologically identical.

10.1.3.3 Perfect (*jò-*, *jòg-â:-*)

Najamba distinguishes a chain construction with regular verb *jɛ́* 'finish (doing)' (§17.5.1) from a more highly grammaticalized perfect with auxiliary verb *jò-*. This auxiliary follows a verb in its chaining form. There is also a fuller form *jòg-â:-*, which similarly follows a verb in chaining form.

The paradigms of *jò-* and *jòg-â:-*, along with the positive perfective paradigm of 'finish' for comparison, are in (325). The paradigm of *jò-* is a conventional verbal pronominal-subject paradigm. The exception is an unusual 3Pl form which may reflect avoidance of any form that could be confused with the 3Pl of 'finish'. The paradigm of *jòg-â:-* is quite different. In form it is the conjugation of the 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1.2) added to a noun-like participle that has an unmarked singular and a plural suffix *-mbo-*. In the 3Sg form, the enclitic *=y* is optionally omitted (as in the passive).

(325)

category	*jò-*	*jòg-â:-*	'finish' (Pfv)
1Sg	*jò-ḿ*	*jòg-â:=m̀*	*jɛ̀-m*
1Pl	*jò-ý*	*jòg-â:-mbò=ỳ*	*jɛ̀-ỳ*
2Sg	*j-ǒ:*	*jòg-â:=ẁ*	*j-ɔ̀:*
2Pl	*j-ě:*	*jòg-â:-mb=è:*	*j-è:*
3Sg	*jò-∅*	*jòg-â:(=ỳ)*	*jɛ̀-∅*
3Pl	*jògà*	*jòg-â:-mbò=ỳ*	*j-à:*

The participle plus 'it is' enclitic structure recurs in the passive construction (§10.5, (§14.4.2.2).

Both *jò-* and *jòg-â:-* are probably related historically to the stative quasi-verb *jógò-* 'have' (§11.5.1). The sense is often that of a recent perfect ('have already VP-ed').

jòg-â:=y may also be followed by an inflected form of *kán* **'do; be done'**. This is common when there is a possibility of a subject switch, as in conditional antecedents. (326) contains one positive and one negative form of *kán* in this construction.

(326) *[ó* *[L]jù:]* *[ké* *mà]*
[2SgPoss [L]comrade] [InanSg.E in]
ó *dìmbí-yɛ́* *jòg-â:=ỳ* *kànè-∅* *mɛ́,*
2SgObj follow-MP **Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is** **be.done**.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[é *[L]bìrɔ̀:]* *kúndú=ý* *kànè-∅,*
[2PlPoss [L]work] one.InanSg.O=it.is be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj
[[ó *[L]jù:]* *[ké* *mà]*
[[2SgPoss [L]comrade] [InanSg.E in]
ó *dìmbí-yɛ́* *jòg-â:-ỳ* *káná-l-∅* *dɛ́]*
2SgObj follow-MP **Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is** **be.done**-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if]
[[mó *là]* *[mó* *[L]ùsfɔ̀:]* *jɛ̀-∅]*
[[AnSg also] [AnSgPoss [L]road] take.Pfv-3SgSbj]
'If it happens that your-Sg comrade has followed (= supported) you in that, (then) your-Pl work is one (= the same). If your-Sg comrade has not followed you in that, (then) he too will have taken his (own) path.' (2005-1a)

The perfect with *jò-* often functions to describe a current state that has resulted from a previous change of state. The emphasis may be on the current state rather than the transition. For example, this perfect is used with deadjectival inchoative verbs ('become ADJ') in what amounts to a predication of a present-time state (§11.4.3). See also *jò-* in symmetrical comparatives, (459b-c) in §12.2.3.

10.1.3.4 Future (*-m̀-*, *-mbô-*)

There is a marked future with a suffix that takes the short form *-m̀-* in the 3Sg, and a fuller form *-mbô-* in other pronominal-subject categories. For uninflectable *-mbò* followed by auxiliary verb *bò-* 'be' in progressive sense, see §10.1.3.5.

The future paradigm is based on the A/O-stem of the verb. Therefore all mid-height stems vowels are of the +ATR {*ɛ o*} class. The 1st/2nd person forms have {L}-toned stem, with a falling tone on the suffix complex, formula **L*-HL**. In the 3Sg and 3Pl, the stem has {LH} tone overlay, and both the L and H must be expressed, formula **L*H-L**. In the 3Sg, the suffx *-m̀* is L-toned, so the final H-tone on the stem combines with it to produce a falling <HL> tone on the final syllable. If the verb is monosyllabic, the combination of the {LH} stem overlay with the L-toned *-m̀* results in an <LHL> syllable, as with 'see' in (327). Forms of two other verbs with lexical -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism are presented for comparison.

(327)

category	future	*yɛ́* 'see'	*kɛ́jɛ́* 'cut'	*dɔ̀gɛ́* 'leave'
1Sg	*-mbó-m̀*	*yà-mbó-m̀*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-m̀*	*dɔ̀gà-mbó-m̀*
2Sg	*-mb-ô:*	*yà-mb-ô:*	*kɛ̀jà-mb-ô:*	*dɔ̀gà-mb-ô:*
1Pl	*-mbó-ỳ*	*yà-mbó-ỳ*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-ỳ*	*dɔ̀gà-mbó-ỳ*
2Pl	*-mb-ê:*	*yà-mb-ê:*	*kɛ̀jà-mb-ê:*	*dɔ̀gà-mb-ê:*

3Sg	*-m̀*	*yǎ-m̀*	*kèjá-m̀*	*dògá-m̀*
3Pl	*-mb-à*	*yǎ-mb-à*	*kèjǎ-mb-à*	*dògǎ-mbà*
	[could also be segmented *-m-bà* based on 3Sg]			

Some additional 1Sg and 3Sg forms are in (328), which also presents the 1Sg perfective (on the left) for comparison. The stems in (328a) are lexically of the {*ɛ ɔ*} type, while those in (328b) are of the {*e o*} type.

(328)		gloss	1Sg perfective	1Sg future	3Sg future
	a.	'see'	*yɛ̀-ḿ*	*yà-mbó-m̀*	*yǎ-m̀*
		'drink'	*nɛ̀-ḿ*	*nà-mbó-m̀*	*nǎ-m̀*
		'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwà-mbó-m̀*	*kwǎ-m̀*
		'cut'	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-ḿ*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-m̀*	*kɛ̀já-m̀*
		'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yòbà-mbó-m̀*	*yòbá-m̀*
		'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njà-mbó-m̀*	*dɛ̀njá-m̀*
		'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*íŋgé dìyà-mbó-m̀*	*íŋgé dìyá-m̀*
		'break'	*gìnàgɛ̀-ḿ*	*gìnàgà-mbó-m̀*	*gìnàgá-m̀*
	b.	'go'	*ìnɛ̀-ḿ*	*ìnò-mbó-m̀*	*ìnó-m̀*
		'come'	*wɛ̀-ḿ*	*wò-mbó-m̀*	*wó-m̀*
		'sleep'	*nòyɛ̀-ḿ*	*nòyò-mbó-m̀*	*nòyó-m̀*

For tips on how to distinguish 3Sg future *-m̀* from 1Sg subject suffix *-m* and from plural-addressee imperative *-m*, see §10.4.1.2 below.

10.1.3.5 Progressive *-mbò bò-*

The combination of a verb ending in suffix *-mbò* with a pronominally inflected 'be' quasi-verb *bò-* results in a progressive construction. For the conjugation of *bò-* itself, see §11.2.2.1. The *-mbò* suffix is perhaps related in some way to the future suffix, which has allomorphs *-m̀* (3Sg) and *-mbó-* (1st/2nd persons). It should be sharply distinguished from another *-mbò* suffix in 'and (then)' constructions, which follows the chaining form of the verb (lexical tones, final /ɛ/ or /i/); on the 'and then' construction see §15.1.3.

Examples showing the form of verb stems before progressive *-mbò* are in (329). The vocalism shows that the progressive (like the future and other nonzero AN inflections) is based on the **A/O-stem** of the verb. The tones on the stem are {H} for short-voweled monosyllabics ('eat', 'see'), and {HL} for bimoraic verbs (long-voweled monosyllabics, and short-voweled bisyllabics ('leave', 'slaughter', 'bring', 'arrive'). In verbs with three moras, the first mora has the particular verb's lexical tone onset. Any remaining moras between this initial mora and the H of {HL} are high. Compare /H/-melody 'scrub' with /LH/-melody 'go back', 'break', and 'instruct'. The tonal formula for the stem is therefore **((X))H*(L)**.

(329)

gloss	chaining	progressive
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-mbò*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-mbò*
'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-mbò*
'instruct'	*bǎ:rɛ́*	*bǎ:rà-mbò*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-mbò*
'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-mbò*
'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-mbò*
'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá-mbò*
'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:-mbò*
'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dô:-mbò*

Examples including inflected forms of auxiliary *bò-* are in (330).

(330)
a. *gìnágà-mbò b-è:* 'they are breaking'
b. *gìnágà-mbò bò-∅* 'he/she is breaking'
c. *gìnágà-mbò bò-m* 'I am breaking'

A textual example is (331).

(331)

gà:gó	*ó*	*gíyà-mbò*	*bò-∅,*	
hunger	2SgObj	kill-**Prog**	**be**-3SgSbj	
[[ó	^{L}*nɔ̀gɔ̀*	*mó]*	*gì]*	*hàybá-nd-ò:*
[[2SgPoss	^{L}husband	Def.AnSg]	Acc]	watch.over-FutNeg-2SgSbj

'Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over your husband.' (2005-2a)

For the past progressive in *-mbò bɛ̀-* see §10.3.1.6.

10.1.3.6 Present (*-njò-*)

As in the other suffixal AN forms, the **A/O-stem** of the verb is used. The tone formula for the stem is identical to that of the progressive (§10.1.3.5), i.e. ((X))H*(L), realized as {H} for monomoraic stems, {HL} for bimoraic stems, initial lexical tone for verbs of three or more moras, and any additional moras H-toned. For the 3Pl, whose suffix begins with an H-tone element, the final L of the stem is obligatory even for monosyllabics.

(332)

gloss	chaining	present
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-njò-*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-njò-*
'scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-njò-*
'instruct'	*bǎ:rɛ́*	*bǎ:rà-njò-*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-njò-*
'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-njò-*

‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-njò-*
‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yá-njò-*
‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-njò-*
‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dô:-njò-*

The pronominal-subject paradigm is (333).

(333)

category	conjugation	with *yɛ́* ‘see’
1Sg	*-njò-m*	*yá-njò-m*
2Sg	*-nj-ò:*	*yá-nj-ò:*
3Sg	*-njò-∅*	*yá-njò-∅*
1Pl	*-njò-y*	*yá-njò-y*
2Pl	*-nj-è:*	*yá-nj-è:*
3Pl	*-nj-ɛ̂:*	*yâ-nj-ɛ̂:*

The present with suffix *-njò-* may be used in weakly progressive (‘be VP-ing’) or habitual senses. Examples are in (334).

(334) a. *íŋgé* *díyà-njò-m*
water bathe-**Pres**-1Sg
‘I am bathing.’

b. *[déŋán* *dîn]* *íŋgé* *díyà-njò-m*
[day each] water bathe-**Pres**-1Sg
‘I bathe every day.’

10.1.4 Negation of indicative verbs

10.1.4.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs

10.1.4.2 Perfective negative (*-l-*)

The perfective negative is characterized by a suffix beginning with *-l-*, except for a special 3Pl form *-ndí*. The forms with *-l-* suggest a basic form /-lv́-/ with an H-toned high vowel. The best choice is /-lí-/ rather than /-lú-/, since there is a construction with unconjugated final *-lì* (§15.1.4.4). The high vowel is deleted word-finally in the zero 3Sg form, contracts with a suffixal vowel in the 2Sg and 2Pl, and appears with (arguably) assimilated vowel quality in 1Sg *-lú-m* and 1Pl *-lí-ỳ* (or *-lì-y*).

The verb is in the **A/O-stem**. For nonmonosyllabic stems, the **tones** are lexical, hence either /H/ or /LH/. Examples of the 1Sg and 3Sg are in (335).

(335)		gloss	chaining	perfective negative	
				1Sg	3Sg
	a.	‘hit’	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjá-lú-m*	*dènjá-l*
		‘cut’	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́já-lú-m*	*kɛ́já-l*
		‘run’	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yòbá-lú-m*	*yòbá-l*
		‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújá-lú-m*	*túgújá-l*
	b.	‘go’	*íné*	*ínó-lú-m*	*ínó-l*
		‘sleep’	*nóy*	*nóyó-lú-m*	*nóyó-l*
		‘sit’	*óbí-y*	*óbí-yó-lú-m*	*óbí-yó-l*
	c.	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágá-lú-m*	*gìnágá-l*

Monosyllabic verbs with short vowel (*Cv́*, *Cwv́*) are illustrated in (336). The perfective negative is instructive in that some of these verbs lengthen the stem vowel (336a,c) while others do not (336b), and in that some of the verbs have **H-toned** stem (336a) while others have **L-toned** stem (336b-c).

For the stems with low tone before the perfective negative suffix /-lí-/, when the suffixal vowel is deleted (in the zero 3Sg form), the suffixal H-tone survives, amalgamating with the stem’s low tone to result in a rising tone (336b-c).

(336)		gloss	chaining	1Sg PfvNeg	3Sg PfvNeg
	a. lengthened vowel, /H/ melody				
		‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá:-lú-m*	*kwá:-l-∅*
		‘go in’	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá:-lú-m*	*ŋwá:-l-∅*
		‘sow’	*twɛ́*	*twá:-lú-m*	*twá:-l-∅*
		‘pour’	*swɛ́*	*swá:-lú-m*	*swá:-l-∅*
	b.	‘come’	*wɛ́*	*wò-lú-m*	*wǒ-l-∅*
		‘drink’	*nɛ́*	*nà-lú-m*	*nǎ-l-∅*
		‘weep’	*ɲɛ́*	*ɲà-lú-m*	*ɲǎ-l-∅*
		‘be, stay’	*bɛ́*	*bà-lú-m*	*bǎ-l-∅*
		‘go out’	*gwɛ́*	*gò-lú-m*	*gǒ-l-∅*
		‘insult’	*dwɛ́*	*dwà-lú-m*	*dwǎ-l-∅*
		‘pound’	*dwɛ́*	*dwà-lú-m*	*dwǎ-l-∅*
	c.	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yà:-lú-m*	*yǎ:-l-∅*
		‘hear’	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwà:-lú-m*	*ŋwǎ:-l-∅*

The tonal and vowel-length splits among *Cv́* (and *Cwv́*) monosyllabics in the perfective negative inflection, and in the causative derivation, are undoubtedly archaic phonological characteristics that have elsewhere been lost, very likely as the result of shortening of these verbs from two to one mora (*Cv́:* to *Cv́*). Note in particular that *ŋwɛ́* ‘go in’ (336a) and *ŋwɛ́*

'hear' (336c) have distinct perfective negative forms, though most of their other inflections are homophonous. These two stems also have different tones in causative *ŋwá:-m* 'take in' and *ŋwǎ:-m* 'cause to hear', and there is comparative evidence that the two stems originally differed in tone. However, while both the perfective negative and the causative split these monomoraic stems into three groups, the inventories are not exactly the same, since in the causative only 'go out' has a short-voweled stem (*gǒ-m*). See §9.2.1 for details.

Monosyllabic stems with long vowels are illustrated in (337).

(337)		gloss	chaining	1Sg PfvNeg	3Sg PfvNeg
	a.	'eat'	*ké:*	*ká:-lú-m*	*ká:-l-∅*
		'sprout'	*tɛ́:*	—	*tá:-l-∅*
		'stay up'	*né:*	*ná:-l-úm*	*ná:-l-∅*
		'sting'	*tɛ́:*	*tá:-l-úm*	*tá:-l-∅*
	b.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:-l-úm*	*jô:-l-∅*
		'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dɔ̂:-l-úm*	*dɔ̂:-l-∅*

For the tonal phonology of 3Sg *jô:-l-∅* and *dɔ̂:-l-∅* (329b), see <HLH>-to-<HL> Reduction (§3.6.4.5).

The **3Pl** form is distinctive within the perfective negative paradigm. The stem has **{L} overlay**, and the final vowel is **lengthened**. The suffix is *-ndí*, which is probably opaque to further (synchronic) segmentation. Examples of the 1Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl are in (338). The 3Pl forms for 'enter' and 'hear' in (338a) are homophonous, though the corresponding 1Sg and 3Sg forms are audibly distinct.

(338)		gloss	1Sg PfvNeg	3Sg PfvNeg	3Pl PfvNeg
	a.	'see'	*yà:-lú-m*	*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yà:-ndí*
		'drink'	*nà-lú-m*	*nǎ-l-∅*	*nà:-ndí*
		'go out'	*gò-lú-m*	*gǒ-l-∅*	*gò:-ndí*
		'come'	*wò-lú-m*	*wǒ-l-∅*	*wò:-ndí*
		'eat'	*kwá:-lú-m*	*kwá:-l-∅*	*kwà:-ndí*
		homophonous in 3Pl only			
		'enter'	*ŋwá:-lú-m*	*ŋwá:-l-∅*	*ŋwà:-ndí*
		'hear'	*ŋwà:-lú-m*	*ŋwǎ:-l-∅*	*ŋwà:-ndí*
	b.	'cut'	*kéjá-lú-m*	*kéjá-l-∅*	*kèjà:-ndí*
		'hit'	*dènjá-lú-m*	*dènjá-l-∅*	*dènjà:-ndí*
		'run'	*yòbá-lú-m*	*yòbá-l-∅*	*yòbà:-ndí*
		'go'	*ínó-lú-m*	*ínó-l-∅*	*ìnò:-ndí*
		'jump	*tómbó-lú-m*	*tómbó-l-∅*	*tòmbò:-ndí*

The **1Pl** perfective negative suffix complex is always segmentally *-li-y*. The 1Pl suffix *-ỳ* is L-toned. The *-li-* morpheme has a tone opposite to the final tone of the preceding stem. Since

the only perfective negative forms with stem-final low tone are a subset of the monosyllabic stems, there are only a handful of verbs that show up with 1Pl perfective negative *-lí-ỳ*. Examples are *yà:-lí-ỳ* 'we did not see', *wò-lí-ỳ* 'we did not come'. All bisyllabic or longer stems end in an H-tone before the perfective negative suffix, as do the remaining monosyllabics, and all these verbs have 1Pl perfective negative *-lì-y* (equivalent to /-lì-ỳ/ with low tone. Thus *kwá:-lì-y* 'we didn't eat', *sémá-lì-y* 'we did not slaughter', *dògá-lì-y* 'we did not leave', *túgújá-lì-y* 'we did not scrub'. Within the perfective negative paradigm, this low tone is unique to the 1Pl.

Sample full paradigms are in (339).

(339)

category	conjugation	with 'see'	with 'run'
1Sg	*-lú-m*	*yà:-lú-m*	*yòbá-lú-m*
2Sg	*-l-ó:*	*yà:-l-ó:*	*yòbá-l-ó:*
3Sg	*-l-∅*	*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yòbá-l-∅*
1Pl	*-lí-ỳ*	*yà:-lí-ỳ*	*yòbá-lì-ỳ*
2Pl	*-l-é:*	*yà:-l-é:*	*yòbá-l-é:*
3Pl	*:-ndí*	*yà:-ndí*	*yòbà:-ndí*

For experiential perfect negative *tárá-l*, see §10.1.3.2.

10.1.4.3 Future negative (*-ńdì-*)

The future negative (FutNeg) indicates that an eventuality of the relevant type will not occur (in a relevant future time frame).

The suffix is *-ńdì-*. The low tone on the vowel distinguishes this suffix from the H-toned present negative *-ndí-* and also from 3Pl perfective negative *:-ndí* (which also lengthens the preceding vowel).

In the future negative, the stem ends in a **single H-toned** mora. The H-tone is realized on the *n* of the suffix. All preceding syllables are L-toned. The vocalism is that of the **A/O-stem**.

(340)

gloss	chaining	future negative
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yǎ-ndì-*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgǎ-ndì-*
'scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*tùgùjǎ-ndì-*
'instruct'	*bǎ:rɛ́*	*bà:rǎ-ndì-*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dògǎ-ndì-*
'slaughter'	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sèmǎ-ndì-*
'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwǎ-ndì-*
'see'	*yɛ́*	*yǎ-ndì-*
'bring'	*jê:*	*jŏ:-ndì-*
'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dŏ:-ndì-*

The future negative is segmentally identical to the present negative (§10.1.4.4), but they differ tonally.

The pronominal-subject future negative paradigm, and a sample paradigm for 'jump', are in (341). The 1Sg has *-nù-m* where one would expect something like #-*ndù-m*.

(341)

category	conjugation	'will not jump'
1Sg	*-nù-m*	*tòmbó-nù-m*
2Sg	*-nd-ò:*	*tòmbǒ-nd-ò:*
3Sg	*-ndì-∅*	*tòmbǒ-ndì-∅*
1Pl	*-ndì-y*	*tòmbǒ-ndì-y*
2Pl	*-nd-è:*	*tòmbǒ-nd-è:*
3Pl	*-ndì-yà*	*tòmbǒ-ndì-yà*

10.1.4.4 Present negative (*-ndí-*)

The present negative denies that the eventuality in question is occurring at the time of speaking, or that it occurs in some wider time frame including the present.

The present negative is **segmentally** identical to the future negative. However, the present negative has **H-tone** on the suffix *-ndí-*, as well as different stem tones. The *-ndí-* suffix should be distinguished from the special 3Pl perfective negative portmanteau *:-ndí*, which is preceded by all-low toned stem and which lengthens the stem-final vowel.

Present negative *-ndí-* imposes an L-tone on the final syllable of the stem, and this L-tone must be preceded by an H-tone. As a result, lexical *CvCv́* and *CvCv́* stems merge as *CvCv̀-ndí-*. Therefore *sémà-ndí-* 'doesn't slaugher' (< *sémɛ́*) has the same tones as *dógà-ndí-* 'doesn't leave' (< *dɔ̀gɛ́*). Similarly, all monosyllabics have falling tone on the stem: *kwâ-ndí* 'does not eat' (< *kwɛ́*), *dɔ̂:-ndí-* 'does not arrive' (< *dwɛ̂:*), *jô:-ndí-* 'does not bring' (< *jɛ̂:*), *kâ:-ndí-* 'does not shave' (< *kɛ́:*). So neither short (bimoraic) bisyllabics nor monosyllabics reveal their lexical melodies in this inflection.

However, longer stems do distinguish lexical **/H/ from /LH/** melodies by the tone of the first syllable or (for *Cv:Cv* bisyllabics) the tone of the first mora: *túgújà-ndí-* 'doesn't scrub' (*túgújɛ́*) with initial H-tone, but *màmílí-yà-ndí* 'doesn't go back' with initial L-tone (*màmílí-yɛ́*), and *bǎ:nà-ndí-* 'does not cook (porridge)' with <LH> tone on the first syllable (*bà:n*).

Therefore the overall stem-tone formula for this inflection is: **(X)H*L**, with obligatory H and L elements, with the lexically sensitive onset X tone audible if the H and L do not exhaust the available moras of the stem, and with any remaining intervening syllables H-toned.

(342)

gloss	chaining	present negative
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-ndí-*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-ndí-*
'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-ndí-*

‘instruct’	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-ndí-*
‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-ndí-*
‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sémà-ndí-*
‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwâ-ndí-*
‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yâ-ndí-*
‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-ndí-*
‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dɔ̂:-ndí-*

The pronominal-subject paradigm is exemplified by ‘jump’ in (343). The pronominal suffixes and in fact the entire word forms are identical segmentally to those of the future negative.

(343)

category	conjugation	‘does not jump’
1Sg	*-nú-m*	*tómbò-nú-m*
2Sg	*-nd-ó:*	*tómbò-nd-ó:*
3Sg	*-ndí-∅*	*tómbò-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*-ndí-ỳ*	*tómbò-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*-ndé:*	*tómbò-nd-é:*
3Pl	*-ndí-yà*	*tómbò-ndí-yà*

10.1.4.5 Progressive negative (*-njò-ndí-*, *-mbò òndú*)

The most common progressive negative is not closely related morphologically to the periphrastic progressive (positive) with uninflectable *-mbò* followed by an inflected form of *bò-* ‘be’. Instead, the form that functions as progressive negative is formed by adding suffix *-ndí-* (which also appears in the present negative and the stative negative) to what is morphologically the present (positive) form in *-njò-*.

(344)

gloss	chaining	progressive negative
‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-njò-ndí-*
‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-njò-ndí-*
‘scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-njò-ndí-*
‘instruct’	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-njò-ndí-*
‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-njò-ndí-*
‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sémà-njò-ndí-*
‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-njò-ndí-*
‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yá-njò-ndí-*
‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-njò-ndí-*
‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dɔ̂:-njò-ndí-*

The pronominal paradigm, and examples with ‘jump’, are in (345).

(345)

category	conjugation	‘is not jumping’
1Sg	*-njò-nú-m*	*tómbò-njò-nú-m*
2Sg	*-njò-nd-ó:*	*tómbò-njò-nd-ó:*
3Sg	*-njò-ndí-∅*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*-njò-ndí-ỳ*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*-njò-ndé:*	*tómbò-njò-ndé:*
3Pl	*-njò-ndí-yà*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-yà*

It is also possible to negate the periphrastic progressive (positive) complex directly. In this case, instead of [VERB-*mbò bò-*], the construction is [VERB-*mbò òndí-*], keeping the progressive suffix *-mbò* on the verb, and replacing *bò-* ‘be’ with its own suppletive negative counterpart *òndí-* ~ *òndú-*. (346) is interchangeable with 1Sg *tómbò-njò-nú-m* in (345).

(346) *tómbò-mbò* *òndí-yó-m̀*
jump-**Prog** **not.be**-MP-1SgSbj
‘I am not jumping.’

10.2 Summary of pronominal paradigms for indicative verbs

The subject-pronominal suffixes are slightly variable depending on the presence of a preceding AN suffix, and (when added to the perfective stem with zero AN suffix) on the ATR-harmonic class of the stem. The forms are summarized in (347), with examples from the perfective and present (positive) forms of ‘eat’. The alternations *e:*/*ɛ:* and *o:*/*ɔ:* in the contracted second person forms are based on the ATR-harmonic quality of the final vowel of the preceding morpheme.

(347)

category	conjugation	‘ate’ (perfective)	‘eat(s)’ (present)
1Sg	*-m*	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwá-ɲjò-m*
1Pl	*-y*	*kwɛ̀-ý*	*kwá-ɲjò-y*
2Sg	*-ɔ:/o:*	*k-ɔ̌:*	*kwá-ɲj-ò:*
2Pl	*-ɛ:/e:*	*kw-ɛ̌:*	*kwá-ɲj-è:*
3Sg	*-∅*	*kwɛ̀-∅*	*kwá-ɲjò-∅*
3Pl	*-a:/ɛ:* (etc.)	*kw-à:*	*kwâ-ɲj-ɛ̂:*

The “3Pl” form is generally used for (grammatically) animate nouns. Thus 3Sg *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-∅* ‘he/she/it fell’ may also be used for plural inanimate subject (e.g. ‘trees’), while *dɛ̀ŋ-à:* ‘they fell’ is used when the subject is human, animal, or other grammatically animate noun like ‘motorcycles’.

The 3Pl is the most irregular category morphologically, and not all of its allomorphs with the different AN suffixes are shown here.

For the three slightly irregular verbs with monosyllabic /HL/ or bisyllabic /LHL/ melodies, the perfective paradigms are in (348).

(348)

category	suffix	'found'	'brought'	'arrived'
1Sg	*-m*	*dìnɛ́:-m̀*	*jɛ̂:-m*	*dwɛ́:-m̀*
1Pl	*-y*	*dìnɛ́:-ỳ*	*jɛ̂:-y*	*dwɛ́:-ỳ*
2Sg	*-ɔ:/o:*	*dìn-ɔ̂:*	*j-ô:*	*d-ɔ̂:*
2Pl	*-ɛ:/e:*	*dìn-ɛ̂:*	*j-ê:*	*dw-ɛ̂:*
3Sg	*-∅*	*dìnɛ̂:-∅*	*jɛ̂:-∅*	*dwɛ̂:-∅*
3Pl	*-a:/ɛ:* (etc.)	*dìn-ɔ̂:*	*j-ô:*	*d-ɔ̂:*

10.3 Supplemental temporal morphemes

10.3.1 Past (*=bɛ̀-*)

The **past** morpheme with its pronominal-subject inflection may be added as an enclitic (or, arguably, as a separate auxiliary verb), to certain verb forms described in the following sections. It specifies past time for a stative or imperfective verb that might otherwise be taken as including the present, and it shifts a perfect ('has VP-ed') to past perfect ('had VP-ed', i.e. with reference to a moment in the past).

The pronominal-subject paradigms (positive and negative) of *=bɛ̀-* are in (349).

(349)

category	positive	negative
1Sg	*=bɛ̀-mɨ́*	*=bà-lú-m*
2Sg	*=b-ɔ̌:*	*=bà-l-ó:*
3Sg	*=bɛ̀-∅*	*=bă-l-∅*
1Pl	*=bɛ̀-ý*	*=bà-l-î:*
2Pl	*=b-ɛ̌:*	*=bà-l-é:*
3Pl	*=b-à:*	*=bà:-ndí*

The forms of the past morpheme might be analysed as perfective forms of the verb *bɛ́-* 'remain', i.e. perfective (positive) *bɛ̀-* and perfective negative *bà-l(í)-*. In forms other that perfective, *bɛ́-* means 'remain, stay', as in 'I will remain here (while someone else is going away)'. In the perfective, *bɛ̀-* may function as the past-time equivalent of *bò-* 'be (somewhere)', see the following section. Taking *bɛ̀-* and enclitic *=bɛ̀-* as the E-stem perfective of *bò-* would make sense semantically, but the shift from +ATR *bò-* to -ATR *bɛ̀-* would be irregular.

10.3.1.1 Past of ‘be (somewhere)’

The past-time equivalent of ‘be (somewhere)’ is formed by replacing *bò-* by *bɛ̀-* ‘was/were (somewhere)’. In this function, *bɛ̀-* is not encliticized to another predicative form. Negative ‘was/were not (somewhere)’ is similarly the negative of *bɛ̀-*. The forms are the same as those given just above for the enclitics, except that there is usually no audible final pitch rise in the positive 1st/2nd person forms. There is no clear distinction between ‘was/were’ as past counterpart of *bò-* on the one hand, and the perfective of *bɛ́* ‘remain’ (§11.2.6.1) on the other hand.

(350) a. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *má]* *bɛ̀-∅*
[village in] **be.Past**-3SgSbj
‘He/She was (or: used to be) in the village.’

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *má]* *bă-l-∅*
[village in] **be.Past**-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘He/She was not in the village.’

10.3.1.2 Past of ‘have’, ‘know’, and ‘want’

The past form of ‘have’ is *jógò-m* plus the conjugated form of *=bɛ̀-*. The sequence *-m=bɛ̀-* is also used with other defective statives ‘know’ and ‘want’. The sequence *-m=bɛ̀-* is found in the past imperfective of regular verbs, but also in the past form of derived stative verbs. Since stative verbs do not distinguish aspect, it is difficult to gloss the *-m* morpheme; I will gloss it as stative with ‘have’, ‘know’, ‘want’, and derived statives, and imperfective in the past imperfective of regular verbs. Examples with ‘have’, ‘know’, and ‘want’ are in (351). Note that all have {HL} tones on the (bisyllabic) stem, which is consistent with tones on other verbs before *-m* in the past imperfective and past stative.

(351) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *jógò-m=bɛ̀-m*
dog have-Stat=**Past**-1SgSbj
‘I had (=used to have) a dog.’

b. *tígà-m=bɛ̀-m*
know-Stat=**Past**-1SgSbj
‘I knew (=used to know).’

c. *pɛ̀gɛ́* *kíyò-m=bɛ̀-m*
sheep want-Stat=**Past**-1SgSbj
‘I wanted a sheep.’

Negative counterparts are in (352). The negation of ‘have’ is expressed only in the enclitic, which has a perfective negative suffix (352a). The negation of ‘know’ is expressed by using the suppletive negative stem meaning ‘not know’, with no marking of negation in the enclitic (352b). The negation of ‘want’ (§17.2.1.1) is expressed using either of these morphological

constructions (352c-d). The fact that (352c) was volunteered by the assistant, while (352d) was then suggested by the linguist and accepted by the assistant, suggests that *kélà-* 'not want' may tend to pattern as a distinct verb ('dislike') rather than as a simple negation of 'want'.

(352) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *jógò-m = bà-lú-m*
dog have-Stat=**Past**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I didn't have a dog.'

b. *éndà-m = bɛ̀-m*
not.know-Stat=**Past**-1SgSbj
'I didn't know.'

c. *pègɛ́* *kíyò-m = bà-lú-m*
sheep want-Stat=**Past**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I did not want a sheep.'

d. *pègɛ́* *kélà-m = bɛ̀-m*
sheep not.want-Stat=**Past**-1SgSbj
'I did not want a sheep.'

10.3.1.3 Past stative (*-m = bɛ̀-*)

Examples (353a-b) illustrate the use of *-m = bɛ̀-* with the stative form of a stance verb (§11.2.3). Since such statives (which end in *o* or *a*) do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, the past enclitic is especially useful with them. (353a) is positive, (353b) negative.

(353) a. *ɲá:* *ŋ̀gîn* *óbò-m = bɛ̀-∅*
yesterday here sit-Stat=**Past**-3SgSbj
'Yesterday he/she was sitting here.'

b. *ɲá:* *ŋ̀gîn* *óbò-m = bă-l-∅*
sit-Stat=**Past**-Neg-3SgSbj
'Yesterday he/she was not sitting here.'

Compare e.g. stative *óbò-∅* 'he/she is sitting', negative *òbò-ndí-∅* 'he/she is not sitting'. Other examples involving statives are *jógò-m = bɛ̀-* 'had, used to have' and *tígà-m = bɛ̀-* 'knew, used to know'.

10.3.1.4 Past of 'it is' enclitic (*=y=bɛ̀-*)

=bɛ̀- may also follow the 'it is' enclitic *=y* (§11.2.1), which itself follows an NP (singular or plural). In this combination, the *=y* is invariant (not conjugated), while *=bɛ̀-* has its regular pronominal-subject inflection.

(354) a. *sɔ̀njɔ́:=ý=bɛ̀-∅*
village=it.is=**Past**-3SgSbj
'It was (= used to be) a village.' (< *sɔ̀njɔ̌:*)

b. *gǒ:rɛ̀=ỳ=bɛ̀-∅*
'kola.nut.Pl=it.is=**Past**-3SgSbj
'It was (= used to be) kola nuts' (2005-1a)

c. *gɔ̀lɛ̀*^{L}*-gòlé=ý=bɛ̀-m̀*
farming^{L}-do.farming.Agent=it.is=**Past**-1SgSbj
'I used to be a farmer.'

d. *gɔ̀lɛ̀*^{L}*-gòlú-mbó=ý=bɛ̀-ỳ*
farming^{L}-do.farming.Agent-Pl=it.is=**Past**-1PlSbj
'We used to be farmers.'

In the **negative**, the inner sequence with *=y* is unchanged from the positive type just illustrated. The past morpheme takes its regular conjugated negative form (355).

(355) *gɔ̀lɛ̀*^{L}*-gòlé=ý=bà-lú-m*
farming^{L}-do.farming.Agent=it.is=**Past**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I did not use to be a farmer.'

10.3.1.5 Past imperfective (*-m=bɛ̀-*)

The past imperfective consists of the main verb with suffix *-m* plus an inflected form of the past enclitic. It may be used with any verb in **past imperfective** function, especially in habitual contexts ('used to VP'). In progressive contexts ('was VP-ing;) it also competes with the past progressive.

Examples showing the tones of the stems are in (356) below. The tone formula for the stem is **((X))H*(L)-**. That is, an H-tone is obligatory ('eat', 'see', 'come'). If there is a second mora, we get {HL} ('slaughter', 'leave', 'bring', 'arrive'). If there are additional moras, the initial mora respects the lexical /H/ versus /LH/ melody ('break', 'scrub', 'instruct'), and any further moras are filled out with H-tones ('go back'). This tone formula is identical to that which precedes the present (suffix *-njɔ̀-*) and that which precedes the morpheme *-m* in the progressive construction.

The *-m* functions here as an allomorph of present *-njɔ̀-*, and I will gloss it accordingly. It can be connected with the initial nasals in future *-mbô-* (special 3Sg form *-m̀*) and

present *-njò-*, and more directly with *-m* in the progressive construction. Before the past enclitic, *-m̀* is also found after statives (§10.3.1.3 above).

(356)

gloss	chaining	past imperfective
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-m = bɛ̀-*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-m = bɛ̀-*
'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-m = bɛ̀-*
'instruct'	*bǎ:rɛ́*	*bǎ:rà-m = bɛ̀-*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-m = bɛ̀-*
'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-m = bɛ̀-*
		(also *séyà-m = bɛ̀-* by Intervocalic Labial-Deletion)
'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-m = bɛ̀-*
'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá-m = bɛ̀-*
'come'	*wé*	*wó-m = bɛ̀-*
'bring'	*jɛ̂:*	*jô:-m = bɛ̀-*
'arrive'	*dwɛ̂:*	*dô:-m = bɛ̀-*

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) *= bɛ̀-* by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart *= bǎ-l-* (1Sg *= bà-lú-*m, etc.). Thus positive *màmílí-yà-m = bɛ̀-m* 'I used to go back', negative *màmílí-yà-m = bà-lú-m̀* 'I did not use to go back'.

The past imperfective is used in the consequent clauses of **counterfactual** conditionals (§16.4).

10.3.1.6 Past progressive (*-mbò bɛ̀-*)

The normal progressive is expressed by a form with *-mbò* after the A/O-stem, plus an inflected form of *bò-* 'be', see §10.1.3.5. The morphosyntactically regular past counterpart replaces *bò-* by *bɛ̀-*. In elicitation, the past imperfective tends to be preferred even in semantically progressive contexts. However, the past progressive is attested in texts.

Examples from the sample text are *yùgúlì-yò-mbò b-à:* 'they used to be going crazy' in (762) and *[í là] kánà-mbò bɛ̀-ỳ* 'we too used to do it' in (725).

10.3.1.7 Future-in-past (*-m = bɛ̀-*)

A future-in-past construction, comparable semantically to the "conditional" of e.g. Romance languages, is segmentally identical to the past imperfective, but differs tonally. The future-in-past has a stem overlay L*H similar to tbe stem-plus-suffix formula L*-HL of the simple future inflection (suffix *-mbô-*), with a final L-tone preceded by one H-tone. The sense is 'was going to VP' or 'was about to VP'.

(357)	gloss	chaining	future-in-past
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yá-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgá-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*tùgùjá-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'instruct'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bà:rá-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dògá-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sèmá-m＝bɛ̀-*
			(also *sèyá-m＝bɛ̀-* by Inervocalic Labial-Deletion_
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwă-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yă-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'come'	*wé*	*wŏ-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jŏ:-m＝bɛ̀-*
	'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dŏ:-m＝bɛ̀-*

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) *＝bɛ̀-* by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart *＝bă-l-* (1Sg *＝bà-lú-m*, etc.). Thus *màmìlì-yá-m＝bɛ̀-m* 'I was going to go back', *màmìlì-yá-m＝bà-lú-m̀* 'I was not going to go back'.

10.3.1.8 Past perfect (chaining form plus *＝bɛ̀-*)

＝bɛ̀- is added to the **chaining form**, without the *-m-* seen in the preceding (imperfective and stative) examples, for **past perfect** sense ('had VP-ed'). Positive examples are in (358). Note particularly the stem-final /i/ in (358c), versus the final {*ɛ e*} in (358a-b). This distribution of the E-stem and I-stem is diagnostic of the chaining form. Stem-final /i/ is subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion, as in 'I had slept' (§3.4.2.1).

(358)			
	a.	*kwɛ́＝bɛ̀-m*	'I had eaten'
		dɔ̀gɛ́＝bɛ̀-m	'I had left'
		sémɛ́＝bɛ̀-m	'I had slaughtered'
	b.	*wé＝bɛ̀-m*	'I had come'
		jê:＝bɛ̀-m	'I had brought'
	c.	*págí＝bɛ̀-m*	'I had tied'
		súgí＝bɛ̀-m	'I had gone down'
		nóy＝bɛ̀-m	'I had slept'

The **negative** counterparts consist of the (positive) inflected *＝bɛ̀-* preceded by a conjugated perfective negative verb. The subject pronominal category is therefore expressed twice. In (359), 1Sg *＝bɛ̀-m* is added to an already fully inflected 1Sg perfective negative ending in *-lú-m*.

(359) a. *kwá:-lú-m = bɛ̀-m* ‘I had not eaten’
dògá-lú-m = bɛ̀-m ‘I had not left’
séma-lú-m = bɛ̀-m ‘I had not slaughtered’

b. *wò-lú-m = bɛ̀-m* ‘I had not come’
jô:-lú-m = bɛ̀-m ‘I had not brought’

c. *págá-lú-m = bɛ̀-m* ‘I had not tied’
súgó-lú-m = bɛ̀-m ‘I had not gone down’
nóyó-lú-m = bɛ̀-m ‘I had not slept’

These past perfect forms (positive and negative) are also used in the antecedent clauses of **counterfactual** conditionals (§16.4).

10.3.2 ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, (not) yet’

For ‘not yet’, the perfective negative verb is combined with invariant adverb *táfòn*.

(360) a. *táfòn* *wò-l-∅*
not.yet come-**PfvNeg**-3SgSbj
‘He/She hasn’t come yet.’

b. *táfòn* *twě* *twá-lì-y*
not.yet sowing sow-**PfvNeg**-1PlSbj
‘We haven’t planted (the seeds) yet.’

For positive ‘until now’, ‘so far’, or ‘still (= even now)’, *sàŋgí* ‘now’ is combined with universal quantifier *dîn* ‘all’ as *sàŋgí dîn*.

(361) a. *[jènă:* *kó]* *nɛ̌ỳ* *[sàŋgí* *dîn]*
[rainy.season Def.InanSg.O] is.good [**now** **all**]
‘The rainy season is good for the time being.’

b. *[sàŋgí* *dîn]* *tégà-njò-∅* *ló*
[**now** **all**] rain.fall-Pres-3SgSbj Q
‘Is it still raining?’

c. *[sàŋgí* *dîn]* *yógé* *yé* *yà:-lú-m*
[**now** **all**] millet.Pl Def.InanPl see-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
‘So far (=up to now) we haven’t seen (=received) any millet.’

10.4 Imperatives and hortatives

10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

10.4.1.1 Positive imperatives (including plural-addressee -*m̀*)

Positive imperatives have an unsuffixed singular-addressee form that is based on the **A/O stem** with no segmental affix. This means that the stem ends in *a* (corresponding to *ɛ* in the chaining form and perfective) or *o* (corresponding to *i* in the chaining form and *e* in the perfective), and that vowels of any nonfinal syllables are subject to {*e o*} vowel harmony (clearly observable when the stem has a lexical {*ɛ ɔ*}). In the imperative (singular), the word has **{H} overlay** for all stem shapes.

For **plural** addressee, an L-toned suffix *-m̀* ("-PlAddr") is added to the (singular) imperative. The same similar is added to other deontic modals (prohibitive, hortative) for plural addressee. There is no resemblance between this suffix and regular 2Pl morphemes (e.g. independent pronoun *é*).

(362)

	gloss	chaining	imperative	
			singular addressee	plural addressee
a.	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá*	*kwá-m̀*
	'cut'	*kéjɛ́*	*kéjá*	*kéjá-m̀*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá*	*yá-m̀*
	'drink'	*nɛ́*	*ná*	*ná-m̀*
	'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ́*	*dénjá*	*dénjá-m̀*
	'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ́*	*íŋgé díyá*	*íŋgé díyá-m̀*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yóbá*	*yóbó-m̀*
	'instruct'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bá:rá*	*bá:rá-m̀*
	'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújá*	*túgújá-m̀*
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*mámílí-yá*	*mámílí-yá-m̀*
b.	'go'	*ìnè-ḿ*	*ínó*	*ínó-m̀*
	'come'	*wè-ḿ*	*wó*	*wó-m̀*
	'sleep'	*nòyè-ḿ*	*nóyó*	*nóyó-m̀*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gínágá*	*gínágá-m̀*
c.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:* ~ *jô*	*jó:-m̀* ~ *jó-m̀*
	'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dɔ̂:*	*dɔ̂:-m̀*

Textual examples are in (363).

(363) a. *[dôm* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]]* *dímbí-yá*
[talk(n) [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]] follow-MP.**Imprt**
'Continue-2Sg your talk!' (2005-2a)

b. *[bèlí-yɛ́ nɛ̀]* *kúnjá*
[get.up-MP then.SS] get.old.**Imprt**
'Arise and get-2Sg old!' (2005-2a)

Imperative clauses may function as abstractives, under the scope of a phrase like 'there is …' or 'there is no …'.

(364) *[[ḿ mà] dámá] kà]* *òndú-∅*
[[1Sg Dat] speak.**Imprt**] Top] **not.be**-3SgSbj
'There is no (saying) "tell me!" ' (2005-1a)

10.4.1.2 Tips for distinguishing three verbal *-m* suffixes

One may distinguish plural-addressee imperative *-m̀*, 1Sg *-m*, and 3Sg future *-m̀* by the key in (365) when they directly follow the stem (underived or derived). For the 1Sg, this is the case only in the perfective (positive). The 1Sg suffix may also follow other AN suffixes, in which case there is no possibility of confusion.

(365)

	category	tone formula	preceding vowel(s)
a.	plural imperative	{H}	{*a o*}, i.e. A/O-stem
b.	3Sg future	L*<HL>	{*a o*}, i.e. A/O-stem
c.	1Sg perfective	L*<LH>	{*ɛ e*}, i.e. E-stem

The 1Sg perfective always has telltale stem-final *ɛ* or *e* of the E-stem, as in *kwɛ̀-ḿ* 'I ate' and *ìnè-ḿ* 'I went'. For the two *-m* combinations involving the A/O form of the stem, the distinction is made by noting the **stem tones**, which are {H} in the plural-addressee imperative but which begin with an L-tone in the 3Sg future. Thus *sémá-m̀* 'slaughter-2Pl!' versus *sèmá-m̀* 'he/she will slaughter'. For **monosyllabic** stems, the distinction between plural-addressee imperative and 3Sg future is phonetically subtle but real, even with bimoraic word shapes that make the bell-shaped <LHL> tone initially difficult for the foreign linguist to hear: *kwâ-m* 'eat!-2Pl' versus *kwă-m̀* 'he/she will eat', *yâ-m* 'see!-2Pl' versus *yă-m̀* 'he/she will see'.

10.4.1.3 Prohibitive (negative imperative) with *-là* or *-nɔ̂:*

The negative counterpart of the imperative, the prohibitive, is expressed by adding either *-là* or *-nɔ̂:* to the stem for singular addressee. As in the (positive) imperative, for plural addressee a further suffix *-m* is added (*-là-m*, *-nɔ̂-m*).

-là and *-nɔ̂:* require distinct stem shapes.

Before *-là*, the **A/O-stem** is used. The onset of the stem respects the lexical distinction between /H/ and /LH/ melodies. All short-voweled monosyllabics are /H/, so for these verbs no distinctive lexical tones are found here (366a-b). However, bimoraic stems with /LH/ melody keep it before the suffix (366c), while bimoraic stems with /H/ or (for C*v̂:*-) /HL/

melody appear with {HL} (366d-e). In even heavier stems, the initial mora is based on the lexical melody, the final two moras are HL, and any intervening moras are H-toned (366f-g). Therefore the formula for the stem is **X((H*))H(L)**, with obligatory H and lexical onset X, though if X is H it fuses with the overlaid H. The tones are identical to the lexical melody, except that if the stem would otherwise end in two H-toned syllables, the stem-final syllable drops to L-tone.

The verb *ín\\ìnè* 'go' has a slightly irregular syncopated prohibitive *ín-là* 'don't go!' for expected #*ínò-là* (366h), compare e.g. *túnò-là* 'don't put!'.

(366)

	gloss	chaining	prohibitive when addressee is …	
			… singular	… plural
a.	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá-là*	*yá-là-m*
	'drink'	*nɛ́*	*ná-là*	*ná-là-m*
	'go in'	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá-là*	*ŋwá-là-m*
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-là*	*kwá-là-m*
	'hear'	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá-là*	*ŋwá-là-m*
b.	'come'	*wè-ḿ*	*wó-là*	*wó-là-m*
	'go out'	*gwé*	*gó-là*	*gó-là-m*
c.	'hit'	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjá-là*	*dènjá-là-m*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yòbá-là*	*yòbá-là-m*
	'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ́*	*íŋgé dìyé-là*	*íŋgé dìyé-là-m*
	'instruct'	*bă:ré*	*bă:rà-là*	*bă:rà-là-m*
d.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:-là*	*jô:-là-m*
	'shave'	*kɛ́:*	*kâ:-là*	*kâ:-là-m*
e.	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́jà-là*	*kɛ́jà-là-m*
	'spray'	*píjí*	*píjò-là*	*píjò-là-m*
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nóyò-là*	*nóyò-là-m*
	'look'	*tár*	*tárà-là*	*tárà-là-m*
	'put'	*tún*	*túnò-là*	*túnò-là-m*
f.	'sit'	*óbí-y*	*óbí-yò-là*	*óbí-yò-là-m*
	'stop'	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	*íŋgí-yà-là*	*íŋgí-yà-là-m*
	'make stop'	*íŋgí-rá-ndí*	*íŋgí-rá-ndà-là*	*íŋgí-rá-ndà-là-m*
g.	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-là*	*màmílí-yà-là-m*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-là*	*gìnágà-là-m*
h.	'go'	*ín*	*în-là*	*ín-là-m*

Textual examples with *-là* are in (367).

(367) a. *[bìrɛ́ nɛ̀] [mó gì] ǹdírá nɔ̀,*
[work(v) then.SS] [AnSg Acc] give.Imprt Emph,
[ḿ mà] bìrá-là nɔ̀
[1Sg in] work(v)-**Proh** Emph
'Work and give (something) to him! Don't work at my place!' (2005-2a)

b. *[ìnjì-yá-m̀ mà:] kájábà-là*
[stand-MP-Fut.3Sg Q] think-**Proh**
'Don't think that it (= what you say) will stand (= hold).' (2005-1a)

The alternative form with suffix *-nɔ̂:* is added to a stem with **{L} overlay** (tone-dropping). As in the chaining form, the vocalism is that of the E-stem for verbs with lexical {*ɛ ɔ*}, and that of the I-stem for verbs with lexical {*e o*}.

(368)

	gloss	chaining	prohibitive when addressee is …	
			… singular	… plural
a.	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*kwɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'drink'	*nɛ́*	*nɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*nɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
b.	'come'	*wɛ́*	*wɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*wɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
c.	'go'	*ín*	*ìn-nɔ̂:*	*ìn-nɔ̂:-m*
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nòy-nɔ̂:*	*nòy-nɔ̂:-m*
d.	'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ́*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'bathe'	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́*	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*màmìlì-yɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
e.	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgì-nɔ̂:*	*gìnàgì-nɔ̂:-m*

Comparison with other Dogon languages suggests that the *-nɔ̂:* prohibitive may have originated as a direct chain ending with 'forget', which is *nă:* in Donno So and Tommo So, with further cognates. This diachronic connection is opaque in Najamba which has *ìrɛ́* 'forget'.

10.4.2 First-person inclusive hortatives

10.4.2.1 Positive hortatives 'let's …!' (*-ý*, plural *-ỳ*)

When the speaker urges one person to join with him or her in a collective act ('let's-Du go!'), the singular-addressee hortative is used. This consists of an **{L}**-toned form of the **A/O-stem**

plus H-toned suffix *-ý*. When more than one interlocutor is addressed, the **plural-**addressee hortative is used. It is segmentally identical to the singular-addressee hortative, but has different tones, namely **{LH}** stem overlay with the H on the final mora, plus L-toned suffix *-ỳ*.

(369)

	gloss	chaining	hortative when addressee is …	
			… singular	… plural
a.	'hit'	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjà-ý*	*dènjá-ỳ*
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwà-ý*	*kwǎ-ỳ*
	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kèjà-ý*	*kèjá-ỳ*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yà-ý*	*yǎ-ỳ*
	'drink'	*nɛ́*	*nà-ý*	*nǎ-ỳ*
	'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ́*	*íŋgé dìyà-ý*	*íŋgé dìyá-ỳ*
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yà-ý*	*màmìlì-yá-ỳ*
b.	'go'	*ìné*	*ìnò-ý*	*ìnó-ỳ*
	'come'	*wé*	*wò-ý*	*wǒ-ỳ*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jò:-ý*	*jǒ:-ỳ*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yòbà-ý*	*yòbá-ỳ*
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nòyò-ý*	*nòyó-ỳ*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgà-ý*	*gìnàgá-ỳ*

Examples are in (370).

(370) a. *wó* *mànâ:* *kwà-ý* *wá*
come.Imprt meal eat-**Hort.SgAddr** Quot
'(He said:) "Come! Let's eat a meal!" ' (2005-2a)

b. *[[í* *gɔ̀]* *=là:]* *jǎ-ỳ*
[[1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.O] =it.is.not.PplSbj] take-**Hort.PlAddr**
'Let's take what is not ours!' (2005-2a)

c. *[áníyá* *dîn]* *kènɛ́* *b-ɛ̀:* *kó,*
[world all] like.that be-3PlSbj Def.InanSg.O,
mòmbí-yɛ́ *ɲàmá-ỳ*
gather-Mp ruin-**Hort.PlAddr**
'Let's get together and ruin (= change) the situation where everyone is like that.' (2005-2a)

A hortative may appear in interrogative clauses (the Najamba syntax is roughly captured by e.g. 'let's do what?' as opposed to 'what shall we do?').

(371) *dàbâr* *[ànné* *kàná-ỳ* *ló]*
solution [**how?** do-**Hort.PlAddr** **Q**]
'(For) the solution, let's do what?' (2004-1a)

10.4.2.2 Hortative negatives 'let's not …!' (-*là-ý*, *-lá-ỳ*, *-nɔ̂ː-y*)

The hortative negative ('let's not …!') is expressed by adding 1Pl *-y* to a prohibitive. Since there are two distinct prohibitive formations, there are likewise two hortative negative formations. The common forms are those in (372a), where dual and plural addressee are distinguished tonally. The less common type in (372b) has a single form.

(372) a. *-là-ý* singular addressee (first dual inclusive)
-lá-ỳ plural addressee (first plural inclusive)

b. *-nɔ̂ː-y* singular or plural addressee (first dual or plural inclusive)

Before the suffixes in (372a), the form of the stem is the same as that used before *-là* in the prohibitive (§10.4.1.3). That is, the A/O-stem accounts for the vocalism, and the lexical tones are used, except that if there is an H-toned stem-penultimate syllable, the stem-final syllable is L-toned. Examples of *-là-ý* ~ *-lá-ỳ* for several verbs are in (373).

(373)

gloss	'let's not …!' (dual)	'let's not …!' (three or more)
'go'	*ínò-là-ý*	*ínò-lá-ỳ*
'eat'	*kwá-là-ý*	*kwá-lá-ỳ*
'run'	*yòbá-là-ý*	*yòbá-lá-ỳ*
'scrub'	*túgújà-là-ý*	*túgújà-lá-ỳ*
'go back'	*màmílí-yà-là-ý*	*màmílí-yà-lá-ỳ*

Textual examples are in (374).

(374) a. *já:ŋí-yò-lá-ỳ*
squabble-MP-Proh-1PlSbj
'Let us (3+) not squabble!' (2005-1a)

b. *dògá-lá-ỳ*
leave-Proh-1PlSbj
'Let's not leave (abandon)!' (2005-1a)

The alternative form in *-nɔ̂ː-y* has the same stem shape as we saw with prohibitive *-nɔ̂ː*, namely an L-toned equivalent of the chaining form, i.e. of the E-stem for verbs of -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} class and the I-stem for those of the +ATR {*e o*} class.

(375) a. *[mó gì] yè-nɔ̂:-y*
[3AnSg Acc] see-**Proh**-1PlSbj
'Let's not see him/her!'

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ́: má] ìn-nɔ̂:-y*
[village in] go-**Proh**-1PlSbj
'Let's not go to the village!'

10.4.3 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

Especially when seeking clarification of another's wishes, or of an apparent (but not clearly heard) imperative, a yes/no interrogative containing an imperative with understood first person subject may be used.

(376) *sátàlà jô: ló*
kettle bring.**Imprt** **Q**
'(Did you ask me) to bring the kettle?'

In local French this is *D'amener le bouilloire?*

A first singular (or other) subject may be made explicit. In (377), the 1Sg pronoun is focalized. This might be used when the speaker has heard the interlocutor's request ('bring the kettle!'), but isn't sure who it was addressed to.

(377) *[mí yà:] sátàlà jô: ló*
[**1Sg** Foc] kettle bring.**Imprt** Q
'(Did you ask) me [focus] to bring the kettle?'

10.4.4 Imprecations and wishes (third-person hortative)

The subsections below cover imprecations and wishes (with third-person subjects). For quoted imperatives and hortatives, see §17.1.4.1-2.

10.4.4.1 Positive 'may he/she …!' (3Sg *-ná*, 3Pl *-wô:*)

Imprecations (wishes, blessings, curses) involving a third person singular agent are expressed by the suffix *-ná*. This suffix is common in imprecations with *jěnjà* 'God' as subject, but other subjects are also possible. For third person plural, the suffix is *-wô:* (378d).

(378) 'may he/she …' 'may they …'

yòbí-ná	*yòbú-wô:*	'… run!'
màmílí-y-ná	*màmílí-y-wô:*	'… go back!'

dìmbí-y-ná	*dìmbí-y-wô:*	'… follow!'
té:-ŋgó kér-ná	*té:-ŋgó kér-wô:*	'… go look for firewood!'

The examples in (379) are from texts, except that (379d) was elicited as a plural-subject counterpart of (379c).

(379) a. *jěnjà* *[í* *gì]* *sútùrà* *kán-ná*
God [1Pl Acc] protection do-**Hort.3Sg**
'May God protect us.' (2005-2a)

b. *kà:* *jěnjà* *ké* *[í* *gì]* *yámbí-r-ná*
but God InanSg.E [1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-**Hort.3Sg**
'But may God cover (= remove) that for us.' (2005-2a) (*yàmbí*)

c. *[[ó* *^{L}yè:]* *gì]* *kùmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}woman] Acc] hold-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj
[[ó *^{L}yè:* *là]* *ó* *kúmbí-y-ná*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}woman also] 2SgObj hold-MP-**Hort.3Sg**
'(If) you have held (= watched over) your wife, may your wife too hold you.' (2005-2a)

d. *[[ó* *^{L}yàwò:]* *gì]* *kùmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}woman.Pl] Acc] hold-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj
[[ó *^{L}yàwò:* *là]* *ó* *kúmbí-y-wô:*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}womanPl also] 2SgObj hold-MP-**Hort.3Pl**
'(If) you have held (= watched over) your wives, may your wives too hold you.'
[plural version of (c)]

10.4.4.2 Negative 'may he/she not …!' (3Sg *-nô:-nà*, 3Pl *-nô:-wò:*)

A negative morpheme *-nô:-* also seen as an option in the prohibitive is placed between the verb stem and the (positive) third-person hortative suffixes, which are here heard with L-tones: 3Sg *-nà*, 3Pl *-wò:*. As in the prohibitive, *-nô:-* requires an L-toned stem, with vocalism as in the chaining form.

(380) a. *jěnjà* *kó* *[í* *gì]* *kànà-m-nô:-nà*
God InanSg.O [1Pl Acc] do-Caus-**Proh-Hort.3Sg**
'May God not make us do that!' (2005-1a)

b. *jěnjà* *[í* *gì]* *nè:ndá:* *ǹdè-nô:-nà*
God [1Pl Acc] bad.InanSg.O give-**Proh-Hort.3Sg**
'May God not give us anything bad (= trouble)!'

c. *[nè:ndá:* *[í* *gɔ̀]]*
[bad.InanSg.O [1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.O]]
[bé *gì]* *dwè:-nɔ̂:-nà*
[3Pl Acc] arrive-**Proh-Hort.3Sg**
'May our trouble not reach them!'

d. *[í* *gì]* *dá:ndí-lé* *kó↗,* *gày-nɔ̂:-wò:*
[1Pl Acc] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-**Proh-Hort.3Pl**
'may they not neglect (= delay) to tell us (the information)!' (2005-1a)

10.4.5 Obligational *-ŋ́gà-*, *-mb-è:-*, and variants

An obligational construction ('X must VP') combines a future participle with an 'it is' enclitic. It is negated by the 'it is not' enclitic *=lá-*. A pronominal subject is expressed with a clause-initial pronoun.

For one assistant, one construction elicited is a regular future nonsubject relative with future participle *-ŋ́gà*. (381a) is literally 'it is what I will leave (abandon)', with 'I' as proclitic subject in a nonsubject relative. It is negated as (381b).

