A Grammar of Cliffs Jenaama (Bozo, Mali)

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

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author’s emails
schweinehaxen@hotmail.com
jheath@mich.edu
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1 Introduction

This grammar and the more or less simultaneously published parallel grammar of Djenné Jenaama (or Sorogaama) were drafted separately. They have been reorganized so that the chapters and sections correspond more closely in order to facilitate comparison.

Cliffs Jenaama is referred to here simply as Cliffs.

Texts are added at the end of the grammar. Textual passages averaging two lines of Cliffs text are referred to by text number and time index, e.g. 2017-01 @ 03:11.

1.1 Bozo languages

Bozo is a small language family, chiefly of fishers and (nowadays) rice farmers along the Niger and Bani rivers in central Mali, West Africa. It belongs to the large Mande family, and is most closely related to Soninké.

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

(1) language location(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tiɛma Cɛwɛ</th>
<th>Lac Débo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo</td>
<td>Diafarabé, pockets near Djenné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelenga (= Hainyaxo)</td>
<td>Ké-Macina near Ségou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenaama (= Sorogaama)</td>
<td>Djenné, Mopti, Konna, Youwarou, Lac Débo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kelenga is the preferred name for that language. Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo are dialects of a single language.

Jenaama in the broad sense has several varieties in geographically discontinuous areas (see §1.2 below). Its total population now is approximately 300,000 speakers. The other three languages are estimated to have a few thousand speakers each and are spoken in compact zones. Jenaama and its Cliffs variety.

1.1.1 Geography and neighboring ethnicities

A sociolinguistic survey of Jenaama (Blühberger 2006) notes that Jenaama is spoken by three distinct (sub-)ethnic groups, the Bozo, the Somono, and the Nononké or Marka. The ethnic Bozo and Somono are primarily fishers and are interspersed along the rivers. The Nononké/Marka practice rice cultivation along the river, and extend into the millet-growing sandy plains west of
the Dogon plateau, reaching the base of its cliffs. Nowadays other Jenaama-speaking groups have shifted from fishing to rice farming. Blühberger points out that the previously accepted name of the language, Sorogaama, is used in this sense only by the Bozo, while the Somono and the Nononké/Marka call their language Jenaama.

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

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

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

The variety described in this grammar would be included in “Korondougou” in the earlier classifications. However, Korondougou as a linguistic dialect group remains to be validated. This grammar is based on Jenaama as spoken in Namagué, a village at the eastern extreme of the entire Bozo family. Substantially the same variety is spoken in nearby Kargué. The two villages are nestled in the lower slope of the escarpment, on opposite sides of the mouth of the valley that is occupied by the Bangande people, who speak the Bangime language, an isolate with no known linguistic relatives. The villages neighboring Namagué and Kargué to the east (in the sandy plains that stretch toward the major rivers) are Fulfulde-speaking. The Jenaama of Namagué and Kargué is therefore geographically isolated, and this variety was not surveyed in connection with the previous classifications. Linguistically (lexically and grammatically), this variety is sufficiently distinctive to deserve its own name, Cliffs Jenaama, or (in this grammar) simply Cliffs.
A distinction between Cliffs and the Mopti-Konna Jenaama of the nearest riverine villages (see the following subsection) is recognized by native speakers of Cliffs. Cliffs itself is called pàlê-âmà, from pàlêy ‘cliff zone’, i.e. the area along the western escarpment away from the river. The nearby riverine Jenaama varieties are called bûr-âmà, from bûrgù ‘river zone’. The key Jenaama-speaking villages associated with the two divisions are listed in (3), along with their native names in Jenaama and their dominant clans (family names).

(3) village native name dominant clan(s)

a. pàlê-âmà (Cliffs Jenaama)
   Bolimba wóndópà Karambé
   Bombori-Saré bômbôlì-kûwònì Cissé
   Dani-Saré dàànì-kûwònì Bako
   Goumbo gûmbô Bamani
   Kargué kàrgèwⁿ Traoré
   Kayel-Toupé kààtûbè Bamani
   Madougou màlàlù Traoré
   Namagué nògwù-bèwⁿ Traoré

b. bûr-âmà (part of Mopti-Konna Jenaama)
   Bima bimà Traoré
   Bogo bògò (unknown)
   Djambakourou jàngûli Fofana
   Foussi nûfîlë Soumaré
   Kama kààmà (unknown)
   Konna kônà Kampo
   Koubi kòbì (unknown)
   Kotaga kërâa (unknown)
   Saingo sëngèwⁿ Nadio

The surname Cissé is associated with the groups that brought Islam to the zone. Some Cissé live in Namagué, where they are a minority.

nògwù-bèwⁿ ‘Namagué’ is a compound with initial nògwù ‘village’ and final resembling bèwⁿ/bên-dè ‘go back’. However, locals have more colorful etymologies. One is a borrowing from Bambara nàmà gèⁿ ‘hunt hyena’. The other is nògwù bë ‘the village has come’ (see text 2017-01).

There are dual-level schools (premier cycle and deuxième cycle) at Konna and Djambakourou. There are single-level schools (premier cycle) at Kargué (with deuxième cycle under construction as of 2020), Bobo, Bombori-Saré, Bima, Saingo, Kama, and Koubi. Students at lycée level begin at Konna but finish in Sévaré.
Many of the official village names go back to French colonial mapping, which made extensive use of Fulfulde names for villages, including non-Fulbe villages (the cartographers’ guides were presumably Fulbe). In Bombori-Saré and Dani-Saré, the ending -Saré means (in Fulfulde) ‘house’ and by extension ‘settled village’. In each case it is contrasted with a variant ending in -Ouro (Bombori-Ouro, Dani-Ouro) denoting a Fulbe camp associated with the main village.

In addition to Bombori-Ouro and Dani-Ouro, other Fulbe villages interspersed among the local Jenaama villages include Ouro-Guéou and Moulentakou-Ouro.

Most adult native Jenaama speakers speak Fulfulde as second language, which is the lingua franca (for example between Bozo and Dogon, or between Bozo and Bangande). Although Bangime- and Tiranige (Dogon)-speaking are adjacent to Cliffs Jenaama villages, there is little bilingualism involving those languages. Cousinage (i.e. interethnic joking relationships) prohibits intermarriage between Bozo and Dogon (the Bangime are considered locally to be Dogon). Exceptional cases of Bozo-Bangime bilingualism are based on an individual speaker’s regular commercial relationships. For example, a handful of old women from Namagué routinely purchase calabashes in Bounou (Bangime-speaking) for resale at the nearby regional markets and can speak Bangime.

1.1.2 Jenaama varieties: languages or dialects?

Based on the considerations described just above and those presented in the parallel grammar of Djenné Jenaama, for now it seems best to label the divisions of Jenaama by geographical region as follows: Djenné, Mopti-Konna, Cliffs, and Lac Débo. Of these, Mopti-Konna is the least well-defined at this stage and most susceptible to further break-up.

The two varieties of Jenaama that have been studied in this project are Cliffs Jenaama and Djenné Jenaama. The latter is spoken in several villages near Djenné. It has long been suspected (in print) that “Jenaama” may be a language cluster rather than a dialect cluster. Comparison of the linguistic structures and lexicons of Cliffs Jenaama and Djenné Jenaama points in the direction of language rather than dialect divisions. However, much less is known about the geographically intervening varieties and those spoken farther north around Lac Débo, so there is a possibility that Cliffs and Djenné are at the extremes of a dialect chain. It is prudent to defer an official renaming until we are in a better position to identify and circumscribe the linguistic entities, hopefully in a consensual manner. In the meantime, interested parties are welcome to compare the parallel Cliffs and Djenné grammars and their parallel lexicons and form their own opinions.

Not the least of the Cliffs/Djenné differences is that Cliffs has three lexical tone levels, including minimal trios among nouns, along with a complex morpho-tonology, while Djenné has two lexical tone levels and a somewhat simpler morpho-tonology. This difference alone compels separation of the two reference grammars and lexical spreadsheets. Other differences can be
assessed by reading the two parallel grammars side by side, and examining the two lexical spreadsheets side by side. Among the more obvious differences are those in (4a-b).

(4) Cliffs Djenné category or gloss

a. phonological

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cliffs</th>
<th>Djenné</th>
<th>Category or Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>(absent)</td>
<td>back unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>number of distinct tone levels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. morphological

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cliffs</th>
<th>Djenné</th>
<th>Category or Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gù ~ gù</td>
<td>-yaw^n</td>
<td>definite/definite singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>í^n</td>
<td>1Pl pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yẽ^n</td>
<td>sini ~ sání</td>
<td>‘and’ (nominal conjunction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwẽy, pà</td>
<td>pà</td>
<td>‘with’ (comitative postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lágà</td>
<td>dáà</td>
<td>‘for’ (purposive postposition, opaquely cognate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g à ~ Ø</td>
<td>gà</td>
<td>remote perfective/all-purpose reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà</td>
<td>tà</td>
<td>imperfective negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bãynà gà</td>
<td>gíyé gà bé</td>
<td>experiential perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(absent)</td>
<td>kíini^n ~ kúnu</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gãlà</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóndó</td>
<td>tũ^n ~ tũ^n</td>
<td>‘was/were’ (part of past imperfective etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X nì</td>
<td>X té(ʔ)</td>
<td>‘isn’t X’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cliffs</th>
<th>Djenné</th>
<th>Category or Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>põgõ, màà</td>
<td>kí&quot;yè</td>
<td>‘want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jénã^n</td>
<td>dívēw^n</td>
<td>‘child’ (opaquely cognate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwõ</td>
<td>fà</td>
<td>‘thing’ (opaquely cognate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

If it is collectively decided at some point that Djenné Jenaama belongs to one language and Cliffs Jenaama belongs to another, one possibility is to revive the language name Sorogaama for the Djenné variety and related dialects, and keep Jenaama for at least Cliffs.

1.2 Environment

Namagué and Kargué, as noted above, are located on the lower slope of the western escarpment of the Dogon (or Bandiagara) plateau. Other nearby Fulfulde- and Jenaama-speaking villages are in the sandy plains that stretch from the escarpment to the Niger River. The settled villages in the
sandy plains primarily practice cultivation of pearl millet (*Cenchrus americanus*, formerly *Pennisetum glaucum*) along with small-scale livestock raising. Other rainy-season crops that can grow in the zone include maize, rice, sorghum, roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), and peanut. Cotton is locally cultivated by Namagué and Kargué villagers along with Bangime-speaking Niana villagers in one relatively lush area (called *kèlèmpògòy*) dominated by borassus palms.

In those locations that benefit from dry-season springs or from receding water in seasonal ponds, off-season gardening is practiced, primarily as cash crops: onion, tobacco, tomato, eggplant, potato, lettuce, chili pepper, and cucumber.

The major weekly markets in the area, both along the main highway, are Konna (Thursday) and Sambéré (Sunday).

1.3 Previous and contemporary study of Jenaama

1.3.1 Previous work

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

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

Lauschitzky worked on the dialect of Djambakourou village, described as 60 km north of Konna and 10 km west of the main highway. Although this is also within the “Korondougou” dialect area, her data and analysis differ considerably from my data from Namagué. Most importantly, Namagué clearly has three tone levels, all of which are common and both lexically and grammatically significant, while Lauschitzky recognizes just two for Djambakourou. Since Djenné Jenaama also has just two tone levels, I have no reason to doubt Lauschitzky’s analysis. Secondly, Namagué but not Djambakourou has an additional full-fledged vowel quality (back unrounded i) that is apparently not otherwise known in the region, and a somewhat marginal rounded glide ü that is known elsewhere as a phoneme only for neighboring Bangime.

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

Daget, Konipo & Sanakoua (1953) includes Bozo-wide dialectal information especially on sound correspondences, a grammar sketch focusing on a Jenaama variety spoken around Mopti, a lexicon including some dialectal variants, and short texts from Jenaama dialects of Mopti, Korondougou, and Débo and from the Tiéyaxo of Dia. Jacques Daget was the leading ichthyologist of the zone and the author of what were then the major handbooks on fishes of West Africa.
There are several valuable colonial-era works on the languages and ethnography of riverine Bozo. Some of them (Monteil 1932, Ligers 1964—) do not clearly distinguish data from different Bozo varieties. In general they are based on Djenné Jenaama and Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo, not on Cliffs Jenaama. For further discussion see the corresponding subsection in the parallel Djenné Jenaama grammar.

1.3.2 Fieldwork

I did my first week of Cliffs Jenaama study in July 2016, at a time when my fieldwork on Dogon languages was beginning to wind down and after completing (jointly with Abbie Hantgan) a grammar and lexicon of Bangime. I spent about five full days in Namagué, which was sufficient to collect terminology for flora (chiefly in the field) and fauna (chiefly from manuals and from inter-language equivalences), and to record some texts from old-timers.

Subsequent work on the language was done with a young adult native speaker, Amadou Cissé, the son of one of the old-timers and an “interviewer” in the recordings. The work involved completing the lexical spreadsheet, grammatical elicitation to produce an initial draft of this grammar, and transcription, translation, and annotation of the recordings which led to additions and corrections in the grammar and lexicon. This work continued episodically, a week or a month at a time, through 2022, between field sessions on other languages. The security situation around Namagué deteriorated seriously beginning around 2018, so I was never able to return to the village. 2020 was lost to the COVID pandemic when air travel to Mali and Burkina was closed, and since then any travel by white ex-pats to Mopti-Sévaré has become too insecure to work in. In 2021 (in Bamako) and 2022 (in Bobo Dioulasso, Burkina Faso) I did the final follow-up work with Amadou.

1.3.3 Acknowledgements

Specific funding for the pilot study on Jenaama in 2016 was from the University of Michigan (African Studies Center and UM Office of Research).

Primary funding for the broader Bozo project including Jenaama is from National Science Foundation, Documenting Endangered Languages program, grant PD-1941828, “Documentation of Bozo languages of Mali,” for the period 2020-2024.

I thank Thomas Blecke of SIL, now based in Ouagadougou, for helpful advice in getting started. I am also greatly indebted to my long-term Dogon project assistant Minkailou Djiguiba, who has kept the Bozo project going in spite of the circumstances.
2 Sketch

A few basic typological facts about (Cliffs) Jenaama will serve to begin this sketch.

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

An example of a transitive clause is (5). It consists of a subject NP, a post-subject inflectional marker, an object NP, a verb marked for aspect, and a locational expression.

(5) sèëdù gà sùgè-è sà-nà sìbàwⁿ
S Ipfv goat-Pl buy-Ipfv market.Loc
‘Seydou buys goats in the market.’

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

Cliffs Jenaama has eight vowel qualities {u u o ɔ a ɛ e i}. Vowels may be long or short, and may be oral or nasalized. The high back unrounded vowel u may be unique to the Cliffs variety, and I know of no other dialect or language in the immediate zone that has it. It does occur in some far-away African languages (for example along the Atlantic coast) that typically have ten or more vowel qualities.

There are relatively few phonological processes (rewrite rules) converting underlying to surface forms. The process most likely to cause problems for parsing and morpheme identification is vv-Contraction at compound and word boundaries. Since vowel-initial stems are rare, the bulk of contractions involve a vowel-final word or particle followed by any of several pronominal clitics (1Pl ē, 2Sg āⁿ, 2Pl āā, 3Sg à, 3Pl è). Especially when one of the input vowel qualities or tones is lost by contraction, the enclitic boundary = is used opportunistically as a warning indicator. For example, gē= è in (6) is from Ipfv gà (raised to gā by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone) contracting with 3Pl object pronominal è.
(6) \[ \begin{array}{lll} \text{à} & \text{gē} = & \text{è} \\
3\text{Sg} & \text{Ipfv} & 3\text{Pl} \end{array} \]
\[ \text{hit-} \text{Ipfv} \]

‘He/She (often) hits them.’

2.1.2 Tones and tonal diacritics

Cliffs Jenaama has three lexical tone levels H[igh], M[id], and L[ow]. Syllables may be H, M, L, <HL> falling, <ML> falling, <LM> rising, and rarely bell-shaped <LML>, using angled brackets <…> to enclose tone sequences on a single syllable. The nearby language isolate Bangime also has three lexical tone levels. However, Cliffs Jenaama and Bangime form a tiny tritonal enclave surrounded by bitonal (and atonal) languages in east central and northern Mali (Fulfulde, the Songhay and Dogon families, Bambara, Soninke, and apparently all other Bozo varieties). Tritonal systems do occur in far southern Mali (e.g. Senoufo) and they are common in subcoastal and coastal languages of West Africa. Some of the neighboring languages are lexically bitonal but make use of three pitch levels at the phonetic level.

The diacritics used are shown in (7), using ma, maa, and maw as props to illustrate monomoraic and bimoraic syllables.

(7) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tone(s)</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>maa</th>
<th>maw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>má</td>
<td>máá</td>
<td>máw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>māā</td>
<td>māw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>màā</td>
<td>màw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;HL&gt;</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>màā</td>
<td>màw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ML&gt;</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>màā</td>
<td>màw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LM&gt;</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>māā</td>
<td>māw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LML&gt;</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>māā (or màå)</td>
<td>māw (or màw)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note in particular that mā is <LM>, not <LH>, unless otherwise specified. There appears to be no simple IPA diacritic for <LM> tone. Fortunately there is no meaningful contrast in Jenaama between <LM> and <LH> syllables. <LH> on monomoraic words is rare and occurs only due to focalization.

There are some minimal pairs and triplets among noun stems, e.g. sɔ́gɔ́ ‘milk’, sɔ́gɔ́ ‘day (unit)’, and sɔ́gɔ́ ‘sheep’.

Using /…/ for lexical melodies, prior to tonal ablaut and tone sandhi, nouns and other non-verb stems can be /H/, /M/, or /L/. However, H- and M-tones are not distinguishable in contoured melodies (excluding compounds and iterative stems). There is no distinction between /HL/ and /ML/ stems or between /LHL/ and /LML/ stems. I transcribe /ML/ and /LML/ at lexical level (§3.6.1.3). There is likewise no clear distinction between /LH/ and /LM/ stems. I transcribe them
at /LH/ at lexical level (§3.6.1.3), except that Ipfv stems of type C\-C\-v are transcribed with final M-tone. Final M following an L-tone is also used to indicate the application of Final Tone-Raising at boundaries, as when nàà ‘cow’ appears as nàa before an L-tone. I am not confident that there is any consistent phonetic distinction between C\-C\-v and C\-C\-v, but using C\-C\-v and C\-C\-v as described above will help readers distinguish lexical /LH/ from secondary LM.

Taking the Pfv stem as lexically basic, the only melodies for verb stems are /L/, /M/, /ML/, /LM/, and /LML/. In other words, there are no H-tones in lexical melodies of verbs. However, verbs can become H-toned due to the floating H of 1Sg object proclitic ŋ (±H) (§3.6.2.1, §3.6.3.1).

2.1.3 Tone sandhi

The most important tone sandhi processes are Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4) and M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.5). The first raises final L to M, while the second drops M to L. In general, stems and words are cited in their independent tonal form, which precedes tone sandhi and so may differ from the form that appears in example phrases and sentences.

Tone sandhi processes in a word or stem are triggered by the form to its right, and the processes generally work from left to right. Therefore in a sequence X-Y-Z where Y triggers a change in X and Z triggers a change in Z, the fate of X is determined by the input tones of Y rather than from its output tones due to its interaction with Z.

Some grammatical morphemes resist Final Tone-Raising or fail to trigger it in the preceding word or particle. This resistance prevents homophony between clitics 3Pl è and 1Pl ē.

2.1.4 Tonal morphophonology and tonal ablaut

In some types of noun-noun compounds (chapter 5) and in some sequences of two words within a phrase (see especially chapter 6), the tones of one or both of the juxtaposed stems are modified. The details vary from one construction to another and full coverage is deferred to the relevant primary chapters of the grammar.

Two basic processes can be distinguished at this point. The first is here labeled Floating-Tone Docking (§3.6.3.1), but it is far from a low-level tone sandhi process. The proclitics that come with a floating tone are 1Sg nonsubject allomorph ŋ (±H) (§4.3.4) and the two prenominal demonstratives, kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and nɔ̀ⁿ (+M) (§4.4.2, §6.5.1.1). The floating tone is realized, if at all, on the following stem. After 1Sg ŋ (±H), an initial L-tone in the stem is raised to H, and under some conditions this spreads into the second syllable of the stem. The floating M of demonstratives raises any L-initial stem to all-M. In both cases, if the stem already begins with a nonlow tone, the floating tone has no effect.

The 1Sg proclitic has three allomorphs, depending on grammatical function. ŋ (±H) occurs in the following functions: direct object (floating H realized on verb), possessor (realized on possessum), and postpositional complement (realized on postposition). By contrast, in subject
function the allomorphs are ŋ̄ in the perfective positive, i.e. with zero post-subject inflectional particle or with bidirectional case-marker allomorph = nãⁿ, and ŋ̀ in other inflectional categories, i.e. those with a nonzero post-subject inflectional particle. Neither of the subject allomorphs has a tonal effect on the following word.

The second basic morphotonological process is Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2). It applies, for example, to noun stems as compound initials (§5.1.4) and in noun-adjective combinations (§6.3.1). The initial tone spreads rightward to the end of the stem, e.g. /MLH/ levels to all-M. In addition, an /H/-melody initial is lowered a notch to M.

2.1.5 Terminal intonation

In a polar interrogative that does not begin with an overt polar interrogative word, Cliffs Jenaama has intonation-like effects raising the pitch of the final syllable or word. Analysis suggests that this is a combination of categorical tone-raising (L or M to H) within the phonology proper (§3.7.1), and gradient pitch raising of the familiar intonational type. See §13.2.1.2 for details.

A similar tone-raising to H, without intonational pitch raising, also occurs in some other constructions. They are listed in §3.7.1 with cross-references to other chapters.

2.2 Verbal and clausal inflection

2.2.1 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

Verbs have two primary forms, perfective and imperfective, e.g. kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’ versus kɔ̄-lā ‘hit.Ipfv’ (§10.1.3.3.1). To distinguish these morphological categories from VP- and clause-level constructions, the abbreviations Pfv and Ipfv (with uppercase initial letters) denote the verb-stem categories. The clause-level constructions are referred to by unabbreviated “perfective” and “imperfective”, or (in tables) with lower-case pfv and ipfv (likewise pfvneg, ipfvneg).

Full citation forms of verb stems have a slash between Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’. For a minority of verbs, e.g. sò/sò ‘go’, the Pfv and Ipfv have the same segmental and tonal form. For other verbs, the Ipfv is often marked either by a tonal change on the last syllable (or mora), or by a suffix. This markedness asymmetry is reflected in morphosyntax. The Pfv form such as kwāā ‘hit’ is also used as imperative, after bē in a future construction, and in subjunctive and infinitival complements.

The tones of the Pfv and Ipfv stems are subject to tone sandhi processes when phrased with other elements. Specifically, lexically L-toned transitive stems have their first syllable or mora raised by floating H after 1Sg object (§4.3.4.3), and all lexically L-toned stems are subject to Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone (§3.6.4.4). M-toned stems drop to L-toned before an H-tone by M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.5).
2.2.2 Suffixal derivation of verb stems

The only productive verbal derivation is causative -ni (§9.1.1).

Some verbs have a final vowel mutation distinguishing transitive from intransitive, e.g. digā ‘eat (something)’ versus antipassive digē ‘eat, have a meal’ (§9.3.1.1).

Many verbs also have a participle with suffix -na that can be used in a stative predicate (§10.1.4).

2.2.3 Clause-level inflections (TAMP)

The aspectual (Pfv/Ipfv) marking on verb stems is complemented by the array of post-subject inflectional particles in (8). These particles complement the verb’s own aspect marking but also mark polarity and (epistemic and deontic) mood.

(8) a. post-subject particles, preceding VPs
   (zero)       perfective positive (see below on the bidirectional case marker)
   nā(w)"/nā(w)" ‘if/when’, in perfective positive conditional antecedents
   tē       perfective negative
   gā/gā       imperfective positive
   gā/gā       ‘until.Pfv’ (perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses, §15.7.2.2)
   nā/nā       imperfective negative
   gālā       subjunctive
   mā"/mā"       prohibitive

b. immediately postverbal
   gā       remote perfective

There are three gā morphemes in this list. The one in (8b) is postverbal. Of the two in (8a), the imperfective assimilates tones of a preceding subject proclitic (e.g. 2Sg āŋ gā), while the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates (e.g. 2Sg āŋ gā), in both cases before further tone sandhi.

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

The basic linear order is (9) (§6.1.1).

(9) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj - Num - Def - DiscFunct (-) ‘all’
There is no genitive marker in possessor-possessum combinations, and no gender or noun-class marking. Possessors, numerals, the postnominal discourse-definite marker, discourse-functional elements (‘too’, topic), and ‘all’ have only minor tone-sandhi interactions with the noun and any intervening modifiers. However, adjectives and prenominal demonstratives ɲɔ̀ⁿ ‘that (same)’ and kɔ̀ⁿ ‘this/that’ do have complex tonal interactions with nouns. Additional tonal processes apply within nominal and adjectival compounds.

2.4 Case-marking and PPs

There is no nominative or accusative case-marking. The only possible exception is in the 1Sg pronominal clitic: ŋ̄ as perfective positive subject (with zero post-subject inflectional particle), ŋ̀ as subject of clauses with nonzero particle, and 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) as object. However, the latter also occurs in possessor and postpositional-complement functions.

A few important postpositions are in (10).

(10) tē dative
nā dative (more limited distribution)
ń instrumental
bwēỳ comitative (‘with, by’)
pà comitative (‘with, by’)
nǐŋì locative (‘inside’)
lāgà purposive-causal (‘for’ or ‘because of’)

The most common locative is expressed as a suffix (or enclitic) -ỳ, which can reduce to a final L-tone (§8.2.3.1).

2.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually internally headed. There is no doubling of the noun of the head NP in external position. The NP is likewise not resumed by a pronoun in the main clause, unless the whole relative clause is fronted as preclausal topic. The relative morpheme, singular màwⁿ (or variant mɔⁿ), plural mà-lè, is added near the end of the internal head NP. This morpheme follows a maximal Poss-N-Adj-Num-Def sequence, but it can itself be followed by ‘all’ and by discourse-functional particles. Internal-headedness makes it easy to relativize on NPs in any grammatical function (subject, object, postpositional complement, possessor).

(11) is a subject relative.
In addition to classic restrictive relative-clause function, màwⁿ may also introduce a referentially variable (nonspecific) entity (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘some time’, etc.). In combination with sāⁿ ‘all’ the meaning is ‘any’, i.e. ‘who/what/how-ever’. The sense is roughly ‘(suppose there is) [someone who …/something that …]’, introducing a nonspecific (generic) referent in a backgrounded clause. Because of this, the “relative” morpheme can occur twice on different constituents in the same clause, introducing two new referents. This makes a free translation as an English relative clause impossible.

### 2.6 Interclausal syntax

Cliffs prefers a) finite clausal (i.e. including subjects) complements rather than subjectless VP complements (e.g., §15.3), and b) nominalized verb and VP complements (e.g., §17.4.1-2). However, there are constructions that include motion verbs and same-subject VPs (§15.2.1-3, cf. §17.5.1).

In addition to complements in the form of regular main clauses, there are subjunctive complements (§17.3). The morpheme gālà fills the post-subject inflectional position in positive subjunctive complements. It is replaced by prohibitive màⁿ/māⁿ in negative complements. Among other constructions, subjunctive and prohibitive complements occur in quoted imperatives and prohibitives (jussive complements, §17.1.4).
3 Phonology

3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1 Syllables

Syllables are predominantly Cv and Cvv (with long vowel). Stems of the shapes Cvv, CvCv, CvvCv, CvCvv and longer are common.

Monomoraic Cv stems are allowed. They are few in number but include high-frequency items. There are three Cv verbs including só/sò ‘go’, and three others of the shape Cww or Cyv (§10.1.2.2). For Cv nouns I can cite only på as premodifier form of pwš ‘thing’ (§4.1.2, §6.1.2), and sšn ‘needle, awl’, but the final nasalization of the latter counts as a mora. There are many Cvw stems that reduce to Cv(n) in most clause-medial positions.

Onsets may be Cw and less often Cy rather than just C (§3.2.1.1). There are a few words, mostly borrowings, that begin with NC, i.e. a nasal-stop cluster (§3.2.11.1). The nasal does not bear an independent tone and NC could be analysed as a prenasalized consonant. By contrast, nasal proclitics like 1Sg allomorphs ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ can bear independent tones.

Vowel-initial morphemes are proclitic pronominals like 3Sg à and 1Pl ē (§4.3.1). Vowel-initial lexical stems are limited to borrowings that begin with a (most of them ultimately from Arabic).

Many stems end in what I transcribe (in citation forms) as wⁿ. It functions as a nasal archiphoneme. The pronunciation wⁿ occurs in citation forms and more generally in prepausal position. Before another word within a sentence, it is pronounced as a nasal homorganic to the following consonant, as nasalization of the preceding vowel, or as zero before another nasal. wⁿ can disappear entirely due to vv-Contraction at boundaries (vwⁿ#v → v#v).

The only common medial CC clusters are homorganic nasal plus voiced stop, e.g. mb and nd. There is no clear phonological evidence as to how e.g. tóndö ‘agama lizard’ should be syllabified (tön-dö or tó-ndö ?), or whether there is any point in attempting to find a syllable boundary. This makes it difficult to determine whether the few nouns with CvvNCv sequences, like māŋgörö ‘mango’ and kāŋgō ‘vetiver (grass sp.)’, have superheavy CvvN syllables or just Cvv. The same point applies to words with rare medial triple clusters like tôlbé ‘hornbill (bird)’ (§3.2.11.3).
3.1.2 Word-internal metrical structure

Since syncope and accentual processes are rare in Jenaama, there is not much to say about foot structure. CvCvCv words generally do not syncopate to CvCCv. There is no well-defined stress system as such.

Stem-level tone melodies do not point to a pitch-accent system. Such a system would be more feasible in a two-level rather than three-level tone system. In addition, there is no requirement that a stem have exactly one tonal peak, as it would in a language with obligatory lexical accent. There are /L/-melodic stems, which have no tonal peak. /H/-melodic stems have stem-wide H-tone with no accented syllable. /MLH/-melodic stems have two separate tonal peaks (§3.6.1.4).

There is a minor distinction between L-toned prosodically light (Ĉv, Ĉṽ, Ĉv̄v) and heavy (e.g. ĈvĈv̄v) stems in how far a floating H coming from the left is able to spread its high tone. Light stems become fully H-toned, e.g. H+ ĈvĈv̄v → ĈvĈv̄v. Heavy stems stop the advance of the floating H-tone at the first syllable, e.g. H+ ĈvĈv̄v → ĈvĈv̄vĈv (§3.6.3.1).

3.2 Consonants

Jenaama has the consonants in (12). Consonants in parentheses are arguably allophones of other phonemes. Consonants in double parentheses occur chiefly or only in loanwords but are now at least somewhat entrenched. Consonants in triple parentheses are effectively absent except in onomatopoeias and the like.

(12) Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>((f))</td>
<td>((v))</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>wⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>((z))</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>(rⁿ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveopalatal</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>(ʃ)</td>
<td>((ʒ))</td>
<td>y, ʮ</td>
<td>(yⁿ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laryngeal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((h)), ((ʔ))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

notes: stop j is IPA [j], semivowel y is [j], r is tap [ɾ]
key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (c is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3. nasals, 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives (including sibilants); 6. nonnasal sonorants; 7. nasalized sonorants; 8. laryngeals

Because v as voiced labial fricative is virtually nonexistent, I use “v” as a vowel variable in formulae like ĈvĈv. The lower-case permits tone markings which are difficult typographically for capital V.
Nasalized sonorants and tap r do not occur word-initially. Most consonants do not occur word-finally (see just below). Most unclustered intervocalic consonants in word-medial position are voiced.

3.2.1 Stem-final consonants

The most common final consonant is wⁿ, but it is unstable except in prepausal position (§3.2.10.1). Other semivowels that can occur finally are y (§3.2.9), yⁿ (§3.2.10.1), and in one case q (§3.2.2).

A word-final syllable mu can be reduced to phonetic [m:] in certain words as an intermediate pronunciation with prolonged nasal consonant that preserves the original prosodic timing, or eventually to simple final m (Apocope, §3.4.3.1).

In compounds and fixed noun-adjective combinations, initials with final sonorants are allowed. In some cases the initials also occur as simple nouns, with a final short high vowel that is evidently syncopated (§3.4.3.2) in the compound. For example, káámī ‘doum palm (and fruit)’ is the initial in káám-kôléwʷ ‘pit of doum-palm fruit’, while sâlī ‘prayer, holy day’ occurs in the noun-adjective collocation sâl dëgë-nâwⁿ ‘small(er) holy day’ (at the end of Ramadan). In other cases the noun is compound-like but the initial is opaque: kân-dëwⁿ ‘circumcised boy’.

Evolution toward being lexically m-final has gone further in the case of cêm ‘10’. A bisyllabic pronunciation cêmû is attested but uncommon. The iterated distributive is cêm-cêm ‘ten by ten’. This numeral is also heard as cêêm in the counting sequence (‘1, 2, 3, …’).

sâm-sâm is a medicinal plant (*Blepharis linariifolia*). Its singular is pronounced as indicated. Its plural sâm-sâmè-è with final long vowel is consistent with a stem-final u (or other short vowel).

3.2.2 Palatoalveolar glide (q)

This glide is the semivowel equivalent of high front rounded vowel (IPA [y]). The vowel itself does not occur in Jenaama. q is a rarity in languages of the zone, but it also occurs with roughly similar restrictions in the adjacent language Bangime. All known examples in Jenaama are presented in (13).

(13) stem gloss comment

a. stem-initial

üzê/üzê ‘open’
qiiì/qiiì-li ‘winnow by shaking’
b. stem-medial

*intervocalic*

\[\text{sùqè/sùqè} \quad \text{‘cook, do cooking’} \quad \text{cf. transitive sùwɔ/sùwɔ ‘cook (sth)’}\]

\[\text{kùqè/kùqè} \quad \text{‘steal’}\]

*in consonant cluster*

\[\text{tùqgè/tùqgè} \quad \text{‘approach’ (related to ‘be short; be near’ below)}\]

*word-final*

\[\text{tùq} \quad \text{‘be short; be near’}\]

Stem-initial ŋ is rare but is attested before a front vowel in two verbs (13a). One could argue that ŋ here is an allophone of w before front vowels. Disregarding initial Cw clusters (kwii/kwii-li ‘roll up’), my only example of stem-initial unpalatalized w before a front vowel is the Fulfulde loanword wëëtè ‘spend a half-day (morning)’, found chiefly in a greeting (§19.6.2).

The medial cases in (13b) are associated with preceding high vowels {i u u̯}, in some cases combined with a following front vowel. The alternation of sùqè/sùqè with its transitive counterpart sùwɔ/sùwɔ reflects a final-vowel mutation (§9.3.1.1), and constitutes the only known case of ŋ versus w in similar environments. There are few contrasting examples of intervocalic w after high vowel and before front vowel, but I can cite pùwè ‘burrow (n)’.

3.2.3 Alveopalatals (c j)

Voiceless c occurs word-initially chiefly before front vowels {i e e̯} and semivowel y, as in cyëwⁿ/cyëwⁿ ‘carry on head’ and cëbù/cëbù ‘put (sth) up (on sth)’. However, there is no synchronic process converting either t or k to c before such vowels, as shown by tiwⁿ/ti-nà ‘do’ and kiyëwⁿ/kiyëwⁿ ‘arrive’ among other examples. c is rare before other vowels, but the noun ‘dust’ has variants cɔllɔ and sɔllɔ.

Voiced stop j occurs word-initially and occasionally word-medially, before a wide range of vowel qualities. Word-initial examples are jìiⁿ ‘year’, jènàⁿ ‘child, young person’, jòò ‘borassus palm’, jùgù ‘boubou (garment)’, and jàŋàⁿ ‘shed, stall’. Medial examples are gëjë ‘arrow’ (variant gësè) and tají ‘square basket’.

3.2.4 Labial fricative f

f is relatively uncommon. It occurs word-initially in borrowings from Fulfulde: félà/félà ‘explode’, fàmù/fàmù ‘understand’, fàätì/fàätì ‘pass away (die)’. ‘Understand’ and ‘pass away’ are ultimately from Arabic.

f in Djenné Jenaama usually corresponds to p in Cliffs, e.g. Cliffs pwɔ/pɔ-ɔ ‘sit’ versus Djenné f(w)ɔ/fɔ-ɔ. 
3.2.5 Voiceless stops (p t k) and voiced stops (b d g)

For c and j, see above. Voiceless stops \{p t k\} are common word-initially and rare medially. Voiced stops \{b d g\} are common initially and medially, either intervocally or in nasal-stop clusters.

3.2.6 Labial velars (absent)

Labial velars kp, gb, and ŋm as unit phonemes are unattested.

3.2.7 Laryngeals (h ?)

h is limited to word-initial position. There are quite a few h-initial stems, most if not all borrowed from Fulfulde but now well-entrenched. Examples are hiisà/hiisà ‘count’ and hiìlìa ‘trick, stratagem’.

Glottal stop \(\it{ʔ}\) occurs marginally as a prosodic element. It occurs in ‘uhn-uhn!’ type vocalizations, and in the clause-final admonitive particle dë? (§19.4.2.4).

3.2.8 Sibilants (s f z ʒ)

\(\z\) occurs in a few French loans like \(\z\)ànmù ‘gendarme’. \(\z\) does not occur in my working vocabulary as of January 2019 but may occur in unintegrated loanwords.

No s/h alternations have been observed. However, hiì/hini ‘be able to’ corresponds to Djenné Jenaama hini ~ sini.

\(\j\) and s contrast before front vowels \{i e e\}. \(\j\) is not attested before low or back vowels.

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

\{l w y\} freely occur stem-initially: lògũ ‘mouth’, yògò ‘shout (n)’, wàŋgé ‘hare’. All of these consonants are common intervocally and are attested as first member of medial consonant clusters. There is no restriction against yi or wu sequences: wù̀ ‘night’, yìràw’/yìràn-nà ‘help (v)’.

\(\r\) is attested stem-initially only in the Fulfulde borrowing rë̀nà/rë̀nà ‘be safe’, used chiefly in greeting formulae.

\{l r w y\} are common intervocally: kàlè/kàlè ‘die’, pë̀rë/pë̀rë ‘rip, tear’, bùwò/bùwò-lò ‘do herding’, piyëè/piyë-lè ‘lick’.
y occurs word-finally after low or back vowel: käy/kâ-nà ‘see’, tôy ‘new’. I have no examples of word-final w, but final nasalized wⁿ is common (see below).

3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants

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

3.2.10.1 Status of wⁿ and yⁿ

Stem-final yⁿ occurs in three stems after a low vowel: käyⁿ ‘work (n)’ (and related verb forms), mâyⁿ/mâyⁿ ‘ruin, damage’, mâyⁿ ‘be good’ (stative).

Stem-final wⁿ is common in stems after any vowel qualities except u or o. Examples of noun stems: kūwⁿ-tômⁿwⁿ ‘patas monkey’, kòbèwⁿ ‘(finger-)nail’, nàwⁿ ‘mother’, and dâràmà-ỳîwⁿ ‘maize’, and diminutive suffix -lîwⁿ. There are also many adjectives and numerals ending in wⁿ. There are some verbs that have final wⁿ in both Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. cyèwⁿ/cyèwⁿ ‘carry on head’, and others that have final wⁿ only in the Pfv while the Ipfv adds a nasal suffix, e.g. kàwⁿ/kà-nà ‘draw (milk)’. As these verb doublets suggest, stem-final wⁿ is unstable. The wⁿ is heard in isolation pronunciations but it is reduced to vocalic nasalization or to a homorganic nasal (i.e. prenasalization) when followed by another word.

In medial intervocalic position, analysis is more difficult. Nasalization is expressed phonetically on syllables, especially on vowels. The choice between transcriptions Cvvwⁿ and Cvwⁿv, between Cvvⁿ and Cvvnⁿ, and between Cvrⁿ and Cvrⁿv (v = any vowel quality) is based partially on whether the first vowel (as well as the second) is phonetically nasalized, but this test doesn’t work if the first consonant is a nasal. Therefore the main test for determining whether a final vowel is phonemically nasalized is the presence or absence of a phonetic homorganic nasal (i.e. prenasalization) before another word. For example, kûmû ‘sleep (n)’ does not “grow” a homorganic nasal in kûmû bë [kûmùbë] ‘sleep came’, but sûmûⁿ ‘visitor’ does grow one in sûmûm bë ‘a visitor came’. This test works regardless of the nasality of the stem-initial consonant. See also §3.4.2.1 for the distinction between stem-final nasalized and oral vowels.

The relevance of this to the issue of medial yⁿ is brought out by (14). On the right, nouns are followed by the verb bë ‘came’ or the adverb bòwⁿ ‘here’, both b-initial. In the phonetic transcriptions in (14c), the under-tilde is used instead of superscript n for vocalic nasalization to avoid diacritic clutter.
(14) stem  gloss  with bē ‘came’ or bōwⁿ ‘here’

a. Ciyvⁿ with nonnasal C
   with eⁿ
   ciyeⁿ ‘gathering (n)’  ciyem bē
   with oⁿ
   tiyōⁿ ‘ax’  tiyōm bē

b. Cyyvⁿ with nonnasal C and initial vowel other than i
   ‘long, tall’
   kōjāⁿ ‘long’ (modifying)  kōjām bē

c. Niyⁿ with nasal N
   miyⁿè ‘flea’  miyⁿè bē  [mījⁿèbē]
   miyⁿè ‘fishing (n)’  miyⁿè bē  [mījⁿèbē]
   miyⁿè ‘fish (v)’  miyⁿè bōwⁿ  [mījⁿèbōwⁿ]
   niyⁿè ‘pity (n)’  niyⁿè bē  [nījⁿèbē]

In isolation, both vowels of each stem in (14c) are phonetically nasalized, e.g. [mījⁿè]. I can detect no difference in the degree of nasalization in the final vowels in (14a-b) versus (14c), though an instrumental study might reveal a slight difference. Importantly, there is no phonetic homorganic nasal before b in (14c) like that in (14a-b). I conclude that ‘flea’ etc. in (14c) should be transcribed with phonemic yⁿ to account for the phonetic (but not phonological) nasalization of the final vowel.

The fact that all the stems in (14c) also begin with a nasal consonant raises the possibility that nasalization has spread rightward from the left edge, converting medial y to yⁿ. I return to this question below.

Consider now the stems that have a final yvwⁿ syllable (15). Except when prepausal, the wⁿ disappears but leaves behind a homorganic nasal, e.g. [m] before b. The issue here is whether the medial y is nasalized, pointing to a leftward nasalization-spread process. In (15a), with initial nonnasal consonant, the preceding i-vowel is at most slightly nasalized. In (15b) the medial y is flanked by an initial nasal consonant and the final wⁿ, so the whole word sounds nasalized.

(15) stem  gloss  with bē ‘came’ or bōwⁿ ‘here’

a. Ciyⁿ with nonnasal C
   ‘hot’
   piyāwⁿ ‘heat (n)’  piyām bē  [pījāmbē]
   piyēwⁿ ‘get hot’ (Pfv)  piyēm bōwⁿ  [pījēmbōwⁿ]
   piyē-nā ‘hot’  —
   piyē-nī ‘heat (v)’ (Pfv)  —
on both sides (\(w^n\) y be transcribed as nasalized. This modifying fo

That the situation is unstable is suggested by ‘shadow’ in (15a). It is pluralized as yíyèⁿ-yè or contracted yíyè-è, the latter sometimes pronounced yíyèⁿ-è or yíyè-èⁿ. Overall, the evidence for leftward nasalization-spreading is weak.

I now consider the question whether the better established medial yⁿ in míyⁿ-e ‘flea’ etc. in (14c) above is secondarily nasalized under the influence of the stem-initial nasal, i.e. whether there is a rightward nasalization-spreading process converting Nv y v to N v y v. The presence of an initial nasal in all known examples of the type (14c) supports this hypothesis. However, other data show that no rightward nasalization-spreading process is productive. In (15b), note especially yⁿ versus y in predicative níyⁿ-éwⁿ and míyⁿ-éw versus modifying níyè-gús ‘easy’ and míyè-gús ‘thin’. In the modifying forms with suffix -gús, the medial e is not phonetically nasalized, so the medial y cannot be transcribed as nasalized. This shows that the stems are lexically níyè and míyè, and their medial y is subject to secondary nasalization only when flanked by nasals on both sides.

Medial wⁿ behaves essentially like medial yⁿ. A final nasalized sⁿ or oⁿ or vowel plus wⁿ does not fully nasalize a medial w to its left (16a,c), unless the medial w is flanked by nasals on both sides (16b).
(16) stem  gloss  with bē ‘came’ or bōwⁿ ‘here’

a. Cuwⁿ with nonnasal C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>音</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bûwōⁿ</td>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
<td>bûwōm bē [bûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûwôⁿ</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
<td>bûwôm bē [bûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dûwōⁿ</td>
<td>‘hunger’</td>
<td>dûwōm bē [dûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dûwôⁿ</td>
<td>‘cheek’</td>
<td>dûwôm bē [dûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûwôⁿ</td>
<td>‘flank’</td>
<td>kûwōm bē [kûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pûwôⁿ</td>
<td>‘water lily’</td>
<td>pûwōm bē [pûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pûwⁿōⁿ</td>
<td>‘fonio (grain)’</td>
<td>pûwōm bē [pûwōmbē]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Nuwⁿv with nasal N

‘ripe’

mûwⁿó-nà ‘ripe’ (participle)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>音</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kûw¬ⁿ</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>kûwôm bē [kûwômbē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûwⁿ</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>kûwôm bē [kûwômbē]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>音</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mûwⁿó-nà</td>
<td>‘ripe’ (participle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive mûwⁿó-mûwⁿó-nà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. verb mwⁿ/mwⁿ ‘ripen’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Cuwvwⁿ with nonnasal C

‘small’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>音</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dûwⁿ</td>
<td>‘small’ (predicate)</td>
<td>dûwⁿ bōwⁿ [dûwⁿbōwⁿ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>dûwⁿ-dûwⁿ</td>
<td>[dûwⁿdûwⁿ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dûwⁿ</td>
<td>‘small’ (modifying)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.10.2  rⁿ not a phoneme

There is no good evidence for phonemically nasalized tap rⁿ. In the noun mûrû ‘donation to poor (after Ramadan)’ and the verb mûrû/mûrû ‘braid (v)’, the r is not nasalized. In other words, there is no rightward nasalization-spreading affecting r. As for leftward nasalization-spreading, the r and the initial vowel of predicative kûrⁿ ‘(be) short’ and those of dârâmâ-yîwⁿ ‘maize’ are not phonetically nasalized. r does sound nasalized in nàrâwⁿ ‘four’, variant of nàtâwⁿ, but in this stem it is flanked by initial and final nasals.
3.2.11 Consonant clusters

3.2.11.1 Stem-initial NC

Word-initial NC clusters are abnormal in Jenaama. However, initial \{mb nd nj ng\} and \{mp nt nc nk\} are common in the local lingua franca Fulfulde, which may be the source of the few examples recorded in Cliffs Jenaama. They consist of nouns and preclausal pragmatic particles (17).

(17)  | cluster | stem       | gloss                        |
      |         |            | (from an old speaker)        |
mb/mp | mbagärēwũ | ‘cheetah’  |
nd/nt | ndunjān  | ‘world (of the living)’      |
jj/nc | [none]   |                           |
ŋg/ŋk| ŋgà  | ‘but’       |
      | ŋgalù | ‘city’      |
      | ŋkàl (~ kàl) | ‘except’; ‘must’; also in greetings |

In ŋgà and in the full pronunciation ŋkàl the initial nasal bears an independent tone. In nouns like ‘city’ the initial nasal is pronounced in isolation with low pitch, but this is arguably automatic. Clause-medially, as in bě ndunjăn niŋn ‘came into the world’, the initial nasal is syllabified with the vowel to its left, from which it acquires its surface tone.

If nasal pronominal clitics are included (1Sg ŋ ~ ŋ, Logo/3ReflSg ŋ), there are many combinations that begin with [mb], [nd], and the like. In these combinations the nasal may have its own tone (§4.3.4).

3.2.11.2 Stem-initial Cw and Cy clusters

The most common initial clusters are of the form Cw. There are attestations of kw, pw, bw, mw, ŋw, and even ww. They are followed by any vowel except u. Stems like wù ‘night’ are analysed here as having long vowels, not as e.g. #wwù). The known examples of initial Cw are in (18).

(18)  | a. verbs       | related forms |
      | with long vowel |                        |
kwáa/ká-lá | ‘hit’           |
kwaà’/kwàa’n | ‘be afraid’     |
kweè’/kwéè’-nè | ‘sweep’         |
kwíi/kwíi-li | ‘roll up (mat)’ |
mwàà/mwàà ‘become cold, cool’
mwēēn/mwēēn ‘massage’

*b. adjectival predicates*

kwāān/kwāā ‘be white, clean’
mwàà-nà ‘be cold’
wwō-nà ‘be dry; be hard’

*b. modifying adjectives*

wwō'-wwō ‘empty’

*b. adjectival predicates*

bwō/bwō ‘burn’
dwāl ‘enter’
dwī ‘stone-grind; crush’
kwē ‘stretch out (arms, legs)’
pwāl ‘sit’
wwō ‘weep’

*b. modifying adjectives*

bwō ‘peer, age-mate’
kwā ‘rain (n)’
kwī ‘terrestrial monitor liquid’
ńwē ‘millet or rice cake’
pwā ‘thing’ (variant pō- in some combinations)
pwīl ‘swelling due to disease’

*d. nouns*

bwō ‘peer, age-mate’
kwā ‘rain (n)’

The adjectival predicates with Cw in (18b) correspond to modifying adjectives with Cuw (shown in the right-hand column). The verbs kwā/kō-là ‘hit’ (18a) and pwāl ‘sit’ have Cw only in the Pfv.

Other stems that I analyse as beginning with Cuw, for example pūwō=pūwō ‘jab’, are subject to optional shortening or syncope of the u, making it difficult to distinguish Cuwv from Cwv (v some vowel other than u). Confirmation that there is a real distinction between Cuw and Cw comes from tone alternations in verbs. bwō/bwō ‘burn’ and wwō/wwō ‘weep’ have identical tones in the Pfv and Ipfv. This tone pattern is characteristic of monomoraic Cv verbs, whose Pfv/Ipfv pairings are of the types Cv/Cv or Cv/Cv, e.g. bè/bè ‘come’ and sō/sō ‘go’. By contrast, no CvCv verb is of the tonal type #Cv/Cv/Cv/Cv or #Cv/Cv/Cv/Cv with the same tone (M or L) throughout both Pfv and Ipfv. Unlike bwō/bwō ‘burn’ and wwō/wwō ‘weep’, verbs like pūwō=pūwō ‘jab’ show the productive Pfv/Ipfv tone pairings for CvCv stems, which have a level-toned Pfv and a contour-toned Ipfv, i.e. either Cv/Cv/Cv/Cv or Cv/Cv/Cv/Cv. This is supporting
evidence for a phonological distinction between Cwv and Cuwv in spite of the latter’s tendency to syncopate.

In some cases a verb and its participle or adjectival modifying form are syllabified differently. Thus mwɔ̀ⁿ/mwɔ̀ⁿ ‘ripen’ and its participle mùwⁿ-ɔ̀-nà ‘ripe’. A more extreme example is stative predicate kwàñⁿ ‘be white’, participle kwàñ-nà, but modifying kùwöⁿ ‘white’ (§4.5.1.1).

There are fewer examples of Cy than of Cw. The three known cases, all verbs, begin with cy or sy (19).

(19) a. cy
   cyëwⁿ/cyëwⁿ ‘carry on head’
   cyëwⁿ/ cyë-nè ‘weave (basket)’

   b. sy
   syë/syë ‘put in’
   sy = à-ỳ ‘put (sth) in’ (§9.3.3)

The transcription syë/syë is supported by its tone pattern, which shows the tonal identity of Pfv and Ipfv typical of Cv verbs.

The adjective ‘heavy’ has postnominal modifying form ciyëwⁿ ~ ciyëwⁿ. By analogy to the adjectival predicates in (18b) above, we might expect a predicative form beginning #cyëëⁿ or the like. The actual predicative form is ciyëwⁿ ~ ciyëwⁿ, identical to the modifying form. This is consistent with the overall relative infrequency of Cy as opposed to Cw.

3.2.11.3 Medial CC and CCC clusters

The most common stable medial clusters are those with homorganic nasal and voiced stop. Examples are tèndé ‘well (n)’, wòmbò ‘hollowed-out trunk’, dèngè ‘lower jaw’, and kònji ‘urine’. Bisyllabic CvNCv with these clusters is treated for tonal purposes as prosodically light, like CvCv. One could argue from this that nd etc. are unit phonemes (prenasalized stops).

Other medial CC clusters occur sporadically, especially in Fulfulde borrowings or in frozen compounds. Some examples are in (20).

(20) cluster    stem    gloss
    a. ŋk    tàŋkónɔŋ ‘duck’
    mp    súmpɔrɔ ‘tick’
    nt    kàlàmàntùŋjɔ ‘giant millipede’
    ɲc    tègèɲčîɲ ‘forehead’
    b. md    tɛɛmdɛrɛ ‘hundred’
Tonal behavior is generally similar for CvCv, CvNCv, and longer verb stems (§10.1.2.1). However, the floating H of 1Sg object ŋ (+H) spreads to the end of (light) CvCv and CvNCv stems, but only to the first syllable of trisyllabic stems (§3.6.3.1.1).

Triple clusters are rare. Within a stem, I can cite the noun təlmbé ‘hornbill (bird)’ and the (borrowed) verb háyndé ‘amaze, astonish’. The variants dəlmbé ~ dəlmbé ‘ring (jewel)’ suggest how such triple clusters may emerge by syncope. Another triple cluster, but involving an obscure morpheme boundary, occurs in the archaic suppletive plural ‘children’ dəlm-bi-gē, now mostly supplanted by jēnäm-bi-gē ‘children’ (contrast H-toned singular jēnàⁿ ‘child’). These clusters are of the type sonorant plus homorganic nasal-voiced-stop NC cluster. Such clusters are more common in Fulfulde, and additional Cliffs Jenaama examples (borrowed from Fulfulde) may turn up during further lexicographic work.

3.2.11.4 Final CC clusters

There are no stem- or word-final clusters, with the marginal exception of the prolonged [m:] as variant pronunciation of stem-final mu (§3.4.3.1).

3.2.12 Historical linguistic significance of verb-stem alternations

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

3.2.12.1 Unusual bisyllabic stem variants

A number of verb stems have a verbal noun that mutates the final vowel to e/ε. In a few cases, the corresponding verb has a monosyllabic Pfv and a bisyllabic Ipfv with medial l or n. The medial
consonant also appears in the verbal noun (§4.2.1.2). The examples are in (21). There are close parallels in Djenné Jenaama.

\[
(21) \quad \text{Pfv/Ipfv} \quad \text{gloss} \quad \text{verbal noun} \quad \text{gloss}
\]

a. intransitive has same medial consonant as verbal noun

| \(\text{sìw}^n/\text{sì-nì} \) | 'bite' | \(\text{sìnë} \) | 'biting' |
| \(\text{kwàâ/kà-là} \) | 'hit' | \(\text{kólë} \) | 'hitting' |

b. n/m alternation

| \(\text{kùù}^n/\text{kù-nù} \) | 'catch' | \(\text{kùmë} \) | 'catching' |

Some of the same verbs, and others, have intransitivized stems (antipassive or mediopassive) ending in \(e/e\) (§9.3.1.1). The available data show the same medial consonants as in verbal nouns of the type in (21). Thus \(\text{kùù}^n/\text{kù-nù} \) ‘catch’, antipassive \(\text{kùmë}/\text{kùmë} \) ‘(trap) catch (an unspecified animal)’.

Subject to verification with data from non-Jenaama Bozo and other Mande languages, a reasonable speculation is that the original forms of the stems in (21) were bisyllabic \(*\text{sìni}, *\text{kaL}, \) and perhaps \(*\text{kumu}. \) If so, they were reduced to monosyllabic shape as Pfv verbs, and the Ipfv of ‘catch’ may have been reshaped to \(\text{kù-nù} \) by analogy to verbs like ‘bite’.

3.2.12.2 \(\text{bàâ/bâ-là} \) ‘exit (v)’

The verb ‘exit, go out’ has Pfv \(\text{bàâ} \) (dialectally also \(\text{bâ} \)) and Ipfv \(\text{bâ-là} \). There is a suffixed verbal noun \(\text{bââ-gù} \) based on the Pfv. Comparison with \(\text{kwàâ/kà-là} \) ‘hit’, mentioned in the preceding section, suggests the possibility that \(\text{bàâ} \) reflects \(*\text{bâL}, \) in which case the Ipfv preserves the original bisyllabic form of the stem. In Djenné Jenaama, the verb is \(\text{bà/bâ-rà} \), which belongs to a fairly productive class with Ipfv suffix -RV.

The resultative verbal noun is irregular: \(\text{bãn-nà} \), not the expected \#\(\text{bàâ-nà} \) based on the Pfv. This could be another indication of an original shape \(*\text{baL}(v) \) with some sonorant \(*\text{L} \).

3.3 Vowels

The inventory of vowel qualities is (22). All qualities occur long and short, and oral and nasalized.
This is essentially the regionally widespread 7-vowel system found in nearby Mande languages, Bangime, and Dogon languages, with the surprising addition of a high back unrounded vowel u. There is an ATR-like distinction, or arguably just a Romance-type open/closed distinction, in the mid-height vowels but not in the high or low vowels. See §3.3.6 for ATR harmony.

### 3.3.1 High back unrounded vowel u

This vowel is unmistakable when it occurs. Acoustically it is not close to any other vowel quality. However, its distribution is limited. The known examples are in the left column in (23), with Djenné Jenaama cognates in the right column. The majority are mono- and bisyllabic stems that begin with a velar stop and contain no other vowel quality. Exceptions: ‘new’ in (23c) has a variant tûtu with initial alveolar, and ‘steal’ in (23a) has a final ε vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(23) form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Djenné Jenaama cognate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. after k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû / kûû</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>kiyè/kiyē ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû / kûû</td>
<td>‘catch fire’</td>
<td>kiyè-ni/n/kiyè-ni ‘turn on (light)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
<td>kwèè/kwèè ‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘moon, month’</td>
<td>kòò ‘moon, month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû (1)</td>
<td>‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>kòò-kèwù ‘maternal uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû (2)</td>
<td>‘shea tree’</td>
<td>kòò ‘shea tree (Vitellaria)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘a certain (one)’</td>
<td>(see comment below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘pit, hole’</td>
<td>kiyè ‘pit, hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘thigh’</td>
<td>kiyè ‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûû</td>
<td>‘baobab’</td>
<td>kèrè ‘baobab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâñjâñ-kûû</td>
<td>‘termitary’</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from old men, forms and glosses need checking:

- **kúúú**
  - ‘roan antelope’
  - **kóó** ‘roan antelope’

- **kũũm**
  - ‘eagel sp.’
  - **kóó** ‘fish eagle’ (*Haliaeetus*)

- **kũn-ku**
  - ‘green pigeon’

b. after **g**; see also **kúgú** ‘thigh’ in (a)

- **gúgújó/gúgújó**
  - ‘bite off’
  - —

- **gúlú**
  - ‘bat (mammal)’
  - **gérén** ‘bat’

- **gũũ** ~ **gũũ**
  - ‘place’
  - **gĩyë** ‘place’

from old men, needs checking:

- **gũlũm-gúju**
  - ‘agave’ (?)
  - —

c. other

- **pá túũ ni**
  - ‘new (thing)’
  - **twëë** ‘new’

  (variant **pá tóy ni**)

Additional clues as to the origin of this vowel at least in Cuuu monosyllabics comes from comparisons between Cliffs Jenaama and the nearby Konna variety. My limited data on the latter include **këw** ‘moon, month’ and **këw** ‘maternal uncle’, corresponding to Cliffs **kũũ** and **kũũ**. Within Cliffs, the quantificational adjective **kũũ** ‘a certain (one)’, always singular, is likely related to the numeral **këw** ‘one’, though the connection is synchronically opaque. Similarly, the noun **gũũ** ‘place’ has an idiosyncratic iterative form **gũũ**-**mà-gëw** varying with **gũũ**-**mà-** **gũũ** as relative head (§14.2.4).

From Lauschitzky (2007), which focuses on verbs, the cognates in (24) can be gleaned. They are from Djambakourou near Konna, with a Mopti variant shown for ‘moon’ (24b). Some of the forms are not tone-marked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(24)</th>
<th>Djambakourou</th>
<th>Mopti</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><strong>toi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><strong>kóó</strong></td>
<td><strong>kéú</strong></td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td><strong>këé</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to steal’</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td><strong>këé</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to run’</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td><strong>kie</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to light’</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, these data appear to suggest *(k/g)e* as one source for Cliffs *(k/g)u* in monosyllables, especially if some cases of *(k/g)oo* in other Jenaama varieties can be traced back to *(k/g)e*.

There is no productive process in Cliffs that converts another vowel quality into *u* after a velar stop. Examples of stem-initial *k/g* before various vowel qualities are in (25).
(25)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. before u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūu&quot;/kū-nū</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūgū</td>
<td>‘daytime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūnū&quot;</td>
<td>‘courtyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. before o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kògò</td>
<td>‘newly built house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòlò</td>
<td>‘Nile monitor lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gòrò</td>
<td>‘kola nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. before e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèŋgé</td>
<td>‘dream (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kégú</td>
<td>‘cream of millet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēy</td>
<td>‘herb with potato-like tuber (Raphionacme)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. before e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēlē</td>
<td>‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēēgū</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gējé</td>
<td>‘arrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \ddot{u} \) does not occur in any nearby language known to me (Dogon family, Bangime, Songhay family) or in the lingue franche Bambara and Fulfulde. It is evidently an isolated local development in Cliffs Jenaama.

3.3.2 Short and long vowels

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

Bimoraic Cvv with a long vowel is common in all open-ended stem classes. Examples are nàà ‘cow’, tēē ‘meat’, nii ‘(be) bad’, dāān ‘distant’, mūū/\(mū-nū \) ‘insult (v)’, and qi̡e̡/qi̠e̡ ‘open (v)’.

Monomoraic Cv verbs are uncommon, but five high-frequency stems have this shape in both Pfv and Ipfv: sò/sò ‘go’, bē/bē ‘come’, sè/sè ‘say’, kò/kò ‘provide (with)’, and dô/dô ‘give’. There is also a stative adjectival predicate kōn ‘(be) many, numerous’, and there are a handful of Cvw and Cyv verbs (§10.1.2.2).
For nouns, the Cv shape with oral vowel is limited to ‘thing’, a semi-grammaticalized stem whose full form pwɔ̄ reduces to pā before a modifier (§4.1.2). There are no Cv adjectives or numerals.

Many grammatical morphemes have Cv shape.

Many examples of CvCv stems are in §10.1.2.1 (verbs) and §3.6.1.2 (nouns). In nonmonosyllabic stems, vowel-length oppositions occur mainly in initial syllables, e.g. CvCv versus CvCvCv. The stems in (26) are nonmonosyllabics with a single long vowel. Bisyllabic #CvvCvv with two long vowels is unattested, though trisyllabics may begin with this sequence (kābūūşi ‘pistol”).

(26) shape  stem  gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shape</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CvvCv</td>
<td>bäänā</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gùúsùⁿ</td>
<td>‘giant pouch rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCvv</td>
<td>hìnë</td>
<td>‘what one can, one’s best’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jàmááⁿ</td>
<td>‘crowd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCvCv</td>
<td>kábári</td>
<td>‘news’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>màsírí</td>
<td>‘jewelry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvvCvCv</td>
<td>pùūtùùⁿ</td>
<td>‘red ochre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wààjìbì</td>
<td>‘obligation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCvvCv</td>
<td>álāābà</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dùgáálä</td>
<td>‘stone-ground millet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCvCvv</td>
<td>kirikëè</td>
<td>‘saddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>màsàkùù</td>
<td>‘sweet potato’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among vowel-length minimal pairs are kūûnû/kūûnû ‘crawl’ versus Ipfv kū-nû ‘catches’, and pëērë/pëērë ‘rip, tear’ versus pëërë/pëërë ‘split (nut)’.

Even in initial syllables, a long vowel before a consonant cluster is rare except at compound boundaries and in poorly assimilated borrowings. An example of the latter is the Fulfulde loanword tëēmdëë ‘hundred’.

Most stem-final syllables have short vowels. Some with final long vowels are the Pfv’s in piyëè/piyë-lè ‘lick’ and sùwòõ/sùwô-lò ‘sing’, and the nouns kèbàà ‘flint lighter’ and kirikëè ‘saddle (n)’.

3.3.3 Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels in nonfinal syllables not involving a nasal consonant are rare. Aside from compounds, I can cite dòⁿsò ‘hunter’, whose s does not allow a preceding full nasal (#ns). There are no similar examples with medial semivowels, an important difference vis-à-vis Djenné Jenaama which has several stems like kúⁿwó ‘bone’ (Cliffs kûwɔⁿ).

Vowels following nasal or nasalized consonants are subject to a degree of phonetic nasalization. However, the difference between e.g. na and naⁿ is audible on careful listening. A generally reliable test is the pronunciation of such syllables before words beginning with an obstruent such as a stop, or with l. For example, phonemic na combines with t as [nǝt], while phonemic naⁿ combines with it as [nǝnt], including a nasal consonant that is assimilated to the position of the t (or, arguably, prenasalization of t). See §3.4.2.2 below on such alternations.

3.3.4 Initial vowels

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

Very few Jenaama words other than pronouns and pronominal clitics begin with a vowel. Nearly all of the stems that begin with vowels are Arabic noun borrowings (via Fulfulde), plus àrjõⁿ ‘radio’ from French where the initial vowel avoids a disallowed initial tap r.

3.3.5 Stem-final vowels

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

3.3.6 ATR harmony and Back/Rounding Harmony

As noted in §3.3 above, the opposition between {e o} and {ɛ ɔ} in languages of the zone is often described as an ATR (advanced tongue root) distinction, though its actual articulation needs further study.

Because there is so little affixal morphology, there are few opportunities to apply vocalic harmony to affixes. However, there are some verbs that “mutate” a final vowel to distinguish transitive from intransitive (antipassive) and/or in suffixal derivations (§9.3.1). The mutations are from stem-final {a ɔ} to ɛ, and from stem-final o to e, preserving ATR value.

This can, incidentally, be used as evidence that a is treated as -ATR. However, there is no constraint against combining a and {e o} within stems: kârândé ‘tamarind’, kâsò ‘jail’, kèbà ‘marriage ceremony’.
3.3.7 Diphthongs

In cases like *pwɔ̀ ‘sit.Pfv’* and *kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’*, the w is part of the syllable onset and there is no need to recognize diphthongs as a phonological category. Metrically sensitive phonological processes treat initial Cw like initial C.

Word-final rising diphthongs, i.e. sequences of low or mid-height vowel plus semivowel, are well-attested. Most involve final *wⁿ* after any vowel quality except u or o, e.g. *bīlāwⁿ ‘torch’, pāā-lēwⁿ, ‘many’, kǎ̄gōwⁿ ‘five’, and dibīwⁿ/dibin-nā ‘roast’. Other final semivowels that are attested are w, y, and yⁿ, as in sāw ‘millet-based meal’, tōy ‘intelligence’, and kāyⁿ ‘work (n)’.

3.3.8 Front rounded [y] absent

A phonetic front rounded vowel, IPA [y] like French “u,” occurs in stems ending in (underlying) uwe/uwe for some speakers in Djenné Jenaama. This has not been observed in Cliffs, where the rounding in e.g., sūqē/sūqē ‘cook, do cooking’ is centered on the medial semivowel.

3.3.9 Vocalic sound symbolism

I currently have no examples of vocalic sound symbolism in Cliffs Jenaama parallel to those in some other languages of the zone, where vocalic mutations within verb stems and some adverbials correlate in some way with size or intensity. Diminutive morphemes -nāwⁿ and -lēwⁿ (§5.1.7.1-2), adjective dēgē-nāwⁿ ‘small’, and jēnāⁿ ‘child’ lack strong phonaesthetic features of the *teeny-weeny* type.

3.3.10 Diphthongization of ɔ to wa absent

This diphthongization, present in some Djenné Jenaama dialects, is generally absent in Cliffs. However, there are a handful of lexically specific alternations of Cwɔ with Cɔ. The noun pɔ̄ ~ pā ‘thing’ has a variant pwɔ̄. The verb ‘sit’ is pwɔ̄/pɔ̀-lɔ̀. An even more isolated case is the verb kwāā/kɔ̀-lā ‘hit’.
3.4 Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1 Local segmental processes

3.4.1.1 \( l \rightarrow d \) and \( l \rightarrow w \) (in independent pronouns and with QTop láā)

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

Independent pronouns take the form pronominal proclitic plus lágɔ in plural categories: èlágɔ ‘we’ (also logophoric plural), è-lágɔ ‘they’, àā-lágɔ ‘you-Pl’. The singular pronouns are 1Sg à-dágɔ, logophoric singular à-dágɔ, 2Sg àn-dágɔ, and 3Sg wɔgɔ, the latter with an uncommon variant lágɔ. All except the unsegmentable 3Sg wɔgɔ ~ lágɔ are transcribed with hyphens. Taking lágɔ as basic requires a rule \( l \rightarrow d \) after a nasal for 1Sg and 2Sg, and a (phonetically un motivated) \( l \rightarrow w \) for 3Sg.

In Djenné Jenaama, dúwɔ ~ lúwɔ occurs in independent pronouns and also as plural focus marker. In Cliffs, lágɔ does not function as a focus marker.

Interrogative topic (QTop) láā shows \( l \rightarrow d \) in 1Sg àn-dáa, logophoric singular àn-dáa, and optionally in 2Sg àn láa ~ àn-dáa (§19.1.2). The -dáa forms are written with hyphens.

There is no general \( l \rightarrow d \) rule even after nasals. For example, lágú ‘mouth’ has possessed forms including à n lágú ‘my mouth’ and àn lágú ‘your-Sg mouth’. There are also no other \( l \sim w \) alternations.

3.4.1.2 vv-Contraction

Two vowels come together at boundaries only under limited conditions. The second element is a vocalic pronominal proclitic with \( V_2 \) either e or a (1Pl è, 2Sg àⁿ, 2Pl àã, 3Sg à, 3Pl è). These contract with preceding morphemes ending in a vowel (\( V_1 \)), which is generally a grammatical morpheme ending in e or a, less often a particle or verb ending in another vowel. Some all-pronominal subject-object combinations, in the perfective positive (when they are not separated by a bidirectional case marker), also contract. For example, 2Sg àⁿ (as subject) can combine with 3Sg à (as object), resulting in contracted à = à (§3.4.2.3), and 2Sg àⁿ can combine with itself (as reflexive object), resulting in àⁿ(“) = àⁿ (§18.1.1.2).

When \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \) contract, the result is a long vowel with the quality of \( V_2 \). To some extent the tones of the inputs are respected, so that ù plus ù is realized as ùù with rising tone, and ù plus ù is realized as ùù with falling tone. However, in allegro speech there is some tendency to level contoured tones originating from such contractions.

Array (27) illustrates the four most common \( V_1-V_2 \) input combinations (aa, ae, ee, ea), with Ipfv gà and PfvNeg tè followed by a pronominal.
### (27) input output example gloss

a. identical input vowel qualities
/a a/ aa gā = à Ipfv plus 3Sg
/e e/ ee tē = è PfvNeg plus 3Pl

b. nonidentical input vowel qualities
/a e/ ee gē = ē Ipfv plus 1Pl
gē = è Ipfv plus 3Pl
/e a/ aa tā = à PfvNeg plus 3Sg

Examples with a different $V_1$ are in (28).

### (28) inputs output gloss

a. dā-lā à-ŷ dā-lā = à-ŷ ‘enters into it’
b. hālē ē hālē = ē ‘until we’
c. tiyē [à nī] tiyā = [à nī] ‘ask about it’
d. kīlē [à nīfī] kīlā = [à nīfī] ‘get (sth) in it’
e. dō [à tē] dā = [à tē] ‘give to him/her’

Some final semivowels can delete before a vowel, leading to contraction of the resulting vowels. This can occur with presentative käy and hortative kêyⁿ, which then behave like kä and kêⁿ (and contract with the next vowel.

For loss of $V_1^n$ nasality in vv-Contraction, see §3.4.2.3 below.

### 3.4.2 Processes involving nasality

#### 3.4.2.1 Word-final $v^n$ alternating with $vN$ within phrases

There are alternations between word-final nasalized vowels and sequences of vowel plus nasal consonant, at word boundaries.

As an example of a final nasalized vowel, consider 2Sg pronominal clitic äⁿ. Pronunciation as äⁿ with nasalized vowel is normal in isolation and before s, h, and semivowels (29a). Before other consonants it is often realized as [āⁿ] plus a homorganic nasal (29b-e).

### (29) a. äⁿ before {s w y h}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>äⁿ</th>
<th>sèwⁿ / wòbò / yàbà / hōślà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>road / disease / guinea.fowl / trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘your-Sg road/disease/guinea-fowl/trust’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. an before alveolar
   ān  lōgū / tôy / dàgā / nògū
   2Sg  mouth / intelligence / totem / village
   ‘your-Sg mouth/intelligence/totem/village’

c. ān before palatoalveolar
   ān  jūgū / cōllō / ŋīnā
   2Sg  medicine / dust / mouse
   ‘your-Sg medicine/dust/mouse’

d. ām before labial
   ām  bārmā / pōwⁿ / mūlè
   2Sg  modern.pot / wife / sugarcane
   ‘your-Sg pot/wife/sugarcane’

e. an before velar
   ān  kēw / gàlā
   2Sg  uncle / indigo
   ‘your-Sg (maternal) uncle/indigo’

The same alternations occur in the 1Sg allomorph nāⁿ of the bidirectional case morpheme.

(30)  a. pronounced [nāⁿ] or (before L-tone) <LM> toned [nāⁿ]
   ŋ₁ = nāⁿ  wòbō / yābā / … / … / …  kāy
   "  "  "  … / … / … / sēŋ  "
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj  disease / guinea.fowl / road  see.Pfv
   ‘I saw the disease/guinea-fowl/road.’ (< wòbō, yābā, sēwⁿ)

b. pronounced [nān] or [nāŋ]
   ŋ₁ = nān  lōgū / … / … / …  kāy
   ”  ”  ”  / … / tôy / dàgā / nògū  "
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj  mouth / intelligence / totem / village  see.Pfv
   ‘I saw the mouth/intelligence/totem/village.’ (< tôy etc.)

c. pronounced [nān] or [nāŋ]
   ŋ₁ = nān  jūgū / cōllō / ŋīnā  kāy
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj  medicine / dust / mouse  see.Pfv
   ‘I saw the medicine/dust/mouse.’ (< cōllō)
d. pronounced [nəm] or [nə̃m]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nî</td>
<td>nəm bārnə / ...</td>
<td>kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>nə̃m ... / pəŋ/ mūlē</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>Sbj/Obj modern.pot / wife / sugarcane</td>
<td>see.Pfv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I saw the pot/wife/sugarcane.’ (&lt;pəw&quot;, mūlē)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. pronounced [nəŋ] or [nə̃ŋ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nî</td>
<td>nə̃ŋ kūlū / gàlā</td>
<td>kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>Sbj/Obj baobab / indigo</td>
<td>see.Pfv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I saw the baobab/indigo.’ (&lt;kūlū, gàlā)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neither 2Sg āⁿ nor 1Sg bidirectional n̄ = nᵃ occurs prepausally or in isolation (except artificially).

Many noun, verb, and other stems have similar alternations. Unlike the grammatical morphemes described above, these stems do occur prepausally. In this position they show the nasalized vowel with no final nasal consonant. (31) lists noun stems ending in nasalized vowels.

(31) Nouns with final nasalized vowel

a. Cvvⁿ with nonnasal C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sâáⁿ</td>
<td>‘wild grape tree’ or ‘thorn-branch fence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâáⁿ</td>
<td>‘well bag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàâⁿ</td>
<td>‘honey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jááⁿ</td>
<td>‘fishhook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jîîⁿ</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cîîⁿ</td>
<td>‘trunk (of tree)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūūⁿ</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sśśⁿ</td>
<td>‘needle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūūⁿ</td>
<td>‘fly (insect)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pîîⁿ</td>
<td>‘grain(s)’ or ‘millet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūūⁿ</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāāⁿ</td>
<td>‘mound (in field)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāāⁿ</td>
<td>‘okra’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Cvvⁿ with nonnasal C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sîrâⁿ</td>
<td>‘tobacco plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sûbâⁿ</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têgêcîⁿ</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋəmâŋ-kûⁿ</td>
<td>‘ginger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bànâŋ-kûⁿ</td>
<td>‘cassava’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kən-kûⁿ</td>
<td>‘vulture’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Nvvⁿ with nasal consonant N
   mùùⁿ  ‘cold (n)’
   nùùⁿ  ‘belly’
   jìiⁿ  ‘tooth’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvvⁿ with nasal consonant N
   jánjāⁿ  ‘shelter’
   kānāⁿ  ‘friend’
   kūlāⁿ  ‘hip’
   sībēⁿ-nūⁿ  ‘week’
   sūmāⁿ  ‘waterskin’
   ŋdūŋāⁿ  ‘world’

e. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvⁿ (alphabetized by final nasal N)
   sūmūⁿ  ‘visitor’
   jēnāⁿ  ‘child’
   kōŋşⁿ  ‘slave’
   mùŋūⁿ  ‘harvested millet heap’
   sōŋšⁿ  ‘the bush (outback)’
   sūŋšⁿ  ‘crocodile’

f. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Cvⁿ (alphabetized by final nonnasal C)
   kābōⁿ  ‘shoes’
   jāmbōⁿ  ‘grasshopper’
   dōn-dōⁿ  ‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’
   nōgōⁿ  ‘soul’
   sūgūⁿ  ‘harvested rice heap’
   yūgōⁿ  ‘woman’
   tā-a-yūgōⁿ  ‘grandmother’
   wūjūⁿ  ‘giant pouched rat’
   tūwò-kólōⁿ  ‘testicle’ (Konna dialect)
   kēlēŋ-kālāⁿ  ‘forked stick’
   kānā-kólōⁿ  ‘throat (external)’
   tūwš-būlōⁿ  ‘elephant’ (‘ear-big’)
   wōlōⁿ-wōlōⁿ  ‘bell’
   wōtōrōⁿ  ‘cart’
   gūrū-gūsūⁿ  ‘hedgehog’
   bōŋgūsāⁿ  ‘malevolent object’
   sāⁿ-sāⁿ  ‘sand’
búwōⁿ ‘mortar’
būwōⁿ ‘horn’
dūwōⁿ ‘hunger’
dūwóⁿ ‘cheek’
kālāmāntūwōⁿ ‘giant millipede’ (variant)
kāṇ-kūwōⁿ ‘crow’
kūwōⁿ ‘bone’
kūwóⁿ ‘flank’
kūwǎⁿ ‘husband’
pūwōⁿ ‘water lily’
pāām-pūwōⁿ ‘sesame’
cīvēⁿ ‘gathering, assembly’
sīvēⁿ ‘sorghum grains’
tīyōⁿ ‘ax’

Many other noun stems have a subphonemically nasalized final vowel that is simply the phonetic carry-over from a nasal or nasalized consonant (32). These stems do not usually have variants with final assimilated nasal consonant.

(32) Nouns with oral (nonnasal) vowel after nasal consonant N

a. monosyllabic Nvv
    nàà ‘cow’

b. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvv
    kāmāà ‘tale’
    sānāà ‘gazelle’

c. nonmonosyllabic ending in …yⁿv (see §3.2.10.1 for discussion)
    mīyⁿè ‘flea’
    nīyⁿè ‘pity (n)’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nv with nasal N (alphabetized by this N)
    nūmà ‘rope’
    kūmù ‘sleep (n)’
    sōmō ‘pick-hoe’
    tīmī ‘odor’
    tīmì ‘rock python’
    nīmī ‘person’
    sōmō ‘louse’
| kāmà    | ‘reason’                        |
| kòmò    | ‘sickle’                        |
| kitómó  | ‘conical hat’                   |
| mànàmì   | ‘dance (n)’                      |
| ñōòmó   | ‘camel’                         |
| ñàmà-ñàmà | ‘trash’                        |
| kàmà    | ‘lie (n), untruth’              |
| síí-mà  | ‘sort (n), kind’                |
| kūlää”-nûmà | ‘belt’                       |
| sirāān-dûmà | ‘snuff tobacco’            |
| mäynì   | ‘disaster’                      |
| ságàmì  | ‘bunch (unit of sale)’          |
| bànà (~ bàndà) | ‘fatigue’              |
| bànu    | ‘pestle’                        |
| kānà    | ‘throat’                        |
| kānû    | ‘breast’ or ‘gold’              |
| bônè    | ‘trouble’                       |
| kōnō    | ‘lungfish’                      |
| ñìnà    | ‘mouse’                         |
| ñőñó    | ‘truth’                         |
| tûjûnû  | ‘pigeon’                        |
| kûwûnì  | ‘settled area’                  |
| ñìmìnà  | ‘nose’                          |
| tûkûnû  | ‘duck’                          |
| bānà    | ‘way, manner’                   |
| wûtû-tûnà | ‘night’                    |
| kûgû-tànnà | ‘afternoon’                |
| ñëëtûnì  | ‘devil’                         |
| kàpá    | ‘calabash saw’                  |
| ñàñûñì  | ‘face’ (Konna dialect)          |
| sibô-ññòññò | ‘pig’                  |
| ñìñû    | ‘interior’                      |

Similar data from adjectives are in (33).
(33) Adjectives

a. final nasalized vowel
   after nasal or nasalized consonant
   démōⁿ  ‘sweet’
   tīnāāⁿ  ‘other’

   after other consonant
   dāāⁿ  ‘distant’
   kōjāⁿ ~ kōyāⁿ  ‘long’
   pīⁿ  ‘black’

b. unnasalized final vowel after nasal consonant
   billà-nà  ‘narrow, tight’ (and others with participial suffix -na)
   bānū  ‘thick’
   nīi-nīi  ‘coarse’
   nōŋō  ‘bad, nasty’

3.4.2.2 Final wⁿ alternating with homorganic nasal within phrases

Dozens of stems end in a syllable that is pronounced Cvwⁿ prepausally (e.g. clause-finally or in isolation). For verbs, this form is limited to the Pfv stem. All vowel qualities may precede the wⁿ, though a and e are especially common. After a back rounded vowel, the labialization may be faint, but the nasality is clear. Representative examples are in (34). Stems of the shape Cũuⁿ like kūuⁿ ‘boat, skiff’ might be added if analysed as Cuwⁿ.

(34) a. non-verbs
   mēwⁿ  ‘iron, metal’
   nāwⁿ  ‘mother’
   pōwⁿ  ‘wife’ or ‘tomtom’
   bōwⁿ  ‘here’
   yāwⁿ  ‘there (discourse-definite)’
   sēbēwⁿ  ‘amulet’
   bīyēwⁿ  ‘egg’
   dārāmā-yīwⁿ  ‘maize’
   sīgēwⁿ ~ sīkēwⁿ  ‘three’

b. verbs (Pfv only)
   bāwⁿ  ‘shave’ (Pfv)
   bēwⁿ  ‘go back’ (Pfv)
Some grammatical morphemes are of this type. They include nàwⁿ/nàwⁿ ‘if’ (post-subject, in perfective positive conditional antecedents, §16.1.1), relative marker màwⁿ (§14.1.1), postpositions kàwⁿ ‘chez’ (§8.2.4.3) and bà̀cèwⁿ ‘toward, around’ (§8.2.9), diminutive -nàwⁿ (§5.1.7.1), default possessum pàwⁿ (§6.2.2.2), and place nominal morpheme -gàwⁿ (§4.2.1.5.1).

When these stems and morphemes are followed by another word within a prosodic group, the labialization usually disappears, leaving a final nasal vowel behind. This vowel behaves phonologically like the nasal vowels described in the preceding subsection. For example, nàwⁿ ‘mother’ can be heard as nàⁿ, or after point of articulation assimilation as nàm, nàn, nàŋ, or nàŋ depending on the following consonant. However, the labialization is sometimes audible even in such combinations, making transcription of rapidly spoken passages difficult.

There are only a handful of stems ending in yⁿ, including the verb màyⁿ/màyⁿ ‘malfunction’ and the noun kàyⁿ ‘work’. When these are followed by another word, the y remains audible. For example, kàyⁿ can be heard without change, or by assimilation as kàym, kàyn, kàŋ, or kàŋ.

The frequency asymmetry between final wⁿ and final yⁿ, along with the general absence of word-final nasal consonants (§3.2.1), suggests a diachronic hypothesis: most examples of final wⁿ reflect original final nasal consonants, including *ŋ and perhaps *m and *n.

3.4.2.3 Denasalization

3.4.2.3.1 Denasalization in vv-Contraction and vowel sequences

When the first element in vv-Contraction is a nasalized vowel, its nasality is lost when it contracts.

(35) a. à= à kày
    2Sg 3Sg see.Pfv
    ‘You-Sg saw him.’ (< /àⁿ à kày/)

b. sèédù ye= è-l高潮
    S and 1Pl-Indep
    ‘Seydou and us’ (< /yèⁿ è/-)

c. ye= è kwáà
    Imprt.2Pl 3Pl hit.Pfv
    ‘Hit-2Pl them!’ (< /yèⁿ è/)
Denasalization of a vowel can also occur at a word boundary where it is followed by another vowel, without actual contraction. An example is (571a) in §12.1.2.

3.4.2.3.2 Denasalization in Pfv/Ipfv verb stems

A few irregular verbs have nasal syllables in the Pfv stem, but lose the nasality in the suffixed Ipfv stem.

(36) Pfv | Ipfv | gloss | related form
      |      |      |              
yàwⁿ | yà-là | ‘descend’ | causative yèli/yèli ‘take down, unload’
wwòⁿ | wwò-lò | ‘dry off’ |

The regularly formed Ipfv’s would be #yà-nà and #wwó-nò (§10.1.3.3.1). Compare Djenné Jenaama unnasalized yà/yà-rà ‘descend’ and fully nasalized wùwóⁿ/wùwó-nò ‘dry (v)’. It may be that Cliffs Pfv yàwⁿ ‘descended’ acquired wⁿ secondarily by analogy to tåwⁿ ‘ascended’. However, the vast majority of verbs whose Pfv’s end in a nasalized vowel or in wⁿ preserve the nasality in the Ipfv.

On the other hand, another irregular verb shows nasality only in the Ipfv (37). For Ipfv kà-nà we would expect Pfv #kàwⁿ. (Djenné Jenaama unsuffixed kà/y/kà ‘see’ and Kelenga hëë/hëë-lè ‘see’ are nonnasal.)

(37) Pfv | Ipfv | gloss | reference
      |      |      |              
kày | kà-nà | ‘see’ | (424) in §10.1.3.3.2

3.4.2.3.3 Denasalization of 2Sg āⁿ before BCM yè or a-initial proclitic

2Sg subject proclitic āⁿ combines with bidirectional yè (§11.1.2.1) in perfective positive transitive clauses as ā yè without nasality, as in ā yè=ē kwāā ‘you-Sg hit us’. This is in addition to denasalization of 2Sg āⁿ as first vowel in vv-Contraction (§3.4.3.2.1).

3.4.2.4 j#j with yè ‘said’

yè ~ yè ‘said’ is an invariant perfective positive quasi-verb that introduces quoted material (§17.1.2). It is preceded by a subject NP or pronominal clitic but has no other verb-like behaviors.
Pronominal subject proclitics that consist of a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel harden the semivowel $y$ to a palatoalveolar stop $j$ before the ‘said’ quasi-verb, whose input is L-toned $yè$ in the relevant combinations. The nasalized vowel in 2Sg $āⁿ$ then breaks into a vowel and a nasal consonant homorganic to $j$, by regular phonology. Therefore ‘you-Sg said’ is structurally /$āⁿ$ yè/, realized as $ānjè$. For the full paradigm see §17.1.2.

The issue does not arise with 2Sg subject before bidirectional case marker $yè$, where the 2Sg morpheme denasalizes (see the preceding subsection).

3.4.3 Apocope and Syncope

3.4.3.1 Apocope (deletion of final $u$)

Word-final $mu$ in words of two or more syllables can reduce to [$m:]$ (prolonged) or $m$. For singular nouns, the optional prolonged pronunciation occurs, for example, in kāmū ~ [kām:] ‘wing’ and kāámū ~ [kāám:] ‘doum palm (and fruit)’. In suffixal plurals, Apocope and nasal prolongation fail to occur: kāmū-yè ‘wings’, kāámū-yè ~ kāámé-è ‘doum palms’.

cēm ‘10’ is most often heard without the original final $u$ in all positions. Bisyllabic cēmū is attested but uncommon.

sēmū ‘right side’ combines with postposition pà as sēm pà ‘on the right side’.

For dropping of final short high vowels in the initial stem in compounds, see the following section. This could be classified either as Apocope or Syncope.

A few compounds drop a final short high vowel after a sonorant (especially $r$) in the initial stem. This could be considered Apocope or Syncope.

3.4.3.2 Syncope

Closely related to Apocope (word-final) is Syncope at the end of compound initials. Syncope is not widespread but it does occur in a few compounds with prosodically heavy initials that end in a sonorant plus short high vowel.

(38) | stem | gloss | compound | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>lēmūrù ‘citrus fruit’</td>
<td>lēmūr-kūmūⁿ</td>
<td>‘lemon’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>mōli ‘marabout’</td>
<td>mōl-kēēgū</td>
<td>‘butterfly’ (&lt; “holy man”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sāli ‘prayer; holy day’</td>
<td>sāl-[dēgē-nāwⁿ]</td>
<td>‘eid al fitr (after Ramandan)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>bānù ‘pestle’ (dialectal)</td>
<td>bān-dyēwⁿ</td>
<td>‘pestle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As noted in §3.2.11.2, Cuwv is distinct lexically from Cwv, but there is a low-level tendency to shorten or syncopate the u in Cuwv. Likewise with Ciwv and Ciyv.

### 3.5 Cliticization

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

In the absence of a weight-sensitive accentual system, cliticization is of little phonological importance. This is especially the case with proclisis. However, proclisis is important morphosyntactically.

Pronouns have full independent forms, but also proclitic forms that occur before verbs (as subjects or objects), before nouns (as possessors), and before postpositions. Some of the independent pronouns can be segmented into a proclitic and a noun-like stem. For example, 1Pl is independent ẽ-lɔ̀gɔ̀ or proclitic ẽ. The only significant phonological interaction of proclitics with following stems is that 1Sg allomorph ŋ̀(+H) causes a following L-tone to raise to H, as in nàà ‘cow’, ŋ̀ náá ‘my cow’. The ŋ̀(+H) allomorph occurs in object, possessor, and pre-postposition functions, but not in subject function. Nasal proclitics like these also assimilate in position to following consonants, but this is not limited to proclitics.

Other candidates for proclisis are prenominal demonstratives like kɔ̀ⁿ ‘this, that’, which have distinct forms when not followed by a noun, and which induce tonal changes on the noun.

Enclisis, on the other hand, is not sharply distinguishable from suffixation. Candidates for the status of enclitics include plural -ye (though transcribed as a suffix) and definite gu in NPs, and nì ‘it is’ following a predicate NP or participle. -ye and gu acquire their tones by spreading from the preceding stem. Plural -ye often contracts with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, especially in longer stems, e.g. bãñ-bañú ‘shrub sp.’, plural bãñ-bañé-è varying with bãñ-bañú-ýè. Identificational nì ‘it is’ is a good candidate for enclitic status, since a pronoun must take independent rather than proclitic form before it: ẽ-lɔ̀gɔ̀ nì ‘it’s us’.

### 3.6 Tones

There are three tone levels in Cliffs Jenaama, represented here as H[igh], M[mid], and L[ow]. All three occur in lexical melodies for non-verb stems. Verbs have lexical melodies consisting only of M and L tones and their combinations. By contrast, Djenné Jenaama and, based on Lauschitzzy’s work in Djambakourou, even the Jenaama spoken just west of the Cliffs villages, have only two lexical tone levels. This is also true of Kelenga.

The three-way distinction is clearest in the initial syllable of stems, and in stems that have a mono-tonal melody (/H/, /M/, or /L/). In contour-toned words, M and H tones are difficult to distinguish. For example, no lexical opposition of /LML/ to /LHL/ melody, or of /LM/ to /LH/ melody, have been observed. However, focalization and some other grammatical contexts raise the word-final tone to H, which shows that H and M should be distinguished even word-finally.
Syllables may be level-toned (monotonal) H, M, or L, or they may be contour-toned <ML> (falling), <LH> (rising), or rarely <LML> (bell-shaped) as in wówⁿ ‘dried off (Pfv)’. <ML> syllables not due to floating H are bimoraic with either a long vowel or a sonorant coda, and these can be written with tone diacritics on both moraic segments, as in nàāⁿ ‘mint’. Likewise, <LH> syllables are bimoraic and can be written with tones on both segments. There is no /HL/ lexical melody, but <HL> syllables occur when an initial L-toned syllable hosts a floating H from the left, as in ṣábá ‘my chicken’ from sábá ‘chicken’. /HM/ lexical melody and <HM> syllables are absent.

Two lexical minimal triplets or near-triplets of nouns are (39a-b). sůgɔ́ ‘milk’ is lexically /sůgɔ́/, and bůwɔ́ ‘mound’ is lexically /bůwɔ́/. In isolation forms (which are used here in citation) and prepausally, the final syllable drops to M-toned.

(39) a. sůgɔ́ ‘milk’
    sůgɔ́ ‘day’ (unit)
    sůgɔ́ ‘sheep’ (often in diminutive form sůgɔ́-lɛw”)

b. bůwɔ́ ‘mound (in field)’
    bůwɔ́ ‘line (drawn)’
    bwɔ́ ‘peer, agemate’

Another set of segmentally identical stems, this time distinguishing L, HL, M, and ML tones, is (40). It includes two Ipfv verbs, one of which has a modified tone after 1Sg object ṣ (⁺H), contrast third person reflexive ṣ kà-nà ‘sees himself/herself’ with no tonal change on the verb. The fourth form in (40) is a noun.

(40) kà-nà ‘see.Ipfv’
    ṣ kà-nà ‘see.Ipfv me’
    kà-nà ‘milk.Ipfv (a cow)’
    kànà ‘throat’

The L-toned words in (39) and (40) above have LM variants (sůgɔ́, bůwɔ́, kà-nà) by tone sandhi when preceding another L-tone.

Verbs in Cliffs have lexical melodies consisting of M and L tones, and regular tone sandhi processes do not raise them to H. So verbs have what amounts to a two-level tone system at the lexical level. However, the floating H associated with 1Sg object proclitic ṣ (⁺H) does raise lexical tones to H, as in ṣ kà-nà ‘see.Ipfv me’ in (40), so at phrase level verbs as well as other stems distinguish three tones.

Formulae using periods (full stops) like L.H and M.L specify the tones of syllable sequences. CvCv has the sequential formula LM.L, for example. The separator . makes angled brackets unnecessary in such formulae.
3.6.1 Lexical tone melodies

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

3.6.1.1 Summary of lexical tone melodies of verb stems

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

Here we summarize tone patterns schematically; for details and examples see chapter 10. (41) shows tonal patterns in verbs that do not have an Ipfv suffix.

(41) Verbs with segmentally invariant stem

\[
\begin{array}{l|l}
\text{Pfv/Ipfv} & \text{melody} \\
\hline
\text{a. tones also invariant (Pfv = Ipfv)} & \\
M/M (Cv, Cwv, and Cyv) & /M/ \\
L/L (only sò/sò ‘go’) & /L/ or covert /LM/ \\
ML/ML & /ML/ \\
LML/LML & /LML/ \\
LH/LH (one example) & /LH/ \\
\hline
\text{b. tones distinguish Pfv (level-toned) from Ipfv (contour-toned)} & \\
M/ML (bimoraic and longer stems) & /M/ \\
L/LH (bimoraic and longer stems) & /L/ \\
\end{array}
\]

Verbs of type (41a), with homophonous Pfv and Ipfv, are either monomoraic (e.g. Cv, Cwv, Cyv), which are too short to allow overt contour tones in the Ipfv, or they are heavier stems that have a contour-toned lexical melody (/ML/, /LML/, /LH/). Verbs of type (1b) have a level-toned Pfv, and form the Ipfv by shifting the the final syllable or monosyllabic mora up (L to H) or down (M to L). The result is that Pfv L corresponds to Ipfv LH, and Pfv M corresponds to Ipfv ML. The verbs of type (41b) have two or more moras and do not show a contour tone in the Pfv. These verbs are assumed to have level /L/ or /M/ melody, presenting as such in the Pfv. Both subtypes in (41b) apply broadly to stems of two or more moras that have level-toned Pfv’s.
(42) summarizes tonal patterns for verbs that do have an Ipfv suffix. A hyphen represents the boundary between stem and Ipfv suffix.

(42) Verbs with Ipfv suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv melody</th>
<th>Cvv, Cvw, and similar light Pfv’s with Cv-Cv Ipfv’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. tones invariant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/M-M</td>
<td>/M/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/L-L</td>
<td>/L/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML/M-L (only tìw'/tì-nà ‘do’)</td>
<td>/ML/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(w)vv, Cvq, and similar Pfv’s with C(w)vv-Cv or Cvq-Cv Ipfv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/M-L</td>
<td>/M/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ipfv tones differ from Pfv tones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisyllabic stems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/LM-L</td>
<td>/LM/ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML/ML-L</td>
<td>/ML/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.2 Summary of lexical tone melodies for noun stems

Attested tone melodies for simple noun stems (i.e. excluding those that are transparently composite or that are treated phonologically as composite) are those in (43).

(43) a. monosyllabic (Cvv, CvC, CCvv)
     /H/, /M/, /L/, /ML/ (loanwords)

b. light bisyllabic (CvCv, CvNCv)
     /H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/

c. bisyllabic with heavy initial syllable (CvvCv, CvvNCv, CvCCv except CvNCv)
     /H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/, /MLH/

d. bisyllabic with heavy final syllable (e.g. CvCv, CvCvC)
     /H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/, /LML/
e. trisyllabic (e.g. CvCvCv)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /LH*, /L*H/, /M*L/, /ML*, /LML/, /MLH/

Before giving examples of each type in §3.6.1.4, it is necessary to explain why no /(…)LM/ or /LHL/ melodies are recognized.

3.6.1.3 Rising melodies: …LH… versus …LM… in nouns

There is no opposition between …LH… and …LM… either initially or finally within uncompounded noun stems. I transcribe the relevant nouns as …LH stem-finally (hence /LH/, /MLH/), and as LM… stem-initially (/LML/). The absence of contrasts between H and M in the same noninitial positions makes these transcriptions tricky. It also allows speakers to be less precise in pitch articulation than would be the case if there were oppositions.

The best evidence that yorōgō ‘cat’ (lexically /yorōgō/), makārī ‘macari spice’, and other nouns with rising tone patterns end lexically in H rather than M is their plurals. These have L-toned plural suffix -yè, reliably in clause-medial position and often in citation forms. -yè also occurs under the same conditions after H-toned nouns (44a). By contrast, M-toned nouns consistently have M-toned suffix -yē (44c). See §4.1.1 for more examples. The most straightforward analysis of these facts is that the plural suffix is basically -yè but assimilates to a preceding M.

(44) a. yorōgō-yè ‘cats’
kungōló-yè ‘dogs’

b. sugō-yē ‘goats’

The next issue is why transcribe the bell-shaped tone as LML rather than LHL given that there is no opposition between the two in uncompounded stems? For example, why kirikē ‘saddle’ instead of #kirikē, and why mōbōli ‘vehicle’ instead of #mōbōli. Here there is no natural experiment that could resolve the question, so the choice must be based on phonetics. In all /LML/-melody words, the pitch rise in the middle is to mid rather than high pitch. For example, mōbōli has the same pitch profile as sibō pà ‘with the snake’. This is distinct from the sharper pitch rise and fall in sàbá pà ‘with the chicken’ or the compound bāyān-dūgō” which is part of some Islamic month names related to the Mawlīd holy day (bāyāw). Taking nouns like ‘saddle’ and ‘vehicle’ as having /LML/ melody also accords with the existence of /ML/ but not /HL/ as a bitonal lexical melody.

3.6.1.4 Examples of tonal melodies of nouns

The arrays presented below include the simple singular, the suffixed plural, and both singular and plural with 1Sg possessor.
Monosyllabic nouns are in (45). The productive melodies are monotonal /H/, /M/, and /L/. The contoured melody /ML/ is rare in monosyllabics where it may be limited to loanwords.

All tone melodies are distinguished in the simple singular. There is a syncretism between /H/ and /L/ in the ‘my’ singular form since /L/ shifts to H after 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) with floating H-tone.

(45) Sg  Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ déé déé-yè ŋ déé ŋ déé-yè ‘cotton’
jááⁿ jááⁿ-yè ŋ jááⁿ ŋ jááⁿ-yè ‘fishhook’

/M/ kūūⁿ kūūⁿ-yè ŋ kūūⁿ ŋ kūūⁿ-yè ‘boat’
tēē tēē-yè ŋ tēē ŋ tēē-yè ‘meat’
kāyⁿ kāyⁿ-yè ŋ kāyⁿ ŋ kāyⁿ-yè ‘work’

/L/ dōō dōō-yè ŋ dōō ŋ dōō-yè ‘knife’
nāā nāā-yè ŋ nāā ŋ nāā-yè ‘cow’
kwaāⁿ kwaāⁿ-yè ŋ kwaāⁿ ŋ kwaāⁿ-yè ‘rain (n)’
nāwⁿ nāwⁿ-yè ŋ nāwⁿ ŋ nāwⁿ-yè ‘mother’
tōy tōy-yè ŋ tōy ŋ tōy-yè ‘intelligence’
kēw kēw-yè ŋ kēw ŋ kēw-yè ‘maternal uncle’

/ML/ (loanwords)
tēē tēē-yè ŋ tēē ŋ tēē-yè ‘tea’
sīī sīī-yè ŋ sīī ŋ sīī-yè ‘saw (n)’

L-toned Cvv stems like nāā ‘cow’ undergo Final Tone-Raising before a word beginning with L-tone (46).

(46) nāā tē bē wāy
cow PfvNeg come.Pfv today
‘The cow didn’t come today.’

Examples of light bisyllabic stems are in (47). /H/ is realized as H.M prepausally, as in our citation forms. These nouns are either CvCv or CvNCv with homorganic nasal and voiced stop medially. sâⁿ ‘well-bag’ (French puisette) patterns as bisyllabic and belongs here. I tentatively include cōllê ‘dust’ here. The floating H of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) extends over both syllables of /L/ melody nouns, merging them with /H/ melody nouns.
Examples of bisyllabics with heavy first syllables are in (48). The /L/ melody nouns of this weight category allow the floating H of 1Sg ĸ (+H) to extend only over the first syllable.

(47) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/H/</th>
<th>gândâ</th>
<th>gândá-yê</th>
<th>ĸ gândâ</th>
<th>ĸ gândá-yê</th>
<th>‘country’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kégû</td>
<td>kégú-yê</td>
<td>ĸ kégû</td>
<td>ĸ kégú-yê</td>
<td>‘cream of millet with milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>búwôⁿ</td>
<td>búwóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>m búwôⁿ</td>
<td>m búwóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>bõgû</td>
<td>bõgû-yê</td>
<td>m bõgû</td>
<td>m bõgû-yê</td>
<td>‘zaban (fruit)’ or ‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lõgû</td>
<td>lõgú-yê</td>
<td>n lõgû</td>
<td>n lõgú-yê</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sõgû</td>
<td>sõgû-yê</td>
<td>ĸ sõgû</td>
<td>ĸ sõgû-yê</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>düwôⁿ</td>
<td>düwóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>n düwôⁿ</td>
<td>n düwóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>‘hunger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nândô</td>
<td>nândö-yê</td>
<td>n nândô</td>
<td>n nändö-yê</td>
<td>‘scorpion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>kiyè</td>
<td>kiyè-yê</td>
<td>ĸ kiyè</td>
<td>ĸ kiyé-yê</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dâmbà</td>
<td>dâmbà-yê</td>
<td>n dâmbà</td>
<td>n dámbá-yê</td>
<td>‘daba’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sõngô</td>
<td>sõngô-yê</td>
<td>ĸ sõngô</td>
<td>ĸ sõngô-yê</td>
<td>‘price’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>sâbà</td>
<td>sâbà-yê</td>
<td>ĸ sâbà</td>
<td>ĸ sâbâ-yê</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bèbè</td>
<td>bèbè-yê</td>
<td>m bèbè</td>
<td>m bèbè-yê</td>
<td>‘mud brick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sâⁿâⁿ</td>
<td>sâⁿâⁿ-yê</td>
<td>ĸ sâⁿâⁿ</td>
<td>ĸ sâⁿâⁿ-yê</td>
<td>‘well-bag’ (puisette)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wújîⁿ</td>
<td>wújúⁿ-yê</td>
<td>ĸ wújîⁿ</td>
<td>ĸ wújúⁿ-yê</td>
<td>‘pouched rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tèndé</td>
<td>tèndé-yê</td>
<td>ĸ tèndé</td>
<td>ĸ têndé-yê</td>
<td>‘well (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jâmbóⁿ</td>
<td>jâmbóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>ĸ jâmbóⁿ</td>
<td>ĸ jâmbóⁿ-yê</td>
<td>‘grasshopper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kâmbá</td>
<td>kâmbá-yê</td>
<td>ĸ kâmbá</td>
<td>ĸ kâmbâ-yê</td>
<td>‘side of face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>(mostly loanwords)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mõli</td>
<td>mõli-yê</td>
<td>m mõli</td>
<td>m mõli-yê</td>
<td>‘holy man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĸlā</td>
<td>ĸlā-yê</td>
<td>ĸ lÅlÅ</td>
<td>ĸ lā-ëè</td>
<td>‘God’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kôrò</td>
<td>kôrò-yê</td>
<td>ĸ kôrò</td>
<td>ĸ kôrò-yê</td>
<td>‘meaning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>câllò</td>
<td>câllò-yê</td>
<td>ĸ câllò</td>
<td>ĸ câllò-yê</td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of bisyllabics with heavy first syllables are in (48). The /L/ melody nouns of this weight category allow the floating H of 1Sg ĸ (+H) to extend only over the first syllable.

(48) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/H/</th>
<th>bâásî</th>
<th>bâásî-yê</th>
<th>m bâásî</th>
<th>m bâásî-yê</th>
<th>‘war’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kâádô</td>
<td>kâádô-yê</td>
<td>ĸ kâádô</td>
<td>ĸ kâádô-yê</td>
<td>‘Dogon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bisyllabic stems with heavy final syllables are in (49).

(49) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

---

/H/ bíyⁿéwⁿ bíyⁿéwⁿ-yè m bíyⁿéwⁿ m bíyⁿéwⁿ-yè ‘egg’
kíbáwⁿ kíbáyⁿ-yè ń kíbáwⁿ ń kíbáyⁿ-yè ‘door’

/M/ gílëwⁿ gílëⁿ-yè ń gílëwⁿ ń gílëⁿ-yè ‘thirst’

/L/ kánàa kánàa-yè ń kánàa ń kánàa-yè ‘friend’

/ML/ ŋíŋáwⁿ ŋíŋá-yè ń ŋíŋáwⁿ ń ŋíŋá-yè ‘face’
párày párà-yè m párày m párà-yè ‘exterior’

/LH/ kóbëwⁿ kóbëⁿ-yè ń kóbëwⁿ ń kóbëⁿ-yè ‘fingernail’
kóyśwⁿ kóyśⁿ-yè ń kóyśwⁿ ń kóyśwⁿ-yè ‘stone’

/LML/ këbáa këbáa-yè ń këbáa ń këbáa-yè ‘flint lighter’
níŋíí níŋíí-yè ŋ níŋíí ŋ níŋíí-yè ‘interior’
nànàa nànàa-yè ŋ nànàa ŋ nànàa-yè ‘mint’
Trisyllabic shapes are in (50). The most difficult to analyse are the CvCvCv nouns shown under /L*H/. The unsuffixed isolation form, e.g. màlifà ‘rifle’, can be pronounced with a stepwise pitch increase approximating L.M.H màlifá. However, this is probably a phonetic realization process superimposed on phonological /L*H/ (in this case structural L.L.H). I hear the 1Sg possessed forms as HLH, e.g. ñ màlifà ‘my rifle’. In the clearly L*H noun tősibí ‘rosary, prayer beads’, the final syllable has a long vowel, and there is no stepwise pitch increase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’(Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>ñárágõ</td>
<td>ñárágó-yè</td>
<td>ñárágõ</td>
<td>ñárágó-yè</td>
<td>calabash cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wágátú</td>
<td>wágátú-yè</td>
<td>wágátú</td>
<td>wágátú-yè</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tímógõ</td>
<td>tímógó-yè</td>
<td>tímógõ</td>
<td>tímógó-yè</td>
<td>‘hearth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>wårâbâ</td>
<td>wårâbâ-yè</td>
<td>wårâbâ</td>
<td>wårâbâ-yè</td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>tôñònò</td>
<td>tôñònó-yè</td>
<td>tôñònò</td>
<td>tôñònó-yè</td>
<td>‘truth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàmàrì</td>
<td>kàmàrì-yè</td>
<td>kàmàrì</td>
<td>kàmàrì-yè</td>
<td>‘reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L*H/</td>
<td>(four or more moras)</td>
<td>tősibí</td>
<td>tôsibí-yè</td>
<td>tôsibí</td>
<td>tôsibí-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kôrõgõ</td>
<td>kôrõgó-yè</td>
<td>kôrõgõ</td>
<td>kôrôgô-yè</td>
<td>trimming hatchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L*H/</td>
<td>(CvCvCv, can be realized as L.M.H)</td>
<td>jámànã</td>
<td>jámànà-yè</td>
<td>jámànã</td>
<td>jámànà-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mlàfì</td>
<td>mlàfà-yè</td>
<td>mlàfì</td>
<td>mlàfà-yè</td>
<td>‘rifle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH*/</td>
<td>bükûrû</td>
<td>bükûrû-yè</td>
<td>bükûrû</td>
<td>bükûrû-yè</td>
<td>‘buttock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mísîrí</td>
<td>mísírí-yè</td>
<td>mísîrí</td>
<td>mísírí-yè</td>
<td>‘mosque’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yôrõgõ</td>
<td>yôrõgó-yè</td>
<td>yôrõgõ</td>
<td>yôrõgó-yè</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/M*L/</td>
<td>mémínà</td>
<td>mémínà-yè</td>
<td>mémínà</td>
<td>mémínà-yè</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sükôrõ</td>
<td>sükôrò-yè</td>
<td>sükôrõ</td>
<td>sükôrò-yè</td>
<td>‘sugar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ML*/</td>
<td>kûjáàmã</td>
<td>kûjáàmà-yè</td>
<td>kûjáàmã</td>
<td>kûjáàmà-yè</td>
<td>‘quantity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LML/</td>
<td>mòbôlì</td>
<td>mòbôlì-yè</td>
<td>mòbôlì</td>
<td>mòbôlì-yè</td>
<td>‘vehicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tôjùnù</td>
<td>tôjùnù-yè</td>
<td>tôjùnù</td>
<td>tôjùnù-yè</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tôrikêè</td>
<td>tôrikêè-yè</td>
<td>tôrikêè</td>
<td>tôrikêè-yè</td>
<td>‘saddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/MLH/</td>
<td>mákàrì</td>
<td>mákàrì-yè</td>
<td>mákàrì</td>
<td>mákàrì-yè</td>
<td>‘macari spice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.1.5 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

Morphologically simple modifying adjectives (§4.5.1) have apparent melodies /H/ (uncommon) or /M/ (common). Suffixed adjectives, with diminutive -gù or participial -na, are /M/ or /ML/. There are also some derived adjectives, including diminutives and bahuvrihis, with L-H tones.

(51) melody adjective gloss

a. underived
   /H/ sîlē ‘old’
   /M/ tōy ‘new’

b. suffixed
   /M/ kūy-gū ‘deep’
   mwāā-nā ‘cold’
   /ML/ pūlū-gū ‘soft’
   sāṃtā-nā ‘intermediate’

c. composite
   /L-H/ dēgē-nāw¹ ‘small’
   bōndō-bānū ‘big-headed’

Consideration of predicative forms shows that the apparent /M/-melodic modifying adjectives are divided into two sets, one with true melody /L/ and the other with true melody /M/. These converge as M-toned in modifying (i.e. postnominal) position. For example, piyē-nā ‘dirty’ and piyē-nā ‘hot’ are distinct as predicates, but converge as piyē-nā when modifying a noun.

Uncompounded numerals (excluding ‘one’ which patterns as an adjective) are ‘2’ to ‘10’, ‘40’, and ‘90’. Their tone melodies are divided between /L/ and /M/ (§4.6.1.2, §4.6.1.4). /L/ shifts to LM in the counting recitation (§4.6.1.3).

3.6.1.6 Tone-break location for bitonal verb stems

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

There is no lexical tone break for verbs with monotonal /L/ or /H/ melodies. However, when /L/-melodic verbs of two or more syllables raise the final tone to M to form the Ipfv, the break is right-biased as in kūlūbē/kūlūbē ‘knead’. The situation is parallel with /H/-melodic verbs that drop the final tone in the Ipfv, as in gūgūjō/gūgūjō ‘bite off’.
Tone breaks at the melodic level are relevant to stems with /LM/ and /ML/ melodies, observed in the Pfv (as well as in the Ipfv). The positioning of the break is best seen in trisyllabic verbs. I can cite no underived /LM/-melodic trisyllabic verbs, but there are several underived /ML/-melodic trisyllabics. The tone break in most cases is right-biased, as in biriŋa/birijà ‘(quadruped) roll over’. However, suffixal derivatives like niŋà-amà ‘become bad’ are left-biased. So are kājàmà ‘coincide, become equal’ (originally a suffixal derivative) and piyèrè/piyèrè ‘rip, tear’ (variant pëërè/pëërè). This suggests a minor contrast between /M*L/ and /ML*/ (sub)melodies.

3.6.1.7 Tone-break location for tritonal verb stems

In /LML/-melodic sùmàâⁿsiyè/sùmàâⁿsiyè-lè ‘present (sth, to sb)’, we see that the tone breaks are right-biased. Other known verbs with /LML/ melody are shorter (i.e. trimoraic) and are less informative on this matter.

3.6.1.8 Tone-break location for bitonal non-verb stems

Uncompounded bitonal noun stems have falling /ML/ or rising /LH/ melodies. /ML/ is illustrated in (52). The break is generally right-biased or, for monosyllabics, at the mora break. Trisyllabic and longer stems split into right-biased /M*L/, the dominant type, and left-biased /ML*/.

(52) stem gloss

a. mono- and bisyllabics
   kūù ‘yam’
   jāṃ ‘well-being’
   hūyà ‘courage’
   bārkè ‘being blessed’
   būūrù ‘bread (baguette)’

b. trisyllabics and longer
   /M*L/
   bāsilà ‘tree sp. (Anogeissus)’
   jàpèrè ‘donkey saddle’
   tūbālājì ‘traditional pants’
   /ML*/
   kūjàmà ‘quantity’
/LH/ melody is illustrated in (53). This melody is very rare for monosyllabics. It is common for stems of two or more syllables, where the break is at a syllable boundary. Trisyllabic and longer stems favor a right-biased break, e.g. L.L.H, and are labeled as /L*H/. However, again some trisyllabics have the break at the leftmost syllable boundary and are labeled /LH*/. Even the trisyllabics of /L*H/ type, if the middle vowel is short, are often heard as L.M.H with a partial anticipatory pitch rise on the middle syllable. There may be an incipient /LMH/ melody for these stems.

(53) stem gloss

a. mono- and bisyllabics
   têwⁿ ‘arboreal snake sp.’
   tâá ‘half’
   wâlàⁿ ‘tablet (for koranic pupil)’
   wângé ‘hare’
   yâbááⁿ ‘henna’
   gêêné ‘sweet peanut-millet balls’

b. trisyllabics and longer
   /L*H/
   dêngêlé ‘kneading stick’
   dêrêndé ‘burrgrass’
   dôlûmbé ‘ring (on finger)’
   kôrôôgô ‘trimming hatchet’
   lâârâbû ‘Arab (person)’
   kûrûwâá ‘rope attaching donkey saddle’
   wôkûlûnî ‘evil dwarf’
   kàlâmàntûŋô ‘giant millipede’
   /LH*/
   kàâpírî ‘nonbeliever’
   kâsîní ‘succulent plant spp. (Caralluma, Desmidorchis)’

The situation is complicated by the existence of compounds. An /L/ stem can be followed by a compound final of melody /H/ or /M/, creating such syllable sequences as L.L.H.H and L.L.M(.M), as in (54). It is best to analyse these as composite /L/-/H/ and /L/-/M/ melodies, rather than as a single melody based on their syllable-by-syllable tone sequence. The final as well as the initial may have more than one syllable. Stems of four or more moras, including CvvCvCv and CvCvCvCv, tend to behave prosodically like compounds (Cvv-CvCv, CvCv-CvCv) even when the components are not identifiable. By contrast, CvCvCv doesn’t parse easily as a compound. Homorganic voiced NC clusters are treated like simple consonants in this heaviness calculation.
(54) stem gloss

a. /L/-/H/ compounds, and heavy stems treated as compounds)

dèsè-káá ‘petiole of borassus palm’

niyèŋ-kûrû ‘fontanel’

b. /L/-/M/ compounds

kùwò-sô ’grass sp. (Enteropogon)’ (“monkey-needle”)
kûlû-n-dû ‘baobab fruit pith’

To the extent that /L/-/H/ compounds become opaque over time, they risk being categorized as L.L.H, with no tendency toward L.M.H pronunciation (see above).

3.6.1.9 Tone-break location for tritonal non-verb stems

Tritonal noun stems have /LML/ and /MLH/ melodies. Most of them are trisyllabic, with one tone per syllable, or else bisyllabic ending in a contour-toned heavy syllable. However, /LML/ is realized as L.L.M.L on a few uncompounded quadrisyllabics, so the correct formula is L*ML. The exception yògòbàà ‘sky’ is unsegmentable in Cliffs but is composite etymologically (Djenné Jenaama yòò-bàà, Kelenga yògò-fàà). All known examples of /MLH/ are trisyllabic.

(55) a. L*ML

nànnà ‘mint’
pàålèy ‘cliffs area’

lèmûrû ‘orange (citrus)’
lààsârâ ‘4PM Muslim prayer’

fèètèènà ‘devil (djinn)’
làmbâànà ‘mule’

quadrisyllabic

làtiːkorrò ‘perfume’
màgàsâlà ‘cucumber-like melon’
àlikàmà ‘wheat (flour)’
gìirimè ‘grafted fruit tree’

exception

yògòbàà ‘sky’
b. MLH
   năawó  ‘euphorb (shrub)’
   mákàrí  ‘macari (spice)’
   sāŋgòló  ‘broom’
   māŋgòró  ‘mango’

3.6.2  Grammatical tone patterns

3.6.2.1  Grammatical tone modifications for verb stems

If we accept the claim that the Pfv form of a verb carries the lexical melody, the Ipfv is produced by the following rule if it is unsuffixed:

\[(56)\quad \text{Pfv} \quad \text{Ipfv}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{L.L} & \rightarrow \text{L.M} & \text{(for prosodically light stems)} \\
\text{M.M} & \rightarrow \text{M.L} & \text{(for all stems)} \\
\text{M.L} & \rightarrow \text{M.L} & \text{(no change)}
\end{align*}
\]

The generalization is that if the Pfv is monotonal, the Ipfv shifts the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) up or down one notch.

Verbs can acquire H-tones by Floating-Tone Docking after 1Sg object ŋ (±H); see §3.6.3.1.1.

3.6.2.2  Grammatical tone modifications for noun stems

The most common tonal modification for noun stems occurs in N-Adj combinations (§6.3.1) and in the main type of nonpossessive N-N compounds (§5.1.4), both of which are subject to Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2 below). In some compounds the final stem is raised to all-H tone (§5.1.5.2).

In N-Num combinations with numerals from ‘2’ up (§6.4.1.2) and in N-Quantifier combinations (§6.6), regular tone sandhi processes apply. Discourse-definite gu, the only postnominal determiner, does not affect the tone of the noun (the determiner gets its tone by spreading from the noun).

Prenominal modifiers are demonstratives and possessors. Some of them come with a floating tone that is realized on following L-initial nouns. This is the case with demonstratives kɔⁿ (+M) and ɲɔⁿ (+M), and with 1Sg possessor ŋ (±H). For the tonology see especially §3.6.3.1.2 (demonstratives) and §3.6.3.1.1 and §6.2.1.1 (1Sg). Other possessors do not affect the tones of the possessum.
3.6.3 Tonal ablaut (morphophonology)

The two principal processes of tonal morphophonology, excluding low-level tone sandhi, are Floating Tone-Docking and Tone Leveling. Both are limited to specific morphosyntactic contexts.

3.6.3.1 Floating-Tone Docking

“Floating” tones associated with a proclitic element are realized on a following noun or adposition. The relevant proclitics are 1Sg nonsubject ŋ̀ (+H) and two prenominal demonstratives with floating M. In both cases, only stems otherwise beginning with L-tone are affected.

For 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), raising from L to H is limited to the first syllable, except that if the stem is a light bisyllabic both of its syllables are raised to H. For the demonstrative proclitics, the entire stem becomes M-toned.

3.6.3.1.1 After 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H)

The 1Sg pronominal morpheme is variably ŋ̄, ŋ̀, or ŋ̀ (+H), depending on its grammatical function (§4.3.4). The last of these includes a floating H-tone that is manifested, if at all, on the immediately following word. ŋ̀ (+H) functions as possessor before nouns, as direct object before verbs, and as complement of a following postposition. In other words, it is the nonsubject form of the proclitic.

The floating H has no overt effect when the following word begins with a nonlow tone (M or H). It raises a following L-tone to H. This extends to the second syllable in unsegmentable CvCv, CvNCv, and CvCvwⁿ stems, i.e. in light bisyllabics, as well as Cvv. If there is a boundary between the two syllables, as in the iterative stem sɔⁿ-sɔⁿ ‘sand’, only the first segment is tone-raised. Heavy stems, such as CvCv and trisyllabics, raise only the first syllable. If the first syllable is L but the second is nonlow (M or H), wherever possible the first syllable is realized with <HL> tone, allowing both the floating H and the initial lexical L to be audible, and the remainder of the stem is unchanged. However, in simple CvCv stems like sàbá ‘chicken’, the idealized output (sàbá) is articulatorily challenging and it is sometimes simplified to sábá, perhaps interpretable as downstepped sá‘bá. Likewise, /LH*/-melodic CvCvCv should become CvCvCv but may resyllabify to CvCvCv (‘mosque’, ‘ladder’, ‘cat’).

The tonology is illustrated for 1Sg possessor of nouns in (57).
(57)  noun  gloss  ‘my …’

a. /L/ melody noun

prosodically light

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nàà</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sòŋò</td>
<td>‘price’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìmbò</td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòlòwⁿ</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iterative

| sòⁿ-sòⁿ | ‘sand’ |

heavy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kànàà(”)</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tààpè</td>
<td>‘wrap (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tñoŋnò</td>
<td>‘truth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tñoŋgèyà</td>
<td>‘fortune-teller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèmpuwò</td>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. L-initial contour melodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàbá</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâjí</td>
<td>‘basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèndé</td>
<td>‘well (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>míśirí</td>
<td>‘mosque’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìmbógò</td>
<td>‘ladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tósibí</td>
<td>‘prayer beads’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yórgò</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùjùnù</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. nouns beginning with nonlow tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>súgü</td>
<td>‘goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúŋgólō</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèé</td>
<td>‘tea’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with postpositions are comitative n pá ‘with me’ (postposition pà) and ñ kɔ̀rɛ́y ‘behind me’ (postposition kɔ̀rɛ́y).

A few examples with 1Sg object before transitive verb are in (58). The phonology is the same as for nouns.
(58) clause gloss input form of verb

a. all-L verbs
   à ŋ̀ kày ‘he/she saw me’ kày ‘see.Pfv’
   à ŋ̀ kéré ‘he/she threw me’ kéré ‘throw.Pfv’
   à ŋ̀ kîi-nî ‘he/she awakened me’ kîi-nî ‘awaken.Pfv’

   trisyllabic
   à m mîyè-nî ‘he/she fixed me (up)’ mîyè-nî ‘fix.Pfv’

b. L-initial verb
   à kâ ŋ̀ kérê ~ kérë ‘he/she throws me’ kérë ‘throw.Ipfv’

c. no change in verb beginning with nonlow tone
   à ŋ̀ kwää ‘he/she hit me’ kwää ‘hit.Pfv’

1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H) has a consistent tonal effect on the following possessum regardless of whether the possessum is modified by an adjective. In other words, the tonal effect of the possessor trumps that of the adjective. Without the possessor, the adjective would trigger require Tone Leveling, which spreads the leftmost tone of the noun rightward at least to the word boundary. The noun in (59d) therefore has the same tones as in (59b), not those of (59c).