(381) a. *mí* *dògă-ŋgà=ỳ*
1Sg leave-Fut.PplNonSbj=it.is
'I must (or: ought to) leave (it).'

b. *mí* *dògă-ŋgà=lá*
1Sg leave-Fut.PplNonSbj=it.is.not
'I must not (or: ought not to) leave (it).'

This assistant later produced a version, (382), in which the 'it is' enclitic is conjugated for subject (11.2.1.2). This is literally 'I am/He-or-she is what (=one who) will leave beer'.

(382) *kɔ̀njɛ́* *dògă-ŋgà=m* / *dògă-ŋgà=y*
beer leave-Fut.PplNonSbj=it.is.1Sg / =it.is(.3Sg)
'I / He-or-she ought to leave (=quit drinking) beer.'

The other assistant produced a dedicated obligational participial form *-mb-è:-* consisting of participial *-è:-* added to the future verb stem. He pronounced *-mb-ò:-* before *=ỳ* enclitic (1Pl, 3Pl). This form has the regular future stem-tone formula. This speaker conjugated the 'it is' enclitic directly, instead of or in addition to clause-initial subject pronouns. The positive paradigm is (383). The data should be used with caution since this assistant had evident difficulty producing the forms, and since the other assistant did not recognize them. The 2Pl and 3Sg forms are structurally distinct but homophonous.

(383) category

1Sg	*-mb-è:=m̀*
1Pl	*-mb-ò:=ỳ*
2Sg	*-mb-è:=ẁ*
2Pl	*-mb-è:=∅*
3Sg	*-mb-è:*
3Pl	*-mb-ò:=ỳ*

Positive examples are (384a-c). Negative examples are (384d-e).

(384) a. *[kɛ́rɛ́ mà] ìnǒ-mb-è:=m̀*
[the.bush in] go-Fut-Oblig=it.is.1SgSbj
'I must go out to the bush (=to the fields).'

b. *mó mí dògǎ-mb-è:*
AnSg 1SgObj leave-Fut-Oblig
'He/She must leave me.'

c. *mí dògǎ-mb-ò:=ỳ*
1SgObj leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl=it.is
'They must leave me.'

d. *[kɛ́rɛ́ mà] ìnǒ-mb-è:=lá-m*
[the.bush in] go-Fut-Oblig=it.is.not-1SgSbj
'I must not go to the fields.'

e. *mí dògǎ-mb-ò:=y=lá*
1SgObj leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl=it.is=it.is.not
'They must not leave me.'

When presented with (384a) above, the other assistant suggested that the only thing it sounded like to him was (385) below, which is phonologically similar but structurally distinct. It has (nonparticipial) future-in-past morphology, but does allow weak obligational force (§10.3.1.7).

(385) *[kɛ́rɛ́ mà] ìnǒ-m=bɛ̀-m̀*
[the.bush in] go-Fut=Past-1SgSbj
'I was going to go (=I was/am supposed to go) out to the fields.'

Overall the obligationals illustrated in this section are on the borderline between modality (obligation) and tense (futurity). For constructions with an explicitly obligational main clause, see §17.4.8-9.

10.5 Passive (nonspecific-subject)

What is here labeled the passive, in several variants (past passive, future passive, and present passive), is characterized by a a suffix *-à:-*, which follows either the chaining form of the verb plus past enclitic *=bɛ̀-* or a stem with suffix *-mb-* (cf. future *-mbô-*). Because *-à:-* is always preceded by a *b*, morphemic segmentation is less than transparent.

In most cases passive *-à:-* is itself followed by the **'it is'** enclitic *=y* (§11.2.1.1-2) or its negation *=lá* (§11.2.1.3), which is often heard as L-toned. This use of the 'it is' enclitic is reminiscent of its occurrence after perfect *jòg-â:-* (§10.1.3.3). Both *jòg-â:-* and verbs with passive *-à:-* resemble but are not identical to **participles** in relative clauses. Participles in perfective (positive) relatives likewise end in a long vowel, but a mid-height vowel rather than *a:* (§14.3.1).

In addition to the passive constructions described in the sections immediately below, which can function as main clauses, certain relative-clause constructions present what is arguably the same *-à:-* suffix, in participial function. For example, *gínà-mb-à:* 'what is called ("X")' is similar to the present passive described in §10.5.3, but it is syntactically more clearly participial and therefore has a suffixed animate plural counterpart *gínà-mb-à:-mbò* (§14.4.2.2). There are also two derivations that produce adnominal modifiers that must have originated as passive participles, regardless of their synchronic status. A product-of-action derivative (*-bà:*, §5.1.9) looks like a participle of the past passive (§10.5.1 below). A function-of-noun derivative (*-mbà:*, §5.1.10) looks like a participle of the present passive (§10.5.3 below).

The passive is not (further) inflected for pronominal subject. For this reason, and since final *a:* (and short *a*) are elsewhere associated with the 3Pl pronominal-subject inflection, as in *b-à:* 'they were' (§10.3.1.1) and 3Pl past enclitic *=b-à:* (§10.3.1), I take the passive to be really a **nonspecific-subject** category. The forms are generally not identical to the true 3Pl subject forms, and true 3Pl (like other regular pronominal-subject suffixes) does not co-occur with the 'it is' enclitic except in special syntactic contexts.

The direct object is **not promoted** to subject position, and it may occur overtly with accusative case-marker *gi*. In fact, this "passive" construction can extend to intransitives, as in (389) in §10.5.2 below with verb 'come'.

As one would expect given the nonspecific-subject feature, the passive typically occurs in general statements about recurrent eventualities.

10.5.1 Past passive (*=b-à:=ỳ*, *=b-à:=lá*) in present perfect function

In this construction, the main verb occurs in its **chaining** form (E-stem or I-stem depending on ATR-harmonic class of verb). This is followed by enclitic complex *=b-à:=ỳ* in positive clauses. The *=b-* is recognizable as past enclitic *=bɛ̀*, which indeed does follow the chaining form of a verb in the past perfect ('had VP-ed', §10.3.1.8). The past passive *=b-à:=ỳ* functions more like a present **perfect** ('has VP-ed'), and has a **resultative** element, indicating that the original event has defined the current situation.

Textual examples of positive *=b-à:=ỳ* are in (386).

(386) a. *[dálí:dì* *jógò-∅* *wà],*
[judgement have-3SgSbj Quot]
[dálí:dì *kó]* *[mó* *gì]* *ǹdɛ́=b-à:=ỳ*
[judgement Def.InanSg.O] [AnSg Acc] give=**Past-Pass=it.is**
'He has (achieved) a sound judgement. He has been given sound judgement.' (2005-1a)

b. *[swɛ̌:* *gì]* *[ké:sù* *mà]* *jòyó-ndí=b-à:=ỳ,*
[garment.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
[[swɛ̌: *yé]* *gì]* *dǎy=b-à:=ỳ,*
[[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] lay.out=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
[[swɛ̌: *yé]* *gì]* *[òlɛ̀*^{L}*-gɛ̀gɛ̀lɛ́* *mà]*
[[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] [house^{L}-wall in]
jǎb=b-à:=ỳ
put.on.wall=**Past-Pass=it.is**
'The clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been hung on the wall of the house.' (2005-2a)

The corresponding **negative** is with *=b-à:=lá*. Textual examples are in (387).

(387) a. *kó* *[bà:-ólé* *má]*
Def.InanSg.O [father-house in]
dìnɛ̂:=b-à:=lá *kǒy*
encounter=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph
'It definitely used to not be found in the family.' (2005-1a)

b. *kóŋgòl* *bìrɛ́=b-à:=lá* *kǒy*
honor work(v)=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph
'(The work of) honor has definitely not been done.' (2005-1a)

10.5.2 Future passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ*, *-mb-à:=lá*) and future-in-past passive

A **future** passive is formed by adding *-à:=ỳ* to the future with suffix *-mb-*, cf. *-mbô-* in the regular inflected future (§10.1.3.4). The stem has the same tones that it has before future participial *-ŋ́gà-* (§14.3.4), namely stem-final H-tone element (realized on the *m*), preceded by L-tones, formula **L*H-**.

(388) a. *[mó* *gì]* *pònǎ-mb-à:=ỳ* *mà→*
[[AnSg Acc] wring-**Fut-Pass=it.is** Q
'Will he (= short person) be wrung (= stretched)?' (2005-1a)
[rhetorical question, general context]

b. *[àbí* *nɛ̀]* *gìbì-y-ó:* *mɛ́,*
[catch then.SS] wrap.on-MP-2SgSbj if,
ó *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ*
2SgObj denigrate-**Fut-Pass=it.is**
'If you take (a wrap [woman's garment] that is also used by others) and put it on, you will be denigrated' (2005-2a)

Although this form is morphologically based on the future inflection, it can be used in a generalized **imperfective** sense. For example, 'you will be denigrated' in (388b) is meant as a general statement about what happens nowadays.

Consistent with this semantic interpretation is the fact that *-mb-à:=ỳ* may combine with the unmarked (hence elsewhere 3Sg) form of a following past enclitic *=bɛ̀* to produce a morphological **future-in-past** passive, as in (389). A semi-literal translation respecting the future morphology is 'it would (often) happen', but as in English this may merge functionally with the past imperfective passive, denoting a regularly occurring eventuality, as in 'it used to happen' (following section).

(389) *[kɛ̀nɛ́* *wŏ-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀-∅]*
[thus come-**Fut-Pass=it.is=Past-3Sg**]
'It used to come (= happen) like that.' (2005-1a)

Example (389) also exemplifies the "passive" of an intransitive verb.

The **negative** counterpart of *-mb-à:=ỳ* is *-mb-à:=lá*, with the usual replacement of positive 'it is' enclitic *=y* by negative *=lá* 'it is not'. Prepausally *=lá* at the end of a long word is often heard as *=là*.

(390) a. *[[dôm* *kó]* *gì]* *dàmá-m̀,*
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] speak-Fut.3SgSbj,
[dôm *[mɔ́* *gɔ̀]* *kó],*
[[speech [AnSgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
àbă-mb-à:=là
catch-**Fut-Pass=it.is.not**
'He will speak the talk (= words), (but) his talk won't be accepted.' (2005-1a)

b. *[nŏ:* *dîn]* *[[mó* *^{L}kì:]* *^{L}sàgù]*
[person each] [[AnSgPoss ^{L}head] ^{L}responsibility]
ǹdă-mb-à:=là
give-**Fut-Pass=it.is.not**
'Each one will not be given his own (separate) right to speak (= authority).' (2005-1a)

10.5.3 Present passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ*) and past imperfective passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀*)

A **present** passive describing a recurrent activity that takes place in a time frame including the present may be formed with *-mb-à:=ỳ*. It differs only tonally from the future passive

described just above. In the present passive, the stem has the same tone formula as the inflected present with suffix *-njò-* (§10.1.3.6), i.e. **((X))H*(L)**. That the H-tone is the only obligatory tonal element is shown by monomoraic stems, as in *kwá-mb-à:=ỳ* 'is eaten'. A *CvCv-* stem like 'work (v)' in (391a-b) has HL stem-tones before *-mb-à:=ỳ* in the present passive, versus LH in the future passive.

To form the negative, the 'it is' enclitic *=y* is replaced by its negative counterpart *=lá* 'it is not', sometimes heard prepausally as *=là*. Occasionally the negative enclitic is s tacked onto the positive 'it is' enclitic (*=y=lá*).

(391) a. *[bírɔ́:* *gì]* *bírà-mb-à:=ỳ*
[work(n) Acc] work(v)-**Pres-Pass=it.is**
'The work is done (these days).'

b. *[bírɔ́:* *gì]* *bírà-mb-à:=là*
[work(n) Acc] work(v)-**Pres-Pass=it.is.not**
'The work is not done (these days).'

In general statements like these, the present passive gets some competition from the future passive, as noted in the preceding section.

The present passive is closely related to a participial function-of-noun derivative, used in contexts like 'water for drinking' versus 'water for bathing' (§5.1.10). A similar participial form occurs in the 'what is called "X"' construction (§14.4.2.2).

Adding past enclitic *=bɛ̀* produces a **past imperfective** passive *-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀* or *-mb-â:=ỳ=bɛ̀* ('used to be VP-ed'). This is rather common in texts (392a-c). In such past habitual contexts, this construction gets competition from the future-in-past passive (preceding section).

(392) a. *bà:-ólé* *tɔ̌:n* *tárà-mbò,*
father-house Recip.Dual look.at-and,
[bírɔ́: *gì]* *bírà-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀* *gìn-à:*
[work(n) Acc] work(v)-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past** say.Pfv-3PlSbj
'The families looked at each other (= had a discussion), (and) they said (= it was said) that they used to do the work.' (2005-1a)

b. *ɲă:* *[[kúlmá* *^{L}dòm]* *gì]*
yesterday [[elder ^{L}speech] Acc]
dìmbí-yà-mb-â:=ỳ=bɛ̀→
follow-MP-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past**
'In the past, the talk of an elder was followed (= obeyed).' (2005-1a)

c. *ɲă:* *[jènà:*^{L}*-gɔ́lɛ́:* *má]* ^{L}*bìrè:*
yesterday [rainy.season^{L}-farm.work in] ^{L}work(n).Pl
bírà-mb-à:=b-è:, *bírà-m=bè-y*
work(v)-**Pres-Pass=Past**-PplNonSbj.InanPl, work(v)-Pres=Past-1PlSbj
'In the past, in the rainy-season farming, the activities that used to be done, we did (them).' (2005-1a)

10.5.4 'Where to go'

In a context like 'know [where to go]', when the subject of 'to go' is indefinite or obvious, the present passive in *-à:* (without 'it is' enclitic) occurs in the complement.

(393) a. *ínò-mb-à:* *éndà-∅*,
go-**Pres-Pass** not.know-3SgSbj,
[[wó-mb-à: *ké]* *gì]* *éndà-∅*
[[come-Pres-Pass Def.InanSg.E] Acc] not.know-3SgSbj
'He doesn't know where to go, (and) he doesn't know where to come.' (2005-1a)

b. *ínò-mb-à:* *éndà:-m*
go-**Pres-Pass** not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know where to go.'

However, the '(know) what to Vb' construction is rather different, being based on a future participle in *-ŋgà*. See (529) in §14.3.4.

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb phrase

Subjects are well-defined morphosyntactically. For starters, they have their own clause-initial position, subject focalization requires a special verbal participle, and for some inflectional categories subject relatives have tonally distinct verbal participles from nonsubject relatives. Same and different subject subordinators are distinguished. Subjects can bind reflexive objects, though the latter ('your head', etc.) are not highly grammaticalized in Najamba. Imperatives and hortatives mark addressee number, and it is arguable that imperatives have no true subjects, but this is orthogonal to the question of a subject-VP division in indicative clauses.

Given that subjects are a well-defined category, VP can be defined as everything else (except aspect-negation), including predicates, objects, and adjuncts (PPs and adverbs). VP generally corresponds well to verbal-noun complements, though it is possible to smuggle a subject in as a compound initial if that slot is not taken by an object.

11.1.2 Fixed subject-verb collocations

Nouns that denote celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena occur in fixed collocations with some verbs.

ùjúŋgó 'sun' is the subject of *ùjúŋgó dèŋɛ́* 'sun set' and *ùjúŋgó túmbí* 'sun rise'. The core meaning of *dèŋɛ́* is 'fall'. *túmbí* elsewhere has meanings like '(tree) grow leaves', '(e.g. onion) grow from a graft or bulb', and 'make a mound of earth', suggesting that sunrise is seen as an organic bulging.

à:lé 'rain' as subject is collocated with *tɛ́gɛ́*, as in *à:lé tègè-∅* 'it rained'. *tɛ́gɛ́* elsewhere means 'put a pinch (of gunpowder)' or 'cook (lunch)', neither of which is a good semantic match for 'it rained'.

The noun *bà:* occurs only in *bà: gwè-∅*, literally something like 'cloudy weather (rainy season) has gone out', denoting the autumn following the end of the rains.

nɛ̌: nɛ̀:-∅ means 'day has broken' (at first light, around 5 AM).

Many expressions for emotional state have *kéndà:* 'liver/heart' as subject, usually possessed (e.g. 'my …'). Examples are 'X's heart go (=calm) down' in (394) below and 'X's heart be ruined (=unhappy)' in (749) in the sample text. 'Liver' and 'heart' are conceptually closely associated since, in butchery, the two organs are removed and usually cooked together. There is a distinction in the final vowel of the verb between *kéndà: súgɛ́* 'get angry', with the same verb as in *sùgɛ́ súgɛ́* 'defecate', and *kéndà: súgí* 'calm down (after being angry)', with *súgí* 'go down'. The distinction is sutble in the E-stems (*sùgè-*, *sùgè-*). A different collocation for 'get angry' is presented in the following section.

(394) *já:ŋín=í:* *[kéndà:* *[í* *gɔ̀]]*
squabble(n)=it.is [**liver** [1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.O]]
súgɛ́ *jòg-à:=ỳ*
get.angry Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is
'It is (=was) a squabble. Our hearts (=we) got angry.' (2005-1a)

kéndà: can also be treated as an inalienable in this construction, as shown by the preposed pronominal possessor and the tone-dropped possessum in (395a-b).

(395) a. *[mí* *ᴸkèndà:]* *súgè-∅*
[1SgPoss ᴸ**liver**] get.angry.Pfv-3SgSbj
'I got angry.'

b. *[mí* *ᴸkèndà:]* *ɲàmè-∅*
[1SgPoss ᴸ**liver**] be.ruined.Pfv-3SgSbj
'I was saddened (by some event).'

11.1.3 Idiomatic and cognate objects

11.1.3.1 Noncognate object-verb collocations

Some examples where the noun and verb are collocated to express a lexical sense, grouped by verb stem, are in (396).

(396)

noun	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a. *swɛ́* 'pour, spill'			
sŭndè	'spittle'	*sŭndè swɛ́*	'spit' ("pour spittle")
sùndè-járì	'slobber'	*sùndè-járì swɛ́*	'drool, emit slobber'
b. *ímbí* 'plant (e.g. stick in ground)'			
kìnjâ:	'nose'	*kìnjâ: ímbí*	'blow one's nose'
c. *kán* 'make; be made' (many examples)			
hátìyò	'sneeze (n)'	*hátìyò kán*	'sneeze (v)'
sùjú:dù	'prosternation'	*sùjú:dù kán*	'prostrate (oneself) in Muslim prayer'
súrà	'board game'	*súrà kán*	'play the board game'
tɔ́ŋkɛ̀-tɔ́ŋkɛ̀	'spotted'	*tɔ́ŋkɛ̀-tɔ́ŋkɛ̀ kán*	'become spotted'
tó:rù	'fetish'	*tó:rù kán*	'make animist sacrifices'
lútà	'rejection'	*lútà kán*	'reject (e.g. religion)'
sútùrà	'protection'	*sútùrà kán*	'(e.g. God) protect (sb)'
—	—	*jíŋgà kán*	'take sides (in a dispute)'
—	—	*jêŋ kán*	'fail'

—	—	*hóynà kán*	‘(God) make (sb) well’
—	—	*kóróy-kàràỳ kán*	‘do hurriedly’

d. *ìbí* ‘catch’

rúkù	‘bowing (n)’	*rúkù ìbí*	‘bow and place hands on knees (in Muslim prayer)’
sálìgì	‘ablution’	*sálìgì ìbí*	‘perform ablutions (before Muslim prayer)’
bìrí	‘wrestling’	*bìrí ìbí*	‘wrestle (someone)’
ámà:nà	‘promise’	*ámà:nà ìbí*	‘make a promise’
íbí	‘mouth’	*[X ìbì] ìbí*	‘shut up’

e. *jɛ́* ‘take’

ámà:nà	‘promise (n)’	*ámà:nà jɛ́*	‘make a promise’
á:dì	‘promise (n)’	*á:dì jɛ́*	‘make a promise’
gíbí	‘wrap (n)’	*gíbí jɛ́*	a) ‘take a woman’s wrap’ b) ‘(girl) be excised’
jàmàlà-ŋgó	‘theft’	*jàmàlà-ŋgó jɛ́*	‘commit a theft’
kéndà:	‘liver/heart’	*kéndà: jɛ́*	‘get angry’
ánnìyà	‘intention’	*ánnìyà jɛ́*	‘have an intention’

f. *dàgí* ‘shoot (bullet); beat with stick; lock’

pómbè	‘applause’	*pómbè dàgí*	‘applaud’
súrà	‘bucking (n)’	*súrà dàgí*	‘(quadruped) buck; kick out’
tăl	‘history’	*tăl dàgí*	‘recount the history (of a village)’

g. *nɛ́* ‘drink’

bà:nâ:	‘porridge’	*bà:nâ: nɛ́*	a) ‘drink porridge’ b) ‘undergo circumcision’
bĭn	‘sacred place’	*bĭn nɛ́*	‘take an oath (and drink) at the sacred place’
níŋgé	‘sauce’	*níŋgé nɛ́*	a) ‘drink sauce; b) skim sauce off of top of grain meal’

h. *págí* ‘tie’

èyà-ŋgó	‘marriage’	*èyà-ŋgó págí*	‘contract a marriage’
ìbí	‘mouth’	*ìbí págí*	‘(millet) begin to form a grain spike’

i. *tún* ‘put’

kɛ̀rɛ̀-néndɛ́	‘tickling’	*kɛ̀rɛ̀-néndɛ́ tún*	‘tickle (someone)’

j. *té:* ‘sting; shoot; sprout; avoid (taboo)’

kɔ̀mbɛ́	‘war’	*kɔ̀mbɛ́ té:*	‘wage war’
kùlɛ́	‘hair’	*kùlɛ́ té:*	‘grow hair’
jây	—	*jây té:*	‘dive into water’

k. *pújí* ‘shatter, explode; gush out’

wòlé	‘roots (Pl)’	*wòlé pújí*	‘put down roots’
kìnjà-díné	‘nosebleed’	*kìnjà-díné pújí*	‘nose bleed’

For ‘get angry’, the construction alluded to in (396e) has pronominal-subject agreement for the individual affected, while unpossessed *kéndà:* precedes the verb like a direct object (397a); see also (674b) in §17.6.5. For a different ‘get angry’ construction, see (395a) above. ‘Nose bleed’ (396k) has a similar syntax, as in (397b).

(397) a. *kéndà:* *jɛ̀-ḿ*
liver take.Pfv-**1SgSb**j
‘I got angry.’

b. *kìnjà-díné* *pùjɛ̀-ḿ*
nosebleed shatter.Pfv-**1SgSbj**
‘I have a nosebleed.’

11.1.3.2 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

Data in (398) show that there is no consistent pattern in the relationship between the forms of the nominal and of the verb. Like the verb, the nominal usually ends in a vowel. Nouns with final short vowel, including some cases where a final high vowel has arguably been deleted, are in (398a). In (398b), the noun and verb **disagree** in **ATR-**harmonic class. When the noun is nonmonosyllabic and ends in a long vowel (398c), the odds of an original suffixed origin increase, but there is no synchronically recognizable suffix on the noun. Some combinations involve nouns and verbs borrowed separately from the same word family in Fulfulde (398e). In some such cases, it may be that the Fulfulde noun was borrowed and the verb was (re-)created based on existing cognate-nominal/verb patterns.

Because verb stems are subject to much tighter phonological constraints (vocalism, tone melody) than are nouns, it is not surprising that the cognate nominals show a wide range of phonological details that are not predictable from those of the verbs. However, ATR-harmonic patterns are consistent between the noun and the verb, with the exceptions in (398b).

(398)

nominal	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a. final short vowel or zero			
mŏnjè	‘urine’	*mŏnjè mónjí*	‘urinate’
úlè	‘vomit (n)’	*úlè úl*	‘vomit (v)’
gìyɛ́	‘farts (Pl)’	*gìyɛ́ gìyⁿɛ́*	‘fart, emit farts’
sùnjú	‘breath’	*sùnjú súnjí*	‘breathe’
níŋgé	‘green sauce’	*níŋgé níŋgí*	‘cook green sauce’
díbì	‘grill (n)’	*díbì dìbí*	‘roast (meat) over a fire’
gî:	‘harvest (n)’	*gî: gĭy*	‘harvest (with a knife)’
háwsá	‘mud (as mortar)’	*háwsá háwsɛ́*	‘lay mud (between bricks)’
tĕ:n	‘harvest pile’	*tĕ:n tɛ́nɛ́*	‘make large harvest pile’
sân	‘prayer’	*sân sán*	‘pray, perform a prayer’
yál	‘walk (n)’	*yál yàlí-yɛ́*	‘take a walk’
jîm	‘tale or riddle’	*jîm jĭm*	‘tell a tale or a riddle’
sífâ	‘description’	*sífâ sífɛ́*	‘make a description; give traveling directions’
tùmbó	‘mound’	*tùmbó túmbí*	‘make a mound’
bándè	‘swimming’	*bándè bàndí*	‘go swimming’
ɲállò	‘conversation’	*ɲállɛ́*	‘converse (in daytime)’
wírrì	‘saying beads’	*wírrì wírrɛ́*	‘say one’s beads (with rosary)’
wá:jù	‘sermon’	*wá:jù wá:jɛ́*	‘preach a sermon’
wá:tè	‘oath’	*wá:tè wá:tɛ́*	‘swear (truth)’
kàjábù	‘thought’ (variant)	*kàjábù kájábí*	‘think a thought’
dwâ:	‘insult (n)’	*dwâ: dwɛ́*	‘make an insult’
tă:	‘taboo’	*tă: tɛ́:*	‘avoid (a taboo)’
yándú	‘(a) call’	*yándú yàndí*	‘make a call (summons)’
jáyrè	‘criticism’	*jáyrè jáyrɛ́*	‘make a criticism, denigrate’
jáŋgà	‘studying (n)’	*jáŋgà jáŋgí*	‘study, go to school’
játè	‘count, calculation’	*játè játɛ́*	‘count (v), calculate’
dɔ́gú	‘prop (n)’	*dɔ́gú dɔ̀ŋɛ́*	‘prop up’ (*g* ~ *ŋ* §3.4.1.2)
nóyè	‘sleep (n)’	*nóyè nóy*	‘sleep (v)’
b. change in vowel or in ATR-harmonic class			
dèbí	‘roof’ (cf. noun *dèbĕ:* ‘roof-building’)	*dèbí dèbɛ́*	‘cover; put a roof on’
twĕ	‘sowing (n)’ (cf. noun *twĕ:* ‘seedstock’)	*twĕ twɛ́*	‘sow (v), plant (seeds)’
dôm	‘talk (n), words’	*dôm dăm*	‘speak’
dèndă:	‘evening chat’	*dèndă: dèndɛ́*	‘chat in the evening’
mómbò	‘dues, ante (n)’	*mómbò mɔ́mbɛ́*	‘pay dues, ante up’
kábìlò:	‘part, division’	*kábìlò: kábílɛ́*	‘divide into parts’

c. final long vowel (except *-û:*)

yámbú:	'blanket, covering'	*yámbú: yàmbí*	'cover, put a blanket on'
àmbŏ:	'fuzz'	*am̀bŏ: ámbí*	'(millet spikes) grow a reddish fuzz (flowers)'
wàjŏ:	'remainder'	*wàjŏ: wàjí*	'remainder remain(s)'
kàlă:	'price'	*kàlă: kál*	'negotiate price'
mànâ:	'meal'	*mànâ: măn*	'cook a meal'
pàrâ:	'soft millet cakes'	*pàrâ: pár*	'cook soft millet cakes'
gólè:	'farm work'	*gólè: gòlé*	'do farm work, cultivate'
tùrê:	'late grain spikes'	*tùrê: túr*	'harvest late-ripening grain'
dúgò:	'spells (Pl)'	*dúgò: dùgí*	'cast magical spells'
gúlì:	'sheds (Pl)'	*gúlì: gŭl*	'build sheds'
tìbŏ:	'death'	*tìbŏ: tíbé*	'death take place'
díyá:	'load (n)'	*díyá: dìyé*	'carry load on head'
gìyâ:	'dance (n)'	*gìyâ: gĭy*	'dance (v)'
bà:nâ:	'porridge'	*bà:nâ: bă:n*	'make porridge'
ŋwànă:	'song'	*ŋwànă: ŋwăn*	'sing a song'
kògô:	'shell, slough (n)'	*kògô: kógí*	'slough off skin' (etc.)
jɔ̀ŋŏ:	'medicine'	*jɔ̀ŋŏ: jɔ̀ŋé*	'practice medicine'
pàbă:	'untruth, lie (n)'	*pàbă: pábí*	'lie (v), say an untruth'
yàră:	—	*yàră: yàrí*	'overstep, go too far'
kàlă:	'price'	*kàlă: kál*	'negotiate price'
sɔ̀jɔ̂:	'payment'	*sɔ̀jɔ̂: sɔ́jé*	'pay (= make) a payment'
dá:nì:	'thickening (n)'	*dá:nì: dă:n*	'thicken (juice) into syrup'
tɔ̀ŋĕ:	'writings (Pl)'	*tɔ̀ŋĕ: tɔ́ŋé*	'do some writing'
kànjô:	'crack'	*kànjô: kánjí*	'form a crack'
tɛ̀gɔ̆:	'rain(-fall)'	*tɛ̀gɔ̆: tɛ́gɛ́*	'rain fall' (= *à:lé tɛ́gɛ́*)

d. multisyllabic noun (usually < Fulfulde) and bisyllabic verb

gá:jà:tì	'conversation'	*gá:jé*	'converse, chat'
dàbárù	'magic'	*dàbárù dàbí*	'practice magic'
jámmɔ̀:rè	'griot's calls'	*jámmɔ̀:rè jámmé*	'(griot) call out a genealogy'
híjjɔ́:rè	'pilgrimage'	*híjjɔ́:rè híjjɛ́*	'make the pilgrimage (to Mecca)'
ná:fìlà	'devotional prayer'	*ná:fìlà ná:fé*	'perform an individual devotional prayer'
túrà:bì	'fortune-telling'	*túrà:bì túré*	'tell fortunes (by drawing lines in sand)'
yímɔ̀:rè	'koranic verses'	*yímɔ̀:rè yímɛ́*	'(child beggar) sing koranic verses'

In *pŏ: pó:-m* 'make a greeting', the verb is causative in form. In *màndà-m-û: màndá-m* 'tell a joke', the verb is causative ('cause to laugh') and the nominal includes the causative suffix *-m-*.

Because the verbs have various tone formulae in the different AN inflections, in these lists I have normalized the tonal transcription of the cognate nominal, using its lexical melody. In particular, a final rising tone is shown even where it would be leveled to an H-tone before an initial H-tone of the chaining form. For example, in (398c) I write *pàbă: pábí*, which is correct as an underlying representation, but this actual combination would appear as *pàbá: pábí* after Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising (§3.6.3.2). The rising tone would, however, appear in e.g. perfective *pàbă: pàbè-*, where the verb begins with an L-tone.

Recognizable nominal derivational **suffixes** occur in some cognate nominals. The *-û:* (plural *-î:*) in (399a) is also found in some (chiefly instrumental) deverbal nominals, see §4.2.3.7. *-n* suffixes with different stem tones are in (399b-e); for the type with {LH} stem tones, see (126) in §4.2.3.3.

(399)	a.	*kà:r-û:*	—	*kà:r-û: ká:rɛ́*	‘clear one’s throat’
		kòll-û:	‘cough (n)’	*kòll-û: kóllí*	‘cough (v)’
		mànd-û:	‘laugh(ter)’	*mànd-û: màndí*	‘laugh (v)’
		mànjùr-û:	‘dream (n)’	*mànjùr-û: màŋgírí-yɛ́*	‘dream (v)’
		yèr-û:	‘cry of joy’	*yèr-û: yěy*	‘(women) emit cries of joy’
		nèb-û:	‘betrothal’	*nèb-û: nébɛ́*	‘become engaged’
		kàjàb-û:	‘thinking’	*kàjàb-û: kájábí*	‘reflect, think’
		bèbìl-û:	‘bellowing’	*bèbìl-û: bèbíl*	‘(bull, billygoat) bellow’
	b.	*àyî-n*	‘yawn (n)’	*àyî-n ăy*	‘yawn (v)’
		(contrast *àyĭ-n* ‘fatigue’)			
		bègî-n	‘hiccup’	*bègî-n bègí*	‘have the hiccups’
		pèbî-n	‘whistling’	*pèbî-n pébí*	‘give out a whistle’
	c.	*màgĭ-n*	‘magic’	*màgĭ-n màgí*	‘tell fortunes’
		bògĭ-n	‘barking’	*bògĭ-n bògí*	‘(dog) bark’
		gìmbĕ-n	—	*gìmbĕ-n gìmbí*	‘darkness fall’
		sòŋgă-n	‘curse (n)’	*sòŋgă-n sóŋgɛ́*	‘curse (v)’
	d.	*já:ŋí-n*	‘squabble (n)’	*já:ŋí-n já:ŋí-y*	‘squabble (v)’
	e.	*kíryè-n*	‘praise (n)’	*kíryè-n kíríyɛ́*	‘publicly praise’

In (400) below, the noun contains an original inanimate singular **suffix** *-ŋgo or *-go. In (400a), the suffix is absent in the plural of the nominal, so the *-ŋgo* suffix is still clearly segmentable, even without reference to the verb. In (400b), the old *-ŋgo or *-go is now unsegmentable *…(ŋ)go* in the noun, which has an innovated mutating plural. However, in the case of *jɔ̀:-gó* ‘shame’, plural *jɔ̀yɛ̀-gɛ́*, the ATR shift *ɔ* to *o*, violating the usual stem-internal ATR harmony, supports continued recognition of a morpheme boundary. For the cases in (400c), no plural could be elicited, so it is indeterminate whether these nouns belong in (400a) or (400b). In (400d), an original animate **plural** suffix *-mbo likewise became a fused part of the cognate nominal (but not the verb), was reinterpreted as singular, and has developed a new mutating plural.

(400) a. *-ŋgo* in singular only, plurals are *èyɛ̌:*, *nèmbìl-î:*, *gòjù-mbó*, *dímbɛ́-mbó*

èyà-ŋgó	‘marriage’	*èyà-ŋgó éyɛ́*	‘(bride) move to husband’s house’
nèmbìl-ŋgó	‘plea’	*nèmbìl-ŋgó némbíl*	‘make a plea, beg’
gòjù-ŋgó	‘illicit sex’	*gòjù-ŋgó gòjí-y*	‘have an out-of-wedlock sexual relationship (concubinage)’
dímbɛ́-ŋgó	‘following’	*dímbɛ́-ŋgó dìmbí-yɛ́*	(euphemism for the preceding)

b. *-ŋgo now unsegmentable …*ŋgo*, new mutating plurals *káŋgɛ́*, *ɲàŋgɛ́*, *jɔ̀yɛ̀gɛ́*

káŋgó	‘challenge’	*káŋgó káŋ*	‘make a challenge’
ɲàŋgó	‘weeping’	*ɲàŋgó ɲɛ́*	‘weep’
jɔ̀:gó	‘shame’	*jɔ̀:-gó jɔ̀yɛ́*	‘be ashamed, show deference’

c. no plural elicitable

jǎy-ŋgò	‘sowing …’	*jǎy-ŋgò jǎy*	‘sow seeds in a pit with manure’
ìbìnà-ŋgó (noun also *ìbì-ŋgó*)	‘fear’	*ìbìnà-ŋgó íbí-yɛ́*	‘have a scare, be afraid’

d. plural suffix *-mbo now unsegmentable, new mutating plurals *gìlàmbɛ́*, *gìmbɛ́*

gìlàmbó	‘sound …’	*gìlàmbó gìlɛ́*	‘(something unseen) make a sound’
gìmbó	‘odor’	*gìmbó gǐŋ*	‘smell an odor’

The cognate nominal is sometimes **iterative**, versus uniterated verb (401).

(401)

bùjɛ̀-bújɛ̀-ŋgò bùjɛ́	‘form a froth’
jà:rà-já:rà já:rɛ́	‘incite, provoke’
yòlà-yòlâ: yɔ̀lɛ́	‘provoke (with an insult or accusation)’

The cognate nominal may be a **compound**, or a fixed **noun-adjective** combination (402). The verb, which may be historically secondary (imitative of the nominal), is related to the **final** stem in the composite nominal, even if this is a simple adjective (‘cook dumplings’, ‘do the second round …’). In this way the combination of cognate nominal plus verb has an iterative-like effect as in the simpler cases in (401a) above.

(402)

èga^{L}*-tábù: tábí*	‘have breakfast’
ámbà-kà: kɛ́:	‘tell a riddle’
èga^{L}*-dà:bú dàbí*	‘get up early in the morning’
àn^{L}*-tàŋǎ: táŋ*	‘spread (limbs)’
sùndɛ̀^{L}*-járì jǎr*	‘emit slobber, drool’
bɛ̀rɛ̀^{L}*-kɛ́jɛ̀ kɛ́jɛ́*	‘tell an outright lie’
kèndà^{L}*-[tèg-î:] tɛ́gɛ́*	‘have lunches’
[mànà^{L} *pílɛ̀-ŋgò] pílɛ́*	‘cook dumplings’ (*pílɛ̀* ‘white’)
[gòlɛ̀^{L} *nòjǒ:] nójí*	‘do the second round of farm work’ (*nòjǒ:* ‘second’)
dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̀^{L}*-sìbǎ: síbí*	‘lay the second layer of millet grain spikes in container’

[sàndò^{L} *bǐn-gó] bìné*	'dam up (rivulet)' (*bǐn-gó* 'big-Sg')
[àŋà-mbò]^{L}*-dùmbú dùmbí*	'lay the first layer of millet grain spikes in container'
sèjìyò^{L}*-[yóbí-n] yɔ̀bé*	'(bride) return to home village after three months and come back'

11.1.3.3 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

If the cognate nominal is referential, it generally denotes a logical object of the action. The cognate nominal may be modified, quantified over, or possessed.

(403) a. *[dwà:*^{L} *ségín] dwá-njò-∅*
[**insult(n)**^{L} many] **insult(v)**-Pres-3SgSbj
'He/She makes many insults.'

b. *[dwè:*^{L} *nè:ndé:] dwá-njò-∅*
[**insult(n)**.Pl^{L} bad.InanPl] **insult)v)**-Pres-3SgSbj
'He/She makes bad (= nasty) insults.'

c. *[kó* ^{L}*jà:ŋì-n] [mó mà]*
[3Inan.Sg.O.Poss ^{L}**fight(n)**-Nom] [3AnSg in]
já:ŋí-yó-l-ó: mé kày, …
fight(v)-MP-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if Topic, …
'if (on the other hand) you-Sg have not made the squabble of (= about) that with him, …' (2005-1a.01)

However, in a few cases the cognate nominal is the subject: *jíŋè jìŋé* 'late millet ripen(s)'.

11.1.4 Objects of causatives and ditransitives

Ditransitives include lexical verbs 'give' and 'show', plus derived causatives and causative-like transitive derivations.

Ditransitive *ǹdé* 'give' has two objects. The recipient is usually human and is regularly followed by the accusative marker *gì*. The theme (entity transferred) is usually a thing, but may be animate. In freely produced examples, the theme does not have accusative marking even when human (404c), but follow-up questioning indicated that such marking is at least grammatical.

(404) a. *[ŋ̀gwɛ̌: [mí yè] mó] [á:màdù gì] ǹdɛ̀-ḿ*
[dog [1SgPoss Psm.AnSg] Def.AnSg] [A **Acc**] **give**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I gave my dog to Amadou.'

b. *[ŋ̀gwɛ̌: [mí yè] mó] [á:màdù gì] tɛ̀:rɛ̀-ḿ*
[dog [1SgPoss Psm.AnSg] Def.AnSg] [A **Acc**] **show**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I showed my dog to Amadou.'

c. *[yĕ:* *[mí* *yè]* *mó]* *[á:màdù* *gì]* *tè:rè-ḿ*
[woman [1SgPoss Psm.AnSg] Def.AnSg] [A **Acc**] **show**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I showed my wife to Amadou.'

Causatives are exemplied in (405). The logical subject of the subordinated clause ('X jump', 'X drink water') is treated as direct object of the collapsed clause and takes accusative marking (405a-b). If both the subordinated subject and subordinated object appear, accusative *gì* is regular for the subject but usually omitted on the object (405c). If just one or the other appears, accusative marking is normal (405d)

(405) a. *[á:màdù* *gì]* *tòmbò-mè-ḿ*
[A **Acc**] jump-**Caus**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I made Amadou jump.'

b. *[á:màdù* *gì]* *íŋgé* *nà:-mè-ḿ*
[A **Acc**] water drink-**Caus**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I had Amadou drink water.' (= 'I gave water to Amadou to drink')

c. *[á:màdù* *gì]* *[ŋ̀gwĕ:* *mó]* *dènjà-mè-ḿ*
[A **Acc**] [dog Def.AnSg] hit-**Caus**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I had/made Amadou beat the dog.'

d. *[ŋ̀gwĕ:* *mó* *gì]* *dènjà-mè-ḿ*
[dog Def.AnSg **Acc**] hit-**Caus**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I had/made (somebody) beat the dog.' (= 'I had the dog beaten.')

Verbs of carrying like 'carry on head' and 'carry on back' are mediopassive morphologically but syntactically transitive, with e.g. 'basket' or 'baby' as object. Accusative marking is regular on definite objects (inanimate or animate), and on indefinite animates, but not on indefinite inanimates (406b).

(406) a. *[yĕ:* *mó]* *[dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̂:* *kó* *gì]* *dìyè-∅*
[woman Def.AnSg] [basket Def.InanSg.O **Acc**] carry.on.head.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The woman carried the basket on the (=her) head.'

b. *[yĕ:* *mó]* *dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̂:* *dìyè-∅*
[woman Def.AnSg] basket carry.on.head.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The woman carried a basket on the (=her) head.'

c. *[yĕ:* *mó]* *[èndê:* *mó* *gì]* *pòyè-∅*
[woman Def.AnSg] [child Def.AnSg **Acc**] carry.on.back.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The woman carried the child on the (=her) head.'

d. *[yě:* *mó]* *[èndê:* *gì]* *pòyè-∅*
[woman Def.AnSg] [child **Acc**] carry.on.back.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The woman carried a child on the (=her) head.'

The morphologically transitive forms of the same 'carry' verbs add an external agent, as when someone else helps to put the basket or the child in carrying position. In this case there are two objects. The subordinated subject is accusative-marked. The subordinated object is can also be accusative-marked, though less reliably.

(407) a. *[dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̂:* *kó* *gì]* *[mó* *gì]* *dì:-rɛ̀-ḿ*
[basket Def.InanSg.O **Acc**] [3Sg Acc] carry.on.head-**Tr**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I had him/her carry the basket on the head.'

b. *[yě:* *mó* *gì]* *[èndê:* *mó* *(gì)]*
[woman Def.AnSg **Acc**] [child Def.AnSg (**Acc**)
pò:-rè-ḿ
carry.on.back-**Tr**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I had the woman carry the child on the back.'

11.2 'Be', 'become', and other statives

11.2.1 Identificational enclitic 'it is …' (*=y*, *=i:*)

11.2.1.1 Unconjugated forms

The common use of this enclitic is in simple, verbless clauses like (408), where a discourse referent that is already established, or that is introduced by deixis, is identified by an NP or adverbial.

(408) a. *nɛ̌:=ý*
cow=it.is
'It (=previously introduced referent) is a cow.' (*nɛ̌:*)

b. *ǒm* *nɛ̌:=ý*
this.AnSg cow=it.is
'This is a cow.' (*nɛ̌:*)

The enclitic may occur without plural or animacy agreement (409a). The identificational element may be a first or second person pronoun (409b).

(409) a. *nàwó:=ý*
cow.Pl=it.is
'They are cows.'

b. *mí=ý*
1Sg=it.is
'It's me.'

The unconjugated 'it is' enclitic *=y* is also part of some passive constructions, following *=b-à:* or *-mb-à:* (§10.5).

The enclitic takes the form *=y* after a vowel, and *=i:* after a consonant (including *y*). The tone is spread from the end of the word to which it is attached. The enclitic therefore has H-tone in (410a), and L-tone in (410b). The few words that end in consonants likewise spread a level (non-contour) tone into the enclitic syllable (410c). A final contour-toned long vowel stretches its tones (§3.6.4.2) to incorporate the enclitic *=y*, which forms the coda of the final syllable (410c). A consonant-final word with final contour-toned syllable divides the tone into its components as part of resyllabification (§3.6.4.3). The leftmost tone element surfaces on the stem-final syllable (which is now an open syllable *Cv* or *Cv:*), and the rightmost tone element surfaces on the word-final syllable which includes the enclitic in its *=i:* variant. This is illustrated for stem-final *CvC* in (410e) and for stem-final *CvC* in (410-f).

(410)		gloss	form	'it is X …'	
	a.	'this.InanSg'	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gú=ý*	
		'1Sg'	*mí*	*mí=ý*	
		'2Sg'	*ó*	*ó=ý*	
		'house'	*ólé*	*ólé=ý*	
	b.	'goat'	*ínɛ̀*	*ínɛ̀=ỳ*	
		'city'	*ŋ̀gállù*	*ŋ̀gállù=ỳ*	
	c.	'many'	*sɛ́gín*	*sɛ́gín=í:*	
	d.	'pick-hoe'	*cènjû:*	*cènjú:=ỳ*	
	e.	'this.AnSg	*ǒm*	*òm=í:*	syllabified as [ò.míí]
		'hundred'	*sǐŋ*	*sìŋ=í:*	syllabified as [sì.ŋíí]
	f.	'here'	*ǹjîn*	*ǹjín=ì:*	syllabified as [ǹ.dʒí.nìì]
		'there (distant)'	*ŋ̀gâ:n*	*ŋ̀gá:n=ì:*	syllabified as [ŋ̀.gáá.nìì]

11.2.1.2 Conjugated forms

In the unconjugated 'it is' construction illustrated above, the subject (i.e., the discourse referent to be identified) is covert. When the subject is a first or second person pronominal, a conjugated form of the 'it is' enclitic is used. Thus compare third person subject (411a) with 1Sg subject (411b).

(411) a. *ánè=ỳ*
man=it.is
'It (=he/she) is a man.'

b. *ánè=m̀*
man=it.is.1Sg
'I am a man.'

The paradigm is (412). In the 1Pl and 2Pl forms, plural suffix *-mbo* optionally appears even where it is not otherwise present on a plural noun, as with *nàwó:* 'cows'. Its tone spreads from the preceding stem.

(412)

category	after V	after C
1Sg	*=m̀*	*=í:-m̀*
2Sg	*=ẁ*	*=í:-ẁ*
1Pl	*(-mbo)=ỳ*	*(-mbo)=ỳ*
2Pl	*(-mb)=è:*	*(-mb)=è:*

Nearly all actually occurring forms are postvocalic, since most nouns, adjectives, and personal pronouns ends in a vowel. For singular subjects (1Sg and 2Sg), it is possible to elicit conjugated 'it is' predicates based on demonstrative *ǒm* 'this (animate singular)'. For plural subjects (1Pl and 2Pl), with some difficulty it was possible to elicit 'it is' predicates based on the numeral *sǐŋ* 'hundred'. Examples are in (413). In the (syllabic) clitics, i.e. 1Pl and 2Pl and the postconsonantal allomorphs for 1Sg and 2Sg, a final H-tone from the stem spreads into the nucleus of the enclitic syllable as described in the preceding section.

(413)

		'_ am/are a cow' (< *nɛ̌:*)	'_ am/are this (one)' (< *ǒm*)
a.	1Sg	*nɛ̌:=m̀*	*òm=í:-m̀*
	2Sg	*nɛ̌:=ẁ*	*òm=í:-ẁ*
		'_ are cows' (< *nàwó:*)	'_ are one hundred' (< *sǐŋ*)
b.	1Pl	*nàwó:(-mbó)=ỳ*	*sìŋ=í:=ỳ* ~ *sìm-bó=ỳ*
	2Pl	*nàwó:(-mb)=ê:*	*sìŋ=ê:* ~ *sìm-b=ê:*

In addition to its function in simple examples like those presented above, the conjugated 'it is' enclitic also occurs in perfect *jòg-â:(=ỳ)* and related forms, see §10.1.3.3. This likely originated as a predicative form of a participle.

11.2.1.3 'It is not …' (*=lá*)

The positive 'it is' enclitic is replaced by *=lá*, which also occurs on negative adjectival predicates (§11.4.4). The *l* is optionally hardened to *d* after a nasal consonant. This is an

infrequent combination, but *=dá* can follow animate singular demonstrative *ǒm*, resulting in *ǒm=lá* or *ǒm=dá*.

(414) a. *nɛ̌:=lá*
cow=it.is.not
'It is not a cow.'

b. *nàwó:=lá*
cow.Pl=it.is.not
'They are not cows.'

A final H-tone in a personal or demonstrative pronoun, or in a predicative adjective (§11.4.4), drops to L-tone before *=lá*, but H-toned nouns have their usual tone (415).

(415)

	gloss	form	'it is not X …'
a.	'this (InanSg)'	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gù=lá*
	'1Sg'	*mí*	*mì=lá*
	'2Sg'	*ó*	*ò=lá*
	'house'	*ólé*	*ólé=lá*
b.	'goat'	*ínɛ̀*	*ínɛ̀=lá*
	'city'	*ŋ̀gállù*	*ŋ̀gállù=lá*
c.	'pick-hoe'	*cènjû:*	*cènjú:=lá*
d.	'many'	*sɛ́gín*	*sɛ́gín=lá*
e.	'this (AnSg)'	*ǒm*	*ǒm=lá* ~ *ǒm=dá*
	'hundred'	*sǐŋ*	*sǐŋ=lá* ~ *sǐŋ=dá*
f.	'here'	*ǹjîn*	*ǹjîn=lá* ~ *ǹjîn=dá*
	'there (distant)'	*ŋ̀gâ:n*	*ŋ̀gâ:n=lá* ~ *ŋ̀gâ:n=dá*

The conjugated forms for 1st and 2nd person are in (416).

(416)

category	after *v* or *C*
1Sg	*=lá-m̀*
2Sg	*=lá-ẁ*
1Pl	*=lá=ỳ*, (*-mbo*) *=lá=ỳ*
2Pl	*(-mbo)=l-ɛ̂:*

Again, plural suffix *-mbo* is often added before the 1Pl and 2Pl clitics even after nouns that do not elsewhere take this suffix.

11.2.2 Existential-locational quasi-verbs and particles

In the usual case where present time reference is relevant, a special set of positive and negative existential-locational 'be present/absent, be/not be (in a place')' are in use. If the relevant time interval is specifically past or future, relevant forms of a regular verb *bɛ́* 'remain, stay' are used.

In most Dogon languages, such existential-locational quasi-verbs are obligatorily preceded by an "existential" proclitic in positive, unfocalized main clauses. Najamba has no such particle preceding the quasi-verb, but there may be vestigial traces thereof, see §11.2.2.3.

11.2.2.1 Positive existential-locational quasi-verb (*bô:*, *bò*)

In existential-locational expressions, the predicative element takes the form *bô:* when the location is not specified ('be present', more loosely 'exist'), and *bò* when it follows a locational (417). Synchronically, post-locational *bò* might be analysed as a phonologically reduced enclitic from the fuller form *bô:*, though this is incorrect historically. It is questionable whether these quasi-verbs are etymologically related to the regular verb *bɛ́-* 'remain'.

(417) a. *á:màdù* *bô:-∅*
Amadou be-3SgSbj
'Amadou is present (here/there).'

b. *á:màdù* *[móttì* *mà]* *bò-∅*
Amadou [Mopti in] be-3SgSbj
'Amadou is in Mopti.'

There is no "existential" proclitic of the sort found in most Dogon languages.

The pronominal paradigms are in (418).

(418)

category	'be present'	'be in (a place)'
1Sg	*bô:-m*	*bò-m*
2Sg	*bô:-w*	*bò-w*
3Sg	*bô:-∅*	*bò-∅*
1Pl	*bô:-y*	*bò-y*
2Pl	*b-ê:*	*b-è:*
3Pl	*b-ɛ̂:*	*b-ɛ̀:*

The shift from +ATR to *ɛ* in the 3Pl is notable. It avoids 2Pl-3Pl homophony in this paradigm. However, it risks producing homophonies with other forms, namely with *b-ɛ̌:* 'you-Pl were' (clause-finally often tone-dropped to *b-ɛ̀:*), see §10.3.1.1, and with *b-ê:* nonsubject participle of *bɛ́-* 'remain'.

For past time reference, *bɛ̀-* 'was/were' replaces *bô:-* ~ *bò-*. See §10.3.1 and §10.3.1.1 above for the paradigm of *bɛ̀-*. The past-time forms always occur with an overt locational in my data.

11.2.2.2 Negative existential-locational quasi-verbs (*òndí* ~ *òndú*)

The negative counterpart of *bô:* ~ *bò* is *òndí*, dialectally *òndú*.

(419) a. *á:màdù* *òndí-∅*
Amadou be.Neg-3SgSbj
'Amadou is absent (=not here/there).'

b. *á:màdù* *[móttì* *mà]* *òndí-∅*
Amadou [Mopti in] be.Neg-3SgSbj
'Amadou is not in Mopti.'

The conjugation of *òndí* is (420). Its *-yo-* augment for 1st/2nd persons is discussed in the following section.

(420)

category	'be absent'
1Sg	*òndí-yò-m*
2Sg	*òndí-yò-w*
3Sg	*òndí-∅* (dialectally *òndú-∅*)
1Pl	*òndí-yò-y*
2Pl	*òndí-y-è:*
3Pl	*òndí-yà*

11.2.2.3 Evidence for an original existential particle

A number of Dogon languages have a proclitic "existential" particle that obligatorily precedes the 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb in the absence of an overt locational, obligatorily precedes the 'have' quasi-verb, and less systematically may precede some other statives and in some languages even progressive verbs. An example is Jamsay, where 'he/she is present' is *yɔ́ wɔ̀* and 'it is present' is *yɔ́ kɔ̀*, with existential /yɛ́/ assimilating to *yɔ́*. In these languages, the existential particle is disallowed under negation, in the presence of a focalized consituent, and in relative clauses. The particle is therefore limited to positive, unfocalized main clauses with stative predicates. Etymologically, the particle probably originated as an unstressed 'there' adverb.

Najamba has no such proclitic preceding 'be (somewhere)', 'have', or other statives. However, the morphology of 'be (somewhere)' and its negation may bear witness to the former existence of such an element, in a different linear position.

§11.2.2.1 above distinguished long and short forms of the 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb, with e.g. 3Sg *bô:-∅* 'he/she/it is present' in the absence of another locational phrase, versus *bò-∅* when it follows such a phrase. In the negative counterpart 'not be (somewhere)' or 'be absent' in (420) just above, an augment *-yò-* occurs clearly in 1st/2nd person subject forms, and possibly as part of 3Pl *òndí-yà*.

Working back from the extant forms, internal reconstruction suggests an earlier *bó yò 'be there' and *ò-ndí yò 'not be there'. Pushing internal reconstruction farther, *ò-ndí yò might in turn be a slightly trimmed form of *bò-ndí yò (since *-ndí* is a known stative negative suffix in Najamba and elsewhere). If so, *bó yò survives as *bô:-* when no other locational is present, and *(b)ò-ndí yò has merged with *(b)ò-ndí to form the single 'not be' paradigm, which is impervious to the presence or absence of another locational. The o-vowel in *yò might have originally been a front vowel that assimilated to the vowel of *bó.

This suggestion will, however, have to be vetted against existential-locational predicates in other western Dogon languages, and the history may be more complex than this scenario suggests.

11.2.3 Stative stance and 'hold' verbs with final *a/o* ('be sitting')

A form based on the bare **A/O-stem** of the verb, with {HL} tone overlay but without an inflectional suffix, functions as a stative with verbs of stance ('be sitting', 'be standing') and of holding. It takes the usual pronominal-suffix conjugation (see below). All attested derived statives are **bisyllabic**, as is the case in some other Dogon languages. Instead of a flexible tone formula that can apply to stems of all syllable counts, a simple {HL} will have to suffix here.

The corresponding change of state ('sit down', 'stand up', 'take hold') is regularly expressed by a mediopassive form of the verb with suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*. For example, 'sit down' is mediopassive *óbí-y* 'sit', for example 3Sg perfective *òbì-yɛ̀-∅* 'he/she sat down'. Like other mediopassives, *óbí-y* can take the full set of regular tense-aspect inflections (perfective, present, future, etc.). Derived (and underived) statives do not make these tense-aspect distinctions, though they do allow the conjugated past enclitic (§10.3.1.3).

The stative derived from *óbí-y* is *óbò* 'be sitting' = 'be seated', which expresses a static position rather than a transition. It consists of the A/O stem and the {HL} overlay mentioned above. The mediopassive suffix is absent, either for semantic reasons or because keeping it would result in a prohibited trisyllabic stative. The negative counterpart of *óbò* is *òbò-ndí-* 'not be sitting', with **stative negative** suffix *-ndí-* and {L} tone overlay on the same A/O-stem. The 1Sg form is *-nú-m* for expected #*-ndú-m*. Conjugated examples are in (421a-b).

(421) a. *óbò-m*
be.sitting-1SgSbj
'I am sitting.'

b. *òbò-nú-m*
be.sitting-StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I am not sitting.'

Sample paradigms are in (422). For the lexically -ATR stems like 'stand' that end in *a* in the A/O-stem, 2Pl and 3Pl are homophonous in the positive paradigm. For lexically +ATR stems like 'sit' that end in *o* in the A/O-stem, the 2Pl ends in *-è:* while the 3pl ends in *-è:* .

(422)	category	'be sitting'	'not be sitting'	'be standing'	'not be standing'
	1Sg	*óbò-m*	*òbò-nú-m*	*íŋgà-m*	*ìŋgà-nú-m*
	2Sg	*óbò-w*	*òbò-nd-ó:*	*íŋgà-w*	*ìŋgà-nd-ó:*
	3Sg	*óbò-∅*	*òbò-ndí-∅*	*íŋgà-∅*	*ìŋgà-ndí-∅*
	1Pl	*óbò-y*	*òbò-ndí-ỳ*	*íŋgà-y*	*ìŋgà-ndí-ỳ*
	2Pl	*ób-è:*	*òbò-nd-é:*	*íŋg-è:*	*ìŋgà-nd-é:*
	3Pl	*ób-è:*	*òbò-ndí-yà*	*íŋg-è:*	*ìŋgà-ndí-yà*

Other examples involving **stance** verbs are in (423). The two in (423b) require comment. If we analyse the change-of-state verbs as containing the mediopassive suffix (*bǐ-y*, *tí-y*), we must conclude that the suffix is retained in the statives (*bíyò*, *tíyò*), whereas for all other verbs the suffix is omitted in the stative. There are two ways to interpret this. One is that the morpheme boundary in *bǐ-y* and *tí-y* is opaque. The other is that the morpheme boundary may be transparent to native speakers, but the bisyllabic constraint on statives forces inclusion of the suffix. The same issue arises in (426b) below, and in several mediopassive-transitive pairings (§9.3.3).

(423)		change of state	gloss	stative	gloss
	a.	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	'stand up'	*íŋgà*	'be standing'
		yèndí-y	'be hung'	*yéndò*	'be hanging (on rope)'
		sómbí-y	'squat down'	*sómbò*	'be squatting'
		ɲàŋí-yɛ́	'kneel'	*ɲáŋà*	'be kneeling'
		gòbí-y	'stand on tiptoes'	*góbò*	'be on tiptoes'
		bìní-yɛ́	'lean on (sth)'	*bínà*	'be leaning'
		tíjí-y	'hold self up'	*tíjò*	'be holding self up'
		jèŋgí-yɛ́	'become tilted'	*jéŋgà*	'be tilted, be atilt'
		gèrí-y	'lie on back'	*gérò*	'be lying on back'
		jàbí-yɛ́	'lie on belly'	*jábà*	'be lying on belly'
	b.	*bǐy* (or: *bǐ-y*)	'lie down'	*bíyò*	'be lying down'
		tíy (or: *tí-y*)	'(bird) alight'	*tíyò*	'be perched'

Transitive verbs of **putting** objects (in some position) have (intransitiive) statives that denote being in the relevant position (424). I have no attestations of mediopassives.

(424)	transitive	gloss	mediopassive	stative	gloss
	găn	'put X in Y'	?	*gánà*	'X be in Y (container)'
	tún	'put X (somewhere)'	?	*túnò*	'X be in (place)'
	ságí	'put X up (on Y)'	?	*ságà*	'X be up (on Y)'

Verbs of **attaching** are similar. Their mediopassives ('become tied', 'become connected') are elicitable.

(425)	transitive	gloss	mediopassive	stative	gloss of stative
	págí	'tie X'	*págí-y*	*págà*	'X be tied'
	dìgí-ré	'join, connect X (to Y)'	*dìgí-y*	*dígà*	'X be connected' (cf. §11.2.5 below)

Verbs of **holding** and **carrying** are exemplified in (426). In dynamic contexts they are transitive, like 'put' and 'tie' above. However, they are mediopassive in form. In the stative derivatives, the subject is still the holder/carrier, not the person or object that is held or carried. This is because holding and carrying, unlike putting and tying, leaves the agent in a continuing state. I would add that holding and carrying can last considerable times under African conditions, as when women carry a baby on their backs while making their rounds, or when men and women carry baskets on their head from fields to the village (with harvested crops). The same issue regarding morphemic segmentation discussed for the verbs in (423b) above is relevant to those in (426b).

(426)		taking hold	gloss	stative	gloss of stative
	a.	*sélí-y*	'carry on shoulders'	*sélò*	'be carrying on shoulders'
		nìbí-yɛ́	'carry on shoulder'	*níbà*	'be carrying on shoulder'
		úbí-yɛ́	'carry at one's ribs'	*úbà*	'be carrying at one's ribs'
		tíndí-y	'balance on head'	*tíndà*	'be balancing on head'
	b.	*dìyɛ́* (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	'carry on head'	*díyà*	'be carrying on head'
		póy (or: *pó-y*)	'carry on back'	*póyò*	'be carrying on back'

11.2.4 'Know' (*tígà:-*, negative *éndà:-*)

For 'know' (the object can be a fact or a person, cf. French *savoir* and *connaître*), the positive stem used with present time reference is *tígà:-* (shortened 3Sg *tígà-∅*), suppleted by negative *éndà:-* (3Sg *éndà-∅*). Because of the stem-final *a*, 2Pl and 3Pl are homophonous.

(427)

category	'know'	'not know'
1Sg	*tígà:-m*	*éndà:-m*
2Sg	*tígà:-w*	*éndà:-w*
3Sg	*tígà-∅*	*éndà-∅*
1Pl	*tígà:-y*	*éndà:-y*
2Pl	*tíg-è:*	*énd-è:*
3Pl	*tíg-è:*	*énd-è:*

The verb *jùgɛ́* 'recognize' is morphologically regular (aspect-marking).

11.2.5 'Is not connected' (*dígà-ndí*)

The negative expression *dígà-ndí* (cf. Jamsay *dìgɛ̀-lá*), with stative negative *-ndí*, means literally 'is not connected'. In addition to its literal use, it may be used in the (meta-)pragmatic sense 'it (e.g. what you're saying) is not connected (= not relevant, appropriate)'.

11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 'Remain' (*bɛ́-*)

The (positive and negative) existential-locational quasi-verbs described above are defective statives that cannot mark aspect or futurity. When the time reference in question excludes the present, the quasi-verbs are replaced by inflected forms of the regular verb *bɛ́-* 'remain'.

In the positive, for future time reference, *bɛ́-* takes the regular future paradigm: 3Sg *bá-m̀*, 1Sg *bà-mbó-m̀*, etc. H-tones may be dropped at the end of long clauses.

(428) a. *éngú* *ŋ̀gîn* *[wé* *nɛ̀]* *bà-m*
tomorrow here [come then.SS] remain-Fut.3SgSbj
'He/She will come and be (=stay) here tomorrow.'

b. *ɲă:* *ŋ̀gîn* *b-à:*
yesterday here remain.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They were here yesterday.'

The perfective of 'remain' is probably the source of *bɛ̀-* 'was/were', which replaces *bò-* 'be (somewhere)' when the reference time shifts to the past (§10.3.1.1), and therefore of the entire set of past-shifted verb forms with encliticized conjugated *=bɛ̀-* (§10.3.1). There is no clear formal distinction between the two paradigms, especially since the final H-tone on 1st/2nd person subject forms is usually dropped except in careful pronunciation or in isolation.

(429) category perfective of *bɛ́* 'remained', and past of 'be (somewhere)'

1Sg	*bɛ̀-ḿ*
2Sg	*b-ɔ̌:*
3Sg	*bɛ̀-∅*
1Pl	*bɛ̀-ý*
2Pl	*b-ɛ̌:*
3Pl	*b-à:*

In the negative, for past time reference, the perfective negative is used: 3Sg *bă-l-∅* (430a), 3Pl *bà:-ndí*, 1Sg *bà-lú-m*, etc. Other negative stems are future negative *bă-ndì-* (430b) and present negative *bâ-ndí-*.

(430) a. *ŋ̀gîn* *bă-l-∅*
here remain-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She wasn't (=didn't stay) here.'

b. *ɛ́ngú* *ŋ̀gîn* *bă-ndì-∅*
tomorrow here be-FutNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She will not be (=stay) here tomorrow.'

11.2.6.2 'Become X' (*kán*, *bìlí-yɛ́*), 'X happen'

The 'become' verb follows an 'it is' construction with enclitic *=y*. The lexical options are the rather neutral *kán* 'be made, be done' (intransitive use of *kán* 'make') and *bìlí-yɛ́* 'become, be transformed into'. The 'it is' construction does not change when the 'become' verb is negated (431d).

(431) a. *dɔ́gɛ̀=ỳ* *kànè-ḿ*
Dogon=it.is be.made.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I became (=was made) a Dogon.'

b. *dɔ́gɔ̀:=ỳ* *kàn-à:*
Dogon.Pl=it.is be.made.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They became Dogon.'

c. *kòjá=ý* *bìlì-yè-∅*
frog=it.is become-MP-3SgSbj
'He/she was transformed into a frog.'

d. *dɔ́gɛ̀=ỳ* *káná-l-∅*
Dogon=it.is become-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She did not become a Dogon.'

kán ‘be made’ is also used in the sense ‘(event, action) happen’. The phrase *kànè-∅ mɛ́* ‘if it happens’ is often added to the end of a sentence in the sense ‘if it has happened that …’ or ‘in case …’. This frequently occurs at subject switch points in narrative, or where a negative clause is followed by a positive one. See (326) in §10.1.3.3.

Transitive *kán* is the all-purpose ‘do, make’ verb, combining with many types of objects including fixed collocations with loanwords. See (396c) in §11.1.3.1 for examples.

11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb

11.3.1 ‘Say’ (*gìnɛ́*)

This regular verb (full tense-aspect paradigms) can have an NP complement (432a), or a quotative complement (432b). Quotative complements are described in detail in §17.1.

(432) a. *ségín* *gìnè-∅*
much say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She said a lot.’

b. *wó-njò-m* *gìnɛ̀*
come-Pres-LogoSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He$_x$ said that he$_x$ was/is coming.’

11.4 Adjectival predicates

11.4.1 Conjugated adjectival predicate

Array (433) gives the paradigms of ‘be small’, ‘be straight’, and ‘be short’ as positive adjectival predicates.

(433)

	‘be small’	‘be short’	‘be heavy’
3Sg	*pàlá*	*dèndú-m̀*	*nǐm̀*
3Pl	*pàl-ɛ̂:*	*dèndí-y-è:*	*nìmí-y-è:*
2Pl	*pàl-ɛ̂:*	*dèndí-y-è:*	*nìmí-y-è:*
2Sg	*pàlá-ẁ*	*dèndí-y-ò:*	*nìmí-y-ò:*
1Sg	*pàlá-m̀*	*dèndí-yò-m*	*nìmí-yò-m*
1Pl	*pàlá-ỳ*	*dèndí-yò-y*	*nìmí-yò-y*

‘Be small’, corresponding to modifying adjective *pàlɛ̂:* ~ *pàlâ:*, has no suffix other than the pronominal-subject suffix. ‘Be short’ (cf. modifying adjective *dèndú:*, *dèndí:*, *dèndú-ŋgó*, etc.) and ‘be heavy’ (*nìmí-yè*, *nǐm-gò*, *nìm-bò*) have a suffix *-yò-*, which might be connected historically either with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (§9.3) or with the *-yò-* augment in forms of ‘not

be (somewhere)' (§11.2.2.2). I will gloss it noncommittally as 'be' in interlinears. The types 'be short' and 'be heavy' differ in the 3Sg, but the difference is phonologically conditioned, as the 'be heavy' type with zero 3Sg suffix consists of stems ending in {*m y*} after the final vowel (if any) is deleted.

Lists of adjectives with these predicative forms are in (434), using the 3Sg form (with the 1Sg in parentheses where relevant). The corresponding modifying forms can be found in §4.5.1-3. Some adjectives were unelicitable in a dedicated predicative form (as opposed to the 'it is' enclitic form, or a verbalization).

(434) a. no suffix, like 'be small' in (433) above
pàlá 'it is small' (1Sg *pàlá-m̀*), *nè:ndá* 'it is bad' (1Sg *nè:ndá-m̀*); *tàmàlá* 'it is slow', *èndá* 'it is displeasing (not sweet)'

b. 3Sg *-m̀*, others based on *-yò-*, stem bisyllabic, like 'be short' in (433) above
dèndú-m̀ 'it is short' (1Sg *dèndí-yò-m*); *èlú-m̀* 'it is sweet' (1Sg *èlí-yò-m*); *bìnú-m̀* 'it is big, stout' (1Sg *bìní-yò-m*); *mènjú-m̀* 'it is slender' (1Sg *mènjí-yò-m*); *gàlú-m̀* 'it is bitter' (1Sg *gàlí-yò-m*); *pèmbú-m̀* 'it (passage) is narrow' (1Sg *pèmbí-yò-m*); *wàgú-m̀* 'it is distant' (1Sg *wàgí-yò-m*); *pèjú-m̀* 'it is slow' (1Sg *pèjí-yò-m*); *mìnú-m̀* 'it is deep' (1Sg *mìní-yò-m̀*); *bùrú-m̀* 'it (= meat) is tender' (1Sg *bùrí-yò-m*); *pìbú-m̀* 'it is rancid' (1Sg *pìbí-yò-m*)

c. ends in *m* or *y*, 3Sg zero, others based on *-yò-*, like 'be heavy' in (433) above
nǐm̀ 'it is heavy' (1Sg *nìmí-yò-m*); *mǎỳ*^{n} 'it is hard (1Sg *mǎy-yò-m*); *nǎm̀* 'it is difficult' (1Sg *nàmí-yò-m*); *dwěỳ*^{n} 'it is hot; it is fast' (1Sg *dwěy*^{n}*-yò-m*); *ǎm̀* 'it is sour' (1Sg *àmí-yò-m*); *dǔm̀* 'it is near' (1Sg *dùmí-yò-m*)

Predicative 'be good' is usually not expressed with a form phonologically related to the modifying *nálá:*, *nálé:* 'good'. There is a suppletive predicative form *něỳ* 'it is good' (1Sg *něy-yò-m*). Alternatively, *èlú-m̀* 'it is sweet' can be stretched to mean 'it is good'.

A number of adjectives are attested in a 3Sg predicative form ending in *-m̀*, but 1st/2nd person forms were not elicitable (435).

(435) a. stem has both predicative (final *a/o*) and modifying forms
bisyllabic
jàlá-m̀ 'it is long'; *wàyá-m̀* 'it is wide'
trisyllabic
ònàná-m̀ 'it is smooth', *yàgàjá-m̀* and near-synonym *kàgàjá-m̀* 'it is coarse', *àmàlá-m̀* 'it (e.g. mango) is slightly bitter', *yègèló-m̀* 'it (= water) is cool'

b. stem is attested in this 3Sg predicative form only
bisyllabic
ènú-m̀ 'it is thin', *kèrú-m̀* 'it is pungent'
trisyllabic
kùjàjá-m̀ 'it has unpleasant smell (e.g. urine, burning hairs or feathers)'; *sìnàná-m̀* 'it has a crispy taste', *èjèjó-m̀* 'it is lightly salted or sugared'

Some adjectival senses are expressed by terms that are morphosyntactically **adverbials** (§8.4.8). These may be made predicative by adding the usual adverbial *nɛ̀*, plus a conjugated form of *bò-* 'be'. For example, 'lightweight' is *yɛ́rɛ́w nɛ̀* as an adverbial, and can easily be made predicative as *[yɛ́rɛ́w nɛ̀] bò-* 'be lightweight'.

11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with 'it is' enclitic

Some adjectives occur in a predicative construction with the 'it is' enclitic. See §11.2.1 for this enclitic and its conjugation. An example is 'new', which does not seem to have a simple inchoative verb. Perhaps we should understand the adjective as being nominal in function, e.g. 'I am a newbie' and the like.

The adjective takes the appropriate form (for animacy and number), and is followed by *=y* (with tone spread from the left) for any third person subject, or by a pronominally inflected form of the enclitic for 1st or 2nd person subject.

(436) a. *kàndɛ́:=m̀*
new.AnSg=it.is.1SgSbj
'I am new.'

b. *kàndá:=ý*
new.AnPl=it.is
'They are new.'

c. *kàndɛ́:=lá-m̀*
new.AnSg=it.is.not-1SgSbj
'I am not new.'

d. *kàndá:=lá*
new.AnPl=it.is.not
'They are not new.'

For color adjectives ('white', 'black', 'red'), both assistants checked used the 'it is' enclitic on an adjective with appropriate nominal agreement.

(437) a. *[ólé* *ké]* *pílɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀=ỳ*
[house Inan.Sg.E] white-InanSg.E=it.is
'The house is white.'

b. *[tìmɔ̂:* *kó]* *pílɛ̀-ŋgɔ̀=ỳ*
[tree Inan.Sg.O] white-InanSg.O=it.is
'The tree is white.'

c. *[tìmɛ̂:* *yé]* *pílɛ̀=ỳ*
[tree.Pl Inan.Pl] white.InanPl=it.is
'The trees are white.'

11.4.3 Inchoative adjectival verbs with perfect *jò-*

A number of adjectives have no predicate form as such. Instead, the corresponding inchoative verb is used. See §9.4 for lists of such verbs. For stative predicate 'X is (adjective)', the verb is followed by the **perfect auxiliary** *jò-* (§10.1.3.3).

(438) Deadjectival inchoative verbs with perfect *jò-*

gàbí jò-∅ 'it is tall'; *témbí jò-∅* 'it is wet'; *téndí jò-∅* 'it is straight'; *gɔ̀mɛ́ jò-∅* 'it is rotten'; *gìndɛ́ jò-∅* 'he/she is big (adult)'; *kúnjɛ́ jò-∅* 'he/she is old'; *mǎl jò-∅* 'it (rope) is tight'; *yɔ̀rɛ́ jò-∅* 'it is loose, slack'; *mǎy jò-∅* 'it is hard'.

If an adjective has both an inchoative derivative and a predicate-adjective form, either can be used in descriptive predicates (439).

(439) *nìmí-yò-m* (= *nìmó-ndì* *jò-m*)
be.heavy-be-1SgSbj (= heavy-Inch Perfect-1SgSbj)
'I am heavy.'

11.4.4 Negative adjectival predicates (*=lá-*)

Adjectives with predicate forms may negate them by adding 'it is not' enclitic *=lá-* (§11.2.1.3) which can be conjugated. The *l* optionally hardens to *d* after a nasal (440). An /LH/-melody adjective like *nǐm* 'heavy' flatten to L-toned before the H-toned enclitic.

(440) *nìm=dá-m̀*
heavy=it.is.not-1SgSbj
'I am not heavy.'

If the predicate is expressed by an inchoative verb, it is negated by the regular perfective negative (441a-b). These are literally of the type 'have not become ADJ'.

(441) a. *gàbá-lú-m*
be.tall-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I am not tall.'

b. *nìmó-ndó-lù-m*
heavy-Inch-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I am not heavy.'

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 'Have' (*jógò-*)

This construction corresponds to English 'X have Y'. X is normally a topical or otherwise easily accessible referent such as a 1st/2nd person pronoun. The object Y is generally the newsworthy element. The positive forms are based on a defective stative quasi-verb *jógò-*. The negative forms are based on *jògò-ndí-* with stative negative ending. The paradigms are in (442).

(442)

subject	positive	negative
1Sg	*jógò-m*	*jògò-nú-m*
2Sg	*jóg-ò:*	*jògò-nd-ó:*
1Sg	*jógò-∅*	*jògò-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*jógò-y*	*jògò-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*jóg-è:*	*jògò-nd-é:*
3Sg	*jóg-è:*	*jògò-ndí-yà*

The 'have' quasi-verb follows the NP denoting the possessed entity (443).

(443) a. *nĕ:* *jógò-m*
cow have-1SgSbj
'I have a cow.'

b. *nĕ:* *jògò-ndí-∅*
cow have-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She doesn't have a cow.'

The 'have' quasi-verb is related in a somewhat obscure way to perfect auxiliaries *jò-* and *jòg-â:-* (§10.1.3.3, §11.4.3).

11.5.2 'Belong to' predicates with possessive classifiers

The construction 'Y belongs to X', i.e. 'Y is X's', takes the possessum Y as conceptual starting point, and predicates X as the possessor. This is expressed in Najamba as X [Y('s) possession]=it.is, with enclitic *=y*.

The form glossed 'possession' in this literal translation is really a possessive classifier that has distinct forms for animacy, class, and number. The same classifiers are used in nonpredicative possessives when the possessor is a pronominal (§6.2.2), but in predicates the possessor may be any pronoun or NP. They are also closely related to some demonstratives. In (444), the predicative forms are shown along with the final *=y* 'it is'.

(444)

	singular	plural
inanimate E-class	*gɛ̀=y*	*yɛ̀=y*
inanimate O-class	*gɔ̀=y*	*yɛ̀=y*
animate	*yɛ̀=y*	*bɔ̀=y*

The regular negation of *=y* 'it is' is *=lá* 'it is not', and this is used in the corresponding negations: *gɛ̀=lá*, etc.

If the possessor is a pronoun, the classifier cliticizes to it. Vowel *o* in a pronoun (3Sg *mó*, 2Sg *ó*) shifts to *ɔ*, harmonizing with the -ATR *ɛ* or *ɔ* of the 'possession' noun.

(445) a. *[tímɔ̂:* *kó]* *mí=gɔ̀=y*
[tree Def.InanSg.O] 1Sg=Psm.InanSg.O=it.is
'The tree is mine.'

b. *[nɛ̀:*^{L} *ǒm]* *mɔ́=yɛ̀=y*
[cow^{L} this.AnSg] 3Sg=Psm.AnSg=it.is
'This cow is his/hers.'

c. *[táŋà* *ké]* *ɔ́=gɛ̀=lá*
[granary Def.InanSg.E] 2Sg=Psm.Inan.Sg.E=it.is.not
'The granary is not yours-Sg.'

Before a stop, the 1Sg pronoun may have its regular full form *mí*, as in *mí=gɔ̀=y* (445a) above. Alternatively, it may syncopate. If it does syncope, the surviving nasal undergoes point-of-articulation assimilation to the stop. Hence *mí=gɔ̀=y* syncopating to *ŋ́=gɔ̀=y* 'it (InanSg.O) is mine', *mí=gɛ̀=y* syncopating to *ŋ́=gɛ̀=y* 'it (InanSg.E) is mine', and *mí=bɔ̀=y* syncopating to *ḿ=bɔ̀=y* 'they (An) are mine.' No contraction takes place before *y*.

A textual example is (446).

(446) *yɛ̌:* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ̀-∅* *mɛ́↗,*
woman work(n) work.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[[ánɛ̀ *mó]* *kɔ̀]=y*
[[man Def.AnSg] **Psm.InanSg.O]=it.is**
'If a woman did the work, it belonged to the man.' (2005-1a)

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 'Head' and 'mother' as superlatives

In addition to the productive morphosyntactic constructions covered below, it is worth noting that *nǐ:* 'mother' and *kî:* 'head' can be used in superlatives with senses like 'most important'. Quite independently of Saddam Hussein and 'the mother of all battles', Najamba speakers use 'mother' (along with 'head') in passages like (447). In this text, the speaker has commented at length on the pros and cons of farming, herding, and commerce as the three common professions.

(447) *kà:* *[nǐ:* *mó]* *mó=ý,*
but [**mother** Def.AnSg] AnSg=it.is,
[[[àdúná *ˡòlè]* *ˡbìrɔ̀:]* *ˡkì:* *díndì]* *gìn-à:* *mɛ́=ý,*
[[[world ˡhouse] ˡwork] ˡ**head** all] say.Pfv-3PlSbj if=it.is,
[gɔ́lè: *kó* *yà:]* *[bírɔ́:* *ˡkì:]=ỳ*
[farming Def.InanSg.O Foc] [work(n) ˡ**head**]=it.is
'But it's he (= farmer) [focus] who is the mother (= most essential). If they say (= speak of) the head (= chief) of (types of) work of (= in) the entire world, farming [focus] is the head (= chief) of (types of) work.' (2005-1a)

12.1.2 Comparatives with *tóló* 'more'

When the comparanda are **nonsubjects**, the 'more/most' expression is always *tóló.* It immediately follows the comparandum and the two should be bracketed together in transcriptions. *tóló* can also occur in subject comparatives where, however, forms based on verb *ìró-* are more common, see below. The **comparandum** phrase *X nèn* ('than X') may precede or follow the rest of the clause. *nèn* occurs elsewhere as a purposive postposition (§8.3). In (448), the comparanda are objects or adverbials, with the subject held constant. In (448c), we see that a direct object NP containing *gì* may be followed by *nèn* 'than'.

(448) a. *[èmbá* *nèn]* *[yógè* *tóló]* *tígà:-m*
[sorghum.Pl **than**] [millet.Pl **more**] know-1SgSbj
'I know millet more than (I know) sorghum.'

b. *[númbè* *tóló]* *kíyò-m* *[ɛ́lɛ́* *nèn]*
[cow-pea.Pl **more**] want-1SgSbj [peanut.Pl **than**]
'I like cow-peas more than (I like) peanuts.'

c. *[[mí gì] tóló] ǹdɛ̀ [[ó gì] nɛ̀n]*
[[1Sg Acc] **more**] give.Pfv-3SgSbj [[2Sg Acc] **than**]
'He gave me more than (he gave) you-Sg.'

d. *[íyó tóló] bìrɛ̀-m [ɲă: nɛ̀n]*
[today **more**] work(v)-1SgSbj [yesterday **than**]
'I worked more today than (I worked) yesterday.'

e. *[íyó tóló] bìr-à: [ɲă: nɛ̀n]*
[today **more**] work(v).Pfv-3PlSbj [yesterday **than**]
'They worked more today than (they worked) yesterday.'

The 'it is' enclitic *=y* is often added to *tóló* in textual examples like those in (449).

(449) a. *[mó tóló]=ý [[[dúmɛ́: yé] kùl] mà]*
[AnSg **more**]**=it.is** [[[animal.Pl Def.InanPl] inside] in]
[ó gì] náfɛ́ jòg-â:
[2Sg Acc] benefit(v) Perfect-PplSbj
'Among the (livestock) animals, it (= favorite animal) has benefited you the most.' (2005-1a)

b. *[mó tóló]=ý [ó* ^{L}*nàfà: kó]*
[AnSg **more**]**=it.is** [2SgPoss ^{L}benefit Def.InanSg.O]
yɛ́ jòg-â:=ỳ
see Perfect-PplSbj=it.is
'It (= favorite animal) has seen your benefit (= good treatment) more (than others have).' (2005-1a)

See also (466e) in §13.1.1.3 ('will go in front the most').

12.1.3 'Be better, more' (*ìró-*)

In the sense 'X be better than Y' or 'X be more than Y', a verb *ìró-* 'be better than' or 'be more than' is used. The comparandum is a direct object, without postposition *nɛ̀n*.

(450) a. *[mí gì] ìró-∅*
[1Sg Acc] be.better-3SgSbj
'He/She is better than I (am).'

b. *[ó gì] ìró-m̀*
[2Sg Acc] be.better-1SgSbj
'I am better than you-Sg (are).'

c. *nɛ̌:* *[pɛ̀gɛ́* *gì]* *ìró-∅*
cow [sheep Acc] be.better-3SgSbj
'A cow is better than a sheep.'

d. *píyɛ́lì* *[nùmî:* *gì]* *ìró-∅*
ten [five Acc] be.more-3SgSbj
'Ten is more than five.'

12.1.4 Comparatives with *ìr-ê:* 'more' (subject comparanda)

The invariant participle *ìr-ê:* (note the falling tone) occurs when the subjects of the two respective underlying clauses are compared asymmetrically with respect to a scalar domain. In this construction *ìr-ê:* is morphologically E-class, presumably inanimate singular in abstract sense. The O-class form *ìr-ô:* does not occur, regardless of the classes of the two comparanda. The lesser comparandum is directly followed by 'than' postposition *nèn*, which was introduced in §12.1.2 above. The normal sequence is therefore *[X nèn] ìr-ê:* followed by the VP.

If the domain is not specified, the unmarked interpretation (for human comparanda) is 'older than'.

(451) *[mí* *nèn]* *ìr-ê:*
[1Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E
'He/She is older than I (am).'

The domain of comparison may be specified in a predicate, following the entire sequence ending in *ìr-ê:* . In (452a-b), the predicate is an inchoative verb that specifies the domain of comparison. In (452c-e), an adjectival predicate specifies the domain.

(452) a. *[mí* *nèn]* *ìr-ê:* *kúnjɛ́* *jò-∅*
[1Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.old Perfect-3SgSbj
'He/She is older than I (am).'

b. *[ó* *nèn]* *ìr-ê:* *kúnjɛ́* *jò-m*
[2Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.old Perfect-1SgSbj
'I am older than you-Sg (are).'

c. *[mí* *nèn]* *ìr-ê:* *jàlá-m̀*
[1Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.tall-3SgSbj
'He/She is longer (= taller) than I (am).'

d. *[mí* *nèn]* *ìr-ê:* *gàbí* *jò-∅*
[1Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.tall Perfect-3SgSbj
'He/She is taller than I (am).'

e. *[mó nèn] ìr-ê: gàbí jò-m*
[AnSg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.tall Perfect-1SgSbj
'I am taller than he/she (is).'

f. *[í nèn] ìr-ê: kúnjɛ́ jògà*
[1Pl than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.old Perfect.3PlSbj
'They are older than we (are).'

g. *[mí* ^{L}*òlè kɛ́] [[ó* ^{L}*òlè kɛ́] nèn]*
[1SgPoss ^{L}house Def.InanSg.E] [[2SgPoss ^{L}house Def.InanSg.E] than]
ìr-ê: gìndɛ́ jò-∅
be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.E be.big Perfect-3SgSbj
'My house is bigger than your house (is).'

h. *[mí* ^{L}*bà:-gò kó] [[ó* ^{L}*bà:-gò kó] nèn]*
[1SgPoss ^{L}stick Def.InanSg.O] [[2SgPoss ^{L}stick Def.InanSg.O] than]
ìr-ê: bìnú-m̀
be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.E it.is.big
'My stick is bigger than your stick (is).'

In (453a-b), the focal comparanda are again subjects, but this time with transitive verbs.

(453) a. *á:màdù [ó nèn] ìr-ê: tígà-∅*
Amadou [2Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E know.Stat-3SgSbj
'Amadou knows more than you-Sg (know).'

b. *[mí nèn] ìr-ê: númbè kwǎ-m̀*
[1Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E cow-pea.Pl eat-Fut.3SgSbj
'He/She will eat cow-peas more than I (eat cow-peas).'

c. *[ó nèn] ìr-ê: bǎyè kéjɛ́ jà-mbò-m*
[2Sg than] **be.more**-PplSbj.InanSg.E stick.Pl cut can-Fut-1SgSbj
'I can chop wood more (=better) than you (can chop wood).'

In (454), there is no single focal comparandum constituent, since the subjects and objects of the two clauses are both disjoint referentially. The entire comparandum clause is nominalized. A fairly literal gloss would be "I know millet(s) more [than [your knowing sorghum(s)]]."

(454) *[[èmbá ó tìgà-ŋgà kó] nèn]*
[[sorghum.Pl 2SgSbj know-Stat.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O] than]
ìr-ê: yógé tígà:-m
be.more-PplSbj.AnSg millet.Pl know.Stat-1SgSbj
'I know millet more than (the extent to which) you-Sg know sorghum.'

For humans and other animates, the form *ìr-ô:* is used when the subject is plural (455). For inanimates, following the usual agreement rules, *ìr-ê:* is used for plural subjects and for E/E-class singulars, while *ìr-ô:* is used for O/E-class singulars.

(455) *[nò-mbò*^{L} *tò-mbó* *ìr-ô:* *bé]*
[person-Pl^{L} Recip-Pl **be.better**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl]
[jěnjà *[bé* *gì]* *sàgì-rè-∅]*
[God [AnPl Acc] superimpose.Pfv-3SgSbj
'(As for) persons who are better than each other (= unequal in wealth), God has put them one above the other.' (2005-1a)

12.1.5 Comparatives from other verbs

Although direct elicitation always resulted in the comparative constructions described in the preceding sections, a pattern with the same kind of participle seen in *ìr-ê:* (with final falling tone) is attested in the texts with verb *áy\|àyè* 'be weary', in the participial form *ày-ê:* . This occurs both with and without *tóló* in the passage (456).

(456) *kà:* *[ó* *tóló]=ý* *ày-ê:,*
but [2SgSbj **more**]=it.is **be.weary-PplSbj.AnSg**,
[[gɔ̀lè-gòlé *sɔ̀m]* *mà]* *ín* *nɛ̀,*
[[farmer beside] in] go then.SS,
èbà-kálé *mí* *ày-ê:*
merchant 1SgSbj **be.weary-PplSbj.AnSg**
'But (you say) you are the most tired (= work the hardest). (You) go up to the farmer (and say) "I the merchant am (the most) tired".' (2005-1a)

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 With *dân* 'like'

In (457a-b), the two equal comparanda are expressed respectively with *dân* 'like' (§8.4.1) and *là* 'too'. Literal translations are therefore of the type "[I too] am tall [like you]."

(457) a. *[mó* *dân]* *[mí* *là]* *gàbí* *jò-m*
[3Sg **like**] [1Sg **too**] be.tall Perfect-1SgSbj
'I am as tall as he/she (is).'

b. *[mí* *dân]* *[ó* *là]* *bìré* *kóndò-mb-ò:*
[1Sg **like**] [2Sg **too**] work[n] do.well-Fut-2SgSbj
'You-Sg work as well as I (work).'

12.2.2 ‘(Not) so much’

The comparandum phrase *X dân* ‘like X’ can also occur with a negative predicate (458).

(458) *[mí* *dân]* *bírà-ndí-∅*
[1Sg **like**] work(v)-PresNeg-3SgSbj
‘He/She doesn’t work like (=as hard as) I (work).’

12.2.3 ‘Attain, equal’ (*gwé*, *dwê:*)

The verbs *gwé* ‘go out’ (contextually also ‘be enough, suffice’) or the verb *dwê:* ‘arrive; attain, reach’ may have the sense ‘attain the level of, equal (sb, in some respect)’. In eastern Dogon languages, ‘arrive’ is commonly used in this sense, but ‘go out’ is not.

In comparatives, the ‘go out’ or ‘arrive’ verb is often negated, hence ‘X does not equal Y’, as in (459a). This is the only way to express ‘X is less than Y’. The verb may also be used in positive clauses, expressing a symmetrical comparative (459b) or a mathematical equivalence (459c). The examples here are with ‘go out’. The versions with ‘arrive’ would have *dô:-l-∅* (459a) and *dwê:-jò-∅* (459b-c).

(459) a. *[bìrɛ́* *kóndó-m̀]*
[work(n) do.well-Fut.3SgSbj]
ká: *[dèlân* *gí]* *gǒ-l-∅*
but [elder.brother Acc] **go.out**-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘He works well, but he hasn’t equaled his elder brother (in work).’

b. *[dèlân* *gì]* *gwé* *jò-∅*
[elder.brother Acc] **go.out** Perfect-3SgSbj
‘He is equal to (=as good as) his elder brother.’

c. *[nùmî:* *mà:]* *[nùmî:* *mà:]* *píyélì* *gwé* *jò-∅*
[five and] [five and] ten **go.out** Perfect-3SgSbj
‘Five plus five equals ten.’

12.3 ‘A fortiori’ (*sákò*)

The ‘a fortiori’ word *sákò* ~ *sákkò* is a variant of a widespread regional form. It occurs in contexts like ‘I don’t have one dollar to my name, much less (= never mind) a thousand dollars’. That is, the first clause expresses a proposition of the ‘not (even)’ type, and the a fortiori clause that follows negates a proposition with a wider quantificational scope or denoting a rarer or more difficult eventuality, for rhetorical effect. Local French expresses this with *à plus forte raison*.

(460) *pɔ́:-nôy* *jògò-nú-m* *sákò* *[sĭn* *nô:y]*
ten-two have-PresNeg-1SgSbj **a.fortiori** [hundred two]
'I don't have 20 riyals (=100 francs), never mind 100 riyals.'

A textual example is (461).

(461) *íyó,* *èndê:* *nàl-ó:* *mɛ́,*
today, child bear.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[[èndê: *mó]* *gì]* *ó* *dènjá-mà-ndí-yà,*
[[child Def.AnSg] Acc] 2SgSbj hit-Caus-PresNeg-3PlSbj,
sákò *[yĕ:* *mó* *gày* *là]*
a.fortiori [woman Def.AnSg Top also]
'Nowadays, if you (=a man) have borne a child, they don't let you beat the child, never mind (beat) the woman.' (2005-2a)

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

The focalized constituent is fronted. It is optionally, but often, immediately followed by focus **particle** *yà:* .

When the subject is focalized, **subject-focus** participles (similar to some types of relative-clause participles) replace the usual inflected verb, except that perfective positive verbs use a simple E-stem identical to a main-clause perfective verb, but without pronominal-subject suffixation. Nonsubject focalization requires the use of the same inflected verb that would appear in an unfocalized sentence.

Focalized **negative** clauses are less common for pragmatic reasons, but they are grammatical. The invariant participle ending *-è:* is used after the perfective negative future negative, and present negative, after their regular AN suffixes.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

13.1.1.1 Subject-focalized perfective positive (zero suffix) and negative (*-l-è:*)

In the perfective (positive), under subject focalization, the verb has the **regular** perfective stem (not a participle), with **{L}** tone overlay, but omits any pronominal-subject suffix. This form is homophonous with the morphologically unmarked 3Sg subject form of a main-clause perfective, except that the 3Sg form has {HL} tones when pronounced in isolation. For example, *dènjè* 'hit-Pfv' occurs with both 1Sg and 3Pl subjects under subject focalization (462a-b).

(462) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *[ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *mó* *gì]* *dènjè*
[1Sg **Foc**] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] **hit.Pfv**
'It was I [focus] who hit the dog.'

b. *[bé* *yà:]* *[ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *mó* *gì]* *dènjè*
[1Sg **Foc**] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] **hit.Pfv**
'It was they [focus] who hit the dog.'

c. *[mí* *yà:]* *wè*
[1Sg **Foc**] **come.Pfv**
'It was I [focus] who came.'

A textual example is (719) in the sample text ('the child [focus] has done that').

In the **negative**, the verb stem and perfective negative suffix combine in the same way (including irregularities in vocalism) as in main clauses, except that the stem (and word) is **{L}**-toned. Subject-focus participial *-è:* follows perfective negative *-l-*.

(463) a. *[mí yà:] dèŋà-l-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] fall-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who did not fall.'

b. *[mí yà:] ndà:-l-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] give-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who did not give.'

c. *[ɔ́ gɔ̀ kó yà:] dùmà-l-è:*
[2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O **Foc**] get-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's yours (=your benefit) [focus] that hasn't been gotten.' (2005-1a)

13.1.1.2 Subject-focalized present positive (*-nj-è:*) and negative (*-nd-è:*)

In the **present** (positive), subject-focus participial suffix *-è:* is added to the regular AN suffix *-njò-*, producing *-nj-è:* . There is no opposition of E and O noun classes as there is with relative-clause participles. The verb is {L}-toned.

(464) a. *[mí yà:] ènî: bìrà-nj-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] here work(v)-**Pres**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who work here.'

b. *[nùmă: [mí gɔ̀] yà:] jènò-nj-è:*
[hand [1SgPoss Poss] **Foc**] hurt-**Pres**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's my hand [focus] that hurts.'

c. *[nùmɛ̌: [mí yɛ̀] yà:] jènò-nj-è:*
[hand.Pl [1SgPoss Poss] **Foc**] hurt-**Pres**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's my hands [focus] that hurt.'

d. *[kwé-ŋgò yà:] mó jènò-nj-è:*
[food-InanSg.O **Foc**] AnSgObj convey-**Pres**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Food [focus] is what takes (= attracts) him (there).' (2005-1a)

Verbs 'hurt, be painful' (464b-c) and 'convey, take (there)' (464d) are homophones (or the same polysemous verb).

Negative counterparts have *-nd-è:*, based on the regular present negative suffix *-ndí-*, with {L} or sometimes {HL} tones. This form differs only tonally from the corresponding future negative focalized form (see the following section).

(465) a. *[mí yà:] sèmà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] slaughter-**PresNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who don't slaughter.'

b. *[mí yà:] yà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] see-**PresNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'it's I [focus] who don't see.'

c. *[mí yà:] yòbà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] run-**PresNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'it's I [focus] who don't run.'

d. *[mí yà:] màmìlì-yà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go.back-**PresNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'it's I [focus] who don't go back.'

See also *tégà-nd-è:* in (715) in the sample text.

13.1.1.3 Subject-focalized future positive (*-mb-ê:*) and negative (*-nd-è:*)

In the **future** (positive), the participle ends in *-mb-ê:* after an {L}-toned stem under subject focalization, though in recordings the suffix is sometimes heard as L-toned *-mb-è:*, as in (466f) below. The morphology is the participial equivalent of the 1st/2nd person portion of the regular future paradigm, which has *-mbô-* after {L}-toned stem.

(466) a. *[mí yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who will go.'

b. *[fántà yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[Fanta **Foc**] go-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'

c. *[òndò*^{L} *ánà: bé yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[child.Pl^{L} male.AnPl Def.AnPl Foc] go-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'

d. *má òmá: tòndì-yò-mb-ê: mà→*
or FarDist.AnSg bend-MP-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q
'or is it the counterpart (= that one) who will bend?' (2005-1a)

e. *kó tóló=ý [gĭr mà] ìnò-mb-ê:↗*
InanSg.O more=it.is [front in] go-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'That [focus] is what will go in front the most' (2005-1a)

f. *ŋ̀gú* *àŋgú* *kòndò-mb-è:* *ló↗,*
Prox.InanSg.O which? do.well-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q,
ŋ̀gú *kóndò-mb-è:*
Prox.InanSg.O do.well-**Fut**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'What will make this well? This [focus] will make (it) well.' (2005-1a)

The participle in the **negative** version is segmentally identical to that in the present negative, see (465) in the preceding section. In the future negative participle, suffix complex *-nd-è:* is L-toned, while the preceding verb stem has a final H-tone and is otherwise L-toned, formula L*H-L. Compare the regular inflected future negative with suffix *-ńdì-* and with the same L*H stem.

(467) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *ìnó-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go-**FutNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who will not go.'

b. *[mí* *yà:]* *sèmá-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] slaughter-**FutNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who will not slaughter.'

c. *[mí* *yà:]* *wó-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] come-**FutNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who will not come.'

13.1.1.4 Subject-focalized progressive (*-mbò b-è:*), negative (*-njò-nd-è:*)

In the **progressive** (positive) construction, the verb with progressive *-mbò* is followed, under focalization, by invariant participial *b-è:* or *jòg-è:* (468).

(468) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *b-è:*
jóg-è:
[1Sg **Foc**] work(n) work(v)-**Prog** be/have-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who am/will be working.'

b. *[yàwó:* *bé]* *íŋgé* *érà-mbò* *b-è:*
[woman.Pl Def.AnPl] water get.water-**Prog** be-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's the women [focus] who are getting water (at the well).'

In its unfocalized inflected form, the progressive **negative** is based on a suffix complex *-njò-ndí-*. Under focalization, this becomes participial *-ǹjò-nd-è:*, and the whole word is **{L}**-toned.

(469) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *kwà-ǹjò-nd-è:*
[1Sg Foc] eat-**Prog-Neg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's I [focus] who am not eating.'

b. *[mí yà:] yòbà-njò-nd-è:*
'It's I [focus] who am not running'

c. *[mí yà:] màmìlì-yà-njò-nd-è:*
'It's I [focus] who am not going back'

13.1.1.5 Subject-focalized perfect positive (*j-è:*) and negative counterpart

Under subject focalization, perfect auxiliary verb *jò-* becomes participial *j-è:* . The main verb remains in its chaining form, but it drops tones, so the entire verb complex is **{L}**-toned. This is easiest to hear when interrogative particle *ló* is added at the end.

(470) a. *ǎm* *wè*^{L} *j-è:* *ló*
who? come^{L} **Perfect**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q
'Who has come?'

b. *mí* *wè*^{L} *j-è:*
1Sg come^{L} **Perfect**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who have come.'

c. *[mí* *yà:]* *yɔ̀bɛ̀*^{L} *j-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] run^{L} **Perfect**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It is I [focus] who have run.'

d. *[dùmɛ̌-n* *kó* *yà:]* *pàlà-ndì*^{L} *j-è:*
[gain-Nom Def.InanSg.O Foc] small-Inch^{L} **Perfect**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'The gain (= production) [focus] has become small.' (2005-1a)

See also (654a) in §17.4.8.

The perfective negative participle *-l-è:* (§13.1.1.1 above) occurs in negative counterparts (471). I was unable to elicit a specifically perfect negative subject-focus form.

(471) a. *[ǎm* *yà:]* *wò-l-è:* *ló*
[who? Foc] come-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q
'Who has not (= did not) come?'

b. *[ǎm* *yà:]* *sèmà-l-è:* *ló*
[who? Foc] slaughter-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q
'Who has not (= did not) slaughter (an animal)?'

13.1.1.6 Subject-focalized past-time positive (*=b-è:*) and negative counterparts

Under subject focalization, past morpheme *=bè-* takes participial form *=b-è:* .

In the most common past-time constructions, namely the past **imperfective** (the past-time equivalent of the present) and the past **stative**, both with suffix *-m-*, the whole word is **{L}**-toned.

(472) a. *ǎm* *tìgà-m=b-è:*
who? know-**Stat**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who knew?' (= 'Who used to know?')

b. *[í* *yà:]* *tìgà-m=b-è:*
[1Pl **Foc**] know-**Stat**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's we [focus] who knew.'

c. *sěydù* *bìrà-m=b-è:*
S work(v)-**Pres**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It was Seydou [focus] who was working.'

The **future**-in-past form again has *=b-è:* following a verb ending in imperfective *-m-*, but with future tone formula L*H-L, i.e., with a single H-tone on the stem-final syllable (473).

(473) *[mí* *yà:]* *màmìlì-yà-ḿ=b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-**Fut**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's I [focus] who was going to go back.'

In the past **perfect**, *=b-è:* directly follows the {L}-toned E-stem (perfective stem) of the verb, without intervening *-m-*.

(474) *[mí* *yà:]* *màmìlì-yɛ̀=b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP.**Pfv**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's I [focus] who had gone back.'

The corresponding subject-focalized **negatives** are illustrated as follows: past imperfective negative in two variants (475a-b), future-in-past negative in two variants (476a-b), and past perfect negative (477). The variants in (475a-b) reflect different preferences of my two primary assistants. The (a) examples have two occurrences of the past enclitic.

(475) past imperfective negative

a. *sěydù* *bìrà-m=bà-l-è:=bɛ̀*
S work(v)-**Pres**=Past-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc=Past
'It was Seydou [focus] who was not working.'

b. *sěydù* *bìrà-m=bà-l-è:*
S work(v)-**Pres**=Past-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
[= (a)]

(476) future-in-past negative

a. *[mí yà:] màmìlì-yà-ḿ = bà-l = b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-**Fut**=Past-**PfvNeg**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It was I [focus] who was not going to go back.'

b. *[mí yà:] màmìlì-yà-ḿ = bà-l-é:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-**Fut**=Past-**PfvNeg**-Ppl.SbjFoc
[= (a)]

(477) past perfect negative

[mí yà:] màmílí-yá-l = b-è:
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-**PfvNeg**=Past-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It was I [focus] who had not gone back.'

13.1.1.7 Subject-focalized stative quasi-verbs

Existential-locational '**be** (somewhere)', corresponding to both *bô:-* 'be present (here/there)' and L-toned *bò-* 'be (in a specified place)', becomes participial *b-è:* under subject focalization. Examples without an overt locational, corresponding to *bô:-* in unfocalized main clauses, are in (478).

(478) a. *ǎm b-è:*
who? **be**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who is (present) here/there?'

b. *[mí bà yà:] b-è:*
[1SgPoss father **Foc**] **be**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's my father [focus] who is (present) here/there.'

Examples corresponding to L-toned *bò-* 'be' following an overt locational are in (479).

(479) a. *[ǎm yà:] [sɔ̀njɔ́: má] b-è:*
[who? **Foc**] [village in] **be**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who is in the village?'

b. *[sěydù yà:] [sɔ̀njɔ́: má] b-è:*
[S **Foc**] [village in] **be**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's Seydou [focus] who is in the village.'

c. *é àŋgú [[é* L*kèndà:] mà] b-è: ló*
2Pl which? [[2PlPoss L heart] in] **be**-Ppl.SbjFoc Q
'(As for) you-Pl, which (= what) is in your heart?' (2005-1a)

The negative counterpart of *b-è:* is *ònd-è:* .

(480) *[sěydù yà:] [sɔ̀njɔ́: má] ònd-è:*
[S **Foc**] [village in] **not.be**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's Seydou [focus] who is not in the village.'

'Have' (*jògà-*) has a participial form *jòg-è:* under subject focalization.

(481) a. *ǎm kènjû: jòg-è:*
who? pick-hoe **have**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who has a pick-hoe?'

b. *[mí yà:] kènjû: jòg-è:*
[1Sg Foc] pick-hoe **have**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'It's I [focus] who have a pick-hoe.'

13.1.1.8 Subject-focalized forms of other stative verbs

For 'know', the subject-focalization form is *tìg-è:* (482).

(482) a. *ǎm tìg-è:*
who? **know**-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who knows?'

b. *mí tìg-è:*
1SgSbj **know**-Ppl.SbjFoc
''It's I [focus] who knows.'

A list of subject-focalized stative participles, positive and negative, is (483).

(483)

gloss	subject-focus participle	
'know'	*tìg-è:*	
'not know'	*ènd-è:*	
'want'	*kìy-è:*	
'not want'	*kɛ̀l-è:*	
'can, be able to'	*jà-mb-è:*	based on future
'cannot'	*jà-nd-è:*	

There is no special subject-focus form of the 'it is' enclitic, which has few morphological properties of inflectable verbs. Focus particle *yà:* is the only sign of focalization.

(484) *[mí* *yà:]* *[kî:* *mó]=ỳ*
[1Sg **Foc**] [head Def.AnSg]=it.is
'I [focus] am the chief.'

13.1.2 Object focalization

The focus particle may follow an object NP, or an object pronominal, with or without optional accusative *gì*. The verb has its regular **main-clause** form and is therefore inflected for pronominal-subject as well as for AN category. There are no nonsubject focalization participles.

(485) a. *[élé* *yà:]* *kíyò-m*
[peanuts.Pl **Foc**] want.Stat-1SgSbj
'Peanuts [focus] are what I like.'

b. *[málfâ* *yà:]* *dɔ̀gè-∅*
[rifle **Foc**] leave.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It was a rifle [focus] that he/she left.'

c. *[[ó* *gì]* *yà:]* *kíyò-∅*
[[2Sg Acc] **Foc**] want.Stat-3SgSbj
'It's you-Sg that he/she likes.'

d. *[élé* *yà:]* *kùbò-mbó-m̀*
[peanuts.Pl **Foc**] eat-Fut-1SgSbj
'Peanuts [focus] are what I will eat.'

e. *[àtê:* *yà:]* *nâ-ndì-∅*
[tea **Foc**] drink-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'Tea [focus] is what he/she doesn't drink.'

A textual example is (695) in §19.1.1.

In the **perfective**, the H-tone on the final mora of a 1st/2nd person subject suffix, occurring inconsistently in main clauses, is absent in verbs with object-focus (486).

(486) a. *[[ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *mó]* *gì* *yà:]* *dènjè-m̀*
[[dog Def.AnSg] Acc **Foc**] hit.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It was the dog [focus] that I hit.'

b. *[ŋ̀gú* *yà:]* *kàn-ò:*
[Prox.InanSg.O **Foc**] do.Pfv-2SgSbj
'This [focus] is what you-Sg did.'

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverbial

Adverbials including PPs may be focalized. Focus particle *yà:* is optionally present (487a). When the particle is omitted, focalized status can be hinted at by fronting, without a pause suggestive of topicalization or scene-setting. However, unless a subject is also present this is unreliable (487b-c). The verb has its regular main-clause inflected form.

(487) a. *[[sɔ̀njɔ̀:*^{L} *ŋ̀gí]* *kùl]* *mà* *yà:]*
[[village^{L} Prox.InanSg.O] inside] in **Foc**]
mí *nǎl=b-à:=ỳ*
1SgObj bear(child)=Past-Pass=it.is
'It is <u>in this village</u> [focus] that I was born.'

b. *ŋ̀gîn* *tìbɛ̀-∅*
here die.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It is <u>here</u> [focus] that he/she died.'

c. *ŋ̀gîn* *kwá-njò-y*
here eat-Pres-1PlSbj
'It is <u>here</u> [focus] that we eat.'

13.1.4 Focalization of postpositional complement (absent)

I have no examples where just the complement NP inside the PP is focalized. For focalization of the entire PP see the preceding section.

13.2 Interrogatives

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

There is no tag question (*n'est-ce pas?*) construction. Polar (yes/no) questions are often presented in two-part form, with at least an inflected verb in the second clause, whose polarity value is the opposite of that of the first clause ('Will you go to Bamako, or won't you go?').

13.2.1.1 Clause-final *ló*

Examples of clause-final *ló* forming polar questions are in (488). Its tonal behavior is like that of 'if' particles *dé* and *mɛ́* (chapter 16). Third person perfectives are {L}-toned even if not preceded by another constituent (488a). If the preceding word (normally a verb or other predicate) has two or more syllables and would otherwise end in a rising tone, as in 1st/2nd person perfectives, this tone is raised to high by Word-Final <LH>-to-H Raising (§3.6.3.2), as in (488c).

(488) a. *ìn-ò:* *ló*
go.Pfv-3PlSbj **Q**
'Did they go?'

b. *ìnǒ-mb-à* *ló*
go-Fut-3PlSbj **Q**
'Will they go?'

c. *[mó gì]* *dɛ̀nj-ɔ́:* *ló*
[3Sg Acc] hit.Pfv-2SgSbj **Q**
'Did you-Sg hit him/her?' (<*dɛ̀nj-ɔ̌:*)

13.2.1.2 Clause-final *ma→*

When an interrogative is presented as a choice between two propositions (such as 'P' and 'not P'), a particle *ma→* with intonational prolongation and often with raised pitch is placed after the first option (489), and is optionally repeated at the beginning or end of the second option, see §7.2.2.

(489) *ìn-ò:* *mà→↑* *ìnò:-ndí↘*
go.Pfv-3PlSbj whether? go-PfvNeg.3PlSbj
'Did they go or didn't they go?'

In several other Dogon languages (e.g. Jamsay) there is a particle *ma→* that is both the productive polar interrogative and the productive disjunctive 'or' particle. In Najamba, *ma→* has a more circumscribed distribution but it often has both interrogative and disjunctive qualities.

13.2.2 Content interrogatives

Content (WH) interrogatives do not require the regular focus particle *yà:* . Most elicited examples lack the particle, but see textual example (634b) in §17.3.1 which does have *yà:* after *yèŋgé* 'what?' Two content interrogatives, *ànî:* 'where?' and *àŋgɛ̂y* 'how much/many?', may be frozen combinations including the 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1). Cognate 'it is' enclitics elsewhere in Dogon also function as focus markers.

A content interrogative in subject position may trigger a subject-focus participle, but this is not obligatory. Nonsubject content interrogatives, or constituents that they are a part of, are normally fronted, like other focalized constituents.

13.2.2.1 'Who?' (*ǎm*)

'Who?' is *ǎm*, with <LH> tone. Examples show it as subject (490a), object (490b), possessor (490c), and predicate with 'it is' enclitic (490d).

(490) a. *ǎm* *wò-mb-ê:*
who? come-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Who will come?'

b. *kělè* *[ǎm* *gì]* *ǹd-ǒ:*
money.Pl [**who?** Acc] give.Pfv-2SgSbj
'To whom did you-Sg give the money?'

c. *[ǎm* *^{L}pègè]* *dìbè-∅*
[**who?** ^{L}sheep] be.lost.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Whose sheep was lost?'

d. *ǒm* *àm=í:*
this.AnSg **who?**=it.is
'Who is this?'

In (490d), /ǎm=i:/ with atonal enclitic is realized as *àm=í:*, where the contour tone is expressed over the resyllabified full word form (§3.6.4.3).

'Who?' is just a special case of the animate singular form of 'which?'; see §13.2.2.7, below, for the full set of forms.

13.2.2.2 'What?' (*yèŋgé*) and related forms

'What?' is *yèŋgé* in subject, object, or similar function (491a-b). With the 'it is' enclitic, we get *yéŋgè=y* (491c).

(491) a. *yèŋgé* *dǔndà-nj-è:*
what? look.for-Pres-2PlSbj
'What are you-Pl looking for?'

b. *yèŋgé* *ó* *dùmè-∅*
what? 2SgObj get.Pfv-3SgSbj
'What has gotten (=afflicted) you-Sg?'

c. *yéŋgè=y*
what?=it.is
'What is it?'

Among frequent combinations are 'with what?' (492a) and 'for what?' = 'why?' (492b).

(492) a. *[yèŋgé* *má]* *bírà-nj-ò:*
[**what?** with] work(v)-Pres-2SgSbj
'What do you-Sg work with?'

b. *[yèŋgé* *nɛ̀n]* *w-è:*
[**what?** for] come.Pfv-2PlSbj
'Why did you-Pl come?'

13.2.2.3 'Where?' (*ànî:* ~ *ǎn-dè*)

ànî: 'where?', like all locationals, can be used in static locative, allative, or ablative function depending on the context (presence/absence of allative or ablative verbs like 'go' and 'leave').

(493) a. *ànî:* *ínò-nj-ò:*
where? go-Pres-2SgSbj
'Where are you-Sg going?'

b. *ànî:* *gwè-∅*
where? go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Where did he/she come from?'

c. *ànî:* *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
where? eat-Fut-1PlSbj
'Where will we eat?'

ànî: may be a frozen combination including the 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1).

Approximative (§4.4.4.2) counterpart *ǎn-dè* 'whereabouts?' is illustrated in (500b) in §13.2.5.

13.2.2.4 'When? (*àŋgí sárà*)

'When?' is *àŋgí sárà*, literally "(at) which time?" *àŋgí* is the E-class inanimate singular form of 'which?' (§13.2.2.7), but here it is simply juxtaposed to the noun 'time' with no tonosyntactic interactions. As an adjective, *àŋgí* would follow the modified noun.

(494) a. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *wò-mb-ô:*
[**which?** time] come-Fut-2SgSbj
'When will you-Sg come?'

b. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *[à:lé* *ké]* *tègè-∅*
[**which?** time] [rain(n) Def.InanSg.E] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'When did the rain fall?'

c. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *nàlè-∅* *ló*
[**which?** time] give.birth.Pfv-3SgSbj Q
'When did she give birth to a child?' (2005-1a)

d. *[àŋgí* *sárà* *yà:]* *tò-mbó* *jè:rà-mb-ê:*
[**which?** time Foc] Recip-Pl encounter-Fut-2PlSbj
'When will you-Pl encounter each other?' (2005-1a)

Other time nouns may take the place of *sárà*, for example *àŋgí déŋán* '(on) which day?'.

13.2.2.5 'How?' (*ànné*, *àŋìné*)

The form is variably pronounced *ànné* and *àŋìné*, even by the same speaker.

(495) a. *ànné* *bírà-nj-ò:*
how? work(v)-Pres-2SgSbj
'How do you-Sg work?'

b. *ànné* *[[pègɔ̀lô:* *kó]* *mà]* *ìlè-∅*
how? [[mountain Def.InanSg.O] in] go.up.Pfv-3SgSbj
'How did he/she go up the mountain?'

The forms *ànné* and *àŋìné* could be parsed as containing adverbial particle *né* (following an L-toned adverbial stem). For this tonal combination, see (288h) in §8.4.8.1. The transcriptions would then become *àn né* and *àŋì né*. This would permit a more direct comparison of *àn* and *àŋì* with other interrogatives (*ànî:* 'where?', *àŋgú* and *àŋgí* 'which?', etc.).

13.2.2.6 'How much?', 'how many' (*àŋgêy*)

àŋgêy can be translated 'how many?' with a countable noun (496a-b), and 'how much?' with a measurable mass noun (496c). The same form may be used before a postposition. The distributive iteration (§4.7.1.6) is *àŋgé-àŋgé* (496d), suggesting that *àŋgêy* originally ended in the 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1).

(496) a. *[nàwó:* *àŋgêy]* *jòg-ò:*
[cow.Pl **how.many?**] have-2SgSbj
'How many cows do you-Sg have?'

b. *[pègè-mbó* *àŋgêy]* *dìb-ò:*
[sheep-Pl **how.many?**] be.lost.Pfv-3PlSbj
'How many sheep were lost?'

c. *[súkàrà* *àŋgêy]* *wàjè-∅*
[sugar **how.much?**] remain.Pfv-3SgSbj
'How much sugar is left?'

d. *[[kènjî:* *àŋgêy]* *mà]* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-nj-ò:*
[[ax.Pl **how.many?**] with] work(n) work(v)-Pres-2SgSbj
'With how many axes do you-Sg work?'

e. *[pègè-mbó* *bé]* *[àŋgé-àŋgɛ́* *mà]* *tùlà-nj-è*
[sheep-Pl Def.AnPl] [**how.much**?-how.much? in] sell-Pres-3PlSbj
'(For) how much each (=at what price) do they sell sheep?'

13.2.2.7 'Which?' (*àŋgú*, etc.)

This is a modifying adjective that induces tone-dropping on the preceding noun.

(497) a. *[[sɔ̀njè:*^{L} *ǎy]* *mà]* *ìnè-∅*
[[village.Pl^{L} **which?**.InanPl] in] go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'To which village did he/she go?'

b. *[[kènjù:*^{L} *àŋgú]* *mà]* *bìrà-mb-ô:*
[[ax^{L} **which?**.InanSg.O] with] work(v)-Fut-2SgSbj
'With which ax will you-Sg work?'

The forms for 'which?' agree with the modified noun in animacy, class, and number. The full set of forms is in (498). Except for the initial *a*, the paradigm is very similar to that of proximate demonstratives in (138) and (140) in §4.4.1.

(498)

InanSg.E	InanSg.O	InanPl	AnSg	AnPl
àŋgí	*àŋgú*	*ǎy*	*ǎm*	*àbíyè*

Animate singular *ǎm* is also the interrogative 'who? (§13.2.2.1). Inanimate singular E-class *àŋgí* is part of *àŋgí sárà* 'when?' (§13.2.2.4).

13.2.3 'So-and-so' and 'such-and-such' (*má:nì* ~ *mâ:n*, *tɔ̀mê:*, *pùlâ:l*)

má:nì ~ *mâ:n* 'So-and-so' is a function over personal names of people. It has a plural *mâ:n-bò*. These forms are used by themselves, not combined with nouns. The homophony with *mâ:n* 'grey hornbill' (bird) is probably accidental.

(499) a. *má:nì* ^{L}*ŋgwè:*
So.and.so ^{L}dog
'So-and-so's dog'

b. *mâ:n-bò* ^{L}*ŋgwè:-mbò*
So.and.so-Pl ^{L}dog-Pl
'the dogs of (the) So-and-sos'

nǒ: tɔ̀mê:, literally ‘one person’, is also attested in this context, and the pattern ‘one X’ may be extended to other nouns: *yɛ̌: tɔ̀mê:* ‘such-and-such a woman’, etc.

pùlâ:l (ultimately < Arabic *fulaan*-) is used as a ‘such-and-such’ term for places and other nonhuman entities. It follows a demonstrative, the unmarked category being proximate. This combination is then appositionally juxtaposed to the relevant noun, so that no tonal interactions occur: *kéŋgè [ŋ̀gí pùlâ:l]* ‘such-and-such a place’, *dúmé-ŋgó [ŋ̀gú pùlâ:l]* ‘such-and-such an animal’.

13.2.4 ‘Whatchamacallit?’ (absent)

No all-purpose ‘whatchamacallit?’ (Fr *comment dirais-je?*) form, i.e. a filler used while the speaker tries to remember a name or word, has been recorded. A relevant class noun such as *kóŋgò* ‘thing’ or *kéŋgè* ‘place’ is sometimes used for this purpose.

13.2.5 Embedded content interrogatives

Embedded content interrogatives occur as complements of ‘know’, especially ‘don’t know’ or interrogative ‘do you know?’ The complements take relative-clause form. In (500b) the dubitative context favors the approximative version of ‘where?’

(500) a. *[ăm wò-mb-ê: mà→] éndà:-m*
[**who**? come-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc Q] not.know-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know who will come.’ (*wò-mbê:*)

b. *[mó ăn-dè ìn-è: mà→] éndà:-m*
[3Sg **where?**-Approx go.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Q] not.know-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know where he/she went.’

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

A relative clause in Najamba is essentially an expanded NP. It is useful to conceptualize a maximal underlying structure like (501) for an NP that includes a relative clause.