(59) a. sîbò ‘snake’
   b. ŋ̀ sîbô ‘my snake’
   c. sîbô tômûwär ‘red (brown) snake’
   d. ŋ̀ sîbô tômûwär ‘my red (brown) snake’

For the interaction of the floating H in 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and the purposive {L*H} overlay, see §17.5.1.2-3 below.

3.6.3.1.2 After prenominal demonstratives kôn (+M) and nôn (+M)

Prenominal demonstratives kôn (+M) and nôn (+M), see §4.4.2 and §6.5.1.1, also have tonal effects on following nouns, but not in the same way as 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H). The latter spreads its associated H to the first L-toned syllable or (for light bisyllabics) both L-toned syllables of the target. The demonstratives raise entire L-initial stems to M.

Illustrating with (mostly deictic) kôn (+M), nouns that begin with a nonlow tone are unaffected (60a). Nouns beginning with an L-tone (over one or more syllables) raise the L to M (60b). The paradigm is exactly the same with discourse-definite nôn (+M), not shown here.
(60) Noun plus visible demonstrative (‘this/that’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>melody</th>
<th>citation</th>
<th>‘this/that ___’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘day’</td>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>sʊgʊ</td>
<td>kā’n sʊgʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ashes’</td>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>sibō</td>
<td>kā’n sibō (cf. ‘snake’ below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dust’</td>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>cʊlʊ</td>
<td>kən cʊlʊ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. tone change on noun with initial L-tone

| ‘cow’    | /L/    | nāa             | kā’n nāa        |
| ‘snake’  | /L/    | sibō             | kā’n sibō (cf. ‘ashes’ above) |
| ‘porridge’ | /L/  | bèlè             | kəm bèlè        |
| ‘folding knife’ | /L/ | sirimbè         | kā’n sirimbè    |
| ‘rifle’  | /L*H/  | məlifā           | kəm məlifā      |
| ‘cat’    | /LH*/  | yörògō           | kā’n yörògō     |
| ‘house’  | /LML/  | yāmbāā           | kā’n yāmbāā (Pl kā’n yāmbāā-yē) |
| ‘sky’    | /LML/  | yōgōbāā          | kā’n yōgōbāā   |
| ‘pigeon’ | /LML/  | tujùnù           | kən tujùnù      |
| ‘horse’  | /L/    | sìyèw”           | kā’n sìyèw”     |
| ‘mosque’ | /LH*/  | misirì           | kəm misirì      |
| ‘prayer beads’ | /L*H/ | tɔsibíí       | kən tɔsibíí     |

In (61a-b), the noun is flanked by the demonstrative on its left and an adjective on its right. In (61a), ‘ashes’ drops from /H/ melody to M-tone as usual for pre-adjectival nouns, while the demonstrative raises ‘snake’ from /L/ melody to M-tone. In (61b), the H-toned adjective triggers M#H-to-L#H on the noun, undoing the effect of the floating M.

(61) a. kən sibō tɔm5w”

Dem snake/ashes red

‘this/that brown snake/ashes’ (< sibō ‘snake’ or sibō ‘ashes’)

b. kən sibō bānū

Dem snake/ashes big

‘this/that big snake/ashes’
3.6.3.2 Tone Leveling

In this process, the leftmost tone of a stem spreads to the right edge of the stem. In addition, H merges into M. As a result, there are only two outputs for the relevant stems: all-L and all-M. Schematic examples are in (62). The all-M outputs then merge with all-L when followed by an H-tone, by the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H, but even in this case the original distinction between all-M and all-L determines whether a preceding L-toned word undergoes Final Tone-Raising.

(62)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexical tone-leveled as compound initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /LH/ all-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LML/ all-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /ML/ all-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/MLH/ all-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H/ all-M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details and examples are best presented in treatments of the relevant constructions. For Tone Leveling of nouns as initials in compounds, see §5.1.4 through §5.1.6. For Tone Leveling of nouns preceding modifying adjectives, see §6.3.1.1.

3.6.4 Low-level tone rules

3.6.4.1 Upstep absent

Djenné Jenaama, which has only two phonemic tone levels, applies upstep (from L tone to a mid tone/pitch) to third person proclitics (3Sg à → ā and 3Pl è → ē) before L-tone. Clause-initially or otherwise post-pausally, a similar upstep for these proclitics occurs in Kelenga.

Upstep has not been observed as a systematic process in Cliffs.

For downstep see §3.6.5 below.

3.6.4.2 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

This process applies to a few suffixes and enclitic-like particles that have no intrinsic tone. They acquire their tones by copying the preceding tone.

Post-nominal definite gu (§4.4.1) is such an atonal morpheme. gu copies the preceding tone (H, M, or L), and it has no tonal or segmental effect on the preceding word.
Simple combinations of gu (§4.4.1) with nouns are in (63). In entirely L-toned combinations like sibò gu (63a), the noun does not undergo Final Tone-Raising (#sibò gu). Expected #ỳambil gù ‘that house’ is slightly modified toỳambil gù (63a) by M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3) so that the tone break coincides with a syllable boundary.

(63) Noun plus discourse-definite demonstrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>melody</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>‘the (same) ___’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. L-toned gu after final L-tone (prior to further tone sandhi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>sibò</td>
<td>sibò gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘porridge’</td>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>bèlè</td>
<td>bèlè gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tea’</td>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>tèè</td>
<td>tèè gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dust’</td>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>còllò</td>
<td>còllò gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>/LML/</td>
<td>yambil</td>
<td>yambil gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘vehicle’</td>
<td>/LML/</td>
<td>mòbòli</td>
<td>mòbòli gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. M-toned gu after final M-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>tèè</td>
<td>tèè gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘goat’</td>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>sùgò</td>
<td>sùgò gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. H-toned gu (shown as prepausal gu) after final H-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cotton’</td>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>déè</td>
<td>déè gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ashes’</td>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>sibè</td>
<td>sibò gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>búwòn</td>
<td>búwón gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>siyèw</td>
<td>siyèŋ gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘prayer beads’</td>
<td>/L*H/</td>
<td>tòsibíí</td>
<td>tòsibíí gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rifle’</td>
<td>/L*H/</td>
<td>màlifá</td>
<td>màlífá gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many verbs form the Ipfv stem by adding a suffix -lv or consonantal variant to the Pfv stem, where v is a segmental copy of the preceding vowel. The suffix copies the final tone of the Pfv (always L or M), with minor readjustments whose main effect is to align tone breaks with syllable boundaries (64). For details and possible exceptions see §10.1.3.3.

(64) Pfv     Ipfv     gloss

bàá    bà-là     ‘exit (v)’
tàá    tà-là     ‘stand’
tùù    tùù-lù    ‘spit’
pìyèòì    pìyè-̀lè     ‘lick’
### 3.6.4.3 M-Tone Spreading

The plural marker on NPs including simple nouns is -yè. It is heard as L-toned -yè at word-level (i.e. prior to focalization and tone sandhi) after a noun ending in an L-tone (65) or in an H-tone (66).

(65) singular melody plural gloss

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /L/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàà  /L/</td>
<td>nàà-yè</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàgù  /L/</td>
<td>pàgù-yè</td>
<td>‘pond’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìrimbè  /L/</td>
<td>sìrimbè-yè</td>
<td>‘folding knife, razor’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. other melodies ending in L

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pàrày  /ML/</td>
<td>pàrày-yè</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàåkù  /ML/</td>
<td>sàåkù-yè</td>
<td>‘sack’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàmbāà  /LML/</td>
<td>yàmbāà-yè</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(66) singular melody plural gloss

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàáⁿ  /H/</td>
<td>jàáⁿ-yè</td>
<td>‘fishhook’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòlsⁿ  /H/</td>
<td>kòlsⁿ-yè</td>
<td>‘ball (shape)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúngólō  /H/</td>
<td>kúngólō-yè</td>
<td>‘dog’ (contracted plural kúngólé-è)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. other melodies ending in H

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wàngé  /LH/</td>
<td>wàngé-yè</td>
<td>‘hare’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wùjúⁿ  /LH/</td>
<td>wùjúⁿ-yè</td>
<td>‘pouched rat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wààjíbí  /LH*/</td>
<td>wààjíbí-yè</td>
<td>‘duty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bààdígué  /LH*/</td>
<td>bààdígué-yè</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yòrògò  /LH*/</td>
<td>yòrògò-yè</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòsíbí  /L*H/</td>
<td>tòsíbí-yè</td>
<td>‘prayer beads’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàŋgóló  /MLH/</td>
<td>sàŋgóló-yè</td>
<td>‘broom’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòómò  /MLH/</td>
<td>ñòómò-yè</td>
<td>‘camel’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In isolation and prepausally the drop from H to L on the plural suffix may be incomplete, in which case the final syllable sounds M-toned. The normal transcription disregards this and marks the final syllable as L. When the stem-final vowel contracts with the plural suffix, e.g. ó-yè → é-è, the
contracted vowel is heard variably as <HL> or <ML> in careful pronunciation but sometimes as L in allegro speech. Therefore ‘dogs’ can be kúngoló-yè or contracted kúngolé-è, sometimes heard as kúngolé-è or kúngolé-è.

In (67), after /H/-melodic noun the plural suffix is L-toned since it is followed by a word beginning with nonhigh tone.

(67) ñ = nàŋ jáaⁿ-yè / ... / ... tóló
     = nàŋ ... / kóļ5ⁿ-yè / kúngoló-yè
1Sg Sbj/Obj fishhook-Pl / ball-Pl / dog-Pl sell.Pfv
‘I sold the fishhooks/balls/dogs.’

L-toned -yè is raised secondarily to -yē by tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) before an L-tone.

If the stem (or a compound final) is all-M-toned, the M-tone is carried over to the suffix regardless of stem weight and regardless of position (prepausal or clause-medial).

(68)    singular  plural  gloss
        kūūⁿ  kūūⁿ-yē  ‘boat (skiff)’
        sūgō  sūgō-yē  ‘goat’
        tāānā tāānā-yē  ‘fool’
        wārābā wārābā-yē  ‘lion’

The term M-Tone Spreading is used here since only M-toned spread rightward, assuming that the lexical form of the plural suffix is L-toned -yè.

Other processes that involve spreading of M tones, but also L and/or H tones, are Atonal-Morpheme Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.2 above) and Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2).

3.6.4.4 Final Tone-Raising (L#L to M#L)

When an L-toned word is followed by another L-toned word, the tone of the final mora of the first word is raised in most combinations. The raised mora is transcribed as M-toned, but as noted elsewhere the distinction between e.g. L.M#L and L.H#L is questionable and is of little or no structural importance.

Final Tone-Raising is a dissimilatory process, converting flat (L)L#L to a more rhythmical (L)M#L. It is a useful phonetic cue of word boundaries. It occurs twice in (69).

(69)    wày  yèń  nàànù
       /wày  yèⁿ  nàànù/
today  and  tomorrow
M-toned words like kɛɛgụ ‘man’ do not dissimilate to a following L or M tone.

(70) a. kɛɛgụ be
    man come.Pfv
    ‘A/The man came.’

b. kɛɛgụ yɛn jɛnà
    man and child
    ‘A man and a child’

/ML/- and /LML/-melodic words usually also) ‘the snake did not go to the village’ raise the final L-toned syllable before another L-tone, i.e. (L.)M.L#L to (L.)M.M#L. For example, sèèdù ‘Seydou’ (personal name) is usually sèèdù before an L-tone. Likewise, subjunctive gålà often becomes gålà before an L-tone. However, raising of the final L in /(L)ML/-melodic words is less reliable than L#L to M#L, especially in elicitation, and transcriptions are not completely consistent.

Final Tone-Raising does not apply to N-Adj combinations or (nonpossessive) N-N compounds. These are effectively fused into composite stems by Tone Leveling. In addition, certain grammatical morphemes fail to undergo or to trigger the process. Pronominal proclitics 3Sg à, 3Pl è, and (nonsubject) 1Sg à (+H) do not raise by themselves before another L-tone. The 3Sg and 3Pl proclitics, and under some conditions the 1Sg proclitic, do trigger raising of a preceding L. In combinations like X tè à kò … ‘X did not furnish him/her (with …)’, à triggers raising of tè to tē and the two fuse into an ML-toned unit tā = à, which then usually raises to tā= à before the L-toned kò.

Post-subject inflectional morphemes gà/gà (Ipfv) and nà/nà (IpfvNeg) do not trigger raising of a preceding L even in their L-toned forms (§10.2.2.1). This is probably a vestige of an older stage of the language when they were consistently M-toned. By contrast, PfvNeg tè does trigger it and can also undergo it. Postverbal RemPfv gà (§10.2.1.2) triggers raising of a preceding L-toned syllable on the verb, but gà generally resists raising when it is followed by another L-tone.

Tone sandhi including Final Tone-Raising usually applies in left-to-right fashion. The effect is that in a sequence of words and particles X-Y-Z, the underlying (pre-tone sandhi) form of Y determines how tone sandhi applies to X, then the underlying (pre-tone sandhi) form of Z determines how tone sandhi applies to Y, and so forth. One consequence is that Final Tone-Raising can apply to a string of adjacent L-toned syllables. For example, underlying sibò tè sò nògù-ŷ ‘the snake did not go to the village’ is realized as sibò tè sò nògù-ŷ (with raised syllables underlined).

The tone-sandhi rule M#H-to-L#H does not feed Final Tone-Raising. Consider a string of the input tonal shape LL#L[M-H]. The /M/-melodic element drops to L before the H-tone by M#H-to-L#H, resulting in LL#L[L-H]. This now seemingly fits the triggering environment for Final Tone-
Raising to LM#[L-H]. However, raising fails to occur, at least when the /M/-melodic stem is recognizable to the speaker. In (71a-b), Ipfv gā fails to raise to gā since ‘the bush’ and ‘tree’ are recognizable as lexically /M/-melodic stems.

(71)   a. à  gā səŋə̃ŋ-kùŋgòló kà-nà
       3Sg  Ipfv  the.bush-dog  see-ıpfv
          ‘He/She sees a jackal (“bush dog”).’ (< səŋə̃ŋ ‘the bush’)

   b. à  gā jùgù-náŋ kà-nà
       3Sg  Ipfv  tree-DimIn  see-ıpfv
          ‘He/She sees a shrub (or sapling).’ (< jùgù ‘tree’)

This is another example of left-to-right application of tone sandhi. gā fails to raise in (71a-b) because it senses a following M-toned rather than L-toned syllable.

At the end of a prosodic phrase, the presence or absence of Final Tone-Raising in the penultimate word (or particle) is useful in determining the structural tone of the final word (or particle). This is because final words are often pronounced with low pitch, making identification of their structural tones difficult. For example, in (72) sāañ ‘when’ is usually heard with low pitch, but it is structurally M-toned as shown by the failure of preceding sò ‘go’ to raise to gā.

(72) ē  nāñ sò sāañ
    1Pl  if.Pfv  go.Pfv  when
    ‘when we go’ (2017-08 @ 00:25)

3.6.4.5 M#H-to-L#H

Within a phrase or a compound, an M-toned morpheme followed by an H-tone drops to L-tone. This involves polarization (maximal dissimilation) rather than assimilation.

For example, à tāwñ ‘he/she ascended’ is lowered to à tāwñ before an adverbial phrase beginning with H-tone, as in à tāwñ [bóndó kúmà] ‘he/she went up to the highlands’.

səŋəñ (~ səŋəLegacy) ‘the bush’ is a frequent compound initial corresponding to English *wild* (i.e. nondomestic) as in *wild turkey*. It remains M-toned in e.g. səŋəñ-jīnà ‘bush mouse (*Arvicanthis*)’, but before H-tone it drops to L, as in səŋəñ-kùŋgùlò ‘jackal’ (“bush-dog”).

Unlike most modifying adjectives, bānù ‘big’ is H-toned. It triggers M#H-to-L#H on preceding nouns, as in sùgò bānù ‘big goat’ from sùgò ‘goat’.


When a word or compound final is secondarily raised to H, as in some compounds and in some purposive clauses or under focalization, it triggers M#H-to-L#H in the preceding word or
compound initial. For example, jìi nìjì ‘in water’ drops to L-tones in the habitat-specifying compound. [jìi-nìjì]-pùlèwⁿ ‘aquatic bird’, whose final (pùlèwⁿ ‘bird’) has been raised (§5.1.5.2.2). Likewise, as object in a transitive purposive clause following 'go' or 'come', iterative noun sògò-sògò ‘round basket’ and N-Adj tìmì sùwòⁿ ‘foul smell’ raise the second element to H. The results are sògò-sògò and tìmì sùwòⁿ (§17.5.1.3).

Likewise, bè/bè ‘come’ is M-toned in both perfective and imperfective clauses. ‘Meat’ is lexically M-toned tèe, so in (73a) it has no tonal effect on the preceding bè. However, in a purposive construction involving main-clause ‘come’ or ‘go’, tèe is raised to téé (§17.5.1.3). A collateral effect of this is that bè drops to bè (73b).

(73) a. à gâ bè [téé bāgâ]
3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [meat remove.Pfv]
‘He/She comes and takes away the meat.’
(or: ‘He/She will take away the meat.’)

b. à gâ bè [téé bāgâ]
3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [meat remove.Pfv]
‘He/She comes in order to take away the meat.’

3.6.4.6 Tonal assimilations and dissimilations in post-subject morphemes

Some of the inflectional morphemes that occur in post-subject position interact tonally with a preceding word or particle. There are three distinct patterns. PfvNeg tè has no special tonal interactions with preceding words or particles. Imperfective morphemes (Ipfv gà/gà, IpfvNeg nà/nà) assimilate the final tone (L, M, or H) of the preceding word or particle. If the subject is a pronominal proclitic, the combination is M-M or L-L, e.g. 2Sg Ipfv āŋ gà versus 3Sg Ipfv à gà. If the subject is a noun, examples with Ipfv gà/gà are kùngòló gà (‘dog’), sùgò gà (‘goat’), and sìbò gà (‘snake’). Thw assimilated tone is then subject to further tone sandhi triggered by a word to the right of the imperfective particles.

Some other inflectional morphemes, such as prohibitive màⁿ/màⁿ, do the opposite. They dissipilate to preceding elements. They are M-toned after L-tones, and L-toned after nonlow tones. Examples are 2Sg āⁿ màⁿ and 3Sg à màⁿ. Again, the resulting tones may be subject to further tone sandhi due to another word to the right.

See §10.1.1 for a list of post-subject morphemes of both types.

3.6.5 Downstep and downdrift

Except for word-internal cases like kèñ-‘kèwⁿ’, downstep and downdrift are predictable and so not explicitly marked in the basic transcription used here.
3.6.5.1 Downstep

Downstep is less conspicuous in Cliffs than in Djenné Jenaama. However, there are a few cases where an H-toned word or morpheme drops its pitch to approximately that of M-tone, or where an M-toned word or morpheme drops to the pitch level of an L-toned word. When LH-toned sába ‘chicken’ acquires a floating H at the left edge, the result is idealized as sába. It is often heard as sába, arguably a downstepped sá’ba (§3.6.3.1 above) as the awkward initial <HL> tone shifts rightward. Similarly, the distributive iteration of këwⁿ ‘one’ is heard as këjej-këwⁿ with downstepped M (§6.3.2.4).

Sequences of post-subject Cv inflectional particles plus an L-toned vocalic object pronoun take the form Cv = v after Final Tone-Raising and vv-Contraction. Example: gā = à (Ipfv plus 3Sg object). If this is followed by an L-tone, it levels to gā = à. If instead it precedes an M-toned verb like kwë/kā-lā ‘hit’, the result is e.g. gā = à kwāa in fairly careful speech. However, in allegro speech the tones can shift rightward, resulting in phonetic gā = à kwāa. Here downstepped kwāa has lower than modal pitch for M-tone, but it does not behave as L-toned (it does not undergo Final Tone-Raising when followed by a true L-tone).

3.6.5.2 Downdrift and prepausal pitch-drop

Downdrift is the lowering of pitch from the early part of an intonation group to its end. It is most conspicuous on the final word preceding the prosodic break, where tonal distinctions are not reliably made. This includes isolation pronunciations of nouns and other forms that do not otherwise occur prepausally. The transcription used here indicates the pitch drop in the final syllable of nonmonosyllabic /H/-melodic words by using the M-tone diacritic, as in púnáwⁿ ‘Fulbe person’. Since there is no lexical /HM/ melody, such transcriptions are always to be understood as involving /H/ melody. For example, the noun cited as púnáwⁿ is heard (and transcribed) as púnáwⁿ in non-prepausal position (e.g. subject, object, or postpositional complement).

In prepausal position, higher than modal pitch of the last syllable is associated with polar interrogation (§13.2.1.2).

3.7 Word- or phrase-final intonation effects

3.7.1 Final H-tone

In some grammatical contexts, the final tone of a word is raised from L or M to H. If this tone is already H, there is no audible change. This effect occurs in the contexts in (74).
(74)  
  a. focalization of noun or pronoun (§13.1.3)  
  b. first word in purposive VP following ‘go’ or ‘come’ (17.5.1.3)  
  c. final word of polar interrogative in the absence of an initial interrogative particle  
     (§13.2.1.2)  
  d. nonfinal items in lists (§7.1.10)  
  e. tonal locative of place names (§8.2.3.3)  

This process is tonal, within the regular phonology of the language, rather than a gradient intonational overlay.

Evidence for this is that the final H has indirect effects on the tones of preceding syllables. For example, an M.M.M trisyllabic word becomes L.L.H, since the final H is incompatible with a preceding M within a word or phrase. In addition, contour-toned words ending in L-tone, like the /LML/-melodic personal name sèēdū ‘Seydou’, push the lexical tones leftward, in this case producing LMLH-toned sèēdū under focalization.

See the sections listed in (74) for details and examples.

Of diachronic interest: focalization in Djenné Jenaama is expressed by a particle wô following the focalized constituent, and wô behaves in some tone-sandhi contexts as though H-toned.

3.7.2 Falling pitch and prolongation at planned pause

When a quotative introducer ‘X said (to Y), “…’ is separated from the quoted matter by a prosodic break planned by the speaker, the last word before the break is prolonged and gets ML-tones. This can apply to the quasi-verb yè/yē ‘said’ when it immediately precedes quoted matter (75a). If yè/yē ‘said’ is followed by a dative PP, this intonational effect can apply to the dative postposition tē (75b).

(75)  
  a. à yèè, …  
     3Sg said, “…”  
     ‘He said, “…’ (2017-04 @ 02:38)

  b. à yè [jī jā = [à tē(e→)], …  
     3Sg said [LogoSg said [3Sg Dat]], “…”  
     ‘He said, “I said to him, ‘…”’ (2017-04 @ 03:19)

A similar case is gāà→ ‘be’ before pause at the beginning of an open-ended list, see (277) in §7.1.10. Occasionally a preposed topicalized NP shows a similar pitch pattern. For example, kàngé gù ‘the hyena’ appears as kàngé gùû at a planned pause before the regular clause in 2017-08 @ 00:51.
This terminal intonational effect is similar to the “dying-quail” effect that occurs in Dogon languages such as Jamsay and Togo Kan. All of these phenomena combine the phonetics, namely uncalibrated prolongation (and pitch decline), that are typical of “intonation,” with the grammatical (and for Dogon also lexical) functions of tone and vowel length. I call this combination “tonation” (to be understood as a hybrid term “tone-ation”).

3.7.3 Paired incompletion and completion terminal intonation effects

As in many languages, parallelistic sequences of the type X (and) Y can be expressed with incompletion intonation (higher than modal pitch) on the final syllable of X, and completion intonation (low pitch) on the final syllable of Y. Though usually omitted from transcriptions, it is occasionally indicated by ↑ and ↓, respectively, where it is conspicuous in texts.

(76) [kàngé  gú]   pwɔ́↑,
[hyena  Def]   sit.Pfv,
[wàngé  gú]   pwɔ́↓
[hare  Def]   sit.Pfv

‘Hyena sat down and Hare sat down.’ (2017-07 @ 00:36)
4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple nouns (singular, plural)

Nouns generally have an unmarked singular and a suffixal plural with -yè. At word level (prior to tone sandhi), the suffix is realized as M-toned -yē after M-tone (by M-Tone Spreading, §3.6.4.3), and as L-toned -yè after H or L. I transcribe -yè (or -yē) as a suffix, but one could also consider it to be an enclitic, since in N-Adj combinations it appears on the adjective. (For minor plural patterns see below.)

There is no morphological distinction between human, nonhuman animate, and inanimate nouns.

Some human nouns are in (77). Those in (77b) are derivatives with -yà whose plural is here transcribed -y-è (contracted from /-yà-ye/).

(77) Human nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. simple noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūygū</td>
<td>kūygū-yè</td>
<td>‘blacksmith’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūnāwⁿ</td>
<td>pūnā(“)-yè</td>
<td>‘Fulbe person’ variant plural pūnām-bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káádō</td>
<td>káádō-yè</td>
<td>‘Dogon person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɔ̀̃l</td>
<td>nɔ̀̃l-yè</td>
<td>‘Bangande person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūmūⁿ</td>
<td>sūmū-yè</td>
<td>‘visitor’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. agentive derivatives with singular -yà

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bɔ̀-yà</td>
<td>bɔ̀-yè</td>
<td>‘herder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔ̀gɔ̀-yà</td>
<td>sɔ̀gɔ̀-yè</td>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nonhuman nouns, animate and inanimate, are in (78).
(78) Nonhuman nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>marked plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. animate</td>
<td>kúngóló</td>
<td>kúngól-o-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ságó</td>
<td>ság-o-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàà</td>
<td>nàà-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sógólwⁿ</td>
<td>sógólwⁿ-o-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. inanimate</td>
<td>kiyè</td>
<td>kiy-o-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiywⁿ</td>
<td>kiywⁿ-o-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jūbū</td>
<td>jūb-o-yè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one Cvⁿ noun stem, sɔⁿ ‘needle; pointed instrument’, and one other that has a premodifier form Cv (pwɔ ‘thing’, premodifier pā). The nasal in sɔⁿ counts as a mora. With the exception of pā, the minimal syllabic shape of a noun stem is bimoraic Cvv, Cvⁿ, Cvwⁿ, Cvy(”), or CvCv.

A minor plural suffix -bè (-b after M-tone) occurs in a few nouns, sometimes varying with -yè (79). See also ‘child’ and ‘woman’ in the following subsection.

(79) singular | plural (-bè) | variant plural | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. compounds</td>
<td>tā-yūgⁿ</td>
<td>tā-yūg-o-bè</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sābān-diýawn</td>
<td>sābān-dēm-o-bè</td>
<td>‘koranic school pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. other human nouns</td>
<td>dūgⁿ</td>
<td>dūg-o-bè</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pən-forms</td>
<td>pən-o-bè</td>
<td>‘young woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nāwⁿ</td>
<td>nām-o-bè</td>
<td>‘Dogon (person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pūnāwⁿ</td>
<td>pūn-o-bè</td>
<td>‘Fulbe (person), Pullo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| c. nonhuman animate (former diminutives, all known examples) | ság-o-lèwⁿ | ság-o-lēm-o-bè | ‘sheep’ |
| | pūl-e | pūl-o-bè | ‘bird (any)’ |

Plural suffix -lè occurs in nimi-lè ‘people’, plural of nimi ‘person’. This rare plural suffix occurs elsewhere only in definite plural kù-lè (§4.4.1) and relative plural mà-lè (§14.1.1).
Noun stems may have any of several lexical tone melodies, whose expression is spread out over the entire stem. See §3.6.1.2 for details and examples. The lexical melodies are heard in citation forms (except that ...H.H is heard as ...H.M), but are subject to change in combinations with adjectives and other modifiers (chapter 6).


High-frequency nouns whose plurals are frequently irregular in other languages of the zone are in (80). ‘Man’ and ‘thing’ are morphologically regular. ‘Woman’, ‘person’, and ‘child’ have irregular plurals (the regular plural suffix is -yè). Of interest is that all of the irregular and suppletive ‘children’ terms drop from H-tone to word-level M-tone, though the regular plural jénáⁿ-yè preserves the H-tones of the singular.

(80) singular plural gloss

a. human

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yūgòⁿ</td>
<td>yūgóm-bè</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēēgū</td>
<td>kēēgú-yè ~ kēēgē-ē</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲímí</td>
<td>ɲímí-lè or ɲímí-yè</td>
<td>‘person’ (see comment below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jénáⁿ</td>
<td>jénám-bí-gē or jénáⁿ-yè</td>
<td>‘child’ (§4.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>dālm-bí-gē</td>
<td>‘children’ (plural only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>dēm-bē</td>
<td>‘children (offspring)’ (plural only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. nonhuman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pwɔ</td>
<td>pwɔ-yè</td>
<td>‘thing’ (see comment below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūūrⁿ</td>
<td>gūūrⁿ-yè</td>
<td>‘place’ (see comment below)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are distinct ‘child’ forms used in the kinship sense (‘son or daughter’), see §5.1.7.3 for these forms and their compounds.

ɲímí ‘person’ has a special form in front of ɲ-kēḇⁿ ‘one’, hence ɲā ɲ-kēḇⁿ ‘one person’. pwɔ ‘thing’ becomes pā (dialectally pɔ) before any modifier.

gūūrⁿ, one of the few stems with high back unrounded u, occurs in an unusual iterated form gūūrⁿ-mā-gēḇⁿ (and variants) in relatives (§14.2.4).

For compounds containing ‘child’, ‘woman’, and ‘man’ as initials or finals, with L-H tone overlay, see §5.1.7.3 and §5.1.9.
4.1.3 Collectives with -àmà (absent)

In Djenné Jenaama, this suffix forms collectives, for example of ethnicities, as well as abstractives. It is part of the alternative language name Sorogamaa. Examples with collective sense are not attested in Cliffs. The noun jànà-àmà means ‘Jenaama language’ and is morphologically somewhat opaque. For abstractive nominals with -àmà see §4.2.3.

4.1.4 Nouns with lexicalized full-stem iteration

A few nouns have the appearance of full-stem iterations. In some cases the vowel quality is different in the two parts (81b). Often the uniterated form is unattested. Several examples are flora terms. ‘Tomtom’, ‘bell’, and ‘wooden trough’ are (or can be used as) percussion instruments.

(81) a. no vocalic change

\[L-M \text{ tones}\]
- yûrûgû-yûrûgû ‘corruption’
- nàmà-nàmà ‘garbage’

\[LH-LH \text{ tones}\]
- nòýⁿ-nòýⁿ ‘chameleon’
- wànjⁿ-wànjⁿ ‘bush sp. \((Senna \text{ occidentalis})\)’

\[L-L \text{ tones}\]
- sàⁿ-sàⁿ ‘sand’

\[L-H \text{ tones}\]
- dòn-dòⁿ ‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’
- sàm-sám ‘medicinal herb \((Blepharis)\)’
- kàâ-kàâ ‘tall herb sp. \((Senna \text{ obtusifolia})\)’

\[M-M \text{ tones}\]
- bûm-bûⁿ ‘red kapok tree \((Bombax)\)’
- wòlōⁿ-wòlōⁿ ‘bell’
- kòlû-kòlûⁿ ‘wooden trough’
- kòbànkòbàⁿ ‘tree sp. \((Dichrostachys)\)’

\[ML-ML \text{ tones}\]
- pègû-pègû ‘fromager tree \((Ceiba)\)’

\[ML-H \text{ tones}\]
- dûwôn-dûwôⁿ ‘mistletoe \((Loranthaceae)\)’

b. with vocalic change

- kèlék-kàlûⁿ ‘forked stick’
- yîrì-yàrâ ‘tree sp. \((Cassia)\)’
4.1.5  Definite singular suffix (absent)

The definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ in Djenné Jenaama does not occur in Cliffs. Discourse definiteness is marked by a number-neutral particle (or enclitic) gu of demonstrative origin (§4.4.2).

4.1.6  Associative plural X wùlē/kùlē ‘X and family/group’

If X is a human personal name or another expression denoting an individual, an associative plural can be formed by adding wùlē ~ kùlē. This form is related to the discourse-definite plural demonstrative kù-lè ~ wù-lè (§4.4.2).

The associative plural denotes the individual plus his/her associates (family, household, companions, etc.).

(82)  a.  [sèédû      wùlē]   bê
      [S    AssocPl]    come.Pfv
      ‘The Seydou’s (=Seydou and his group) have come.’

      b.  [sèédû      wùlè]   kùŋgólô
      [S    AssocPl]    dog
      ‘the dog of the Seydou’s’

An alternative with personal names like Seydou is to just add the plural suffix: sèédû-yè ~ sèèdè-è ‘the Seydou’s’. This simpler associative plural is usual in the ‘chez X’ construction (i.e. ‘at X’s place’): sèédû-yè kàwⁿ ‘at the Seydou’s’. The ‘chez X’ construction, when it denotes a home, strongly favors a plural noun as complement unless the individual lives alone.

4.2  Derived nominals

4.2.1  Deverbal nominalizations

4.2.1.1  Bare verbal noun identical to Pfv stem

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

For many verbs, the abstract verbal noun, denoting the pure event type as in ‘running is easy’ without aspectual bounding, is unsuffixed (bare). A bare verbal noun is homophonous to the Pfv stem of the verb (83a), except that monomoraic Cv lengthens its vowel (83b). Most intransitives readily form bare verbal nouns without a “possessor.” It is possible to elicit bare
verbal nouns for many transitives, but some like ‘give’ and ‘say’ require an overt object, minimally a pro forma 3Sg à as “possessor.”

(83) verbal noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv) verb gloss

a. verbal noun = Pfv (no final tone shift as in Ipfv)

*M-toned verbal noun and Pfv*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nīnī</td>
<td>‘washing’</td>
<td>nīnī/nīnī</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēbē</td>
<td>‘building’</td>
<td>kēbē/kēbē</td>
<td>‘build’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīrī</td>
<td>‘flying’</td>
<td>pīrī/pīrī</td>
<td>‘fly (v)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*L-toned verbal noun and Pfv*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kūū</td>
<td>‘running’</td>
<td>kūū/kūū</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèw</td>
<td>‘drinking’</td>
<td>mèw/mè-nè</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miy&quot;è</td>
<td>‘fishing’</td>
<td>miy&quot;è/miy&quot;ē</td>
<td>‘fish (v), go fishing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāgō</td>
<td>‘farming’</td>
<td>sāgō/sāgō</td>
<td>‘cultivate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùbè-nī</td>
<td>‘breast-feeding’</td>
<td>sùbè-nī/sùbè-nī</td>
<td>‘breastfeed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ML-toned verbal noun and Pfv*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sēgē</td>
<td>‘pounding’</td>
<td>sēgē/sēgē</td>
<td>‘pound (in mortar)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. verbal noun based on Pfv = Ipfv but lengthened from Cv to Cvv

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bē</td>
<td>‘coming’</td>
<td>bē/bē</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò</td>
<td>‘going’</td>
<td>sò/sò</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>dō/dō</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>sē/sē</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.2 CvCe/e verbal nouns

Some verbal nouns differ from the Pfv and Ipfv stems by final vocalic mutation to e or e (depending on the ATR vocalism of the stem). The fronted vowel keeps the tone of the corresponding vowel in the Pfv stem. There is a bisyllabic target which requires monosyllabic stems to add a syllable. Similar ablauted verb stems with final e/e function as intransitivizations of some transitive verbs (§9.3.1.1).

(84) verbal noun gloss verb gloss

a. mutation of final vowel only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāgē</td>
<td>‘removal’</td>
<td>bāgā/bāgā</td>
<td>‘take away, remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōgē</td>
<td>‘killing’</td>
<td>wōgā/wōgā</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōŋē</td>
<td>‘looking at’</td>
<td>tōŋō/tōŋō</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. mutation of final vowel in verbal noun and intransitive (antipassive)

\[
\begin{align*}
dīgē & \quad \text{‘eating’} & \quad & \text{digē/dīgā} & \quad \text{‘eat (meal)’ (transitive)} \\
dīgē & \quad \text{‘eating’} & \quad & \text{digē/dīgē} & \quad \text{‘eat’ (intransitive)}
\end{align*}
\]

c. mutation of final vowel plus stem change

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{medial m}
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{kūmē} & \quad \text{‘catching’} & \quad & \text{kūū”/kū-nū} & \quad \text{‘catch’} \\
\end{align*}
\item \textit{medial n}
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{sinē} & \quad \text{‘biting’} & \quad & \text{sīw”/sī-nī} & \quad \text{‘bite’} \\
  \text{kōlē} & \quad \text{‘hitting’} & \quad & \text{kwāā/kō-lā} & \quad \text{‘hit’} \\
\end{align*}
\item \textit{medial g}
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{sigē} & \quad \text{‘departure’} & \quad & \text{sō/sō} & \quad \text{‘go’}
\end{align*}
\end{itemize}

In the cases of ‘bite’ and ‘hit’ (84c), the verbal noun more closely resembles the Ipfv than the Pfv stem, by virtue of showing the same medial consonant. However, ‘catch’ has m instead of n in the nominal, and the apparent Ipfv characteristics of the nominal may really be a byproduct of a CvCv template that the Pfv stems do not fit. The verbs in (84c) also show the stem variant with e/e in other derivatives, such as kūmē-nā, kōlē-nā, and sinē-nā resultative verbal nouns (§4.2.1.4). See §3.2.12.1 on the diachronic background.

4.2.1.3 Verbal noun with suffix \(-gù/-gū\)

Other verbs form the verbal noun by adding the suffix \(-gù/-gū\) to the Pfv stem. This is distinct from postnominal definite gu of variable tone. The tone of the verbal-noun suffix is L after L-tone (a combination that triggers Final Tone-Raising on the preceding syllable or mora), in some cases giving the false impression that the suffix is added to the Ipfv stem (85a). The suffixal tone is M after M-tone, by M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3). No verb ends in H-tone so the verbal-noun suffix is never H-toned. For verbs whose Pfv and Ipfv stems are segmentally distinct, it is clear that the suffix is added to the Pfv (85b).

(85) verbal noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv) gloss

\begin{itemize}
\item a. verbal noun same as or based on identical Pfv= Ipfv, plus \(-gù\)
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{kēnō-gù} & \quad \text{‘snoring’} & \quad & \text{kēnō/kēnō} & \quad \text{‘snore’} \\
  \text{nōli-gù} & \quad \text{‘pointing’} & \quad & \text{nōli/nōli} & \quad \text{‘point at’} \\
  \text{tēmbē-gù} & \quad \text{‘encountering’} & \quad & \text{tēmbē/tēmbē} & \quad \text{‘encounter’}
  \end{align*}
  \]
\end{itemize}
stem-final vowel shortened

kūgē-gū ‘kneeling’  kūgē/kūgē ‘kneel’
wölō-gū ‘snatching’  wölō/wölō ‘snatch’

stem-final vowel lengthened

sòŋgī-gū ‘pecking’  sòŋgī/sòŋgī ‘peck at’

b. verbal noun same as or based on Pfv, plus -gū

bē-gū ‘coming’  bē/bē ‘come’ (2017-05 @ 00:12)
pwō-gū ‘sitting’  pwō/pɔ-lɔ ‘sit’
bāā-gū ‘exiting’  bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’
kēē-gū ‘calling’  kēē/kēē-li ‘call’
sūū-gū ‘rubbing in’  sūū/sū-lū ‘rub in (lotion)’
tūū-gū ‘spitting’  tūū/tū-lù ‘spit’
tāā-gū ‘stopping’  tāā/tā-lā ‘stop, stand’
sèŋ-gū ‘falling’  sèw'/sèn-dē ‘fall’
tèŋ-gū ‘jumping’  tèw'/tēlēw/ ‘jump’
bēŋ-gū ‘returning’  bēw'/bēn-dē ‘return’
bāŋ-gū ‘shaving’  bāw'/bā-nā ‘shave’
tāŋ-gū ‘ascending’  tāw'/tā-nā ‘ascend’
yāŋ-gū ‘descending’  yāw'/yā-lā ‘descend’
sèy-gū ‘pulling/tying’  sèy/sè-lè ‘pull, tie’
боŋ-gū ‘greeting’  boŋ/boŋ-li ‘greet’
kōy-gū ‘weaving’  kōy/kōy-li ‘weave (fabric)’
tiŋ-gū ‘question (n)’  tiŋ/tiŋ ‘ask (question)’
siwō-gū ‘singing’  siwō/siwō-lò ‘sing’
ciyē-gū ‘assembling’  ciyē/ciyē-nè ‘assemble’
kwēŋ-gū ‘sweeping’  kwēŋ/kwē-nā ‘sweep’
sūgōŋ-gū ‘squatting’  sūgōŋ/sūgōn-nā ‘squat’
siŋn-gū ‘breathing’  siŋn/siŋn-nā ‘breathe’

-gū/gū is disallowed in verbal-noun phrases that include a preverbal constituent. For example, ‘snatching’ without a complement is wölō-gū (86b), but when an overt object is added the -gū is dropped (86c).

(86)  a. à wálê wölō
3Sg money snatch.Pfv
‘He/She snatched the money.’ (wálēw ~ wölōw)
b.  wòlò∂-gù  nà  m̀ māỹ
   snatch-VblN  Neg  PsRefl  be.good
   ‘Snatching isn’t good.’

c.  [wáléⁿ  wòlò∂]  nà  m̀ māỹ
   [money  snatch.VblN]  Neg  PsRefl  be.good
   ‘Snatching money isn’t good.’

Verbal-noun suffix -gù ~ -gū does not behave tonally like definite gù. The latter does not trigger Final Tone-Raising in a preceding L-toned word (noun, adjective, or numeral), and it is not raised to M-toned after an M-tone. The definite marker can also be added at the end of a clause in subordinating function (§15.4.4), in which case it may happen to follow a verb. No tonal interactions with an L-toned verb occur in this case.

4.2.1.4 Participial -na as resultative verbal noun

Participial suffix -na occurs productively in deverbal adjectives (§4.5.1.3), including adjectival predicates (§11.4.1.1). It also occurs in a stative predicate construction with otherwise active (aspectually dynamic) verbs (§10.1.4).

This subsection, however, is concerned with the occurrence of this participial form in a function that can be described as resultative verbal noun. It denotes an actual instance of the event type and the state that results from it. My assistant glosses it as ‘the fact of Vb-ing’ (le fait de ...). It differs aspectually from the pure abstractive verbal nouns described in preceding subsections, which do not denote bounded instantiations. It never occurred in abstractive contexts like ‘Vb-ing is difficult’ without a subject or object.

Except when predicative, the resultative verbal noun requires a preceding object or “possessor,” minimally 3Sg pronominal à.

The resultative verbal noun can be preposed to a clause. In (87a) ‘his/her exiting’ is a preposed topic and is resumed (and focalized) by a 3Sg pronoun. In (87b), ‘his/her ascent’ functions as a temporal-setting adverbial. Even without an overt ‘after’ or ‘behind’ element, it is understood that the ascent preceded the event described in the following main clause. The free translation (‘having …’) tries to capture the resultative flavor.

(87)  a.  [à  bān-nà]  wòg̃  mān̄  gà
   [3Sg  exit(v)-Ppl]  3Sg.Indep  be.good.Pfv  RemPfv
   ‘(The fact of) his/her exiting, that was good (=appropriate).’
b. [à tān-nā gū] à = à tōlō
[3Sg ascend-Ppl Def] 3Sg 3Sg sell.Pfv

‘Having gone up (e.g. traveled south), he/she sold it.’

The regular forms of the resultative verbal noun are shown in (88), alongside the regular Pfv and Ipfv forms. The resultative verbal noun is M-, ML-, or L-toned, following the tones of the Pfv. The segmental form is also derived from the Pfv in most cases where the Pfv and Ipfv differ segmentally. Monomoraic Cv is lengthened to Cvv one way or another, or in the case of ‘go’ Cv is replaced by an alternative bisyllabic form that can also occur by itself as a kind of verbal noun. Among intransitives, ‘exit (v)’ is irregular. Several transitives use a variant stem-form CvCe/e before -na, as in several other derivatives (§4.2.1.2, §9.3.1). In the cases of ‘eat’ and ‘sell’, this variant form is used without reference to transitivity.

(88)   Pfv  Ipfv  with -nā  gloss  comment

a. intransitive
sēwⁿ sēn-dē sēn-nā ‘fall’
tāwⁿ tā-nā tān-nā ‘ascend’
yāwⁿ yā-lā yān-nā ‘descend’
wwō wwō wwō-nā ‘weep’
kūmū kūmū-nā kūmū-nā ‘sleep’
irregular
bāā bā-lā bān-nā ‘exit (v)’
suppletive
sō sō sigē-nā ‘go’    cf. noun sigē ‘departure’
Cv lengthened before suffix
bē bē bēē-nā ‘come’

b. transitive
mēwⁿ mēn-nē mēn-nā ‘drink’
ti̊wⁿ ti̊n-nā ti̊n-nā ‘do’
pējē pējē pējē-nā ‘split (firewood)’
cēbū cēbū cēbū-nā ‘push’
Cv lengthened before suffix
dō dō dōē-nā ‘give’
tūyē tō tōē-nā ‘know’
based on alternative CvCe/e form of stem (§4.2.1.2, §9.3.1)
dīgā dīgā dīgē-nā ‘eat’
tōlō tōlō tōlē-nā ‘sell’
kwāā kō-lā kōlē-nā ‘hit’
kūù₂ kū-nù kūmè-nà ‘catch’
siw₂ sì-nì sìné-nà ‘bite’
wògà wògà wògè-nà ‘kill’

For transitives, an object is optionally included. If the object is an unmodified singular common noun and has generic reference, it could be taken as a kind of compound initial (89). If both the incorporated noun and the verbal noun are L-toned, Final Tone-Raising applies at the boundary (89c).

(89)  object + verb  gloss  noun  gloss
a.  sùbà péjè-nà  ‘splitting firewood’  sùbà  ‘firewood’
b.  kúngóló kólé-nà  ‘hitting a/the dog’  kúngóló  ‘dog’
c.  dùwò mèn-nà  ‘drinking beer’  dùwò  ‘beer’

The object can be expanded to a full NP (DP) as in 90. This suggests that the NP in question is either a full-fledged object NP or a possessor.

(90)  [nù dèm-bè sàá] kólé-nà
[1Sg child-Pl all] hit-VblN
‘the fact of hitting all of my children’

The object may also be expressed as a personal name or as a pronominal. There is no difference in form between objects and possessors, so the pronominals could be marked up as either.

(91)  a.  ñ kólé-nà  ‘the fact of hitting me’
    sèèdù kólé-nà  ‘the fact of hitting Seydou’

  b.  ñ wògè-nà  ‘the fact of killing me’
    sèèdù wògè-nà  ‘the fact of killing Seydou’

A phrase consistent in form with a resultative verbal noun is obligatory in a comparative construction where it functions as a kind of compound initial for sì ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2). A pronominal subject is included in possessor form preceding the resultative verbal noun. The presence of this subject puts some limits on the possible forms of an overt object. If the object cannot be expressed as a simple compound initial, it is phrased as a separate PP (§12.2.4.2).
4.2.1.5 Place nominals

4.2.1.5.1 Place nominal with suffix -gàwⁿ

Addition of suffix -gàwⁿ to a verb produces a place nominal. The stem is identical to the Pfv stem in most cases (92a). Final Tone-Raising raises a final L-tone to M-tone before the suffix, showing that -gàwⁿ is treated prosodically as a separate word. The plural is -gè or -gàn-yè. The examples in (92b) involve verbs that are ordinarily transitive but here take antipassive intransitive form with final e/ɛ.

(92) nominal     gloss              verb and gloss

a. initial identical to Pfv stem
    mûri-gàwⁿ     ‘hairdressing place’     mûri/mûrì ‘braid (a girl)’
    kàyⁿ-gàwⁿ     ‘workplace’              kàyⁿ/kàyⁿ ‘work (v)’
    këbë-gàwⁿ     ‘construction site’      këbë/këbë ‘build’
    sàā-gàwⁿ      ‘bedroom’                sàā/sàā ‘lie down’

initial = Pfv with Final Tone-Raising
    yàñ-gàwⁿ      ‘(the) way down’         yàwⁿ/yàwⁿ ‘descend’
    qëë-gàwⁿ      ‘opening (passage)’      qëë/qëë ‘open’
    mëwⁿ-gàwⁿ     ‘drinking place’         mëwⁿ/mè-nè ‘drink’
    kìì-nì-gàwⁿ   ‘ignition (of vehicle)’  kìì-nì/kìì-nì ‘wake (sb) up’
    sì̀ì-gàwⁿ     ‘kitchen’                sìù/sì ‘cook (in a pot)’
    sǫg-gàwⁿ      ‘cultivating place’      sèg/sèg ‘cultivate (field)’

initial segmentally = Pfv but not Ipfv
    pùgëwⁿ-gàwⁿ   ‘hiding place’          pùgëwⁿ/pùgën-nà ‘hide’
    sàā-gàwⁿ      ‘bedroom, sleeping place’ sà(g)à/sàgà ‘lie down, go to bed’

b. initial with final e/ɛ and L-toned (becoming LM by tone sandhi)
    tōlë-gàwⁿ     ‘shop (n)’               tōlē/tōlë ‘sell’
    kòlë-gàwⁿ     ‘scene of assault’      kwāā/kō-là ‘hit’

The independent noun meaning ‘place’ is gûtûⁿ, which may be etymologically related.

Place nominals also function as complements of kilëwⁿ/kilën-nà ‘finish (VP-ing)’ (§17.4.5).

Transitive verbs can incorporate an object noun. In this case they do not take antipassive form with e/ɛ as in (92b). For such compound place nominals, see §5.1.6.3.
4.2.1.5.2 Place nominal with -lɔ̀gū ‘mouth’ as final

A variant of the noun lɔ̀gū ~ lɔ̀gū ‘mouth’ can occur as compound final in place nominals based on verbs of entering and existing. It takes the form -lɔ̀gū. Examples: dúwé-lɔ̀gū ‘entrance’, bãá-lɔ̀gū ‘exit (n)’.

4.2.2 Uncompounded agentives (-yà ~ -yè)

The suffix is -yà ~ -yè, plural usually contracted as -yè (from /-yà-yè/). For verbs with segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv, the tones in the agentive are those of the Pfv (93a-b), and verbs with suffixes in the Ipfv do not show them in the agentive (93a,c). The suffix is L-toned after another L (93a-b); ‘singer’ (93c) is contracted from /sùwòò-yà/ so it is not a real counterexample. The suffix is M-toned vy M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.2) after /M/-melodic stems (93d), but not after truncated /LML/-melodic stems (93c). Verbs that have a semantically antipassive intransitive with final vowel mutated to e/e (§9.3.1.1) use this form in the agentive if no object noun is incorporated (93f). For compounds with incorporated object see §5.1.6.2.

(93) verb gloss agentive gloss

a. bùwɔ̃/bùwɔ̀-lò ‘tend (herd)’ bùwɔ̀-yè ‘herder’

b. jàgɔ̃/jàgɔ́ ‘deal (buy/sell)’ jàgɔ́-yè ‘dealer, merchant’
sògɔ́/sògɔ̀ ‘cultivate’ sògɔ̀-yè ‘farmer’

c. sùwòò/sùwò̀-lò ‘sing’ sùwò̀-yè ‘singer’

d. kèbè/kèbè ‘build’ kèbè-ŋà ‘builder’

e. kɔ́y/kɔ́y-ŋè ‘weave’ kɔ́y-ŋà ‘weaver’

f. sìqè/sìqè ‘do cooking’ sìqè-ŋà ‘cook (n)’
tòlè/tòlè ‘do selling’ tòlè-ŋà ‘merchant’

There are also a agentive-like lexical nouns such as bàrù ‘builder, mason’, dɔ̀sò ‘hunter (chasseur)’, wààkè ‘butcher’, sàgè ‘carpenter’, mìmá ‘leatherworker (cordonnier)’, and kùyɔ́ ‘blacksmith’. However, mìmá and kùyɔ́ are hereditary, in-marrying castes that are traditionally connected with the trades indicated by the translations, rather than pure agentives denoting occupations. Compare kòló-tùgù ‘leatherworker, shoemaker’ (“skin-owner”) as an actual occupation agentive regardless of ancestry.
4.2.3 Deadjectival abstractives (-ämà)

Adjectives denoting scalar qualities or measurable dimensions have an abstractive nominal with suffix -ämà. It becomes -ämà after an M-tone by regular tone sandhi. The abstractive is typically possessed (‘its length’, etc.). It is not formed from color or taste adjectives. It is not used as a collective denoting ethnic populations as it is in Djenné Jenaama.

The abstractive has some phonological traits shared with the predicative form of the adjective, others with its modifying form. The tones correlate with those of the predicative form. There is also an abstractive, admittedly rather irregular, related to predicative kòⁿ ‘be many’, which has a more or less suppletive modifying form (94b). On the other hand, the -gù suffix that occurs with some adjectives in the modifying form is also present, preceding the abstractive suffix (94a).

(94) predicate modifying gloss abstractive gloss

a. predicative form L-toned
   -gu absent in modifying form
     kòyəⁿ kòyəⁿ ‘long’ kòyə-ämà ‘length’
     (≈ kòjàⁿ, etc.)
     bùlòⁿ bùlòⁿ ‘big’ bùlə-ämà ‘size, bigness’
     kùrùⁿ kùrù ‘short’ kùrə-ämà ‘shortness’
   -gu present in modifying form
     kúyⁿ kúy-gù ‘deep’ kúy-gə-ämà ‘depth’
     wàáⁿ wáá-gù ‘wide’ wáá-gə-ämà ‘width’
     dùwòwⁿ dùwò-gù ‘small’ dùwó-gə-ämà ‘smallness’

b. predicative form M-toned
   M-tone extends to suffix
   nəgəɾwⁿ nəgəɾwⁿ ‘difficult’ nəgəɾə-ämà ‘difficulty, expensiveness’
   shift to ML
   kòⁿ (pà-a-lówⁿ) ‘many’ kúyə-ämà ‘number, abundance’
   nii nəŋjə ‘nasty’ niiŋə-ämà ‘nastiness’

The noun miskīnī ‘pauper, poor person’, which can also be used as a modifier ‘poor, indigent’, has an abstractive miskīnə-ämə ‘poverty’. The antonym is nàfölə-túgə-ämə ‘wealthiness’, based on an ‘owner of X’ compound with -túgə (§5.1.8).
4.2.4 Gentilic nominals with -ŋa suffix after spatial noun

Many adverb-like nouns denoting locations or spatial directions can be nominalized by suffix -ŋa. The noun then denotes an individual associated with that location, cf. English *northerner*. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the left. tígā-ŋā shows tone-leveling (95c).

(95)    spatial  gloss    gentilic  gloss

a. jíuí-kóndō ‘north’  jíuí-kóndó-ŋā  ‘northerner’
   jíín-sémū ‘south’  jíín-sémū-ŋā  ‘southerner’
   jííⁿ-čííⁿ ‘east’  jííⁿ-čííⁿ-ŋā  ‘easterner’
   jííⁿ-kámmā ‘west’  jííⁿ-kámmā-ŋā  ‘westerner’

b. bónó-kúmā ‘on top’  bónó-kúmá-ŋā  ‘highlander’
   dámũ-ŷ ‘at bottom’  dámũ-ŋā  ‘lowlander’

c. tígā ‘in front’  tígā-ŋā  ‘leader, one in front’
   k̪órê-ŷ ‘in back’  k̪órê-ŋā  ‘laggard, one in back’

Gentilics can be formed from place names, cf. *New York-er, Paris-ian*. For example, the name of the village Namagué is nògu-bëwⁿ. The gentilic is nògu-bë-ŋā.

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Summary of personal pronouns

The system distinguishes three persons and two numbers (singular versus plural), plus third-person logophorics/reflexives. Each pronominal category has a simple proclitic form consisting of either a nasal (1Sg, logophoric singular), a short oral or nasalized vowel, or a long oral vowel. The proclitic form can occur in most grammatical functions (subject, object, possessor, postpositional complement). The corresponding independent form occurs as a citation form and can substitute for the proclitic under partial or full focalization. Independent pronouns consist of the proclitic plus -lãgô, hardening to -dôgô after a nasal (for d/l see §3.4.1.1), and a variant wôgô without proclitic for 3Sg. The independent forms shift a final L-tone to H under (full) focalization, e.g. 3Sg wôgô.
(96) Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>possessor</th>
<th>in PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ñ-dɔ̀gɔ́</td>
<td>ɲ (±H)</td>
<td>ɲ, ɲ́</td>
<td>ɲ (±H)</td>
<td>ɲ, ɲ́ (±H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>े-lɔ̀gɔ̀</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ən-dɔ̀gɔ́</td>
<td>ən</td>
<td>ən</td>
<td>ən</td>
<td>ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>əa-lɔ̀gɔ̀</td>
<td>əa</td>
<td>əa</td>
<td>əa</td>
<td>əa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>wɔ̀gɔ́</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>े-lɔ̀gɔ̀</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3RefSg</td>
<td>ñ-dɔ̀gɔ́</td>
<td>ɲ̄</td>
<td>ɲ̄</td>
<td>ɲ̄</td>
<td>ɲ̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3RefPl</td>
<td>े-lɔ̀gɔ̀</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
<td>े</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For 1Sg and 2Sg, there is some tendency for interrogative topic forms ñ-dāa (1Sg) and ān-dāa (2Sg) to replace independent ñ-dɔ̀gɔ̀ and ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ (§13.2.2.1).

Most pronominals have stable forms, except for tone sandhi. Logophorics and third-person reflexives are identical. Ordinary 3Pl è differs tonally from 1Pl ē and from Logo/3RefPl ē, though this can be obscured by further tone sandhi. Likewise, 1Sg differs tonally from Logo/3RefSg, though in some contexts the tonal distinction is actually made indirectly, on the following morpheme (§4.3.4).

4.3.2 Vocalic pronominals and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The BCM morpheme occurs, in some cases optionally, between subjects and objects that are not separated by a nonzero inflectional morpheme (§11.1.2.1). There are some interactions between the BCM and certain pronominal subjects and objects. It is best to treat the vocalic pronominals (1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg, 3Pl, LogoPl) separately from the nasal pronominals (1Sg, LogoPl).

4.3.2.1 Vocalic subject pronominals before the BCM

After vocalic subject pronominals the BCM is yè, as it is for nonpronominal subjects (97a-b). It becomes yè before L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The BCM is optional and rather uncommon before nonpronominal objects. 2Sg proclitic āⁿ denasalizes (§3.4.2.3.3) before an overt yè, resulting in ā yè. As a result, in this combination 2Sg ā is distinguished from 3Sg à only by tone, and from 2Pl āā only by length. 2Sg is bolded in (97a-b). 3Pl è irregularly becomes ā before overt yè, resulting in ā yè.
(97) a. \(ä/ a^n /ää/a/è\) Ø sèëdû kày
\(ä/ a /ää/a/i\) yè sèëdû kày
1Pl/2Sg/2Pl/3Sg/3Pl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv
‘We/you-Sg/you-Pl/they saw Seydou.’

b. \(ä/ a^n /ää/a/è\) Ø àämâdû kày
\(ä/ a /ää/a/i\) yè " "
1Pl/2Sg/2Pl/3Sg/3Pl (Sbj/Obj) A see.Pfv
‘We/you-Sg/you-Pl/they saw Amadou.’

c. \(ì  yè = [è  (yè)  sèëdû  kày]\)
3Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv]
‘They \(x\) said that they \(x\) saw Seydou.’ (< è yè è)

4.3.2.2 Vocalic object pronominals after the BCM

Since these pronominals are vocalic, they contract with a preceding BCM yè by vv-Contraction (§3.4.1.2). In perfective positive transitives with a nonpronominal subject (like ‘Seydou’), the BCM yè is usually omitted. Omission of yè is also common before some vocalic object pronominals, especially 2Sg äⁿ and 3Sg à, less often 2Pl äañ. 3Sg à is raised to ã when followed by L-tone.

(98) a. sèëdû Ø àŋ kwàâ/kày
S (Sbj/Obj) 2Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
‘Seydou hit/saw you-Sg.’

b. sèëdû Ø à kwàâ / …
\(ä\) … / kày
S (Sbj/Obj) 3Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
‘Seydou hit/saw him/her/it.’

c. sèëdû Ø àã kwàâ/kày
S (Sbj/Obj) 2Pl hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
‘Seydou hit/saw you-Pl.’

Omission of yè is more problematic before proclitics consisting of an e-vowel. These are 1Pl or Logo/3ReflPl è and regular 3Pl è. 3Pl è (like 3Sg à) raises to è by tone sandhi before an L-tone (as with kày ‘see.Pfv’), which creates the risk of confusion with 1Pl è. The forms with yè omitted are
in (99). My assistant’s intuition is that ē in (99a) is higher-pitched than ē in (99c) even before käy. I hear no difference in pitch when they are pronounced seamlessly, though even a slight prosodic reset permits the postpausal L-toned pronunciation of 3Pl ē. If the preceding word or particle ends in L-tone, as with the name sèëdū, tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) can indirectly distinguish 3Pl from 1Pl. Confusion between LogoPl ē (99b) and either of the others is less consequential, and less likely in grammatical context since logophorics occur only in quotations.

(99) a. sèëdū Ø  ē  kwāā/kāy
   S (Sbj/Obj)  1Pl  hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
   ‘Seydou hit/saw us.’

b. … sèëdù  Ø  ē  kwāā/kāy
   … S (Sbj/Obj) LogoPl  hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
   ‘(They) said that) Seydou hit/saw them.’

c. sèëdū  Ø  ē  kwāā / …
     ē  … / käy
   S (Sbj/Obj)  3Pl  hit.Pfv/see.Pfv
   ‘Seydou hit/saw them.’

The overt presence of the BCM yè results in fewer potential ambiguities, but does require some ad hoc morphophonological adjustments. The second person object combinations (100a) are phonologically straightforward. They show regular vv-Contraction, and both yà = āŋ and yà = ā(ā) have rising pitch. The 3Sg and 3Pl combinations (100b), from /yè/ and /yè ē/, undergo Final Tone-Raising (yè → yē) and then vv-Contraction.

Before M-toned kwāā ‘hit-Past’, they often go a further low-level shift (usually not indicated in transcription) of the types yà = ā kwāā → yā = ā kāā (3Sg) and yē = ē kwāā → yē = ē kāā, where the L-tone de-links from the pronominal and downsteps the verb.

Before M-toned kwāā ‘hit-Past’, they often go a further low-level shift (usually not indicated in transcription) of the types yà = ā kwāā → yā = ā kāā (3Sg) and yē = ē kwāā → yē = ē kāā, where the L-tone de-links from the pronominal and downsteps the verb.

In (100c), vv-Contraction would normally convert /yè ē/ to #yè = ē, but my assistant further contracts this to y = ē. This is fortunate since it increases the audible difference between 1Pl and Logo/3RefPl y = ē on the one hand, and regular 3Pl yē = ē (~ yē = ē 4) on the other. y = ē is best taken as a fused portmanteau.

(100) object | before kwāā ‘hit’ | before käy ‘saw’

a. 2Sg (āⁿ) | sèëdū yà = āŋ kwāā | sèëdū yà = āŋ käy
   2Pl (āā) | sèëdū yà = ā(ā) kwāā | sèëdū yà = ā(ā) käy
b. 3Sg (à)  
sèédù yā = à kwāā  
sèédù yā = à kāy  
(∼ sèédù yā = à ‘kwāā)

3Pl (è)  
sèédù yē = è kwāā  
sèédù yē = è kāy  
(∼ sèédù yē = è ‘kwāā)

c. 1Pl (ē)  
sèédù yē = ē kwāā  
sèédù yē = ē kāy  
Logo/3ReflPl (ē)  
sèédù yē = ē kwāā  
sèédù yē = ē kāy

4.3.2.3 Two vocalic pronominal proclitics flanking the BCM

The preceding subsection used nonpronominal ‘Seydou’ as subject. Here we replace ‘Seydou’ with a vocalic pronominal proclitic. Now both subject and object are vocalic proclitics.

Again there is a choice between presence and absence of the BCM yè, but the details are different. Omission of the BCM is possible when both proclitics have a-vowels (101a-b). 2Sg āⁿ as subject denasalizes before the other a-vowel (101b). Homophony between 2Sg→3Sg and 3Sg→3Sg is averted by irregularly keeping the tones of 3Sg→3Sg à = à low, allowing neither mora to undergo Final Tone-Raising, even before L-toned kāy ‘saw’.

(101) subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kāy ‘saw’

a. 3Sg 2Sg  
à = āŋ kwāā  
à = āŋ kāy

2Pl  
à = ā(ā) kwāā  
à = ā(ā) kāy

3Sg  
à = à kwāā  
à = à kāy

b. 2Sg 3Sg  
ā = ā kwāā  
ā = ā kāy

2Sg (reflexive)  
ā = āŋ kwāā  
ā = āŋ kāy

c. 2Pl (various) (omission of yè not allowed)

When one or both of the pronominals has vowel quality e, this option is not viable.

BCM yè is optionally added to any of the combinations in (101a-b) above, and is obligatory for other pronominal subject-object combinations, namely those involving an e-vowel as either subject or object, plus all combinations with 2Pl āā as subject. (102) presents the combinations with overt BCM yè. The combinations flagged with “(!)” are discussed below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>before kwāā ‘hit’</th>
<th>before kày ‘saw’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>à y = é kwāā</td>
<td>à y = é kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>à y = é kwāā</td>
<td>à y = é kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>à yā = āŋ kwāā</td>
<td>à yā = āŋ kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>à yā = ā(ā) kwāā</td>
<td>à yā = ā(ā) kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg (!)</td>
<td>à yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>à yā = à kày</td>
<td>(~ à yā = ā ‘kwāā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>à yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>à yē = è kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ì y = é kwāā</td>
<td>ì y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>ì y = é kwāā</td>
<td>ì y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ì yā = āŋ kwāā</td>
<td>ì yā = āŋ kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>ì yā = ā(ā) kwāā</td>
<td>ì yā = ā(ā) kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ì yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>ì yā = à kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ì yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>ì yē = è kày</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>àā y = è kwāā</td>
<td>àā y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>àā y = è kwāā</td>
<td>àā y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg (!)</td>
<td>à(“) yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>à(“) yā = à kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>àā yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>àā yē = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>àāā y = è kwāā</td>
<td>àāā y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>àāā y = è kwāā</td>
<td>àāā y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>àāā yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>àāā yā = à kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>àāā yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>àāā yē = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>ë y = é kwāā</td>
<td>ë y = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ë yā = āŋ kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = āŋ kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>ë yā = ā(ā) kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = ā(ā) kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ë yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = à kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ë yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>ë yē = è kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ë y = é kwāā</td>
<td>ë y = è kwāā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>ë y = é kwāā</td>
<td>ë y = è kwāā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ë yā = āŋ kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = āŋ kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>ë yā = ā(ā) kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = ā(ā) kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ë yā = à kwāā</td>
<td>ë yā = à kày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ë yē = è kwāā</td>
<td>ë yē = è kày</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In most cases, the tonal form of the BCM depends on the object rather than on the subject. The regular BCM-object combinations, other than those flagged by “(!)” above, are summarized in (103).

(103) category BCM plus object

a. 2Sg  yà = āⁿ
    2Pl  yà = āā

b. 3Sg  yà = à before H, yā = ā before L
    3Pl  yè = è before H, yē = ē before L

c. 1Pl  y = ē
    Logo/3ReflPl y = ē

Again, the second-person combinations are phonologically regular; the third-person forms are tonally irregular; and 1Pl and Logo/3ReflPl are truncated.

The 3Sg/3Pl combinations are the only ones in (103b) that differ from those with nonpronominal ‘Seydou’ as subject (see the preceding subsection). After ‘Seydou’, BCM-3Sg object is yā = à (~ yā = ā ¹), and BCM-3Pl object is yē = è (~ yē = ē ⁴). With a vocalic pronominal subject as in (103b), the forms are phonologically irregular portmanteaus: yà = à and yè = è before M-toned verbs, and yā = ā and yē = ē before L-toned verbs. The forms yā = ā and yē = ē have arguably undergone an irregular version of Final Tone-Raising before L-tone.

This brings us to the two flagged combinations in (102a,c). For 3Sg→3Sg, we would expect #à yà = à kwāā (with ‘hit’) by analogy to most other X→3Sg combinations, but the actual form is à yā = à kwāā (variant à yā = à ‘kwāā). Although this combination is “irregular” in the context of the paradigms in (102), it is actually phonologically regular, since /à yè à kwāā/ should indeed end up as à yā = à kwāā by Final Tone-Raising and vv-Contraction. That à yā = à kwāā diverges from the other X→3Sg combinations is not accidental, since this divergence reinforces the distinction between 3Sg→3Sg à yā = à kwāā and 2Sg→3Sg à(”) yà = à kwāā. This important distinction between two of the most common transitive combinations can be further reinforced by optionally restoring the nasality of the 2Sg subject proclitic āⁿ, which is denasalized in other combinations.

The treatment of 3Sg and 3Pl objects is the major difference in tonal behavior between BCM yè and the true inflectional morphemes (see just below).
4.3.3 Vocalic pronouns and post-subject inflectional particles

The expression “(true) inflectional” or “post-subject inflectional” particles is used here to refer to the set of PfvNeg tê, Ipfv gâ, and IpfvNeg nà. These particles plus the bidirectional case marker (BCM) are referred to by the broader term “(post-subject) grammatical” particles. The forms taken by pronominal proclitics when adjacent to the BCM are presented in the preceding subsection.

2Sg āⁿ is denasalized before IpfvNeg nà, in the sense that there is no audible distinction between āⁿ and ā before n. 2Sg subject āⁿ is also denasalized when it precedes BCM yè or an a-initial pronominal object. As in those cases, the effect is that 2Sg ā differs from 3Sg ā only by tone, and from 2Pl āā only by length.

\[(104)\]

a. ā nà bê ‘you-Sg don’t come’
   ā nà bê ‘he/she/it doesn’t come’
   āā nà bê ‘you-Pl don’t come’

b. ē nà bê ‘we don’t come’ or ‘they (logophoric) don’t come’
   è nà bê ‘they don’t come’

The other interaction is between the inflectional particles and an immediately following object pronominal. (The same interactions occur when the pronominal is the the possessor of the noun denoting the object.)

Here the relevant combinations are those in (105). They are shown before /M/-melodic kwāā/kā-lā ‘hit’ and before /L/-melodic kāy/kā-nà ‘see’ (indented). Subjects are omitted, but the forms shown are correct when the subject is either nonpronominal or an L-toned pronominal proclitic. If instead the subject is an M-toned pronominal proclitic, Ipfv gâ and IpfvNeg nà assimilate tonally to gâ and nà (§3.6.4.6) before vv-Contraction, so gè =, gâ =, nè =, and nà = in (105a-b) become M-toned.

\[(105)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object</th>
<th>PfvNeg</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>IpfvNeg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Pl, Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>tê = ē kwāā</td>
<td>gè = ē kā-lā nè = ē kā-lā</td>
<td>tê = ē kāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2Sg</td>
<td>tā = āŋ kwāā</td>
<td>gā = āŋ kā-lā nā = āŋ kā-lā</td>
<td>tā = āŋ kāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>tā = āā kwāā</td>
<td>gā = āā kā-lā nā = āā kā-lā</td>
<td>tā = āā kāy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because object pronominals 1Pl and Logo/3ReflPl ā, 2Sg āⁿ, and 2Pl āā are M-toned, the preceding particles remain L-toned. By contrast, 3Sg ā and 3Pl āā are lexically L-toned, so they trigger Final Tone-Raising on the particles (which become tē, gā, and nā). The third-person pronominals are themselves then raised by the same tone sandhi process in case they precede L-toned kāy/kā-nā ‘see’, but they remain L-toned (in careful pronunciation) before M-toned kwāā/kā-lā ‘hit’. vv-Contraction then applies, affecting the vowel features but not the tones of the particles.

Optional low-level tonal modifications like tā = ā kwāā → tā = ā tē (with downstep) occur, parallel to those involving BCM yè, see discussion after (99) above.

A different low-level process applies to M-toned proclitics preceding an M-toned verb. After vv-Contraction, the M-toned proclitic is part of a rising <LM>-toned long-voweled syllable. The pitch rise in the long <LM> syllable is often faint or even inaudible. This is the case with combinations like tē = ē kwāā ‘did not hit us’, which is heard either with a faint rise or with none at all (as tē = ē kwāā). In such cases, the cue that listeners focus on is the L-tone of the inflectional particle, here tē. This is sufficient to distinguish 1Pl tē = ē kwāā ~ tē = ē kwāā from 3Pl tē = ē kwāā, since the latter begins with M-toned tē. The transcription used here writes the 1Pl combination as tē = ē kwāā even though the medial pitch rise is not consistently heard.

4.3.4 1Sg and LogoSg (nasal pronominal proclitics)

The nasal pronominal proclitics are in (106), before place assimilations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(106)</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>grammatical function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ĕ̄</td>
<td>subject (perfective positive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĕ̄ (+H)</td>
<td>subject (before inflectional particles)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ĕ̄</td>
<td>all functions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nasal assimilates in point of articulation to following stops, nasals, and l, and is transcribed accordingly. LogoSg ĕ̄ is subject to M#H-toL#H.
4.3.4.1 1Sg and LogoSg subjects of perfective positives

4.3.4.1.1 Intransitive perfective positives

In intransitive clauses, 1Sg (107a-b) and LogoSg (107c-d) are homophonous.

(107) a. m̄bē
   1Sg come.Pfv
   ‘I came.’

   b. ŋ̄sò
   1Sg go.Pfv
   ‘I went.’

   c. àyē [m̄bē]
   3Sg said [LogoSg come.Pfv]
   ‘He_x said that he_x came.’

   c. àyē [ľ̄sò]
   3Sg said [LogoSg go.Pfv]
   ‘He_x said that he_x went.’

See also (823-824) in §18.1.1.3.

4.3.4.1.2 Transitive perfective positives with BCM =nàⁿ

An allomorph =nàⁿ of the bidirectional case marker (BCM), replacing the usual allomorph yè, occurs when 1Sg or LogoSg is subject in a transitive perfective positive. Without the BCM, subject and object are directly adjacent in this construction. Such adjacency is possible (and common) when the object is nonpronominal and does not begin with a pronominal possessor.

(108a-c) show =nàⁿ before nonpronominal objects. The final nasal feature in =nàⁿ assimilates to a following stop or nasal (108b-c). =nàⁿ is raised to <LM>-toned =nàⁿ (assimilated =nàŋ etc.) before an L-tone (108b). =nàⁿ is sometimes flattened to =nàⁿ.

(108) a. ŋ̄ =nàⁿ sūgō kwāā
   1Sg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv
   ‘I hit-Past the goat.’
b. ŋ = nāŋ nà kwāā
1Sg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past the cow.’

c. ŋ = nāŋ kúŋgóló kwāā
1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past the dog.’

Versions without the optional BCM are in (109a-c). The M-tone of the 1Sg morpheme before another M-tone in (109a) supports the claim that 1Sg subject ŋ is M-toned here, as it is in intransitive perfective positives. Without (109a), the other examples (109b-c) and the BCM combination ŋ = nān in (108a-c) above would be compatible with either ŋ or L-toned ŋ in view of tone sandhi.

(109) a. ŋ Ø sūgō kwāā
1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past the goat.’ [= (108a)]

b. ŋ Ø nà kwāā
1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past the cow.’ [= (108b)]

c. ŋ Ø kúŋgóló kwāā
1Sg (Sbj/Obj) dog hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past the dog.’ [= (108c)]

Overt =nān is obligatory when the following object is another pronoun, whether vocalic or nasal. The final nasal feature in =nān is lost under vv-Contraction and is elided before a nasal pronoun. This effectively reduces bimoraic =nān to monomoraic =nā in these combinations. (110) illustrates 1Sg subject with various pronominal objects before kwāā ‘hit’ (which does not affect the tones of the pronouns) and before kāy ‘saw’ (which induces Final Tone-Raising on the 3Sg and 3Pl object combinations).

(110) subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kāy ‘saw’

a. 1Sg 2Sg ŋ = nāŋ = āŋ kwāā ŋ = nāŋ = āŋ kāy
2Pl ŋ = nāŋ = ā(ā) kwāā ŋ = nāŋ = ā(ā) kāy
3Sg ŋ = nāŋ = ā kwāā ŋ = nāŋ = ā kāy
3Pl ŋ = nē = ē kwāā ŋ = nē = ē kāy
Logo/3ReflPl ŋ = nē = ē kwāā ŋ = nē = ē kāy
b. 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg  
1Sg reflexive  
\( \text{̄n} = \text{nà ŋ kwāā} \)  
\( \text{̀ŋ kwāā} \)  
\( \text{ң àŋ kwāā} \)  
\( \text{ң àŋ kày} \)

The same combinations also occur when 1Sg subject is followed by a nonpronominal object that begins with a pronominal possessor. For example, \( \text{̄n} = \text{nà à} \) with 3Sg à occurs in both (111a) and (111b).

(111)  
a. \( \text{n̄}=\text{nà} = \text{à kwāā} \)  
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg hit.Pfv  
‘I hit-Past him/her/it.’

b. \( \text{n̄}=\text{nà} = \text{[à kúngóló] kwāā} \)  
1Sg Sbj/Obj [3Sg dog] hit.Pfv  
‘I hit his/her dog.’

Since verbs begin with nonhigh (L or M) syllables, M#H-to-L#H does not affect pronominal objects, but it does affect M-toned pronominal possessors like 2Sg à in (111) before H-initial possessums (112).

(112) \( \text{n̄} = \text{nà = [àŋ kúngóló] kwāā} \)  
1Sg Sbj/Obj [2Sg dog] hit.Pfv  
‘I hit your-Sg dog.’

LogoSg ǭ occurs only in quoted matter. (113) shows its combinations with pronominal objects. It shares the BCM allomorph =nàⁿ with 1Sg. Since =nàⁿ is L-toned, the M-tone of LogoSg ǭ in ǭ =nàⁿ could reflect lexical M-tone or it could be due to Final Tone-Raising from ǭ. I assume lexical M-tone by extrapolation from ǭ as subject without =nàⁿ as in (115a) below.

(113) LogoSg subject with pronominal object (perfective positive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>before kwāā hit</th>
<th>before kày saw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. LogoSg</td>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nè = ē kwāā} )</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nè = ē kày} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = āŋ kwāā} )</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = āŋ kày} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = ā(ā) kwāā} )</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = ā(ā) kày} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = ǎ kwāā} )</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nà = ǎ kày} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nē = ē kwāā} )</td>
<td>( \text{ǹ = nē = ē kày} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. LogoSg reflexive  $\bar{n} = \text{nà ŋ kwāā} \quad \bar{n} = \text{nà ŋ käy}$
   Sg  $\bar{n} = \text{nà ŋ kwāā} \quad \bar{n} = \text{nà ŋ käy}$

As with 1Sg, the BCM $=n^a$ is optional before unpossessed nonpronominal objects. (114a-c) are versions with overt BCM.

(114) a. à yē  \[\bar{n} = nàŋ sūgō kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the goat.’

b. à yē  \[\bar{n} = nàŋ nà kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the cow.’

c. à yē  \[\bar{n} = nàŋ kūŋgōlō kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the dog.’

Versions without the BCM are in (115). (115a) shows that LogoSg ŋ is lexically M-toned, since here this tone cannot be explained by tone sandhi.

(115) a. à yē  \[ŋ = ˌØ sūgō kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the goat.’ [= (114a)]

b. à yē  \[ŋ = ˌØ nà kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the cow.’ [= (114b)]

c. à yē  \[ŋ = ˌØ kūŋgōlō kwāā\]
   Sg  said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that he hit-Past the dog.’ [= (114c)]

In subject function within quoted matter, 1Sg ŋ is indistinguishable from LogoSg ŋ. Some examples with 1Sg subject (bolded) are in (116a-c). They are homophonous with (115a-c) above.

(116) a. à yē  \[ŋ = ˌØ sūgō kwāā\]
   Sg  said [1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She said that I hit-Past the goat.’
4.3.4.1.3 Cliffs BCM allomorph = nàⁿ versus Djenné post-1Sg nà

The homologue to Cliffs post-subject = nàⁿ in Djenné Jenaama is nà. Although both are confined to perfective positive clauses, the Djenné morpheme has a different distribution. It occurs only after 1Sg ġ in the combination nà, and it does not occur after LogoSg ġ. On the other hand, it occurs in intransitive as well as transitive clauses, so it cannot be analysed as a bidirectional case-marker. It could, however, be analysed in at least some Djenné dialects as a linker between 1Sg subject ġ and the VP, separating them when they would otherwise be adjacent (i.e. when there is no nonzero post-subject inflectional morpheme). For subdialectal detail and further analysis, see the parallel grammar.

4.3.4.2 1Sg ġ and LogoSg ġ subjects before inflectional morphemes

The nonzero post-subject inflectional particles that can immediately follow subjects are Ipfv gà, IpfvNeg nà, PfvNeg tè, perfective positive conditional nāⁿ, and subjunctive gāl (§10.1.1).

Before a post-subject inflectional particle, the 1Sg proclitic is L-toned ġ. It does not itself undergo Final Tone-Raising in these combinations. It does not raise the tone of the particle (i.e. there is no associated floating tone). ġ gà, nà, and tè in (117a-c) function prosodically as single L-toned words, i.e. as portmanteaus.

(117) a. ġ gà bē
   1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv
   ‘I come/am coming/will come.’

b. ġ nà bē
   1Sg IpfvNeg come.Pfv
   ‘I do/will not come.’

c. ġ tè bē
   1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv
   ‘I did not come.’
The L-toned inflectional morphemes do raise to gā, nā, and tē by regular tone sandhi when the following verb begins with L-tone, as in ĕ gā sō ‘I go’. This raising has nothing to do with the 1Sg subject proclitic.

M-toned LogoSg ĕ (118) is tonally distinguishable in these contexts from the L-toned 1Sg proclitic illustrated above. The post-subject inflectional particles have, or begin with, L or M tone (not H tone), so in this construction LogoSg ĕ never drops to L-tone by M#H-to-L#H.

(118) a. à yē [ŋ̄ gā bē]
   3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
   ‘Heₐ says that heₐ comes/is coming/will come.’

   b. à yē [ŋ̄ tē sō]
   3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg go.Ipfv]
   ‘Heₐ says that heₐ didn’t go.’

4.3.4.3 1Sg ĕ (+H) and LogoSg ĕ as nonsubjects

As preverbal objects, as possessors, and as complements of postpositions (except as specified below), the 1Sg proclitic takes the form ĕ (+H). The floating H raises a following L-tone to H, extending to a second syllable under some conditions. If the following word already begins with a nonlow tone, the floating H has no overt effect. For more details on the phonology, see §3.6.3.1.1.

Since the 1Sg nonsubject proclitic remains L-toned in these constructions by avoiding Final Tone-Raising, it is distinguishable tonally from LogoSg ĕ except when the latter (as possessor) undergoes M#H-to-L#H before an H-tone. Since the basic facts are straightforward, the following subsections are brief. The homologous 1Sg nonsubject proclitic in Djenné Jenaama induces a much more complex set of tonal changes on following words, described in the parallel grammar under the rubric Tone Inversion.

4.3.4.3.1 1Sg ĕ (+H) and LogoSg ĕ as objects

Examples (119a-b) illustrate 1Sg object before a nonlow-toned verb ‘hit’ (119a) and an L-toned verb ‘saw’ (119b). Versions with and without BCM yè are shown. kày ‘saw’ is raised to H-tone by the floating H associated with the 1Sg proclitic, and is bolded here (119b). The 1Sg proclitic is L-toned in both examples.
LogoSg ă remains M-toned before both verbs, and does not raise Ā to ā (120). Since all verbs begin with either L or M tone in the absence of floating H, LogoSg and 1Sg object do not merge.

(120)  a. à ā [sēēdū  O Ă kwāā]
       [sēēdū  yē)
63Sg  said [S  (Sbj/Obj) LogoSg  hit.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that Seydou hit him.’

  b. à ā [sēēdū  O Ă kāy]
       [sēēdū  yē)
63Sg  said [S  (Sbj/Obj) LogoSg  saw.Pfv]
   ‘He, said that Seydou saw him.’

Forms of 1Sg Ă (+H) and Logo/3ReflSg Ă as objects after post-subject inflectional morphemes are summarized in (121). The floating H is not shown here. Before an M-toned verb, the pitch rise in the Logo/3ReflSg combinations is faint and sometimes undetectable, so the primary acoustic cue is the M versus L tone on the post-subject particle. Before an L-toned verb the pitch rise in the Logo/3ReflSg combinations is more clearly audible. Imperfective ġā and nā also become M-toned even before Ă when preceded by an M-toned subject proclitic (§3.6.4.6).

(121) inflection  1Sg  Logo/3ReflSg
       usual after M-toned proclitic
  a. PfvNeg  tē Ă  tē Ă  tē Ă
  b. Ipfv  gā Ă  gā Ă  gā Ă
  c. IpfvNeg  nā Ă  nā Ă  nā Ă
4.3.4.3.2 1Sg ŋ́ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as possessors

Since nouns can begin with L, M, or H tones, while the melodies of all verbs and of all common postpositions begin with M or L, possessor-possessum phrases are especially revealing phonologically.

In (122a), we see that when the possessum’s lexical melody begins with nonlow H or M, the floating H associated with the 1Sg possessor proclitic has no tonal effect on the possessum. As shown in (122b), at least the onset (bolded) of an /L/-melodic possessum is raised to H-tone.

(122) a. ŋ́ kúngóló / sūgō
   1Sg dog / goat
   ‘my dog/goat’

   b. ŋ̄ kólø̀nw / káá / tòŋ̀nɔ̀
   1Sg skin / father / truth
   ‘my skin’ (< kólø̀nw, kàà, tòŋ̀nɔ̀)

For details on the phonology and for further examples, see §3.6.3.1.1 above.

LogoSg ŋ̄ as possessor remains M-toned except when followed by an H-tone as in (123a), where it undergoes regular M#H-to-L#H. It has no tonal effect on the possessum.

(123) a. à yē [ŋ́ kúngóló …]
   3Sg said [LogoSg dog …]
   ‘Hex said that hisx dog…’

   b. à yē [ŋ̄ sūgō / káá …]
   3Sg said [LogoSg goat / father …]
   ‘Hex said that hisx goat/ hisx father…’

4.3.4.3.3 1Sg ŋ́ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as postpositional complements

Many postpositions originate as possessed nouns (‘side’, ‘back’, ‘front’), so it is not surprising that 1Sg ŋ́ (+H) behaves similarly in the two constructions. In (124a), the postposition already begins with a nonlow tone, so the floating H has no effect. In (124b), the L-toned comitative postposition is raised to H.

(124) a. ŋ́ tigàà
   1Sg front
   ‘in front of me’
The tonal effects of \( C^\nu \) and \( C^\nu \) postpositions are displayed in (125).

(125) postposition gloss 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg 2Sg ‘snake’ ‘Seydou’

a. tē dative n tē n tē ān tē sibō tē sēedū tē
nā dative n nā n nā ān nā sibō nā sēedū nā

b. pā ‘with’ m pā m pā ām pā sibō pā sēedū pā

Because these PPs typically occur at the end of a prosodic groups, tones are often indistinct phonetically. Their tones can be “unmasked” by adding another word.

(126a-b) show that Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ remains M-toned before M or L tone.

4.4 Determiners

4.4.1 Definite gu

The forms of the (discourse-)definite determiner are in (127).

(127) singular X gu ~ X wu
plural X kù-lè ~ X wù-lè ~ X gu-yè

This enclitic-like determiner follows nouns and the noun’s inner modifiers. It is generally weakly discourse-definite. That is, it recalls a referent that has previously been introduced into the discourse. It is not an all-purpose definite like English the. It originated as a postnominal counterpart to demonstrative kū (see the following subsection).

Singular gu (~ wu) gets its tone by spreading from the preceding tone. It is realized as M-toned gu by M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3) triggered by the preceding word. It is L-toned after
an L-tone (before further tone sandhi) and it does not then trigger Final Tone-Raising on the noun stem. After an H-toned word it is structurally H-toned, but prepausally (as in citation) it is lowered to mid pitch and transcribed as M-tone.

(128) sügō gū ‘that goat’
     kúngóló gū ‘that dog’ (kúngóló gū nonfinally)
     búwà gū ‘that shoulderbag’

Plural kù-lè is invariant tonally (129). It triggers Final Tone-Raising on the final syllable of a preceding L-toned noun, as with ‘those shoulderbags’. The rare plural suffix -lè occurs elsewhere only in nǐmí-lè ‘people’ (< nǐmí ‘person’) and in relative plural mà-lè (§14.1.1).

(129) sügē-è kù-lè ‘those goats’
     kúngólé-è kù-lè ‘those dogs’
     búwà-yè kù-lè ‘those shoulderbags’

Postnominal gu can co-occur with, but is not required by, a prenominal demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ or nɔ̀ⁿ (on which see the following subsection) In this combination, the plural is gu-yè with the productive nominal plural ending -yè.

The combination nɔ́ŋ gū with discourse-definite demonstrative nɔ́ⁿ directly followed by definite gu is attested (2017-02 @ 00:17).

4.4.2 ‘This/that’ (prenominal demonstratives)

Demonstratives are deictic (‘this/that’, pointing) or discourse-definite (referring to previously introduced discourse referents). Singular and plural forms of the demonstratives are shown in (130), in absolute form (without a noun) and as modifiers of a noun X. The definite marker gu is optionally added (130c), but its plural in this case is gu-yè (not kù-lè). The notation X-ye represents any plural noun (including those with plural suffixes other than -yè). There is no human/nonhuman or animacy distinction.

(130) category       singular           plural
    a. absolute forms (without a noun)
       general       kú          kú-yè
       discourse-definite nɔ́ⁿ   nɔ́ⁿ-yè
b. combinations with noun X without definite

general  \quad kòⁿ (+M) X  \quad kòⁿ (+M) X-yè

discourse-definite  \quad nòⁿ (+M) X  \quad nòⁿ (+M) X-yè  \quad (~ nàⁿ …)

c. combinations with noun X and definite

general  \quad kòⁿ (+M) X gu  \quad kòⁿ (+M) X gu-yè

discourse-definite  \quad nòⁿ (+M) X gu  \quad nòⁿ (+M) X gu-yè  \quad ~ nàⁿ … in some combinations, e.g. (370e)

We can speak informally of k-forms and n-forms. The n-forms are discourse-definite (‘that same one’), more strongly so than simple definite gu. The k-forms are the only ones in use in deictic (pointing) contexts. The k-forms also spill over from deictic into discourse-definite contexts and therefore compete with n-forms. This is consistent with the fact that both k- and n-forms are compatible with definite gu. However, gu can be difficult to detect in rapid or overlapping speech, making transcriptions of recordings unreliable.

In absolute function, both demonstratives are H-toned (130a). Preceding a noun, they are L-toned but have a tonal effect (floating M) on the noun (130b-c). The floating M raises the tone of an L-initial noun to all-M. For the distinction between floating M and the floating H of nonsubject 1Sg ǹ (+H), see §3.6.3.1.2 above. For the syntax of NPs including a demonstrative, see §6.5.

What may be a homophone nɔⁿ functions as a possessed noun or compound final with abstract meaning (‘situation, matter, problem’) as in (131). My assistant interprets this possessed nɔⁿ as a contracted form of the noun nɔgɔlɛm ‘eye(s)’ (with frozen diminutive ending).

(131) a. [à nɔᵐm] màà

[3Sg situation] look.for.Pfv

‘You-Sg figure out a solution for it!’

b. àⁿ wólɛⁿ-nɔŋ kilé

2Sg money-situation get.Pfv.Q

‘Did you-Sg resolve the money situation?’

4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs based on demonstrative-like categories are in (132).
(132) form gloss

bōwⁿ ‘here’
kintá ‘over there’ (deictic, not far)
yāwⁿ ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

For nondemonstrative spatial adverbs, see §8.4.6.4.

4.4.3.2 Deictic manner adverb or verb (kiyèwⁿ)

kiyèwⁿ can be an invariant deictic manner adverb ‘like this/that’. It follows the main verb but does not agree with it in aspect marking (133a-b). In (133c) it functions as object of ‘do’ and is tonally focalized (§13.1.3) to kiyèwⁿ.

(133) a. è kúngóló kwāā gà kiyèwⁿ
  1Pl dog hit.Pfv RemPfv like.this
  ‘We hit-Past the dog like this.’

b. è gā= à kā-lō kiyèwⁿ
  1Pl Ipfv 3Sg hit-Ipfv like.this
  ‘We (often) hit it like this.’

c. è gā= kiyén tū-nà
  1Pl Ipfv like.this.Foc do-Ipfv
  ‘This (way) [focus] is how we do it.’ (variant of tī-nà)

In the absence of a main verb like ‘hit’ in (133), kiyèwⁿ itself can function as a transitive verb. kiyèwⁿ is the Pfv stem, versus Ipfv kiyè-nà. They are often focalized tonally to Pfv kiyèwⁿ, Ipfv kiyè-nà as in (134a).

(134) a. è gā= ā kiyè-nà
  1Pl Ipfv 3Sg do.like.this-Ipfv.Foc
  ‘We’ll do it like this/that [focus].’

b. è gā= ā kiyè-nà bōwⁿ
  1Pl Ipfv 3Sg do.like.this-Ipfv here
  ‘We’ll do it like this/that here.’
c. ę nà = ā kiyè-nà
   1Pl  lpfvNeg  3Sg  do.like.this-lpfv
   ‘We won’t do it like this/that.’

d. ŋ-dógó gá = ā kiyè-nà
   1Sg-Indep lpfv  3Sg  do.like.this-lpfv
   ‘It’s [focus] who will do it like this/that.’

e. ě yā = ā kiyëŋ  gà
   1Pl  Sbj/Obj  3Sg  do.like.this.Pfv  RemPfv
   ‘We did it like this/that.’

4.4.4 Presentatives

4.4.4.1 kày ~ kày (‘here’s …!’)

The presentative morpheme kày ~ kày follows the topical NP. This morpheme has diverged in part
tonally and grammatically from its probable etymological source, kày/kà-nà ‘see’, whose Pfv kày
might once have been usable as an imperative (135c), cf. French voilà!. Synchronically the only
way to express ‘see Seydou!’ is ‘look at Seydou!’ with a different verb (135d).

(135) a. sèɛdù kày
   S  Prsntv
   ‘Here’s Seydou!’

   b. ŋ kày
   1Sg  Prsntv
   ‘Here I am!’

c. (internally reconstructed)
   *sèɛdù  kày
   *S    see.Pfv
   *‘See Seydou!’

d. sèɛdù tɔŋɔ
   S    look.at.Pfv
   ‘Look at Seydou!’

The presentative morpheme is M-toned kày after a nonpronominal NP. Therefore in (136a) kày
does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on the final syllable of nɔgù. kày drops to kày before H-tone
by regular tone sandhi; compare käy (136b) with käy (136c). Even when käy has dropped to käy in this way, it does not allow Final Tone-Raising on the preceding syllable (136d).

(136) a. nògù käy
   village Prsntv
   ‘There’s/Here’s a village!’

   b. nògù-n-tómbó käy
   village-Link-abandoned Prsntv
   ‘There’s the former village site!’

   c. nàmàgèlè gà [ë nògù-n-tómbó käy] [bóndó kùmà] N be.Loc [1Pl village-Link-abandoned Prsntv] [top on]
   ‘Namaguele is located at our former village site, on top.’ (2017-02 @ 02:27)

   d. nògù käy [bóndó kùmà]
   village Prsntv [top on]
   ‘above the village here’

The third person forms (137c) and the 1st/2nd person forms other than 1Sg (137b) spread the L or M tone of the pronominal into the presentative morpheme. Compare the tonal assimilations for post-subject inflectional morphemes like Ipfv gà/gā (§3.6.4.6). The logophoric pronominals take their usual M-toned forms. 1Sg ṣ (+H) raises the tone to käy, which presupposes a basic L-toned form käy as in the third person forms, since floating H raises L but not M to H. The 1Sg form with floating tone, as in object function, is consistent with the origin of the presentative construction as a transitive imperative ‘see me!’.

(137) Presentatives with pronouns

   a. 1Sg ṣ käy

   b. 1Pl ē käy
      2Sg āŋ käy
      2Pl āā käy
      LogoSg ṣ käy
      LogoPl ē käy

   c. 3Sg à käy
      3Pl ē käy
4.4.4.2 Grammar and functions of presentative

The 2Sg combination āŋ kāy occurs in conversation in the sense ‘you see?’ (usually a rhetorical question, not answered).

Presentatives may occur after an NP or pronoun without additional predicates, as in ‘here’s X’ and ‘there’s X’.

The presentative morpheme may also be added to an NP or pronoun within a clause that has another predicate, cf. French voilà Jean qui court! and the more awkward English there’s John running! Examples with kāy/kāy in subject NPs are in (138); see also (452) in §10.2.2.3. Presentatives are associated with imperfective aspect for aspectually dynamic predicates as in (138a-b). Here kāy/kāy replaces Ipfv gà, and aspect-marking verbs take Ipfv form. Presentative subjects also readily combine with stative predicates (138c). There is no prosodic break between the presentative subject and the remainder of the clause, and no resumptive pronominal in these imperfective and stative examples.

(138) a. [sēedù kāy] kùrù / tā-nā
   [S Prsntv] run.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv
   ‘There’s Seydou running/climbing!’

   b. [sēedù kāy] tēē kūlēn-nā
   [S Prsntv] meat cut-Ipfv
   ‘There’s Seydou cutting the meat!’

   c. [sēedù kāy] pwɔ̀-nâ
   [S Prsntv] sit.Pfv-Ppl
   ‘There’s Seydou sitting (stative)!
   (French voilà Seydou assis!)

Presentative subjects are not possible with perfective predicates. Such combinations must be phrased as two distinct clauses. Either the referent is presented with kāy/kāy and then resumed by a subject pronominal (139a), or an initial ā kāy (originally imperative ‘see it!’) with fixed 3Sg pronominal (resuming the entire scene) is followed by a perfective clause (139b).

(139) a. [sēedù kāy] [ā sēw”]
   [S Prsntv] [3Sg fall.Pfv]
   ‘There’s Seydou, he fell!’
A nonsubject constituent such as the object of a transitive verb can be presentative, but in the form of a presentative relative clause (140a). This resembles a fuller proto-presentative construction with ‘you’ as subject and Ipfv kà-nà ‘see(s)’ (cf. Pfv kày) as verb in the relative (140b).

(140) a. ŋ̀gâ bè [jūgū maw^n kày] kūlěw^n
1Sg Ipfv Fut [tree Rel Prsntv] cut.Pfv
‘I will cut down the tree that there it is! (=that is visible over there).’

b. ŋ̀gâ bè [āŋ gâ [jūgū mànŋ] kà-nà] kūlěw^n
1Sg Ipfv Fut [2Sg Ipfv [tree Rel see-Ipfv] cut.Pfv
‘I will cut down the tree that you-Sg see (over there).’

There is a textual example of a spatial location predicate with kày in the predicate. See (136c) in the preceding section.

When an NP ending in kày/kày functions as relative head, the relative morpheme precedes kày/kày, but the definite marker follows. See §14.4.5 for an example.

4.5 Adjectives

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

Modifying adjectives immediately follow the noun. The N-Adj1 combination has tonal features of N-N compounds. If a second adjective is added (Adj2), it presents with its lexical tones, i.e. it is prosodically separate from N-Adj1.

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

4.5.1 Modifying adjectives

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

The majority of noncomposite modifying adjectives have /M/ or /ML/ melody, but there are two core adjectives with /H/ melody. At the margins of the adjective class is /LH/-melodic sèlè ‘soft, brittle (rock)’, which is only attested in two combinations: sèlè sèlè ‘soft rock’ and sòò sèlè ‘sandstone’. One could consider sèlè to be a compound final. In fact, there is little difference between N-N compounds and N-Adj strings either morphologically or tonally, in Bozo and other languages of the zone.

L-toned postnominal adjectives are absent. Adjectival stems that are L-toned as predicates (§11.4.1) are M-toned postnominally.

(141) Adj1 (N-____) ‘it is ____’ gloss

a. modifying adjective is H-toned
   bànū à m bànū ‘big (and solid), massive, thick’
   sèlè ‘old’

b. modifying adjective is M-toned

*stative predicate is also M-toned*
   ciyèn à jì ciyèn ‘heavy’
   dàà à jì dàà ‘distant’
   dêmò à jì dêmò ‘delicious, sweet’
   kàà à kàà-mà-nà nì ‘wet; raw; unripe’
   kààìh à jì kààìh ‘bitter’
   kààm à jì kààm ‘old (person)’
   nògòw à jì nògòw ‘difficult’
   nòjì à jì nòjì ‘bad; nasty’
   sèlè à gà sèlè ‘foreign’

*stative predicate is L-toned*
   bûlò à m bûlò ‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’
   kòjì à jì kòjì ‘long; tall’
   kùrù à jì kùrù ‘short’
   mòpò à mòpò ‘good’

*no stative predicate*
   tìì ‘other’
   tò ‘new’

*primary color adjectives (stative predicate is participial)*
   kùwò kwà-kà ‘white’
   piì pì ‘black’
   tòmò kwà ‘red’
iterative adjectives (stative predicate is participial)

wwō^n-wwō^n  wwō^n-mā-nā nī ‘empty; isolated, by itself’
̕n̕i̕-n̕i̕  ŋ̕i̕-ŋ̕i̕-nā nī ‘coarse’

c. /LH/ melody (adjectival status doubtful)

sèlé — ‘soft, breakable (rock)’

d. modifying adjective is L-, ML-, MLH-, or LMH-toned

[none]

Nouns undergo tonal changes before adjectives (§6.4.1.2, §3.6.3.2).

4.5.1.2 Diminutive adjectives

4.5.1.2.1 Adjectives with suffix -gu

Several adjectives have a suffix -gu in modifying function. The stem ends in M- or L-tone, and this tone spreads to the suffix. The corresponding predicates (if attested) are pseudo-reflexives (§11.4.1.2, §18.1.2.2). The stative predicates lack -gu but show final nasalization.

(142) Adj1 (N_ ) ‘it is ’ gloss

a. /M/ melody

kūy-gū à ŋ̕ kūyⁿ ‘deep’
pēlū-gū à ŋ̕ pēlūwⁿ ‘light(weight)’

b. /HL/ melody

dūwɔ-gū à ŋ̕ dūwɔwⁿ ‘small’
tūt-gū à ŋ̕ tūtⁿ ‘nearby’
mīyê-gū à ŋ̕ mīyêwⁿ ‘thin’
̕ni̕yê-gū à ŋ̕ ni̕yêwⁿ ‘easy’
pūlū-gū à ŋ̕ pūlūⁿ ‘soft’

Inspection of the glosses suggests a connection with intrinsic diminutivity, though ‘deep’ is a semantic outlier. -gu does not occur with nouns in diminutive function.
4.5.1.2.2 dégè-náwn ~ dégè-náwn ‘small’

-náwn is the productive diminutive suffix with nouns, especially those that denotes inanimates (§5.1.7.1). It is also part of the adjective ‘small’: dégè-náwn, which occurs in modifying function only. It is replaced in predicative function by pseudo-reflexive dûwɔ̀n as in à ŋ dûwɔ̀n ‘it is small’. Even as modifying adjective, dégè-náwn ~ dégè-náwn competes with dûwɔ̀-gù.

(143) a. yàmbàà dégè-náwn
    house small
    ‘a small house’

    b. kùŋgòlò tîmɔ̀n dégè-náwn
       dog red small
       ‘a small red (=brown) dog’

The stems in dégè-náwn and dûwɔ̀-gù may be etymologically related, though any synchronic connection is opaque. Compare Djenné Jenaama dûwɔ̀-gù ‘meager’ and Kelenga lógɔ̀ ‘be small, tiny’.

4.5.1.3 Adjective-like participles with suffix -nà

The participial suffix -nà ~ -nà added to a verb stem creates a modifying adjective denoting the result of an action applied to something. For its use in stative predicates see §10.1.4 and §10.2.2.5.

(144) a. mààtìgè / tèē nèŋè-nà
    peanut / meat fry-Ppl
    ‘lightly fried peanuts/meat’ (< nèŋà ‘shallow-fry, cook with a little oil’)

    b. gòrò pêrè-nà
       kola.nut split-Ppl
       ‘split kola nuts’ (< pêrè ‘split’)

    c. tèē kóy-nà
       meat char-Ppl
       ‘charred (over-roasted) meat’ (< kóy ‘become charred’)

    d. pìīn sègè-nà
       millet pound-Ppl
       ‘millet grain that has been pounded in a mortar’ (< sègè ‘pound in mortar’)

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The more adjective-like participles are in (145). Modifying forms are shown in the left-hand column. Predicates (inchoative, stative) are shown for comparison in other columns.

(145) Adj1 (N__) as predicate stative predicate gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. M-toned as modifier</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiji-nä</td>
<td>à kiji-nä nì</td>
<td>à kiji</td>
<td>‘plump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūmā-nä</td>
<td>à kūmā-nā nì</td>
<td>à kūmā</td>
<td>‘lean, emaciated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūrī-nā</td>
<td>à kūrī-nā nì</td>
<td>à kūrī</td>
<td>‘full-strength, undiluted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūwā-nā</td>
<td>à mwā-nā nì</td>
<td>à mūwā</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāāmū-nānā</td>
<td>à nāāmū-nānā nì</td>
<td>à nāāmū-nāmū</td>
<td>‘multicolored (spotted, striped)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pān-nā</td>
<td>à pān-nā nì</td>
<td>à pāā</td>
<td>‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyē-nā</td>
<td>à piyē-nā nì</td>
<td>à piyēw\n</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyē-nā</td>
<td>à piyē-nā nì</td>
<td>à piyēw\n</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōrē-nā</td>
<td>à pōrē-nā nì</td>
<td>à pōrē</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wwōmā-nā</td>
<td>à wwō\n nì</td>
<td>à wwō-mā (inch.)</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>à wwō\n-wō\n nì (‘it is’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. HL-toned as modifier</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bìllā-nā</td>
<td>à bìllā-nā nì</td>
<td>à bìllā</td>
<td>‘narrow, tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāātā-nā</td>
<td>à dāātā-nā nì</td>
<td>à dāātā</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāndā-nā</td>
<td>à tāndā-nā nì</td>
<td>à tāndā</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wūwō-nā</td>
<td>à wūwō-nā nì</td>
<td>à wūwō\n</td>
<td>‘dry; hard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iterative yŏrē-yŏrē-nā | à yŏrē-yŏrē-nā nì | yŏrē-yŏrē | ‘loose, slack’ |

4.5.2 Exemplars as “adjectives”

‘Yellow’ is based on the exemplar nērēn-dū ‘powdery bright yellow meal (flour) inside pods of nērē tree (Parkia biglobosa)’. The compound initial is based on the Bambara word for the tree (cf. Cliffs nāndō). As modifying color adjective, ‘yellow’ is contracted and tone-raised to nēlōndū, e.g. jēgū nēlōndū ‘yellow cloth’.

‘Green’ is based on the exemplar sāgū kāā ‘wet (=fresh) grass’. As color adjective it is usually contracted to sāgū-kāā or sās-kāā, as in jēgū sās-kāā ‘green cloth’.

These exemplar adjectives have no simple predicative forms. ‘X is yellow/green’ is expressed as ‘X is a yellow/green thing’ with pā ‘thing’.

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

4.6.1 Cardinal numerals

The numeral system combines decimal and quadragesimal bases i.e. with ‘10’ and ‘40’ as bases, along with a hint of vigesimal ‘20’.

4.6.1.1 ‘One’ (kēwⁿ, sànnā) and ‘same (one)’

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, …’), ‘1’ is expressed by sànnā. Elsewhere ‘1’ is kēwⁿ ~ kēⁿ either postnominally (attributively) as in (146a) or absolutely as in (146b). In postnominal use as a numeral, it is accompanied by a nasal linker ŋ- unless the noun already ends in a nasalized vowel (146a). In absolute function (without a noun), the linker is absent (146b). kēwⁿ can occasionally combine with a discourse-definite determiner, if the referent has been established in preceding discourse (146c). kēwⁿ can be repeated in each of two parallel clauses; the free translation is ‘one …, the other …’ (146d).

(146) a. sàbà ŋ-kēwⁿ
   chicken Link-one
   ‘one chicken’ (< sàbá)

b. ŋ kó [kē ní]
   1Sg furnish.Pfv [one Inst]
   ‘Give me one!’

c. [kēŋ gu] dō [ŋ tē]
   [one Def] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘Give me the one (e.g., the one that you mentioned).’

d. [tēwⁿ yēn dúgōŋ] kōndō gà,
   [elder.sib and younger.sib] stay.Pfv RemPfv,
   [kēŋ sō ] [kēŋ kōndō yāwⁿ]
   [one go.Pfv] [one stay.Pfv there.Def]
   ‘There were two brothers, elder and younger, were (there). One left, the other stayed there.’ (kōndō §10.3.2)

‘One person’ is irregularly jā ŋ-kēwⁿ, compare jīmī ‘person’ in all other contexts.

An extra syllable -lawⁿ occurs between a modified noun and kēwⁿ. This syllable is common or obligatory for nonhuman nouns and occurs optionally or contextually for human nouns except
‘person’. It might be analysed as -la plus nasal linker ŋ-. It spreads the noun’s initial tone rightward, showing that ‘one’ behaves like an adjective morphophonologically.

(147) noun with ‘one’ gloss

màrpá màrpà-là ŋ-kēwⁿ ‘one rifle (musket)’
sākù sāákù-là ŋ-kēwⁿ ‘one sack’
nàà nàà-là ŋ-kēwⁿ ‘one cow’
sūgō sūgō-là ŋ-kēwⁿ ‘one goat’
ŋàrágō ŋás-gó-là ŋ-kēwⁿ ‘one calabash cover’

Distributive (ŋ-)kē-kēwⁿ ‘one at a time’, ‘one by one’, ‘one each’ also has distributive-paucal sense ‘scattered, here and there’ (§4.6.1.7). It can also be pronounced (ŋ-)kē-kēwⁿ.

In addition to its use as a numeral (‘1’ as opposed to ‘2’ or more), kēwⁿ can function as a modifier in the sense ‘X alone’ (i.e. not with anyone else), provided that X denotes a single individual. In this construction X may be any singular NP, such as a personal name or a pronominal clitic. There is no nasal linker. See §19.3.2.3 for examples.

‘1’ can likewise have the sense ‘same, identical’. A common phrase involving this sense is ‘one mother, one father’ to indicate that two individuals are full siblings. The nasal linker is present, but -lawⁿ is absent.

(148) sēnì yëñ lààsìnè, [nàⁿ ŋ-këⁿ] [kàà ŋ-kën] nì
O and L, [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is

‘Ouséni and Lasine (twin brothers), (they) were (of) the same mother and the same father.’

(2017-01 @ 01:32)

The singular-only quantificational adjective kūûn ‘a certain’ (§6.3.2.2) is likely etymologically related to kēwⁿ but it is now semantically and morphosyntactically as well as phonologically divergent.

4.6.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’ as postnominal modifiers

The forms in (149) are postnominal.
Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4) is triggered by an /L/-melodic numeral: nå ‘cow’, nå nåtāw’a ‘4 cows’; șɔgɔ ‘sheep’, șɔgɔ kɔɔgɔw’a ‘5 sheep’. The bisyllabic variant cëmũ for ‘10’ is often pronounced [cëm:] with prolonged nasal.

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

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

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, …’), an incantational prosody is overlaid. A suppletive form of ‘1’ is used. ‘10’ is lengthened to cëmũ. ‘3’ is pronounced with k instead of g. The overall pitch during the recitation is close to monotonal, in the general pitch area of ordinary M-tone, but L and M tones are distinguished. The complete cycle through ‘10’, including ‘1’, is (150). From ‘1’ to ‘3’ may be pronounced either with uniform pitch (sānnã șemdē sikew”), or with audibly distinct L and M tones (sānnã șemdē sikew”). In the latter case, the final tone of sānnã is at the same pitch level as the following şemdē. Similarly, the numerals from ‘3’ up that are L-toned as postnominal modifiers raise the pitch of their final syllables to M. This sounds vaguely like “list” (enumeration) intonation in many languages. However, in the sequences ‘3-4’, ‘4-5’, ‘5-6’, and ‘6-7’, the pitch rise is also justified by tone sandhi within Cliffs, if we assume that adjacent numerals are phrased together and therefore subject to Final Tone-Raising. Admittedly, the same LM tones occur in ‘7’ and ‘9’, which are lexically L-toned and are followed in the counting sequence by an M-toned numeral which should not trigger Final Tone-Raising. So not all of the LM-toned words can be explained by tone sandhi (even when they are phrased without a break).
(150) counting recitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'1'</td>
<td>sànnā</td>
<td>L.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'2'</td>
<td>pěndē</td>
<td>M.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'3'</td>
<td>sikēwⁿ</td>
<td>L.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'4'</td>
<td>nātāwⁿ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'5'</td>
<td>kògōwⁿ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'6'</td>
<td>tūūmī</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'7'</td>
<td>yīyènī</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'8'</td>
<td>sēkī</td>
<td>M.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'9'</td>
<td>kāpī</td>
<td>L.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'10'</td>
<td>cēém</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The multiples of ‘10’ are in (151). dēbè ‘40’ and yōlō ‘80’ are the only simple, monomorphemic forms. ‘20’ and ‘30’ consist of the numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’ following tāⁿ-, which suppletes cēm ‘ten’ (compare English -ty in twenty etc.). A similar composite structure is observed in tàålma-sigēwⁿ ‘60’. Its final is clearly a variant of sikēwⁿ ‘3’, so tàålma- must be a suppletive term for ‘20’. The odd-numbered decimal terms ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ add ‘10’ to the preceding decimal, following a linker-like element -è, originally the ‘and’ conjunction. The combination with ‘10’ is realized as -è-cēm. The linker contracts with a preceding vowel. In normal speech the contracted vowel is shortened and behaves like a short stem-final vowel in tone sandhi. The effect in ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ is that the final vowel of the first stem shifts to e. In the case of ‘70’, the other option is to substract ‘10’ from the next higher decimal (cēm-àà-kēwⁿ roughly ‘one less ten’).

(151) tāⁿ-pěndē 20
tāⁿ-sigēwⁿ 30
dēbè 40
dēbè-Ø-cēm 50
tàålma-sigēwⁿ 60
tàålma-sigē-Ø-cēm 70
yōlō-cēm-àà-kēwⁿ "
yōlō bàmārà 80
yōlō-Ø-cēm 90

Combinations of decimal terms in (151) with the digit ‘1’ are in (152). Only ‘10’ has a new form distinct from those seen above, namely tēm(b)è-Ø- (including the linker). It is used in all numerals
from ‘11’ to ‘19’, whose single-digit forms show no irregularities. L-toned dëbè-Ø- ’40-and’ is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone: dëbè-Ø-nàtàwⁿ ‘44’. L-toned nouns likewise raise their final syllables to M before dëbè, as in sògò dëbè ’40 sheep’.

(152)  ‘11’  tēm(b)è-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘21’  tām-pēndè-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘31’  tāⁿ-sigè-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘41’  dëbè-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘51’  dëbè-Ø-cēm-è-kēwⁿ
     ‘61’  tàalmā-sigè-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘71’  tàalmā-sigè-Ø-cēm-è-kēwⁿ
     ‘81’  yōlō-è-kēwⁿ
     ‘91’  yōlō-(è-)cēm(ù)-è-kēwⁿ

The otherwise M-toned digits ‘2’ and ‘8’ rise to H-toned in such combinations. This triggers a drop in tones of a preceding digits beginning with an M before an L-tone like ‘10’ by M#H-to-L#H (the original ‘and’ linker does not block this). The full set of digit terms in their form following decimal numerals, with ‘11’ to ‘19’ as examples, is (153).

(153)    numeral | postnominal | after decimal | ‘11’ to ‘19’

     ‘1’  kēwⁿ        -kēwⁿ  tēmbè-Ø-kēwⁿ
     ‘2’  pēndè       -pēndè  tēmbè-Ø-pēndè
     ‘3’  sigèwⁿ      -sigèwⁿ  tēmbè-Ø-sigèwⁿ
     ‘4’  nàrāwⁿ      -nàrāwⁿ  tēmbè-Ø-nàrāwⁿ
     ‘5’  kōgodwⁿ     -kōgodwⁿ  tēmbè-Ø-kōgodwⁿ
     ‘6’  tūümī       -tūümī  tēmbè-Ø-tūümī
     ‘7’  yiyēnī      -yiyēnī  tēmbè-Ø-yiyēnī
     ‘8’  sēkī        -sēkī   tēmbè-Ø-sēkī
     ‘9’  kāpī        kāpī    tēmbè-Ø-kāpī

As with numerals ‘2’ through ‘9’, higher numerals including a decimal term do not interact tonally with preceding nouns except for low-level Final Tone-Raising. This process applies to the combination of an /L/-toned noun and a numeral beginning with an L-tone like dëbè ‘40’, as in sibō dëbè ’40 snakes’.
4.6.1.5 Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, …) and their composites

The stems in (154) are noun-like morphosyntactically.

(154) tēēmdērè hundred
      mūjū thousand
      mīlyōⁿ million

The numeral ‘1’ is not normally present after any of these: səgō tēēmdērè ‘a hundred sheep’.
In examples like səgō mūjū ‘a thousand sheep’ (< səgō), the final syllable of the L-toned noun is raised by regular Final-Tone Raising to M before the L-toned numeral.
In combinations with smaller numerals, the linear order is from higher to lower number. The uncontracted conjunction yèyⁿ or yèhīnì ‘and’ connects the two.

(155) səgō tēēmdērè pēndē yêⁿ yọlō
      sheep hundred two and eighty
      ‘Two hundred and eighty sheep’

4.6.1.6 Currency

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

Most actual occurrences of higher numerals from ‘100’ up in everyday speech are references to money. dārī is usually omitted when money is understood to be the topic, for example in market transactions. dārī is also normally contracted to dē before numerals from ‘2’ to ‘99’, thus dārī ỳ-kēwⁿ ‘one unit’ (5 FCFA) but dē pēndē ‘two units’ and so forth, up to dārī tēēmdērè ‘one hundred units’ (500 FCFA).

The 5000 FCFA banknote is called mūjū-sīlāămù or (especially among older speakers) sīlāămù-mūjū, and the 10000 FCFA banknote is called mūjū-pēndē-sīlāămù. These compounds contain mūjū ‘thousand’, pēndē ‘2’, and a compounding element related to sīlāămă ‘Muslim’.

4.6.1.7 Distributive iteration of numerals

Numerals are iterated to form distributive adverbs: ‘two each’, ‘two by two’, ‘two at a time’, etc. The forms for the basic numerals are in (156).
kèwⁿ ‘1’ differs from the nonsingular numerals in being an adjective, with consequences for tonal interactions with the noun. Its distributive iteration kèⁿ-‘kèwⁿ’ likewise behaves differently from distributives based on nonsingular numerals, both in its tonal interactions and its predilection for a nasal linker. See §6.3.2.4 for the phonology of its combinations with nouns. kèⁿ-‘kèwⁿ’ may also mean ‘scattered, infrequent, here and there’.

For ‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘9’, and ‘40’, all of which are based on L-toned digit terms, the tones of the distributives are explained by regular operation of Final Tone-Raising. This converts LL-LL to LM-LL.

Complex numerals other than ‘20’ and ‘30’ that end in a clearly recognizable digit term usually just iterate this digit term.

\[(\text{156}) \text{ gloss} \quad \text{digit} \quad \text{distributive} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘1’} & \quad \text{kèwⁿ} & \quad (\eta\text{-})\text{kèñ}-\text{kèwⁿ} & \sim (\eta\text{-})\text{kèñ-}^{4}\text{kèwⁿ} \\
\text{‘2’} & \quad \text{pèndè} & \quad \text{pèndè-pèndè} \\
\text{‘3’} & \quad \text{sigèwⁿ} & \quad \text{sigèn-sigèwⁿ} \\
\text{‘4’} & \quad \text{nàràwⁿ} & \quad \text{nàrân-nàràwⁿ} \\
\text{‘5’} & \quad \text{kà∂ògwⁿ} & \quad \text{kà∂ògñ-kà∂ògwⁿ} \\
\text{‘6’} & \quad \text{tuûmì} & \quad \text{tuûmì-tuûmì} \\
\text{‘7’} & \quad \text{yìyènì} & \quad \text{yìyènì-yìyènì} \\
\text{‘8’} & \quad \text{sèkì} & \quad \text{sèkì-sèkì} \\
\text{‘9’} & \quad \text{kàpi} & \quad \text{kàpi-kàpi} \\
\text{‘10’} & \quad \text{cèm} & \quad \text{cèm-cèm} \\
\text{‘20’} & \quad \text{tàm-}pèndè & \quad \text{tàm-pèndè-tàm-pèndè} \\
\text{‘40’} & \quad \text{dèbè} & \quad \text{dèbè-dèbè}
\end{align*}
\]

See also interrogative jènyⁿ-ànà ‘how many/each?’ (§13.2.2.7).

Distributives based on nonsingular numerals do not control tonal changes on preceding nouns, except for tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable. Thus yàmbàà pèndè-pèndè ‘two houses at a time’, mà́nàmì sìgèn-sìgèwⁿ ‘three dances each’ (< mà́nàmì), màåŋòrö kà∂ògñ-kà∂ògwⁿ ‘five mangoes each’. In other words, prior to tone sandhi the noun has the same form it would have before a simple (nondistributive) numeral.

4.6.2 Ordinal adjectives

Ordinals derived from numerals are presented below. The ordinal interrogative is jèyn-ànà ‘how many/manieth?’ (French quantième, §13.2.2.7).
4.6.2.1 ‘First’ (pānāⁿ) and ‘last’ (dāgālē)

pānāⁿ ‘first’ is a suppletive ordinal (compare English first and many other parallels). Its antonym is dāgālē ‘last’. Tonal interactions with preceding nouns are the normal ones for M-toned adjectives (158).

(158) noun gloss ‘first’ ‘last’

a. nà ‘cow’ nà pānāⁿ nà dāgālē
b. sūgō ‘goat’ sūgō pānāⁿ sūgō dāgālē
c. kūŋgōlō ‘dog’ kūŋgōlō pānāⁿ kūŋgōlō dāgālē

Example (159) presents the positive predicate forms ‘be first/last’. pānāⁿ is M-toned, but dāgālē is L-toned (before tone sandhi).

(159) a. ū gā pānāⁿ nī 1Sg be first it.is ‘I am first.’

b. ū gā dāgālē nī 1Sg be last it.is ‘I am last.’

4.6.2.2 Other ordinals (-ànà)

Other ordinals are formed by adding -ànà to the numeral. It surfaces as -ānā after M-tone (§3.6.4.3).

(160) full form gloss contracted variants

a. from single-digit numeral
   pēndē-ànā ‘second’ pēn-ànā
   sīgā-ànā ‘third’
   nātā-ànā ~ nārā-ànā ‘fourth’
   kṑgō-ànā ‘fifth’ kṑgā-ànā
   tū̀mī-ànā ‘sixth’
   yīyēnà-ànā ‘seventh’
   sēkī-ànā ‘eighth’
   kāpī-ànā ‘ninth’
   cēēmū-ànā ‘tenth’
b. decimal
   tām-pēndē-ānā  ‘twentieth’  tām-pēn-ānā

c. decimal plus single-digit numeral
   tēmbē-(è-)kē-ānā  ‘eleventh’
   tēmbē-(è-)pēn-ānā  ‘twelfth’

d. hundred
   tēēmdērē-ānā  ‘hundredth’

Ordinals behave like other adjectives in tonal interactions with preceding nouns, e.g. kūŋgōlō pēn-ānā ‘second dog’ (< kūŋgōlō).

4.6.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’ (always with a possessor) is tāá or pējē. The minimal form is à tāá or à pējē ‘half of it’. A full NP possessor occurs in [wólēŋ gū] tāá or [wólēŋ gū] pējē ‘half of that money’. Diminutive tāa-lēwⁿ can mean ‘(small) portion’ of variable size. There are no terms specifically meaning ‘a third’ or other fraction.

Also relevant are kūrū ‘piece (of meat)’, kūrí ‘piece, segment (of a long object such as a rope or a stem)’, pērē ‘half (of a split object, e.g. kola nut or watermelon)’, and the very general kōmbē ‘piece (of cloth), shard (of broken calabash)’. The related verb kōmbō/kōmbò means ‘remove a piece’.
5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

5.1.1 Nasal linker between initial and final

Scattered throughout the compounds presented in the following sections of this chapter are some with a nasal linker separating the initial from the final. The nasal assimilates in position to following stops, nasals, and l. Some examples are in (161).

(161) compound gloss lexical form of initial

a. pùù-ŋ-jēwⁿ ‘heart of palm’ pùù ‘germinated borassus palm nut’

b. nàà-m-būwɔ̀-yà ‘cowherd’ nàà ‘cow’

c. sīlē-n-sàbà ‘stone partridge’ sīlē ‘rock’

kēwⁿ ‘one’ appears with a nasal linker (ŋ-kēwⁿ) after a noun when it functions as a numeral (§4.6.1.1, §6.4.1.1).

Such nasal linkers separating compound initials and finals occur, sometimes sporadically and unpredictably, in other languages of the zone (Bangime, Dogon, Songhay).

5.1.2 Possessor-possessum type versus tone-leveled compounds

The following sections will show that there are two main types of N-N compound. They are distinguished mainly by tones.