(501) Poss - N - Adj - Num - **RelCl** - Det - 'all' - DiscFunct

The relative clause includes an NP in some grammatical relation or other (e.g. subject, object, complement of postposition, possessor) that is coindexed to the higher-level NP as a whole. The sequence Poss-N-Adj-Num then moves (downward, or rightward) into the relativization site within the relative clause, becoming what appears superficially to be a clause-**internal** head NP. This leaves determiners, universal quantifiers, and discourse-functional particles ('only', 'as for', etc.) stranded to the right of the relative clause, functioning in part as right-edge markers. The relative clause itself ends in a verb, or rather in a verbal participle.

The participle agrees with the head, not (as such) with the subject of the relative clause (though the two may converge). We can therefore have animate singular, animate plural, inanimate singular (O and E classes), and inanimate plural participles, but not e.g. 1Sg participles. Participles also mark AN categories similar to those in indicative main clauses, but using different morphology.

In several AN categories, the participle has different forms in **subject** relatives and **nonsubject** relatives, distinguished by tone formulae.

Since the usual pronominal-subject suffixes on the verb are not allowed in relatives, a pronominal subject in a nonsubject relative is expressed by a preparticipial subject **proclitic**. Pronouns are not allowed as head NPs (#'I who am …').

The relative construction, including the "internal" head NP, functions syntactically as an NP in the higher clause. For example, a relative construction may function as complement of a postposition like *mà* 'in' (502a), or it may be followed by a discourse-functional particle (e.g. *là* 'also', *dăn* 'like') of the sort that often follow simple NPs (502b-c).

(502) a. *[[bìrɔ́:*^{L} *yàg-ô:* *kó]* *mà]*
[[work^{L} be.right.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] **in**]
ìŋgì-yé-y *mé↗*
stand-MP-1PlSbj if,
'if we stand on (= practice) the work that one ought (to do)' (2005-1a)

b. *[ìŋgì-n* *yàg-ê:* *ké* *dân]*
[stand-Nom be.right-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E **like**]
ìŋgì-yá-ỳ
stand-MP-Hort.Pl
'Let's stop (= end up) in (something) like the position that is right.' (2005-1a)

c. *[kòndò-ŋgà* *kó* *là]*
[be.done.well-Pres.PplSbj Def.InanSg.O **also**]
jěnjà *[í* *gì]* *téndó-m-ná*
God [1Pl Acc] be.straight-Caus-Hort.3Sg
'May God have us go straight to what is done well also!' (2005-1a)

On the whole, the syntax of relative clauses in Najamba is similar to that in Jamsay or Tommo So, the two adjacent eastern Dogon languages. This is odd, since on the one hand Najamba has a remarkably archaic "western" Dogon morphology, and on the other hand the other western languages to the south (Tiranige, Dogul Dom, and especially the southwestern group starting with Bunoge), have quite different relative clause (and more generally, determiner) syntax. So there is a lot of work to be done to decipher the history.

14.2 Syntax of relative clauses

14.2.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

Tone-dropping is a crucial feature of relative clauses, since it identifies which of the NPs in the clauses is the head NP. The relationship between ordinary NPs and the same NPs used as head NPs in a relative is illustrated schematically in (503). Seydou (man's name) here is a possessor. Italicization indicates tone-dropping that occurs already in the ordinary NP (and is carried over to the relative-head NP). Underlining in the rightmost column indicates **additional** tone-dropping that occurs only in the "internal" head NP of a relative. Square brackets enclose the core NP (noun plus modifying adjectives). Determiners are not shown since, if present, they appear in postparticipial position.

(503)	ordinary NP	as head NP ('a/the __ who …')
a.	[dog]	[<u>dog</u>]
	[*dog* black]	[*dog* <u>black</u>]
	[*dog black* big]	[*dog black* <u>big</u>]
b.	[dog] five	[<u>dog</u>] <u>five</u>
	[*dog* black] five	[*dog* <u>black</u>] <u>five</u>
c.	Seydou [*dog*]	Seydou [*dog*]
	Seydou [*dog*] *five*	Seydou [*dog*] *five*
d.	dog [Pron *critter*]	dog [Pron *critter*]

The following points can be made. First, preposed possessors are insulated from tone-dropping that applies to the head NP as a whole; they are **tonosyntacic islands** (503c). Postposed pronominal possessors, which end in L-toned possessive classifiers (arguably already tone-dropped by the pronominal possessor), are unchanged at the end of an internal relative head, creating another island effect (503d). However, in (503d) it is possible that the

appositional structure of postnominal possessors has interrupted the tonosyntactic control coming from the right, or has confined it to the classifier ('thing' or 'critter'), which is already L-toned under the control of the pronominal possessor.

See also §14.4.3 on possessor relatives, where the possessor itself is the head NP, in which case the possessum is treated as a separate NP within the relative clause and is therefore not subject to tone-dropping.

Second, the final (nonpossessor) word is audibly tone-dropped in a relative-clause head (503a-b) except when the possessum has already been tone-dropped by the possessor (503c). In the latter case, we could speak of indeterminate or double control.

Third, while numerals and core NPs do not interact with each other tonally in regular NPs, the final word of the core NP and the numeral are simultaneously and audibly tone-dropped in a relative-clause head (503b).

Real examples are in (504a-d) and scattered throughout this chapter. For the audibly tone-dropped words, the regular form is given in parentheses after the free translation (504a-b). The noun of the head NP is always tone-dropped. In addition, the adjective 'good' in (504a) and the numeral 'three' in (504b) are tone-dropped. The possessor 'Seydou' in (504a) is a tonosyntactic island and has its lexical melody. In a main clause, the core NPs in (504a-b) would be, respectively, *bìrɔ̀:*^{L} *síyè-ŋgò* and *nò-mbó tà:ndî:* .

(504) a. *[[bìrɔ̀:* *sìyè-ŋgò]*^{L} *[bǎ:-ǹ* *mà]*
[[work(n) good-InanSg.O]^{L} [father-3SgPoss with]
mó *dìn-ô:* *kó]* *gì,*
AnSgSbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O] Acc,
bìré *nè,* …
work(v) then.SS, …
'(Each person,) having performed the good work that he found with (= learned from) his father, …' (2005-1a) (*bírɔ́:*, *síyè-ŋgò*)

b. *[nò-mbò* *tà:ndì:]*^{L} *bármɛ́* *jòg-â:-mbò* *bé*
[person.Pl three]^{L} be.wounded Perfect-PplSbj-Pl Def.AnPl
'the three people who were wounded' (< *nò-mbó*, *tà:ndî:*)

c. *[séydù* ^{L}*ŋ̀gwè:]* *tíb-é:* *mó*
[S ^{L}dog] die.Pfv-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the dog of Seydou's that died' (< *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:*)

d. *[sěydù* ^{L}*[ŋ̀gwè-mbò* *nùmì:]]* *ín-ó:* *bé*
[S ^{L}[dog-Pl five]] go.Pfv-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'Seydou's five dogs who went'

For (504d), see also 'my three houses that fell', (216b) in §6.2.2 above.

14.2.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

A pronoun may not be the head NP directly. However, a first or second person pronoun may occur at the beginning of a relative clause, in what I take to be an appositional relationship to the actual head NP, which may be overt (*nò:* 'person', plural *nò-mbò* 'people'), or omitted as in (505). The pronouns *é* and *í* in this example are at the left edge of the clause (likely outside the clause proper), and do not undergo tone-dropping.

(505) *[é [bàmàkó mà] ìnŏ-ŋgà-mbò bé má]*
[**2Pl** [B in] go-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl and]
[í ŋ̀gîn wàjă-ŋgà-mbò bé má]
[**1Pl** here remain-Fut.Ppl-Pl AnPl and]
jĕnjà nàŋgŭl [jâm mà] [í gì] yá:-m-ná
God next.year [peace in] [1Pl Acc] see-Caus-Hort.3Sg
'You-Pl who are going to Bamako, and we who are staying here, may God make us see (= show us) next year in peace.'

14.2.3 Conjoined relatives with a shared head

It is possible for one relative clause to follow another, with a shared head NP that is not repeated in the second such clause. There is no conjunction.

(506) *[nò:*^{L} *[yàlî: nùmî:] jó-ŋgà],*
[person^{L} [field five] have-Stat.**PplSbj**],
[dúmɛ́-ŋgó jògò-nd-é:] tígà:-m
[animal-InanSg.O have-StatNeg-**PplSbj**.AnSg] know.Stat-1SgSbj
'I know a man who has five fields and/but who has no animal(s).'

While this type of example is elicitable, in natural Najamba speech the usual construction would be to express the first clause as a loosely chained VP ('a man who, having five fields, has no animal').

14.2.4 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Usually a translation cue like 'the men and women who went to Bamako' is expressed as 'the men who went to Bamako and the women who went to Bamako', where the two entire NPs with their respective relative clauses are conjoined. However, when the predicate involves reciprocal action or some other event type that does not lend itself semantically to conjunction, the speaker has no choice but to express the relative with a conjoined NP as head. In this case, the conjoined NP acts as a tonosyntactic **island**, bracketed by ⊂…⊃, and neither coordinand undergoes tone-dropping.

(507) *⊂[[dɔ́gɔ̀:* *mà→]* *[púlàndû:* *mà→]⊃*
⊂[[Dogon.Pl and] [Fulbe.Pl and]⊃
já:ŋí-y-ó: *bé]* *nìŋgá-mb-à:=ỳ*
squabble-MP.Pfv-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl] confine-Fut-Pass=it.is
'The Dogon and the Fulbe who fought (each other) will be locked up.'

14.2.5 Headless relative clause

Most headless relative clauses (those with no overt head NP) in texts are adverbial relatives that have an implied head NP 'the time/place/situation in which …'.

Other headless relatives are also attested. In (508a-b), the reference is too indefinite to allow a concrete head NP.

(508) a. *[jěnjà* *[í* *mà]* *tàgà-l-è:* *ké]* *gì,*
[God [1Pl Dat] create-PfvNeg-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc
dùndà-mbó-ỳ
look.for-Fut-1PlSbj
'What (things) God didn't create for us, we will look for (= try to make).' (2005-2a)

b. *[nɔ̌:* *gì]* *kóndò-ŋgà* *kó* *má↗,*
[person Acc] be.good-Pres.**PplSbj** Def.InanSg.O and,
[nɔ̌: *gì]* *ɲàmá-gà-ŋgà* *kó* *má↘,*
[person Acc] be.ruined-Caus-Pres.**PplSbj** Def.InanSg.O and,
[kó *gì]* *dùmɛ́-y* *mɛ́*
[InanSg.O Acc] get.Pfv-1PlSbj if
'That which makes (=helps) a person, and that which ruins a person, if we have gotten that, …' (2005-1a)

In (509), the omitted subject is clearly human, and one could rephrase it with overt *nò:*^{L} 'a person (who) …'.

(509) *[ké* *gì]* *dìmbì-yà-ŋgà* *dîn* *là,*
[InanSg.E Acc] follow-MP-Pres.PplSbj all also,
[láy *nè]* *[ùsfɔ́:* *má]* *sájà-ndí-∅*
[Emph Adv] [path in] slide-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'Any person who follows that (path) like that, he certainly does not slide in the road.' (2005-1a)

14.2.6 Pronominal-subject proclitica in nonsubject relative clause

In nonsubject relatives, the subject is not expressed in the verb as it is in main clauses. If there is no nonpronominal subject NP, a **proclitic** subject pronoun (identical in form to an independent pronoun) precedes the verbal participle. Usually the proclitic is adjacent to the

participle, as shown by the fact that the proclitic follows even an object pronominal (510c) or an immediately preceding chaining form like 'go back' in (510d).

(510) a. *ŋgwɛ̀:*^{L} *mí* *gìy-ê:* *mó*
dog^{L} **1SgSbj** kill.Pfv-PplNonSbj Def.AnSg
'the dog that I killed'

b. *dèŋàn*^{L} *[pɛ̀gɛ́* *mó]*
day^{L} [sheep Def.AnSg]
bé *sɛ́m-ɛ̀:* *ké*
3PlSbj slaughter.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day when they slaughtered the sheep-Sg'

c. *dèŋàn*^{L} *[ó* *gì]* *mí* *y-ê:* *ké*
day^{L} [2Sg Acc] **1SgSbj** see.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day when I saw you-Sg'

d. *wùjí-y* *dèŋàn*^{L}
turn.around-MP day^{L}
màmílí-yɛ́ *mó* *w-ê:*
go.back-MP **3SgSbj** come.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
'the day when he turns around and comes back' (2005-1a)

However, there are some textual examples where the pronoun occurs before the {L}-toned head noun, as in (511).

(511) *í* *kòŋgò*^{L} *kànǎ-ŋgà* *díndì*
1PlSbj thing^{L} do-Fut.PplNonSbj all
'everything that we will do' (2005-1a)

My assistant commented that this ordering is acceptable, as is the alternative with immediately preparticipial subject pronominal (*kòŋgò í kànǎ-ŋgà díndì*).

3Sg *mó* and 3Pl *bé* are elsewhere animate. However, they occur in this construction for **inanimate** as well as animate nouns, instead of inanimate *kó*, *ké*, and *yé*. For example, (512a) below shows that 'sun' is an inanimate noun with O-class agreement, and (512b) shows that 'sun' as head of a subject relative requires O-class agreement on the participle and on the postparticipial determiner. However, when 'sun' is represented by a preparticipial pronoun in a nonsubject relative, the usually animate 3Sg form *mó* is required. An example is (512c), where the noun *ùjúŋgó* 'sun' (inanimate O/E-class) is a preclausal topical NP, and is resumed by an "animate" 3Sg pronoun in the following adverbial relative clause headed by 'time'.

(512) a. *ùjúŋgó* *kó*
sun Def.InanSg.O
'the sun'

b. *ùjùŋgò*^{L} *túmb-ò:* *kó*
sun^{L} sun.rise.Pfv-PplSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the sun that rose (e.g. this morning)'

c. *ùjúŋgó,* *[wàkàtì*^{L} *mó* *túmb-è:* *ké],* …
sun, [time^{L} **3SgSbj** rise.Pfv-PplSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E], …
'the sun, at the time when it rose, …'

14.2.7 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

If the relative clause is based on a verb chain, the final verb takes participial form, and the preceding chained verbs have their usual chaining or subordinated form. In (513a-d), the final verb *já-* 'can, be able to' has a participial ending for present (513a-b) or present negative (513c-d), agreeing in plurality with the head, while the preceding verb *bìrɛ́* occurs in its chaining form. For another verb chain see (410d) in §14.2.6 above.

(513) a. *nò:*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *jà-ŋgà* *mó*
person^{L} work(n) work(v) can-Pres.PplSbj Def.AnSg
'the person who can work'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *jà-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} work(n) work(v) can-Pres.PplSbj-Pl Def.AnPl
'the people who can work'

c. *nò:*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *já-nd-è:* *mó*
person^{L} work(n) work(v) can-PresNeg-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who cannot work'

d. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *já-nd-ò:* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} work(n) work(v) can-PresNeg-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who cannot work'

Similar examples with perfective participles of *jɛ́-* 'finish' (§17.5.1) as the final verb in the chain are in (514). Compare *bìrɛ́ jè-∅* 'he/she has finished working'.

(514) a. *nò:*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *j-ɛ́:* *mó*
person^{L} work(n) work(v) finish.Pfv-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who has finished working'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *j-ɔ́:* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} work(n) work(v) finish.Pfv-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who have finished working'

14.2.8 Postparticipial determiners and quantifiers

The participle in a relative clause is very often followed by *dîn* (*díndì*) **'any, all'** or by any of the set of **definite** markers (e.g. animate singular *mó*). These morphemes are logically part of the overall NP that includes the relative clause. However, they appear after the verbal participle in relative clauses rather than at the end of the head NP proper.

In ordinary NPs, definite markers do not interact tonally with preceding nouns or inner modifiers (§6.5.3), and the universal quantifier interacts tonally only with an immediately preceding determiner or pronoun, which drops from H to L as in *bè*^{L} *dîn* 'all of them' (§6.6.1). It is therefore unsurprising that neither definite markers nor the quantifier have any tonal effect on the participle in a relative. (See below, however, for demonstratives.)

There are many examples of postparticipial definite morphemes (*mó*, *bé*, *kó*, *ké*, *yé*) throughout this chapter. Animate singular *mó* and plural *bé* are illustrated by examples in the preceding section. Examples of inanimate singular *kó* and *ké* are in §14.2.6 above. For inanimate plural *yé*, see (515a) in §14.3.12. In each case the participle has the same tones that it would have without the definite marker.

Some examples with a postparticipial universal quantifier are in (515). The normal tone-dropping of an immediately preceding determiner is observed in (515b-c), where *bé* drops to *bè*^{L}, as it does in simple NPs without relative clauses. The quantifier has no tonal effect on the participle, regardless of whether the two are adjacent (515a) or are separated by the definite marker (515b-c).

(515) a. *kòŋgò*^{L} *wé* *jòg-â:* *díndì*
thing^{L} come Perfect-Ppl.Sbj all
'every thing that has come' (2005-1a)

b. *òndò:*^{L} *wǒ-ŋgà-mbò* *bè*^{L} *dîn*
child.Pl^{L} come-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl^{L} all
'all of the children who will come'

c. *nò-mbò*^{L} *sɛ́m-ɔ́:* *bè*^{L} *dîn*
person-Pl^{L} slaughter.Pfv-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl^{L} all
'all the people who have slaughtered (sheep)'

Demonstrative pronouns (as opposed to definite morphemes) are not common as final morphemes with relative clauses. However, the combination does occur in texts, and it is readily elicited. Demonstratives, unlike definite markers, do control tone-dropping on immediately preceding nouns in ordinary NPs (§6.5.2). We would therefore expect them to control tone-dropping on immediately preceding participles, as in fact they do in other Dogon languages like Jamsay. However, in Najamba, demonstratives have **no tonosyntactic effect** on participles. The participles in (516a-b) below have their usual tone formulae, rather than being tone-dropped by the demonstrative. The distinctive L*H-L tone formula for the participles in these examples allows listeners to recognize them as future rather than present participles, an opposition that would have been neutralized if demonstratives could control tone-dropping on participles. It may be that Najamba, unlike other Dogon languages, has too

much invested in participial tone oppositions to allow participles to be tone-dropped by postparticipial morphemes.

(516) a. *éŋgú* *nò:*^{L} *sèmă-ŋgà* *ŏm*
tomorrow person^{L} slaughter-Fut.PplSbj **Prox.AnSg**
'this person who will slaughter (a sheep) tomorrow.'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *sèmă-nd-ò:* *èlíyè*
person-Pl^{L} slaughter-FutNeg-PplSbj.AnPl **Prox.AnPl**
'these people who will not slaughter (a sheep)'

In complex relative constructions ('the one who came, and who saw, and who conquered'), any postparticipial morpheme (definite, demonstrative, quantifier) occurs just once, after the participle of the final clause. In addition to its own semantic contribution, in this context the postparticipial morpheme serves as a **right-edge marker**, making it easier for the addressee to process such a complex construction. In (517), definite *ké* (inanimate singular E-class) is such a right-edge marker. The entire relative construction (as an NP) functions as object of 'believe' and therefore takes accusative *gi*, which also occurs just once, after definite *ké*.

(517) *[[bà:-ólé* *má]* *ɲă:* *í* *dìn-ô:]*
[[father-house in] yesterday 1PlSbj encounter.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
[í *gìn-ê:]*
[1PlSbj say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E]
[í *ŋw-ɛ̂:* *ké]* *gì,*
[1PlSbj hear.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E **Def.InanSg.E**] **Acc**,
[ké *gì]* *[yámbí-ndá:* *kó]* *dògá-lá-ỳ*
[InanSg.E Acc] [believe-VblN Def.InanSg.O] leave-HortNeg-1Pl
'What we found (= inherited/learned), what we said, and what we heard formerly in the family, may we not leave (= abandon) believing in it!' (2005-1a)

14.2.9 Final doubling of head noun

Rarely, the noun from the head NP within the relative clause is repeated after the relative clause proper (without modifiers or determiners). It takes {L}-toned form, indicating that the repeated noun is "possessed" by the relative clause proper.

I have only one textual example (518).

(518) *[[kòŋgò*^{L} *ó* *dùmă-ŋgà* *kà]* ^{L}*kòŋgò]*
[[**thing**^{L} 2SgSbj get-Fut.PplSbj Top] ^{L}**thing**]
òndú-∅ *kŏy*
not.be-3SgSbj Emph
'There is definitely nothing that you get.' (2005-1a)

Doubling of the head noun occurs more frequently in several other Dogon languages. It is probably best developed in Togo Kan. The post-relative doubled element is usually either a

semantically light ontological noun that can head an adverbial relative, such as ‘manner’, ‘place’, or ‘(point in) time’ (or ‘day’, ‘year’, etc.), or else it functions as a kind of classifier, such as human singular or human plural. (518) is consistent with this pattern, since ‘thing’ is a semantically light noun, equivalent to an inanimate singular classifier.

14.3 Morphology of verbal participles in relative clauses

The “verb” of the relative clause is a **participle** that agrees with the head NP in intrinsic nominal features (class and number), but not in pronominal person. The participle consists, maximally, of the verb stem, an AN (aspect-negation) suffix except in the suffixless perfective positive, and an ending agreeing with the intrinsic features of the head NP. Tones distinguish subject participles (i.e. when the head NP is a subject) from nonsubject participles (when the head NP is anything else) in some AN categories. Present and future participles are also distinguished by tone. They have a portmanteau suffix *-ŋga* distinct from the regular AN suffixes in main clauses (present *-njò-* §10.1.3.6, future *-m-* ~ *-mbò-* §10.1.3.4).

The relationship between regular inflectable AN stems and their participles is summarized schematically in (519), which omits stem tones. Symbol *-α:* represents the long-vowel agreement ending (*-e:*, *-ɛ:*, *-o:*, and *-ɔ:*) in **mutating** (as opposed to suffixing) participles. “E” means E-stem (as in the perfective), “A/O” the A/O stem; see §3.3.5.2 on these vocalically-defined stems.

(519)

category	inflected	participle	
		subject	nonsubject
a. suffixing participles			
present	A/O-*njò*	A/O-*ŋgà*	
future	A/O-*m̀*	A/O-*ŋ́gà*	
b. mutating participles			
zero AN suffix			
perfective	E	E-*á:*	E-*à:*
nonzero AN suffix			
perfective negative	A/O-*l*	A/O-*l-á:*	A/O-*l-à:*
present negative	A/O-*ndì*	A/O-*nd-á:*	A/O-*nd-à:*
future negative	A/O-*ńdì*	A/O-*ńd-à:*	

Suffixing participles can add animate plural *-mbo* to *-ŋga*, but do not allow the inanimate singular suffixes *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge* that can follow nouns (§4.1.3) and adjectives (§4.5.1.2). This suggests that participial *-ŋga* represents the neutralization of inanimate *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge* as well as animate singular zero. Participles also do not allow the *-ye* suffix that occurs in some adjectives (§4.5.1.2).

The final *-α:* of mutating participles (519b) has two forms, E and O, as is the case with mutating nouns (§4.1.2) and adjectives (§4.5.1.1). For animates and pseudo-animates, E is singular and O is plural. For inanimates, O is singular (O/E class) and E is either singular

(E/E class) or plural (both inanimate classes). The actual vowels are *ɛ:* or *e:* for the E category, *ɔ:* or *o:* for the O category, respecting the ATR-harmonic class of the verb stem.

Stem-tones are omitted from (519) but are described in detail in the following sections. I point out here that participles share the stem-tone formulae of main-clause verbs that, among other things, distinguish present from future. This is hinted at in (519) by the acute accent on the nasals in the future suffixes. For some but not all mutating participles, there is in addition a tonal distinction, expressed chiefly on the final *-ɑ:*, between subject and nonsubject participles. The choice depends on whether the head of the relative is subject or has some other function (object, possessor, adverb).

A few examples here will give the general flavor of what relative constructions look like. These are object relatives with inanimate singular O-class noun 'meat' as head.

(520) a. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kúb-ò:* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I ate'

b. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kùbò-l-ò:* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat-PfvNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I did not eat'

c. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kùbò-ŋgà-∅* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat-Pres-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I eat'

d. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kùbǒ-ŋgà-∅* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat-Fut-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I will eat'

e. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kùbò-nd-ò:* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat-PresNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I do not eat'

f. *nàmà*^{L} *mí* *kùbǒ-nd-ò:* *kó*
meat^{L} 1SgSbj eat.meat-FutNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I will not eat'

14.3.1 Participle of perfective positive verb (*-ɑ́:*, *-ɑ̀:*, *-ɑ̂:*)

The mutating participle ends in a long-vowel suffix agreeing with the head NP. The suffixes are *-ɛ:* and *-ɔ:* replacing final *ɛ* in the inflectable perfective stem of -ATR stems, and *-e:* and *-o:* replacing final *e* in the perfective of +ATR stems (§10.1.3.1). The front/back distinction expresses E versus O agreement categories.

Final-syllable tones distinguish subject from nonsubject participles. For all but the three falling-toned verbs in (521d) below, the tones of the stem (i.e. omitting the final participial vowel) are either /H/ or /LH/ (realized as LH*), depending on the lexical melody. In (521b-c),

the initial mora of the participles is L-toned for ‘leave’ and ‘be born’, respecting the lexical /LH/ melody that is also evident in the chaining form. The stem-tone formula is therefore XH* where X is the initial-mora lexical variable.

The subject participles of (tonally) regular verbs end in an H-toned long vowel. The nonsubject participles end in an L-toned long vowel, except that this vowel is falling-toned for monosyllabic verbs (521a) and for {LH}-toned *Cv(C)Cv* bisyllabics like ‘leave’ (521b). In other words, the nonsubject participles end in an L-tone element that fills the entire final long vowel for most verbs including all trisyllabic and longer stems, but is confined to the final mora when the final H-tone of the stem would otherwise be obliterated.

For the three falling-toned verbs, the falling tone is preserved throughout, so for them the subject and nonsubject participles are indistinguishable (521d).

(521) Perfective positive participles

	gloss	chaining	main clause	participle	
				subject	nonsubject
a.	‘come’	*wé*	*wè-*	*w-é:*	*w-ê:*
				w-ó:	*w-ô:*
	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yɛ̀-*	*y-ɛ́:*	*y-ɛ̂:*
				y-ɔ́:	*y-ɔ̂:*
b.	‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sɛ̀mɛ̀-*	*sɛ́m-ɛ́:*	*sɛ́m-ɛ̀:*
				sɛ́m-ɔ́:	*sɛ́m-ɔ̀:*
	‘teach’	*bă:ré*	*bà:rè-*	*bă:r-é:*	*bă:r-è:*
				bă:r-ó:	*bă:r-ò:*
	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ̀gɛ̀-*	*dɔ̀g-ɛ́:*	*dɔ̀g-ɛ̂:*
				dɔ̀g-ɔ́:	*dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:*
	‘say’	*gìnɛ́*	*gìnɛ̀-*	*gìn-ɛ́:*	*gìn-ɛ̂:*
				gìn-ɔ́:	*gìn-ɔ̂:*
	‘cover’	*yàmbí*	*yàmbè-*	*yàmb-é:*	*yàmb-ê:*
				yàmb-ó:	*yàmb-ô:*
c.	‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*tùgùjɛ̀-*	*túgúj-ɛ́:*	*túgúj-ɛ̀:*
				túgúj-ɔ́:	*túgúj-ɔ̀:*
	‘be born’	*nàlí-yɛ́*	*nàlì-yɛ̀-*	*nàlí-y-ɛ́:*	*nàlí-y-ɛ̀:*
				nàlí-y-ɔ́:	*nàlí-y-ɔ̀:*
	‘rinse self’	*sámbílí-yɛ́*	*sámbìlì-yɛ̀-*	*sámbílí-y-ɛ́:*	*sámbílí-y-ɛ̀:*
				sámbílí-y-ɔ́:	*sámbílí-y-ɔ̀:*

d.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jê:-*	*j-ê:*	*j-ê:*
				j-ô:	*j-ô:*
	'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dwê:-*	*dw-ê:*	*dw-ê:*
				d-ɔ̂:	*d-ɔ̂:*
	'find'	*dìnê:*	*dìnê:-*	*dìn-ê:*	*dìn-ê:*
				dìn-ɔ̂:	*dìn-ɔ̂:*

Textual examples of perfective subject participles are in (522).

(522) a. *táwɛ̀* *dùmí-y-ɔ́:* *òndú-∅*
maybe get-MP.**Pfv-PplSbj**.InanSg.O not.be-3SgSbj
'Basically nothing was gained.' (*dùmí-yɛ́*)
(lit. "Maybe [what was gained] does not exist.")

b. *[[ó* *[L]bà]* *[ó* *nàl-é:* *mó]]*
[[2SgPoss [L]father] [2SgObj give.birth.**Pfv-PplSbj**.AnSg Def.AnSg]]
ó *kélà-∅*
2SgObj not.want-3SgSbj
'your father who bore (= sired) you doesn't want/love you.' (2005-1a) (*năl*)

c. *[ɲă:* *jàŋg-é:* *mó* *yà:]*
[yesterday begin.**Pfv-PplSbj**.AnSg Def.AnSg Foc]
kúmbí-y *jà-mb-è:*
keep-MP can-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc
'(Only) one who began yesterday (= in the past) [focus] can maintain them.' (2005-1a)

Examples of perfective nonsubject participles are in §14.4.2.1 below.

14.3.2 Participle of perfective negative verb (*-l-ɑ:*)

In this participle, the stem is segmentally identical to the inflectable perfective negative with suffix *-l-* (§10.1.4.2). This is followed by mutating *-e:* and *-o:* for the two agreement categories. In the nonsubject participles, the entire word is {L}-toned. In the subject participles, the suffix is H-toned, while the stem is H-toned except that lexically /LH/ stems of two or more syllables have an L-toned stem-initial syllable, and monosyllabic stems that have L-tone before perfective negative *-l-* in the inflectable paradigm (realized as rising tone on the stem before the vowelless 3Sg *-l-∅*) retain this L-tone in the participle.

(523) Perfective negative participles

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			subject	nonsubject
a.	'come'	*wò-l-*	*wò-l-é:*	*wò-l-è:*
			wò-l-ó:	*wò-l-ò:*
	'see'	*yà:-l-*	*yà:-l-é:*	*yà:-l-è:*
			yà:-l-ó:	*yà:-l-ò:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémá-l-*	*sémá-l-é:*	*sèmà-l-è:*
			sémá-l-ó:	*sèmà-l-ò:*
	'leave'	*dògá-l-*	*dògá-l-é:*	*dògà-l-è:*
			dògá-l-ó:	*dògà-l-ò:*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújá-l-*	*túgújá-l-é:*	*tùgùjà-l-è:*
			túgújá-l-ó:	*tùgùjà-l-ò:*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yá-l-*	*nàlí-yá-l-é:*	*nàlì-yà-l-è:*
			nàlí-yá-l-ó:	*nàlì-yà-l-ò:*
	'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yá-l-*	*sámbílí-yá-l-é:*	*sàmbìlì-yà-l-è:*
			sámbílí-yá-l-ó:	*sàmbìlì-yà-l-ò:*

Textual examples of perfective negative subject participles are in (524).

(524) a. *[gàjí* *dùmá-l-é:* *mó* *là]*
[snatch obtain-**PfvNeg-PplSbj**.AnSg Def.AnSg also]
[ànné *yà:]* *ìŋgì-yá-m̀*
[how Foc] stand-MP-Fut.3SgSbj
'(Any-)one who has not gotten (something) to appropriate for himself, he for his part, how will he stop (= end up)?' (2005-1a)

b. *jáŋgà* *káná-l-é:,*
study do-**PfvNeg-PplSbj.AnSg**,
[kòŋgò^{L} *mó* *tìgà-ŋgà]* *pàlá-∅*
[thing^{L} 3SgSbj know-Pres.PplNonSbj] be.small-3SgSbj
'One who does not study (= go to school), the thing that he/she knows is small.' (2005-1a)

14.3.3 Participle of present positive verb (*-ŋgà*)

As an inflected stem, the present has suffix *-njò-* plus pronominal-subject suffix. In the participle, *-njò-* is replaced by a suffix *-ŋgà-*. The verb has the A/O stem in both the inflected paradigm and the participles. The participle does not agree with the singular noun class of the head NP. However, for animate (including pseudo-animate) head NPs, the plural suffix *-mbò*

is added after the *-ŋgà-* suffix. The subject and nonsubject participles are **identical** (tonally as well as segmentally).

This participle occurs in two tonal variants, one with {L}-tones, and the other with the typical **((X))H*(L)** stem-tone formula also found in the inflectable present with suffux *-njò-*. There may be subtle differences in usage, but I have not been able to distinguish the meanings. I tentatively conclude that the ((X))H*(L) type is primary. Both variant tone formulae are distinguishable from the formula of the corresponding future participles, which always have rising tone on the final stem-syllable.

The variants with {L}-tones are illustrated in (525).

(525) Present positive participles, {L}-toned variants

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			simple	with AnPl *-mbò*
a.	'come'	*wó-njò-*	*wò-ŋgà*	*wò-ŋgà-mbò*
	'see'	*yá-njò-*	*yà-ŋgà*	*yà-ŋgà-mbò*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-njò-*	*sèmà-ŋgà*	*sèmà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'leave'	*dógà-njò-*	*dògà-ŋgà*	*dògà-ŋgà-mbò*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-njò-*	*tùgùjà-ŋgà*	*tùgùjà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yá-njò-*	*nàlì-yà-ŋgà*	*nàlì-yà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yà-njò-*	*sàmbìlì-yà-ŋgà*	*sàmbìlì-yà-ŋgà-mbò*

The variants with ((X))H*(L) stem formulae are illustrated in (526).

(526) Present positive participles, ((X))H*(L) stem variants

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			simple	with AnPl *-mbò*
a.	'come'	*wó-njò-*	*wó-ŋgà*	*wó-ŋgà-mbò*
	'see'	*yá-njò-*	*yá-ŋgà*	*yá-ŋgà-mbò*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-njò-*	*sémà-ŋgà*	*sémà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'leave'	*dógà-njò-*	*dógà-ŋgà*	*dógà-ŋgà-mbò*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-njò-*	*túgújà-ŋgà*	*túgújà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yá-njò-*	*nàlí-yà-ŋgà*	*nàlí-yà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yà-njò-*	*sámbílí-yà-ŋgà*	*sámbílí-yà-ŋgà-mbò*

A textual example with ((X))H*(L) formula is (527a). Textual examples with {L}-tones are (527b-d). The relative clauses have nonsubject heads in (527a-c) and a subject head in (527d). In the interlinears I indicate whether the head is nonsubject or subject (Ppl.NonSbj, PplSbj),

but for present positive (and future positive) participles this is irrelevant to the participial forms.

(527) a. *[[ó* *[L]kì:]* *mà:mì-n]* *mà]* *bìrɔ̀:[L]*
[[2SgPoss [L]head] ability] in] work(n)[L]
ó *bírà-ŋgà*
2SgSbj work(v)-**Pres**.PplNonSbj
'the work that you perform within your own capabilities' (2005-1a)

b. *bìrɔ̀:[L]* *ó* *bìrà-ŋgà* *díndì,*
work(n)[L] 2SgSbj work(v)-**Pres**.PplNonSbj all,
[[bírɔ́: *ɔ́* *gɔ̀* *kó]* *bǎy* *nè]* *bírá*
[[work(n) 2SgPoss Poss Def.InanSg.O] learn then.SS] work(v).Imprt
'(In) every job that you do, learn your work and do (it).' (2005-1a)

c. *ó* *ìnò-ŋgà*
2SgSbj go-**Pres**.PplNonSbj
'(the place) where you-Sg are going' (2005-1a)

d. *[[nɛ̌y-ŋgò* *kó]*
[[good-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
[[gǐr *mà]* *ìnò-ŋgà* *kó]*
[[front in] go-**Pres**.PplSbj Def.InanSg.O]
'the good (thing), (the one) that goes forward' (2005-1a)

14.3.4 Participle of future positive verb (*-ŋ́gà*)

The regular inflected form of the future verb (§10.1.3.4) has 3Sg portmanteau *-m̀*, while other pronominal-subject forms are based on *-mbô-* (*sèmá-m̀* 'he/she will slaughter', *sèmà-mbó-m̀* 'I will slaughter'). The corresponding participle replaces these suffixes with suffix *-ŋ́gà-*. The stem proper has a final <LH>-toned syllable, all preceding stem tones being low, just as in the inflectable future stem. The formula is therefore **L*H-L** including the suffix. The final H-tone of the stem is realized on the nasal of *-ŋgà-*. There is no change from subject to nonsubject participles. For animate plural heads, plural *-mbo* is added (*-ŋ́gà-mbò*).

The future positive participle is segmentally identical to the present positive participle, but they differ in the tone formulae of the stem, notably in the stem-final H-tone in the future.

(528) Future positive participles

	gloss	main clause (3Sg)	participle	
			simple	with AnPl *-mbò*
a.	'come'	*wǒ-m̀*	*wǒ-ŋgà*	*wǒ-ŋgà-mbò*
	'see'	*yǎ-m̀*	*yǎ-ŋgà*	*yǎ-ŋgà-mbò*

b.	‘slaughter’	*sèmá-m̀*	*sèmă-ŋgà*	*sèmă-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘leave’	*dògá-m̀*	*dògă-ŋgà*	*dògă-ŋgà-mbò*
c.	‘scrub’	*tùgùjá-m̀*	*tùgùjă-ŋgà*	*tùgùjă-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘be born’	*nàlí-yá-m̀*	*nàlì-yă-ŋgà*	*nàlì-yă-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘rinse self’	*sàmbìlì-yá-m̀*	*sàmbìlì-yă-ŋgà*	*sàmbìlì-yă-ŋgà-mbò*

The future positive participle is part of the ‘(know) what to VERB’ construction (529).

(529) *mí* *kànă-ŋgà* *éndà:-m*
1SgSbj do-**Fut**.Ppl.NonSbj not.know-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know what to do.’

For a different construction meaning ‘(know) where to go/come’, see §10.5.4.

Textual examples of future positive participles in subject relatives are (530a-b). Further examples are in the section on ‘before …’ adverbial clauses (§15.2.8).

(530) a. *[íyó* *[í* *gì]* *kòŋgò*^{L} *gò-mŏ-ŋgà]* *éndà:-m*
[today [1Pl Acc] thing^{L} go.out-Caus-**Fut**.PplSbj] not.know-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know any (other) thing that will get us out nowadays.’ (2005-1a)

b. *[yè*^{L} *dî→n]* *nèn,*
[InanPl^{L} all] for,
nì: *băl* *mòmbă-ŋgà* *mó↗,*
mother gather assemble-**Fut.**PplSbj Def.AnSg,
[ándàl *kó]=ý*
[knowledge Def.InanSg.O]=it.is
‘for all those (things), the mother (= chief) that will gather (them) and put (them) together is knowledge.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.5 Participle of present negative verb (*-nd-á:*, *-nd-à:*)

All negative participles are constructed by mutations among mid-height vowels, applied to the main-clause negative suffix. The participle corresponding to present negative *-ndí-* (§10.1.4.4) is segmentally identical to the participle corresponding to future negative *-ńdì-* (following section), just as the regular inflected conjugations of the two categories are segmentally identical. Again it is tones that distinguish the two.

In the present negative participle, subject relatives end in *-é:* or *-ó:* depending on agreement category. For nonsubject relatives, the ending is *-è:* or *-ò:* . The stem has **((X))H*(L)** formula, similar but (seemingly) not quite identical to the (X)H*L formula that it has in its inflected present negative paradigm. The apparent difference is that the final L-tone of the stem is not obligatory in the participle, hence the parenthesized (L). However, the final L is absent only in nonsubject participles (i.e. with before L-toned suffixal vowel) of *Cv-* or *Cwv-* monosyllabics, like ‘come’ and ‘see’ in (531a) below. For example, *wó-nd-è:* occurs instead of #*wô-nd-è:* . Such stems do have a falling tone in the subject participles, which have

an H-toned suffixal vowel. For example, subject participle *wô-nd-é:* matches the tones of the main-clause form *wô-ndí-*. I conclude that there is no structural difference between ((X))H*(L) in the participles and (X)H*L with obligatory L in the inflected forms. There is just an extra twist in how the formula is realized in monomoraic stems before an L-toned suffix.

(531) Present negative participles

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			subject	nonsubject
a.	'come'	*wô-ndí-*	*wô-nd-é:*	*wó-nd-è:*
			wô-nd-ó:	*wó-nd-ò:*
	'see'	*yâ-ndí-*	*yâ-nd-é:*	*yá-nd-è:*
			yâ-nd-ó:	*yá-nd-ò:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-ndí-*	*sémà-nd-é:*	*sémà-nd-è:*
			sémà-nd-ó:	*sèmà-nd-ò:*
	'leave'	*dógà-ndí-*	*dógà-nd-é:*	*dógà-nd-è:*
			dógà-nd-ó:	*dógà-nd-ò:*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-ndí-*	*túgújà-nd-é:*	*túgújà-nd-è:*
			túgújà-nd-ó:	*túgújà-nd-ò:*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yà-ndí-*	*nàlí-yà-nd-é:*	*nàlí-yà-nd-è:*
			nàlí-yà-nd-ó:	*nàlí-yà-nd-ò:*
	'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yà-ndí-*	*sámbílí-yà-nd-é:*	*sámbílí-yà-nd-è:*
			sámbílí-yà-nd-ó:	*sámbílí-yà-nd-ò:*

I have also heard nonsubject participles that were entirely {L}-toned, but the forms given above are those given by my assistant in careful speech and appear to me to be basic.

The following examples show the difference between subject (532a) and nonsubject (532b) present negative participles.

(532) a. *nò:*^{L} *yɛ́* *kóndò-nd-é:* *mó*
person^{L} see do.well-**PresNeg**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'a person who doesn't see well'

b. *kèŋgè*^{L} *ó* *yɛ́* *kóndò-nd-è:* *ké*
place^{L} 2SgSbj see do.well-**PresNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'a place where you-Sg do not see well'

Two examples of subject participles with H-toned suffix *-nd-é:* occur in the textual passage (533).

(533) *[bè*^{L} *dîn] mà là] [hú:*^{n} *mă:mà-nd-é:],*
[AnPl all] in also] [take! be.capable-**PresNeg-PplSbj**.AnSg],
[mó dàmb-é: là] òndú-∅,
[AnSg be.like-PplSbj.AnSg also] not.be-3SgSbj,
bírɔ́: bàrí-yà-nd-é: là,
work(n) expand-MP-**PresNeg-PplSbj**.AnSg also,
[mó dàmb-é: là] òndú-∅,
[AnSg be.like-PplSbj.AnSg also] not.be-3SgSbj,
'Among all of them, there is no-one who is as unable as he (= farmer) (to say) "here, take (this)!" Likewise, there is no-one who progresses less at work than he (= farmer).' (2005-1a)

For *dàmb-é:*, which occurs twice in this passage, see §8.4.1.

14.3.6 Participle of future negative verb (*-ńd-à:*)

The participles are based on the inflected future negative (§10.1.4.3) with L-toned suffix *-ńdì-* following a verb with L*H tones. The stem-final H is realized on the *n* of the suffix. The participles are mutating, and end in *-è:* and *-ò:* for both subject and nonsubject (but see comments below).

For both of my assistants, in positive participles the stem has the same tone formula **L*H** as in the inflected future negative. That is, an initial L-tone and a stem-final H-tone are obligatory, with any remaining medial syllables being L-toned: monosyllabic <LH>, bisyllabic L.<LH>, trisyllabic L.L.<LH>, etc. The stem-final H distinguishes the future negative participle from the present negative participle (preceding section).

One assistant consistently gave the same forms (including tones) for the nonsubject participles as for the subject participles. In particular, the stem-final H-tone element was always audible. In this way, all future negative participles are clearly distinguishable from present negative participles, but at the cost of sacrificing an audible distinction between subject and nonsubject future negative participles.

The second assistant, in elicitation, sometimes gave nonsubject future negative participles identical to the corresponding subject participles, like the first assistant. I therefore take this pattern to be predominant. However, on other occasions his nonsubject future negative participles had {L}-tones. In this fashion, the distinction between subject and nonsubject future negative participles is audibly expressed, but at the cost of partially merging the nonsubject future negative participles with the nonsubject present negative participles, which can also be {L}-toned. This neutralization of categories cannot be recovered (by the listener) from other clues in the relative clause.

This may reflect leakage between present negative and future negative, which have considerable semantic overlap (the future is often used in Najamba to make general statements). Especially given the subtlety of the tonal distinctions, some confusion in direct elicitation (using French cues) is not surprising. Therefore the tables in (534) are based on the pattern, which I take to be basic, where subject and nonsubject future negative participles are identical in form, having the stem-final H-tone.

(534) Future negative participles

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			subject	nonsubject
a.	'come'	*wǒ-ndì-*	*wǒ-nd-è:*	*wǒ-nd-è:*
			wǒ-nd-ò:	*wǒ-nd-ò:*
	'see'	*yǎ-ndì-*	*yǎ-nd-è:*	*yǎ-nd-è:*
			yǎ-nd-ò:	*yǎ-nd-ò:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sèmǎ-ndì-*	*sèmǎ-nd-è:*	*sèmǎ-nd-è:*
			sèmǎ-nd-ò:	*sèmǎ-nd-ò:*
	'leave'	*dògǎ-ndì-*	*dògǎ-nd-è:*	*dògǎ-nd-è:*
			dògǎ-nd-ò:	*dògǎ-nd-ò:*
c.	'scrub'	*tùgùjǎ-ndì-*	*tùgùjǎ-nd-è:*	*tùgùjǎ-nd-è:*
			tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:	*tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:*
	'be born'	*nàlì-yǎ-ndì-*	*nàlì-yǎ-nd-è:*	*nàlì-yǎ-nd-è:*
			nàlì-yǎ-nd-ò:	*nàlì-yǎ-nd-ò:*
	'rinse self'	*sàmbìlì-yǎ-ndì-*	*sàmbìlì-yǎ-nd-è:*	*sàmbìlì-yǎ-nd-è:*
			sàmbìlì-yǎ-nd-ò:	*sàmbìlì-yǎ-nd-ò:*

The identity of subject and nonsubject participles is illustrated in (535a-b). The participle is *tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:* with stem-final H-tone in both examples.

(535) a.. *nò-mbò*^{L} *[sò-ŋgó* *kó]*
person-Pl [garment-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
tùgùjǎ-nd-ò: *bé*
scrub-**FutNeg**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'people who will not scrub the garment'

b. *sò-ŋgò*^{L} *mí* *tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:* *kó*
garment-InanSg.O^{L} 1SgSbj scrub-**FutNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the garment that I will not scrub'

As in these examples, there are usually clues elsewhere in the relative clause that allow the listener to correctly identify the head in spite of the merger of subject and nonsubject participles. For example, the presence of a preparticipial pronominal subject (1Sg) in (535b) is sufficient to signal a nonsubject relative clause. Of course, selectional restrictions on subjects and objects are also helpful when the verb is e.g. 'slaughter', 'eat', 'chop', 'cook', or the like.

14.3.7 Participle of progressive negative verb (*-njo-ǹd-ɑ:*)

This participle is closely related to the regular inflectable main-clause form for this category, which ends in *-njò-ndí-* (§10.1.4.5). In the subject participle, the stem has the same tone formula **((X))H*(L)** as in the inflected forms, and the participial ending is mutating *-é:* or *-ó:* depending on agreement category. The nonsubject forms are segmentally identical but are {L}-toned.

(536) Progressive negative participles

	gloss	main clause	participle	
			subject	nonsubject
a.	'come'	*wó-njò-ndɪ̀-*	*wó-njò-nd-é:*	*wò-njò-nd-è:*
			wó-njò-nd-ó:	*wò-njò-nd-ò:*
	'see'	*yá-njò-ndí-*	*yá-njò-nd-é:*	*yà-njò-nd-è:*
			yá-njò-nd-ó:	*yà-njò-nd-ò:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-njò-ndí-*	*sémà-njò-nd-é:*	*sèmà-njò-nd-è:*
			sémà-njò-nd-ó:	*sèmà-njò-nd-ò:*
	'leave'	*dógà-njò-ndí-*	*dógà-njò-nd-é:*	*dògà-njò-nd-è:*
			dógà-njò-nd-ó:	*dògà-njò-nd-ò:*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-njò-ndí-*	*túgújà-njò-nd-é:*	*tùgùjà-njò-nd-è:*
			túgújà-njò-nd-ó:	*tùgùjà-njò-nd-ò:*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yà-njò-ndí-*	*nàlí-yà-njò-nd-é:*	*nàlì-yà-njò-nd-è:*
			nàlí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	*nàlì-yà-njò-nd-ò:*
	'rinse self'	*sàmbìlì-yá-njò-ndí-*	*sámbílí-yà-njò-nd-é:*	*sàmbìlì-njò-nd-è:*
			sámbílí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	*sàmbìlì-njò-nd-ò:*

14.3.8 Participle of perfect verb (*jòg-â:-*)

The inflectable perfect construction ('have VP-ed') involves an inflected form of either *jò-* or *jòg-â:-* (§10.1.3.3). The corresponding participles are based on the longer form *jòg-â:-*.

In subject participles, the main verb has its usual chaining form with lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/ for 'get up' (537a-b).

(537) a. *èndè:*^{L} *bèlí-yé* *jòg-â:* *mó*
child^{L} get.up-MP **Perfect**-PplSbj Def.AnSg
'the child who has already gotten up'

b. *òndè:*^{L} *bèlí-yé* *jòg-â:-mbò* *bé*
child.Pl^{L} get.up-MP **Perfect**-PplSbj-Pl Def.AnPl
'the children who have already gotten up'

In elicitation, the regular pattern for nonsubject relatives is that both the participle *jòg-à:-* and the preceding main verb are subject to a wide-scope {L} overlay. I show this in tonosyntactic brackets followed by ^{L} superscript in (538).

(538) *wàkàtì*^{L} *[òndô:* *bé]*
time^{L} [child.Pl Def.AnPl]
[bèlì-yè *jòg-à:]*^{L} *ké*
[get.up-MP **Perfect**-PplNonSbj]^{L} Def.InanSg.E
'the time when the children have already gotten up'

Textual example (539a) confirms the validity of this {L}-toned pattern. However, textual example (539b) seemingly presents a distinct construction where the verb *há:né* 'ought' and the participle *jòg-â:* retain their tones. Follow-up elicitation revealed that in this version, the participle is optionally followed by the 'it is' enclitic *=y*, hence *jòg-â:=ỳ*, though the enclitic did not occur in this textual passage. This is exactly the main-clause form of *jòg-â:*, leading me to think that *jòg-â:* twice in (539b) is really a main-clause rather than a participial form, even though the discourse context tends to favor a relative-clause reading.

(539) a. *[ó* *[gàn* *jòg-à:]*^{L} *dîn]*
[2SgSbj [put.in **Perfect**-PplNonSbj]^{L} all]
'everything you-Sg have put in' (< *găn*) (2005-1a)

b. *[[òlè*^{L}*-bàndí* *má]* *kán-lé* *há:né* *jòg-â:]*
[[house^{L}-behind in] do-VblN ought **Perfect**-PplNonSbj]
kánà-mb-à:=ỳ=bè-∅,
do-Fut-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgSbj,
[[[sònjɔ̌: ^{L}*kùl]* *mà]* *kán-lé* *há:nè* *jòg-â:]*
[[village ^{L}inside] in] do-VblN ought **Perfect**-PplNonSbj]
kánà-mb-â:=ỳ=bè-∅ *[búndán* *má]*
do-Fut-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgSbj [open.space in]
'what one was supposed to do behind (= at the edge of) the village, it used to be done (thus), (and) what one was supposed to do inside the village, it used to be done at the open space.' (2005-1a)

14.3.9 Participle of past verb (*=b-è:*, *=b-ɔ̀:*)

A verb form that ends in the conjugated **past** enclitic *=bè-* or its negation *=bă-l* < /=bà-lí/ in a main clause (§10.3.1) corresponds to a participle with *=b-ě:* or *=b-ɔ̌:* in the positive subject participle, and with *=b-è:* or *=b-ɔ̀:* in the positive nonsubject participle. The **negative** counterparts have *=bà-l-é:* or *=bà-l-ó:* in subject relatives, and *=bà-l-è:* or *=bà-l-ò:* in nonsubject relative. However, in some combinations a morphologically positive participle of *=bè-* is added to an already negated form of the same enclitic. The final vowel variation follows the usual rules for E and O agreement classes.

The following subsections illustrate particles for various past-time inflectional categories.

14.3.9.1 Participle of past imperfective (positive and negative)

The main-clause past imperfective contains *-m* (L-toned), which replaces present tense *-njò-* before the past enclitic (§10.3.1.5). Positive subject participles are in (540).

(540) a. *nò:*[L] *ŋ̀gîn* *bírà-m=b-ě:* *mó*
person[L] here work(v)-**Pres=Past**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who used to work here.'

b. *nò-mbò*[L] *ŋ̀gîn* *bírà-m=b-ǒ:* *bé*
person-Pl[L] here work(v)-**Pres=Past**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who used to work here.'

Negative subject participles are illustrated in in (541).

(541) a. *nò:*[L] *ŋ̀gú* *kánà-m=bà-l-é:* *mó*
person Prox.InanSg.O do-**Pres=Past**-Neg-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who didn't use to do that'

b. *nò-mbò*[L] *ŋ̀gú* *kánà-m-bà-l-ó:* *bé*
person-Pl Prox.InanSg.O do-**Pres=Past**-Neg-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who didn't use to do that'

Positive nonsubject relatives are illustrated in (542).

(542) a. *[[í* *ŋwà-m=b-è:* *ké]* *mà]*
[[1PlSbj hear-**Pres=Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.Inan.Sg.E] in]
gwè-∅
go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It (=Najamba community) has left (=ceased to practice) what we (=young people) used to hear about.' (2005-1a)

b. *[sà:gí-mbó* *nô:y* *tà:ndî:]*
[month-Pl two three]
ó *kwà-m=b-ɔ̀:* *kó*
2SgSbj eat-**Pres=Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'(They now eat in one day) what you-Sg used to eat in two or three months.' (2005-1a)

c. *[bírɔ́:* *ɲă:* *yàlì:*[L] *é* *gòlà-m=b-è:*
[work(n) yesterday field[L] 2PlSbj farm(v)-**Pres=Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
dîn] *[gɔ̀lé* *kìrè-ý↗]*
all] [farm(v) complete.Pfv-1PlSbj
'(For) every field that you-Pl did farm work on in the past, we-Pl completed the farming.' (2005-1a)

Negative nonsubject relatives are in (543). The past enclitic is doubled, negative followed by positive.

(543) a. *í* *kwà-m = bà-l-è: = b-è:*
1PlSbj eat-**Pres=Past**-PfvNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E=**Past**-Ppl.NonSbjInan
ké
Def.InanSg.E
'what we didn't use to eat'

b. *kòŋgò*^{L} *í*
thing^{L} 1PlSbj
kànà-m = bà-l-ò: = b-ɔ
do-**Pres=Past**-PfvNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
kó
Def.InanSg.O
'the thing that we didn't use to do'

14.3.9.2 Participle of future-in-past (positive and negative)

The future-in-past form is segmentally identical to the past imperfective, but it has the distinctive **future** stem-tone formula L*H with a single final H-tone (§10.3.1.7).

Below are relatives containing, respectively, a positive subject participle (544a), a positive nonsubject participle (544b), a negative subject participle (544c), and a negative nonsubject participle (544d). Here I gloss *-m* (H-toned) as future, i.e. as an allomorph of future *-mbô-* ~ (3Sg portmanteau *-m*) in main clauses (§10.1.3.4). The past enclitic is doubled in the negative participles.

(544) a. *nò:*^{L} *màmìlì-yá-m = b-ɛ̌:* *mó*
person^{L} go.back-MP-Fut=**Past**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who was going to go back'

b. *dèŋàn*^{L} *mó* *màmìlì-yá-m = b-è:* *ké*
day^{L} 3SgSbj go.back-MP-Fut=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she was going to go back.

c. *nò:*^{L} *màmìlì-yá-m = bà-l-é: = b-ɛ̌:*
person^{L} go.back-MP-Fut=**Past**-PfvNeg-PplSbj.AnSg=**Past**-PplSbj.AnSg
mó
Def.AnSg
'the person who was not going to go back'

d. *dèŋàn*^{L} *mó*
day^{L} 3SgSbj
màmìlì-yá-m＝bà-l-é:＝b-ě:
go.back-MP-Fut=**Past**-PfvNeg-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
ké
Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she was not going to go back'

14.3.9.3 Participle of past perfect (positive and negative)

The past perfect (§10.3.1.8) is formed by adding the past enclitic to the chaining form of the verb in the positive, and to a perfective negative suffix complex in the negative (§10.3.1.8). The entire verb is {L}-toned in nonsubject relatives, whether the verb has lexical /LH/ or /H/ melody. The examples below have, respectively, a positive subject participle (545a), a positive nonsubject participle (545b), a negative subject participle (545c), and a negative nonsubject participle (545d). The negative forms add the participle of the past enclitic to a perfective negative participle.

(545) a. *nò:*^{L} *màmílí-yé＝b-ě:* *mó*
person^{L} go.back-MP=**Past**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who had gone back'

b. *dèŋàn*^{L} *mó* *màmìlì-yɛ̀＝b-è:* *ké*
day^{L} 3SgSbj go.back-MP=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she had gone back.'

c. *nò:*^{L} *màmílí-yá-l-é:＝b-ě:* *mó*
person^{L} go.back-MP-**PfvNeg**-PplSbj.AnSg=**Past**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who had not gone back'

d. *dèŋàn*^{L} *mó*
day^{L} 3SgSbj
màmìlì-yà-l-è:＝b-è:
go.back-MP-**PfvNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
ké
Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she had not gone back'

Changing 'go back' to 'go down' (to illustrate with a verb that has /H/ lexical melody), the participial forms would be *súgí＝b-ě:* (545a), *sùgì＝b-è:* (545b), *súgó-l-é:＝b-ě:* (545c), and *sùgò-l-è:＝b-è:* (545d). The {L} overlay in the nonsubject participles applies even to the three irregular verbs with /LHL/ and /HL/ melodies, e.g. *dwè:＝b-è:* 'arrived' or *dìnè:＝b-è:* 'found' in counterparts to (545b).

In textual passage (546), the {L} overlay on nonsubject participles is observed in the forms based on both the verb *gɔ̀rɛ́* with /LH/ melody and the verb *túŋgɛ́* with /H/ melody. The speaker's point is that one can reverse the ends of a blanket without affecting its functionality.

(546) *[sò-ŋgò]*^{L}*-yámbú: kày,*
[fabric-InanSg.O]^{L}-covering Top,
[[[nă: ó gɔ̀rɛ̀=b-ɛ̀: kɛ́] gì]
[[[foot 2SgSbj stretch=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc
bìndí nɛ̀] … *[[kî: gèndɛ̀] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:↗],*
turn then.SS] … [[head beside] pass-Caus can-Fut-2SgSbj],
[[[kî: ó tùŋgɛ̀=b-ɛ̀:] gèndɛ̀],
[[[head 2SgSbj rest.head.Pfv=**Past**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E] beside],
bìndí nɛ̀] [[nă: gèndɛ̀] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:]
turn then.SS] [[foot beside] pass-Caus can-Fut-2SgSbj]
'As for a blanket, having turned (= shifted) the part (= edge of the blanket) where you had (previously) stretched out your legs, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) head, (and) if you turn (= shift) (the part) where (= under which) you had (previously) laid down your head, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) feet.' (2005-1a)

14.3.10 Participle of stative verbs and quasi-verbs

Positive statives like *tígà:-* 'know' have two alternative participial formations.

One type is **suffixal**, like the present and future participles of regular verbs. The suffix *-ŋgà* is identical to that used in present positive participles. A stative example is *tìgà-ŋgà* from 'know', animate plural *tìgà-ŋgà-mbò*. As with some present positive participles, all tones are L, or at least any structural H-tones in the stem are not reliably realized. There is no difference between subject and nonsubject participles.

(547) a. *nò-mbò*^{L} *tìgà-ŋgà-mbò bé*
person-Pl^{L} **know**-Pres.Ppl.Sbj-Pl Def.AnPl
'the people who know'

b. *kòŋgò*^{L} *mí tìgà-ŋgà kó*
thing^{L} 1SgSbj **know**-Pres.Ppl.NonSbj Def.InanSg.O
'the thing (= what) I know'

A fuller list of suffixing *-ŋgà* participles of this type from stative quasi-verbs and derived stative stance verbs is in (548). *jógò-* 'have' (§11.5.1) is replaced by *jò-* in the participle. Elsewhere *jò-* is common as a perfect auxiliary, competing with *jò-gâ:-* (§10.1.3.3).

(548) Suffixing participles of positive statives

gloss	inflected	participle	with AnPl suffix
'be'	*bò-*	*bò-ŋgà*	*bò-ŋgà-mbò*
'can, be able'	*jà-*	*jà-ŋgà*	*jà-ŋgà-mbò*
'have'	*jógò-*	*jò-ŋgà*	*jò-ŋgà-mbò*
'know'	*tígà-*	*tìgà-ŋgà*	*tìgà-ŋgà-mbò*
'be sitting'	*òbò-*	*òbò-ŋgà*	*òbò-ŋgà-mbò*
'want'	*kíyò-*	*kìyò-ŋgà*	*kìyò-ŋgà-mbò*

The alternative is a **mutating** participle constructed by adding the long-vowel agreement suffixes directly to the stem. In this type, *jógò-* 'have' retains its bisyllabic form. Morphologically, this formation is akin to the perfective participle of regular verbs. The forms are in (549). I was unable to elicit forms of this type for 'can, be able'.

(549) Mutating participles of positive statives

gloss	inflected form	participle	
		subject	nonsubject
'be'	*bò-*	*b-é:*	*b-ê:*
		b-ó:	*b-ô:*
'have'	*jógò-*	*jóg-è:*	*jòg-è:*
		jóg-ò:	*jòg-ò:*
'know'	*tígà-*	*tíg-è:*	*tìg-è:*
		tíg-ɔ̀:	*tìg-ɔ̀:*
'be sitting'	*òbò-*	*ób-è:*	*òb-è:*
		ób-ò:	*òb-ò:*
'want'	*kíyò-*	*kíy-è:*	*kìy-è:*
		kíy-ò:	*kìy-ò:*

The interchangeability of the two participial types is exemplified by (550a-b).

(550) a. *nò:*^{L} *[mí gì] tíg-è:* *mó*
person^{L} [1Sg Acc] **know**-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who knows me'

b. *nò:*^{L} *[mí gì] tìgà-ŋgà* *mó*
person^{L} [1Sg Acc] **know**-Pres.PplSbj Def.AnSg
[= (a)]

bò- 'be' is also part of the periphrastic positive progressive *-mbò bò-*. The English-like main-clause forms are of the type *bírɔ́: bírà-mbò bò-m̀* 'I am working', with the uninflectable progressive suffix *-mbò* on the main verb, followed by the inflected form of *bò-* 'be' as

auxiliary (§10.1.3.5). The corresponding progressive **participle** simply replaces conjugated main-clause *bò-* by a corresponding participle. This can be either suffixed *bò-ŋgà(-mbò)* as in (548) above, illustrated in (551a-b), or a form from the mutating set {*b-é: b-ó: b-ê: b-ô:*) as in (540) above, illustrated in (551c).

(551) a. *wàgàtì*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *mí* *bò-ŋgà* *dîn*
time^{L} work(n) work(v)-**Prog** 1SgSbj **be**-Stat.PplNonSbj all
'any time when I am working'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *bò-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} work(n) work(v)-**Prog** **be**-Stat.PplSbj-Pl Def.AnPl
'the people who are working'

c. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *b-ó:* *bé*
person-Pl work(n) work(v)-**Prog** **be**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who are working'

Negatives of 'have' and of stative stance verbs such as 'be sitting' have inflected forms based on stative **negative** *-ndí-* after {L}-toned stem (*jògò-ndí* 'he doesn't have', *òbò-ndí* 'he is not sitting'). The corresponding participles end in subject *-nd-é:* or *-nd-ó:* or in nonsubject *-nd-è:* or *-nd-ò:*, after the same {L}-toned stem, e.g. *jògò-nd-é:* for 'have' and *òbò-nd-é:* for 'be sitting'.

The suppletive negative quasi-verb **'not be'** is *òndí* ~ *òndú*. Its participles have mutating endings: subject participle *ònd-é:* or *ònd-ó:* (552a), nonsubject participle *ònd-è:* or *ònd-ò:* . Since *òndí* ~ *òndú* is also part of the progressive negative (after a main verb with uninflectable progressive suffix *-mbò*), these participles also occur in the progressive negative participle (552b).

(552) a. *[[sɔ̀njɔ̌:* ^{L}*kùl]* *mà]* *nò-mbò*^{L} *ònd-ó:* *bé*
[[village ^{L}inside] in] person-Pl^{L} **not.be**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who are not in the village'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *ònd-ó:* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} work(n) work(v)-**Prog** **not.be**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who are not working'

A fuller list of participles from suppletive negative statives is in (553). 'Not know' and 'not want' have -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism in the participles, versus +ATR {*e o*} vocalism in the inflected stem, while 'not be' is {*e o*} in both. The subject participles have an H-tone, while the nonsubject participles are entirely {L}-toned.

(553) Participles of suppletive negative statives

gloss	inflected	subject	nonsubject
'not be'	*òndú-*	*ònd-é:*	*ònd-è:*
		ònd-ó:	*ònd-ò:*
'not know'	*éndà-*	*énd-è:*	*ènd-è:*
		énd-ɔ̀:	*ènd-ɔ̀:*
'not want'	*kélà-*	*kél-è:*	*kèl-ɔ̀:*
		kél-è:	*kèl-ɔ̀:*

Examples with participles of 'not know' and 'not want' are in (554).

(554) a. *nò-mbò*^{L} *énd-ɔ̀:* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} **not.know**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who do not know'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *kél-ɔ̀:* *bé*
person-Pl^{L} **not.want**-PplSbj.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who do not want'

c. *[mó* *nò:*^{L} *kèl-è:]* *òndú-∅*
[3SgSbj person^{L} **not.want**-PplNonSbj.AnSg] not.be-3SgSbj
'There is nobody whom he dislikes more.' (2005-1a)

14.3.11 Participle of 'it is' (*=y*) and 'it is not' (*=lá*) clitics

There is no participle based on the positive 'it is' enclitic *=y* (and allomorphs). For singular reference, instead of saying e.g. '(the) one who is a dog', one simply says 'a/the dog'. However, one can work around this with a periphrasis when a universal quantifier is added. In this case, the 'it is' expression in its normal form is followed by particle *gà*, then by a participle based on *bò-* 'be'. *gà* is elsewhere a variant of the topic particle (§19.1.1). In (555a-b), however, one might conjecture that it is a vestige of an older *gà that is also preserved in non-perfective participial *-ŋgà*, whose assimilating nasal is likely the same non-perfective morpheme found in *-m=bè* (past imperfective, future-in-past, past stative), present *-ŋjò-*, future *-mbô-*, and progressive *-mbò*.

(555) a. *nò:* *púlàndê:=ỳ* *gà* *bò-ŋgà* *dîn*
person Fulbe.Sg=**it.is** **Ppl(?)** **be**-Stat.Ppl.Sbj all
'any person who is a Fulbe'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *púlàndô:=ỳ* *gà* *bò-ŋgà-mbò* *dîn*
person-Pl^{L} Fulbe.Pl=**it.is** **Ppl(?)** **be**-Stat.Ppl-Pl all
'any people who are Fulbe'

The **'it is not'** enclitic *=lá* has participial form *=l-è:* . Compare the examples below with main-clause *ǒm púlàndê:=lá-∅* 'this one is not a Fulbe'.

(556) a. *nò:*^{L} *púlàndê:=l-è:* *dîn*
person^{L} Fulbe.Sg=**it.is.not**.PplSbj.AnSg all
'any person who is not a Fulbe'

b. *nò-mbò*^{L} *púlàndû:=l-à:* *dîn*
person^{L} Fulbe.Pl=**it.is.not**.PplSbj.AnPl all
'any persons who are not Fulbe'

c. *nò:*^{L} *kɔ̀njɛ̀*^{L}*-né=l-è:* *dîn*
person^{L} beer^{L}-drink.Agent=**it.is.not**-PplSbj.AnSg all
'anyone who is not a beer-drinker'

d. *[ŋ̀gwè:*^{L} *gémè]=l-è:* *dîn*
[dog^{L} black]=**it.is.not**-PplSbj.AnSg all
'any dog that is not black' (lit. "[any] that is not a black dog")

14.3.12 Participle of passive verb

The passive, more correctly a nonspecific-subject construction, was described in §10.5. The positive participial form is *=b-à:*, identical to the inflectable form but without a following 'it is' enclitic. (557a) is a past passive relative, and (557b) is a present passive relative.

(557) a. *[swè:*^{L} *dǎy=b-à:* *yé]* *bàlà-mbó-m̀*
[garment.Pl^{L} lay.out=**Past-Pass**.PplSbj Def.InanPl] gather-Fut-1SgSbj
'I will gather the clothes that have been laid out (on the ground).'

b. *íyó* *bìrɔ̀:*^{L} *bírà-mb-à:* *kó*
today work(n)^{L} work(v)-Pres-**Pass**.Ppl.Sbj Def.InanSg.O
'the work that is done nowadays'

In the negative, the forms elicited have passive *=b-à:* followed by a participle of 'it is not' enclitic *=lá-*.

(558) a. *swè:*^{L} *dǎy=b-à:=l-è:* *yé*
garment.Pl^{L} lay.out=Past-**Pass**=it.is.not-PplSbj Def.InanPl
'the clothes that have not been laid out'

b. *sò-ŋgò*^{L} *dǎy=b-à:=l-à:* *kó*
garment-InanSg.O^{L} lay.out=Past-**Pass**=it.is.not-PplSbj Def.InanSg.O
'the garment that has not been laid out'

14.4 Relative clauses by grammatical function of head NP

In the sections below, examples are given of subject relatives and various types of nonsubject relatives. Most of the syntactic and morphological features have already been described, but for each type it is useful to see examples showing how the pieces combine.

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

The internal head representing the subject is maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num, as for any relative internal head. As with subjects in main clauses, the internal head is initial in the relative clause, except that adverbs may precede it. The internal head undergoes tone-dropping, indicated by a following ^{L}, on top of any tone-dropping that may have occurred internally. The verb is a participle, agreeing in intrinsic nominal features with the head, which in this case also happens to be the subject. A determiner and/or 'all' quantifier, if present, follow the participle, agreeing with the head. Other complements and adverbials have their regular main-clause forms and precede the participle.

(559) a. *ànè*^{L} *w-é:* *mó*
man^{L} come.Pfv-**PplSbj**.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the man who came'

b. *ànè*^{L} *wò-ŋgà* *mó*
man^{L} come-Pres.**PplSbj** Def.AnSg
'the man who comes'

c. *ànè*^{L} *wò-ŋ́gà* *mó*
man^{L} come-Fut.**PplSbj** Def.AnSg
'the man who will come'

d. *ànè*^{L} *[mí gì]* *tígà-ŋgà-∅*
man^{L} [1Sg Acc] know-Pres-**PplSbj**.AnSg
'the man who knows me'

e. *ànè*^{L} *[mí gì]* *ɛ́nd-ɛ̀:*
man^{L} [1Sg Acc] not.know-**PplSbj**.AnSg
'the man who does not know me'

f. *cìnù*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɔ́:*
rock^{L} fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.InanSg.O
'the rock that fell'

g. *cì-mbò*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɔ́:*
rock-AnPl^{L} fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.AnPl
'the rocks that fell' ('stone/rock' becomes "animate" in the plural)

h. *tàŋà*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ́:*
granary^{L} fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.InanSg.E
'the granary that fell'

i. *tàŋɛ̀*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ́:*
granary.Pl$^{L.}$ fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.InanPl
'the granaries that fell'

j. *ànɛ̀*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ́:*
man^{L} fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.AnSg
'the man who fell'

k. *ànà*^{L} *dɛ̀ŋ-ɔ́:*
man.Pl^{L} fall.Pfv-**PplSbj**.AnPl
'the men who fell'

14.4.2 Object relative clause

14.4.2.1 Ordinary object relative clause

The object NP undergoes tone-dropping as internal head. It has **no accusative** marking. The subject, if pronominal, is expressed by s proclitic subject pronoun before the verb. There is no resumptive proclitic if the subject is already expressed by a nonpronominal NP. The verb is a participle agreeing with the object NP (i.e. with the head). A determiner and/or quantifier may follow the verb, agreeing in intrinsic features with the head.

In (560a-d), the head is the animate noun 'dog' or its plural. The verb stem is *dɛ̀njɛ́* 'hit'.

(560) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:*^{L} *mí* *dɛ́nj-ɛ̀:* *mó*
dog^{L} 1SgSbj hit.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the dog that I hit-Past.'

b. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbɔ̀*^{L} *mí* *dɛ́nj-ɔ̀:* *bé*
[dog.Pl^{L} 1SgSbj hit.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the dogs that I hit-Past.'

c. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:*^{L} *mí* *dɛ̀njă-ŋgà* *mó*
[dog^{L} 1SgSbj hit-Fut.**PplNonSbj** Def.AnSg]
'the dog that I will hit.'

d. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbɔ̀*^{L} *mí* *dɛ̀njă-ŋgà-mbɔ̀* *bé*
[dog.Pl^{L} 1SgSbj hit-Fut.**PplNonSbj**-Pl Def.AnPl
'the dogs that I will hit.'

In (561), the head noun is the inanimate O/E-class noun 'mango'. The verb stem is *jê:* 'bring'.

(561) a. *màŋgòrò* *mó* *j-ô:* *kó*
mango^{L} 3SgSbj bring.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the mango that he/she brought' (< *jô:*)

b. *màŋgèrè*^{L} *mó* *j-ê:* *yé*
mango.Pl^{L} 3SgSbj bring.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanPl Def.InanPl
'the mangoes that he/she brought'

c. *màŋgòrò*^{L} *mó* *jǒ:-ŋgà* *kó*
mango^{L} 3SgSbj bring-Fut.**PplNonSb**j Def.InanSg.O
'the mango that he/she will bring'

d. *màŋgòrè*^{L} *mó* *jǒ:-ŋgà* *yé*
mango.Pl^{L} 3SgSbj bring-Fut.**PplNonSbj** Def.InanPl
'the mangoes that he/she will bring'

In (562) the head is an inanimate E/E-class noun 'village'. The verb stem is *yɛ́* 'see'.

(562) a. *sɔ̀njɔ̀:*^{L} *mí* *y-ê:* *ké*
village^{L} 1SgSbj see.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the village that I saw'

b. *sɔ̀njɛ̀:*^{L} *mí* *y-ê:* *yé*
village.Pl^{L} 1SgSbj see.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanPl Def.InanSg.E
'the villages that I saw'

c. *sɔ̀njɔ̀:*^{L} *mí* *yǎ-ŋgà* *ké*
village^{L} 1SgSbj see-Fut.**PplNonSbj** Def.InanSg.E
'the village that I will see'

d. *sɔ̀njɛ̀:*^{L} *mí* *yǎ-ŋgà* *yé*
village.Pl^{L} 1SgSbj see-Fut.**PplNonSbj** Def.InanSg.E
'the villages that I will see'

Textual examples of object relatives are in (563). In (563a), the overall NP containing the relative clause is the direct object of 'put' and is followed by the accusative marker. In (563b), four parallel object relatives are conjoined, with *má* 'and' at the end of each clause. The four clauses end in the same four words *bé sár-è: yé má* (indented), except that in the third clause the participle shifts to *sár-ò:* based on agreement with the head NP. The second clause really should also have *sár-ò:*, but the incantational quality of the "refrain" here interferes with agreement switches. (563c) is included here since the recipient of 'give' is treated as a direct object.

(563) a. *[[jěnjà kòŋgò*^{L} *jò:-l-ò:] gì],*
[[God thing^{L} bring-PfvNeg-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.O] Acc],
tòmá í tún-ò:
only 1PlSbj put.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.O
'a thing that God didn't bring, that we we alone put (=brought)' (2005-2a)
[for *tòmá* cf. *mí tòmá* 'I alone, I by myself']

b. *[[í gì] tìmè:*^{L}
[[1Pl Acc] tree.Pl^{L}
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlSbj ask.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
[kèbè-kèbè]-mbò^{L} *[í gì]*
[beetle]-Pl^{L} [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlSbj ask.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
éyyɔ̂: kɛ̀rɛ̀^{L}*-nàmâ:-mbò [í gì]*
yes bush^{L}-meat-Pl [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-ò: yé má,
3PlSbj ask.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.AnPl Def.InanPl and,
sɔ̀:mɛ̀^{L} *[í gì]*
grass.Pl^{L} [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlSbj ask.Pfv-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E and,
'the trees that they have asked us (about), and the beetles that they have asked us (about), and the wild animals that they have asked us (about), and the plants that they have asked us (about)' (2005-1a)

c. *[jěnjà, ùsfɔ̃: nò:*^{L} *ǹdɛ́ jòg-â: díndì],*
[God, road person^{L} give Perfect-Ppl.NonSbj all],
ùsfɔ̃: dùmè-∅
road get.Pfv-3SgSbj
'(If there is) someone to whom God has given the (correct) path, (then) he has gotten the (correct) path. (2005-1a)

14.4.2.2 'What is called "X" '

This construction involves the 'say' verb with suffix complex *-mb-à:*, which I take to be a participial (relative-clause) version of present passive *-mb-à:=ỳ* (§10.5.3). The tones and vocalism of the 'say' verb here are consistent with this parsing. Examples are in (564).

(564) a. *[ŏm yà:] [yógé* ^{L}*kèjèmbèlè]*
[Prox.AnSg Foc] [millet.Pl ^{L}blister.beetle]
gínà-mb-à: mó=ý
say-**Pres-Pass**.PplSbj NearDist.AnSg=it.is
'That (deictic) [focus] is what is called "millet's blister beetle".'

b. *èbíyɛ̀ yà: [yógé* L*kèjèmbèl-mbò]*
[Prox.AnPl Foc] [millet.Pl Lblister.beetle]
gínà-mb-à:-mbò bé=ý
say-**Pres-Pass**.PplSbj-Pl NearDist.AnSg=it.is
'Those (deictic) are what are called "millet's blister beetles" .'

c. *[kèjèmběl gínà-mb-à: mó] ên òndí-∅*
[blister.beetle say-**Pres-Pass**.PplSbj Def.AnSg] here is.not-3SgSbj
'What they call "blister beeter" isn't (found) here.'

For a construction including participial *-mb-à:*, see 'water for drinking' type compounds in §5.1.10.

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

The possessor NP is treated like any other relativized NP. The possessor noun is tone-dropped. A tone-dropped possessor NP no longer controls the usual tone-dropping on the following possessum, which therefore reverts to its lexical tones, as though unpossessed. For example, *kóŋgò* 'thing' and *bárkè* 'blessed state' usually combine as *kóŋgò* L*bàrkè* 'the thing's blessed state'. However, in (565a) *kóŋgò* is relativized on and drops tones to *kòŋgò*L, whereupon *bárkè* reverts to its lexical tones. (565b) is a similar elicited example. The possessor is bolded in interlinears.

(565) a. *kòŋgòL bárkè ó kwɛ̀L jòg-à: díndì*
thingL blessedness] 2SgSbj eatL Perfect-PplNonSbj all]
'any thing whose blessedness you have eaten' (2005-1a.01)

b. *nò:L párŋgá ó jàmìlɛ̀L jòg-à: dîn,*
personL donkey 2SgSbj stealL Perfect-PplNonSbj all,
[ó gì] dìmbirá-m̀
[2Sg Acc] pursue-Fut.3SgSbj
'Any person whose donkey you have stolen will pursue you.'

14.5 Postpositions omitted when their complements are relativized on

My assistant omitted simple postpositions (dative, instrumental, locative) in examples like (566a-c). The missing postposition is bolded in the free translation. The complement of the postposition, as head NP, is tone-dropped. The participle has nonsubject form.

(566) a. *[gùlà:L té: mí kóyò-ŋgà mó]*
[axL firewood 1SgSbj chop-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.AnSg]
dìbè-∅
be.lost.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The ax **with** which I chop firewood has been lost.'

b. *[nò:*^{L} *ŋ̀gú* *mí* *gìn-ê:* *mó]*
[person^{L} Dem 1SgSbj say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg]
ìnè-∅
go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The person **to** whom I told this has gone.'

c. *[òlè*^{L} *mí* *nàl = b-à:* *ké]*
[house^{L} 1SgObj bear=Past-Pass.Ppl.NonSbj Def.InanSg.E]
dèŋè-∅
fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The house **in** which I was born has fallen.'

The overt PPs that would occur in corresponding main clauses are *gùlâ: mà* 'with (by means of) an ax', *nŏ: mà* 'to a person' (dative)', and *ólé* ^{L}*kùl mà* 'in(side) a house'.

The listener must use context to infer the exact grammatical function of the head NP in the examples in (566). The distinction between subject and nonsubject participles is helpful in this regard. For example, in (566b), the nonsubject participle *gìn-ê:* is a clue that excludes the reading 'the person who told me this', which would have *gìn-é:* with final H-tone (it would also have 1Sg dative *ḿ mà*). Also relevant is the fact that the postposition *mà* is used in a variety of functions (dative, instrumental, locative, allative, ablative), so its omission in relative clauses is not as serious as it would be in a language that put a greater functional load on multiple basic postpositions.

Compound postpositions such as *[[tìmɔ̂:* ^{L}*dù:] mà* 'under a tree' (literally "at the bottom of a tree") are syntactically PPs with possessed noun ('tree's bottom') as complement. In such cases, when the real complement ('tree') is relativized on, the "possessed" noun ('bottom') is freed from the possessor's tonosyntactic control, as described in §14.4.3 above. This is seen in (567), where 'tree' becomes tone-dropped *tìmɔ̀:* ^{L}, while *dû:* 'bottom' appears with its lexical tone melody.

(567) *[tìmɔ̀:*^{L} *[dû:* *mà]* *bé* *b-ɔ̌:* *kó]* *dèŋè-∅*
[tree^{L} [**bottom** in] 3PlSbj be.Pfv-Ppl.O Def.InanSg.O] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'the tree under which they were has fallen.'

This is literally "the tree that they were [at the bottom]."

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

15.1 Chaining

15.1.1 Major types of chain

This chapter describes the ways verbs, VPs (without subjects), and to a lesser extent clauses (including subjects) can be combined. A basic distinction is made between direct chains, with no subordinating morpheme, and a wide range of looser chains that do include a subordinator. In all cases, the final verb, VP, or clause in the chain has full main-clause inflection (AN morpheme, pronominal-subject suffix), while nonfinal elements are reduced.

In a **direct** chain, two or more verbs are directly adjacent, except that in nonsubject relative clauses they may be separated by a pronominal-subject proclitic. The final verb has full inflections. The nonfinal verb(s) are in the **chaining form** (§10.1.2), which is either the E-stem or the I-stem depending on verb type, and respects the verb's lexical tone melody. There is no subordinating morpheme. NPs and other non-verb constituents precede the entire verb chain.

Direct chains can be thought of as verb-verb compounds, but they do not fuse into a single word prosodically. The component verbs may denote simultaneous or overlapping co-events, i.e. different aspects of a single event. Or they may denote tightly sequenced events that cohere conceptually into a single complex event.

(568) a. *dɛ̀ŋɛ́* *tìb-à:*
fall die.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They fell and died.' (= 'They died from falling.')

b. *kwɛ́* *sìnè-m*
eat be.sated.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I got full by eating.' (= 'I ate and my hunger was satisfied.')

Direct chains appear in several of the following sections within this chapter. First, however, I introduce the most important types of loose chain including a subordinator.

Loose chains are less tightly fused into compound-like combinations. The subordinated element may be a VP including complements and adjuncts. In most types, the subjects of the two VPs are coindexed and are not repeated, but some types are clausal and allow separate specification of subjects. The primary subordinators are those in (569).

(569)

			subjects of the two clauses
a.	*-mbò*	'and (then)'	same
b.	*-mbò*	progressive	same
c.	*nɛ̀*	sequential	same
d.	*-n*	(various)	different
e.	*mɛ́*	'if' or sequential	same or different

Conditional *mɛ́* 'if' or 'when' is described in the following chapter, see especially §16.1.5-6 on temporal-sequencing functions.

The remaining subordinators in (569) are covered in sections §15.1.3-6 below, after the section on morphosyntax of direct chains. Several constructions involving relative clauses are the subject of the remainder of this chapter (§15.2).

'And (then)' *-mbò* and sequential *nɛ̀* are closely related. However, the two *-mbò* subordinators are sharply distinct in both meaning (temporal profile) and the shape of the verb stem. The most obvious difference in forms is vocalism: the stem ends in *a* or *o* before the progressive suffix, but in {*e ɛ i*} or (after syncope of /i/) zero before the 'and (then)' suffix.

(570)

	'and (then) *-mbò*	progressive *-mbò*
a. form		
stem segments	chaining form	A/O-stem
stem tones	(X)H*((L))	((X))H*(L)
b. meaning		
temporal profile	often sequential	overlapping

15.1.2 Morphosyntax of direct chains

15.1.2.1 Verbal noun of directly chained verbs

Verbs that are directly chained, without a linking morpheme (e.g. *-mbò*, *nɛ̀*), may form a verbal noun. The nonfinal verb appears in {L}-toned form as a compound initial. The final takes its normal verbal-noun shape with suffix *-lé* (§4.2.3.1).

(571) a. *kwɛ̀*^{L}*-[sín-lé]* 'eating and (= until) being satisfied' (< *kwɛ́*, *sín\\sìnɛ̀*)
b. *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀*^{L}*-[tíbí-lé]* 'falling down and dying' (< *dɛ̀ŋɛ́*, *tíbɛ́*)

Verbal nouns are not normally formed from loose chains.

15.1.2.2 Negation of direct chains

The only way to negate any portion of a direct chain is to negate the entire sequence, with the negative morpheme appearing on the final verb. For example, the negated direct chain (572) denies that the combination of falling and dying took place.

(572) *dèŋɛ́* *tíbá-l-∅*
fall die-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She didn't fall down and die.'

There is really no way to negate just the final verb or VP. For a way to negate just the nonfinal verb or VP ('without VPing'), see §15.1.4.4 below.

15.1.2.3 Arguments of directly chained verbs

The issue of possible restrictions on arguments of verbs arises especially in the case of direct chains without intervening subordinators. Direct chains entail considerable conceptual integration of the two co-events. When both chained verbs are transitive, they typically have the same arguments including objects, which are therefore unproblematically expressed before the verb chain (573).

(573) *gŏn-gó* *téŋɛ́* *dòg-à:*
waterjar-InanSg.O set.down leave.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They put (= set) down and left a waterjar.'

15.1.2.4 Verbs that specialize in direct chains

Some verbs and semantic verb classes are especially common in chains. For example, *găn* **'put'** occurs in *wăl găn* 'ladle (out) and put', i.e. 'serve (food, from cooking pot to eating bowl), *twɛ́ găn* 'sow (and) put', i.e. 'oversow, sow seeds in spots where the first seeds did not sprout', and *èrɛ́ găn* 'draw (water) and put (it) in (container)'.

Some other common chain-final verbs are described in the following sections. See also §17.5 for examples where chained VPs function semantically as subordinated clauses, in the fashion of English control-verb constructions.

15.1.2.5 Direct chains ending in *dɔ̀gɛ́* 'leave' or *swɛ́* 'pour, spill'

As in other Dogon languages, *dɔ̀gɛ́* '**leave**, abandon' may follow another verb where it would be omitted (but implied) in English. For example, English *I put the kettle down* implies that the kettle was left in that position (at least for a time); this is typically made explicit in Dogon languages.

(574) *sátàlà:* *bèjí* *dɔ̀gè-ḿ*
kettle put.down leave.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I put down and left the kettle.'

swɛ́ **'pour**, spill' and its mediopassive *sí-yɛ́* occur in a more abstract sense in several recurrent chain combinations, including *àbí swɛ́* '(rifle) fail to discharge bullets properly' (literally "catch spill"), and in *dɔ̀gɛ́ sí-yɛ́* 'abandon' (literally "leave spill").

15.1.2.6 Direct chains ending with a motion or conveyance verb

Verbs of motion ('go', 'come', 'enter', 'exit', 'pass', etc.) and their transitive counterparts the verbs of conveyance ('bring', 'take [there]', etc.) can be directly chained to a preceding verb. The motion verb expresses directionality. This use of motion/conveyance verbs is useful in a language without allative or allative postpositions.

(575) a. with *tíŋgɛ́* 'pass by, go past'
tómbí tíŋgɛ́ 'jump over/across'
dɔ̀lɛ́ tíŋgɛ́ 'intrude by overstepping (e.g. into a neighboring field)'
wùjí tíŋgɛ́ '(bird) swoosh by'
gǐy tíŋgɛ́ 'step over (something)'

b. with *ŋwɛ́* 'go in'
yɔ̀bɛ́ ŋwɛ́ 'travel to a distant location (for work)' (lit. "run and go in")
tómbí ŋwɛ́ 'jump in'

When the motion event precedes in time a second action, it is implied that the motion was undertaken in order to carry out that action. A purposive construction (§17.6.1) is then indicated.

15.1.3 Same-subject past anterior *-mbɔ̀* 'and (then)'

In this same-subject 'and (then)' construction, the first VP is subjectless (i.e. like a gerund), and its verb ends in invariant *-mbɔ̀*. This is **not** the progressive suffix *-mbɔ̀* (§10.1.3.5), although the latter does occur in chains with progressive aspectual character (§15.1.4 below). Verb stems have different forms before progressive *-mbɔ̀* and 'and (then)' *-mbɔ̀*, and they specify distinct temporal relations vis-à-vis the following main clause.

In the 'and (then)' construction, the stem preceding *-mbɔ̀* is segmentally identical to the **chaining** form (§10.1.2), which is based on the E-stem for some verbs and on the I-stem for others. The tone formula for the stem is **(X)H*((L))**, hence H-tone for a monomoraic monosyllabic, lexical tones for a bimoraic stem, and lexical tones plus a presuffixal L-tone for trisyllabic and longer stems.

The main clause following 'and (then)' *-mbɔ̀* is fully inflected, unless that clause is itself subordinated to another clause at a higher level.

The gloss ‘and (then)’ is deliberately hedged. In most examples not followed by a motion verb or by ‘say’, the two events described are understood to have occurred in sequence, so that ‘and then’ would be a good gloss. However, there are some constructions where chronological sequencing is not indicated, so ‘and’ but not ‘and then’ would be correct.

The ‘and (then)’ construction competes with direct chains as described above, since in both cases the two (co-)events in question have some degree of conceptual integration and require subject coindexation. While there is some functional overlap, direct chains are likely to denote simultaneous co-events, and they do not readily allow independent elaboration of each VP. The ‘and (then)’ construction is compatible with chronological sequencing and readily allows separate elaboration of the two VPs, whereby each may have its own complements and/or adjuncts.

The ‘and (then)’ subordinator *-mbò* also competes with the sequential *nɛ̀* subordinator (§15.1.5). Both are same-subject subordinators, often specifying chronological sequencing. The main difference is that the entire event sequence is construed as completed with *-mbò*, and as not yet completed (e.g. future, present habitual) with *nɛ̀*. In addition, *-mbò* occurs in relatively tight VP-chains, in constructions with one subordinated VP and one main clause. *nɛ̀* chains are looser, and long stretches of narrative may consist entirely of *nɛ̀* VPs strung together. See also the discussion of (578-579) below.

Elicited examples of ‘and (then)’ *-mbò* are in (576). Interlinears use ‘and.SS’.

(576) a. *dɛ̀ŋɛ́-mbò* *tìb-à:*
fall-**and.SS** die.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They fell and died.’ (= ‘They died from falling.’)

b. *kwɛ́-mbò* *sìnè-m*
eat-**and.SS** be.satisfied.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I got full by eating.’ (= ‘I ate and my hunger was satisfied’)

The ‘and (then)’ construction with *-mbò* allows each verb to immediately follow its own natural complements. In (577a), an intransitive verb is loosely chained to a following transitive, which is preceded by its complement. In (577b), both verbs are preceded by their respective complements or adjuncts.

(577) a. *yɔ̀bɛ́-mbò* *[[gǒn-gó* *kó]* *tɛ̀ŋɛ̀-∅*
run-**and.SS** [[waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] set.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She ran and put down the waterjar.’

b. *[[[dúlé* *ké]* *mà]* *dɛ̀ŋɛ́* *ŋwɛ́-mbò]*
[[[hole Def.InanSg.E] in] fall go.in-**and.SS**]
[[nà:-gó *kó]* *gìnɛ̀-∅]*
[[foot-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] break.Pfv-3SgSbj]
‘He fell into the hole and broke his foot.’

Textual examples follow. (578a) actually contains two subordinated VPs, one with *nɛ̀* and the other with *-mbò*, each followed by a main clause (in one case, an imperative). Each

subordinator, *nɛ̀* and *-mbò*, has a subject coindexed to that of the following main clause, and both subordinators specify a chronological sequence. *nɛ̀* is followed by an imperative, i.e. the entire overall sequence is hypothetical and in the future. The *-mbò* version is more tightly chained than the *nɛ̀* version, and seems to be perfective (already completed).

(578) a. *[[bírɔ́:* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]* *kó]*
[[work(n) [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
bǎy *nɛ̀]* *bírá,*
learn **then.SS**] work.Imprt
[bírɔ́: *bǎy-mbò]* *bírà-njò-nd-ó:* *mɛ́* *díndì,* …
[work(n) learn-**and.SS**] work(v)-Prog-Neg-2SgSbj if all, …
'Learn your work and do (it)! If you aren't performing your work after having first learning it, …' (2005-1a)

b. *[ŋwɛ́-mbò* *[[é* *gì]* *sàrè-∅]]* *kán-ná,*
[hear-**and.SS** [[2Pl Acc] ask.Pfv-3SgSbj]] be.done-Hort.3Sg,
é *wé-mbò* *kúndé* *[mó* *mà]* *dàmgì-yè*
2PlSbj come-**and.SS** one.AnSg [AnSg Dat] speak-MP-Pfv
kán-ná
be.done-Hort.3Sg
'(Or) be it that he has heard (and) he has asked you-Pl, or be it that you-Pl came and one (of you) has spoken with him.' (2005-1a)

The relative tightness of 'and (then)' *-mbò* is also suggested by occasional bracketing mismatches, where a constituent to the left of the *-mbò* verb belongs logically with the following main-clause verb. This is the case with 'the waterjar' in (579). The 'and (then)' verb has gravitated to a position adjacent to the other verb, but it stops short of the compound-like fusion in direct chains.

(579) *[gǒn-gó* *kó]* *ŋwɛ́-mbò* *jɛ̀njɛ̀-∅*
[waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] go.in-**and.SS** pick.up.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She went in and picked up the waterjar.'

Some larger constructions include an 'and (then)' VP with *-mbò*. In addition to those described just below, see §15.2.6 on a construction with participial *gìn-ɔ̂:* 'say' following an 'and (then)' VP, and §17.5.1.1 for *jé-mbò* 'after having …'. For *jànjí-mbò* 'on purpose', see (667) in §17.6.1.

15.1.3.1 'And (then)' *-mbò* plus motion verb

In one large set of textual examples, 'and (then)' *-mbò* occurs with a following **motion** verb (580). In this combination, the two verbs do not have to denote sequenced events. In (580a) 'speak' and 'go out' are not sequenced (at least not in that order). In (580b), 'go', 'go around', and 'go back' are sequenced, but 'go back' and 'come' are simultaneous co-events

with ‘come’ specifying direction. (580b) also contains the construction with ‘and (then)’ *-mbò* plus ‘say’ construction covered in §15.2.6.

(580) a. *[[dòm*^{L} *síyɛ̀-ŋgò]* *dǎ:-mbò* *gw-é:* *mé* *là]*
[[speech^{L} good-InanSg.O] speak-**and.SS** **go.out**.Pfv-2PlSbj if also]
[[nò-mbó *bé]* *mà]* *kúmbà=ỳ↗]*
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] Dat] unawareness=it.is
‘If you-Pl have gone out and said good words, the people are unaware.’ (2005-1a, first NP slightly emended; /dǎm-mbò/ ‘speak and.SS’)

b. *[hâl* *íyó]* *í-mbò* *[[kɛ́rɛ́* *má]* *sǎŋ*
[until today] go-**and.SS** [[outback in] now
yàlí-yɛ̀-mbò] *í* *gìn-ɔ̂:,*
go.around-MP-**and.SS]** 1PlSbj **say**.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
màmìlí-yɛ̀-mbò *wɛ̀-ý*
go.back-MP-**and.SS** **come**.Pfv-1PlSbj
‘Even today we have gone into the bush (outback) and walked around now, and we have come back.’ (2005-1a; /ín-mbò/ ‘go-and’)

c. *íyó* *[í* *mà]* *wé-mbò* *ŋwɛ̀-∅* *kǒy↗*
today [1Pl Dat] come-**and.SS** **go.in**.Pfv-3SgSbj Emph
‘It (= work) has indeed come in to us nowadays (= recently).’ (2005-1a)

15.1.3.2 *gìnɛ́-mbò* ‘say’

gìnɛ́-mbò ‘say and …’ is combined with an inflected form of perfect *jògò-* ‘have’ in (581). The context suggests a sense along the lines of ‘although (you say/know that …)’.

(581) *[[bɛ̀*^{L} *dîn]* *[ó* ^{L}*dùmɛ̀:]=ỳ* *gìnɛ́-mbò* *jòg-ò:]*
[[3Pl^{L} all] [2SgPoss ^{L}animal.Pl]=it.is **say-and.SS** **have**-2SgSbj]
[ǒm *[ó* *gì]* *dìmbì-yá-m̀]*
[NearDist.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgSbj]
[ǒm *[ó* *gì]* *dìmbí-yà-ndí-∅]*
[NearDist.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-FutNeg-3SgSbj]
‘Although all of them are your animals, this one (= the favorite) will follow you (and) this (other) one does not follow you.’ (2005-1a)

gìnɛ́-mbò also occurs in purposive clauses expressing an agent’s intentions, see §17.6.2.

15.1.4 Progressive *-mbò* ‘(while) VP-ing’

In §15.1.3 above I took pains to distinguish the ‘and (then)’ loose chaining suffix *-mbò* from the progressive suffix *-mbò*. Progressive *-mbò* requires the A/O-stem of the verb rather than the chaining form, and it imposes a stem tone formula ((X))H*(L) that is audibly distinct from

(X)H*((L)) with bimoraic stems (HL versus XH). Both the stem-vocalism and tonal differences are clear in the contrast between *dèŋé-mbò* 'fall, and then …' and progressive *déŋà-mbò bò-* 'is falling'. Examples follow.

15.1.4.1 Progressive *-mbò* before a motion verb

A loose chain with progressive suffix *-mbò* on the chained verb occurs when the motion event is continuous and simultaneous with another process (582).

(582) *[ŋwànǎ:* *ŋwánà-mbò]* *w-ô:*
[song sing-**Prog**] come.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They came singing.'

The regular main-clause progressive (§10.1.3.5) uses *bò-* 'be (somewhere)' as an auxiliary. That construction is parallel in structure to the one in (582).

15.1.4.2 Progressive *-mbò* before a time-of-day verb

In (583a-b), a time-of-day verb such as *né:* 'spend the night' or *dèné* 'spend the (mid-)day' specifies an extended but bounded time interval that a chained activity VP in progressive form (A/O-stem plus *mbò*) more or less fills up.

(583) a. *[ɲàm*^{L} *kúndó:]* *[ŋwàná:* *ŋwánà-mbò]* *nè:-ḿ*
[night^{L} all] [song sing-**Prog**] spend.night.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I sang all night.' (= 'I spent the night singing.')

b. *[bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò]* *dènè-ý*
[work(n) work(v)-**Prog**] spend.day.Pfv-1PlSbj
'We worked all day.' (= 'We spent the day working.')

When the time period ('day' or 'night') is an interval during which an event (perhaps punctual) took place, a simple temporal adverbial such as a PP is used. The noun denoting the time period ('day', 'night', etc.) is the complement of a locative postposition such as *mà* 'in' or *kùl mà* 'inside' (584).

(584) *[ɲám* *má]* *déŋè-∅*
[**night** **in**] fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She fell down at night.'

15.1.4.3 Progressive *jógò-mbò* 'have/take with'

There is no suppletive chained element meaning 'taking (something) along', similar to forms of this type in Jamsay and some other eastern Dogon languages. The quasi-verb 'have' may

be used in this sense. In (585), *jógò* is chained (as it often is in this construction) to a following motion verb.

(585) a. *[mó kà] [kó gì] jógò-mbò ìnè-∅ mɛ́*
[AnSg Top] [InanSg.O Acc] **have-Prog** go.Pfv-3SgSbj if
'if he for his part has gone taking that with him' (2005-1a)

b. *[nŏ: mó] [kó gì] jógò-mbò ìnó-m̀*
[person Def.AnSg] [InanSg.O Acc] have-**and** **go**-Fut.3SgSbj
'The person will take it along with him.' (2005-1a)

15.1.4.4 Progressive negative 'without VP-ing' (*-lì bó-mbò*)

The 'without VP-ing' construction includes a **perfective negative** suffix on the nonfinal verb with progressive *bó-mbò* or a contraction thereof. This allows the speaker to specifically negate a nonfinal chained VP without negating the final VP.

In textual example (586a), the perfective negative suffix has **L**-toned form *-lì*, and is followed by a progressive form of *bò-* 'be'. This combination is chained as a whole to a following same-subject verb or VP. In the text, this was followed in short order by (586b), which compresses the two-word 'without' phrase into a single word. In other textual examples, (586c) is similar to (586a) while (586d) has the same fusion seen in (586b). (586e) resembles (586a,c), but its *-mbò* is the 'and (then)' rather than progressive subordinator.

(586) a. *[bìrá-lì bó-mbò] dùmí-yà-ndí-∅*
[work(v)-**PfvNeg** **be**-Prog] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'It (= gain) is not gotten without working.' (2005-1a)

b. *[bìrá-l-mbò là] dùmí-yà-ndí*
[work(v)-**PfvNeg-Prog** also] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.' (2005-1a)

c. *[áyá-lì bó-mbò]*
[become.weary-**PfvNeg** **be**-Prog]
[kòŋgò^{L} ó dùmà-ŋgà kà] ^{L}kòŋgò òndú-∅ kŏy
[thing^{L} 2SgSbj get-Pres.PplNonSbj Top] ^{L}thing not.be-3SgSbj Emph
'Without (your) getting tired, there is definitely nothing that you get.' (2005-1a)

d. *sà:gú-mbó nô:y, [táwɛ̀ [ŋ̀gí mà] màmílí-yá-l-mbò]*
month-Pl two, [perhaps [Prox.InanSg.E in] go.back-MP-**PfvNeg-Prog**]
[[ké mà] bírà-mbò bă-m̀]
[[NearDist.InanSg.E in] work(v)-Prog remain-Fut.3SgSbj
'(He may go and stay there) for two months, perhaps without coming back here, he may remain there working.' (2005-1a)

e. *[[bírɔ́:* *kó]* *mà]* *ŋwá:-lì* *bó-mbò*,
[[work(n) Def.InanSg.O] in] go.in-**PfvNeg** **be**-and.SS,
bàyé-y *mɛ́↗*
learn.Pfv-1PlSbj if
'if we learn before we go into (= while we have not yet gone into) the work' (2005-1a)

15.1.5 Same-subject nonpast sequential *nɛ̀* 'then'

The particle *nɛ̀* may be added to a VP ending in a verb in its **chaining** form (§10.1.2). A *nɛ̀* VP is nonfinal, so only the final clause has fully inflected form. The subjects of the relevant clauses are coindexed. The events described are normally understood to occur in sequence, and the sequence is not viewed as completed. The particle is glossed 'then.SS' (for "same subject") in interlinears.

(587) a. *té:-ŋgó* *kɛ́rɛ́* *nɛ̀,* *[bɛ̀lí-yɛ́* *nɛ̀]* *ìnò-mb-ô:*
firewood-Sg gather **then.SS**, [get.up-MP **then.SS**] go-Fut-2SgSbj
'You-Sg will gather firewood and get up and go.' (2005-1a.01)

b. *[yɛ́* *nɛ̀]* *éndà:-w*
[see **then.SS**] not.know-2SgSbj
'(if) you saw it and didn't know it' (2005-1a.01)

c. *[í* *yà:]* *[óbí-y* *nɛ̀]* *dôm* *dámà-nj-è:*
[1Pl Foc] [sit-MP **then.SS**] speech speak-Pres-Ppl.SbjFoc
'it's we [focus] who sit and speak the words' (2005-1a)

d. *[ínjé* *dìyɛ́* *nɛ̀]* *wó-m̀*
[water bathe **then.SS**] come-Fut.3SgSbj
'He/She will bathe and (then) come.' (= 'Having bathed, he/she will come.')

If the event sequence is viewed as completed, the form with same-subject past sequential *-mbò* (§15.1.3) is used instead of *nɛ̀*. Compare (587d) above with (588).

(588) *ínjé* *dìyɛ́-mbò* *wè-∅*
water bathe-and.SS come.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She bathed and then came.'

In narrative style, long strings of VPs with *nɛ̀* can pile up, preceding a final main clause. In some passages the sequence of *nɛ̀* VPs goes on and on and has no clear termination. See, for example (723) in the sample text, which has eight such VPs in short order.

nɛ̀ is also found in same-subject complement clauses with main-clause verb 'want', as in 'I want [to go]'. In this case, sequencing is not indicated. See §17.2.1 for examples and details.

Unlike adverbial *nɛ̀*, which is heard as *nè* after adverbials with {*e o*} vocalism, same-subject *nɛ̀* is invariant in form. An example showing this is *[óbí-y nɛ̀]* (not #*óbí-y nè*) in (587c).

15.1.5.1 Chains beginning with *mùlɛ́ nɛ̀* 'come together and …'

mùlɛ́ 'be/do together' may occur a VP with *nɛ̀*, loosely chained to a following clause with an activity verb.

(589) *[mùlɛ́* *nɛ̀]* *ìnǒ-mb-à*
[get.together **then.SS**] go-Fut-3PlSbj
'They will gather together and go.'

Example (589) could be freely translated as 'they will go together'. In English, the act of assembling (before carrying out a joint activity) is usually unexpressed, but in Dogon languages it is usually overt.

Najamba has an alternative '(do) together' construction with a simple adverb *sǒ:* (§18.3.2).

15.1.5.2 'Maybe' (*nɛ̀ bǎ-m̀*)

Possibility is expressed by converting the main proposition into a loosely chained same-subject sequential clause with *nɛ̀* as described in the preceding section. This is followed by the invariant form *bǎ-m̀* 'it will be' (590a). It is possible to construe the two constructions as sequential if *bǎ-m̀* is taken to refer to a post-event situation. For example, (590a) could be construed as 'It will be (the case) that rain has fallen'.

The corresponding negation has a perfective negative verb followed by *kán* 'be done, happen' and the adverbial *nɛ̀* (590b). See §17.3.4 for similar constructions with *kán*.

(590) a. *[à:lé* *tégɛ́* *nɛ̀]* *bǎ-m̀*
[rain(n) rain.fall **then.SS**] **be-Fut**.3SgSbj
'Maybe it will rain.'

b. *[à:lé* *tégá-l* *kán* *nɛ̀]* *bǎ-m̀*
[rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg **happen** **then.SS**] **be-Fut**.3SgSbj
'Maybe it won't rain.'

15.1.6 Different-subject *-n*

A verb stem is directly followed by suffix *-n* in a different-subject (DS) clause. A pronominal subject is expressed by a preverbal pronominal proclitic, from the same series used in nonsubject relatives.

15.1.6.1 E-stem (perfective) and A/O-stem (non-perfective) variants of *-n*

There are **two forms** of the verb, with distinct vocalism, ending in different-subject subordinator *-n*. Both are {L}-toned, except for the three verbs with lexical falling melody ('bring', 'arrive', 'find'), which as usual keep their lexical tones. One form is based on the **E-stem** of the verb. The other is based on the **A/O-stem** of the verb, and therefore, in addition to the final *a* or *o*, has obligatory +ATR {*e o*} vocalism in the rest of the stem. Examples of the forms are in (591).

(591)

gloss	chaining form	*-n* (E-stem)	*-n* (A/O-stem)
'go'	*ín*	*ìnè-n*	*ìnò-n*
'look'	*tár*	*tàrè-n*	*tàrà-n*
'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-n*	*yòbà-n*
'say'	*gìnɛ́*	*gìnɛ̀-n*	*gìnà-n*
'bring'	*jê:*	*jê:-n*	*jô:-n*
'find'	*dìnɛ̂:*	*dìnɛ̂:-n*	*dìnɔ̂:-n*

Distinctions like those in (592a-b) for 'look' were made in elicitation by my assistant, who was asked to provide examples of *tàrè-n* and *tàrà-n*. In (592a), the act of entering precedes that of seeing (what is seen is circumstantial evidence of the entry), and *tàrè-n* is used. In (592b), the act of entering is viewed by the protagonist, so the two eventualities are contemporaneous, and *tàrà-n* is the form used. This is consistent with verbal ablaut elsewhere (E-stem perfective, A/O-stem in non-perfective categories).

(592) a. *[bé tàrè-n] ŋwè-∅*
[3PlSbj **look-DS**] go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj
'They looked (and saw) where he went in.'
'They looked (and saw) that he/she had gone in.'

b. *[bé tàrà-n] ŋwè-∅*
[3PlSbj **look-DS**] go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj
'While they watched (= in their presence), he/she went in.'

The construction in (592b) above is corroborated by textual examples like (593a), and indeed the phrase *í tàrà-n* 'while we observed' is commonly used in the texts to label events that occurred in the memory of the speaker (as opposed to earlier events reported by oral tradition). The textual example of *tàrè-n* is (593b), which seems basically consistent with its function in (592a) above.

(593) a. *[támɔ̀rɔ̀ yé] ŋwè-∅,*
[date InanPl] go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[í tàrà-n] ŋwè-∅
[1PlSbj **look-DS**] go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj
'The dates came in (= were included), they came in while we observed (= in our memory).' (2005-1a)

b. *[mó tàrè-n] [[ké [ùsfɔ́: má] ínò-ndí-∅]*
[3SgSbj **look-DS**] [[InanSg.E [path in] go-PresNeg-3SgSbj]
kànè-∅ mé là]
be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if also]
'If on the other hand he looks (= evaluates) and if it isn't going on the (right) path, (he says: …) (2005-1a)

Elicited data (594a-b) are also available for *ín\\ìnè* 'go'. In (594a), *ìnò-n* denotes an act of going that is simultaneous with the act of seeing. In (594b), *ìnè-n* denotes an act of going that leads to another, subsequent event. This example happens to have another instance of *-n*, namely *bé òbò-n* 'while they were sitting', based on the stative form of *óbí-y* 'sit'.

(594) a. *[bǎyè jɛ́-mbò] bé ìnò-n, yè-ḿ*
[stick.Pl take-and.SS] 3PlSbj **go-DS**, see.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I saw them take the sticks and go.'

b. *[[ólé ké] mà] mí ìnè-n,*
[[house Def.InanSg.E] in] 1SgSbj **go-DS**,
[bé òbò-n] dìnɛ̂:-m
[3PlSbj **sit.Stat-DS**] find.Pfv-1SgSbj
'When I went to the house, I found them sitting.'

Textual examples of *ìnè-n* and *ìnò-n* are in (595). In (595a), the act of going is not (specifically) simultaneous to the (abstract) eventuality denotes by the following clause (which would be recognized by the merchant only after spending some time in the new market), and *ìnè-n* is used. (595b) is a corroborating example from the same textual passage. On the other hand, *ìnò-n* occurs in (595c), since the animal (here, a sheep or other livestock animal) is following directly behind the herder as the herder goes.

(595) a. *[[ké mà] [mó mà] [mó ìnè-n]] [ké nèn nè],*
[[InanSg.E in] [AnSg Dat] [3SgSbj **go-DS**]] [InanSg.E than Adv],
[mó bɛ̀lí-y-ɛ̀: ké]
[3SgSbj get.up-MP.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
[mó mà] kǎy→ kànè-∅ mé là
[AnSg Dat] better be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if also
'When he (= merchant) goes to that (new) place, if it turns out that the place that he got up (= left) from is better for him than that (new place), …' (2005-1a)

b. *ébán* *là,* *[[èbàn*^{L} *ŋ̀gí]* *mà]* *ó* *ìnè-n,* …
commerce also, [[market^{L} Prox.InanSg.E] in] 2SgSbj **go-DS**, …
'Commerce for its part, when you (= a merchant) go into this (= such-and-such a) market, (if they buy more from you elsewhere …)' (2005-1a)

c. *[ó* *ìnò-n]* *[ó* *gì]* *dìmbì-yà-njò* *mɛ́* *díndì*
[2SgSbj **go-DS**] [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Pres-3SgSbj if all
'when you (= herder) go, if it (= an animal) follows you, …' (2005-1a)

15.1.6.2 *gìnè-n* and *gìnà-n* from *gìnɛ́* 'say'

The elicited examples of *-n* with 'say' verb are (596a) with *gìnè-n*, where the following clause denotes a response (necessarily subsequent in time), and (596b) with *gìnà-n*, where the following clause ('[what] we heard') denotes a simultaneous event of perception.

(596) a. *[[ó* *gì]* *sár-mbò]* *mí* *gìnè-n,*
[[2Sg Acc] ask-and.SS] 1SgSbj **say-DS**,
[ó *wá→]* *[gwè* *wà]*
[2SgSbj Quot] [go.out.Pfv Quot]
'When I asked for you-Sg, (they) said you had gone out.'

b. *[nò-mbò*^{L} *kúlmá-mbó]* *bé* *gìnà-n,*
[person-Pl^{L} elder-Pl] 3PlSbj **say-DS**,
í *ŋ-ɔ̃́:,*
1PlSbj hear.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
dùlɛ̌: *nɔ̌:* *[[kɛ́rɛ́* *má]* *gwé* *nɛ̀]*
first person [[the.bush in] go.out then.SS]
wó-njò-∅ *mɛ̀,*
come-Pres-3SgSbj if,
[díyá: *[mɔ́* *gɔ̀]]* *ábà-mb-à:=ỳ*
[load(n) [AnSgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]] receive-Pres-Pass=it.is
'(According to) what we heard the elders say, formerly when someone left the bush and was coming (to the village), his load (carried on head) was taken (and carried, by others).' (*ŋ-ɔ̃́:* < /ŋw-ɔ̂:/)

The form *gìnè-n* is rather common in texts, as an alternative to participial *gìn-ɔ̂:* (§15.1.6.2), in constructions with an ostensible quotative clause. An example is (597).

(597) *[gɔ̀lɛ́* *kír-mbò]* *[ó* *gìnè-n]*
[farming do.completely-and.SS] [**2SgSbj** **say-DS**]
[bírɔ́: *bírà-nd-ó:]* *wè-∅* *mɛ́* *díndì*
[work(n) work(v)-PresNeg-2SgSbj] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if all
'when you-Sg have completed the farming, if (the accusation) that you don't work has come, …' (2005-1a)

In both types 'say' need not be understood literally, and it may be omitted from translations. This construction typically functions like a perfect ('have VP-ed'), indicating a chronological separation between the eventuality in question and that denoted by the following clause.

15.1.6.3 *-n* complements of perception verbs

Perception verbs 'see' and 'hear' lend themselves well to different-subject complements. The elicited examples (598a-d) present the A/O variant of the *-n* subordinator, as the perception was simultaneous to the event.

(598) a. *[[[mí* *[L]dày]* *mà]* *íŋgé* *ó* *èrà-n]* *yè-ḿ*
[[[1SgPoss [L]well] in] water 2SgSbj draw.water-**DS**] **see**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I saw you-Sg draw water at my well.'

b. *[ên* *mó* *bìyò-n]* *yè-ḿ*
[here AnSg lie.down-**DS**] **see**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I saw him/her lie down here.'

c. *[bé* *jà:ŋì-yò-n]* *ŋwè-ḿ*
[AnPl fight-MP-**DS**] **hear**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I heard them fight(ing).'

d. *[túmbúl-mbó* *bàrí-yɛ́* *bé* *kòrò-n]* *ŋwè-ḿ*
[hyena-Pl cry-MP 3PlSbj cry-**DS**] **hear**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I heard the hyenas howl(ing).'

15.2 Adverbial relative clauses

The structure of relative clauses was the topic of chapter 14 above. The following sections describe various combinations of two clauses, at least one of which is a nonsubject relative clause in form (with a verbal participle). Many of these are adverbial relative clauses. They do not distinguish same-subject from different-subject constructions, since relative clauses are concerned only with their relationship to their heads. The heads (whether overt or covert) determine the class of postparticipial determiners.

15.2.1 Temporal adverbial relative ('the time/day when …')

The temporal noun is overt as the internal head of a relative clause, the whole functioning as an adverbial clause. The lexical forms of the nouns are *wákátì* (< Fulfulde) and *sárà*, but as relative heads they appear hear in tone-dropped form (*wàkàtì* [L], *sàrà* [L]). The 'time' noun may appear anywhere in the clause prior to the participle. In (599), the two 'time' nouns are interchangeable. Both are inanimate E-class, as shown by the form of the final determiner.

(599) *[[kǎ:-mbò* *bé]*
[[grasshopper-Pl Def.AnPl]
wàkàtì^{L} */ sàrà*^{L} *w-ê:* *ké]*
time^{L} come.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
'(at) the time when the grasshoppers (=locusts) came'

There is usually no final postposition at the end of the relativized NP, so aside from the overt head noun 'time' there is no explicit indication that this adverbial is temporal rather than spatial or manner.

déŋán 'day' in {L}-toned form *dèŋàn*^{L} is also common in temporal relatives ('the day when …'. Examples are (510b) in §14.2.6 and (544b) in §14.3.9.2. Other temporal nouns like 'month' and 'year' may also head such adverbial relatives.

15.2.2 Spatial adverbial relative ('the place where …')

The noun *kéŋgè* 'place' is the head of a nonsubject relative clause, in L-toned form *kèŋgè*^{L}. *kéŋgè* is inanimate E-class, like 'time' in the preceding section, and requires E-class determiners. Unlike the 'time' nouns described in the preceding section, the 'place' noun is somewhat redundant since the postposition *mà* follows the entire relativized NP. However, a spatial sense is not automatic with *mà*, which can also be temporal, instrumental, and in some contexts dative (§8.1.2).

(600) *[kèŋgè*^{L} *mí* *bíró:* *bírà-ŋgà* *ké]* *mà*
[**place**^{L} 1Sg work(n) work(v)-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E] in
'at (the place) where I work' = 'where I work'

15.2.3 Manner adverbial relative clause ('the way …')

The 'manner, way' noun is *gìró*, which also means 'eye', or the Fulfulde loan *àlgádrà*. They are inanimate O-class, as shown by the determiner *kó* in (601a). Nonsubject relatives headed by them can be NP arguments as in these examples, or *dân* 'like' can be added like a postposition to make an adverbial clause, cf. (602a-d) in the following section.

(601) a. *[àlgàdrà*^{L} *mó* *kwà-ŋgà* *kó]*
[**manner**^{L} 3SgSbj eat-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O]
[mí *gì]* *èndá-∅*
[1Sg Acc] unpleasant-3SgSbj
'The way he/she eats is displeasing to me.'

b. *[gìrò*^{L} *mó* *bìrà-ŋgà]* *éndà:-m*
[**manner**^{L} 3SgSbj work(v)-Pres.PplNonSbj] not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know how he/she works.'
(lit. "I don't know the manner …")

15.2.4 Headless relatives as adverbial clauses

Spatio-temporal and manner adverbials often appear in the form of a headless nonsubject relative clause. A covert head noun like 'time', 'place', or 'manner' is understood. Time and place may blur together in abstract contexts, where 'situation' or 'fact' might be a better gloss, cf. the multiple current meanings of English *position* and the etymological sense of *situation*.

The distinction between nouns with (singular) **E-** and **O-class** agreement plays a role in deciphering such headless relatives. This is because covert 'manner' head noun (*gìró* 'eye; manner') has O-class agreement, while covert 'place' (*kéŋgè*) and 'time' (e.g. *wákàtì*) have E-class agreement. The participle makes class distinctions in some inflectional categories (e.g. perfective), though not in others (e.g. present, future). In any event, a final definite morpheme is common in such headless adverbial relatives, with O-class *kó* suggesting 'manner' and E-class *ké* suggesting 'place' or 'time'. A following postposition ('like', 'in') can mark manner and spatial adverbials.

(602a-d) are identifiable as headless **manner** adverbials due to postposition *dân* 'like' (§8.4.1) and/or O-class determiners. The sense may be veridical 'like (the way) …; as …' or nonveridical 'as though …'.

(602) a. *[[mó bìrà-ŋgà ŋ̀gú] dân]*
[[**3SgSbj** work(v)-Pres.**PplNonSbj** this.InanSg.O] **like**]
àbádá kóŋgò dúmà-ndí-∅
never thing obtain-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'The way he works, he will never gain (=earn) anything.'

b. *[[sǎŋ kà] hâl é bò-ŋgà dân dîn]*
[[now Top] until **2PlSbj** be-Stat.**PplNonSbj** **like** all]
'even the way you-Pl are now (= numerous)' (2005-1a)

c. *[[ó sígírí-yɛ́ jòg-â:] dân] ínò-nj-ò:*
[[**2Sg** get.drunk-MP Perfect-**PplNonSbj**] like] go-Pres-2SgSbj
'You-Sg are walking like (=as though) you had gotten drunk.'

d. *[[í dìn-ô: kó] dân]*
[[1PlSbj find.Pfv-PPl.InanSg.O Def.Inan.O] **like**]
[dɔ̀gɛ́ nè là] ìnò-mbó-ỳ
[leave and.SS also] go-Fut-1PlSbj
'(The same way) as we found (it), we will leave it (behind) and go.' (2005-2a)

Headless **spatial** adverbials are in (603a-b). Postposition *mà* 'in' is a clue that the sense is spatial, though it does not rule out a temporal or abstract situational reading. Here the spatial reading is confirmed by the motion verbs. If a determiner follows the participle, it is E-class (not present in these examples).