One is modeled on possessor-possessum NPs. The first element (possessor or compound initial) and the second element (possessum or compound final) both present their regular tones. The exception is that tone sandhi applies at the boundary, which confirms that the two elements are distinct prosodic words. The tone-sandhi rules in question are Final Tone-Raising (whereby LL#L dissimilates to LM#L, §3.6.4.4) and M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.4-5). In a few cases the initial is invariant plural, as in [dālm-bi-gē]-kànù ‘barn owl’, literally “children’s bird.”

The other N-N compound type is expressed by Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2). This process also applies to N-Adj combinations. Unlike the possessive type, the tone-leveled type is treated tonally as a single complex word. The initial cannot be plural. The leftmost tone in the initial spreads rightward at least to the internal compound boundary. The tonal behavior of the final depends on the particular type of compound, but often involves some form of tone-leveling.
A possessor-possessum compound can be thought of as a possessed noun that is in the process of lexicalizing. The initial is no longer easily quantified (e.g. pluralized) or determined (by a demonstrative, definite suffix, or its own possessor). Full lexicalization, where there is no longer any salient trace of possession, is typically expressed by shifting to the tone-leveled type.

5.1.3 Compounds resembling possessor-possessum NPs

5.1.3.1 With simple initials

In this type, the initial and final retain their lexical tones, and Tone Leveling does not apply to the initial. If the initial ends in L-tone and the final begins with L-tone, Final Tone-Raising (tone sandhi) applies at the boundary. The semantic relationship of initial and final is highly variable. The initial and/or final may itself be composite.

Many such compounds could be parsed morphosyntactically as true possessor-possessum combinations (e.g. ‘donkey’s ear’ as opposed to ‘donkey-ear’). A compound, however, behaves morphosyntactically (as well as semantically) as a noun. In particular, the initial cannot be separately modified by a possessor or a demonstrative. Similarly, unless the initial is lexicalized in plural form (see the following subsection), the initial in a compound cannot normally be independently pluralized.

A further distinction between compounds and true possessor-possessum combinations is that some compounds present a nasal linker between initial and final (§5.1.1) that does not occur elsewhere.

The examples in (162) show tonal features of possessive-type compounds. Indicators include the application of Final Tone-Raising as in ‘sun’ (162a), and the failure of the initial to level tones in (162b-d).

(162) a. kùgū-ɲỳēwⁿ ‘sun’
    kùgū ‘daytime’ plus ɲỳēwⁿ ‘head’

    b. kàngé-[pùù-n-jēwⁿ] ‘wild onion spp.’
    kàngé ‘hyena’ plus pùù-n-jēwⁿ ‘heart of palm’

    c. [yùgōn-sílē]-njī ‘trailing vine sp.’
    yùgōn sílē ‘old woman’ plus njī ‘tooth’

    d. màlifā-bùürüⁿ ‘barrel of rifle’
    màlifā ‘rifle’ plus bùürüⁿ ‘tube, pipe’

In some cases the tones are compatible with either a possessive-type or tone-leveled compound. This is the case when the initial is already of /L/ or /M/ melody and when the final shows no special
tonal behavior, as in (163a-b). In such cases, inferences about the probable compound type are based on analogy with sets of semantically similar compounds with the same initial or the same final.

(163) a. sílē-n-sábá ‘stone partridge’ (*Ptilopachus*)
   sílē ‘rock’ plus sábá ‘chicken’

   b. jëmpūwò-[túwō-lēw”] ‘aloe’
      jëmpūwò ‘donkey’ plus túwō-lēw “‘ear’

   c. nàà-kūmū ‘trailing herb with bends at nodes (*Portulaca*)’
      nàà ‘cow’ plus kūmū ‘knee’ (dialectal)

   d. kūwō-sāsⁿ ‘grass sp. (*Enteropogon*)’
      kūwō ‘monkey’ plus sāsⁿ ‘needle’

5.1.3.2 With plural initials

Some possessive-type compounds, especially for minor flora-fauna species, are lexicalized with a morphologically plural initial (compare English *men’s wear*). The initial here denotes a collective “possessor,” such as an animal species, an ethnicity, or an age-sex category.

(164) a. kūwō-yē nàm-jīi ‘floating vegetative pond scum’
   kūwō-yē ‘monkeys’ plus nàm-jīi ‘baobab-leaf sauce’

   b. pūlē-mbē pūwōⁿ ‘herb sp. (*Amaranthus*)’
      pūlē-mbē ‘birds’ plus pūwōⁿ ‘fōnio (grain)’

   c. nɔlɔm-bē sɔm-bàà-tīi ‘prickly herb sp. (*Achyranthes*)’
      nɔlɔm-bē ‘Dogon-Pl’ plus sɔm-bàà-tīi ‘pubic hairs’

5.1.4 Compounds with tone-leveled initial

This is the second major type of N-N compound. The final is either a lexical noun or a deverbal nominal (verbal noun or agentive). The initial can express various semantic functions, including that of incorporated object before a deverbal nominal.

The initial becomes all-L or all-M. This is achieved by spreading the leftmost tone of the initial to the compound boundary, and by merging H into M. All-L-toned initials are not subject to Final Tone-Raising. Examples of initials in such compounds are in (165).
(165) melody noun gloss as initial in these compounds

a. melody begins with L, becoming all-L
   /LH/  kàngé  ‘hyena’  kàngè-
   /LH*/ kitömô  ‘conical hat’  kitòmô-
   /L*H/ mālifā  ‘rifle’  mālifā-
   /LML/ yàmbàà  ‘house’  yàmbàà-

b. melody begins with M, becoming all-M
   /ML/  siisô  ‘scissors’  siisô-
   /MLH/ mākārî  ‘macari’  mākārî-

c. melody is /H/, dropping to M-toned
   /H/  kúngōlò  ‘dog’  kúngōlò-

Examples are in (166). There are many cases where an /L/-melodic final is raised to M (166a), merging with /M/ melody (166b). /ML/ and /LML/ merge as ML-toned 166c).

(166) melody noun gloss as final in these compounds

a. melody is /L/, raising to M-toned (§5.1.5.1 below)
   /L/  dēgē  ‘pain’  -dēgē
   ciyê  ‘field’  -ɲ-ciyê
   wògē  ‘killing’  -wògē

b. melody is /M/, unchanged
   /M/  digê  ‘eating’  -digê

c. melody is contour-toned, becoming ML-toned
   /ML/  bûwô-yà  ‘herder’  -bûwô-yà
   /LML/  yàmbàà  ‘house’  -yàmbàà

d. melody is raised to H-toned (§5.1.5.2.2)
   /LH/  sâbá  ‘chicken’  -sâbá
5.1.5 Compounds with tonally modified finals

5.1.5.1 Final raised from /L/ melody to M

The /L/-melodic noun ciyè ‘field’ combines with a compound initial as -n-ciýê, with tone raised to M and with an intercalated nasal linker (unless the stem already ends in a nasal). Initials of level-toned /M/ and /L/ melodies retain their lexical tones (167a). For other melodies, the leftmost tone of the initial spreads to the boundary, and H merges with M.

(167) | compound       | gloss           | initial  |
      |                |                 |          |
     a. initial has L-initial melody (/L/, /LH/)  
    kèndè-ji-ciýê   ‘sorghum field’ kèndè  
    pùwò-ji-ciýê   ‘fônio field’ pùwòn  
    [dàrâmâ-ýîn]-ciýê  ‘maize field’ dàrâmâ-yiwⁿ  
    sàbùlâ-ji-ciýê   ‘cow-pea field’ sàbùlā  

     b. initial has M-initial melody (/M/, /ML/)  
    dûgâ-ji-ciýê   ‘rice field’ dûgâ  
    piïn-ji-ciýê   ‘millet field’ piïⁿ  
    tåbâ-ji-ciýê   ‘tobacco field’ tåbå  

     c. initial has H-initial melody  
    kûû-ji-ciýê   ‘yam field’ kûû (< /kúû/)  
    dëë-ji-ciýê   ‘cotton field’ dëë  

Another /L/-melodic noun that is common as compound final is dëgê ‘pain, illness’. Some of its compounds are in (168).

(168) | compound       | gloss      | initial  |
     |                |            |          |
     a. initial has L-initial melody  
    kûrò-n-dëgê   ‘back pain’ kûrò  
    nûûn-dëgê   ‘upset stomach’ nûûn  
    ñèlèn-dëgê   ‘tongue disease’ ñèlèwⁿ  
    ñîyèn-dëgê   ‘headache’ ñîyèwⁿ  

     b. initial has M-initial melody  
    ñîiïn-dëgê   ‘toothache’ ñîiïⁿ  

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c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)  
\[ \text{[tûŵ-lën]-dĕgĕ} \quad \text{‘ear-ache’} \quad \text{tûŵ-lēw}^n \]

Another final of this type is sòrdāsì ‘soldier’.

(169) compound gloss initial

a. initial has L-initial melody  
\[ \text{tûbā̀-n-sòrdāsì} \quad \text{‘European soldier’} \quad \text{tûbā́bú ‘white person’} \]

b. initial has M-initial melody  
\[ \text{gōŋ̃-sòrdāsì} \quad \text{‘slave soldier’} \quad \text{gōŋ̃ ‘slave’} \]

c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)  
\[ \text{pùnān-sòrdāsì} \quad \text{‘Fulbe soldier’} \quad \text{pùnāw}^n \text{‘Fulbe’} \]

See also §5.1.8 for -tūgū from tūgū ‘owner’ in some compounds.

5.1.5.2 H-final compounds

In this type, the final raises tones to all-H. The initial is tone-leveled, but level-M initials are then dropped to L by M#H-to-L#H.

5.1.5.2.1 H-final compounds from temporal subject-verb collocations

Of the subject-verb collocations in §11.1.2, two correspond to H-final compounds (170a-b). These compounds denote events rather than cardinal directions (‘west’, ‘east’).

(170) a. [kùgù-ɲi-yèn]-tùn  ‘sunset’  
kùgù-ɲi-yèn tùn  ‘the sun has set’ (lit. “has gotten lost”)

b. [kùgù-ɲi-yèn]-tawn  ‘sunrise, dawn’  
kùgù-ɲi-yèn tawn  ‘the sun has risen’ (lit. “has ascended”)

It was not possible to elicit compounds of this type corresponding to ‘day break’ or ‘night fall’.
5.1.5.2.2  H-final compounds with spatial PP initials for habitat

In this type, the initial is a spatial PP that specifies the habitat of the referent of the final. The PP is tone-leveled. The final is raised to all-H, which then drops a preceding M to L. sōŋšⁿ ‘the bush’ (171c) does not need a postposition. Recall that H-toned stems are transcribed in prepausal (citation) form, with final H.H syllables transcribed as H.M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(171)</th>
<th>PP compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ji'i nînî</td>
<td>‘in water’</td>
<td>[ji'-nînî]-pûlêwⁿ ‘aquatic bird’</td>
<td>pûlêwⁿ ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ji'-nînî]-sábâ ‘aquatic chicken, waterfowl’</td>
<td>sábâ ‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. sîlê kûmâ</td>
<td>‘on rock’</td>
<td>[sîlê-kûmâ]-sábâ ‘stone partridge (Ptilopachus)’</td>
<td>sábâ ‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(synonym sîlê-n-sábâ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. sōŋšⁿ</td>
<td>‘the bush (la brousse)’</td>
<td>sōŋš’n-sábâ ‘wild chicken’</td>
<td>sábâ ‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sōŋš’m-pûlêwⁿ ‘bush birds’</td>
<td>pûlêwⁿ ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.5.2.3  H-final compounds with noun-verb initials for an activity

In this type, the initial is a noun-verb compound that denotes the characteristic activity of the referent denoted by the final. Examples are the compounds in (172). The corresponding noun-verb combinations (in Pfv form) and the nouns functioning as finals are shown under the compounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(172)</th>
<th>PP compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [kûwò-cyêŋ]-kûmbûrû ‘dung beetle (scarab)’</td>
<td>kûwò cyêwⁿ ‘carry excrement on head’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kûmbûrû ‘bug, beetle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. [năm-sèng]-bûwôⁿ ‘mortar for pounding sauce ingredients’</td>
<td>näm sèng ‘pound dried baobab leaves’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bûwôⁿ ‘mortar’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.5.2.4 H-final compounds based on sī ‘breed’

The noun sī means ‘kind, type’ or ‘breed, clan, race, species’. In the sense ‘clan’ it occurs several times in the texts as -sī following the L-toned form of a clan name. Thus bààkòlà-sī-yè ‘the Bakoro clans’ (2017-01 @ 08:31), ɲàǹgò-sī-yè ‘the Yanogué clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:50), and sin gà-sī-yè ‘the Sundago clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:54).

5.1.5.2.5 -kúltú ‘lack’

This final is attested in kwààng-kúltú ‘drought’, cf. kwàà ‘rain’.

5.1.6 Nominal compounds that include a verb stem

The following subsections cover deverbal nominals (verbal noun, agentive, place of action) that additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object. These are followed by a section on function-specifying compounds that indicate the use to which the entity is put.

Most of these complex compounds are of the tone-leveling type as described in the preceding section. That is, the leftmost tone of the first stem spreads rightward to the first compound boundary, some /L/-melodic finals are raised to M-tone, and /LML/ finals surface as ML-toned.

5.1.6.1 Verbal-noun final with incorporated object as initial

In this construction, a transitive verb takes verbal-noun form. The initial is an incorporated noun that denotes the general category of object. Tone Leveling applies: initials are leveled to all-L or all-M. /L/-melodic finals raise to M. Note the unmodified contour-toned final -séè (173d).

The uncompounded verbal noun is shown if elicitable, but some occur only in compounds.

(173) compound gloss lexical form of initial

a. < verb digé/digé ‘eat (antipassive)’
   digé  ‘eating’
   tèe-digé  ‘meat-eating’  tèe
   kégù-digé  ‘cream of millet-eating’  kégù
   mákàri-digé  ‘macari-eating’  mákàrí
b. < verb wògè/wògè (variant wàgè/wàgè) ‘kill (antipassive)’
   wògè ‘killing’
   kúngoló-wògè ‘dog-killing’ kúngoló
   sùgò-wògè ‘goat-killing’ sùgò
   kàŋgè-wògè ‘hyena-killing’ kàŋgè
   yùrógò-wògè ‘cat-killing’ yùrógó
   kùmbùrù-wògè ‘bug-killing’ kùmbùrù

c. < verb kùù\n/kù-nù ‘catch’
   kùmè ‘catching’
   kúngoló-kùmè ‘dog-catching’
   kàŋgè-kùmè ‘hyena-catching’ kàŋgè
   tōorù-kùmè ‘fetish-catching’ tōorù
   gílèn-kùmè ‘cowry-catching’ gílèw\n

d. < verb sègè/sègè ‘pound (in mortar)’
   mákàrì-sègè ‘macari-pounding’ mákàrì
   nàm-sègè ‘baobab-pounding’ nàmù
   pìi\n-sègè ‘millet-pounding’ pìi\n

e. < verb mìyèn/mìyèn ‘fix; manufacture’
   màlifà-mìyèn ‘rifle-making’ màlifà
   bùwòm-mìyèn ‘mortar-making’ bùwò\n
   kiyè-kùlà-mìyèn ‘bowl-making’ kiyè-kùlà
   kitòmò-mìyèn ‘conical hat-making’ kitòmò
   sùsùsù-mìyèn ‘scissors-making’ sùsùsù

f. < verb mèw\nmè-nè ‘drink’
   dùwò-mèw\n ‘beer-drinking’ dùwò
   sògò-mèw\n ‘milk-drinking’ sògò
   jìi-mèw\n ‘water-drinking’ jìi
   tèè-mèw\n ‘tea-drinking’ tèè

g. < verb kèbè/kèbè ‘build’
   yàmbàà-kèbè ‘house-building’ yàmbàà
   túbà-kèbè ‘granary-building’ túbà
   jànàà-kèbè ‘shed-building’ jànàà\n
   mìsùrì-kèbè ‘mosque-building’ mìsùrì
These are true compounds to the extent that the initial is invariant in form (not separately pluralizable or determined). However it is possible to free the initial from these restrictions and rephrase it as a full NP. In this case it may be pluralized or otherwise modified (174a), or it may be pronominal (174b). In these cases there is no way to determine whether the NP or pronoun in question is still a direct object of the verb, or a possessor of the nominalized verb.

(174) a. [kùn nàà-yè kù-lè] këlè
    [Dem cow-Pl Def-Pl] hit.VblN
    ‘hitting those cows’ (< nàà-yè)

    b. ŋè këlè
       1Sg hit.VblN
       ‘hitting me’

When the object of the transitive verb is a high-frequency lexicalized plural, the distinction between full NP and compound initial may be blurred, unless additional modifiers are present. It is possible that ‘children’ in (175) is just a compound initial, like ‘child’ in (175b).

(175) a. [jên-mbi-gè]-këlè ‘children-hitting’
    b. jên-nà-këlè ‘child-hitting’

5.1.6.2 Agentive compounds with incorporated object

For uncompounded agentives with suffix -yà ~ -yé, see §4.2.2. Some agentives allow an incorporated object for more specificity. Tone Leveling applies: the initial is leveled to all-L or all-M, and an /L/-melodic final raises to M.

(176)    compound    gloss    basic form of initial

a. bûwò-yà ‘herder’ (< bûwò/bûwò-lò)
   nàà-m-bûwò-yà ‘cowherd’ nàà
   sùgô-bûwò-yà ‘goatherd’ sùgô
   [sùgô-lèm]-bûwò-yà ‘sheep herder’ sùgô-léw

b. tôlè-yà ‘seller’ (< antipassive of tôlè/ tôlè)
   kùngôlò-tôlè-yà ‘dog seller’ kùngôlò
   nàà-tôlè-yà ‘cattle seller’ nàà
   piin-tôlè-yà ‘grain seller’ piin
kààn-tôlë-yå  ‘calabash seller’  kàånú
målifà-tôlë-yå  ‘gun seller’  målifå
c.  sênè-yå  ‘buyer’  (< antipassive of sàwⁿ/sà-nå)
   piïⁿ-sênè-yå  ‘millet buyer’  piïⁿ
d.  sògò-yå  ‘cultivator’  (< sògò/sògò)
   piïⁿ-sògò-yå  ‘millet farmer’  piïⁿ

A textual example is jìi-kåy-yå  ‘water-draw-Agent’, i.e. ‘water carrier’ (2017-04 @ 00:51).

5.1.6.3  Place-of-action nominal (-gåwⁿ) plus incorporated noun as initial

The usual noun ‘place’ is gûrûⁿ. A diachronically related form -gåwⁿ occurs as compound final following a verb (usually in the Pfv). Examples with no further compound initial are in §4.2.1.5.1.

If the verb is transitive, an incorporated object may be added as compound initial. The forms and tones are those of a verbal noun with incorporated object (§5.1.6.1 above), plus -gåwⁿ. /L/-melodic Pfv verbs are subject to Final Tone-Raising and a resulting bimoraic <LM> syllable can flatten to M (177b,d-e).

(177)  a.  mòtòm-miyën-gåwⁿ
      motorcycle-repair.VblN-place
      ‘garage, motorcycle-repair place’  (< mòtòⁿ, verb miyën/miyënì)

b.  ñàmà-m-pïï-gåwⁿ
      garbage-dump.VblN-place
      ‘refuse heap’  (< ñàmà, verb pïï/pïï)

c.  yàmbàà-këbë-gåwⁿ
      house-build.VblN-place
      ‘place for building a house’  (yàmbàà, verb këbë/këbë)

d.  dùwò-mëŋ-gåw
      beer-drink.VblN-place
      ‘beer-drinking place’  (dùwò, verb mëwⁿ/më-nè)

e.  sàbà-wàgë-gåwⁿ
      chicken-kill.VblN-place
      ‘chicken-slaughtering place’  (sàbà, verb wàgà/wàgà)
The homologue of -gàwⁿ in Djenné Jenaama is -wúwɔⁿ, which is added to fully tone-leveled noun-verb combinations.

5.1.6.4 Function-specifying compounds with included verbal noun

Nouns like ‘water’, ‘oil’, and ‘wood’ denote substances that are put to different uses. In the case of ‘oil’ the uses correlate with source (peanut, shea-tree, etc.). This is less so with wood and much less so with water.

To distinguish water, oil, and wood reserved for different functions, these nouns are combined with a compound initial that denotes the prototypical action. This may be a verbal noun with -gu (§4.2.1.3). It may also be an unsuffixed verbal noun, with or without a final-vowel mutation or a variant form of the stem (§4.2.1.2). Tone-Leveling applies, and /L/-melodic finals raise to M-tone (178c).

(178) noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv)

a. jìi ‘water’
   mèn-jìi ‘drinking water’ mèwⁿ/mè-nè ‘drink’
   jìni-jìi ‘dishwater; bathwater’ jìni/jìni ‘wash’

b. tiyë ‘oil’
   [sū-gū]-tiyë ‘lotion, rubbing oil’ sū/sū-lù ‘rub on’
   [digē-gū]-tiyë ‘cooking (eating) oil’ digē/digē ‘eat’

c. kiyë ‘wood, stick’
   kēbē-kiyë ‘lumber (for building)’ kēbē/kēbē ‘build’
   [kūū-ni]-kiyë ‘firewood’ kūū-ni/kūū-nì ‘ignite’
   [sūgū-kūmë]-kiyë ‘staff held in hand’ kūū/kū-nù ‘catch’, sūgū ‘hand’
   [būwɔ-gū]-kiyë ‘herder’s staff’ būwɔ/būwɔ-lò ‘tend (herd)’

d. búwɔⁿ ‘mortar’
   [sēgē-gū]-búwɔⁿ ‘mortar for pounding’ sēgē/sēgē ‘pound (in mortar)’
   piìm-búwɔⁿ ‘millet mortar’ piìⁿ ‘millet’

e. bān-dyēwⁿ ‘pestle’
   [sēgē-gū]-bān-dyēwⁿ ‘pestle for pounding’ sēgē/sēgē ‘pound (in mortar)’

f. kūwɔⁿ ‘bone’
   sīnē-kūwɔⁿ ‘bone for biting’ sīwⁿ/sī-nì ‘bite’
A verb and an incorporated object may combine before the instrument noun (179).

(179) a. [sùb-ţâ]-tiỳn
[firewood-split]-ax
‘ax for splitting wood’ (< sùbā, pējē/pējè, tìyòn)

b. [pìïn-ţɛgè]-bùwòn
[millet-pound]-mortar
‘mortar for pounding millet grain’ (< pìïn, sēgè/sēgè, bùwòn)

Sometimes a verb is not necessary, and the initial simply denotes the object, as in pīm-[bàn-dỳèẁn] ‘millet pestle’.

5.1.7 Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds

5.1.7.1 Diminutives with -nàẁn

This suffix is the productive diminutive for inanimate nouns. For adjective dège-nàẁn ‘small’ see §4.5.1.2.2.

Diminutive nouns tend to be at least partially lexicalized. Those based on ‘tree’ or tree-species names denote saplings (180a). Those based on terms for tools or other man-made objects denote recognizable smaller-scale subtypes (180b). For example, mortars and pestles are manufactured in different sizes for different tasks (pounding entire millet grain spikes to knock off the grains, pounding whole grains to knock off the chaff, pounding grains into flour, pounding spices for sauce-making, etc.). Diminutive ‘pants’ in (180c) has an idiosyncratic semantic relationship to its host noun, and denotes leggings of any size (from shorts to long pants).

(180) a. jûgû ‘tree’
   kūlû ‘baobab (tree)’
   jûgû-nàẁn ‘sapling’
   kūlû-nàẁn ‘baobab sapling’

b. kûl̀ ‘eating bowl’
   bùwò̀ ‘mortar’
   bân-dỳèẁ ‘pestle’
   yâmbà ‘house’
   ârjòn ‘radio’
   kùûn ‘boat (skiff)’
   kûûn-nàẁn ‘small boat; brick mold’

b. kûl̀ ‘eating bowl’
   bùwò̀ ‘mortar’
   bân-dỳèẁ ‘pestle’
   yâmbà ‘house’
   ârjòn ‘radio’
   kûûn ‘boat (skiff)’
   kûûn-nàẁn ‘small boat; brick mold’

c. tâbà ‘foot, leg’
   tâbà-nàẁn ‘pants, shorts, leggings’
An example of a noun that occurs only in diminutive form is sâmâ-nawⁿ ‘soap’. This variant of a regionally widespread word (e.g. Fulfulde saabunde, French savon) has been secondarily reshaped as a diminutive.

The diminutive in -nawⁿ is distinct tonally and semantically from compounds with final -nawⁿ ‘mother’. The distinction is important for jûgû ‘tree’ and tree species names. The compound jûgû-nawⁿ, literally “tree-mother,” means ‘(entire) tree’ as opposed to jûgû-dyêwⁿ “tree-child,” which means ‘fruit of tree’. jûgû-nawⁿ differs tonally from diminutive jûgû-nawⁿ ‘sapling’ (180a).

-nawⁿ can combine with terms of animals. It is not the productive compound type for juveniles (puppy, goat kid, lamb, calf), which have -lêwⁿ instead of -nawⁿ, see (182) in the following section. However, -nawⁿ can be used to denote an unusually small (e.g. stunted) animal. With human nouns ‘woman’ and ‘man’, -nawⁿ has a specialized use in denoting preadolescent children (181b). My assistant rejected -nawⁿ with other human nouns such as pîmi ‘person’ or ethnicity and caste terms like ‘Fulbe person’ and ‘blacksmith’.

(181) a. nàâ-nawⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) cow’
    [sàgò-lèn]-nawⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) sheep’
    sùgò-nawⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) goat’

    b. yûgôn-nawⁿ ‘girl’ (around 7-8 years old)
    kègù-nawⁿ ‘boy’ (around 7-8 years old)

In the animal cases (181a), the compound with -nawⁿ has more or less the same sense as the noun plus adjective dêgê-nawⁿ ‘small’. This adjective can also combine with any human noun to denote an individual of small stature, of whatever age (‘small woman’, ‘small person’, ‘small Fulbe person’, ‘small blacksmith’, etc.).

5.1.7.2 Diminutive and not-so-diminutive -lêwⁿ (plural -lêm-bê)

A semantically somewhat opaque formative -lêwⁿ occurs in a number of nouns. It was originally diminutive (cf. Djenné Jenaama nominal diminutive -liyêwⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ), and therefore likely etymologically related to -dyêwⁿ ‘child’ (compound final), dyêwⁿ ‘child (son or daughter)’, and jênâⁿ ‘child (young person)’. However, the relationship is synchronically obscure in Cliffs, and there is no transparent synchronic connection. -lêwⁿ has a distinctive plural -lêm-bê which is especially common for semantically diminutive nouns, compare the variant plural dém-bê ‘children’. -lêm-bê competes with the productive plural -lêⁿ-yê, which is favored in nouns that have no clear diminutive sense.

With most animal terms, -lêwⁿ denotes the juvenile (182a). For ‘sheep’, however, sàgò-lêwⁿ is in common use for adults as well as juveniles, and is more common than the
unsuffixed form (182b). -lēwⁿ does not normally occur on human nouns, but jēnān-lēwⁿ can replace the usual ‘child’ noun jēnāⁿ in ironic contexts, as when a child attempts unsuccess fully to perform an adult feat (182c). The plural in this context is jēnām-bi-gē-lēm-bē.

(182) juvenile gloss based on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. animals (juvenile)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sūgō-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàā-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūngōlō-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūlēn-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. animals (all life stages)

| sōgō-lēwⁿ  | ‘sheep’  | sōgō ‘sheep’ |

c. humans

| jēnān-lēwⁿ  | ‘child’ (special contexts)  | jēnāⁿ ‘child’ |

A fair number of inanimate nouns also end in -lēwⁿ. Small external body-part terms are included. The noun pā-lēwⁿ ~ p₃-lēwⁿ ‘a little’, diminutive of pw₃ ‘thing’, is used as a noun or adverb (§8.4.3.2). The other inanimate examples are likewise rather lexicalized, but -lēwⁿ is phonologically conspicuous, making segmentability easier. The plural with -lēm-bē is sometimes used instead of -lēⁿ-yē. Some of the inanimates have an obscure relationship to an independently existing noun, not involving any apparent diminutivity or endearment (183a). Others are lexically isolated (183b).

(183) derivative gloss based on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. inanimates with recognizable initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jūgū-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūgū-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. inanimates without a recognizable initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dūbā-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānā-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōgū-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwāā-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōgō-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōmō-lēwⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tígé-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘cut (wound)’
túwó-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘ear’
túwó-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘penis’
wöö-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘groundnut (\textit{Vigna subterranea})’
wóó-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘cataract’

c. H-toned
dúgú-lěw\textsuperscript{n} ‘thorny scrub acacia spp.’  dúgú\textsuperscript{n} ‘dense forest, thicket’

kùgù-lěw\textsuperscript{n} (183a) emphasizes mid-day heat. In the collocation (184a) below, uncompounded kùgù occurs since there is no specific reference to heat. kùgù-lěw\textsuperscript{n} occurs in (184b) which does emphasize heat.

(184) a. kùgù tàà-nà
\hspace{1em} \textbf{daytime} \text{stand-Ppl}
\hspace{1em} ‘The sun is at its zenith (mid-day).’

\hspace{1em} b. kùgù-lèm bàà máñë way
\hspace{1em} \textbf{sun} \text{exit.Pfv} \text{a.lot today}
\hspace{1em} ‘The sun is really blazing hot today.’ (< bāā)

For -lěw\textsuperscript{n} in adverbial expressions meaning ‘a little, not much’, see §8.4.3.2.

5.1.7.3 Compounds with ‘child’ as final (-dyěw\textsuperscript{n}, -jěw\textsuperscript{n}, -jěw\textsuperscript{n})

The following uncompounded terms for (human) ‘child’ and ‘children’ occur. The plurals are often irregular or suppletive. The forms in (185a) denote age grades. Those in (185b) denote relationships to parents.

(185) \hspace{1em} singular \hspace{1em} plural \hspace{1em} gloss

\hspace{1em} a. juvenile person
\hspace{1em} jéná\textsuperscript{n} \hspace{1em} jénām-bī-gē, jéná\textsuperscript{n}-yè \hspace{1em} ‘child’
\hspace{1em} — \hspace{1em} dālm-bī-gē \hspace{1em} ‘children’

\hspace{1em} b. offspring (kinship)
\hspace{1em} dyěw\textsuperscript{n} \hspace{1em} dyē\textsuperscript{n}-yē, dēm-bē, dēm-bē-yē \hspace{1em} ‘child, son or daughter’
Only dyēwⁿ is in use as a compound final. It is pluralized as -dēm-bē. It can denote a young
member of a given ethnicity or other human category (186). These compounds are possessive-
type, without Tone Leveling of the initial as shown by (186c).

(186) noun  gloss  ‘child’  ‘children’
a.  púnāwⁿ  ‘Fulbe person’  púnán-dyēwⁿ  púnán-dēm-bē
d.  kùygù  ‘blacksmith (caste)’  kùygù-dyēwⁿ  kùygù-dēm-bē
c.  mìimá  ‘leatherworker (caste)’  mìimá-dyēwⁿ  mìimá-dēm-bē

‘Child’ as compound final can also extend into nonhuman domains. In (187a), two paired objects
of different sizes are distinguished by the use of this compound final.

(187) a.  dwī-silē
  grind.Pfv-stone
  ‘large stone on which grain is ground’

b.  dwī-silē-dyēwⁿ
  grind.Pfv-stone-child
  ‘smaller round stone held in hand for grinding grain’

‘Heart of (borassus) palm’ is pù̀-ñ-dyēwⁿ, compare pù̀ ‘germinated borassus palm nut’.

5.1.8  Compounds with tūgù ‘owner’

The noun tūgù ‘owner’ requires a possessor or compound initial, minimally 3Sg possessor à (188).

(188) n  nā =  [ā  tūgù]  tò
  1Sg  IpfvNeg  [3Sg  owner]  know.Ipfv
  ‘I don’t know its owner.’

The plural is tūgù-yè, often pronounced tūgè-è.
Examples of compounds denoting ownership are in (189). The tonal patterns are those of
possessive-type compounds.

(189) bítígi-tūgù  ‘shop owner (storekeeper)’
dáábá-tūgù  ‘owner of livestock’
yàmbáà-tūgù  ‘homeowner’
sirimbè-tūgù  ‘folding knife-owner’
In addition, -tūgū ‘owner’ occurs in a wide range of compounds denoting attributes, ranging from conditions to unusual body parts to abstractions.

(190) noun gloss ‘owner of X’ gloss

a. condition
   wòbò ‘disease’ wòbọ-tūgū ‘sick person, carrier of disease’

b. body part
   sìmbọ-cī ‘beard’ sìmbọ-cī-tūgū ‘bearded (person)’
   kūlù ‘hump’ kūlù-tūgū ‘humped, hunchback’

c. abstract attribute
   dàwlā ‘aura of success’ dàwlā-tūgū ‘one who is constantly successful’

-tūgū with M-tones is also attested. The known examples are nämbārā-tūgū ‘dishonest person’, nùn-tūgū ‘pregnant woman’ (nùn ‘belly’), tābà-tūgū ‘young man’ (tābà ‘foot’), and nàpérọ-tūgū and synonym wólèn-tūgū ‘wealthy person’. (191b) is formed from the compound noun that appears as final in (191a).

(191) a. ɲīmì-[sògò-bēwⁿ]
   person-[serious(ness)]
   ‘responsible (trustworthy) person’

b. [sògò-bën]-tūgū
   [serious(ness)]-owner
   ‘responsible one (person)’

5.1.9 ‘Male’ (-kēgū) and ‘female’ (-yūgōⁿ) as compound finals

kēgū ‘man’ and yūgōⁿ ‘woman’ can be added as modifiers to another noun in the senses ‘male’ and ‘female’. Some common combinations denoting human relationships are in (192).

(192) a. bwò ‘age-mate, peer, generation-mate’
   bwọ-kēgū ‘male age-mate’
   bwọ-yūgōⁿ ‘female age-mate’

b. ciyē-kēgū ‘grandfather’
   tāa-yūgōⁿ ‘grandmother’
c.  dügò\textsuperscript{n}  ‘younger sibling’
    dügò\textsuperscript{n}-kêêgù  ‘younger brother’
    dügò\textsuperscript{n}-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘younger sister’

d.  tê\textsuperscript{n}  ‘elder sibling’
    tê-n-kêêgù  ‘elder brother’
    tê\textsuperscript{n}-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘elder sister’

Any sex-differentiated animal species (livestock or wild) can combine with these compound finals (193).

(193)  

a.  sàbá  ‘chicken’
    sàbà-kêêgù  ‘rooster’
    sàbà-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘hen’

b.  kângé  ‘hyena’
    kângé-kêêgù  ‘male hyena’
    kângé-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘female hyena’

c.  kúngolō  ‘dog’
    kúngolō-kêêgù  ‘male dog’
    kúngolō-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘bitch’

d.  sùgō  ‘goat’
    sùgō-kêêgù  ‘billygoat’
    sùgō-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘nannygoat’

e.  yōgō  ‘fish’
    yōgō-kêêgù  ‘male fish’
    yōgō-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘female fish’

The ‘male’ form can apply to any plant term to indicate sterility (no fruits borne) or other gender-like feature (194a). For dioecious plants such as palms the male-female distinction is botanically correct (194b). In (194c), fruits of \textit{G. flavescens} are eaten while those of \textit{G. bicolor} are not. (194d) is a figurative use of an ostensibly human term to denote an insect.

(194)  

a.  kârändë  ‘tamarind (tree and fruit)’
    kârändë-kêêgù  ‘sterile tamarind tree’
    kârändë-yūgō\textsuperscript{n}  ‘fruit-producing tamarind tree’
b. yīyē
   yīyē-kēgū
   yīyē-yūgō
   ‘borassus palm’
   ‘male borassus palm’
   ‘female (fruit-bearing) borassus palm’

   c. sāmbō
      sāmbō-kēgū
      sāmbō-yūgō
      ‘shrub sp. (any Grewia sp.)’
      ‘shrub (Grewia bicolour)’
      ‘shrub (Grewia flavescens)’

   d. mōlī
      mōl-kēgū
      ‘holy man, marabout’
      ‘butterfly’

5.1.10 ‘True’ versus ‘false’

There is no single mechanism for distinguishing valuable ‘true’ plant species from inferior ‘false’ or ‘wild’ ones. Adjectives ‘good’ (mānw) and ‘bad’ (nōn) can always be added opportunistically.

There is likewise no all-purpose construction for ‘main, principle’. The main men’s shed (palaver house) in a village is simply called ‘big shed’ (jānm būlō). See also játtī ‘exactly, truly’ (§8.4.2.1).

In at least two cases the true and false versions of a cultivated plant are denoted by unrelated lexical items (195a-b). In another, a diminutive is used (by some speakers) to distinguish the nonprototypical species (195c).

(195) a. pīi
   sūwō
   ‘millet (cultivated Cenchrus americanus, formerly Pennisetum glaucum)’
   ‘false millet’ (stray millet plants, not sown from seedstock)

   b. dūgā
      kōbă
      ‘rice’ (cultivated Oryza sativa)
      ‘wild rice’ (wild Oryza spp.)

   c. jū
      jū-naw
      ‘wild fruit tree sp. (Vitex doniana)’
      ‘sapling of jū tree’ or ‘related tree sp. (Vitex madiensis)’

Some other devices are illustrated in the following subsections.

5.1.10.1 Compound final nōmō ~ nōmē ‘false’

By ‘false’ plant species are meant wild species that resemble a more conspicuous or more useful species, especially a crop plant. The ‘false’ species is typically not edible or otherwise useful. nōmō
~ njmē ‘false’, which could be analysed as a compound final or as an adjective since it does not occur elsewhere, is added to the name of the prototypical plant. It can also function as a self-standing noun ‘false one’. The form njmē is used by older speakers, njmē by younger ones. Two compounds are in use.

(196) a. pāa-m-pùwōn ‘sesame’ (cultivated Sesamum indicum)
    pāa-m-pùwōnj njmē ‘false sesame’ (wild Sesamum alatum)

    b. sààngù ‘roselle’ (cultivated Hibiscus sabdariffa)
    sààngù njmē ‘wild roselle’ (stray roselle, not from seedstock)

5.1.10.2 Possessive natural-species compounds

Several natural species are referred to by a possessor-possessum construction ‘X’s Y’, where Y denotes a prototypical species and X denotes an animal or a human ethnicity that are said (sometimes jokingly) to use or inhabit the species. Flora terms of this type are in (197).

(197) a. sàbúlá ‘cowpea’ (cultivated Vigna unguiculata)
    ñìnà sàbúlá “mouse(’s) cowpea” (wild Vigna spp.)

    b. sān ‘needle’
    kùwò-sān “monkey(’s) needle” (Enteropogon, a grass)

    c. tìgèn-diýéwn ‘African eggplant’ (cultivated Solanum aethiopicum)’
    sâbè-è tìgèn-diýéwn “chicken’s eggplant” (S. incanum)

    d. sáán ‘wild grape tree (Lannea)’
    bùwò-yè ‘herders’ (plural)
    [bùwò-yè]-sáán “herders’ wild grape” (vine with berries, Ampelocissus)

A different semantic relationship is evident in (198), where a plant is named after the body part of an animal or human category based on shape and appearance.

(198) a. kùmù ‘knee’
    nàà-kùmù “cow(’s) knee” (purslane, Portulaca)

    b. tùwò-lèwn ‘penis’ (with diminutive suffix)
    yàrà-tùwò “lion-penis” (Stachytarpheta)
5.1.11 Noun-verb-noun compounds

‘Rainwater’ is expressed in two ways, depending on whether it refers to rain as it falls or to rainwater on the ground after a downpour. The former corresponds structurally but not semantically to English rain-water. The latter adds an intervening verb ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’ in Pfv form.

(199) a. kwà̀n-jií ‘rain (water, as it falls)’
    b. kwààn-sàn-jií ‘rainwater (on ground)’

The initial is kwà̀n ‘rain (n)’. The final is jií ‘water. The verb in (199b) is sàwⁿ/sà-nàn ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’, here in Pfv stem.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihi compounds can function as modifiers or as nouns. A bahuvrihi describes individuals who have a feature (such as a body part) of a specified quality (e.g. size, color) or quantity. Compare English adjectives big-bellied and two-headed, and nouns Blackbeard and greenhorn.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival final

In a noun-adjective bahuvrihi, such as “hand-big” (having big hands), the adjective and the noun are subject to tonal modifications. Modifying adjectives have M-, MŁ-, or in a few cases H-tones. These tones are preserved in the bahuvrihi. The compound initial inside the bahuvrihi shifts to M-tone (200a-b,e), but this is then dropped to L before an H-toned adjective by M#H-to-L#H (200c-d).
(200) a. sibò bòndö- / niyèⁿ- / piyè- piìⁿ
snake neck- / head- / tail-
black
‘black-necked/-headed/-tailed snake’
(< bòndò, niyèwⁿ, piyè)

b. kēēgu sūgū- / būkūrū- / niyèⁿ- [dūwɔ-gù]
man hand- / buttock- / head-
[small-Adj]
‘a small-handed/-buttocked/-headed man’
(< sūgū, būkūrū, niyèwⁿ)

c. kēēgu / jēnāⁿ sūgū- / būkūrū- / bòndō- bānū
man / child hand- / buttock- / neck-
big
‘a big-handed/-buttocked/-necked man/child’
(< jēnāⁿ, sūgū, būkūrū, bòndō)

d. sibò piyè- bānū
snake tail-
big
‘a big-tailed snake’
(< piyè)

e. sibò kōlōn- dāātā-nā
snake skin-
smooth
‘a sleek-skinned snake’
(< kōlōwⁿ)

The tonal forms of the noun in the bahuvrihi are summarized in (201). When the adjective is M-toned ‘black’, all initials become M-toned. By extrapolation from this, one can infer that the initials preceding ‘big’ initially become M-toned, but are then dropped to L by M#H-to-L#H.

(201)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexical melody</th>
<th>before M ‘black’</th>
<th>before H ‘big’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyè ‘tail’</td>
<td>piyè-piìⁿ</td>
<td>piyè-bānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūgū ‘thigh’</td>
<td>kūgū-piìⁿ</td>
<td>kūgū-bānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /M/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūgū ‘hand’</td>
<td>sūgū-piìⁿ</td>
<td>sūgū-bānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōgū ‘mouth’</td>
<td>lōgū-piìⁿ</td>
<td>lōgū-bānū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.1.2 With numeral final

Examples of noun-numeral bahuvrihis as postnominal modifiers are in (202).

(202) a. sibò ɲiyê- kēw^n / sigèw^n
snake head- one / three
‘one-/three-headed snake’
(< ɲiyêw^n)

b. sibò lāgū- ɲ-kēw^n / sigèw^n / kɔ̆gɔ̀w^n
snake mouth- one / three / five
‘one-/three-/five-mouthed snake’
(< lāgū)

There is variation in my data between two tonal systems for noun-numeral bahuvrihis. One is to pronounce them in the same way as the corresponding noun-numeral sequences. I suspect that this is typical of unfamiliar combinations that are not in common use. For example, nùù ‘belly’ combines with sigèw^n ‘three’ as nùù sigèw^n ‘three bellies’, and this can function as bahuvrihi in (203). Both ‘snake’ and ‘belly’ show the effects of tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) in this example.

(203) sibö nùù-sigèw^n
snake belly-three
‘three-bellied snake’ (< sibö, nùù)

The other pattern, which differs tonally from other constructions and which therefore may be the “authentic” noun-numeral bahuvrihi pattern, follows the lead of noun-adjective bahuvrihis in merging the tone melodies of the initial into all-M. Unlike noun-adjective bahuvrihis, this pattern
also optionally raises an M-toned numeral to H-toned (204a). This has the secondary effect of dropping the now M-toned initial to L-toned. However, an L-toned head noun remains L-toned before the tone-dropped compound initial, hence sibò (not sibō) in both versions of (204a). In other words, in sibò niyêm-péndé the initial niyèwⁿ is first raised from L to M (whereupon sibò cannot undergo Final Tone-Raising), and then niyèwⁿ is dropped back to L. Alternatively, sibò niyêm-péndé might be analysed as a tone-leveled compound bracketed as [sibò niyèm]-péndé.

(204) a. sibò niyêm-péndé
    snake head-two
    ‘two-headed snake’ (< péndé)

b. sibò niyèm-sibèwⁿ
    snake head-three
    ‘three-headed snake’

5.2.2 Other composite adjectives

The adjective ‘fast, rapid, speedy’ is bààⁿ-húúⁿ, as in mòbòli bààⁿ-húúⁿ ‘fast vehicle’. It includes an incorporated noun bàà ‘body’ (term used chiefly in speed expressions), along with a nasal linker. In predicates, bàà is rephrased as the possessum of the subject and is followed by stative predicate húúⁿ (205a-c). There is also an inchoative verb hūmā/hūmā-nā ‘be(come) fast’ that appears in non-present-time contexts (205d).

(205) a. [[m mòbòli] bàà] húúⁿ
    [[1Sg vehicle] body] be.fast
    ‘My car is fast.’

b. [[m mòbòli] bàà] nāⁿ húúⁿ
    [[1Sg vehicle] body] not.be be.fast
    ‘My car is not fast.’

c. [m bàá] húúⁿ
    [1Sg body] be.fast
    ‘I am fast.’

d. [[m mòbòli] bàà] gā bē hūmā
    [[1Sg vehicle] body] Ipfv Fut be.fast.Pfv
    ‘My car will be(come) fast.’
6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order within multi-word NPs

The order of elements within an NP that contains modifiers as well as a head noun is summarized in (206). Determiners split into prenominal demonstratives and a postnominal definite marker, which can co-occur. Discourse-functional morphemes include ‘also’, ‘only’, and ‘as for’ (topic). “Pl” is a suffix added to a noun or N-Adj.

(206) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj – Num/Pl - Def - DiscFunct (-) ‘all’

Examples showing the relative orderings, except for discourse-function versus ‘all’ (covered below), are in (207).

(207) a. sèëdù sūgō piím pëndë
   S goat black two
   ‘Seydou’s two black goats’ Poss-N-Adj-Num

   b. sūgō pëndë gū
      goat two Def
      ‘these/those two goats’ N-Num-Dem

   c. kɔ̀ⁿ sūgē-ē gū sāāⁿ
      Dem goat-Pl Def all
      ‘all these/those goats’ Dem-N-Def-‘all’

   d. hàlī sèëdù sūgē-ē
      even S goat-Pl
      ‘even Seydou’s goats’ ‘even’-Poss-N

The relative order of discourse-functional morphemes (pē ‘too’, topic kòwⁿ) and the universal quantifier sāāⁿ ‘all’ is not completely fixed in templatic fashion. In examples produced spontaneously by my assistant, sāāⁿ ‘all’ always followed the other morpheme. It follows pē ‘too’ in (208a) and topic-marking kɔ̀ⁿ in (208b).
In (208a), there is a possibility that the second ‘all’ is a final summation encompassing ‘goats’ and ‘chickens (too),’ somewhat analogous to floating adverbial all in English intransitive clauses ([the goats and the chickens] will all come). However, only a narrow-scope reading of ‘all’ is possible in (208b).

Less often, pē ‘too’ follows sāān. Asked if a sequence ‘chickens-all-too’ was possible, my assistant produced (209).

By specifying that the sale (or gift) of the chickens was a separate event from the sale of the goats, the assistant rules out a summative reading of ‘all’ with scope over ‘goats’ and ‘chickens’. This is evidently a factor in the ordering of ‘all’ and ‘too’.

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A numeral or demonstrative by itself may function as an NP in the absence of a noun (210a-b).
However, adjectives require a noun, minimally pā ‘thing’ (premodifier form) (211a). Likewise, sān ‘all’ requires at least a pronominal clitic (211b).

(211) a. ŵ̄ ko [pā tōmōn] nī
1Sg furnish.Pfv [thing red] Inst
‘Give me a/the red one!’

b. ŵ̄ ko [ā sān] nī
1Sg furnish.Pfv [3Sg all] Inst
‘Give me all (of it)!’ = ‘Give me everything!’

6.2 Possessives

Possessors immediately precede possessed nouns (possessums). There is no segmental genitive morpheme. Regular tone sandhi applies at the possessor-possessum boundary. 1Sg possessor casts a floating H-tone onto possessums.

6.2.1 Alienability

There is no distinction in form between alienable and inalienable possession. Kin terms and partonyms have paradigms like those above. Inalienable ‘father’ is parallel to alienable ‘cow’, and inalienable ‘hand’ is parallel to alienable ‘medication’

(212) kāa nāa sūgū jūgū
‘father’ ‘cow’ ‘hand’ ‘medication’

1Sg ŵ̄ kāa ū nāa ū sūgū ū jūgū
1Pl ē kāa ē nāa ē sūgū ē jūgū

2Sg āŋ kāa ā nāa ān sūgū āŋ jūgū
2Pl āā kāa āā nāa āā sūgū āā jūgū

3Sg ā kā ā nā ā sūgū ā jūgū
3Pl ē kā ē nā ē sūgū ē jūgū

Logo/3ReflSg ŵ̄ kā ā nā ā sūgū ū jūgū
Logo/3ReflPl ē kā ē nā ē sūgū ē jūgū
6.2.1.1 Special non-kin forms of kàà ‘father’

However, ‘father’ does have some idiosyncratic features. The simple form ñ kàà ‘my father’ can be compounded with the personal name of any respected male friend of an older generation or sometimes of the speaker’s own generation, not necessarily related by kinship. In this context ‘my father’ takes the tonal form ñ kàà (followed by a nasal linker before consonants) plus the personal name, as in ñ kàà-n-dindi ‘my dad Dindi’ (2017-01 @ 06:20). Lowering kàà to M-toned kàà is typical of compound initials (§5.1.4), suggesting that ñ kàà ‘my father’ with the floating H already applied to kàà is the starting point for the initial, which is then subject to Tone-Leveling (§3.6.3.2). The nasal linker also occurs with other possessors, as in ñn kàà-n-dindi ‘your-Sg dad Dindi’.

Without the personal name, ñ kàà is attested as a vocative addressed to a male friend of any age (even much younger than speaker): ‘(hey) my pal!’ (2017-05 @ 00:03).

6.2.2 Form of possessum

6.2.2.1 No tonal changes except after 1Sg ñ (+H)

The relationship between lexical melody (/…/) and the tonal form of a possessum is shown in (213). The possessum forms were checked with a nonpronominal possessor (sèèdù ‘Seydou’). Such possessors have no effect on the tones of the possessum: sibò ‘snake’, sèèdù sibò ‘Seydou’s snake’, and so forth. However, 1Sg possessor ñ (+H) raises a following L to H.

(213) melody noun ‘Seydou’s ‘my’ gloss

a. 1Sg raises tones of first L of possessum to H
   raises entire /L/ melody stem to H
   /L/ sibò sèèdù sibò ñ sibò ‘snake’
   converts initial-syllable L to H before LH
   /LH/ màlfà sèèdù màlfà mà màlfà ‘rifle’
   /L*H/ tòsìbí sèèdù tòsìbí nòsìbí ‘prayer beads’
   converts initial-syllable L to <HL> before a nonlow tone
   /LH/ tèndé sèèdù tèndé nò tèndé ‘well (n)’
   /LH*/ misìrì sèèdù misìrì mà misìrì ‘mosque’
   ~ mà misìrì
   /LML/ tòjùnò sèèdù tòjùnò nò tòjùnò ‘pigeon’

b. 1Sg does not affect tones of possessum with initial nonlow tone
   /M/ jùgù sèèdù jùgù jì jùgù ‘medication’
   /H/ jápà sèèdù jánà jì jánà ‘shed’
   /ML/ sìisò sèèdù sìisò jì sìisò ‘scissors’
For more on the phonology of 1Sg ḷ (+H) and following possessum, see §3.6.3.1.1.

6.2.2.2 Default possessum pàwⁿ

When the category of the possessum (e.g. ‘dog’ or ‘house’) is already contextually understood, the possessum is expressed minimally by the noun pàwⁿ, plural pàⁿ-ỳè. This is the case in parallel sequences (214a-b) or more generally whenever the possessum type is contextually clear. The 1Sg possessor form is m̀páwⁿ, plural m̀páⁿ-ỳè.

(214) a. [sèèdù yàmbāa] gà bòwⁿ,
    [S house]    be.Loc here,
    [ǹ m̀páⁿ] ỳè ḷ ǹ dāāⁿ [böm bwēy]
    [1Sg Poss] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]
    ‘Seydou’s house is here, (but) mine is far from here.’

b. [sèèdù yàmbā-ỳè] gà bòwⁿ,
    [S house-Pl] be.Loc here,
    [ǹ m̀páⁿ-ỳè] ỳè ḷ ǹ dāāⁿ [böm bwēy]
    [1Sg Poss-Pl] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]
    ‘Seydou’s houses are here, (but) mine are far from here.’

pàwⁿ also occurs in the ‘Y belong to X’ predicate, in the combination pàn ni including the ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.5.2). However, predicative pàn ni is rather fused and does not pluralize or undergo tone sandhi.

6.2.3 Nonpronominal possessors

Nonpronominal possessors immediately precede possessums. There is no genitive morpheme. There are no tonal interactions, except for tone sandhi processes such as Final Tone-Raising in examples like nàā tàbā ‘the cow’s foot’, from nàā ‘cow’. The possessor and possessum can be separately pluralized (215b-c).

(215) a. jénàⁿ yàmbāa
    child  house
    ‘the child’s house’
b. jēnām-bi-gē yāmbāa
   child-Pl-Pl house
   ‘the children’s house’

c. jēnām-bi-gē yāmbāa-yè
   child-Pl-Pl house
   ‘the children’s houses’

6.2.4 Pronominal possessors

Pronominal possessors are in (216), excerpted from §4.3.1.

(216) category possessor

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ŋ (±H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>āⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3ReflSg</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>ē (identical to 1Pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Sg possessor comes with a floating H-tone that is overtly expressed when the possessum begins with L-tone. It has no overt effect when the possessum begins with M or H. See §3.6.3.1.1.

1Pl ē and 3Pl è are distinguished by tones before possessums beginning with M- or L-tone. This is helped by the fact that 3Pl è (and 3Sg à) are not subject to Final Tone-Raising before L-tone. However, M-toned pronouns do drop to L before H-tone by the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H, which merges 1Pl and 3Pl. (217) illustrates 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Pl possessor before nouns of various tone melodies.

(217) pronoun sōgò lōgū jānā kāsò kōbò
      ‘sheep’ ‘mouth’ ‘shed’ ‘jail’ ‘knee’
      /L/ /M/ /H/ /ML/ /LH/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sōgò</th>
<th>lōgū</th>
<th>jānā</th>
<th>kāsò</th>
<th>kōbò</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>m sōgō</td>
<td>n lōgū</td>
<td>ŋ jānā</td>
<td>ŋ kāsò</td>
<td>ŋ kōbò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē sōgō</td>
<td>ē lōgū</td>
<td>ē jānā</td>
<td>ē kāsò</td>
<td>ē kōbò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē sōgō</td>
<td>ē lōgū</td>
<td>ē jānā</td>
<td>ē kāsò</td>
<td>ē kōbò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.5 Recursive possession

A possessed NP can itself be a possessor. Normal tone sandhi occurs, like Final Tone-Raising in ‘father’ in (218a).

(218) a. [sèëdû kàà] yàmbàà
   [S father] house
   ‘Seydou’s father’s house’ (< sèëdû, kàà)

   b. [sèëdû kùŋgóló] pìyë
   [S dog] tail
   ‘Seydou’s dog’s tail’

6.3 Core NP (noun plus adjective)

6.3.1 Tonal interactions between noun and modifying adjective

6.3.1.1 Noun plus uncompounded M- or H-initial modifying adjective

Basic adjectives can have H, M, or ML tones in postnominal position; see the inventory in §4.5.1. There are no basic modifying adjectives that begin with L-tone since adjectives that have L-toned predicative forms have M-toned postnominal forms. With this glaring gap, the tonal patterns are summarized in (219) and illustrated below.

(219) Tonal forms of nouns before adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>/M/</th>
<th>/ML/</th>
<th>/H/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L (&lt; M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L (&lt; M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L (&lt; M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/MLH/</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L (&lt; M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LML/</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns whose melody begins with H or M merge as all-M before adjectives that begin with M-tone. This merger feeds into the tone sandhi rule M#H-to-L#H, accounting for the “L (<M)” cells in
A consequence is that all nouns are L-toned before H-toned adjectives. Nouns whose melody begins with L merge as all-L before adjectives of any tone melody. Such Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2) also applies to nouns as compound initials.

Several minimal pairs of independent noun stems are merged in noun-adjective combinations. For example, H-toned kóló ‘squared basket’ and M-toned kóló ‘Nile monitor lizard’ merge as kóló before an adjective beginning with a nonhigh tone, and as kóló before an H-toned adjective.

Although L-initial and non-low initial (H- and M-initial) nouns merge as L-toned before an H-toned adjective, the L-initial and non-low-initial nouns have different tone-sandhi effects on a preceding L-toned word or particle. The noun undergoes Final Tone-Raising prior to the application of M#H-to-L#H on the noun. In (220), observe the tone of Ipv gá/gá. It is raised to M in (220a) because the following noun ‘chicken’ or ‘cow’ begins in a lexical (though not surface) L-tone. It is not raised in (220b) because the following noun ‘goat’ or ‘dog’ begins with a nonlow tone lexically.

\[
\text{(220)\ melody\ noun\ gloss\ }
\text{‘I (regularly) sell a big __’}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a. /LH/} & \text{sábá} & \text{‘chicken’} \\
\text{/L/} & \text{nàà} & \text{‘cow’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{b. /M/} & \text{súgò} & \text{‘goat’} \\
\text{/H/} & \text{kúngóló} & \text{‘dog’}
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, only nouns with L-initial lexical melodies are accessible to floating tones coming from the left, specifically from a preceding 1Sg possessor ɻ (+H) or demonstrative kó (±M). In (221), note the initial tone of the bolded nouns preceding ‘big’, which show the effect of the floating H in (221a) but not (221b).

\[
\text{(221)\ melody\ noun\ gloss\ ‘my big __’\ ‘this big __’}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a. /LH/} & \text{sábá} & \text{‘chicken’} \\
\text{/L/} & \text{nàà} & \text{‘cow’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{b. /M/} & \text{súgò} & \text{‘goat’} \\
\text{/H/} & \text{kúngóló} & \text{‘dog’}
\end{array}
\]

In these combinations 1Sg ɻ (+H) is always distinguishable from Logo/3ReflSg ɻ, which remains M-toned and does not have a floating tone.

The following data arrays are organized on the basis of the lexical melodies of the noun. The order of presentation is /H/, /M/, /L/, then the contoured melodies.
Combinations with /H/-melodic sáà‘thorn-branch fence’ and ɲárágö ‘calabash cover’ are in (222). They drop from /H/ melody to M-toned (222b-c), and in (222a) they drop further from M to L.

(222)  a. adjective has /H/ melody
        sààn sífê ‘old fence’
        ɲárágö sífê ‘old calabash cover’

    b. adjective has /M/ melody
        sáān tōy ‘new fence’
        ɲárágö tōy ‘new calabash cover’

    c. adjective has /ML/ melody
        ɲárágö pūlū-gù ‘soft calabash cover’
        ɲárágö bìllâ-nà ‘narrow calabash cover’

Combinations with /M/-melodic pwö ‘thing’ (becoming pā before modifier) and yógö ‘fish’ are in (223). They show the same tonal patterns seen in (222) above.

(223)  a. adjective has /H/ melody
        pā sífê ‘old thing’
        yógö sífê ‘old fish’

    b. adjective has /M/ melody
        pā tōy ‘new thing’
        yógö tōy ‘new fish’

    c. adjective has /ML/ melody
        pā pūlū-gù ‘soft thing’
        pā bìllâ-nà ‘narrow thing’

Combinations with /L/-melodic nàà ‘cow’, sibö ‘snake’, kànnà ‘friend’, and tôŋ önà ‘truth’ are in (224). These nouns remain L-toned throughout.

(224)  a. adjective has /H/ melody
        nàà sífê ‘old cow’
        sibö sífê ‘old snake’
        kànnà sífê ‘old friend’
        tôŋ önà sífê ‘old truth’
b. adjective has /M/ melody
nàà töy  ‘new cow’
sibó töy  ‘new snake’
kànà töy  ‘new friend’
tɔŋnɔ töy  ‘new truth’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody
nàà pûlû-gû  ‘soft cow’
nàà bîllâ-nà  ‘narrow cow’

Combinations with /LH/-melodic nouns gêjé ‘arrow’ and wûjûn ‘giant pouched rat’, /LH*/-melodic gårîbû ‘child beggar’ and misîrî ‘mosque’, and /LML/-melodic mòbôlî ‘vehicle’ and yàmbàa ‘house’, are in (225). These nouns all begin with L-tone followed by a higher tone. They level to all-L before adjectives.

(225) a. adjective has /H/ melody
gêjé sîlê  ‘old arrow’
wûjûn sîlê  ‘old pouched rat’
gårîbû sîlê  ‘old child beggar’
miûrî sîlê  ‘old mosque’
mòbôlî sîlê  ‘old vehicle’
yàmbàa sîlê  ‘old house’

b. adjective has /M/ melody
gêjè töy  ‘new arrow’
wûjùn töy  ‘new pouched rat’
gårîbù töy  ‘new child beggar’
miûrî töy  ‘new mosque’
mòbôlî töy  ‘new vehicle’
yàmbàa töy  ‘new house’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody
gêjé bîllà-nà  ‘narrow arrow’
gêjè pûlû-gû  ‘soft arrow’
miûrî bîllà-nà  ‘narrow mosque’
yàmbàa bîllà-nà  ‘narrow house’

Combinations with /ML/-melodic nouns têê ‘tea’, kàsò ‘jail’, mûlî ‘holy man’, cûllû ‘dust’, sàakû ‘sack’, jiûjàw ‘face’, and gîlàw ‘cowry’ are in (226). They level to all-M before level-toned adjectives, and in (226a) the all-M then drops to all-L before H-tone. In (226b), the ML#M
A combination is realized as MM#L, with the familiar tone-leveling of the noun but also with the shift of the noun’s final L-tone onto the adjective. The ML#ML combinations in (226c) undergo no tone changes; they are the only combination that fails to tone-level a contour-toned noun.

(226)  

a. adjective has /H/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tèè sîlē</td>
<td>‘old tea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâsò sîlē</td>
<td>‘old jail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔl(i) sîlē</td>
<td>‘old holy man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɔllɔ sîlē</td>
<td>‘old dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sààkù sîlē</td>
<td>‘old sack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲînjà sîlē</td>
<td>‘old face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîlà” sîlē</td>
<td>‘old cowry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. adjective has /M/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tèè tôy</td>
<td>‘new tea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâsò tôy</td>
<td>‘new jail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔl(i) tôy</td>
<td>‘new holy man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɔllɔ tôy</td>
<td>‘new dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sààkù tôy</td>
<td>‘new sack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲînjän tôy</td>
<td>‘new face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîlàn tôy</td>
<td>‘new cowry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cɔllɔ pûlû-gù</td>
<td>‘soft dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sààkù billà-nà</td>
<td>‘narrow sack’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations with /MLH/-melodic bânnà ‘manner’ and māangòrō ‘mango’ are in (227). They too level to all-M before M (227b-c), and then drop from all-M to all-L before H (227a).

(227)  

a. adjective has /H/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bânnà sîlē</td>
<td>‘old manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâângòrō sîlē</td>
<td>‘old mango’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. adjective has /M/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bânnà tôy</td>
<td>‘new manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâângòrō tôy</td>
<td>‘new mango’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bânnà pûlû-gù</td>
<td>‘soft manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâângòrō pûlû-gù</td>
<td>‘soft arrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bāānā billā-nā ‘narrow manner’
māāŋgōrō billā-nā ‘narrow mango’

6.3.1.2 Noun plus LH-toned adjective

As noted in the preceding section and elsewhere, there are no basic modifying adjectives with /L/ or /LH/ melodies, since adjectives that have L-toned predicative forms become M-toned as postnominal modifiers. There are, however, some composite L-H toned modifiers, with L-toned initial and H-toned final. This means that the L-toned initial may have been dropped from a nonlow tone due to the H-toned final.

There are three kinds of L-H modifiers. One is dēgē-nāwⁿ ‘small’, which ends in a recognizable diminutive derivational suffix (§5.1.7.1). The stem dēgē- does not occur without the suffix and corresponds transparently to no verb (§4.5.1.2.2), so its lexical melody is opaque. The second kind is bahuvrihis such as bōndō-bānū ‘big-necked’ (§5.2.1.1). The initial in bahuvrihis does occur independently, so its lexical melody is determinable, in this case bōndō ‘neck’. Both dēgē-nāwⁿ and bahuvrihis interact with preceding nouns in the manner of adjectives. The third type consists of the quantifier tāā-yè ‘certain (ones)’ (§6.3.2.1), which behaves tonally like other quantifiers.

(228) shows how nouns of varying melodies combine with ‘small’ and with a bahuvrihi.

(228) melody noun gloss ‘small’ ‘big-necked’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/H/</th>
<th>kōlō</th>
<th>‘basket’</th>
<th>kōlō dēgē-nāwⁿ</th>
<th>kōlō bōndō-bānū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>yōgō</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>yōgō dēgē-nāwⁿ</td>
<td>yōgō bōndō-bānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ML/</td>
<td>sāākū</td>
<td>‘sack’</td>
<td>sāākū dēgē-nāwⁿ</td>
<td>sāākū bōndō-bānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/MLH/</td>
<td>māāŋgōrō</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
<td>māāŋgōrō dēgē-nāwⁿ</td>
<td>māāŋgōrō bōndō-bānū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|   | /L/ | sībō | ‘snake’  | sībō dēgē-nāwⁿ | sībō bōndō-bānū |
|   | /LH/ | wūjūⁿ | ‘rat’    | wūjūn dēgē-nāwⁿ | wūjūm bōndō-bānū |
|   | /LH* | mīsīrī | ‘mosque’ | mīsīrī dēgē-nāwⁿ | mīsīrī bōndō-bānū |
|   | /LML/ | mōbōli | ‘vehicle’ | mōbōli dēgē-nāwⁿ | mōbōli bōndō-bānū |

The initial tone in contour-toned nouns spreads to the end of the stem, and /H/-melodic nouns merge with /M/, so all nouns before ‘small’ or ‘big-necked’ are either all-M (228a) or all-L (228b). The latter fail to undergo Final Tone-Raising before the initial L-tone of the modifiers. This is the case even with bōndō-bānū ‘big-necked’, whose initial is the /L/-melody noun bōndō. Instead, they form an unbroken L-toned string (or terrace) that leads to the H-toned final.

Floating tones attach from the left, triggered by proclitics. The domain to which the floating H of 1Sg 1Sg ŋ (⁺H) is applied is the entire N-Adj complex, so even when the noun (like ‘snake’
or ‘rat’) is the prosodically light ČvČv, and by itself would become ČvČv with a floating H, it appears as ČvČv in N-Adj combinations (229a,c). Logo/3ReflSg possessors are well-separated tonally from 1Sg (229b). Prenominal demonstrative kɔⁿ applies its floating M to the noun stem but not to the adjective (229c).

(229)  

(a)  

[\[\text{ŋ̄} sibò / wūjũ / ... \text{digè-náw}^n\]]  

m  

... / ... / misiri  

1Sg  

snake / rat / mosque  

small  

‘my small snake/rat/mosque’ (< sibò, wūjũ, misiri)

(b)  

[\[\text{ŋ̄} sibò / wūjũ / ... \text{digè-náw}^n\]]  

m  

... / ... / misiri  

Logo/3ReflSg  

snake / rat / mosque  

small  

‘his/her (logophoric or reflexive) small snake/rat/mosque’

(c)  

[kɔⁿ  

sibò / wūjũ / misiri  

\[\text{digè-náw}^n\]]  

[Dem  

snake / rat / mosque  

small]  

‘this small snake/rat/mosque’

The remaining /LH/ melody modifier is the quantifier tàá-yè ‘certain (ones)’ (§6.3.2.1). As with the universal quantifier sāāⁿ, the preceding noun preserves its lexical melody, except for productive tone sandhi. Final Tone-Raising applied to /L/ melody ‘snake’.

(230)  

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{melody} & \text{noun} & \text{gloss} \\
\hline
/H/ & \text{kólō} & \text{‘basket’} \\
/M/ & \text{y̌ǧs̃} & \text{‘fish’} \\
/ML/ & \text{sāākũ} & \text{‘sack’} \\
/MLH/ & \text{māānǧřo} & \text{‘mango’} \\
/L/ & \text{sibò} & \text{‘snake’} \\
/LH/ & \text{wūjũⁿ} & \text{‘rat’} \\
/LH*/ & \text{misiri} & \text{‘mosque’} \\
/LML/ & \text{mòbòli} & \text{‘vehicle’} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘certain (ones)’

Retention of lexical melodies in nouns also occurs with other specific indefinite quantifiers: sùrù ‘the remaining one’ (plural sùrẽ-ẽ), singular-only kũũũⁿ ‘a certain (one)’, and the latter’s suppletive plural p̌-yè ‘certain (ones)’. p̌-yè and kũũũⁿ are M-toned, but preceding nouns do not undergo the tonal changes required before M-initial basic adjectives. These quantificational adjectives behave tonally like nonsingular numerals, and do not control tonal ablaut on preceding nouns.
6.3.1.3 tīnān ‘other’

This modifier behaves like an adjective, not as a possessed noun (as in Djenné Jenaama). An example is sàbà tīnān ‘(an)other chicken’ from sàbá.

6.3.2 Set-partitioning quantificational modifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’)

6.3.2.1 ‘Certain (ones)’ (pɔ̄-yē, tāá-yē)

pɔ̄-yē and tāá-yē are interchangeable stems, always plural, that function as quantificational modifiers or (when the noun is omitted) nouns. They partition off a subset (‘some Xs’) of a larger set (‘all Xs’). One common construction is a parallelistic juxtaposition of two clauses, each with an identical quantified NP (except that the noun is often omitted in the second clause), in the same grammatical function. Especially when the predicates are positive and negative, the two subsets exhaust the larger set. In this case, idiomatic free translations have ‘some Xs’ in the first clause and ‘the others’ in the second.

(231) [ŋ̀sūgō pɔ̄-yē / tāá-yē] bē, [1Sg goat certain-Pl] come.Pfv,
Pɔ̄-yē / tāá-yē tè bē
certain-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv
‘Some of my goats came (back), the others didn’t come (back).’

Nouns do not undergo the tonal changes typical of ordinary noun-adjective combinations when they are followed by pɔ̄-yē or tāá-yē. Instead, the nouns preserve their lexical tones, as they do before nonsingular numerals. See §6.3.2.1 above for additional examples with tāá-yē. Further examples with pɔ̄-yē are kúngóló pɔ̄-yē ‘certain dogs’, misírí pɔ̄-yē ‘certain mosques’, and yàmbāa pɔ̄-yē ‘certain houses’.

6.3.2.2 ‘A certain one’ (kūụn"

When one individual is picked out of the larger set, the quantificational modifier kūụn" is used instead of pɔ̄- or tāá-. 
The etymological affinity between kūūn and the numeral kēwⁿ ‘one’ is no longer apparent to native speakers.

Combinations of noun plus kūūn do not follow the tonal rules for noun-adjective combinations. Nouns preserve their lexical tones before kūūn, as they do before nonsingular numerals and before the plural quantificational modifiers pō-yē and tāá-yē. Examples: kúngóló kūūn ‘a certain dog’, mísírí kūūn ‘a certain mosque’, yàmbàà kūūn ‘a certain house’.

6.3.2.3 Mass-partitioning ‘some (but not all)’

For mass nouns, there is no dedicated quantificational modifier of the types described above (‘certain ones’, ‘a certain’). However, pā-lēwⁿ ~ pō-lēwⁿ ‘a little’ can be used in a comparable parallel construction.

(233) [sáŋó pā-lēⁿ] pìi,;
    [milk a.little] spill.Pfv,
    [(sáŋó) pā-lēŋ] kōndō
    [(milk) a.little] stay.Pfv

‘Some (of the) milk was spilled, some (=the rest) has remained.’

6.3.2.4 Distributive-paucal ‘some (times, places)’

Distributive-paucal ‘some’ in contexts like temporal ‘now and then, at times’ and spatial ‘here and there’ is expressed by iteration of kēwⁿ ‘one’, pronounced kēŋ-kēwⁿ with downstep. If the noun does not already end in a nasalized vowel, a linker ŋ- precedes kēŋ-kēwⁿ. A similar nasal linker occurs in some compounds.

(234) a. wáŋgátú ŋ-kēŋ-kēwⁿ
time one-one
    ‘now and then, occasionally, at times’

b. jàmànàⁿ ŋ-kēŋ-kēwⁿ
time one-one
     [= (a)] (< jàmànàⁿ)
c. gūūⁿ ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ  
place one-one  
‘here and there, in places’

The noun preceding kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ undergoes tonal adjustments illustrated in (235). The initial tone of the noun spreads rightward to the end of the noun, after which a final M-toned mora is raised to H.

(235) melody noun gloss ‘certain (ones)’

a. H-initial noun
/H/ kólö ‘basket’ kólö ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ

b. M-initial noun
/M/ yōgō ‘fish’ yōgō ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ
/ML/ sākū ‘sack’ sākū ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ
/MLH/ māāngorō ‘mango’ māāngorō ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ

c. L-initial noun
/L/ sibō ‘snake’ sibō ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ
/LH/ wūjūⁿ ‘rat’ wūjūŋ kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ
/LH*/ misiri ‘mosque’ misiri ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ
/LML/ mōbōli ‘vehicle’ mōbōli ŋ̱-kēŋ-ɪ-kēwⁿ

Roughly corresponding to English now and then and here and there, but iterating a single adverb, are the expressions in (236). The first two are distributive-paucal in sense, and my assistant finds that the times and places referred to are even more sparsely distributed than in the preceding cases with ‘one-one’. (236c) has a different sense; it occurs in contexts like ‘the doctor will see you shortly’ (reassuring an anxious patient).

(236) a. bōⁿ yēm bōwⁿ  
here and here  
‘here and there’ (< bōwⁿ)

b. wōgātū yēⁿ wōgātū  
time and time  
‘from time to time’
6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

Two adjectives may follow the same noun (N-Adj1-Adj2). The linear order of the adjectives is rather free. My assistant generally prefers the order size-evaluation-color following the noun.

In most N-Adj1-Adj2 combinations, Adj2 is raised to H-toned. For example, ‘black’ and ‘big’ are M-toned as modifiers in simple N-Adj1 strings (237a-b), but whichever adjective is the second adjective in (237c-d) becomes H-toned. The N-Adj1 sequence then drops to L-toned before Adj2 by regular tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H).

(237) a. yàmbàà  pììⁿ
   house    black
   ‘a black house’

b. yàmbàà  bûlîwⁿ
   house    big
   ‘a big house’

c. yàmbàà  bûlòm  pììⁿ
   house    big    black
   ‘a big black house’

d. yàmbàà  pìim  bûlîwⁿ
   house    black    big
   [=c]     

Further examples are in (238). Note in particular that /H/-melodic bánû ‘thick’ drops to L-toned as Adj1 in (238c).

(238) a. yàmbàà  màñam  pììⁿ
   house    good    black
   ‘a good black house’
b. yàmbàà bùlòm mánpàw
  house  big  good
  ‘a good big house’

c. kìyè bànu píi
  stick  thick  black
  ‘a thick black stick’ (< kìyè, bànu)

d. sìlè pìp cìyèw
  rock  black  heavy
  ‘a heavy black rock’ (< sìlè)

e. kùngolò pìi dígé-náw
  dog  black  small
  ‘a small black dog’ (< kùngolò, pìi, dígé-náw)

Example (239) shows the same structure when two color adjectives are combined. Here the English translation requires ‘and’. My assistant indicated that the order shown sounds better to the ear.

(239) yàmbàà kùwòm píi
  house  white  black
  ‘a white-and-black house’

Although the L-L-H tone pattern of the preceding examples is regular, a minority tone pattern (all-M) is attested when Adj1 is dígé-náw ‘small’. (240a) with L-L-H corresponds to the reordered (240b) with M-M-M.

(240) a. kùngolò pìi dígé-náw
  dog  black  small
  ‘a small black dog’ (< kùngolò, pìi, dígé-náw)

b. kùngolò dígé-nám pìi
  dog  small  black
  [= (a)]
6.3.3.2 Basic adjective plus quantificational modifier

Quantificational modifiers are plural pỳ-yè or tàá-yè ‘certain (ones)’ and singular kûûⁿ ‘a certain (one)’. As illustrated in §6.3.2.1, they interact tonally with preceding nouns in the fashion of numerals rather than basic adjectives. Likewise, quantificational adjectives follow other adjectives.

(241) a. yàmbàà  pìŋ  kûûⁿ
   house  black  a.certain
   ‘a certain black house’

   b. yàmbàà  pìim  pỳ-yè / …
      "  piín  … / tàá-yè
   house  black  certain-Pl
   ‘certain black houses’

6.3.3.3 Adjectival intensifiers

An adjective functioning as an NP-internal modifier cannot be directly intensified. All-purpose extent modifiers (‘a lot’, ‘a little’) are adverbial adjuncts and combine only with adjectival predicates (242). Lexicalized adjectival intensifiers were not elicitable (§8.4.6.6).

(242) [ŋ̀ yâmbâa]  piỳ-nâ  nì  yââlôn  / pâ-lëw
     [1Sg  house]  be.black-Ppl  it.is  a.lot  / a.little
   ‘My house is very/slightly black.’

See §8.4.3 for more on extent expressions.

6.3.3.4 ‘Good to eat’

‘X is good to eat’ is phrased as ‘X-eating is good’, and so forth. The subject is a verbal noun. The verbal concept cannot directly modify the predicate adjective.

(243) a. tômôn-dìgè  m  màyn
     jujube-eating(n)  PsRefl  be.good
     ‘Jujube fruits are good to eat.’

   b. [[kàn  jùgù]  kùlèô]
      yè  jì  nìyèw
     [[Dem  tree]  cut.up.VblN]  Sbj/Obj  PsRefl  be.easy
     ‘Chopping up that tree is easy.’ (< kàn jùgù)
c. sūŋ-kūmē   yē   ñ   nōgōrōw
fly(n)-catch.VblN  Sbj/Obj  PsRefl  be.difficult
‘Flies are difficult to catch.’

6.4  Noun or N-Adj plus numeral

6.4.1  Regular N-Num and N-Adj-Num sequences

Numerals follow nouns and N-Adj combinations. No inversion of numeral and adjective is allowed (244c).

(244) a. sūgō   pēndē
     goat   two
     ‘two goats’

   b. sūgō   pīn
     goat   black
     ‘(a/the) black goat’

   c. sūgō   pīm   pēndē
     goat   black   two
     ‘two black goats’ (not #sūgō pēndē pīn)

There is no plural marker (-yè) in NPs containing a nonsingular numeral.

6.4.1.1  Combination of noun plus numeral ‘1’

Examples of kēw ‘1’ (§4.6.1.1) after nouns of different tone classes are in (245). The tonal patterns show that kēw is treated like a postnominal adjective (§6.4.1.1). The linking element -laŋ (M or L tone spread from the noun stem), arguably analysable as -la plus the nasal linker, is added to most nouns that do not already end in diminutive -lēw or -nāw. Any noun beginning with a non-low tone merges tonally with the M-toned onset of the numeral (245a), by regular Tone Leveling. Any noun beginning with L-tone is likewise leveled to all-L (245b), except that L-H toned diminutives, like ‘sapling’ (245d), can flatten to M-toned.
(245) melody noun ‘one …’ gloss

a. /H/ kóló kóló-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’
   /M/ yōgō yōgō-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘fish’
   /ML/ kāsō kāsō-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘jail’

b. /L/ sibò sibò-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘snake’
   yūgōⁿ yūgōⁿ-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘woman’
   /LH/ gējē gējē-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘arrow’
   sāaⁿ sāaⁿ-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘well-bag (puisette)’
   /LH*/ misirī misirī-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘mosque’
   /LML/ mōbōlī mōbōlī-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘vehicle’

c. irregular (human)
   /M/ jīmi jāŋ kēwⁿ ‘person’

d. diminutive nouns
   /L-H/ jūgū-nāwⁿ jūgū-nāŋ kēwⁿ ‘sapling’ (< jūgū ‘tree’)
   /M-M/ yōgō-lēwⁿ yōgō-lēŋ kēwⁿ ‘minnor’ (< yōgō ‘fish’)

e. compounds
   /L-H/ nāpōrō-tūgū nāpōrō-tūgū-lāŋ kēwⁿ ‘rich man’

For distributive (η- )kēŋ-’kēwⁿ see §6.3.2.4.

6.4.1.2 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’

Basic numerals have either /L/ or /M/ melody (§4.6.1.2). Using /M/-melody sēkī ‘8’ and /L/-melody nātāwⁿ ‘4’ as examples, combinations with nouns of various tone classes are in (246). There is no special tonal ablaut between noun and numeral, in contrast to N-Adj combinations. Routine tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) occurs in the combination of an L-toned noun and the L-toned numeral ‘4’ (246b). This process can also apply to kāsō and mōbōlī, resulting in variants kāsō nātāwⁿ ‘four jails’ and mōbōlī nātāwⁿ ‘four.

(246) melody noun ‘eight …’ ‘four …’ gloss

a. /H/ kólō kólō sēkī kólō nātāwⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’
   /M/ yōgō yōgō sēkī yōgō nātāwⁿ ‘fish’
   /ML/ kāsō kāsō sēkī kāsō nātāwⁿ ‘jail’
Different tonal rules apply when the noun-numeral sequence is a bahuvrihi compound like ‘two-headed’ (§5.2.1.2).

6.4.1.3 Combination of noun plus decimal numeral

These combinations have the same tonal pattern as nouns plus numerals ‘2’ to ‘10’.

(247) a. misirí dèbbé
    mosque forty
    ‘40 mosques’

    b. misirí tām-pēndē
    mosque ten-two
    ‘twenty mosques’

6.4.1.4 Combination of noun plus higher numeral

These combinations are also tonally regular.

(248) a. misirí [tēmdērē pēndē]
    mosque [hundred two]
    ‘200 mosques’

    b. misirí mújū
    mosque thousand
    ‘1000 mosques’
6.4.2 ‘Many’ and ‘few’

6.4.2.1 pā̀-lōwⁿ ~ pā̀-lēwⁿ ‘many/much’

This quantificational adjective follows both count nouns (‘many Xs’) and mass nouns (‘much X’). It does not occur as a predicate adjective, in which function it is replaced by kōⁿ ‘be many’, a pseudo-reflexive verb, as in ē yè ŋ kōⁿ ‘we are many’.

pā̀-lōwⁿ ~ pā̀-lēwⁿ has ML.M tones, a typical compound pattern, as suggested by the hyphens. Its combinations with nouns of various melodic classes in (249) show that it is treated tonally like adjectives and the (adjectival) numeral ‘one’, rather than like nonsingular numerals and the free quantificational modifiers. Neither the noun nor the quantifier takes plural suffix -yè. I use the variant pā̀-lōwⁿ here but the variant pā̀-lēwⁿ can substitute for it.

(249) melody noun ‘many/much …’ gloss

a. /H/ kólō kólō pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’
   /M/ yōgō yōgō pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘fish’
   /ML/ kāsō kāsō pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘jail’

b. /L/ sibō sibō pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘snake’
   /LH/ gēôme gēôme pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘arrow’
   /LH*/ misiri misiri pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘mosque’
   /LML/ mōbōli mōbōli pā̀-lōwⁿ ‘vehicle’

While pā̀-lōwⁿ differs from kūrūⁿ ‘a certain’ and the latter’s relatives in its tonosyntactic properties, the two occur in the same linear position, following other adjectives.

(250) yōgō pīm pā̀-lōwⁿ
   fish black many
   ‘many black fish’ (not #yōgō pā̀-lōwⁿ pīm)

‘A lot’, either abstract or with understood but covert common noun, is pā̀ pā̀-lōwⁿ, literally ‘many things’. Note the unexpected tone of pā̀-lōwⁿ in this combination. This ‘a lot’ phrase can function adverbially, but in (251) it is treated as an object NP, effectively transitivizing ‘sleep’ in the process (compare ŋ kūmū ‘I slept’).

(251) a. ŋ =ńam [pā̀ pā̀-lēwⁿ] tōlō
   1Sg Sbj/Obj [thing many] sell.Pfv
   ‘I sold a lot/many.’
b. ŋ̄ = nām [pā̀ pā̀-lṑŋ] kūmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj [thing many] sleep.Pfv
‘I slept a lot.’

The noun modified by pā̀-lṑŋ may take a possessor, expressing a partitive relationship (252a-b). If ‘many’ modifies a plural pronoun, the phrasing can be either ‘our/your/their many people’ (252c) or possessive ‘a lot of our/your/their people’ (252d).

(252) a. [[ŋ̄ nāá] pā̀-lṑŋ] wά̀
[1Sg cow many] die.Pfv
‘Many of my cows died.’

b. ŋ̄ = nām [[ŋ̄ nāá] pā̀-lṑŋ] tōlō
1Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Sg cow] many] sell.Pfv
‘I sold many of my cows.’

c. ē njīmī pā̀-lṑŋ
1Pl person many
‘many of us’

d. [ē njīmī] pā̀ pā̀-lṑŋ
[1Pl person] thing many
 [= (c)]

6.4.2.2 dāmā-dāmā ‘a few, a little of’

This quantificational adjective requires a preceding noun, minimally a light noun like pā̀ ‘thing’ or njīmī ‘person’. In addition to countable nouns, it can co-occur with some but not all mass nouns, namely those that denote granular substances (but not liquids like ‘water’). The tones are the regular ones for N-Adj sequences with M-toned adjectives. An ML-toned noun (‘sugar’, ‘tea’) shifts its L-tone onto the adjective. There is no plural suffixation.

(253) noun dāmā-dāmā gloss
yāmbā̀ yāmbā̀ dāmā-dāmā ‘a few houses’
kūngōlō kūngōlō dāmā-dāmā ‘a few dogs’
nā̀ nā̀ dāmā-dāmā ‘a few cows’
yūgṑ n yūgṑn dāmā-dāmā ‘a few women’
njīmī njīmī dāmā-dāmā ‘a few people’
In text 2017-01 @ 00:34, the (young) speaker says ‘we have a few questions’, using French *question* with dāmā-dāmā.

Adjective dāmā-dāmā ‘a few’ is evidently related to the adverb dāmā ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1). The adverb has its own iterative form dāmā-dāmā.

(254) mā́ngó́́ ḏá́má-dá́má gā = [á sú́gi-y]

mango **Iter-only** be.Loc [3Sg hand-Loc]

‘He has only (=nothing but) mangoes.’

6.5 **NP with determiner**

6.5.1 **Prenominal demonstrative plus noun**

The demonstratives that occur without modified nouns are those in (255), repeated from §4.4.2 above.

(255) type singular plural

a. general kú kú-yè
b. discourse-definite ɲò nò-yè

The following subsections present combinations of demonstratives, in different forms, with nouns. Unlike other modifiers, these demonstratives precede rather than follow the modified noun. It is possible to add definite gu later in the NP.

6.5.1.1 **Floating M with prenominal demonstrative kòn (+M) or ɲòn (+M)**

Prenominal demonstratives kòn (+M) or ɲòn (+M) come with a floating M-tone that is realized on the following noun if the noun’s lexical melody begins with L. Unlike 1Sg possessor ŋ̄ (+H), whose floating H is limited to the first one or two syllables of the noun, the M of kòn (+M) or ɲòn (+M) spreads over the entire noun stem. See §3.6.3.1.2 for details and examples of the tonal patterns.
6.5.2 Definite gu following noun (and inner modifiers)

Discourse-definite demonstrative gu (§4.4.2) follows the noun and its inner modifiers. It is atonal, and gets its surface tone from the noun. See §3.6.4.2 for the tonology.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 ‘All’ (sāā"

The basic universal quantifier is sāā", following the noun and any inner modifiers. It can be added directly to pronouns. The tonal form of the noun (or the noun plus inner modifiers) is not affected by sāā". A pronunciation háá" has also been recorded.

In the sense ‘all’, if the noun denotes a set of individuals as opposed to a mass, it is normally marked for plurality (suffix -yè or irregular plural) for human and animate sets, less reliably for inanimates. Mass nouns like ‘milk’ do not pluralize (255a). As an alternative to plural noun plus sāā", one can add plural -yè directly to sāā". (255b) therefore has two versions.

\[(256)\]
\[a. \text{ à } [\text{ságó sāām}] \text{ mèw}^n\]
\[3\text{Sg} \text{ milk all} \text{ drink.Pfv}\]

‘He/She drank all the milk.’

\[b. \text{ à } [\text{yàmbáá-yè sāā"}] \text{ tōlō} \text{ yàmbàá sāā"-yè}\]
\[3\text{Sg} \text{ 3RefSg house(-Pl) all(-Pl)} \text{ sell.Pfv}\]

‘He sold all of his houses.’

\[c. \text{ à } \text{ gè=} [\text{=ē sāā"}] \text{ wàgā}\]
\[3\text{Sg} \text{ 1pfv 1Pl all} \text{ kill.1pfv}\]

‘He/She will kill us all.’

\[d. \text{ kú sāā"
}
\[\text{Dem all}\]

‘all that’

\[e. [\text{nògù sāān}] \text{ nìŋũ} \text{ village all Loc}\]

‘in all the villages’
Everything is à sāⁿ with 3Sg pronominal possessor in partitive function (257a). Its plural à sāⁿ-yē means ‘all of them’ with reference to a nonhuman set. ‘Everyone’ is è sāⁿ with 3Pl pronominal (257b).

(257) a. å = [å sāän] digā
    3Sg [3Sg all] eat.Pfv
    ‘He/She ate everything.’

    b. [è sāam] bē
    [3Pl all] come.Pfv
    ‘Everyone has come.’

sāⁿ can also function as distributive ‘each’. In this case neither the noun nor the quantifier is pluralized. Distributive sense is clearest when the NP with sāⁿ is paired with another quantified or possessed NP. In (258), ‘child’ is singular in form and is coindexed distributively with the possessor of ‘father’.

(258) [jénaⁿ sāⁿ] bē [fj kàà] ni]
     [child all] come.Pfv  [[3ReflSg father] Inst]
    ‘Each child brought his/her father.’

mà sāⁿ (variant mà hāⁿ) is a specialized form ‘each one, anyone’, ranging from human to inanimate, that can be used when no other noun or pronoun is present (§14.1.2). It is a slightly irregular combination of relative màwⁿ and sāⁿ.

(259) [mà sāän] nàm bē, àŋ gālā = å sē
     [Rel all] if.Pfv come.Pfv, 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv
     [fn nà bōwⁿ]
     [1Sg not.be.Loc here]
    ‘If anyone comes, say that I am not here.’

See also mà sāⁿ in (329c) in §8.4.4.4.

6.6.2 Quantifiers with negation

6.6.2.1 Negation and sāⁿ ‘all’

Clausal negation scopes over a universal quantifier.
(260) ǹ tè [bíyèⁿ sāⁿ] digā
1Sg PfvNeg [egg all] eat.Pfv
‘I didn’t eat all the eggs.’

6.6.2.2  sí and -sí ‘not) any’

‘Nothing’ is pà-sí under clausal negation (261a). pà is the premodifier form of pwɔ ‘thing’. -sí is contracted from sí ‘any’. pwɔ by itself can mean ‘anything’ or ‘something’ (261b). In (261a), tè remains L-toned on the grounds that the following pà is lexically M-toned, though it is dropped by tone sandhi to pà in pà-sí.

(261) a. ǹ tè pà-sí digā
1Sg PfvNeg anything eat.Pfv
‘I haven’t eaten anything.’

b. āⁿ nàn pwɔ digā,
2Sg if.Pfv anything eat.Pfv,
à gà = āⁿ wɔbɔ-ní
3Sg Ipfv 2Sg sicken-Caus.Ipfv
‘If you-Sg eat something/anything, it will make you sick.’

c. sèēdù pwɔ digā,
3Sg something eat.Pfv,
wɔgā = ā wɔbɔ-ní gà
3Sg.Indep 3Sg sicken-Caus.Pfv RemPfv
‘Seydou ate something, that’s what made him sick.’

sí ~ sí ‘(not) any’ is added to other nouns under the scope of negation (262a). The short form sí occurs in lexicalized forms with bare singular nouns and is transcribed as a suffix, as in pà-sí illustrated just above and ɲimì-sí ‘anyone’ (262d). For bàà sí in greeting sequences, see (898a) in §19.6.1. Alternatively, sí can be added in partitive function to a morphologically pluralized noun (262b) or to a pronominal proclitic (262e). Subjects, just like NPs in any other function, can take sí(í) (262c-d).

(262) a. ǹ tè [yàmbāà sí] tölö
1Sg PfvNeg [house any] sell.Pfv
‘I haven’t sold any houses.’
b. ñ tē [[kān yàmbāā-yē] sǐ] tōlō
1Sg PfvNeg [[Dem house-Pl] any] sell.Pfv
‘I haven’t sold any of these houses.’

c. [yàmbāā sǐ] tē sēw’n
[house any] PfvNeg fall.Pfv
‘No house(s) fell.’

d. ŋimī-sí nā bē sò
person-any IpfvNeg Fut go.Pfv
‘Nobody will go.’

e. à yē [ń nā dwō3 [[è sǐ] kāw’n]]
3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg enter.Pfv [[3Pl any] chez]]
‘She said, “I won’t go in with any of them, …” ’ (2017-06 @ 00:26)

My assistant rejected the combination of sān ‘all’ with immediately following sí.

6.7 Accusative (absent)

There is no morphological accusative marking on direct object NPs.
7 Coordination

7.1 Conjunction (yèⁿ or yèhĩĩñi)

The usual ‘and’ conjunction between two NPs or adverbial X and Y is yèⁿ.

There are two other particles of the same form yèⁿ. One functions as bidirectional casemarker, separating subject from (mainly pronominal) objects in the inflectionally unmarked perfective positive. Another occurs in plural-addresssee imperatives. All three yèⁿ particles contract with a following vocalic pronominal like 3Sg à or 3Pl è, resulting in long vowels that do not carry over nasality, e.g. yèⁿ à → yā = à (including Final Tone-Raising).

For this reason, there is a risk of confusing these three particles with a fourth morpheme, yè ~ yě ‘said’, which also contracts with a following vowel, and to some extent with nominal plural -yè. On the latter see §7.1.4 below.

7.1.1 NP conjunction

Two NP conjuncts are linked by yèⁿ ‘and’. To avoid any mis-parsing, a longer variant yèhĩĩñi can also be used.

yèⁿ raises to yĕⁿ (<LM>-toned, but often heard with mid pitch when the nasal is not articulated as a homorganic consonant) by Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone (263a,b,d). An L-toned left conjunct also undergoes Final Tone-Raising before yèⁿ (263c,e,f) when the conjoined NP is tightly phrased (263f).

(263) a. këégũ yèⁿ yùgõⁿ
       man and woman
       ‘a man and a woman’

       b. dǐgëwⁿ yĕⁿ wày
           yesterday and today
           ‘yesterday and today’

       c. bōwⁿ yèⁿ yāwⁿ
           here and there.Def
           ‘here and there (definite)’ (< bōwⁿ)
d. sògò-lò̄n yèn nàà
sheep and cow
‘a sheep and a cow’ (< sògò-lò̄wⁿ)

e. nàà yèⁿ sùgò
cow and goat
‘a cow and a goat’ (< nàà)

f. sùmpùwò yèn nàà
donkey and cow
‘a donkey and a cow (< sùmpùwò)

See also wùlāā [yèⁿ wùlāā] ‘who and who?’ in §13.2.2.2. For yèⁿ or vestiges of it in composite numerals see §4.6.1.4-5.

The extended variant yèhīnī is illustrated in (264).

(264) a. kòyówⁿ yèhīnī bìyèwⁿ
stone and egg
‘a stone and an egg’

b. nàmà-gèwⁿ yèhīnī bàrà
Namagué and Bara
‘Namagué and Bara (villages)’

c. tùbā yèhīnī yàmbàà
granary and house
‘a granary and a house’ (< tùbà)

For conjoined NPs as heads of relative clauses, see §14.2.2.

7.1.2 Three or more conjuncts

It is possible to conjoin three or more NPs. The conjunction yèⁿ may precede all nonitial conjuncts, or it may occur only once, before the final conjunct (265a-b). Triple and longer conjunctions are more often expressed as lists (enumerations) with their distinctive prosody (§7.1.10).

(265) a. ŋ-dògò(,) [yà = ān-dògò(,) [yè = è-lògò]
1Sg-Indep(,) [and 2Sg-Indep] [and 3Pl-Indep]
‘me, you-Sg, and them’
7.1.3 Pronouns as conjuncts

In the absence of conjunction, simple pronominal arguments are most often proclitic (266a), unless focalized (266b). When a pronoun is the left or right conjunct of a conjoined NP, it takes full independent pronominal form regardless of syntactic function or focalization (266c-d). # means ungrammatical.

(266) a. ṃ ḅ
    1Sg come.Pfv
    ‘I have come.’

b. ñ-dógó ḅ
    1Sg-Indep come.Pfv
    ‘I have come.’

c. [sèdù ỵ ñ-dógó] ḅ
    [S and 1Sg-Indep] come.Pfv
    ‘Seydou and I came.’

d. [ñ-dógó ỵ [ñ káá]] gá ḅ
    [1Sg-Indep and 1Sg father] Ipfv come.Ipfv
    ‘I and my father will come.’

e. ñ-dógó ỵ [ñ sügô]
    [1Sg-Indep and 1Sg goat]
    ‘I and my goat’

7.1.4 Plural NPs as both left and right conjuncts

When both conjuncts are plural NPs other than pronouns, the left conjunct sometimes takes unmarked “singular” form although it is interpreted as plural. Therefore (267a) has one variant with plural-marked left conjunct and another without this marking.
The background to this is that the productive plural suffix is -ye (-yê or -yè depending on the tones of the stem). It may contract with the stem-final syllable especially in longer words. More to the point, it can also contract with yê ‘and’ as -yê = êⁿ (or as -yê = êⁿ before L-tone), just as it can contract with the bidirectional case marker yè. It may be that such contractions have led to a reanalysis whereby plural suffixation is optionally dropped on left conjuncts in contexts where plurality can be inferred. That such reanalysis is going on is suggested by combinations where the noun functioning as left conjunct has a different plural form (suffix -be) that is not at risk of misinterpretation.

(268) a. sògà-lêⁿ yèn sùgê-ê
    sògà-lêm-bê sheep(-Pl) and goat-Pl
    ‘sheep and goats’

    b. yùgôⁿ yèn këëgê-ê
    yùgòm-bê woman(-Pl) and man-Pl
    ‘women and men’

    c. këëgû yêⁿ yùgòm-bê
    këëgê-ê man(-Pl) and woman-Pl
    ‘men and woman’

7.1.5 Preferential ordering of coordinands

There are some preferential tendencies for relative ordering of left and right coordinands. Other things being equal, the preferred ordering of two pronouns is 1st>2nd>3rd. Other orders are not ungrammatical but are less common.

(269) a. ñ-dógó yà = ān-dógó
    1Sg-Indep and 2Sg-Indep
    ‘me and you’
b. ãn-dɔgɔ̀ yèŋ wɔgɔ̀
   2Sg-Indep and 3Sg.Indep
   ‘you-Sg and him/her’

There appear to be no preferences based on nominal semantics or euphony. For example, there is no preferred ordering of ‘men’ versus ‘women’ or of ‘sheep’ versus ‘goats’.

7.1.6 Reflexive possessor ŋ̄ in right conjunct

If one conjunct denotes an individual X and the other denotes a possession or a relative of X, X normally takes left conjunct position. If the NP serving as left conjunct denotes a single individual other than the current speaker or addressee, it binds a 3Sg reflexive pronominal possessor (§18.1.3) in the right conjunct (270).

(270) sèēdû yè [ŋ̄ kàà]
   S and [3ReflSg father]
   ‘Seydoux and hisx father.’

7.1.7 ‘X and Y’ with a broad-scope modifier

The basic principle is that both conjuncts in a conjoined NP must be complete.

When a modifier (possessor, adjective, determiner, numeral) has scope over both conjuncts, it is repeated. In (271), the repeated modifier is bolded in the interlinear. It is a possessor in (271a-b), an adjective in (271c), a demonstrative in (271d), and a numeral in (271e). Omission of the repeated modifier results in ungrammaticality (or in a narrow-scope reading). Free English translations show optional “conjunction” reduction (except with numerals).

(271) a. à [[ŋ̄ sɔgɔ̀-lɛm-bè] yè [ŋ̄ sùgè-è]] tɔlɔ̀
   3Sg [[3ReflSg sheep-Pl] and [3ReflSg goat-Pl]] sell.Pfv
   ‘Heₓ sold hisₓ sheep and hisₓ goats.’

   b. è yè= [[ě sɔgɔ̀-lɛm-bè] yè= [ě sùgè-è]]
   3Pl Sbj/Obj [[3ReflPl sheep-Pl] and [3ReflPl goat-Pl]]
   tɔlɔ̀ sell.Pfv
   ‘Theyₓ sold theirₓ sheep and (theirₓ) goats.’
c. ṅ = nà [[sùgò  sílé(-yē)] yēⁿ [sùgò⁻lēⁿ sílé = yē]] sàwⁿ
1Sg Sbj/Obj [[goat old(-Pl)] and [sheep old-Pl]] buy.Pfv
‘I bought some old goats and (old) sheep.’

d. [kàn sùg̃-lêm-bê] yēŋ [kàn sùg̃-ê]
[Dem sheep-Pl] and [Dem goat-Pl]
‘these sheep and (these) goats’

e. [sùg̃-lêm pêndê] yēⁿ [sùg̃ pêndê]
[Sheep two] and [goat two]
‘two sheep and two goats’

The universal quantifier ‘all’ may occur after the entire NP with broad scope (272a,c). My assistant was uncomfortable with a proposed alternative with sāⁿ repeated after the left conjunct ‘women’. He suggested that such a duplicate ‘all’ could only occur in a preclausal double-topic construction with pauses, without yēⁿ ‘and’, and with a resumptive pronoun and another ‘all’ in the clause proper (272b).

(272) a. [[yùgōⁿ yēŋ kēgê⁻ê] sāⁿ] bē
[[woman and man-Pl] all] come.Pfv
‘All the women and men came.’

b. yùgòm-bê sāⁿ, kēgê⁻ê sāⁿ, [è sāⁿ] bē
woman-Pl all, man-Pl all, [3Pl all] come.Pfv
‘All the women, all the men, they all came.’

c. ṅ = nā = à sē
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv
[[kēgū yēⁿ yùgòm-bê] sāän] tē
[[man and woman-Pl] all] Dat
‘I told (=said it) to all the men and women.’

7.1.8 ‘X and Y’ with a shared postposition

A single postposition can readily take an entire conjoined NP as its complement (273a-b).

(273) a. à ñ̇ kó [[sùg̃⁻lēⁿ yēⁿ sùg̃] nì]
3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [[sheep and goat] Inst]
‘He gave me (=provided me with) a sheep and a goat.’ (< ñ̇(+H) kó)
b. ŋ = nā = à sē
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv
[[[ŋ̀ káá] yà = [[āŋ kàá]] tē] [[1Sg father] and [2Sg father] Dat] ‘I told (“said it”) to my father and (to) your father.’

For (273b) but not (273a), my assistant accepted a variant with conjoined PPs, i.e. with a duplicate postposition (274). However, he prefers (273b) with just one postposition.

(274) ŋ = nā = à sē
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv
[[[ŋ̀ káá] tē] yà = [[āŋ kàá]] tē] [[1Sg father] Dat] and [[2Sg father] Dat] ‘I told (“said it”) to my father and (to) your father.’

Two PPs with different postpositions (or nouns with locative suffixes) can be conjoined.

(275) ē gā sō [tèndé kànà] yèhīnī sōñ̄-y
1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [well(n) at] and the.bush-Loc ‘We are going to the well and out to the bush.’

7.1.9 Conjunctions under the scope of negation

Unlike English, a conjunction has scope over negation. (276) is literally “I don’t like [couscous and cowpea].” It doesn’t mean that I dislike the combination. It means I can’t stand couscous and I can’t stand cowpeas. Note ‘or’ rather than ‘and’ in the free translation.

(276) ŋ nà [lākiri yèn sàbùlà] pōg̊
1Sg IpfvNeg [couscous and cowpea] like.Ipfv ‘I don’t like (either) couscous or cowpeas.’ (< lākiri)
7.1.10 Lists (incompleteness intonation plus yèhīnì)

Long enumerations of nouns or NPs require an \{LH\} overlay on each nonfinal listed item with just the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) H-toned. The final item has its regular tones. It may be preceded by yèhīnì ‘and (finally)’, which functions as an extended form of yèyⁿ ‘and’.

In (277), gā ‘be’ at the end of the first line, before the list proper, is prolonged with slowly falling pitch (§3.7.2). The items in the list proper, except the final one, have incompleteness prosody as in polar questions (§13.2.1.2). This is expressed by raising a final L-or M-toned syllable to H, further enhanced by an above-modal terminal pitch level. The nonfinal items optionally prolong their final syllable (→). The extra duration (when present) is variable (uncalibrated).

(277) [ē gā mà-lē sàgā] gā→,
     [1Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl cultivate] be,
piīⁿ→,
millet
dügā→,
rice,
kèndé→,
sorghum,
pàà-m-ënôwōⁿ→,
sesame,
sàågû→,
roselle,
wòô-léwⁿ→,
groundnut,
sàbûlā→,
cowpea,
bögô-[dù-tômōⁿ]→,
melon-[ʔ-red].
yèhīnì màgàsàlà
as well as yellow.melon
‘What we cultivate is: millet, rice, sorghum, sesame, rosel, groundnut, cow-pea, watermelon, and (finally) yellow melon.’
(< piīⁿ, dügā, kèndè, pàà-m-ënôwōⁿ, sàågû, wòô-léwⁿ, sàbûlà, bögô-[dù-tômôwⁿ])

This prosody also occurred in a text listing clan surnames, and in follow-up elicitation. In (278a) and its inversion (278b) the clans are tărâwôrê ‘Traoré’ and cîsî ‘Cissé’. (278c) adds a third clan, bâkôlô ‘Bakoro’. For these names, the nonfinal items have the tonal form of focalized names.
7.1.11 “Conjunction” of verbs, VPs, and clauses

Verbs, VPs, and clauses cannot be conjoined by yèⁿ. See chapter 15 for various mechanisms to combine VPs and clauses.

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 ‘Or’ (wàlì, wàlì-màâ)

Examples (279a-c) presents NP and adverb disjunctions ‘X or Y’ in indicative clauses. The disjunctive particle is wàlì or wàlì-màâ. Phonologically similar forms occur in other languages of the zone (e.g. Songhay wàlì).

(279) a. [sògò-lèwⁿ ̀bòndò kùlèwⁿ]  [wàlì-màâ sùgò] [or goat] ‘Slaughter-2Sg a sheep, or a goat!’

b. [ŋ̀ gà kàỳⁿ wàỳ]  [wàlì-màâ nàànù] [1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv today] [or tomorrow] ‘I will work today or tomorrow.’ (< wày)

c. [[ŋ̀  kàá]  wàlì-màâ  [āŋ  kàà]] [[1Sg father]  or  [2Sg father]] [ŋàŋ  kèⁿ]  Ĳ  kàmbë  sò [person one] PsRefI ought go.Pfv ‘My father or your father, one (of them) should go.’

The ‘or’ disjunction normally occurs clause-initially or in NPs that are external to a clause. For example, (279a) is literally ‘Slaughter a sheep, or (slaughter) a goat’ with the second clause pruned, rather than ‘Slaughter [a sheep or a goat]’. (279b) is likewise arguably ‘I will work today, or (I will work) tomorrow.’ (279c) begins with a disjunctive topicalized NP that is then resumed by ‘one person’ in the clause proper.

Two imperative clauses cannot be combined as a disjunction. Instead, only the first clause is imperative in form (i.e. with a Pfv verb). The second clause is subjunctive.
French *ou bien* ‘or (else)’ is widely used by younger speakers.

7.2.2 ‘X? or Y?’ (X tà→ (~ là→), nà→ Y)

A two-part polar interrogative in which two mutually exclusive options are presented can be expressed as X tà→, nà(→) Y. The first part ends in a prolonged tà→ followed by a pause. là→ seems to have this function in 2017-02 @ 01:29. The second part begins with nà. The rest of the second part can be omitted when it is obvious (such as the negation of the first part). In this case, nà→ is prolonged and ends with slightly rising pitch though not a phonological H-tone. If the second part is spelled out and follows nà without a break, it is not set off prosodically. In (281) nà contracts with 3Pl è.

(281) [mà-lè sāām] p̣wā gā bṓẉṇ] [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here] [[è sāān] jàmu] gā— tārwōrē n tā→, [[3Pl all] clan.name] be— T it.is or.Q, nè = [[è bè gā bṓŋ] kɔ̀̌ rɔ̀̌ ḅẉỵ] or.else.Q [[3Pl come.Pfb RemPfv here] back Comit] [[ẉɔ̀ g̣ɔ̄ ṇi] trǎorē kiḷ̌ gā] [[3Sg.Indep it.is] T be.gotten.Pfv RemPfv] ‘All those who settled here, was the (original) clan name of all of them Traoré? Or was it after they came here that (the clan name) Traoré was gotten?’ (2017-01 @ 05:39)


8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Dative, instrumental, and comitative

8.1.1 Dative

There are two dative postpositions. tē is required with verbs of speaking. Either tē or nā may occur with ditransitives like ‘give’.

8.1.1.1 Dative tē

This dative postposition occurs in the contexts in (282).

(282) a. addressee of ‘say’
   b. recipient of ‘give’ (competing with nā)
   c. experiencer for ‘please (X), be pleasing (to X)’
   d. ‘than X’ phrase in some comparatives
   e. general benefactive ‘for X’

A postverbal PP with dative postposition tē is regularly used for the indirect object of ‘say’ (283a-b). This applies to the regular verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’ and to the quotative quasi-verb yē/yē (~ jë/jë) ‘said’.

(283) a. sḕëdù màsí sē gà = [ān tē]
   S what? say.Pfv RemPfv [2Sg Dat]
   ‘What did Seydou say to you-Sg?’

   b. ām màsí sē gà [sḕëdù tē]
   2Sg what? say.Pfv RemPfv [S Dat]
   ‘What did you-Sg say to Seydou?’

   c. jì jë [sḕëdù tē] ū̀hū̀h
   1Sg said [S Dat] uh.huh
   ‘I said yes to Seydou.’
There are two constructions translatable as ‘X gave [Y to Z]’. One of them is English-like, with the theme Y as direct object (preverbal) and ‘to Z’ as a postverbal dative PP. The verb is dō/dō ‘give’ (284a). This morphosyntax is also the only possibility for ‘show’ (284b).

(284) a. ŋ (=nàn) nàa dō [sèèdù tē]
   1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow give.Pfv [S Dat]
   ‘I gave a cow to Seydou.’
   (variant ŋ nàa … without the Sbj/Obj linker)

c. ŋ (=nàn) nàa wɔ̄jì [sèèdù tē]
   1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow show.Pfv [cow Dat]
   ‘I showed a cow to Seydou.’

If however the recipient rather than the theme is treated as preverbal direct object, the theme appears as a postverbal instrumental PP and there is no dative PP. The verb here is kò/kò and the morphosyntax is like that of English ‘X furnish Z [with Y]’ (285).

(285) ŋ Ø sèèdù kō [nàa nì]
   ŋ nàn
   1Sg (Sbj/Obj) S furnish.Pfv [cow Inst]
   ‘I gave Seydou a cow.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with a cow.’)

Dative tē also occurs in one version of ‘X have Y’, expressed as ‘Y be [X Dat]’, cf. French Y est à X. See §11.5.1 for examples of this construction, and of a competing construction of the form [Y be [in X’s hand]] which has no dative PP.

Dative X tē also occurs postverbally after dēmōⁿ/dēmōⁿ ‘please, be pleasing to’ (286). ‘X like(s) Y’ is expressed as ‘Y pleases X’ with dative X.

(286) [[àa bē-gū] dēmōⁿ [ē tē] mánpê]
   ‘Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’ (2017-01 @ 00:26)

Dative [X tē] also occurs in the sense ‘than X’ in comparatives that do not involve the verb ‘(sur)pass’, which requires dative [X nā]. The comparatives that lack ‘(sur)pass’ include those with a simple adjectival predicate, so that [X tē] is the only indicator of a comparison. See §12.1.2 for examples.

(287a-b) illustrate a broader benefactive sense, not tightly bound to any particular verb or clausal construction.
Combinations of dative tē with nouns of various melodies are in (288). The postposition is M-toned tē throughout.

\[(288)\] melody noun with tē gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>melody</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>with tē</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>nàà</td>
<td>nàà tē</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LM/</td>
<td>tùjùnù</td>
<td>tùjùnù tē</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/M/</td>
<td>nìmì</td>
<td>nìmì tē</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/MLH/</td>
<td>njöömò</td>
<td>njöömò tē</td>
<td>‘camel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>kúngóló</td>
<td>kúngóló tē</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronominal paradigm is (289).

\[(289)\] a. 1Sg ǹ tē

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ān tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>à tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>è tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo</td>
<td>ŋ tē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.1.2 Dative nā

The other dative postposition is nā. Its range is summarized in (290).
(290) a. recipient of ‘give’ (competing with té)
   b. adjunct with ‘pass (by)’, including ‘surpass’
   c. adjunct with ‘join, be added to X’

[X nā] can occur in place of [X té] with ditransitives ‘give’ and ‘show’, but not with ‘say’. Both postpositions are possible in (291a), but only té is possible in (291b). té is more common than nā even with the ditransitives.

(291) a. ŋ̄ = nāa, wólén dō [sèdù nā/té]
    1Sg Sbj/Obj money give.Pfv [S Dat]
    ‘I gave the money to Seydou.’

b. ŋ̄ = nā = à sē [sèdù (# nā) / té]
    1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv [S Dat]
    ‘I told (=said it to) Seydou.’

nā occurs in the context ‘X pass (by) Y’. In (292) the sense is literal. Namagué and Madougou are villages.

(292) è bè kiyé [nògù-bèn nā]
    3Pl Seq pass.Pfv [N Dat]
è bè sō màålù
    3Pl Seq go.Pfv M
They passed Namagué. Then they went (on) to Madougou.’ (2017-01 @ 01:40)

The same ‘pass (by)’ verb, in the more abstract sense ‘(sur)pass’, occurs in asymmetrical comparatives. The ‘than X’ phrase is dative X nā in such comparatives. See §12.1.1.1 for examples.

X nā can also occur in the ‘Y be added to X’ construction, which includes the ‘hit’ verb and either a dative or comitative PP. The dative version is (293).

(293) à gā sō kā-lā = [à nā]
    3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv be.added-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]
‘She was going to join her at work.’ (2017-06 @ 00:54)

The 1Sg combination is ŋ̄ nā. The other combinations likewise have invariant nā.
8.1.2 Instrumental and comitative

8.1.2.1 Instrumental (nī)

8.1.2.1.1 nī versus nì

Postposition nī, which occurs in postverbal instrumental PPs, should be distinguished from identificational nì ‘it is’ (§11.2.1). This is in spite of the fact that both are usually clause-final and heard with low pitch. Their tonal distinction is brought out most clearly by the fact that Final Tone-Raising applies to L-toned words when they precede nì ‘it is’, but not when they precede instrumental nī. The tonal situation is further complicated by the fact that instrumental nī can be focalized by raising its tone to ní. Leaving focalization aside for the moment, the distinction between nì and nī is illustrated in (294). The application and non-application of Final Tone-Raising is apparent in the ‘it is _’ column in (294a).

(294) | noun | gloss      | instrumental PP | ‘it is _’ |
     |      |           |                 |
     | a.  | sīrimbè   | sīrimbè nī      | sīrimbè nī |
     |     | ‘razor’   |                 |
     | dàmbà| ‘daba (hoe)’ | dàmbà nī          | dàmbà nì   |
     | b.  | dēē       | dēē nī           | dēē nì     |
     |     | ‘blood’   |                 |
     | dëé | ‘cotton’  | dëé nī           | dëé nì     |
     | sūgū| ‘hand’    | sūgū nī          | sūgū nì    |

8.1.2.1.2 Functions of instrumental nī

The functions of instrumental nī are summarized in (295).

(295) a. instrument (e.g. tool, raw material)
     b. theme (object transferred) in a VP of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘convey/take’)
     c. manner
     d. transformed object

The typologically usual function, denoting an implement that is used in a task, is illustrated in (296a-c). This can be extended to slightly more abstract instruments like ‘force’ and modes of locomotion (296d-e).

(296) a. ŋ nàŋ kúngóló kwāā [kiyē nī]  
     1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv [stick Inst]  
     ‘I hit-Past (a/the) dog with (a/the) stick.’ (< kiyē)
b. ŋ̀ gā sòg₃ [dàmbà ní]
    1Sg  Ipfv  cultivate.Ipfv  [daba  Inst]
    ‘I cultivate (=do farm work) with a daba (hoe).’

c. ūk̀lā  ṃŋ  gālā=  ā ḳāy  [[ān ṃōgō-lēn] ní]
    must  2Sg  Sbjn  3Sg  see.Pfv  [[2Sg  eye]  Inst]
    ‘You-Sg must see it with your own eye(s).’ (2017-06 @ 01:49)

c. è dw₃  gā  [sēmbē  ní]
    3Pl  enter.Pfv  RemPfv  [force(n)  Inst]
    ‘They entered by force.’

d. à bē  gā  [mōbōlī  ní]
    3Sg  come.Pfv  RemPfv  [vehicle  Inst]
    ‘He/She came in the vehicle (e.g. by bus, by car).’

3Sg à nì ‘by means of it’ often resumes a previously introduced NP denoting an object that can be used as an instrument (297).

(297) ŋ̀ (=nān)  dɔ̀  dēē  gā
    1Sg  (Sbj/Obj)  knife  take.Pfv  RemPfv
    [mī  bè  tēē  kūlē₃  [ā  nī]
    [1Sg  Seq  meat  cut.up.Pfv  [3Sg  Inst]
    ‘I took a knife to cut up meat with (it).’

The instrumental is also the postposition for the theme (transferred entity) unless the theme is phrased as direct object. Of the two ways of saying ‘X give Y to Z’ (§11.1.2.3), the version with verb kò/kò ‘furnish, provide’ expresses the theme as a postverbal instrumental PP (298a). Likewise, conveyance of an entity (§11.1.1.4) is expressed by a motion verb (often ‘come’ or ‘go’) plus a postverbal instrumental PP (298b). The linear order of instrumental and dative PPs in (298b) is variable.

(298) a. à  ŋ̀ kó  [tēē  nī]
    3Sg  1Sg  furnish.Pfv  [meat  Inst]
    ‘He/She provided me with (=gave me) meat.’

b. à  bē  [tēē  nē =]  [ē  tē]
    3Sg  come.Pfv  [meat  Inst]  [1Pl  Dat]
    ‘He/She brought us the meat.’
In conveyance examples like (298b), the theme marked by ni is a kind of secondary object that cannot be expressed in the object-verb core of the VP and is therefore “demoted” to an adjunct position. Clearer cases of this process occur in causatives of transitive verbs like ‘eat’ (in ‘X cause Y to eat Z’ expressed as ‘X feed Y by means of Z’) and ‘kill’ (in ‘X cause Y to kill Z’). To form these causatives, the transitive verb is first instransitivized (antipassivized) as ‘eat’ (have a meal) and ‘kill, commit a killing’, which can then be easily causativized. The object Z is optionally added as an instrumental adjunct to the causative. For examples see §11.1.2.4.

Adjuncts denoting manner or enclosing situation also use instrumental ni.

‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’ (i.e., ‘how was your day?’) (greeting formula, 2017-01 @ 00:04)

‘In what way did they come here?’ (2017-01 @ 00:44)

c. [à dûgā =] à tibēŋ gā [īisūbù ni] [3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg baptise.Pfv RemPfv [Y Inst]
‘His younger brother baptised him as Yousouf.’ (2017-01 @ 03:54)

d. yēŋ kā = à yāgā [kiyēⁿ ni] Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [like.this Inst]
‘Let’s-2Pl decide (the issue) like this.’ (2017-01 @ 04:45)

e. [wōgūtū ū-kūrūūn ni], [time Link-one Inst],
à kiyē = [ē nōgū] nā] 3Sg pass.Pfv [3Pl village] Dat]
‘In a flash he passed by their (i.e. Fatouma’s) village.’ (2017-04 @ 03:17)

Related to manner is the use of instrumental ni to denote the result of a transformation.

(300) a. kālā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sōrdāsī ni] except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier Inst]
‘except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)
b. हाली-काना आ गां प्वः [कापरां] नी
   until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]
   ‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’ (2017-01 @ 06:30)

c. सां-गु आ प्वः [दुगाँ-जी-चियें] नी
   now, 3Sg become.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst]
   ‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)

d. [ञा काँ] या = आ यांगा [देह-ञ-चियें] नी
   [1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [cotton-Link-field Inst]
   ‘My father made it into a cotton field.’ (2017-03 @ 01:21)

e. आ बे सो ञा वृबि [आदां-द्यें मोष] नी
   3Sg Seq go.Pfv 3ReflSg change.Pfv [[Adam-child good] Inst]
   ‘It (=python) went and turned itself into a fine human being.’ (2017-06 @ 00:36)

Another extension based on the manner function is the sense ‘for X’ in the context ‘Y asks Z for X’.

(301) a. ᐄ गां = आ प्वः
   1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv
   [े गाला = आन तीये] [[पा कुु्ष] नी] quoi
   [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing a.certain] Inst]
   ‘We would like to ask you-Sg for a certain thing.’ (2017-02 @ 00:13)

   b. [े गां = आ प्वः] [े गाला = आन तीये]
   [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv] [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv
   [[kāmā गु] नी]
   [[tale Def] Inst]
   We would like to ask you for a tale.’ (2017-04 @ 00:11)

8.1.2.1.3 Focalized instrumental नी

Instrument NPs, as complements of the instrumental postposition, are frequently focalized. Focalization of a noun or nominal phrase is marked by raising the final tone to H; for fuller analysis and more examples see §13.1.3. In principle, only the NP and not the postposition should be focalized. However, my assistant often did raise the postposition from नी to नि in addition to raising the final tone of the noun. With /H/-melodic nouns like ‘dog’, only the raising of नी to नि marks focalization. The situation is complicated by the fact that instrumental PPs are usually clause-final (hence prepausal), i.e. in the position where a final nonlow-toned word or syllable has its pitch
lowered a notch. The phonetic difference between prepausal focalized ní and regular ní is therefore expressed by mid pitch for ní versus low pitch for nì.

(302) melody noun instrumental gloss
                  regular  focalized
    a. /H/  túwɔ̄  túwɔ̄ ní  túwɔ̄ ní  ‘handle’
           bílān  bílán ní  bílán ní  ‘torch’
           búwɔ̄n  búwɔ́n ní  búwɔ́n ní  ‘mortar’
           déé  déé ní  déé ní  ‘cotton’
           kúngólō  kúngóló ní  kúngóló ní  ‘dog’
    b. /LH/  sòmɔ́  sòmɔ́ ní  sòmɔ́ ní  ‘pick-hoe’
           bèbè  bèbè ní  bèbè ní  ‘brick’
           kānà  kānà ní  kānà ní  ‘saw (n)’
    c. /LH*/  timbɔ́gɔ́  timbɔ́gɔ́ ní  timbɔ́gɔ́ ní  ‘ladder’
    d. /MLH/  māāŋgɔ́rɔ́  māāŋgɔ́rɔ́ ní  māāŋgɔ́rɔ́ ní  ‘mango’

In another set of cases, the extra H-tone marking focalization on the right edge of the noun has shifted onto the postposition, leaving the noun L-toned. In (303a), this affects bimoraic monosyllabics of /L/ melody. For example, expected #dɔ́ɔ ní is reshaped as dɔ́ɔ ní. In (303b), whose nouns are at least bisyllabic and end with falling ML-tone, not only is the extra H shifted onto the postposition, even the nonfinal M-tone of the noun is dropped, so the entire noun becomes L-toned.

(303) melody noun instrumental gloss
                  regular  focalized
    a. /L/  dɔ́ɔ  dɔ́ɔ ní  dɔ́ɔ ní  ‘knife’
           tāwn  tān ní  tān ní  ‘mat’
           tɔ́y  tɔ́y ní  tɔ́y ní  ‘intelligence’
    b. /M*L/  dāgānà  dāgānà ní  dāgānà ní  ‘cream of millet’
              /ML/  kɔ̀rɔ́  kɔ̀rɔ́ ní  kɔ̀rɔ́ ní  ‘meaning’
              /LML/  kəbāa  kəbāa ní  kəbāa ní  ‘flint lighter’
Prosodically light /M/-melodic stems (CV̄v, CVC̄v, or CVNC̄v with homorganic nasal-voiced stop) are able to mark focalization directly, with incidental help from the tones of the postposition. In these cases, the focalizing H-tone spreads over both moras of the stem (304).