(603) a. *ùjúŋgó* *[[mó* *tùmbò-m = b-è:]* *mà]*
sun [[AnSgSbj sun.rise-Pres=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E] **in**]
gwè-∅ *ló*
go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj Q
'Has the sun gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it used to rise?' (2005-2a)

b. *[[mó* *dèŋà-ŋgà]* *mà]* *gwè-∅* *ló*
[[AnSg fall-Pres.PplNonSbj] **in**] go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj Q
'Has it (= sun) gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it sets?' (2005-2a)

When the postposition is *kùl mà* 'inside', the usual reading is temporal ('while …'). Determiners are E-class.

(604) a. *[[bírɔ́:* *mí* *bírà-ŋgà-∅* *ké]*
[[work(n) 1SgSbj work(v)-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E]
kùl *mà]* *gó-nù-m*
inside **in**] go.out-FutNeg-1SgSbj
'When I am working, I won't (=don't) go out.'

b. *[[bírɔ́:* *mí* *bírà-ŋgà-∅* *ké]*
[[work(n) 1SgSbj work(v)-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E]
kùl *mà]* *gǒ-ndì-∅*
inside **in**] go.out-FutNeg-3SgSbj
'When I am working, he/she won't (= doesn't) go out.'

15.2.5 'Since …' with *jă:* plus locative of headless relative

jă: 'since' is placed at the beginning of the 'since' clause, which takes the form of a headless nonsubject relative clause, followed by postposition *mà* 'in'.

(605) a. *[[jă:* *mó* *w-ê:]* *mà]* *gó-l-∅*
[[**since** 3SgSbj come-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E] in] go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'Since she came, she hasn't gone out.'

b. *[[jă:* *mó* *w-ê:]* *mà]* *mó* *yà:-lú-m*
[[**since** 3SgSbj come-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E] in] AnSgO see-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'Since she came, I haven't seen her.'

For two-part 'from X to Y' see §17.5.1.1. For the Songhay etymology of *jă:*, see §1.2.1.

15.2.6 Headless relative *gìn-ɔ̂:* 'say' after 'and (then)' *-mbò*

A perfective nonsubject participle of *gìné* 'say', namely *gìn-ɔ̂:* (inanimate singular O form), commonly follows a same-subject VP with subordinator *-mbò* 'and (then)' (§15.1.3). The form *gìn-ɔ̂:* is immediately preceded by a preverbal pronominal-subject proclitic. This pronoun usually agrees with the subject of the subordinated verb, like 'Muslims' in (606a). However, in (606b) the 3Sg subject pronominal seems *pro forma*.

Sometimes the reference is to actual speech, or to articulated thought. Often, however, no actual speech or thought is referred to, in which case it is best to omit 'say' in the free translation. The construction often has **perfect** value, i.e. it indicates that the eventuality in question has already occurred before the event denoted by the clause that follows *gìn-ɔ̂:* . The two clauses may have same or different subjects.

(606) a. *[àlsìlâ:m mɔ̀mbí-yè-mbò bé gìn-ɔ̂:]*
[Muslim gather-MP-**and.SS** **3PlSbj** **say.Pfv**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
[dúwâ: kàn-à: mé]
[blessing do.Pfv-3PlSbj if]
'when the Muslims had gathered and performed the blessing, …' (2005-1a)

b. *íyó [yè:-jíŋgán má→] [èndê: ᴸìnèn-tùn-lè mà→ᵗ]*
today [marriage and] [child ᴸname-put-VblN and]
[yèᴸ dîn] wé-mbò kégírí-yè-mbò
[InanPlᴸ all] come-**and.SS** align-MP-**and.SS**
mó gìn-ɔ̂:,
3SgSbj **say**.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[àŋgú tóló=ý gìndɔ́:=ỳ mà→] ká:-ŋgó=ý
[which? more=it.is big.InanSg.O=it.is Q] debate-InanSg.O=it.is
'Nowadays, a wedding (= marrying women) and a child's name-giving, (now that) both have come and become equal (in cost), which (of them) is bigger (= more expensive) is a (subject for) debate.' (2005-1a)

More textual examples are in (607).

(607) a. *[íyó nò-mbó énî: wé-mbò] bé gìn-ɔ̂:*
[today person-Pl here come-**and.SS**] **3PlSbj** **say**.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
'Today some people have come here, …' (2005-1a)

b. *kà: [bé là] dùmé-mbò] bé gìn-ɔ̂:,*
but [AnPl also] get-**and.SS**] **3PlSbj** **say**.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[dàlì:dì bé kànà-ŋgà ké] dùm-à: mé
[knowledge AnPlSbj do-Pres.PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E] get.Pfv-3PlSbj if
'But when they (i.e. whites) themselves have gotten (knowledge), when they get the (esoteric) knowledge to make (e.g. medicines), …' (2005-1a)

c. *[[yàlî:* *[L]tè:-ŋgò]* *jê:-mbò]*
[[field [L]firewood-InanSg.O] bring-**and.SS**]
ó *gìn-ɔ̂:*
2SgSbj **say**.Pfv-PplNonSbjInanSg.O
'when you have brought (a bundle of) firewood of (= for) the field' (2005-1a)

d. *[[[dôm* *mà]* *íŋgí-yɛ́* *jɛ́-mbò]* *ó* *gìn-ɔ̂:]*
[[[speech in] stand-MP finish-**and.SS**] **2SgSbj** **say**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
[[nŏ: *mó]* *[ó* *mà]* *mó* *jê:-n]*
[[person Def.AnSg] [2Sg Dat] 3SgSbj bring-DS]
[[dôm *kó]* *gì]* *fã́:m*
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] understanding
dùmá:-l-ó: *mé* *díndì]*
get-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if all]
'if you have stopped in speaking, if the person has brought you (a case), if you have not gotten an understanding of the words, …' (2005-1a)

See also the different-subject subordinated form *gìnè-n* (§15.1.6.2).

15.2.7 Nonsubject relative *j-ɛ̂:* 'finish' in direct chain at subject switch

When the subject of a sequential temporal adverbial clause is not coindexed with the subject of the main clause, the temporal clause may take the form of a headless nonsubject relative whose primary verb is directly chained to participial *j-ɛ̂:* 'finish'. If there is a pronominal subject it precedes the two chained verbs, suggesting that *j-ɛ̂:* 'finish' is halfway toward becoming a suffix on the primary verb. The E-class participles and determiners in (608a-b) are consistent with 'time' as covert head.

(608) a. *[mó* *kwɛ́* *j-ɛ̂:* *kɛ́]* *ìnè-y*
[3SgSbj eat **finish**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] go.Pfv-1PlSbj
'When he/she had finished eating, we went.'

b. *[í* *kwɛ́* *j-ɛ̂:* *kɛ́]* *ìnè-∅*
[1PlSbj eat **finish**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'When we had finished eating, he/she went.'

15.2.7.1 *bándì mà* 'after' following *j-ɛ̂:* 'finished'

It is also possible to express the temporal sequence more explicitly by adding the compositve postposition *bándì mà* 'after'.

(609) *[mó* *kwɛ́* *j-ɛ̂:* *bándì* *mà]* *ìnè-ý*
[3Sg eat finish-PplNonSbj **after** **in**] go.Pfv-1PlSbj
'After he finished eating, we went.'

15.2.8 ‘Before …’ with locative of headless nonsubject future relative

The ‘before …’ clause may precede or follow the main clause. It consists of a headless relative with future participle (*-ŋgà-* after stem with final H-tone), followed by either postposition *mà* ‘in’ or a particle *wâ:n.*

(610) a. *[à:lé tègă-ŋgà mà] twě twé jè = bè-m*
[rain(n) rain-**Fut**.PplNonSbj **in**] seeds sow finish.Pfv=Past-1SgSbj
‘Before the rain fell, I had finished sowing the seeds.’

b. *[[bándâ ké] njúló]*
[[courtyard Def.InanSg.E] sweep.Imprt]
[mó wŏ-ŋgà mà]
[3SgSbj come-**Fut**.PplNonSbj **in**]
‘Sweep-Sg the courtyard, before he/she comes.’

c. *bé [wé nè] nùmă: tùnŏ-ŋgà mà*
3PlSbj [come then.SS] hand put-**Fut**.PplNonSbj **in**
‘before they had come and put their hands (in the bowl)’ (2005-2a)

d. *[[ó* ^{L}*nò-mbò] ó yă-ŋgà wâ:n,*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}person-Pl] 2SgSbj see-**Fut**.PplNonSbj **before**,
[ḿ mà] dámá]
[1Sg Dat] speak.Imprt
‘Tell me, before you see your folks!’ (2005-1a)

Another way to express ‘before …’ is to use the ‘without VPing’ construction (§15.1.4.4). For example, ‘we learned before we entered’ could be phrased as ‘we learned without (yet) having entered’, as long as the listener can infer the truth of the positive ‘we (then) entered’.

16 Conditional constructions

A conditional construction consists of an **antecedent** ('if') clause and a **consequent** ('then') clause.

Most conditionals are **hypothetical**, specifying a causal or similar entailing relationship between an uncertain future (or generic) eventuality X and a second eventuality Y. This causal relationship shades into a temporal one, more so than in English. The **counterfactual** conditional asserts a similar causal or entailing relationship between a past eventuality that might have occurred, but did not, and a second eventuality it would have caused to be true. Other special cases are 'even if' and willy-nilly conditionals, which deny causal relationships between antecedent and consequent eventualities.

16.1 Hypothetical conditionals

The common 'if' particles following the predicate of the antecedent clause are *dé* and *mɛ́*. The universal quantifier *dîn* ~ *díndì* 'all' may be added after the 'if' particle. The particle *tán* 'only' (< Fulfulde) may also follow *dé* or *mɛ́*, or it may appear by itself as a substitute 'if' particle.

Since the 'if' particles are H-toned, a preceding 1st/2nd person perfective positive verb form shifts its final syllable from rising to (level) H-tone (§3.6.3.2), unless it is monosyllabic as in *w-ǒ:* 'come' in (613b) in §16.1.2. Occasionally, the 'if' particle itself is omitted, but the tone shift applies nevertheless, serving as an index of the missing 'if' particle. 3Sg and 3Pl perfective positive verb forms are strictly {L}-toned in conditional antecedents, versus variably {L} or {HL} in main clauses.

In hypothetical conditionals, the unmarked AN sequence is **perfective** (positive or negative) for the antecedent clause, and **future** (positive or negative) for the consequent clause. This applies when the two clauses denote events that are relatively well bounded in time. In other contexts, the antecedent clause may be present, stative, or the like, and/or the consequent may be present, or a deontic modal clause (imperative, hortative).

dé and *mɛ́* are partially extent interchangeable in true conditional antecedents. However, *mɛ́* has a broader range of functions. It can more freely indicate sequential as opposed to causal relationships, and it is compatible with imperfective antecedents.

16.1.1 Particle *dé* 'if' at end of antecedent

dé is close to English *if* in hypothetical conditionals, and in this sense it has a narrower functional range than its competitor *mɛ́*.

The passage in (611), which describes generic situations, contains one perfective positive and one perfective negative antecedent clause, both followed by future consequent clauses.

(611) *yĕ:* *nàlè-∅* *dé,*
woman give.birth.**Pfv**-3SgSbj **if**,
[[ó [L]*tɔ̀gù* *dîn]* *mà]* *dă:ndí* *tìyá-mb-â:=ỳ,*
[[2SgPoss [L]kin all] Dat] tell send-**Fut**-Pass=it.is,
[mó *là]* *wó-m̀,*
[AnSg also] come-Fut.3SgSbj,
[tíyá:-l-ó: *dé* *là]* *[[ó* *gì]* *pèbá-m̀]*
[send-**Pfv.Neg**-2SgSbj **if** also] [2Sg Acc] accuse-**Fut**.3SgSbj]
'If a woman (= your wife) has given birth, the word will be sent to all of your kin group, it (= your kin) will come. If on the other hand you-Sg don't send (the word), it (= your kin) will denounce you.' (2005-1a)

Further textual examples of *dé* are (612a-b), see also (616) in §16.1.3.

(612) a. *[bé* *là]* *bày-é:* *dé↗,*
[AnPl also] know.Pfv-2PlSbj **if**,
'If you-Pl know (=have come to know) them (= whites), … ' (2005-1a)

b. *mà:njì-yé-ý* *dé,* *àŋ̀ìné* *kànà-ỳ* *ló*
be.energetic-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj **if**, how? do.Fut-1Pl Q
'If we do (=have done) our best, how (= what) will we do?' (2005-1a)

16.1.2 Particle *mé* 'if' at end of antecedent

mé 'if' occurs in constructions similar to those with *dé*. The antecedent is usually perfective, the consequent non-perfective (present, future, imperative), as in (613a-b).

(613) a. *màŋgórè,* *[[ébán* *má]* *dìnê:-y* *mé]* *dònà-mbó-ỳ*
mango.Pl, [[market in] find-1PlSbj **if**] buy-Fut-1PlSbj
'If we find any mangoes in the market, we'll buy them.'

b. *[ŋ̀gîn* *w-ŏ:* *mé]* *[mí* *sìbì-yò-mbó-m̀]*
[here come.Pfv-2SgSbj **if**] [1SgSbj hide-MP-Fut-1SgSbj]
'If you-Sg come here, I will hide.'

c. *[à:lé* *í:gòndì:* *tègè-∅* *mé]*
[rain(n) abundantly rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj **if**]
jènă: *kóndó-m̀*
rainy.season do.well-Fut.3SgSbj
'If the rain falls abundantly, the rainy (=growing) season will turn out well.'

However, *mé* is more flexible than *dé*. It can occur in non-perfective contexts (e.g. future or habitual). The antecedent verb is future negative in (614).

(614) *[móttì* *mà]* *ìnó-nù-m*
[Mopti to] go-FutNeg-1SgSbj
[ó *[mí* *sôn]* *ìnó-nd-ò:* *mé]*
[2Sg [1SgObj with] go-FutNeg-2SgSbj **if**]
'I won't go to Mopti unless you-Sg go with me.'
(lit. "I won't go to Mopti if you-Sg won't go with me.")

A clause with *mé* may reduce semantically to a sequential subordinator ('and then …') when causality is de-emphasized, see §16.1.4 below.

16.1.3 Multiple antecedent clauses

When the antecedent contains two clauses, the two antecedent eventualities may be logically related in any of the following ways: a) set-theoretic union (both eventualities must be independently true), b) chronological sequence, or c) logical nesting (the first antecedent clause creates a context for the second).

One way to express such complex antecedents is by using a loose chaining device to combine the two clauses into one complex clause, with a single 'if' at the end (615).

(615) *[jèná:* *kóndí* *nè]* *[yógé* *ìlè-∅* *mé]*
[rainy season be.good **then.SS**] [millet.Pl ripen.Pfv-3SgSbj **if**]
[nò-mbó *bé* *gì]* *èlà-ndá-m̀*
[person-Pl Def.AnPl Acc] please-Inch-Fut.3SgSbj
'If the rainy season is good, and the millet has ripened, the people will be happy ("it will please the people").'

It is also possible to string two or more perfective antecedent clauses together, each ending in an 'if' particle (616).

(616) *[kó* *là]* *kànè-∅* *dé* *díndì,*
[InanSg.O also] be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj **if** all,
mà:njì-yé-ý *mé,*
do.one's.best-MP.Pfv **if**,
[nă: *í* *b-ɔ̃:* *kó]* *dân,*
[yesterday 1PlSbj be-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] like,
kènέ *bă-ỳ* *wá*
like.that remain-Hort.PlAddr Quot
'If that has happened, (and) if we have done our best (to get by), like (the way) we were in the past, let's remain like that.' (2005-1a)

16.1.4 Temporal functions of *mɛ́*

mɛ́ may follow an inflected present verb or progressive construction, or their negative counterparts. The general time references (e.g. past, future) of the temporal and main clauses coincide.

(617) a. *[mí bírɔ́: bírà-njò-m mɛ́]* *gó-nù-m*
[1Sg work(n) work(v)-Pres-1SgSbj **while**] go.out-FutNeg-1SgSbj
'When I am working, I won't (=don't) go out.'

b. *[bírɔ́: bírà-njò-nú-m mɛ́]* *gwé* *jà-mbò-m*
[work(n) work(v)-Prog-Neg-1SgSbj **while**] go.out can-Fut-1SgSbj
'When I am not working, I can go out.'

mɛ́ may occur with perfective clauses, indicating chronological sequence. In the same-subject sequences in (618a-c), *mɛ́* after conjugated perfective competes with unconjugated same-subject nonpast sequential subordinator *nɛ̀* 'then' (§15.1.5).

(618) a. *[mùlɛ́-y mɛ́]* *ìnò-mbó-ỳ*
[get.together.Pfv-1Pl **and.SS**] go-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will assemble and go.'

b. *[mùl-à: mɛ́]* *ìnǒ-mb-à*
[get.together.Pfv-3PlSbj **and.SS**] go-Fut-3PlSbj
'They will assemble and go.'

c. *[mùl-ɛ́: mɛ́]* *ìnò-mb-ê:*
[get.together-2PlSbj **and.SS**] go-Fut-2PlSbj
'You-Pl will assemble and go.'

16.1.5 Inflected *gìnɛ́* 'say' plus conditional *mɛ́* 'if/when …'

mɛ́ combines with with an inflected form (often 3Sg) of *gìnɛ̀-* 'say-Perfective'. This clause converts a preceding main clause into a kind of temporal adverbial clause. In (619), for example, what translates literally as 'if/when he has said' is tacked onto what is already an explicit temporal clause (with {L}-toned 'day' as head of a relative). As in this case, 'say' does not report to a specific speech event. Rather, it expresses a situation that may have been understood without speech.

(619) *[[èndè*^{L} *kɔ́njê ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m mó] gì]*
[[child^{L} newborn bawling Def.AnSg] Acc]
ó jò-ŋgà ké,
2SgSbj have-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E,
dèŋàn^{L} *[ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è:*
day^{L} [2Sg Dat] AnSgSbj bad-Inch.Pfv-PplNonSbj.AnSg
gìnè-∅ mé, tílày, [mó gì] dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:
say.Pfv-3SgSbj if, necessary, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgSbj
'When you have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (= obey) him.' (2005-2a)

16.2 Alternative 'if' particles

16.2.1 Particle *tán* '(if) only' at end of antecedent

The particle *tán* 'only', from Fulfulde, is largely limited to conditional antecedent clauses in Najamba. as in several other Dogon and Songhay languages of the zone. In (620a), *tán* follows a regular 'if' particle, as it often does in the texts. When the regular 'if' particle is absent, as in (620b), in effect *tán* functions as a replacement for it.

(620) a. *jěnjà ùsfɔ̃: [dòmbâ-n gì] ǹdá:-l-∅ mé tán↗,*
God path [fellow Acc] give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj **if** **if.only**,
dòm^{L} *kó kày,*
speech^{L} NearDist.InanSg.O Top,
[kèŋ^{L} *ké kày] [í sémbé jògò-ndí ní]*
[place NearDist.InanSg.E Top] [this power have-StatNeg-3SgSbj Emph]
'If God hasn't given the path to the fellow, those words, as for the place (= situation), in this (situation) this (fellow) has no power.' (2005-1a)

b. *gɔ́lè: kày, [kên tùn-ó: mé gà dîn]*
farming(n) Top, [there.Def put.Pfv-2SgSbj if Top all]
[ó gày] í tùn j-ò: tán,
[2Sg Top] DiscDef put Perfect-2SgSbj **if.only**,
[ké ^{L}*yàl ké gày] tíŋgá-m̀ [ó mà]*
[Near.InanSg.E ^{L}year Def.InanSg.E Top] pass-Fut.3SgSbj [2Sg Dat]
'As for farming, if you put (= start) farming there, as for you, if you have just put it, that year will happen for you. (2015-1a)

16.2.2 Universal quantifier *dĭn* ~ *díndì* with or without an 'if' particle

Universal quantifier *dĭn* ~ *díndì* 'all' may occur at the end of a conditional antecedent, after *mé* or *dé*, as a kind of right-edge marker, as in (621b) below, see also (616) and (666d). It is especially important in willy-nilly conditionals, see §16.3 below. When the usual *dé* or *mé*

'if' particle is omitted in a hypothetical antecedent, the quantifier can arguably function metonymically as a substitute for the 'if' particle, as in (621a).

(621) a. *[ó gì] nɔ̀gɛ̀-∅ díndì, nálá: dînɔ̂:-l-ó:*
[2Sg Acc] bother.Pfv-3SgSbj **all**, good.InanSg find-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
'If it bothered you-Sg, you didn't find anything good.' (2005-1a)

b. *[ó sɔ̀ŋgɛ̀-∅ mɛ́ dîn] ó dɔ̌:-m̀*
[2Sg curse.Pfv-3SgSbj **if** **all**] 2Sg arrive-Fut.3SgSbj
'If he has cursed you, it will reach (you).' (2005-2a)

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents ('whether X or Y …')

In this construction, the universal quantifier *dîn* 'all' follows a pair of truth-conditionally incompatible clauses (one the negation of the other), to form a complex conditional antecedent translatable 'whether or not …'. In (622a) one would expect the first disjunct ('he/she comes') to be 3Sg present *wó-njò-∅*, but instead it is an abbreviated form *w-ô:* identical to the corresponding nonsubject perfective participle, see (521a) in §14.3.1. The second disjunct ('he/she doesn't come') is a regular 3Sg present negative, not a participle. This is evidently a dedicated willy-nilly construction, perhaps limited to 'come', cf. English *come what may* and variants. When both disjuncts have regular main-clause form, interrogative particle *ma→* (§13.2.1.2) may be added at the end of both clauses (622b).

(622) a. *[w-ô: wò-ndí-∅ dîn] kwà-mbó-ỳ*
[come-Pfv.PplNonSbj come-PresNeg-3SgSbj **all**] eat-Fut-1PlSbj
'Whether he/she comes or doesn't come, we will eat.'

b. *[yɛ̌: mó] [kàndá gwè-∅ mà→]*
[woman Def.AnSg] [seclusion go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj **Q**]
[gɔ̌-l má→] dîn [yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅ mɛ́] pɔ́s!
[go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj **Q**] **all** [run.Pfv-3SgSbj if] poof!
'whether the woman (= new bride) has emerged from seclusion (after the marriage) or hasn't emerged, if she runs away, (it's) poof!' (2005-1a)

A textual example is (797) in the sample text ('whether it pleases or doesn't please someone').

16.4 Counterfactual conditional

In a counterfactual, both antecedent and consequent clauses are shifted into a past time framework. The 'if' particle *mɛ́* occurs at the end of the antecedent. Both verbs have the conjugated **past** enclitic *=bɛ̀-*. A positive antecedent is past perfect, i.e. chaining stem plus conjugated *=bɛ̀-*, when denoting a bounded event (623c-d), otherwise past imperfective, i.e. *-m̀-* variant of present stem plus conjugated *=bɛ̀-* (623a). A negative antecedent is usually

past perfect negative, i.e. conjugated perfective negative plus *=bɛ̀-* (623b,e). The consequent is past imperfective.

(623) a. *[[dágɛ̀ [ɔ́ yɛ̀] yɛ́] jɛ́=b-ɔ̀:* *mɛ́]*
[[medication.Pl [2SgPoss Psm.InanPl] Def.InanPl] take=**Past**-2SgSbj if]
sá:mí-yà-m=bà-l-ó:
get.sick-MP-Pres=**Past**-Neg-2SgSbj
'If you-Sg had been taking your medications, you wouldn't have gotten sick.'

b. *[[dágɛ̀ [ɔ́ yɛ̀] yɛ́]*
[[medication.Pl [2SgPoss Psm.InanPl] Def.InanPl]
jà-l-ó:=b-ɔ̀: *mɛ́]* *tíbà-m=b-ɔ̌:*
take-PfvNeg-2SgSbj=**Past**-2SgSbj if die-Pres=**Past**-2SgSbj
'If you-Sg had not taken your medications, you-Sg would have died.'

c. *ŋ̀gú* *kwɛ́=b-ɔ̀:* *mɛ́,* *tíbà-m=b-ɔ̌:*
Prox.InanSg.O eat=**Past**-2SgSbj if, die-Pres=**Past**-2SgSbj
'If you-Sg had eaten this, you would have died.'

d. *tár=bɛ̀-mɨ́* *mɛ́,* *déŋà-m=bà-lú-m*
look=**Past**-1SgSbj if, fall-Pres=**Past**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'If I had looked, I wouldn't have fallen.'

e. *[kìnû: kó]* *yà:-lú-m=bɛ̀-mɨ́* *mɛ́,*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] see-PfvNeg-1SgSbj=**Past**-1SgSbj if,
déŋà-m=bɛ̀-mɨ́
fall-Pres=**Past**-1SgSbj
'If I hadn't seen the stone, I would have fallen.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 'Say that …' with inflectable 'say' verb (*gìnɛ́*)

The verb *gìnɛ́* 'say' can take NP as well as quotative complements. It has a full range of AN categories.

(624) a. *yèŋgé* *gìn-ɔ̀:*
what? **say**.Pfv-2SgSbj
'What did you-Sg say?'

b. *[à:lé* *kɛ́n-dɛ̀* *tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅]* *gìnă-l-∅*
[rain(n) there-Approx rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj] **say**-Pfv.Neg-3SgSbj
'He/She did not say that it (had) rained around there.'

17.1.2 Quotative enclitic *wa*

Clause-final uninflectable quotative particle *wa*, glossed "Quot" in interlinears, indicates that the preceding material is a quotation. It functions like a 'hearsay' evidential. In many contexts (where the relevant speaker is understood from prior context) it obviates the need for an explicit, pronominally inflected quotative verb 'say' (stem *gìnɛ́*). However, the particle *wa* may co-occur with *gìnɛ́* or other verbs of speaking.

wa is lexically atonal, acquiring its phonological tone by spreading from the final tone of the preceding word. However, since it occurs in clause-final position, it is subject to intonational modifications depending on discourse context.

(625) a. *à:lé* *[[mó* *^{L}sɔ̀njɔ̀:]* *mà]* *tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅* *wà↗*
rain(n) [[3SgPoss ^{L}village] in] rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj **Quot**
'He said that it rained in his village.'

b. *kóndé→* *wá* *gíná*
all.right **Quot** say.Imprt
'Say: "all right!".' (2005-1a)

In an extended quotation, *wa* may be repeated after each quoted sentence. Presentential elements (topical NP, vocative, independent 'yes!' or 'no!' interjection, etc.) are also followed by their own *wa*, as in (626).

(626) *[ɔ́:* *wá]* *[hákkìlè* *dŭndà-nj-ò:* *wà]*
[yes! **Quot**] [idea look.for-Pres-2SgSbj **Quot**]
'(you) say: yes, you are seeking an idea (= deliberating)' (2005-1a)

For lengthened quotative-subject (QuotSbj) *wa→* after subject pronominals in quoted imperatives and hortatives, see §17.1.4 below.

17.1.3 Unframed quotations

Najamba discourse abounds in phrases taken from quotations, not overtly marked as such (by quotative *wa* or other subordinators), that function as NPs. In (627), 'you don't work' functions as subject of 'come'.

(627) *[ó* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-nd-ó:]* *wè-∅* *mɛ́* *díndì*
[2SgSbj work(n) work(v)-PresNeg-2SgSbj] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if all
'Suppose that it (= accusation) has come that "you-Sg don't work (in the fields)".' (2005-1a)

17.1.4 Jussive complements

"Jussive" includes quoted imperatives and hortatives.

17.1.4.1 Quoted imperative

In the quoted imperative, the original addressee (i.e. the subject of the imperative clause) appears with a following quotative subject particle *wa→*. Most textual examples involve subject pronouns, which are updated to conform to the participant structure of the current speech event. The verb is in imperative form (628a,c), as in the original. If the original addressee was plural, the plural-addressee suffix is optionally added (628b,d). Usually no confusion arises from its optional omission, since the (singular or plural) subject is regularly overt in clause-initial position.

(628) a. *[mí* *wá→]* *wó* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg **QuotSbj**] come.Imprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told me to come.'

b. *[é* *wá→]* *wó(-m̀)* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[2Pl **QuotSbj**] come.Imprt(-PlAddr) say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told you-Pl to come.'

c. *[mí* *wá→]* *wó-là* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg **QuotSbj**] come-Proh say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told me not to come.'

d. *[é* *wá→]* *wó-là(-m̀)* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[2Pl **QuotSbj**] come-Proh(-PlAddr) say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told you-Pl not to come.'

e. *[mí* *wá→]* *[ǹjùlû:* *kó]* *jô:* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg **QuotSbj**] [broom Def.InanSg.O] bring.Imprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told me to bring the broom.'

The subject may be a nonpronominal NP (629). In this case the prolongation of *wa* is sometimes but not always heard.

(629) *[gǐrbà* *wà→]* *nǒ:* *térí-yá,* *ínò-ndí-∅*
[blind.person **QuotSbj**] person lead.by.arm-MP.Imprt, go-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'If (one asks) a blind man to lead someone (by the arm), he doesn't go.' (2005-1a)

17.1.4.2 Quoted hortative

A quoted hortative is treated like a quoted imperative, in that the quotative-subject pronominal denotes the original addressee. The verb takes regular hortative form, for singular addressee (630a) or plural addressee (630b) as the case may be.

(630) a. *[mí* *wá→]* *ìnò-ý* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg QuotSbj] go-**Hort**.SgAddr say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She said to me, let's-2Sg go!'

b. *[í* *wá→]* *ìnó-ỳ* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
[1Pl QuotSbj] go-**Hort**.PlAddr say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She said to us, let's-2Pl go!'

17.2 Volition-verb complements

17.2.1 'Want' and 'need'

17.2.1.1 *kíy* 'want', *kélà-* 'not want/dislike' with *nɛ̀* or nonsubject relative

The positive 'want' verb is *kíy*. In the positive, it occurs most often in the stative form *kíyò*, though it does have other forms (e.g. perfective *kìyɛ̀*). In the negative, it is suppleted by *kélà-*. The subordinator *nɛ̀* 'then', occurs at the end of a same-subject complement clause.

(631) a. *[[móttì* *mà]* *ín* *nɛ̀]* *kíyó-m̀*
[[Mopti to] go **then.SS**] **want**.Stat-1SgSbj
'I want to go to Mopti.'

b. *[mànà-níŋgé kwɛ́ nɛ̀]* *kíy-è:*
[millet.cakes eat **then.SS**] **want**.Stat-3PlSbj
'They want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).'

c. *[mànà-níŋgé kwɛ́ nɛ̀]* *kɛ́l-è:*
[millet.cakes eat **then.SS**] **not.want**-3PlSbj
'They do not want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).'

In other contexts, subordinator *nɛ̀* is sequential. To harmonize this with examples like (631a-c) in this fashion, it would be necessary to re-gloss *kíy* as 'like' and construe e.g. (631a) as 'I will go to Mopti and like (it).'

The positive and negative stative paradigms are in (632). Since the stative negative stem ends in *a*, 2Pl and 3Pl are homophonous in the negative only.

(632)

category	'want'	'not want'
1Sg	*kíyò-m*	*kélà:-m*
2Sg	*kíyò-w*	*kélà:-w*
3Sg	*kíyò-∅*	*kélà-∅*
1Pl	*kíyò-y*	*kélà:-y*
2Pl	*kíy-è:*	*kɛ́l-è:*
3Pl	*kíy-è:*	*kɛ́l-è:*

'Not want' also has some non-stative inflected forms based on *kélí-yɛ́*, which includes mediopassive *-yɛ́*, see (728) in the sample text. This form is translatable as 'dislike, detest, hate', and can itself be negativized as in present negative *kélí-yà-ndí-* 'does not hate', see (716) in the sample text. That *kélà-* is alo in the process of becoming lexicalized as a distinct verb, rather than as merely a negation of 'want', is supported by the fact that past-time 'did not want' can be expressed either by a negation of 'want' or by adding the past enclitic directly to *kélà-* (§10.3.1.2). There is also a nominalization *kèlă-n* 'hatred', (126b) in §4.2.3.3, and a variant *kèlɛ̆-n* appears to be part of *kèlè-n=lá* 'it's not (out of) hatred' (text 2015-2a).

When the complement clause has a different subject, the complement takes the form of a headless nonsubject **relative** clause (which can function like a *that* complement in English). A pronominal subject in the complement is then expressed as a preverbal pronominal proclitic. The verb of a positive complement is a future participle with *-ŋ́gà* (633a). It is possible to elicit negative complements, though as in English the normal way to express 'I want them not to come' is 'I don't want them to come,' with the overt negation on the higher 'want' verb (633b). When the complement itself is negated, its verb appears as a future negative participle with *-ńdì-* (633c).

(633) a. *[pɛ̀gɛ́ bé sèmă-ŋgà]* *kíyò-m*
[sheep 3PlSbj slaughter-Fut.PplNonSbj] want-1SgSbj
'I want them to slaughter the sheep-Sg.'

b. *[pɛ̀gɛ́ bé sèmă-ŋgà]* *kélà:-m*
[sheep 3PlSbj slaughter-PplNonSbj] **not**.want-1SgSbj
'I don't want them to slaughter the sheep-Sg.'

c. *[pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó bé sèmă-nd-ò:]* *kíyò-m*
[sheep-Pl 3PlSbj slaughter-**FutNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] want-1SgSbj
'I want them to not slaughter any sheep-Pl.'

17.2.1.2 *nàmí-yɛ́* 'need'

For 'X need Y', the verb is *nàmí-yɛ́*, with locative PP complement. It has a stative form *nàmà*, as in *[ó mà] námà-m* 'I need you-Sg'. I have no examples with clausal complements.

17.3 Factive complements

A regular main clause can be converted into a nonsubject relative that functions as a factive NP ('the fact that …', §17.3.1). Either such a **headless nonsubject relative**, or a regular **main clause**, may also function as the factive complement of a higher verb such as 'know' or 'see'.

17.3.1 'The fact that …' (headless nonsubject relative)

A proposition (denoting a fact or situation) may function as an NP in a higher clause. In this case it takes headless nonsubject relative-clause form, with implied head NP ('fact', 'situation', or similar). It is inanimate O-class for agreement purpose. It normally ends in definite determiner *kó*, and may be resumed in a following clause by *kó*. For example, (634a) alludes to a situation that had previously been stated as a normal main clause (not shown). The speaker then asks why this situation has come about, repeating the proposition in factive-clause form. (634b) begins with a similar factive clause functioning as topic, which is resumed in the following main clause.

(634) a. *[[yè dîn] mà] [[í gì]*
[[InanPl all] in] [1Pl Acc]
mó dɔ̀:-l-ò: kó], …
3SgSbj reach-PfvNeg-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.O **Def.InanSg.O**], …
'The fact that it didn't do us much good in all those (fields), … (how did it happen?)' (2005-1a)

b. *[í èɲd-à: kó]*
[1PlSbj not.know-**PplNonSbj**.InanSg.O **Def.InanSg.O**
[[yèŋgé yà:] kó kàn j-è:]
[[what Foc] **InanSg.O** make Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc]
'The fact that we do not know, what made (= caused) that?' (2005-1a)

17.3.2 ‘Know that …’ with main-clause or dubitative relative complement

The ‘know’ verbs are positive *tígà:-* and suppletive negative *éndà:-* (§11.2.4). They follow a normal main-clause with no overt subordinator, but third-person perfectives are L-toned, as they are before some other elements (‘if’ and quotative particles).

(635) a. *ìnè-∅* *tígà:-m*
go.Pfv-3PlSbj **know**-1SgSbj
‘I know that he/she has gone.’

b. *[[kôŋ* *kámà]* *jògò-nú-m]* *tígà-∅*
[[thing any] have-PresNeg-1SgSbj] **know**-3SgSbj
‘He/She knows that I don’t have anything.’

‘Know’ and especially ‘not know’ may also take dubitative complements with disjunctive *ma→* ‘whether?’ after a relative clause. See (500a-b) in §13.2.5.

17.3.3 ‘See/find that …’ with main-clause or nonsubject relative complement

The ‘see’, ‘find (by chance)’, or ‘hear’ verb follows either an unchanged main clause (636a-b) or an O-class nonsubject participle (636c). In the first case, addition of e.g. ‘I saw’ could be an afterthought or parenthesis. In either case the sense is ‘X see/find that [P]’ where P is a proposition denoting an already existing situation. (636c) might alternatively be parsed as a headless object relative “I saw what you-Sg sowed.”

(636) a. *[[nò-mbó* *bé]* *gîy* *gĭy* *j-à:]*
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] harvest(n) harvest finish.Pfv-3PlSbj]
yè-m
see.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I saw that the people had finished harvesting.’

b. *[[bírɔ́:* *dîn]* *òndí-∅]* *dînê:-m*
[[work(n) all] not.be-3SgSbj] **find**.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I found that there was no work (there).’

c. *[ó* *t-ɔ̂:* *kó]* *yè-ḿ*
[2SgSbj sow.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] **see**.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I saw that you-Sg had sown (= planted).’

In the sense ‘see [NP VP-ing]’, where the perception and the perceived event are simultaneous, the different-subject subordinator *-n* is used (§15.1.6.3).

17.3.3.1 Hearsay

A proposition learned by hearsay is expressed using the verb 'hear' and an embedded quotation with overt 'say' verb in different-subject subordinated form (§15.1.6.3).

(637) *[[[ó wá→] [bàmàkó mà] ìnè] bé gìnà-n]*
[[[2Sg QuotSbj] [B in] go.Pfv] 3PlSbj **say**-DS]
ŋwá-njò-m
hear-Pres-1SgSbj
'I hear them say that you-Sg went to Bamako.'

17.3.4 Complement of *kán* 'do, be done'

The verb *kán* is transitive 'do, make' or intransitive 'be done, be made, happen' (§11.2.6.2) in simple main clauses. 3Sg perfective *kànè-∅* 'it was (or: has been) done' often resumes a preceding passage, especially in the conditional antecedent clause *kànè-∅ mɛ́* (or *kànè-∅ mɛ́ díndì*), literally 'if it has been done', which often serves as a link between paragraph-like units of discourse (cf. English *After that*, …).

kán is part of many collocations, since it can make a non-verb (or a morphologically inert borrowing) into a transitive or intransitive verb. In some cases the other element occurs chiefly or solely in this collocation. A representative list is (396c) in §11.1.3.1. *kán* may also combine with manner adverbs, as in *ɲɛ̀nɛ́ kán* 'do like this'.

In (638), *kànè-∅* follows an 'it is' predication. *kànè-∅* appears to add nothing to the basic meaning. The nuance may be something like 'it happens to have been a waste'.

(638) *[bírɔ́: kó] bìrɛ̀-ý↗,*
[work(n) Def.InanSg.O] work.Pfv-1PlSbj,
ɲàmô:=ỳ kànè-∅
waste=it.is be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj
'We have done the work, (but) it has been a waste.' (2005-1a)

An unusual property of *kán* is that it may occur, in morphologically positive form (any tense-aspect), in combination with a preceding unconjugated **perfective negative** stem (suffix *-l*). The pronominal subject category is expressed by a suffix on *kán*, not on the preceding negative verb. The free translation is negative, but there is usually some modal qualification ('perhaps', 'it may be'). The construction is common in conditional antecedents where such modal qualification is automatic (639a). This combination is also useful in allowing a subject switch in the following clause, without a major "paragraph" break. The syntactic structure, however, is similar to English *X happen [not to VP]*.

(639) a. *[[jáŋgí-lé yàgí jòg-â: ké] mà]*
[[begin-VblN be.right Perfect-PplSbj Def.InanSg.E] in]
[jàŋgí dùmá-l kàné-y mɛ́]
[begin get-**PfvNeg** **do**.Pfv-1PlSbj if]
'if we can't manage to begin (at the place) where one should begin' (2005-1a)

b. *[tò-mbó* *mà]* *[ă:r-ŋgó* *má]* *b-è:* *mé,*
[Recip-Pl with] [understanding in] be-2PlSbj if,
áyá-l *kànà-mb-è:*
be.weary-**PfvNeg** **do**-Fut-2PlSbj
'if you-Pl are in a state of mutual understanding, you-Pl will not suffer.' (2005-1a)

c. *[kên* *ìnò-njò-m* *gìn-ó:* *mɛ́]*
[there.Def go-Pres-LogoSbj say.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[kên *là]* *mó* *dìnɔ̂:-l* *kànà-mb-ò:*
[[there.Def also] 3SgObj encounter-**PfvNeg** **do**-Fut-2SgSbj
'If you-Sg say (intend) that you go there following him, you will perhaps not find him there.' (2005-1a)

17.3.5 Factive complement with *táffɔ̀rɔ̀* or *tìlây* 'certain, necessary'

táffɔ̀rɔ̀ (*ƒ* = preglottalized *y* or alveopalatal stop) 'it is certain', pronounced as in Fulfulde, may precede an imperfective clause (for a probable future event) or a perfective clause (inferring a past event).

(640) a. *táffɔ̀rɔ̀* *éŋgú* *à:lé* *tègá-m̀*
certainly tomorrow rain(n) rain.fall-Fut.3SgSbj
'It will certainly (definitely) rain tomorrow.'

b. *táffɔ̀rɔ̀* *ɲă:* *ŋ̀gîn* *à:lé* *tègɛ̀-∅*
certainly yesterday here rain(n) fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It must have rained here yesterday.'

tìlây, another regionally widespread word also found in Fulfulde, has similar functions (641).

(641) *tìlây* *à:lé* *tègá-m̀*
necessarily rain(n) rain.fall-Fut.3SgSbj
'It will definitely (necessarily) rain.'

táffɔ̀rɔ̀ and *tìlây* resemble English epistemic adverbs, but I take them to be complement-taking higher-level predicates ('[it is] certain that …') in Najamba, where they are preposed to, rather than medial in, indicative clauses.

17.4 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

Nominalized verbs, often in phrases including complements and/or adjuncts, serve as complements to several higher verbs. The usual nominalization is the verbal noun with suffix *-lé* and {H} tone overlay (§4.2.3.1), but other nominals with verbal sense may also occur. The higher verbs may require a same-subject complement (verbal-noun phrase without

an overt subject), but 'prevent' requires a different-subject complement including overt expression of the lower subject. *yàgí* 'be right' is a predicate taking the verbal-noun phrase as subject.

17.4.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase

The verbal noun may be preceded by an {L}-toned nominal **compound** initial denoting the logical object (§5.1.2).

(642) a. *ìbì*^{L}*-[págí-lé]*
mouth^{L}-[tie-VblN]
'fasting' (*ìbí*)

b. *kàlà*^{L}*-[kál-lé]*
price^{L}-[haggle-VblN]
'haggling over prices' (*kàlǎ:*)

A noun denoting the logical subject may also serve as the compound initial (cf. English *sunset*), if subject and verb constitute a conventionalized collocation (§11.1.2) and if there is no other compound initial.

(643) *ùjùŋgò*^{L}*-[túmbí-lé]*
sun^{L}-[(sun)rise-VblN]
'sunrise, dawn' (*ùjúŋgó*)

An {L}-toned compound initial representing the object may be pluralized (644a). However, if the object is a more complex NP, it may not appear as a simple compound initial. Instead, such a complex NP must take the form of possessor, retaining its own usual tones and controlling tone-dropping on the verbal noun (644b). This is the case when the object contains a numeral, a determiner, or a possessor, or if it is a conjunction of two NPs.

(644) a. *pègè*^{L}*-[sémí-lé]* 'slaughtering a sheep'
[pègè-mbò]^{L}*-[sémí-lé]* 'slaughtering sheep-Pl'

b. *[pègè-mbó nô:y]* ^{L}*sèmì-lè* 'slaughtering two sheep'
[pègè-mbó èbíyè] ^{L}*sèmì-lè* 'slaughtering these sheep'
[mí pègè] ^{L}*sèmì-lè* 'slaughtering my sheep'
[pègé má→] [ínè mà:] ^{L}*sèmì-lè* 'slaughtering a sheep and a goat'

17.4.2 'Prevent' (*gámdé*) plus verbal noun

This verb takes NP (645a) and verbal-noun (645b) complements. The person who is prevented is expressed as an object (with optional accusative postposition *gì*) of the main verb; this may precede or follow the verbal-noun complement.

(645) a. *bírɔ́:* *[mí* *gì]* *gàmdè-∅*
work(n) [1Sg Acc] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She prevented me from work(ing).'

b. *[mí* *gì]* *[[móttì* *mà]* *iń-lé]* *gàmdè-∅*
[1Sg Acc] [Mopti to] go-**VblN**] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She prevented me from going to Mopti.'
(alternative ordering: *[[móttì mà] iń-lé] [mí gì] gàmdè-∅*)

gámdé is unusual in form, tonally and in its medial cluster. It may be related to *gǎŋ\\gàŋè* 'block off (a passage)'. These forms belong to a historically complex set extending from Dogon into Songhay.

17.4.3 'Consent' (*àbí*) plus verbal noun or nonsubject relative

The verb *àbí* 'receive, take (sth given)' is used with a same-subject verbal-noun complement in the sense 'consent, agree (to do sth)'.

(646) *wí-lé* *àbè-∅*
come-**VblN** consent.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She agreed to come.'

With different subjects, the complement is a future nonsubject relative.

(647) *[mí* *twě* *tɔ̌-ŋgà]* *àbè-∅*
[1Sg sowing slash.to.sow-**Fut.**PplNonSbj] consent.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He consented that I sow the seeds.'

17.4.4 'Cease' (*dɔ̀gɛ́*) plus verbal noun

dɔ̀gɛ́ 'leave, abandon' is common as a simple transitive with NP object. It can take a verbal-noun complement in the sense 'cease (doing sth)', especially in the context of abandoning a formerly practiced activity.

(648) *[[gìyâ:* *b-ɛ̂:* *kó]* *gíy-lé]* *dòg-à:*
[[dance(n) 3PlPoss-Psm.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] dance-**VblN**] leave.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They have left off (= they no longer perform) their dance.'
[*b-ɛ̂:* < *bɛ́ gɔ̀* 'their possession', §6.2.2]

17.4.5 'Forget (to …)' (*ìrɛ́*) plus verbal noun or 'whether' disjunction

A same-subject complement in the sense 'forget to VP' is expressed as a verbal-noun phrase.

(649) *[[ébám* *má]* *ín-lé]* *ìrɛ̀-ḿ*
[[market to] go-**VblN**] **forget**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I forgot to go to the market.'

An example of 'forget' with a factive complement ('forget that …'), phrased as a 'whether' disjunction (§7.2.2), is (650).

(650) *[íyó* *[bìtígì* *yè]* *níŋgɛ́=b-à:=ỳ* *mâ→]* *ìrɛ̀-ḿ*
[today [shop Def.InanPl] shut=**Past-Pass=it.is** whether?] forget.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I forgot that the shops were (=are) closed today.'

17.4.6 'Begin' (*jàŋgí*) plus verbal noun

This verb takes an NP object (651a) or a same-subject verbal-noun complement (651b).

(651) a. *[íŋgé* *ní-lé]* *jàŋg-à:*
[water drink-**VblN**] begin.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They began to drink the water.'

b. *mómbí-y-lé* *jàŋg-à:* *mɛ́*
gather-MP-**VblN** begin.Pfv-3PlSbj if
'(when) they have begun to assemble' (2005-1a)

17.4.7 'Be afraid to' (*íbí-yɛ́*) plus verbal noun or 'whether' disjunction

íbí-yɛ́ 'fear, be afraid of', which contains mediopassive *-yɛ́*, may take NP objects. It takes verbal-noun form when the subjects are coindexed ('be afraid to VP'). In this case, the experiencer fears the consequences of his/her potential action.

(652) *[ŋ̀gîn* *wí-lé]* *ìbì-yɛ̀-∅*
[here come-**VblN**] fear-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She is afraid to come here.'

A different-subject complement, expressing fear of a future eventuality, has the form of an 'whether' disjunction (§7.2.2), i.e. literally "I am afraid whether …" (Compare archaic English *lest*.)

(653) *[mí* *kérà-mb-ò:* *mâ→]* *ìbì-yè-ḿ*
[1SgObj bite-Fut-2SgSbj **whether?**] fear-MP-1SgSbj
'I'm afraid that you-Sg will/might bite me.'

17.4.8 Weak obligational 'ought to' (*há:nè ~ há:nà*, *há:né*) plus verbal noun

This Fulfulde borrowing can take either of two forms with different morphosyntax. The first is a noun *há:nè ~ há:nà*, in collocation with *kán* 'do'. In the positive this is normally inflected with perfect auxiliary verb *jò-* (654a). The usual negation is with the perfective negative of *kán* (654b). The complement is expressed with a verbal noun *-lé* or a similar nominalization such as *-ndá:* . I parse (654a-b) with 'an elder' and 'a child' as subjects of *há:nà kán*, and with the verbal noun as a complement of the latter.

(654) a. *[nò:*^{L} *kúlmá yà:] dám-lé há:nà kán j-è:*
[person^{L} elder Foc] speak-**VblN** **ought** do Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc
'An elder [focus] ought to speak (it).' (2005-1a)

b. *èndê: dám-lé há:nà káná-l-∅*
child speak-**VblN** **ought** do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'A child ought not to speak.'

A set of alternative constructions based on the same Fulfulde word-family has a directly inflectable verb *há:né*. There are several ways to construct the sentence. In (655a) *há:né* takes perfect auxiliary *jò-*, in (655b) it takes the same-subject 'and' chaining morpheme *nè* and is followed by a future form of *bé-* 'remain' (§11.2.6.1), and in (655c) it occurs in the past perfect construction with past enclitic *=bè-*. The complement has either a verbal noun (655b-c) or the same-subject sequential subordinator *nè* (655a).

(655) a. *[yè:*^{L} *năl jòg-â: mó]*
[woman^{L} give.birth Perfect-PplSbj Def.AnSg]
[nàmâ: kúbí nè] há:né jò-∅
[meat eat.meat **then.SS**] **ought** Perfect-3SgSbj
'The woman who has (just) given birth ought to eat meat.'

b. *mí [jàŋgà*^{L}*-[kán-lé] há:né nè] bà-mbò-m*
1SgSbj [studying^{L}-[do-**VblN**] **ought** then.SS] remain-Fut-1SgSbj
'I ought to study (= go to school).'

c. *gíndí-lé há:né=bè-∅, gìndá-l-∅*
become.big-**VblN** **ought**=Past-3SgSbj, become-big-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'It was supposed to grow (= get bigger), (but) it hasn't grown.'

See textual example (539b) in §14.3.8 for nonsubject relative *há:né jòg-â:* .

17.4.9 'Be right (proper, acceptable)' (*yàgí*)

yàgí occurs in the locution *yàgí jòg-â:* '(be) what is right' (§8.4.4.2), which classifies a behavior pattern or action as following socially acceptable norms ('it was the right thing to do').

yàgí may have a verbal-noun "complement" that I take to be the subject. The verbal noun precedes *yàgí jòg-â:*, which is a nonsubject relative with covert E-class head, as shown by the following E-class definite *ké*. The larger NP is often the complement of all-purpose postposition *mà*.

(656) *[[jáŋgí-lé* *yàgí* *jòg-â:* *ké]* *mà]*
[[begin-**VblN** **be.right** Perfect-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E] in]
'(at the place) where one should begin' (2005-1a)

17.5 Direct chain as complement

Direct chains are compound-like sequences of (usually just two) verbs, of which only the final is inflected. The nonfinal verb appears in its chaining form, unsuffixed E-stem or I-stem depending on the verb. Direct chains are described in detail in §15.1.1-2.

The following sections describe constructions in which a specialized verb, similar semantically to an English control verb, is expressed as the final verb in a direct chain. Complements and adjuncts are those associated with the nonfinal verb.

17.5.1 'Finish' (*jɛ́-*) in direct chain

The verb *jɛ́-* 'finish' (also a transitive verb 'take') follows a VP ending in a chaining form. It is ordinarily perfective in the sense 'finish', but non-perfective categories are also possible (e.g. 'I will finish eating'), as are imperatives and hortatives. Examples of the 'finish' construction are in (657).

(657) a. *mànâ:* *kwɛ́* *j-ɔ̌:* *ló*
meal eat **finish**.Pfv-2SgSbj Q
'Have you finished eaten?'

b. *kwɛ́* *jà-lú-m*
eat **finish**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I haven't finished eating.'

The positive and negative perfective paradigms are in (658).

(658)

category	perfective	perfective negative
1Sg	*jɛ̀-ḿ*	*jà-lú-m*
1Pl	*jɛ̀-ý*	*jà-lí-ỳ*
2Sg	*j-ɔ̌:*	*jà-l-ó:*
2Pl	*j-ɛ̌:*	*jà-l-é:*
3Sg	*jɛ̀-∅*	*jă-l*
3Pl	*j-à:*	*jà:-ndí*

The forms, such as perfective negative, that are based on the A/O-stem are homophonous with those of *já-* 'can, be able to'. In practice this is not much of a problem since the 'can' verb occurs predominantly in the future inflection (§17.5.3.1 below).

The Najamba 'finish VP-ing' construction is cognate to a somewhat more highly grammaticalized "recent perfect" ('have just VPed' or completive 'have finished VPing') in some eastern Dogon languages such as Jamsay, where the cognate of *jɛ́-* is farther along in becoming an inflectional suffix.

17.5.1.1 *jɛ́-mbò* 'after having …'

jɛ́-mbò is the same-subject subordinated form of *jɛ́-* 'finish', with *-mbò* 'and (then)' (§15.1.3). It shows the same direct-chain structure just described above. One may translate freely as 'after having (finished) …' or 'when … had (finished)'.

(659) a. *[kwɛ́ jɛ́-mbò] ínè-∅*
[eat **finish**-and.SS] go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'When he had finished eating, he went.'

b. *[kwɛ́ jɛ́-mbò] ínè-y*
[eat **finish**-and.SS] go.Pfv-1PlSbj
'When we had finished eating, we went.'

jɛ́-mbò is also featured in the following section.

17.5.1.2 'From X to Y' with *jă:* and *hâl* plus *jɛ́-mbò* or *j-ô:*

The clause- or phrase-initial morphemes *jă:* 'since, starting from' and *hăl* 'until, all the way to' occur at the beginning of their respective clauses or phrases, in a parallelistic construction. The verb *jɛ́* 'take' occurs at the end of the 'from X' expression. Literally the first part is 'took (=picked up) from X'. Compare the temporal use of English *picking up (at ...)*, and French *reprendre*, though these English and French parallels have a more complex temporal structure involving a restart.

In (660a) the verb 'take' has the 'and (then)' subordinator *-mbò*, and the clause begins with *jă:* 'since'. (660b) shows a nonsubject relative clause with participial *j-ô:* .

(660) a. *[jă: [séwà:rè mà] jɛ́-mbò] [hâl [móttì mà]] [íŋgà-mbò ìn-ò:]*
[**since** [S in] **take-and.SS**] [**until** [M in] [stand.Stat-and go.Pfv-3PlSbj]
'They (= people) went and stood up all the way from Sévaré to Mopti.'

b. *[[èyà-ŋgó* *[L]tìŋgɔ̀:]* *mà]* *mó* *j-ɔ̂:↗,*
[[marriage [L]side] in] AnSgSbj **take-Pfv**.PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[[bí-ŋgán *[L]tìŋgɔ̀:]* *mà]*
[[being(n) [L]side] in]
'from the side (=issue) of marriage, to the side (=issue) of (co-)existence' (2005-1a)

See also (146) in §4.4.3 ('all the way to Douentza').

17.5.2 'Help' (*bǎr*) in direct chain

In other contexts, *bǎr* is a simple transitive meaning 'add, increase' or 'help' (i.e. 'lend a hand, add one's own effort'). In the sense 'help', in addition to an NP object, it may take a VP complement, in the form of a preceding directly chained verb and any complements. In English *[X help Y [∅$_y$ do the work]*, the subject of 'do the work' is understood to be Y, since the 'help' may be indirect (e.g. financial). In Dogon languages with a 'help/add' syncretism, it may be that X and Y are joint subjects of 'do the work'.

(661) *[mí* *gì]* *[bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́]* *bàrè-∅*
[1Sg Acc] [work(n) work(v)] **help**.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She helped me work (=do) the work.'

17.5.3 Capacitative constructions

17.5.3.1 'Be able to, can' (*já*) in direct chain

The basic positive and negative paradigms of *já* 'can, be able to', used for time reference including the present (including permanent capability), are in (662). The morphology is future rather than present, as indicated by 3Sg *-m̀* in the positive, and by the tones of *-ńdì-* in the negative.

(662)

subject	positive	negative
1Sg	*jà-mbò-m*	*já-nù-m*
2Sg	*jâ-mb-ò:*	*já-nd-ò:*
3Sg	*jà-m-∅*	*já-ndì-∅*
1Pl	*jà-mbò-y*	*já-nd-ì:*
2Pl	*jà-mb-è:*	*já-nd-è:*
3Pl	*jà-mb-à*	*já-ndì-yà*

Perfective forms are also possible when the time is shifted to the past: *jè-ḿ* 'I could', *jà-lú-m* 'I could not'.

All of these forms except the perfective positive are based on the A/O-stem. These forms are homophonous with corresponding forms of *jé-* 'take; finish' (§17.5.1). Thus the direct chain [VP *jà-lú-m*] can mean either 'I could not VP' or 'I didn't finish VP-ing'. Fortunately, *jé-* in the sense 'finish' is most often perfective, and *já-* 'be able to' is usually future in form.

The 'be able to' verb follows a VP with verb in the chaining form (663). One can easily see how this combination might develop into a suffixed capacitative derivative.

(663) a. *[kìnû: kó] jènjé jà-mb-ò: ló*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] lift **can**-Fut-2SgSbj Q
'Can you-Sg lift the stone?'

b. *[kìnû: kó] jènjé já-nù-m*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] lift **can**-FutNeg-1SgSbj
'I can't lift the stone.'

c. *[èndê: [L]bà:] gìné já-ndì-∅*
[child [L]father] say **can**-FutNeg-3SgSbj
'The father of a child cannot say (that).' (2005-1a)

d. *[tó→ nè] [íyó là] màmílí-yé nè là]*
[fast Adv] [today also] go.back-MP and.SS also]
wé jà-m
come **can**-Fut.3SgSbj
'He can come back (to it) quickly today.' (2005-1a)

e. *ánì [yĕ: [L]dòm] ǹdíy já-ndì-∅,*
man [woman [L]speech] listen **can**-FutNeg-3SgSbj,
yĕ: [ánì [L]dòm] ǹdíy já-ndì-∅
woman [man [L]speech] listen **can**-FutNeg-3SgSbj
'A man can't listen to the words of a woman, a woman can't listen to the words of a man.' (2005-1a)

17.5.3.2 'Have a chance to' (*dùmé*) in direct chain

The 'get, obtain' verb *dùmé* is not the common 'can VP' predicate, though verbs with the basic sense 'get, obtain' do have this function in Jamsay and several other Dogon languages.

In Najamba, *dùmé* 'get, obtain' does occur occasionally in texts in a construction with the sense 'have a chance (opportunity) to VP'.

(664) *óbí-y dúmà-njò-ndí-yà*
sit-MP **get**-Prog-Neg-3PlSbj
'They (= women) have no chance to sit down.' (2005-1a)

17.6 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.6.1 Motion verb with purposive complement (*-â:*)

A motion verb may take a purposive complement. The verb of the complement clause has purposive suffix *-â:*, replacing the stem-final vowel, with no further inflectional suffixation. The vocalism of nonfinal syllables is consistent with the **A/O-stem**. The stem has **{L}-tones** in the earlier syllables. The combination of *-â:* with a monosyllabic stem results in an <LHL> syllable, as (665a).

(665)

	gloss	chaining	purposive
a. monosyllabic			
	'shave'	*kɛ́:*	*k-ɛ̌:*
	'pour'	*swɛ́*	*sw-ɛ̌:*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*j-ɛ̌:*
b. nonmonosyllabic			
	'bathe'	*dìyɛ́*	*dìy-â:*
	'slaughter'	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sèm-â:*
	'scrub'	*túújújɛ́*	*tùgùj-â:*
	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kèj-â:*

Examples of the construction are in (666).

(666) a. *[íŋgé dìy-â:]* *ínè-∅*
[water bathe-**Purp**] go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She went to bathe.'

b. *[swɛ̌: mòg-â:]* *ín-ò:*
[garment.Pl wash-**Purp**] go.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They went to wash the clothes.'

c. *kw-ɛ̌:* *wè-ḿ*
eat-**Purp** come.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I have come (in order) to eat.'

d. *[pègɛ́ mó]* *[[[ḿ* ^{L}*bà]* *gì]* *ǹd-â:]* *jè:-ḿ*
[sheep Def.AnSg] [[[1SgPoss ^{L}father] Acc] give-**Purp**] bring.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I brought the sheep-Sg in order to give (it) to my father.'

e. *[gŏn-gó má]* *[tàgɛ̌:* *má]* *[íŋgé* *èr-â:]*
[waterjar-InanSg.O with] [pond in] [water draw.water-**Purp**]
ìn-ó: *mɛ́* *díndì*
go.Pfv-2SgSbj if all
'If you go to the pond to draw water with a waterjar' (2005-1a)

f. *[dúmɛ́:* *[gàndí* *bɛ̀*[L] *dîn]* *dòŋg-â:]* *ìn-ó:* *mɛ́*
[animal.Pl [some Def.AnPl[L] all] touch-**Purp]** go.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you went in order to (=if you tried to) touch any other (livestock) animals' (2005-1a)

jànjí-mbò, the same-subject 'and (then)' subordinated form (§15.1.3) of *jànjí* 'do on purpose', may be placed at the beginning of the purposive clause with *-â:* .