(304) melody noun instrumental gloss
regular focalized

a. /M/ tēē tēē nī tēē nī 'meat'
dēē dēē nī dēē nī 'blood'
b. /M/ tiyē tiyē nī tiyē nī 'oil, butter'
sūgū sūgū nī sūgū nī 'hand'
sēmbē sēmbē nī sēmbē nī 'force'

This leaves /L/-melodic nouns of two or more syllables, and /M/-melodic heavy stems such as trisyllabics. In these cases, the focalization H does apply to the final syllable of the noun. When this happens to a heavy /M/-melodic noun (e.g. trisyllabic or CVC̄v), the added final H triggers M#H-to-L#H word-internally, so the focalized stem goes from M.M.M to L.L.H, as with ‘man’ and ‘tamarind’ (305c). A synchronic oddity is that stem-final a is lengthened (305d).

(305) melody noun instrumental gloss
regular focalized

a. /L/ tigè tigè nī tigè nī 'baggage'
tiyòwⁿ tiyòn nī tiyòn nī 'ax'
 niyèwⁿ niyèn nī niyèn nī 'head'
b. /L/ sìrimbè sìrimbè nī sìrimbè nī 'razor (folding knife)'
c. /M/ kārāndē kārāndē nī kārāndē nī 'tamarind'
kēēgū kēēgū nī kēēgū nī 'man'
d. /L/ dambà dambà nī dambà nī 'daba (hoe)'
tābā tābā nī tābā nī 'foot'

For interrogative màsí nī ‘with what?’ see §13.2.2.3.
8.1.2.2 Comitative PPs

The two postpositions bwɛ̀ỳ and pà are often interchangeable. They have a wide semantic range, from concrete and spatial (‘with/among/next to X’) to more abstract (‘together with, associated with’). Younger speakers tend to favor bwɛ̀ỳ.

8.1.2.2.1 Forms of comitative postpositions (bwɛ̀ỳ, pà)

bwɛ̀ỳ originated as the suffixal locative in -ỳ (§8.2.3.1) of bwò ‘agemate, peer’, which functions elsewhere as reciprocal (§18.4). It is invariant in form, e.g. 1Sg m bwɛ̀ỳ ‘with me’. The final semivowel is not always audible. bwɛ̀ỳ can also function as a stand-alone adverb ‘together’ (§18.4.3). In addition, it is part of composite postpositions sàgɔ̀-bwɛ̀ỳ ‘right next to’ (§8.2.5.2), kùwɔm bwɛ̀ỳ ‘next to’ (§8.2.5.3), and mūm bwɛ̀ỳ ‘in front of’ (§8.2.7.3).

pà is the only L-toned monomoraic postposition. It combines with 1Sg ũ (+H) as m pà. It triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone, as in sibò pà ‘with the snake’ (< sibò) and sèèdù pà ‘with Seydou’ (< sèèdù).

8.1.2.2.2 Functions of postpositions bwɛ̀ỳ and pà

These postpositions have a wider range of meaning than the label comitative suggests. In some contexts it has dative-like functions. Free translations can be ‘with’, ‘by’, or ‘to’.

Position next to or approaching a landmark object is illustrated in (306) for pà and (307) for bwɛ̀ỳ.

‘right beside Bakuwo’s wall’ (2017-01 @ 02:41)

b. [à gã këem pwɔ̃-nì [[ŋ̀ sèm] pà],
3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] Comit],
[à gã këem pwɔ̃-nì [[Ϊ kóndò] pà]
3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] Comit]
‘It (=bird) had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.’
(2017-06 @ 02:41)

‘next to Ouro Guéou (village) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:01)
b. hàli-kàlá = à gà tüuq-gà [yâwⁿ] bwêy],
until 3Sg until.Pfv approach.Pfv [there.Def Comit]
‘Eventually he approached there.’ (2017-04 @ 00:33)

c. [jiimì käy] pwò-nà [bètèhéérè jügú gú] bwêy
[djinn Prsntv] sit-Ppl [[B tree Def] Comit]
‘A djinn (genie) was sitting (there) by the tree of Betehere.’ (2017-04 @ 02:26)

The sense ‘in the midst of (a large group)’ is illustrated in (308). Both postpositions are featured in (308a), just bwêy in (308b-c).

(308) a. wògó sêmènà nì [è bwêy] bôwⁿ,
3Sg.Indep.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here,
sògò jâáti-jáátí kàⁿ,
farming(n) specific Top,
[[kôm pà sigèwⁿ] sêmè-nà nì [è pà] bôwⁿ]
[[Dem thing three] be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here]
‘That [focus] is what is important among us here. As for farming specifically, those three (cereal crops) are important among/for us here.’
(2017-03 @ 00:42 to 00:45)

b. à kiyèwⁿ [sibw-è bwêy]
3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl Comit]
‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst.’ (2017-04 @ 01:53)

c. düwòn nè = [è bwêy]
hunger not.be [LogoPl Comit]
‘(they said:) “We were not hungry.” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:56)

Greeting sequences, which are abundantly illustrated at the beginning of several texts beginning with 2017-01, include questions like ‘how are things with/among you-Pl?’ and replies like ‘there is no trouble with/among us’. Both pà and bwêy occur in these questions and replies.

Both postpositions occur in the context ‘X add self to (=joined with) Y’ (hence ‘X be included in Y’) or ‘Z add X to Y’. pà is illustrated in (308b), bwêy, which seems to be more common than pà in this context, is illustrated in (310).

(309) è bè bè = è kwâá [[jànàŋgè-è kù-lè] pà]
‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’
(2017-02 @ 01:27)
(310) a. bē (ŋ) kō-lā [[ŋān-[sūbā́-sṓ]]] bwēy
   come (3ReflSg) be.added-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] Comit
   ‘including (=even) tomorrow morning’

b. bē kō-lā [wāy-kūgū bwēy]
   come be.added-Ipfv [today-Dem Comit]
   ‘including (even) today’

c. [ə sā́n] gā pā kō-lā [hūnē bwēy]
   [3Sg all] Ipfv thing add-Ipfv [staple.food Comit]
   ‘They (=gourd plants and sesame) complement the staple foods (i.e. grains).’
   (2017-03 @ 01:47)

More generally, comitative PPs can specify the endpoint (e.g. target, recipient, successor) of a trajectory in space and/or time, concrete or abstract. Comitative rather than dative is usual for the recipient of conveyed items (‘bring/convey X to Y’). (311) illustrates with pā, and (312) with bwēy.

(311) a. māŋ gā tēn-nā = [ā pā]
   Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit]
   ‘the one who succeeded him (as chief)’ (2017-01 @ 04:11)

b. sā-gū digāmū tē bē [[ē dēm-bē] pā]
   now talk(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv [[1Pl child-Pl] Comit]
   ‘Now the word (=time to govern) hasn’t come for our young people.’
   (2017-01 @ 04:25)

c. è gārdē-è tūwē-ni= [ā pā]
   3Pl guard-Pl follow-Caus.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Comit]
   ‘They had (military) guards follow him.’ (2017-01 @ 06:54)

d. ē gā = à bāgā [[kūwō-lōgū]-[kūwō-lōgū] pā]
   1Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[doorway]-[doorway] Comit]
   ‘We take it out (=distribute it) doorway by doorway.’ (2017-02 @ 02:45)

e. à nimi [[tēō gū] pā]
   3Sg desire.Pfv [[meat Def] Comit]
   ‘I it (hyena) wanted the meat.’ (2017-07 @ 00:17)
f. [kɔndó bě gā = [à ní] [m̩ pà] [desperation.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [LogoSg Comit] ‘(he said:) “Desperation [focus] is what brought it to me.” ’ (2017-05 @ 03:29)

g. ŋ wḕ gā [yùw̃m̩ pà] LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit] ‘(He said:) “I have a craving for a woman.” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:19)

h. [àn dũn̪a-lātį̄] gā bē pwò [ām pà] [kāyⁿ ní] dēʔ [2Sg world-crossing] Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg Comit] [work(n) Inst] Emp ‘Your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.’ (2017-09 @ 00:17)

i. à gālà nõstõ-mõ-ní [kàl̃àm̩ ní] 3Sg Sbjn have.courage.Pfv [reading Comit] ‘May he/she be dedicated to studying.’

(312) a. ě gē = [ē màrfē-ē] tūkà= [ā bwēʔ] 3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl rifle-pl] point.at.Pfv [3Sg Comit] ‘They (the other two) pointed their muskets at him.’ (2017-04 @ 01:23)

b. ě bā = à tābā-m-būwɔ dē̄, 3Pl Seq 3Sg foot-Link-line pick.up.Pfv, ě bē = ē tūwɔ [ā bwēʔ] 3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv [3Sg Comit] ‘They picked up (=started with) his footprints, and they went after him.’ (2017-05 @ 03:20)

c. [kú gā wāājũ ní, bē [jēnãm-bi-gē bwēʔ] [Dem be advice it.is, come [children Comit] ‘This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people.’ (2017-09 @ 00:01)

d. [ā jũgũ pìi-sē = [ē bwēʔ] [3Sg medication throw.Pfv [3Pl Comit] ‘He threw a (magic) potion (=cast a spell) on them.’ (2017-05 @ 03:04)

e. à kšlē gā = [ā bwēʔ] sāā 3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg Comit] when ‘when he touched it (=tree), …’ (2017-04 @ 02:44)
f. à ŋ̄ dëŋę [jùgù bwę̃y] 3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv [tree Comit]
‘He leaned on a tree (trunk).’ (2017-05 @ 01:50)

g. à gālà ŋ̄ dūkɔr5 [à bwę̃y] 3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg take.care.Pfv [3Sg Comit]
‘May he/she take care of it (=education).’

More classically comitative sense (‘with X’, ‘associated with X’) also occurs for pà (313) and with bwę̃y (314). bwę̃y is favored by my relatively young assistant.

(313) è bë gà [tārāwö̀rē në =] [ē pà] 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]
‘They brought Traoré (clan) with them(selves).’ (2017-01 @ 05:58)

(314) a. ḥ gà kàyⁿ [sëèdürë bwę̃y] 1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [S Comit]
‘I work with Seydou.’

b. à gà kàyⁿ [ë bwę̃y] 3Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [1Pl Comit]
‘He/She works with us.’

c. ḥ gā sō bàmàkɔ [sëèdürë bwę̃y] 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv B [S Comit]
‘I’m going to Bamako with Seydou.’

d. è gà bë [sààn nì] [m̄ bwę̃y] 3Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv [honey Inst] [3ReflSg Comit]
‘He is bringing (the) honey with him.’ (< nì)

bwę̃y is also part of the ‘think of/about’ construction, which can also mean ‘remember, be reminded of’. The verb miilā/miilā (< Fulfulde) is reflexive.

(315) ŋ̄ = nàⁿ ḥ miilā [sëèdürë bwę̃y] 1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg think.Pfv [S Comit]
‘I thought of/about Seydou.’

pà seems to be preferred to bwę̃y in expressions of affliction (316), and in combination with ‘road’ in the sense ‘on the road’ (317).
8.2 Spatial postpositions

8.2.1 Spatial NPs without postposition

Place names such as names of villages and cities, in other than subject or object position, are assumed to be locative adverbs. No postposition is present.

(318) a. ŋ̄ŋ̀ ńginji-bwɔ̄ kàlè [sèm pà]
    1Sg be.Loc S
    ‘I work in Sevaré (city).’

b. ŋ̄ŋ̀ gà kàlè [sèm pà]
    1Sg work.Ipfv S
    ‘I am in Sevaré (city).’

Most names of villages and cities in the area end in an L-tone. Therefore one cannot exclude the possibility that, in adverbial use, they belong with tonal locatives (§8.2.3.3).

8.2.2 Locative, allative, and ablative senses

The distinction between (stationary) locative, allative (‘to’), and ablative (‘from’) is not made by PPs, rather by verbs, as in all languages of the zone. Thus the city name ‘Sevaré’ and the zone ‘the bush’ (see preceding section) can be used without change in any of these three contexts.

With ‘village’, my assistant prefers the explicit ‘in(side)’ postposition in stationary locative function (319a), and prefers to omit it with ‘go’ or ‘leave’ (319b-c).

(319) a. ŋ̄ŋ̀ gà [[ń nógù] ńininji]
    1Sg be.Loc [[1Sg village] inside]
    ‘I am in my village.’ (< nógù)
b. ŋ̀ gā sò [ń nógì-ŷ]
   1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [1Sg village-Loc]
   ‘I am going to my village.’ (< nògì-ŷ)

c. m bāā gā [ń nógì-ŷ]
   1Sg leave.Pfv RemPfv [1Sg village-Loc]
   ‘I have left (=come from) my village.’

8.2.3 Suffixal locative (-ŷ) and tonal locative

8.2.3.1 -ŷ or final tone drop with nouns

Several nouns have a suffixal (or enclitic) locative ending, used in the usual range of stationary locative, allative, and ablative contexts depending on verbs. The form ends in L-toned -ŷ, which can trigger Final Tone-Raising on an L-toned noun (‘village’). In the case of sībēwⁿ ~ sībāwⁿ ‘market’, which ends in wⁿ, the locative is heard only as a drop in the final-syllable tone.

(320) a. ỳ gā sò sọ̄(g)ŷ-y / sībēwⁿ / …
   sọ̄ … / … / nògì-ŷ
   1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc / market.Loc / village-Loc
   ‘I am going out to the bush (=outback)/to the market/to the village.’

b. ỳ gā sọ̄(g)ŷ-y / sībēwⁿ / …
   gā … / … / nògì-ŷ
   1Sg be.Loc the.bush-Loc / market.Loc / village-Loc
   ‘I am (out) in the bush (=outback)/in the market/in the village.’

Some examples are in (321).

(321) gloss          noun        locative

a. ‘distant place’   gūūn dāāⁿ    gūūn dāāⁿ-ŷⁿ
   ‘ignorance’        kūmbā        kūmbā-ŷ
   ‘village’          nògù         nògì-ŷ
   ‘the bush (=outback)’  sọ̄(g)ŷ    sọ̄(g)ŷ-y
   ‘hand’              sūgū         sūgì-ŷ
   ‘nearby place’      gūūn tūq-gū    gūūn tūq-gū-ŷ
   ‘field’             tūqē ~ ciyē   tūqē-ŷ ~ ciyē-ŷ
   ‘section of village’ tūlū         tūlū-ŷ
b. ‘market’  sîbêw<sup>n</sup>  sîbêw<sup>n</sup>
‘mosque’  misîrî  misîrî

c. 3Sg pronoun  à  ā-ŷ
3Pl pronoun  è  ē-ŷ

For pronominal ā-ŷ (very common!) and ē-ŷ see especially the rather fused combinations with syê/syê ‘put (sth) in’, discussed in §9.3.3.  
sūgi-ŷ ‘in the hand’ is part of a construction meaning ‘X have Y’, phrased as ‘Y be [in X’s hand]’ (§11.5.1). The postposition niņjī ‘inside’ and the related noun niņjī ‘interior’ may also have originated as forms containing the same suffixal locative. From kōrə ‘back (of body)’ is derived kōrē-ŷ, which can function as a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.

The noun kūwənī ‘(in) the settled area’ (as opposed to ‘the bush’) is used adverbially and may belong to this pattern, but there is no difference in form between noun and adverb.

8.2.3.2  ‘X care about it’

The ‘X (not) care about/be concerned by it’ construction is phrased as ‘[X’s care/interest] (not) be (on) it’, with locational-existential gă ‘be (present)’ or its negation nă ‘not be (present), be absent’ (322a-b). The past-time counterpart has kōndō ‘stayed’ (322c), which forms similar past-time counterparts for other statives. If ‘it’ is replaced by an NP denoting the object of concern, this NP takes a dative postposition and -ŷ is absent (322d).

(322) a. [m̥ pān]  gă =  ā-ŷ
    [1Sg care(n)]  be.Loc  3Sg-Loc  ‘I care about it.’ = ‘It concerns (=is relevant to) me.’

b. [m̥ pān]  nă =  ā-ŷ
    [1Sg care(n)]  not.be.Loc  3Sg-Loc  ‘I don’t care about it.’ (French je m’en fous)

c. [m̥ pān]  tē  kōndā =  ā-ŷ
    [1Sg care(n)]  PfvNeg  stay.Pfv  3Sg-Loc  ‘I didn’t (use to) care about it.’ (< kōndō)

d. [m̥ pān]  nă  [kwān tē]
    [1Sg care(n)]  not.be.Loc  [rain(n) Dat]  ‘I don’t care about the rain.’
In (322a-c) ä-ỳ is rather fused phonologically with the verb, cf. §9.3.3.

8.2.3.3 Tonal locative with final H-tone on place names

A tonal locative is attested with several geographic names and cardinal directions. As with focalization, the key change is raising the final tone to H (§3.7.1). In the available examples, the noun is otherwise /L/- or /M/-melodic, and the nonfinal syllables fall to L before the final H-tone (cf. M#H-to-L#H, §3.6.4.5).

(323) location (map name) name locative

a. monosyllabic
   Lowol-Guéou (commune) jëw jëw

b. nonmonosyllabic
   Namagué (village) nògù-bèwⁿ nògù-béwⁿ (2017-05 @ 00:12)
   Kargué (village) kàrgèwⁿ kàrgéwⁿ
   Bounou (village) bûnû bûnû

‘East’ is jìïp-cîın ~ jìïⁿ-cîın (§8.4.6.4). A tonal variant jìïⁿ-cîın occurs in texts (2017-01 @ 05:26, 2017-06 @ 02:27), apparently with the locative tone adjustment. If so, it suggests a stem-wide {LH} overlay.

8.2.3.4 ML to HL after H-tone

Bisyllabic /ML/-melodic postpositions usually raise to HL-toned when immediately preceded by an H-tone. The effect is that there is no pitch drop across the noun-postposition boundary, except in careful speech.

Relevant /ML/-melodic postpositions are kànà ‘at (well)’, bògì ‘in the middle of’, lágà ‘at the edge of’ or purposive ‘for’, sògòy ‘next to’, kùmà ‘on’, tìgà ‘in front of’, and kànà ‘for the sake of’.

Data involving monosyllabic /ML/-melodic postpositions with two moras are mixed. The assimilation has been observed with müù ‘below’ (→ müû) but not with comitative bwëy.
8.2.4 Locational postpositions (‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’)

8.2.4.1 ‘In(side) X’ (nĩji)

Location inside a container or other enclosing space (such as a house or vehicle), or in an encompassing mass (like water) is expressed by nĩji. This word can also be used as a noun ‘interior’. nĩji may have originated as a derivative of an earlier form of nũũ ‘belly’ (cf. Kelenga nũũ ‘belly’). Its form resembles that of suffixal locatives like nɔ̀gī-ỳ ‘in/to the village’ (see the preceding subsection).

(324) a. ḫ gā [yàmbáá nĩji]  
   1Sg be.Loc [house.Foc inside]  
   ‘I am in the house [focus].’

b. ḫ gā sò [jíi nĩji]  
   1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [water inside]  
   ‘I am going in(to) the water.’

c. sibò gā [sògū nĩji]  
   snake be.Loc [grass inside]  
   ‘The snake is in the grass.’

d. ŋ =n̄̄ ʃè̄ syē [bũwu nĩji]  
   1Sg Sbj/Obj squirrel put.Pfv [shoulderbag inside]  
   ‘I put-Past the squirrel in the shoulderbag.’ (<ʃɛ̀w̄)

e. ḫ gā sò bãmàkò [káár nĩji]  
   1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv B [bus inside]  
   ‘I (will) go to Bamako in the bus.’ (<bãmàkõ)

nĩji requires an overt complement, minimally 3Sg à. It is not used adverbially without such a complement.

8.2.4.2 Locative ‘at (well)’ or ‘on (body)’ (kánà)

Location ‘at’ a well (to draw water by letting down a rope with a waterbag attached) is expressed by kánà, which is also the noun ‘throat’. The image is the large circular form of the well as a ‘neck’ with a ‘throat’ inside. After H-tone, the postposition can raise to kánà (325a).
(325) a. ŋ̀gā [tèndé kànà]  
   1Sg be.Loc [well(n) at]  
   ‘I am at the well.’ (< tèndé)

   b. [tèndè būlōŋ] kànà  
      [well(n) big] at  
   ‘at the big well’

In addition, kànà can take a complement that denotes a human. The topic can be a garment covering the upper body or an accessory such as a necklace.

(326) jùgū gā [[m̀pè] kànà]  
       boubou be.Loc [[1Sg too] on.neck.of]  
    ‘A boubou (=garment) is on me too.’ = ‘I am wearing a boubou too.’

8.2.4.3 ‘Chez, at the place of’ (X kāwⁿ)

This postposition is used like French chez, i.e. in the sense ‘at the place (or home) of X’. X is normally phrased as a plural when referring to a dwelling or housing compound, since in most contexts it is culturally inappropriate to specify a single owner. A singular noun such as a personal name can be made into an associative plural for this purpose (327b).

(327) a. ę kāwⁿ  
    1Pl chez  
   ‘at our place’

   b. sēēdù-yè kāwⁿ  
      S-Pl chez  
   ‘at Seydou’s place’ (lit. “chez the Seydou’s”)

   c. kūŋgóló kāwⁿ  
      dog chez  
   ‘at the dog’s place’

8.2.4.4 tōⁿ and tōⁿ

tōⁿ is a possessed noun ‘X’s place/position’.
8.2.4.4.1  tôⁿ as complement of ‘forget’

M-toned tôⁿ as noun ‘(someone’s) place’ is the regular complement of the verb ‘forget’.

(328) ŋ₃₄₅₆₇₈₉ sëëdù tôⁿ
1Sg forget.Pfv [S place]
‘I have forgotten Seydou.’

Other mental verbs do not use ‘place’ in their complements. ‘X think of/about Y is expressed by miilà/miilà ‘think’ (reflexive verb) plus a PP with comitative bwēy. ‘X remember Y’ is expressed as ‘X’s mind come [to Y]’ with a dative PP.

8.2.4.4.2  tôⁿ ‘in/at the place of’ as postposition

As a postposition ‘at X’s place’ in contexts of substitution or separation tôⁿ is H-toned. For final H-tone in place names see §8.2.3.3. Substitution (replacement) is the context in (329).

(329) a. à sō [n tōⁿ]
3Sg go.Pfv [1Sg place.Loc]
‘He/She went in my place.’ = ‘He/She went instead of me.’

  b. à gà tōlē [sëëdù tōⁿ]
3Sg Ipfv sell.Ipfv [S place.Loc]
‘He/She is selling (=running the shop) in Seydou’s place.’

The comparison with English instead of is apt since it implies that tôⁿ is postposition-like even in (329a-b).

In (330) the context is separateness (being in separate locations) or having distinct identities. The postposition requires possessive pronominals in these examples since the pronominal is coindexed with the subject, or in (330c) with the object.

(330) a. [káádó-yē yēj jānà-ngè-è sāān]  gà = [è tōⁿ]
[Dogon-Pl and Bozo-Pl all] be.Loc [3ReflPl place.Loc]
‘Dogon and Bozo (are) separate.’

  b. sëëdù gà [n tōⁿ], āāmādù gà [n tōⁿ]
S be.Loc [3ReflSg place.Loc], A be.Loc [3ReflSg place.Loc]
‘Seydou and Amadou are in separate places.’
c. ť̄ n̄ =nám [má sāa"] bāy  gà [ň̄ tôⁿ]

1Sg  Sbj/Obj  [Rel  all]  leave.Pfv  RemPfv  [3ReflSg  place.Loc]

‘I left (=put) each one in his (respective) place.’

8.2.4.5 ‘In the middle of’ (X bōgī)

Corresponding to the noun bōgū ‘middle’ (e.g. near the center of a village or field, or in middle position in an oriented line), and to adverb bōgī ‘in the middle’, is postposition bōgī (331a). It can also be used in temporal contexts (331b). It can co-occur with plural pronouns (331c) and with 3Sg denoting e.g. a village (331d), but not with pronouns that denote a person (1Sg #m bōgī, 2Sg #ám bōgī). It can raise to bógī after H-tone.

(331) a. nògù bōgī
village midst
‘in the middle of the village’

b. wùù bōgī
night midst
‘in the middle of the night’

c. ē / āā / è bōgī
1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl midst
‘in our/your-Pl/their midst’

d. à bōgī
3Sg midst
‘in the middle of it’

e. jènàm-bí-gè bōgī
child-Pl-Pl midst
‘in the middle of/amidst the children’

A compound postposition [X bōgū] ńinfī ‘in(side) the middle of X’ is also possible with similar sense.

The gentilic derivative denoting something or someone in the middle, e.g. of a long line (queue), is bōgī-ńgā.
8.2.5 Postpositions of proximity

These postpositions primarily specify nearness to a reference object (landmark), though they may have some residual directional implications. The PPs are often complemented by ‘here’ or ‘there’ adverbs.

8.2.5.1 ‘At the edge of’ (lāgà)

Obscurely related to noun lāgū ‘mouth’ is postposition lāgà ‘at (the outskirts/bank of)’ or ‘at the entrance of’). The complement may denote a body of water, a market, a village, a forest, or a dwelling. lāgà assimilates to lāgà after /H/-melodic noun (332c,e).

(332) a. pàgù lāgà
   pond at.edge.of
   ‘at (the edge of) the pond

   b. dēbò lāgà
   river at.edge.of
   ‘at (the bank of) the river

   c. à bè [sībén lāgà]
   3Sg come.Pfv [market at.edge.of]
   ‘He/She came to the approaches to the market’ (< sībēw")

   d. tēlè lāgà
   television at.edge.of
   ‘at the edge of (=watching) the TV’

   e. dúgù lāgà
   forest at.edge.of
   ‘at the edge of the forest’

For lāgà in purposive-causal sense, see §8.3.1.

8.2.5.2 ‘Next to, beside X’ (X sōgɔ̀y and X sōgȃ-bwēy)

The noun sōgɔ̀y means ‘vicinity, proximity (of sth)’. It may contain locative -y (§8.2.3.1) at least diachronically. It can be used as a postposition meaning ‘next to’ or ‘beside’, without specifying the orientation of the landmark. The landmark may be human or nonhuman.
Examples with nouns of various tone melodies are in (334). sōgɔ̀y assimilates to sōgɔ́y after /H/-melodic noun (334a).

(334) melody noun ‘next to X’ gloss

a. noun ends in H-tone

/H/ kúngóló kúngóló sōgɔ̀y ‘dog’
/LH/ màlibá màlibá sōgɔ̀y ‘rifle’
/LH/ tendé tendé sōgɔ̀y ‘well (n)’
/MLH/ mākàrì mākàrì sōgɔ̀y ‘macari (spice)’

b. noun ends in L- or M-tone

/L/ tâbâ tâbâ sōgɔ́y ‘foot’
/ML/ dōòrɔ̀ dōòrɔ̀ sōgɔ́y ‘whip (n)’
/M/ ɲími ɲími sōgɔ́y ‘person’

‘Beside/next to me’ is ɲ sōgɔ́y. ‘Beside/next to us’ is ĕ sōgɔ́y.

A composite postposition sōgɔ́-bwéy means ‘right next to’ or ‘adjacent to’, as in 1Sg ɲ sōgɔ́-bwéy ‘right next to me’.

Adverbial ‘on/to the side’ without an overt landmark was not elicitable.
8.2.5.3 ‘Next to, beside X’ (X kùwóm bwëỳ)

This composite postposition is based on the noun kùwó’m ‘flank of body at the ribs’. It is attested with a place name as landmark, denoting a nearby location (2017-01 @ 01:06). Even with a human landmark, it denotes proximity in any direction rather than specifically lateral position. It appears to be interchangeable with sógôy.

(335) a. ë bè bë pwò jëw-kàmëw’n,
 1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv J-K,
  [[jâwâlé kùwóm] bwëỳ] yâw’n
  [[OG flank] Comit] there.Def
  ‘Then we came and settled in Jew-Kamew (a now-abandoned place), next to Ouro Guéou (a Fulbe village) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:01)

b. sèèdù gâ [[ŋ kùwóm] bwëỳ] bòw’n
  S be.Loc [[1Sg flank] Comit] here
  ‘Seydou is here next to (=close to) me.’

8.2.5.4 ‘In the whole area’ (giyélë-giyélë)

This word may be an expressive adverbial. It occurs in this passage in a tale:

(336) [à nîmèn-[tábá-túgú] tê kilë
  [3Sg like-[young.man] PfvNeg be.gotten.Pfv
  [[yâŋ giyélë-giyélë sâ’a] nìŋñ]
  [[there.Def around all] inside]
  ‘No young man the likes of him could be found anywhere in that area.’
  (2017-06 @ 00:36)

8.2.6 Postpositions of alignment

8.2.6.1 ‘Between’ ([X yè’ Y] nàŋåà)

The ‘between’ postposition is nàŋåà, prepausally sometimes shortened to nàŋå. It can be added to a conjoined NP (chapter 7).
The postposition can also be added to any NP or pronoun denoting two or more entities,

(338) a. ē nàŋàà
   1Pl between
   ‘between us’

b. kàŋààm-bé nàŋàà
   friend-Pl between
   ‘among friends’

8.2.7 Postpositions of spatial relationship

These postpositions locate a referent by its directional position in comparison to a reference object (landmark).

8.2.7.1 ‘On X’ or ‘over X’ (X kùmà)

In this PP, the landmark X is conceptualized as being held up by an extended surface, whether horizontal (mat) or vertical (wall), or else as being in the atmosphere above something (object or surface). kùmà raises to kúmà by assimilation to a preceding /H/-melodic noun (339d).

(339) a. kɔyɔŋ gà yàgà-nâ [tâŋ kùmà]
   stone be be.put-Ppl [mat on]
   ‘The stone is on the mat.’ (< kɔyɔwⁿ, gà, tàwⁿ)

b. ŋ = nàŋ kɔyɔⁿ yàgâ [tâŋ kùmà]
   1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.Pfv [mat on]
   ‘I put the stone on the mat.’

c. kìyè sëⁿ [ŋ kùmà]
   stick fall.Pfv [1Sg on]
   ‘The stick fell on me.’
d. tóndó gá [kérè kúmà]
    agama be.Loc [wall on]
    ‘The agama lizard is on the wall.’ (< kérè)

Combinations with nouns of different tone melodies are in (340).

(340) melody noun ‘on/over X’ gloss

a. noun ends in H-tone
   /H/ kúngólō kúngóló kúmà ‘dog’
   /LH/ tędé tędé kúmà ‘well (n)’
   /LH/ màlifá màlifá kúmà ‘rifle’
   /MLH/ njòömọ njòömọ kúmà ‘camel’

b. noun ends in L-tone
   /L/ tábà tábà kúmà ‘foot’
   /ML/ kásò kásò kúmà ‘jail’
   /LML/ yàmbāa yàmbāa kúmà ‘house’

c. noun ends in M-tone
   /M/ njìmì njìmì kúmà ‘person’

The pronominal paradigm is (341). The tonal form is kúmà throughout.

(341) 1Sg ñ kúmà
       1Pl ē kúmà
       2Sg āŋ kúmà
       2Pl āā kúmà
       3Sg ā kúmà
       3Pl ē kúmà

8.2.7.2 ‘In front of’ (X tìgàà)

The noun tìgàà ‘front’ can function as a postposition ‘in front of’. The 1Sg form is ñ tìgàà ‘in front of me’. tìgàà can raise to tìgàà after an H-tone (342c).

(342) a. ñ gā [sèédù tìgàà]
    1Sg be.Loc [S front]
    ‘I am in front of Seydou.’
b. sèëdù gā [ỳambàà tìgàà] 
S be.Loc [house front]  
'Seydou is in front of the house.'  

c. kúngóló tìgàà 
dog front  
'in front of the dog'  

This postposition can also have the temporal sense ‘before X’.

(343) à gà bë ṱ kilèⁿ [ǹ tìgàà]  
3Sg lpfv Fut 3ReflSg finish.Pfv [1Sg front]  
'He/She will finish before me (=before I do).'

Adverb ‘in front, ahead’ is tìgàà.

(344) à gà / sò tìgàà  
3Sg be / go.Pfv in.front  
'He/She is/went in front.'

The alternative is an instrumental PP with noun tìgàà and the landmark expressed as possessor.

(345) sò [ān tìgàà] ni  
go.Pfv [2Sg front] Inst  
'Go-2Sg ahead (of yourself)!' (i.e., ‘Go-2Sg straight (ahead)!')

'The one in front’, i.e. the one in the lead in a race or procession, or at the head of a line, is tìgā-ŋgā (§4.2.4).

8.2.7.3 ‘In front of, facing X’ ([X mūūm] bwēỳ)  

In this construction, the landmark is either an oriented inanimate entity (house, vehicle, cart) or a topographic feature that can be construed as oriented. Human landmarks are not allowed. The focal entity whose position is specified need not be oriented; it may be a person, a vehicle, or a tree.

The composite postposition mūūm bwēỳ is based on the noun mūūn ‘lower face, mouth and chin’. My assistant sharply distinguishes this from mūù ‘under’. The noun mūūn with the sense ‘lower face’ in Cliffs appears to be cognate to mūū ‘nose’ in the nearby Konna-area dialect. For ‘nose’, Cliffs has ɲīmīnà.
8.2.7.4 ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ)

The noun kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ ‘rear’, cf. kɔ̀rɔ̀ ‘back (n)’, serves as the postposition ‘behind, in back of’.

(346) a. ŋ̀ gā [sèédù kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ]  
   1Sg be.Loc [S back-Loc]  
   ‘I am behind Seydou.’

   b. sèédù gā [yàmbāà kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ]  
   S be.Loc [house back-Loc]  
   ‘Seydou is behind the house.’

The 1Sg form is ŋ̀ kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ ‘behind me’.

The temporal sense ‘after X’ where X is a temporal reference point is expressed either by this same postposition, by a composite postposition kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̀y or synonymous kɔ̀rɔ̀ pà (with a choice of comitative postpositions) or by a phrase of the type ‘(when) X has passed’.

(347) a. sālī kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ  
   holy.day back-Loc  
   ‘behind (=after) the holy day’

   b. sāà-gù kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ  
   now back-Loc  
   ‘later, afterwards (not now)’

   c. kú kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̀y  
   ” kɔ̀rɔ̀ pà  
   Dem back Comit  
   ‘after that’

   d. sālī nāŋ kiyè  
   holy.day If.Pfv pass.Pfv  
   ‘when the holy day has passed’

Only kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ occurs in ‘after X’ where X is a person, in the context ‘in X’s absence’ or ‘after X is no longer around’. Example: ŋ̀ kɔ̀rɛ̀-ỳ ‘after me’.

‘The one in back’, i.e. ‘the last one, the one bringing up the rear’ (in a line of people, animals, etc.) is kɔ̀rē-ŋgà (§4.2.4).
kɔ̀rɛ̀-y can also function as an adverb ‘behind, in back, to the rear’ without an overt landmark.

(348) à  gā / sō  kɔ̀rɛ̀-y
3Sg  be / go.Pfv  in.back
‘He/She is/went in/to the rear.’

8.2.7.5 ‘Below/under X’ (X mūù)

The noun mūù ‘base, bottom part’ (also abstractly ‘reason, cause, grounds’ for a situation) can function as postposition ‘below X, under X’. The 1Sg form is ŋ mūù. The form mūù occurs after an H-tone.

(349) a. ŋ  gā  [silē  mūù]
1Sg  be.Loc  [rock  under]
‘I am below/under the rock.’

b. silē  gā  [ŋ  mūù]
stone  be.Loc  [1Sg  under]
‘The rock is below/under me.’

c. kúŋgüló  múù
dog  under
‘under the dog’

The adverb ‘down below’ is dàmī-ŷ.
For ‘over X, above X’, see kūmā §8.2.7.1 above.

8.2.8 ‘Upper’ and ‘lower’

Many villages along the escarpment have two sections or quartiers (túlū), upper and lower. These can be distinguished by the compounds in (350). The initials are based on bōndō-kūmā ‘hilly area’ and dàmī-ŷ ‘below’.

(350) a. bōndō-kūmā túlū  ‘upper section’
b. dàmī túlū  ‘lower section’

These can be made into PPs by changing túlū to túlū-ŷ, a suffixal locative.
8.2.9 ‘Toward X’ or ‘around X’ (X bà¢éw"
)

‘Toward X, in the direction of X’ in connection with a motion event is expressed with the postposition bà¢éw" following a term for a spatial reference. The postposition may have originally contained a form of bāā-bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ but my assistant does not recognize cew" as an independent element. The tones are compatible with tonal locatives (final H-tone).

(351) è bē bē [nān ni] jīŋ-kāmāā,
3Sg Seq come.Pfv [Dem Inst] west,
[nāgū-bēŋ bā¢éw"
]
[N toward]
‘They brought that one to the west, toward Namagué (village).’ (2017-01 @ 05:12)

‘Toward here (this way, in this direction)’ should be bōw" bà¢éw", but it is usually contracted to ū-mà¢éw" (2017-01 @ 05:23).

bà¢éw" can take a pronominal complement: è bà¢éw" ‘toward us’.
Like French vers ‘toward’ (motion) or ‘around, in the vicinity of’ (static location), bà¢éw" can indicate nonspecific static location (352).

(352) sāa"-lēw" gā kilē [nāgū-bēŋ bā¢éw"
]
wild.grape Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv [N around]
‘Wild grape trees (Lannea) can be found around Namagué (village).’

No lexicalized postposition ‘away from X’ could be elicited.

8.3 ‘For’ and ‘because of’

For purposive and causal (‘because’) clauses, see §17.5.

8.3.1 Purposive-causal ‘for’ (lāgā)

Purposive ‘for’ (generally prospective) and causal ‘because’ (generally retrospective) are expressed by the postposition lāgā. After H-tone it can assimilate as lágà (353d). For this postposition or a homonym in the spatial sense ‘at (the outskirts of)’, see §8.2.5.1. For L-toned purposive lágà after verbal nouns, see §17.5.3.
(353) a. ē dwɔ̀ gà [kwàán lá gà] 1Pl enter.Pfv RemPfv [rain(n) Purp] ‘We went in(side) because of the rain.’ (< kwààn"")

b. è bè gà [sààn lá gà] 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [honey Purp] ‘They came for (the) honey.’ (< sàà"")

c. à sò [kàyⁿ lá gà] nògí-̀ 3Sg go.Pfv [work(n) Purp] village-Loc ‘He/She went to the city for work.’
also with different order: à sò nògí-̀ [kàyⁿ lá gà]

d. wólèn lá gà money Purp ‘for/because of money’ (< wólèwⁿ ~ wálèw")

lágà can be expanded by adding the noun sààbí ‘cause, reason’ (ultimately from Arabic sabab- of similar meaning). The L.H tone pattern of sààbí may have originated as a fonalized form, but no other tonal form is attested. The expanded PP is [X sààbí] lá gà, as in [sìbó sààbí] lá gà ‘on account of a snake’, with assimilated variant [X sààbí] lá gà. One common context is ‘in the name of/out of respect for X’, where X is God or some respected individual. In the case of God, lá gà is often omitted and the result is álà sààbí (354b).

(354) a. à =à dò gà [ń tè] [[sèdù sààbí] lá gà] 3Sg Tr give.Pfv RemPfv [1Sg Dat] [[S cause] Purp] ‘He/She gave (it) to me for the sake of (=out of respect for) Seydou.’

b. à jì yìrèwⁿ gà [álà sààbí] 3Sg 1Sg help.Pfv RemPfv [God cause] ‘He/She helped me for God (i.e. without expecting recompense)’

8.3.2 ‘For the sake of (someone)’ (kàmà)

kàmà ‘cause’ can function as a postposition meaning ‘for the sake of X’ or ‘out of respect for X’, where X is a person. The PP may be clause-initial (pre-subject) or clause-final.
8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Similarity (‘like X’)

8.4.1.1 Predicate ‘Y be like X’ (síí, nümēwⁿ)

‘Y is like (similar to) X’ is expressed as ‘Y is [X’s likeness]’, with either síí or nümēwⁿ as the noun ‘likeness’. For the phrasing compare French Y est le semblable de X and certain English locutions like Y is the spitting image of X. The frame contains gà/gā ‘be’ or its negation nà/nà after the subject Y, and the ‘it is’ particle nì after the predicate nominal. For past time kōndō ‘stay’ (negative tè kōndō) replaces ‘be’ in the usual way (§10.3.1). X may be plural but ‘likeness’ remains singular (356d).

(356) a. į gà [sèẽdũ síí / nùmēn] nì
    1Sg be [S likeness] it.is
    ‘I am like Seydou.’

b. ñ nā [sèẽdũ síí / nùmēn] nì
    1Sg not.be [S likeness] it.is
    ‘I am not like Seydou.’

c. į Ø kōndō gà [sèẽdũ síí / nùmēn] nì
    ñ tè " "
    1Sg (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv RemPfv [S likeness] it.is
    ‘I was (not) like Seydou.’

d. ĕ gà [pùnàm-bè síí] nì
    1Pl be [Fulbe-Pl likeness] it.is
    ‘We are like the Fulbe (people).’

The similarity may be between a possession or attribute of X and the corresponding one of Y. The possessum is ‘house’ in (357a), which is phrased with the ‘have’ construction (§11.5.1). The default possessum is pàⁿ (§6.2.2.2), which depending on context may refer to a physical possession (357b) or an abstract attribute like behavior or character (357c). In the latter case there is little practical difference between presence and absence of pàⁿ.
(357) a. [[sèédù yàmbàà] sìf] gà [n tè]
    [[S house] likeness] be [1Sg Dat]
    ‘I have the same kind of house as Seydou.’ (< yàmbàà)

b. [[sèédù pàⁿ] sìf] gà [n tè]
    [[S Poss] likeness] be [1Sg Dat]
    ‘I have the same kind of thing as Seydou.’

c. ŋ̀ kōndō gà [[sèédù pàⁿ] sìf] nì
    1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv [[S Poss] likeness] it.is
    ‘I was like Seydou (in behavior).’

For sìf and nŭmēwⁿ in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.4.2. For manner adverbial relatives, see §15.8.3.1.

sìf ‘likeness’ may be related to the nouns sìi ‘description, breed, race, species, type’ and sì-mà ‘sort, kind’. sìf, reduced to suffixal -sì in some lexicalized combinations, is also an indefinite quantifier ‘(not) any’ (§6.6.2.2).

8.4.1.2 Adverbial ‘like X’ (hònù)

An adverbial phrase ‘like X’ attached to a main verb begins with hònù ‘like’ (< Fulfulde hono), which is followed by ‘X’s likeness’ using either sìf or nŭmēwⁿ as possessum (see the preceding section). X may be expanded by adding the default possessum pàwⁿ, especially when X is pronominal (358b).

(358) a. ŋ̀ gà kàyⁿ [hònù [sèédù nŭmēwⁿ]]
    1Sg Ipv work.Ipfv [like [S likeness]]
    ‘I work like Seydou.’ (< kàyⁿ)

b. sèédù gà kàyⁿ [hònù [ìn pàⁿ] sìf]
    S Ipv work.Ipfv [like [1Sg Poss] likeness]
    ‘Seydou works like me.’ (< kàyⁿ)

c. sèédù gà kàyⁿ [hònù [ŋ̀ sìf]
    S Ipv work.Ipfv [like [1Sg likeness]
    [=b]]

For other manner adverbs see §4.4.3.2 (‘like this/that’) and §8.4.5. For manner relatives (‘the way X VPs’) see §15.8.3.
8.4.2 Specificity

8.4.2.1 ‘Specific(ally), personally’ (jáátî)

/H/-melodic jáátî can occur at the end of an NP in the sense ‘specific(ally)’ or ‘personally’ (359a-b).

(359) a. sèëdû gā / nā [ŋ kāá jáátî] nī S be / not.be [1Sg father precise] it.is
   ‘Seydou is/is not my real father.’

b. [pûnàm-bê sāân] gā bûwô-ló,
   [Fulbe-Pl all] Ipfv tend.livestock-Ipfv,
   [ŋ kûn jáátî] nà = à p5gô
   [1Sg Topic precise] IpfvNeg 3Sg like.Ipfv
   ‘All the (other) Fulbe tend cattle, (but) I personally don’t like it.’

An otherwise unmodified pronoun combined with jáátî takes independent pronoun form (360).

(360) nā nā [ŋ jêm] bây sô,
   1Sg IpfvNeg [1Sg child] leave.Ipfv go.Ipfv,
   [ŋ-dôgô jáátî] gā sô
   [1Sg-Indep precise] Ipfv go.Ipfv
   ‘I won’t (just) send my son; (rather) I will go myself (in person).’ (<jêw>)

As NP-final word, jáátî can be iterated as jáátî-jáátî for emphasis (361).

(361) [kêlê jáátî-jáátî mâ”] ânj gā tô kôy
   [war Iter-precise Rel] 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv Emph
   ‘the very same war that you-Sg know (of)’ (2017-01 @ 06:20) (<kêlê)

For HL-toned jáátî ‘indeed’ as an independent or clause-final form, confirming an interlocutor’s statement, see §19.4.2.2.
8.4.3 Extent

8.4.3.1 ‘A lot, greatly’ (máɲè, yāālōⁿ)

The two key adverbs are those in (362). máɲè can denote extent (‘a lot’) or quality (‘well’). yāālōⁿ denotes extent only and is the stronger expression of the two. The gloss ‘too much’ captures the heightened extent but also has some semantic baggage that is not applicable to Cliffs.

(362) a. máɲè ‘a lot, very much’, also ‘well’
    b. yāālōⁿ ‘greatly, excessively, too much’

Examples are in (363).

(363) a. ŋ̄ kù̀ù máɲè
    1Sg run.Pfv a.lot/well
    ‘I ran a lot / ran hard.’

    b. à kù̀ù / digē yāālōⁿ
    3Sg run.Pfv / eat.Antip.Pfv a.lot
    ‘He/She ran/ate a lot (or: too much).’

For quantificational adjective pā-łówⁿ ‘many, much’ see §6.4.2.1.

8.4.3.2 ‘A little, somewhat’ (lēwⁿ, pā-łówⁿ)

The usual NP meaning ‘a lot’ is pā-łówⁿ ~ pā-lēwⁿ. For -lēwⁿ without pā- see the end of this section. pā-łówⁿ is a diminutive (§5.1.7.2) of pwɔ ‘thing’ (before modifiers pā). It functions as a direct object in (364a) and as the complement of a postposition in (364b). It is adverbial in (364c).

(364) a. à pā-lēŋ kilé
    3Sg a.little get.Pfv
    ‘He/She got a little.’

    b. à ŋ̄ kò [pā-lēŋ ni]
    3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [a.little Inst]
    ‘He/She gave me a little.’ (< kò)

    c. ŋ̄ kù̀ù pā-lēwⁿ
    1Sg run.Pfv a.little
    ‘I ran a little.’
pā-lēwⁿ can function as a quantificational modifier of another noun. It can be freely translated as ‘a little’ with a mass noun and as ‘a few’ with a countable noun.

(365) a. [piim pā-lēŋ] gā [ŋi sūg-i-y]  
    [millet a. little] be.Loc [1Sg hand.Loc]  
    ‘I have a little millet.’

    b. m bē [[sɔ̄g-ŋi bē pā-lēŋ] nĩ]  
    1Sg come.Pfv [[sheep-Pl a. little] Inst]  
    ‘I brought a few sheep.’

Diminutive -lēwⁿ can also be added to other nouns. In (366) it follows the compound nōgōlēwⁿ-nūmè ‘blink (n)’.

(366) à gālà nōgōlēwⁿ-nūmè-lēn dāmā tūⁿ  
    3Sg Sbjn eye-blink.Pfv-Dimin only again  
    ‘(said to him:) “Blink your eyes only a little!” ’ (2017-03 @ 03:22)

A disdainful term for an unsatisfactory amount is tūwō-lēn-dūū. It literally denotes the pinch of powder (dūū), i.e. gunpowder, put in the “ear” (tūwō-lēwⁿ) of an old-fashioned musket before firing a shot.

8.4.4 Evaluation

8.4.4.1 ‘Well’ (mānè) and ‘badly’

mānè is an adverb ‘well’, i.e., in a good or competent manner. It combines with a wide variety of predicates. As with French bien, it can easily shift from qualitative to quantitative (§8.4.3), with (367b) an example of the transition.

(367) a. sèɛdụ gà piin sàgɔ̀ mānè  
    S Ipfv millet cultivate.Ipfv well(adv)  
    ‘Seydou farms millet well (=is good at farming millet).’ (< sàgɔ̀)

    b. sèɛdụ kúngòlò kwàà mānè  
    S dog hit.Pfv well(adv)  
    ‘Seydou really hit the dog.’ = ‘Seydou gave the dog a good beating.’ (< kwàà)

There is no adverb ‘badly, poorly’. The sense is expressed by negating the clause containing mānè.
8.4.5 Deadjectival and other manner adverbials

There is no productive mechanism for converting adjectives into adverbs or adverbial phrases. Certain adjective-like senses do have an adverbial phrase, however.

8.4.5.1 ‘Fast, quickly’ and ‘slowly’

Adverb ‘fast, quickly’ is heard as [kùùnà]. It is a participle of kùù/kùū ‘run’, and this verb may co-occur with it (368a). The adverb is compatible with predicates denoting other time-sensitive activities (368b).

(368) a. sèèdù kùù kùù-nà
    S run.Pfv run-Ppl
    ‘Seydou ran fast.’

   b. sèèdù gà kày" kùù-nà
    S Ipfv work.Ipfv run-Ppl
    ‘Seydou works fast.’ (< kày")

However, ‘drive (vehicle) fast’ is phrased with màpè ‘well’ or ‘greatly’, compare English drive hard.

The antonym ‘slowly’ or ‘gently, not hard’ is miyè-nà. It is another participle, related in a slightly irregular way to adjective miyè-gù ‘thin’ (§4.5.1.2.1), hence ‘meager, insignificant’, its pseudo-reflexive stative predicate miyèwⁿ ‘be thin’ (§11.4.1.2), and inchoative verb miyè-gà/miyè-gà ‘become thin’ (§9.4.4).

8.4.5.2 Adverbial ‘far’ and ‘near’

With motion verb ‘run’, ‘walk’, etc. adverbial ‘far away’ is expressed using the NP ‘distant place’. In one version, the motion verb is (unusually) treated as transitive, so ‘distant place’ is direct object (369a). In the other, ‘distant place’ takes a suffixal locative form (§8.2.3.1) and follows the motion verb.

(369) a. à (tè) [gùùn dàañ] kùù / …
" " [ " dàañ] … / nìŋì
   3Sg (PfvNeg) [place distant] run.Pfv / walk.Pfv
   ‘He/She ran/walked (did not run/walk) far away.’
b. à (tè) kûù / ñiñi [gûûn dāāⁿ-ûⁿ]
3Sg (PfvNeg) run.Pfv / walk.Pfv [place distant-Loc]
[=ð(α)]

The antonym gûûn tûq-gû ‘nearby place’ and its locative gûûn tûq-gû-û occur in the same frames.

8.4.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (370). The terms for ‘now’ based on sâà- are part of a regional complex (Bambara, Fulfulde) that may derive from Arabic saaʕ-at- ‘hour’. The European (and Arab) 7-day cycle is used by the two major nearby weekly markets, Sambere (market day is Sunday) and Konna (Thursday).

(370) a. wày ‘today; nowadays’
wày-kûgú ‘nowadays’ (2017-01 @ 05:32)
tûⁿ ‘again (another time)’ (§19.3.1)
sââ-gû ‘now’ (< *‘time-Def’ < *‘time-this’)
sââ-kûⁿ ‘now; then, after that’ (< *‘time-Topic’)
sââlèwⁿ ‘right now, just now’

b. dìgèwⁿ ‘yesterday’
dìgèⁿ-sâ ‘day before yesterday’
dìgèⁿ-sâ-sâ ‘two days before yesterday’
pânnâⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’
слиwⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’

c. ñàånû ‘tomorrow; in the future; the next day (in a narrative)’
ñànnû-sèwⁿ ‘day after tomorrow’
ñànnû-sèŋ kôrêŋgà ‘second day after tomorrow’ (“…behind”)

d. sègô – ñègô ‘last year’
kônôsè ‘next year’
yûrûgù ‘this year’

e. ñàn sóⁿ ‘at that time, in those days’
ñâⁿ wôgâtû ‘at that time, in those days’
Several of these temporal adverbs are lexically L-toned or otherwise (as with ‘now’) end in two L-toned syllables as shown in the array above. However, in final position in positive sentences without a focalized constituent they are subject to a process raising the final-syllable tone to H, hence tūⁿ, ķàànú, and so forth. The syntactic restrictions on this process imply weak focalization of the adverb (§13.1.6).

digéⁿ ‘yesterday’ is also part of the compound digéⁿ-síbëwⁿ ‘the last (=most recent) market day’. This can be further elaborated by adding either tèwⁿ ‘elder sibling’ or an iterative form with two occurrences of tèwⁿ separated by pē ‘also’. Either of these additions pushes the time back one unit.

(371) digéⁿ-síbën         tèm-pē-tèwⁿ
      yesterday-market      elder.sib-also-elder.sib
‘two market days ago’ (i.e. the market day before last)

The seven days of the week are expressed by Arabic terms as generally in the region. The initial a in several of the day names is from Arabic definite prefix al- or variant, but the initial vowel has been dropped in ‘Tuesday’ and ‘Thursday’. The terms for ‘Monday’ and ‘Friday’ begin with an extra g of unknown but clearly secondary origin, likely reflecting the marginality of vowel-initial nouns in Bozo and some other languages of the zone.

(372) gàtînè            ‘Monday’
tàlāaätâ            ‘Tuesday’
alââbà            ‘Wednesday’
làâmûsà ~ làâmsà            ‘Thursday’
gàjûmâ            ‘Friday’
àsâbdi            ‘Saturday’
alââdî            ‘Sunday’

The night between two days is expressed as the night of the following day, beginning with the 4PM prayer. For example, the period beginning at 4PM Sunday is called “Monday night” (gàtînè wùù).

8.4.6.2  ‘First(ly)’ (sǎŋònì), ‘later’ (sàà-gù kòrè-ỳ), and ‘not yet’

These adverbials function to sequence two or more time intervals and associated activities. sǎŋònì is not transparently segmentable. sàà-gù kòrè-ỳ means ‘behind/after now’. kòrè-ỳ is also a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.
(373) a. ẽ gā kāy³ sōnɔ́ni, ẽ bè digẽ
1Pl lpfv work.lpfv first, 1Pl Seq eat.Antip.Pfv
‘We’ll work first, then we’ll eat.’

b. ẽ gē = ēn(d)ë = [ẽ sinĩ] [sā–gū kɔrɛ–y]
1Pl lpfv be.able.lpfv [1Pl begin.lpfv] [now behind]
‘We can begin later.’

Under negation, sōnɔ́ni means ‘(not) yet’.

(374) a. ɳ tè digẽ sōnɔ́ni
1Sg lpfv eat.Antip.Pfv firstly
‘I haven’t eaten (yet).’

b. kùgù–lën tè sāgā sōnɔ́ni
sun PfvNeg lie.down.Pfv firstly
‘The sun hasn’t set yet.’

c. sèèdụ tè bè sōnɔ́ni
S PfvNeg come.Pfv firstly
‘Seydou hasn’t come yet.’

8.4.6.3 ‘Still’ and ‘still (has) not’ (hài sā–gù, hàli wày)

hài sā–gù ‘(all the way) until now’, with hàli ‘until’ (§15.7.2.1), specifies a time interval extending from a point in the past all the way to the present. This adverbial can be translated ‘still’ in positive clauses (375a). Under negation, the unmarked ‘not yet’ construction uses sōnɔ́ni ‘firstly’, as indicated in the preceding section. hàli sā–gù can be added to make this more emphatic (‘still hasn’t’) (375b).

(375) a. ɲ jā = [à gālā kùtù tā–nĩ],
1Sg said [3Sg Sbjn run.Nom stop-Caus.Pfv]
ŋgā = [àli sā–gù] à g ā kùtù
but [until now] 3Sg lpfv run.lpfv
‘I told him/her to stop running, but he/she is still running.’

b. [hài sā–gù] sèèdụ tè bè sōnɔ́ni
[until now] S PfvNeg come.Pfv firstly
‘Seydou still hasn’t come.’

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hâlî wây (variants hâl wây, hâl wây) ‘until today’ or more generally ‘(up) until now, still’ can also be used in the same way. The time interval in this case can range from a few minutes to several years. Examples occur in the ethnohistorical text 2017-01. In allegro speech it can contract to hât wây. However, hâlî wây can also mean ‘at this point’, with no requirement of a long time interval, as in text 2017-01 @ 07:59, 08:42, and 08:44.

8.4.6.4 Spatial adverbs

The following are the main nouns used in simple spatial adverbials.

(376) a. bôndô-kûmâ ‘above, on top; upstairs’ (§8.2.7.1)
dâmî-û ‘below, (at) the bottom, down; downstairs’ (§8.2.7.5, §8.2.8)
dûgûbâà ‘on the ground; on the plains (below the cliffs)’

b. jînj-cîfû ~ jînj-cîfû ‘east’ (cf. cîfû “source; trunk [of tree]”)
jînj-kâmâà ‘west’ (? cf. kàmbà ‘occipital bone (above nape)’)
jînj-sêmû ‘south’ (cf. sêmû ‘right (hand)’)
jînj-kôndô ‘north’ (cf. kôndô ‘left (hand)’)

c. kôrê-û ‘(in) the rear, behind’ (§8.2.7.4)
tîgâà ‘forward, ahead, (in) front’ (§8.2.7.2)

Gentilic nominals with suffix -ngà are derivable from these adverbs, see §4.2.4. For tonal variant jînj-cîfû ‘east’ see §8.2.3.3.

dûgûbâà ‘on the ground’ (376a), along with the noun yôgûbâà ‘sky’, end in a syllable bâà that corresponds to a spatial compound final or postposition fâà in Kelenga (e.g. yôgô fâà ‘above, on top’). However, the Kelenga morpheme may also correspond to Cliffs and Djenné Jenaama postposition pà, so the diachrony may be complex.

Instead of using the terms given in (376b) above for ‘north’ and ‘south’ to describe the direction of travel, speakers use tâw’n/tâ-nà ‘ascend’ in the sense ‘head south (to Mopti, Bamako, etc.)’ and yâw’n/yà-là ‘descend’ in the sense ‘head north (to Konna, Douentza, etc.)’. Using the same vertical imagery, they use kûmà-sèw’n ‘upper road, high road’ for the road to Mopti and Bamako, and dâmî-sèw’n ‘lower road, low road’ for the road to Douentza and Gao. Conventionally, sô kûmà-sèw’n ‘go (on) the high road’ means ‘go (south) to a big city (for work)’ (local French aller en exode).

The stems for ‘right’ and ‘left’ (side) are sêmû and kôndô. ‘Right hand/arm’ is sêmû-sûgû, as in à sêmû-sûgû ‘his/her right hand’ from sûgû ‘hand’. ‘Left hand’ is kôndô-sûgû. The final -sûgû may be omitted in both compounds if the context is clear. ‘Right leg/foot’ is sêmû-tâbà and ‘left leg/foot’ is kôndô-tâbà from tàbà ‘foot’.

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‘Right’ and ‘left’ may be used to indicate relative position with comitative postposition bwēy, as in àn sēmū bwēy ‘to your right’, àŋ kóndó bwēy ‘to your left’. Likewise with direction: sò àn sēmū bwēy ‘go to your right!’.

8.4.6.5 Adjectival intensifiers

My assistant denied knowledge of any lexical adjectival intensifiers of the brand new, dead wrong, or jet black types. For ordinary extent modifiers like ‘very’, ‘a lot’, and ‘a little’, see §8.4.3.

8.4.6.6 Iterated adjectives for ‘(color)-ish’ and for distributivity

Color adjectives may be fully iterated with L-H tone overlay to indicate a moderate degree of the quality. Postnominal modifying forms are in (377a). My assistant rejected iterations in this function for several classes of adjectives including dimension and taste. For these stems, stem-iteration occurs only in distributive plural sense and is based on lexical tone melodies rather than the L-H overlay (377b).

(377) a. pīn ‘black’ piṃ-pīn ‘blackish’
    kūwōn ‘white’ kūwōŋ-kūwōn ‘whitish, off-white’
    tōmōw ‘red’ tōmōŋ-tōmōn ‘reddish’

    b. dège-náw ‘small’ dège-nān-dège-náw ‘all small’
    kūrū ‘short’ kūrū-kūrū ‘all short’
    kōyān ‘long’ kōyāŋ-kōyān ‘all long’

Adjectival iteration also occurs in predicates. There is no tone overlay, and color adjectives take participial form. The only tonal modifications are due to tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable.

(378) a. à pīyⁿ-ți-yⁿ-nā nī
    3Sg black-black-Ppl it.is
    ‘It is blackish.’ (< pīyⁿ-nā nī)

    b. ì yè ŋ kōyāŋ-kōyān
    3Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl long-long
    ‘Each of them is long.’ = ‘They are all long.’
8.4.7 Expressive adverbials

Only a handful of ideophone-like expressive adverbials have been observed. An example is kíw! ‘dense; crowded’ in (379).

(379) dúgúŋ gá kōn-nā-yí kíw!
   forest Ipfv hit-Ppl-Loc dense
   ‘The forest was impenetrable.’ (2017-03 @ 02:33)
9 Verbal derivation

The productive suffixal derivation for verb stems is causative -ni (§9.1).

There is no Dogon-style reversive derivation (‘un-tie’, etc.). Verbs denoting reversive actions are lexicalized and unrelated to the corresponding primary verb. The verb qèè/qèè ‘open (v)’ is common in reversive contexts, e.g. ‘untie’ reversing sèy/sè-lè ‘tie’, and ‘un-braid, undo braids of’ reversing mūri/mūri ‘braid the hair of (a woman)’. The sense ‘open (v)’ is itself construable as the reversive of tègè/tègè ‘shut’. Likewise, bāgā ‘remove’ can function as reversive of several verbs that have senses like ‘put in’ and ‘put on, wear’.

Intransitive/transitive alternations can be expressed in three ways, only one of which involves derivational morphology. First, a transitive verb can take reflexive objects in mediopassive function, as in à = ṭ kèwɑ ‘it (e.g. a stick) snapped’, compare regular transitive verb à = à kèwɑ ‘he/she snapped it’. Another pattern is the use of a labile verb in both transitive and intransitive senses, e.g. transitive kīlè/kīlè ‘get’ as intransitive in e.g. à gā kīlè ‘it is obtainable, it is found (there)’. The third possibility is derivational intransitivization by fronting the final stem vowel (§9.3.1).

9.1 Causative

9.1.1 Causative suffix -ni

The causative suffix is -ni (atonal). The input may be transitive or intransitive, but intransitives are more common. For all but a few monosyllabic verbs, the suffix is added directly to the verb stem. (380) presents representative examples of input-causative relationships, for verbs that have a tonal distinction between PfV and IpV (§10.1.3.1). In (380a), the PfV is M and the IpV ML, in both input and causative. In (380b), the input has PfV L and IpV LM, while the PfV and both causative stems are L.

(380) input gloss causative gloss
PfV/IpV PfV/IpV

a. input and causative M/ML
kūtū/kūtū ‘catch fire’ kūtū-ni/ kūtū-ni ‘ignite’
sāgā/sāgā ‘lie down’ sāgā-ni/sāgā-ni ‘lay down’
pīyèw²/pīyèw² ‘get hot’ pīyè-ni/pīyè-ni ‘heat (sth)’
b. input L/LM, causative L/L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative Input</th>
<th>Causative Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kìì/kìì</td>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>kìì-nì/kìì-nì</td>
<td>‘awaken, get (sb) up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàà/tàà</td>
<td>‘stop, stand’</td>
<td>tàà-nì/tàà-nì</td>
<td>‘stop (sth)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwò°/mwò°</td>
<td>‘ripen; heal’</td>
<td>mwò-nì/mwò-nì</td>
<td>‘cause to ripen; heal (sth)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwàà°/kwàà°</td>
<td>‘fear (v)’</td>
<td>kwàà°-nì/kwàà°-nì</td>
<td>‘frighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùbè/sùbè</td>
<td>‘suckle’</td>
<td>sùbè-nì/sùbè-nì</td>
<td>‘(woman) breastfeed (baby)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàndà/bàndà</td>
<td>‘get tired’</td>
<td>bàndà-nì/bàndà-nì</td>
<td>‘weary, pester (sb)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative Input</th>
<th>Causative Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūū/tū-ñü</td>
<td>‘get lost’</td>
<td>tūn-nì/tūn-nì</td>
<td>‘cause to disappear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Array (381) shows the treatment of verbs whose inputs have invariant M in both Pfv and Ipfv. The causative is M in the Pfv, but ML in the Ipfv. This indicates that the M/M type is not possible for trisyllabics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(381)</th>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pfv/Ipfv</td>
<td>M/M</td>
<td>M/ML</td>
<td>M/ML</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.2 Pseudo-causative of ‘come’ (bìyè-nì) and ‘go’ (sāā-nì)

The basic conveyance construction is of the type “X come [with Y]” meaning ‘X bring Y (here)’ and “X go [with Y]” meaning ‘X take Y away, X remove X’ or with a spatial expression ‘X take/deliver Y to (somewhere)’ (§11.1.1.4).

When Y is a human, there is also a causative ‘cause to come/go’ with what looks like causative -nì. The forms are in (382).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(382)</th>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Pseudo-causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pfv/Ipfv</td>
<td>M/M</td>
<td>ML/ML</td>
<td>Pfv/Ipfv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. input M/M, causative ML/ML

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative Input</th>
<th>Causative Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bē/bē</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>bìyè-nì/bìyè-nì</td>
<td>‘bring; cause to come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. input L/L, causative L/LM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative Input</th>
<th>Causative Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sō/sō</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>sāā-nì/sāā-nì</td>
<td>‘convey; cause to go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less often: sōā-nì/sōā-nì

bìyè-nì has also been heard as byēè-nì.
Clausal examples including preverbal objects, showing that these function as transitive verbs, are in (383).

(383) a. ñ =nān sèdù biyè-nì / sāa-nì
   1Sg Sbj/Obj S come/go-Caus.Pfv
   ‘I made/had Seydou come/go.’

   b. ŋ ě sèdù biyè-nì / sāa-nì
   1Sg Ipfv S come/go-Caus.Ipfv
   ‘I (often) make/have Seydou come/go.’

In the perfective positive, these verbs can be followed by Pfv ě (384), like ordinary causatives.

(384) à yē  [mwò láá =] ām biyè-nì ě
   3Sg said [[which? QTTop.Foc] 2Sg come-Caus.Pfv RemPfv]
   ‘He said, “What has brought you (here)?” ’ (2017-04 @ 02:36)

Synchronically, these can be analysed as causatives with irregular extensions to the inner stem. However, diachronically they reflect reanalysis and fusion of combinations of ‘come’ and ‘go’ with instrumental PP ě ‘with it’, which is by far the most common postverbal PP in the conveyance construction. Thus *bē ě ‘come with it, bring it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to come’, and *sō ě ‘go with it, convey it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to go’.

9.1.3 Causative of sē/sē ‘say’

The other Cv verb that can be causativized is sē/sē ‘say’. It has a causative sē- nì/sē- nì ‘cause (X) to say (Y, to Z)’. In (385a) sē-nì is followed by a subjunctive complement. In (385b) the original quotation is a 3Sg pronominal within a PP ě that contracts with sē-nì as phonetic [sēːnāːnì]. This contracted form could be in very early stages of reanalysis as an irregular causative sē- nā-nì with an augment -nāa- preceding causative suffix -nì. However, there is not yet any morphosyntactic sign of this reanalysis, and the imperfective version in (385c) has phonetic [sēːnāːnì], whose tones point to sē-nì [nì] before tone sandhi and vv-Contraction.

(385) a. ŋ káá yē  ŋ sē- nì [sèdù tē]
   [1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg say-Caus.Pfv [S Dat]
   [ā gālā bē]
   [3Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]
   ‘My father made me tell Seydou to come.’
b. [ŋ̀ káá] yè [ŋ̀ sēe-nā = [à ní] [sēēdu tē]
   [1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg say-Caus.Pfv 3Sg Inst] [S Dat]
   ‘My father made me say it to Seydou.’

c. [ŋ̀ káá] gā [ŋ̀ sēe-nā = [à ní] [sēēdu tē]
   [1Sg father] Ipfv 1Sg say-Caus.Ipfv 3Sg Inst] [S Dat]
   ‘My father (often) makes me say it to Seydou.’ (< Ipfv sē-ē-nī)

9.1.4 Causative ‘make X VP’ phrased as ‘tell X to VP’

Something functionally similar to a true causative can be cobbled together as a quoted imperative
(‘say’ plus subjunctive clause), the implication being that the command was carried out.

(386) [ŋ̀ káá] yē [ŋ̀ gālā bē]
   [1Sg father] said [1Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]
   ‘My father told me to come.’ (≧ ‘My father made me come.’)

9.2 No productive passive or antipassive derivations

Many verbs are ambi-valent (labile), thus kēwⁿ/keh-nē ‘break, snap’ in transitive ‘X break Y’ and
in intransitive (middle) ‘Y break’.

There is no productive passive derivation. However, when stative suffix -na is added to a
transitive verb that denotes an enduring impact on an object, it functions like a resultative passive
(§10.1.4). Since the stative suffix is also common with intransitives (especially stance verbs),
passivization is not its main function. Moreover, the input to the stative is arguably an already
intransitive counterpart to the transitive verb, given the prevalence of ambi-valency.

There is likewise no productive antipassive derivation. See, however, the transitivity-
related vocalic mutations in the following section.

9.3 Phonological mutations in verbal derivation

9.3.1 a/ɔ ~ e and o ~ e mutations

9.3.1.1 Transitivity pairs with final e/ε in antipassive intransitive

A few verb stems occur in transitivity doublets with a vocalic mutation (387a-b). In both cases the
intransitive is semantically antipassive (omitting the object). The transitive ends in a low or back
mid-height vowel {a ɔ ɑ}. The intransitive has ε corresponding to a or ɔ, and o corresponding to
ε. This is a rare example of ATR harmony in derivation (§3.3.6).
(387) transitive  intransitive  gloss

a.  dīgā/dīgà  dīgē/dīgè  ‘eat (a meal)’
b.  sùwɔ/sùwɔ̀  sùjè/sùjè  ‘cook (in a pot)’
c.  tōlō/tōlò  tōlē/tōlè  ‘sell’

‘Cook (in a pot)’ (387b) is phonologically interesting since the shift from ɔ to ɛ brings about the fronting of ɔ to ɥ, before which the distinction between i and u is neutralized (§3.3.2).

A related alternation is seen in (388), where however the transitive perfective form has apparently contracted from bi- to monosyllabic, and where the intransitive form has a medial consonant m that differs from the n in the transitive Ipv.

(388) transitive  kūùⁿ/kū-nū  ‘catch’
     intransitive  kūmè/kūmè  ‘(trap) catch (an unspecified animal)’

9.3.1.2 Other mutations to verb-final e/ɛ

The stem-final vocalic mutations described in the previous section are not limited to transitivity alternations. For the verbs that do have such transitivity alternations, the stem variant ending in e/ɛ also occurs in the otherwise unsuffixed verbal noun and in various suffixal derivatives.

(389) a. ‘eat’
     dīgē  ‘eating’  verbal noun
     tēē-dīgē  ‘meat-eating’  verbal noun with object
     dīgē-nì/dīgè-nì  ‘feed (v)’  causative
     dīgē-pwɔ  ‘food’  compound (pwɔ ‘thing’)
     dīgè-nà  ‘eating’  with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)
     with incorporated object
     tēē-dīgē  ‘meat-eating’  verbal noun with object
     tēē-dīgè-yà  ‘meat-eater’  agentive with object

b. ‘cook (in pot)’
     sùjè-yà  ‘cook (n)’  agentive
     sùjè-gàwⁿ  ‘kitchen, cooking area’  place nominal
     sùjè-nà  ‘cooking’  with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)
Examples like téē-digē ‘meat-eating’ and téē-digē-yà ‘meat-eater’ with incorporated object (389a) show that the form in e/e occurs even in “transitive” contexts with an incorporated object, in spite of the fact that the transitive form (digà/digà) is obligatory in transitive main clauses with an overt object (X téē digà ‘X ate meat’).

Another verb that presents an ɔ/e alternation is ‘enter’. Since the variant with final ɔ is already intransitive, no transitivity pairing occurs. However, its suffixal derivatives mutate ɔ to e in the same way seen with ‘eat’.

(390) a. dûwè/dûwè-lô ‘enter’

b. dûwè-ni/dûwè-ni ‘cause to enter, take/put in’
   dûwè-gàw’ ‘entering place, access’
   dûwè-gû ‘entering’ (verbal noun)

c. dûwè ‘circumcision’

For ‘circumcision’ (390c), the diachronic background is clarified by counterparts in the parallel Djenné Jenaama grammar.

9.3.2 Transitivity pair with uu ~ wii alternation

Somewhat similar to the preceding is the alternation in (391), where pwìì perhaps results from resyllabification of older *pûwì.

(391) transitive  pwù/pwù ‘blow on; inflate’
intransitive  pwìì/pwìì ‘(body part) become swollen’
There is no shift of pùù to pwì in suffixal derivatives: pùù-gàw “inflating place”. This weakens the connection with the cases described in preceding sections. Djenné Jenaama has fùù/fùù for both transitive ‘blow (on)’ and intransitive ‘swell’.

9.3.3 Shift of final e to (a)y for locative sense

The transitive verb syë/syë ‘put X (in Y)’ is exemplified in (392a-c).

(392) a. ŋ =nàŋ dàndì syë [kòlù níŋì]  
1Sg Sbj/Obj chili put.in.Pfv [pot inside]  
‘I put-Past the chili peppers in the pot.’

b. ŋ =nàŋ dàndì syë  
1Sg Sbj/Obj chili put.in.Pfv  
‘I put-Past the chili peppers in.’

c. ŋ =nà = à syë [kòlù níŋì]  
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.in.Pfv [pot inside]  
‘I put-Past it in the pot.’

syë/syë can also combine with a following à-ŷ ‘in it’ or è-ŷ ‘in them’ (§8.2.3.1). The two words fuse in a way that gives the initial appearance of a suffixal derivation.

(393) a. ŋ =nà = à sy = à-ŷ  
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc  
‘I put it (=chili) in (it).’

b. à nà sómé sy = è-ŷ  
3Sg IpfvNeg condiments put.in.Ipfv 3Pl-Loc  
‘She doesn’t put (enough) condiments in (them).’

c. ān tā = à syë,  
2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg put.in.Pfv  
è nā = à sy = à-ŷ  
3Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg put.in.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc  
‘If you-Sg (=a man) don’t put it in (=provide or pay for food), they (=women) won’t put it (=condiments) in (the pot).’
The cultural context needed to understand (393c) is that an old woman, acting as treasurer, is responsible for providing condiments (or money to pay for them) for the family. The adage (393c) refers to this. That ā-ỳ or ē-ỳ is a separate word, not a derivational suffix, is shown in examples with remote perfective gà separating the two.

(394) ŋ nà = à syē gà = ā-ỳ
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.in.Pfv RemPfv 3Sg-Loc
‘I put-Past it in (it).’

9.3.4 No special derivation for dô/dô ‘give’

Djenné Jenaama (Sorogaama) has two versions of the ‘give’ verb, dô/dô-ró when followed by a dative recipient, and dúwô/dúwô-rô when there is no overt dative PP.

There is no similar variation in Cliffs. The verb dô/dô ‘give’ has the same form with or without an overt dative.

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

Most but not all basic modifying adjectives have a corresponding intransitive inchoative verb. In some cases, the “adjective” is itself derived from the verb.

The factitive is in every case the morphological causative of the intransitive inchoative. Thus ‘red-Inch’ meaning ‘X redden, turn red’ has a factitive ‘become.red-Inch-Caus’ meaning ‘Y make X turn red’. For example, njiyè-gà ‘become easy/cheap’ (§9.4.4) has factitive njiyè-gà-nì (395).

(395) [ālà gà = ā njiyè-gà-nì]
[God Lpfv 3Sg easy-Inch-Caus.Lpfv]
‘God facilitates it.’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)

9.4.1 Modifiers that lack an inchoative counterpart

Some modifying adjectives correspond to periphrastic inchoative predicates featuring the verb pwɔ/pɔ-lɔ ‘become’ (or ‘sit’). Usually in the sense ‘become’ it takes NP complements (e.g. ‘become/evolve into a man’ or ‘turn/be transformed into a frog’). Adjective-like modifiers (which may really be nouns or expressive adverbials syntactically) of this type are in (396). The modifier in (396a) is lexically iterative in form and may be an expressive adverbial. The noun-like “adjectives” in (396b) occur with instrumental nì.
In the case of ‘new’, an actual noun, minimally ‘thing’ (pā), is required to form a predicate (397).

(397) pwɔ̀ [[pā tɔ́y] nĩ] ‘become a new thing’

9.4.2 Inchoatives without a derivational suffix

In (398), the inchoative is identical or similar to the modifying adjective, without an obvious derivational suffix.

(398) Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Lpv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sîlẽ / sîlẽ̂</td>
<td>sîlẽ</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děmõ / děmõ̂</td>
<td>děmõ̂</td>
<td>‘delicious, sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tômõ / tômõ̂</td>
<td>tômõŵ</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. kwâã̂ / kwâã̂̂</td>
<td>kũwõ̂̂</td>
<td>‘white; clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. mânẽ / mânẽ̂</td>
<td>mânũŵ</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. piŷŵ̂ / piŷŵ̂̂</td>
<td>piĩ̂</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (399), the only attested modifying adjective is derived from the inchoative by suffix -na, in some cases with minor phonological adjustments of the stem. The inchoative is generally one tone level lower than the modifying adjective, unless the latter is already L-toned.

The set ‘black’, ‘dirty’, and ‘hot’ is interesting phonologically. ‘Dirty’ (399b) has the same inchoative as ‘black’ in (398d) above, except for a faint and likely unreliable distinction in nasality (§3.2.10.1), but their modifying adjectives differ segmentally. ‘Hot’ (399b) differs tonally from the other two in the inchoative, and from ‘dirty’ in the (participial) modifying form.
(399) Modifying adjective is inchoative plus -na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. inchoative L-toned, modifying adjective M-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiji / kijí</td>
<td>kijí-ná</td>
<td>'plump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kümā / kūmā</td>
<td>kūmā-ná</td>
<td>'lean, emaciated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwàá / mwāā</td>
<td>mwāā-ná</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyèwn / piyèwn</td>
<td>piyèwn-è-ná</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pòrè / pòrē</td>
<td>pòrē-ná</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. inchoative and modifying adjective M-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāāmù-nāāmù / nāāmù-ñāāmù</td>
<td>nāāmù-ñāāmù-ná</td>
<td>‘multicolored, spotted, striped’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāá / pā-lā</td>
<td>pān-ná</td>
<td>‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyèwn / piyèwn</td>
<td>piyèwn-è-ná</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. inchoative and modifying adjective ML-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billā / billà</td>
<td>billā-ná</td>
<td>‘narrow, tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāātā / dāātā</td>
<td>dāātā-ná</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāndā / tāndā</td>
<td>tāndā-ná</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. inchoative &lt;LML&gt;-toned, modifying adjective ML(-L)-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wūwān / wūwō-ló</td>
<td>wūwō-ná</td>
<td>‘dry; hard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4.3 Inchoatives with -(aa)ma

In (400), the inchoative verb ends in a suffix -(aa)ma of variable tone, not already part of the adjective. In (400a), the stem in the inchoative has lower tone than it does as modifying adjective.

(400) Deadjectival inchoatives with -(aa)ma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. …à-àmā/…à-àmā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/M alternation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānā-àmā / bānā-àmā</td>
<td>bānū</td>
<td>‘big, massive, thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/L alternation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlā-àmā / būlā-àmā</td>
<td>būlōn</td>
<td>‘big; wide, loose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōjā-àmā / kōjā-àmā</td>
<td>kōjāw</td>
<td>‘long; tall’ (variant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kòyà-àmā / kòyà-àmā  kòyàwⁿ  ‘long; tall’ (variant)
kùrà-àmā / kùrà-àmā  kùrū  ‘short’
ñìñà-àmā / ñìñà-àmā  ññjà  ‘bad; nasty’

b. …-àmà/…-àmà
kàgàjä-àmà / kàgàjä-àmà  kàgàjì  ‘bitter’
kàmnà-àmà / kàmnà-àmà  kàmnà  ‘old (person)’
nògòrà-àmà / nògòrà-àmà  nògòràwⁿ  ‘difficult’

A suppletive and tonally slightly irregular inchoative is kúsà-àmà/kúsà-àmà (or variants with j instead of s) ‘abound, multiply, become many’, cf. modifying adjective pàà-lòwⁿ ‘many’. For inchoatives with suffix combination -ga-ama, see (402) below.

9.4.4 Inchoatives with -ga ~ -ge and -ga-ama

In (401), the inchoative ends in -ga or -ge, corresponding to -gu in the modifying adjective. The stems are L-toned in the inchoatives.

(401) Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga ~ -ge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -ga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miỳè-gà / miỳè-gà</td>
<td>miỳè-gù</td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñìiyè-gà / ñìiyè-gà</td>
<td>ñìiyè-gù</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dùwò-gà / dùwò-gà</td>
<td>dùwò-gù</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -ge or -ga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùq-gè / tùq-gë</td>
<td>tùq-gù</td>
<td>‘nearby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or: tùq- gà / tùq-gà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also some inchoatives that combine -gu- with -ama (402). Again the modifying adjective has -gu.
Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga-ama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. stem L-toned in inchoative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pùlù-gà-àmà / pùlù-gà-àmà</td>
<td>pùlù-gù</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùy-gà-àmà / kùy-gà-àmà</td>
<td>kùyⁿ</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. stem remains M-toned in inchoative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēl-gà-àmà / pēl-gà-àmà</td>
<td>pēlù-gù</td>
<td>‘light(weight)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4.5 Iteration of Ipfv verb stems

Ipfv and occasionally Pfv verb stems can be iterated in full to express patterned repetition of events and actions. “Iter” is shown in the interlinear. It is arbitrarily associated with the left iteration, but there is no real distinction between base and reduplicant. In (403), we see that Final Tone-Raising applies at the main internal boundary if the two iterations are L-toned, cf. yà-là ‘descend(s)’ (Pfv yàwⁿ).

(403) à gā [yà-là]-[yà-là]
3Sg Ipfv Iter-[descend-Ipfv]
‘He/She descends over and over.’

In bùrù/bùrù ‘cut (sth long) in two’ and its iteration bùrù-bùrù (Pfv) / bùrù-bùrù-nà (Ipfv) ‘cut (sth) up into pieces’, the Ipfv suffix -nà occurs only in the iteration. Elsewhere -nà is common when the Pfv is contour-toned. This indicates that the raised medial M-tone in Pfv bùrù-bùrù has been lexicalized, though it originated as tone sandhi.

tègë/tëgë ‘cover’ or ‘shut’ has iteration tègë-tègë (Pfv) and tègë-tëgë (Ipfv), see (699) in §15.4.4.

Some verbs that denote intrinsically repetitive events are attested only in iterative form. There is always at least one nonlow tone in the Pfv stem, but the Ipfv forms differ lexically. Examples: kiīn-kiīn (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘stir (porridge)’, kújù-kújù (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘shake up and down (in a container)’, pìrì-pìrì/pìrì-pìrì ‘writhe’, wîyⁿẫ-wîyⁿâwⁿ/wîyⁿẫ-wîyⁿâ-nà ‘spread out (leaves) to dry’, and (sigh!) the inevitable jògì-jògì/jògì-jògì ‘jog’.
10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

At the word level, verbs have two basic indicative forms, Pfv and Ipfv. Many verbs also have a participial suffix -nà that can function either as a modifier or in stative predicates. The abbreviations Pfv, Ipfv, and Ppl are used here to refer to these stems. In interlinear, Ipfv glosses the post-subject imperfective particle, and -Ipfv and -Ppl gloss suffixes on verbs. When referring to larger VP or clausal constructions in the main text, the terms perfective, imperfective, and stative are not abbreviated, except where necessary in table headings which then use lowercase (e.g. pfv, pfvneg, ipfv, ipfvneg, ppl).

Some verbs have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Some distinguish them only by tones, others by suffixation or other segmental changes in the Ipfv stem.

A minority of verbs have a distinct form of the stem ending in ε/e that can intransitivize a transitive verb and that also occurs in verbal nouns and other derivatives (§9.3.1).

Clauses are inflected more broadly for aspect, polarity, and mood by post-subject inflectional particles, e.g. IpfvNeg nà. There is also a postverbal remote perfective particle. Since these particles interact are coordinated verb forms, both the stem morphology of verbs (Pfv, Ipfv, Ppl) and the clausal inflectional system are covered in this chapter.

10.1.1 Overview of AN categories

The indicative categories are those in (404), which omits some tonal variants of the particles. Some of the categories are expressed by stem choice plus post-subject or postverbal particles and auxiliaries. “Sbj” indicates the position of the subject. “X” indicates the position of the object NP in transitive verbs. Pfv, Ipfv, and Ppl are three different stems of the verb. The Ipfv stem occurs after positive gà and kày and negative nà. The Pfv verb form, which is also morphologically simple, occurs in a wider range of constructions and is the unmarked stem in form and function.

(404) category positive negative

a. perfective and perfect

  perfective Sbj X Pfv Sbj tè X Pfv
  future Sbj gà bê X Pfv Sbj nà bê X Pfv
  remote perfective Sbj X Pfv gà Sbj tè X Pfv gà
b. imperfective system
imperfective          gà X Ipfv  nà X Ipfv
presentative          kà*y X Ipfv  —
presentative stative  kà*y X Ppl  nà X Ppl

c. some composite categories
experiential perfect (‘have ever’) bàynà gà X Ipfv  të bàynà gà X Ipfv
‘already’             pààŋ-këwⁿ (§19.3.3)  —
‘(not) yet’            —  sòŋònjì (§8.4.6.2)

The post-subject inflectional morphemes and their tonal variants are presented more fully in (405). Postverbal inflectional morphemes are omitted. The “basic” forms occur before M-tone and underly the forms that occur (after tone sandhi) before L or H tone. Where two variants are given for the “basic” form, the choice depends on the subject as detailed below.

(405) category            gloss           basic            ___ L-tone      ___ H-tone
perfective (positive)    Pfvv            (zero)          (zero)          (zero)
in main clause in ‘if’ clause if.Pfv       nà(w)ⁿ/nà(w)ⁿ  nà(w)ⁿ  nà(w)ⁿ
in ‘until’ clause until.Pfv  gà/gà     gà          gà
perfective negative      PfvNeg         tè          tè          tè
imperfective (positive)  Ipfv            gà/gà     gà          gà
imperfective negative    IpfvNeg        nà/nà    nà          nà
presentative (progressive) positive     Prsntv       kà*y/kà*y  kà*y  kà*y
future (positive)        Fut             bê          (not applicable)
imperative (positive)   (Imprt)        (zero)        (zero)        (zero)
singular addressee       Imprt.2Pl      yèⁿ        yèⁿ        yèⁿ
plural addressee         Imprt.3Pl      màⁿ/màⁿ    màⁿ        màⁿ
prohibitive              Proh           màⁿ/màⁿ    màⁿ        màⁿ
hortative                Hort           kèⁿ        kèⁿ        kèⁿ (<LM>)
subjunctive              Sbjn           gàlà        gàlà        gàlà

(406) below presents forms of most of these particles before bè/bê ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’. The subjects are sìbô ‘snake’, 1Pl ê (representing the M-toned proclitics), and 3Pl è (representing the L-toned proclitics). Ipfv gà/gà and IpfvNeg nà/nà fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising on preceding morphemes, even when L-toned. In (406a), sìbô ‘the snake’ remains L-toned even when followed by L-toned gà and nà, which should trigger raising (to sìbô) as in fact happens before the other particles in (406b-c). The diachronic reason for this is that gà/gà and nà/nà formerly had nonlow
tones, i.e. the M-toned variants ǧa and ńa were once generalized. Another important takeaway from (406) is that Ipfv ǧa/ǧa and IpfvNeg ńa/ńa (406a) **assimilate** to the preceding tone (subject to further tone sandhi), the particles in (406c) **dissimilate** to the preceding tone of the proclitic (M after L, L after M) subject to further tone sandhi, and PfvNeg 特色小镇 neither assimilates nor dissimilates. The data are superficially complicated by the application of Final Tone-Raising to an L-tone preceding șo/șo ‘go’, so the forms with bē/bē ‘come’ are more revealing.

(406) ‘the snake’ 1Pl 3Pl

a. L after nonpronominal NP, tone-**assimilating** to pronominal proclitic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ipfv</td>
<td>ǧa  bē</td>
<td>ńa  bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IpfvNeg</td>
<td>ńa  bē</td>
<td>ńa  bē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. neither assimilating nor dissimilating to proclitic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PfvNeg</td>
<td>őt  bē</td>
<td>őt  bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>őt  sō</td>
<td>őt  sō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. L after nonpronominal NP, tone-**dissimilating** to pronominal proclitic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prsntv</td>
<td>ńa  mām  bē</td>
<td>ńa  mām  bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘if.Pfv’</td>
<td>ńām  bē</td>
<td>ńām  bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘until.Pfv’</td>
<td>ńān  sō</td>
<td>ńān  sō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[likewise ęē/ęē ‘said’ and its variants (§17.1.2)]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. M-toned after nonpronominal NP, tone-**assimilating** after pronominal proclitic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prsntv</td>
<td>ńa  kāy  bē</td>
<td>ńa  kāy  bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ńa  kāy  sō</td>
<td>ńa  kāy  sō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presentative kāy/kāy (§4.4.4.1) diverges somewhat from the assimilating type (406a). First, it is M-toned after a nonpronominal subject. Second, its 1Sg form is ń kāy with H-toned kāy, since the presentative originated as a transitive imperative with 1Sg object ń (+H) rather than 1Sg subject ń.
10.1.2 Verb stem shapes

10.1.2.1 Bisyllabic and longer verb stems

Most uncompounded and unsuffixed verb stems are bisyllabic. Typical shapes are CvCv, CvNCv with homorganic nasal-voiced stop cluster, and CvvCv, plus any of the preceding with a final wⁿ. A few examples are in (407).

(407) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. CvCv ‘sleep’ kùmù kùmù-nà
b. CvNCv ‘stay’ kōndō kōndò
c. CvYNcv ‘amaze’ hāyndè hāyndè
d. CvvCv ‘crawl’ kūünù kūünù ‘fly (v)’ pīrī pīrī ‘pass away (die)’ fāātī fāātī
e. CvCvwⁿ ‘arrive’ kỳ̀wⁿ kỳ̀wⁿ

A few unsegmentable verb stems are trisyllabic (408).

(408) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. CvCvCv ‘roll over’ birijà birijà ‘replaster’ bīyēgà bīyēgà ‘bite off shell’ gūgūjò gūgūjò ‘coincide’ kājāmà kājāmà ‘entrust’ kālifà kālifà
b. CvCvNCv ‘twist’ kòlōmbì kòlōmbì
10.1.2.2 Monosyllabic verb stems

The known Cv verb stems (excluding Cvwⁿ and Cvⁿ which pattern as bimoraic) are the two most basic motion verbs plus ‘give’ (409a). There are also a few Cwo and Cye stems (409b) which pattern as monomoraic. The Pfv/Ipfv alternations are discussed in §10.1.3.1 below.

(409) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. ‘go’ sò sò
   ‘come’ bë bë
   ‘give’ dò dò
   ‘provide’ kò kò

b. ‘burn’ bwō bwō
   ‘stone-grind, crush’ dwī dwī
   ‘put in’ syē syē
   ‘weep’ wwō wwō

Other monosyllabic stems are of the shapes Cvv (with long vowel), Cvwⁿ, and Cvvn. Cvwⁿ ends in a nasal(ized) element of variable pronunciation, usually wⁿ prepausally and an assimilating nasal before another word. A partial inventory is (410a-c). These stems are able to distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by tones (‘get up’, ‘run’, ‘ruin’), or by addition of a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv.

(410) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. Cvv
   ‘get up’ kìì kìì
   ‘run’ kùùù kùùù
   ‘stand’ tàà tà-là

b. Cvwⁿ
   ‘descend’ yàwⁿ yà-là
   ‘ascend’ tāwⁿ tā-nā

c. Cvvn
   ‘ruin’ māyⁿ māyⁿ
10.1.3 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

10.1.3.1 Ipfv is homophonous to Pfv

For some verbs, the Ipfv and Pfv stems are **identical** tonally as well as segmentally (411).

To begin with, the short verbs just mentioned in (409) are of this type (411). There also are a handful of M-toned Cwō and Cyē stems, alternatively transcribable as diphthongal C Conditional and C Conditional, and that in any event behave tonally like monomoraic stems (411b).

(411) Ipv identical to Pfv

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. L-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cv</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>sò</td>
<td>sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. M-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cv</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td>bē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cwv or Cyv</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>bwō</td>
<td>bwō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stone-grind, crush’</td>
<td>dwi</td>
<td>dwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put in’</td>
<td>syē</td>
<td>syē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘weep’</td>
<td>wwō</td>
<td>wwō</td>
<td>phonetic [wʊō]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other verbs with identical Pfv and Ipfv are bisyllabic or heavier and have contour-toned melodies (observed in the Pfv). The majority are /ML/- or /LML/-melodic with final falling tone pattern (412a-b). The few that are /LM/-melodic with rising tone pattern (412c) either show hints of being CvCv reduced from older CvCv or, denote bodily noises, or both. /L/-melodic examples are also rather limited and do not include CvCv (412d).

(412) a. /ML/-melodic (among many others)

<p>| CvCv | | | |
| ‘push’ | cēbū | cēbū | also ‘put up on fire’ |
| ‘be able to’ | hini | hini |
| ‘blink’ | ḋōmè | ḋōmè | ‘touch lightly (as sign)’ |
| ‘begin’ | sini | sini | reflexive (variant sindi) |
| CvCCv | | | |
| ‘burst’ | fēllà | fēllà |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CvCv</th>
<th>‘pass away, die’</th>
<th>fāātì</th>
<th>fāātì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘reply’</td>
<td>jāābì</td>
<td>jāābì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘rip, tear’ (var.)</td>
<td>pēērè</td>
<td>pēērè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘count’</td>
<td>hīīsā</td>
<td>hīīsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘think’</td>
<td>mīīlā</td>
<td>mīīlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv</td>
<td>‘rip, tear’ (var.)</td>
<td>pīyērè</td>
<td>pīyērè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘slip’</td>
<td>yīyērè</td>
<td>yīyērè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. /LML/-melodic (all known examples excluding causatives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CvCv</th>
<th>‘court (a girl)’</th>
<th>gīnāā</th>
<th>gīnāā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wail’</td>
<td>kōmōō</td>
<td>kōmōō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘kneel’</td>
<td>kūgēē</td>
<td>kūgēē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘stutter’</td>
<td>sūsūū</td>
<td>sūsūū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘snatch’</td>
<td>wōlōō</td>
<td>wōlōō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
<td>fāāmūū</td>
<td>fāāmūū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trisyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘give a blessing’</td>
<td>dūwāwū</td>
<td>dūwāwū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘converse’</td>
<td>gālwāājā</td>
<td>gālwāājā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘beg’</td>
<td>gāribū</td>
<td>gāribū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘twist’</td>
<td>kōlōmbi</td>
<td>kōlōmbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘protect’</td>
<td>sūturā</td>
<td>sūturā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘develop (intr.)’</td>
<td>yīriwā</td>
<td>yīriwā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. /LM/-melodic (all known examples)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CvCv (bodily sounds)</th>
<th>‘hiccup (v)’</th>
<th>gēgū</th>
<th>gēgū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ululate’</td>
<td>kōmō</td>
<td>kōmō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘snore’</td>
<td>kāŋō</td>
<td>kāŋō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv (auxiliary-like)</td>
<td>‘as soon as’</td>
<td>gīlēw$n$</td>
<td>gīlēw$a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvNCv</td>
<td>‘pick (a lock)’</td>
<td>pōndē</td>
<td>pōndē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘peck’</td>
<td>sōŋgī</td>
<td>sōŋgī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|     | verbal noun sōŋgī-gū |     |     |

---

253
d. /L/-melodic (all known examples of two or more moras)

- ‘become swollen’  pwì  pwì
- ‘pardon (v)’  yààfè  yààfè
- ‘entrust’  kàlìfà  kàlìfà
- ‘renege’  nàmbàrà  nàmbàrà

**CvCvw**
- ‘arrive’  kìyèwⁿ  kìyèwⁿ
- ‘become black’  pìyⁿèwⁿ  pìyⁿèwⁿ
- ‘become dirty’  pìyèwⁿ  pìyèwⁿ

10.1.3.2 Ipfv and Pfv differ in tones only

For other verbs that lack an Ipfv suffix, the Pfv and Ipfv are segmentally identical but differ tonally, before any further tone-sandhi. The verbs of this type have a level-toned (i.e. monotonal) Pfv, of either /L/ or /M/ melody, while the Ipfv raises or lowers the tone of the final syllable or mora.

In (413a-e), the Pfv is L-toned while the Ipfv is LM-toned with M on the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora). This is the standard pattern for verbs of with at least two moras that have an L-toned Pfv. The two L-toned monomoraic Cv verbs sò/sò ‘go’ and kò/kò ‘furnish’ (preceding section) arguably belong here structurally, but are too short to allow an overtly contoured tone in the Ipfv stem. LM-toned Ipfv’s are reduced to all-L by tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H) before an H-tone, masking the distinction between Pfv and Ipfv. This is rarely a serious problem because H-initial stems are uncommon and because imperfectivity is expressed separately by post-subject particles.

(413) Pfv L-toned, Ipfv LM-toned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Cvv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>kìì</td>
<td>kìì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘look for’</td>
<td>màà</td>
<td>màà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>kùùù</td>
<td>kùùù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pour out’</td>
<td>pìì</td>
<td>pìì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘blow’</td>
<td>pùù</td>
<td>pùù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘laugh (v)’</td>
<td>sàà</td>
<td>sàà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wipe, erase’</td>
<td>sìì</td>
<td>sìì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do long time’</td>
<td>wùù</td>
<td>wùù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>kwààⁿ</td>
<td>kwààⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Cvy
   ‘leave, abandon’    bày    bày

c. CvCv
   ‘curse (v)’        jìgà    jìgà
   ‘dispossess’       kàmà    kàmà
   ‘throw’           kèrè    kèrè
   ‘obtain’          kìlè    kìlè
   ‘open’            qìè    qìè
   ‘walk’            nìnì    nìnì
   ‘dig’             sàgà    sàgà
   ‘cultivate’       sàgò    sàgò
   ‘cook in pot’     sùwò    sùwò
   ‘look at’         tòŋò    tòŋò
   ‘kill’            wàgà    wàgà
   ‘put down’        yàgà    yàgà
   ‘give birth’      yègè    yègè
   ‘take down’       yèlì    yèlì

d. CvNCv
   ‘get tired’        bàndà    bàndà
   ‘betray’           jàmbà    jàmbà
   ‘carry on back’    tìndì    tìndì

e. trisyllabic
   ‘talk (v)’         dìgèmù    dìgèmù
   ‘dance (v)’        mànàmì    mànàmì
   variant mànòmì/mànòmì
   ‘fix, repair’      miỳènì    miỳènì

The last verb in (413e), miỳènì/miỳènì ‘fix, repair’, may be etymologically a causative, distantly related to mànlì/mànlì ‘become good’ and its relatives.

As noted elsewhere, a phonemic distinction between e.g. L.M and L.H is questionable. The transcription here uses LM (e.g. C̀C̄v) for verb stems with rising tone patterns.

(414) below gives representative examples of verbs whose Pfv is M-toned, but whose Ipfv drops the tone of the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) to L. This M/ML type is the mirror image of the L/LM type in (413) above. It is the productive pattern for verbs with M-toned Pfv’s of all prosodic shapes except monomoraic C̀v, C̀wò, and Cyë (see the preceding subsection) which are probably too short to allow contour-toned Ipfv’s. The Pfv (M) versus Ipfv (ML) opposition is
masked when the following word begins with L-tone, because ML-toned words usually raise the final tone to M before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising, so both Pfv and Ipfv end up as all-M.

(414) Pfv M-toned, Ipfv ML-toned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Cvv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shatter (sth)’</td>
<td>kāā</td>
<td>kāà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pick up; take’</td>
<td>dēē</td>
<td>dēē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘catch fire’</td>
<td>kūūu</td>
<td>kūūu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘melt’</td>
<td>yāā</td>
<td>yāā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Cvy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ruin (v)’</td>
<td>māyn</td>
<td>māyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. CvCv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciye, Ciye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>synonym hīisà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘count’</td>
<td>yiyē</td>
<td>yiyē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ask, inquire’</td>
<td>tiyē</td>
<td>tiyē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pass’</td>
<td>kiyē</td>
<td>kiyē</td>
<td>also ‘(day) break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuwo, Cuwɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘winnow in wind’</td>
<td>pūwō</td>
<td>pūwò</td>
<td>(homophone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘jab, poke’</td>
<td>pūwō</td>
<td>pūwò</td>
<td>(homophone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other CvCv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘scrape’</td>
<td>kāgā</td>
<td>kāgā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘build’</td>
<td>kēbē</td>
<td>kēbē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>lōgōn</td>
<td>lōgōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nudge’</td>
<td>mēmē</td>
<td>mēmē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bathe, wash’</td>
<td>nīnī</td>
<td>nīnī</td>
<td>reflexive or transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘like (v)’</td>
<td>pōgō</td>
<td>pōgō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
<td>sāgā</td>
<td>sāgā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get old’</td>
<td>sīlē</td>
<td>sīlē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shut; cover’</td>
<td>tēgē</td>
<td>tēgē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>tōlō</td>
<td>tōlō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘show’</td>
<td>wājī</td>
<td>wājī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. CvCvw²ⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘become hot’</td>
<td>pīyēwn</td>
<td>pīyēwn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.1.3.3 Ipfv has a syllabic suffix

A sizeable number of verbs distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by adding a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv. In one subtype of Ipfv-suffixing verbs, the Ipfv stem ends in a suffix -lv, -nv, or -dv, where “v” is a copy of the preceding stem-final vowel, or it is copied and syllabified from a stem-final y (§10.1.3.3.1 just below). In a second subtype (§10.1.3.3.2), the Ipfv stem ends in a suffix -na with fixed vowel. When -na follows a verb that ends in a'm or Na with some nasal N, we cannot determine whether the suffix is -nv with copied vowel, or -na with fixed vowel.

10.1.3.3.1 Ipfv suffix -lv (-nv, -dv) with copied vowel

The first subtype, with copied suffixal vowel quality, is presented first. A sizeable number of heavy monosyllabic verbs, i.e. those whose Pfv stem has a heavy onset or a heavy rime, are shortened to Cv- when the Ipfv suffix is added. This involves shortening a long vowel and/or dropping a coda or post-C1 semivowel.

The suffix is -lv after nonnasal stems (415). The Pfv has level M or L tones and the Ipfv suffix gets the same tone by spreading.
(415)  Ipfv -lv

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

*long vowel shortened*

‘exit (v)’ bāā bā-lā
‘enter’ dwōā dā-lā
‘fill up (intr)’ pāā pā-lā
‘stand’ tāā tā-lā
‘sow; bury’ cīī cī-lī
‘rub on/in’ sūū sū-lū

b. Cwv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘sit’ or ‘become’ pwōā pō-lā

c. diphthongal Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

*denasalized*

‘pull; tie’ sēy sē-lē
‘descend’ yāwⁿ yā-lā irreg. causative yèl/yèlı

The discrepancy in nasality between yāwⁿ and its Ipfv yā-lā is irregular. However, there is one other case of this: wōwⁿ/_pwō-lō ‘dry off’ in (419b) below.

The irregular verb ‘hit’ or ‘add’ has sharply distinct Pfv and Ipfv stems.

(416)  ‘Hit’ or ‘add’

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

‘hit’ kwāā kō-lā verbal noun kōlē

The suffix takes the form -nv with copied vowel after nasal stems in (416). Unlike the isolated yāwⁿ/yā-lā ‘descend’ in the preceding array, whose Ipfv is denasalized, other C/wⁿ Pfv stems correspond to Cv-nv Ipfv’s. As in (415-416), the verbs in (417) have level-toned M or L Pfv stems, and the Ipfv suffix gets its tone by spreading.
(417) Ipfv -nv

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘catch’</td>
<td>kūūⁿ</td>
<td>kū-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘insult (v)’</td>
<td>mūūⁿ</td>
<td>mū-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get lost’</td>
<td>tūūⁿ</td>
<td>tū-nū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all level-toned heavy monosyllabic verbs have the Pfv/Ipfv pairings illustrated in (416-417) above. Some lack the Ipfv suffix, and distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by tone rather than by an Ipfv suffix (§10.1.3.2 above).

The three known verbs with Cēwⁿ Pfv’s have irregular Ipfv stems. Two have Ipfv Cēn-dē (418a) for expected #Cē-nē. The other has an unusual infixed Ipfv affix (418b).

(418) Irregular Cēwⁿ stems (Ipfv Cēn-dē or Cē-lē-wⁿ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ‘fall’</td>
<td>sēwⁿ</td>
<td>sēn-dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go back’</td>
<td>bēwⁿ</td>
<td>bēn-dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -lv- seemingly infixed before final semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>tēwⁿ</td>
<td>tē-lē-wⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that the Cēn-dē Ipfv forms in (418a) are archaic, with -de as post-nasal variant of -le. If so, the Cv-nv Ipfv’s in (417) above may have contracted *nd to n. This hypothesis is best put on hold until Bozo languages overall are better described.
Another set of verbs with Ipfv suffix -lv (or nasalized -nv) have contour-toned melodies, directly observable in the Pfv. There are a few heavy monosyllabics of this type, all with /HL/ or /LHL/ melody (419). Those with a heavy rime express the final tone element only on the Ipfv suffix. ‘Spit; set (trap)’ does not shorten its vowels.

(419) Contour-toned monosyllabic verbs with Ipfv suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /ML/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spit; set (trap)’</td>
<td>tū̀</td>
<td>tū̀-lù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>tiwⁿ</td>
<td>ti-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sneeze (v)’</td>
<td>cyèⁿ</td>
<td>cyè-nè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘assemble (intr)’</td>
<td>cyèⁿ</td>
<td>cyè-nè</td>
<td>homonym of preceding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LML/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘weave (basket)’</td>
<td>cyèwⁿ</td>
<td>cyè-nè</td>
<td>also ‘spin (cotton)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dry off’</td>
<td>wwōⁿ</td>
<td>wwō-lò</td>
<td>Ipfv denasalized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Pfv ‘sneeze (v)’ and ‘assemble (intr)’ one could argue for a bisyllabic transcription cí(y)èⁿ.

Few nonmonosyllabic verbs have Ipfv -lv ~ -nv with copied vowel. Two verbs with CvCvC Pfv’s, i.e. with /LML/ melody, do have this suffix. They shorten the final vowel and express the final L-tone only on the suffix (420).

(420) CvCvC verbs with Ipfv suffix after shortened stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘lick’</td>
<td>piyè</td>
<td>piyè-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>sùwò</td>
<td>sùwò-lò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One suspects that these stems were once *CvCvCv and lost a C₃ (such as *l or *r). The Kelenga cognate for ‘lick’ is fẹ̀lẹ̀/fẹ̀lẹ̀-lẹ̀, perhaps pointing to *pyełe.

Several other CvCvC verbs have unsuffixed Ipfv stems that are homophonous with corresponding Pfv stems (§10.1.3.1). These data show that Cliffs (unlike Djenné Jenaama) has no strong correlation between contour-toned verb stems and presence of a syllabic Ipfv suffix.

An interesting diachronic question is whether the tight Djenné Jenaama correlation of Ipfv suffix with contour-tone melodies is original, and Cliffs has drifted away from it, or whether the Cliffs system is original.
Consider now the verbs in (421), which show the Ipfv suffix -lì. Although this can be interpreted as a regular variant of -lv with copied vowel, it is possible that they now constitute a distinctive verb class of their own.

(421) C(w)vv and Cv y verbs with Ipfv suffix -lì

gloss | Pfv | Ipfv (Djenné Jenaama cognate)
--- | --- | ---
a. C(w)ìì

_Pfv M-toned_
‘winnow up and down’ | qìì | qìì-lì | —
‘roll up’ | kwìì | kwìì-lì | (kwìì/kwìì)

_b. Cv y with invariant -lì

_Pfv M-toned_
‘greet’ | bòì | bòì-lì | (bòì/bòì-ri)
‘call’ | kêê | kêê-lì | (kêê/êê-nì)

_Pfv rising-toned_
‘weave (cloth)’ | kòì | kòì-lì | (kòì/kòì-ri)

The two verbs in (421a) are unusual in that the Ipfv suffix occurs after an unshortened stem vowel, and in that the Ipfv has M-L tones which would normally point to /ML/ melody observable in the Pfv (#qìì, #kwìì). The three verbs in (421b) show the same tonal patterns. They are also marginally unusual in that the semivowel y rather than the preceding nuclear vowel determines the quality of the suffixal vowel. The other known Ipfv-suffixing Cv y verb is sèì/sè-lì ‘tie’ or ‘pull’, which drops the semivowel before the Ipfv suffix. The Djenné Jenaama cognates for the (421b) verbs all show contour tones in the Pfv, either falling or rising. Cliffs has level M-toned Pfv’s and M-L toned Ipfv’s for two of the three verbs.

10.1.3.3.2 Ipfv suffix -na

For verbs that have Ipfv suffix -na, the Ipfv and the participle with suffix -na may be homophonous. However, the participle and the Ipfv occur in different constructions, and only a minority of verbs have Ipfv suffix -na, so actual confusion is unlikely.

The verbs in (422) have Ipfv -na after a nasal syllable with vowel a. It is therefore indeterminate (except by extrapolation) whether they have suffix -na or a nasalized variant of -lv with copied vowel as described in the preceding subsection. The subgroupings in (422) are based on the Pfv/IPfv tones.
(422) Indeterminate Ipfv-na or -lv ~ -nv

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ML/ML-L</td>
<td>‘breathe’</td>
<td>siŋàwⁿ</td>
<td>siŋàn-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. LM/LM-L</td>
<td>‘lock (v)’</td>
<td>tābāwⁿ</td>
<td>tābān-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
<td>nūmāsāwⁿ</td>
<td>nūmāsā-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. L/LM-L</td>
<td>‘help (v)’</td>
<td>yīrāwⁿ</td>
<td>yīrān-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. LML/LML-L</td>
<td>‘narrate’</td>
<td>kāmāǎ</td>
<td>kāmāǎ-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>kālāǎⁿ</td>
<td>kālāǎ-nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs in (423) below have Ipfv-na after a nasal syllable whose vowel is other than a, so this -na cannot be derived from -lv. Since the tonal subtypes in (422) have equivalents in (423), with the exception of ‘narrate’ and ‘read’ in (422d), it is reasonable to assume that the verbs in at least (422a-c) have Ipfv-na rather than -lv ~ -nv. All known underived nonmonosyllabic verbs ending in a nasal syllable belong to one of the subtypes in (421-422). This excludes suffixally derived verbs with causative -ni (§9.1.1) or inchoative -(aa)ma (§9.4.3).

(423) Clear Ipfv-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. M/M-L</td>
<td>‘spend mid-day’</td>
<td>syēwⁿ</td>
<td>syēn-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ML/ML-L</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
<td>kwēèⁿ</td>
<td>kwēè-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘roast in oven’</td>
<td>dibiwⁿ</td>
<td>dībin-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘squat’</td>
<td>sūgōⁿ</td>
<td>sūgōn-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘copulate’</td>
<td>tīgwⁿ</td>
<td>tīgēn-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘heal (tr)’</td>
<td>sābūlēwⁿ</td>
<td>sābūlēn-nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. LM/LM-L
   ‘bow (v)’      sùnū      sùnū-nà
   ‘turn (sth)’   kẹnẹ      kẹnẹ-nà      variant kẹnẹ/kẹnẹ-nà

d. L/LM-L
   ‘sleep (v)’     kùmù      kùmù-nà
   ‘finish (v)’    kílèwⁿ      kílèn-nà
   ‘wait’          kúlèwⁿ      kúlèn-nà
   ‘tilt (intr)’   sẹnẹwⁿ      sẹnẹn-nà
   ‘rinse’         sàŋgòⁿ      sàŋgòn-nà

The irregular verb ‘see’ has Ipfv suffix -nà (arguably from -lv ~ -nv) without having a nasal syllable in the Pfv (424). (Compare Djenné Jenaama kày/kàyı ‘see’ with unsuffixed Ipfv.)

(424) Irregular verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>kày</td>
<td>kà-nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb ‘encounter’ or ‘welcome (a visitor)’ has Pfv tèmbē and Ipfv either tèmbē-lè or tèmbē-nà.

10.1.4 Stative form of verbs (participial suffix -na)

A stative stem is derived from several aspect-marking verbs by means of participial suffix -na. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the stem (-nà or -nà). For some verbs of shape CvnV like ‘squat’ and ‘sleep’, the stative is at least partially homophonous with the Ipfv.

(425) compares stative with active (Pfv and Ipfv) forms of stance verbs. My assistant alternated between kùmù-nà and kùmù-nà ‘asleep’, making it difficult to pin down the relationship between stative and Ipfv for that verb (425b).

(425) stative gloss   Pfv   Ipfv   gloss (active)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stative</th>
<th>gloss (active)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. stative segmentally distinct from Ipfv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pùwò-nà      ‘be sitting (=seated)’   pwò      pò-là      ‘sit down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàà-nà       ‘be standing, be up’      tàà      tà-là      ‘stand up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sāgā-nā  ‘be lying down’  sāgā  sāgā  ‘lie down’
sēn-nā  ‘be fallen’  sēwⁿ  sēn-dē  ‘fall down’

from transitive
tēgē-nā  ‘be shut’  tēgē  tēgē  ‘shut’
māyⁿ-nā  ‘malfunction, be ruined’  māyⁿ  māyⁿ  ‘ruin (v)’
kēn-nā  ‘be broken’  kēwⁿ  kē-nē  ‘break (tr)’
kwīī-nā  ‘be rolled up’  kwīī  kwīī-lī  ‘roll up’

b. stative versus Ipfv suffix variant -nā
sùnū-nā  ‘be squatting’  sùnù  sùnū-nā  ‘squat’
kümū-nā  ‘sleep, be asleep’  kümù  kümū-nā  ‘sleep (v)’
~ kümū-nā

Morphosyntactically, these stems are participles. They can be predicates, or they can function as postnominal modifiers. They are closely related to one set of adjectives, which have -na when functioning as predicates. Statives are especially common with intransitive stance verbs, denoting the state resulting from taking the position. Statives are also formed from transitive verbs, denoting the resulting state of the object (resultative passive).

In positive predicates, the stative form is followed by nǐ ‘it is’, whether or not a locational expression follows (426a). L-toned suffix variant -nā rises to -nā before nǐ by regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising). The positive predicate of statives is like that of NPs, which likewise have nǐ when functioning as predicates. However, nǐ is absent in negative stative predicates, which instead have IpfvNeg nā (426b). By contrast, negative NP predicates have both post-subject nā and clause-final nī. Overall, the morphosyntax of predicates connects statives not to nouns and NPs, rather to a class of adjectives including color adjectives (§11.4.1.1).

(426)  a.  à  sāgā-nā  nǐ  bōwⁿ
    3Sg  lie.down-Ppl  it.is  here
    ‘He/She is lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

    b.  à  nā  sāgā-nā  bōwⁿ
    3Sg  not.be  lie.down-Ppl  here
    ‘He/She is not lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

An idiomatic use of the stative is apparent in (427). The literal image is of disinflation as of a balloon. The usual context is that Seydou is no longer in the state of being blessed by his father.

(427)  [sèēdù  cīyᵉⁿ]  bān-nā  nǐ
    [S  air]  exit(v)-Ppl  it.is
    ‘Seydou’s air has gone out.’ = ‘The air has gone out of Seydou.’
An important but tricky issue is the relationship between the stative predicate and the resultative verbal noun with the same (or homophonous) suffix -na (§4.2.1.4). The fact that the latter can have a resultative sense is relevant.

10.1.5 ‘Go’ and ‘come’

10.1.5.1 sò/sò ‘go’

The basic noncentripetal motion verb is sò (Pfv and Ipfv). The verb can be used alone, or followed by a spatial expression. It becomes M-toned by regular tone sandhi before an L-tone, as in ē sò nògì-y ‘we went to the village’.

It combines with remote perfective particle gà as sō gà, which may take the slightly irregular form sū gà. The particle occurs optionally when a spatial expression is overt. In this context ‘go’ raises to M-tone, and gà also raises to gà before an L-tone. My assistant rejected (#) the bisyllabic variant in the absence of the spatial expression.

(428) a. à sò
    "       (#sù-gà)
    3Sg    go.Pfv
    ‘He/She went (has gone).’

    b. à sō Ø nògì-y
        "     sū gà "
    3Sg    go.Pfv (RemPfv)    village-Loc
    ‘He/She went to the village.’

The particle is required when the clause contains a focalized constituent, for example a content interrogative.

(429) a. wùlāa sū gà
        "     "     (#Ø)
    who?    go.Pfv
    ‘Who went?’

    b. ń-dógó sū gà
        "     "     (#Ø)
    1Sg-Indep    go.Pfv
    ‘It’s I [focus] who went.’
c. āⁿ sū gā màtāy
    " " (Ø) "
2Sg go.Pfv where?
‘Where did you-Sg go?’

sò occurs clause-initially in a ‘before …’ clause type (§15.5).
For pseudo-causative sāa-ni/sāa-ni ‘convey; cause to go’ see §9.1.2. For ‘go’ plus instrumental PP in the main ‘convey/take X (somewhere)’ construction, see §11.1.1.4.

10.1.5.2 bē/bē ‘come’

In its motion-verb sense, this verb is morphologically regular. It is a simple intransitive, though it can be followed by a spatial expression like ‘here’ or ‘in(to) the village’. 1

(430) à bē (bōwⁿ)
3Sg come.Pfv (here)
‘He/She came here.’

This verb is the likely source for three important grammatical morphemes not involving motion, sequential bē, infinitival bē, and future bē.

In the sequential construction, a regular main clause is followed by a sequential clause, consisting of subject (usually pronominal), bē, and a VP with Pfv verb (§15.3.1). bē raises to bē by tone sandhi before an L-tone.

As infinitival marker, bē is structurally identical to a sequential clause minus the subject. The main and subordinate clauses are integrated semantically rather than expressing distinct sequences of events (§17.4.2).

The future construction contains imperfective markers (positive gà, negative nà) plus bē and the main VP in perfective form (§10.2.2.2).

In addition, bē occurs in a two-part construction translatable as ‘(all the way) from X to Y’, involving two spatial landmarks. The first part has the form à dēe-[bā-lā] X, literally ‘it picked up (and) exited X’. The second part is just bē Y (§15.7.3.2).

For pseudo-causative biyē-ni/biyē-ni ‘bring; cause to come’ see §9.1.2. For ‘come’ plus instrumental PP in the main ‘bring X’ construction, see §11.1.1.4.
10.2 Indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective and perfect categories

There is only one morphological perfective (Pfv) category at word level (§10.2.1.1). Additional tense-aspect categories that elaborate perfectivity in one direction or another are the remote perfective (expressed by a postverbal particle), the experiential perfect (expressed by a preceding auxiliary with imperfective complement), and the recent perfect (expressed by adding a particle at the end of the subject NP).

The perfective positive differs from other indicative categories in that the subject and object are not separated by a regular inflectional particle such as Ipfv gà. The result is that pronominal subjects and pronominal subject-object combinations have special forms not found in other clauses.

10.2.1.1 Simple perfective (positive and negative) of intransitive verbs

The simple perfective is used to report a bounded event that has been completed in the past, before the present (or other reference time). When used without a following particle gà, it may denote an event that has just occurred.

The Pfv has no segmentable suffix. The stem has a lexical melody, most often /L/ or /M/, for bisyllabics also /H/, /ML/, or /LM/, and for trisyllabics also /MLM/. There is no inflectional particle in positive clauses, and no auxiliary. The main verb therefore immediately follows the subject in positive perfective clauses. The perfective is negated by adding PfvNeg tè between subject and verb.

(431) has a pronominal-subject paradigm for ‘slept’, which is L-toned. 1Sg subject is M-toned ŋ in the positive, L-toned ŋ in the negative (as in imperfective clauses). The PfvNeg particle is tè, rising to tè before an L-tone. 1Sg ŋ ~ ŋ assimilates to the position of the following consonant, e.g. negative ŋ tè.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(431)</th>
<th>‘slept’</th>
<th>‘didn’t sleep’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ŋ kùmù</td>
<td>ŋ tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē kùmù</td>
<td>ē tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>āŋ kùmù</td>
<td>āŋ tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā kùmù</td>
<td>āā tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ā kùmù</td>
<td>ā tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē kùmù</td>
<td>ē tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Array (432) has a subject paradigm for ‘fall’. This verb is M-toned, so negative tè remains L-toned in all combinations.
A fuller set of intransitive perfectives showing 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Sg forms is in (433).

(433) Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1SgNeg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>1PlNeg</th>
<th>3Sg</th>
<th>3SgNeg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>ñ kìi</td>
<td>ñ tè kìi</td>
<td>ë kìi</td>
<td>ë tè kìi</td>
<td>à kìi</td>
<td>à tè kìi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>ñ kùtù</td>
<td>ñ tè kùtù</td>
<td>ë kùtù</td>
<td>ë tè kùtù</td>
<td>à kùtù</td>
<td>à tè kùtù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ñ sò</td>
<td>ñ tè sò</td>
<td>ë sò</td>
<td>ë tè sò</td>
<td>à sò</td>
<td>à tè sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>ñ tàà</td>
<td>ñ tè tàà</td>
<td>ë tàà</td>
<td>ë tè tàà</td>
<td>à tàà</td>
<td>à tè tàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descend</td>
<td>ñ yàw</td>
<td>ñ tè yàw</td>
<td>ë yàw</td>
<td>ë tè yàw</td>
<td>à yàw</td>
<td>à tè yàw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>ñ kìyòw</td>
<td>ñ tè kìyòw</td>
<td>ë kìyòw</td>
<td>ë tè kìyòw</td>
<td>à kìyòw</td>
<td>à tè kìyòw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ñ kùmù</td>
<td>ñ tè kùmù</td>
<td>ë kùmù</td>
<td>ë tè kùmù</td>
<td>à kùmù</td>
<td>à tè kùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ñ pwò</td>
<td>ñ tè pwò</td>
<td>ë pwò</td>
<td>ë tè pwò</td>
<td>à pwò</td>
<td>à tè pwò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. M-toned verb

| exit   | ñ bàà | ñ tè bàà | ë bàà | ë tè bàà | à bàà | à tè bàà |
| come   | ñ bè | ñ tè bè | ë bè | ë tè bè | à bè | à tè bè |
| fall   | ñ sèw | ñ tè sèw | ë sèw | ë tè sèw | à sèw | à tè sèw |
| ascend | ñ tåw | ñ tè tåw | ë tåw | ë tè tåw | à tåw | à tè tåw |
| weep   | ñ wwò | ñ tè wwò | ë wwò | ë tè wwò | à wwò | à tè wwò |
| enter  | ñ dwò | ñ tè dwò | ë dwò | ë tè dwò | à dwò | à tè dwò |
| stay   | ñ kòndò | ñ tè kòndò | ë kòndò | ë tè kòndò | à kòndò | à tè kòndò |
| crawl  | ñ kùùnù | ñ tè kùùnù | ë kùùnù | ë tè kùùnù | à kùùnù | à tè kùùnù |
| die    | ñ lògà | ñ tè lògà | ë lògà | ë tè lògà | à lògà | à tè lògà |
| lie down | ñ sàgà | ñ tè sàgà | ë sàgà | ë tè sàgà | à sàgà | à tè sàgà |
10.2.1.2 Remote perfective (postverbal gà)

The particle gà immediately following a Pfv verb indicates that the event occurred some time ago. The combination of an L-toned verb and gà can undergo Final Tone-Raising: sògà ‘cultivate.Pfv’, remote sògà gà.

In main clauses, a simple Pfv without gà may function as a recent past (cf. the English present perfect). For example, (434a) might be uttered to explain why a child is now weeping. (434b) by contrast is a report of an event that occurred at an earlier time (this morning, last year, etc.).

(434) a. à sēwⁿ
   3Sg fall.Pfv
   ‘He/She (just) fell.’

b. à sēŋ gà
   3Sg fall.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘He/She fell (some time ago).’ (< sēwⁿ)

polar interrogative tone/intonation (§13.2.1.2) is compatible with gà.

(435) ān dāwā gàá
   2Sg travel.Pfv RemPfv.Q
   ‘You went on a trip?’ (< dāwā)

gà is only awkwardly compatible with negation (436).

(436) ? à tè sēŋ gà
   3Sg Neg fall.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘He/She didn’t fall (some time ago).’ (< sēwⁿ)

In practice, negative perfectives with RemPfv gà are limited to specific discourse contexts, especially in the polar interrogative (§13.2.1.2) form gàá. My assistant stated that (437) could be uttered when the speaker has some reason to believe that the referent may have suffered a fall (out of the speaker’s sight).