(667) *[[hâl* *ŋgâ:n]* *[nɔ̌:* *mó]* *bɛ̀lí-y-ɔ̀:]*
[[until there] [person Def.AnSg] get.up-MP.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
jànjí-mbò *yɛ̀pà:bé* *dùnd-â:* *tómá-tómá*
do.on.purpose-and.SS thing.Pl look.for-**Purp** one-one
'The person (= the linguist) got up (= came from) as far away as there (= overseas) solely in order to look for things.' (2005-1a)

17.6.2 Purposive clause with *gìnɛ́-mbò* 'having said'

A more general purposive clause type, expressing the motive for an action and compatible with any type of main clause (not just motion verbs), involves the invariant 'and (then)' form *gìnɛ́-mbò* 'say and (then)', based on *gìnɛ́* 'say', which in this type of context really means 'say to oneself, think, intend'. *gìnɛ́-mbò* is preceded by a same-subject complement VP with a future verb (*-mbô-* plus pronominal-subject suffix, or 3Sg *-m̀*). Examples with 1st/2nd person subjects bring out the structure most clearly (668).

(668) a. *[[kɛ̌lɛ̀* *dùmà-mbó-ỳ]* *gìnɛ́-mbò]*
[[money.Pl obtain-Fut-1PlSbj] **say**-and.SS]
bírɔ́: *bírà-njò-y*
work(n) work(v)-Pres-1PlSbj
'We work (=do) work, in order to get money.'

b. *[[kɛ̌lɛ̀* *dùmà-mb-ô:]* *gìnɛ́-mbò]* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-nj-ò:*
[[money.Pl obtain-Fut-2SgSbj] **say**-and.SS] work(n) work(v)-Pres-2SgSbj
'You-Sg work (=do) work, in order to get money.'

c. *[gúlì:* *kɛ́]* *[bìyò-mbó-ỳ* *gìnɛ́-mbò]*
[shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-1PlSbj] **say**-and.SS]
gùlɛ̀-ỳ
build.shed.Pfv-1PlSbj
'We built the shed in order for us to sleep (there).'

For third person subject, the future verb in the purposive clause takes the fixed form *-mbó-m̀*, morphologically a pseudo-1Sg subject that functions as logophoric subject marker (§18.2.2). It is distinct both from 3Sg future *-m̀* and from 3Pl future *-mb-à*. Since the purposive is structured as a (thought) quotation with overt 'say' verb, it might seem that *-mbó-m̀* directly reflects the underlying 1Sg pronoun in the direct (thought) quotation in 'He built the shed,

saying (=thinking) "I will sleep there" .' However, for 3Pl subject the same pseudo-1Sg future form *-mbó-m̀*, rather than 1Pl *-mbó-ỳ*, is used (669b), showing that this *-mbó-m̀* is not a true 1Sg form.

(669) a. *[[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] gìnɛ́-mbò] òbì-yè-∅*
[[meal eat-Fut-**LogoSbj**] **say**-and.SS] sit-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She sat down to eat a meal.'

b. *[[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] gìnɛ́-mbò] òbì-y-ò:*
[[meal eat-Fut-**LogoSbj**] **say**-and.SS] sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They sat down to eat a meal.'

c. *[gúlì: ké] [bìyò-mbó-m̀ gìnɛ́-mbò] gùlè-∅*
[shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-**LogoSbj** **say**-and.SS] build.shed.Pfv-1PlSbj
'He built the shed in order for himself to sleep (there).'

17.6.3 Causal ('because') clause

The most common 'because' clause type begins with *sábù*, a regionally widespread form related to noun *sábà:bù* 'reason', ultimately < Arabic. Such clauses describe the causal forces behind an eventuality, or the epistemological basis for drawing a conclusion.

(670) *sábù kì-[èl-ŋgé↗],*
because luck]
[[[nǐ: tɔ̀mɔ́:] [bă: tɔ̀mɔ́:]] kì-[èl-ŋgè]]^{L} *kúndú=là-∅*
[[[mother one] [father one]] luck^{L} one=it.is.not-3SgSbj
'(Not everyone is successful.) Because good luck (= fortune), the fortunes of (children, even of) the same mother and the same father are not the same.' (2005-1a; 'luck' = "head-sweetness")

An alternative is to first state the proposition that denotes the causing eventuality, then resume it with inanimate singular demonstrative *kó* plus purposive postposition *nèn* (cf. English *that's why* …), preceding the proposition denoting the resulting eventuality (671).

(671) *[bàndî:-mbò [[sɔ̀njɔ̌: ké] mà] ŋw-à:]*
[bandit-Pl [village Def.InanSg.E] in] enter.Pfv-3PlSbj]
[kó nèn] kên g-ò:
[**Near**.InanSg.O **for**] there.Def go.out.Pfv-3PlSbj
'Bandits came into the village, for that (reason) they (=villagers) went away from there.'

Another construction is exemplified in (672). Again the causing eventuality is expressed before the caused eventuality. Here, however, the clause denoting the causing eventuality ends in *gìné-mbò* 'saying'. It reflects the (human) motivation for the event of the first clause.

(672) *[[bàndî:-mbò* *kên* *ŋw-à:]* *gìné-mbò]*
[[bandit-Pl there.Def enter.Pfv-3PlSbj] **say**-and.SS]
[[[sɔ̀njɔ́: *ké]* *mà]* *g-ò:],*
[[[village Def.InanSg.E] in] go.out.Pfv-3PlSbj]
'Because bandits came in there, they (= villagers) left the village,.'

17.6.4 'Because of', '(more) than'

'Cause, reason, motive (for doing something)' can be expressed by the noun *sábà:bù*, mentioned in the preceding section, or by the noun *dû:* 'bottom, base'. The postposition 'for, on account of' is *nèn* (§8.3).

In (673), a compositve postposition *[X* ^{L}*sàbà:bù] mà* built on the possessed form of *sábà:bù* plus the all-purpose postposition *mà* creates a 'because of X' construction, compare English *on account of*.

(673) *[ké* *là]* *bǎ-l=bè-∅* *gìn-â:,*
[InanSg.E also] be-PfvNeg=Past-3SgSbj say.Pfv-PplNonSbj,
[[[jěnjà *mà→]* *[[dí:nà* *kó]* *má→]* ^{L}*sàbà:bù]* *mà],*
[[[God and] [[religion Def.InanSg.O] and] ^{L}**reason**] **in**]
[ké *là]* *wè-∅*
[InanSg.E also] come.Pfv-3SgSbj]
'That (= slaughtering an animal on a holy day) didn't use to happen (before Islam). That came because of God and (Islamic) religion.' (2005-1a)

17.6.5 Negative purposive (prohibitive) clause

Elicited negative purposive clauses take the form of future negative nonsubject relatives (O-class) followed by purposive postposition *nèn* 'for' (§8.3). The subject of the negative purposive clause and that of the main clause may be the same (674a) or different (674b).

(674) a. *[èndê:* *mó]* *[[[kìnû:* *kó* *mà]*
[child Def.AnSg] [[[stone Def.InanSg.O with]
mó *dìnì-yá-nd-ò:]* *nèn]* *tòmbè-∅*
3SgSbj bump-MP-**FutNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] **for**] jump.Pfv-3SgSbj]
'The child jumped (away) so as not to be in a collision with (= so as not to be hit by) the stone.'

b. *[[sěydù kéndà: mó já-nd-ò:] nèn]*
[S liver Def.AnSg take-**FutNeg**-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] **for**]
[[tê: ké] mà] súkàrà ígò-ndí gànè-ḿ
[[tea Def.InanSg.E] in] sugar a.lot put.Pfv-1SgSbj
'So that Seydou wouldn't get angry ("take liver/heart"), I put a lot of sugar in the tea.'

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive nonsubject arguments (with *kî:* 'head')

A possessed form of *kî:* 'head', e.g. *mí* L*kì:* 'my head', can have reflexive object function (675a-e). No additional determiner or plural marker is allowed. Accusative marking is optional. Imperatives have the same syntax (675e).

(675) a. *[[mí* L*kì:]* *(gì)]* *dɛ̀njɛ́* *jɛ̀-ḿ*
[[1SgPoss L**head**] (Acc)] hit finish.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I hit myself.'

b. *[[mó* L*kì:]* *(gì)'* *dɛ̀njɛ́* *jɛ̀-∅*
[[3SgPoss L**head**] (Acc)] hit finish.Pfv-3SgSbj
'She hit herself.'

c. *[[bé* L*kì:]* *(gì)]* *dɛ̀njɛ́* *j-à:*
[[3PlPoss L**head**] (Acc)] hit finish.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They hit themselves.'

d. *[[[ó* L*kì:]* *(gì)]* *dènjá-l-ó:* *mɛ́]*
[[[2SgPoss L**head**] (Acc)] hit-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if]
[nɔ̌: *mă:mà-nd-ó:]*
[person defeat-PresNeg-2SgSbj]
'If you haven't hit yourself (first), you can't handle (= beat) (another) person.' (2005-1a)

e. *[[ó* L*kì:]* *(gì)]* *dénjà*
[[2SgPoss L**head**] (Acc)] hit.Imprt
'Hit yourself!'

The only cases involving the complement of a simple (non-composite) postposition and a coindexed clausemate subject that I was able to elicit were with purposive *nɛ̀n* 'for'. Here the explicit reflexive is required (676). For composite postpositions, see the following section.

(676) *[[bé* L*kì:]* *nɛ̀n]* *bírà-nj-ɛ̂:*
[[3PlPoss L**head**] for] work(v)-Pres-3PlSbj
'They work for themselves.'

18.1.2 Reflexive possessor

There is **no special marking** of reflexive possessor, as in 'X saw [X's Y]', where the possessor of the nonsubject NP is coindexed with the clausemate subject. Instead, the regular pronominal possessor forms are used. When the subject is third person (677b,d), this results in ambiguity, as in English (*He$_i$ drank his$_i$/his$_j$ tea*)'.

(677) a. *[àtê:* *[mí* *gɛ̀]]* *nɛ̀-ḿ*
[tea [1SgPoss Psm.InanSg.E]] drink.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I drank my tea.'

b. *[àtê:* *[mɔ́* *gɛ̀]]* *nɛ̀-∅*
[tea [**AnSgPoss** Psm.InanSg.E]] drink.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He$_i$ drank his$_i$/his$_j$ tea.'

c. *[[ḿ* *^{L}bà]* *tàr-â:]* *ínò-njò-m̀*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}father] visit-Purp] go-Pres-1SgSbj
'I will go visit my father.'

d. *[[mɔ́* *^{L}bà]* *tàr-â:* *ínò-njò-∅*
[[**AnSgPoss** ^{L}father] visit-Purp go-Pres-3SgSbj
'He$_i$ will go to visit his$_i$/his$_j$ father.'

e. *[nɔ̌:* *dîn* *là]* *[[mɔ́* *^{L}ɔ̀lɔ̀]* *mà]* *kán-lé*
[person all also] [[**AnSgPoss** ^{L}house] in] do-VblN
mɔ́ *há:nɛ̀* *b-ɔ̀:*
AnSg ought be-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
'what each person$_x$ is supposed to do in his$_x$ (own) house' (2005-1a)

Several adverbial postpositions are complex (§8.2), of the type *[X bàndì] mà]* 'in X's back' = 'behind X'. When the clausemate subject is coindexed with the complement of the compositve postposition (which is syntactically a possessor), the resulting construction is comparable to e.g. (677d), above, and the overt reflexive pronoun is not required. The plain 3Sg (animate) possessor *mɔ́* occurs in (678a), whether or not *mɔ́* is coindexed with the subject. For emphasis or to avoid confusion, the explicit reflexive is used (678b).

(678) a. *ɛ́lɛ́* *[[mɔ́* *^{L}bàndì]* *mà]* *sìbì-rɛ̀-∅*
peanuts [[**3SgPoss** ^{L}back] in] hide-Tr.Pfv-3SgSbj
'She hid the peanuts behind herself/him.'

b. *ɛ́lɛ́* *[[[mɔ́* *^{L}kì:]* *^{L}bàndì]* *mà]* *sìbì-rɛ̀-∅*
peanuts [[[**3SgPoss** ^{L}**head**] ^{L}back] in] hide-Tr.Pfv-3SgSbj
'She hid the peanuts behind herself.'

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.2.1 True logophoric function

No specialized logophoric pronoun has been observed, except for the verbal suffix described in the following section. Instead, regular pronominal forms (including subject-pronominal inflection on verbs) occur in quoted clauses. A third person pronominal in a quoted clause may or may not be coindexed with a third person quoted speaker. Therefore in (679), 3Sg *mó* as direct object may, but need not be, coindexed with the subject (Sidi).

(679) *sí:dì* *[[mí* *yà:]* *[mó* *gì]* *dènjɛ̀]* *wá,*
S [[1Sg Foc] [**3Sg** Acc] hit.Pfv] Quot,
kà: *pàbă:=ý*
but untruth=it.is
'Sidi$_x$ says (= claims) that I hit him$_x$/him$_y$ but it's untrue.'

18.2.2 Pseudo-1Sg *-m* as logophoric subject suffix

In (680), the free translation follows the English pattern whereby pronominals and other indexicals are updated in indirect discourse. In Najamba, however, 'you go' in this example is expressed by a form identical to 'I go'. In other words, the (apparent) 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix on the verb seemingly captures the original first-person quality of the reported speech/thought (quoted directly): "If you say, 'I will go …'." This is limited to subject position, and is expressed by the (apparent) 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix *-m*.

(680) *kên* *ìnò-njò-m* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
there.Def go-Pres-**LogoSbj** **say**.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'If you-Sg say (intend) that you will go there, …' (2005-1a)

That the pseudo-1Sg suffix is really a transpersonal **logophoric** subject marker is shown by its use with plural referents (where we might have expected a 1Pl suffix), and by its use with second as well as first persons. I therefore gloss it "-LogoSbj" rather than "-1SgSbj."

(681) *kên* *ìnò-njò-m* *gìn-é:* *mɛ́*
there.Def go-Pres-**LogoSbj** **say**.Pfv-2PlSbj if
'If you-Pl say (intend) that you will go there, …'

In addition, any further anaphoric operations involving referential identity are based on the "real" pronominal category of the referent, as expressed by the higher antecedent. (682a) is a simple quoted transitive clause with NP object, and if this is replaced by a true 1Sg object there is no reflexive marking (682b). By contrast, in (682c) the object is 2Sg reflexive ('your head' = 'yourself'), agreeing with the subject of the higher 'say' verb.

(682) a. *kòŋgò*^{L}*-[jàlá-ŋgó]* *gìyà-mbó-m̀* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
thing^{L}-[long-InanSg.O] kill-Fut-**LogoSbj** say.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you-Sg say (=intend) to kill a snake, …'

b. *[mí* *gì]* *gìyà-mbó-m̀* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
[**1Sg** **Acc**] kill-Fut-**LogoSbj** say.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you-Sg say (=intend) to kill me, …'

c. *[[ó* ^{L}*kì:]* *gì]* *gìyà-mbó-m̀* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
[[**2SgPoss** ^{L}**head**] Acc] kill-Fut-**LogoSbj** say.Pfv-2SgSbj if
'if you-Sg say (intend) to kill yourself, …'

Further textual examples of the logophoric subject construction are in (683).

(683) a. *kà:* *[mó* *là]* *àyè-ḿ* *gínà-ɲjò-∅*
but [AnSg also] be.weary.Pfv-**LogoSbj** **say**-Pres-3SgSbj
'But he too says (= claims) that he is tired.' (2005-1a)

b. … *gìné-m* *mɛ́,*
… say.Pfv-1SgSbj if,
ó *[mí* *gì]* *ǹdá-nù-m* *gìnà-mb-ô:*
2Sg [1Sg Acc] give-FutNeg-**LogoSbj** **say**-Fut-2SgSbj
'If I say (that), you will say that you won't give (him/her) to me.' (2005-2a)

For a similar generalized 1Sg verb form in an 'owner of X' compound, see ex. (192) in §5.1.8.

18.2.3 'The guy/fellow' (*dòmbâ-n*)

A noun *dòmbâ-n* can reintroduce a previously established generic or indefinite discourse referent, as in discussions of general truths, or a referent whose identity is not known to the speaker. Example: 'I ran into a young man in the park; **the guy** was too drunk to talk clearly'.

dòmbâ-n is irregularly related to *dòmbă:* 'owner', and the plural of both is *dòmbà-mbó* 'the guys; owners'. An example of *dòmbâ-n* is at the end of the extended passage in (684).

(684) *ùsfɔ̃:* *ǹdá:-l-é:* *mó* *là,*
path give-PfvNeg-PplNonSbj AnSg also,
[jáŋgɛ́ *jòg-â:* *mà]* *dìmbà-ndí-∅↗,*
[study(v) have-PplSbj in] follow-StatNeg-3SgSbj,
[jáŋgá-l-é: *má]* *dìmbà-ndí-∅↘,*
[study(v)-PfvNeg-PplSbj in] follow-StatNeg-3SgSbj,
jěnjà *ùsfɔ̃:* *[dòmbâ-n* *gì]* *ǹdá:-l-∅* *mɛ́* *tán↗,* …
God pather [**guy** Acc] give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if only, …
'On the other hand, (someone) to whom He (= God) has not given (=shown) the path, it doesn't matter if he been educated, it doesn't matter if he hasn't been educated. If God hasn't given the path to **the fellow**, …' (2005-1a)

Another textual example is (685). It has two occurrences of *dòmbâ-n*, from a similar passage about general truths.

(685) *bárkè* *kó↗,* *dòmbâ-n* *dìmbì-yá-m̀,*
blessing Def.InanSg.O, **guy** follow-MP-Fut.3SgSbj,
bárkè *dòmbân* *[ó* *mà]* *kwá:-l-∅* *mɛ́* *dîn,*
blessing **guy** [2Sg in] eat-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if all,
[ó *gì]* *dìmbí-yà-ndí-∅*
[2Sg Acc] follow-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'(If someone has received blessedness [= good treatment] at your home), that blessedness will follow the fellow. If the fellow did not eat (=receive) blessedness at your place, he doesn't follow you.' (2005-1a)

18.2.4 Occasional "obviative" markers

Given the relatively rich set of demonstrative categories, it is possible for spatial relationships vis-à-vis speaker (and addressee) to be used opportunistically to **index** a secondary topic (perhaps several times in an extended passage). The far-distant demonstrative, especially animate singular *òmá:*, is common in this function. An example is the passage in (686), where *òmá:* occurs twice. It refers to the secondary topic (the tall person) who functions as **counterparty** (alter ego, Doppelgänger) to the dominant topic (the short person), who is indexed as proximate.

(686) X: *[[nó:* *dîn]* *jóg-è:* *gà]* *kánà-ndí-∅,*
[[person every] have-Ppl.SbjFoc Top] be.done-Pres.Neg-3SgSbj
[[[nò:^{L} *gàbê:* *mó]*
[[[person^{L} tall.AnSg Def.AnSg]
kèŋgè^{L} *túŋgí* *jòg-â:* *ké]* *mà]*
place^{L} reach have-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E] in]
[[dèndí: *mó* *là]* *[ké* *gì]* *túŋgó-m̀]*
[[short.AnSg Def.AnSg also] [InanSg.E Acc] reach-Fut.3SgSbj]
Y: *kóndò-ndí-∅*
be.good-PresNeg-3SgSbj

X: *[mó gì] pònă-mb-à:=ỳ mà→,*
[[AnSg Acc] wring-Fut-Pass=it.is Q,
má òmá: tòndì-yò-mb-ê: mà→,
or **FarDist.AnSg** bend-MP-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc Q,
tóndí-y jòg-â:=ỳ kànè-∅ mé,
bend-MP have-PplSbj=it.is be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
òmá: áy jòg-â:=ỳ, [[ŏm gì]
FarDist.AnSg be.weary have-PplSbj=it.is, [[**Prox.AnSg** Acc]
jùmbɛ́ nɛ̀] [ŋgâ:n jùmbɛ́ dɔ̀:-nd-ɔ̀: dɛ́],
pull then.SS] [there pull reach-Caus.Pfv-3PlSbj if],
[mó là] áy jòg-â:=ỳ
[AnSg also] be.weary have-PplSbj=it.is
X: It doesn't happen (= is impossible) that <u>every person</u> [focus] has (wealth), (or) that the short (person) reaches the place (=height) that the tall person has reached.
Y: It isn't done well (= good).
X: Will he (=short person) be wrung (= stretched), or is it **<u>that one</u>** (=tall person) [focus] who will bend? If he bends, **that one** (=tall person) will suffer. If you-Sg pull **this one** (=short person) and make him reach there (=that height), he too will suffer.
(2005-1a)

Demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'over there', etc.) may also be used in this way. See §4.4.4.2 for an example ('The sun rises here, and the sun sets around here'), where two locations (east and west horizons) are denoted by proximate 'here', the second one adding an approximative suffix ('around here').

18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (*tò-mbó*, *tɔ̃:n*)

Reciprocal constructions are based on the nouns *tò-mbó* (used for groups of three or more) and *tɔ̃:n* (for two persons). They are related to the noun *tɔ̌:* 'comrade, agemate' (plural *tò-mbó*). These occur in direct object function to indicate reciprocal coindexation with a nonsingular clausemate subject. There is no agreement with the noun-class or pronominal person of the subject. Accusative *gì*, which is largely predictable here, is optional. When it is present, /tɔ̃:n gì/ is usually heard as [tɔ̃:ŋgì] with the *n* assimilating to the velar.

(687) a. *[nò-mbó bɛ̀*^{L} *dîn] [tò-mbó (gì)] tàr-à:*
[person-Pl Pl^{L} all] [**Recip**-Pl (Acc)] look.at.Pfv-3PlSbj
'All the people looked at each other.'

b. *[[yĕ:* *mó* *má→]* *[ánè* *mó* *mà→]]*
[[woman Sg and] [man Def.AnSg and]]
[tŏ:ŋ *gì]* *tàr-à:*
[**Recip.Dual** Acc] look.at.Pfv-3PlSbj
'The woman and the man looked at each other.'

c. *tò-mbó* *tàrè-ý*
Recip-Pl look.at.Pfv-1PlSbj
'We (three or more) looked at each other.'

In (688), the reciprocal noun is the complement of the locative postposition *mà*. /tõ:n mà/ is often pronounced [tõ:m:à] as the /n/ assimilates to the *m*.

(688) a. *[kĭn-bò* *nô:y]* *[tõ:n* *mà]* *dìnì-y-à:*
[stone-Pl two] [**Recip.Dual** **in**] bump-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
'Two stones bumped into each other.'

b. *[nò-mbó* *bè*^{L} *dîn]* *[tò-mbó* *mà]* *dìnì-y-à:*
[person-Pl Pl^{L} all] [**Recip-Pl** **in**] bump-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
'All the people bumped into each other.'

tò-mbó is a **possessor** in (689). It therefore controls tone-dropping on the possessum.

(689) *jěnjà* *[tò-mbó* ^{L}*sèmbè* *kó* *là]*
God [**Recip**-Pl ^{L}strength Def.InanSg.O also]
[í *gì]* *sémbá-m-ná*
[1Pl Acc] strong-Fact-Hort.3Sg
'May God fortify us (with) each other's (= mutual) strength (to work together).' (2005-1a)

18.3.2 'Together' (*sɔ̌:*)

The simple adverb *sɔ̌:* can indicate joint or collective activity (690).

(690) a. *sɔ̌:* *bìrà-mbó-ỳ*
together work(v)-Fut-1PlSbj
'We will work together.'

b. *[bé* *kà* *dîn]* *[àlhâ:l* *[bé* *gɔ̀]]*
[AnPl Top all] [situation [AnPlPoss Psm.InanSg.O]]
sɔ̌: *ínò-njò-∅*
together go-Pres-3SgSbj
'Both of them (= herder and merchant), their situation goes together (= is similar).' (2005-1a)

An alternative is a direct chain involving the verb *mùlɛ́* ‘assemble, come together’ (§15.1.5.1, above).

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (*kày*, *gày*, *kà*, *gà*)

A topicalized constituent is fronted, and may be treated syntactically either as preclausal (in which case it may be resumed later by a pronoun) or as part of the clause (usually subject or adverb). The topic particle has variant forms *kà(y)* and *gà(y)*.

Topics are commonly contrastive, i.e. they tend to occur at the point where attention shifts from one discourse referent to another. *săŋ kày* 'as for now' is common at "paragraph" breaks. The topic particle competes with *là* 'also, too, likewise' (§19.1.3 below), in contexts where the two referents occupy parallel semantic positions. Examples below show topic particles with an extended NP (691a), a pronoun (691b), and an adverb (691c).

(691) a. *mâ:n* *[ḿ* *mà]* *j-ô:* *kó* *gày*
so.and.so [1Sg Dat] bring.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O **Top**
'As for (what) So-and-So has brought to me, …' (2005-1a)

b. *[í* *mà]* *bé* *wé* *jòg-à:* *kó* *[í* *gày],*
[1Pl Dat] AnPl come Pfv-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O [1Pl **Top**]
[kòŋgò^{L}*,* *í* *tìgà-ŋgà]* *pàlâ:=ỳ*
[thing, 1PlSbj know-Pres.PplNonSbj] small=it.is
'(the fact) that they have come to us, as for us, the thing that we know is small' (2005-1a)

c. *[ŋă:* *gà]* *[ìnèn*^{L}*-[tún-lé]* *má↗],* *gŏ:rè=ỳ=bè-∅*
[yesterday **Top**] [name^{L}-[put-VblN] in], kola.Pl=it.is=Past-3SgSbj
'As for (what happened) in the past, in name-giving (ceremonies), it used to be kola nuts (that were offered to visitors).' (2005-1a)

A dative PP is topicalized in (692).

(692) *[nè:ndá:* *dă:-mbò* *gw-è:* *mé* *là]*
[bad.InanSg.O speak-and go.out.Pfv-2PlSbj if also]
[[nò-mbó *bé]* *mà* *kà]* *kúmbà=ỳ]*
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] **Dat** **Top**] unawareness=it.is]
'(and) furthermore if you-Pl have gone out and said bad ones (= words), the people for their part are unaware' (2005-1a) (/dàmá-mbò/)

A common device is to introduce an NP or proposition, then resume it as a topicalized discourse-definite demonstrative as a transition to a following clause in which the referent

functions as an argument. An example is *kó gà* in (693). Compare *kó nèn* 'for that reason' in (671) in §17.6.3 with a similar resumptive strategy.

(693) *[kóŋgò kó] ínèn jògò-ndí↗,*
[thing Def.InanSg.O] name have-StatNeg,
[kó gà] kánà-ndí-∅↘
[**InanSg.O** **Top**] be.done-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'(the possibility) that the thing does not have a name, that (= being nameless) doesn't happen (= is impossible)' (2005-1a)

Topicalization is so common that it is sometimes best disregarded in the free translation, especially since the English *as for X* construction is so clumsy. It is not unusual to find **two "topics"** in the same breath (694).

(694) *[dè:gó kó] [íyó gà] [í gà] yá-njò-ndí-ỳ*
[truth Def.InanSg.O] [today **Top**] [1Pl **Top**] see-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj
'The truth, as for us nowadays, we don't see (it).' (2005-1a)

It is also not unusual to find a topic particle combined with one or more other discourse particles in ways that make a literal translation sound like gibberish. In (695), the second instance (out of three) of topic morpheme *kà* is followed by focus *yà:* and then by *là* 'also, too, likewise'. The focus particle is clearly appropriate in context, as the clause in question is exactly parallel to the preceding focalized clause. The fact that *ŋ̀gú* 'this' (here a nonspecific place-holder, like 'such-and-such') denotes something different in the two parallel clauses is responsible for both the topic and 'also, likewise' particles.

(695) *[tìmê: yé] [[ŋ̀gú yà:] jóŋà-njò-∅]*
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgSbj]
… *[í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí,*
… [1Pl **Top**] tell-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,
[[ŋ̀gú kà yà: là]
[[Prox.InanSg.O **Top** **Foc** **also**]
nŏ: kóndò-njò-∅] [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí
person do.well-Pres [1Pl **Top**] tell-PfvNeg.3PlSbj
'(Of) those trees, they didn't tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, likewise they didn't tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).' (2005-1a)

19.1.2 'Now' (*sàŋgí* ~ *săŋ*, *nû:*)

sàŋgí with apocopated variant *săŋ* is the basic 'now' adverb with temporal sense. Contextual translations include 'until now', 'so far', and 'still (=even now)' (§10.3.2). It is often clause-initial (specifying a temporal setting for the following). It frequently combines with topic marker *kà* (or variant). Examples are *săŋ* in (580b) in §15.1.3.1 and in (734) in the sample

text, and topicalized *săŋ kà* in (602b) in §15.2.4. *sàmmá* 'fast, quickly' (§3.2.11.2) is probably its combination with the H-toned variant of all-purpose postposition *mà* (§8.1.2).

A different form, *nû:*, is more of a pragmatic discourse marker. It may occur clause-finally, an anomalous position for a true spatiotemporal adverb or adverbial phrase. Examples are (710), (716), and (750) in the sample text.

The distinction between 'nowadays' and 'formerly, in the old days' is regularly expressed as *íyó* 'today' versus *ɲă:* 'yesterday'. This opposition is common in my texts from Adia village, which talk at length about how life has changed since the speakers' childhood.

19.1.3 'Also, too, likewise' (*là*)

The very common phrase-final particle *là* can be glossed 'also, too'. However, its semantic range is greater than these glosses suggest. Najamba discourse is full of parallelistic passages (compare Biblical Hebrew, Rotinese, and other poetic traditions favoring parallelism). This lends itself to high-frequency use of *là* in the noninitial clauses or phrases of a parallelistic sequence. In some cases, 'also, too' is the best free translation, i.e. when a portion of two clauses is identical and only one or two constituents or grammatical categories are changed: 'you went to Douentza; I too went to Douentza'; see (696a-b). However, *là* is also common in contexts where the segments are parallel but do not involve exactly repeated constituents. In these cases I favor 'likewise' as a gloss in free translations: 'you went to Douentza; I likewise will go to Mopti.' Even 'likewise' is sometimes stretching the parallelism, which may verge into mildly contrastive territory (696c). Because of this, *là* sometimes competes with topic morpheme *kày* (and variants): 'you went to Douentza, as for me (by contrast) I will go to Mopti'.

Even when the logical scope of *là* would seem to be clausal, it is normally attached (enclitic-like) to an NP or similar constituent. Clause-initial pronouns are especially favored for this purpose.

(696) a. *kó* *tóló=ý* *[gĭr* *mà]* *ìnò-mb-ê:↗,*
InanSg.O more=it.is [front in] go-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc,
[kó *tóló* *là]* *[bàndí* *mà]* *nĕỳ*
[InanSg.O more **also**] [behind in] is.good
'<u>That</u> [focus] is what will go in front the most (= is best). That same thing is best in the rear **too**.' (2005-1a)

b. *[tóndí-y* *jòg-â:=ỳ]* *kànè-∅* *mé,*
[bend-MP Perfect-PplSbj=it.is] be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
òmá: *áy* *jòg-â:=ỳ,*
FarDist.AnSg suffer Perfect-PplSbj=it.is,
[[ŏm *gì]* *jùmbɛ́* *nè]*
[[Prox.AnSg Acc] pull then.SS]
[ŋgâ:n *jùmbɛ́* *dɔ̀:-nd-ɔ̀:* *dé],*
[there pull arrive-Caus.Pfv-3PlSbj if]

[mó *là]* *áy* *jòg-â:=ỳ*
[AnSg **also**] suffer Perfect-PplSbj=it.is
'If he (= tall person) bends, that one (= tall person) will suffer. If they pull this one (= short person) and make him reach there (= stretch him to the height of the tall person=), **he too** will suffer.' (2005-1a)

c. *[òmá:* *là]* *yô:-mbò* *yálà-∅* *[kìr-gé:* *mó* *gà]*
[Far-AnSg **also**] run-Prog go.around.Stat-3SgSbj [herder Def.AnSg Top]
'(A farmer can host a visitor.) That (other) one (= herder), he likewise goes running around, the herder for his part.' (2005-1a) (< /yóbà-mbò/)

là is compatible with **negation**, where the English free translation could have 'nor' or '(not) either'.

(697) *[tìmê:* *yé]* *[[ŋgú* *yà:]* *jóŋà-njò-∅]* …
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgSbj] …
[í *kà]* *dà:ndà:-ndí,*
[1Pl Top] tell-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,
[[ŋgú *kà* *yà:* *là]* *nŏ:* *kóndò-njò-∅]*
[[Prox.InanSg.O Top Foc **also**] person do.well-Pres-3SgSbj]
[í *kà]* *dà:ndà:-ndí,*
[1Pl Top] tell-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,
'(Of) the trees, they didn't tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, **nor** did they tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).' (2005-1a)

là is also used in the pragmatic sense '**furthermore**, moreover, in addition', where the speaker is adding information to that already expressed, whether or not the eventualities denoted by the respective clauses are themselves parallel in any fashion. Even in such cases, where the logical scope of *là* includes the entire proposition, it is generally encliticized to a pronominal or other constituent near the beginning of the clause.

(698) *[bìrá-l-mbò* *là]* *dùmí-yà-ndí*
[work(v)-PfvNeg-Prog **also**] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj
'It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.' (2005-1a)

Although *là* is normally cliticized to a pronoun or similar constituent near the beginning of a clause, it readily occurs after clause-final *mé* 'if' in conditional **antecedents**. The combination is pronounced *mé là*.

(699) *[[tò-mbó* *mà]* *pǎ:m* *jògò-nd-é:* *mé* *là]*
[[Recip-Pl in] understanding have-StatNeg-2PlSbj **if** **also**]
'If furthermore you-Pl have no (mutual) understanding among you agemates' (2005-1a)

19.1.4 'Even' (*hâl*)

Phrase- or clause-initial *hâl*, the 'until' or 'all the way to' particle, is also used in phrases with the sense 'even X'. An example is (580b) in §15.1.1.2 (*hâl íyó* 'even today'. Examples like (667) in §17.6.1 (*hâl ŋgâːn* '[from] as far away as there', i.e. 'even from that far away') are semantically transitional.

For *hâl* 'until, all the way to' see §17.5.1.2.

19.2 Presentential discourse markers

19.2.1 'Well, …' (*háyà*)

As in other languages of the zone, *háyà* is common as a 'well, …' particle preceding a clause. Examples in the sample text include (710), (726), (776) , and (785).

19.2.2 'All right, …' (*kóndé→*)

The particle *kóndé→* 'all right' may be used to express assent or acceptance (e.g. of someone's proposal). It is also used as a discourse particle preceding a clause, with functions similar to those of *hàyà* (see above). It is related to verb *kóndí* 'do well, make well; be done well'.

In the sample text, see (719) bottom, (733), (736), (749), (762), (781), and (790).

19.2.3 'But …' (*kà:*)

The regionally ubiquitous clause-initial 'but' particle is usually pronounced with low pitch in my data, and I transcribe *kà:* . Occasional high-pitched variants are also heard; I incline to attribute the high pitch to intonational modification.

Examples in the sample text are (713), (716) line 4, and (728), among others.

19.2.4 'So, …'

The purposive PP *kó nèn* 'for that' can be placed at the beginning of a clause as an approximation to (causal) 'so …' or 'that's why …'. I have found no close correspondent to the discourse-particle ('So, how's life?').

19.2.5 'Lo, …' (*jákà*)

As in other languages of the zone, *jákà* is used in anecdotes and narratives as a 'lo and behold' expression preceding a surprising or climactic clause.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbials or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘(Not) again, (no) more’ (*wɔ̀ndɛ́*)

The adverb *wɔ̀ndɛ́* ‘(not) again’ is used with a negation. For intensification, *àbádá* ‘never’ or ‘absolutely not’ may be added.

(700) a. *ên* *gǒl* *wè-∅,*
here last.year come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
kǎ: *wɔ̀ndɛ́* *màmílí-yɛ́* *wǒ-l-∅*
but **not.again** go.back-MP come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘She came here last year, but she hasn’t come back again.’

b. *àbádá* *wɔ̀ndɛ́* *[sê:* *^{L}kɔ̀njɛ̀]* *ná-nù-m*
never **not.again** [grain ^{L}beer] drink-FutNeg-1SgSbj
‘I will never again drink millet beer.’

19.3.2 ‘And so forth’

Something like ‘and so forth’ or ‘etcetera’ can be expressed as ‘it has no limit’ at the end of a partial list, cf. English *boundless*.

(701) *[pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó* *má→]* *[ínà:* *mà→]* *[párŋgá-mbó* *má→]*
[sheep-Pl and] [goat.Pl and] [donkey-Pl and]
kàló: *jɔ̀gɔ̀-ndí-∅* *yɛ̀-ḿ*
limit have-StatNeg-3SgSbj see.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I saw sheep, goats, donkeys, etcetera.’

19.4 ‘Only’

The particle *tán* (‘only’ in Fulfulde) functions in Najamba as an alternative ‘if’ particle at the end of conditional antecedent clauses (§16.2.1).

19.4.1 ‘Only’ (*tómá*, *tòmá*)

The usual ‘only’ particle is *tómá*. It is related to certain forms of the numeral ‘one’ (§4.7.1.1). Where possible semantically, *tómá* is placed at the end of the (non-verb) constituent that defines the limits of the proposition (702). It is invariant in form.

(702) a. *[bû:d* *pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y* *tómá]* *[mí* *gì]* *ǹdɛ̀-∅*
[riyal ten-two **only**] [1Sg Acc] give.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She gave me only ten riyals (100 francs CFA).’

b. *[íyó tómá] bìrá-m̀*
[today **only**] work(v)-Fut.3SgSbj
'He/She will work today only.'

c. *[òndô: bé tómá] bírà-ŋj-è:*
[child.Pl Pl **only**] work(v)-Pres-Ppl.SbjFoc
'Only the children work.'

When the verb, VP, or clause as a whole is under the logical scope of 'only', *tómá* is a **predicate nominal**, with conjugated 'it is' enclitic that agrees with the subject. As a noun it can be singular *tómá* or animate plural *tómá-mbó*. This construction occurs when the temporal scope of the proposition is wide or indefinite, so that 'only' is baked into the nature or characteristic behavior of the subject. The predicate is a nominalization with senses like '(act of) sitting' (703a-b), 'food/eating' (703c), or 'speech, talk', if such a noun is available. Thus 'you only {eat, drink, talk, sleep}' is literally "you are only {food, beverage, words, sleep}."

(703) a. *[ó gà] bírɔ́: bírà-nd-ò:,*
[2Sg Top] work(n) work(v)-Pres.Neg-2SgSbj,
óbì-n tómá=ẁ
sit-Nom **only**=it.is.2SgSbj
'You-Sg don't work, you-Sg just sit.'

b. *[é gà] bírɔ́: bírà-nd-è:,*
[2Sg Top] work(n) work(v)-Pres.Neg-2SgSbj,
óbì-n tómá-mb=ê:
sit-Nom **only**-Pl=it.is.2PlSbj
'You-Pl don't work, you-Pl just sit.'

c. *kwɛ́-ŋgò tómá=ẁ*
food-InanSg.O **only**=it.is.2SgSbj
'You-Sg just eat.'

Another version of this construction is a **double** predicate with conjugated *tómá* following a conjugated 'it is' form of an **agentive** nominal.

(704) a. *swè:^{L}-mògé=ẁ tómá=ẁ*
cloth.Pl^{L}-wash.Agent=it.is.2SgSbj **only**=it.is.2SgSbj
'You-Sg just wash clothes.'

b. *swè:^{L}-mògí-mb=è: tómá-mb=ê:*
cloth.Pl^{L}-wash.Agent-Pl=it.is.2PlSbj **only**-Pl=it.is.2PlSbj
'You-Pl just wash clothes.'

It is possible to just add bare adverbial *tómá* after a predicate. This is not the favored construction, but it can occur when the temporal scope is limited and when there is no convenient direct object or other complement of the verb to hang the 'only' particle on (705).

(705) *mɔ̀g-ǒ:* *tómá*
wash.Pfv-2SgSbj **only**
'You only washed.'

A tonally distinct form *tòmá* occurs in *mí tòmá* 'I by myself, I alone (i.e. without help)'. See also *tòmá* in (563a) in §14.4.2.1, where the subject pronoun follows *tòmá*, as a preverbal proclitic in a nonsubject relative.

19.4.2 'A mere …' (*lók*)

lók is a more emphatic 'only' particle, pronounced as an interjection with high pitch (the preceding word lowers its pitch intonationally to increase the pitch contrast). It most often follows 'one', but it can occur after other quantifiers. The pragmatic context is one of dissatisfaction or surprise at the meagerness of the entity. The reduplication *lók-lók* is also in use. It is not distributive ('one here, one there'), just an alternative to *lók*.

(706) a. *[èlè-ŋgò*^{L} *kúndú* *lók]* *[mí* *gì]* *ǹdè-∅*
[peanut-Sg^{L} one.InanSg.O **mere**] [1Sg Acc] give.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She gave me one lousy peanut.'

b. *[ìjì*^{L} *kúndé* *lók-lók]* *dùmè-m*
[fish.Sg^{L} one.InanSg.E **mere-mere**] get.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I got (= caught) one lousy fish.'

19.5 Phrase-final and stand-alone emphatics

19.5.1 Stand-alone *já:tì* 'exactly right!'

This word, which also occurs in Fulfulde and other local languages, is a stand-alone word expressing the speaker's strong agreement with what an interlocutor has just said. An example is (782) in the sample text.

19.5.2 Clause-final emphatic *kǒy* and *láy*

This particle emphasizes the truth of the clause that precedes it. The best translation is often 'sure' as in 'it sure is hot today!'. The conversational context may be confirmation of what the interlocutor has just said, or the answer to a polar question.

Examples in the sample text are as (716), (719) line 4, (736), (740) line 4, (751), (765) bottom, (766) line 3, (778) line 2, (785) line 4, (786), (792) line 3, and (795).

A similar emphatic *láy* is attested in the sample text at (789) line 3, but see §8.4.2.2 for its adverbial functions.

19.5.3 Clause-final '(not) at all!' particles (*péy-péy*, *pés*)

péy-péy and *pés* are emphatics that may precede or follow the negation. (707) illustrates the possibilities for *kwá:-l* 'he/she did not eat'.

(707) 'He/She didn't eat at all'

a.	*pés*	*kwá:-l-∅*	
b.		*kwá:-l-∅*	*pés*
c.	*péy-péy*	*kwá:-l-∅*	
d.		*kwá:-l-∅*	*péy-péy*

19.6 Greetings

Time-of-day greetings and their responses are in (708). They tend to be opaque and some may be borrowings or partially nativized loans. Many greetings have a simple version for singular addressee, but add *-m̀* suffix for plural addressee. This *-m̀* is elsewhere restricted to imperatives or hortatives. *pǒ:* is the noun 'greeting' but in these formulae it may be borrowed from Jamsay where *pǒ:* functions as imperative, with plural addressee *pǒ:-ỳ*. *dèndá:* (708d) matches the noun 'night' in Yanda Dom, though Najamba has *ɲám*. *dèné* (708e) is the chaining form for 'spend the (mid-)day', but it takes plural-addressee *-m̀* as though imperative. *ná:-m-ná* (708f) is third-person hortative (§10.4.4.1) of the causative of *né:* 'spend the night'.

(708) a. *kàndá* 'good morning' (from pre-dawn prayer to 9 AM, to one person)
kàndá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

b. *pǒ:* 'good day' (from 9 AM to noon, to one person)
póyá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

c. *pǒ: jùmà* 'good afternoon' (from noon to 2 PM, to one person)
póyà ú júmá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

d. *pǒ: dèndá: má* 'good afternoon' (from 2 PM to dusk, to one person)
póyà dèndá: má-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

e. *dènɛ́* ‘good evening’ (from dusk to pre-dawn prayer, to one person)
dènɛ́-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́ː*

f. *jámmà nâːy* ‘good night’ (to one or more persons)
jěnjà [í mà] síyɛ̀-ŋgè náː-m-ná [reply, ‘May God have us sleep well!’]

Situational (activity-related) greetings and their responses are in (709). Cf. regular vocabulary *bírɔ́ː* ‘work (n)’, *ŋwɛ́* ‘enter’, *màmílí-yɛ́* ‘go back’, and *ébán* ‘market’.

(709) a. *póyà bìrɔ́ː má* ‘hello’ (to one at work, farming, etc.)
póyà bìrɔ́ː má-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́ː*

b. *àjɛ̌ː ŋwɛ̂ː* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from farming)
àjɛ̌ː ŋwɛ́-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́ː*

c. *àjɛ̂ː* ‘welcome’ (to one returning with water)
àjɛ̂ː-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́ː*

d. *àjá mámìlɛ̀* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from another village)
àjá mámìlɛ̀-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́ː*

e. *[ó má] [ébám má]* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from the market)
[ó má] [ébám má] [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *ébán yɛ̀-ḿ* ‘I’ve seen the market.’
reply: *ébán yɛ̀-ý* ‘we’ve seen the market.’

Text

This is the first part of a recording made in Adia village in 2005. Speaker P is a middle-aged woman, speaker R is a man. P does most of the talking in this passage, with R as the attentive listener, occasionally intervening as at (720).

(710) P: *kó* *nû:* *jàŋgă-mb-à:=là,* *háyà* *bìsímìllâ:y,*
InanSg.O now begin-Fut-Pass=it.is.not, well by.God,
ínò-mbò *kábîl* *káná,*
person-Pl excuse(n) do.Imprt,
[[í *[L]bà-mbò]* *[í* *[L]ǹ-bò]]* *mà]*
[[1PlPoss [L]father-Pl] [1PlPoss [L]mother-Pl]] in]
í *dìn-ɔ̂:,*
1PlSbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[í *[L]bà-mbò]* *[í* *[L]ǹ-bò]* *dìné:-ỳ,*
[1PlPoss father-Pl] [1PlPoss [L]mother-Pl] find.Pfv-1PlSbj,

P: Is it (= recording) not being begun now? Well, in God's name. My people (= kinsmen), excuse me. What we found (= inherited) from our fathers and our mothers. We found (=were born among) our fathers and our mothers.

[*bìsímìllâ:y* Arabic invocation at the onset of a speech, trip, etc.; *kábîl káná* 'excuse me!' said by a woman when speaking to a group of men; future passive negative *-mb-à:=là* §10.5.2]

(711) *[dɔ̀gɔ̀[L]-gwă:n* *má]* *ɲă:* *b-ɔ̃:* *kày,*
[Dogon[L]-country in] yesterday remain.Pfv-PplSbj.O Top,
[mànê: *kwá-m=bɛ̀-y]* *[sòlé* *ná-m=bɛ̀-y]*
[meal.Pl eat-Pres=Past-1PlSbj] [cream.of.millet drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj]
[ɛ́mɛ̀: *ná-m=bɛ̀-y]* *[[[í* *[L]ǹ-bò]* *[í* *[L]bà-mbò]]*
[milk drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj] [[[1PlPoss [L]mother-Pl] [1PlPoss [L]father-Pl]]
í *kómándíyà-m=b-à:,]*
1PlObj take.care.of-Pres=Past-3PlSbj]

As for what there was formerly in Dogon country, we used to eat meals, we used to drink cream of millet, we used to drink milk, our mothers and our fathers used to take good care of us.

[participle *b-ɔ̃:* from 'remain/be' verb §11.2.6.1; past imperfective *-m=bɛ̀-* §10.3.1.5]

(712) *[í bà-mbò] [nàwó: ínà:] jógò-m=b-à:,*
[1PlPoss father-Pl] [cow.Pl goat.Pl] have-Stat=Past-3PlSbj,
[tò-mbó gì] dìmbí-yè-mbò,
[Recip-Pl Acc] follow-MP-and.then,
[tò-mbó mà] < pǎ:m— > [nǎ:n nè] pǎ:m dùmí-yé=bè,
[Recip-Pl with] < … > [well Adv] understanding get-MP=Past,
kày [íyó nù:], í òndú-∅,
Topic [today now], this not.be-3Sg,
ɲǎ: [í L̀bà-mbò],
yesterday [1PlPoss L̀father-Pl]
[[bé L̀òndò:] gì] [sě→ nè] kúmbí-y kóndí nè,
[[3PlPoss L̀child.Pl] Acc] [well Adv] hold-MP do.well then.SS,

Our fathers had cows and goats, they (= family members) followed each other (= lived together), and understanding (=harmony) among each other was well gotten (= they got along well), as for (that). Nowadays, this does not exist. Formerly, our fathers watched carefully over their children in tranquility.

[reciprocal *tò-mbó* §18.3.1; *-mbò* 'and then' after E-stem of verb §15.1.3; Demonstrative *í* §4.4.2.1; *nè* same-subject subordinator §15.1.5]

(713) *bǎ: [[mó L̀èndè:] gì] kúmbò-∅ mé,*
father [[3SgPoss L̀child] Acc] hold.Stat-3SgSbj if,
èndê: [bǎ:-ǹ gì] dímbà-m=bè-∅, kà: [íyó nù:],
child [father-3SgPoss Acc] follow-Pres=Past-3SgSbj, but [today now]
[èndê: mó] [[bǎ: mó] gì] dìmbà-ndí-∅,
[child Def.AnSg] [[father Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
[[bǎ: mó] là] [[èndê: mó] gì] dìmbà-ndí-∅,
[[father Def.AnSg] too] [[child Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgSbj,

If a father watched over his child, the child would follow (=obey) his father. But nowadays, the child doesn't follow the father, and the father doesn't follow the child.

[no special reflexive possessor form §18.1.2; stative *kúmbò* §11.2.3; *mé* 'if' §16.1.2; *bǎ:-ǹ* 'his father' §6.2.4; present negative inflection §10.1.4.4]

(714) *kó àŋgú=ý ló,*
InanSg.O which?=it.is Q,
[gwǎ: ké] ɲàm j-è:,
[country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc,
[[gwǎ: ké] ɲǎm-bò]
[[country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined-and.then]
[mó gìn-ô:],
[AnSg say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]

What is it, (the reason why) the country (=world) [focus] has become ruined? The country has become ruined to this extent.

[*àŋgú* 'which, what?' §13.2.2.7; subject focalization with {L}-toned verb plus perfect §13.1.1.5; *-mbò* 'and then' §15.1.3; *mó gìn-ô:* indicating extent §15.2.6]

(715) *[gwà:*^{L}*-[ǹàmĭ-n]* *kó* *là]* *àŋgú=ý* *ló,*
[country^{L}-[ruin-Nom] Def.InanSg.O too] which?=it.is Q,
[à:lé *yà:]* *tégà-nd-è:,* *wánà:* *né:mà* *òndú-∅,*
[rain(n) Foc] fall-PresNeg-Ppl.SbjFoc, truly good.times not.be-3SgSbj,
né:mà *òndú-∅* *mé* *nù:,* *háwràl* *bà-m* *ló,*
good.times not.be-3SgSbj if now, agreement remain-Fut.3SgSbj Q,
[gà:-gé: *mà]* *pă:m* *dùmà-mb-ò:* *ló,*
[hunger-Char in] understanding get-Fut-2SgSbj Q,
[áy *jòg-â:]* *[îm* *mà]* *síyè-ŋgò* *gò-m* *ló,*
[be.tired Perfect-PplSbj] [[mouth in] good-InanSg.O go.out-Fut.3SgSbj Q

(As for) the ruining of the country, what is (the reason for) that? It's the fact that <u>rain</u> [focus] doesn't fall. Now the good times do not exist. Now if the good times do not exist, will there be agreement (=good relations)? Will you get agreement in (=from) a hungry person? A weary person, will something good come out of his mouth?

[*ǹàmĭ-n* 'damage' §4.2.3.3; present negative focalization with *-nj-è:* §13.1.1.2; characteristic nominal suffix *-gé:* §4.2.2.2; *îm* < /íbì/, possessed form of *ìbí* 'mouth']

(716) *kèlă-n=lá* *kŏy,*
not.want-Nom=it.is.not Emph,
nŏ: *[mó* ^{L}*èndè:]* *kélí-yà-ndí-∅,*
person [3SgPoss ^{L}child] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
[èndê: *là]* *[nî:-n* *gì]* *kélí-yà-ndí-∅,*
[child too] [mother-3SgPoss Acc] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
kà: *èndê:* *nû:,* *[nĭ:-ǹ* *gì]* *mà:má-m̀,*
but child now, [mother-3SgPoss Acc] be.stronger-Fut.3SgSbj,

It's not (from) hatred. A person (=adult) doesn't dislike his/her child, a child doesn't dislike its mother. But a child now, it will be more important than its mother.

[*kèlă-n* 'not wanting, hatred' §4.2.3.3; *nĭ:-ǹ* 'mother' §6.2.4]

(717) *[[èndè*^{L} *kónjê* *ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m* *mó]* *gì]*
[[child^{L} newborn weeping(adverbial) Def.AnSg] Acc]
ó *jò-ŋgà* *ké,*
2SgSbj have-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E
dèŋàn^{L} *[ó* *mà]* *mó* *néndá-nd-è:*
day^{L} [2Sg Dat] AnSgSbj be.bad-Inch-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
gìnè-∅ *mé,*
say.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
tílày, *[mó* *gì]* *dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:,*
certainty, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgSbj,

When you-Sg have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (=obey) it.

[*jò-ŋgà* 'having' §14.3.10; temporal relative with *dèŋàn* 'the day when …' §15.2.1]

(718) *[bírɔ́:* *bìrà-m = b-ɔ̀:* *mɛ́]*
[work(n) work(v)-Pres=Past-2SgSbj if]
[bìrɔ̀:[L] *kó]* *dògà-mb-ô:,*
[work(n)[L] NearDist.InanSg.O] leave-Fut-2SgSbj,
òbì-yò-mb-ô:, *[mó* *gì]* *dìŋòndò-mb-ô:,*
sit-MP-Fut-2SgSbj, [AnSg Acc] console-Fut-2SgSbj,
If you-Sg were working, you will leave (=give up) that work. You will sit (=stay home), you will console (=pacify) it (=baby)
[*kó* near-distant demonstrative after {L}-toned noun §4.4.1; *óbí-y* 'sit' §9.3.2]

(719) *[èndê:* *yà:]* *kànè-∅,*
[child Foc] do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
èndê: *[[kéndà: = y* *kó] = lá* *mɛ́],*
child [[heart=it.is Def.InanSg.O]=it.is.not if],
[mó *gì]* *[pâ→* *nè]* *jàr-ò:* *mɛ́,* *tíbá-m̀,*
[AnSg Acc] [violently Adv] knock.down.Pfv-2SgSbj if, die-Fut.3SgSbj,
[tìbɛ̀ *mɛ́]* *[mɔ́* *gɔ̀]* *mó* *w-ô:* *kǒy,*
[die.Pfv if] [AnSgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] AnSg come.Pfv-PplNonSbj Emph,
[ɔ́ *gɔ̀]* *[àyǐ-n* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]]*
[2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] [fatigue [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]]
ó *nìmsà-mb-ê:,* *kóndé→*
2SgSbj regret-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc, all.right
The child [focus] has done that. The child, if it weren't for (your) heart, you-Sg would knock (=throw) it down violently, it (=child) would die. If it has died, for its part, (the way) it has come; for your part, (in) your weariness, it's you [focus] who will be sorry. All right.
[perfective subject-focalization §13.1.1.1; possessive classifier *gɔ̀* §6.2.2; future subject-focalization *-mb-ê:* §13.1.1.3]

(720) R: *èndê:* *èlú-m̀*
child be.good-3SgSbj
R: A child is good.
[predicate adjective with 3Sg *-m* §11.4.1]

(721) P: *èndê:* *èlú-m̀* *[nă:n* *nɛ̀],* *ɲă:,* *< í kùlmà— >,*
child be.good-3SgSbj [very Adv], yesterday, < … >,
[í *[L]kùlmà-mbò],* *tó:rù* *kánà-m = b-à:,* *íyó* *òndú-∅,*
[1PlPoss [L]elder-Pl], fetish do-Pres=Past-3PlSbj, today not.be-3SgSbj,
ɲă: *kɔ̀njɛ́* *kúlíyò-m = b-à:,* *íyó* *òndú-∅,*
yesterday beer brew-Pres=Past=3PlSbj, today not.be-3SgSbj,
P: A child is very good. Formerly, our elders, they used to do (=use) fetishes (=idols). Nowadays there are none. Formerly, they used to brew millet beer. Nowadays there is none.
["went and found Najamba," i.e. went to the ancestral Najamba village of Dioni to hold a large-scale animist ceremony before the farming season]

(722) *ɲă:* *[bèlí-yé* *nè]* —,
yesterday [get.up-MP then.SS] —,
[ín *nè]* *[nàjàmbá* *gì]* *dînê:* *nè,*
[go then.SS] [Najamba Acc] find then.SS,
[[nàjàmbá *dîn]* *mà]* *ànî:* *ló,* *[jŏn* *mà]=ỳ,*
[[Najamba all] in] where? Q, [Dioni in]=it.is
Formerly, they got up and—, they went and found Najamba. In all of Najamba, where is it? It's at Dioni (village).

(723) *kên* *ín* *nè,* *[bílá* *gìné* *nè]* *[óbí-y* *nè],*
there.Def go then.SS, [exchange.Imprt say then.SS] [sit-MP then.SS]
[yèpà:bé *dîn]* *kán* *kír* *nè,*
[thing.Pl all] make do.completely then.SS,
sábárá *gìyé* *nè,* *kên* *óbí-y* *nè,*
tall.grass kill then.SS, there.Def sit-MP then.SS,
dămgí-y *nè,* *[jŏn* *mà]* *ín* *nè,* *bàndûl-bây,*
debate-MP then.SS, [Dioni in] go then.SS, sacred.meeting,
Going there (=to Dioni village), telling (others) to exchange (views), sitting and making all the things (= disputes) finish, killing (= cutting down) tall grass stems (to cover the sacred objects), sitting there, debating, going to Dioni, (and finally) having a sacred meeting.
[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.4.1; jussive clause (quoted imperative) §17.1.4.1]

(724) *[yè*^{L} *dîn]* *kánà-m=bè-y,* *jènà*^{L}*-gìyâ:* *gìné* *nè,*
[InanPl^{L} all] do-Pres=Past-1PlSbj, rainy.season^{L}-dance(n) say then.SS,
[kònjé-mbó, *kán* *nè],* *dégù:* *gìné* *nè,*
[beer-Pl, make then.SS], statuette say then.SS,
[yè^{L} *dîn]* *gŏm* *nè,*
[InanPl^{L} all] remove then.SS,
gìyâ: *[gíyò-mbò* *dènέ]* *[gíyò-mbò* *né:],*
dance(n) [dance(v)-Prog spend.day] [dance(v)-Prog spend.night]
We used to do everything. Saying (let's do) the harvest (lit. "rainy season") dance, making lots of millet beer, saying (=on account of) the idols, taking everything out (from storage), (they would) spend the day dancing and spend the night dancing.
[*yè*^{L} *dîn* with {L}-toned form before *dîn* 'all' §6.6.1; my Kubewel assistant prefers *dě:rù* in this sense ('statuette') and restricts *dè-dégè* (Pl *dè-dégù:*) to another sense, but several cognates of the latter such as Jamsay *dì-dégè* mean 'statuette'; progressive *-mbò* after A/O-stem of verb §10.1.3.5; *dènέ* and *né:* are chaining forms of verbs, trailing off with an implied but unexpressed following inflected verb]

(725) *[í mà] né:mà bè-∅, né:mà kó là,*
[1Pl in] good.times be-3SgSbj, good.times Def.InanSg.O too,
[[[[í ^{L}*kùlmà-mbò gàndí]* ^{L}*nùmà:] mà] kà] dìné:-ỳ,*
[[[[1PlPoss ^{L}elder.Pl certain] ^{L}hand] in] Top] find.Pfv-1PlSbj,
[í là] kánà-mbò bè-ỳ,
[1Pl too] do-Prog be.Pfv-1PlSbj,

There used to be good times (=prosperity) among us. We found (=experienced) the good times in the hand(s) of certain of our elders. We too used to do it.

[*bè-∅* 'was (somewhere)' §10.3.1.1; *gàndí* 'certain (ones), some' §6.3.2, the context being that some elders held onto their animist ritual objects while others discarded or sold them under the influence of Islam; past progressive *-mbò bè-* §10.3.1.6]

(726) *háyà [[yè*^{L} *dî→n] kòŋgò*^{L} *[í gì] dògá-m-ó: kó]*
well [[InanPl^{L} all] thing^{L} [1Pl Acc] leave-Caus.Pfv-PplSbj Def.InanSg.O]
àŋgú=ý, kì:^{L}*-gìndè*^{L}*-gé=lá, ɔ̀gɔ̀ndì*^{L}*-gé=lá,*
which?=it.is, head^{L}-big^{L}-Abstr=it.is.not, rich^{L}-Abstr=it.is.not,
[gà:gó yà:] [í mà] kàn j-è:,
[hunger Foc] [1Pl in] do Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc,

Well, what was the thing that made us (=led us to) leave all that? It wasn't stubbornness. It wasn't wealth (=being too rich). Hunger [focus] is what has done (this) among us.