(437) à tè sēŋ gàá
   3Sg PfvNeg fall.Pfv RemPfv.Q
   ‘He/She didn’t fall?’
In subordinated clauses, the presence or absence of gà is determined by the construction, without consideration of time gaps. RemPfv gà is obligatory in perfective positive relative clauses (Chapter 14 passim). It is also obligatory in perfective positive ‘when’ clauses with clause-final definite gu, provided that post-subject kàylà ‘when’ is absent (§15.4.4). By contrast, RemPfv gà is disallowed when kàylà and clause-final gu are both present (§15.4.3), even though the three morphemes occur in different linear “slots” in the clause and ought to be semantically compatible. Thus a distinction (presence/absence of gà) that is semantically subtle in main clauses becomes automatic in subordinated clauses.

10.2.1.3 Transitive perfective with forms of pronominal objects

Given S-infl-O VX order, when a transitive clause is in the perfective positive (which has no overt inflectional marker), the subject and object risk being directly adjacent, unlike the situation in all other inflectional categories. Under some conditions, mainly involving pronominal subjects and/or objects, subject and object are separated by yè. This is a bidirectional case-marker (BCM), i.e. a linker that requires the presence of both NPs in overt form (§11.1.2.1.1), though its distribution is less rigorously controlled than that of its counterparts in Soninke or mainstream eastern Songhay. After 1Sg and LogoSg subject (the two pronouns consisting of nasal consonants), the BCM takes the form =nà’, which is transcribed as an enclitic (§11.1.2.1.2).

When subject and object are nonpronominal NPs, yè is elicitable but it is usually absent. It is shown as optional in (438a-b). The interlinear gloss is “Sbj/Obj”.

\[(438)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{sèdù (yè) jénàj kwàà}
\]
\[S \quad (\text{Sbj/Obj}) \quad \text{child hit.Pfv}\]
\‘Seydou hit the child.’

\[
b. \quad \text{sèdù (yè) sàgòlón / kòyój kwàà}
\]
\[S \quad (\text{Sbj/Obj}) \quad \text{sheep / rock hit.Pfv}\]
\‘Seydou hit the sheep-Sg / the rock.’

When the object of a perfective positive verb is pronominal that follows a nonpronominal NP like ‘Seydou’, its forms are those given in §4.3.2.2. For combinations of pronominal subject and pronominal object in transitive perfective positive clauses, see §4.3.2.3 and §4.3.4.1.2.

10.2.1.4 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (bàyà gà)

This construction denotes a past event that may have occurred long ago but that has left an imprint in the subject’s memory and/or status. It corresponds to have ever and to its negation have never in English. Its main ingredient is the auxiliary bàyà, which behaves as a Pfv verb, as shown by
its negation with PfvNeg tè (439c). The following subjectless VP ends with an Ipfv verb. This suggests that the gà that follows băynà is the positive Ipfv particle. It might alternatively be taken as the remote perfective particle, on the grounds that Vb2 (second verb) in some two-verb constructions can occur in the Ipfv stem (§15.2.5). However, the combination băynà gà is rather fused, and might be analysed as a single-word portmanteau.

(439) a. ām băynà gà tūwɔ-bùlɔŋ kà-nà
   2Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv.Q
   ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’

   b. m băynà gà tūwɔ-bùlɔŋ kà-nà
   1Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv
   ‘I have (once) seen an elephant.’

   c. ñ tè băynà gà tūwɔ-bùlɔŋ kà-nà
   1Sg PfvNeg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv
   ‘I have never seen an elephant.’

10.2.1.5 Equivalents of completive perfect

There is no regular inflectional marking of completive perfect (‘has already VPed’) or recent perfect (‘has just VPed’).

In elicitation, something like completive perfect is expressed with a regular perfective positive clause (without remote perfective gà). To add the sense ‘already’, i.e. completion before the moment of speaking when this had been uncertain, my assistant adds either or both of two elements. First, the subject followed by a morpheme kɔⁿ that is homophonous with with topic morpheme ‘as for’ (§19.1.1). It is not set off prosodically or resumed by a subject pronoun, as is common with topicalized constituents, and it is difficult to see a semantic connection between topicalization and completive perfect. In addition or instead, a clause-final morpheme kòy is added. This morpheme is segmentally identical to clause-final emphatic kòy (§19.4.2.1). It does sound H-toned in the infrequent case that it is followed by another morpheme, as in (440f), where however kòy might alternatively be parsed as the emphatic morpheme. When it is clause-final, however, it has lower pitch than one would expect for emphatic kòy even allowing for prepausal pitch drop (§3.6.5.2). I provisionally gloss both post-subject kɔⁿ and clause-final kòy as ‘already’ in (440).

(440) a. [ŋ kɔn] digē kòy
   [1Sg already] eat.Antip.Pf already
   ‘I’ve already eaten.’ (< ŋ (+H) kɔn) (e.g. in response to an invitation to a meal)
b. [à kɔⁿ] yè ŋ tūwō kòy
  [3Sg already] Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv already
  ‘He/She has already left.’

c. [ŋ̄ kɔ́ŋ] kiyè kūlēŋ kòy
  [1Sg already] wood cut.Pfv Emph
  ‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) the wood.’

d. [ŋ̄ kɔ́ŋ] yā =à kūlēŋ kòy
  [1Sg already] Sbj/Obj 3Sg cut.Pfv Emph
  ‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) it.’

e. [:'/]+
  [ŋ̄ kɔ́ŋ] kiyè kūlēŋ kòy
  [2Sg already] wood cut.Pfv Emph
  ‘You-Sg have already cut (=chopped) the wood.’ (<kūlēwⁿ)

f. [à bè kòy] ŋ̣gāà à tē bē [pà-sí nì]
  [3Sg come.Pfv already] [but 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv anything Inst]]
  ‘He/She has already come (=arrived here) but he/she didn’t bring anything.’

A concrete indication that completive perfect kòy can be structurally L-toned is that remote perfective gā combines with it as gāa kòy.

For negative ‘have not yet VPed’, see 8.4.6.2.

10.2.1.6 Perfective positive markers in subordinated clauses (post-subject gā, nàⁿ)

In a few subordinated clause types, a nonzero Pfv particle occurs after the subject, making the bidirectional case marker unnecessary (and ungrammatical).

gā/gā functions as a Pfv marker in one type of ‘until’ clause, where it co-occurs with a Pfv verb (§15.7.2.2). This must be distinguished from the much more common use in the same post-subject position of a segmentally identical gā/gā as ‘be’ verb or Ipfv particle, in both cases limited to positive clauses. The two gā/gā morphemes interact tonally with preceding pronominal proclitics in different ways; the ‘until.Pfv’ marker dissimilates tonally, while the Ipfv particle and ‘be’ verb assimilate tonally (§3.6.4.6). Both are easily distinguished from remote perfective gā, which follows the verb rather than following the subject.

In perfective positive conditional antecedent clauses, nà(w)ⁿ (glossed ‘if.Pfv’) occurs in post-subject position. It therefore forms a positive/negative opposition with PfvNeg tē in this construction. See §16.1 for details and examples.
10.2.2 Nonperfective categories

The nonperfective indicative categories are a) imperfective, b) future, and c) presentative. They are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology and preverbal particles.

The presentative can function as progressive positive. As usual with presentatives (but not progressives), there is no negative counterpart. This is because presentatives must be veridical and deictic, while progressives need not be. Progressive negative (‘X is not VP-ing’) is merged with imperfective negative.

10.2.2.1 Post-subject imperfective particles (positive gà/gā, negative nà/nā)

The general imperfective may denote habitual or gnomic eventualities, ongoing processes, or future events. It is expressed by the combination of post-subject inflectional particles, and the Ipfv stem of the verb.

The particle gà/gā intervenes between the subject NP and the VP in positive clauses. It is replaced by nà/nā in negative clauses. gà/gā is closely related to gà/gā ‘be’ in locational-existential predicates (§11.2.3), where its negative counterpart is again nà/nā. gà/gā is also copular ‘be’ as in ‘X is Y’, but its negative counterpart is nàw̱/nāw̱. The tonal patterns described below apply to the Ipfv particle and to the ‘be (present)’ and copular ‘be’ verbs.

A pronominal-subject paradigm for the imperfectives of ‘fall’ is in (441). The verb is M-toned. The tones of gà/gā and or nà/nā are copied from that of a preceding pronominal proclitic. L-toned proclitics are followed by gà and nà, M-toned proclitics by gà and nà, before further tone sandhi. Nonpronominal NPs are followed by gà and nà.

(441)   ‘fall(s)’      ‘didn’t/doesn’t fall’

a. 1Sg  ġ gà sēn-dē  nà sēn-dē
    3Sg  â gà sēn-dē  â nà sēn-dē
    3Pl  ĝ gà sēn-dē  ĝ nà sēn-dē
b. 1Pl  Ā gà sēn-dē  ā nà sēn-dē
    2Sg  āŋ gà sēn-dē  ān nà sēn-dē
    2Pl  āā gà sēn-dē  ā ā nà sēn-dē
    LogoSg ŋ gà sēn-dē  ŋ nà sēn-dē
    LogoPl ē gà sēn-dē  ē nà sēn-dē
If the verb is L-toned, the particles are uniformly M-toned gā and nā, whether the M-tone comes from a pronominal subject proclitic or whether it is due to Final Tone-Raising. This is exemplified by the pronominal-subject paradigm for the imperfectives of ‘sleep’ (442).

(442) ‘sleep(s)’ ‘don’t/doesn’t sleep’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>3Sg</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĕ gā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Sg</td>
<td>ŋ̀ gā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ŋ̀ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>à gā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>à nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>è gā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>è nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 1Pl</td>
<td>ĕ gā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ĕ ngā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>ĕ ngā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoPl</td>
<td>ĕ ngā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ĕ ngā kūmū-nà</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūmū-nà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with nonpronominal subjects ending in various tones are in (443). As with the pronominal subjects, the final tone of the subject is carried over to ga or na. Final Tone-Raising applies in ‘Seydou sleeps (not)’ in (443a).

(443) subject final tone ‘sleeps (not)’ ‘falls (not)’

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ‘Seydou’</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>sèdù</td>
<td>gā / nā kūmū-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ‘goat’</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>sūgō</td>
<td>gā / nā kūmū-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ‘dog’</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>kūngóló</td>
<td>gā / nā kūmū-nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diagnostic 1Sg and 1Pl subject forms for a larger set of intransitive verbs is in (444). (444b) shows the effects of the forward tone-assimilation rule. (444a) has also undergone this process, but in the 1Sg subject forms it has been followed by Final Tone-Raising.

(444) Imperfective (first person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1SgNeg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>1PlNeg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. L-toned verb unsuffixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>ĕ gā kii</td>
<td>ŋ̀ nā kii</td>
<td>ĕ gā kii</td>
<td>ĕ nā kii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>ĕ gā kūūr</td>
<td>ŋ̀ nā kūūr</td>
<td>ĕ gā kūūr</td>
<td>ĕ nā kūūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ĕ gā sò</td>
<td>ŋ̀ nā sò</td>
<td>ĕ gā sò</td>
<td>ĕ nā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>ĕ gā kiyòwⁿ</td>
<td>ŋ̀ nā kiyòwⁿ</td>
<td>ĕ gā kiyòwⁿ</td>
<td>ĕ nā kiyòwⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
suffixed

‘stand’ Ḗ gā tà-là  ᐊ nā tà-là  ē gā tà-là  ē nā tà-là
‘descend’ Ḗ gā yà-là  ᐊ nā yà-là  ē gā yà-là  ē nā yà-là
‘sit’ Ḗ gā pò-lò  ᐊ nā pò-lò  ē gā pò-lò  ē nā pò-lò
‘sleep’ Ḗ gā kūmū-nà  ᐊ nā kūmū-nà  ē gā kūmū-nà  ē nā kūmū-nà

b. M-toned verb

unsuffixed

‘come’ Ḗ gā bē  ᐊ nā bē  ē gā bē  ē nā bē
‘weep’ Ḗ gā wwuō  ᐊ nā wwuō  ē gā wwuō  ē nā wwuō
‘enter’ Ḗ gā dwō  ᐊ nā dwō  ē gā dwō  ē nā dwō

unsuffixed, final L-tone

‘stay’ Ḗ gā kōndō  ᐊ nā kōndō  ē gā kōndō  ē nā kōndō
‘crawl’ Ḗ gā kūūnū  ᐊ nā kūūnū  ē gā kūūnū  ē nā kūūnū
‘die’ Ḗ gā lōgōn  ᐊ nā lōgōn  ē gā lōgōn  ē nā lōgōn
‘fly (v)’ Ḗ gā pīri  ᐊ nā pīri  ē gā pīri  ē nā pīri
‘lie down’ Ḗ gā sāgā  ᐊ nā sāgā  ē gā sāgā  ē nā sāgā

suffixed

‘exit’ Ḗ gā bā-lā  ᐊ nā bā-lā  ē gā bā-lā  ē nā bā-lā
‘fall’ Ḗ gā sēn-dē  ᐊ nā sēn-dē  ē gā sēn-dē  ē nā sēn-dē
‘ascend’ Ḗ gā tā-nā  ᐊ nā tā-nā  ē gā tā-nā  ē nā tā-nā

Normally Ṣmv gā/gā and ṢmvNeg nā/nā must be followed by a verb. The exception is that the verb may be omitted in truncated replies to polar interrogatives. In this case, the particle is clause-final, and takes M-toned form gā or nā regardless of the subject. (445) involves a question by one speaker and a reply by another with gā after L-toned proclitic.

(445) speaker 1:
ou bien [sī tīnān] gā jī nāmū [ā nǐnī]
or else [breed other] Ṣmv 3ReflSg mix. Ṣmv [3Sg inside]
‘... or does another clan mix in (=intermarry) with it?’

speaker 2:
ā gā, ā gā
3Sg Ṣmv, 3Sg Ṣmv
‘It does (mix), it does.’ (2017-01 @ 07:21 to 07:23)

Example (446) illustrates clause-final ṢmvNeg nā.
Even the L-toned gā and nā fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising on preceding words. This is likely because the proto-forms were M-toned *gā and *nā. The syllable that fails to tone-raise is bolded in (447a-c).

(447) a. [[ē mīrū-yè] gā só [bwä kàę] yãwⁿ]  
    [[1Pl chief-Pl] Ipfv go.Ipfv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]  
    ‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)  
    (< gā sò)

b. [ā têñj] gā bā-lā [[iŋ siyèⁿ] kūmà] sāāⁿ  
    [3Sg elder.sib] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [[3Refl horse] on] when  
    ‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, …’ (2017-01 @ 02:52)

c. [bàâkôl≥-sí-yè kû-lè] nā = āā bâgâ kûjâamâ-ŷⁿ dê?  
    B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpfvNeg 2Pl equal.Ipfv number-Loc Emph  
    ‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl in population.’ (2017-01 @ 08:31)

10.2.2.2 Future (preverbal gā/gā bē, negative nā/nǎ bē)

The future makes use of the same Ipfv gā/gā (positive) and nā/nǎ (negative) inflectional particles already seen with the present. However, it adds a second element before the primary verb, namely bē, which is at least etymologically the ‘come’ verb bē/bē, presumably in the Ipfv stem. The following main verb takes Pfv (!) form, further distinguishing this construction from the regular imperfective construction. This aligns future gā bē with two other constructions that likely contain reflexes of ‘come’ but in L-toned form (prior to tone sandhi), sequential bē (§15.3.1) which requires a subject, and subjectless infinitival bē (§17.4.2).

In allegro speech, before another nonlow tone gā bē and nā bē are often heard as low-pitched [gàbè] and [nàbè] with the M-tone of bē suppressed or indistinct. However, bē is not treated as L-toned in tone sandhi, so gā and nā do not raise to gā and nā by Final Tone-Raising in this combination.

In one text, an expected ŋ nā bē dwɔ ‘(he said) “I will go in” ’ is reduced to ŋ nā dwɔ by omitting bē (2017-06 @ 00:26). When this happens, the combination of nā/nǎ and Pfv stem is future negative, versus nā/nǎ plus Ipfv stem for imperfective negative.
The 1Pl combination ē gā bē, and the 3Pl combination ē gē bē, can assimilate in vowel quality to ē gē bē and ē gē bē, respectively. This is common in allegro speech but generally corrected in elicitation.

Future paradigms for L-toned ‘sleep’ are in (448). The verb takes Pfv form kūmū, compare Ipfv kūmū-nà.

(448)    ‘will sleep’   ‘won’t sleep’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>2Sg</th>
<th>2Pl</th>
<th>3Sg</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ĕ gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>ĕ nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>ē nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ānj gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>ānj nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>āā nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ā gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>ā nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē kūmū</td>
<td>ē nā bē kūmū</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The future paradigm of M-toned ‘fall’ is (449). The verb again takes Pfv stem sēwⁿ rather than Ipfv sēn-dē.

(449)    ‘will fall’   ‘won’t fall’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1Pl</th>
<th>2Sg</th>
<th>2Pl</th>
<th>3Sg</th>
<th>3Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ĕ gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>ĕ nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>ē nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ānj gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>ānj nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>āā nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ā gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>ā nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td>ē nā bē sēwⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the clause is transitive, bē is followed by the object. It drops to bè by tone sandhi before an H-tone (450a), but remains bē before M or L tone (450b).

(450) a. ĕ gā bē kūngóló tōlō
     1Sg  Ipfv Fut dog sell.Pfv
     ‘I will sell the dog.’

b. ĕ gā bē sūgō / yāmbāā tōlō
     1Sg  Ipfv Fut goat / house sell.Pfv
     ‘I will see the goat/house.’
10.2.2.3 Presentative (kày – kày)

The presentative morpheme has allomorphs kày (becoming kày by tone sandhi before L-tone) and käy. käy is homophonous to the Pfv stem of käy/kà-nya ‘see’, its likely etymological source. Compare French *voici* and *voilà* from the imperative of *voir* ‘see’.

The forms used in simple presentatives that are not combined with a VP are in (451), repeated from §4.4.4.1 where the tones are discussed.

(451)  

a. NP

[sèédù kày] yà-là ‘here/there is Seydou descending’

[yàbà kày] yà-là ‘here/there is the guinea-fowl descending’

b. 1Sg with floating H

[j kày] ‘here I am’

c. M-toned pronominal proclitics

[é kày] ‘here we are’

[āŋ kày] ‘here/there you-Sg are’

[āā kày] ‘here/there you-Pl are’

[j kày] ‘here he/she is’ (logophoric)

[ē kày] ‘here they are’ (logophoric)

c. L-toned pronominal proclitics

[à kày] ‘here/there he-or-she is’

[è kày] ‘here/there they are’

In (452), the presentative sequence functions as subject with a following Ipfv VP yà-là ‘descend, go down’. This combination is awkwardly translatable into English. The sense is captured by French *le voilà qui descend!* but the morphosyntax is very different. The form of the presentative morpheme is as in (451), except that L-toned käy in the third-person pronominal forms undergoes Final Tone-Raising to kày before the L-toned verb.

(452)  

a. NP

[sèédù kày] yà-là ‘here/there is Seydou descending’

[yàbà kày] yà-là ‘here/there is the guinea-fowl descending’

b. 1Sg

[j kày] yà-là ‘here I am descending’
c. M-toned proclitics

\[\text{[ē kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here we are descending’}\]
\[\text{[āŋ kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here/there you-Sg are descending’}\]
\[\text{[āā kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here/there you-Pl are descending’}\]
\[\text{[ō kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here I am descending’ (logophoric)}\]
\[\text{[ē kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here we are descending’ (logophoric)}\]

d. L-toned pronominals

\[\text{[à kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here/there he-or-she is descending’}\]
\[\text{[è kā] yà-là} \quad \text{‘here/there they are descending’}\]

An object NP, if present, follows kāy.

(453) a. \[\text{[à kā] tēē kūlēn-nā} \quad \text{meat cut-lpfv}\]
\[\text{[3Sg Prsntv]} \quad \text{‘Look, he/she is cutting the meat.’}\]

b. \[\text{[à kā =] à kūlēn-nā} \quad \text{3Sg cut-lpfv}\]
\[\text{[3Sg Prsntv]} \quad \text{‘Look, he/she is cutting it.’}\]

My assistant rejected a direct negation of this presentative form, probably because a negative presentative would make no sense (#‘here he/she isn’t!’). One can, however, combine a presentative predicate with a separate full clause that is negative (454).

(454) \[\text{à kāy [à nā tā-nā]} \quad \text{3Sg Prsntv [3Sg lpfvNeg ascend-lpfv]}\]
\[\text{‘There he/she is, not going up!’}\]

10.2.2.4 Subjunctive (gālā)

The post-subject particle gālā occurs in irrealis contexts, as opposed to assertions. For example, it can express intended, suggested, or otherwise possible but uncertain future actions. It can sometimes be informally glossed as a hortative (‘let’s …’) or as a suggestion (‘why don’t you …’). The verb in the following VP is in the Pfv stem. There is no negative counterpart (other than the prohibitive).

Some textual examples are in (455).
10.2.2.5 Presentative stative and its negation

The presentative construction with käy (§10.2.2.3 above) is also used in stative as opposed to progressive contexts, but with the participial form of the verb (§10.1.4). Ppl suffix -na gets its tones by spreading. The distinction between stative and progressive is important for stance verbs.

The negative version replaces käy by nà, which is elsewhere the negative locational-existential (‘be absent’) or the IpfvNeg particle. This suggests that käy is structurally parallel to Ipfv (positive) particle gà. Both käy and nà are subject to Final Tone-Raising when followed by L-tones. English translations (‘be sitting’, etc.) can be misleading since English fails to distinguish progressive from stative with stance verbs.
(456) a. à kāy pūwə-nà
    3Sg Prsntv sit-Ppl
    ‘He/She is sitting (=seated).’

    b. à nā pūwə-nà
    3Sg not.be sit-Ppl
    ‘He/She is not sitting (=seated).’

The construction also accepts detranasitivized resultatives like ‘be laid out’ in (457c). A corresponding transitive is in (457a). There is no active intransitive for this verb, so an aspect-marked construction is reflexive in form (457b).

(457) a. ŋ =nān tàân sínā
    1Sg Sbj/Obj mat lay.Pfv
    ‘I laid out the mat.’

    b. tàân yè ŋ sínā
    mat Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg lay.Pfv
    ‘The mat was laid out.’ (lit. “The mat laid itself out.”)

    c. [tàŋ kāy] sínā-nā
    [mat Prsntv] lay.out-Ppl
    ‘The mat is (over there) laid out.’

10.3 Shift of reference time

10.3.1 Shift to past time viewpoint

Ordinary tense-aspect marking (perfective, present, future, progressive, stative) presupposes the perspective of the here-and-now of the speech event. The time interval of an event or situation that is described is automatically compared to the moment of speaking. However, mechanisms are available to shift the reference time to the past.

In addition to the constructions in §10.3.2-4 below, the construction with màà/màā ‘look for’ as a kind of auxiliary can be glossed ‘was on the verge of VPing’, i.e. a type of future-in-past.

10.3.2 Past imperfective (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō)

This construction consists of a Pfv form of kōndō ‘stay’ as auxiliary, followed by a VP with Ipfv verb. The particle gà is usually present immediately after kōndō but it can be omitted. There is
some ambiguity as to whether this is the Ipfv particle gà/gā, anticipating the imperfective VP to follow, or the RemPfv particle gà which follows Pfv verbs (like kōndō). In favor of the latter analysis is the fact that this gà remains L-toned before another L-tone, whereas the Ipfv particle undergoes Final Tone-Raising to gā in this position. The ungrammaticality of #kōndō nà/nā, with IpfvNeg nà/nā, also favors the RemPfv reading of gà in kōndō gà.

In any event, the combination kōndō gà can be contracted to kūnà, which is glossed simply as “Past.Ipfv” rather than unpacked morphemically (458b). kōndō is negated by the usual PfvNeg tè. Negation of kōndō entails no change in the following VP (458c). This VP cannot itself be directly negated (458d).

The sense is either past habitual or past progressive.

(458) a. jénáŋ kōndō (gà) kūũ
    child stay.Pfv (RemPfv) run.Ipfv
    ‘The child was running/used to run.’

b. tâmâ déé kūnà ŋ̅ sóg̅ bōm pānān̅
    Q cotton Past.Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv here formerly
    ‘Was cotton cultivatd here formerly?’ (2017-03 @ 00:58)

c. jénán tè kōndō (gà) kūũ
    child PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) run.Ipfv
    ‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’

d. #jénâŋ (tè) kōndō nā kūũ
    child (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv IpfvNeg run.Ipfv
    [intended: ‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’]
b. ŋ̄kōndō (gà) nògi-ŷ
   1Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) village-Loc
   ‘I was in the village.’

c. yàmbàà kōndō (gà) [ń tē]
   house stay.Pfv (RemPfv) [1Sg Dat]
   ‘I had a house.’

d. ŋ̄kōndō (gà) sògò-ŷā ni
   1Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) cultivate-Agent it.is
   ‘I used to be a farmer.’

e. ŋ̄kōndō (gà) sàbùlèⁿ-yā to
   1Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) heal-Agent know.Ipfv
   ‘I used to know a healer.’

10.3.4 Past perfect
No past perfect involving kōndō was elicitable. kùⁿ with the subject along with clause-final köy
(§10.2.1.5) suggest the sense ‘already’ in the present (460a). To indicate that an event had already
happened at a reference time in the past, RemPfv gà can follow the Pfv verb. This can approximate
the past perfect in conjunction with the ‘already’ morphemes (460b).

(460) a. [à kùⁿ] ñ tüwō köy
   [3Sg already] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv already
   ‘He/She has already left.’

   b. [ā kùⁿ] ñ tüwō gà köy
      [3Sg already] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv RemPfv already
      ‘He/She had already left (e.g. when I arrived).’

10.4 Imperatives and hortatives

10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

All imperatives and prohibitives are based on the Pfv stem of the verb. The paradigm for these
deontics is summarized in (461), for intransitive ‘come’ and ‘stop’.

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10.4.1.1 Imperative (unsuffixed singular, plural yè⁰)

The Pfv stem is used, without any preverbal material (subject pronoun, inflectional particle) as intransitive singular-addresssee imperative.

(462) a. M-toned imperative (= Pfv)

| bë       | ‘come!-2Sg’ |
| tāw⁰     | ‘ascend!-2Sg’ |
| dwɔ      | ‘enter!-2Sg’ |
| sāgā     | ‘lie down!-2Sg’ |
| kōndō    | ‘stay!-2Sg’ |
| pīrī     | ‘fly away!-2Sg’ |

b. L-toned imperative (= Pfv)

| sò       | ‘go!-2Sg’ |
| tàà      | ‘stop!-2Sg’ (or ‘stand up!’) |
| pwɔ      | ‘sit!-2Sg’ |
| yāw⁰     | ‘descend!-2Sg’ |

c. other tones: imperative (= Pfv)

| yīyèrè   | ‘slide!-2Sg’ |
| tigè     | ‘cough!-2Sg’ |

As usual the all-L-toned stems undergo Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone. This applies to the monomoraic sò in (463a), but not in (463b) where it is followed by a nonlow tone.

(463) a. sò nàmàgèw⁰

| go.Pfv   | Namagué |
| ‘Go-2Sg to Namagué (village)’ |
b. sò mɔ̄ptì
go.Pfv Mopti
‘Go-2Sg to Mopti (city)!’

Transitive singular-addressee imperatives likewise begin with the object, with no overt subject. This is the only clause type that begins with an object NP (464a-b). As in indicative clauses, 1Sg object ŋ́ (+H) raises the tone of a following L-toned verb to H, e.g. wáɡá from wàɡà in (464a).

(464) a. ŋ́ kwāa/ wáɡá
1Sg hit.Pfv / kill.Pfv
‘Hit-/Kill-2Sg me!’ (< ŋ́ (+H), wàɡà)

b. sɔ́gɔ́ mèwⁿ
milk drink.Pfv
‘Drink-2Sg the milk!’

For plural addressee, yèⁿ appears clause-initially. It raises to yèⁿ before L-tone. The remainder of the clause is as for singular addressee.

(465) a. yèⁿ jénáŋ kwāa
Imprt.2Pl child hit.Pfv
‘Hit!-2Pl the child!’

b. yèⁿ yúɡɔ́ŋ kwāa
Imprt.2Pl woman hit.Pfv
‘Hit!-2Pl the woman’

c. yèŋ kùtù
Imprt.2Pl run.Pfv
‘Run!-2Pl’

yèⁿ also occurs in hortatives, but not in prohibitives.

There is an ambiguity about the grammatical function of yèⁿ. It does not resemble the 2Pl pronoun āa, so it is not a true pronominal as such. It could be treated as a post-subject inflectional particle occupying the same linear position as prohibitive màⁿ. There are similar difficulties in many languages of the zone in identifying and glossing morphemes that occur in plural-addressee imperatives.

Two imperative clauses cannot be juxtaposed and phrased together as in ‘come and eat!’ Instead, the first clause is imperative and the second is a subjunctive clause.
10.4.1.2 Form of pronominal objects in imperatives

Because transitive imperatives are the only construction with clause-initial objects, the forms of non-second-person pronominal objects are exemplified below. For singular addressee, the forms are in (467). 1Sg object ū (+H) has its usual tonal effect on the L-toned verb wàgà (467b). 3Sg à and 3Pl è remain L-toned before wàgà (467c).

(467)  

a. ū / ē / à / è    kwāā  
   1Sg/1Pl/3Sg/3Pl  hit.Pfv  
   ‘Hit-2Sg me/us/him-or-her/them!’

b. ū  
   1Sg  
   wàgā  
   kill.Pfv  
   ‘Kill-2Sg me!’

c. ē / à / è  
   wàgà  
   1Pl/3Sg/3Pl  kill.Pfv  
   ‘Kill-2Sg us/him-or-her/them!’

The forms for plural addressee are in (468). The combinations of yèⁿ with pronominal objects are fused. The nasality in plural-addressee imperative yèⁿ is lost in the contractions. The yèⁿ morpheme does not raise to M-tone before an L-toned object pronominal.

(468)  

a. yè = ū / yè = ē / yà = à / yè = è    kwāā  
   Imprt.2Pl=1Sg/=1Pl/=3Sg/=3Pl  hit.Pfv  
   ‘Hit-2Pl me/us/him-or-her/them!’

b. yè =  
   ū  
   wàgā  
   Imprt.2Pl  1Sg  
   kill.Pfv  
   ‘Kill-2Pl me!’

c. yè =  
   ē / è  
   wàgà  
   Imprt.2Pl  1Pl/3Pl  
   kill.Pfv  
   ‘Kill-2Pl us/them!’
Reflexive imperatives are (469a-b-b') for singular addressee. In high-frequency lexicalized reflexives denoting ordinary actions like ‘bathe’, the simple 2Sg pronominal āⁿ is usual (469a). Here āⁿ could be labeled as either regular 2Sg object (cf. ī = nā = āⁿ ɲīnī ‘I bathed you-Sg’) or as 2Sg reflexive object. With reflexives like ‘kill oneself’ that make a clear distinction between agent and patient, the same construction is sometimes used (469b). However, my assistant prefers a full reflexive construction with ‘your head’ as object (469b'). This can also be used with ‘bathe’ when reflexivity is not contextually obvious.

(469) a. āⁿ ɲīnī
2Sg bathe.Pfv
‘Bathe-2Sg (yourself)!’

b. āⁿ wàgà
2Sg kill.Pfv
‘Kill-2Sg yourself!’

b'. [āⁿ ɲèwⁿ] wàgà
[2Sg head] kill.Pfv
[=(b)]

Reflexive imperatives for plural addressee are in (470).

(470) a. yà = āā ɲīnī
Imprt.2Pl 2Pl bathe.Pfv
‘Bathe-2Pl (yourselves)!’

b. yà = āā wàgà
Imprt.2Pl 2Pl kill.Pfv
‘Kill-2Pl yourselves!’

b'. yà = [āā ɲèwⁿ] wàgà
Imprt.2Pl [2Pl head] kill.Pfv
[=(b)]

For quoted imperatives see §17.1.4. For indirect commands and imprecations, see §10.4.3.2.
10.4.1.3 Prohibitive màⁿ (2Sg äm màⁿ, 2Pl ää màⁿ)

Prohibitives have a particle màⁿ. It is preceded by a regular second person proclitic (2Sg äⁿ, 2Pl ää). It dissimilates to them as L-toned màⁿ, but may be re-raised by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone (471a,d).

(471) a. äⁿ māŋ kùùù
   2Sg Proh run.Pfv
   ‘Don’t-2Sg run!’

   b. ää måⁿ wwoo
   2Pl Proh weep.Pfv
   ‘Don’t-2Pl cry!’

   c. äm måŋ jénaŋ kwää
   2Sg Proh child hit.Pfv
   ‘Don’t-2Sg hit the child!’

   d. ää måⁿ yūgōŋ kwää
   2Pl Proh woman hit.Pfv
   ‘Don’t-2Pl hit the woman!’

For prohibitive clauses with open-ended subjects, see §10.4.3.1 and §17.1.4.1. When the prohibitive morpheme follows 3Sg à or 3Pl è in such clauses, it dissimilates tonally to them and raises to M-toned even before another M-tone: à måm bë ‘may he/she not come!’, è måm bë ‘may they not come!’: Another post-subject morpheme that has this tonal patterning is nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if.Pfv’ (§16.1.1).

10.4.1.4 hêm ‘here, take this!’

hêm is a specialized imperative uttered when the speaker hands something to the addressee, cf. English here! and French tiens! or tenez!. It is pronounced with lips closed during the syllabic rime after a brief aspiration.

It has a plural imperative form yëⁿ hêm, but it cannot be negated. The only way to add an “object” is to combine hêm with a presentative clause.
Here! (Take) a mango!

10.4.2 Hortatives

10.4.2.1 Hortative (kën)

In the first inclusive plural hortative (‘let’s VP!’), hortative morpheme kën precedes the VP. It regularly becomes <LM>-toned kën (assimilated këm, këň, etc.) by Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone. kën denasalizes when it contracts with a following vocalic pronominal. For example, it combines with 3Pl object as kë = ě, which also shows leveling of <LML> to <ML> after vv-Contraction. There is no overt pronominal subject when there is a single addressee (473). Reciprocal and reflexive objects are possible (473e-f).

(473) a. kën yàwⁿ / …
   këň … / tâà
   Hort descend.Pfv / stand.Pfv
   ‘Let’s-2Sg go down!/stop!’

b. kêm bāä / bē
   Hort exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv
   ‘Let’s-2Sg go out!/come!’

c. kên tēē digā
   Hort meat eat.Pfv
   ‘Let’s-2Sg eat the meat!’

d. kêj kùù digā
   Hort meal eat.Pfv
   ‘Let’s-2Sg eat a meal!’

e. kêñ bwɔ̀ kwāā
   Hort Recip hit.Pfv
   ‘Let’s-2Sg fight (=hit each other)’

f. kè = [ē niyëwⁿ] wàgā
   Hort [1Pl head] kill.Pfv
   ‘Let’s (each) kill ourselves!’
For two or more addressees, 2Pl imperative pronominal yèⁿ is added in the subject slot: yèⁿ kêm bāā ‘let’s (all) go out!’. This brings out the imperative element in such hortatives,

‘Let’s go!’ is the highest-frequency hortative. It is slightly irregular tonally and segmentally (474).

(474) ‘Let’s go!’

a. kèⁿ só
   kè só
   kò só

It is slightly irregular: kèⁿ só with H-toned só instead of expected L-toned Pfv só (cf. ē só ‘we went’). This is optionally shortened to kè só, and this in turn optionally assimilates vowel qualities to kò só. A specific locational expression may be added.

(475) kè só (sībèwⁿ)

Hort go.Pfv (market.Loc)

‘Let’s go (to the market)!’

10.4.2.2 Hortative negative (ē màⁿ)

Hortatives are negated by ē màⁿ, consisting of regular 1Pl ē plus the same negative marker màⁿ used in prohibitives (2Sg ā màⁿ, 2Pl āā màⁿ).

(476) a. ē màⁿ yàwⁿ / …
    màn …. / tāwⁿ
    1Pl Proh descend.Pfv / ascend.Pfv

    ‘Let’s not go down!/go up!’

b. ē màm bāā / bē
    1Pl Proh exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv

    ‘Let’s not go out!/come!’

c. ē màⁿ só
    1Pl Proh go.Pfv

    ‘Let’s not go!’
10.4.2.3 Combinations of two deontics

Two complete perfective clauses (477a) or two complete future clauses (477b) can be seamlessly juxtaposed. This is not the case with two imperatives. Instead, the second of two notional imperatives is expressed by a subjunctive clause with gālà (477c-d). Elsewhere, subjunctive clauses also express indirect commands to third parties and quoted imperatives like ‘he told me to go up’ (§17.1.4).

(477) a. [à digē] [à tāw”]
   [3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv] [3Sg ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She ate and (then) went (away).’

   b. [à gà bē digē] [à bē tāw”]
   [3Sg Ipfv Fut eat.Antip.Pfv] [3Sg Fut ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She will eat and (then) go up.’

c. digē [āŋ gālà tāw”]
   ‘Eat-2Sg and go up!’

d. [yèn digē] [āā gālà tāw”]
   ‘Eat-2Pl and go up!’

It is, however, possible to juxtapose two hortatives when the second is ‘let’s go!’ (478a). Other combinations require a subjunctive (478b).

(478) a. [yèŋ kēn digē] [kè só]
   [Imprt.2Pl Hort eat.Antip.Pfv] [Hort go.Pfv]
   ‘Let’s-2Pl eat and then go!’

   b. kēn digē [ē gālà kümù]
   ‘Let’s-2Sg eat and then go to sleep!’
10.4.3 Non-second person-subject deontics

10.4.3.1 Wishes with third-person agent

A wish, blessing, curse, or other imprecation involving a third-person agent is expressed with subjunctive gālà if positive, and with prohibitive màⁿ if negative.

(479) a. ālā gālà ē yirawⁿn
    God  Sbjn  1Pl  help.Pfv
    ‘May God help us!’

b. à gālà tāwⁿ
    3Sg  Sbjn  ascend.Pfv
    ‘May he/she go up!’

c. à mān tāwⁿ
    3Sg  Proh  ascend.Pfv
    ‘May he/she not go up!’

These wishes have the same form as quoted imperatives (jussives), as in ‘I told Seydou (not) to come’. See §17.1.4.1 for this construction. The similarity in form suggests the possibility that wishes like (479a-b), which consist of a single overt clause, are reduced from biclausal constructions with a higher ‘say’ clause and a quoted imperative. However, one might argue against this on cultural grounds when ‘God’ is the subject as in (479a).

10.4.3.2 Clarifications with a first-person subject

A first-person agent occurs when the speaker seeks clarification or confirmation of a wish or command from an interlocutor.

(480) a. į gālà bē [tēē ni]
    1Sg  Sbjn  come.Pfv  [tea  Inst]
    ‘Should I bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to bring the tea?)

b. m mām bē [tēē ni]
    1Sg  Proh  come.Pfv  [tea  Inst]
    ‘Should I not bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to not bring the tea?)
c. ŋ̀ gālā = à sē-sō
1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv
‘Should I go on telling it?’ (2017-04 @ 01:36)
11 Clause, VP, and predicate structure

11.1 Clausal constituents

Constituent order is S-infl-O-V-X. In perfective positive main clauses, the “infl” position is empty if the clause is intransitive. The “infl” position is unfilled in intransitive perfective positive main clauses. In transitive perfective positive main clauses, it is either filled by the bidirectional case marker (BCM) or unfilled, depending on the subject and object. In main clauses in other categories (imperfective and/or negative), and in subordinate clauses, it is filled by an inflectional particle. There is a single preverbal object slot; if a second “object” is present it must follow the verb as part of the residual X, which also includes adverbs. (481a) is S-V-Adv. (481b) is S-O-V-Adv. (481c) is S-BCM-O-V-PP. (481d) is S-infl-V-PP.

(481) a. sëëdù bë digëwⁿ
   S come.Pfv yesterday
   ‘Seydou came yesterday.’

b. sëëdù [sògò-lëwⁿ bòndò] külën digëwⁿ
   S [sheep neck] cut.Pfv yesterday
   ‘Seydou slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the sheep yesterday.’

c. ŋ = nāⁿ sëëdù kò [wölëⁿ nì]
   1Sg Sbj/Obj S furnish.Pfv [money Inst]
   ‘I gave Seydou the money.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with the money.’)

d. sëëdù tè bë [tëè nì]
   S PfvNeg come.Pfv [tea Inst]
   ‘Seydou didn’t bring the tea.’

11.1.1 Subjects

11.1.1.1 Subjects in indicative main clauses

The 1Sg clitic pronominal is ŋ for perfective positive subjects, ŋ for other subjects, and ŋ (+H) for objects, possessors, and postpositional complements. With this exception, there is no difference in form for NPs in subject versus object function. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish subjects from objects on the basis of their linear position and some other properties.
Subjects, both pronominal and noun-headed, occur in a fixed clause-initial position. Except in imperatives and a few subordinated constructions, an overt nonzero subject is obligatory. Subjects are preceded only by elements of the types listed in (482).

(482) a. discourse markers (e.g. ñgà ‘but’)
    b. optional polar interrogative markers
    c. preclausal temporal setting adverbials (e.g. ‘today’, ‘after the holy day’)
    d. preclausal topicalized constituents

Subjects are immediately followed by any of a number of inflectional morphemes, marking aspect and polarity for indicatives and some modals. The main ones are listed in (483).

(483) a. indicative
    ñà/ñà perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses
    ñà(w)’ñà(w)’ perfective positive in ‘if’ clauses
    ñà/ñà imperfective positive
    ñà/ñà imperfective negative
    ò perfective negative

    b. ñàlà subjunctive
    ñà prohibitive
    ñè sequential or infinitival

The post-subject “infl” position may also be empty, as in intransitive perfective positive main clauses (484). Here the subject NP is immediately followed by the verb or other predicate.

(484) ñèèdù ñò ñògì-ý
    S go.Pfv village-Loc
    ‘Seydou went to the village.’

In perfective positive transitive clauses, the empty post-subject inflectional “slot” is often, but not always, filled by a bidirectional case-marker (BCM). This morpheme, if present, takes the form =ñà’ after nasal pronominal proclitics, and the form ñè after other subjects (485).

(485) ñè yë = ñè kày
    1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv
    ‘We saw them.’

Singular-addressee imperative clauses lack overt subjects, and also lack an overt modal marker. Such clauses begin with the verb, or (for transitives) with the object. Plural-addressee imperatives
clauses begin with a morpheme yeⁿ that precedes the VP. It is here glosses as Imprt.2Pl, a portmanteau. Prohibitives (negative imperatives) do have regular second person subject proclitics, 2Sg āⁿ and 2Pl āā, preceding the prohibitive morpheme. In positive hortatives (‘let’s VP!’) there is again a difficulty in glossing clause-initial kéⁿ, which has no clear connection to 1Pl ē. In negative hortatives 1Pl ē does appear, before the prohibitive morpheme. See §10.4.1-2 for more on imperatives and prohibitives.

“Subject” as a syntactic category is relevant to anaphora. Reflexive objects and possessors, which have a distinctive form for 3Sg and 3Pl, are normally coindexed to clausemate subjects, though under limited conditions they may instead be coindexed to clausemate objects (§18.1).

Since reflexive objects can occur in imperative as well as indicative clauses, the preponderance of evidence supports recognition of imperative subjects, even if covert.

11.1.1.2 Temporal and meteorological collocations

Unusual subject-verb collocations denote transitions between day and night. In (486a), the noun functioning as subject elsewhere means ‘year’. In (486b), the subject wùù is a short form for ‘night’. The full term for ‘night’ is the compound wùù-tinā.

(486) a. jīn̆ kiyē
    year    pass.Pfv
    ‘Day has broken.’

b. wùù tūūⁿ
    night    be.lost.Pfv
    ‘Night has fallen.’

Collocations with ‘sun’ as subject are in (487). The term for ‘sun’ as a celestial body is kūgū-niyēwⁿ ~ kūgū-nēwⁿ, literally “daytime-head.” In the sense ‘blazing hot sun (at mid-day)’ it is replaced by kūgū-lēwⁿ, with an ending that is elsewhere sometimes diminutive in sense (§5.1.7.2). (487c) has simple kūgū as subject.

(487) a. kūgū-niyēn tāwⁿ
    daytime-head    ascend.Pfv
    ‘The sun has risen.’ (= ‘It has dawned.’)

b. kūgū-niyēwⁿ sāgā
    sun-head    lie.down.Pfv
    ‘The sun has set.’
c. kùgū tàà-nà
daytime stand-Ppl
‘The sun (is) at its zenith.’ (mid-day)

Examples (487a-b) are not reflexive object constructions with possessed ‘head’ as object (§18.1.1.6). This is shown by the position of PfvNeg tè in e.g. kùgū-niyèn tè tàwⁿ ‘the sun has not risen.’ (487c) has a participial (stative) predicate; the aspectually dynamic counterpart is kùgū tàà ‘the sun has reached its zenith’.

Expressions with kààgà ‘rainy season’ (roughly June to September) as subject are in (488). The use of ‘arrive’ in (488a) is explained by the fact that this verb has a primary sense ‘arrive at the door or gate (of a house)’, i.e. waiting to be invited in.

(488) a. kààgà kiyèwⁿ
rainy.season arrive.Pfv
‘The rainy season is about to begin.’ (around late May) (< kààgà)
(local French: l’hivernage s’annonce)

b. kààgà dùwɔ
rainy.season enter.Pfv
‘The rainy season has begun.’ (timing variable, often June or July)

c. kààgà tàwⁿ
rainy.season ascend.Pfv
‘The rainy season is over.’ (e.g. late October)

Expressions with jààmundè ‘harvest (n)’ as subject are in (489). They are similar to those for ‘rainy season’ above, except that there is a second option (‘descend’) in (489b). The reference is to the main millet harvest when everyone is in the fields.

(489) a. jààmundè kiyèwⁿ
harvest(n) arrive.Pfv
‘The harvest season is not far off.’ (around end of September)

b. jààmundè yàwⁿ / dùwɔ
descend.Pfv / enter.Pfv
‘It is harvest season.’ (October)

c. jààmundè tàwⁿ
harvest(n) ascend.Pfv
‘The harvest season is over.’ (November)
Ambient temperature extremes are phrased with ‘cold (n)’ and ‘sun’ as subjects of locational ‘be’.

(490)  

a. mùù gà yàwⁿ

cold(n) be.Loc there.Def

‘It is cold (out).’ (French *il fait froid*)

b. kùgù-lèwⁿ gà yàwⁿ

sun be.Loc there.Def

‘It is hot (out).’ (French *il fait chaud*)

kwà àn ‘rain (n)’ is the subject in (491). (491a) and (491b) are more or less interchangeable.

(491)  

a. kwààⁿ sàwⁿ

rain(n) fall.Pfv

‘Rain fell.’

b. kwààm bë

rain(n) come.Pfv

‘Rain came (=fell).’

c. kwààn tàà

rain(n) stand/stop.Pfv

‘The rain has ended.’

d. kwààŋ gà míñí-míñí

rain(n) Ipfv drizzling(adv)

‘It is drizzling (raining very lightly).’

The subject in (492) is cìyìwⁿ ‘wind’. The same collocations occur with cõllò ‘dust’, which in this region generally refers to ‘airborn dust, dust storm’. Dust storms are fairly common locally in the dry season.

(492)  

a. cìyìⁿ / cõllò kìì

wind(n) / dust get.up.Pfv

‘The wind/dust (storm) has risen/kicked up (=is blowing).’

b. cìyìwⁿ tàà / sãgã

wind(n) stand / lie.down.Pfv

‘The wind has died down.’
11.1.1.3 Emotion and bodily collocations

Afflictions such as hunger, thirst, and most named diseases are subjects of ‘be with X’ where X is the sufferer (493a-c). However, sleepiness “catches” the person (493d).

(493) a. düwʊŋ gă [sɛ̃dũ bu̯ɛ̃]  
   hunger be.Loc [S Comit]  
   ‘Seydou is hungry.’

b. gɪɬw̱ gă [sɛ̃dũ bu̯ɛ̃]  
   thirst be.Loc [S Comit]  
   ‘Seydou is thirsty.’

c. sŏmũ / kʊɾʊ-kʊɾʊ gă [sɛ̃dũ bu̯ɛ̃]  
   Guinea.worm / measles be.Loc [S Comit]  
   ‘Seydou has (=suffers from) Guinea worm/measles.’

d. kʊmũ kàŋgɛ kʊùn  
   sleep(n) hyena catch.Pfv  
   ‘Hyena became sleepy.’ (or ‘Sleep overcame Hyena’) (< kʊmũ)  
   (2017-07 @ 00:48)

For ‘fever’ a different construction is used. Possessed ‘body’ (tʊũ”) is subject. The fact that ‘body’ belongs with the possessor rather than with ‘hot’ is shown by the position of the negative particle in (494b).

(494) a. [sɛ̃dũ tʊũ”] piỹ-nā nĩ  
   [S body hot-Adj it.is]  
   ‘Seydou is running a fever (e.g. malaria).’

b. [sɛ̃dũ tʊũn] nā piỹ-nā nĩ  
   [S body IpfvNeg hot-Adj it.is]  
   ‘Seydou is not running a fever.’
The anger of someone ‘gets up’ and ‘lies down’ (495).

(495) a. [sèëdù birisì] kìi (m bwēy)
   [S anger] get.up.Pfv (1Sg Comit)
   ‘Seydou got angry (with me).’

   b. [sèëdù birisì] tè kìi
   [S anger] PfvNeg get.up.Pfv
   ‘Seydou did not get angry.’

   c. [sèëdù birisì] sāgā
   [S anger] lie.down.Pfv
   ‘Seydou cooled off (after being angry).’

Euphoria and dysphoria have either the experiencer or his/her ‘body’ or ‘soul, vital spirit’ as subject, with adjectival (including participial) predicates. A negative particle in each case follows the subject and precedes the adjective. hüyā in (496a-b) is a Fulfulde borrowing.

(496) a. sèëdù hüyā-nā nì
   S happy-Adj it.is
   ‘Seydou is happy.’

   b. sèëdù nà hüyā-nā
   S IpfvNeg happy-Adj
   ‘Seydou is not happy.’

   c. [sèëdù tùù”] wàà-nā nì
   [S body] die-Adj it.is
   ‘Seydou is sad/disappointed.’

   d. [sèëdù nōgō”] wwō-nā nì
   [S soul] weep-Adj it.is
   ‘Seydou is devastated/heart-broken.’

‘X bleed’ is phrased as ‘X’s blood ooze’ (497a), or in extreme cases as ‘X’s blood run’ (497b). ‘Nose’ can be substituted for ‘blood’ to describe bloody noses (nosebleeds) (497c-d).
(497)  a. [sèèду dëē] gà pündì
[S blood] lpfv ooz.le.lpfv
‘Seydou is bleeding.’ (blood is oozing out slowly)

b. [sèèду dëē] gà kütü
[S blood] lpfv run.lpfv
‘Seydou is bleeding profusely.’ (blood is pouring out)

c. [sèèду nìminà] pündì
[S nose] ooze.Pfv
‘Seydou has gotten a bloody nose.’

d. [sèèду nìminà] tè pündì
[S nose] PfvNeg ooze.Pfv
‘Seydou has not gotten a bloody nose.’

A similar construction is used for sweat using the verb ‘exit, go/come out’ (498).

(498)  [sèèду wàā] bāā
[S sweat(n)] exit.Pfv
‘Seydou (has) sweated (=is sweaty).’

The related transitive verb bālì/bālì ‘cause to exit, remove, take out’ occurs in (499) where the emission comes from a liquid.

(499)  tēē / dùwò pûlā bā-li
tea / beer foam(n) cause.to.exit.Pfv
‘The tea/beer foamed up.’

Toilet excretions are ‘put (in)’.

(500)  a. sèèду kònji syē
[S urine put.in.Pfv
‘Seydou urinated.’

b. sèèду kûwò syē
[S excrement put.in.Pfv
‘Seydou defecated.’
‘Burp, belch’ and ‘hiccough’ are expressed by simple intransitive verbs.

11.1.1.4 Conveyance construction (motion verb plus instrumental PP)

Verbs of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘take/deliver’) are expressed as intransitive motion verbs plus instrumental PPs with nī.

(501) a. à bē [tē̄ nī]
   3Sg come.Pfv [tea Inst]
   ‘He/She brought the tea.’

   b. à só [tē̄ nī]
   3Sg go.Pfv [tea Inst]
   ‘He/She took the tea away.’

A spatial expression can be added to (501b) in the sense ‘X take/deliver Y to (somewhere)’.

   A less common alternative is to use the (pseudo-)causatives of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the senses ‘bring’ and ‘take/convey’ (§9.1.2).

11.1.1.5 ‘(Don’t) care’ (pāⁿ)

In this somewhat opaque construction, a form pāⁿ which can be taken as a possessed noun is followed by gā ‘be’ or its negation nā, then either a dative PP with postposition tē (502c) or, as default, ā-ŷ ‘in it, therein’.

(502) a. [m pān] nā = ā-ŷ
   [1Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’

   b. [m pān] gā = ā-ŷ
   [1Sg concern(n)] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘I care about it.’
11.1.2 Transitives and ditransitives

The inventory of transitive verbs resembles that of English. Simple transitives include verbs of impact and creation (‘hit’, ‘cut’, ‘make/fix’), perception (‘see’, ‘hear’), acquisition (‘get’), and transportation (‘carry’).

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, sē/sē, is transitive. It has an obligatory 3Sg pronominal object (‘say it’) even when followed by quoted matter (§11.3, §17.1.3). There is also a ‘said’ quasi-verb yè/yè (or variant) preceding actual quoted matter, but it is not a true verb and cannot be inflected (e.g. negated).

Simple predicates of conveyance (‘bring X’, ‘take/convey X’) are expressed as ‘come [with X]’ and ‘go [with X]’, i.e. as intransitives plus comitative PPs (§11.1.1.4).

Ditransitives like ‘give’ add another constituent to the basic transitive frame; see §11.1.2.3 below.

11.1.2.1 Direct objects and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The S-infl-O-V-X linear order makes it easy to identify objects and study their properties, even though there is no accusative marking. Direct object NPs including pronominals follow the subject NP and any post-subject inflectional particles (e.g. Ipfv gà) and immediately precede the verb.

(503) sëédù gà sëgō sà-nà bōw^n
S Ipfv goat buy-Ipfv here
‘Seydou (often) buys a goat here.’

In perfective positive main clauses, which have no true post-subject inflectional particle, a bidirectional case marker (BCM) can separate the subject NP from the object NP. The distribution of overt BCM’s in perfective positive clauses is summarized in (504). NP here means nonpronominal NP.

(504) subject object BCM
a. NP NP usually absent
   pronoun NP optional, often absent
b. NP plural pronoun present
   NP singular pronoun sometimes present

c. pronoun plural pronoun present
   pronoun singular pronoun sometimes present

11.1.2.1.1 BCM yè

The regular form of the BCM is yè, except after nasal pronominal subject proclitics 1Sg and LogoSg where it is replaced by =nàⁿ (see the following subsection). The BCM is glossed “Sbj/Obj.”

When both subject and object are nonpronominal NPs, BCM yè is marginally grammatical but is usually absent (505).

(505) a. sèèdù Ø sùgō sàm bòwⁿ
    ?sèèdù yè " " "
   S (Sbj/Obj) goat buy.Pfv here
   ‘Seydou bought a goat here.’ (< såw”)

   b. sèèdù Ø aāmādū kày
    ?sèèdù yè " "
   S (Sbj/Obj) A see.Pfv
   ‘Seydou saw Amadou.’

When the subject is pronominal and the object is a nonpronominal NP, the BCM is optional (506) and fairly uncommon.

(506) à (yè) sèèdù kwāā
   3Sg (Sbj/Obj) S hit.Pfv
   ‘He/She hit Seydou.’

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a plural pronoun (1Pl or Logo/3ReflPl ë, 2Pl āā, or 3Pl ë), the BCM is required.

(507) sèèdù y = ë kwāā
   S Sbj/Obj 1Pl hit.Pfv
   ‘Seydou hit us.’

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a singular pronoun, i.e. 1Sg ŋ (+H), 2Sg āⁿ, 3Sg à, or LogoSg ŋ, the BCM is optional.
If the subject is a pronoun and the object is a plural pronoun, the BCM is regularly present (509). An exception is that 3Sg→2Pl can be à āā as an alternative to à yà = āā.

\[(509)\] à y = ē kwāā
3Sg (Sbj/Obj) 1Pl hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit us.’

If the subject is a pronoun and the object is a singular pronoun, the BCM is usually present (510) but if both pronominals have a-vowels the BCM may be omitted (510b).

\[(510)\] a. ē yā = à kwāā
1Pl (Sbj/Obj) 3Sg hit.Pfv

‘We hit him/her/it.’

b. à Ø à kwāā
3Sg (zero) 3Sg hit.Pfv

‘He/she hit him/her/it.’

The BCM and a following pronoun tend to fuse into a single prosodic word, with some irregularities. For more details, see §4.3.2.

11.1.2.1.2 BCM = nān

The BCM takes the enclitic form = nān after 1Sg subject ŋ or LogoSg subject ŋ, resulting in ŋ = nān. Here nān is obligatory when the object is a pronoun or a possessed noun beginning with a pronoun. It is optional before other nonpronominal objects (511). See §4.3.4.1.2 for details.

\[(511)\] ŋ = nān sūgō såñ digéw
ě ŋ
1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat buy.Pfv yesterday

‘I bought a goat yesterday.’
11.1.2.1.3 BCM absent in imperatives

Singular-addressee imperative clauses begin with objects. Likely because there is no overt subject, the BCM does not occur in such clauses (512a). In plural-addressee imperatives, the object follows Imprt.2Pl yêⁿ. Since yêⁿ also occurs in intransitive imperatives, it cannot be analysed as being, or containing, a BCM.

(512) a. sëgô  såwⁿ
   goat    buy.Pfv
   ‘Buy-2Sg a/the goat!’

   b. yêⁿ  sëgô  såwⁿ
       Imprt.2Pl goat buy.Pfv
       ‘Buy-2Pl a/the goat!’

11.1.2.2 tîwⁿ/tî-nà ‘do’ in collocations

This verb occurs in a modest number of collocations with object NPs.

(513) a. n̄  =nà  [m̄  pàⁿ]  tîwⁿ
    1Sg Sbj/Obj  [1Sg Poss]  do.Pfv
    ‘I did my part (=my share).’

   b. n̄  =nà  [ñ̄  hinë]  tîwⁿ
    1Sg Sbj/Obj  [1Sg capability]  do.Pfv
    ‘I did my best (=what I could).’

   c. à  bônë  tîwⁿ  sëyⁿ-yⁿ
    3Sg trouble do.Pfv  road-Loc
    ‘He/She caused an incident on the way.’ (< sëwⁿ)

In some cases the “object” is not otherwise attested as a noun, and apparently only occurs in a lexicalized collocation with ‘do’.

(514) [wàngé  gû]  pûrî  tîwⁿ
    [hare  Def]  sneaking(n)  do.Pfv
    ‘Hare sneaked away.’

However, the ‘do’ verb is not required in the integration of verbs borrowed from Fulfulde, since Fulfulde verbs can be directly borrowed as Cliff’s verbs. Predicates meaning ‘hunt (v), go hunting’,

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‘work (v)’, and ‘bless, give a blessing’ are single verbs rather than combinations of ‘do’ plus a nominal.

11.1.2.3 Ditransitives

‘Give’ is the prototypical ditransitive verb cross-linguistically, but in Cliffs ‘X give Z to Y’ can be expressed by either of two verbs, each with its own syntax. The verb dō/dō ‘give’ takes a preverbal direct object denoting the theme, and is followed by a dative PP denoting the recipient.

\[(515) \text{à jií dō } [n \ tē]\]

\[3\text{Sg water give.Pfv } [1\text{Sg Dat}]\]

‘He/She gave water to me.’

The other verb is kò/kò which is glossed ‘provide, furnish’ because its preverbal direct object denotes the recipient. The theme is expressed as an instrumental PP. In spite of the gloss, this verb is at least as common as dō/dō in ‘give’ predicates.

\[(516) \text{à ķ jì kò } [jií nī]\]

\[3\text{Sg 1Sg provide.Pfv [water Inst]}\]

‘He/She gave me water (provided me with water).’

‘Show’ is wŏji/wŏjì. Its syntax is like that of dō/dō rather than like that of kò/kò (517a). ‘Entrust’ is kālīfā/kālīfā. Its syntax is like those of dō/dō and wŏjì/wŏjì except that it has a comitative rather than dative PP.

\[(517) \text{a. à jií wŏjì } [n \ tē]\]

\[3\text{Sg water show.Pfv } [1\text{Sg Dat}]\]

‘He/She showed water to me.’

\[\text{b. à } [ŋ̀ sūgō] \text{ kālīfā } [m \ bwēy]\]

\[3\text{Sg [3ReflSg goat] entrust.Pfv } [1\text{Sg Comit}]\]

‘He/She entrusted his/her goat to/with me.’

11.1.2.4 Valency of causatives

Most suffixal causatives are based on intransitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive (518a) becomes the object of the causative (518b).
(518) a. jénán tēwⁿ
child jump.Pfv
‘The child jumped.’

b. ŋ = nā jénán tēn-nî
1Sg Sbj/Obj child jump-Caus.Pfv
‘I made the child jump.’

bēwⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return, go back’ is a lexically reflexive verb, i.e. it has a pro forma reflexive object that is coindexed with the subject (519a). The reflexive object is omitted in the causative (519b).

(519) a. à ŋ bēwⁿ
3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv
‘He/She went back.’

b. ŋ = nā = à bēn-nî
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg return-Caus.Pfv
‘I made him/her return.’ = ‘I sent him/her back.’

Among transitive verbs that are readily causativized are ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. The causative of ‘eat’, glossed ‘feed (v)’, is illustrated in (520a-b). The specific food is optionally expressed by an instrumental NP (520b). This corresponds to the direct object of simple ‘eat’ (520c). However, this causative is based on the intransitivized (antipassive) stem digē (§9.3.1), not on transitive digā, even when the specific food term is added as an instrumental.

(520) a. ŋ = nā jénán digē-nî
1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv
‘I fed the child.’

b. ŋ = nā jénán digē-nî [sàbúlā nî]
1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv [cowpea Inst.Foc]
‘I fed the child with cowpeas (=beans).’

c. jénán sàbúlā digā
child cowpea eat.Pfv
‘The child ate cowpeas (=beans).’

The syntax of mèn-nî ‘cause to drink, give something to drink to (sb)’ is the same.

Other transitives are less frequently causativized. However, my assistant did produce wògè-nî/wògè-nî ‘X cause Y [to kill Z]’. As with the ‘eat/feed’ examples above, here too the
transitive verb ‘kill’ (wɔ̀gà/wɔ̀gā) is first intransitived (antipassivized) to wɔ̀gè/wɔ̀gē-ni ‘do/commit a killing’, then this is the basis for the causative. Again, the object in the simple transitive (521a) becomes an instrumental PP in the causative (521b).

(521) a. ñ =nàŋ kùŋgoló wɔ̀gà
    1Pl Sbj/Obj dog kill.Pfv
    ‘I killed the dog.’

    b. à ŋ wɔ̀gè-nì [kùŋgoló nî]
    3Sg 1Sg kill.Antip-Caus [dog Inst]
    ‘He/She had/made me kill the dog.’

The use of instrumental PPs for “demoted” objects is reminiscent of their use in predicates of conveyance based on motion verbs (‘come [with X]’ = ‘bring X’), where no demotion from transitive object has occurred.

11.1.3 True versus pro-forma reflexive transitives

True reflexives are special cases of transitive verbs where the object happens to be coindexed with the subject (522).

(522) sèédù ŋ kwāā
    S 3ReflSg hit.Pfv
    ‘Seydou hit himself.’

See §18.1.1.1 for this reflexive-object construction.

There are also some verbs that occur only in morphologically reflexive constructions, with no detectable true reflexive sense. These can be called pro forma reflexive verbs. An example is the verb tūwō/tūwò ‘depart’ (523a-b). This cannot be used as a simple transitive #‘X depart Y’ in any sense. However, tūwō/tūwò can be intransitivized (antipassivized) and then causativized (suffix -ni) to add a higher agent (523c).

(523) a. sèédù yè ŋ tūwō
    S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv
    ‘Seydou has departed.’

    b. sèédù gà bè ŋ tūwō
    S Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg depart.Pfv
    ‘Seydou will depart.’
The verbs whose regular (i.e., noncausative) forms occur only in pro-forma reflexive clauses are in (524). They do not occur in simple intransitive form. They cannot take nonreflexive objects as transitives, unless first converted into causatives by suffixation.

(524) bēwⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return, go back’
    kilêwⁿ/kilên-nà ‘finish’
    miîlâ/miîlâ ‘think, reflect’
    pîrî-pîrî/pîrî-pîrî ‘(body) writhe’
    tānî/tānî ‘vomit (v)’
    tūwô/tūwô ‘depart’

There are also several ambi-valent (labile) verbs that occur in pro-forma reflexives functioning as (mediopassive) intransitives, but that also occur as transitives without having to be causativized. Several examples are in (525).

(525) verb  | gloss (transitive)  | gloss (pro-forma reflexive)
-----------------|------------------|---------------------
bàà-bûwô       | ‘warm (sth) up at a fire’ | ‘warm oneself up at a fire’
dângè/dângè     | ‘post, affix, stick (sth) on’ | ‘adhere, stick, be posted’
kâà/kâà         | ‘shatter (sth)’ | ‘be shattered’
kêwⁿ/kê-nê      | ‘snap, break (sth)’ | ‘(sth) snap, break’
ñînî/ñînî       | ‘bathe (sb), wash (sth)’ | ‘bathe (oneself)’
pàndî/pàndî     | ‘make a fissure in (sth)’ | ‘become cracked (fissured)’
pûgèwⁿ/pûgên-nà | ‘hide (sb, sth)’ | ‘hide (oneself)’
sêñêwⁿ/sêpên-nà | ‘tilt (sth)’ | ‘tilt, lean over’
sîndî/sîndî     | ‘begin (sth)’ | ‘begin’
sûnû/sûnû-nà   | ‘bend (sth, sb) over’ | ‘bow, bend (oneself) over’

The verb kwââ/kô-lâ ‘hit’ is usually a normal transitive. However, in the sense ‘add’ or ‘be added, join’ it functions as pro-forma reflexive in a construction with adverb bwêy ‘together’, related to the comitative position bwêy.

(526) i       ye =   ë       kwââ       bwêy
    3Pl  Sbj/Obj  3ReflPl  hit.Pfv  together

‘They assembled (=joined each other).’
The verb ‘drink’, usually transitive ‘X drink Y’, can be intransitivized (antipassivized) by replacing the normal object (the liquid) with a reflexive pronominal object. The liquid is water, beer, or milk and is usually obvious in context.

(527) a. ŋ = ná n m méw n
    1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg drink.Pfv
    ‘I drank/had a drink.’ (< ŋ (+H) méw n)

    b. à m méw n
    3Sg 3RefSg drink.Pfv
    ‘He/She drank/had a drink.’

This construction is less common with ‘eat’, where the morphology already provides a distinction between transitive digā/digà ‘X eat Y’ and (antipassive) intransitive digè/digè ‘X eat’; for the vocalic mutation see §9.3.1. My assistant allowed reflexive versions of ‘eat’ for 1Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl subjects but tended to reject them (when proposed) for other subject pronouns. The verb takes the morphologically intransitivized form.

(528) a. ŋ = ná n ŋ digè
    1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv
    ‘I have eaten.’

    b. à ŋ digè
    3Sg 3RefSg eat.Antip.Pfv
    ‘He/She has eaten.’

    c. i yè = ě digè
    3Pl Sbj/Obj 3RefPl eat.Antip.Pfv
    ‘They have eaten.’

11.1.4 Verb phrase (VP)

VP, consisting of a clause minus subject and post-subject aspect and polarity markers, is relevant to Cliffs syntax especially in connection with some types of chaining and complementation. For example, motion verbs are chained to same-subject VPs in various ways (§15.2). However, the broader tendency in Cliffs is to favor either finite subordinated clauses (including subjects) or nominalized VPs.
11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other stative and inchoatives

11.2.1 Identificational predicates

11.2.1.1 ‘It is X’ (ni)

Clause-final nì occurs in identificational predicates, which minimally have the form X nì where X is a noun or NP. If X is a pronoun, it takes independent rather than clitic form. The “subject” to be identified is omitted, but contextually clear. nì is glossed as “it.is” in interliners, but it is not specifically third person. An L-toned noun preceding nì undergoes Final Tone-Raising (529e).

(529) a. màsí nì
     what?     it.is
     ‘What is it?’

b. sūgō nì
     goat     it.is
     ‘It’s a goat.’

c. wùlāā nì
     who?     it.is
     ‘Who is it?’

d. ŋ-dōgō nì
     1Sg     it.is
     ‘It’s me.’

e. bûwā nì
     shoulderbag     it.is
     ‘It’s a shoulderbag.’ (< bûwà)

Array (530) presents the full set of forms with pronominal predicates. Final Tone-Raising applies regularly to third person forms (530c) and optionally to the forms in (530b).

(530) category   ‘it is’

    a. 1Sg  ŋ-dōgō nì

    b. 1Pl  ā-lōgō nì ~ ā-lōgō nì
        2Sg  ā-n-dōgō nì ~ ā-n-dōgō nì
        2Pl  āā-lōgō nì ~ āā-lōgō nì
11.2.1.2 ‘It isn’t X’

The positive identificational predicates described above, with no overt subject, do not have a dedicated negative counterpart. Instead, ‘it isn’t X’ is phrased as ‘Y is not X’ (§11.2.2.2 below), i.e. as a negative copular clause with an obligatory subject, the default being a 3Sg pronominal.

11.2.2 Equational (copular) clauses

11.2.2.1 ‘Y is X’ (Y gà X nì)

The identificational ‘it is X’ construction (preceding section) may be elaborated by adding an overt subject. In this case, the subject is followed by gà/gà, which can be equated with Ipfv particle gà/gà and with existential-locational gà/gà ‘be (present)’. In equational clauses gà/gà functions as a copula ‘be’.

(531) a. kú gà màsí nì
Dem be what? it.is
‘What is that?’

b. ĕ gà káádó nì
1Sg be Dogon it.is
‘I am a Dogon.’

c. ĕ gà káádó-yè nì
1Pl be Dogon-Pl it.is
‘We are Dogon.’

d. ĕ gà niyēn nì
1Sg be head it.is
‘I am the chief.’ (< niyèw’)

e. ĕ gà niyēn-yē nì
1Pl be head-Pl it.is
‘We are the chiefs.’
11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y nàwⁿ X nì)

Under negation, gá/gã is replaced by nàwⁿ/nàwⁿ ‘not be’. Its final nasalization distinguishes it from IpfvNeg nà and from negative existential nà ‘not be (present), be absent’. The final nasalization is heard as a homorganic nasal before stops or l. In (532a), nà ‘not be’ (negative copula) is realized as [nàm] before the labial stop of ‘herder’. In (532b-c), there is no similar homorganic nasal consonant before b, showing that a different morpheme (negative locational or imperfective negative) is at hand.

(532) a. à nàm bùwš-ỳā nì
   3Sg not.be tend.animals-Agent it.is
   ‘He/She is not a herder.’ [ànàmbùwšjānì] (< bùwš-ỳā)

b. à nà bōwⁿ
   3Sg not.be.Loc here
   ‘He/She is not here.’ [ànàbōwⁿ]

c. à nà bē
   3Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv
   ‘He/She doesn’t come.’ [ànàbē]

Negative copula nàwⁿ is treated as bimoraic and can therefore become <LM>-toned nàwⁿ before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(533) à nānⁿ sògš-ỳā nì
   3Sg not.be cultivate-Agent it.is
   ‘He/She is not a farmer.’

Corresponding to identificational X nì ‘it is X’ with no overt subject (534a), the only negative counterpart is a negative equational clause of the type à nàwⁿ X nì ‘he/she/it isn’t X’, with 3Sg subject pronominal à (534b-c).

(534) a. nān nì
cow it.is
   ‘It’s a cow.’ (< nàn)
b. à nàñ nàā nì
3Sg not.be cow it.is
‘It isn’t a cow.’

c. à nàwⁿ sūgō nì
3Sg not.be goat it.is
‘It isn’t a goat.’

11.2.3 Locational-existential ‘be’

The constructions described below express ‘X be (present) [in a location]’. In the limiting case where the location is nonspecific, free translations of the type ‘X exists’ or ‘there is/are some X(x)’. The key morphemes are post-subject gà (positive) and nà (negative), which elsewhere function as imperfective positive and imperfective negative particles.

11.2.3.1 ‘Is/are (present)’ (gà/gã)

The basic positive locational or existential ‘be (present)’ verb is gà/gã. When the preceding subject is a pronominal proclitic, ‘be’ assimilates the tone of the proclitic. This shows that ‘be (present)’ is closely related to (positive) Ipfv gà/gã, which shows the same tone assimilations (§10.1.1, §10.2.2.1).

Except in truncated responses to questions, gà/gã must be followed by an overt locational expression, the defaults being gà bōwⁿ ‘be here’ (535a) and gà yāwⁿ ‘be there (definite)’.

(535) a. à gà bōwⁿ / yāwⁿ
3Sg be.Loc here / there.Def
‘He/She/It is here/there.’

b. à gà nògī-ỹ / nògū-bêwⁿ
3Sg be.Loc village-Loc / N
‘He/She/It is in the village / in Namagué.’

c. wûlāā gà [jūgū kûmà]
who.Foc? be.Loc [tree on]
‘Who is up in the tree?’
d. ǹ-dógó  gà  [jūgū  kūmà]  
1Sg-Indep  be.Loc  [tree  on]  
‘I [focus] am up in the tree.’

When it occurs prepausally, ‘be present’ takes M-toned form gà. This is only possible in truncated replies to questions (536).

(536) question:  sūgō  gà  bōⁿ  
goat  be.Loc  here  
‘The goat is here?’ (pronounced [sūgābōⁿ])

answer:  à  gà  
3Sg  be.Loc  
‘(Yes,) it is (here).’

As noted in §10.1.1, Ipfv gà may itself undergo Final Tone-Raising to gà before L-tone, but it does not itself trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tuned noun. This is also true of gà as locational ‘be’ verb. For example, sibō in (537a) and its plural sibō-yè in (537b) remain L-toned. Contrast this with sibō sò ‘the snake went’ and sibō-yè sò ‘the snakes went’, with tone-raised nouns. This suggests that Ipfv gà is treated as M-toned for purposes of tone sandhi.

(537) a.  sibō  gà  sōŋɔ̀-ɔ̀  
snake  be.Loc  the.bush-Loc  
‘A snake is out in the bush.’

b.  sibō-yè  gà  sōŋɔ̀-ɔ̀  
snake-Pl  be.Loc  the.bush-Loc  
‘A snake is out in the bush.’

11.2.3.2 ‘Was/were (present)’ (kōndō gà)

kōndō ‘stay.Pfv’ shifts the reference time to the past (538a), as it does with other statives and in past perfects. Post-subject inflectional particles precede kōndō. The following gà is probably the postverbal RemPfv particle, but could also be interpreted as ‘be’. After kōndō and before an overt locational, gà is optionally omitted (538b). When there is no following locational adverb, it occurs in L-toned form gà (538c).
(538) a. čī köndō gà bōwⁿ
   1Pl stay.Pfv RemPfv here
   ‘We were here.’ or ‘We stayed here.’

   b. čī köndō bōwⁿ
   1Pl stay.Pfv here
   [= (a)]

   c. čī köndō gà
   1Pl stay.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘We were present.’ or ‘We stayed.’

   d. wūlāa köndō gà bōwⁿ
   who? stay.Pfv RemPfv here
   ‘Who was here?’ or ‘Who stayed here?’

11.2.3.3 ‘Is/Are not (present)’ and ‘was/were not (present)’

Negation of present-time locationals (and existentials) is expressed by nà replacing gà (539a). It is closely related to IpfvNeg nà before verbs.

   The tones of the negative locational are exactly like those of gà, including nà in negative existential sense in the absence of a locational, which can occur in truncated responses to questions (539b).

(539) a. à nà bōwⁿ
   3Sg not.be.Loc here
   ‘He/She/It is not here.

   b. à nà
   3Sg not.be.Loc
   ‘He/She/It is absent’ or ‘There is/are none.’

For past time, köndō is directly negated as tè köndō, which can also mean ‘did not stay’. After tè köndō, RemPfv gà is optionally omitted if it is followed by an overt locational (540a), but obligatory in the relevant sense if there is no overt locational (540b).

(540) a. à tè köndō (gà) bōwⁿ
   3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) here
   ‘He/She/It was not here.’
In the greeting phrase [bàà sì] kɔⁿ ‘there is no trouble’ (§19.6.1), likely reduced from an earlier longer phrase where kɔⁿ was just a topic marker, kɔⁿ now appears to function synchronically as a simple existential negative.

11.2.4 ‘Become (noun)’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

11.2.4.1 ‘ Remain’ (köndô)

As a simple intransitive verb, köndô means ‘stay, remain’.

(541) à köndô bōwⁿ
3Sg remain.Pfv here
‘He/She remained here.’

köndô can also precede a second verb to shift the temporal perspective to the past (‘X was here’, ‘X was sweeping’, etc.). For this function, see (540) above and especially §10.3.

11.2.4.2 ‘Become, turn into’ (pwɔ/pɔ-łɔ)

‘Become (something)’, with a noun or NP (rather than an adjective) as complement, is pwɔ (Pfv) or pɔ-łɔ (Ipfv). The predicate nominal is part of an instrumental PP with postposition nī. By regular tone sandhi the verb becomes pwɔ or pɔ-łɔ before an L-tone. Its basic lexical meaning as an intransitive is ‘sit’.

(542) a. sëëdû pwɔ [põlɛ̃ / tɛmì nì]
S become.Pfv [bird / python Inst]
‘Seydou became (= turned into) a bird/python.’ (< põlɛwⁿ)

b. hàlì-kànà à gà pwɔ [kàpàrān nì]
until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]
‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’ (2017-01 @ 06:30)
[for gà see §15.7.2.2]
The semantically causative counterpart is noncognate transitive yàgà ‘put down’ or wābī ‘change’, with the same final PP as in (543).

(543) ñ =nàñ  sèèdù  wābī  [pùlén  ni]
1Sg  Sbj/Obj  S  change.Pfv  [bird  Inst]
‘I turned Seydou into a bird.’

11.2.5 Mental and emotional statives

These predicates described below (‘know’, ‘want’, ‘resemble’) have senses that can be construed as stative (aspect-neutral). However, the Cliffs verbs are aspectually dynamic, with stative-like senses in the imperfective.

11.2.5.1 ‘Know’ (tùyè/tò)

‘Know’ is a regular transitive verb. Minimally, a 3Sg pronominal object is required. In normal contexts the clause has time reference including the present. In stative sense, the Ipfv form tô is regular.

(544) ñ gā =  ā  tô
1Sg  Ipfv  3Sg  know.Ipfv
‘I know (it/him/her).’

tô can mean ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be familiar with (someone)’, cf. French savoir and connaître. For propositional (factive) complements, see §17.2. The familiarity sense is exemplified in (545).

(545) ñ gā  sèèdu  tô
1Sg  Ipfv  S  know.Ipfv
‘I know Seydou.’

Negation is regular (imperfective negative).

(546) ñ nā =  ā  tô
1Sg  IpfvNeg  3Sg  know.Ipfv
‘I don’t know it/him/her.’

For past time stative ‘knew’, kõndō ‘stay’ is added as an auxiliary.
(547) a. à  ámbò (gà)  sèèdû  tô
   3Sg  stay.Pfv (RemPfv)  S  know.Ipfv
   ‘He/She knew Seydou.’

b. ñ  tè  ámbò  à  tô
   1Sg  PfvNeg  stay.Pfv  3Sg  know.Ipfv
   ‘I didn’t know it.’

The Pfv form is tùyè (~ tûqê). It occurs in special contexts like ‘recognize, identify’ or ‘find out’.

(548) a. à  gà  bá=  à  tùyè
   3Sg  Ipfv  Fut  3Sg  know.Pfv
   ‘He/She will know/recognize (it).’ (< bê)

b. ñ  tā=  à  tùyè
   1Sg  PfvNeg  3Sg  know.Pfv
   ‘I didn’t find out about it.’

c. ē  gà=  à  pògò
   1Pl  Ipfv  3Sg  like.Ipfv
   [ē  gálā=  à  tùyè
   [1Pl  Sbjn  3Sg  know.Pfv
   [nògù-bëm  pwò  gà  [bànà  màw’]]
   [N  sit.Pfv  RemPfv  [manner  Rel]]
   ‘We would like to know (=learn) the way Namagué (village) was settled.’
   (2017-01 @ 00:36 to 00:38)

What would be a regular causative derivative ‘cause to know’ (#tò-nì or whatever) does not exist. However, a suspiciously similar verb tôynì/tôynì occurs in the specific context of transmitting esoteric knowledge, i.e. initiation into tribal or family secrets (549).

(549) kàà  yè  [ñ  diyêⁿ]  tôynì  [kòdrò  nî]
   father  Sbj/Obj  [3ReflSg  child]  initiate.Pfv  [secret  Inst]
   ‘The father initiated his son into tribal (or family) secrets.’

tôynì/tôynì may be more directly related to the noun tôy ‘intelligence; knowledge’, but both are distantly related etymologically to tô/tò ‘know’.

The absence of an all-purpose causative ‘cause to know; inform’ (cf. English let X know and French faire savoir) is partially made up for by expressions involving the noun kùmbà
‘ignorance, not being aware’ or its suffixal locative kúmbà-y. ‘Inform X’ is phrased as ‘remove X from ignorance’ (550a).

(550) a. ŋ =nà” sèdù bāgā kúmbà-y
   1Sg Sbj/Obj S remove.Pfv ignorance-Loc
   ‘I informed Seydou.’

   b. jēn-tībēm pūŋ [sèdù bwēy] [kúmbā ni]
   baptism sit.Pfv [S Comit] [ignorance Inst]
   ‘The baptism (name-giving) took place unbeknownst to Seydou.’

11.2.5.2 ‘Want’ (pōgɔ, màà) and ‘need’ (mūrārū)

Two transitive verbs can be used in the general sense ‘want (something)’. These are pōgɔ/pōgɔ ‘want; like’ and màà/māà ‘look for, seek’ or ‘(actively) want, try to get’. They occur in the same inflectional frames as other verbs, including perfective (551c). However, past stative ‘wanted’ is expressed with kōndō gà and Ipfv verb (551d).

(551) a. ãŋ gā màsĩ màà
   2Sg Ipfv what? look.for.Ipfv
   ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’ (= ‘What do you want?’)

   b. ŋ nà tē pōgɔ
   1Sg IpfvNeg tea want.Ipfv
   ‘I don’t want/like tea.’

   c. ŋ tā= ā mà /pōgɔ
   1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg look.for.Pfv / want.Pfv
   ‘I didn’t want it.’

   d. à kōndō gā sōgɔ mà / pōgɔ
   3Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv milk look.for.Ipfv / want.Ipfv
   ‘He/She wanted milk.’

For clausal complements (‘want [to VP]’, ‘want [X to VP]’, see §17.3.2.

‘Need X’ is expressed by an entirely different construction. A possessed form of the noun mūrārū ‘need (n)’ (originally from Arabic) or focalized mūrārū is the subject, followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation and then by a comitative PP (‘with X’).
11.2.5.3 ‘Resemble’ (dɔ̀gɔ̀)

In stative contexts (‘resemble’), this transitive verb too normally takes Ipfv form (553a-b). The perfective means ‘imitate, act like’ (553c).

(553) a. sèèdù gā = ā  dɔ̀gɔ̀
   S  Ipfv  3Sg  resemble.lpv
   ‘Seydou resembles him/her.

b. à  nā  ñ  dɔ̀gɔ̀
   3Sg  IpvNeg  1Sg  resemble.lpv
   ‘He/She doesn’t resemble me.’

c. ì  yà =  ā  dɔ̀gɔ̀
   3Pl  Sbj/Obj  3Sg  resemble.Pfv
   ‘They resembled/imitated him.’

However, ‘imitate’ is better expressed by a dedicated verb: bààndiyè/bààndiyè-lè.

11.3 Quotative verbs

‘Say’ is expressed either by a regular verb sè/sē, compatible with all inflectional categories, or with an invariant quasi-verb yɛ̀ ‘said’ that is only used in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts. See §17.1 for the syntax.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

11.4.1 Stative adjectival predicates

Tis section focuses on stative predicates of the type ‘X be red/heavy’ etc., as opposed to inchoative (change-of-state) predicates of the type ‘X become red/heavy’.
For sīlē ‘old’, no stative predicate was elicitable, so the inchoative verb sīlē ‘get old’ is the only option. For example, à sīlē ‘he/she has gotten old’ is the way to say ‘he/she is old’. Similar cases are ‘wet’ and ‘full’.

For sūmū ‘foreign, strange’, tinān ‘other’, and tōy ‘new’, an NP predicate including an overt noun is required (‘is a foreign animal’, etc.).

11.4.1.1 Participial predicates with -nā nì

Basic color adjectives can illustrate the morphosyntax of participial predicates. Stative predicates take the form of identificational predicates, elsewhere typical of nominal predicates (‘be a man/woman’, etc.). The adjective takes participial suffix -nā. The identificational (‘it is’) particle nì (§11.2.1.1-2) occurs clause-finally in positive clauses. A subject, minimally 3Sg à, is required in positive as well as negative clauses. 1Sg subject has ŋ with M-tone in positive predicates. There is no plural marking in the predicate. Negation is by IpfvNeg nà in post-subject position, without the clause-final nì. The 1Sg negative has ŋnà with L-toned ŋ as in the imperfective negative of active verbs.

(554) a. à / ē tômè-nā / piyⁿè-nā / kwāa-nā nì
   3Sg/1Pl red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
   ‘It is red/black/white.’

b. ŋ tômè-nā / … / … nì
   ē … / piyⁿè-nā / … nì
   ŋ … / … / kwāa-nā nì
   1Sg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
   ‘I am red/black/white.’

c. à nā tômè-nā / piyⁿè-nā / …
   à nā … / … / kwāa-nā
   3Sg IpfvNeg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl
   ‘He/She is not red/white.’

This morphosyntax applies to a large number of participial adjectives. They are listed in (555). The predicative forms are shown alongside the modifying forms used in N-Adj combinations. Addition of nì ‘it is’ (not shown) in positive predicates raises -nà to -nā by Final Tone-Raising.
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<tr>
<td>kwāa-nā</td>
<td>kūwōⁿ</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōⁿ-mā-nā</td>
<td>wōⁿ-wōⁿ</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.4.1.2 Pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates

Certain adjectives have adjectival and other stative predicates that superficially resemble reflexive-object constructions (§18.1). The key morpheme is pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ preceding the predicate. There is some danger of confusing it with 3ReflSg ŋ̄, which occurs in a similar preverbal position in the reflexive-object construction. Tonally, ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ merge as ŋ̒ before H-tone, and they merge as ŋ̒ before L-tone, due to tone sandhi rules. However, ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ remain tonally distinct before M-tone. More importantly, ŋ̀ in adjectival-stative predicates combines with all subjects, including the full set of pronominal subject proclitics, whereas 3ReflSg ŋ̄ requires a third-person singular subject (3Sg pronoun or a nonpronominal NP).

In Djenné Jenaama, by contrast, the relevant adjectival-stative predicates are genuinely reflexive in form. Each pronominal-subject category combines with its own specific reflexive form, so that ŋ̄ occurs only after 3Sg subjects, exactly as in reflexive-object clauses.

Although Cliffs distinguishes pseudo-reflexive adjectival statives with invariant ŋ̀ from reflexive-object clauses, both constructions are morphosyntactically transitive. The transitivity of the pseudo-reflexive construction is transparent when the subject is a plural pronominal, since the bidirectional case marker yè separates the pronominal subject from pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ (556a). The 1Sg-subject version likewise has its characteristic bidirectional allomorph nàⁿ, hence ŋ̀ = nàⁿ ŋ̄ (556b). This superficially matches 1Sg reflexive ŋ̄ = nàⁿ ŋ̒ (+H), but the two differ in that pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ never raises the tones of a following L-toned word, even with 1Sg subject. The bidirectional case marker is omitted after 3Sg and 2Sg subjects in pseudo-reflexives (556d-e), as in true reflexives.

(556) a. ì / ē / āā yè ŋ̀ cîyēwⁿ
   3PI / 1PI / 2PI Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.heavy
   ‘They/We/You-Pl are heavy.’

b. ŋ̄ = nàn ŋ̀ cîyēwⁿ
   1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.heavy
   ‘I am heavy.’

c. ŋ̄ = nàn ŋ̄ kâjâwⁿ
   1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.long
   ‘I am long (=tall).’

d. â ŋ̀ cîyēwⁿ
   3Sg PsRefl be.heavy
   ‘He/She/It is heavy.’
Negation is by what is elsewhere the IpfvNeg morpheme nà (557a-b). In the 1Sg subject form, positive ñ=nà ŋ by the tone of the initial 1Sg pronominal. In all cases the pseudo-reflexive ŋ becomes ŋ by regular tone-sandhi before an L-tone (557b).

(557) a. à nà ŋ ciyēwⁿ
   3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl heavy
   ‘He/She is not heavy.’

b. ñ nà ŋ kòjàwⁿ
   1Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl long
   ‘I am not long (=tall).’

Irregularly, ‘(be) good’ is màyn” in positive predicates but its tones shift to màyn in negative ones. The PsRefl morpheme does not raise to M-tone before màyn.

(558) a. à màn’
   3Sg PsRefl be.good
   ‘He/She/It is good.’

b. à nà màn’
   3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good
   ‘He/She/It is no good.’

Care must be taken to distinguish ‘be good’ from a segmentally identical but semantically opposite verb ‘malfunction (v)’ or ‘be ruined’ (559). The main danger is confusion of negative predicative nà màn màyn ‘is not good’ as in (557b) above with the imperfective negative nà màyn ‘does not malfunction’ as in (559b).

(559) a. à màyn
   3Sg malfunction(v).Pfv
   ‘It malfunctioned.’ or ‘It was ruined.’

b. à nà màyn
   3Sg IpfvNeg malfunction.Ipfv
   ‘It doesn’t malfunction.’
The inventory of adjectives that have predicates of the type described above is (560). The predicate adjectives are shown alongside their modifying forms (those that occur in N-Adj combinations). Negative predicative forms are shown in the middle column only for L-toned stems. The negative forms are identical to the positive forms except for ‘good’.

(560)       predicate  Adj1  gloss

a. predicate has same form as modifying

   H-toned
   m bänü       bänü       ‘big (and solid), massive, thick’

   M-toned
   ŋ ciyēwⁿ      ciyēwⁿ      ‘heavy’
   ŋ dāâⁿ        dāâⁿ        ‘distant’
   ŋ kāgājî      kāgājî     ‘bitter’
   ŋ nôgôrôwⁿ    nôgôrôwⁿ    ‘difficult’

b. predicate L-toned, modifying M-toned

   m bûlôwⁿ      bûlô(w)ⁿ     ‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’
   ŋ kôjâwⁿ      kôjâ(w)ⁿ     ‘long’ (variants with y for j)

c. tones as in (b), plus segmental changes

   ŋ kûrûⁿ       kûrû       ‘short’
   m màyⁿ       mânâwⁿ       ‘good’

d. tones consistent, but segmental changes

   dēwⁿ           dēmôⁿ       ‘sweet’
   ŋîî           ŋôŋô       ‘bad, nasty’

e. -gu in modifying

   L-toned as predicate
   ŋ dûwôwⁿ      dûwôw-gû    ‘small’
   ŋ kûyⁿ        kûy-gû      ‘deep’
   ŋ tûtⁿ        tût-gû      ‘nearby’
   m miyēwⁿ      miyē-gû     ‘thin’
   ŋi niyâwⁿ     niyê-gû     ‘easy’
   m pûlûwⁿ      pûlû-gû     ‘soft’

   M-toned as predicate
   m pêlûwⁿ      pêlû-gû     ‘light(weight)’
f. suppletive

\[ \text{ŋ̀kō} \quad \text{pā̀-lōw}^{\text{n}} \quad \text{‘numerous, abundant, many’} \]

See also (ŋ) kämbē ‘ought (to VP)’ and related forms in §17.2.5.

11.4.1.3 Past adjectival predicates

As with stative verbs, the time frame for adjectival predicates is shifted to the past with kōndō ‘stay’. Adjectives that have identificational predicates (§11.4.1.1) show the same participial form of the stem, but without the final nì in the positive. kōndō is optionally followed by RemPfv gà, which could alternatively be parsed as ‘be’.

(561) a. à kōndō (gà) tōm̩-nà (# nì)
    3Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) red-Ppl (# it.is)
    ‘He/She/It was red.’

   b. à tē kōndō (gà) tōm̩-nà
    3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) red-Ppl
    ‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’

More surprisingly, several pseudo-reflexive adjective predicates optionally shift to participles (of inchoative verbs) when preceded by kōndō (562).

(562) a. à kōndō (gà) cīē-mā-nā / nōg̩rā-āmā-na / kǔy-gā-āmā-nà
    3Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) heavy-/difficult-/deep-Inch-Ppl
    ‘He/She/It was heavy/difficult/deep.’

   b. à tē kōndō (gà)
    3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv)
    cīē-mā-nā / nōg̩rā-āmā-na / kųy-gā-āmā-nà
    heavy-/difficult-/deep-O -Inch-Ppl
    ‘He/She/It was not heavy/difficult/deep.’

These verbs may alternatively keep their pseudo-reflexive form when combined with kōndō, as in à kōndō ŋ̩ cīyēw “it was heavy”.

The tonal distinction between positive mān “be good” and negative māy “(not) be good”, described in the preceding subsection, is preserved (along with its pseudo-reflexive morphology) in the past forms. There is no participialization.
11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘X have Y’

‘X have Y’ is expressed as ‘Y be [in X’s hand]’ (564a,c) or as ‘Y be [X-Dative]’ (564b,d). For sügì-ỷ, suffixal locative of sügù ‘hand’, see §8.2.3.1. For dative postposition tè, see §8.1.1.1.

(564) a. kúngóló gā [ǹ] sügì-ỷ
dog be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc]
‘I have a dog.’

b. kúngóló gā [ǹ tè]
dog be.Loc [1Sg Dat]
‘I have a dog.’

c. kúngóló nā [ǹ] sügì-ỷ
dog not.be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc]
‘I don’t have a dog.’

d. kúngóló nā [ǹ tè]
dog not.be.Loc [1Sg Dat]
[=(c)]

11.5.2 ‘Y belong to X’ predicates (pàn nì)

A predicate of (long-standing) possession, translatable ‘Y belongs to X’ or ‘Y is X’s’, takes the form ‘Y is [X Poss] it.is’. Following the subject Y is positive gà/gā ‘be’ or its negation nàw/nàw ‘not be’. This is followed by X denoting the owner, a default possessum pàn” (§6.2.2.2), and the ‘it is’ clitic nì. If X is a pronoun, it takes independent form, compare m pá” ‘mine’ as default possessum with ǹ-dógò pàn nì ‘it is mine’. In the positive, Y and gà/gā may be omitted if the
reference of Y is understood, hence just [X pàn] nì. In the negative, nàwⁿ/nàwⁿ is required and Y is expressed minimally by 3Sg subject pronominal à, hence à nàwⁿ [X pàn] nì.

Although the bracketing Y gà/nàwⁿ [X pàn] nì, literally ‘Y is (not) X’s’, is semantically reasonable, pàⁿ and nì fuse into a monolithic predicative form pà(n)ni. The combination pàn nì does not undergo the tone sandhi process Final Tone-Raising to become #pàn nì. Also, whereas pàⁿ as default possessum has a plural pàⁿ-yè, predicative pàn nì does not allow pluralization to #pàⁿ-yè nì (565e).

(565)  a. [kɔⁿ yāmbāa] gā [wùlāā pàn] nì
       [Dem house] be [who? Poss] it.is
       ‘This/That house belongs to who(m)?’

        b. cìyē gā [ń-dógo pàn] nì
        field be [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is
        ‘The field is mine.’

        c. à nà = [ān-dàng gā pàn] nì
        3Sg not.be [2Sg-Indep Poss] it.is
        ‘It isn’t yours-Sg.’

        d. [yāmbāa gū] gā [sèēdú pàn] nì
        [house Def] be [S Poss] it.is
        ‘That house is Seydou’s.’

        e. [yāmbāa gū-yè] gā [sèēdú pàn] nì
        [house Def-Pl] be [S Poss] it.is
        ‘Those houses are Seydou’s.’
12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 With verb ‘(sur)pass’ (kiyē/kiyè or stative kiyē-nā)

12.1.1.1 ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb

The intransitive motion verb ‘X go past, X pass (by), X move on’ is kiyē (Pfv) or kiyè (Ipfv). As a motion verb, it can mean ‘X pass (by) Y’, where Y is expressed as the complement of dative postposition nā (§8.1.1.2). An example is (566a), which can denote change of position (rank) in a race. (566a) can also be used abstractly (‘surpass’) to denote change of rank in a comparative context not involving literal motion. In the stative form kiyē-nā ‘(be) more than, outdo’, it denotes static (temporally extended) rank (566b).

(566) a. äâmädù kiyē [sèëdù nā]
   A ∎ pass.Pfv [SDat]
   ‘Amadou passed Seydou.’ (e.g. in a race)
   or: ‘Amadou has surpassed Seydou.’

b. äâmädù kiyē-nā [sèëdù nā]
   A ∎ pass-Ppl [SDat]
   ‘Amadou outdoes Seydou.’
   default interpretation: ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

A domain of comparison, e.g. strength or wealth, may be expressed overtly as a PP with postposition ninī ‘in, inside’.

(567) a. äâmädù kiyē [sèëdù nà] [séمب / wólēⁿ / tàā-gû ninī]
   A ∎ pass.Pfv [S Dat] [strength / money / stand-VblN inside]
   ‘Amadou has moved past Seydou in strength/wealth/height.’ (< tàā-gû)
   (= ‘Amadou has become stronger/richer/taller than Seydou.’)

b. äâmädù kiyē-nā [sèëdù nà] [séمب / wólēⁿ / tàā-gû ninī]
   A ∎ pass-Ppl [S Dat] [strength / money / stand-VblN inside]
   ‘Amadou is stronger/richer/taller than Seydou.’
12.1.1.2 ‘(Sur)pass’ as verb in infinitival VP

When the comparison is about an event type that requires expression by its own verb, like ‘eat’ or ‘give’, the ‘pass’ verb is chained to it in a biclausal construction that ends in an infinitival VP with bè (§17.4.2). The context can be quantitative (‘more than Y’) or qualitative (‘better than Y’). If the context is quantitative, the main clause normally includes an extent quantifier (§8.4.3). When the main clause has two or more human arguments, the comparandum phrase (‘than Y’) does not overtly indicate which grammatical role is at hand. This accounts for alternative readings of sentences like (568b) and (568d).

(568) a. äämădü diğë (yāālōⁿ) [ bè kiyē [sèēdù nā]]
   A eat.Antip.Pfv (greatly) [Infin pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘Amadou ate more than Seydou (ate).’

b. äämădü yè ğ kò máñè [ bè kiyē [sèēdù nā]]
   A Sbj/Obj 1Sg give.Pfv greatly [Infin pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘Amadou gave me more than Seydou (gave me).’
   or: ‘Amadou gave me more than (Amadou gave to) Seydou.’

c. ğ tēē mēwⁿ [ bè kiy = [ān nā]]
   1Sg tea drink.Pfv [Infin pass.Pfv [2Sg Dat]]
   ‘I drank more tea than you-Sg (drank).’

d. sèēdù yè ğ kwāā [ bè kiy = [äämădü nā]]
   S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv [Infin pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
   ‘Seydou hit me more than Amadou (hit me).’
   or: ‘Seydou hit me more than (Seydou hit) Amadou.’

e. sèēdù bānā-āmā [ bè kiy = [äämădü nā]]
   S stout-Inch.Pfv [Infin pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
   ‘Seydou has gotten fatter than Amadou.’
   or: ‘Seydou has grown more than Amadou (has grown).’

f. ėŋ gā mànămī [ bè kiyē [ṅ nā]]
   2Sg Ipfv dance.Ipfv [Infin pass.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]
   ‘You-Sg dance better than I (dance).’

The same chain construction is used for some stative adjectival predicates. This does not apply to pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates, on which see the following section. It does apply to adjectival predicates with participialized adjectives and with final ‘it is’ clitic (569a-b).
(569) a. [āⁿ sògò-lèŋ] kùmā-nā nì
   [2Sg sheep] skinny-Ppl it.is
   [bè kiyē [[ŋ sògò-lèn] nə]]
   [Infin pass.Pfv [1Sg sheep] Dat]
   ‘Your sheep-Sg is more emaciated than my sheep (is).’

   b. āāmādū piyèⁿ-nā nì [bè kiyē [sèēdū nə]]
   A black-Ppl it.is [Infin pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘Amadou is darker than Seydou.’

12.1.2 Comparatives from pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates

Some adjectives have a special pseudo-reflexive predicate (§11.4.1.2). In the corresponding comparative construction, the verb ‘(sur-)pass’ is absent. Instead, the regular predicative form of the adjective is followed by the comparandum. The latter is expressed with dative tē, not nā.

(570) a. āāmādū yè ṁ bānú [sèēdū tē]
   A Sbj/Obj PsRefl stout [S Dat]
   ‘Amadou is stouter than Seydou.’

   b. ŋ =nà ŋ kāmnā [sèēdū tē]
   1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl old [S Dat]
   ‘I am older than Seydou.’

This is also the way to compare quantity (numbers or measures). The pseudo-reflexive adjectival verb in this case is kōⁿ ‘much’ or ‘many’. Plural suffix -ye (of variable tone) is usually omitted before yè (~ yē) bidirectional case marker (571b). In (571a), kōⁿ denasalizes before a vowel (§3.4.2.3.1).

(571) a. jēnām-bi-gē yè ŋ kō [ē tē]
   child-Pl-Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl many [1Pl Dat]
   ‘The young people outnumber us.’

   b. kúngóló(-yè) yè ŋ kōⁿ [yórógó-yè tē]
   dog(-Pl) Sbj/Obj PsRefl many [cat-Pl Dat]
   ‘There are more dogs than (there are) cats.’
12.1.3 ‘Be better’ (pàyò)

This predicate takes pseudo-reflexive form like some adjectival predicates. In (572a) it occurs with a comparandum in dative form with ò. The same sense can be expressed by using noncomparative ‘be good’, since juxtaposing a dative comparandum forces a comparative reading (572b). A third way to express ‘be better than’ is to use a stative form of ‘pass, surpass’ with dative nà. For the two dative postpositions see 8.1.1.1-2.

(572) a. kú ṕì pàyò [kú tè]  
    Dem PsRefl be.better [Dem Dat]  
    ‘This is better than that.’

b. kú ṕì mary” [kú tè]  
    Dem PsRefl be.good [Dem Dat]  
    [= (a)]

c. kú kiyè-nà [kú nà]  
    Dem pass-Ppl [Dem Dat]  
    ‘This surpasses (=is better than/exceeds) that.’ (< kiyè-nà)

pàyò ‘be better’ can also occur without an overt comparandum (573). In this case, replacing it with ‘be good’ or ‘pass’ would lose the comparative element.

(573) [əŋ  gālà  ām  bèw”]  
    [wògō  m  pàyò]  
    [2Sg Sbjn 2Sg return.Pfv]  
    [3Sg.Indep 3ReflSg be.better]  
    ‘You-Sg should go back, that is (=would be) better (i.e. than going on).’

12.1.4 Superlative ‘most’, ‘best’

There is no dedicated superlative construction. Something like a superlative reading can be forced by adding an expression denoting or presupposing a pool of individuals, either as possessor or in an adverbial adjunct. An example is ‘village’ as possessor in (574).

(574) sèédù gā [nàgù dò”sò māpà”] ni  
    S  be  [village hunter good] it.is  
    ‘Seydou is the village’s good (=best) hunter.’ (< nàgù)

In (575), ‘be many’ emphasized by ‘greatly’ functions as superlative, especially with ‘in the village’ delimiting the pool.
12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’ (kāwn)

kāwn ‘equal’ occurs in the pseudo-reflexive predicate construction, preceded by ā. The subject is plural, either a conjunction of two NPs or an otherwise semantically plural NP or pronoun. The universal quantifier sān ‘all’ or ‘both’ occurs at the end of the subject in either case (e.g. ēsān ‘both/all of us’). If the domain of comparison is understood in context, no further adjunct is needed (576a). As in asymmetrical comparatives, it is possible to add an overt locative PP specifying the domain of comparison (576b-c).

(576) a. [sēdū yēn āmādū sān] yē ā kāwn
    [S and A all] Sbj/Obj PsRefl equal
    ‘Seedu and Amadou are equal.’

b. [sēdū yēn āmādū sān] yē ā kāwn [tāā-niŋjī]
   [tāā-gū
    [S and A all] Sbj/Obj PsRefl equal [stand(-VblN) inside]
    ‘Seedu and Amadou are of the same height.’

c. [jēnām-bi-gē sān] yē ā kāwn [niŋjī-
   [child-Pl-Pl all] Sbj/Obj PsRefl equal [head-stand.Nom inside]
   ‘All the young people are of the same height.’

12.2.2 Aspect-marking ‘become equal’ (kājamā)

The verb kājamā/kājamā ‘coincide; become equal’ denotes the process of convergence of two or more individuals in some measure (577a). If the two comparanda are separated syntactically into subject and nonsubject, with the subject denoting the individual most responsible for the
convergence, transitive kājāmā-ni/kājāmā-ni (causative in form) is used (577b). The nonsubject is expressed as a comitative PP ‘with Y’.

(577) a. ̀è kājāmā
  3Pl  become.equal.Pfv
  ‘They have become equal.’

  b. ̀ā  = nā = à kājāmā-ni  [āāmādū bwḗy]
     1Sg  Sbj/Obj  3Sg  be.equal.Caus.Pfv  [A  Comit]
  ‘I have equaled it (some measure) with Amadou.’

12.2.3 bāa/bá-là ‘exit (v)’ in the sense ‘equal (v)’

The versatile verb ‘exit (v)’ can mean ‘equal (v), match (v)’ (578).

(578) [bāākɔ̀lɔ̀-n-sí–yè kù–lè] nà = ̀ā  bāgà kūjàmá–ỳ̀ dè?
     [B-Link-breed-Pl  Def-Pl]  IpfvNeg  2Pl  equal.Ipfv  number-Loc  Emph
  ‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl (=Cissé clan) in population.’
  (2017-01 @ 08:31)

12.2.4 Adverbial ‘as much (as)’

12.2.4.1 With jātè ‘amount’

The noun jātè ‘amount, quantity, count’, borrowed from Fulfulde, combines with a possessed NP with default possessum pàw” (§6.2.2.2) in this construction. jātè may be NP-final, or it may be followed by another noun that heads the NP (but has partitive semantic function), like ‘meat’ in (579b). In either case, the 3Sg independent pronoun wəgò is required as the direct object before the final verb, presumably resuming the preceding ‘amount’ NP.

(579) a. ǹg gā  [[m  pàn] jātè] wəgò digà / …
     2Sg  Ipfv  [[1Sg Poss] amount] 3Sg.Indep.Foc  eat.Ipfv/drink-Ipfv
  ‘You-Sg eat/drink as much as I (eat).’ (< ḳ (+H) pàw”)

  b. ǹg gā  [[[m  pàn] jātè] tēč] wəgò digà
     2Sg  Ipfv  [[[1Sg Poss] amount] meat] 3Sg.Indep  eat.Ipfv
  ‘You-Sg eat as much meat as I (eat).’
12.2.4.2 Phrased with ‘likeness’ and deverbal participle (suffix -nà)

Somewhat the same pragmatic effect, but without an overt quantitative expression, is achieved using similarity expressions (§8.4.1.1). (580a) is a simple symmetrical comparison ‘fall(s) like me’, by extension ‘fall(s) as much as I (do)’. (580b) is a more interesting construction consisting of a deverbal participle with -na, sí ‘likeness, the likes of’, and ‘do’. The phrasing resembles that of the resultative verbal noun construction (§4.2.1.4). sèn-nà drops to sën-nà by tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H). A literal paraphrase would be “do(es) like my falling.”

(580)  a. à gà sēn-dē [hōnṑ [n nūmēwⁿ]]
3Sg Ipfv fall-Lpfv [like 1Sg likeness]
‘He/She falls like (=as much as) I (fall).’ (< nūmēwⁿ §8.4.1.1)

  b. à gā [[tī sēn-nā] sí] tī-nà
3Sg Ipfv [[1Sg fall-Ppl] likeness] do-Lpfv
‘He/She falls as much as I (fall).’ (< sēn-nā)

With transitive verbs, an object can be expressed in two ways. In (581a), my assistant preferred to append ‘dog(s)’ as a PP following the final ‘do’ verb. In other cases he did place the object in the “correct” position preceding the nominalized verb (581b). ‘Firewood’ in (581b) is really a compound initial (incorporated object) and undergoes M#H-to-L#H along with the compound final.

(581)  a. à gā [tī kōlè-nā] sí] tī-nà
3Sg Ipfv [[1Sg hit-Ppl] likeness] do-Lpfv
[kūngōl-é bwēy]
[dog-Pl Comit]
‘He beats dogs as much as I (do).’ (< kōlè-nā)

  b. à gā = [[ān sūbā-pējè-nā] sí] tī-nà
3Sg Ipfv [[2Sg firewood-split-Ppl] likeness] do-Lpfv
‘He cuts wood as much as you-Sg do.’ (< sūbā-pējè-nā)

  c. à gā = [[ān dùwō-mèn-nā] sí] tī-nà
3Sg Ipfv [[2Sg beer-drink-Ppl] likeness] do-Lpfv
‘He drinks beer as much as you-Sg do.’ (< dùwō)
When the object is a pronominal, as in (582) below, the participial construction exemplified by (581b-c) above is awkward. My assistant shifts the ‘like X’ segment to the position following the transitive verb, as an adverbial adjunct.

(582) à gâ = [[ām mū-nū] [hònò [[m̂̃ páⁿ] sīí]]
3Sg lpfv [[2Sg insult-lpfv] [like [[1Sg Poss] likeness]]
‘He/She insults you-Sg like me (=as much as I do).’ (< m̂̃ páⁿ)

See also manner relatives (§15.8.3).
13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

13.1.1 Basic syntax of focalization

Constituents that can be focalized are NPs (subjects, objects, possessors, postpositional complements) and adverbs (which are noun-like).

Focalization is expressed mainly by modifications in the form of the focalized constituent, which usually remains in its regular linear position. These modifications are summarized in (583).

(583) a. replace ordinary proclitic-like pronominals (e.g. 2Sg āⁿ, 3Sg à) with independent pronouns (e.g. 2Sg ān-dògò, 3Sg wògò ; see §4.3.1 for the full set)

b. raise the final tone of the focalized constituent to H

In addition, perfective positive clauses require remote Pfv particle gà if a constituent is focalized. ‘Seydou’ is unfocalized in (584a) but focalized in (584b).

(584) a. ŋ̄ =nāⁿ sèeðù kày
    1Sg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv
    ‘I saw Seydou.’

b. ŋ̄ =nāⁿ sèeðú kày gà
    1Sg Sbj/Obj S.Foc see.Pfv RemPfv
    ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who I saw.’

Under limited conditions, a constituent can be focalized by fronting with the ‘it is’ clitic, compare English clefts of the type ‘it is/was X [focus] that …’. This construction is attested with purposive-causal adverbials, as in ‘why [focus] …?’ and ‘it/that [focus] is why …’ (§13.1.6.1).

13.1.2 Interaction of focalization and negation

RemPfv gà is generally avoided in simple perfective negative clauses. This applies to unfocalized (585a) and focalized (585b) clauses.

(585) a. ŋ̄ =nāⁿ sèeðù kày gà
    1Sg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv RemPfv
    ‘I didn’t see Seydou.’
(585) a. ń tē sèèdù kày (#gà)
    1Sg PfvNeg S see.Pfv (#RemPfv)
    ‘I didn’t see Seydou.’

    b. ń tē sèèdú kày (#gà)
    1Sg PfvNeg S.Foc see.Pfv (#RemPfv)
    ‘It isn’t Seydou [focus] who I saw.’

Compare the contrasting negative and positive clauses in (586), where gà occurs only in the positive clause.

(586) ń-dógò tē sò,
    1Sg-Indep.Foc PfvNeg go.Pfv,
    sèèdù sò gà
    S.Foc go.Pfv RemPfv
    ‘It isn’t I [focus] who went, it was Seydou [focus] who went.’

However, gà can co-occur with negation in a construction with ‘go’ or ‘come’ plus a VP that contains a focalized nonsubject. (587a) is unfocalized and lacks gà, (587a) focalizes the 3Sg object and has gà after the motion verb (preceding the focalized object).

(587) a. ń tē sō (#gà) [à kwāā]
    1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv (#RemPfv) [3Sg hit.Pfv]
    ‘I didn’t go and hit him/her.’

    b. ń tē sō gà wēgò kwāā
    1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv RemPfv 3Sg.Indep.Foc hit.Pfv
    ‘It wasn’t him/her [focus] that I went and hit.’

Semantically, negation scopes over focalization, as is suggested by the free translations. For example, (585b) above can be paraphrased as ‘it is not the case that [it was Seydou [focus] who I saw].’

13.1.3 Final H-tone in focalized constituents

As noted above, pronouns are focalized by replacing short proclitic-like pronominals with full independent pronouns. When independent pronouns are focalized, they change the final tone to H. This is vacuous in the case of 1Sg ń-dógò from ñ (+H) plus /-lògò/, since its final syllable is already H-toned due to the floating H (588a). The other independent pronouns end in …gò, and appear
as ...ɔ̀gɔ́ when focalized (588b). The tonal marking, whether audible or not, is indexed in the interlinear by “.Foc”.

(588) a. à ǹ-dɔgɔ́ kwāā ɡà
   3Sg 1Sg-Indep.Foc hit.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘It’s me [focus] who he/she hit.’

b. ě wɔ̀gɔ́ / ān-dɔgɔ́ kwāā ɡà
   1Pl 3Sg-Indep.Foc / 2Sg-Indep.Foc hit.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘It’s him-or-her / you-Sg [focus] who we hit.’

Raising the final tone to H also occurs when the focalized constituent is a noun. This tonal pattern also occurs in polar interrogatives (§13.2.1) and in purposive VPs following ‘come’ or ‘go’ (§17.5.1). If the noun already ends in structural H-tone, there is no structural change in the tones (589a). As a reminder, transcriptions like sibọ reflect prepausal pronunciation of unfocalized /H/-melodic nouns.

(589) noun  | gloss  | focalized
---|---|---
*a. /H/ melody*
   sibọ  | ‘ashes’  | sibọ
   sógɔ́  | ‘milk’  | sógɔ́
   sórógɔ́  | ‘door-lock’  | sórógɔ́
   timbɔgɔ́  | ‘ladder’  | timbɔgɔ́
*b. /LH/ and /MLH/
   tājí  | ‘basket’  | tājí
   sɔ́mɔ́  | ‘pick-hoe’  | sɔ́mɔ́
   māāngɔ́rɔ́  | ‘mango’  | māāngɔ́rɔ́

If the noun ends in L, as in /L/, /ML/, and /LML/ melodies, the noun raises its final syllable or monosyllabic mora to H. For /L/ melody, there are no further changes (590a). For /(L)ML/ nouns, the expected MLH tone sequence is overtly realized when the stem is heavy enough to accommodate three tone units, i.e. has at least three moras. This may require pushing the lexical final-syllable tone back into the penult, as with ‘dust’ and ‘Seydou’ in (590b). A C̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ stem like ‘tea’ is (590b) is too short, and preservation of lexical tones overrides the added H-tone, so there is no overt change. Stem-final a is lengthened as well as tone-raised under focalization, as with ‘daba (hoe)’ in (590a).
(590) | noun | gloss | focalized |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /L/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dòò</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
<td>dòò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sòbò</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>sòbò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàndí</td>
<td>‘chili pepper’</td>
<td>dàndí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìngè</td>
<td>‘stool’</td>
<td>tìngè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàmbà</td>
<td>‘daba (hoe)’</td>
<td>dàmbáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìyòw</td>
<td>‘ax’</td>
<td>tìyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùmbùrù</td>
<td>‘insect’</td>
<td>kùmbùrú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sòmpùwò</td>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
<td>sòmpùwó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. /ML/ and /LML/ |
| sòllò | ‘dust’ | sòlló |
| sùkòró | ‘sugar’ | sùkòró |
| sèédù | ‘Seydou’ | sèédú |

no audible change | tèè | ‘tea’ | tèè |

If the noun ends in M-tone, its final syllable shifts to H. If the noun (or compound final) is prosodically light (Cvv, CvCv, CvNCv) it becomes all-H-toned (591a). Longer /M/-melody stems become L(L)H (591a). Converting e.g. trisyllabic MMM to focalized LLH could be modeled as imposition of a stem-wide \{L^*H\} overlay. However, a simpler model is that the final syllable is raised to H, as more clearly in the /L/-melody nouns illustrated above, whereupon preceding M-tones drop to L by tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H).

(591) | noun | gloss | focalized |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /M/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèè</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>tèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyè</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
<td>tyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yògò</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>yògò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìmì swò</td>
<td>‘foul smell’</td>
<td>tìmì swò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèndè</td>
<td>‘chest (body)’</td>
<td>kèndè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

longer | tìgèlèw | ‘cut (wound)’ | tìgèlèw |
| sùmpòró | ‘biting fly sp.’ | sùmpòró |
| wàràbá | ‘lion’ | wàràbá |
| sògò-sògò | ‘round basket’ | sògò-sògò |
If a multi-word NP or compound noun is focalized, only the final stem is affected by the tonal changes (592a-c).

(592)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unfocalized</th>
<th>focalized</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. N-Adj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ̄g ōk wɔⁿ</td>
<td>yɔ̄g ōk wɔⁿ</td>
<td>‘white fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ̄g ōlù-gù</td>
<td>yɔ̄g ōlù-gù</td>
<td>‘lightweight fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. N-Num</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ̄g ōk o wɔⁿ</td>
<td>yɔ̄g ōk o wɔⁿ</td>
<td>‘five fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. N-Def</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ̄g ōg u</td>
<td>yɔ̄g ōg u</td>
<td>‘the fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. compound noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kənd-e-kwɔⁿ</td>
<td>kənd e-kwɔⁿ</td>
<td>‘breastbone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɔ̀r-puwɔ</td>
<td>pɔ̀r-puwɔ</td>
<td>‘slingshot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sāⁿ ‘all’ is rather emphatic in any context. In recordings can be is difficult to tell when it is tonally focalized and when not, but in elicitation a clear example is (593). Compare unfocalized yɔ̄g ōg yè sāⁿ.

(593)  [yɔ̄g ōg yè sāⁿ] bē  
       [fish-Pl all.Foc] come.Pfv  
‘All the fish [focus] came.’

One might suspect that the semantic awkwardness of this combination means that ‘all’ cannot be focalized. However, sāⁿ also resists tone-raising in objects of purposive VPs after motion verbs (§17.5.1.3).

13.1.4 Subject focalization

Example (594a) is a simple clause with an unfocalized subject expressed as a pronominal proclitic. Replacing the proclitic by an independent pronoun (§4.3.1) weakly focalizes the subject pragmatically, but raising the final tone to H makes focalization complete. 1Sg ǹ-dɔgɔ already has H-tones, but other independent pronouns audibly raise the final tone of the independent pronoun to H to mark focus. For both 1Sg and the other independent pronouns, under focalization the pitch
level of adjoining words can be raised. This raising is most conspicuous in grammatical particles (Ipfv gá, future gá bé, BCM yé) after focalized subjects. Where one might expect focalized discourse-definite demonstrative ná referring back to a recently described referent (as in ‘beans, that’s what I want’), focalized 3Sg wógó is usual (594d).

(594) a. ē gá bē táwn
1Pl Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv
‘We will go up.’ (no focalization)

b. ē-lágó gá bē táwn
1Pl-Indep Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv
‘It’s we [focus] who will go up.’

c. ń-dógó gá bē táwn
1Sg-Indep Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv
‘It’s I [focus] who will go up.’

d. wógó gá mwōm pānān
3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv.Foc ripen.Ipfv firstly
‘It’s that [focus] which would ripen before (other crops).’ (2017-03 @ 00:22)

Because the pitch-raising on particles like gá in examples (594b-d) is secondary and likely not systematic, it is not marked in the usual transcriptions here.

In (595a), there is no focalization, and the nonpronominal NP subject ‘donkey’ appears with its lexical /L/ melody. In (595b), the “same” clause shows a final H-tone on ‘donkey’.

(595) a. sōmùwò bē [piin ní]
donkey come.Pfv [millet Inst]
‘The donkey brought the millet.’

b. sōmùwó bē gà [piin ní]
donkey.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [millet Inst]
‘It was the donkey [focus] who brought the millet.’

Deictic ‘this/that’, and discourse-definite ‘that’ resuming a just-introduced discourse referent, are well-suited to be focalized subjects (596a-b).

(596) a. kú yé ŋ kwāa gā
dem Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv RemPfv
‘This hit me.’ or ‘This [focus] is what hit me.’
b. ɲóⁿ  gā  ŋ  kā-lä
   Dem.Def  Lpfv  1Sg  hit-Lpfv
   ‘That (definite) hits me.’ or ‘That (definite) [focus] is what hits me.’

However, kú and ɲóⁿ are already H-toned, so focalization is not well-marked on them in subject position (deictic kú can be lengthened to kúú in object function, see below). Likely for this reason, the 3Sg independent pronoun is unexpectedly often focalized in contexts calling for a focalized demonstrative, as in (594d) above.

13.1.5 Object focalization

Example (597a) has an unfocalized pronominal object. (597b) focalizes the object, which is not fronted.

(597) a. sèèdù  yè  ŋ  kwāā  gā
    S  Sbj/Obj  1Sg  hit.Pf  RemPf  
    ‘Seydou hit me.’

b. sèèdù  yà =  án-dōgō  kwāā  gā
    S  Sbj/Obj  2Sg-Indep.Foc  hit.Pf  RemPf  
    ‘It’s you-[Sg] [focus] that Seydou hit.’

c. án  tē  ŋ-dōgō  kwāā,
    2Sg  PfvNeg  1Sg-Indep.Foc  hit.Pf  ,
    āⁿ  sèèdù  kwāā  gā
    2Sg  S.Foc  hit.Pf  RemPf  
    ‘It wasn’t me [focus] that you-Sg hit, it was Seydou [focus] that you hit.’

The same tonal changes that apply to subject-focalized nouns apply to focalized objects. For example, wārābā ‘lion’ is unfocalized in (598a) but it is focalized by tonal modification in (598b).

(598) a. ĕ  = nāⁿ  wārābā  kây
    1Sg  Sbj/Obj  lion  see.Pf  
    ‘I saw a lion.’

b. ĕ  = nāⁿ  wārābā  kây  gā
    1Sg  Sbj/Obj  lion.Foc  see.Pf  RemPf  
    ‘It’s a lion [focus] that I saw.’
In object position, deictic demonstrative kú can be effectively focalized by lengthening as kúú.

(599) ̣ē  gà  kúú  səgə
   1Pl  Ipfv  Dem.Foc  cultivate.Ipfv
   ‘That [focus] is what we cultivated.’ (2017-03 @ 00:15)

13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverbial phrase

Overt focalization is possible with purposive-causal and temporal adverbials, as described just below. Both types of adverbial are somewhat peripheral to the semantic core of a sentence. Often the focalized adverbial resumes preceding discourse material, as in ‘my father got sick; it’s for that reason [focus] that I came’.

Spatial adverbs like ‘here’ do not allow focalization.

Instrumental PPs (postposition ní) have a distinctive tonal pattern when focalized. Both the noun and the postposition are involved, the postposition becoming H-toned ní. See §8.1.2.1.3 for details and examples.

13.1.6.1 Focalization of purposive-causal expression

A purposive-causal expression is focalized by clefting, i.e. it is clause-initial and followed by the ‘it is’ clitic, in (600). kú lágà (or assimilated variant kú lágà) ‘for/because of that’ resumes preceding discourse that spells out the purpose in detail (not shown).

(600)  [kú  lágà  ní]  m̃  bē  gà
   [Dem  Purp  it.is]  1Sg  come.Pfv  RemPfv
   ‘That [focus] is why I came.’

The same construction is used with interrogative másí lágà (~ másí lágà) ‘why?’ (§13.2.2.3).

13.1.6.2 Focalization of temporal adverb

In (601), a temporal relative clause occurs first, headed by a temporal noun ‘(moment in) time’, ‘day’, or ‘year’. The head may occur clause-finally (as shown) or it may be clause-initial; such variation in order is typical of temporal adverbials. The temporal adverbial clause is then resumed and focalized at the beginning of the main clause. Clause-initial ḋàw” functions here as a near-distant discourse-definite demonstrative. It is tonally (and semantically) distinct from clause-initial
‘if’ in conditionals. Overall the two-clause construction resembles a correlative construction (a specialty of South Asian languages).

(601) m bê gâ [wóg̃tû / tâlâm / jiîm màwⁿ]  
1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [time / day / year Rel]  
[ńàⁿ wóg̃tû / tâlâm / jiîn (jàáftû) nà =] à l5w̃ñ gâ  
[Dem time / day / year (precise) it.is] 3Sg die.Pfv RemPfv  
‘The time/day/year when I came, (at/on/in) that (very) time/day/year [focus] is when he/she died.’ (< nî à l5w̃ñ)

It is also possible to resume the temporal adverbial clause with 3Sg independent pronoun wóg̃ (focalized from wóg̃) (602).