[*dògá-m* causative §9.2.1 < *dɔ̀gé* 'leave', in subject perfective participle form §14.3.1; abstractive nominal *-gé* §4.2.2.2]

(727) *gà:gó àbádá tɔ̂:n dìmbí-yá-l-∅,*
hunger never Recip follow-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
háwràl dùmí-yà-ndí-∅,
agreement get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
[gà:gɛ́: kòŋgò^{L} *kán-ò:] nè:ndá,*
[hungry thing^{L} do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] be.bad

Hunger (= hungry people) never followed each other. No agreement (=good relations) will be gotten (between them). (Any) thing that a hungry person has done is bad.

[*tɔ̂:n* reciprocal for two persons §18.3.1; perfective object relative clause §14.4.2.1]

(728) *kà: íyó [[gwǎ: [í gɛ̀] ké] mà]*
but today [[country [1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.E] Def.InanSg.E in]
nàm-gó wè-∅,
difficult-Abstr come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[nàm-gò^{L} *w-ó: kó]*
[difficult.Abstr^{L} come.Pfv-PplSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
[[tò-mbó gì] í kɛ̀lì-yɛ̀^{L} *jòg-à: kó]=ý,*
[[Recip-Pl Acc] 1PlSbj not.want-MP^{L} Perfect-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O]=it.is,

But nowadays hardship (=high cost of living) has come into our country. The hardship that has come, it's because of the fact that we dislike each other (=don't get along).

(729) *[kó là] [nǒ: mó] [í mà]*
[InanSg.O too] [person Def.AnSg] [1Pl in]
[sɛ́gɛ́ mó dɔ̀lɛ̀-n] kɛ̀lì-yɛ̀-n=lá,
[much AnSg exceed-DS] not.want-DS=it.is.not,
[bɨ̌w dùmɛ́ dɔ̀lɛ́-mbò=lá], àndá:=lá,
[suddenly get exceed-and.then=it.is.not, other.InanSg.O=it.is.not,
That (=the fact that we don't get along) isn't from disliking the fact that people are too numerous (from overpopulation). It's not (from) gaining too much suddenly, nor anything else.
[*nǒ:* 'person' can be emended to plural *nò-mbó*; different-subject subordinating suffix *-n* after E-stem of verb §15.1.6.1; *-mbò* 'and then' with implied 'say/think' §15.1.3]

(730) *[gwǎ: nàmà-ǹdè-∅ mɛ́] < nò-mbó — >*
[country difficult-Inch.Pfv-3SgSbj if] < … >
[nò:^{L} kámà] [hây^{n} hɔ́:ràm] =ì:,
[person^{L} any] [himself] =it.is,
[nǒ: dìn] [mó ^{L}kì:] dúndà-ɲjò-∅,
[person all] [3SgPoss ^{L}head] look.for-Pres-3SgSbj,
[[ó ^{L}kì:] dúndà-ɲj-ò:],
[[2SgPoss ^{L}head] look.for-Pres-2SgSbj,
[[ó ^{L}èndè:] kèlì-yà-mb-ò: sákò],
[[2SgPoss ^{L}child] not.want-MP-Fut-2SgSbj not.to.mention],
[[ké ^{L}bàndì] mà]
[[InanSg.E ^{L}behind] in]
[[kòŋgò^{L} àndǎ:] [í mà] bò-ŋgà dîn] òndú-∅,
[[thing^{L} other.InanSg.O] [1Pl in] be-PplSbj all] not.be-3SgSbj
If the country has become hard (=full of hardship), every person will be selfish, everyone will look out for for himself. You-Sg are looking out (just) for yourself, not to mention that you will not love your child. After (=besides) that, there is nothing else that is among us.
[*nò:^{L} kámà* 'anyone, each person' §6.6.1; *hây^{n} hɔ́:ràm* 'himself' is in Fulfulde; *[[X bàndì] mà]* 'behind X' §8.2.6]

(731) *kà:* *[ŋă:* *í* *dìn-ê:* *ké]*
but [yesterday 1PlSbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
[íyó *là],* *ŋă:* *[[sò-ŋgò]-gìbù*^{L} *kúndú],*
[today too]. yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap^{L} one.InanSg.O],
í *[yàwó:* *té:mdèrè]* *[[sò-ŋgò]-gìbù*^{L} *kúndú],*
1Pl [woman.Pl hundred] [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap^{L} one.InanSg.O]
gìbí-yò-m=bè-y,
gird-MP-Pres=Past-1PlSbj,

But what we found (=experienced) formerly, now also (=by contrast), formerly a single wrap (woman's garment), one hundred of us women used to gird ourselves with (=wear) one (=the same) wrap.

[Numerals *kúndú* 'one' §4.7.1.1 and *té:mdèrè* 'hundred' §4.7.1.4; 1Pl *í* before *yàwó:* is appositional, not a possessor]

(732) *í* *íyó,* *[[ó* ^{L}*nìyɔ̀mè]*
1Pl today, [[2SgPoss ^{L}close.cousin]
[[nǐ: *tɔ̀mè:]* *[bă:* *tɔ̀mè:]]* *sò-ŋgò]* *gì]*
[[mother one.AnSg] [father one.AnSg] cloth-InanSg.O] Acc]
[àbí *nè]* *gìbì-y-ó:* *mé,*
[receive then.SS] gird-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
ó *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ,* *ó* *gìríyé:=ẁ,*
2Sg denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is, 2Sg impoverished=it.is.2SgSbj,

We nowadays, if you take (in your hands) a garment of (even) your a close cousin, (her mother and yours being) of the same mother and the same father, and you gird yourself (=wrap it around your body), you will be denigrated (= gossiped about), (saying) you are poor (impoverished).

[*sò-ŋgó* 'cloth, garment' is here possessed by 'close cousin', while 'one mother one father' is a complex adjectival phrase modifying 'close cousin' though referring to the parentage of the respective parents; future passive §10.5.2; conjugated 'it is' form of adjectival predicate ('impoverished') §11.4.2]

(733) *kóndé→* *ŋă: —,* *ó* *bírà-nd-ô:,*
all.right yesterday—, 2SgSbj work(v)-PresNeg-2SgSbj,
ó *gìríyé:=ẁ,* *ó* *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ,*
2SgSbj impoverished=it.is.2SgSbj, 2SgSbj denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is,
[ḿ *má→]* *[ó* *má→]* *[nǐ:* *tɔ̀mɔ̀:=ỳ],*
[1Sg and] [2Sg and] [mother one.AnPl=it.is.1Pl],

All right, formerly—. (Or they'll say:) you don't work, you are poor. You will be denigrated. You and I, (we are of) one mother.

[conjunction with atonal *ma→* following both conjuncts §7.1.1; 'one mother' agreeing with plural subject §4.7.1.1]

(734) *sǎŋ* *[mí* *dɔ̀lɛ́* *gwè-ḿ* *mɛ́* *dîn]*
now [1Sg go.past go.out.Pfv-1SgSbj if all]
[P *gìnɛ̀-∅* *mɛ́]* *yǎ-ndì-∅* *mâ→*
[P say.Pfv-3SgSbj if] see-FutNeg-3SgSbj whether?
[P *wà→* *lá:rí-yɛ́* *dɔ̀lɛ̀-∅* *wà],* *ɛ̂:*
[P Quot be.shiftless-MP exceed.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot], eh!

Now if I go out, P will say (to my husband): won't he see, (namely that) R is very shiftless (good-for-nothing)? Eh.

[phrase-final *ma→* 'whether?' §7.2.2; *wa* quotative particle §17.1.2]

(735) R: *jěnjâ* *[[nǒ:* *dǐn]* *gì]* *tàgá* *ǹdá:-l-∅*
God [[person each] Acc] character give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
R: God didn't give everyone the (same) character.

[accusative *gì* with recipient of 'give' §8.1.1]

(736) P: *[P* *[L]là:r-gè]=lá* *kǒy,*
[P [L]shiftless-Abstr]=it.is.not Emph,
[ó *yà:]* *[P* *àybà-mbó-m̀* *[L]dòmbà:]=ỳ,* *kóndé→,*
[2Sg Foc] [P humiliate-Fut-LogoSbj [L]owner]=it.is, all.right,
[mí *là]* *[ó* *dɔ̀lɔ́* *g-ǒ:* *mɛ́]*
[1Sg too] [2Sg leave go.out.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[yǎ-nd-ò: *lɔ́],*
[see-FutNeg-2SgSbj Q]

P: It's definitely not P's shiftlessness. It's <u>you-Sg</u> [focus] who are involved in humiliating P. All right, I too, if you-Sg have gone out, won't you see?

[*dɔ̀lɔ́* variant of *dɔ̀lɛ́* 'leave' in verb chains; *dòmbǎ:* 'owner' after 1Sg verb §5.1.8 and cf. §18.2.3]

(737) *[Y* *gà]* *[[mó* *[L]tò-mbò* *èbíyɛ̀* *dîn]* *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* *kánà-nj-ɛ̀:]*
[Y Top] [[3SgPoss [L]comrade-Pl Prox.AnPl all] like.this do-Pres-3PlSbj]
[mó *[L]tò-mbò* *èbíyɛ̀]* *nǒ:ỳ* *kánà-nj-ɛ̀:,*
[[3SgPoss [L]comrade-Pl Prox.AnPl] prospering do-Pres-3PlSbj

As for Y, all these pals (agemates) of his do like this (to him). These pals of his have prospered.

[*èbíyɛ̀* animate plural proximate demonstrative pronoun §4.4.1; *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* 'like this' §4.4.4.3]

(738) *jènjà*^{L}*-ǹdɔ́:=ý, [jěnjà mà] bèlí-yà-njò-∅,*
God^{L}-give=it.is, [God in] get.up-MP-Pres-3SgSbj,
[[yè^{L} *dîn] gì] í dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:,*
[[InanPl^{L} all] Acc] 1PlSbj leave.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[jěnjà gì] í lútà kán-ò: kó,
[God Acc] 1PlSbj rejecting do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O,
jěnjà [kó ^{L}*yàrù kó]*
God [InanSg.O.Poss ^{L}credit(n) Def.InanSg.O]
[í mà] sójà-njò-∅,
[1Pl in] pay-Pres-3SgSbj,

It's God's giving. It arises in (=due to) God. The fact that we have have left (=abandoned) all those (things), and (that) we have rejected God, God is repaying us for that debt.

[factive clause with final *kó* §17.3.2 (here takes scope over both 'leave' and 'reject' clauses; final clause lit. "God is repaying that debt among us"]

(739) *[néndá-ndí dɔ̀l-ɔ́: mɛ́]*
[be.bad exceed.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[nɛ́:mà kó] [[ó ^{L}*sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà] wǒ-ndì],*
[[good.times Def.InanSg.O] [[2SgPoss ^{L}village] in] come.FutNeg-3SgSbj,
[àlàhɔ́rmà jògò-nd-ó: mɛ́] [àlàhɔ́rmà dúmà-nd-ó:],
[deference have-Neg-2SgSbj if] [deference get-PresNeg-2SgSbj],
[nǒ: yàmbá-l-ó: mɛ́] [ó yámbà-ndí-yà],
[person cover-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if] [2SgObj cover-PresNeg-3PlSbj],
jěnjà áybɛ̀ kélà-∅,
God humiliation not.want-3SgSbj,

If you-Sg are excessively bad, prosperity will not come to your village. If you are are not deferential (to your elders), you won't get deference (from others). If you haven't covered (= been protective of) a person, they will not cover you. God doesn't like humiliation (of people).

['not want' §17.2.1.1]

(740) *íyó* *[í* *mà]* *súgí* *jòg-â:,* *áybè=ỳ,*
today [1Pl in] go.down Perfect-PplSbj, humiliation=it.is
[áybè *kó]* *[í* *gì]* *náfà-ndí-∅,*
[humiliation Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] benefit-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
jěnjà *[í* *gì]* *sútùrà* *kán-ná,*
God [1Pl Acc] protection do-Hort.3Sg,
jěnjà *[dây* *nè]* *sútúrà-ndí-∅* *kǒy,*
God [freely Adv] protect-PresNeg-3SgSbj Emph,
[bò-ŋgà *dân]* *bà-l-ó:* *mé,*
[be-PplNonSbj like] remain-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,
wàllâ:y *[bò-ŋgà* *dân]* *bǎ-ỳ,*
by.God [be-PplNonSbj like] remain-Hort.PlAddr,

What has descended on us nowadays, it's humiliation. The humiliation does not benefit us. May God protect us! God definitely doesn't protect us for nothing. If you-Sg don't remain the way one is (=ought to be), by God, let's remain the way one is.

[3Sg hortative *-ná* in exhortations §10.4.4.1, 1Pl hortative *-ỳ* 'let's …!' §10.4.2.1]

(741) *[[ó* *Lèndè:]* *gì]* *dìmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgPoss Lchild] Acc] follow-MP-2SgSbj,
[[ó *Lyè:]* *gì]* *kùmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgPoss Lwoman] Acc] hold-MP-2SgSbj,
[[ó *yè:* *là]* *ó* *kúmbí-y-ná,*
[[2SgPoss Lwoman too] 2SgObj hold-MP-Hort.3Sg,

(If) you have followed your child, (if) you have held (=watched out for) your wife, may your wife too hold you.

(742) *[nǐ:* *òndú-∅]* *[bǎ:* *òndú-∅],*
[mother not.be-3SgSbj] [father not.be-3SgSbj],
[ó *Lnɔ̀gɔ̀]* *[ó* *Lbà]=ỳ,*
[2SgPoss Lhusband] [2SgPoss Lfather]=it.is,
[ó *Lnɔ̀gɔ̀]* *[ó* *gì]* *dúwà* *kànè-∅* *mé,*
[2SgPoss Lhusband] [2Sg Acc] blessing do.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
àbá-m̀, *[í* *gà]* *ŋǎ:*
catch-Fut.3SgSbj, [1Pl Top] yesterday
[í *Lkùlmà-mbò* *mà→]* *[í* *má→]* *kènέ* *yè-y,*
[1PlPoss Lelder.Pl and] [1Pl and] like.that see.Pfv-1PlSbj,

(If) there is no mother and there is no father, your husband is (the equivalent of) your father. If your husband has blessed you, it (= blessing) will take hold. As for us, formerly our elders and we saw (= experienced) like that.

[traditionally one seeks formal blessings from one's father]

(743) *í* [L]*kùlmà-mbò,* *ɲă:* *[sò-ŋgò]*[L]*-yàmbù*[L] *ŋ̀gú,*
1PlPoss [L]elder.Pl, yesterday [cloth-InanSg.O[L]]-covering[L] Prox.InanSg.O,
săŋ *mí* *yàmbà-ŋgà*[L] *ŋ̀gú,* *ɲám* *kànè-∅* *mé,*
now 1SgObj cover-Pres.Ppl[L] Prox.InanSg.O, night do.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[[kó *gì]* *yàmbí-lé* *nd-à:* *mé]*
[[InanSg.O Acc] cover-Rev give.Pfv-3PlSbj if]
[[kó *gì]* *yàmbì-yà-mbó-ỳ],*
[[InanSg.O Acc] cover-MP-Fut-1PlSbj],

Our elders, formerly this covering (e.g. blanket), (like) this (blanket) that covers me now, when night would fall, when they had taken it off and given it (to us), we would put it over ourselves (=cover ourselves with it).

[present participle *-ŋgà* with {L}-toned stem §14.3.3; reversive verb ('uncover') §9.1]

(744) *[ègă:* *bèlì-y-à:* *mé]*
[morning get.up-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if]
[bé *[[kó* *gì]* *jìbí-y* *nè]* *dándà:* *gŏ-mb-à],*
[AnPl [[InanSg.O Acc] gird-MP then.SS] outside go.out-Fut-3PlSbj],

When they had gotten up in the morning, they would wrap it around themselves, they would go outside.

(745) *íyó* *[ó* [L]*èndè:* *mó],*
today [2SgPoss [L]child Def.AnSg],
[swĕ: *gì]* *[ké:sù* *mà]* *jòyó-ndí=b-à:=ỳ,*
[cloth.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=Past-Pass=it.is,
[[swĕ: *yé]* *gì]* *dăy=b-à:=ỳ,*
[[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] lay.out=Past-Pass=it.is,
[[swĕ: *yé]* *gì]* *[[òlè*[L]*-gègèlé]* *mà]* *jăb=b-à:=ỳ,*
[[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] [[house[L]-corner] in] hang=Past-Pass=it.is,

Nowadays, your child, the clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been plastered (=hung) on the corner (=outside wall) of the house.

[*jòyó-ndí* 'make full' §9.4; past passive *=b-à:=ỳ* §10.5.1]

(746) *gà:gó* *ó* *gíyà-mbò* *bò-∅,*
hunger 2SgObj kill-Prog be-3SgSbj,
[[ó [L]*nɔ̀gɔ̀* *mó]* *gì]* *hàybă-nd-ò:,*
[[2SgPoss [L]husband Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgSbj,

Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over (=take care of) your husband.

(747) *[ó* *[L]nɔ̀gɔ́* *mó]* *[déŋán* *tɔ̀mɔ̂:]* *bèlì-yè* *mé,*
[2SgPoss [L]husband Def.AnSg] [day one.InanSg.O] arise-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[[ìŋgè[L] *tă-ŋgè]* *mà]* *[dándà:* *mà]* *gŏ-m̀,*
[water[L] plain-InanSg.E] with] [outside in] go.out-Fut.3SgSbj,

Your husband, one day he will go outside with (= having drunk) plain water (i.e. without a solid breakfast).

[*déŋán tɔ̀mɔ̂:*, variant of *déŋán tɔ̀mê:*, no tone-dropping of noun before this numeral, §4.7.1.1]

(748) *[[[ìŋgè[L]* *tă-ŋgè]* *mà]*
[[[water[L] plain-InanSg.E] with]
nò:[L] *[dándà:* *mà]* *gw-é:* *mó* *má→]*
person[L] [outside in] go.out-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg and]
[ó *má→]* *[hàwrà-mb-ê:* *mà→ˀ],*
[2Sg and] [get.along-Fut-2PlSbj whether?]

'Will you and someone (=your husband) who has gone outside with plain water (be able to) get along?'

(749) *háwràl* *dùmí-yà-ndí-∅,* *kóndé→,*
understanding get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj, all.right,
[[ánè *mó]* *[L]kèndà:* *mó]* *ɲàm-ô:,*
[[man Def.AnSg] [L]heart Def.AnSg] be.ruined.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
[[yĕ: *mó]* *gì]* *mó* *jé-ǹ,*
[[woman Def.AnSg] Acc] AnSgSbj man.marry-DS,
[yĕ: *mó]* *[mó* *gì]* *kɔ́ntà-njò-ndí-∅,*
[woman Def.AnSg] [AnSg Acc] esteem-Prog-Neg-3SgSbj,
[mó *gà]* *nè:ndá,*
[AnSg Top] be.bad,

There will be no mutual understanding (= good relations). All right, when a man's heart is ruined (= he is unhappy), if he has married a woman, the woman doesn't hold him in high regard. She is nasty.

[headless adverbial relative §14.2.5 and §15.2.4, *-njò-ndí-* progressive negative §10.1.4.5]

(750) *[àndí* *mó* *nè:ndá* *gìné-mbò]*
[knowing AnSg be.bad say-and.then]
[mó *dɔ̀gɔ́* *sì-y-ɔ̌:],*
[AnSg leave pour-MP-2SgSbj],
< mó gì— > *[mó* *nè:ndá→]* *[[mó* *gì]* *dɔ̀gɔ́* *sì-y-ɔ̌:]*
< … > [AnSg be.bad] [[AnSg Acc] leave pour-MP-2SgSbj]
[[yè:[L] *yúgúl]* *j-ɔ̌:* *mé* *nû:],*
[[woman crazy] man.marry.Pfv-2SgSbj if now],

Saying (= thinking) that she is nasty, you have discarded (= divorced) her. She is nasty, (and) you have discarded her, then if you have taken (= married) a crazy woman (as a new wife) now.

(751) *kó* *bɔ̀nɛ́* *bàrì-y-ɔ̌:* *kɔ̌y,*
InanSg misfortune add-MP-2SgSbj Emph,
àbádá *dúkùr* *[ó* *mà]* *gɔ̌-l-∅,*
never deep.sorrow [2SgPoss Dat] go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[nò:^{L} *mó* *gà]* *dúkùr* *bàrì-yɛ̀-∅,*
[person^{L} NearDist.AnSg Top] deep.sorrow add-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj,
You have definitely added misfortune to that for yourself. The deep sorrow has never left you. That person (= man) has added to his deep sorros.
[near-distant animate singular demonstrative *mó* with {L}-toned preceding noun §4.4.1]

(752) *kà:* *jɛ̌njà* *[[ké* *sàrrì* *ké]* *mà]*
but God [[InanSg.E misfortune Def.InanSg.E] in]
[í *gì]* *àbí-ná,*
[1Pl Acc] catch-Hort.3Sg,
jɛ̌njà *[[í* *gì]* *ìr-ô:]* *[í* *gì]* *wâ:* *kán-ná,*
God [[1Pl Acc] be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] far(adv) do-Hort.3Sg,
But, may God catch us (=keep us away) from that misfortune. May God keep us safe from what is bigger than us (= calamity).
[*ké* NOUN *ké* determiner sandwich §4.4.3; comparative *ìr-ô:* §12.1.4]

(753) *tínnà* *kànɛ́-y* *mɛ́⇓,*
effort do.Pref-1PlSbj if,
[[nă: *[í* ^{L}*kùlmà-mbò]* *b-ɛ̂:* *ké]* *gì]*
[[yesterday [1PlPoss ^{L}elder-Pl] be-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
tɛ̀wɲɛ́-y *mɛ́,*
head.for.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
[jènjà *òbèlé]* *ígò-ndí* *jógò-∅,* *wàllâ:y-ní,*
[God Chief] a.lot have-3SgSbj, by.God,
If we make our best effort, if we head for (there) where our elders were in the past, Almighty God has much.
[nonsubject participle *b-ɛ̂:* from *bɛ́-* 'remain']

(754) *[[ó* ^{L}*bà]* *gì]* *jɔ̀y-ɔ́:* *mɛ́* *dîn,*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}father] Acc] respect.Pfv-2SgSbj if all,
jɛ̌njà *ó* *yàmbì-rá-m̀,*
God 2SgObj cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj,
If you are deferential (= obedient) to your father, God will cover (= protect) you.

(755) R: *[ó* ^{L}*èndè:]* *ó* *jòyá-m̀*
[2SgPoss ^{L}child] 2SgObj respect-Fut.3SgSbj
R: Your child will be deferential to you.

(756) P: *[ó* *ˡèndè:]*—, *[[[ó* *ˡbà]* *gì]* *jɔ̀y-ɔ́:* *mɛ́]*
[2SgSbj ˡchild]—, [[[2SgPoss ˡfather] Acc] respect.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[ó *ˡèndè:]* *ó* *jòyá-m̀],*
[[2SgPoss ˡchild] 2SgObj respect-Fut.3SgSbj],
[[[ó *ˡǹ]* *gì]* *jɔ̀y-ɔ́:* *mɛ́]*
[[[2SgPoss ˡmother] Acc] respect.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[ó *ˡèndè:]* *ó* *jòyá-m̀],*
[[2SgPoss ˡchild] 2SgObj respect-Fut.3SgSbj],

P: Your child—. If you are deferential to your father, your child will be deferential to you. If you are deferential to your mother, your child will be deferential to you.

(757) *[ó* *ˡǹ* *mà→]* *[ó* *ˡbà* *mà→]*
[2SgPoss ˡmother and] [2SgPoss ˡfather and]
[ó *ˡsà:rà:-mbò]* *[ɔ́* *bɔ̀]=ỳ* *gà]*
[2SgPoss ˡparent-Pl] [2SgPoss Psm.AnPl]=it.is Top]
dɔ̀g-ɔ́: *mɛ́* *dîn,*
leave.Pfv-2SgSbj if all,
[ó *ˡyè:]* *ó* *jòyá-m̀,*
[2SgPoss ˡwoman] 2SgObj respect-Fut.3SgSbj,

If you leave (= treat) your mother and your father as your own (true) parents, your wife will be deferential to you.

[*sá:rà:* 'parent' can denote one's mother or father or any of their younger same-sex siblings; animate plural possessive classifier *bɔ̀* §6.2.2]

(758) *síyà,* *ó* *sǎŋ* *[[ó* *sà:rà:]* *gì]* *íyó* *í-mbò*
well, 2Sg now [[2SgPoss ˡparent] Acc] today go-and.then
ó *dìn-ɔ̂:,*
2SgSbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[ó *ˡsà:rà:* *mó]* *ó* *dwá-ǹ]*
[2SgPoss ˡparent Def.AnSg] 2SgSbj insult-DD]
mí *dìnê:* *mɛ́* *nû:,*
1SgSbj find.Pfv if now,
[[[ó *ˡsà:rà:* *mó]* *gì]* *[[tɛ́gɛ́lɛ̀:* *kɛ́]* *mà]*
[[[2SgPoss ˡparent Def.AnSg] Acc] [[side.of.face Def.InanSg.E] in]
dɛ̀njɛ́-m *mɛ́]* *[há:ná-l-∅* *mà→]*
hit.Pfv-1SgSbj if] [be.possible-PfvNeg-3SgSbj whether?]

When you now have gone nowadays and found (= met with) your parent, if I find now that you are insulting (= being disrespectful to) your parent, if (seeing this) I (= your friend) hit (= slap) your parent on the side of the face, is it impossible?

[*í-mbò* from stem *ín* 'go']

(759) R: *wá:jìbè,* *ó* *dènjé* *ǹdè*
certainly, 2SgSbj hit give.Pfv

R: Definitely, it's <u>you</u> (the child of the parent) [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting.

[Focalization with pronominally unmarked perfective verb §13.1.1.1]

(760) P: *ó* *dènjé* *ǹdè,*
2SgSbj hit give.Pfv,
[[ɔ́ *yè]* *gì]* *háybá-l-∅,*
[[2SgPoss Psm.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[ó *[ɔ́* *yè]* *jé-mbò]*
[2SgSbj [2SgPoss Psm.AnSg] take-and.then]
[ébán *má]* *tùn-ó:* *mé* *nû:,*
[market in] put.Pfv-2SgSbj if now,
nò-mbó *mó* *tàrǎ-ndí-yà* *mà,*
person-Pl 3SgObj look.at-FutNeg-3PlSbj Q,

P: It's <u>you</u> [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting. He didn't protect yours (= your parent). If now you have taken yours (= your parent) and put him in the market, won't the people look at him?

[perfective with subject focalized §13.1.1.1; *yè* animate singular possessive classifier §6.2.2]

(761) R: *kènɛ́* *bò-∅*
like.that be-3SgSbj

R: It is that way.

(762) P: *kóndé→* *ɲǎ:* *nò-mbó* *yùgúlì-yò-mbò* *b-à:,*
all.right yesterday person-Pl be.crazy-MP-Prog Past-3PlSbj,
yùgùlì-y-ò: *mɛ́,* *jóŋà-mbò* *b-à:,*
be.crazy-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if, treat-Prog Past-3PlSbj,
pórò-mbò *bɛ̀-∅,*
escape-Prog Past-3SgSbj,
[nǒ: *[L]nùmà:]* *bô:-∅↗,* *[jěnjà* *[L]nùmà:]* *bô:-∅↘,*
[person [L]hand] be-3SgSbj, [God [L]hand] be-3SgSbj,

P: All right, formerly, the people used to be going crazy. If they went crazy, they (= others) treated them, it (= craziness) would escape (=be over). There is the hand of a human, (and) there is the hand of God.

[i.e. some people are cured by human healing, others only by God; past progressive *-mbò bɛ̀-* §10.3.1.6; *bô:* 'be present, exist' §11.2.2.1]

(763) *[[[jěnjà* *nùmà:]* *mà]* *bò-ŋgà* *kó* *gà]*
[[God [L]hand] in] be-PplSbj Def.InanSg.O Top]
jěnjà *kán* *jòg-â:=ỳ,*
God do Perfect-PplSbj=it.is.
[[[[nŏ: *[L]nùmà:]* *mà]* *gwé-mbò]*
[[[[person [L]hand] in] go.out-and.then]
bìré=b-à: *kó* *má→]*
work(v)=Past-Passive Def.InanSg.O and]
[jěnjà *kɔ̀* *kó* *má→]* *kúndú=lá,*
[God Psm.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O and] one.InanSg.O=it.is.not

As for what is in the hand of God, God has done (it). What has come out of the hand of a human and has been produced (by humans), and God's (work), are not the same (=are not comparable).

[*jòg-â:=ỳ* is the 'it is' form of a perfect participle, but it can be used predicatively §10.1.3.3; inanimate singular O-class possessive classifier *kɔ̀* dirctly following possessor noun without an intervening pronominal §6.2.2]

(764) *kà:* *jěnjà* *[nè:ndà[L]-kàné* *gì]* *kíyò-∅,*
but God [bad[L]-do.Agent Acc] want.Stat-3SgSbj,
[[nè:ndà[L]-kàné *gì]* *mó* *kìyò-ŋgà]* *[àŋgú=ý* *ló],*
[[bad[L]-do.Agent Acc] AnSgSbj want.Stat-PplNonSbj] [which?=it.is Q],
júkkɛ̀rɛ̀=ỳ *éŋgú,*
fine=it.is tomorrow,

But God likes (= tolerates) an evil-doer. The fact that He likes an evil-doer, what is (the reason for) it? It's punishment in the future ("tomorrow").

(765) *[lá:kàrà* *mà]* *[jùkkɛ̀rɛ̀[L]* *gìndó:]*
[Hereafter in] [fine(n)[L] big.InanSg.O]
[mó *gì]* *dímbà-∅,* *wá:jìbè,*
[AnSg Acc] follow.Stat-3SgSbj, certainly,
[[í *[L]kùlmà-mbò]* *[L]ìm]* *mà]* *ŋɛ̀né* *ŋwɛ̀-ý,*
[[1PlPoss [L]elder-Pl] [L]mouth] in] like.this hear.Pfv-1PlSbj,
< í bàbà:-mbò— > *[í* *[L]bàbà:-mbò* *mà→]* *[í* *[L]ǹ-bò* *mà→]*
< … > [1PlPoss [L]father-Pl and] [1PlPoss [L]mother-Pl and]
dìné:-ỳ *kŏy,*
find.Pfv-1PlSbj Emph,

In the Hereafter (= Afterworld), a great punishment follows (=will afflict) him. We certainly heard this in (= from) our elders' mouth(s). We definitely found (= experienced) our fathers and mothers.

[*júkkɛ̀rɛ̀* 'fine (penalty)', by extension 'divine punishment'; agentive compound §5.1.4; 'want' §17.2.1.1; factive clause in nonsubject relative-clause form §17.3.2, can be emended by adding *kó* after *kìyò-ŋgà* ; *àŋgú* 'which, what?' §13.2.2.7; *ìm* < /ìbí/ 'mouth'; *bàbâ:* 'father, daddy', alternative to *bă:* 'father']

(766) *[í* *[L]bàbà:]* *ó* *wá→,*
[1PlPoss [L]father] 2Sg(vocative) Quot,
[dôm *mà]* *[[ó* *[L]ìbì]* *ìr-ó:]*
[speech in] [[2SgPoss [L]mouth] be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O]
bô:-∅ *wà* *kǒy,*
be-3SgSbj Quot Emph,
[kwé-ŋgò *mà]* *[[ó* *[L]ìbì]* *ìr-ó:]*
[food-InanSg.O in] [[2SgPoss [L]mouth] be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O]
bô:-∅ *wà,*
be-3SgSbj Quot,
Our father said: hey you, in speech there is definitely something that is bigger than (what comes from) your mouth; in food there is something that is bigger than (what you put in) your mouth.
[quotative particle *wa→* after vocative, then *wa* after sentence proper §17.1.2]

(767) *kwé-ŋgò* *[[kɛ́rɛ́* *má]* *wá* *ín* *nɛ̀]*
food-InanSg.O [[the.bush in] Quot go then.SS]
dìnɛ̂: *mɛ́,* *[[[ó* *[L]ìm]* *mà]*
get.Pfv if, [[[2SgPoss [L]mouth] in]
há:nɛ́ *jòg-à:* *kó]* *kwɛ̀* *mɛ́,*
be.possible Perfect-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O] eat.Pfv if,
[[[[ó *[L]ìm]* *mà]* *há:ná-l-ó:]* *jɛ̂:-n]*
[[[[2SgPoss [L]mouth] in] be.possible-PfvNeg-PplSbj.InanSg.O] take-DS]
[[ó *[L]sà:rà:* *mó]* *gì]* *ǹdír* *wá,*
[[2SgPoss [L]parent Def.AnSg] Acc] give.Imprt Quot,
He (=our father) said: if you have gone out to the bush and gotten (some) food, having eaten what is possible (=what fits) in your mouth, you (should) bring that which is not possible (= does not fit) in your mouth and give it to your parent.
[quotative *wa* at the end of the quoted passage and also after an adverbial phrase near the beginning; *dìnɛ̂:* and *kwɛ̀* would normally be 2Sg *dìn-ô:* and *k-ǒ:* in this context; *ǹdírɛ́* is a variant of *ǹdɛ́* 'give']

(768) *íyó* *[ó* *^{L}sà:rà:* *mó]*
today [2SgPoss ^{L}parent Def.AnSg]
[[ólé *ké]* *mà]* *kên* *bíyò-∅↗,*
[[house Def.InanSg.E] in] there.Def lie.down.Stat-3SgSbj,
ó *[kéré* *má]* *ó* *g-ô:↘,*
2Sg [outback in] 2SgSbj go.out.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[[nàmà:^{L} *sì:^{L}-gá:]* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]*
[[meat^{L} fat^{L}-Char.InanSg.O] [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]
kwé→ *dă:n* *ó* *kúb-ô:]*
sizzling(adv) roast 2SgSbj eat.meat.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
[[ó *^{L}sà:rà:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:],*
[[2SgPoss ^{L}parent] give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj]
[[ó *^{L}yè:* *tɔ̀mê:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:]*
[[2Sg ^{L}woman one.AnSg] give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj]
[ó *^{L}èndè:* *tɔ̀mê:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:,*
[2SgPoss ^{L}child one.AnSg] give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,

Nowadays, your parent is lying down there in the house, (while) you have gone out to the bush, you have roasted (directly on a fire) your sizzling fatty meat and eaten it (out in the bush), without your having given (any) to your parent, and without your having given (any) to a single (= any) wife of yours or to a single your having given any to a single child of yours.

[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.4.1, perfective nonsubject relative §14.3.1; *sì:-gé:* ~ *sì:-gá:* characteristic *-gá:* §4.2.2.1; *kwé→* 'sizzling' onomatopoeic adverbial; *tɔ̀mê:* 'one' after negation = '(not even) a single one'; perfective negative clauses following a positive clause can be freely glossed "without having VPed"]

(769) *síyà,* *dúwàw* *bô:-∅,*
well, blessing be-3SgSbj,
Well, is there a (parental) blessing here?

(770) R: *òndí-∅*
not.be-3SgSbj
R: There is none.

(771) P: *ké* *dân* *yà:—,* *[ké* *dân]* *bò-y* *mé* *dîn,*
InanSg.E like Foc—, [InanSg.E like] be-1PlSbj if all,
[[ì *gwà:^{L}* *ŋ̀gí]* *mà]* *né:mà* *bá-m̀*
[[1PlPoss country^{L} Prox.InanSg.E] in] good.times remain-Fut.3SgSbj

P: Like that—, if we were (= behaved) like that (i.e. in the old way), prosperity would remain in this land of ours.

(772) R: *éŋgú* *yàrú* *ó* *sòjă-mb-à:=ỳ*
tomorrow debt 2SgObj pay-Fut-Pass=it.is
R: Tomorrow you will be repaid what you are owed.
[future passive *-mb-à:=ỳ* §10.5.2]

(773) P: *éŋgú* *[yàrú* *yé]* —
tomorrow [debt Def.InanPl]—
P: Tomorrow the debts (owed to you)—.

(774) R: *síyè-ŋgò* *kàn-ó:* *mé,*
good-InanSg.O do.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
jěnjà *[ó* *kán-ò:* *kó]*
God [2SgSbj do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
[ó *gì]* *yóbà* *kán-ná,*
[2Sg Acc] repaying do-Hort.3Sg
[ó *[L]kèndà:]* *sùgè-∅* *mé,*
[2SgPoss [L]heart] defecate.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
síyè-ŋgò *káná-l-ó:,*
good-InanSg.O do-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
R: If you have done good (deeds), may God repay you (for) what you have done. If you are angry (=evil), you have not done good (deeds).
[lit. "if your heart has defecated" = 'if you are angry (=evil)']

(775) *[dôm* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]]* *dìmbí-yá*
[speech [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] follow-MP.Imprt
[to the other speaker:] (Please) continue your talk!

(776) P: *háyà,* *[ěy* *gì* *yà:]* *dìmbì-yé-y* *mé* *díndì,*
well, [Prox.InanPl Acc Foc] follow-MP-1PlSbj if all,
jěnjà *né:mà* *[í* *mà]* *sùgò-ndó-m̀,*
God good.times [1Pl Dat] go.down-Caus-Fut.3SgSbj,
kà: *[ěy* *gì]* *dìmbí-yá-lì-y* *mé* *dîn,*
but [Prox.InanPl Acc] follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PlSbj if all,
[àyǐ-n *kó]* *[í* *[L]bàndì]* *dìmbí-lí-yà-ndí-∅,*
[fatigue Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl [L]behind] follow-Tr-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
P: If these (behaviors) [focus] are what we have followed, God will bring down (= provide) prosperity for us. But if we have not followed these (behaviors), suffering will not stop following us.
[*dìmbí-lí-yé* 'stop following', reversive of *dìmbí-yé* 'follow']

(777) *àyè-ý,* *gà:gì-yè-ý,*
be.weary.Pfv-1PlSbj, be.hungry-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj,
[[dôm *kó]* *òndú-∅]*
[speech Def.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj]
[bìrɔ̀:[L] *síyè-ŋgò]* *òndú-∅],*
[work[L] good-InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj],
kà: *jěnjà* *ké* *[í* *gì]* *yámbí-r-ná,*
but God InanSg.E [1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-Hort.3Sg,
We have suffered, we have been hungry. There is no talking (= discussing among ourselves), there is no good work. But may God cover (= remove) that (situation) for us.

(778) *[[mó gì] dìmbì-yɛ́-y mɛ́]*
[[AnSg Acc] follow-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj if]
[[í gì] yàmbì-rá-m̀ kǒy],
[1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj Emph,
[mó gì] dìmbí-yá-lì-y mɛ́]
[AnSg Acc] follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PlSbj if]
[í gì] yàmbí-rà-ndí-∅,
[1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-PresNeg-3SgSbj,

If we follow Him (= God), He will definitely cover (= protect) us. If we don't follow Him, He will not cover us.

[L-toned 1Pl perfective negative *-lì-y* §10.1.4.2]

(779) *[í tàrà-n], [í* ^{L}*kùlmà-mbò],*
[1Pls look-DS], [1PlPoss ^{L}elder-Pl],
sògólè, yàwó: gìbì-y-ò: wê:,
yellow.dye, woman.Pl gird-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj ugh!,
ánà:, yé nùŋí-yà-m = b-à:,
man.Pl, InanPl wear.garment-MP-Pres=Past-3PlSbj,

As we watched (=in our memory), our elders, (garments of) yellow bogola dye (from *Anogeissus* tree), what women wore (around their bodies), ugh! (As for) men, they used to wear these (garments, too).

[*tàrà-n* different-subject form with A/O-stem of verb §15.1.6.1; 'ugh!' expresses the attitude of today's women to old-fashioned bogola clothing made with vegetable dyes; yellow dye for traditional bogola fabric is made froms leaves of the tree *Anogeissus leiocarpus*; 'gird' because women's wraps (outer garments) are wrapped and tied around the body]

(780) *[tàgù*^{L} *kó:sù-mbò]↗,*
[shoe^{L} leather.sandal-Pl],
[bé gì] tágí-yà-mb-à: = ỳ = bɛ̀-∅,
[AnPl Acc] wear.shoe-MP-Pres-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgSbj,
nè:^{L}*-gùjú, íyó [[nɛ̌:* ^{L}*gùjù] [[ó* ^{L}*yè:] gì]*
cow^{L}-skin, today [[cow ^{L}skin] [[2SgPoss ^{L}woman] Acc]
tàgì-r-ɔ́: mɛ́]
wear.shoe-Tr.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[ó gì] bìlá-m̀ mà→ˀ],
[[2Sg Acc] be.peaceful.for-Fut.3SgSbj Q],

Leather sandals, they were worn, (of) cowhide. Nowadays, if you have your wife wear cowhide (shoes), will it be peaceful (=turn out well) for you?

[animate plural *bé gì* because 'shoes' is a grammatically animate noun; present passive §10.5.3, differing only in tones from future passive; note co-occurrence of regular compound 'cow-skin' and possessive-type compound 'cow's skin'; mediopassive *tágí-yɛ́* 'put shoes on (oneself)' vs. transitive *tágí-rɛ́* 'put shoes on (someone else)'; final question is rhetorical]

(781) *kóndé→* *[nɛ̌:* *^{L}gùjù* *kó]*
all.right [cow.Pl ^{L}skin Def.InanSg.O]
[nɔ̌: *dîn* *là]* *kó* *dúmà-ndí,*
[person all too] InanSg.O get-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
wàllâ:y *[[nɔ̌:* *[nɛ̌:* *^{L}gùjù]* *tágà-∅]*
by.God [[person [cow.Pl ^{L}skin] wear.Stat-3SgSbj]
y-ɔ̌: *mé* *díndì],* *ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:=ỳ* *[kìnjàn^{L}-gɛ́:* *tágà-∅],*
see.Pfv-2SgSbj if all], rich=it.is [life^{L}-Char wear.Stat-3SgSbj],

All right, (formerly) not everyone could get cowhide. By God, if you saw someone wear cow's hide (shoes), he was rich, (it was as though) he was wearing a living one (= entire live cow).

[assistant says *tágà-n* is also possible instead of the first *tàgà* ; final comment is a way of exaggerating the wealth of any person wearing leather sandals in the past]

(782) R: *já:tì,* *ŋă:* *kɛ̀nɛ́* *yà:* *bɛ̀-∅*
exactly, yesterday like.this Foc be-3SgSbj
R: Exactly. Formerly <u>like that</u> [focus] is how it was.

(783) P: *[mánà* *^{L}tàgì:]* *nû:* *yɛ̌ŋ* *kǎŋgòy,*
[plastic ^{L}shoe] now what? be.done,
mánà=lá *má,* *[yèŋgé* *má]* *dímbà-∅*
plastic=it.is.not Q, [what? Dat] follow.Stat-3SgSbj

P: Plastic shoes now, what good was it? Was it not plastic? What was it for?

[lit. *kǎŋgòy*, roughly 'be done' in this specific phrase, is obscurely related to *kán* 'do, make'; the final clause is literally 'what did it follow?']

(784) R: *sòjó-m̀*
melt-Fut.3SgSbj
R: It would melt.

(785) P: *háyà* *[kó* *yà:]* *[kìr-gé:* *[L]bàm]=ì:,*
well [InanSg.O Foc] [herder [L]share]=it.is,
kà: *[nĕ:* *[L]tàgì:]* *tàgì-y-ɔ́:* *mé,*
but [cow.Pl [L]shoe] wear.shoe-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
nĕ: *tàgì-y-ɔ̌:,*
cow.Pl wear.shoe-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj,
[nɔ̌: *dîn]* *mó* *dúmà-ndí-∅* *kɔ̌y,*
[person all] AnSgObj get-PresNeg-3SgSbj Emph,
ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀[L]-bɛ̀lɛ́=ý *nɔ̀,*
patas.monkey[L]-getting=it.is no?,
jĕnjà *[bàndí* *ké]* *[í* *mà]* *síyá-ndá-m-ná,*
God [behind InanSg.E] 1Pl Dat] good-Inch-Fact-Hort.3Sg,

P: Well, that [focus] was a herder's share. But if you wore cow(-hide) shoes, (it was as though) you were wearing a (whole) cow. Definitely not everyone could get (=afford) it. It's what we call "patas monkey's getting," no? May God make our end (= destiny) good.

["patas monkey's chance" is said to be a Tommo So phrase, cf. Najamba *ɔ̀mélɛ̀* 'patas monkey', the point being (apparently) that it's difficult to pick high-hanging fruits left by the monkeys]

(786) *kà:* *nàmà-ndɛ̀-∅* *kɔ̌y* *[í* *mà],*
but difficult-Inch-3SgSbj Emph [1Pl Dat],
[ɲă: *kòŋgò[L]* *í* *yà-m=b-ɔ̀:* *mà]*
[yesterday thing[L] 1PlSbj see-Pres=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O in]
[[íyó *í* *yà-ŋgà]* *[hâl* *kúndú]* *òndú-∅]*
[[today 1PlSbj see-Ppl.Pres] [until one.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj]
[kà:ná: *[[[bɔ̀nɛ́=ý* *mɛ́]* *[L]bàndì]* *mà],*
[except [[[trouble=it.is if] [L]behind] in],
[tìbɔ̀:[L] *kòlô:]* *mà,* *[sà:mà-n[L]* *nè:ndá:]* *má,*
[death[L] unripe] or, [disease[L] bad] or,

But it has certainly been difficult on us. In (=among) the thing(s) that we saw formerly, there is not even a single thing that we (still) see nowadays, other than in the aftermath of troubles: unripe (=premature) death or bad disease.

(787) *sà:mă-n* *[í* *là]* *sà:mì-yɛ̀-∅,*
disease [1Pl too] get.sick-MP-3SgSbj,
[í *[L]kì:]* *jɔ̀ŋɛ́* *já-ndì-ỳ,*
[1PlPoss [L]head] treat can-Neg-1PlSbj,
[bɛ̀lí-yɛ́ *nɛ̀]* *kúnjá,* *tìb-ɔ̌:,*
[get.up-MP then.SS] get.old.Imprt, die.Pfv-2SgSbj,

Furthermore, when we catch a disease, we cannot treat ourselves (medically). (They say:) arise and get old! You are dead.

["our head" = reflexive object §18.1.1]

(788) *[[ɲă:* *jóŋà-mb-à:=b-ĕ:* *ké]* *mà]*
[[yesterday treat-Fut-Pass=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] in]
[íyó *jóŋà-ndí-yà],*
[today treat-PresNeg-3PlSbj],
[nŏ: *tɔ̀mê:* *mó]* *kòŋ-kámà* *éndà-∅,*
[person one Def.AnSg] thing[L]-any not.know-3SgSbj,
mó *jòŋé=ỳ* *wà,* *gwé* *yàlì-yè-∅* *má,*
AnSg heal.Agent=it.is Quot, go.out go.around-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj Q,

In the place(s) where (people) used to be treated (by healers), now they don't treat (them). One person (=quack healer) doesn't know anything, (but) he claims to be a healer. Did he (=sick person) go out and walk around (i.e. in good health)?

[*jòŋé* uncompounded agentive §4.2.3.5; *jòŋé=ỳ wà* is heard phonetically as [dʒɔ̀ŋêw:à], i.e. with /yw/ fusing as [w:].

(789) *[să:mà* *gà]* *[jĕnjà* *bô:-∅* *mà→]* *éndà-∅,*
[sick.person Top] [God be-3SgSbj whether?] not.know-3SgSbj,
[mó *gì]* *dìmbì-yá-m̀,* *[mó* *gì]* *táppà* *kàná-m̀,*
[AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgSbj, [AnSg Acc] hitting do-Fut.3SgSbj,
kwă-m̀, *làỳ,* *tìbá-m̀,*
eat-Fut.3SgSbj, Emph, die-Fut.3SgSbj,

The sick person doesn't know whether (=that) God is there. He (=sick person) will follow him (=healer). He (=healer) will hit (=fleece) him, (he will) eat (him) up, totally. He (=sick person) will die.

(790) *kóndé→* *[jŏn* *mà],* *gô:* *mà,* *jòŋà-mb-à* *wà,*
all.right [Dioni in], Go in, treat-Fut-3PlSbj Quot,
jènjà^{L}*-[nèmbìl-ŋgó]* *bɛ̀-∅* *wà,*
God^{L}-[pleading-InanSg.O] be.Past-3SgSbj Quot,
[gô: *mà]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Go in] go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[dìmbìrá *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Lamordé in] be.Past-3SgSbj, go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[dìndăl *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Dindari in] be.Past-3SgSbj, go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[ă:jà *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Adia in] be.Past-3SgSbj, go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[gùndàpâl *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Gundapari in] be.Past-3SgSbj, go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[yĕl *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Ogoyeri in] be.Past-3SgSbj, go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[[dɛ̀mbɛ̆l *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ*
[[Dembeli in] be.Past-3SgSbj] go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[[tàbâ: *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[[Tabako in] be.Past-3SgSbj] go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
[mùgî: *mà]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Mougi in] go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,

All right, in Dioni (village), at Go, they would treat (the sick), it is said. There used to be praying to (animist) God. We aren't going to Go (any longer). It was (also) at Lamordé, (but) we aren't going (now). It was at Dindari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Adia, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Gundapari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Ogoyeri, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Dembeli, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Tabako, (but) we we aren't going. We we aren't going to Mougi.

[Go is a secret place with an underground spring]

(791) *nàjàmbá* *í-mbò* *jólà* *kàló:=ỳ,*
Najamba go-and Débéré boundary=*it*.is,
kên *kálí-yé* *jò-∅,*
there.Def stop.at.boundary-MP Perfect-3SgSbj,
[yè^{L} *dîn]* *í* *dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:,*
[InanPl^{L} all] 1PlSbj leave.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[í ^{L}*dì:nà]* *gòmè-ý,*
[1PlPoss ^{L}religion] take.out.Pfv-1PlSbj,

Najamba (country) went to (its) boundary at Débéré and stopped at its boundary there. When we left (=ceased practicing) all that, we took out (=adopted) our religion (=Islam).

(792) *[[[í* *[L]dì:nà]*
[[[1PlPoss [L]religion]
í *gòm-ô:* *kó]* *mà]*
1PlSbj take.out.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O] in]
[nàfà[L] *í* *y-ɔ̂:]* *òndú-∅* *kǒy,*
[benefit[L] 1PlSbj see.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj Emph,
(Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen.

(793) *[íyó* *[nàwó:* *tɛ́:mèndérɛ̀]* *ó* *jògò-n]* *dìné-m̀* *mé,*
[today [cow.Pl hundred] 2SgSbj have-DS] find.Pfv-1SgSbj if,
[ɛ́ndɛ̀n *wè-ḿ* *mɛ́]*
[day.after.tomorrow come.Pfv-1SgSbj if]
[[nɛ̀: *mó]* *kúndé=ý]*
[[cow Def.AnSg] one.AnSg=it.is]
If I find that you have one hundred cows today, if I come (back) in a couple of days, the cow is (just) one.

(794) R: *ìgí* *jòg-à:=ỳ*
finish Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is
R: They have finished (= died off).

(795) P: *ɲă:* *[[[sò-ŋgò]-jìbù* *kùndù]*[L] *kó]*
yesterday [[[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap one.InanSg.O][L] NearDist.InanSg.O]
[í *gì]* *náfɛ́=bɛ̀-∅* *kǒy,* *jă:—*
[1Pl Acc] benefit.Pfv=Past-3SgSbj Emph, since—
P: Formerly, that single (woman's) wrap definitely served us well. Since—

(796) R(overlapping): *kó—,* *ó* *kàbîl* *káná,*
Near.Inan.O, 2Sg excuse(n) do.Imprt,
kó *í* *wɔ̀ndɛ̀* *jògà:* *kó,*
Near.Inan.O 1Pl reject Perfect Def.InanSg.O,
[í *kìyò-ŋgà* *dân]* *bà-mbó-m=ì:,* *nɛ̀:ndá:* *kànà-mbó-m̀↗,*
[1Pl want-Ppf.NonSbj like] remain-Fut-3Sg=it.is, bad do-Fut-1SgSbj
[dɛ̌-ŋgó=ỳ *gà* *là]* *kànà-mbó-m̀,*
[short-InanSg.O=it.is Ppl too] do-Fut-1SgSbj,
[èndá:=ý *mé* *là]* *kànà-mbó-m̀,*
[not.sweet=it.is if too] do-Fut-1SgSbj,
R(overlapping):'That—. Excuse me (for interrupting). We have turned away from that (= old customs). It will remain like we want (it). I will do something bad, I will do something that is short too, even if it's not good I will do it too.'
[*dɛ̌-ŋgó* contracted from *dèndú-ŋgó* 'short']

(797) *ɲă:* *[nè:ndá:* *kó]* *kàn-ó:* *mɛ́,*
yesterday [bad Def.InanSg.O] do.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[pɔ́: *nɛ̀]* *ó* *tɛ̀:rá-m̀* *[tó:rù* *kó],*
[immediately Adv] 2SgObj show-Fut.3Sg [fetish Def.InanSg.O],
[síyɛ̀-ŋgò *kó]* *kàn-ó:* *mé* *là,*
[good-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] do.Pfv-2Sg if too,
[pɔ́: *nɛ̀]* *ó* *tɛ̀:rá-m̀,* *áywà,*
[immediately Adv] 2SgObj show-Fut.3Sg, well,
íyó, *[[nɔ̌:* *mà]* *ɛ̀lú-m̀* *èndá=∅* *dîn]* *kànà-mbó-m̀↗,*
today, [[person Dat] be.sweet-3SgSbj be.not.sweet=3SgSbj all] do-Fut-1SgSbj,
[[ḿ *mà]* *ɛ̌l-ŋgò* *dân]* *bà-mbó-m̀↗,* < … >,
[[1Sg Dat] sweet-InanSg.O like] remain-Fut-1SgSbj,

Formerly, if you-Sg did the bad thing, the fetish (= idol) would show you immediately. Likewise, if you did the good thing, it would show you immediately. Well, nowadays, whether it pleases or doesn't please someone, I will do (it). I will remain (= live) as I please.'

(798) *[jěnjà* *là]* *[áníyá-òlò* *mà],* *gɔ̌-m* *nɛ̀,*
[God too] [world in], go.out-Caus DS,
mâ:n *nè:ndà:-kànɛ́=ý,* *[láy* *nɛ̀]* *ó* *tɛ̀:rá-ndì,*
so.and.so bad-do.Agent=it.is, 2Sg show-Fut,
[[nè:ndá: *tɔ̀mɔ̂:* *kó]* *kàn-ó:* *mɛ́]*
[[bad one Def.InanSg.O] do-2SgSbj if]
[bàlǎw *[[gwǎ:* *kɛ́]* *mà]* *sùgò-ndò-m],*
[catastropher [[land Def.Inan.E] in] go.down-Caus-Fut.3SgSbj,
táwɛ̀ *ó* *[[ó* *hà:jɛ̀]* *òndú],*
perhaps 2Sg [[2SgPoss concern] not.be-3SgSbj],
kánà-mbò *jógò-w,*
do-Prog have-2SgSbj,

God too, in this (base) world, doesn't take out (a person) and show you at all that So-and-So is an evil-doer. (If) you have done a certain type of evil, He (= God) will bring down a catastrophe in the land, perhaps as for you, your concern doesn't exist. You're (still) doing it (= evil).

(799) *ɲă:* *[[tó:rù* *kó],* *[kàn-ó:* *mɛ́* *dîn]*
yesterday [[fetish Def.InanSg.O] [do.Pfv-2SgSbj if all]
[pɔ́: *nɛ̀]* *ó* *tɛ̀:rà-m=bɛ̀-∅,*
[immediately Adv] 2SgObj show-Pres=Past-3SgSbj,
íyó *sân* *gìnɛ̀-ỳ,* *[[sân* *kó]* *gì* *là],*
today prayer say.Pfv-1PlSbj, [[prayer Def.InanSg.O] Acc too],
dìmbà-ndí-ỳ, *[kèndà-[ɛ̀jɛ̌-n]]* *òndí-∅,*
follow-PresNeg-1PlSbj, [liver-[clear-Nom]] not.be-3SgSbj

Formerly, the fetish, if you did (something), it would show you immediately. Nowadays, we have said (it's) praying (= Islamic worship), (but) we don't follow (= are not consistent with) the praying either. There is no candor.

(800) *[hí:là mà→] [pîl-pá:là mà→] [jàmìlà-ŋgó má→ˀ],*
[trick and] [swindling and] [theft-InanSg.O and]
[[í gɔ̀]=là:] jă-ỳ mà→,
[[1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.O]=it.is.not.Ppl.NonSbj] take-Hort.PlAddr whether?,
pàskà íyó [ké yà:] [í gì] jòg-è:,
because today [Near.InanSg.E Foc] [1Pl Acc] have-Foc.Sbj,
[[í kìyò-ŋgà dân] bà-mbó-ỳ kó] yà:-l-ò:,
[[2Pl want-Ppl,NonSbj] like] remain-Fut-1PlSbj Def.InanSg.O] see-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
[tó:rù í dògà-m-ò: kó]=ý
[fetish 1PlSbj leave-Pres-NonSbjPppl] Def.InanSg.O]=it.is

Trickery, and swindling, and stealing, and shall-we-take-what-is-not-ours, because that [focus] is what has us nowadays. Have you not seen that we will remain (= live) as we want? It is what made us leave the fetish.

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Abbreviations

Abstr	abstractive nominal (§4.2.2.2-3, §4.2.3.3)
Acc	accusative
Adj	adjective
Addr	addressee
An	animate
AN	aspect-negation suffix or category
AnPl	animate plural
AnSg	animate singular
ATR	advanced tongue root (vowel feature)
C	consonant (in formulae like *CvCv*)
Caus	causative
Char	characteristic nominal derivational suffix, §4.2.2.1
Dat	dative
Def	definite
Dem	demonstrative
Det	determiner (demonstrative or definite)
DiscFunct	discourse-functional (particle)
Dist	distant (demonstrative)
DS	different-subject (subordinator)
E	E-class form of nouns, etc.
EA	expressive adverbial (§8.4.8)
E/E	an inanimate noun class (Sg/Pl)
E/O	animate and pseudo-animate noun class (Sg/Pl)
Emph	emphatic (clause-final particle)
Foc	focus
Fr	French
Fut	future
H	high (tone)
Hort	hortative
Imprt	imperative
Inan	inanimate
InanPl	inanimate plural
InanSg	inanimate singular
Inch	inchoative (‘become’ with adjective)
Inst	instrumental
L	a) low (tone)
	b) any sonorant (in e.g. *CvL*)
Logo	logophoric
MP	mediopassive

N	a) noun (in e.g. “N-Adj”) b) any nasal consonant (in e.g. *CvN*)
(n)	noun, in interlinear glosses like ‘work (n)’
Neg	negative
Nom	nominalization
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
O	a) O-class of nouns b) object (in e.g. “SOV”)
Obj	object
O/E	an inanimate noun class (Sg/Pl)
Pass	passive
Pfv	perfective
Pl	plural
Poss	possessor
PP	postpositional phrase
Ppl	participle, form of verb in relative clauses
PplNonSbj	participle in nonsubject relative
PplSbj	participle in subject relative
Pres	present (tense)
Presntv	presentative (‘here’s X!’)
Prog	progressive
Proh	prohibitive (negative imperative)
Pron	pronoun
Prox	proximal (demonstrative)
Proh	prohibitive
Psm	possessum (possessed entity)
Purp	purposive
Q	question
Quot	quotative particle
QuotSbj	quotative subject
Recip	reciprocal
Rev	reversive
S	subject (in e.g. “SOV”)
Sbj	subject
Sg	singular
SS	same-subject (subordinator)
Stat	stative
Tr	transitive derivational suffix, §9.3
V	verb (in e.g. “SOV”)
v	a) vowel (in e.g. *CvCv*) b) verb in glosses like ‘work(v)’
Vb	verb
VblN	verbal noun
VP	verb phrase

Symbols

*	reconstructed
#	ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested
á, à, â, ǎ, ã	tones on vowels (or syllables), §3.7
x̄, x̀, x́, x̂	tone changes on stem in compounds, chapter 5
/…/	a) lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/, /H/
	b) underlying or lexical representation
{…}	a) tone overlay, e.g. {HL}, {H}, {L}
	b) enclosing any set, e.g. {*u a i*}
[…]	a) phonetic (IPA) representation, e.g. [bŭ:]
	b) syntactic or tonosyntactic phrase
[…]^{L}	{L} tone overlay controlled by an element to the right
^{L}[…]	{L} tone overlay controlled by an element (possessor) to the left
⊂…⊃	tonosyntactic island (§14.2.4)
→	(prolongation of final vowel or sonorant), §3.8, §8.4.8.1
↘	terminal pitch drop (intonation), §3.8
↗	terminal pitch rise or sustained high terminal pitch, §3.8
=	clitic boundary

Index

1. selected morphemes

notes:
in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;
alphabetization: *ɛ* follows *e*, *ɔ* follows *o*, *ɲ* then *ŋ* follow *n* ;
atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;
lexical stems (nouns, verbs, etc.) are shown with lexical tones.

2. grammatical terms