(602) [[jiîm màⁿ] jenâm-bi-gê gâ sùwō-lô]  
[[year Rel] child-Pl-Pl Ipfv sing-Ipfv]  
[wóg̃ nî] ū kiyêŋ gâ  
[3Sg.Indep.Foc it.is] 1Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv  
‘The year when the children were singing, that [focus] is when I arrived.’

Simple temporal adverbs like ‘tomorrow’ and ‘now’ can occur clause-finally (603a). In that position they can be focalized by the usual tonal modification (final tone raises to H), as in (603b). These adverbs can also occur clause-initially, but they cannot take focalized tonal form in the absence of a prosodic break (603c). Clause-initial temporal adverbs can be (semi-)focalized by clefting (603d).

(603) a. ē gâ bê sô ńànnû  
1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv tomorrow  
‘We will go tomorrow.’

b. ē gâ bê sô ńànnû  
1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv tomorrow.Foc  
‘Tomorrow [focus] is when we will go.’

c. ńànnû (#ńànnû) ē gâ sô  
tomorrow 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv  
‘Tomorrow we will go.’

c. [ńànnû nî] ē gâ sô  
tomorrow it.is 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv  
‘It’s tomorrow [focus] that we are going.’
13.1.6.3 Spatial and manner adverbs not focalizable

Spatial adverbs like bōⁿ ‘here’ and yāwⁿ ‘there’ cannot be overtly focalized. They occur only at or near the end of clauses, being followed only by any temporal adverb that may be present. The spatial adverbs cannot be fronted, and they have no raised tonal variants. In (604) there is no overt marking of focalization.

(604) ū gà kōndò bōⁿ
1Sg Ipfv stay.Ipfv here
‘It’s here [focus] that I will stay.’
or: ‘I will stay here.’

Example (605) was elicited using the same correlative frame (in French) that successfully produced overtly focalized purposive-causal and temporal expressions. However, the resumptive (discourse-definite) yāwⁿ ‘there’ is clause-final with no overt sign of syntactic focalization, though the optional jááti ‘precise’ makes semantic focus evident.

(605) [nì =nàŋ tingē bā� gà gūùⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ]
[1Sg Sbj/Obj stool leave.Pfv RemPfv place-Rel-place]
ē gā pò-lō [yāwⁿ (jàáti)]
1Pl Ipfv sit-Ipfv [there.Def (precise)]
‘(At) the place where I left the stools, (right) there [focus] is where we will sit.’

Manner adverbials are likewise not usually focalizable. In (606) there is no way to tell whether clause-final kiyèwⁿ ‘like this/that’ is focalized or not.

(606) ē gā pò-lō kiyèwⁿ
1Pl Ipfv sit-Ipfv like.this
‘We will sit like this.’
or: ‘(Like) this [focus] is how we will sit.’

However, under limited conditions kiyèwⁿ can be focalized as kiyèwⁿ; see (133c) in §4.4.3.2, where the focalized form is preposed to the verb as an object. Focalization by tone-raising has also been observed with the deictic manner verb kiyèwⁿ/kiyè-nà ‘do like this/that’; see focalized Ipfv kiyè-nà in (134a) in §4.4.3.2.
13.1.7 “Interrogative” terminal prosody for weak focalization in indicatives

The same phonological and phonetic effects that occur in polar interrogative prosody (§13.2.1.2) can also apply to the final word of statements that do not function as interrogatives. This is striking given that the default terminal intonational effect on statements is a pitch drop.

This prosodic effect is strongly associated with clause-final temporal adverbs. Unlike other adverbs (e.g. spatial), temporal adverbs can occur clause-initially as well as clause-finally, showing that they are on the outer periphery of their clauses.

In (607a) below, slightly modified from (603a-b) above, the clause-final adverb ‘tomorrow’ has either of two tonal forms: ɲààñù with the regular lexical /L/ melody, and ɲààñú. The latter is also the form this adverb takes clause-finally in polar interrogatives (§13.2.1.2). However, all examples in (607a-c) are statements (assertions) rather than questions. The variant ɲààñú is ungrammatical (symbol #) in negative statements (607b). It is also ungrammatical in the presence of a distinct (semantically) focal constituent such as a content interrogative or a focalized independent pronoun (607c-d). In other words, ɲààñú is an option only in positive statements without a focalized constituent, aside from polar interrogatives.

(607) a. ē gā sō ɲààñù
d ɲààñù

1Pl Lpfv go.Lpfv tomorrow
‘We will go tomorrow.’

b. ē nā sō ɲààñù
(# ɲààñú)

1Pl LpfvNeg go.Lpfv tomorrow
‘We won’t go tomorrow.’

c. wùlāā gā sō ɲààñù
(# ɲààñú)

who? Lpfv go.Lpfv tomorrow
‘Who is going tomorrow?’

d. ŋ-ðógó sō ɲààñù
(# ɲààñú)

1Sg-Indep go.Lpfv tomorrow
‘It’s [focus] who am going tomorrow.’

The temporal adverbs that have similar tonal variants with the same restrictions are listed in (608). digèwⁿ ‘yesterday’ is already /LH/-melodic so it cannot express an overt tonal distinction.
The ungrammaticality of tonally raised forms like Ṉàànú under negation and in the presence of another focal constituent suggests that these forms are at least weakly focal.

13.2 Interrogatives

The following sections in this chapter describe questions that function as main clauses. For quoted questions see §17.1.5. For propositional complements of ‘know’ and ‘not know’, see §17.2.1.1.

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

Most polar interrogatives are expressed by clause-final pitch/tone raising (§13.2.1.2). Under limited conditions there is a clause-initial interrogative particle, or a clause-final disjunction (‘or’).

13.2.1.1 Clause-initial particles in polar interrogatives

13.2.1.1.1 Clause-initial tāmà

Clause-initial tāmà is another mechanism for converting a statement into a yes/no question. It functions like French est-ce que, which is also used by younger speakers. When this morpheme is present, there is no tone/pitch rise on the final word of the clause.

(609)  a.  tāmà  ān  digē
      Q  2Sg  eat.Antip.Pfv
      ‘Have you-Sg eaten?’

      b.  tāmà  āŋ  gā  sò  sībèwⁿ
      Q  2Sg  Ipfv  go.Ipfv  market.Loc
      ‘Are you going to the market?’
The only textual example of tâmà is 2017-03 @ 00:58, where the younger assistant asks a complex question of an older speaker.

tâmà can also follow the clause, see (888a) below.

13.2.1.2 Clause-initial kò(ři)

The other clause-initial interrogative particle kòři, likely borrowed from Fulfulde and sometimes truncated to kò, occurs in polite inquiries of the ‘are you fine?’ type (§19.6.1). There are many examples in the greeting cycles at the beginning of several of the texts, starting with 2017-01 @ 00:06. kòři can also occur elsewhere under limited conditions. (610) can be said to an addressee who has just stated that he/she has been frantically seeking a particular thing. The speaker isn’t sure of the outcome but hopes that the answer is ‘yes’.

(610) kòři ā = ā kilè
  Q 2Sg 3Sg get.Pfv
  ‘So did you (hopefully) get it?’

13.2.1.2 Polar interrogation by terminal pitch/tone change

Much more often, polar interrogation is expressed solely by a change in pitch on the clause-final word. Whether this pitch change is best described as phonological (i.e. tonal) or extra-phonological, or a combination of both, is an interesting question. To the extent that the process is tonal, it should be expressible by shifting from L or M to H-tone, or perhaps from L to M-tone.

Because Cliffs is a verb-final language, most full clauses including interrogatives end in a verb, an adverb, or a postposition. The presentation below therefore focuses on verbs, but the end of this section discusses polar interrogatives that end with an adverb or noun.

(611a) is indicative (i.e. a statement). The corresponding interrogative is (611b) which for the moment is shown in phonetically-tinged tonal notation as bé. The audible difference is in pitch level of the final verb. There is no intonational prolongation (extra duration).

(611) a. [āŋ kàà] bé
  [2Sg father] come.Pfv
  ‘Your-Sg father has come.’

b. [āŋ kàà] bé
  [2Sg father] come.Pfv.Q
  ‘Has your-Sg father come?’
The indicative (611a) is subject to prepausal pitch drop (§3.6.5.2), which might be represented as bē↘ or perhaps even bē with downstep diacritic. The main question here is the status of what is written phonetically as bē in (611b). There are three possibilities: a) M-toned bē has been raised to H-tone, correctly transcribed bē; b) the pitch of bē has been raised by a gradient intonational process, transcription bē↗; or c) the tone has been raised to H with additional add-on intonational pitch raising, transcription bē↗. To consider this issue it is useful to examine in turn how verbs with different input tones are treated.

When the input ends in L or M tone, the interrogative counterpart has higher pitch than modal H-tone in this position (612). This is compatible with either of the two models, (b) and (c), that include intonational ↗.

(612) a. ām bāynā gā tūwɔbɔlɔŋ kà-ná↗ (or kà-nà↗ ?)  
2Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv.Q  
‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’ (< kà-nà)

b. à dwɔ́ (or dwɔ̄↗ ?)  
3Sg enter.Pfv.Q  
‘Did he/she go in?’ (< dwɔ̄)

Further examples with inputs that begin with L are in (613). They are transcribed here with final H-tone, plus ↗ as an add-on. In (613a-b), the same ambiguity as in (612) is present. However, in (613c), an LML input surfaces as LLH (not *LMH). This can be analysed as a shift to final H-tone that triggers the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H.

(613) indicative interrogative example gloss

a. indicative L-toned

monomoraic

C̓v C̓v↗ sò → só↗ ‘go’ (Pfv/Ipfv)

bimoraic or heavier

C̓v C̓v↗ kày → kày↗ ‘see’ (Pfv)
C̓vC̓v C̓vC̓v↗ kà-nà → kànà↗ ‘see’ (Ipfv)
C̓vNC̓v C̓vNC̓v↗ bàndà → bàndà↗ ‘get tired’ (Pfv)
C̓vC̓vC̓v C̓vC̓vC̓v↗ kùlùbè → kùlùbè↗ ‘knead’ (Pfv)

b. indicative LM-toned

C̓vC̓v C̓vC̓v↗ jìnè → jìnè↗ ‘accept’ (Ipfv)
C̓vNC̓v C̓vNC̓v↗ bàndà → bàndà↗ ‘get tired’ (Ipfv)
C̓vC̓vC̓v C̓vC̓vC̓v↗ nùmàsàw^n → nùmàsàw^n ‘forget’ (Pfv)
c. indicative LML-toned

| C\’v\’ | C\’v\’’ | cy\’ë\’n → cy\’ë\’n | ‘weave (basket)’ (Pfv) |
| C\’C\’v\’ | C\’C\’v\’’ | g\’arîbù → g\’arîbù | ‘beg’ (Pfv/Lpfv) |
| C\’C\’C\’v\’ | C\’C\’C\’v\’’ | nùm\’as\’a-nà → nùm\’as\’a-nà → ‘forget’ (Lpfv) |

However, M#H-to-L#H does not apply when the target word, instead of having a medial M-tone as in (613c), begins with M-tone. In this case, the nonfinal syllables remain M-toned (614). This fits comfortably within the analysis that interrogation is marked solely by intonational raising overlaid on a normal tone-marked verb. One could save the analysis that also includes tone-raising to H only by having tone-raising and M#H-to-L#H apply in different orders in (613c) and (614).

(614) indicative interrog. example gloss

a. indicative M-toned

| C\’v | C\’v | bë → bé (bë ?) | ‘come’ (Pfv/Lpfv) |
| C\’v\’ | C\’v\’ | b\’a\’a → b\’a\’a (b\’a\’a ?) | ‘exit (v)’ (Pfv) |
| C\’C\’v | C\’C\’v | kiy\’ë → kiy\’ë (kiy\’ë ?) | ‘pass’ (Pfv) |
| C\’NC\’v | C\’NC\’v | k\’ond\’o → k\’ond\’o (k\’ond\’o ?) | ‘remain’ (Pfv) |

 heavy stems

| C\’C\’C\’v | C\’C\’C\’v | pëg\’él\’ë → pëg\’él\’ë | ‘winnow by shaking’ (Pfv) (pëg\’él\’ë ?) |
| C\’CC\’C\’v | C\’CC\’C\’v | k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a → k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a | ‘get old’ (Pfv) (k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a ?) |

b. indicative ML-toned

| C\’C\’v | C\’C\’v | kiy\’ë → kiy\’ë (kiy\’ë ?) | ‘pass’ (Lpfv) |
| C\’NC\’v | C\’NC\’v | k\’ond\’o → k\’ond\’o (k\’ond\’o ?) | ‘remain’ (Lpfv) |

 heavy stems

| C\’C\’C\’v | C\’C\’C\’v | nım\’is\’a → nım\’is\’a (nım\’is\’a ?) | ‘regret’ (Pfv/Lpfv) |
| C\’C\’C\’v | C\’C\’C\’v | pëg\’él\’ë → pëg\’él\’ë | ‘winnow by shaking’ (Lpfv) (pëg\’él\’ë ?) |
| C\’CC\’C\’v | C\’CC\’C\’v | k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a → k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a | ‘get old’ (Lpfv) (or k\’äm\’n\’a-\’äm\’a ?) |

In the minority of indicative clauses that already end in an H-tone, this tone is enhanced by a further pitch rise in interrogatives. This is the case with clauses that end with dig\’ë\’n ‘yesterday’.
(615a) and (615b) are phonologically (including tonally) identical, but they can be distinguished by the slightly above-modal tone of the question, marked by ↗ (615b).

(615) a. sèëdù so dīgēwⁿ
S go.Pfv yesterday
‘Seydou left yesterday.’

b. sèëdù so dīgēwⁿ ↗
S go.Pfv yesterday.Q
‘Seydou left yesterday?’

To summarize so far, polar questions allow intonational pitch rise, and under some conditions provide evidence for a phonological tone-raising to H.

When nouns (or other clausal fragments), as opposed to clauses ending in verbs or adverbs, are subject to polar interrogative prosody, a more complex situation is revealed. If the noun has stem-wide /L/ or /M/ melody, only the final syllable is tone-raised, consistent with what happens with verbs. However, unlike verbs, nouns in polar interrogatives often prolong their final syllable (symbol →).

(616) noun gloss as polar Q

a. dūgā ‘rice’ dūgā→ ↗
b. sààgù ‘roselle’ sààgù→ ↗

Unlike most verbs, nouns may be composite. When the compound final is an M-toned bisyllable, under polar interrogation it is usually raised to H-tone as a whole (not just the final syllable), as in -kūwⁿ→ ↗ (617a). L-toned bisyllabic final segments only raise the final syllable (617b).

(617) noun gloss as polar Q

a. kūwⁿ ‘water lily tuber’ kūwⁿ→ ↗
būrūgū-kūwⁿ ‘type of water lily tuber’ būrūgū-kūwⁿ→ ↗

b. bòndō ‘neck’ bòndō→ ↗
pīm-bòndō ‘millet grain spike’ pīm-bòndō→ ↗

A similar prosodic modification of nouns is also found in open-ended lists (enumerations), see §7.1.10.
13.2.1.3 Disjunctive polar interrogatives (tà→ ~ là→, nà)

In this construction, two clauses with polarized truth conditions are presented to the addressee as alternatives to choose from. The second is often a simple negation of the former (perhaps abbreviated). The first disjunct ends in interrogative tà→ with incompleteness intonation (mid-pitched), and the second disjunct begins with nà ‘or’, which can be prolonged to nà→ if the speaker pauses briefly.

(618) āŋ gā sò sībèn tà→,
2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc Q,
nà = ān nā sò
or 2Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv
‘Are you-Sg going to the market, or aren’t you going?’

Another example is (281) in §7.2.2. There is an attestation with là→ in place of tà→ in 2017-02 @ 01:29.

A clause ending in tà→ without a paired second disjunct can also form a polar interrogative. Again, tà→ has above-modal pitch for an L-toned clause-final particle, and the pitch may have a rising trajectory.

(619) āŋ go.Ipfv market.Loc Q
‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’

13.2.1.4 Tag question

The equivalent (roughly) of an English tag question is expressed by preposing wàà or postposing wàà to the relevant indicative clause. The speaker suspects that the proposition is true but requests confirmation. For example, (620a) or (620b) might be used when the speaker has observed the interlocutor walking in the generally direction of a weekly market while carrying products of the sort typically sold there.

(620) a. wàà āŋ gā sò sībèẘn
Q 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc
‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’
13.2.2 Content (WH) interrogatives

Content interrogatives normally remain in situ, i.e. they are not fronted to clause-initial position.

13.2.2.1 Interrogative topic làà after subject

The particle làà optionally follows the subject in a clause containing a content interrogative, whether or not this interrogative is itself the subject. It becomes dàà in 1Sg ñ-dàà, 2Sg àn-dàà, and logophoric singular ñ-dàà, which are written here as single words. Nouns ending in wⁿ do not change l to d. When the constituent ending in làà is focalized the particle appears as làà. The particle is glossed QTop (interrogative topic) in interlinear, or QTop.Foc if focalized. It has some pragmatic similarities to English ‘what about X?’ as a prelude to a question, but the Cliffs phrase X làà is grammatically and prosodically part of the interrogative clause.

(621) a. [sèèdù làà] gà bë sàgà màtàỳ
   [S QTop] lpfv Fut lie.down.Pfv where?
   ‘Where will Seydou spend the night?’

   b. [mwò làà =] òm bìyè-nì gà
   [which? QTop.Foc] 2Sg bring.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘What has brought you (here)?’  (2017-04 @ 02:36)
   [for bìyè-nì see §9.1.2]

There is a tendency for -làà to become fused with pronominals, weakening or losing the topicality value. Especially 1Sg ñ-dàà and 2Sg àn-dàà can replace the usual independent pronouns (§4.3.1), with the unproductive d/l alternation (§3.4.1.1) somewhat masking the identity of làà. Another làà can then be added in true QTop function, thus 1Sg ñ-dàà làà (2017-08 @ 00:02), likewise 2Sg àn-dàà làà. Fusion may also have occurred in wùlàà ‘who?’ just below.

When QTop làà is followed by a planned pause, there is some possibility of confusion with phrase-final particle là from local French là ‘there’ (§19.4.2.6).
13.2.2.2 ‘Who?’ (wùláā)

The human WH interrogative noun is wùláā. It occurs in the normal range of syntactic environments for NPs. It is dropped to wùláā before an H-tone (622c) by M#H-to-L#H.

(622) a. wùláā  gā   sò/bē
    who?    lpfv  go.lpfv/come.lpfv
    ‘Who will go/come?’

b. wùláā  bē   gâ
    who?    come.Pfv  RemPfv
    ‘Who came?’

c. wùláā  kúngóló  kwaa   gâ
    who?    dog  hit.Pfv  RemPfv
    ‘Who hit the dog?’

d. wùláā  nì
    who?    it.is
    ‘Who is it?’ (e.g. to someone knocking at the door)

Examples in nonsubject functions are in (623).

(623) a. äⁿ  wùláā  kwâa   gâ
    2Sg who?  hit.Pfv  RemPfv
    ‘Who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

b. ê  gâ   sägâ   [wùláā  kâwⁿ]
    1Pl lpfv  lie.down.lpfv  [who?  chez.Foc]
    ‘At whose place will we spend the night?’

c. kú  gâ   [wùláā  kán]  ni
    Dem be  [who?  chez.Foc]  it.is
    ‘This is whose house?’ (French chez qui?)

d. äⁿ  wùláā  kây   gâ   sibâwⁿ
    2Sg who?  see.Pfv  RemPfv  market.Loc
    ‘Who(m) did you-Sg see in the market?’
When it is understood that multiple individuals are concerned, the plural form wùlā-ýē is optionally used.

(624) a. wùlā-ýē bē gā
   who?-Pl come.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘Who-Pl came?’

   b. āⁿ wùlā-ýē kāŷ gā
      2Sg who?-Pl see.Pfv RemPfv
      ‘Who(m)-Pl did you-Sg see?’

Another possibility is ‘who and who?’. The conjunction yēn becomes yēn (<LM>-toned) before the initial L-tone of the second wùlā.

(625) a. [wùlā yēⁿ wùlā] bē gā
       [who? and who?] come.Pfv RemPfv
       ‘Who and who came?’

   b. [wùlā yēⁿ wùlā] kúngóló kwāā gā
      [who? and who?] dog hit.Pfv RemPfv
      ‘Who and who hit the dog?’

   c. āⁿ [wùlā yēⁿ wùlā] kāŷ gā
      2Sg [who? and who?] see.Pfv RemPfv
      ‘Who and who did you-Sg see?’

   d. āⁿ [wùlā yēⁿ wùlā] kwāā gā
      2Sg [who? and who?] hit.Pfv RemPfv
      ‘Who(m) and who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

13.2.2.3 ‘What?’ (māsí), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

The nonhuman interrogative noun is māsí ‘what?’.

(626) a. māsí (yē) ŋ tîj gā
       what? (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg do.Pfv RemPfv
       ‘What (has) happened?’ (lit. “What has done itself?”) (< tîw”)
b. ām màsí digā gà
   2Sg what? eat.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘What did you-Sg eat?’

c. kú gā màsí nì
   Dem be what? it.is
   ‘What is that?’

d. āŋ gā màsí ti-nà
   2Sg Ipfv what? do-Ipfv
   ‘What are you-Sg doing?’

màsí is diachronically segmentable as mà-sí including -sí ‘any’ (§6.6.2.2, §19.3.2.4). This leaves mà-, which may be a variant of mwò ‘which?’. mwò by itself (without a modified noun) sometimes means abstract ‘what?’ in contexts like ‘what has brought you here?’ (2017-04 @ 02:36), and it is usual in the ‘do what?’ construction (e.g. 2017-05 @ 02:32).

With instrumental postposition nì (§8.1.2.1) the form is màsí nì ‘with what?’ (627a), or focalized màsí nì. This is tonally distinct from focalized clause-initial màsí nì ‘(it is) why?’ (627b). The full form for ‘why?’ is màsí làgà (clause-initially màsí làgà nì as focus) (627c-d), or tone-assimilated variant màsí làgà.

(627) a. āŋ gā cì-li [màsí nì]
   2Sg Ipfv sow-Ipfv [what? Inst]
   ‘With what will you-Sg plant (the seeds)?’

b. [màsí nì] āādāmà bē gà
   [what? it.is] A come.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘Why did Adama come?’

c. ām bē gà [màsí làgà]
   2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [what? Purp]
   ‘Why did you-Sg come?’

d. [màsí làgà nì] ām bē gà
   [what? Purp it.is] 2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv
   [=(c)]
13.2.2.4 ‘Where?’ (màtāy, lāā-mī, lāā-màtāy)

màtāy is the main interrogative for locations. It can be adverbial in either static locative or directional (‘to/from where’) function (628a). It can be made predicative by adding the locational ‘be’ quasi-verb gà/gā (628c).

(628) a. āŋ gà sō màtāy
   2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?
   ‘Where are you-Sg going?’ (2017-05 @ 02:27)

   b. màtāy
      where?
      ‘Where (is it)?’

   c. āŋ gà màtāy
      2Sg be.Loc where?
      ‘Where are you-Sg?’

As an alternative to predicative gà màtāy ‘be where?’ with locational ‘be’, there are specialized predicative forms lāā-mī and lāā-màtāy, both meaning ‘be where?’. They function as predicates with present-time reference (629a). They do not allow aspectual marking (i.e. Ipfv gà). The lāā element has the same form as a topicalizer used in interrogative contexts (§19.1.1.2), but lāā-mī and lāā-màtāy cannot be parsed in this fashion. In past-time contexts, only gà/gā ‘be’ plus màtāy is possible (629b).

(629) a. āŋ lāā-mī / lāā-màtāy
   2Sg be.where?
   ‘Where are you-Sg?’

   b. āŋ kǒndō gà màtāy
      2Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv where?
      ‘Where were you-Sg?’

13.2.2.5 ‘When?’ (‘which time’, etc.)

Interrogatives for time are often specified for a specific temporal unit, e.g. ‘which day?’ or ‘which year?’ For shorter time frames (e.g. likely during the same day), the noun wògátū ‘(moment in) time’ is used as default (630a).
(630) a. āŋ gā bē [mwō ṭāgātū]
   2Sg Lpfv come.Lpfv [which? time]
   ‘When will you-Sg come (back)?’

   b. āŋ gā bē [mwō tālāw”]
   2Sg Lpfv come.Lpfv [which? day]
   ‘When (on what day) will you-Sg come (back)?’

For ‘which?’ see §13.2.2 below.

13.2.2.6 ‘How?’ (-mèn- and variants)

The manner interrogative is built from a combination of -mèn- and the verb ‘do’ (tiw’/ti-nà). If there is no other main verb, the extended form à-mèn- functions as direct object, and the ‘do’ verb can occur in any inflected form (631a-b). The à- may have originated as a 3Sg possessor, but it seems to be frozen synchronically.

(631) a. ē gā = à-mèn ti-nà
   1Pl Lpfv how? do.Lpfv
   ‘What will we do?’

   b. ā(“) à-mèn tiŋ gā
   1Pl how? do.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘What did you-Sg do?’ (< tiw’)

   c. sèdū yā = à-mèn tiŋ gā
   1Pl Sbj/Obj how? do.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘What did Seydou do?’ (< tiw’)

In the presence of another main verb, the ‘how?’ stem without à- usually fuses with the Pfv form of ‘do’ and follows the main verb (632). The combination mèn tiw” may occur in perfective and imperfective clauses. The construction is similar to other multiverb constructions where one verb of variable inflection is followed by a verb obligatorily in the Pfv stem (§15.2.1).

(632) a. āŋ gā kāy” [mèn tiw”]
   how? Lpfv work.Lpfv [how? do.Pfv]
   ‘How do you-Sg work?’
b. ām bē gā [mēn tiwⁿ]
   2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [how? do.Pfv]
   ‘How did you-Sg come?’

With topic-subject, which might happen to be 3Sg ā, the form mēn-tiwayne (in this case written as one hyphenated word) may also function as complement of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.1) as in (633a-c). A past-time counterpart with köndō (§10.3.2) is (633d).

(633) a. à mēn-tīn nī
   3Sg how? it.is
   ‘How is it?’

b. è mēn-tīn nī
   3Pl how? it.is
   ‘How are they?’

c. dīgē-pwē mēn-tīn nī
   food how? it.is
   ‘How is the food?’

d. à köndō gā mēn-tiwayne
   3Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv how?
   ‘How was it?’

13.2.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (jēwⁿ)

The interrogative for quantities is jēwⁿ, raising to jēwⁿ before L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The wⁿ may surface as a homorganic nasal before a stop or nasal. There is no special tonal form in subject function.

The quantity may be a measure or a number. jēwⁿ may follow a noun or occur by itself. The iterative form is distributive jēn-jēwⁿ ‘how much/many each?’ (634e).

(634) a. jēn nī
   how.much? it.is
   ‘How much is it?’

b. jēyⁿ-yē nī
   how.much?-Pl it.is
   ‘How many are they?’ (e.g. counting sheep)
c. [āā ɲimi jèŋ] gà bē
   [2Pl  person how.much?] Ipfv come.Ipfv
   ‘How many of you-Pl are coming?’

d. ān [sògò-lēn jèŋ] sàŋ gà
   2Sg [sheep how.much?] buy.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’ (< sògò-lēwā, sàwā)

e. sāŋgòlō gà jèŋ-jèŋ ní
   broom be how.much?-how.much? it.is
   ‘How much (each) are the brooms?’ (distributive, §4.6.1.7)

Ordinal adjective ‘how-manieth?’ (Fr quantième) is jèyā-ànà. This is the ordinal derivative with suffix -ànà (§4.6.2.2).

13.2.2.8 ‘Which?’ (mwò … sīi)

The interrogative identificational adjective is mwò preceding the noun, as in mwò sūgō ‘which goat?’ It becomes mwō by Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone. The noun is often but not always followed by sīi ‘kind’ (locative sī-ŷ).

(635) a. āŋ gā bā-lā [mwò nàgū sī-ŷ]
   2Sg Ipfv exit-Ipfv [which? village kind-Loc]
   ‘What (=which) village are you-Sg from?’

   b. ām [mwò nàà sīi] tōlō gā
   2Sg [which? cow kind] sell.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘Which cow did you-Sg sell?’

   c. āŋ gā = à pāgò
   2Sg Ipfv 3Sg want.Ipfv
   āŋ gālā [mwò nàà sīi] sàwā
   2SbSbj Sbjn [which? cow kind] buy.Pfv
   ‘Which of my cows do you-Sg want to buy?’

   d. [mwò yūgò sīi] yà = āŋ kēē gā
   [which? woman kind] Sbj/Obj 2Sg call.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘Which woman called you-Sg?’ (< kēȳ)
e. ām [mwɔ̀ yùgòⁿ sìĩ] kēē gà
   2Sg [which? woman kind] call.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘Which woman did you-Sg call?’

mwɔ̀ is also attested without a noun in combination with tìwⁿ/tì-nà ‘do’. In this combination, mwɔ̀ ‘what?’ competes with à-mèn ‘how?’ (§13.2.2.6).

(636) āŋ gā sō mwɔ̀ tiyⁿ yāwⁿ
   2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv which? (=what?) do.Pfv there.Def
   ‘What will you-Sg do there?’ (2017-05 @ 02:32)
14 Relativization

Relative clauses are most often restrictive (not parenthetical), except when the head is a first or second person pronominal.

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

14.1.1 Relative marker màw

Relative clauses are usually internally headed. The relative morpheme màw (singular) or mà-lè (plural) is positioned at the end of the head NP, which remains in situ (i.e. in its regular position within the clause). In perfective positive relatives, RemPfv gà immediately follows the verb. Headless relatives with just màw or mà-lè are common.

Examples of simple subject relatives are in 637a-b. In both examples, tone sandhi process Final Tone-Raising occurs repeatedly. Since this process normally operates at word boundaries, we transcribe màw and gà as separate words.

(637) a. [yùgōm màn] digèmû gà
   [woman Rel] speak.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘the woman who spoke’ (< yùgò, digèmù)

   b. [yùgò-mbè mà-lè] digèmû gà
   [woman-Pl Rel-Pl] speak.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘the women who spoke’ (< yùgò-mbè, digèmù)

The clause may contain postverbal constituents such as ‘yesterday’ in (638). If so, they follow RemPfv gà.

(638) [yùgōm màn] digèmû gà digèw
   [woman Rel] speak.Pfv RemPfv yesterday
   ‘the woman who spoke yesterday’

The in situ position of the relativized constituent is illustrated by the headless object relative in (639).
(639) kàlā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sòrdāāsì nì].
except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier Inst]
‘except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

Less often, the relativized constituent is fronted as a kind of topic, and is resumed by a third person pronominal.

(640) [[dúgúⁿ màⁿ] āŋ gā = ā tò gū] nì
[[forest Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv Def] it.is
‘It (=the place just mentioned) is the forest that you-Sg know.’ (2017-01 @ 02:47)

14.1.2 Nonspecific and double-headed relatives

The head noun with màwⁿ can have indefinite/generalized reference, as in ‘anyone (who …)’ or ‘whoever …’ (641a). For this reason it is possible to have two “heads” in the same clause (641b). Such nonspecific heads often combine with sāāⁿ ~ hāāⁿ ‘all’ (§6.6.1). màⁿ in (641a) is a variant of màwⁿ.

(641) a. [pɔ mɔⁿ sāāⁿ] nì,
[thing Rel all] Inst,
[ɛ jè gû] nāⁿ hāŋgā gû,
[1Pl G Def] if.Pfv worry(v).Pfv Def,
‘whatever our Lowol-Guéou (commune) is concerned about’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)

b. [mà hāāŋ] gē = ēnī kāyⁿ màŋ kāyⁿ
[Rel all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(n) Rel work(v).Pfv
‘(whatever) work (e.g. prayers) that anyone can do’ (2017-02 @ 03:04)

A nonspecific indefinite human referent that is introduced in this way can take 2Sg agreement, with generic ‘you’.

(642) [[mà sāāⁿ] nā = à māyⁿ] [à nà mì māyⁿ [ām pà]]
[[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg ruin.Pfv] [3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [2Sg Comit]]
‘If anyone (=you) harms it (relations between them), it won’t be good for you-Sg.’
(2017-01 @ 04:27)
14.1.3 nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if (perfective positive)’ in relatives

The post-subject morpheme nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ is common in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§16.1.1). It can also occur in relative clauses.

(643) án nàm [pɔ̄ nà́n] dēē
2Sg if.Pfv [thing Rel] take-Pfv
‘What(ever) (thing) you-Sg have taken, …’

Examples like (643) are at the crossroads between relative clause (‘the thing that you-Sg have taken’) and conditional antecedents (‘if you have taken a certain thing’). This is consistent with the frequent correlative function of relative clauses, whereby a discourse referent is introduced (or re-introduced) as a kind of topic by a relative clause whose head or heads are then resumed by pronouns or definite expressions in the following clause.

14.1.4 Definite gu at the right edge

The definite morpheme gu can occur at the end of the relative clause. It probably has its regular definiteness sense here, rather than merely being a semantically empty right-edge marker. It occurs in contexts like ‘the same X that you see/known’.

(644) a. [kàà-ŋ-kâbûwô mâⁿ] āŋ kâ-nà gu
[Papa-Link-K Rel] 2Sg see-Ipfv Def
‘the Papa Kabuwo whom you-Sg see’ (2017-01 @ 03:41)

b. [āŋ gā [kêlê mà hâàⁿ] tò gu] ni
[2Sg Ipfv [war Rel all] know.Ipfv Def] it.is
‘It was the very war that you know (of).’ (2017- @ 06:24)

14.2 Internal head NP

14.2.1 Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

Under limited conditions an independent pronoun can function as relative head.
14.2.2 Conjoined NP as head

A conjoined NP may function as head, with a single occurrence of the relative morpheme at the end of the NP. My assistant tended to use singular relative məwⁿ after a singular right conjunct (646b), but accepted the plural mə-lè.

(646) a. [yùgò-mbè yèŋ kěēgē-e mə-lè] bè gə
[woman-Pl and man-Pl Rel-Pl] come.Pfv RemPfv
‘the women and (the) men who have come’

b. [yùgòⁿ yèŋ kěēgù məm] bè gə
mə-lè
[woman and man Rel-(Pl)] come.Pfv RemPfv
‘the woman and the man who have come’

14.2.3 Headless relative clause

Either singular məwⁿ or plural mə-lè may head a relative clause, without an overt head NP (647a-b). See also (639) above.

(647) a. məŋ kəndō gə
Rel stay.Pfv RemPfv
‘(the) one who stayed’

b. [mə-lè gə kəyⁿ] yě [mə-lè nə kəyⁿ]
[Rel-Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv] and [Rel-Pl IpfvNeg work.Ipfv]
‘those who work, and those who don’t work’
14.2.4  gūūⁿ-mā-gūūⁿ ~ gūūⁿ-mā-gēwⁿ as relative head for ‘place’

The noun ‘place’ is gūūⁿ. As head of a relative, it takes an unusual iterative form gūūⁿ-mā-gūūⁿ varying with gūūⁿ-mā-gēwⁿ. For the vocalic variation, see §3.3.1. The apparent linking element -mā- is likely an irregularly truncated form of relative māwⁿ, which is otherwise absent. One would have expected #gūūm māwⁿ without the iteration.

(648)  [ŋ̀ gā gūūⁿ-mā-gūūⁿ tò]  n  dāāⁿ
       [1Sg  lpfv  place-Rel-place  know.lpfv]  PsRefl  distant

‘The place that I know is far away.’

Other examples are (605) in §13.1.6.3 and (755) in §17.2.1.1.

While gūūⁿ-mā-gēwⁿ or gūūⁿ-mā-gūūⁿ is an idiosyncratic iterative compound synchronically, one might internally reconstruct it as *[gūūⁿ māwⁿ LOC] with some locative postposition that was later (mis-)interpreted as an iteration of *gūūⁿ. This would make sense morphosyntactically, since spatial relatives are most often adverbial adjuncts (locative, allative, or ablative) in a higher clause, as in (648), rather than subject and object arguments as in ‘[The place where the child fell yesterday] is far away’. Synchronically, however, gūūⁿ-mā-gēwⁿ or gūūⁿ-mā-gūūⁿ can function as a nominal argument as well as adjunct. The current locative postpositions in Cliffs, the most productive of which is niŋi (§8.2.4.1), do not resemble gūūⁿ phonologically.

14.3  Position of māwⁿ vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs

Relative māwⁿ follows adjectives, numerals, and the demonstrative gu. It precedes sāāⁿ ‘all’ and discourse-functional particles.

14.3.1  Adjectives

Modifying adjectives follow the noun in the same way (including tonal interactions) as in main clauses. The relative morpheme follows modifying adjectives.

(649)  a.  [nògù nám-bè mā-lè]  gà  bówⁿ
       [village  small-Pl  Rel-Pl]  be.Loc  here

‘the small villages that are here.’
14.3.2 Numerals

Numerals are likewise added to the head noun, preceding the relative marker. After a nonsingular numeral, the plural marking in relative mà-lè is redundant. The combination with mà-lè is grammatical, but the singular form màwⁿ is often used instead.

(650) a. ŋ Œ [yàmbàà sìgèm mànⁿ] sànj gà
   ŋ = nàn màn-lè
   1Sg (Sbj/Obj) [house three Rel(-Pl)] buy.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘the three houses that I bought’ (< sìgèwⁿ)

b. [màa nàr”àm màn⁵] sëŋ gà
   mà-lè
   [cow four Rel(-Pl)] fall.Pfv RemPfv
   ‘the four cows who fell’ (< sëwⁿ)

14.3.3 Determiners

The head noun may be directly modified by a prenominal demonstrative (deictic or discourse-definite) and/or by postnominal definite gu. If present, gu precedes the relative marker. Addition of the relative morpheme does not affect tonal interactions between the noun and the prenominal demonstrative (§6.5.1). (651a) exemplifies N-Def-Rel order, while (651b) illustrates Dem-N-Rel order.

(651) a. āⁿ [yàmbàà gû màn] kàý gà
   2Sg [house Def Rel] see-Lpfv RemPfv
   ‘that house that you saw’ (discourse-definite)

b. āŋ gà [kəⁿ yàmbàà màn] kà-nà
   2Sg Lpfv [Dem house Rel] see-Lpfv
   ‘this/that house that you see’ (pointing)
14.3.4 Universal quantifier (‘all’)  

The universal quantifier directly follows the relative morpheme when it has scope over the head. Plural marking in relative mà-lè is redundant and optional. Its singular counterpart màwⁿ may occur in its place even for countable nouns. màⁿ sāāⁿ (652b) optionally contracts to mà-sāāⁿ with unasalized vowel in the first element (652c).

(652) a. [jēnā-mbī-gē mà-lè sāāⁿ] sēŋ gā digitáwⁿ  
    [child-Pl-PI Rel-PI all] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday  
    ‘all the children who fell yesterday’

   b. āŋ gā [yàmbāā màⁿ sāāŋ] kā-nà  
      2Sg lpfv [house Rel all] see-lpfv  
      ‘all the houses that you-Sg see’

   c. [jiım mà-sāāⁿ] jì kwāàn nāⁿ sāwⁿ  
      [year Rel-all] if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv  
      ‘any year when it has rained well’ (2017-03 @ 0140)

14.3.5 Discourse-functional morphemes

Topic morpheme kōwⁿ follows the entire relative construction and is not part of the internal head NP.

(653) [[jēnā-mbī-gē mà-lè] sēŋ gā digitáŋ kōm] bē  
    ‘As for the children who fell, they have come.’ (< sēwⁿ, digitáwⁿ, kōwⁿ)

14.4 Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

From main clause (654a) is formed the subject relative in (654b). The relative morpheme màwⁿ occurs at the end of the head. RemPfv gā follows the the verb in perfective positive relatives.

(654) a. jēnāⁿ / yàmbāā sēn digitáwⁿ  
    child/house fall.Pfv yesterday  
    ‘The child/house fell yesterday.’
b. [[jénâⁿ / yàmbää màⁿ] sēŋ gā digéⁿ] làā-mì
   [[child / house Rel] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?
   ‘Where is the child who/the house that fell yesterday?’

The main clause (655a) with plural subject corresponds to the relative clause in (655b).

(655) a. jēnâm-bì-gē / yàmbää-yè sēn digéⁿ
    child-Pl-Pl / house-Pl fall.Pfv yesterday
    ‘The children/houses fell yesterday.’

b. [[jēnâm-bì-gē / yàmbää-yè mà-lè] sēŋ gā digéⁿ] làā-mì
   [[child-Pl-Pl / house-Pl Rel-Pl] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?
   ‘Where are the children who/the houses that fell yesterday?’

Example (656a) is perfective negative. (656b) is imperfective positive, and (656c) is imperfective negative.

(656) a. [jénâm màn] tē sēwⁿ
    [child Rel] PfvNeg fall.Pfv
    ‘the child who didn’t fall’

b. [jénâm màn] gā sēn-dē
    [child Rel] Ipfv fall-lpfv
    ‘the child who falls’

c. [jénâm màn] nà sēn-dē
    [child Rel] IPfvNeg fall-lpfv
    ‘the child who doesn’t fall’

14.4.2 Object relative clause

The object NP functioning as head remains in its regular position, following the subject and post-subject inflectional markers but preceding the verb and any postverbal constituents. In the perfective positive, the verb is again followed immediately by remote perfective gā.

(657) a. [ní nàñ [nàa màaⁿ] sàŋ gā digéⁿ] làā-mì
    [1Sg Sbj/Obj cow Rel] buy.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?
    ‘Where is the cow that I bought?’ (< sàwⁿ, digéⁿ)
Further examples of object relatives are perfective negative (658a), imperfective positive (658b), and imperfective negative (658c).

(658) a. ŋ dè [jénám màŋ] kày
1Sg PfvNeg [child Rel] see.Pfv
‘the child who(m) I didn’t see’ (dè variant of tè)

b. ŋ̀ gà [jénám màŋ] kà-nà
1Sg Ipfv [child Rel] see-Ipfv
‘the child who(m) I see’

c. ŋ nà [jénám màŋ] kà-nà
1Sg IpfvNeg [child Rel] see-Ipfv
‘the child who(m) I don’t see’

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

Possessors precede possessums with no genitive marker (659a). It is easy to form possessor relatives by adding the relative morpheme to the possessor (659b).

(659) a. kēēgū yàmbàá
tograce house
‘a/the man’s house’

b. [[kēēgū mā”] yàmbàá] sēŋ gà
[[man Rel] house] fall.Pfv RemPfv
‘the man whose house fell’

14.4.4 Relativization on the complement of a postposition

A relative can easily be formed from the complement of a postposition. This is illustrated for the dative in (660a), for one of the spatial postpositions in (660b), and for the instrumental in (660c).
In relatives with guūëⁿ ‘place’ as head, the special iterative form guūëⁿ-mà-guūëⁿ (§14.2.4) does not allow the expected locative postposition niŋī.

Manner relatives of the type ‘the way X VPs’ do not take the form of relative clauses. Instead, sīf ‘likeness’ or a synonym is added to a nominalized form of the subordinated clause (§15.8.3.1).

14.4.5 Presentatives

Presentative kāy or tonal variant is ordinarily treated as the final word in the highlighted NP. When relativized on, the relative marker precedes kāy, as though the latter were still a verb (cf. kāy ‘see.Pfv’).

(661) [jūgu məŋ] kāy gū
[tree Rel] Prsntv Def
‘the tree that you can see’ (lit., ‘the tree that here it is’) (2017-04 @ 02:38)
(French: l’arbre que voici)

14.5 Biclausal relative

A relative clause may be extended by a second clause with the same implied head. In (662), ‘(any) year’ is the head for an initial relative clause, which is followed by a second clause that contains no overt relative markers. The sequential morpheme shows that the second clause is connected to the first.
any year when it has rained well and our gourd plants have turned out well’

(2017-03 @ 01:40)
15 Verb or VP chaining and adverbiacl clauses

This chapter covers constructions that involve two or more verbs or two or more VPs. This chapter is complemented by chapter 16 on conditionals and by chapter 17 on clausal and VP complements of specific main-clause verbs. The primary coverage of purposive clauses is in chapter 17, but the motion-verb constructions in this chapter can have purposive implications.

Two complete perfective clauses denoting closely coordinated sequenced events may be juxtaposed without an overt connector or subordinator. An example is the combination of ‘lie down’ and ‘sleep’ clauses in (333c) in §8.2.5.2 above. Another is (687a) below.

Cliffs does not have a broadly applicable verb-verb compounding pattern. However, motion verbs including bē/bē ‘come’ and só/sò ‘go’ can form compound-like sequences with other verbs, often without their usual directional senses. In addition, hīn ‘be able, can’ combines directly with following VPs.

Many of the constructions covered in this chapter express temporal relationships between two events or co-events. For example, (663a) and (663b) both combine ‘fall’ and ‘descend’. However, in (663a) there is at least a brief chronological separation of the two events, while in (663b) they are conceptualized as overlapping or simultaneous.

(663) a. sèëdü sëwⁿ [à bē yāⁿ-sò]
   S fall.Pfv [3Sg Seq descend.Pfv-go]
   ‘Seydou fell (and then) dropped all the way)down.’ (<ywⁿ)

   b. sèëdü sëwⁿ-[yà-là]
   S fall.Pfv-[descend-lpfv]
   ‘Seydou fell all the way down.’

15.1 ‘Be able to VP’ (hīnī ~ ēnī)

The verb ‘be able (to VP)’ is hīnī. It occurs in this unreduced form in perfective clauses (positive hīnī, negative tè hīnī) meaning ‘could (not)’. The complement is also perfective.

(664) a. à (tè) hīnī kūnū
   3Sg (PfvNeg) be.able.Pfv run.Pfv
   ‘He/She was (not) able to run.’
b. à (tè) hìnì tàwⁿ
3Sg (PfvNeg) be.able.Pfv ascend.Pfv
‘He/She was (not) able to go up.’

c. [kú-yē kòm] bè hìnì [dwɔ̀ kʷo̊nì]
[Dem-Pl Topic] Seq be.able.Pfv [enter.Pfv settlement]
‘As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’

The more frequently occurring Ipfv stem of ‘be able’ undergoes contraction with the inflectional particle gà/gā (positive) and nà/nā (negative). For example, if gà and nà are L-toned, assimilating the final tone of the subject, the combinations are gè=ēnì and nè=ēnì, respectively. The complement VP is also imperfective.

\[(665)\] a. à gè = / nè = ēnì kūtū
3Sg Ipfv / IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv
‘He/She can (not) run.’

b. à gè = / nè = ēnì tà-nā
3Sg Ipfv / IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv ascend-Ipfv
‘He/She can (not) go up.’

The position of complements and adjuncts is illustrated in (666). The transitive verb ‘catch’ in (666a) has a preverbal direct object. The intransitive verb in (666b) has a postverbal adverb.

\[(666)\] a. à hìnì [sàbá kūn”]
3Sg be.able.Pfv [chicken catch.Pfv]
‘He/She could not catch the chicken.’

b. n nè = ēnì [bē wày]
1Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [come.Ipfv today]
‘I cannot come today.’

In the previous examples (664-666), the complement VP (‘run’, ‘ascend’) agrees in aspect with hìnì. However, under limited conditions a perfective complement may follow Ipfv ‘be able’. (667a) and (667b) both have Ipfv ‘be able’ but differ in complement aspect.

\[(667)\] a. ñ gè = ēnā = [ā” yirâw”]
1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [2Sg help.Pfv]
‘I can help you-Sg.’
b. ŋ̀ gè = ēnā = [āⁿ yirān-nā]  
1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [2Sg help-Ipfv]  
[= (a)]

My assistant explained that (667a) could be an offer for one-shot help, as when the speaker sees that the addressee needs a push to re-start a vehicle or carry a heavy load, and that (667b) would be a more open-ended offer to be helpful. However, in other cases he rejected main/complement aspect mismatches like that in (667a). For example, he rejected a suggested alternative to (665b) above replacing Ipfv tā-nā with Pfv tāwⁿ after Ipfv ‘be able’.

In some contexts the verb kilē/kilē ‘get, obtain’ can approximate the sense ‘be able (to VP)’ (668), cf. English get to VP.

(668) ñ tē kilē digē sōñòñi  
1Sg PfvNeg get.Pfv eat.Antip.Pfv firstly  
‘I haven’t gotten to eat yet.’ = ‘I haven’t been able to eat yet.’

15.2 Chains including a motion verb

15.2.1 Motion verb plus perfective VP

A motion verb is commonly chained with a following VP or clause that denotes an action that is performed, or planned but not necessarily carried out, after the motion (669). There is sometimes but not always an implication that the motion was intended to make the second action possible, so that the second clause functions as purposive (‘in order to VP’). The second action is expressed by a verb or VP without an overt subordinator. Spatiotemporal adverbs following the second VP, like ‘here’ in these examples, may have broad scope including the motion event. In (669) both clauses have Pfv verbs, denoting a single completed motion event.

(669) a. à bē (gà) mànàmì böwⁿ  
3Sg come.Pfv (RemPfv) dance.Pfv here  
‘He/She came here to dance.’  
or: ‘He/She came here and danced.’

b. à bē [kāyⁿ màa böwⁿ]  
3Sg come.Pfv [work(n) look.for.Pfv here]  
‘He/She came to look for work here.’
c. à bē (gà) [āŋ kwāā] bōwʰ
   3Sg come.Pfv (RemPfv) [2Sg hit.Pfv] here
   ‘He/She came here in order to hit you-Sg.’

The second clause can be made explicitly purposive either by reducing it to a purposive PP with purposive-causal postposition lágà, or by phrasing it as a subjunctive (positive) or prohibitive (negative) clause. See §17.5.3 for details and examples.

(670) shows what happens when the perfective ‘come’ clause in (669) is replaced by an imperfective ‘come’ clause. We now see that the second clause is still perfective in form. This construction can denote purposeful motion events, motion events that are merely followed chronologically by another event, or simple future events not involving motion.

(670) a. à gā bē [ī] kwāā
   3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [1Sg hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She (often) comes and hits me.’
   or: ‘He/She (often) comes to hit me.’
   or: ‘He/She will hit me.’

b. à gā bē sēwʰ
   3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv fall.Pfv
   ‘He/She comes and falls down.’
   or: ‘He/She will fall down.’

15.2.2 Pejorative use of chained ‘go (and …)’

English go and VP sometimes has pejorative force and may not even involve motion, as in the dog went and died on me. Cliffs só/sò ‘go’ can likewise be chained to a following VP in this function.

(671) à mān só [m̄ biindi]
   3Sg Proh go.Pfv [3ReflSg strangle.Pfv]
   ‘Don’t let it (=sheep tied up in courtyard) go and choke itself (on its rope).’

My assistant consistently added ‘go and’ in this function to ‘lest’ complements of the verb ‘fear, be afraid’, which of course denote unwanted events. The French elicitation cues did not include a motion verb. For examples see §17.2.3.
15.2.3 ‘Come/go’ preceding a more specific directional motion verb

A primary motion verb ‘come’ or ‘go’ may combine with a more specific directional motion verb (‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’) in either of two ways. The most obvious difference is that ‘come/go’ precedes the other verb in one construction and follows it in the other. This subsection treats the first of these.

In (672a-b), the centripetal (‘come’) or noncentrifigual (‘go’) trajectory begins horizontally and culminates with a vertical subevent denoted by the second verb. For example, the referent goes to a house and then goes up the stairs to the roof terrace. Conceptually, ‘go’ or ‘come’ precedes the second subevent. This is a regular ‘come/go and VP’ construction that has the same structure as e.g. ‘come/go and fall’ (670b). The second verb is Pfv regardless of the aspect of ‘come/go’. The two motion verbs are joined by a hyphen here, since they are always adjacent, but there is no phonological or morphological consequence of their compounding.

(672) a. à bē/sō -tāwng
   3Sg come.Pfv/go.Pfv -ascend.Pfv
   ‘He/She came/went and climbed up.’

b. à gà bē -tāwng
   gà sō
   3Sg lpfv come.lpfv/go.lpfv -ascend.Pfv
   ‘He/She (often) goes and climbs up.’

15.2.4 bēwn ‘return’ plus another verb

bēwn/bē-nē ‘return’ combines frequently with a following ‘come’ or ‘go’ in the sense ‘come back’ or ‘go back, return (there)’. The combinations are those in (673).

(673) Pfv Pfv with RemPfv lpfv gloss

bēwn bējn gà bē-nē (~ bēn-dē) ‘return’
bēm-bē bējn gà bē bē-nē-bē (~ bēn-dē-bē) ‘come back’
bēn-sō bējn gà sō bē-nē-sō (~ bēn-dē-sō) ‘go back’

Unlike ‘come’ and ‘go’, bēwn/bē-nē is a reflexive verb, whether uncompounded or compounded (674).

(674) a. à m bēwn / bēm-bē / bēn-sō
   3Sg 3Ref1Sg return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv
   ‘He/She returned/came back/went back.’
b. ē ye = ē bēwⁿ / bēm-bē / bēⁿ-sō
   1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv
   ‘We returned/came back/went back.’

c. è gè = ē bē-ne / bē-ne-bē / bē-ne-sō
   ‘They (regularly) return/come back/go back.’

The ‘return’ and ‘come back’ verbs can also be combined with activity VPs in the sense ‘repeat, redo’. Such add-ons can take the form of infinitival VPs or sequential clauses, both of which include the morpheme bē. Care must be taken to distinguish Infin/Seq bē (which can raise to bē by tone sandhi) from bē ‘come’.

In (675a), bē-ne is followed by an infinitival VP that begins with bē. No centripetal motion is involved, so the alternative parsing with bē-ne-bē ‘comes back’ is excluded. In (675b), by contrast, motion may occur between the two falling events, so bēm-bē is plausibly parsed as ‘come back’ and there is no infinitival bē. In each of (675c-d) a form of ‘come back’ co-occurs with a sequential clause containing Seq bē.

(675) a. è gè = ē bē-ne  [bā = ā kēbē]
   3Pl Lpfv 3ReflPl return-Lpfv [Infin 3Sg build.Pfv]
   ‘They are re-building it.’

b. à sēwⁿ, à kūi,
   3Sg fall.Pfv, 3Sg get.up.Pfv,
   à mā bēm-bē  [ā sēn] tūⁿ
   3Sg 3ReflSg come.back.Pfv [3Sg fall.Pfv] again
   ‘He fell, he got back up, and he (came back and) fell again.’ (< sēwⁿ)

c. à gā sēn-dē, à gā kūi,
   3Sg Lpfv fall.Lpfv, 3Sg Lpfv get.up.Lpfv,
   à gā mā bēn-dē-bē  [ā bè sēn] tūⁿ
   3Sg Lpfv 3ReflSg come.back.Lpfv [3Sg Seq fall.Pfv] again
   ‘(Often) he falls, he gets back up, and he (comes back and) falls again.’

d. à gā sēn-dē, à gā kūi,
   3Sg Lpfv fall.Lpfv, 3Sg Lpfv get.up.Lpfv,
   à bè mā bēm-bē  [ā bè sēn] tūⁿ
   3Sg Seq 3ReflSg come.back.Pfv [3Sg Seq fall.Pfv] again
   [= (c)]
15.2.5 Directional motion verb following another verb or VP

The basic deictic motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’, as well as vertical direction verbs ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ and contained-space motion verbs ‘enter’ and ‘exit (v)’, can function as finals (Vb2) in Vb1-Vb2 or VP-Vb2 combinations. These are transcribed as compounds when the two verbs are adjacent. If Vb1 is followed by a post-verbal RemPfv particle gà or by another postverbal constituent, Vb2 is transcribed as a separate word.

An important question is whether Vb2 agrees with Vb1 in aspect (Pfv/Ipfv), or whether Vb2 has fixed form. As it happens, the verbs that can occur as Vb2 divide into three categories: those that have fixed Ipfv stems (676a), those that take Ipfv or Pfv form by agreement with Vb1 (676b), and those that have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems so their aspectual form as Vb2 in compounds is indeterminant (676c).

(676) Pfv/Ipfv gloss form as Vb2 in compound

a. Vb2 is Ipfv stem
   yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ -[yà-là]
   tâwⁿ/tâ-nà ‘ascend’ -[tâ-nà]
   bāā/bā-là ‘exit (v)’ -[bā-là]

b. Vb2 agrees with Vb1 in aspect
   dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’ -dwɔ̄ (Pfv) or -[dɔ̄-lɔ̄] (Ipfv)

c. Pfv and Ipfv stems are indistinguishable
   bē/bē ‘come’ -bē
   sò/sò ‘go’ -sò

In all such Vb1-Vb2 compounds, Vb1 takes its regular Pfv or Ipfv form depending on the inflectional category of the clause as a whole.

When it follows sequential bè, the second verb may take the Pfv stem even if the Ipfv stem is usual in other contexts. The evidence for this is è bè sō-yàwⁿ ‘then they went and retired (for the night)’ with Pfv yàwⁿ ‘descend’ (2017-05 @ 00:58).

Vb1 may be another motion verb, for example one of the verbs in (676a-b) followed by ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2. Alternatively, Vb1 may be a manner-of-motion verb like ‘crawl’, or a non-motion verb like ‘sing’.

(677) presents combinations of tēwⁿ/tē-lē-wⁿ ‘jump’ (also ‘jump over, cross’) as Vb1 with the verbs listed in (676) above as Vb2, with meanings like ‘jump up/down’, ‘jump in/out’, and ‘jump this/that way’. In (677a), Vb2 has invariant form (Ipfv stem) while Vb1 shifts between Pfv
and Ipfv depending on the clause-level inflectional category. In (677b), ‘enter’ shows aspect concord with Vb1. In (677c), the aspectual category of ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2 is indeterminate.

(677) directional gloss ‘jumped …’ ‘jumps … (regularly)’

a. yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ tēⁿ-[yà-là] [tē-lēⁿ]-[yà-là]
   b. tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ tēn-[tā-nā] [tē-lēn]-[tā-nā]
   bā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ tēm-[bā-lā] [tē-lēm]-[bā-lā]

b. dwā/dā-lā ‘enter’ tēn-[dwā] [tē-lēd]-[dā-lā]

c. bē/bē ‘come’ tēm-bē [tē-lēm]-bē
   sō/sō ‘go’ tēⁿ-sō [tē-lēⁿ]-sō

In (678) tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ is Vb1 with ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2. Here Vb2 adds deictic direction, e.g. ‘come’ meaning ‘hither, this way’. At clause level, (678a) is perfective while (678b) is imperfective.

(678) a. à tām bē/sō Ø
   3Sg ascend-Pfv come (RemPfv)
   ‘He/She came up/went up.’

   b. à gā tā-nā -bē/-sō
   3Sg Ipfv ascend-Ipfv come/go
   ‘He/She (often) comes/ goes up.’

Manner-of-motion verbs kūũ/kūũ ‘run’, kūũũ/kūũũ ‘crawl’, and piiri/piiri ‘fly’ are featured as Vb1 in (679), with ‘ascend’ as Vb2, in perfective clauses. In (679b), a third verb ‘hit’ is added. This third verb takes fixed Pfv form, but it is not Vb3 in a triple compound. Rather, it is the final verb in the motion plus perfective VP construction (§15.2.1).

(679) a. à kūũũ / kūũũ / piiri -[tā-nā] (gā)
   3Sg run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv -[ascend-Ipfv] (RemPfv)
   ‘He/She/It ran/crawled/flew up.’

   b. à kūũũ / kūũũ / piiri -[tā-nā] [ē kwāā]
   3Sg run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv [-ascend-Ipfv] [1Pl hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She/It ran/crawled/flew up to hit us.’
The first verb or VP in this construction with motion verb as Vb2 may also denote a non-motion co-event that accompanied the motion or that occurred during the motion, like ‘sing’ in (680a-b) and the transitive verbs in (680c-e). The first verb may be Pfv or Ipfv depending on utterance-level meaning. The fact that RemPfv gà follows the Vb1-Vb2 combination in (680c) is evidence for verb compounding, and shows that the aspect of Vb1 determines the aspect of the compound even when Vb2 is morphologically in its Ipfv stem (-tä-nä ‘ascends’). See, however, (683) below for a different ordering.

(680) a. à sùwōò -bē /-[tä-nä]
   3Sg sing.Pfv -come /-[ascend-Ipfv]
   ‘He/She came singing/went up singing.’

b. à gā sùwō-lò -bē /-[tä-nä]
   3Sg Ipfv sing.Ipfv -come /-[ascend-Ipfv]
   ‘He/She came/went up singing.’

c. à sèmpūwò kwāa -bē /-[tä-nä] gà
   3Sg donkey hit-Ipfv hit.Pfv -come / ascend-Ipfv RemPfv
   ‘He/She came/went up beating the donkey.’

d. à gā sèmpūwò [kō-lā] -bē
   3Sg Ipfv donkey [hit-Ipfv] -come
   ‘He/She came beating the donkey.’

e. yên tēē digā sò
   Imprt.2Pl meat eat.Pfv go.Ipfv
   ‘Eat-2Pl some meat on the way!’

If forced to label the morphological aspect of ‘come’ and ‘go’ as Vb2, the fact that three of the four other motion verbs in (677a-b) have fixed Ipfv form suggests that ‘come’ and ‘go’ are most likely fixed Ipfv as Vb2. A counter-argument is that non-motion add-on verbs take the Pfv stem, as shown in §15.2.1 above. So ‘come’ and ‘go’ in this construction could be labeled either Pfv or Ipfv depending on which other construction we extrapolate from. It is safer to omit Pfv/Ipfv labeling for ‘come’ and ‘go’, as in (681).

(681) a. à tän’ -bē /-sò [ë kwāā] (gà)
   3SgAbj ascend-Pfv -come /-go [1Pl hit.Pfv] (RemPfv)
   ‘He/She came/went up to hit us.’

‘He/She (often) comes/goes up to hit us.’

At least ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, and ‘exit (v)’ show that Vb2 may be morphologically Lpfv even when the clause-level inflection is perfective and Vb1 has Pfv form. Embedding an imperfective co-event within a larger perfective clause is similar to English clauses like *X came singing*.

The semantics of ‘go’ and ‘come’ as Vb2 is somewhat complex. With dēnì ‘send (message, package)’, dēnì-sò “send-go” is the usual ‘send’ from the location of the sender to the destination. However, if the sender plans to pick up what is sent at the other location in the future, dēnì-bē “send-come” can be used (cf. English send ahead).

(682) ŋ =nà [ŋ tīgē] dēnì-bē 1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg baggage] send.Pfv-come.Pfv

‘I have sent my baggage ahead (for me to pick up later).’

This is distinct from a construction (‘from X all the way to/until Y’) where bē ‘come’ introduces the second part (§15.7.3.2).

(683) shows that postverbal remote perfective (RemPfv) gâ can intervene between Vb1 and Vb2. This contrasts with the ordering in (680c) above.


‘what made the forest disappear from here among us’ (2017-03 @ 02:02)

For another construction with an aspectually variable verb followed by an imperfective VP, see ‘keep doing’ (§15.7.5 below).

15.3 Sequential clauses

15.3.1 Sequential clauses with bē and Pfv verb

The morpheme bē, labeled “Seq” (for sequential) in interlinears, combines with a preceding subject and a following perfective VP to denote an event that follows in time the event denoted by the preceding main clause. The main clause can be in any tense-aspect category. Any referents that recur in the two clauses are pronominalized in the bē clause, and spatiotemporal adverbials are generally not repeated.

The sequential clause with bē is distinct from the infinitival VP complement (§17.4.2) that begins with bē and lacks a subject.
Each of (684), (685), and (686) has an (a) version with a perfective main clause and a (b) version with an imperfective main clause. The attached sequential clause is identical in the two versions, with invariant Pfv verb stem. The corresponding Ipfv stems sà-nà ‘buy(s)’, tūwō ‘depart(s)’, and bàỳ ‘leave(s)’ cannot replace the Pfv verbs in these bè clauses.

(684) a. ŋ̄ =nà n sūgē-ē kāy,
    1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see.Pfv,
    m bē = ē sāw̄
    1Sg Seq 3Pl buy.Pfv
    ‘I saw some goats and bought them.’

b. ŋ̄ gā sūgē-ē kā-nà
    1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see-Ipfv,
    m bē = ē sāw̄
    1Sg Seq 3Pl buy.Pfv
    ‘I (regularly) see goats and buy them.’

(685) a. ŋ̄ sāā gā
    1Sg lie.down.Pfv RemPfv
    [m bē ŋ tūwō]
    [1Sg Seq 1Sg depart.Pfv]
    ‘I spent the night and left.’

b. ŋ̄ gā sāgā,
    1Sg Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv,
    [m bē ŋ tūwō]
    [1Sg Seq 1Sg depart.Pfv]
    ‘I (often) spend the night and leave.’

(686) a. ŋ̄ =nà n sāākū yāgā
    1Sg Sbj/Obj sack put.down.Pfv
    [m bā = ā bāy yāw̄]
    [1Sg Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv there.Def]
    ‘I put-Past down and left the sack there.’

b. ŋ̄ gā sāākū yāgā
    1Sg Ipfv sack put.down.Ipfv
    [m bā = ā bāy yāw̄]
    [1Sg Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv there.Def]
    ‘I (often) put down and leave the sack there.’
The two events in this construction are loosely integrated conceptually, for example as two closely spaced events that form a logical sequence within a narrative. Consistently with this, the two clauses may be pronounced with or without a prosodic break between them. The requirement of temporal sequencing (non-overlap) is loosely applied, and the bè clause may describe the natural culmination of the first event.

The semantic distinction between (687a) with two juxtaposed main clauses and (687b) with a sequential bè clause is subtle. If the shot killed the rat more or less immediately, (687a) is appropriate. (687b) can also be used in this context on the grounds that the animal expired soon after the shot. However, (687b) also leaves open the possibility that the shooter later finished off the wounded but still living rat, perhaps with a knife, after the shooting event.

(687) a. à wùjúm pělà,
   3Sg pouch.rat shoot.Pfv,
à = à wàgà
3Sg 3Sg kill.Pfv
‘He/She shot and killed a pouch.rat.’

b. à wùjúm pělà
   3Sg pouch.rat shoot.Pfv
à bā = à wàgà
3Sg Seq 3Sg kill.Pfv
‘He/She shot and killed a pouch.rat.’

The likely etymon for sequential bè is the verb bè/bē ‘come’, which often combines with other verbs and VPs in its literal motion sense. ‘Come’ is also the probable source of future bè and infinitival VP complementizer bè. Sequential bè, like future bè and the complementizer, does not indicate or even imply directional motion.

Sequential bè reflects the culmination of this process by which M-toned *bē drops to L-toned bè. A similar process appears to be underway for bè as future morpheme (§10.2.2.2), but for that morpheme there is evidence from tone sandhi that it is still M-toned. The sequential morpheme, by contrast, is now L-toned. It becomes M-toned only secondarily, by Final Tone-Raising.

A simple example of the sequential-clause construction is (688).

(688) sèèdù yè [ǐ] sāā gà
S said [LogoSbj lie.down.Pfv RemPfv]
[ᵻ bê taw”]
[LogoSbj Seq ascend.Pfv]
‘Seydou said that he spent the night and then went up.’
Since a sequential clause usually has the same subject as the preceding main clause, the subject of the sequential clause is usually a pronominal proclitic. There are other constructions including sequential bè that allow a wider range of subjects, not just pronominal clitics. See, for example, the ‘before’ clauses in §15.5.

15.3.2 Sequential bè kilè ‘proceed to’

Sequential bè can be elaborated by adding Pfv kilè ‘get, obtain’, which is in turn followed by the open-ended VP. The sense is ‘and proceed(ed) to VP’. In (689a), the overall context is perfective. In (689b) it is future, and in (689c) it is habitual imperfective. The bè kilè clause does not vary according to the inflectional category of the first clause.

(689) a. à = à sè̤̀ gà, à bè kilā = [à bòndò] kūlēwⁿ
    3Sg 3Sg tie.Pfv RemPfv, 3Sg Seq get.Pfv [3Sg neck] slash.Pfv
    ‘He tied it up, then he proceeded to cut its throat (=slaughter it).’

    b. à gà bà = à sè̤̣̀,
    3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg tie.Pfv
    à bè kilā = [à bòndò] kūlēwⁿ
    3Sg Seq get.Pfv [3Sg neck] slash.Pfv
    ‘He will tie it up, then he will proceed to cut its throat.’

    c. à gē = è sè-lè, à bè kilē = [è bòndò] kūlēwⁿ
    3Sg Ipfv 3Pl tie-Ipfv, 3Sg Seq get.Pfv [3Pl neck] slash.Pfv
    ‘He (regularly) ties them up, then he proceeds to cut their throats.’

A textual example is (690).

(690) dàmàŋgàri, … è bè kilē bè pwò
    D, … 3Pl Seq get.Pfv come.Pfv sit.Pfv
    ‘(They left) Damagari (village). … Then they proceeded to come and settle (here).’
    (2017-02 @ 01:17)

It may be that bè kilè is a mutation from bè kilèⁿ with the verb ‘finish’.
15.3.3 Third person subjects of sequential bè clauses

If the subject of both clauses denote the same third-person referent, the subject of the sequential clause has regular third person (not reflexive) form: 3Sg à, 3Pl è. The subject of the bè clause may bind its own reflexive object clause-internally as in (691b) (‘depart’ is a pseudo-reflexive verb), but this is another matter.

(691) a. à sāā gā bōwⁿ, 3Sg lie.down.Pfv RemPfv here, à bè ŋ tūwō 3Sg Seq 3ReflSg depart.Pfv
‘He/She spent the night here and left.’

b. è sāā gā bōwⁿ, 3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv here, è bè = ē tūwō 3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv
‘They spent the night here and left.’

15.4 ‘When/after …’, ‘while …’, and ‘as soon as …’

15.4.1 ‘When/after …’ clause with final sāāⁿ

sāāⁿ is elsewhere the universal quantifier ‘all’, at the end of an NP or adverb (§6.6.1). Here, however, it is clause-final and does not have quantificational scope over a constituent. The clause is usually perfective including RemPfv gā, denoting an event that is followed in time by another event. The clause may be a backgrounded echo of an already spoken foregrounded event clause.

(692) à = [à pîye] kūūⁿ, 3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv, à = [à pîye] kūūŋ gà sāāⁿ 3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv RemPfv when, [wɔgɔtú ɾ¬-kûtûn nî], [time Link-one Inst], à kîyũ [ē nɔgũ] nã 3Sg pass.Pfv [3Sg village] Dat
‘He caught its tail. When he had caught its tail, in a flash he passed by their village.’
(2017-04 @ 03:17)
Less often, sāⁿ occurs at the end of a conditional antecedent in similar function. In that case, the truth of the event denoted is not asserted (§16.1.3). By contrast, in typical ‘when/after’ contexts, as in (692), the factuality of the event is assumed. sāⁿ itself merely indicates chronological sequencing. Whereas sequential constructions are of the type [X VP1 and X proceed to VP2] with both events more or less foregrounded, in the ‘when/after’ construction the first clause is backgrounded (it may merely echo a preceding foregrounded clause) and the second is a new, foregrounded main clause.

For definite gu clause-finally in a similar function, see §15.4.3 below. Both ‘all’ and definite markers also occur as similar right-edge markers in ‘if/when …’ clauses in other languages of the region, e.g. various Songhay languages.

15.4.2 ‘As soon as’ (gilēwⁿ)

The verb gilēwⁿ/gilēwⁿ is directly followed by a VP to form an ‘as soon as’ clause. The two verbs in this clause are either both Pfv or both Ipfv. The right edge of this clause may be marked by sāⁿ ‘all’. The ‘as soon as’ clause is paired with a second clause denoting an event that occurred immediately on completion of the ‘as soon as’ event. The overall scenario may be in the past (693a) or in the future (693b). If in the past, RemPfv gà is often present (693a). However, gà is not obligatory and it does not occur in textual example 2017-01 @ 02:11.

(693) a. [à gilēm bāā gà sāⁿ]
   [3Sg as.soon.as exit.Pfv RemPfv when]
   [i yā = à wɔ̀gà]
   [3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv]
   ‘As soon as he went outside, they killed him.’
   = ‘No sooner did he step outside than they killed him.’

   b. [à gā gilēm bā-lē = ē gā digē]
   [3Sg Ipfv as.soon.as exit-Ipfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv]
   ‘As soon as he/she comes out, we will eat.’ (< bā-lá)

15.4.3 Post-subject kàylà ‘when’ with perfective or stative

Another construction that expresses chronological sequencing is based on kàylà. This word occurs in post-subject position in perfective positive clauses and occasionally in stative positive clauses. Recall that the perfective positive has no regular post-subject aspect-polarity marking inflectional particle. RemPfv gà does not occur after the Pfv verb. The clause ends in definite gu (of variable tone), not sāⁿ ‘all’, as right-edge marker.
(694) a. hàyà è kàylà bàá mënêmênè gù,
okay 3Pl when exit(v).Pfv M Def,
è bè bè bòw
3Pl Seq come.Pfv here
‘All right, when they left Menemene, they came here.’ (2017-02 @ 00:36 to 00:38)

b. wòy dáábè-è kàylà bè gù,
today livestock-Pl when come.Pfv Def,
à nā māpè [sìlè pè-ý] sókàalà dûgùbà
3Sg IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv [rock too-Loc] a.fortiori on.ground
‘These days, now that livestock have come, it (=tending livestock) doesn’t work on the
mountain (atop the cliffs), never mind on the ground (=in the plains below the cliffs).’
(2017-03 @ 01:24 to 01:28)

c. è gē= [è siyé] kùtù-nù,
3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv,
è kàylà dàá-mā gù
3Pl when go.far.Pfv Def
‘They rode their horse. When they had gone a long way, …’ (2017-04 @ 01:08)

d. à kàylà sāgā gù, [à kày] à bè bè
3Sg when lie.down.Pfv Def, [3Sg Prsntv] 3Sg Seq come.Pfv
‘When he had spent the night, there he was, coming on.’
(2017-04 @ 03:08 to 03:11)

While most kàylà clauses in the texts have Pfv verbs, an example with a stative verb is also attested
(695).

(695) è kàylà bè-nà gù
3Pl when come-Ppl Def
‘when they had come’ (2017-02 @ 01:42)

Echo clauses are a narrative device that repeats the content of one foregrounded event clause A
before presenting the next foregrounded event clause B, hence A-A´-B. Some speakers use the
construction with RemPfv gà and clause-final gu (see the following section) for the echo clause.
Other speakers use kàylà without either gà or clause-final gu, as in (696).
(696) [hâli-kànà è gā] [kibâ gu] dwʒ],
[until 3Pl until.Pfv [marriage Def] enter.Pfv],
è  kàylà [kibâ gu] dwʒ
3Pl when [marriage Def] enter.Pfv
‘… until eventually they entered (=celebrated) the marriage. When they had entered the
marriage, (they …)' (2017-06 @ 00:43 to 00:49)

Many of the textual examples of kàylà involve motion verbs, although (694d) above with ‘lie
down, spend the night’ shows that this is not obligatory. There is a particular association between
kàylà and bāā/bā-lā ‘exit, leave’, as in (694a). As a result, kàylà is common in narratives describing
travel that includes multiple stops (arrivals) and re-starts (departures). The combination with
bāā/bā-lā also occurs in the more abstract phrase in (697).

(697) njø kàylà bāā gu
Dem.Def when exit.Pfv Def
‘after that’ (literally “when that had gone out”) (2017-01 @ 03:04)

A short variant kày instead of kàylà is attested (698). This raises the question whether kàylà may
be diachronically related to presentative kày/kà-nà ‘here’s (X)!’ (§4.4.1, §10.2.3) and therefore
(at one remove) related to the verb kày/kà-nà ‘see’.

(698) è kày bē gu
3Pl when come.Pfv Def
‘when they came, …’ (2017-02 @ 01:29)

15.4.4 ‘When’ clause with final definite gu

In textual passage (699), the definite marker occurs without kàylà ‘when’, and in an imperfective
context (reinforced by iterating the verb). That is, the clause ending in gu describes a background
situation (Hyena shuts eyes drowsily) during which the next foregrounded event (Hare escapes)
takes place. This construction may have originally had an overt ‘when/while’ word like kàylà, but
in its current state clause-final gu has taken on the role of ‘when/while’.
‘He (=hyena) lay down on his back. While he was shutting his eyes (=dozing off), Hare sneaked away.’ (2017-07 @ 00:52 to 00:54)

The passage (700) illustrates the A-A’-B construction with foregrounded events A and B separated by a backgrounded echo clause A’ that repeats the verb and other constituents from A. The echo clause is usually perfective, includes postverbal RemPfv gà, and ends with definite gu. Post-subject käylà does not occur in this construction with final gu.

‘… until he arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place. When he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place, he said: …’ (2017-04 @ 00:56 to 00:60)

The clause can alternatively be stative (with a participial predicate), denoting a state resulting from an event, instead of perfective (701).

‘In the morning they caught them. When they had caught them, he said: …’ (2017-05 @ 00:34 to 00:38)

An initial käylà ‘when’ clause (see the preceding subsection) may be followed by one or two additional clauses denoting chronologically sequenced events (‘when …, and (when) …’). In this case the follow-up clauses do not repeat käylà, but do feature RemPfv gà and clause-final definite gu (702).
When we have set fire in it, and (when) the fire has died out, and (when) day has broken (=the next morning), …’ (2017-03 @ 03:01 to 03:04)

(703) a. è nāŋ gālwāājā-tūw5 gū 3Pl Dem Def conversation-heart Def ‘during that conversation of theirs, …’ (2017-07 @ 00:42)

b. è nāŋ kīrī-tūw5 gū 3Pl Dem debate-heart Def ‘during that discussion of theirs, …’ (2017-07 @ 01:23)

15.4.6 Repeated imperfectives as durative background clauses

A clause denoting motion or similar atelic process can be iterated once or twice without an overt ‘when/while’ word. They can function as durative background clauses, setting up a new foregrounded clause, which may begin with ‘until’ (704)
(704) à bē wàngé gu cyēwⁿ,
3Sg Seq hare Def carry.on.head.Pfv,
[à gā sò] [à gā sò]
[3Sg lpfv go.lpfv] [3Sg Ipfv go.lpfv]
 gà kiyⁿ jii-lāgā
until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv water-edge
‘He (=hyena) carried the hare on his head. He was going and going (=kept going), until he arrived at the edge of the water’ (2017-07:10)

15.4.7 Participle plus nįñ ‘inside’ as resultative ‘when’

This construction can be used to describe the state resulting from a prior event. There is one textual attestation.

(705) [è bē-nā] nįñ
[3Pl come-Ppl] inside
‘at the time of their coming’ (2017-01 @ 05:46)

15.5 ‘Before …’ clause (sō plus sequential bè clause)

A ‘before …’ clause begins with sō (becoming sō before L-tone), most likely etymologically sō/sō ‘go’ but glossed simply as “before” in interlinear.

If chronological sequencing is focal, the subject of the ‘before …’ clause is followed by a clause containing sequential bè and a Pfv verb. ‘Before X’ where X is a noun can be expressed by this construction using ‘arrive’ as the verb (706e).

(706) a. ŋ̄ kùruñ gā,
1Sg run.Pfv RemPfv,
3Sg zāndārmē-yē bè yāwⁿ / …
 bè … / tāwⁿ
before gendarme-Pl Seq descend.Pfv/ascend.Pfv
‘I fled, before the gendarmes came down/ came up.’

b. sëedū bāa gā,
S exit.Pfv RemPfv,
3Sg m bē kiyewⁿ
before 1Sg Seq arrive.Pfv
‘Seydou had (already) left before I arrived (here).’

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c. ŋ̄ gā Ḭ m pūgèwⁿ,  
1Sg 1Pfv 1Sg hide.Pfv,  
[sō tūùⁿ-yē bē kīi]  
[before bee-Pl Seq get.up.Pfv]  
‘I will hide (=take shelter) before the bees get up (=swarm).’ (< bè)

d. ŋ̄ kɯ̀ kɯ̀ gā,  
1Sg run.Pfv RemPfv,  
[sō zāndāmū-yē māⁿ sō ŋ̄ kwāā]  
[before gendarme-Pl Proh go.Pfv 1Sg hit.Pfv]  
‘I fled, before the gendarmes (could) (go and) hit me.’ (< kūtū, sō)

15.6 Coincidence in time and space (bā = à tīwⁿ)  
tīwⁿ/tī-nā ‘do’ can also mean ‘find (by accident), happen upon, encounter (by chance).’ It is often combined with ‘come’ (708a-b). This is a special case of the construction with bè ‘come’ followed by a perfective VP in the sense ‘came and VPed’ or ‘came in order to VP’ (§15.2.1).
tīwⁿ can also have a propositional complement expressed as a regular main clause, which is resumed by 3Sg à as object of tīwⁿ. The phrase bā = à tīwⁿ (variant with tīⁿ) occurs in contexts where an individual X has arrived somewhere and finds (observes) that something has happened or is in progress. Compare English *only to discover/find/learn that* ..., which however has a pejorative connotation not necessarily present in Cliffs.

The complement is imperfective or perfective, and positive or negative, depending on what the situation was at the time of arrival of the main-clause subject. Remote perfective gà is not allowed after ‘come’ in this construction.

(709) a. m̄ bē (gà) [sèédù tīwⁿ]
   1Sg come.Pfv (RemPfv) [S find.Pfv]
   ‘I ran into Seydou.’

   b. ŋ̀ gà bē [sèédù tīwⁿ]
   1Sg ipfv Fut [S find.Pfv]
   ‘I (often) run into Seydou.’

   c. sèédù bā = [à tīⁿ]
   S come.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou came (only) to find that his friend had gone out.’ (< tīwⁿ)

   d. sèédù gà bē bā = [à tīⁿ]
   S ipfv Fut come.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou will come (only) to find that his friend has gone out.’
à tīwⁿ in this construction may have originally meant ‘it was done; it happened’, with a 3Sg subject (not object) that prospectively (cataphorically) resumes the proposition expressed by the following clause. In this interpretation, the construction X bā = à tīwⁿ in (709) was originally of the type ‘X came, it happened (that …)’. However, this parsing is no longer transparent as bā = à tīwⁿ has become fused.

This structurally somewhat opaque bā = à tīwⁿ occurs frequently at the beginning of subordinated clauses (710). The expected subject pronominal coindexed to the main clause subject is optionally omitted. This optionality suggests that bā = à tīwⁿ is in the murky zone between a compositional reading including bē ‘come’ and a reading where bā = à tīwⁿ is fused together.

(710) a. ḫ  kiyĕŋ  gā
    1Sg  arrive.Pfv  RemPfv
    [(ī)m  bā =  à  tīn]  
    [(1Sg)  come.Pfv  3Sg  do.Pfv]  
    [jēnā-mbi-gē  gā  sūwō-lō]  
    [child-Pl-Pl  lpfv  sing-Ipfv]  
    ‘I arrived to find that the children were singing.’

b. sēēdū  gā  bē  sō  nōgī-ŷ,  
    S  lpfv  Fut  go.Pfv  village-Loc,  
    [(ā)  bā =  à  tīn]  
    [(3Sg)  come.Pfv  3Sg  do.Pfv]  
    [āŋ  kwā =  ān  tūwō]  
    [2Sg  already  2Sg  depart.Pfv]  
    ‘Seydou will go to the village, (only) to find that you-Sg have left.’  
    (< kōⁿ §10.2.1.5)

15.7 ‘Since’ and ‘until’ clauses

Elsewhere, hàlì X with an NP or adverbial means variably ‘until X’, ‘all the way to X’, or ‘even X’. The common feature is emphasis on the gap between the referent and some baseline, which is often unexpressed. In other words, the domain may be time, space, or a more abstract domain with a center and a periphery.
It is heard as hàlì before a nonlow tone and as hàlì before a low tone (due to Final Tone-Raising). When its complement is delayed by a pause, whether planned or due to a hesitation, it can be heard as hàlì→ (often repeated) with the final vowel intonationally prolonged and tone-raised. The tone-raising could be interpreted as a truncation of the longer variant hàlì-kànà ‘until’. See the sequence hàlì→, hàlì→, hàlì-kànà … in text 2017-01 @ 06:30.

Emphatic ‘until today’ (i.e. right down to the present) can also be expressed as ‘including today’. This is a truncated phrase beginning with bè ‘come’, then Ipfv k₃-là ‘be added, join’, a time adverb like wày ‘today’, then comitative bwéỹ ‘with’ which accompanies k₃-là in the relevant sense (‘be added, join’).

(711) [bè   k₃-là   [wày-kúgú   bwéỹ]]
     [come   be.added-Ipfv   [today   Comit]]
è   nà   bwéỹ   kànà
1Pl   IpfvNeg   Recip   see-Ipfv
‘Including (=even) today, we (still) don’t see each other.’ (2017-01 @ 05:32)

15.7.1 ‘Since …’ clauses (hàlì)

In a ‘since’ clause, or in an adverbial phrase like hàlì dígéwⁿ ‘(ever) since yesterday’, hàlì emphasizes the distance in time and space from a reference point. It can be forward-looking (‘until’), but here it is retrospective: ‘(going) all the way back to (a time in the past)’. The clause denotes a past event that led to a situation that has persisted. The ‘since …’ clause usually precedes a foregrounded main clause.

(712) a. hàlì   m   bè   gà,   n   të   dígé
     all.the.way 1Sg  come.Pfv  RemPfv,  1Sg  PfvNeg  eat.Antip.Pfv
‘Since I got here, I haven’t eaten.’

b. hàlā =  [à   kà]   lāgōn   gà,
     all.the.way  [3Sg father]  die.Pfv  RemPfv,
     [à   nōgōⁿ]   wūō-nà   nì
     [3Sg  soul]  weep-Ppl  it.is
‘Ever since his father died, he has been distraught.’
(said:) “(Ever) since I got up (=was born), I have not set out on the pilgrimage except (=until) today.”’ (2017-05 @ 02:42 to 02:45)

15.7.2 ‘Until …’ or ‘Eventually …’ clauses

15.7.2.1 hàlì and hàlì-kànà ~ hàlì-kàlà ‘until’

While ‘since …’ clauses point back to an event in the past, ‘until …’ clauses project forward from an initial state, implying an interlude that may be filled by a continuation of that state. In some narrative contexts an idiomatic translation can begin with ‘Eventually …’. The simplest ‘until’ clause is a perfective clause beginning with hàlì or its extension hàlì-kànà ~ hàlì-kàlà (sometimes syncopated to hāl-kànà ~ hāl-kàlà). Simple hàlì (but not hàlì-kànà) also occurs in ‘since …’ clauses.

If the entire beginning-and-end sequence is in the past, both main and ‘until …’ clauses are perfective.

(713) a. ñ = nàŋ kúngóló kwāá [hālā = à waà] 1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv [all.the.way 3Sg animal.die.Pfv] ‘I beat the dog until (=to the point that) it died.’

b. ñ = nā n [sìbò pììŋ] kālā [hālā = à tāwⁿ] 1Sg Sbj/Obj [snake black] chase.Pfv [all.the.way 3Sg ascend.Pfv] ‘I chased the spitting cobra until it climbed up.’

15.7.2.2 hàlì plus post-subject gà/gā ‘until’

There is a second type of ‘until’ clause. This one is characterized by post-subject gà/gā (glossed as ‘until.Pfv’ in interlinear) and a Pfv verb. Clause-initial hàlì or hàlì-kànà ‘until’ is often but not always present.

This gà/gā is segmentally homophonous to the high-frequency imperfective positive inflectional marker gà, and the two occur in the same post-subject position. However, the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates tonally to the preceding tone, while Ipfv gà/gā assimilates tonally to it. The
The fact that gà/gā in the ‘until’ clause is followed by a Pfv verb also shows that gà/gā is not the Ipfv morpheme.

Morphosyntactically, gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ is comparable to post-subject nà(w)/nā(w) in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§16.1). Combinations of gà/gā ‘until,Pfv’ with various subjects are in (714). The combinations with gà/gā preceding ‘came’ best reveal the tones of gà/gā, whereas L-toned ‘went’ obscures them by triggering Final Tone-Raising.

(714) category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘until X came’</th>
<th>‘until X went’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 2Sg</td>
<td>āŋ gā bē</td>
<td>āŋ gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā gā bē</td>
<td>āā gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē</td>
<td>ē gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ŋ gā bē</td>
<td>ŋ gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoPl</td>
<td>ŋ gā bē</td>
<td>ŋ gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 3Sg</td>
<td>ā gā bē</td>
<td>ā gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē gā bē</td>
<td>ē gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ŋ gā bē</td>
<td>ŋ gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ‘Seydou’</td>
<td>sèědù gā bē</td>
<td>sèědù gā sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the snake’</td>
<td>sibō gā bē</td>
<td>sibō gā sò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are in (715).

(715) a. à kùmù gā
3Sg sleep.Pfv RemPfv
[hāli ŋ gā = à kwāa]
[all.the.way 1Sg until.Pfv 3Sg hit.Pfv]
‘He/She slept until I tapped him/her.’ (< kùmù)

b. à tè pà-sí tiwⁿ,
3Sg PfvNeg thing-any do.Pfv,
hāli ŋ gā sūgō kwāa
until 1Sg until.Pfv goat hit.Pfv
‘He/She didn’t do anything, until I beat the goat.’
Example (715c) shows that two gà/gā clauses can be juxtaposed. One narrator uses gà/gā in a more general manner, competing functionally with sequential bè in the reporting of chronologically sequenced events in narrative. The relevant text is 2017-04.

15.7.3 ‘From X to Y’ expressions

15.7.3.1 ‘From X, until/all the way to Y’ (gīlì, hàlì)

In this construction, two subordinated clauses specify both endpoints of an extended time interval, which then serves as the temporal setting for a foregrounded clause. The book-ended period may be a specific time interval in the past (716a), or a generic time interval (716b). Both of the book-ending clauses are positive. The first clause is perfective. The second clause is an ‘until’ clause of the second type described in the preceding section, i.e. with post-subject gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ and a Pfv verb. One or the other of the two book-ending clauses begins with hàlì ‘all the way (to)’, which can be prospective ‘until’ or retrospective ‘since’. If the second clause has hàlì (or its extended variant hàlì-kànà) the first clause is either bare or begins with gīlì ‘since, from the time that’. If the first clause has hàlì, the second clause has no initial subordinator.

The combination gīlì plus hàlì is illustrated in (716a). (716b) has just hàlì-kànà at the beginning of the second clause. (716c) has just hàlì in the first clause.
(716) a. gilā = à yàñī gā,  
*since* 3Sg *descend.Pfv* RemPfv, 1  
hàlá = à gā tāw̚,  
*until* 3Sg *until.Pfv* ascend.Pfv  
à tè digē  
3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv  
‘From the time that he/she went down, until he/she went (back) up, he/she didn’t eat.’  
(< gīlì à yàw̚ gā, hàli à)

b. [ì yā = à yègē gā]  
[3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg give.birth.Pfv RemPfv]  
[hàli-kànà à gā lāog̚]  
*[until* 3Sg *until.Pfv* die.Pfv]  
[à nà mī māyঠ]  
[3Sg LpfvNeg PsRefl be.good]  
‘From the time he is born (“they have borne him”) until he is dying, he is evil.’  
(generic statement about an ethnic group)

c. hàli kúngóló bè gā,  
**all.the.way** dog come.Pfv RemPfv,  
à gā ŋ tūw̚,  
3Sg *until.Pfv* 3ReflSg *depart.Pfv*,  
ŋ kōndō gā kwāa̚ = [à tē]  
1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv fear(v).Ipfv [3Sg Dat]  
‘From the moment the dog came, until it went away, I was afraid of it.’

15.7.3.2 à dē̚-[bā-lā] X, bè Y ‘from X (all the way) to Y’

This construction is attested in the context of spatial or temporal extent stretching between landmarks X and Y. dē̚-[bā-lā] is a special H-toned variant, used in this construction only, of the regular verbal compound dē̚-[bā-lā] ‘pick up and exit’ (i.e. ‘pick up and take out’). In (717) the context is spatial.

(717) [à dē̚-[bā-lā] yāw̚,  
[3Sg *pick.up.Pfv-[exit(v)-Ipfv]* there,  
 bè [tēngēli-pāgū mà(w)̚] āŋ gā = à kà-nà gù  
*come* [T-pond Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def  
‘(starting) from there, all the way to Tengeli pond that you-Sg see’

(2017-03 @ 02:23)
Here dēē ‘pick up’ indicates the beginning of the trajectory, bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ indicates ablative direction (‘from’), and bē ‘come’ indicates arrival at the endpoint.

dēē-[bā-lā] can be omitted so that bē ‘come’ defines the construction (718).

(718) [nàgù-bèm pùs gà] bē [sà-gù bwēy]
[N sit. Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit]
‘(from when) Namagué was settled until now, …’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

15.7.4 ‘VPed until got tired’ = ‘VPed for a very long time’

As in other languages of the region, the duration of an activity can be exaggerated by adding an ‘until X got tired’ clause. The main clause may have a verb like ‘work’ or ‘run’ that makes physical weariness plausible. However, it can also be a verb like ‘laugh’ (719) or ‘speak’ where duration is focal and weariness or pain secondary, compare English he laughed until his sides ached.

(719) à sà [hàlā = à bàndà]
3Sg laugh.Pfv [until 3Sg get.tired.Pfv]
‘He/She laughed until he got tired.’ (i.e. he couldn’t stop laughing)

15.7.5 dēē/dēē ‘pick up’ plus imperfective (‘keep doing’)

In this construction, the main clause with dēē/dēē has a pro forma 3Sg object and may be Pfv or Ipfv. It is followed without a prosodic break by a same-subject imperfective VP with a coindexed pronominal subject that (for third person) is reflexive in form. The construction emphasizes duration, and the entire construction may be repeated verbatim for additional emphasis.

(720) a. è bā = à dē = [ē gā sò],
3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],
è bā = à dē = [ē gā sò]
3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv]
‘They kept on going, they kept on going.’ (2017-05 @ 01:30)

b. ḫ gā = à dēē [ḥ gā digē]
1Sg Ipfv 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [1Sg Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv]
‘I kept on eating.’
15.8 Noun-headed adverbial relatives

15.8.1 Temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when …’)

A relative clause headed by a temporal noun (‘time/moment’, ‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can function as a temporal relative clause, without an additional postposition (721).

(721) ām bē gā [wóngótú / tálám / jiím màw’]
2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [time / day / year Rel].

‘(at/on/in) the time/day/year when you-Sg came’

The unmarked ‘while …’ construction is of this type, with wóngótú ‘time, moment in time’.

(722) ū kūmū gā
1Sg sleep.Pfv RemPfv
[[wóngótú mà’] sùrù-mbē gā mànàmì]
[[time Rel] remainder-Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv]
‘I slept while the others danced.’

15.8.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where …’)

The noun ‘place’ is gūtūn. It has an irregular iterative form as relative-clause head, pronounced either gūtūn-mà-gēw” or gūtūn-mà-gūtūn”, instead of expected #gūtūm màw”. This occurs in the regular position of spatial adverbials, postverbal and followed only by temporal adverbs.
‘We will go (to) where the child fell yesterday.’

For additional information on gūmà-gēw or gūmà-gūtū and its origin, see §14.2.4.

15.8.3 Manner adverbial clause

15.8.3.1 Manner clause (‘how/the way …’)

Instead of a relative clause like ‘the manner (in) which …’, either as argument or adverbial phrase, the Cliffs construction is a compound ending in sī ‘likeness’ or synonym (§8.4.1.1), preceded by a form of the relevant clause that has a nominalized verb with suffix -nà. For details on this deverbal nominal derivation, see §12.2.4.

(724) a. ñ nā [sèdù kāy-nà sī] pōgò
    1Sg IpfvNeg [S work(v)-Nom likeness] like.Ipfv
    ‘I don’t like the way Seydou works.’

b. ḫ gā [sèdù kāy-nà sī] tī-nā
    1Sg Ipfv [S work(v)-Nom likeness] do-Ipfv
    ‘I work the (same) way Seydou does.’
    (lit. “I do [Seydou’s working likeness].”)

c. ḫ gā [sèdù sūgō būw-nà sī] tī-nā
    1Sg Ipfv [S goat tend-Nom likeness] do-Ipfv
    ‘I tends goats the (same) way Seydou does.’

15.8.3.2 ‘As though …’ clause (hörnò)

An ‘as though’ clause takes the form of an instrumental PP (postposition nì) whose complement is a compound noun of the type ‘likeness of [X VP]’. This complement NP begins with hörnò ‘like’ and optionally ends with sī focalized from sī ‘description, breed, kind’ or synonym.
(725) a. à gà ŋ yàgà
3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg put.down.Ipfv
[[hònò ŋ nà ŋ tò] ní]
[[like 3ReflSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv] Inst.Foc]
‘He, acts like (pretends that) he doesn’t know me.’

b. jénàŋ gà wwö
child Ipfv weep.Ipfv
[[hònò ŋ tè digè] síí] (ní]
‘The child is weeping as though he/she hasn’t eaten.’ (< digè)

Another way to express ‘as though’ clauses is to reduce the content of a main-clause proposition to a possessed NP in a juxtaposed manner phrase, with the obligatorily possessed or compounded pàwⁿ (default possessum, e.g. ‘X’s share, portion, role’) referring to a variant of the earlier proposition with one element replaced. This is the case in (726). It was initially given without the final focalized instrumental postposition ní. My assistant later accepted the alternative version with overt postposition.

(726) yùrùgù kwààn nà bě sàwⁿ,
this.year rain(n) IpfvNeg Fut rain.fall.Pfv,
[[hòn5 [jèg5 pà”] síí] (ní]
[[like [last.year Poss likeness] (Inst)]
‘This year it won’t rain the way it did last year.’
16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional

16.1.1 ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ, perfective nā(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ

A hypothetical conditional construction consists of an antecedent that denotes a possible but uncertain eventuality, and a consequent that denotes an eventuality that will result (or otherwise be confirmed as true) if the antecedent is true. If the antecedent has an aspect-marking verb as predicate, the verb occurs in perfective aspect, marking relative tense, even when the overall context is habitual, as in ‘if (=whenever) it rains, we go to the fields’. The consequent can be in any main-clause inflectional category. It is imperfective or future if it denotes an event that has not yet occurred; it may also be imperative or hortative.

The antecedent has a clause-initial (pre-subject) ‘if’ marker ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ. The post-subject inflectional slot has a specialized ‘if’ marker nā(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ, found only in perfective positive clauses, which elsewhere lack a post-subject morpheme. When nā(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ is present, the clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ is optional. In perfective negative antecedents, the only post-subject morpheme is the usual PfvNeg morpheme tè, so the clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ is necessary to mark the clause as an antecedent. The forms are summarized in (727).

(727) a. clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ

   b. post-subject positive negative
      perfective nā(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ tè

Pronominal and other subjects combined with nā(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ are in (728). The morpheme dissimilates to the tone of a pronominal proclitic (before further tone sandhi). Thus nā(w)ⁿ after M-toned pronominal (728a) and nā(w)ⁿ after L-toned pronominal (728b). The distinction between nā(w)ⁿ and nā(w)ⁿ is clear before M-toned ‘come’, but it is neutralized before L-toned ‘go’ due to Final Tone-Raising.

(728) subject ‘if X comes’ ‘if X goes’

   a. 1Pl ē nām bē ē nāⁿ sō
       2Sg āⁿ nām bē āⁿ nāⁿ sō
       2Pl āā nām bē āā nāⁿ sō
       Logo/3ReflSg ŋ nām bē ŋ nāⁿ sō
       Logo/3ReflPl ē nām bē ē nāⁿ sō
The tonal alternation in nà(w)ⁿ versus nā(w)ⁿ is paralleled by that of prohibitive màⁿ and màⁿ.

There is no special marking of the consequent, which has the same form as an independent main clause: imperfective positive or negative (729a-b), hortative (729c), or imperative (729d).

(729) a. ɲàŋ kwàän nàⁿ såwⁿ, ǹ nà so sǒŋ̄-y
   if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv, 1Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc
   ‘If it rains, I won’t go to the bush (=to the fields).’

b. ɲàŋ kwàän tē såwⁿ, ǹ gā so sǒŋ̄-y
   if rain(n) PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv, 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc
   ‘If it doesn’t rain, I will go to the bush.’

c. ɲàŋ kwàän tē såwⁿ, kò so sǒŋ̄-y
   if rain(n) PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv, Hort go.Pfv the.bush-Loc
   ‘If it doesn’t rain, let’s go to the bush!’ (kò só §10.4.2.1)

d. ɲàŋ kwàän tē såwⁿ, sò sǒŋ̄-y
   if rain(n) PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv, go.Pfv the.bush-Loc
   ‘If it doesn’t rain, go!-2Sg to the bush!’

The antecedent may denote a state that is a precondition for some act. This includes existential-locative (730a) and ‘have’ (730b) constructions.

(730) a. nàⁿ sèèdù gà bòwⁿ, kúngóló ná wwö
   if S be.Loc here, dog IpfvNeg cry.Ipfv
   ‘If Seydou is here, the dog won’t bark.’

b. ɲàn dàmbà gà [ŋ̄] sùgi-ỹ], ŋ gè = ēnì sògā
   if daba be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc], 1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv
   ‘If I have a daba (=hoe), I can do farm work.’

c. nàⁿ = āⁿ sãã-nā nì,
   if 2Sg lie.down-Ppl it.is,
   āŋ gè = ēnì kàyⁿ mèn-tìwⁿ
   2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(v).Ipfv how?
   ‘If you are lying down, how can you work?’ (< kàyⁿ)
If both clauses have second person subject, a positive consequent may take subjunctive form with post-subject gālā. This is the case in (731), where the two clauses have the same 2Sg subject. The subjunctive also occurs in quoted imperatives (§17.1.4.1) and in the second of two conjoined imperatives (§10.4.1.1).

(731) ɲā = ān nāⁿ sēwⁿ, āŋ gālā kī
  if 2Sg If.Pfv fall.Pfv, 2Sg Sbjn get.up.Pfv
  ‘If you-Sg fall, (you should) get up!’

16.1.2 ‘Otherwise (=if not)’

This construction is maximally of the type ‘if X, then Y; otherwise (=if not X), then Z’. The ‘otherwise’ expression is phrased as ‘if it is not that’ with discourse-definite demonstrative (732).

(732) ɲāŋ kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ
  if 3Sg If.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv
  ē gā kōndō bōwⁿ,
  1Pl 1pfv stay.1pfv here,
  ɲā = à nàŋ nōn ní,
  if 2Sg If.Pfv Dem.Def.Foc it.is.Foc,
  ē gā sō sōŋjy
  1Pl 1pfv go.1pfv the.bush-Loc
  ‘If it rains, we’ll stay here. Otherwise (=if not), we’ll go the fields.’
  (< à nāwⁿ)

16.1.3 sāⁿ ‘all’ as right-edge marker in antecedents

The universal quantifier sāⁿ ‘all’ occurs occasionally at the end of an antecedent clause (or a long antecedent with two clauses). It is a kind of right-edge marker for the antecedent and has no literal quantificational sense.

(733) [sābi ŋ nā = āā kò [jiĩ nǐ] sāⁿ],
  [because LogoSg if.Pfv 2Pl furnish.Pfv [water Inst] all],
  āŋ gā pà-lò [[iŋ kōlōⁿ] kūmà]
  2Sg 1pfv sit-1pfv [[LogoSg skin] on]
  ‘(said:) “Because if I provide you-Pl with water, you-Sg will sit on my (sheep-)skin.”’
  (2017-01 @ 01:57 to 02:01)
More often, clause-final sān occurs without overt conditional markers in temporal adverbial clauses (‘when/after …’).

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 ‘Even if …’ (hài)

In this construction, the speaker knows that listeners might think that the factuality of the antecedent would block that of the consequent, but the speaker asserts that the consequent will occur regardless. The antecedent begins with hài ‘even’ (§19.1.4). It is optionally followed by nà ‘if’, which is absent in (734a) but present in (734b). The remainder of the antecedent is the same as in hypothetical conditionals; note post-subject nà(w)/nā(w) ‘if.Pfv’ in (734a-b).

(734) a. hài = ān nàm bē nàánù, 
   even 2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv tomorrow,Foc
   ān nā digè bōw
   2Sg IpfvNeg eat.Ipfv here
   ‘Even if you-Sg come tomorrow [focus], you won’t eat here.’

b. hài ān kwààn nā sàw, 
   even if rain(n) If.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv,
   ān nà cī-li nàánù
   1Sg IpfvNeg sow(v)-Ipfv tomorrow
   ‘Even if it rains, I’m not going to plant (seeds) tomorrow.’

16.3 Willy-nilly antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’)

In this construction, two paired antecedents have opposite truth conditions. Usually a positive clause is followed by its negation. If so, the second subject is always pronominalized, some adjuncts may be omitted in the second clause, and the verb is repeated. The first antecedent ends with nonterminal intonation (higher than modal pitch for this position). Whichever antecedent turns out to be true is asserted to have no effect on the truth of the consequent. An explicit ‘don’t care about it’ clause (§11.1.1.5) is optional.

(735) [kwàân sàw] [à tē sàw],
[rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv] [3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv]
[ṁ pān] nā = ā-y, ě gā sò sōŋ-ŋ-y
[1Sg care(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg- Loc, 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc
‘Whether it rains or it doesn’t rain, I don’t care, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’
16.4 Counterfactual conditionals (pàà)

In a counterfactual, the eventuality expressed by the antecedent, whether a current state or a past event, is understood to be false. It is asserted that in an alternative world where the antecedent was true, the consequent would also have been realized, as in ‘if you had hit me, I would have killed you’.

The antecedent usually omits the initial ɲāⁿ ‘if’. Instead, it has a post-subject counterfactual (i.e. irrealis) morpheme pàà. It is shortened to pà (becoming pà by tone sandhi) before 1Sg ġ and contracts with vocalic pronominal objects. Before any other word it is realized as pàà (becoming pàā by tone sandhi) before 1Sg ŋ̀ and contracts with vocalic pronominal objects. Before any other word it is realized as pàà (becoming pàā before L-tone) The antecedent is in perfective aspect if it denotes an event, but it may also be one of the stative constructions. The post-subject perfective morpheme nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ found in hypothetical conditional antecedents is absent. pàà may be followed by PfvNeg tè. The consequent takes the form of an ordinary imperfective main clause.

(736) a. ām pā ġ kwāā gā dígéwⁿ,
2Sg Counterf 1Sg hit.Pfv RemPfv yesterday,
ĝ gā = āⁿ wâgā
1Sg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv
‘If you-Sg had hit me yesterday, I’d have killed you.’

b. ām pàā tè bē dígéwⁿ,
2Sg Counterf PfvNeg come.Pfv yesterday
ĝ gā sà = [ām màā]
1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [2Sg look.for.Ipfv]
‘If you-Sg hadn’t come yesterday, I’d have gone looking for you.’ (< sò)

c. à pàā dîrisā nì
d. ā nā kūnū
da. 3Sg Counterf it.is,
3Sg IpfvNeg run.Ipfv
‘If he had been Drisa, he wouldn’t have run.’

The construction can also appear when the antecedent denotes a state that is presently untrue or a future event that is unlikely to happen. This is pragmatically halfway between hypothetical and (past) counterfactual conditionals. My assistant uses both initial ɲāⁿ ‘if’ and post-subject counterfactual pàà in this context. In (737a), pàà seems to have “swallowed” the expected following ‘be’ quasi-verb gà, which is otherwise part of the ‘have’ construction. The negative counterpart has nà ‘not be’ (737b).
(737) a. ɲām موتوم پا  [ŋ] sıği-y]  
if  motorcycle Counterf  [1Sg hand-Loc]  
ŋè =  ěni  [[sö  nɔgi-ỹ]  bê]  
1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[go.Ipfv village-Loc] come.Pfv]  
‘If I had a motorcycle, I could go to the village and come back.’

b. ɲām موتوم  па ่าง  [ŋ] sıği-y]  
if  motorcycle Counterf  not.be.Loc  [1Sg hand-Loc]  
‘if I didn’t have a motorcycle’  
(i.e., ‘were it not for the fact that I have a motorcycle’)

c. ɲā”  み  ผา น่ป่อ-ตุกุ  นิ,  
if  1Sg Counterf  rich.person  it.is,  
ŋ  ง่  เค่นดอ น่กิ-ỹ  
1Sg IpfvNeg stay.Ipfv village  
‘If I were a rich person, I wouldn’t stay in the village.’

d. ɲā”  み  ผา  แซง  interacts  กะ  
if  1Sg Counterf  fall.Pfv  RemPfv  
ŋ  งำ  เก็  
1Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv  
‘If I fell (=if I were to fall), I’d get up.’ (<sēw”)
17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complements

There are two ‘say’ predicates. One is the defective quasi-verb ŋè/ŋē ‘said’, which occurs only in veridical perfective positive contexts preceding quoted matter. The other is the fully inflectable verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’, which takes nominal objects. Both predicates allow an optional dative PP specifying the original addressee.

If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with the current speaker or addressee, it is normally updated to correspond to the current role in the speech event.

If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with a third-person quoted speaker (the “author”), i.e. if it corresponds to what was a first person pronoun in the original utterance, it is expressed as a logophoric pronoun (§18.3). For the original addressee, see just below.

17.1.1 Original addressee converted to third person

A second person pronominal in the original utterance may be replaced by the corresponding third person pronominal in the quoted clause. (738a) is a direct quotation with original 2Sg preserved, while (738b) converts it to 3Sg. (738c-d) are quoted imperatives, with 3Sg representing an original singular addressee (738c) and 3Pl representing original plural addressee (738d).

(738) a. sèèdù ããmãdù tìyē [sàlà ànj gā wùlâā nì]
   S A ask.Pfv [whether 2Sg be who? it.is]
   ‘Seydou asked Amadou “who are you?”’

   b. sèèdù ããmãdù tìyē [sàlā à gā wùlâā nì]
   S A ask.Pfv [whether 3Sg be who? it.is]
   ‘Seydou asked Amadou who he was.’

   c. é!, tèǹ-tùgù yā = [à gālè = ē kò [jíi nì]]
   hey! elder.sib-owner said [3Sg Sbjn LogoPl furnish.Pfv [water Inst]]
   ‘The older one said (to the Dogon), “hey, (please) provide us with (=give us) water!”’
   (2017-01 @ 01:52)
Conversion of second to third person can create ambiguities. (738a) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou, who you were’, where ‘you’ is the current addressee rather than Amadou. Similarly, (738b) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou, who he/she was’, referring to a distinct third individual.

17.1.2 Quotation quasi-verb  yè/yē (and variants) ‘said’

yè/yē functions as a defective (quasi-)verb meaning ‘said’. Its paradigm with nonpronominal and pronominal subjects is (739). It is L-toned yè after a nonlow tone (739c,e), and M-toned after an L-tone, subject to modification by further tone sandhi triggered by the word to the right. This pattern of tonal dissimilation is shared with some other post-subject particles (§10.1.1). If the pronominal is nasal the y hardens (irregularly) to j (739d), see §3.4.2.4. The shift of 3Pl è to ì before y also occurs with bidirectional case marker yèn.

(739) a. sèédù  yè  ‘Seydou said’
    sùgō  yè  ‘the goat said’
    kùùŋgóló  yè  ‘the dog said’

b. à  yè  ‘he/she said’
   ì  yè  ‘they said’

c.  ē  yè  ‘we said’
   àá  yè  ‘you-Pl said’
   ē  yè  ‘LogoPl said’

d.  Ė  jè  ‘I said’
   Ė  jè  ‘you-Sg said’
   Ė  jè  ‘LogoSg said’

The tonal difference between yè and yè in (739) is overt when they are followed by an M-tone (740), since M-tones do not trigger tone sandhi.
Before L-tone, yè raises to yē by Final Tone-Raising, and before H-tone, yē drops to yè by M#H-to-L#H. These regular tone sandhi processes obscure the underlying difference between yè and yē, which is clear before M-tone as (740a-b).

If there is a planned pause between yè/yē and the quoted matter, yè/yē takes the form yēè showing intonational prolongation and falling tone/pitch (§3.7.2).

yè/yē contracts with following vowels. This is common since ‘said’ is often followed without a pause by a pronominal, either a dative complement or the subject of the quoted clause. Examples of contraction of ‘said’ are (740a-b).

The contraction can occasionally lead to confusion with yè (bidirectional case marker) or with yèⁿ ‘and’, which also contract.

yè/yē ‘said’ is a defective quasi-verb and is limited to veridical perfective positive contexts, reporting an actual event of speaking. yè/yē always follows an overt subject. It is itself normally followed without a pause either by a dative PP (742b) or directly by quoted matter. The quoted matter may be a clause or a fragment thereof, such as an NP or adverb (with the rest of the quoted proposition understood). If an overt dative is present, the quoted matter is rarely absent if contextually understood (742e).
b. sèédù yē [ǹ tê] [ǹ gā bē]
S said [1Sg Dat] [LogoSg lpfv come.lpfv]
‘Seydou told me that he is coming.’

c. sèédù yē Ṫàànù
S said tomorrow
‘Seydou said (it’s) tomorrow.’

d. sèédù yē kū
S said Dem
‘Seydou said (it’s) that.’

e. sèédù yē [ǹ tê]
S said [1Sg Dat]
‘Seydou told me.’ (uncommon if not followed by quoted matter)

yē is compatible with interrogation (743a-c) and with relativization (743d).

(743) a. tāmā sèédù yē kū
Q S said Dem
‘Did Seydou say that?’

b. wūlāá yē Ṫàànù
who?.Foc said tomorrow
‘Who said (it’s) tomorrow?’

c. sèédù yē màsì
S said what?.Foc
‘Seydou said what?’

d. [màyⁿ yē Ṫàànù] lāa-màtāy
[Rel said tomorrow] be.where?
‘Where is the one (=the person) who said (it’s) tomorrow?’

yē/yē cannot be negated and it cannot function as a deontic modal (imperative, hortative). It cannot be combined with any preceding nonzero aspect-marking such as lpfv gā/gā or (in conditional antecedents) perfective positive nā(w)/nā(w). In all these combinations, yē/yē must be replaced by the inflectable verb sē/sē (see below). Likewise, only sē/sē occurs as the subordinated ‘say’ verb in ‘X said (that) [Y said …]’, and in other subordinated clauses and VPs (except relatives).
17.1.3 Inflectable verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’

The verb sē/sē ‘say’ is compatible with any inflectional frame (perfective or imperfective, positive or negative, indicative or modal). It is immediately preceded by a pro forma 3Sg object à if there is no other preverbal object NP, even when an actual quotation follows. This à often contracts with the vowel of a preceding inflectional particle (e.g. Ipfv gà/gā). The à is unmistakable in imperatives where it is clause-initial (744b). The verb sē/sē is followed by an optional dative PP denoting the original addressee (in which case the usual free translation has ‘tell’ rather than ‘say’), then by quoted material if there is any.

(744) a. ɲāa sëédù nā= à sē ɲàànù, ɲ gà bè if S if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv tomorrow, 1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv ‘If Seydou says (it’s) tomorrow, I’ll come.’


c. à tā= à sē [hē tē] 3Sg PfvNeg 3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg Dat] ‘He/She didn’t tell me.’ (< à tē à)

d. [tāłāu sāa”] à gā= à sē [day all] 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv [ɔ gā bè] [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv] ‘Every day he/she, says that he/she is coming.’

A variant tē/tē for sē/sē is attested in an alliterative context where ‘say’ is flanked by PfvNeg tē and dative tē and, as in wàŋgé tā = à tā = [à tē] ‘Hare didn’t tell him’. Such a mutation of s to t could also be favored by confusion between the phonologically similar X yā = [à tē] ‘X said to him/her’ (with quasi-verb yē and dative tē) and X yā = à sē ‘X said/told it’ (with bidirectional case marker yē and transitive ‘say, tell’ verb sē). Also, both sē and dative tē are subject to the same intonational modification (sēë, tēë) when the speaker has a planned pause before the quoted matter.
17.1.4 Jussive complement (quoted imperative or hortative)

17.1.4.1 Quoted imperatives and prohibitives

Quoted imperatives take the form [X say [Y Modal … Verb.Pfv …]]. Modal is subjunctive (Sbjn) or prohibitive (Proh). Y is an open-ended NP coindexed with the covert singular or suffixally expressed plural addressee in the original utterance, but updated in the context of the current speech event. This construction can be elaborated by adding a dative addressee, but the lower subject Y remains obligatory: [X say [to Y (or Z)] [Y …]]. The dative is often omitted, since it is usually understood that the original addressee was also the subject Y of the original imperative. Therefore the usual form is [X say [Y Modal …]], and the free English translation ‘X tell Y [Ø to …]’ with Y functioning as main-clause object is syntactically misleading.

If the original command was positive, the quoted imperative clause has subjunctive gālā after the subject (745a). If it was negative, i.e. if it contained prohibitive màⁿ, the original form of the VP including the prohibitive morpheme is retained verbatim, with the addition of an overt subject (745b).

(745) a. à yē  [į] gālā tāwⁿ / …]
   gālā  / yāwⁿ]
      3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg  Sbjn ascend.Pfv / descend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She told me to go up/down.’ (or: ‘He said that I must go up/down.’)

b. ķ jē  [sēēdū mān tāwⁿ]
      1Sg say.Pfv [S  Proh ascend.Pfv]
   ‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ (or: ‘I said that Seydou must not go up.’)

17.1.4.2 Quoted hortatives

A quoted hortative has the same type of structure as described above for quoted imperatives. Positive hortatives are expressed under quotation as subjunctive clauses without a hortative morpheme such as kēyⁿ. Quoted imperative (746a) is similar in syntactic form to quoted hortative (746b).

(746) a. sēēdū yē =  [ē  gālā  digē]
      S  said  [3Pl  Sbjn  eat.Antip.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou told them to eat.’

b. sēēdū yē  [ṅ  tē]  [ē  gālā  digē]
      S  said  [1Sg  Dat]  [1Pl  Sbjn  eat.Antip.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou said to me, “let’s eat!”’
My assistant did allow overt hortative marking in the case of ‘let’s go!’, which has a special hortative form kò só (and variants). In the quoted hortative, kò só follows the subjunctive morpheme.

(747) sèèdù yē = [ē gālā kò só]
S said [1Pl Sbjn Hort go.Pfv]
‘Seydou said (to me), let’s go!’

A main-clause hortative negative has the form of a prohibitive with 1Pl subject. The quoted version therefore has the same form as a quoted prohibitive (preceding section).

(748) sèèdù yē = [ē mān só]
S said [1Pl Proh go.Pfv]
a) ‘Seydou said, “let’s not go!” ’
b) ‘Seydou told us not to go.’

17.1.5 Quoted questions

Both polar and content questions are embedded with sālā ~ hālā ‘whether’. This is all that is needed for polar questions (749a). Content questions additionally retain the content interrogative word (749b-c).

(749) a. à ŋ tiyē gā
3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv
sālā [ŋ̀ káá] gā bōw
whether [1Sg father] be.Loc here
‘He/She asked me whether my father was there.’

b. à tiyē gā
3Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv
sālā wūlāā gā bē
whether who? Ipfv come.Ipfv
‘He/She asked, who is/was coming?’

c. à ŋ tiyē gā
3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv
sālā ŋ gā só mātāy
whether 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?
‘He/She asked me where I was going.’
17.1.6 ‘That …’ complementizers after ‘say’ and other verbs

17.1.6.1 sèè ~ sèdè ‘(said) thus/as follows, …’

Generally yè/yē ‘said’ (or variant) is immediately followed by the quoted matter, except that a dative PP can intervene.

Infrequently (twice in the text corpus), yè/yē (along with the dative PP if present) is followed by a word sèè ~ sèdè (<LML>-toned) ‘thus’ or ‘as follows’ preceding the quoted matter. sèè is evidently related to the transitive verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’, but here it is not preceded by the usual obligatory object. It is rather formal and has a distinctive pitch contour. The final ML tone (or pitch) is reminiscent of the ML-toned intonational effect that occurs at planned pauses, as in à yèè → ‘he/she said, …’ (§3.7.2). sèè ~ sèdè may likewise occur at a planned prosodic break before the quoted matter. However, in (750a) it is followed by a dative PP.

(750) a. [tèèŋ gué] yè sèè [[ňí dùgôn] tē] [elder.sib Def] said thus [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat] ‘The older sister said to her younger sister, …’ (2017-06 @ 01:37)

b. à yè sèè [bō̈ŋ gà [ň̇ kān] ni] 3Sg said thus [here be.Loc [LogoSg chez] it.is] ‘He said, “here is my home.” ’ (2017-06 @ 01:19)

17.1.6.2 màà’ ‘that …’ or ‘in other words, …’

The particle màà’(" that …’ precedes embedded propositions, often optionally. It can reduce to mà or mà before a pronominal subject proclitic. Relevant contexts are those in (751), where X denotes a proposition.

(751) a. perception verbs: ‘see that X’, ‘hear that X’ §17.2.2
b. cognition verbs: ‘know that X’, ‘be aware that X’ §17.2.1.1

The màà’(" clause can also function more loosely as a paraphrase or elaboration of the preceding discourse, roughly as in English in other words, … . Textual examples are 2017-02 @ 02:10 to 02:13 and @ 03:00, and 2017-06 @ 03:24.

When the proposition describes an intention or a hoped-for event, the màà’(" clause functions as a purposive clause (§17.5.6).
17.2 Full-clause propositional complements

17.2.1 Clausal complements of ‘know’ and ‘forget’

17.2.1.1 ‘(Not) know’ with main-clause or ‘whether’ complement

tùyè/tò ‘know’ can be a simple transitive, as in ‘I know it’ (where ‘it’ refers to a proposition) and in ‘I know him/her’ in the sense of acquaintance; see §11.2.5.1. When the complement is a proposition like (752a), the complement follows the main clause, which includes the 3Sg object marker. So (752b) is literally ‘I know it [Seydou came]’. A ‘that’ complementizer māà(“) is optionally preposed to the complement. In positive contexts, as in ‘X know S’, it is understood that the eventuality S denoted by the complement (Seydou’s having come) is veridical. The complement has main-clause form without subordinators.

(752) a. sèēdù bē  
 S come.Pfv  
  ‘Seydou came (=has come).’

   b. ĕ gā =ā tò [(māā) sèēdù bē]  
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [(that) S come.Pfv]  
  ‘I know that Seydou has come.’

When ‘know’ is negated, the complement is treated as nonveridical, whether or not the current speaker believes or knows it to be veridical. In other words, the epistemic modal status of the complement is phrased from the perspective of the subject of ‘know’, not that of the speaker. The English distinction between factive ‘that’ and irrealis ‘whether’ is not made. The complement optionally begins with māā ‘that' or sālā ~ hālā ‘whether’ as subordinator. sālā ~ hālā contracts with following vowel-initial pronominals, as in sālē = ē ‘whether we …’. māà(“) shortens to mā/mā before pronominal subjects, as in mā ē ‘that we …’ and mā ĕ ‘that I …’.

(753) a. m bē  
 1Sg come.Pfv  
  ‘I came (=have come).’

   b. sèēdù nā =ā tò [mā / sālā m bē]  
  S IpfvNeg 3Sg know [whether 1Sg come.Pfv]  
  ‘Seydou doesn’t know whether/that I have come.’
Both ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ interrogatives are replaced by relative marker màwⁿ in the relevant position within a clause embedded under ‘(not) know’ (754a-b). The same màwⁿ can be added to a noun, from human to inanimate, functioning then as embedded ‘which?’ (754c-e).

(754) a. ǹ nā= ̄tò
1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
[màŋ gà bè]
[Rel Ipfv come.Ipfv]
‘I don’t know who/what is coming.’

b. ǹ nā= ̄tò
1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
[seèdù màn di gà]
[S Rel eat.Pfv RemPfv]
‘I don’t know what Seydou ate.’

c. ǹ nā ̄tò
1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
[[yùgôm màn] gà bè]
[[woman Rel] Ipfv come.Ipfv]
‘I don’t know which woman will come.’

d. ǹ nā= ̄tò
1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
[à [yàmbà màŋ] sfàŋ gà]
[3Sg [house Rel] buy.Pfv RemPfv]
‘I don’t know which house he/she bought.’
'Where?' is replaced by the special iterated form of the noun ‘place’ (§14.2.4).

(755) Conexion

1Sg  IpfvNeg  3Sg  know.Ipfv
[seēdū  sō  gà  gūtūⁿ-ma-gēwⁿ]
[S  go.Pfv  RemPfv  place-Rel-place]
‘I don’t know where Seydou went.’

Other content interrogatives preserve their interrogative form when embedded.

(756) a. Conexion

1Sg  IpfvNeg  3Sg  know.Ipfv
sèēdū  gà  bē  mēn-tī̯wⁿ
S  Ipfv  come.Ipfv  how?
‘I don’t know how Seydou will come.’

b. Conexion

1Sg  IpfvNeg  3Sg  know.Ipfv
[jēn  gà  bē]
[how.much?  Ipfv  come.Ipfv]
‘I don’t know how many will come.’

17.2.1.2 ‘Forget that/whether’ with ‘whether’ complement

The complement S of positive ‘X forget that S’ is treated as nonveridical, since the subject X is presently unaware of its truth status. The ‘whether’ particle in the following examples has variants māa and māwⁿ.

(757) a. Conexion

1Sg  come.Pfv
‘I have come.’
b. sèëdu nùmàsàwⁿ [màà ī yàwⁿ]
   S forget.Pfv [whether 1Sg descend.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou forgot whether/that I have (=had) gone down.’

The same nonveridical complement is used under negation of ‘forget’.

(758) sèëdu tè nùmàsàwⁿ [màà m bè]
   S PfvNeg forget.Pfv [whether 1Sg come.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou did not forget that I came/had come.’

For ‘X forget (about) Y’ where Y is an NP, see §8.2.4.4.1.
   ‘Remember’ is expressed with the verb also meaning ‘think, reflect’. It has the same
complements as ‘forget’.

(759) sèëdu miïlài [màà m bè]
   S think.Pfv [whether 1Sg come.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou remembered that (=reflected whether) I came.’

17.2.2 Perception verb with clausal ‘whether’ complement.

When ‘see’ or ‘hear’ has a complement denoting a propositional fact, acquired by the subject
through inference or hearsay rather than immediate observation, the proposition is spelled out in
the form of a ‘that’ clause beginning with màà(“) or variant (§17.1.6.2). The proposition is resumed
in the main clause by a pro forma 3Sg object pronoun.

(760) a. ñ =nā = ā kày
   1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see
   [màŋ jëñàm-bì-gë nà yàwⁿ]
   [that child-Pl-Pl not.be.Loc there.Def]
   ‘I saw that the children were not there.’ (< māwⁿ)

b. ñ =nā = ā minjë
   1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv
   [mà = [āŋ kàã] sò]
   [that [2Sg father] go.Pfv]
   ‘I have heard (=I hear) that your-Sg father left.’ (< màà)
17.2.3 ‘Fear (lest …)’ with ‘whether’ complement

In this construction, the subject painfully imagines a hypothetical future event. The complement has prohibitive màⁿ and a Pfv verb. The primary subordinated verb is often chained to ‘go’ in pejorative function with no requirement of actual motion (§15.2.2). The phrasing is “[I fear] [may X not go and VP],” A negative subordinated clause cannot be directly expressed as such; instead an intermediate clause with ‘say’ (761d) or ‘do’ is required.

(761) a. ṣį gā kwàāŋ [kùŋgóló mān sō [ŋ siw³]]
    1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv [dog Proh go.Pfv [1Sg bite.Pfv]]
    ‘I am afraid that the dog might go and bite me.’

    b. ṣį gā kwàān [sèèdù mān sō [ŋ kwàā]]
    1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv [dog Proh go.Pfv [1Sg hit.Pfv]]
    ‘I am afraid that Seydou might (go and) hit me.’

    c. ṣį gā kwàān
    1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv
    [sèèdù mān sō [[ŋ kó] [[tēē ೫n̂ŋ̂ŋ] nī]]
    [S Proh go.Pfv [[1Sg give.Pfv] [meat bad] Inst]
    ‘I am afraid that Seydou might (go and) give me some bad meat.’

    d. ṣį gā kwàān
    1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv
    [sèèdù mān sā = [à sē]
    [S Proh go.Pfv [3Sg say.Pfv]
    [ŋ nāŋ ŋ kó [pā-sí nî]
    [LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg provide.Ipfv [anything Inst.Foc]]
    ‘I am afraid that Seydou might not give me anything.’
    (lit. “I fear that Seydou, might go and say he, won’t give me anything.”)

17.2.4 ‘Encounter’ with clausal complement

bā = à tiwⁿ ‘come and find (that …)’ or ‘come only to find (that …)’ can be followed by a complete clause. See §15.6 for analysis and examples.
17.2.5 Weak obligational ‘ought’ (kāmbē, kā")

kāmbē ‘ought, should’ is a pseudo-reflexive verb (18.1.2) with a defective inflectional paradigm. As a pseudo-reflexive it is always preceded by ā.

The positive ‘ought to VP’ construction has kāmbē in a perfective positive frame. There is no imperfective counterpart with gā. The VP complement is perfective in form and undergoes no special tone shifts. The absence of a perfectivity opposition is typical of statives.

(762) a. sèedù ā kāmbē sò / bē / yāw / digèmù
    ‘Seydou ought to go/come/go down/speak.’

    b. sèedù ā kāmbē [āŋ] kwāā / kāy / … / …
      [āⁿ]  … / … / yirāwⁿ / …
    ‘Seydou ought to hit/see/help/listen to you-Sg.’

    c. nà ā kāmbē yāw
    1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought descend.Pfv
    ‘I ought to go down.’

    d. ì yè ā kāmbē tāwⁿ
    3Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought ascend.Pfv
    ‘They ought to go up.’

The negative counterpart of kāmbē requires an imperfective negative frame for its own clause, hence (ideally) nā ā kāmbē, but pronounced [nâŋkâmbē]. We might have expected perfective negative #tē ā kāmbē, but this is rejected by speakers. The complement VP is still perfective.

(763) a. sèedù nà ā kāmbē sò / yāw / digèmù
    S    IpfvNeg PsRefl ought  go.Pfv/descend.Pfv/speak.Pfv
    ‘Seydou should not go/go down/speak.’

    b. sèedù nà ā kāmbē [āŋ] kwāā / kāy / … / …
      [āⁿ]  … / … / yirāwⁿ / …
    ‘Seydou should not hit/see/help/listen to you-Sg.’
kāmbē is otherwise invariant in form and does not combine with kōndō (§10.3.1) for past time. One can add sǐlēw’n ‘previously’ to the end of a construction with kāmbē. That kāmbē itself is etymologically composite is suggested by the occurrence of kāⁿ in similar modal contexts with a dative PP instead of a VP as the complement. The residual bē can be identified as the infinitival morpheme.

(764) a. āⁿ ŋ̀ kānj [kālāん tē]
   2Sg PsRefl ought [studies Dat]
   ‘You-Sg should study (=go to school).’ (2017-09 @ 00:01)

b. ŋ =nà ŋ̀ kāⁿ [sɔ̀got tē]
   1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought [farming(n) Dat]
   ‘I ought to do farming.’

17.3 Subjunctive clausal complements (gālà)

Positive subjunctive clauses have post-subject particle gālà followed by a VP with an Ipfv verb. Negative counterparts are similar but substitute prohibitive màⁿ/māⁿ for gālà. In addition to the constructions described just below, subordinated prohibitive clauses occur in quoted prohibitives and quoted negative hortatives (§17.1.4).

One might be tempted to segment gālà as #gā là beginning with Ipfv gā. However, the fact that the following verb is Pfv in form makes this analysis improbable. In addition, #gā là would be expected to have a negation #nā là, which is also nowhere to be seen.

17.3.1 ‘Be possible’ (mànè) with subjunctive clause

Possibility is expressed by juxtaposing an ‘it is possible’ clause with a subjunctive second clause with gālà. The ‘it is possible’ clause has verb màⁿè and a pro forma 3Sg subject resuming the semantically subordinated proposition. All aspect and polarity combinations with mànè are possible, as in ‘is/was (not) possible’, but imperfective positive gā màⁿè ‘is possible’ is common. A parallelistic construction where ‘it is possible that …[subjunctive]’ is repeated as ‘it is possible that not …[prohibitive]’ (or in some other mutually incompatible clause) is redundant, but it can occur (765).
à gā mànè [è gālà bē],
3Sg lpfv be.possible.lpfv [3Pl Sbjn come.Pfv],
a gā mànè [è màm bē]
3Sg lpfv be.possible.lpfv [3Pl Proh come.Pfv]
‘Maybe he/she will come, maybe he/she won’t come.’

17.3.2 ‘Want’ (pāgɔ̄/pāgɔ̀) with subjunctive clausal complement

‘Want’ is expressed by either of two transitive verbs, pāgɔ̄/pāgɔ̀ ‘want, like’ or màa/màa ‘look for, seek; want’ (§11.2.5.2). pāgɔ̄/pāgɔ̀ is a simple transitive in (766).

(766) ū gā dùwɔ̀/mànàmì pāgɔ̀
1Sg lpfv beer/dance(n) like.lpfv
‘I enjoy beer/dancing.’

The same-subject construction ‘X want [(for X) to VP]’ is illustrated in (767). The main clause has the form ‘X want(s) it’ with 3Sg object resuming the event denoted by the subordinated VP. The ‘want’ clause is normally imperfective in form. The subordinated clause has a pronominal subject coindexed to the main-clause subject. For coindexed third person, the subject of the second clause is logophoric (or arguably reflexive). The subject pronoun is immediately followed by subjunctive subordinator gālà, which becomes gālà by regular tone sandhi before an L-tone. Negation is expressed in the main (‘want’) clause (767c).

(767) a. sèëdù gā = à pāgɔ̀
S lpfv 3Sg want.lpfv
[ū gālà pwɔ̀]
[LogoSg Sbjn sit.Pfv]
‘Seydou wants to sit down.’

b. jènàm-bì-gè gā = ā màa
child-PL-PL lpfv 3Sg look.for.lpfv
[ē gālā sàbà dìgà]
[LogoPl Sbjn chicken eat.Pfv]
‘The young people would like to eat chicken.’
Different-subject examples are (768a-b). The basic structure is the same, but now the subject of the second clause is open-ended and for third persons it is not logophoric.

(768) a. [āŋ kā̀] gā = à pāgõ
    [2Sg father] Lpfv 3Sg want.lpfv
    [āŋ gālā bē]
    [2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]
‘Your-Sg father wants you to come.’
b. ŋ̄ kàlà = ā pagɔ́
1Sg Ipfv 3Sg want.Ipfv
[sèédù gālā bē]
[S Sbjn come.Pfv]
‘I want Seydou to come.’

c. ē nā = ā pagɔ́
1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg want.Ipfv
[sèédù gālā dūwɔ̀ mèw”]
[S Sbjn beer drink.Pfv]
‘We don’t want Seydou to drink beer.’ (< dūwɔ̀)

17.3.3 Strong obligational ‘must’ (ŋkàlà ~ kàlà plus subjunctive)

Impersonal and uninflected clause-initial ŋkàlà ~ kàlà functions like French il faut que. The subject is followed by the subjunctive morpheme gālā, then a perfective VP. The Pfv verb in that VP optionally shows the same tonal changes as in polar interrogatives, with final H-tone (§13.2.1.2). The tonal changes occur in (769a,c) but not in (769b,d).

(769) a. ŋkàlà sèédù gālā kiyé / bé / … / … / … / …
gālā … / … / yăwɔ / sò / digèmû / kàmnà-àmá
‘Seydou must go past / come / go down / go / get old.’
(< kiyé, bé, yăwɔ, sò, digèmû, kàmnà-àmá)

b. ŋkàlà sèédù gālā [āŋ kwāά / kày / … / …
[āŋ / / / yirăwɔ / …
[āŋ / / / / / ciyęngé
‘Seydou must hit/help/listen to/see you-Sg.’
(< kwāά, kày, yirăwɔ, ciyęngé)

c. kàlà = ãa gālā [m bâý]
must 2Pl Sbjn [LogoSg leave.Pfv]
‘(said:) “You-Pl must leave me (here)!”’ (2017-05 @ 03:31)

d. ŋkàlà āŋ gālā = ā kày [[āŋ pōgō-lēn] ni]
must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg see.Pfv [[2Sg eye] Inst]
‘You must see it with your own eye(s).’ (2017-06 @ 01:49)
Elsewhere ṭjàl̊à ~ kàl̊à can precede a NP or adverb in the sense ‘(not) except/unless X’ (§19.3.2.4), and it can replace kòrì at the beginning of some greeting formulae (§19.6.1).

17.4 Subjectless VP complements

Complements in the form of a VP (including direct object of transitives) may lack an overt subordinator, or may begin with bè.

17.4.1 VP complement without an overt subordinator

17.4.1.1 Perception verbs with imperfective VP complement

When the complement denotes an event or activity that was directly seen or heard, the complement is phrased as an imperfective VP, even if the event was abrupt. The individual observed is expressed as the object of ‘see’ or ‘hear’ and is not repeated in the complement. The complement may be a simple intransitive (770a-b) or a transitive with a preverbal object (770c).

(770) a. ŋ̄ =nàŋ jènàm-bi-gè kàŋ mànàmì / sèn-dè
   1Sg Sbj/Obj child-PI-PI see.Pfv dance.lpfv / fall-lpfv
   ‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-ing).’

   b. ŋ̄ =nàŋ jènàm-bi-gè mìŋ̄è sùwô-lô
   1Sg Sbj/Obj child-PI-PI hear.Pfv sing-lpfv
   ‘I heard the children sing(-ing).’

   c. ŋ̄ =nàŋ jènàm-bi-gè kàŋ [tèŋ̄ dìgà]
   1Sg Sbj/Obj child-PI-PI see.Pfv [meat eat.lpfv]
   ‘I saw the children eat(ing) meat.’

17.4.1.2 ‘Be afraid to’ (kwà̀n̄) with imperfective or bè VP complement

The verb kwà̀n̄/kwà̄n̄ ‘fear, be afraid’ can function as a simple intransitive with optional dative complement.

(771) a. ŋ̄ gā kwàn̄ [sèèdû tè]
   1Sg lpfv fear.lpfv [S Dat]
   ‘I am afraid of Seydou.’
b. jēnāŋ  gā  kwāān  [tūs  tē]
   child  Ipfv  fear.Ipfv  [fire  Dat]
   ‘The child is afraid of fire.’

If the ‘fear’ verb is Ipfv, it can also take an imperfective VP complement, with covert but implicitly coindexed subject. There is no overt complementizer.

(772) a. à  gā  kwāān  yà-là
   3Sg  Ipfv  fear(v).Ipfv  descend-Ipfv
   ‘He/She is afraid to go down.’

   b. ŋ̀  gā  kwāān  [dūw5  mè-nè]
      1Sg  Ipfv  fear(v).Ipfv  [beer  drink-Ipfv]
      ‘I am afraid of drinking beer.’

   c. āŋ  gā  kwāān  [dū-lā =  ā-ŷ]
      2Sg  Ipfv  fear.Ipfv  [enter.Ipfv  3Sg-Loc]
      ‘You-Sg were afraid to go into it.’ (2017-03 @ 02:52)

If the ‘fear’ verb is Pfv, denoting a temporary moment of fear in the past, the complement is an infinitival VP with bè (773), on which see the following section.

(773) a. à  kwāān  [bē  yâwⁿ]
   3Sg  fear(v).Pfv  [Infin  descend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She was (suddenly) afraid to go down.’

   b. ŋ̄  kwāān  [bē  dūw5 / sōg5  mèwⁿ]
      1Sg  fear(v).Ipfv  [Infin  beer / milk  drink.Pfv]
      ‘I was (suddenly) afraid of drinking beer/milk.’

17.4.2  Infinitival VP complement with bè

We have seen that bè occurs in sequential clauses in the post-subject position in an otherwise perfective clause (§15.3.1). Such clauses have an overt pronominal subject. Semantically, a sequential clause typically denotes a separate event that follows in time the event denoted by the preceding clause.

bè also occurs at the beginning of VP complements that lack an overt subject. Such infinitival complements are semantically integrated into the main clause rather than denoting
distinct events. As in sequential clauses, and as in the future with gà bē (§10.2.2.2), the verb in the infinitival VP is in the Pfv stem. All three morphemes (infinitival, sequential, future) likely derive diachronically from bē ‘come’.

Infinitival bē, like sequential bē, raises to bē by tone sandhi before an L-tone. The distinction between pre-tone-sandhi bē and bē is audible before M-tone.

17.4.2.1 ‘Forget (to…)’ (nungàsaw“) with bē and infinitival VP

The verb nungàsaw“/nungàsâ-nà ‘forget’ is followed by an infinitival VP complement beginning with bē and containing a Pfv verb, in the sense ‘forget (to VP)’. The complement denotes an action type that the subject intended to carry out but that never happened.

(774) a. nungàsâm [bē tâw“/bē]
   1Sg forget.Pfv [Infin ascend.Pfv/come.Pfv]
   ‘I forgot to go up/come.’

   b. sëedû nungàsâm [bē tēē saw“]
   S forget.Pfv [Infin meat buy.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou forgot to buy the meat.’

For ‘forget (that …)’ with a propositional complement, see §17.2.1.2.

17.4.2.2 ‘Prevent’ (hâdâ) with bē and infinitival VP or with imperfective

The verb hâdâ/hâdà, a borrowing from Fulfulde, can function as a simple transitive when the larger context is understood (775).

(775) n= nà“ sëedû hâdâ
   1Sg Sbj/Obj S prevent.Pfv
   ‘I stymied/blocked Seydou.’

If the stymied action is spelled out explicitly, the action can be expressed as a complement in any of three ways. Two options are a subjectless Ipfv verb (776a) and an imperfective negative clause with subject (776b). In either case, if the final verb is transitive an object is added (776c-d).

(776) a. sëedû yè n hâdâ pà-lô
   S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv sit.Ipfv
   ‘Seydou prevented me from sitting down.’
b. sèèdù yè ĭ hādà [n̥ nā pò-lɔ̀]
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv [1Sg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv]
[=(a)]

c. sèèdù yè ĭ hādà [sùgō sà-nà]
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv [goat buy-Ipfv]
‘Seydou prevented me from buying the goat.’

d. sèèdù yè ĭ hādà
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv
[n̥ nà sùgō sà-nà]
[1Sg IpfvNeg IpfvNeg goat buy-Ipfv]
[=(c)]

A third option for the complement is infinitival bè plus perfective VP (777).

(777) a. sèèdù yè ĭ hādà [bè digē]
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv [Infin eat.Antip.Pfv]
‘Seydou prevented me from eating.’

b. à ĭ hādà [bè dùwɔ̀ mèwⁿ]
3Sg 1Sg prevent.Pfv [Infin beer drink.Pfv]
‘He/She prevented me from drinking beer.’

c. à ĭ hādà [bè sùgō sàwⁿ]
3Sg 1Sg prevent.Pfv [Infin goat buy.Pfv]
‘He/She prevented me from buying the goat.’

17.4.2.3 ‘Help’ (yìràwⁿ) with bè and infinitival VP

The verb ‘help’ is yìràwⁿ/yíràn-nà. Its syntax is similar to that of ‘prevent’ (see above). It can be a simple transitive with a human direct object (778a). This can then be expanded by adding an infinitival VP complement with bè.

(778) a. sèèdù (yē) ĭ yíràwⁿ
S (Sbj/Obj) 1Sg help.Pfv
‘Seydou helped me.’
b. sèèdù ñ yîrâwⁿ [bè sùgö sèy]
S 1Sg help.Pfv [Infin goat tie.Pfv]
’Seydou helped me tie up the goat.’

The semantics of ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ are slightly distinct. In the case of ‘X prevent Y [from VPing]’, the covert subject of the lower VP is obviously coindexed with Y and cannot be coindexed with X. In the case of ‘X help Y [(to) VP]’, the covert lower subject is coindexed at least with Y but might also be coindexed with X. If X assists Y directly, for example in a two-person job like carrying a heavy object, then the real agent of that activity is the combined ‘X and Y’. Alternatively, the assistance may be indirect (writing a check, giving permission, etc.), in which case the action is carried out singly by Y. This fine distinction between ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ is usually disregarded by the grammar. However, there is a textual passage where ‘help’ is followed by a sequential clause (not just a VP). The exact sense is elusive.

(779) [è bā = ā yîrâwⁿ]
[3Pl Seq 3Sg help.Pfv]
[à bè bāā [kārângé gû-y]]
[3Sg Seq exit(v).Pfv [trap Def-Loc]]
‘They helped him and he got out of the trap.’
or: ‘They helped him get out of the trap.’ (2017-05 @ 02:59)

17.4.2.4 màà/mäâ ‘be about to’ as fused màà-bè with infinitival VP

The transitive verb màà/mäâ means ‘look for, seek’, leaking semantically into ‘want’. In this sense it can take an ordinary direct object NP, as in à gà wâlêm màà ‘he/she is looking for money’.

In the ‘about to VP’ construction, my assistant pronounces this verb as invariant L-toned màà, making the aspectual distinction only by means of preverbal inflectional particles (e.g. Ipfv gà). The verb is followed by L-toned bè and the perfective VP. The effect is that màà-bè (not #màà-bè) is fused into a single word-form mààbè, even in the Ipfv stem. The examples in (780) show màà and bè as separate words, but one could also transcribe them with mààbè meaning ‘be about (to)’.

(780) a. à màà [bè sëwⁿ]
3Sg look.for.Pfv [Infin fall.Pfv]
‘He/She was about to fall.’ = ‘He/She nearly fell.’

b. à gà màà [bè sëwⁿ]
3Sg Ipfv look.for.Ipfv [Infin fall.Pfv]
[=(a)]
c. à tē mà [bē sēwₙ]
3Sg PfvNeg look.for.Pfv [Infin fall.Pfv]
‘He/She was not about to fall.’

d. à nā mà [bē sēwₙ]
3Sg PfvNeg look.for.Lpfv [Infin fall.Pfv]
[=(c)]

e. ģ ě màn [bē zàkí kwāā]
1Sg Lpfv look.for.Lpfv [Infin Z hit.Pfv]
‘I am/was on the verge of hitting Zaki.’

In this construction, bè (or the second syllable of mààbè) undergoes regular Final Tone-Raising to màà-bè before L-tone (781).

(781) à màn [bē sò]
3Sg look.for.Pfv [Infin go.Pfv]
‘He/She was about to go.’

There is no pronominal subject before bè, as there is in the sequential construction. One might think that màà bè in the preceding examples is really /màà à bè/, but the absence of a subject is shown by (782).

(782) ě / è màn [bē sēwₙ]
1Sg/1Pl look.for.Pfv [Infin fall.Pfv]
‘I was/We were about to fall.’

17.4.3 ‘Begin’ (sindî) with various complements

‘Begin’ is sindî/sindî or sîn/sîn. “Intransitive” ‘begin’ is expressed as a reflexive transitive, in either antipassive (783b) or middle (783c) sense.

(783) a. nā =nàŋ kāyₙ sindî
1Sg Sbj/Obj work(n) begin.Pfv
‘I started the job.’
b. sèèdù (yè) ŋ̄ síndi
S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg begin.Pfv
‘Seydou began (e.g. to work).’

c. kāyⁿ (yè) ŋ̄ síndi
work(n) Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg begin.Pfv
‘The work began.’

The semantically active reflexive type (783b) can be elaborated by a complement. The latter takes any of three forms: 1) an imperfective VP (784a,c); 2) an instrumental PP with verbal noun complement (784b); or 3) a full imperfective clause with coindexed subject (784d). The simple first type seems to be associated with intransitive complements.

(784) a. sèèdù yè ŋ̄ síndi kùtū / yà-là
    sèèdù Œ
    S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg begin.Pfv run.Ipfv / descend-Ipfv
    ‘Seydou began to run/to go down.’

b. sèèdù yè ŋ̄ síndi [kùtū / yàŋ-gū ŋí]
sèèdù Œ
S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg begin.Pfv [run.Nom / descend-VblN Inst]
[=(a)]

c. sèèdù yè ŋ̄ síndi ŋ [ŋ̄ kū-lā]
sèèdù Œ
S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg begin.Pfv [1Sg hit-Ipfv]
‘Seydou began to hit me.’

d. sèèdù yè ŋ̄ síndi
    sèèdù Œ
    S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg begin.Pfv
    [ŋ̄ gā ŋ̄ kū-lā]
    [3ReflSg Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv]
    [=(d)]

17.4.4 ‘Stop’ (tàà, tàà-ní) with nominalized verb or VP complement

Intransitive ‘stop, come to a halt’ is tàà/tàà-là (785a). The causative is tàà-ní/tàà-ní ‘stop (something), cause to halt’ (785b).
(785) a. mòbòli tàà
vehicle stop.Pfv
‘The vehicle stopped.’

b. ʒàndàrmù mòbòli tàà-nì
gendarme vehicle stop-Caus.Pfv
‘The gendarme stopped the vehicle.’

In the sense ‘stop, interrupt (an activity)’, the object of the causative version can also be a noun that denotes the activity. This may be a suffixed verbal noun (786a-b), or an unsuffixed verb (usually more or less identical to the Pfv stem) that arguably functions here as a noun (786c-d). If an object noun is included, its form is compatible with that of a compound initial (786e).

(786) a. è suwō-gù tàà-nì
3Pl sing-VblN stop-Caus.Pfv
‘They stopped (=interrupted) the song.’
(< suwō-gù)

b. è yàŋ-gù tàà-nì
3Pl descend-VblN stop-Caus.Pfv
‘They stopped (=interrupted) going down.’
(< yàŋ-gù)

c. è kùrù tàà-nì
3Pl run.Nom stop-Caus.Pfv
‘They stopped running.’ (i.e. they interrupted their race)
(cf. Pfv kùrù)

d. è wwō / sìjàn tàà-nì
3Pl weep.Nom / breathe.Nom stop-Caus.Pfv
‘They stopped weeping/breathing.’
(cf. Pfv sìjàw”)

e. è tēē-digē / dūwò-mèn tàà-nì
‘They stopped drinking beer.’
(cf. Pfv mèw”)
17.4.5 ‘Finish’ (bày) with place-nominal complement

The translation equivalent of intransitive ‘finish’ is a reflexive transitive kilèwⁿ/kilèn-nà or stative kilè-nà (787). It can have antipassive (787a) or middle (787b-c) sense.

(787) a. ń = nāⁿ ū kilèwⁿ
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj 1Sg finish.Pfv
   ‘I finished.’

   b. mànàmì ū kilèwⁿ
dance(n) 3RefIsg finish.Pfv
   ‘The festivities are over.’

   c. mànàmì kilè-nā ū
   dance(n) finish-Ppl it.is
   ‘The festivities are coming to an end.’

This verb can take a VP complement consisting of, or ending with, a place nominal with suffix -gàwⁿ (uncompounded §4.2.1.5.1, compounded §5.1.6.3). The verb of the complement VP is perfective, subject to minor reductions (sùwō ‘sang’ to sùwō)

(788) a. ì yè = ē kilèn [sùwō / … -gàwⁿ]
   ‘They have finished singing/dancing.’
   (< sùwō-sùwō-lò ‘sing’)

   b. ŋ = nāⁿ ū kilèn dúwɔ-ṃèŋ-gàwⁿ]
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj 1Sg finish.Pfv beer-drink.Pfv -place
   ‘I have finished drinking beer.’

   c. ŋ = nāⁿ ū kílëⁿ [tāŋ / yāŋ -gàwⁿ]
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj 1Sg finish.Pfv [ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv -place]
   ‘I have finished going up/going down.’

17.4.6 ‘Abandon’ (bày) with nominalized VP complement

The verb ‘leave (sb, sth), abandon, leave alone’ is simple transitive bày/bây (789a). It can also take a nominalized VP complement in the sense ‘(definitively) cease VPing; give up VPing’ (789b-d).
17.5 Purposive and causal clauses

A number of constructions can function as purposive clauses. The flexibility is attributable to the fact that a VP or clause immediately following a motion clause is often purposive in function, e.g. ‘come and eat’ = ‘come in order to eat’.

17.5.1 Motion verb plus tonally marked purposive VP

This construction takes the form of a VP added to a main-clause with ‘come’ or ‘go’. There is no purposive morpheme. Instead, the first word of the purposive VP (excluding object pronominals) is modified tonally. The modified word is therefore an intransitive verb, a transitive verb preceded only by a pronominal object, or a noun functioning as object of a transitive verb.

17.5.1.1 Chained intransitive purposive

A same-subject intransitive purposive VP can be added to a main clause with ‘go’ or ‘come’. The purposive verb is segmentally based on the Pfv, regardless of the inflectional category of the main clause. The Pfv verb may have its usual tonal form, or it may undergo tonal changes in this construction only. For variants without the special tonal form, see the end of this section.
(790) presents simple intransitive main clauses. The verbs are kùmù/kùmú-nà ‘sleep’, sā(g)à/sāgà ‘lie down, go to bed’, and pwò/pò-lò ‘sit’.

(790) a. à kùmù
3Sg sleep-Pfv
‘He/She slept.’

b. à sāgā
3Sg lie.down-Pfv
‘He/She lay down.’

c. à pwò
3Sg sit.Pfv
‘He/She sat down.’

The same verbs in purposive function after a main clause are featured in (791). The main clause can be in any indicative category (tense, aspect, polarity). The purposive verb is invariant. In perfective positive clauses, presence of the otherwise optional RemPfv particle is associated with the tone change in the purposive verb (791-792); see discussion of (795-796) below.

(791) a. à bē gā kùmù/sāgā/pwò
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp
‘He/She came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

b. m bē gā kùmù/sāgā/pwò
1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp
‘I came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

c. ĕ bē bē kùmù/sāgā/pwò
1Sg Ipfv Fut come.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp
‘I will come in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

d. ĕ bē kùmù/sāgā/pwò
1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp
‘I come (often) in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

e. à tè bē kùmù/sāgā/pwò
3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp
‘He/She did not come in order to sleep/lie.down/sit down.’
If the main clause is imperative or hortative, the tonally modified purposive verb is not used. Instead, the regular Pfv verb appears (792).

(792) a. (yèⁿ) bē kùmù/ságā/pwò
   ‘Come-2Sg(-2Pl) sleep/lie down/sit down!’

   b. kè só kùmù/ságā/pwò
   ‘Let’s-2Sg go sleep/lie down/sit down!’

The main clause must have simple bē/bē ‘come’ or só/sò ‘go’ as its verb. Other motion verbs do not occur in this construction. My assistant rejected (793a). Even when another motion verb is combined with a following ‘come’ or ‘go’, the final verb is in regular Pfv rather than in purposive form (793b-d).

(793) a. #à tāwⁿ/dwɔ̀ gà kùmù/ságā/pwɔ̀
   intended: ‘He/She ascended/entered in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

   b. à tān/dwɔ̀ gà bē
   3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv come.Pfv
   kùmù/ságā/pwò
   sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv
   ‘He/She came up/came in in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

   c. à tān/dwɔ̀ gà só kùmù/ pwɔ̀
   ‘He/She went up/went in in order to sleep/sit down.’

   d. à tān/dwɔ̀ gà só ságā
   3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv go.Pfv lie.down.Pfv
   ‘He/She came up/came in in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

The form of the intransitive purposive verb, compared with the regular Pfv and Ipfv stems, is displayed in (794). In (794a-e) an {L*H} tone overlay on the segmental form of the Pfv stem produces the purposive. The final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) is raised to H and the rest of the stem is L-toned. In (794f) this overlay is realized as H on stems of the shape Cvwⁿ, the smallest shape allowed for verbs other than ‘come’ and ‘go’. The stems in (794g-h) use the tonally unmodified Pfv stem as purposive, except that the verb in (794h) adds final w. The stems in (794g-
h) have contour-toned Pfv’s and include onomatopoeias (‘sneeze’ in two variants) and a number of borrowings from Fulfulde.

(794) | purposive | Pfv | Ipfv | gloss |
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kùmù</td>
<td>kùmù</td>
<td>kùmù-nà</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wàá</td>
<td>wàá</td>
<td>wàá</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sàá</td>
<td>sàá</td>
<td>sàá</td>
<td>‘laugh (v)’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nùú</td>
<td>nùú</td>
<td>nùú-lù</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
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<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>pìwó</td>
<td>pwò</td>
<td>pà-lò</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dwò</td>
<td>dwò</td>
<td>dò-lò</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>sàgá</td>
<td>sā(g)ā</td>
<td>sāgā</td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>yìràwⁿ</td>
<td>yìràwⁿ</td>
<td>yìrān-nà</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gàammú</td>
<td>gāammù</td>
<td>gāammù</td>
<td>‘yawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kùùnú</td>
<td>kūùnū</td>
<td>kūùnū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>bìríjá</td>
<td>bìríjá</td>
<td>bìríjá</td>
<td>‘roll oneself on ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>màànmí</td>
<td>māànmì</td>
<td>māànmì</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nùmàsáwⁿ</td>
<td>nùmàsáwⁿ</td>
<td>nùmàsà-nà</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>têwⁿ</td>
<td>têwⁿ</td>
<td>tê-lêwⁿ</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sèwⁿ</td>
<td>sèwⁿ</td>
<td>sèn-dè</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
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<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>yìè̀rè</td>
<td>yìè̀rè</td>
<td>yìè̀rè</td>
<td>‘slip’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fààtí</td>
<td>fààtí</td>
<td>fààtí</td>
<td>‘pass away’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gààjò</td>
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<td>gààjò</td>
<td>‘play a child’s game’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fààmù</td>
<td>fààmù</td>
<td>fààmù</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìsòò</td>
<td>tìsòò</td>
<td>tìsòò</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>cìyèwⁿ</td>
<td>cìyèⁿ</td>
<td>cìyè-nè</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My assistant also produces an alternative construction where ‘come’ or ‘go’ is followed by the regular Pfv intransitive verb, without the \{L\*H\} overlay. This is a different construction rather than a variant of the same construction. When the motion clause is perfective positive, the \{L\*H\} overlay is consistently applied when remote perfective (RemPfv) gà follows the Pfv motion verb. This construction is interpreted as explicitly purposive (‘in order to’). (795a’) was rejected.
(795) a. à bē/sō gà kùmú / sàgá / pòw
‘He/She came/went in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

a’. # à bē/sō gà kùmú / sàgá / pòw
intended: =(a)

The overlay is absent when gà is absent. (796a) is not explicitly purposive. (796a’) with purposive {L*H} overlay in the absence of gà was rejected.

(796) a. à bē/sō kùmù/ … /pòw
" bē/sò … / sàgá / …
‘He/She came/went and slept/lay down/sat down.’

a’. #à bē/sō kùmú/sàgá/pòw
intended: =(a)

When the motion-verb clause is other than perfective positive, only the presence/absence of the purposive {L*H} overlay distinguishes the two constructions (797a-b).

(797) a. à gà bē kùmú
3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.Purp
'He/She comes (regularly) in order to sleep.'

b. à gà bē kùmù
3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.Pfv
'He/She comes (regularly) and sleeps.'

17.5.1.2 Chained transitive purposive with pronominal object

When the purposive VP following ‘come’ or ‘go’ is transitive and has a pronominal (including reflexive) object, unless the object is 1Sg ķ (+H) the tonal changes described in the preceding section are applied to the verb in purposive function. As with intransitives, the purposive tone overlay is optional but common.

When 1Sg ķ (+H) combines with the {L*H} overlay, the resulting tone pattern on the verb depends on the verb’s weight and its input tonal form as Pfv stem. If the inputted verb is L-toned
and prosodically light (e.g. CvCv), it becomes all-H-toned. ŋ (+H) by itself is sufficient to raise wàgà to wágà (§3.6.3.1.1), but in this case is makes more sense to apply {L*H} first (wàgà → wàgà), and then have the floating H raise the tone of wà to wà. See especially (804-805) below where trisyllabics have H.L.H patterns as purposives after 1Sg ŋ (+H). When 1Sg ŋ (+H) precedes a verb whose Pfv is contour-toned, the floating H has no effect and the verb gets the purposive {L*H} overlay (798b).

(798) a. à bê gà ŋ wàgà / …
   ŋ … / tòŋɔ̀
   3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 1Sg kill.Pfv/look.at.Pfv
   ‘He/She came in order to see me.’
   (< wàgà, tòŋɔ̀)

   b. à bê gà ŋ sinâ/múú
   3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 1Sg knock.down.Purp/insult.Purp
   ‘He/She came in order to knock me down/insult me.’
   (< sinâ, múú)

With pronominal objects (including reflexives) other than 1Sg ŋ (+H), the pronominal has its usual form and the verb shows the same tonal modifications observed with intransitive verbs (preceding section). The verbs in (799) now appear with LH-tones as opposed to the H-tones in (798a).

(799) a. m bê gà = à / âⁿ wàgà / …
   " " à / âⁿ … / tòŋɔ̀
   1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 3Sg/2Sg kill.Purp/look.at.Purp
   ‘I came in order to kill/look at him-or-her/you-Sg.’

   b. à sô gê = è wàgà/tòŋɔ̀
   3Sg go.Pfv RemPfv 3Pl kill.Purp/look.at.Purp
   'He/She went in order to kill/look at them.'

c. à bê gà m mèwⁿ
   3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 3ReflSg drink.Purp
   'He/She came to drink.' (reflexive)

17.5.1.3 Chained transitive purposive with tone-raised object

Examples (800a-b) are simple transitives, perfective and imperfective respectively.
In (801a-b), ‘take out (his/her) chili peppers’ is converted into a purposive clause with coindexed subject. The main clause with ‘come’ is perfective in (801a) and imperfective in (801b), showing that the purposive clause is insensitive to the aspect of the main clause. The purposive verb, which is ‘take out, remove’ in these examples, has the form of an unmodified Pfv stem in both (801a) and (801b). The only purposive marking is a tonal change on the object: L-toned dändi ‘chili (pepper)’ has become LH-toned dändí.

(801) a. à bē gā ẹ̆ dändí bāgā
  3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[(3ReflSg) chili] take.out.Pfv]
  ‘He/She came to take out (his/her) chili peppers.’ (< dändí)

b. à gā bē ẹ̆ dändí bāgā
  3Sg Ipfv come.Pfv [[(3ReflSg) chili] take.out.Ipfv]
  ‘He/She comes to take out (his/her) chili peppers.’ (< dändí)

The tonology of object nouns in purposive clauses with the same verb ‘take out’ is exemplified in the arrays below. It is consistent with the tonal changes of the same nouns under focalization (§13.1.3). This involves raising the tone of the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) of the final word in the object NP to H where phonologically possible, sometimes triggering secondary tonal changes in preceding syllables. It would be incorrect to conclude that transitive purposive clauses require object focalization. For example, pronominal objects do not take focalized independent form in purposive VPs; instead, they are the usual pronominal proclitics, e.g. in (798) and (799) above. Rather, the final H-tone in a purposive VP is realized on the first prosodic word or constituent of the purposive clause, whether a verb or an object NP.

In an /L/-melodic noun, the final syllable is raised to H before the verb, whether the following verb begins with L or M tone (802a). An /M/-melodic stem is raised in its entirety to H (802b). In iterative and compound nouns and in N-Adj combinations, only the final stem is raised in this way. If the composite input is M-M, it first becomes M-H and ends up as L-H after tone
sandhi (M#H-to-L#H). /H/-melodic nouns can’t get any higher-toned, so they do not change (802c). Nouns with contour-toned melodies also do not change (802d-e).

(802) noun | gloss | ‘in order to take out X’
--- | --- | ---

a. /L/ melody

<table>
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<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dòò</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàndì</td>
<td>‘chili pepper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tíngè</td>
<td>‘stool’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìyòwⁿ</td>
<td>‘ax’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàmbà</td>
<td>‘daba (hoe)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùmbùrù</td>
<td>‘insect’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sòmpùwò</td>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
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b. /M/ melody

*short*

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<td>tēè</td>
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<tr>
<td>tyē</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
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<tr>
<td>timí swóⁿ</td>
<td>‘foul smell’</td>
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*longer*

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<tr>
<td>tigélēwⁿ</td>
<td>‘cut (wound)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùmpóro</td>
<td>‘biting fly sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wārābā</td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōgō-sōgō</td>
<td>‘round basket’</td>
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c. /H/ melody

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<tr>
<td>sōgō</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sórógō</td>
<td>‘door-lock’</td>
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d. …LH

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōgō-léwⁿ</td>
<td>‘gutterspout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timbōgō</td>
<td>‘ladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tājí</td>
<td>‘basket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These tonal changes are not affected by the presence of a pronominal possessor other than 1Sg ŋ́ (+H) before the object noun. In (803a-b), ‘daba’ and ‘chili (pepper)’ have their usual purposive tones.

(803) a. à bē gā [[ŋ̀ dambá(á)] bāgā]  
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[3ReflSg daba] take.out.Pfv]  
‘He/She came in order to take out his/her (own) daba.’

b. à bē gè = [[ē dândí] bāgā]  
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Pl chili] take.out.Pfv]  
‘He/She came in order to take out our chili pepper(s).’

When the possessor of the object is 1Sg ŋ́ (+H), the purposive object noun first takes its regular purposive form, then if there is an initial L-toned sequence, the floating H attaches to the left edge of the noun. The result is HLH, reduced on short noun stems to all-H.

For /L/ melody, if the noun is long enough (trisyllabic, or bisyllabic with initial heavy syllable), both the initial H-tone from the 1Sg possessor and the final purposive H-tone are audible, with an intervening L-tone (804a). If the noun is too short to accommodate the full HLH, it surfaces as H-toned, effectively sacrificing the medial L (804b).

(804) a. à bē gā [[ŋ̀ sómpùwó / …] sàwⁿ]  
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg donkey/chili] buy.Pfv]  
‘He/She came in order to buy my donkey/chili peppers.’

b. à bē gā [[ŋ̀ tìyòⁿ/tyè/dsò] sàwⁿ]  
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg ax/oil/knife] buy.Pfv]  
‘He/She came in order to buy my ax/oil/knife.’

For /M/ melody, the output has the same tones on the object as with /L/ melody, except that monosyllabic Cvv becomes all-H-toned (805b).
(805) a. à bē gā [ŋ̄ wárábá / …] bàgā
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg lion/cut] take.away.Pfv]
‘He/She came in order to take away my lion/remove (=heal) my cut.’

b. à bē gā [ŋ̄ yɔ̀ḡn̄ / téé] sàwⁿ]
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg fish/meat] buy.Pfv]
‘He/She came in order to buy my fish/meat.’

With rising /LH/ melody, the output is HLH if the original L-toned stretch is long enough, otherwise all-H. Example: kàlámàntuwaⁿ ‘giant millipede’, ŋ̄ kàlámàntuwaⁿ ‘my giant millipede’ (whether independent or as purposive object). With some /LH/ CvCv stems like tājî ‘basket’, my assistant seemed to be aiming at 1Sg possessor ŋ̄ tâjî with <HL>H in careful speech but in allegro speech it came out as tâjî.

17.5.2 Clausal hālā ~ sālā ‘whether’ plus sequential clause

Another purposive construction that can be added to any main clause begins with hālā ~ sālā, which also occurs in quoted questions and in dubitative ‘whether …’ clauses (§17.2.1.1). It could be loosely glossed here as ‘in the hope that …’. This is followed by a sequential clause: a subject pronominal, the particle bè, and a VP with Pfv verb. A 3Sg subject pronominal is logophoric if coindexed with the main-clause subject, since the purposive clause expresses the intention of the actor (806a).

(806) a. à dàmbā sàwⁿ
3Sg daba buy.Pfv
[ŋ̄ sālā mè bè piĩⁿ sàgā= [à nī]]
[whether LogoSg Seq millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
‘He救人 bought a daba (=hoe) in order for him to cultivate millet with it.’

b. ŋ̄ dàmbā sàwⁿ
1Sg daba buy.Pfv
[ŋ̄ sālā mè bè piĩⁿ sàgā= [à nī]]
[whether 1Sg Seq millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
‘I bought a daba (=hoe) in order for me to cultivate millet with it.’
17.5.3 Nominalized VP plus postposition làgà

The purposive element can be made explicit by adding làgà (§8.3.1) to a nominalized verb or VP (807). This làgà is a slightly different tonal form of the usual postnominal purposive-causal postposition làgà (§8.3.1). Because it begins with L-tone, a preceding L-toned syllable undergoes Final Tone-Raising (807b).

\[(807) \ à \ bē \ gā \ [\text{§ŋ̄gālē} / \ldots] \ à \ gā \ [\text{§ŋ̄/tōŋē}]\]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg hit.Nom/look.at.Nom] Purp]

‘He/She came here for the purpose of hitting/looking at me.’ (< tōŋē)

b. m bē gā [səgā/kùmū/pwà-gū] làgà

1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [cultivate.Nom/sleep.Nom/sit-VblN Purp]

‘I came to cultivate/sleep/sit.’

(< səgā/səgā, kùmū/kùmū-nà, pwà/pɔ̀-lɔ̀)

17.5.4 Bare subjunctive clause in purposive function

An alternative construction is a motion verb followed by a subjunctive clause, which is bare (without an overt clause-initial complementizer). In (808a-b) the subjects of the two clauses are coindexed, which for third person requires a logophoric subject in the subjunctive clause (808a). It could alternatively be parsed as 3ReflSg, which has the same form as LogoSg.

\[(808) \ a. \ à \ bē \ gā \ [ŋ̄gālā ŋ̄ wōgā]\]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [LogoSg Sbjn 1Sg kill.Pfv]

‘He/She came here in order to kill me.’

b. ŋ nān dāmbā sàw”

1Sg Sbj/Obj daba buy.Pfv,

ŋ̄ gālā [ŋ̄ cîtqê] səgā = [à nì]

1Sg Sbjn [1Sg field] cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]

‘I bought a daba (=hoe) so I can cultivate my field.’ (< cîtqê, səgā)

The subjunctive construction can also be used when the two subjects are disjoint, as long as the second clause is positive (809a). If the second clause is negative, it takes prohibitive form (809b).
(809) ðĩ bē [sàmù-nánní]
1Sg come.Pfv [soap Inst]
āŋ gālā jùgù-yè ŋīnā= [à ní]
2Sg Sbjn garment-Pl wash.Pfv [3Sg Inst]
‘I brought some soap for you to wash the clothes with.’ (<sàmù-náwn, ŋíńī)

b. ē gā bêndè biyēgà
1Pl Ipfv roof replaster.Ipfv
[à mān sō bòwⁿ]
[3Sg Proh go.Pfv leak.Pfv]
‘We will replaster the roof (with mud) so it won’t go and leak.’

17.5.5 hālā ~ sālā or yēlā with future clause in purposive contexts

hālā ~ sālā (§17.5.2) and yēlā are clause-initial dubitative markers that are sometimes translatable as ‘whether’ or ‘hopefully’ and that can occur in quoted or subordinated interrogatives. Here we focus on passages in which the proposition introduced by ‘whether’ expresses an intention or a hoped-for event. In (810a), hālā is best translated as ‘so that’ (purposive). In (810b), yēlā expresses a hoped-for event and the main proposition (chatting) could be construed as the means to this end (Hare keeps talking until Hyena dozes off).

(810) a. [āŋ gā= à kāyⁿ]
[2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]
hālā ē gā bē sûtūrā [kwànn-jí sèbē-y]
whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc]
‘You (will) do it (=work), so that we will be protected (by God) in the matter of rain.’
(2017-02 @ 03:07)

b. sāā-kâⁿ [wàngé gu] gā gālwaājà
now [hare Def] Ipfv converse.Ipfv
[[kàngé gu] bwēy],
[[hyena Def] Comit],
[yēlā ŋ gā bā= à hīlā]
[whether LogoSg Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Pfv]
ŋ gālā ŋ tūwō
Logo Sbjn 3ReflSg depart.Pfv
‘Then the hare was chatting with the hyena. He (=hare) hoped to deceive it (=hyena) and get away.’ (2017-07 @ 00:38 to 00:40)
17.5.6 mā(”n) ‘that’

For mā(”n) or variant ‘that’ in contexts like ‘see/hear/know that X’, where X is a proposition, see §17.1.6.2.

When the proposition introduced by mā(”n) represents an intention or hoped-for event, the construction can be interpreted as purposive (‘in order that’). The subject of the clause need not be coindexed with a constituent in a higher clause. In (811), ‘rain’ is the subject of the purposive clause but is not present in the higher ‘do’ clause.

(811) āā gā màn tì-nà—, [ālā tē]
2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv—, [God Dat
māā kwààn gā bē
that rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv
‘What you-Pl do, for God, so that rain comes?’ (2017-02 @ 02:13)

In (812), a same-subject purposive clause is loosely subordinated.

(812) [ń tē kìi↑], [mā ī gā= ā kùqē]
[LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv], [that LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg steal.Ipfv]
(he said:) “I didn’t get up (intending) that I would steal it.”’ (2017-05 @ 00:51)

17.5.7 Causal clause

For many young people, French parce que is now standard, as in other languages of the zone. Native alternatives are described below.

17.5.7.1 bādì ~ bādì ‘because’

‘Because’ is expressed by bādì ~ bādì at the beginning of the causal clause. It can become bādì before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(813) a. Ë tē sògw-lën sàw’n,
1Sg PfvNeg sheep buy.Pfv,
bādì [ā sòŋŋ] ī kō’n yālō’n
because [3Sg price] PsRefl be.much a.lot
‘I didn’t buy a sheep, because its price is too much.’
b. sèédû tè bē,  
S  PfvNeg  come.Pfv,  
badī  [à nàn]  nà  į  kēnāwⁿ  
**because**  [3Sg mother]  IpfvNeg  PsRefl  healthy  
‘Seydou didn’t come, because his mother is sick.’ (< nāwⁿ)

Textual examples are 2017-01 @ 00:49 and 2017-02 @ 01:42.

17.5.7.2  sābî ~ sābû ‘because’

This is another clause-initial (or preclausal) ‘because’ particle. It belongs to a regional set derived from Arabic *sabab*- ‘reason’. Cf. noun sàâbî ‘cause, reason’ in (354) above.

The assistant generally gave bādī ~ bādî in elicitation, perhaps because he considered it to be more authentic while sābî ~ sābû is a borrowing. Both are frequently set off prosodically from the following clause. sābî ~ sābû is actually more common in texts. Textual examples are at 2017-01 @ 01:57, 2017-03 @ 00:29, 2017-07 @ 01:58, 2017-08 @ 00:30, 2017-09 @ 00:52.
18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive nonsubjects

When the subject and object of a transitive clause are co-indexed, the object is expressed either as a simple pronominal proclitic preceding the verb, or alternatively as a possessed form of ɲìyìwⁿ ‘head’. Thus ‘I saw myself’ can be expressed as “I saw me” or as “I saw [my head].” Other co-indexed nonsubjects including possessors (of nonsubjects) and postpositional complements are usually expressed by simple pronominal proclitics.

The presentation below begins with the pronominal reflexives and covers the ‘head’ reflexives in §18.1.1.6 below.

18.1.1.1 Simple pronominal reflexive objects

In the pronominal reflexive construction, first and second person pronominals have their regular object forms. Third-person reflexive pronominals have the same form as logophorics, and therefore differ from third-person nonreflexive pronominals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(814) category</th>
<th>regular object</th>
<th>reflexive object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Sg</td>
<td>ŋ (±H)</td>
<td>ŋ (±H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>āⁿ</td>
<td>āⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā</td>
<td>āā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 3Sg</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Logo/3ReflSg</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ReflSg ĕ is segmentally but not tonally identical to 1Sg ĕ (±H). Both of these are sharply distinct at least segmentally from nonreflexive 3Sg ā. 3ReflPl ĕ is identical to 1Pl ē, both of them being tonally distinct from 3Pl ē (before tone sandhi).
The pronominal reflexives in (814) can function as object, as nonsubject possessor, or as postpositional complement.

18.1.1.2 First and second person pronominal reflexives

Here the subject is already a 1st/2nd-person pronominal. It has the same form as the subsequent coindexed pronominal, except for variable allomorphs of the 1Sg pronominal.

(815) shows subject-object combinations for perfective positive and imperfective positive. PfvNeg të and IpfvNeg nà follow the pattern of Ipfv gà. The object proclitics have the same forms as in nonreflexive clauses. For example, 1Sg is ķ (+H) both in reflexive ‘I saw myself’ and in nonreflexive ‘They saw me.’

(815) perfective Sbj=Obj ipfv pfvneg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>unlinked</th>
<th>linked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ñ = nàn ķ (+H)</td>
<td>ĵ gā ķ (+H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ĭ y = ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ gē = ĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ā = ān</td>
<td>ānj gā = ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>āā yā = āā</td>
<td>āā gā = āā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker ñè is obligatory in the plural categories, and its allomorph = nàn is obligatory after 1Sg subject. BCM ñè is possible but is usually omitted in the 2Sg, whereupon the two ān morphemes fuse as ā = ān.

The 1Sg forms are illustrated in (816) with /M/-melodic kwáa/kā-lā ‘hit’, and with /L/-melodic kà/kà-nà ‘see’ and kèrè/kèrè ‘throw’.

(816) a. ñ = nàn ķ kwáa / kày / kérè
   1Sg  Sbj/Obj  1Sg  hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw.Pfv
   ‘I hit-Past/saw/throw myself.’

b. ĵ gā ķ kā-lā / kà-nà / kérè
   1Sg  Ipfv  1Sg  hit-Ipfv/see-Ipfv/throw.Ipfv
   ‘I (often) hit-Present/see/throw myself.’

c. ñ tē ķ kwáa / kày / kérè
   1Sg  PfvNeg  1Sg  hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw.Pfv
   ‘I did not hit/see/throw myself.’
d. ǹ nā ă kā-lā / kā-nā / kē-rē
1Sg Ipfv 1Sg hit-lpfv/see-lpfv/throw-lpfv
‘I do not hit/see/throw myself.’

The other three pronominal categories in (815) above are illustrated in (817) for the perfective positive, with kwā ‘hit’ as before, plus tēŋ/tēŋ ‘look at’.

(817) a. ĕ yè= ĕ kwā / tēŋ
1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv
‘We hit-Past/looked at ourselves.’

b. ā(ⁿ) = āŋ kwā / …
" āŋ … / tēŋ
2Sg 2Sg hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv
‘You-Sg hit-Past/looked at yourself.’

c. āā yà= āā kwā / tēŋ
2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv
‘You-Pl hit-Past/looked at yourselves.’

Imperfective positive examples are in (818). Counterparts with IpfvNeg nā and PfvNeg tē have the same tonal patterns.

(818) a. ĕ gē= ĕ kā-lā / tēŋ
1Pl Ipfv 1Pl hit.lpfv / look.at.lpfv
‘We hit/look at ourselves.’

b. āŋ gā= āŋ kā-lā / …
" āŋ … / tēŋ
2Sg Ipfv 2Sg hit.lpfv / look.at.lpfv
‘You-Sg hit/look at yourself.’

c. āā gā= āā kā-lā / tēŋ
2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl hit.lpfv / look.at.lpfv
‘You-Pl hit/look at yourselves.’

The forms illustrated above for reflexive objects can also function as reflexive possessors of object nouns. (819) illustrates with sībō ‘snake’.

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The reflexive possessor forms in (819) are identical to those used for nonreflexive possessor (i.e. not coindexed to the subject). For example, ‘my snake’ has the same form ſíbó in (819a) above and in (820).

(820) à [ň síbó] kày
3Sg [1Sg snake] see.Pfv
‘He/She saw my snake.’

1st/2nd person pronominals can also occur as postpositional complements, even when coindexed with the subject. The most favorable environment for simple pronominals is when they denote spatial landmarks. In (821), the pronominal complement is coindexed with the subject. As usual for 1st/2nd person pronominals, there is no overtly reflexive morphology.

(821) a. ſí =nàŋ kòyòwⁿ yàgā [mù mûù]
1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.down.Pfv [1Sg under]
‘I put the stone under myself.’

b. ē kòyòwⁿ yàgè = [ē mûù]
1Pl stone put.down.Pfv [1Pl under]
‘We put the stone under ourselves.’

Dative tē, by contrast, strongly favors full ‘head’ reflexives.
18.1.1.3 Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ versus 1Sg

The simple pronominal reflexive for 3Sg, i.e. when the subject is a 3Sg pronoun, a LogoSg pronoun, or a nonpronominal NP that would have 3Sg agreement, is ŋ̄. It is also the LogoSg pronominal in any syntactic function (including subject).

Logo (or 3ReflSg) ŋ̄ merges with the 1Sg proclitic due to tone sandhi in some contexts but not others.

(822) context 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg relationship

a. perfective positive, intransitive subject ŋ̄ ŋ̄ homophonalous
   perfective positive, transitive subject ŋ̄ (=nàⁿ) ŋ̄ (=nàⁿ) homophonalous

b. subject, before inflectional morpheme ŋ̄ ŋ̄ distinct

c. nonsubject, before L-tone ŋ̄ (+H) ŋ̄ distinct
   nonsubject, before M-tone ŋ̄ ŋ̄ distinct
   nonsubject, before H-tone ŋ̄ ŋ̄ homophonalous

Perfective positive subjects, intransitive and transitive, are illustrated in (823a-b) for LogoSg and (823a-b) for 1Sg. They are homophonalous, as pointed out in §4.3.4.1.1-2 above.

(823) a. à yē [mū bē]
   3Sg said [LogoSg come.Pfv]
   ‘He/She said that he/she came.’

b. à yē [n̄ (=nàⁿ) sūgō kwāā]
   3Sg said [LogoSg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She said that he/she hit a goat.’

(824) a. mū bē
   1Sg come.Pfv
   ‘I came.’

b. n̄ (=nàⁿ) sūgō kwāā
   1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv
   ‘I hit-Past a goat.’
Subjects in marked inflectional categories are illustrated in (825a-c) for LogoSg and (825a-c) for 1Sg. They are tonally distinct, ŋ̄ versus ŋ̀ (subject to place assimilation, e.g. ŋ̄m versus ŋ̀m before labial).

(825) a. à yē ŋ̄ tè bē
   3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
   ‘He/She, said that he/she didn’t come.’

b. à yē ŋ jī gā bē
   3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
   ‘He/She, said that he/she comes.’

c. à yē ŋ̄ nā bē
   3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv]
   ‘He/She, said that he/she doesn’t come.’

(826) a. ñ tè bē
   1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv
   ‘I didn’t come.’

b. ŋ jī gā bē
   1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv
   ‘I come.’

c. ñ nā bē
   1Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv
   ‘I don’t come.’

Examples (827a-b) illustrate 3ReflSg in nonsubject position before (lexically) L-toned words, and (828a-b) does the same for 1Sg. The floating tone associated with 1Sg is realized on the following word, whereupon Final Tone-Raising cannot apply to the 1Sg morpheme. Therefore 3ReflSg ŋ̄ is doubly distinct from 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H).

(827) a. à ŋ̄ kāy
   3Sg 3ReflSg see.Pfv
   ‘He/She, saw himself/herself.’

b. à jī́ já dó [[ň̄ sògò] tè]
   3Sg water give.Pfv [[3ReflSg sheep] Dat]
   ‘He/She, gave water to his/her sheep-Sg.’
(828) a. à ŋ̀ káy
3Sg 1Sg see.Pfv
‘He/She saw me.’ (<káy)

b. à jíí dó [[ñ̄ sógó] tē]
3Sg water give.Pfv [[1Sg sheep] Dat]
‘He/She gave water to my sheep-Sg.’ (<sógó)

Examples (829a-b) present 3ReflSg nonsubjects before words that begin with M-tone. (830a-b) does the same for 1Sg. Because a following M-tone triggers neither Final Tone-Raising (raising 1Sg ŋ to ŋ̄) nor M#H-to-L#H (dropping Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ to ŋ), the distinction between 3ReflSg (and LogoSg) ŋ̄ and 1Sg ŋ is preserved.

(829) a. à ŋ̄ kwää
3Sg 3ReflSg hit.Pfv
‘He/She hit himself/herself.’

b. à jíí dó [[ñ̄ sūgō] tē]
3Sg water give.Pfv [[3ReflSg goat] Dat]
‘He/She gave water to his/her goat.’

(830) a. à ŋ̄ kwää
3Sg 1Sg hit.Pfv
‘He/She hit me.’

b. à jíí dó [[ñ̄ sūgō] tē]
3Sg water give.Pfv [[1Sg goat] Dat]
‘He/She gave water to my goat.’

Nonsubject function before lexical H-tone is effectively limited to possessor function with /H/-melodic nouns like kúngólō ‘dog’. This is illustrated in (831) for ReflSg and in (832) for 1Sg. Here M#H-to-L#H drops 3ReflSg ŋ̄ to ŋ, merging with 1Sg.

(831) à [ŋ̄ kúngólō] kwää
3Sg [3ReflSg dog] hit.Pfv
‘He/She hit his/her dog.’
Here a reflexive reading can be coerced by using the full reflexive form with ‘head’ (§18.1.6).

18.1.4 Combined logophoric and third-person reflexive function

When the subject is logophoric, a reflexive later in the same clause is both logophoric and reflexive. In both functions the singular form is ĕ, making glossing ambiguous although no referential ambiguity is present. Here “3RefSg” is used in interliners, somewhat arbitrarily.

18.1.5 3Pl reflexive ė

The Logo/3RefPl pronominal ė is homophonous with 1Pl ē. Together they contrast with 3Pl ė. In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker yè is present before the reflexive pronominal. 3Pl subject ė combines with yè as (i) yè (834a,c).

(i)  yè  ė  kwàà / tòŋò
     3Pl Sbj/Obj 3RefPl hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv
     ‘They hit/looked at themselves.’

(ii) è  gè=  ė  kwàà / tòŋò
     3Pl lpfv 3RefPl hit.lpfv / look.at.lpfv
     ‘They hit/look at themselves.’

(iii)  yè  [ē  sibò]  kày
     3Pl Sbj/Obj 3RefPl snake] see.Pfv
     ‘They saw their (own) snake.’

(832) à [ŋ̀ kúngóló] kwàà
     3Sg [1Sg dog] hit.Pfv
     ‘He/She hit my dog.’
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d. è ɲinā dō [[ē sibò] tē]
3Pl mouse give.Pfv [[3ReflPl snake] Dat]
‘They gave a mouse to their (own) snake.’

e. è kɔ̀yōwⁿ yàgà [ē mūù]
3Pl stone put.down.Pfv [3ReflPl under]
‘They put the stone under themselves.’

While 3ReflSg ē is partially distinguishable from 1Sg ē and variants, 3ReflPl ē is indistinguishable from 1Pl ē in the positions where both are possible. Since the bidirectional case marker is obligatory in both readings, the same ambiguity occurs when the subject is a plural full NP. (835a) and (835b) are homophonous.

(835) a. yùgòm-bē y = ē sèy
woman Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg tie.Pfv
‘The women tied themselves.’

b. yùgòm-bē y = ē sèy
woman Sbj/Obj 1Pl tie.Pfv
‘The woman tied us.’

As with 3Sg reflexive object, the only way coerce a reflexive reading is to use the ‘head’ reflexives (§18.1.6).

18.1.1.6 Full reflexives with ‘head’

All of the examples given above with pronominal reflexive objects can be expanded by using a pronominally possessed form of njỳěwⁿ ‘head’, sometimes heard as nỳwⁿ. This is the case with 1st/2nd person pronominals when coindexed to the subject. The floating tone of 1Sg ē (+H) is absorbed by ‘head’ (836b). ‘Head’ is not pluralized morphologically in this construction, even with plural subject.

(836) a. ē gē = [ē njỳěŋ] k5-l5
1Pl Ipfv [1Pl head] hit.Ipfv
‘We hit-Present ourselves.’
b. ŋ̄ =nà [ŋ̄ niyèn] kwāā
   1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg head] hit.Pfv
   ‘I hit-Past myself.’

For third person, the pronominal possessor of ‘head’ is 3ReflSg ŋ̄ or 3ReflPl ē.

(837) a. à gà [ŋ̄ niyèn] k5-l5
   3Sg Ipfv [3ReflSg head] hit.Ipfv
   ‘He/She hits himself/herself.’

b. è go = [ē niyèn] k5-l5
   3Pl Ipfv [3ReflPl head] hit.Ipfv
   ‘They hit-Present themselves.’

The phrasing in (837b) avoids the ambiguity between ‘They hit us’ and ‘They hit themselves’ with simple reflexives.

Proposed examples with ‘head’ added to a nonsubject possessor were rejected (“I know what you mean but it sounds bad”). This may reflect the fact that the equation ‘my head’ = ‘my body’ = ‘myself’ is less of a stretch in simple transitives like ‘I hit myself’ than as possessor (‘my head’s dog’) where the body is sublimated.

On the other hand, ‘head’ reflexives are regular and pronominal reflexives rare (“I know what you mean…”) as complements of the dative postposition tē.

(838) a. ŋ̄ bē [tēè ni] [[ŋ̄ niyèn] tē]
   1Sg come.Pfv [tea Inst] [[1Sg head] Dat]
   ‘I brought the tea to/for myself.’

b. è yàm bà kēbē [[ē niyèn] tē]
   1Sg house build-Pfv [[3ReflPl head] Dat]
   ‘They built the house for themselves.’

18.1.1.7 Reflexive imperatives

A general issue in languages of the zone is whether “imperative subjects” are on a par with regular subjects (i.e. in indicative clauses). The interaction of imperatives with pronominal or transpersonal reflexivization (excluding ‘head’ reflexives) is the key decider. Those Dogon languages that have transpersonal reflexives show that imperatives lack true subjects, though they mark addressee number. In Cliffs, there is no clear evidence pointing in this direction.
In Cliffs, singular-addressee reflexive imperatives occur without an overt subject and with either pronominal or ‘head’ reflexive (839).

(839) a. āŋ kwāà
   2Sg hit.Pfv
   ‘Hit yourself!’

   b. [āŋ ɲiyèŋ] kwāà
   [2Sg head] hit.Pfv
   [==(a)]

For plural addressee, imperative plural morpheme yèⁿ is required (cf. yèm bë ‘come-2Pl!’). It combines with 2Pl āā as yà = āā.

(840) a. yà = āā kwāà
   Imprt.2Pl 2Pl hit.Pfv
   ‘Hit yourselves!’

   b. yà = [āā ɲiyèŋ] kwāà
   Imprt.2Pl [2Pl head] hit.Pfv
   [==(a)]

18.1.2 Lexicalized reflexive and pseudo-reflexive verbs

18.1.2.1 Lexicalized reflexives

Many verbs can occur either in classic transitive clauses and also in reflexive constructions. This is the most common pattern for transitive/mediopassive alternations. In the verbs page in the lexical database, these verbs have double entries, one as “tr” and one as “refl” in the valency column. Some examples are in (841). kùwòjì and yàgà show sharp semantic shifts.

(841) verb (Pfv/Lpfv) transitive reflexive

   bàà-bùwọ ‘warm (sth) up’ ‘warm (oneself) up (in sun, at fire)’
   cìyè-nì ‘assemble, put together’ ‘assemble, come together’
   dàngè ‘post, affix, stick on’ ‘adhere, stick (to sth)’
   dèŋè/dèŋè ‘lean (sth) against (sth)’ ‘lean (oneself) on/against (sth)’
   dirà/dirà ‘push, press’ ‘throw oneself (on sth)’
   fèllà/fèllà ‘detonate (sth)’ ‘burst, explode’
   kàā/kàā ‘shatter (sth)’ ‘be shattered’
Some other verbs occur only in reflexive clauses (842). If they have transitive counterparts the latter are suffixed causatives. These include verbs of internal or internally caused conditions, but also two motion verbs (béwⁿ, tūwô).

(842) verb (Pfv/Ipfv) reflexive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>béwⁿ/bén-dë</td>
<td>‘return, go/come back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birijá/birijá</td>
<td>‘(donkey, horse) roll over on ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dükör³/dükör³</td>
<td>‘take pains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gungulí/gungulí</td>
<td>‘(e.g. barrel) roll along on the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käamá/käämá</td>
<td>‘tell a lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miïla/miïlà</td>
<td>‘think, reflect on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlëwⁿ/mülën-nà</td>
<td>‘do on purpose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nõstõ-mõ-ni/nõstõ-mõ-nì</td>
<td>‘build up courage, buckle up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piri-piri/piri-piri</td>
<td>‘writhe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tānī/tānī</td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūwô/tūwô</td>
<td>‘depart, leave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these reflexive verbs occur in clausal frames like those in (843). The important point is that the reflexive pronoun in object function agrees with the subject, and that plural pronominal subjects have the ýë bidirectional case marker. In the 3Sg case, the reflexive pronominal is ŋ before assimilations.
(843) à m bēwⁿ ‘he/she returned’
ì y = ē bēwⁿ ‘they returned’
āā yà = āā bēwⁿ ‘you-Pl returned’

18.1.2.2 Pseudo-reflexives

Pseudo-reflexives are an important type of adjectival predicate. A partial paradigm of dēwⁿ ‘be sweet, delicious, pleasing’ is (844).

(844) à n dēwⁿ ‘it is sweet’
ì yè n dēwⁿ ‘they are sweet’
āā yè n dēwⁿ ‘you-Pl are sweet’

Comparing this with the preceding subsection, we see that pseudo-reflexives have invariant ū, versus a full paradigm that includes 3ReflSg ū among other pronominals for (true) reflexives. In the very common 3Sg subject case, the two constructions can be confused, especially since tone sandhi merges ū and ū except before M-tone.

For further details and an inventory of pseudo-reflexives, see §11.4.1.2.

18.1.3 Reflexive subject in subordinated clauses

3ReflSg ū can also function as subject of a subordinated clause, when coindexed to the main-clause subject (845a-c). Likewise with 3ReflPl ē (845d).

(845) a. sèě dú nā = à pōgò
S  IpfvNeg  3Sg  like.Ipfv
[ū gālā ū kó] [wólén ni]
[3ReflSg Sbjn 1Sg provide.Pfv [money Inst]]
‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me money.’ (§17.3.2)

b. sèě dú yè ū sīnī
S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg begin.Pfv
[ū gā ū kɔ-lā]
[3ReflSg Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv]
‘Seydou began to hit me.’
c. kwààⁿ  yè  ŋ  sìnì  
S  Sbj/Obj  3ReflSg  begin.Pfv  
[ŋ̄  gā  sà-nà]  
[3ReflSg  Ipfv  rain.fall-Ipfv]  
‘Rain began to fall.’

d.  yùgòm-bè  yè  =  ē  sìnì  
woman-Pl  Sbj/Obj  3ReflPl  begin.Pfv  
[ē  gā  ŋ  kà-là]  
[3ReflPl  Ipfv  1Sg  hit-Ipfv]  
‘The women began to hit me.’

An argument might be made that some such examples have logophoric rather than third-person reflexive subject pronominals. This is a matter of construal, usually involving no referential ambiguity or formal differentiation. For example, in (845a) the subordinated proposition ‘Seydou give me money’ could be construed as part of Seydou’s thought process. However, such a construal would be difficult or impossible in other cases such as (845c).

Further examples with coindexed subjects are (846a-b), with ‘know’ as the upstairs verb. (846c) with noncoindexed 1Sg downstairs subject ŋ is subtly different tonally from 3ReflSg ŋ (846b).

(846) a. ŋ  gā  =  ā  tò  
1Sg  Ipfv  3Sg  know.Ipfv  
[ŋ̄  gā  màn  ti-nà]  
[1Sg  Ipfv  Rel  do-Ipfv]  
‘I know what I’m doing.’

b. sèèdù  gā  =  ā  tò  
S  Ipfv  3Sg  know.Ipfv  
[ŋ̄  gā  màn  ti-nà]  
[3ReflSg  Ipfv  Rel  do-Ipfv]  
‘Seydouₓ knows what heₓ’s doing.’

c. sèèdù  gā  =  ā  tò  
S  Ipfv  3Sg  know.Ipfv  
[ŋ̄  gā  màn  ti-nà]  
[1Sg  Ipfv  Rel  do-Ipfv]  
‘Seydou knows what I’m doing.’
Any potential ambiguity can be avoided by fronting the relative clause as a preclausal topic, with a resumptive pronominal in the following full clause. This is the case in (847a-b), both of which are unambiguous.

(847) a. ɖ̀ ɲ̀ gè = ёнį [màn tē]  
1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Rel Dat]  
ɖ̀ gā wɔ̀ gò tī-nà  
1Sg Ipfv 3Sg.Indep do-Ipfv  
‘I do what I can (do).’  
(lit. “What I can, that is what I do.”)

b. sèeɗù gè = ёнį [màn tē]  
S Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Rel Dat]  
à gā wɔ̀ gò tī-nà  
3Sg Ipfv 3Sg.Indep do-Ipfv  
‘Seydou, does what he can (do).’  
(lit. “What Seydou can, that is what he does.”)

18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns (mostly absent)

Other than regular focalization, there are no special emphatic pronominal forms comparable to the emphatic (nonreflexive) sense of X-self/selves in English.

Exclusivity is marked for pronouns in the same way as for nonpronominal NPs. See especially §19.3.2.3 for ‘one; alone’ and ‘only’ in the context ‘unassisted, without anything else’.

Likewise, specificity in the context ‘personally, in person, instead of someone or something else’ is expressed by jàâtti ‘exactly’. See §8.4.2.1 for examples.

18.2 Obviation

18.2.1 kèwⁿ ‘one’ as obviative

kèwⁿ (and variants) ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1) can occur twice in parallelistic passages denoting different individuals (848).

(848) [à gā kèem pwɔ̀-nì [tì sém] pà],  
[3Sg untill.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] Comit],  
[à gā kèem pwɔ̀-nì [tì kòndó] pà]  
[3Sg untill.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] Comit]  
‘It (=bird) had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.’
kēⁿ can also occur spontaneously in the obviative sense ‘the other’, in contrast to another referent that is more topical in a given passage. Both referents must have been previously introduced, either individually or as member of a plural. In this context, kēⁿ combines with definite gu. The background to (849) is that two suspects in a theft have been apprehended.

(849) à yē [ń-dɔ̀gò tā = ā kūqè kóy],
3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv Emph],
[kēⁿ gù] ā kūqè gà,
[one Def] 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv,
[kēⁿ gù pē] yē [ā ğ kàmà kóy]
[one Def also] said [3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv Emph]
‘He (=the thief) said, “I sure didn’t steal it! The other one stole it!”’ The other one likewise said, “he sure lied.”’ (2017-05 @ 00:38 to 00:41)

18.2.2 Ṽǎmà ‘someone else’

The noun Ṽǎmà means ‘someone else’, i.e. anyone other than the topical referent (cf. French autrui). It is attested as possessor: Ṽǎmà dáábá ‘somebody else’s (livestock) animal’ (2017-05 @ 01:34). Cf. ŋǐmǐ ‘person’.

18.2.3 kú pē ‘that (other) one too’ as obviative

Absolute (non-modifying) demonstrative kú ‘this/that’ is mostly deictic but can also refer back to previously introduced discourse referents. In combination with pē ‘also, too’, it can function as an obviative ‘that (other) one (too)’.

(850) [sā-kɔⁿ ā gā só] [[tēe gū] dēe gū̩r̩-mā-giwⁿ]
[now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]
jākà [[kū pē] p̩g̩-l̩wⁿ] ŋ̩ Ṽê
lo! [[Dem too] eye] 3ReflSg open.Pfv
‘Now (while) he (=hare) was on his way to take the meat, lo! The eyes of that other one (=hyena) opened.’ (2017-07 @ 00:57)
18.3 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.3.1 Logophorics

The forms used for third-person reflexives, 3Sg ŋ and 3Pl ē, are also used as logophorics. A logophoric is an anaphoric pronominal inside a quotation, which may be a quotation of thought or speech. The pronominal is coindexed to the ascribed author of the quoted material. In other words, a logophoric is an embedded ‘I/me’ or ‘we/us’.

As with reflexives, we must consider the relationship between 3Sg logophoric ŋ and 1Sg ŋ and allomorphs, and that between 3Pl logophoric ē and 1Pl ē (as opposed to regular 3Pl ē). We saw in §18.1 above that the 3Sg reflexive is not the same morpheme as 1Sg, though in some contexts they are homophonous. We also saw that 3Pl reflexive converges in form with 1Pl as possessor or as postpositional complement, while converging instead with nonreflexive 3Pl in simple reflexive objects.

The relationship between third person and first person takes on an added dimension in logophorics. Whereas any convergence between these persons in reflexives is a matter of accidental homophony, in logophorics it would have a sound semantic basis. This is because ‘Seydoux said that he came’ with logophoric (i.e. coindexed) ‘he’ is the quoted version of ‘I came’ uttered by Seydou.

Logophorics and first-person pronouns fall together systematically as subjects of quoted sentences (ŋ). In non-subject functions, logophoric singular and 1Sg do not merge, but logophoric plural and 1Pl do.

18.3.1.1 No logophorics for second-person

Pronominals in quoted material that are coindexed to a second-person author take regular second-person (not logophoric) form. yè/yē ‘said’ after 2nd person subjects combines irregularly with 2Sg subject ā as ā jē ‘you-Sg said’. If a referent in the quoted matter following ‘you-Sg said’ or ā yè ‘you-Pl said’ happens to be the current addressee, it appears in 2Sg or 2Pl rather than logophoric form, even though it is coindexed with the quoted speaker (author). In other words, current speech-event deixis trumps logophoricity.

(851) a. ān jà = [ām bē]
2Sg said [2Sg come.Pfv]
‘You-Sg said that you-Sg came.’

b. āā yà = [āā bē]
2Pl said [2Pl come.Pfv]
‘You-Pl said that you-Pl came.’
18.3.1.2 Examples of logophorics

The distinction between 1Sg and 3RefI forms is covered in §18.1.2-3. Since 3RefI forms are identical, much of that commentary applies to LogoSg versus 1Sg. One twist specific to logophorics as opposed to reflexives is that logophoric and 1Sg subject pronouns very often follow quotative verbs, the most common of which is the quasi-verb ỳè/yē 'said'. This is followed by a logophoric subject only if the subject of ‘said’ is a third person pronoun or an NP that has third person agreement. The ‘said’ quasi-verb is yē after L-tone (e.g. 3Sg à yē, 3Pl ì yē), otherwise yè, prior to tone sandhi. Examples (852a-c) are representative.

(852) a. sèèdù yē [mì bē]
S said [LogoSg/1Sg come.Pfv]
‘Seydou, said that he/I came.’

b. yùgòm-bè yē = [ë bē]
woman-Pl said [LogoPl/1Pl come.Pfv]
‘The women said that they/we came.’

c. à yē [mì bē]
3Sg said [LogoSg/1Sg come.Pfv]
‘He/She said that he-or-she/I came.’

d. è yē = [ë bē]
3Pl said [LogoPl/1Pl come.Pfv]
‘They said that they/we came.’

As subjects of Pfv positive quoted clauses, logophorics are indistinguishable from corresponding first person pronouns. Therefore (852a,c) can also be parsed as having 1Sg (‘Seydou/he-or-she said that I came’) instead of LogoSg, and (852b,d) can be parsed as having 1Pl (‘The women/they said that we came’) instead of LogoPl.
However, if the quoted clause has a marked inflectional particle (negative, imperfective, or subjunctive) following the subject, 1Sg is L-toned ŋ (853a) and distinct from LogoSg ŋ̄ (853b). With ‘Seydou’ as subject, the distinction is reinforced by the tones of ‘said’.

(853) a. sèędù / à yē [ń̂ tɛ bę]
S / 3Sg said [1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
‘Seydou/He-or-she said that I didn’t come.’

b. sèędù yē [ń̂ tɛ bę]
S said [LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
‘Seydou, said that he didn’t come.’

c. à yē [ń̂ tɛ bę]
S said [LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
‘He/She said that he/she didn’t come.’

By contrast, 1Pl ē is still homophonous to LogoPl ē (854).

(854) a. yùgòm-bę yē = [ē tɛ bę]
woman-Pl said [LogoPl/1Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv]
‘The women said that they/we didn’t come.’

b. ē yē = [ē tɛ bę]
3Pl said [LogoPl/1Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv]
‘They said that they/we didn’t come.’

Likewise, if the subject of the quoted clause has a pronominal possessor, 1Sg ŋ (+H) is usually distinguishable from LogoSg ŋ̄ (855a-c). When ŋ and ŋ̄ merge as ŋ before an H-tone (‘dog’) as in (855c), if ‘Seydou’ is the subject of ‘said’ there is still an audible distinction (yē versus ȳ), but if 3Sg à or 3Pl è is the subject of ‘said’ this fails and total homophony results.

(855) a. sèędù / à yē [[ŋ̄ náá / …] sèwⁿ]
[[ŋ̄ … / kúngóló]
S / 3Sg said [[1Sg cow/dog] fall.Pfv]
‘Seydou/He-or-she said that my cow/my dog fell.’

b. sèędù/… yē [[ń̂ náá] sèwⁿ]
… / à yē
S/3Sg said [[LogoSg cow] fall.Pfv
‘Seydou/He-or-she said that his/her (own) cow fell.’
c. sèëdù/… yē [[ŋ̀ kǔngóló] sēw à]
   …/à yē
   S/3Sg said [[LogoSg dog fall.Pfv
   ‘Seydou, He-or-she, said that his/her (own) cow fell.’

In other functions such as postpositional complements, the analysis of first person versus third
person reflexives in §18.1 above is applicable to first person versus logophoric.

18.3.2 Logophorics in stacked quotations

Two clauses down, two logophorics can be coindexed with two quoted authors at different levels
(856). In one reading, Seydou accuses Amadou of threatening to kill him. In another, Seydou says
that Amadou accused him of threatening to kill him.

(856) sèëdù yē, áamádù yē
   S said, A said
   [ŋ̀ gā ŋ̀ wàgā]
   [LogoSg Ipfv LogoSg kill.Ipfv]
   ‘Seydou, said that Amadou said that he will kill him.’ (Amadou kill Seydou)
or: ‘Seydou, said that Amadou said that he will kill him.’ (Seydou kill Amadou)

18.4 Reciprocal

In reciprocals, subject and object NPs denote sets. They are sloppily coindexed, i.e. at least some
nonreflexive subject-object pairings within the set are asserted to have occurred.

The reciprocal morpheme morpheme bwɔ̀ is syntactically a noun and represents a
grammaticalization of the noun bwɔ̀ ‘peer, agemate, companion’. As a reciprocal it occurs in
nonsubject grammatical functions, most often object. It is normally coindexed to the clausemate
subject.

18.4.1 Reciprocal object bwɔ̀

In (857), the sloppily coindexed NP is the object of a transitive verb.

(857) a. ē bwɔ̀ kāy
   1Pl Recip see.Pfv
   ‘We saw each other.’
b. jënäm-bī-gē bwō kwāā  
   child-Pl Recip hit.Pfv  
   ‘The children hit each other.’

c. è gā bwō kā-lā  
   3Pl lpfv Recip hit-lpfv  
   ‘The children hit-PPresent each other.’

d. āā mām bwō mūū’m  
   2Pl Proh Recip insult.Pfv  
   ‘Don’t-2Pl insult each other!’ (< mà’

18.4.2 Reciprocal bwō in other functions

The sloppily coindexed NP may also be the complement of a postposition (858a) or the possessor of a nonsubject NP (858b).

(858) a. è gā kāy’n [bwō bwēy]  
   3Pl lpfv work.lpfv [Recip Comit]  
   ‘They work with each other.’ (< kāy’)

b. è [bwō yāmbā] bwō  
   3Pl [Recip house] burn.Pfv  
   ‘They burned each others’ houses.’

18.4.3 bwēy ‘together’

This adverb derives from bwō ‘agemate’. It is an old locative *bwē-ŷ with suffix -ŷ.

(859) è gā bē [kē̄gū yēŷ’n [yūgöm pēndē gū]  
   3Pl lpfv Fut [man and [woman two Def]  
   bāy so bwēy  
   leave.Pfv go.Pfv together  
   ‘They were going to leave the man and the two women together.’ (2017-06 @ 00:58)

bwēy is also common as a comitative postposition (§8.1.2.2.1).
19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (kɔⁿ)

The morpheme kɔⁿ is added to an NP or pronominal clitic to make it a topic (‘as for X’). The 1Sg pronominal combination ‘as for me’ is ḋ kɔⁿ, based on 1Sg allomorph ḋ (+H) with floating H-tone. Otherwise the morpheme is L-toned kɔⁿ. Before another L-tone it is heard as <LM>-toned kɔⁿ after tone sandhi, and this can be flattened to kɔⁿ. Nasality is realized as a homorganic nasal before stops, nasals, and l that follow without a prosodic break, hence [ē kɔm] bē ‘as for us, we came’ and [ē kɔm] pwo ‘as for us, we sat’.

The translation ‘as for’ is misleading since topicalized NPs often occur clause-internally, especially with pronouns. In (860a-b) the topical NP functions as subject and there is no prosodic break between it and the remainder of the clause. Likewise, (860c-d) show topicalized NPs functioning as objects in normal clause-medial object position.

\[(860)\]
\[
a. [ṉ kɔŋ] gà dūgā digā  
[1Sg Topic] lpfv rice eat.lpfv  
\text{‘As for me, I eat rice.’}
\]
\[
b. [sèdū kɔŋ] sō  
[S Topic] go.Pfv  
\text{‘As for Seydou, he has gone.’}
\]
\[
c. sèdū tē [ṉ kɔŋ] kwāā  
[S PfvNeg] [1Sg Topic] hit.Pfv  
\text{‘As for me, Seydou didn’t hit me.’}
\]
\[
d. nōgōrā-āmā [kāŋgō gū kɔⁿ] tūn-ni gà  
difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv  
\text{Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear.’ (2017-03 @ 03:10)}
\]

For a perhaps unrelated kɔⁿ in subject topics in clauses often translated as ‘already’, see §10.2.1.5. kɔⁿ is also commonly part of the greeting response bà sī kɔⁿ ‘there is no trouble’ (i.e. ‘we/they are all fine’), and the (slightly worried) greeting question kērɛn ní kɔⁿ ‘is everything all right?’
Topic marker k₃ⁿ is homophonous to demonstrative k₃ⁿ (§4.4.2) but they occur in different positions. This allomorph of the demonstrative precedes a modified noun (which is subject to a floating M-tone), while k₃ⁿ follows an NP (or more often a pronominal proclitic).

Topic-marking k₃ⁿ can be followed by sāᵃⁿ ‘all’, at least after pronominal clitics. There is little indication of topicality in this combination. This suggests that k₃ⁿ is on the way to fusing with the pronominals, to form a new series of independent pronouns (861). A similar evolution of lāᵃ is mentioned in the following subsection.

(861) [è k₃ⁿ sāᵃᵐ] bē gè =
[3Pl Topic all] come.Pfv RemPfv
[[ē kòlòm-mìyéñf] nē = ] [ē pà]
[[3ReflPl skin-fixing] Inst] [1Pl Comit]
‘They all brought their leatherworking (skill) to us.’ (2017-02 @ 01:58)

Fusion is also in progress in high-frequency combinations like sāᵃ-k₃ⁿ ‘now’ (§8.4.6.1), which sets the temporal scene.

Topic marker k₃ⁿ can appear prepausally, with or without a preceding complement, in a special type of confirming backchannel utterance made by an interlocutor. For example, if speaker 1 makes a statement or identificational question about Zaki, speaker 2 may reply with zākı k₃ⁿ. If speaker 1’s utterance ended with ‘Zaki’, speaker 2 may simply utter k₃ⁿ. In these confirming utterances, the tone is <LH> instead of <LM>, suggesting that final H is added for focus. As mentioned previously, there are not enough IPA tone diacritics to distinguish <LM> from <LH>. In this grammar ɔ̌ etc. usually marks <LM> tone, but it can also mark the rare <LH> syllables that are due to focus or other final-H constructions.

In text 2017-01 @ 08:08-11, speaker 1 asks speaker 2 which clan name is the second most common in the village, and speaker 2 answers: Cissé. Speaker 1 then repeats this name, to show uptake or to request confirmation. Speaker 2 then utters <LH>-toned k₃ⁿ to confirm.

19.1.2 Interrogative topic (lāᵃ, -dāᵃ, lāᵃ)

This alternative topic morpheme is associated mainly with interrogatives. The abbreviation is QTop in interlinears. It takes the basic form lāᵃ after nonpronominal NPs. Pronominal combinations are written as single words with a hyphen, since some of them undergo the shift l to d (§3.4.1.1). The same shift occurs in independent pronouns.

The context for lāᵃ is somewhat similar to that of English topicalizer ‘what about X?’ preceding an interrogative. The topicalized constituent is usually the subject and therefore clause-initial. However, clause-medial topicalized constituents such as objects are also possible (862c).
(862) a. än-lää  gā  màsí  digà
   2Sg-\textit{QTop}   Ipfv  what?  eat.Ipfv
   ‘And you, what do you eat?’  (variant än-dää)

b. [sèëdù  lää]  gā  bōwⁿ
   [S   \textit{QTop}]  be.Loc  here
   ‘As for Seydou, is he here?’

c. tāmà  sèëdū  yà =  än-lää  kwää
   Q  S  Sbj/Obj  2Sg-\textit{QTop}  hit.Pfv
   ‘As for you, did Seydou hit you?’

The pronominal combinations are in (863).

(863) a. 1Sg  ñ-dää
   LogoSg  ñ-dää
   2Sg  än-lää  ~  añ-dää

b. 1Pl, LogoPl  ĕ-lää
   2Pl  āā-lää
   3Sg  à-lää
   3Pl  ĕ-lää

In the form lää, what appears to be the same morpheme (at least etymologically) occurs clause-
finally, creating a topical clause (‘it being the case that …’) that sets up a following clause. In
(864), a protagonist has just stated that he is on his way to Mecca.

(864) ì  yë  [ân  gā  sō  māgà  lää],
   3Pl  said  [2Sg  Ipfv  go.Ipfv  M  \textit{QTop}],
   âñ  gā  sō  mwò  tiyⁿ  yāwⁿ
   2Sg  Ipfv  go.Ipfv  which?  do.Pfv  there.Def
   ‘They said: “given that you’re going to Mecca, what will you-Sg go and do there?”’  
   (< tiwⁿ) (2017-05 @ 02:32)

However, clause-final lää from (local) French \textit{là} (§19.4.3.6) is easily confused with this lää.
19.1.3 ‘Also, too’ (pē)

pē can be added to any NP including pronouns, in any syntactic position. In (865e), pē has scope over the possessor ‘Seydou’ (there is no straightforward English translation that brings this out).

(865) a. [kôŋgóló pē] bē
dog too come.Pfv
‘The dog came too.’

b. à [m pē] kwāā
3Sg [1Sg too] hit.Pfv
‘He/She hit me too.’

c. [à pē] yè =ŋ kwāā
[3Sg too] Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv
‘He/She too hit me.’

d. àⁿ wólén dō [m pē] tē
2Sg money give.Pfv [1Sg too] Dat
‘He/She gave money to me too.’

e. [[sèèdū pē] mòbölî] māyⁿ
[[Seydou too] vehicle] be.ruined.Pfv
‘Seydou’s vehicle too broke down.’

pē is not used with clausal scope.

19.1.4 ‘Even’ (hàli)

‘Even’ can be expressed with hàli, the local variant of a regionally widespread form. It is limited to clause-initial position, indicating that it is not syntactically bracketed with any specific constituent. In (866a) the pragmatic focus is on the verb, while in (866b) it is on the subject (‘child’). A nonverbal constituent can be singled out by adding pē ‘too’ as in (866b).

(866) a. hàli à tē bōy
even 3Sg PfvNeg greet.Pfv
‘He/She didn’t even say hello.’
19.1.5 ‘A fortiori’ (sökààlà)

This form is likely composite at least etymologically, roughly *soŋko plus *hala. The first part resembles ‘a fortiori’ forms in other languages of the region (e.g. Bambara sāŋko, Kelenga jāŋgò). For the second part cf. hālā/sālā (§17.5.2).

sökààlà precedes the relevant constituent. An example is (694b) in §15.4.3, taken from 2017-03 @ 01:24 to 01:28.

19.2 Preclausal discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘But …’ (kāā, ģágà)

‘But …’ is expressed by clause-initial kāā or a variant such as ģágà (867a-b). These are local variants of widespread regional forms. kāā occurs several times in the recordings and seems to be the usual form in Cliffs. ģágà occurred in several elicited utterances, perhaps under the influence of other Jenaama varieties. In recordings, kāā may shorten to kā before a nasal subject pronominal, as in kā ŋ tē kii ‘but I did not get up’ (2017-05 @ 03:27). However, kāā can also be set off prosodically before the clause proper, in which case it is subject to intonational effects (including prolongation) that make identification of lexical tones difficult.

(867)

a. sèëdù bē [ŋgā = ă tē digē]
   S come.Pfv [but 3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]
   ‘Seydou came, but he didn’t eat.’

b. ñ digē [ŋgā sèëdū tē digē]
   1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv [but S PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]
   ‘I ate, but Seydou didn’t eat.’

c. kā [ñi = ġā = ġā kūŋgē ġā lā]
   but [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv Emph]
   ‘(said:) “but when I stole it, …” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:51)

d. kāā tîmî nî
   but python it.is
   ‘but it was a python’. (2017-06 @ 00:43)
19.2.2 ‘Like …’ (sànà)

This preclausal particle occurs before a clarifying clause. Compare English *in other words*, ... or *that is to say*, ... or *for example*, ...

(868) àm minjē↑,
2Sg hear.Pfv,
sànà, àn-dàā tè [kú sāāⁿ] fāāmū↑
like, 2Sg-QTop PfvNeg [Dem all] understand.Pfv
‘Did you hear? Like, have you not understood all that?’ (2017-03 @ 02:20)

Similar forms occur in some other languages of the region, including Songhay (e.g. Humburi Senni sàndà).

19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘Again’

19.3.1.1 Adverb túⁿ ‘again’

The adverb túⁿ means ‘again (another time)’. Like other temporal adverbs (‘yesterday’, ‘today’, ‘now’, ‘tomorrow’), it can occur preclausally as a setting adverb, in which case it can be set off prosodically. The normal position is clause-final, following all other postverbal elements (spatial adverbs, PPs, and so forth).

(869) a. túⁿ, kūŋgóló kùmù
gain, dog sleep.Pfv
‘Again the dog went to sleep.’

b. à kùmù túⁿ
3Sg sleep.Pfv gain
‘He/She went to sleep again.’ = ‘He/she went back to sleep.’
c. à tē kùmù bōn tūn
3Sg PfvNeg sleep.Pfv here again
‘He/She didn’t sleep here again (=go back to sleep).’

d. wūlāá kùmù gā bōn tūn
who?.Foc sleep.Pfv RemPfv here again
‘Who slept here again?’

See also the multi-verb construction with ‘return’, ‘come back’, or ‘go back’ plus a sequential clause in the sense ‘re-VP’ (§15.2.4).

19.3.1.2 ‘No longer’ (negation plus tūn)

Negation plus tūn ‘again’ produces ‘no longer’ or ‘not again, not any more’.

(870) a. à nā nògi-ŷ tūn
3Sg not.be.Loc village-Loc again
‘He/She is no longer in the village.’

b. à tē m bēm-bē nògi-ŷ tūn
3Sg PfvNeg 3ReflSg return.Pfv-come.Ipfv village-Loc again
‘He/She hasn’t come back to the village again.’

19.3.2 ‘Only’

19.3.2.1 ‘Only’ particle (dâmá)

dâmá ‘only’ is added at the end of an NP, a clitic or (for focus) independent pronoun, or adverbial phrase.

(871) a. [nāŋ kēn dâmá] bē gā
[person one only] come.Pfv RemPfv
‘Only one person came.’

b. [n-dōgō dâmá] gā yān tō
[1Sg-Indep only] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv
‘Only I know that place.’ (< yāw”)
c. ŋ̀gà [yāwⁿ] ɗāmá ɗò
   1Sg  Ipfv  [there.Def only]  know.Ipfv
   ‘I know only that place.’

d. ŋ̀gā sògā̄s ɔ̀g ɔ̄\[ làmbā ɗāmā]  ní]
   1Sg  Ipfv  cultivate.Ipfv  [[daba only]  Inst.Foc]
   ‘I do farm work only with a daba (=hoe) [focus].’

dāmā can also occur clause-finally with scope over at least the VP.

(872) à nà kā̀yⁿ, à gā kùmū-nà ɗāmá
   3Sg  IpfvNeg  work(v).Ipfv,  3Sg  Ipfv  sleep-Ipfv  only
   ‘He doesn’t work, he just sleeps.’

Clause negation scopes over a constituent with dāmā.

(873) [ǹ-dāgā̄  ɗāmā] nā  sò
   [1Sg-Indep only]  IpfvNeg  go.Ipfv
   ‘It’s not only I who will go.’

19.3.2.2 ‘Only’ particle (bāānā)

An alternative ‘only’ particle is bāānā. It appears to be used chiefly after plural nouns and pronouns that denote natural groups (‘children’, ethnic groups, ‘we’). My assistant rejected it with singular referents. While dāmā requires independent pronouns, the more noun-like bāānā can take a clitic pronominal and can be followed by a definite marker (874b).

(874) a. [tārwōrē  bāānā] gā bwō dēē tà→
   [T only]  Ipfv  Recip  pick.up.Ipfv  or.Q
   ‘Do Traorē only marry each other?’ (2017-01 @ 07:11)

   b. ē bāānā gù
   1Pl  only  Def
   ‘only us (e.g. our ethnic group)’ (2017-02 @ 03:04)

19.3.2.3 kḕwⁿ ‘one; alone’ versus dāmā ‘only’ for exclusivity

To emphasize that an action was performed by an individual without assistance of others, the numeral kḕwⁿ ‘one’ is added to the relevant NP, which may be pronominal (875b) or
There is no nasal linker in this construction, unlike the case with ŋ-kḗwⁿ ‘one’ following a noun in its function as a numeral. A nonpronominal NP must be singular, but it may be a personal name (875a), which would not otherwise combine with ‘one’ as an ordinary numeral. Unless it is focalized, a pronoun (always singular) takes clitic rather than independent form, as with 1Sg ŋ̄ kḗwⁿ ‘I alone’ (875a), likewise 3Sg à kḗwⁿ and 2Sg āŋ kḗwⁿ.

(875) a. [sèédù  kêŋ] jénaⁿ yirāŋ gā
    [S one] child help.Pfv RemPfv
    ‘Seydou alone helped the child.’

b. [ŋ̄ kēŋ] jénaⁿ yirāŋ gā
    [1Sg one] child help.Pfv RemPfv
    ‘I alone helped the child.’

As with dámá, clausal negation scopes over kḗwⁿ in this function.

(876) a. [ŋ̄ kēŋ] nè = ēnī kāyöŋ tōndō
    [1Sg one] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfvchild stone lift.Ipfv
    ‘I can’t lift the rock by myself.’

b. [sèédù  kêŋ] nè = ēnī kāyöŋ tōndō
    [S one] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfvchild stone lift.Ipfv
    ‘Seydou can’t lift the rock by himself.’

The exclusivity function of ‘one’ is limited to specific individuals belonging to sets of individuals, including humans in the case of ‘Seydou’ in the last example above. Singular common nouns in generic function are avoided in this construction, since the normal reading of the NP X ŋ̄ kḗwⁿ is ‘one X’ rather than ‘only an X’ (877).

(877) [kē̃gū ŋ̄-kēŋ] gè = ēnī [[kōŋ kāyⁿ] tē]
    [man Link-one] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[Dem work(n)] Dat]
    ‘One man can handle this job.’ = ‘This is a one-man job.’

For masses (878a), nonsingular pronouns (878b), and other nonsingular NPs (878c), dámá ‘only’ is required and kḗwⁿ is impossible.

(878) a. ē nè = ēnī [kūwō dámá] digà
    1Pl IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [salt only] eat.Ipfv
    ‘We can’t eat just salt.’
b. [ë dâmâ] nè= ēnì tâ-nâ [jûgû kûmâ]  
[3Pl only] lpfvNeg be.able.lpfv ascend-lpfv [tree on]  
‘They can’t climb the tree by themselves (=without help).’

c. [jûnâm-bi-gë dâmâ] nè= ēnì kàyôn tõndò  
[child-Pl-Pl only] lpfvNeg be.able.lpfv stone lift.lpfv  
‘The children can’t lift the rock by themselves.’

19.3.2.4 Circumlocution with ‘not (any)’ plus (i)kâlà ‘except …’

The first clause is of the ‘not any(-one/-thing/…’) semantic type, denying a non-null set. The second clause adds the exception(s). The first clause include negation and an indefinite quantifier like -sì or sí (§6.6.2.2), as in nìmì-sì ‘anybody’, pò-sì ~ pà-sì ‘anything’, gûri”-sì ‘anywhere’, or wâlên” sì ‘any money’. There are a few versions of the ‘except X’ expression in the second clause (879).

(879) a. ūkâlâ X ~ kâlâ X ‘except …’  
b. nà= à nam bâ X lit. “if it has left …” (i.e. if it does not include)  
c. X nì lit. ‘it is X’

(880a) combines nà= à nám bâ with final nì. The latter is to be construed with the motion verb ‘exit’ in the sense ‘exit with, take out’, i.e. ‘exclude’. (880b) has ūkâlà.

(880) a. nìmì-sì  
[person-any PfvNeg stay.Pfv there.Def,  
[if 3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv] [2Sg-Indep only] it.is  
‘There was nobody there, except you-Sg.’

b. pò-sì  
[thing-any not.be.Loc [3Sg inside]],  
ūkâlà suw3n↑ timi↑, …  
[except crocodile, python, …  
‘There was nothing in it (=place) except crocodiles, pythons, …’

(2017-04 @ 02:08 to 02:11)

19.3.3 pànj-kêwn ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly’

This adverb, which appears to include kêwn ‘one’, can mean ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly, completely’.

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(881) a. à bē pàŋ-kēw
   3Sg come.Pfv already
   ‘He/She has already/definitely come.’

   b. sā-gū ē yā= à yāgā [dūgūbā nī] pàŋ-kēw
      now 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg transform.Pfv [on.ground Inst] completely
      ‘Now we have shifted it (=village) completely (down) onto the plain.’
      (2017-03 @ 01:51)

See also the comments on completive perfect clauses in §10.2.1.5.

19.4 Emphatic particles

19.4.1 Clause-initial particles

19.4.1.1 Clause-initial emphatics (m̀rù, h̀é, h̀óó)

Any of these emphatics may occur clause-initially, or arguably preclausally. They are glossed as ‘truly’ in interlinear. There are no attestations in the recordings.

(882) a. m̀rù m̀ bândā wāy
       héé " " "
       h̀óó " " "
       truly 1Sg get.tired.Pfv today
       ‘I’m really tired (=exhausted) today.’

       b. m̀rù kùŋgóló m̀ bùlòw
       héé " " "
       h̀óó " " "
       truly dog PsRefl be.big
       ‘The dog is really big (=huge).’

19.4.1.2 jàkà ‘ló!’

This particle, which is part of a regional set, precedes highly foregrounded (e.g. sudden and surprising) events in a narrative. See (850) in §18.2.3 for an example. Two other textual examples are 2017-07 @ 02:20 and 2017-05 @ 03:00.
19.4.2 Clause-final emphatics

19.4.2.1 Clause-final emphatics kóy

The clause-final emphatic particle kóy can function to strongly confirm an interlocutor’s statement or the speaker’s own previous statement. It can also accompany a confident answer to a polar interrogative. Compare English sure in A: it’s hot today followed by B: it sure is (hot)!

(883) A: kùgù-lèm pìyⁿè-nà nì wày
sun hot-Ppl it.is today
‘It’s hot out today!’

B: à pìyⁿè-nà nì kóy
3Sg hot-Ppl it.is Emph
‘It sure is (hot)!’

Textual examples are in (884).

(884) a. à yā = [āⁿ màⁿ ǹ jámbá kóy]
3Sg said [2Sg Proh 1Sg betray.Pfv Emph]
‘He said, “Don’t betray me!” ’ (2017-01 @ 02:18)

b. [nàⁿ ǹ-kèèⁿ] [kàà ǹ-kèèⁿ] nì kóy
[mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is Emph
‘(The two villages) are of the same mother and the same father.’
(2017-01 @ 04:32)

c. [kèèⁿ gù] yā = [à nè = ě wògɔ̀ kóy]
[one Def] said [3Sg Ipfv\Neg LogoPl kill.Pfv Emph]
‘The other one said, “no, it certainly won’t kill us!” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:45)
(contradicting the other person’s statement)

In text 2017-05 @ 00:38 and 00:41, two suspects in a theft add kóy to their statements (roughly ‘I didn’t do it!’ and ‘that guy is lying!’).

Emphatic kóy is a regionally widespread form (Fulfulde, Dogon, Bambara, Songhay).

An apparently distinct morpheme kóy occurs at the end of completive perfect clauses (§10.2.1.5). Another kóy is part of the fixed greeting (borrowed entire from Fulfulde) tyāābù kóy.
19.4.2.2 Clause-final or independent jááti ‘indeed’

jááti ‘indeed’ can occur at the end of a clause, with or without a prosodic break. It confirms the correctness of the interlocutor’s statement.

(885) A: à pwò [dūgā-ŋ-çiyē ni]  
3Sg sit.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst]  
‘It (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’

B: à pwò, jááti  
3Sg sit.Pfv, indeed  
‘It has, indeed.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)

Since emphatic kóy cannot occur by itself, jááti is the ordinary way to confirm the correctness of an interlocutor’s statement without repeating it.

In this discourse context (confirming) jááti is HL-toned. In the H-toned form jááti it can occur as part of an NP in the sense ‘precisely, exactly’ (§8.4.2.1).

jááti is another regionally widespread form.

19.4.2.3 Clause-final emphatic féy

This clause-final particle, a regional form possibly borrowed from Fulfulde, means ‘completely’ (886a) or in negative contexts ‘(not) at all’ (886b).

(886) a. wày sàa-gù ē pûwóm bày féy  
today now 1Pl fonio leave.Pfv completely  
‘Nowadays we have completely abandoned (cutivating) fonio.’  
(2017-03 @ 00:34)

b. ē nā = ā mè-nè fé  
1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg drink-Ipfv at.all  
‘We don’t drink it (alcohol) at all.’

19.4.2.4 Clause-final admonitive dē? 

This particle, likewise regionally widespread, adds a note of warning or surprise. The speaker encourages the addressee to perform or avoid an action for the addressee’s own good, or informs the addressee of something important that the addressee might not already know. It can be added to imperatives as well as to statements. Compare English unstressed, nontemporal now in don’t
*get caught out in the cold now!*, or phrases like terminal *mind you* with similar admonitive functions. The glottal stop adds to the emphatic force.

(887) a. ām māᵃ sō / … dē?
mām … / bè
2Sg Proh go.Pfv/come.Pfv *Emph
‘Don’t go/come!’ (warning)

b. kwāanja gā bè dē?
rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv *Emph
‘(Watch out,) it’s about to rain!’ (warning)

c. [kēēⁿ gū] yē = [ē nān [tēē kāā-kāā] kūwolō,
[one Def] said [LogoPl if.Pfv [meat Iter-raw] chew.Pfv,
ā gā bè = ē wāgō dē?
3Sg Ipfv Fut LogoPl kill.Pfv *Emph
‘The other one said, “if we eat raw meat, it will kill us!” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:43)

d. ā→, kū gā [[sèbè tirígí-nā =] ni] sā-gū dē?
ah!, Dem be [[matter trample-Ppl] it.is] now *Emph
Ah! This is a perilous situation now!’ (2017-05 @ 01:37)

e. à yē [ñ nā dē?]
3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg *Emph]
‘He (Dogon) said, “I will not, indeed!” ’ (refusal of a request) (2017-01 @ 01:57)

19.4.2.5 Clause-final yáá in emphatic affirmative answers

Clause-final yáá with <LH> tone can be added as a mild emphatic to affirmative answers to polar interrogatives (888), or as a strong emphatic in correcting an interlocutor’s statement.

(888) A: āⁿ sō bàmākọ tāmā
2Sg go.Pfv B Q
‘Have you-Sg gone to Bamako?’

B: ū sō yáá
1Sg go.Pfv *Emph
‘(Yes) I have gone.’

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The flavor is well-captured by the extra *do* verb in English free translations as in B’s response in (889).

(889) A: āŋ gâlà pò sē = [ē tè] [nón nîŋñî] *quoi*
   2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [Dem inside] Ø
   ‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’

   B: ĕ gà pò tò ă-y yàá
   1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc **Emph**
   ‘I do know something in (=about) it.’ (2017-01 @ 00:46)

This emphatic is most often found in cases where there is doubt about the veracity of the proposition, or where two speakers disagree. For example, an exchange of the type A: ‘Seydou knows it’, B: ‘No, Seydou doesn’t know it’, A: ‘Yes, Seydou does know it’ is favorable to the use of yàá in the final item.

(890) [äⁿ hijëi gu] tē mànè
   [2Sg pilgrimage Def] PfvNeg be.good.Pfv
   à yà = [à mànè yàá]
   3Sg said [3Sg be.good.Pfv Emph]
   ‘(They told him:) “Your pilgrimage hasn’t been good. He said (=replied): “It has been good!”’ ’ (2017-05 @ 02:40-42)

yàá is attested in greetings. (891) was a reply to ‘Did peace spend the mid-day with you?’. It is contracted and modified from a fuller clause like ĕ gà = ālà tigè-ni ‘I thank God’.

(891) ālã tigè-nì yàá
   God thank(v).Pfv **Emph**
   ‘Thank God.’ (2017-02 @ 00:05)

19.4.2.6 Clause-final là

This is another clause-final particle. It is at best weakly emphatic. It is likely French là ‘there’, which is often added at the end of a clause in local French in similar contexts.
(892) [ɪ̀-dó-gó mǎwⁿ kāy] kòmbo-ŷ]
[[1Sg-Indep Rel PrsnTv] edge.of.village-Loc]
tē pà-sí kīlē lā
PfvNeg thing-any get.Pfv Emph
‘I who was (cultivating) at the edge of the village didn’t get anything,’
(2017-03 @ 03:22)

19.4.2.7 Clause-final wà ‘anyway’

This clause-final particle indicates that the event in question occurred in spite of expectations that it would not. It can be glossed ‘anyway’ or ‘nevertheless’. It can occur at the end of formulaic questions in greeting sequences (890c).

(890) a. à bē wà
3Sg come.Pfv anyway
‘He/She came (back) nevertheless.’

b. [à sāaŋ] gā digèmū ni wà
[3Sg all] Ipfv talk(n) it.is anyway
‘It’s all words (=oral tradition) anyway.’ (2017-01 @ 05:49)

c. āā rēnã kā wà
2Pl be.safe.Pfv Topic anyway
‘You-Pl are safe?’ (2017-05 @ 00:08)

wà can also occur at the beginning of the clause, preceding the subject.

(891) wà à gā jīnē sāgā
anyway 3Sg Ipfv accept.Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv
‘He/She has the nerve to lie down (and sleep).’

19.5 Uptake check and backchannel

19.5.1 Uptake check

A speaker often requests confirmation that the addressee has processed the preceding material, especially in narratives. The verb is fāmù ‘understand.Pfv’ or minē ‘hear.Pfv’. A full question-reply sequence is (892). In the question, the verbs have interrogative tones (final H). fāmù and minē are normally transitive. The question seemingly treats these verbs as though intransitive, but
this is best analysed as contracted from transitive áⁿ (yâ =) ā fàamú/mîné ‘did you-Sg understand/hear it’. With optional BCM yè omitted, áⁿ ā would reduce to denasalized ā = ā fàamú, which could be confused with 2Pl áä, so idiosyncratically treating ‘understand’ and ‘hear’ as intransitive here is unsurprising. The reply, with 1Sg subject, always takes transitive form.

(892) Q: áⁿ fàamú
   2Sg understand.Pfv.Q
   ‘Did you-Sg understand?’

   R: n̄ =nā = ā fàamû
   1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
   ‘(Yes) I have understood it.’

If the question is expressed in negative form (‘did you not understand/hear it?’), the form is again obligatorily transitive (893).

(893) án tā = ā fàamû
   2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q
   ‘Did you-Sg not understand it?’

The “reply” in (892) is sometimes volunteered without the question being asked, or else the reply can be reduced to m-hm or the like, or by a nod.

19.5.2 Backchannel support wàlà ~ wàlà ‘voilà!’

wàlà ~ wàlà (< French ‘voilà!’) can be interjected by a listener for strong confirmation of the speaker’s statement (‘that’s it!’). Examples are in 2017-01 @ 00:59 (wàlà) and @ 02:44 (wàlà). wàlà could be analysed as the focalized form of wàlà.

Routine backchannel of the m-hm type is very common when a single individual is addressed at length, as in most of our recorded texts. It is often not transcribed here.

19.6 Greetings

The transitive verb ‘X greet Y’ is bōy/bōy-ľi. The noun ‘greeting’ is its verbal noun bōy-gû (§4.2.1.3). In many of the greetings discussed below, 2Pl áä is favored over 2Sg áⁿ except as noted. This is because inquiries of the ‘how are you?’ type refer to the addressee’s household. Some other features shared by several greetings are tone-dropping on final words, and the use of intransitive verbs with causative meaning in blessings with ‘God’ as subject.
19.6.1 All-purpose greetings

A simple greeting exchange among two people who encounter each other is (894). A’s greeting is transparently parsable, but B’s response is not.

(894) A: ŭmbôỳ

1Sg greet.Pfv

‘I have greeted!’

B: ènnà

The formal Islamic greeting exchange in Arabic, chiefly among men, is the A-B sequence in (895).

(895) A: āsâlāā-mwâlēēkûn

‘Peace to you-Pl!’

B: wâalēēkûmâ-sâlām

‘To you peace, and praise and blessing of God!’

In the recordings, some of which begin with greeting sequences, greetings that include a Fulfulde greeting word (reene, tiyaabu) also occurred.

(896) a. āā rēēnâ-nâ nî

2Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is

‘You-Pl are safe?’ (2017-01 @ 00:18)

b. āā yên tyēâbû koy

2Pl and (greeting) ??

‘You-Pl and (greeting).’ (2017-01 @ 00:23)

Fulfulde kori, a clause-initial interrogative that occurs in greetings asking about health and welfare, is borrowed as kɔrì and is optionally reduced to kò. It is interchangeable in this function with kàlâ ~ fkJâlà, which does not occur in local Fulfulde. For occasional kò(ri) outside of greetings, see §13.2.1.1.

(897) kɔrì jàm sýēwⁿ [āā pà] kòⁿ


‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’ (2017-01 @ 00:19)

A common response to inquiries like (897) about health and welfare is (898a). In Cliffs, bàà sî is parsable, including indefinite quantifier sî ‘(not) any’. This quantifier explains the otherwise
puzzling negative reading (‘there is no’) of the phrase. The source is the region-wide term baasi ‘trouble’ (< Arabic baʔs-). This expression requires an overt negative existential in Arabic and in the borrowing languages, e.g. Fulfulde baasi wala ‘there is no trouble’. (898b) illustrates Cliffs baası ‘trouble’ as a regular noun in a rare non-greeting statement. kɔ̀ⁿ functions in (898a) as a clause-final negative; elsewhere it (or a homophone) is the topicalization marker (§19.1).

(898) a. [bàà sì] kɔ̀ⁿ
     [trouble any] not.be
     ‘(There is) no trouble.’ (2017-01 @ 00:19)

     b. bàásì gã
        trouble be.Loc
        ‘(There is) trouble.’

19.6.2 Time-of-day greetings

Time-of-day greetings (A) and responses (B) are in (899). (899b) is not used by all speakers. (899c) and (899d) are functionally interchangeable. jám is more common than the approximately synonymous kéérãwⁿ.

(899) a. A: jám sāā
     ‘good morning’ (said until noon or 2 PM)
     B: kòrì jám sāā gà = [āā bwēy] (reply)

     b. A: āā wēētā [jám nì]
        ‘good day’ (between 10 AM and 1 PM)
        B: kòrì jám wēētā gà = [āā bwēy] (reply)

     c. A: jám syēwⁿ
        ‘good afternoon’ (from 1 PM to evening)
        B: kòrì jám syēŋ gà = [āā bwēy] (reply)
        or: B: kàlà = āā syēwⁿ jám nì

        or: A: kéérãwⁿ syēwⁿ
        B: kàlà āā syēwⁿ jám nì (reply)

Recurring elements in these greeting formulae include jám (< Fulfulde) or kéérãwⁿ ‘well-being, peace, safety’ (but HL-toned in kéérãwⁿ syēwⁿ), interrogative kòrì (< Fulfulde, see §13.2.1.1), kàlà ‘only, nothing but’ (cf. ḫkàlà ‘[none] except’), and comitative PP āā bwēy ‘with you-Pl’. The different times of day are expressed by the verbs sā(g)â/sǎgà ‘lie down, go to bed’, wēētā ‘spend a half-day (morning)’ (< Fulfulde and not elsewhere in common use except in connection with morning-only wage labor in the fields), and syēwⁿ/syē-nà ‘spend the mid-day’. Each of these is
used retrospectively in the greetings, e.g. ‘good morning’ is phrased as (an abbreviated form of) ‘how did you spend the night?’ In jām sāā and jām syēwⁿ, the usual pronunciation is with the L-tone of m de-linking and downstepping the verb, resulting in jām ‘sāā and jām ‘syēwⁿ. Downstepped M-tone is indistinguishable from L-tone in the absence of further tone sandhi. The normal M-toned forms sāā and sīwⁿ show up in the responses, which are overall more complete and grammatically transparent.

The only time-of-day greetings that are prospective rather than retrospective in literal content are the two alternative ‘good night!’ greetings (900a-b). Both are phrased as blessings (wishes) with ‘God’ as subject and subjunctive gālā. The response, as to all similar blessings, is àmí ‘amen’ or an extended variant àmíñà yàràbì (Arabic for ‘amen oh Lord!’).

(900) a. ālā gālā wùū ɲiyê-gâ-nì
    God Sbjn night easy-Inch-Caus.Pfv
    ‘May God make the night easy!’

    b. ālā gālā sùbáān dw₃ [ē gârjâ-gâ-y]
    God Sbjn morning enter.Pfv [1Pl luck-Loc]
    ‘May God put the morning in our (good) luck!’

In (900b), dw₃ is trimmed from the semantically appropriate causative dwē-nì ‘cause to enter’, and gârjâ-gâ-y is an L-toned form of the usual gârjâ-gâ-y ‘in (someone’s) good luck’, parallel to other suffixal locatives (§8.2.3.1).

19.6.3 Location- or situation-specific greetings

A greeting from A to B, when B is working (in the field, building a house, etc.) or on his/her way to or from work or some other productive activity, is (901). The response is ēnnà (not parsable) plus a repetition of the greeting (adjusted for addressee number) if A is also at or on the way to or from work, otherwise just ēnnà. àmbāà may be used instead of ēnnà.

(901) A: yā = āā bāāy kāy (plural addressee)
      ā = āy kāy (singular addressee)

      B: i) ēnnà yā = āā bāāy kāy (plural addressee)
          ēnnà (ā =) āy kāy (singular addressee)
          ii) ēnnà
These formulae are rather contracted and nontransparent. My assistant “reconstructs” the plural-addressee version of the A greeting as a reduction and deformation of an idealized (902), with generic 3Pl subject.

(902) ³ yā = àa bōy [āā yēn kāyⁿ]  
3Pl  Sbj/Obj  2Pl  greet.Pfv  [2Pl and work(n)-Loc]  
‘They have greeted you-Pl (=you have been greeted), you-Pl and work!’

Since the initial ³ in (902) is not audible in the plural-addressee greeting version, the latter could alternatively be parsed as the imperative of a reflexive transitive (‘greet yourselves at work!’). The singular-addressee greeting is too disfigured to parse completely.

If the addressee is returning home from work, wālā substitutes for kāy in the preceding formulae. This is the noun wālā ‘work completed, accomplishment’, in L-toned form as with kāy < kāyn.

Greetings of the form ‘you and X’ where X is some noun denoting a situation (work, fatigue, weekly market, etc.) occur widely in the zone. ‘You-Pl and work(n)’ at the end of (902) above is one example. The conjunction begins with either an independent or clitic pronominal, followed by a noun or even a verb (perhaps functioning as a verbal noun even though verbal in form). The second conjunct is pronounced with L-tones (or low pitch), but it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising in yēn ‘and’. The greeting (903a) can be given to someone met at a weekly market like that of Konna. (903b) can be uttered to someone who is encountered while walking out in the bush.

(903)  a. āā(-lɔ̀gɔ̄) yēn sibèwⁿ  
2Pl(-Indep) and market  
‘You-Pl and the market!’ (< sibèwⁿ or locative sibèwⁿ)

  b. āā(-lɔ̀gɔ̄) yēn ɲiŋi  
2Pl(-Indep) and walk.Pfv  
‘You-Pl and walking!’ (< ɲiŋi)

This syntactic pattern is also used as a ‘thank you’ expression, usually following a physical action by the addressee. This greeting can have either 2Sg or 2Pl form depending on addressee number. ‘Work’ is probably an L-toned (or low-pitched) form of the noun kāyn, cf. the verb kāyⁿ/kāyn.

(904)  a. ān-dɔ̄gɔ̄ yēn kāyn  
2Sg-Indep and work(n)  
‘You-Sg and work!’ (i.e., ‘thanks for the help!’)
19.6.4 Travel greetings

A departing traveler is given the ‘bon voyage!’ blessing (905a). It can be “reconstructed” with causative kiyè-nì ‘cause to arrive, deliver’ instead of intransitive kiyèwⁿ ‘arrive’, and with a 2Sg or 2Pl object pronominal before this causative verb. A similar reconstruction is appropriate for (905b), which greets one returning from a long trip.

(905) a. ālà gālà kiy’änn = [[ām / āā mànèn] nì]
    God Sbjn arrive.Pfv [[2Sg/2Pl be.good.VblN] Inst]
    ‘May God (let you) arrive with your goodness (=in safety).’

b. ālà gà bë gà [[ām / āā mànèn] nì]
    God Sbjn come.Pfv RemPfv [[2Sg/2Pl good] Inst]
    ‘God has brought (you) with your goodness (=in safety).’

19.6.5 Condolences

Either (906a) or (906b) may be said to bereaved relatives of a person who has just passed away.

(906) a. ālà gālà hīnā = [[à nā]
    God Sbjn have.pity.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
    ‘May God have pity on him/her!’ (< hīnè)

b. ālà gālà [à sāā-gām] múwò-ni [à bwēỳ]
    God Sbjn [3Sg lie.down-place] cool-Caus.Pfv [3Sg Comit]
    ‘May God keep his/her resting place cool(ed)!’

If the deceased was a child, (907) is added. The wish expressed is that the woman will successfully bear another child in the future.

(907) ālà gālà ān tūgò
    God Sbjn 2Sg pay.Pfv
    ‘May God compensate you-Sg’

Replies to such formulae are of the ‘amen!’ type.
19.6.6 Greetings on major Muslim holy days

The three major Muslim holy days in this zone are Eid al-Adha (Feast of the Ram) called ‘big prayer’ (sālī būlō’u), Eid al-Fitr (at the end of Ramadan) called “little prayer” (sāl ḍējē-nāw’u), and Muharram (bendê). On all three holy days, the A-B greeting sequence in (908) is used. Neither the A greeting nor the B reply is parsable in Cliffs and they are said to be from Soninke (“Sarakole”) language.

(908) A: kēberè wāāgā
     B: wāāgā dū’hēērè

After B’s response, B continues with (909).

(909) ālā gālā ē kwāā [[kɔ̀nɔ̀sē kɔ̀y-yɛ̀] bwēy]
     God Sbjn 1Pl add.Pfv [[next.year see.Nom-Pl] Comit]
‘May God add (=include) us in those who (will) see next year!’
(kwāā ‘hit X’ plus comitative PP → ‘add X [to Y]’)

Response is of the ‘amen!’ type.
Texts

The audio recordings will eventually be archived at Deep Blue (University of Michigan Libraries). Search the site for Jenaama or Cliffs and the author’s surname.

Text 2017-01 Founding of Namagué village

Ngaare Traore (village chief, nt) and Seydou Cissé (sc) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration: 08:59

(00:04) ac [kééràⁿ syëⁿ] nògù-mùrù
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] village-chief
nt ää syëŋ gå [nëêmà ni]
2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather Inst]
ac: ‘Good afternoon, village chief!’
nt: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’

[greeting formulae; nt’s greeting is optionally preceded by kòrì (< Fulfulde) interrogative particle in greetings, abbreviated to kò in the following segments; nëêmà ‘pleasant cool weather’]

(00:06) ac [kò jäm syëŋ] gå [ää pà]
[Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]
nt ää syëŋ gå [nëêmà ni]
2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather Inst]
ac [bàà sí] kàn
[trouble any] not.be
ac: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’
nt: ‘(Did) you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’
ac: ‘There is no trouble (conflict).’

/kò < kòrì ; bàà sí ‘(not) any trouble’, reparsed from bááși ‘trouble’ (Fulfulde baasi < Arabic); kàn is elsewhere the topicalization ‘as for X’ marker but in this common greeting formula (§19.6.1) it functions as negative existential]
(00:09) **nt** kò jäm syëⁿ [ăă bwëy]  
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]  
**ac** [bàà sî] kâⁿ  
[trouble any] not.be  
**nt:** ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’  
**ac** ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:10) **nt** yëm bisimilà  
Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv  
**ac** ₃ⁿ→  
(hesitation)  
**nt:** ‘You-Pl are welcome.’  
**ac:** ‘Uh, …’  
[**nt invites ac to proceed; plural-addressee imperative yëⁿ (§10.4.1.1)]**

(00:12) **nt** yëm bisimilà  
Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv  
**ac** bon  
well  
**nt** [ăă bè-gû] dëmôⁿ [é tê] máⁿè  
**nt:** ‘You-Pl are welcome.’  
**ac:** ‘Well, …’  
**nt:** ‘Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’  
[dëmôⁿ/dëmôⁿ ‘please (sb)’ = dëwⁿ ; < ē tê]

(00:14) **ac** [kéérâⁿ syëⁿ] [sèèdû sisé]  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [S C]  
**sc** ènnâà  
(reply)  
**ac:** ‘Good afternoon, Seydou Cissé!’  
**nt:** (greeting reply)
(00:16) **ac** kò jā̀m syēŋ gà [ā̀a bwḗy]
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**sc** kàlà = ā̀a syēŋ [jā̀m nī]
Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst.Q]

**ac** [bàà sì] kāⁿ
[trouble any] not.be

ac: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

sc: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’

ac: ‘There is no trouble.’

/kòlà interrogative in greeting formulae, equivalent to kò̀rì/

(00:18) **sc** ā̀a rēēnà-nā nī
2Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is

**ac** [bàà sì] kāⁿ
[trouble any] not.be

sc: ‘You-Pl are safe?’

ac: ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:19) **sc** kò̀rì jā̀m syēwⁿ [ā̀a pà] kāⁿ

**ac** [bàà sì] kāⁿ
[trouble any] not.be

sc: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

ac: ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:21) **sc** àlàhàmdùllày praise.to.God

**ac** àmbàà (reply)

**sc** báárikàllà God.be.praised

sc: ‘Praise to God.’

ac: (greeting reply)

sc: ‘God be praised.’

[Arabic expressions]
(00:23) **ac**  hayà, yà = áá bááy kày
okay 2Pl work(n)

**sc**  áá yèn tyààbu kòy
2Pl and (greeting formula)

**ac:** ‘Well, you-Pl and work!’

**sc:** ‘You-Pl and (greeting).’

*[for situational greeting yà = áá bááy kày see §19.6.3; kòy L-toned in the greeting]*

(00:26) **sc**  hayà, yà = áá bááy kày
okay 2Pl work(n)

[[áá bë-gë] dëmô [ë tè] màpnè]

**ac** háyà
okay

**sc:** ‘You-Pl and work! Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’

**ac:** ‘All right.’

(00:28) **sc** mápnè mápnè kòy
a.lot a.lot Emph

**ac** háyà
okay

**sc:** ‘Very much indeed.’

**ac:** ‘All right.’

(00:30) **sc**  hålë = è nà = á tò
until 1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv,

[è gà = á yàgà gûû"-mà-gìw"]
[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.down.Ipfv place-Link-place]

**ac** háyà
okay

**sc:** ‘To the point that we don’t know where to put it (=our happiness).’

**ac:** ‘All right.’

*[< hålì ; tûyë/tò ‘know’ requires an object (§11.2.5.1); gûû"-mà-gìw" §14.2.4]*
(00:31) **ac**  *bon, ē—*

    well 1Pl—

**sc**  *yā = āā bāāy kāy*

    2Pl work(n)

**ac:** ‘Well, we—’

**sc:** ‘They have greeted you-Pl, you-Pl and work!’

*[for sc’s turn see comment on 00:23 above]*

(00:32) **ac**  *[ē gā nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ]*  *[ē gā = à pāgō]*

    [1Pl be N.Loc]  [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv]

    [ē gālā = à tiyē],

    [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg ask.Pfv]],

‘We are in Namagué (village). We would like to ask.’

*[tonal locative < nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ]*

(00:34) **ac**  *[question dāmā-dāmā] gè = [ē sūgī-y]*

    [question a.few] be [1Pl hand-Loc]

    [ē gālā = āā tiyā = [ā nī] *quoi]*

    [1Pl Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv [3Sg Inst Ø]]

‘We have a few questions, (we’d like) to ask them to you-Pl.’

*[French quoi often added clause-finally by younger speakers]*

(00:36) **nt**  *hāywā, hāywā yēm bisimillā*

    well, well Imprt.2Pl welcome.Pfv

**ac**  *bon, ē gā = à pāgō*

    well, 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

**nt:** ‘Well, you-Pl are welcome (to ask).’

**ac:** ‘Well, we would like …’

(00:38) **ac**  *[ē gālā = ā tūyè]*

    [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg know.Pfv]

    [nɔ̀gù-bèm pwō gā [bāānā màwⁿ]],

    [N sit.Pfv RemPfv [manner Rel]],

‘… to know (=learn) the way Namagué (village) was settled,’

*[tūyè Pfv of ‘know’, i.e. ‘recognize’ or ‘find out’ (§11.2.5.1)]*
(00:40) ac [mwš ñàñà-sí] ní
[which? manner-kind] Inst
t mhm
uh.huh
ac: ‘In what manner.’
t: ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:42) ac [wùlā-yè gá = [[à nmí pānā”-yé] ní]
[who?-Pl be [[3Sg person first-Pl] it.is]
[mâa-mâ-lē p̥w̥ gá = [à niŋí]],
[Iter-Rel-Pl sit.Pfv RemPl [3Sg inside]],
‘Who were its first people, the ones who settled in it?’

(00:44) ac bon è bē gá bōw’ [mwš ñàñà-sí] ní
well 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here [[which? manner-kind] Inst]
t mhm
uh.huh
ac: ‘Well, in what way did they come here?’
NH: ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:46) ac āŋ gālâ pō sē = [ē tè] [n̄n niŋí] quoi
2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [Dem inside]
t ŉ gā— ŉ gā pō tò ā-yâ,á,
1Sg Ipfv— 1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc Emph,
ac: ‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’
t: ‘I— I do know something in (=about) it.’
[final yâa in mildly emphatic positive response to polar interrogative (§19.4.2.5)]

(00:49) nt bādī nmí gā [nh tōy-pwš] sē
because person Ipfv [3RefIsg knowledge-thing.Foc] say.Ipfv
ac inñâllâw
if.God.wills
nt: ‘Because a person says what he/she knows.’
ac: ‘If God wills.’
[bādī (§17.5.7.1); inñâllâw ‘if God wills’ (Arabic) functions pragmatically somewhat like ‘hopefully’ (Gallicized as inchalla)]
(00:52) **nt** [ē nɔgù-bèwⁿ lásārī] bāā gā—
**sc** [ān-dāā gā mèn-ti̊wⁿ sê]
[2Sg-QTop Ipfv how? speak.Ipfv]
**nt:** ‘The origin of our Namagué was—’
**sc** (interrupting): ‘How are you speaking?’.
[mèn-ti̊wⁿ §13.2.2.6]

(00:54) **sc** [â sē] [ē gālā = ā miŋê],
[3Sg say.Pfv] [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg hear.Pfv],
[în tūwó-lèwⁿ gü] nā miŋê
[1Sg ear Def] IpfvNeg hear.Ipfv
‘Say it so we can hear it. My ear can’t hear.’
[sc was somewhat hard of hearing]

(00:57) **nt** [[ē nɔgù-bèwⁿ gu] lásārī] bāā gā màṇdèwⁿ
**sc** à̊'ḥàâⁿ→
uh-huh!
**nt** ‘The source of our Namagué exited (=came) from Mande.’
**sc** ‘Uh-huh.’

*[The Mande empire of the Middle Ages is claimed as origin by many ethnicities in the area including Dogon and some montane Songhay; the king’s headquarters may have been in the Mali-Guinea border area, but “Mande” is semi-mythical in ethnohistory; sc’s “uh-huh” indicates satisfaction with nt’s louder speech]*

(00:59) **nt** màṇdèwⁿ
Mande
**sc** wàlá
that’s it!
**nt** ‘Mande.’
**sc:** ‘That’s it!’
[wàlá <French voilà as supportive backchannel (§19.5.2)]
(01:01) **nt** ē bè bè kiyé kûná,
1Pl Seq come.Pfv pass.Pfv K,
ē bè bè pwò jëw-kâmëwⁿ,
1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv J-K,
[[jâwâlé kûwóm] bwëy] yâwⁿ,
[[OG flank] Comit] there.Def,
‘We then came on to Kouna. Then we came and settled in Jew-Kamew, next to Ouro Guéou (village) there.’

[‘We’ refers to the remote ancestors who founded Namagué many centuries ago; Kouna is a village south of Mopti, just southwest of Somadougou (not to be confused with Konna); jëw (locative jëw) denotes the entire commune of Lowol-Guéou which includes Namagué and Bounou; jëw-kâmëwⁿ is a currently uninhabited spot near the entrance to the valley, cf. jîfⁿ-kâmâà ‘west’; Ouro Guéou (Fulfulde uro gew) is a Fulbe village in the plains near the entrance to the valley; the Cliffs name jâwâlé is contracted from jëw plus -wâlé, which also occurs in dàânni-wâlé, mîtàâgû-wâlé, and bômbôli-wâlé, the Cliffs names for the Fulbe villages Daãni Ouro, Moulentakou Ouro, and Bombori Ouro, all in the plains near the cliffs]

(01:08) **nt** âⁿhâⁿ [jâwâlé kûwóm] bwëy] yâwⁿ
uh-huh [[OG flank] Comit] there.Def,
[[sîlë mûû'] bwëy] [nôgûⁿ-tômbô mën] gà yâwⁿ,
[[rock lower.face] Comit] [village-abandoned Rel] be.Loc there.Def,
‘Uh-huh, next to Ouro Guéou there, facing the hill, the abandoned village site that is there.’

(01:12) **nt** ē bè bè pwò yâwⁿ, [pô mô sâaⁿ] ni,
1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv there.Def, [thing Rel all] Inst,
[ē jë gû] nàⁿ hângà gû,
[1Pl G Def] if.Pfv worry(v).Pfv Def,
‘We settled there. If there is whatever that our Lowol-Guéou (commune) is concerned about,’

[combination relative and conditional introducing a nonspecific discourse referent (§14.1.2)]

(01:16) **nt** [[ē mîrû-yë] gâ sô [bôô kây] yâwⁿ]
[[1Pl chief-Pl] Ipfv go.Ipfv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]
[âlà gâ = à niyë-gâ-nî],
[God Ipfv 3Sg easy-Inch-Caus.Ipfv],
‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there. God facilitates it.
[niyë-gâ-nî factitive = causative of adjectival inchoative (§9.4.4)]
(01:20) **nt** ā bè bāā yāwⁿ, āⁿ mînè
1Pl Seq exit.Pfv there.Def, 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q
**se** jáātì
exactly
**nt:** ‘Then we left there. Did you hear (me)?’
**se:** ‘Definitely!’
[jáātì for confirmation (§19.4.2.2)]

(01:23) **nt** ē bè bē nògù-bèwⁿ,
1Pl Seq come.Pfv N,
ē gā = à sē [nògù bē] [nògù bē] gu,
3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv [village come.Pfv] [village come.Pfv] Def,
‘Then we came to Namagué. They say, “a village has come! a village has come!”
[a locally popular etymology of nògù-bèwⁿ]

(01:27) **nt** āⁿ mînè dé,
2Sg hear.Pfv Emph.Q,
ān tē [[[āāmādū jānkābā] kōgō] kōrē-ŷ],
2Sg PfvNeg [[[A J] new.house] behind],
ān tē gūtūⁿ-nāⁿ-lēwⁿ kāy kūwōlī-nā yāwⁿ,
2Sg PfvNeg place-Dimin-Dimin see.Pfv surround-Ppl there.Def.Q,
‘Did you-Sg hear? Have you-Sg not, behind the house of Amadou Jankaba, have you not seen a little plot there, surrounded (by stones)?’
[clause with heavy constituents, restarted in the middle; diminutive (§5.1.7.1)]

(01:32) **nt** sēēnī̄ yēṅ làāsinè, [nāⁿ ū-kēēⁿ] [kāa ū-kēēⁿ] nī,
O and L, [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is,
[ē sāaⁿ] gā [siyē kūmā],
[3Pl all] be.Loc [horse on],
‘Ouséni and Lasine (twin brothers), (they) were (of) the same mother and the same father. They were both (riding double) on a horse.’
[Ouséni (< Husein), Lasine (< Hasan), these names are typical of elder and younger twin brothers]

(01:37) **nt** āⁿ mînè,
2Sg hear.Pfv.Q,
ē gā [siyē kūmā] gu,
3Pl be.Loc [horse on] Def,
‘Did you hear? When they were on the horse,’
(01:40) **nt** े bê kiyē [nɔ̃gù-bèn nā]
3Pl Seq pass.Pfv [N Dat]
è bê sō màålù,
3Pl Seq go.Pfv M,

**sc** jáátù
exactly

**nt** : ‘They passed Namagué. Then they went (on) to Madougou.’
**sc** : ‘Exactly!’
[Madougou is the village after Namagué as one goes deeper into the valley]

(01:44) **nt** े kàylà sō màålù gà,
3Pl when go.Pfv M Def,
tēen yè ɲōllā —
elder.sib said herewith —
yān lāā nā [jānāmā-sēē-yē tàądàŋ] ní,
there.Def QTop not.be [Jenama-speak-Agent-Pl outer.bound] it.is.Q,
‘When they had gone to Madougou, the elder brother said “Herewith, isn’t the outer bound of Jenaama speakers there (=Madougou)”’
/kàylà ‘when’; tēen ~ tēen ‘elder sibling’; ɲōllā precedes an important statement]

(01:48) **nt** े bê bē [kāadō kēēgū] tābā
3Pl Seq come.Pfv [Dogon man] find.Pfv,
[ā gā pwā-na [īj kòlō’] kūmà],
[3Sg be sit-Ppl [[3ReflSg skin] on]],

**sc** jáátù
exactly

**nt** : ‘They came and encountered a Dogon man, he was seated on his (sheep-)skin (=mat).’
**sc** : ‘Exactly!’
(01:52) ائي منئي، إل، مينيتيغ ياه =
2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, hey! elder.sib-owner said
[ا قاله = ڤک [يجني]]
[3Sg Sbjn LogoPl furnish.Pfv [water Inst]]
[logicali قاله = ڤمفي],
[LogoPl Sbjn Logo/3ReflPl drink.Pfv],
‘Did you hear? The older one said (to the Dogon), “hey, (please) provide us with water, so we might have a drink.”’

[مينيتيغ ‘oldest of a group of friends or siblings’; < يه ‘said’; 3Sg ا rather than 2Sg in the quotation, denoting the Dogon; subjunctive قاله (§10.2.2.4)]

(01:57) نت ا يه [ني نان ده؟],
3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv Neg Emph],
[sابي ني فان = اي كيو [يجني]โนن],
[because LogoSg if.Pfv 2Pl furnish.Pfv [water Inst] all],
‘He (Dogon) said, “I will not, indeed! Because if I provide you-Pl with water, …”’
[i.e. if I get up off my mat to get water for you; ده؟ is an emphatic particle used in admonitive or other adversarial contexts (§19.4.2.4); نون ‘all’ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedent]

(02:01) نت ائي ڤد ليه [[ين كولو”] كوما],
2Sg Ipfv sit-Ipfv [[LogoSg skin] on],
[ني داه] [ائي فان ض础 [ين كولو”] كوما] نون]
[LogoSg QTop] [2Sg if.Pfv sit.Pfv [[LogoSg skin] on] all]
[ني ديهفه],
[LogoSg be.outcast.Pfv],
‘“… you-Sg will sit on my (sheep-)skin. As for me, if you-Sg sit on my (sheep-)skin, I (will) become an outcast.’
[dاه variant of لنا، topic mainly in interrogative contexts (‘what about X?’); ‘be outcast’ means losing one’s esoteric powers and being forced to leave]

(02:05) نت [هلي وابي] [ينة كولو”] گا مانلى-ميسرى,
[until today] [3Pl skin] be.Loc M-mosque.Loc,
(…)
(unintelligible)
‘Even today, their (sheep-)skin is (still) in Madougou (village).’
[< هللي وابي; tonal locative of compound, cf. possessive مانلى ميسرى ‘Madougou mosque’]
(02:08) **nt** änger nii,  AngularFire  [a ãã a sö]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>curse(n)</th>
<th>Def—</th>
<th>3Pl said</th>
<th>3Sg Sbjn go.Pfv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[è nà pà-là],</td>
<td>[3Pl IpfvNeg sit-Ipfv]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘My curse—. They told him (=Dogon) to go, they (=Bozo) would not sit down.’

(02:11) **nt**  à gilëñ kìi sāaⁿ,  AngularFire  | 3Sg as soon as get up.Pfv when, |
| sēëni māñ gā dugōⁿ nì gū, | O Rel be younger.sib it.is Def, |

‘As soon as he (=Dogon) got up, Ouséni who was the younger brother,’

(02:15) **nt**  à yë [lààsinà tèè→],  AngularFire  | 3Sg said | [L Dat] |
| [򠄄 kāⁿ] gā yà-lá, | [1Sg Topic Ipfv descend-Ipfv.Q, |
| ‘He said to Lasine, “as for me, I will dismount?’ ” | /tèè→ for dative tè at pause before quotation (§3.7.2); final H-tone on yà-là ‘descend-Ipfv’ as in questions, here suggesting that Ouséni’s action is subject to his elder brother’s veto |

(02:18) **nt**  à yā= [āⁿ màⁿ ǹ jámbá kóy],  AngularFire  | 3Sg said | [2Sg Proh 1Sg betray.Pfv Emph], |
| sāaⁿ sēënì tèⁿ- [yà-là], | all O jump.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv], |
| ‘He (=Lasine) said, “Don’t betray me!” Immediately Ouséni jumped down.’ | /jàmbá/jàmbá ‘betray, renege on, swindle’; Lasine had given his word to the Dogon; ‘jump-descend’ with Pfv-Ipfv verb sequence (§15.2.5) |

(02:21) **nt**  à pwš [kòlõŋ kûmà], sēënì pwš [kòlõŋ kûmà] sāaⁿ,  AngularFire  | 3Sg sit.Pfv [skin on], O sit.Pfv [skin on] when, |
| [kā̄ddō gû] bē gā sāaⁿ, à jī pànhè, | [Dogon Def] come.Pfv RemPfv when, 3Sg water sprinkle.Pfv, |
| ‘He sat on the (sheep-)skin. After he sit on the (sheep-)skin, when the Dogon came, he (=Dogon) spilled the water.’ |
‘He said, “I am cast out.” As for him (=Dogon), he left. He (Ouséni) said to his elder brother, “

(02:32) nt àŋ gālā bē [ē gālā yàwⁿ],
2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv [1Pl Sbjn descend.Pfv],
à yē [ě =nā yà-là],
3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg descend.Ipfv],
‘(younger to elder:) “Why don’t you-Sg come, let’s (both) dismount!” He (=elder) said, “I will not dismount.” ’

(02:34) nt [ē kāⁿ]— nà hàádí màyyⁿ,
[LogoSg Topic]— IpfvNeg promise ruin.Ipfv,
[tèëṅ gū] bē mǐ bēm-bē,
[elder.sib Def] Seq 3ReflSg return-come.Pfv,
“(elder:) “As for me, I will not break (my) oath.” The elder brother came back.$\$

(02:38) nt [jāŋāām būlōⁿ] kɔrɔ gū,
[shed big] back Def, sc silè-kúrú
stone
nt: ‘The back of the big palaver shed (at Namagué).’
sc: ‘The rock.’
[refers to a sacred spot with a large rock, surrounded by a ring of stones]

(02:41) nt [[silè-kúrú kāⁿ] yāŋ gū]
[[stone chez] there.Def Def]
[[[bààkùwō kérë] kùwɔn jàátı] pà gū],
[[[B wall flute precisely] Comit Def],
‘At the rock there, right beside Bakuwo’s wall.’
[< kùwōⁿ; NP-final jàátı (§8.4.2.1); Bakuwo is the name of a woman]
(02:44) nt tēēⁿ-tūgū bè bè yāwⁿ,

elder.sib-owner Seq come.Pfv there. Def,
[ā pé] bè yāⁿ-[bā-lā] [[fī siyēⁿ] kūmā],
[3Sg also] Seq descend.Pfv-[exit(v)-lpfv] [[3RefIsg horse] on],
sc wālā
voilā
nt: ‘The older brother (Lasine) came there. He too dismounted from his horse.’
sc: ‘Right.’

(02:47) nt [nàⁿ sōⁿ] nògū-sùrù gà dúgūⁿ nì, āⁿ fàamú,
[Dem time] village-remainder be forest it.is, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,
[[dúgūⁿ māⁿ] āŋ gā = ā tò gū] nì
[[forest Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv Def] it.is
‘At that time, the rest of the village (Namagué) was a forest. Did you understand? It’s
the forest that you-Sg know.’
[fāⁿ fàamú ‘did you understand (it)?’, seemingly intransitive (§19.5.1); unusual
relative with fronted head NP and resumptive 3Sg pronoun (§14.1.1)]

(02:52) nt [ā tēēⁿ] gā bā-lā [[fī siyēⁿ] kūmā] sāāⁿ,
[3Sg elder.sib] Ipfv exit(v)-lpfv [[3RefIsg horse] on] when,
ā bè pwŏ-[yā-lā],
[3Sg Seq sit.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv],
‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, he sat down.’

(02:56) nt wŏgō gā [nògū bē],
[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv],
sc wŏgō gā [nògū bē],
[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv],
nt: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.”’
sc: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.”’
[suggested etymology for nògū-bēwⁿ ‘Namagué (village)’; wŏgō 3Sg independent
pronoun, here with final H-tone for focus (§13.1.3)]

(02:58) nt [nògū bē] ē gā = ā sē nògū-bēwⁿ,
[village come.Pfv] 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv N,
sc jāātī
exactly
nt: ‘ “The village has come.” They call it Namagué.’
sc: ‘Indeed!’
(03:01) **nt** aⁿ faàmú
2Sg understand.Pfv.Q
**sc**[wɔ̀gɔ̀ gā [nɔ̀gù bē] nì,
[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv] it.is,
**nt**[wɔ̀gɔ̀ gā [nɔ̀gù bē] nì,
[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv] it.is,
**nt:** ‘Did you understand?’
**sc:** ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.”’
**nt:** ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.”’

(03:04) **nt** åywà, nόŋ kàylà bāā gū,
well, Dem when exit.Pfv Def,
[ē kɔ̀] gè = [ē tigė-kéégē-è mà-lē] tò kóy,
[1Pl Topic] Ipfv [1Pl grandparent-man-Pl Rel-Pl] know Emph,
‘All right, when that had gone out (=after that), our grandfathers whom we definitely knew,’

[post-subject kàylà ‘when’ plus clause-final “definite” gu (§15.4.3); internally-headed object relative (§14.4.2) with plural head]

(03:11) **nt** [sëení kàylà bāā gū] [älēē bē pwɔ̀],
[O when exit.Pfv Def] [A Seq sit.Pfv],
älēē kàylà bāā gū, lààmū-ŷ gū, dindi bē pwɔ̀,
A when exit.Pfv Def, authority-Loc Def, D Seq sit.Pfv
‘When Ouséni left (=died), Allaye then sat (=as chief). When Allaye left power (=the chiefhood), Dindi then sat (as chief).’

[smooth out as älēē kàylà bāā lààmū-ŷ gū]

(03:21) **nt** dìndi kàylà bāā gū, ìisùbù bē pwɔ̀,
D when exit.Pfv Def, Y Seq sit.Pfv,
ìisùbù kàylà bāā gū, bùkāārē bē pwɔ̀,
Y when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv
‘When Dindi left, Yousouf then sat (as chief). When Yousouf left, Boucary then sat (as chief).’
(03:28) **nt** ȁⁿ faâmù, bûkârè kâylâ bâa gû, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, B when exit.Pfv Def, bwââkârè bê pwò, B Seq sit.Pfv, **sc** jáâti exactly

**nt**: ‘Did you understand? When Boucary left, Bacary then sat (as chief).’
**sc**: ‘Exactly!’

(03:34) **nt** bwââkârè kâylâ bâa gû, bââyâm bê pwò B when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv **sc** bââyâm bê pwò B Seq sit.Pfv

**nt**: ‘When Bacary left, Bayaou sat (as chief).’
**sc**: ‘Bayaou sat (as chief).’

*[Bayaou is the name given to anyone born in the first 10 days of Maouloud (Muslim month)]*

(03:36) **nt** [[ŋ kâⁿ] kâa] tē làâmà [[1Sg Topic] father] PfvNeg govern.Pfv **sc** jáâti exactly

**nt**: ‘As for me, my father didn’t govern.’
**sc**: ‘Indeed!’

*[topicalized pronominal as possessor]*

(03:38) bââyâŋ kâylâ bâa gû, B when exit.Pfv Def, [iisûbû mâ bêm-bê gâ tûⁿ] à bê làâmà, [Y 3ReflSg return-come.Pfv RemPfv again], 3Sg Seq govern.Pfv, ‘When Bayaou left, Yousouf came back, he governed then.’
[kàà-n-kàbùwò ñèlèn], [kàà-n-kàbùwò màn] àŋ kà-nà gù, [Papa-Link-K namemate], [Papa-K Rel] 2Sg see-Lpv Def, ì yà = [à tìbë] gà [ìsiyáákà [lààm pànnà]—
Pl said [3Sg name] be [Iṣìakà [authority first]—
[[sèmpùwò kàà] bwëy], wògó gà ìisùbù nì,
[[S father] Comit], 3Sg.Indep.Foc be Y it.is,
‘Papa Kàbùwò’s namemate, the Papa Kàbùwò whom you Sg see, they said that his name is, (in) the first chiefhood of Iṣìakà [error]— (same name) with the father of Sèmpùwò, that is Yòusòf.’

[this passage somewhat broken; X yèlèn ‘namemate of X’ (person who shares the same name), Papa Kàbùwò is an alternative name for a man whose baptismal name is Yòusòf; sèmpùwò ~ sòmpùwò ‘donkey’ is a nickname given to a newborn whose mother has had several children die young, in the hope that the name will prevent early death]

(03:47) sc jàáìí
exactly
nt pànnàn, [è mìirù pànnà]—
formerly, [1Pl chief first]—
[[è kàà-yè] tìgè-kèégù] mìirù pànnàŋ gù],
[[1Pl father-Pl] grandparent-man] chief first Def,
sc: ‘Indeed!’
nt: ‘In the old days, our first chief, the first chief of the grandfathers of our fathers,’

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[Papa K] namemate] it.is,
àŋ gà = à tò [[kú-yè kòŋ] nàŋà] n dààn
2Sg Lpv 3Sg know.Lpv [[Dem-Pl Topic] interval] PsRefl be.distant
ac nàŋà n dààn
interval PsRefl be.distant
nt: ‘He [focus] was Papa Kàbùwò’s namemate. You-Sg know that the (time) interval between those (two) was distant (=long).’
ac: ‘The interval was distant.’
Huh?, well, when (another) Papa Kabuwo was born, his (old Papa Kabuwo’s) younger brother baptised him, as Yousouf.’

‘He too governed. Nowadays it is I [focus] who have taken command.’

‘The government that the old men used to know, the chief, he governed for fifty years.’

‘That was the first chief.’
(04:11) **nt** [màŋ gà tén-nā = [ā pà]] [Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit] [jiiⁿ yiyèni] làmā gà, [year seven] govern.Pfv RemPfv, ‘The one who succeeded him governed for seven years.’

(cf. reflexive verb tēwⁿ/tē-lēwⁿ ‘put oneself up against’)

(04:14) **nt** [màŋ gà tén-nā = [ā pà]] [Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit]] [jiin tēmbē-ē-sigēⁿ] làmā gà, [year ten-and-three] govern.Pfv RemPfv, ‘The one who succeeded him governed for thirteen years.’

(04:17) **nt** [n-dógō yūrūgū gā [j̃ jiiⁿ sigēⁿ] nǐ [1Sg-Indep this.year be [1Sg year three] it.is ac ŋ = nā = ā faāmū 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv nt āⁿ faāmū 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q

**nt**: ‘Myself, this year is (=adds up to) my three years. Did you understand?’

**sc**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘You understood?’

(04:21) **ac** ālä gàlà ē kò [[wii yên kēnā-āmā] nǐ] God Sbjn 1Pl furnish.Pfv [[long.life and health] Inst] nt àmífnà yūrūgū gā [j̃ jiiⁿ sigēⁿ] nĩ amen! this.year be [1Sg year three] it.is sc: ‘May God give us long life and good health.’

**nt**: ‘Amen! This year is (=adds up to) my three years.’

(04:23) **ac** ŋ = nā = ā faāmū 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv **nt** [wāy kōⁿ] ē-lógō gà kà-yē nĩ [today Topic] 1Pl-Indep be father-Pl it.is sc: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘Nowadays it’s we [focus] who are the fathers (=elders).’
(04:25) **ac** ṇ =ṇ = ă fàāmù  
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** sàà-gū dìgàmù tè bē  [ë dēm-bë] pà],  
now talk(n) Pfv Neg come.Pfv [1Pl child-Pl] Comit,  
**sc:** ‘I understood it.’  
**nt:** ‘Now the word (=time to govern) hasn’t come for our young people.’

(04:27) **nt** [nògù-bëⁿ yèŋ màålù màⁿ] āŋ kā = ā kà-nà gù,  
[N and M Rel] 2Sg Prsntv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,  
[[mà sāāⁿ] nā = à māyⁿ]  
[[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg ruin.Pfv]  
[ă nà mī māyⁿ] [ām pà],  
[3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [2Sg Comit],  
‘Namagué and Madougou (villages) that you-Sg know, if anyone (=you) harms it (relations between them), it won’t be good for you-Sg.’  
*[i.e. anyone who does that will be in trouble; < āⁿ kāy à kà-nà ‘, mà sāāⁿ ‘any who’; mixed conditional and relative (§14.1.2); generic 2Sg agreeing with nonspecific ‘anyone’ (§14.1.2)]*

(04:32) **nt** [nàn ŋ-kēᵉⁿ] [kàà ŋ-kēᵉⁿ] nī kōy,  
[mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is Emph,  
[wà-y-wày gù-ŷ] [pē nām bē màålù]  
[Iter-today Def-Loc] [thing if.Pfv come.Pfv M]  
‘(The two villages) are of the same mother and the same father. Nowadays if something comes (=happens) to Madougou, …’

(04:35) **nt** è-lāgš gā bē bàāwône,  
3Pl-Indep.Foc Ipfv.Foc come.Ipfv plead.Pfv,  
[pē nām bē màålù] [ë pē] bē sō bàāwône,  
[thing if.Pfv come.Pfv M] [1Pl also] Seq go.Pfv plead.Pfv,  
‘They (people of Madougou) [focus] come and plead (to us). If something happens in Madougou (emend to: Namagué), we likewise go and plead (to people in Madougou).’  
*Ipfv ‘come’ plus perfective VP (§15.2.1)*
nt: ‘Have you-Sg not seen our association?
ac: ‘I have seen it.’
[refers to a joint association between the two villages, which arranges marriages]

nt [mà hääⁿ] nā = à māyⁿ [à nā hàwrà [ám pà]]
[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg harm.Pfv [3Sg IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv [2Sg Comit]
ac nā = nā = à fāāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
nt mhm
uh-huh
nt: ‘If anyone (=you) harms it, it won’t be pleasant for you-Sg.’
sc: ‘I understood it.’
nt: ‘Uh-huh.’
[mà hääⁿ variant of mà sāāⁿ]

sc [ē sāāⁿ] gā [kàbù ŋ-kēēⁿ] nì
[1Pl all] be [association Link-one] it.is
nt [ē sāāⁿ] gā [kàbù ŋ-kēēⁿ] nì
[1Pl all] be [association Link-one] it.is
sc: ‘Both of us (=the two villages) are one association.’
nt: ‘Both of us are one association.’

nt [bē (ŋ) kā-lā [[nààn-[sûbáāⁿ-sóⁿ] bwēy]}
[come (Refl) be.added-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] Comit]
[mà hääⁿ]— ē nàwⁿ—
[Rel all]— 1Pl if.Pfv—
‘Including (=even) tomorrow morning. Anyone who—. If we—.’
[i.e. the bond is still unbroken]
(04:45) **nt** [ë pàà bë pwà] [[mà hààⁿ] gà bê]
[ë bā = à sè]
[3Pl Seq 3Sg say.Pfv]
[yèŋ kā = à yàgā] [kìyëⁿ ni],
[Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.lpfv [like.this Inst]],
‘If we have sat down (at a meeting), anyone who comes, they would then say, “let’s decide (the issue) like this.”’
/pàà bè in hypothetical conditional antecedent (§16.4); hortative këⁿ (§10.4.2.1)

(04:47) **ac** ñ =nà = ā fāāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
**nt** [[mà hàāⁿ] nā = à sè [ñ = nà] gū]
[[Rel Pl] if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [LogoSg lpfvNeg] Def,
[à nà m māyⁿ [ām pà]],
[3Sg lpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [2Sg Comit]],
ac: ‘I understood it.’
**nt**: ‘If there is anyone (=you) who says “I will not” (=refuses), it won’t be good for you.’

(04:50) **ac** ñ =nà = ā fāāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
**nt** ēyà, [sēnì gū] lāgōŋ gà pānāāⁿ,
well, [O Def] die.Pfv RemPfv firstly,
ac: ‘I understood it.’
‘All right, that Ouséni died first (i.e. before Lasine),’

(04:53) **nt** [[màŋ pò̃ gà [màlù gū]]
[[Rel sit.Pfv RemPfv [M Def]]]
[wògò̃ lāgōŋ gà pānāāⁿ],
[3Sg.Indep.Foc die.Pfv RemPfv first],
‘The one who had settled in Madougou, it was he [focus] who died first.’

(04:55) **nt** à kāylà lāgōŋ gūüp,
3Sg when die.Pfv Def,
[à tèŋ mànə] gà bōŋ gū, lāalinè gū,
[3Sg elder.sib Rel] be here Def, L Def,
‘When he died, his elder brother who was here (in Namagué), that Lasine,’
/bōwⁿ ‘here’/
He (=Lasine) said, “when I die, take-2Pl me to Madougou.”

[original addresses expressed as 3Pl in quotation]

‘Did you understand? When he died, they took him to Madougou.’

‘When they had taken him to Madougou, Ouséni was to the east.’

‘Did you understand? Lasine who was the elder brother,’

‘They brought that one (=Lasine) to the west, toward Namagué.’
until today, 1Pl not.be be.added-Ppl-together already,

'nògù-bèⁿ yè màlàlu] kàⁿ↑,

[N and M] Topic,

[e kàbùrú] nà kàñ-nà-bwèy,

1Pl tomb] not.be be.added-Ppl-together,

‘Even today, we (=the two villages) have (still) not joined together. As for Namagué and Madougou, our tombs are (still) not joined together.’

‘Even today, we have a separation, (although) it is (=we are of) same father, same mother.’

If a person from Namagué has died, we come bury him/her this way.’

‘Indeed!’

parallel to the following segment; Gentilic suffix -ŋà (§4.2.4); ‘come’ compounded to a preceding verb (§15.2.5); ù-mààcéwⁿ contracted < bòwⁿ bààcéwⁿ ‘toward here’}

‘If a person from Madougou has died, we go bury him to the east.’
(05:29) sc màlù̀ gá sò jì'í-čí'n→—
M Ipfv go.Ipfv east.Loc—
nt ě-lògò ě gá bë jì'í-kàmàà
1Pl-Indep 1Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv west
sc ě-lògò ě gá bë ù-mààcèw'n
1Pl-Indep 1Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv this.way
sc: ‘Madougou goes east—’
nt: ‘(And) we [focus] come west.’
sc: ‘(And) we [focus] come this way (=west).’

(05:32) nt [bë kà-là [wà-y-kúgú bwè'y]]
[come be.added-Ipfv [today-Dem Comit]]
ě nà bỳ kà-nà,
1Pl IpfvNeg Recip see-Ipfv,
‘Including (=even) today, we (still) don’t see each other.’
[i.e. we have separate burial sites (separated by stone boundary markers)]

(05:34) nt [ě gá [kàà ŋ-kèè'ŋ] [nàŋ Ō-kèè'ŋ] nì]
[1Pl be [father Link-one] [mother Link-one] it.is]
[ålàà gá ŋdùŋā-sèbë tò],
[God Ipfv world-matters know.Ipfv],
‘We are of one father and one mother. (Only) God knows the affairs of this world.’
[ålà ‘God’, here pronounced ālàa with long vowel as in Arabic]

(05:36) ac ñ =nà= ā fààmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
nt [nón làà] [kú gá kibàrù nì]
[Dem QTop] [Dem be information it.is]
ac álàáwkùbár
praise.God
ac: ‘I understood it.’
nt: ‘As for that (matter), that is the information (that I have).’
ac: ‘God be praised’
(05:39) ac  
bon, [mà-lè sāⁿ] pɔ̀g gà bòwⁿ]
well, [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here]
[[è sāⁿ] jàmù] gà— tārāwòrē n tà→,
[[3Pl all] clan.name] be— T.Foc it.is or.Q,
‘All right. All those who settled here, was the (original) clan name of all of them
Traoré?

[disjunction in polar interrogative with tà→ at end of first option: < tārāwòrē]

(05:42) ac  
nè=  [[è bè gà bōŋ] kɔ̀rɔ̀ b余人]
or.else.Q [3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here] back Comit]
[[wɔ̀gó ní] tārāwòrē kîlè gà]
[[3Sg.Indep.Foc it.is] T get.Pfv RemPfv]
‘Or was it after they came here that it (the clan name) Traoré was gotten?’
[< nà ‘or else’ (§7.2.2)]

(05:44) nt  
mà-lè sāⁿ] pɔ̀g gà bòwⁿ,
[Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here,
[è kòⁿ]—
[1Pl Topic]—
‘All those who came here, as for us (=as far as we know)—’

(05:46) nt  
[è bèe-nâ] nìŋjì]
[[3Pl come-Ppl] inside]
[è kòⁿ] ë yè [è tārāwòrē-àmà] mìŋjì gà,
‘In (=at the time of) their coming, as for us, we heard about their Traoré-hood (=the
Traoré clan).’

[i.e., ‘we have heard that they were already named Traoré on their arrival’; focalized
< tārōwa-rē-àmà]

(05:49) nt  
[à sāⁿ] gà ìgàmù nì wà,
[3Sg all] Ipfv talk(n) it.is anyway,
[è kòⁿ] tārē-òrē— [hàlè = [è lásáří] pà,
[false start]— [since [1Pl origin] Comit,
‘It’s all words (=oral tradition) anyway. As for the Traoré—. Ever since our origin,’
[wà (§19.4.2.7); hàlì occurs both in ‘until’ and ‘ever since’ clauses (§15.7.1-2)]
(05:52) **nt** hàlì— [sēënî wûlēē] pà, è làsìrí, until— [O AssocPl] Comit, 3Pl origin, [tārāwôrē gû] nî [T Def] it.is **ac** [tārāwôrē gû] nî [T Def] it.is
**nt:** ‘Even the Ouséni’s, their origin, it was Traoré.’
**ac:** ‘It was Traoré.’

[associative plural (§4.1.6)]

(05:58) **nt** è bê gà [tārāwôrē nê =] [ē pà] 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]
**ac** è bê gà [tārāwôrē nê =] [ē pà] 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]
**nt:** ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’
**ac:** ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’

[< nî [ē pà] ]

(06:01) **ac** bon, [nôgù-bêm pw5 gà] bê [sâà-gù bwêy], okay, [N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit], è bâynà gâ sô [kôlē— kôlē bwêy] 3Pl ExpPf Ipfv go.Ipfv [war— war Comit.Q] ‘Okay. (From when) Namagué was settled until now, did they ever go to war?’

[‘come’ following another verb (Pfv or Ipfv stem indeterminate) (§15.2.5) ; bâynà gà experiential perfect (§10.2.1.4)]

(06:06) **nt** [nôgù-bêm pw5 gà] bê [sâà-gù bwêy], [N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit], sê— kâlā è gâ mà-lê kû-nû [sôrdââsi nî], (false start) except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier Inst], ‘(From when) Namagué was settled until now, (not) except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers.’

[bê ’come’ at beginning of ‘until’ phrase (§15.7.3.2). kâlā ~ ñkâlā ‘except’ (§19.3.2.4)]
(06:11) **nt** äⁿ minē, ān tigê-kêêgû— [ŋ] kâá] sô,
2Sg hear.Pfv.Q 2Sg grandfather— [1Sg father] go.Pfv,
ān tigê-kêêgû sô, āⁿ fââmû,
2Sg grandfather go.Pfv, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,
‘Did you hear? Your grandfather— My father went. Your grandfather went. Did you understand?’

(06:18) **nt** [kú-yê kâⁿ sâaⁿ] sô kêlê-gâwⁿ
**ac** [è sâaⁿ] sô kêlê-gâwⁿ
**nt:** ‘Those both went to the war zone.’
**ac:** ‘They both went to the war zone.’
[-gâwⁿ place nominal added to Pfv verb (§4.2.1.5.1)]

(06:20) **nt** [kêlê jàáti-jàáti màⁿ] āŋ gâ tô kôy,
[war Iter-precise Rel] 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv Emph,
[āŋ kâá]— [ān tigê-kêêgû sûwômâañî] yeⁿ [ŋ] kâá-n-dindi],
[2Sg father]— [2Sg grandfather S] and [1Sg father-Link-D],
‘The very same war that you-Sg know (of). Your father— (or rather) your grandfather Suleyman and Papa Dindi.’

[ŋ] kâá-n-X ‘my dad X’ informal, including a personal name (§6.2.1.1)]

(06:24) **nt** [è kâⁿ] [āŋ gâ [kêlê mà hâaⁿ] tô gu] nì,
[3Pl Topic] [2Sg Ipfv [war Rel all] know.Ipfv Def] it.is,
**sc** dindî târàwôrè
D T
**nt** dindî târàwôrè
D T
**nt:** ‘As for them, it was the very war that you know (of).’
**sc:** ‘Dindi Traorë.’
**nt:** ‘Dindi Traorë.’
He [focus] joined in the war.

[i.e. the French colonial army; Malians were recruited into the Senegalese tirailleurs]

Eventually he became (was promoted to) corporal.

[That [focus] is what they called (him) —
[i.e. when he returned after the war he was called “corporal”]

Was that the war—, the first world war? (Or) was it the second?

[French guerre; < pàntà and pèn(d)à-ànà ordinals (§4.6.2.2); second part of disjunction interrupted]
(06:38) **nt** hàlì tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
until white.person-era
**sc** tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
white.person-era
**nt** tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
white.person-era
**nt**: ‘(It was) back in the colonial (“white person”) era.’
**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’
**nt**: ‘The colonial era.’

[tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ apparently an H-final compound (§5.1.5.2), initial < tūbā̀bū, final not otherwise attested]

(06:40) **sc** à nā màlì nì kóy
3Sg not.be M it.is Emph
**nt** tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
white.person-era
**sc** tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
white.person-era
**sc**: ‘It wasn’t (independent) Mali!’
**nt**: ‘The colonial era.’
**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

[Mali became independent in 1960]

(06:43) **ac** deuxième guerre mondiale
second war global
**sc** tūbā̀bū-tōm₃ⁿ
white.person-era
**ac**: ‘The second world war.’
**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

(06:45) **sc** wògọ̀ d̡̀w̡̄g̡̀ g̡à kēl̡ē-ỳ
3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc
**nt** wògọ̀ d̡̀w̡̄g̡̀ g̡à kēl̡ē-ỳ
3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc
**sc**: ‘That [focus] (=the colonial power) is what went into the war.’
**nt**: ‘That [focus] (=the colonial power) is what went into the war.’
(06:47) **sc** hàlì-kànà è gā= ā yàgā [kàpàrán ní], until 3Pl until.Pfv 3Sg put.Pfv [corporal Inst], wògō gà [kú kàá] ní 3Sg.Indep.Foc be [Dem father] it.is ‘Eventually they made him corporal. That [focus] was this one’s (=nt’s) father.’ '/yàgā/yàgā ‘put (down)’ also means ‘transform, make into’, i.e. the causative of ‘become’ (§11.2.4.2)

(06:50) **nt** [à bā= à sē [è gālā yà̀pè [mí pá]], [3Sg Seq 3Sg say.Pfv [3Pl Sbjj forgive.Pfv [LogoSg Comit]], [[ń kàá] yèⁿ [ń nàñ] dàbì] ń kūūⁿ. [[LogoSg father] and [LogoSg mother] longing] LogoSg catch.Pfv, ‘Then he asked them (=military) to excuse him, he missed his father and his mother.’ '/yà̀pè ~ yà̀fè/

(06:54) **nt** [táłám mà] ì yā= [ā kày bē] gū, day Rel 3Pl said [3Sg Prsntv come.Pfv] Def, è gàrdè-è tūwē-nīŋ gā= [ā pā], 3Pl guard-Pl follow-Caus.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Comit], ‘The day (when) they said he was coming, they had (military) guards follow him.’ [presentative in progressive function (§10.2.2.3)]

(06:58) **nt** [hàlì tùbáábé-è gándà-ỹ], [all.the.way white.person-Pl country-Loc, [hàlā= [[ã nàñ] gündũ-ỹ] [all.the.way [3Sg mother] courtyard-Loc] ‘All the way from the white people’s country, all the way to his mother’s courtyard.’

(07:01) **nt** [tùbáábé-è gándà-ỹ [bā= [[ã nàñ] gũni-ỹ]] [white.person-Pl country-Loc [come [[3Sg mother] courtyard-Loc]]

**ac** mmhm, è bē bā= [ā pā] gū uh.huh, 3Pl Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Comit] Def  /

**ac**: ‘(From) white people’s country to his mother’s courtyard.’

**nt**: ‘Uh-huh. Then they came with him.’

[< bē à àwⁿ]/

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(07:03) ac ŋ =nā = ā fāāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
sc wògò gâ [kú kâā] ni
3Sg.Indep.Foc be [Dem father] it.is
ac: ‘I understood it.’
sc: ‘That [focus] was this one’s (nt’s) father.’

(07:05) nt wògò gâ [ŋ̄ kâá] ni,
3Sg.Indep.Foc be [1Sg father] it.is,
wògò [kêlè jáátí kò₃] tíŋ gâ,
3Sg.Indep.Foc [war precise Topic] do.Pfv RemPfv,
‘That [focus] was my father. That one [focus] did the real war.’

(07:08) sc [wògò dhw̱ gâ kēl̃-y]
[3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc
ac ŋ =nā = ā fāāmù jáátí
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
sc: ‘That one went into the war.’
ac: ‘I understood it exactly.’

(07:11) ac è→, è gâ= ā sê mè₃-ti₃w̱, kibâ-bāānā lāā,
(hesitation), 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv how?, marriage-manner QTop,
bon [tārāwōrē bāānā] gâ bwö dēē tā→,
okay [T only] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv or.Q,
‘Uh, what do they call it? Marriage practices, okay, do Traorē only take (=marry)
each other?’
[lāā topic marker especially with questions (§19.1.2); < dēē]

(07:17) ac nā tārāwōrē— [nɔ́ɡù-bēm bāānā] ŋ tā→,
or T— [N only] it.is or.Q,
nā [tārāwōrē mā-lē] gā kilē
or [T Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv
mālū yēm [[pōɡē-ē] nìŋi],
M.Loc and [[whatchamacallit?-Pl inside],
‘Or do Traorē— (Do they marry) only in Namagué (to other local Traorē)? Or (do
they also marry) Traorē people who are found in Madougou and whatchamallits (=other
small villages)?’
[tā→ and nā in disjunctive questions (§7.2.2); pōɡ ‘whatchamacallit?’ (substitute
for a name or noun that is not remembered in time), related to pw̱ gū ‘the thing’]
Or do they (Traoré) only marry each other or does another clan mix in with it? 'i.e. do they also marry with other clans, such as Cissé?'

It does (mix), it does. Myself, my mother’s clan name was Bakoro.'
(07:35) **nt** äⁿ faâmú
2Sg understand.Pfv.Q
**ac** ŋī = nā = ā faâmū jááti
1Sg Shj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
**nt**: ‘Did you understand?’
**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

(07:38) **nt** [ŋ̀ kā-aⁿ-yāákūbā] nāwⁿ, à bāā gā kàrgéwⁿ,
[1Sg dad-Y] mother, 3Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv K.Loc,
[a jāmū] gā tūüré nī, āⁿ faâmū,
[3Sg clan.name] be Touré it.is, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,
‘The mother of my Papa Yacouba, she came from Kargué (village). Her clan name was Touré. Did you understand?’
< kàrgéwⁿ/

(07:44) **nt** [ē jānâàmā kōⁿ] [sīī mà hāāⁿ] nāⁿ ǰi ɲāāmū
[1Pl J Topic] [breed Rel all] if.Pfv 3ReflSg mix.Pfv
jāmū—, [sīī nē = ēnī—
clan.name—, [breed IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv—
‘(Among) us Jenaama people, if any clan has been mixed (by intermarriage), the clan name—. A clan cannot (mix).’

(07:48) **nt** [ē jāmû-yè] gē = ē ɲāāmû [bwô bwēy],
[1Pl clan.name-Pl] Ipfv 3ReflPl mix.Ipfv [Recip Comit],
kú-yè gā tūürè-é nī, kú-yè gā bāakồlè-yé nī,
Dem-Pl be T-Pl.Foc it.is, Dem-Pl be B-Pl.Foc it.is,
kú-yè gā sisè-é nī
Dem-Pl be C-Pl.Foc it.is
‘Our clan names are mixed with each other. These (people) are the Touré’s [focus], these are the Bakoro’s [focus], these are the Cissé’s [focus].’
[i.e. there is intermarriage among clans but the clans remain distinct; < ɲāāmû]
(07:52) **sc** kú-yè gà sisé-é ni  
Dem-Pl be C-Pl.Foc it.is  
**nt** âm minjé, [ē kɔⁿ sàan] gà bwó déè  
2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, [1Pl Topic all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv  
**sc** [ē kɔⁿ sàan] gà bwó déè, tout  
[1Pl Topic all] Ipfv Recip take.Ipfv, all  
**sc:** ‘These are the Cissé’s.’  
**nt:** ‘Did you hear? All of us marry each other.’  
**sc:** ‘All of us marry each other. All.’

(07:57) **nt** [[ē kɔⁿ] sìi mà hàán] gà bwó déè  
[[1Pl Topic] breed Rel all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv  
**ac** [aŋ jàábi] démò [ē tè] jàáti,  
[2Sg answer(n)] be.pleasing [1Pl Dat] exactly,  
**nt** ‘As for us, any of our clans marry each other.’  
**ac** ‘Your-Sg answer pleases us indeed.’  
< ē tè/

(07:59) **ac** [hål way] ḣ gālà = à pɔgɔ̀  
[until today] 1Sg Sbjn 3Sg like.Pfv  
hapus gālà = ā ciyè sàā-kɔⁿ,  
[1Sg Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv now,  
‘At this point I would like to ask you-Pl now,’

(08:01) **ac** [ŋ jəáti kɔⁿ] [mì pè] gà = à kùmbày  
[1Sg exactly Topic] [1Sg also] Ipfv 3Sg be.aware.of.Ipfv  
màà tərəwɔrè wɔgɔ̀ ḣ kɔⁿ  
[that T 3Sg.Indep.Foc PsRefl be.many  
nɔgù niŋjì] màŋnè,  
village inside greatley,  
‘I myself, I too am aware that the Traore (clan), it [focus] is most abundant (=the majority) in the village.’  
[‘Traoré’ is resumed by a 3Sg pronoun in focus function]

(08:04) **ac** sàa-gù lāa, [[ān-dāa jìgì] bwɛ́], [tərəwɔrè nàm bāa]  
now QTop, [[2Sg-QTop awareness] Comit], [T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv]  
mwɔ̀ jàm sìi yè ḣ kɔⁿ [nɔgù niŋjì] tũⁿ  
[which? clan.name breed] Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.many [village inside] again  
‘Now, in your-Sg opinion, aside from the Traoré, which (other) clan name is also abundant in the village?’
(08:08) **nt** ɲin tārāwörē nām bāā,
if T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv
[sànā wà̀ y kəⁿ] màŋ ŋ kōⁿ, sisé
[like today Topic] Rel PsRefl be many, C
‘Aside from the Traoré, like nowadays, the one that is (most) abundant, (it is) Cissé.’
[< məw” ŋ kōⁿ]

(08:11) **ac** sisé
C
**nt** kəⁿ
Topic.Foc
**ac:** ‘Cissé.’
**nt:** ‘As for (it).’
[kəⁿ here is <LH> toned, with final H-tone superimposed on kəⁿ: this is typical of confirmations (§19.1.1)]

(08:13) **nt** [āā kāá-yāmbāa gū] jīidi-nā nī [[sùrù gū sāān] tē]
[2Pl father-house Def] multiply-Ppl it is [[remainder Def all] Dat]
**sc** sisé
Cissé
**nt:** ‘Your-Pl father’s-side extended family is more numerous than all (=any of) the remaining ones.’
CS: ‘Cissé’
[kāá-yāmbāa, cf. kāá ‘father’, yāmbāa ‘house’]

(08:17) **nt** ē-lāgô ē gā tārāwörē nī,
1Pl-Indep 1Pl be T it is
[jōnsāārē-ē gā tārāwörē nī,
[D-Pl be T it is,
‘Us, we are Traoré. Dionsaré (man’s name) and his group are Traoré.’

(08:21) **nt** [ē kəⁿ sāā”] [ē kāá-yāmbāa-yē wū-lē],
[1Pl Topic all] [1Pl father-house-Pl Dem-Pl],
āā-lāgô [āā kāá-yāmbāa gū],
2Pl-Indep [2Pl father-house Def]
‘All of us, these paternal extended families—’
[wū-lē (variant of kū-lē), plural of definite gū]
(08:25) **nt** [à nàm bāā] [[ë kàà-yàmbàà] nîñii]
[3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv] [[1Pl father-house] inside]
[āā sùrù ñ kōn] [nògù sàān] tē
[2Pl remainder] PsRefl be.many [[village all] Dat]
‘Aside from our paternal extended family (=Traoré), you-Pl the remainder (Cissé)
are (most) numerous of the villages.’
[emend as āā-lògò ñ kōn] [[sùrù gù sàān] tē ‘you-Pl are the most numerous of the
remainder’]

(08:29) **ac** ñ =nā = ā fàāmù jààtû
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
**nt** āā mîñè dë?, āā-lògò sîsi-sê nì
2Pl hear.Pfv Emph, 2Pl-Indep C-Pl it.is
ac: ‘I understood it exactly.’
nt: ‘Did you-Pl hear? You-Pl are the Cissé’s.’
[dë? (§19.4.2.4)]

(08:31) **ac** ñ =nā = ā fàāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
**nt** [bààkòlè-síí-yè kù-lè] nà = āā bāgà kùjààmà-ỳn dë?
[B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpfvNeg 2Pl equal.Ipfv number-Loc Emph
ac: ‘I understood it.’
nt: ‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl in population.’
[H-final compound with sîí as final]

(08:34) **nt** tåràwòré-sísè kù-yè ñ kōn
T-C Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many
**ac** tåràwòré-sísè
T-C
nt: ‘Traoré and Cissé, those are numerous.’
ac: ‘Traoré and Cissé.’
[variant of list prosody for the conjunction ‘Traoré and Cissé’ (§7.1.10)]

(08:37) **nt** mhm, kù-yè ñ kōn
uh.huh Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many
**ac** ñ =nā = ā fàāmù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
nt: ‘Uh-huh, those are numerous.’
ac: ‘I understood it.’
At this point, (I leave it in) God’s trust (and) your-Pl trust.’

[conventional leave-taking formula]

You-Pl and work!’
[for this greeting formula, see §19.6.3]

At this point, my friend, have courage (energy, fortitude).’

[vocative ŋ̀ kàá ‘my friend’ (prepausally ŋ́ kàá ‘my father’ but with different tones (§6.2.1.1); ān dukòrò 2Sg reflexive imperative (2Pl counterpart yà = āa dukòrò)]

Your-Pl calling (us) pleases us a lot.

The fact that you came to Namagué, by God it pleases us.

The (name) Namagué, Namagué, they said “a village has come”.

As for that, you-Pl should be welcome until today (=any time).’
(08:57) **nt** ę tè yēwà [āā pà] kóy
1Pl PfvNeg disrespect.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Emph

**sc** ę tè kóy
1Pl PfvNeg Emph

nt: ‘We did not disrespect you-Pl (=take you lightly).’
sc: ‘We sure didn’t.’
Text 2017-02 The arrival of the leatherworkers

Ngaare Traore (village chief. nt) and Seydou Cissé (sc) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration 03:17

(00:01) ac [kééràⁿ syēⁿ] sèëdù↑,
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] S,
sèëdù [kééràⁿ syēwⁿ]
S [welfare spend.midday.Pfv]
‘Good afternoon, Seydou. [louder:] Seydou, good afternoon.’
[repeated more loudly since Seydou is hard of hearing; < syēwⁿ]

(00:03) nt kàlà = āa syēn [jāṁnî]
Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst]
sc [kééràⁿ syēwⁿ]
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv]
nt: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’
sc: ‘Good afternoon.’

(00:05) ac kò jāṁ syēŋ gà = [ām bwēy]
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Sg Comit]
sc āālā tìgē-ni yáá
God thank(v).lpfv Emph
ac: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Sg?’
sc: ‘Thank God.’
/kò contracted < kòri interrogative in greetings; formula modified < āā tègē-ni
‘thank God!’; yáá clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2.5)]

(00:06) ac ā = āy käy
2Sg and work(n)
ac: ‘You and work!’
/[ā = āy käy (§19.6.3)]

(00:07) sc kòri jāṁ syā = [āā pà]
Q peace spend.day.Pfv [2Pl Comit]
ac [bàā sī] kòⁿ
[trouble any] not.be
sc: ‘Did peace spend the day with you-Pl?’
ac: ‘(There is) no trouble.’
[< syēwⁿ : bàā sî (§19.6.1)]
(00:08) **sc** yā = āā bāāy kāy
   2Pl work(n)
**ac** ènnà (ā =) āy kāy
(reply) 2Sg work(n)
**sc**: ‘You-Pl and work!’
**ac**: ‘Likewise you-Sg and work!’
* [for these formulae see §19.6.3]*

(00:10) **sc** ā = āy tiyāābù kāy
   2Sg (greeting) indeed
**ac** āmbā = (ā) āy kāy
(reply) 2Sg work(n)
**sc**: ‘You and (greeting)!’
**ac**: ‘Likewise, you and work!’
* [< Fulfulde tiyaabu koy]*

(00:12) **sc** ā = āy wālè
   2Sg completed.work
**sc**: ‘You and (completed) work!’
* [< noun wālè, this greeting addressed to someone returning home from work (§19.6.3)]*

(00:13) **ac** ā, ē gā = ā pāgò
   uh, 1Pl lpfv 3Sg like.lpfv
   [ē gālā = ān tiyē [[pā kūūn] nī] quoi
   [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing a.certain] Inst]
**sc** máñè
   a.lot
**ac**: ‘We would like to ask you-Sg for a certain thing.’
**sc**: ‘By all means.’
* /kūūn ‘a certain (one)’ (§6.3.2.2), related to kēwⁿ ‘one’]*

(00:15) **ac** ī yē sālā mīmē-è bē gā bōwⁿ nāgi-ŷ,
   3Pl said whether leatherworker-Pl come.Pfv RemPfv1Pl here village-Loc,
   [[mwō bāānā-sīí] nī]
   [[which? manner-breed] Inst]
   ‘They have said (asked) in what way the leatherworks (caste) came here to the village.’
   * /sālā ~ hālā ‘whether’ after ‘said’ in interrogative/dubitative contexts (§17.1.5, §17.2.1.1)]
whether 2Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv
[[ŋŋŋ gu] nǐnǐ]
[[Dem.Def Def] inside.Q]
(I wonder) whether you-Sg know something in (=about) that?
[discourse-definite demonstrative pɔŋ directly followed by definite gu (§4.4.1)]

‘The leatherworkers, truly I know (about) it.’
[wǔ-lè ~ kù-lè plural of definite gu (§4.4.1); < Fulfulde (ŋ)goong ‘truly’]

‘The leatherworkers, when they—. They were coming here. Did you understand?’
[smooth out as ê kàylà bē bŏŋ gu]

‘Well, they left (=came from) Menemene (village).’
‘Menemene.’
‘Menemene.’
[Menemene is a village in the Dogul Dom (Dogon) speaking zone in the high plateau north of Bandiagara]
(00:38) sc  è bè bë bòwⁿ,  
3Pl Seq come.Pfv here,  
wògò gà [[hàmmàdî sèêbà] kàà-yàmɓàà gù] nì,  
3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[H S] father-house Def] it.is,  
‘Then they came here. That [focus] is the paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba.’  
[Seiba is the clan name of the leatherworkers in the zone.]  
(00:43) sc  wògò gà [[hàmmàdî sèêbà] kàà-yàmɓàà gù] nì],  
3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[[H S] father-house Def] it.is],  
sc: ‘That [focus] is the paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba.’  
nt: ‘You are facing that.’  
(00:44) nt  [àn tìgë] gà [wògò tê],  
[2Sg front.side] be [3Sg.Indep Dat],  
[àŋ gà digèm bòwⁿ]  
[2Sg Ipfv speak.Ipfv here  
‘You face that. [louder:] You speak here.’  
[< digèmû : nt is instructing sc how to position himself near the microphone]  
(00:48) sc  hàmmàdî, hàmmàdî, [hàmmàdî sèêbà-yê] kàà-yàmɓà gù,  
(hesitations) [H S-Pl] father-house Def,  
è bâ gà mënêmënê,  
3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv M,  
‘The paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba and family, they left Menemene.’  
/[bâ gà variant of bàa gà]  
(00:55) sc  ñ→ kú, [àlëè pîiⁿ-yê] kàà-yàmɓà gù,  
uh Dem, [A black-Pl] father-house Def,  
àⁿ faàmû, è bâ gà ùndûgù,  
2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv O,  
‘Uh, that one, the paternal extended family of Black Allaye, they left Oungoudou.’  
/[there are two adult Allaye’s in Namagué who are distinguished as ‘red’ and ‘black’;  
Oundougou on the Dogon plateau is the single most important archeological site in the zone]
Oundougou.

‘Their paternal extended family left (=came from) there.’

Hammadi Seeba’s paternal extended family left Oundougou— (or rather) Menemene, (whereas) Black Allaye’s paternal extended family left Oundougou.’

Sabadogo’s paternal extended family, (they left) Damagari. Those three ones (extended families).’

[Sawadogo, a common surname in Burkina Faso; Damagari is a village in the nearby Tiranige-speaking zone; demonstrative kà̀ (±M) (§4.4.2); < è-lògò gà]
They then proceeded to come and settle (here).’
ac: ‘I understood it exactly.’
/bê kilê (§15.3.2)/

They then came and added themselves to (joined) the Bozos.
ac: ‘They came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’
/kwâa/kû-lâ ‘hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’, here reflexive

When they came, did they bring their knowledge (=skill) in leather-working with them to us?’
/kây here short for käylâ ‘when’; miyêni/miyêni ‘fix; manufacture’, here in H-final compound tones (§5.1.5.2); là→ (§7.2.2)

Or did they come here and that [focus] is (when) they got to know it?’
/[nà→ ‘or’ at the beginning of the second part of a disjunctive question (§7.2.2)

(01:24) sc è bê kilê bê pwò
3Pl Seq find.Pfv come.Pfv sit.Pfv
ac ŋ =nā = ā fâmû jáâtì
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
sc: ‘They then proceeded to come and settle (here).’
ac: ‘I understood it exactly.’
/bê kilê (§15.3.2)/

(01:27) sc è bê bê= è kwâa [[jânångê-kù-lê] pà]
ac è bê= è kwâa [[jânångê-kù-lê] pà]
sc: ‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’
ac: ‘They came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’
/kwâa/kû-lâ ‘hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’, here reflexive

(01:29) [è kay bê gu], è bê gâ [[è kòlôm-mîyênî—]
[3Pl when come.Pfv Def], 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [[3Pl skin-fix.VblN—]
[[kòlôm-mîyênî]-tôy nê= [è bwey] là→,
[[skin-fix.VblN]-knowledge] Inst] [1Pl Comit] or.Q,
‘When they came, did they bring their knowledge (=skill) in leather-working with them to us?’
/kây here short for käylâ ‘when’; miyêni/miyêni ‘fix; manufacture’, here in H-final compound tones (§5.1.5.2); là→ (§7.2.2)

(01:32) ac [nê= è bê gâ bâwⁿ]
[or 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here]
[wâgâ nî] i yâ= ā tuyê gâ
[3Sg.Indep.Foc it.is] 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg know.Pfv RemPfv
‘Or did they come here and that [focus] is (when) they got to know it?’
/[nà→ ‘or’ at the beginning of the second part of a disjunctive question (§7.2.2)

543
(01:33) **sc**  kòlòm-miyènì gù, è bë gà= [à nè=] [è pà]

skin-fixing Def, 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**ac** è bë gà= [à nè=] [è bwèy]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**sc** è bë gà= [à nè=] [è pà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**sc:** ‘Leather-working, they brought it into our midst.’

**ac:** ‘They brought it to us.’

**sc:** ‘They brought it to us.’

*good example of the interchangeability of comitative postpositions pà and bwèy*

(01:39) **sc**  añ gà= ò faàmú, 

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

kòlòm-miyènì gù, è bë gà= [à nè=] [è pà]

skin-fixing Def, 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

‘Do you understand it? Leather-working, they brought it to us.’

(01:42) **sc**  bàdì, [mènèmènè-ŋgè-ë wù-lè], è kàylà bë-nà gù,

because, [M-Gent-Pl Def-Pl], 3Pl when come-Ppl Def,

[kààdò sèèbè-ë] [ë tìgè-kìègù], à gà kòlòm miyènì,

[K S-Pl] [1Pl grandfather], 3Sg Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv,

‘Because, the people from Menemene, when they had come, the grandfather of Kado Seiba and family, our grandfather, he was working hides.’

*Gentilic -ŋa (§4.2.4); kàylà ‘when’ with participial stative (§15.4.3)*

(01:50) **ac**  à gà kòlòm miyènì

3Sg Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc**  nàngà-g“-sí-ỳë wù-lè, [è pè] gà kòlòm miyènì

Yanogué-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl, [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**ac:** ‘He was working hides.’

**sc:** ‘The Yanogué clans, they too work hides.’

(01:54) **ac**  [è pè] gà kòlòm miyènì

[3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc**  [sin“g“-sí-ỳë wù-lè, [è pè] gà kòlòm miyènì

[S-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl, [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**ac:** ‘They too work hides.’

**sc:** ‘The Sundago clans, they too work hides.’
(01:58) **ac** [è pē] gā kòlôm miyêñi
[3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv
**sc** [è kò pā] bē gē =
[3Pl Topic all] come.Pfv RemPfv
[[è kòlôm-miyêñi] nē = ] [è pà]
[[3ReflPl skin-fixing] Inst] [1Pl Comit]
**ac**: ‘They too work hides.’
**sc**: ‘They all brought their leatherworking (skill) to us.’

(02:00) **ac** ŋ = nā = ă fāmû jáátû
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
àsàlâamâlêekùn nògù-mûrû
peace.to.you village-chief
‘I understood it exactly. [to nt:] Peace to you, village chief!’
* [formal Arabic greeting]

(02:03) **nt** wâlêekûmâsâlām
and, peace.to.you
**ac** è gā = ă põgô
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv
[è gâlâ = ân tiyê [[pā kûûr”] nî]
[1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing one] Inst]
**nt**: Peace to you likewise.’
**ac**: ‘We would like to ask about something.’

(02:07) **ac** nāŋ kwàān tè bê,
if rain(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv
[nògù ninjî] nāŋ kwàân tè bê,
[village inside] if rain(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv,
‘If it hasn’t rained, in the village if it hasn’t rained,’

(02:10) **ac** bon, [mà-sí gā āālàândâ nî]
okay, [what? be custom it.is]
mâa āā gâ màn tî-nâ
that 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv
‘Okay, what is the custom, so that what you-Pl do—’
(02:13) **ac** màa — āā gā màn tì-nà—, [ālā tē]
that— 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv—, [God Dat]
māā kwāāng gā bè
that rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv
‘So that— what you-Pl do, for God, so that rain comes.’

(02:16) **nt** ē gā màn tì-na, ē pānāāng-kāmnē-ē wù-lē.
1Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv, 1Pl first-old.person-Pl Def-Pl,
**sc** ñgwāāngà
truly
**nt** sō kōrsōl bē kiyèwⁿ,
before rain.build.up Seq arrive.Pfv.
**nt**: ‘What we do. The old people of times past, …’
**sc**: ‘True.’
**nt**: ‘… before the buildup to the rainy season arrives,’
[ñgwāāngà variant of ñōōngà; sō in ‘before …’ clause (§15.5)]

(02:23) **nt** ē gā nāā wàgā, āⁿ fāāmū,
1Pl Ipfv cow kill.Ipfv, 2Sg understand.Pfv,
yèēⁿ sàbá sigèwⁿ
and chicken three
‘We slaughter a bovine (cow or bull). Did you understand? Along with three chickens.’

(02:27) **nt** [sàbá sigèwⁿ] gā sō nàmāgēlē,
[chicken three] Ipfv go.Ipfv N,
nàmāgēlē gā [ē nàgūⁿ-tōmbo kāy] [bōndó kūmā],
N be.Loc 1Pl village-Link-abandoned Prsntv] [top on],
‘Three chickens go (=are taken) to Namagele. Namaguele is located at our former village, on top.’

/nàmāgēlē is a rocky area in an abandoned village site; postnominal presentative kāy/kāy added to locational predication with gā ‘be.Loc’ /

(02:31) **sc** nàmāgēlē à kāy
N 3Sg Prsntv
**nt** à kāy bōwⁿ
3Sg Prsntv here
**sc**: ‘There’s Namaguele!’
**nt**: ‘Here it is (here)!’
'Then a black bovine is killed under the big palaver shed. Have you not seen the rocks ringing (the shed) there?'

["tè remains low toned, cf. silè 'rock' prior to M#H-to-L#H"]

(02:36) ac [n̄ = n̄ = ā = kây]
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv
ac: 'I have seen it.'
nt: 'Huh?'
ac: 'I have seen it.'

(02:38) nt [nàa pìi"] bē ū wàgà [[jānjām bùlùm] mùù],
[cow black] Seq 3ReflSg kill.Pfv [[shed big] under],
àn tè sìlè-kùrù kày kùwòlì-nà yàw^n
2Sg PfvNeg rock see.Pfv surround-Ppl there.Def
'When it has been divided up, everyone who— Each doorway (gets a share). We sure don’t take it out (=distribute it) to those who take out (=pay) the head tax!'
(02:45) **nt** ē gā = à bāgā [[kùwò-lògú]-[kùwò-lògú] pà],
1Pl Lpfv 3Sg take.out.Lpfv [[doorway]-[doorway] Comit,
[āŋ kēe’] nām pwō [āŋ kāw’],
[2Sg one] if.Pfv sit.Pfv [2Sg chez],
‘We take it out (=distribute it) doorway by doorway. If you sit (=dwell) alone in your house,’

(02:49) **nt** ǹ-dógó [nimí cēm] nām pwō [īŋ kāw’],
1Sg-Indep [person ten] if.Pfv sit.Pfv [1Sg chez],
ē gā— ē bā = à bāgā,
1Pl Lpfv— 1Pl Seq 3Sg take.out.Pfv,
‘And if I (have) ten people sit (=dwell) at my house, we— we then take it out,
[i.e., it doesn’t matter how many people are in a household]

(02:52) **nt** [jìi’ sāa’] sō kwàām bē sàw’,
[year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,
[ē gā [nōŋ kōm] bāgā,
[1Pl Lpfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Lpfv,
‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’
[< ū gā nō’]

(02:55) **nt** [jìi’ sāa’] sō kwàām bē sàw’,
[year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,
[ē gā [nōŋ kōm] bāgā,
[1Pl Lpfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Lpfv,
‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’
[repetition of previous segment]

(02:57) **nt** sāa-gù [[nān nà’ m bāgā] kōrś] pà,
now [[Dem if.Pfv 3ReflSg take.out.Pfv] back] Comit,
āywà à nā = ā gāàyī,
well 3Sg LpfvNeg 3Sg prevent.Lpfv
‘Now, after that has been taken out, that doesn’t prevent it,’

(03:00) **nt** māā ē nē = [ē wāālē tināā-yē] ti-nà,
that 1Pl LpfvNeg [1Pl request(n) other-Pl] do-Lpfv,
ē gā d3-l5 [misiri niŋiŋ],
1Pl Lpfv enter-Lpfv [mosque inside],
‘(namely) that we make our other prayers (for rain). We go into the mosque,’
(03:04) **nt** ē gā = à tì-nà, ŋìmì-lè pàà kìyè, ě bàànà gù, 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv, person-Pl if.Counterf pass.Pfv, 1Pl only Def, [mà hān] gē = ěnì [kàyₙ màn] kàyₙ, [Rel all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [work(n) Rel] work(v).Pfv, ‘And we do it (prayer for rain, in the mosque). If people were to pass by, among ourselves, (whatever) work (e.g. prayers) that anyone can do,’ [counterfactual (§16.4)]

(03:07) **nt** [āŋ gā = à kàyₙ] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv hālà ē gā bē sùtūrà [kwààn-jií sèbè-ỹ] whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc] ‘You (will) do it (=work), so that we will be protected (by God) in the matter of rain.’ [hālà ‘whether’ in purposive clause (§17.5.2)]

(03:09) **ac** hālà ē gā bē sùtūrà [kwààn-jií sèbè-ỹ], whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc], ŋ = nà = ā fààmù jààtì 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly ŋ = nà = ā fààmù jààtì 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly ‘So that we will be protected in the matter of rain. I understood that exactly. I understood that exactly.’
Ngaare Traore (village chief, nt) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (ac) and Seydou Cissé (sc)
duration 03:58
note: [mhm] at the right margin indicates murmured backchannel by the interlocutor (nt or ac)

(00:01) ac əsələəmuələəyəkmə
peace.to.you
nt wəələəyəməsələəm
to.you.peace
ac: ‘Peace to you.’
nt: ‘And to you peace.’

[formal Arabic greeting and reply]

(00:04) ac bon [ hàlì säå-gù] ě gä [tìyë-gù]-təbə tini
okay [until now] we Ipfv [ask-VblN]-foot solidify.Ipfv
nt ə'hən, yêm bisimilə
uh-huh, Imprt.2Pl welcome
ac: ‘Now we are solidifying (=deepening) the question(s).’
nt: ‘(You are) welcome.’

[tìyë-gù ‘question (n)’; collocation [X təbə] tini ‘solidify X’s foot (on solid ground)’]

(00:07) ac ě gä = à pəgə
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv
[ě ɡələ = à tiyə [[bənə ɡən]] ni↑], [mhm]
[1Pl Sbjn 3Sg ask.Pfv [[manner.Foc Rel] Inst],
‘We would like to ask, in what way (=how),’
[relativization on the complement of a postposition; focalized < bənə]

(00:09) ac [pənən əmși ěj səgə]
[formerly what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv
[yəhīni à nà ěj səgə səa-gə], [mhm]
[and 3Sg Neg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now],
‘What was cultivated in the past, and (yet) it is not cultivated nowadays?’

(00:11) ac məsị gä ě səgə səa-gù↑, [mhm]
what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now
pənən ən ñà ěj səgə
formerly 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv
‘(And) what is cultivated nowadays, that wasn’t cultivated in the past?’
(00:15) **nt** pānāāⁿ, [mhm]
formerly,
piiiⁿ↑, [mhm]
millet,
kèndè↓, [mhm]
sorghum,
pùwóⁿ, [mhm]
fonio,
ē  gà  kúú  sògō, 3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv ripen.Ipfv firstly,
1Pl  Ipfv  Dem.Foc  cultivate.Ipfv,
‘In the past, millet, sorghum, fonio. That [focus] is what we cultivated.’

*pearl millet = Cenchrus americanus (older names C. spicatus, Pennisetum glaucum); sorghum = Sorghum bicolor; fonio = Digitaria exilis; < ē gà ; kúú focus form of demonstrative kú ([§13.1.5])]*

(00:22) **nt** pùwόŋ  gū↑, [mhm]
fonio  Def,
sō  piím  bè  mwɔⁿ, [mhm]
before  millet  Seq  ripen.Pfv,
wɔgō  gà  mwɔm  pānāāⁿ, 3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv ripen.Ipfv firstly,
‘The fonio, before the millet ripened, it (=fonio) [focus] would ripen first.’

*[sō ‘before’ ([§15.5]); gā pronounced with higher pitch after focalized pronoun, see (594d) in §13.1.4]*

(00:26) **nt** ē  bā =  à  külēwⁿ, [mhm]
1Pl  Seq  3Sg  reap.with.sickle.Pfv,
à  bè =  ē  sùtùrà, 3Sg  Seq  1Pl  protect.Pfv,
‘Then we reaped it (fonio, with sickle), it protected us.’

*[i.e. it kept us fed when the granaries were empty, before the main annual millet-sorghum harvest]*
(00:29) **nt** säbi, [nā' wōgŌhū] kā-kāā gā yāwā kóy, [mhm]
because [Dem time[ African.rice be there. Def Emph,]
kālā [nānj kūčū'-kūčū'], [mhm]
except [person one-one],
wōgō gā = ā sāg̣ā,
3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv,
‘Because, at that time African rice was there indeed. Only a few people cultivated it.’
[African rice, Oryza glaberrima, distinct from the Asian rice Oryza sativa which is
now widely cultivated along the Niger R.; kūčū'-kūčū' variant of kēē'-kēān]

(00:34) **nt** à nā [nimī sāān] nī,
3Sg Neg [person all] it.is,
wāy sāā-gū ē pūwōm bāy fēy,
today now 1Pl fonio leave.Pfv completely,
‘It wasn’t everyone (who cultivated African rice). Nowadays we have completely
abandoned fonio.’

(00:37) **nt** sāā-kān, ē yē = ē dirā gā pīfān,
then 1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl push.on.Pfv RemPfv millet.Foc,
kēndē,
sorghum.Foc,
dūgā,
rice.Foc
‘Nowadays we have come to rely on millet, sorghum, (and) rice.’
[each crop name in the list is focalized]

(00:42) **nt** sāā-gū [kōm pā sigēwā],
now [Dem thing three],
wōgō sēmē-nā nī [ē bwēj] bōwān,
3Sg.Indep.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here,
‘Nowadays, those three (crops), that [focus] is what is important among us here.’
[sēmē-nā nī stative adjectival predicate (§11.4.1.1), cf. noun sēmbē ‘power, force,
authority’]

(00:45) **nt** sāg̣ā jáāti-jāātī kōn,
farming(n) specific Top,
[[kōm pā sigēwā] sēmē-nā nī [ē pā] bōwān]
[[Dem.Pl thing three] be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here]
‘As for farming specifically, those three (cereals) are important among/for us here,’
[iteration based on jáātī ‘specific’]
Now (adays) our occupation is (based) on those three. As for sorghum and millet, they are both together in the same place (=same field).’

[Sorghum is usually planted in the moister parts of a millet field; “work-mouth” with lāgù in the sense ‘edge, boundary’ as in ‘riverbank’; bwè variant of bwēy ‘together’, related to comitative bwēy]

‘Now (as for) our river(-bed), in the past we didn’t know the right way to use it.’

[hílā ‘cleverness, trick, strategem, method’]

‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’

[pwò ‘sat’, here ‘become, turn into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2); ciyè ‘field’ becoming -nj-ciyè as compound final (§5.1.5.1), see also @ 01:10 below]

‘Formerly (=in the old days), was cotton cultivated here formerly?’

[tamà interrogative (§13.2.1.1); kùnà contracted from kôndò gà (past imperfective) (§10.3.2), also @ 01:59 below]
(01:01) **nt** bōwⁿ,
here,
máñè,
a.lot,
ē yà = [à pē] ñày,
1Pl Sbj/Obj [3Sg too] leave.Pfv,
‘Here, a lot. (But) we have abandoned it too.’

(01:04) **nt** [nāⁿ = à nāwⁿ bā]
[if 3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv]
dābā kūsā-ämā gā [pānāā tē],
livestock abound.Pfv RemPfv [formerly Dat],
‘Afterwards (=since then), livestock have increased in comparison with formerly.’
[phrase meaning ‘thereafter’]

(01:06) **nt** pānāⁿ,
formerly
āŋ kāy, àⁿ→,
2Sg Prsntv, (hesitation),
‘Formerly, you see,’
[kāy M-toned in this presentative phrase (plural addressee āā kāy), compare transitive perfective ā = ā kāy ‘you saw him/her/it’ and 3Sg presentative à kāy (§4.4.1)]

(01:10) **nt** bà̀-n-sōri gā [ciyē māwⁿ] sōgā
B Lpfv [field Rel] cultivate.Lpfv
sō ām bē kiyēwⁿ [āā ciyē gu],
go 2Sg Seq arrive.Pfv [2Pl field Def],
dēē-ń-ciye Ṉi,
cotton-Link-field it.is,
‘The field that Baansori (man’s name) cultivates, before you-Sg (ac) arrive at your-
Pl (=your family’s) field, it was (formerly) a cotton field.’
[‘before’ construction with sō … bē (§15.5)]
(01:15) **nt** àⁿ→ [[sōrōgō-piiⁿ-yè kāy] ciyē māⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀]  
(hesitation) [[sp-Pl Prsntv] field Rel cultivate.Ipfv]  
tēngēli-págǔ [è sāⁿ lāā] nā [ciyē ḥ-kēⁿ] nī  
T-pond [3Pl all QTop] not.be [field one] it.is.Q  
‘The field that **sp** (name) here and company cultivate, and (the field at) Tengeli pond,  
are they not the same field (i.e. next to each other)?’  

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(sp was present at the recording, hence the presentative; plural -yè after man’s name  
= associative plural; < ciyē māⁿ ; tēngēli is the name of a forested area, here compounded  
with págǔ ‘pond’)  
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(01:18) **nt** jīī-ŋ-kūtūⁿ nē = [è nāŋāá],  
water-Ling-hole not.be.Loc [3Pl between.Q],  
[a pē] gā dēē-ŋ-ciye nī,  
[3Sg too] be cotton-Link-field it.is,  
ac [a pē] gā dēē-ŋ-ciye nī,  
[3Sg too] be cotton-Link-field it.is,  
**nt:** ‘Is not the creek bed between them? It too was a cotton field.’  
**ac:** ‘It too was a cotton field.’  

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(< nāŋāá)  
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(01:21) **nt** [āŋ kāy] [[tēngēli búlóⁿ] māwⁿ] kà-nā gū,  
[2Sg Prsntv] [[T big] Rel] see-Ipfv Def,  
[ŋ kāá] yā = ā yāgā [dēēⁿ-ciye nī], [mhm]  
[1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [cotton-Link-field Inst],  
‘The Big Tengeli (forest) that you there see, my father made it into a cotton field.’  

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[relative clause with final definite morpheme; yāgā ‘put down’ in the sense ‘convert,  
turn (sth) into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2)]  
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(01:24) **nt** [māwⁿ sōⁿ] dāābē-è nà ĕ kōŋ kiyēwⁿ,  
[Dem time] livestock-Pl IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many thus,  
wŏy dāābē-è kāylà bē gū,  
[ hoy livestock-Pl when come.Pfv Def,  
‘At that time (=in the old days), livestock were not so abundant. These days, now that  
livestock have come.’  

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(01:28) **nt** à nā mā̀nè [silē pē-ŷ] sōkāālā dugūbā̀, [mhm]
3Sg IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv [rock too-Loc] a.fortiori on.ground,
ē nān tāwⁿ silē-ŷ, [mhm]
1Pl if.Pfv ascend.Pfv rock-Loc,
'It (=tending livestock) doesn’t work on the mountain (atop the cliffs), never mind
on the ground (=in the plains below the cliffs). If we climb the mountain,`
[sōkāālā ‘a fortiori’ (§19.1.5)]

(01:31) **nt** ē gà déw, [mhm]
1Pl Ipfv cotton.Foc,
pā̀n-pūwóⁿ, [mhm]
sema.Foc,
ē gà = [ā sāaⁿ] kilē [silē gū-ŷ] yāwⁿ, [mhm]
1Pl Ipfv [3Sg all] get.Ipfv [rock Def-Loc] there.Def,
‘We (used to cultivate) cotton, (and) sesame. We used to get both of them on the
mountain there.’
[nonterminal intonation on ‘cotton’ and ‘sesame’ (list intonation); ā sāaⁿ can refer
to just cotton and sesame or to a wider range of crops]]

(01:36) **sc** yèn tēlēwⁿ
and gourd.plant
**nt** yèn tēlēwⁿ
and gourd.plant
**sc** and **nt**: ‘And gourd plant(s).’
[cultivated vine, Lagenaria siceraria, source of gourds, calabashes, and ladles]

(01:37) **nt** tēlēwⁿ dāmá gà [yàmbaā lämpò] bāgà, [mhm]
gourd.plant only Ipfv [house tax] remove.Ipfv,
[[ē yàmbaā kāy] jātē māⁿ-ŷⁿ gū,
[[1Pl house Prsntv] calculation Rel-Loc Def,
‘The gourd plant takes out (=pays for) the tax on the household, in the amount of
(=for) this household of ours.’
[lämpò (French l’impôt) the annual head tax collected by the government; selling
calabashes (sawed half-gourds) and gourds is enough to cover the tax for a family; mā-
ŷⁿ synonymous with māwⁿ nǐnũ ‘in which’]}
(01:40) **nt** āⁿ   minjê↑,   [mhm]
2Sg    hear.Pfv,
[jiiⁿ mā-sāⁿ]  [nī kwàⁿ nāⁿ sàwⁿ]
[year Rel-all]  [if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]
[e tèlèwⁿ]  bē maps,
[1Pl gourd.plant]  Seq be.good.Pfv,
‘Did you hear? Any year when it has rained well and our gourd plants turn out well,’
[mā-sāⁿ quantificational variant of relative māw  (§14.3.4); biclausal relative (§14.5)]

(01:43) **nt** à gè = [[ē yàmbà] lèmpò] bāgà,
3Sg Ipfv  [[1Pl house] tax] remove.Ipfv,
pāā-m-pùwòⁿ,  à gè = [[ē yàmbà] lèmpò] bāgà,
sesame.Foc,  3Sg Ipfv  [[1Pl house] tax] remove.Ipfv,
‘It takes out the tax on our household. Sesame, it takes out the tax on our household.’
[sesame, Sesamum indicum, is mainly a cash crop]

(01:47) **nt** [ā sāⁿ] gā pā kālā [hùně bwëy]
[3Sg all] Ipfv thing add-Ipfv [staple.food Comit]
**ac** ŋ = nā = ā faämù
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
**nt:** ‘They (=gourd plants and sesame) complement the staple foods (i.e. grains).’
**ac:** ‘I have understood.’
['hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’ or ‘be added to’ = ‘join’]

(01:50) **nt** sāā-gù ē bā sîlē-y
now 1Pl exit.Pfv rock-Loc
‘Now we have left the mountain.’
[The villagers had lived on top of the cliffs, but around 2003 they moved down to the plain below the cliffs where most of the fields were]

(01:51) **nt** sāā-gù ē yā = ā yàgà [dùgùbāa ni] pāā-kèwⁿ
now 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg transformed.Pfv [on.ground Inst] exclusively
**ac** āē yā = ā yàgà [dùgùbāa ni]
2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [on.ground Inst]
**nt:** ‘Now we have shifted it (=village) completely (down) onto the plain.’
**ac:** ‘You-Pl have relocated it down onto the plain.’
[< ē yà ā yàgà]
(01:54) **ac** è→. hàlì wày, ṃ gā = āā tiyè̂, [mhm]
(hesitation), until today, 1Sg Ipfv 2Pl ask.Ipfv,
[pənən̥ gú] [ê kàⁿ] gā = ā mijn̥
[formerly Def] [[1Pl Top] Ipfv 3Sg hear.Ipfv]
‘Uh, as of today, I ask you-Pl, as for us (=young people), we hear (that) in the past,’

(01:59) **ac** [è gā = ā jántà] [dúguń gá bówiⁿ], [mhm]
[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg recount.Ipfv] [forest be here],
dúguń kùnà bówiⁿ màńè, [mhm]
forest Past.Ipfv here a.lot,
‘(according to what) they (=older people) recount, a forest was here, the forest used
to be all over here.’
/kùnà (§10.3.2)/

(02:02) **ac** sáa-gú [nàn dúguń gú lānā] mé̄ sū gā—, dúguń—
now [Dem forest Def QTop] which? go.Pfv RemPfv—, forest—,
[dúguń gú] tûn-nî gâ bâ-lâ [ê bwēy] bówiⁿ]
‘Now, that forest, what made it go (away)—, made the forest disappear from here
among us,’
[interrupted segment could be completed as mé̄ sū gā = [à nì] ‘what conveyed it
(away); but the speaker rephrased with tûn-nî ; bâ-lâ as Vb2 (§15.2.5)]

(02:06) **ac** [hài-kànà à gā kwāāŋ kiyèwⁿ,
[until 3Sg until.Pfv become.clean.Pfv thus,
nt] [pō mòⁿ] [dúguń gú] tûn-nî gâ gù, [mhm]
[thing Rel] [forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv Def,
ac: ‘… to the point that it has become clean (=deforested) like this?’
nt: ‘The thing that made the forest disappear,’
< kwāāⁿ ; pō mòⁿ variant of pâ màwⁿ]

(02:09) **nt** kwâⁿ-kúlû dúguń tûn-nî gâ,
[drought forest disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv,
[an̥ kày] [âamādû jàŋkâbà] ciyè màwⁿ] kà-nà [jèpēl kùmà], [mhm]
[2Sg Prsnt] [[A J] field Rel] see.Ipfv [S on],
‘Drought is what made (the) forest disappear. The field of Amadou Dyankaba that
you here see on (=alongside) Chepel (pond),’
(02:14) **nt** [(yàakúbà sèenu kày) ciyè màwⁿ] sàgɔ̃ [fèpèl kùmà], [mhm] 
[Y S Prsntv] [field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Ș on],
[(mwàajù kày) ciyè màwⁿ] sàgɔ̃ [fèpèl kùmà], [mhm] 
[M Prsntv] field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Ș on],
‘(and) the field that Yacouba Seyni here cultivates on Chepel (pond), (and) the field 
that Mouadjou here cultivates on Chepel (pond),’

(02:20) **nt** āⁿ mìnè↑,

2Sg hear.Pfv,
sànà, ān-dàà tè [kú sàăⁿ] fàâmù↑,
like, 2Sg-Pron PfvNeg [Dem all] understand.Pfv,
‘Did you hear? Like, have you not understood all that?’

(02:23) **nt** [kùlù-nàwⁿ màwⁿ] kày [(bòwⁿ bàcéwⁿ] kòrè-ỹ] gu, [mhm] 
elevation-Dimin Rel] Prsntv [(here toward) behind] Def,
[à déé-[bá-lá] yâwⁿ,
[3Sg pick.up.Pfv-[exit(v)-Ipfv] there,
‘The small elevation that is behind (=just outside) around here, (starting) from there 
…’

déé-[bá-lá], H-toned version of déé-[bá-lá]/déé-[bá-lá] ‘pick up and take out’ 
(§15.7.3.2)]

(02:27) **nt** bē [tèngëli-págú mà(wⁿ)] āŋ gâ= ā kà-nà gu, [mhm] 
come [T-pond Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,
[à sàăⁿ] gâ dügâ—,
[3Sg all] be rice—,
‘all the way to Tengeli pond that you-Sg see, it was all rice [error]—’
[H-final compound, cf. pàgù ‘pond’; < màwⁿ āⁿ]

(02:29) **nt** [à sàăⁿ] gâ kâàngô nî
[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is
**ac** [à sàăⁿ] gâ kâàngô nî
[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is
**nt: ‘—(or rather) it was all vetiver (grass).’
**ac: ‘It was all vetiver (grass).’
[vetiver grass (Chrysopogon nigritanus, ex Vetiveria nigritana), a tall clumpy grass 
that forms colonies in moist ground near water]
(02:31) sc  yè = [ē ciyē] [pèlëmpéléñ jämù-y] and [1Pl field] [P river-Loc] 
nt [pèlëmpéléñ jämù-y] [à sääⁿ] gà käängö nì, [mhm] [P river-Loc] [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is, 
sc: ‘And our field in Pelemplen creek.’ 
nt: ‘Pelemplen creek. It was all vetiver.’ 
[pèlëmpéléñ is a seasonal creek]

(02:33) nt [āŋ kāy] [[pèlëmpéléñ jämû] màwⁿ] kà-nà gù, [mhm] [2Sg Prsntv] [[P river] Rel] see-lpv Def, 
dūgūñ gà kōn-nã-ỹ kiw!, forest be hit-Ppl-Loc dense, 
‘The Pelemplen creek that you see, the forest was impenetrable.’

[participial kōn-nã ‘hit, beaten’ here implies being thick with objects (here trees); kiw! is an interjection-like expressive adverbial (§8.4.7) with similar sense (too crammed to enter, as a crowded vehicle)]

(02:37) nt à nè = [ē ciyē kōwⁿ] sèwⁿ nì, 3Sg not.be [1Pl field Top] road it.is, 
‘It isn’t (on) the way to our field.’

[spoken softly, perhaps an aside to someone present]

(02:39) nt sānā kwàaⁿ-jíí bè nōgōrā-ämā bōwⁿ, [mhm] like rain(n)-water Seq difficult-Inch.Pfv here, 
ē gà [käängō gù] sāgā, [mhm] 1Pl lpfv [vetiver Def] chop.lpfv, 
‘Like, (when) rain is difficult (=rare) here, we cut down the vetiver grass.’

[sāgā/sāgā ‘cut (stem)’ or ‘dig’ with chopping or slashing motion, distinct from būrū/būrū ‘cut (into pieces)’ usually with a knife]

(02:42) nt mà-sāañ nàwⁿ käängō sāgā gù, [mhm] Rel-all if.Pfv vetiver chop.Pfv Def, 
āŋ gà kēndē kilē, 2Sg lpfv sorghum get.lpfv, 
‘Anyone who has chopped down (=cleared away) the vetiver grass, you-Sg will get sorghum.’

[‘anyone’ resumed with 2Sg pronoun in generic sense; after clearing out the vetiver grass, sorghum is planted; it will grow in a normally swampy terrain when the rains are light]
Anyone who has chopped down (=cleared away) the vetiver grass, you-Sg will get sorghum.

That [focus] is what has caused the species of vetiver to disappear. Your-Pl rice field that you-Pl see, …

In the past, the vetiver, even if they (=other people) don’t drive you away, you were afraid to go into it (=vetiver).

By God!

One time—, one time we went on the annual collective hunt,
(02:59) nt [ē yè = [ē gā kwààn wāālè]],
[1Pl said [1Pl lfpv rain(n) ask.for.lfpv]],
ē bē kiy"èwⁿ yāwⁿ
1Pl Seq arrive.Pfv there.Def
‘And we said we would pray for rain.’

(03:01) nt ē bē tās dw = ā-ŷ,
1Pl Seq fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
ē kāyłā tās dw = ā-ŷ ḡū,
1Pl when fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Def,
‘Then we set fire in it (vetiver grass). When we have set fire in it,’
< dwā ā-ŷ : can also be phrased ē tās dwā gā = ā-y ḡū]

(03:04) nt tās sāā ġā ḡū,
fire lie.down.Pfv RemPfv Def,
jiyiŋ kiyē ġā ḡū,
year pass.Pfv RemPfv Def,
‘and (when) the fire has died out, and (when) day has broken (=the next morning),’
["year passed" as collocation 'day broke' (§11.1.1.2)]

(03:06) nt mà-sāāⁿ sū ġā Rel-all go.Pfv RemPfv
[pūnāⁿ-kērēbē kāⁿ] āŋ gā = â kwēēⁿ-nā
tortoise Top] 2Sg lfpv 3Sg sweep-lfpv
‘(If there is) anyone (=you) who has gone (to the hunt), as for tortoise(s), you will sweep (=gather) it (=them) up.’
[Pelomedusa subrufa (aquatic tortoise)]

(03:10) ac ŋ = nā = ā fāāmū,
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv,
nt nōgōrā-āmā [kāāŋō gū kāⁿ] tūn-nī ġā,
difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv,
ac: ‘I have understood it.’
nt: ‘Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass [topic] to disappear.’
[clause-medial topicalized NP (§19.1.1)]
(03:13) **nt** [sā-gū nī] ē gā kwāā-n-jī̆ kilē pā-lēwⁿ-pāl-ēwⁿ,
[now it.is] 1Pl Lpv rain-Link-water get.Pfv Iter-a.little,
pānāā [ā sāā nī] gā dúgūⁿ nī
formerly [3Sg all] be forest it.is
‘It’s now (=recently) that we have gotten a fair amount of rain. In the past it was all forest.’
[pā-lēwⁿ ‘a little’ (§8.4.3.2), here iterated]

(03:17) **nt** nōgōrā-āmā [kāāngō gū kōⁿ] tūn-nī gā,
difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv,
ē→, [āŋ ciyē]—
(hesitation), [2Sg field]—
‘Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear. Uh, your-Sg field,’

(03:19) **nt** [āŋ ciyē] gā [kāāngō nī] ā= ā sàgā,
[2Sg field] be [vetiver it.is] 2Sg 3Sg chop.Pfv,
āŋ kēndē kilā= [ā niṅjī],
2Sg sorghum get.Pfv [2Sg inside],
‘Your-Sg field was vetiver (grass), you cut (=cleared) it. You have gotten sorghum
in it (=field).’
[< āⁿ ā sàgā ; < kilē ā niṅjī/]

(03:22) **nt** [[n̩-dōgō màwⁿ kāy] kōnbō-ỹ]
[[1Sg-Indep Rel Prsntv] edge.of.village-Loc]
tē pā-sí kilē lá,
PfvNeg thing-any get.Pfv Emph,
‘I here who was (cultivating) at the edge of the village didn’t get anything,’
[weakly emphatic final lá from local French lá ; farming at the edge of the village
has become unproductive due to poor rains]

(03:24) **nt** sē-tālāwⁿ [m̩ pē] nā sō
another.day [1Sg too] LpvNeg go.lpv
[m̩ pā] sōg̃
[1Sg thing] cultivate.Pfv
‘Will not I too go and cultivate mine (=my property) next time?’
[alludes to his property farther away near the river, where vetiver can be cleared out
to grow sorghum]
(03:26) ac însällaw
   hopefully
   nt kú nì
   Dem it.is
   ac: ‘Hopefully.’
   nt: ‘That is it (=the reason).’

(03:28) ac ŋ =nā= ā faāmù jàátì
   1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv indeed
   nt [ānj kày] mà-sāāŋ kà-nà [ā sāān] gà kāāŋgō nì,
   [2Sg Prsntv] Rel-all see-Ipv [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is,
   ac: ‘I have understood indeed.’
   nt: ‘Everything that you could see, it was all vetiver grass.’

(03:30) nt hàlā= āŋ gālà bā= ān tēwⁿ
   until 2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv 2Sg put.against.Pfv
   [bòndō kùmà] bōwⁿ,
   [top on] here,
   ‘All the way (from the watercourses) to (where) you may come and station yourself
   here on the top.’
   [‘top’ refers to the position of the village, on the cliffside above the plain and the
   vetiver swamps]

(03:33) nt [[kàá-ŋ-kàbúwó] ciỳè]— àⁿ→ [[kàá-ŋ-kàbûwó-yè] ciỳè-yè,
   [[Papa-K] field]— (hesitation) [Papa-K-Pl] field-Pl
   àⁿ→ nàà-yè kày kú— dòlāy bòwⁿ,
   (hesitation) cow-Pl Prsntv Dem— D here,
   ‘Papa Kabuwo’s (previous chief’s name) field— (or rather) the fields of Papa
   Kabuwo and company, uh, here are the cattle (pass)—, here at Dolay.’
   [Dolay is the name of an agricultural zone near the dam; < kày]

(03:37) nt [ā sāān] gà kāāŋgō nì
   [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is
   sc [ā sāān] gà kāāŋgō nì
   [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is
   nt: ‘It was all vetiver.’
   sc: ‘It was all vetiver.’
The rice (field) that Djonsaare has cultivated, it was all vetiver.'

[Fulfulde joon-saare 'owner-village', here a nickname for a man named Maama Traoré, a speaker in recordings 2017-06 and 2017-09]

At that time, livestock, donkeys, they used to graze on the vetiver.'

[past imperfective with kōndō gā and Ipfv verb ($10.3.2$)]

Nowadays, have you-Sg not seen that all our donkeys go …

[ŋa-à-nàwⁿ 'if it isn’t’, i.e. ‘other than’]
(03:52) **nt** [wɔɡɔ nɪ] [kāɑŋɡō gʊ] tʊŋ gə
[3Sg.Indep it.is] [vetiver Def] disappear.Pfv RemPfv

**ac** ŋ = nā = à fāāmū
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt**: ‘That [focus] is why the vetiver has disappeared.’
**ac**: ‘I have understood it.’

*focalization by clefting (§13.1.6.1)*
Text 2017-04 Tale: Rich boy, poor boy, and prince

(old) †Amadou Cissé (called Sorogo-Pi, abbrev sp) accompanied by (young) Amadou Cissé (ac) duration: 03:33
note: ac’s [mhm] backchannel at pauses is omitted here

(00:02) ac [kéérāw² syẽ²n] sōrōgō-piǐ²n
[safety spend.day.Pfv] sp
sp kàlà = hà syẽn [jāĩn nĩ]
Q 2Pl spend.day.Pfv.Q [peace inside]
ac: ‘Good evening, sp’
sp: ‘Did you-Pl spend the day in peace?’
/kéérāw² ‘welfare, absence of harm, safety’; 2Pl meaning ‘you and your household’;
syẽn tone-raised in question; kàlà ~ ŋkàlà clause-initial interrogative particle in some formulae]

(00:03) ac kò jāĩn syẽj gà [āa pà]
Q peace spend.day.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]
sp àa syẽj gà [kēnā-ãmã nĩ]
2Pl spend.day.Pfv.Q RemPfv [health Inst.Q]
ac: ‘Did peace spend the day with you-Pl?’
sp: Did you-Pl spend the day in (good) health?’
/kò(ri) clause-initial interrogative particle in some formulae (< Fulfulde)]

(00:05) ac [bàa sī] kãn
[trouble any] not.be
sp [āa kēnã-ãmã-nã] syẽj gà kɔɔn wà
[2Pl be.healthy-Ppl] spend.day.Pfv.Q RemPfv Top anyway
ac: ‘There’s no trouble.’
sp: ‘You spent the day in good health?’
/kɔɔn (elsewhere topical ‘as for’) has negative sense in the formulaic phrase bàa sī kãn based on reanalysis of bāási ‘trouble’ (< Fulfulde < Arabic), see §19.6.1; kɔɔn wà is obscure but occurs in formulaic greeting questions (see also the following segment)]
(00:07) **ac** [bàà sì] kɔ̀n
[trouble any] not.be
**sp** ãà rëènà kɔ̀n wà
2Pl be.safe.Pfv Top anyway
**ac:** ‘There’s no trouble.’
**sp:** ‘Are you-Pl unharmed?’
/rëènà < Fulfulde/

(00:08) **ac** àmbàà tàbàrikàllà
fine praise.God
**sp** é pwà gà [kéérà nì]
1Pl sit.Pfv RemPfv [welfare Inst]
**ac:** ‘(We’re) fine, thank God.’
**sp:** ‘We have sat down (here) with safety.’
[àmbàà greeting response; tàbàrikàllà < Arabic]

(00:09) **sp** àlà gàlè = é kìi-nì [kéérà nì]
God Sbjn 1Pl get.up-Caus.Pfv [welfare inside]
**ac** àmìfnà yàràbi
amen oh.Lord
**sp:** ‘May God get us up in safety.’
**ac:** ‘Amen oh Lord.’
[àmìfnà yàràbi < Arabic]

(00:11) **sp** ɔ̀→, bëtëhëèrë
(hesitation), P
**ac** [é ã pàgɔ̀] [é gàlè = àn tiyë]
[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv] [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv]
[[kàmàà gù] nì]
[[tale Def] Inst]
**sp:** ‘Uh, Betehere (village name).’
**ac:** ‘We would like to ask you for a tale.’
[here sp gives the name of the legendary village of Fatouma Ardo, see below]

(00:14) **ac** mà= à nàm bà= [à tiwɔ̀]
if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]
[àn gà màn tò]
[2Sg Ipfv Rel know.Ipfv]
‘If it happens that, (from) what you-Sg know,’
[‘if it happens that’, cf. local French ‘si ça trouve que’; màwɔ̀ in headless relative]
(00:16) ac [āŋ gālā pō sē = [ē tā =] [ā niŋũ] quoi
[2Sg Sbjn something say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside] se hāyā bisimillā,
ookay welcome,
ac ‘… you might tell us something in (=from) it.’
se: ‘All right, you’re welcome.’
[cf. pwɔ̄ thing; French clause-final quoi ; bisimillā < Arabic ‘by the name of God’,
used regionally to invite guests to enter, to eat, etc., cf. @ 00:41 below]

[the remainder of this text is spoken by sp except for two words by ac at 01:41]

(00:18) màŋè [kú gā [kéér^n ni]],
well(adv) [Dem be [safety inside]],
miskīnī dyēwn,
pauper child,
nāpōrō-tūgū dyēwn,
wealth-owner child,
kāànāŋkè djēwn,
leader child,
‘Good, that’s fine. A pauper’s child (=son), a rich man’s child (=son), and a prince.’
[given in list format without a conjunction, with slightly lower terminal pitch on the
last ‘child’; kāànāŋkè ‘leader, prince’, cf. Kelenga kāâ’ ahead, in front’]

(00:23) fāātūmā ārdò,
F chief
egā = [ā kābār] tò,
3Pl Ipfv [3Sg news] know.Ipfv,
‘Fatouma Ardo (chief’s daughter), they (the three sons) knew (=had heard) about
her.’
[Fulfulde faatuma (woman’s name); Fulfulde ardo ‘chief’ is added to the personal
name of a chief’s daughter]
They said (=decided) they would go and visit her. The pauper’s son—or rather the rich man’s son, he then rode his horse,'
… he too rode his horse, until he arrived at the courtyard.

He too arrived. He too thought that he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place.

That one (=the woman whom he met) was her (=Fatouma’s) water carrier. The other one (=pauper’s son) too went,

The pauper’s son, he too rode his horse,

until he arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place. When he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place,
(01:00) à yē [ñ =ñ = ā sùmàà"siyē [gòró-pāpān nì]], 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg offer.Pfv [kola-chest Inst]], à pw̃ yāwⁿ, 3Sg sit.Pfv there.Def, ‘He said, “I presented you with a kola-nut box.” He sat down there.’ [sùmàà"siyē 'present (gifts, offerings) to an honored person’]

(01:03) fāātūmā ārdò, F chief, à gā [f̃ dòlmbé] bāgā, 3Sg until.Pfv [3ReflSg ring] take.out.Pfv, ‘Fatouma Ardo, she took off her ring.’ [syncopated variant of dòlumbé]

(01:06) à gā = à dwā = [ā sügi-ỹ], 3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg put.in.Pfv [3Sg hand-Loc], è gā sò, 3Pl until.Pfv go.Pfv ‘She handed it (=ring) to him. They went.’ [< dw̃]

(01:08) è gē = [ē siyé] kūūr-nì, 3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv, è kāyłà dāā-mā gū, 3Pl when go.far.Pfv Def, ‘They rode their horse. When they had gone a long way,’ [at around this point the three young men meet up]

(01:12) sāā-kⁿ ñⁿ→ bā = ā tābā ñⁿ→ then (hesitation) come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv (hesitation) [kàànàŋkè dyēwⁿ gū], [leader child Def], ‘Then, as it happened, the prince,’ [high-frequency phrase reduced from e.g. ā bā = ā tābā … ‘he/she came, only to find that …’, variant ā bā = ā tiwⁿ… as at 02:08 below]
à yē
3Sg said
[ŋ-dɔgɔ̃ [[faːtʊmà àrdɔ̀] siyèⁿ] kilē gà],
[LogoSg-Indep.Foc [F chief] pail] get.Pfv RemPfv,
‘He said “it was I [focus] who got Fatouma Ardo’s pail.” ’
[the pail was gotten from the slave woman]

(01:17)
[nàpòrò-tūgū dyēwⁿ gū pē] yē
[wealth-owner child Def too] said
[ŋ-dɔgɔ̃ yā = ā kilē gà],
[LogoSg-Indep.Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg get.Pfv RemPfv,
‘The rich man’s son for his part said “it was I [focus] who got her.” ’
[the pail was gotten from the slave woman; presumably the rich man’s son got something similar from the water-carrier to show the others]

(01:20)
[miskùin dyēwⁿ gū pē]
[pauper child Def too]
yē [ŋ sūgū] tōndô,
Sbj/Obj [3ReflSg hand] hold.up.Pfv,
‘The poor man’s son for his part held up his hand.’

(01:21)
à yē [ŋ-dɔgá = ā kilē gà]
3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep.Foc 3Sg get.Pfv RemPfv]
[à dɔlmbé kāy] [ŋ sūgi-ŋ],
[3Sg ring Prsntv] [LogoSg hand-Loc],
‘He said “it was I [focus] who got her, here’s her ring on my hand.” ’

(01:23)
è gē = [ē märfe-è] tūkà = [à bwegỹ],
3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl rifle-pl] point.at.Pfv [3Sg Comit],
ì yē = [ē gā = à k3-λa],
3Pl said [LogoPl Ipfv 3Sg hit.Ipfv],
‘They (the other two) pointed their muskets at him. They said, “we are going to hit you.” ’
[tūkà < Fulfulde]
[kú bāā būmācēw"
[Dem exit(v).Pfv around.here]
[kú bāā būmācēw"],
[Dem exit(v).Pfv around.here],
‘This one (=one of them) went over on this side, this one (=the other) went over on this side.’

[the two positioned themselves on opposite flanks of the pauper’s son; parallel use of demonstrative kú to denote different individuals; būmācēn contracted from bōw n bācēn ‘over here (pointing)’ with bōw n ‘here’ and bācēn ‘around’ (§8.2.9), cf. verb bāā ‘exit(v).Pfv’]

è màrpā pēndē gū,
3Pl rifle two Def,
kú kú kilē↑,
Dem Dem get.Pfv
kú kú kilē↓,
Dem Dem get.Pfv

‘Their two muskets, this one got (=shot) that one, and this (other) one got that one.’
[the two shooters accidentally shot each other, expressed by parallel clauses with demonstrative kú shifting reference]

ān fāmū,
2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,
è sēwⁿ↑,
3Pl fall.Pfv,
‘Did you understand? They fell.’

è sō↓,
3Pl go.Pfv,
kwōnī yāwⁿ,
settlement there.Def,
‘They went, to the village.’
Well, as for this, should I stop with this [focus] (=at this point)? Or should I go on telling it?

[1Sg subject subjunctive ‘should I ...?’ (§10.4.3.2); clause-final là from French là ‘there’; së-sò (§15.2.5)]

‘Should I go on telling (it)?’

[transitive imperative from ac]

‘Go on telling it!’

[cf. positive à ŋ̄ kënawⁿ ‘he/she is in good health’]

‘They had heard about Fatouma Ardo, (that) she was ill.’

‘(They said) “we will go to her place.” One of them left.’
(01:52) [kànnàŋkè dyēwⁿ gū] bāā, [leader child Def] exit(v).Pfv, à kiyēwⁿ, 3Sg arrive.Pfv, ‘The prince left. He arrived.’ [kànnàŋkè is unclear on the recording but makes sense in context]

(01:53) à kiyēwⁿ [sibw-è bwēỳ], 3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl Comit], ì yā = ā wāgà, 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv, ‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst. They (=snakes) killed him.’ [< sibò-yè ’snakes’]


(01:59) à tụ̄-gà, 3Sg approach.Pfv, āⁿ fāàmú, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, ŋètānè-è bwēỳ, devil-Pl Comit, ‘He approached—did you understand?—among the devils.’

(02:03) ì yā = ā wāgà, 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv, miskiīn dyēwⁿ gū, pauper child Def, à kii, 3Sg get.up.Pfv, ‘They (=devils) killed him. The pauper’s child, he got up (=set off).’
à sò,
3Sg go.Pfv,
à kiyèwⁿ bëtêhērè,
3Sg arrive.Pfv B,
‘He went. He arrived in Betehere (village).’

bëtêhērè gù, B Def
à bā = à tiwⁿ
3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv
[pò-sí nā = [à nǐjī]],
[thing Any not.be [3Sg inside]],
‘That Betehere, it happened that there was nothing in it,
[definite gu on second local mention of village name]

ň̄ kàl̄sùw5ⁿ↑,
except crocodile, timî↑,
python,
[e-lóg5 dàmà] gā = [à nǐjī],
[3Pl-Indep only] be.Loc [3Sg inside],
‘except crocodiles and rock pythons. Only they were in it (the place).’
[/ňkâlā ‘except’ (§19.3.2.4); dámà ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1)]

jëtānû gù, devil Def,
à gā— [à gā [tùwò-ŋ-kúrû pëndè] dēë]
(false start)— [3Sg until.Pfv [earth-Link-lump two] pick.up.Pfv]
à gā = à dā = [à tē],
3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg give.Pfv [3Sg Dat],
‘The devil. He— He (=devil) picked up two lumps of earth and he gave it (=two lumps) to him (pauper’s son).’
[cf. tùwò ‘earth’; < dò/dò ‘give’]

à kiyèwⁿ,
3Sg arrive.Pfv,
à gā kēŋ kërè [dèbò gù] nǐjī],
3Sg until.Pfv one throw.Pfv [river Def inside],
‘He arrived. He threw one (lump) into the river.’
When he threw it (=the lump) into the river, they all disappeared.

The river disappeared along with the lump.

He mounted on his horse, and he continued on his way. When he arrived, (at) that Betehere (village),

It happened that a djinn (genie) was sitting (there) by the tree of Betehere.

He arrived. He threw his piece of rock here at it (=tree).

The devil said to him, “who are you?”

The narrator is using jëtänù ‘devil’ and jënnì ‘djinn, genie’ interchangeably, but the distinction can be made: ‘devils’ are invisible and maleficent, djinns are visible and may or may not be maleficent.
(02:36) **sp** à yē [n-dògō gā flànnà nì],
3Sg [said [LogoSg-Indep be so.and.so it.is],
à yē [[mwò láá =] ām biyè-nì gā],
3Sg said [[which? QTop.Foc] 2Sg come-CausPfv RemPfv],
‘He (pauper’s son) said, “my name is So-and-so.” He (devil) said, “What has brought you (here)?”’

[i.e., he gave whatever his name was; mwò ‘which?’ can mean ‘wthat?’ in the absence of a modified noun, here it takes interrogative topic lāā; biyè-nì (pseudo)-causative verb (§9.1.2)]

(02:38) à yēè→ [[jūgū màŋ kày gū],
3Sg said [[tree Rel Prsntv Def],
ī gā bē— ī gā w̄gō màā,
(false start) LogoSg Lpv 3Sg.Indep.Foc look.for.Łpv,
‘He (pauper’s son) said, “the tree that is here (=that you see), it [focus] is what I am looking for,”’

[yē ‘said’ pronounced yēè→ before planned pause (§3.7.2); presentative in relative clause (§14.4.5)]

(02:41) ī gālā sò [fāātüm mà ārdō] sābūlēwⁿ,
LogoSg Sbjn go.Pfv [F chief] cure.Pfv,
āⁿ fāāmū,
2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,
‘so I may go and cure Fatouma Ardo (with it). Did you understand?’

[sābūlēwⁿ/sābūlēn-nā ‘cure (sb)’; jūgū means ‘tree’ or ‘medicine’, the two senses being closely associated]

(02:44) à bè táwⁿ,
3Sg Seq ascend.Pfv,
è bè [jūgū gū]—
3Pl Seq [tree Def]—
à kōlē gā = [à bwēy] sāāⁿ,
[3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg Comit] when,
‘Then he climbed the tree. They (touched) the tree—. When he touched it (=tree),’
/kōlē/kōlē intransitivized < kwāā/k3-lā ‘hit’]
à [kūùm bwɔ́] bā gà tūⁿ,
3Sg [one other] remove.Pfv RemPfv again,
ʃètāānà kômɔ̀
devil wail.Pfv,
The devil di[ed]— the devil died. They (=devils) wailed.’
[‘die’ is usually wāa/wāa in Cliffs dialect, kālè/kālè in nearby riverine dialects]

à à à à, (??) tūⁿ
3Sg (hesitations) (inaudible) again
hālikā̀nà ā gā kiyēwⁿ sīgē-yⁿ,
until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv three-Loc,
‘He (verb inaudible) again, until he reached the third (time).’
[“??” sounds like āgālā on recording, but my assistant couldn’t make sense of it;
locative of sīgēⁿ ‘three’]

à yē jī—
3Sg said (false start)—,
à yā = [ā gālā sāgā bōwⁿ],
3Sg said [3Sg Sbjn lie.down.Pfv here],
‘He (=devil) told him, “lie down (=go to bed) here!”
[quoted imperative in subjunctive clause form, with 3Sg for original 2Sg addressee]

sīyē-è gà bā-lā, bētēhērē nînjû,
horse-Pl Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv, B inside,
è nām bē
3Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv,
(Devil:) “Horses are coming out from Betehere (village). When they come,”

sīyēwⁿ kūwōⁿ,
horse white,
à gà bē bē = [ē nānjā],
3Sg Ipfv Fut come.Pfv [3Pl between],
(Devil:) “A white horse will come among them.”
‘(Devil:) “It’s tail is black and white.” ’
[expressed as two parallel clauses without a prosodic break]

à  gà  à  kū̄n,
3Sg Sbjn 3Sg catch.Pfv,
[à pē]— [à kāylā sāgā gū],
[3Sg too]— [3Sg when lie.down.Pfv Def],
‘(Devil:) “Catch it!” ’ For his part— When he had spent the night,’

[the presentative and sequential ‘come’ are used here to foreground a new scene, cf. French voilà que …]

à = [à píyē] kū̄n,
3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv,
à = [à píyē] kū̄n gà sāān,
3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,
‘He caught its tail. When he had caught its tail,’
[perfective echo clause as background]

[wōgōtū ń-kū̄n ni],
[time Link-one Inst],
à  kiyē = [ē nògū] nā],
3Sg pass.Pfv [3Pl village] Dat],
‘In a flash he passed by their (i.e. Fatouma’s) village,’
à gā m bēm-bē tü", 3Sg until.Pfv 3ReflSg come.back.Pfv again, à gā— à yē [ǰi jā = [à tēè→], (false start) 3Sg said [LogoSg said [3Sg Dat]], ‘Then he came back. He (=devil) said, “I told you-Sg,”’

[< Ŷ yē ‘Logo said’; tēè→ for dative tē at planned prosodic break before quoted matter (§3.7.2)]

à gālā [nōgā-lēwⁿ]-nūmè-lēn dāmá tiwⁿ, 3Sg Sbjn [eye]-blink.Pfv-Dimin only do.Pfv, [à [nōgā-lēwⁿ]-nūmè-lēn tiwⁿ gà sāāⁿ] [3Sg [eye]-blink.VblN-Dimin do.Pfv RemPfv when] ‘(devil:) “ ‘Blink your eyes just a little!’ ” When he had blinked his eyes a little,’ [diminutive -lēwⁿ, see (366) in §8.4.3.2]

[à bā = à tiwⁿ]
3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv [ǰī gā tāà-nà [ē gūnī-ỹ], [LogoSg be stand-Ppl [3Pl courtyard-Loc] ‘He found himself standing in their (=Fatouma’s) courtyard.’ [gūnīn ‘courtyard’]

[ⁿ tóy] tāa bōwⁿ, [1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here, [ⁿ tóy] tāa bōwⁿ [1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here ‘My knowledge has stopped here.’ [i.e., ‘that’s all I know’; tōy ‘intelligence, knowledge’]
Text 2017-05 Tale: The thief and his traveling companion

†Adama Badji Kamian (ak) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration: 03:39

(00:03) ac [kéérǎn syēⁿ] [ŋ̄ kāā-ādàmà]
[welfare spend.miday.Pfv] [1Sg father-A]
ak [kéérǎn syēⁿ] [ŋ̄ kāá]
[welfare spend.miday.Pfv] [1Sg father]
ac: ‘Good afternoon, Papa Adama!’
ak: ‘Good afternoon, friend!’
[< ŋ̄ kāà ‘(hey) my pal!’ (§6.2.1.1)]

(00:05) ac kò jām syēŋ gà [āā pà]
Q peace spend.miday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]
ac: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

(00:06) ak kālā = āā syēŋ [jām ní]
Q 2Pl spend.miday.Pfv [peace Inst]
ac [bàā sf] kòⁿ
[trouble any] not.be
ak: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’
ac ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:07) ak kòrì jām syā = [āā bwēy]
Q peace spend.miday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]
ac [bàā sf] kòⁿ
[trouble any] not.be
ak ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’
ac ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:08) ak āā rēēnà kòⁿ wà
2Pl be.safe.Pfv Topic anyway
ac mbāā tābāārikāllà
(reply) praise.God
ak: ‘You-Pl are safe?’
ac: ‘Fine, praise God.’
(00:10) **ak** bääríkàllà
praise.God
**ac** mbā ä tàbäärikàllà
(reply) praise.God
ak: ‘Praise God.’
ac: ‘Fine, praise God.’

(00:12) **ak** mbā
(reply)
**ac** à, è gā nògù-béwⁿ,
ah, 1Pl be.Loc N.Loc
ak: ‘Fine.
ac: ‘Ah, we are in Namagué.’

[< nògù-béwⁿ with final H-tone as locative or focus (§8.2.3.3)]

(00:14) **ac** bon [è bē jànààmà pɔ̃-lēn kàlāàn]
okay [1Pl come.Pfv Jenaama a.little read.Pfv]
è gā = à pɔ̀gô [è gālà = ān tiyē [[kànàà gù] nì]]
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv] [[tale Def] Inst]
‘All right. We have come in order to study Jenaama language a little. We would like to ask you-Sg for a tale.’

(00:16) **ac** nā = à nàm bā = à tiwⁿ
if 3Sg if.Pfv Seq 3Sg be.found.Pfv
[āŋ gā [pɔ̀ mān] tò],
[2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv,
‘If it happens that (there is) something that you-Sg know,’

(00:18) **ac** āŋ gālà pɔ̀ sè [è tā =] [ā nījī] quoi
2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]
ak īŋ gā pɔ̀ tò ā-ỳ ñàā, 1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc Emph,
ac: ‘(we ask) that you-Sg tell us something about it.’
ak: ‘I do know something about it.’

(00:23) **ak** àywà, kēgū-kāmnā pëndë, [è bā gā]
well, old.man two, [3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv]
[è gā sò màgà],
[3Sg Ipfv so.Ipfv M],
‘Well, (there were) two old men. They left, they were going to Mecca.’
When they had taken (=set out on) the road to Mecca, they went and retired (for the night) at a (certain) person’s house.

When they had retired at the person’s house, one old man was a thief.

He then stole (=committed a theft). In the morning they (the residents) caught them.

The other one likewise said, “He sure lied. I didn’t steal it. He [focus] stole it.”

The other one said, “I sure didn’t steal it! The other one stole it!”

[the remainder of this text is spoken by ak]
They (= residents) took hold of them thoroughly, to the point that it hurt.

They asked him again. He said, “to be truthful, I stole it.”

But when I stole it, I didn’t get up (intending) that I would steal it.”

“We were hungry.” The other one for his part said …

“He lied, we were not hungry. We have provisions.”
è bē = è kālā, è kiyē-nā yāŋ gū,
3Pl Seq 3Pl expel.Pfv, 3Pl pass-Ppl there.Def Def,
è bē sō-yāŋ [gūṭūⁿ nīnjū] tūⁿ,
3Pl Seq go.Pfv-descend.Pfv [place inside] again,
‘They (=residents) drove them out. After they moved on, they again went and retired (for the night) in a place.’

(01:02) [yūgōⁿ sīlé] gà yāwⁿ, è bē yā = [à kāwⁿ],
[woman old] be.Loc there.Def, 3Pl Seq descend.Pfv [3Sg chez],
[kēēgū-kāmānā kēēⁿ gū] bē [yūgōⁿ sīlé gū] pāgā,
[man-old one Def] Seq [woman old Def] like.Pfv,
‘An old woman was there. They retired (for the night) at her house. One old man was attracted to the old woman.’

[‘descend’ here ‘retire for the night’]

(01:06) ī gālā = ā yāgā [[mī pōn] nī],
LogoSg Sbjn 3Sg transform.Pfv [[3ReflSg wife] Inst],
[ā tā = ā sē [[mī pēn-ānā] tē],
[3Sg PfvNeg 3Sg say.Pfv [[3ReflSg two-Ord] Dat],
‘(He wanted) to make her his wife (=concubine). He didn’t tell his second (=his companion).’

[< pōwⁿ]

(01:09) [è sāā gē =] [ē kūmū gā] sāāⁿ↑,
[3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv] [3Pl sleep.Pfv RemPfv] when,
[ā gā kīi-[bā-lā] [[kēēⁿ gū] sāgūy],
[3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv-[exit-Ipfv] [[one Def] next.to],
‘After they (=two travelers) had lain down to sleep, he got up next to the other one (=the other old man).’

(01:12) ā gā só [ī dirā] [[yūgōⁿ sīlé] kūmā].
3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [3ReflSg push.Pfv] [[woman old] on],
[yūgōⁿ sīlé] gā kōmā,
[woman old] Ipfv cry.out.Ipfv,
‘He went and threw himself onto the old woman. The old woman was crying out.’
à yā = [āā tā = ā käy],
3Sg said [2Pl PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q],
āā yā = [āā gā sümę-č nĩ]
2Pl said [2Pl be visitor-Pl it.is]
‘She said, “have you-Pl not seen? You-Pl said that you-Pl are visitors.’

[āā bē gā [yāŋ [ŋ̄ kāw”]]]
[[āā bē gā ŋ jiná],
[[2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv LogoSg fornicate.Pfv].
‘ “You-Pl came to retire (for the night) at my house (and) you came to rape me.”

kú yè ŋ tè bā = [āŋ jiná] kóy,
Dem said LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv [2Sg fornicate.Pfv] Emph,
ŋ̄ weērè gā [yůwōm pā],
LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit],
‘That one (=old man) said “I didn’t come to rape you-Sg. I had a craving for a woman.” ’

ŋ̄ weērè gā [yůwōm pā] gū,
LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit] Def,
sāā-kōŋ [kú pē] yā = [ā = āŋ kāmā],
now [Dem also] said [2Sg 2Sg lie.Pfv]’
‘When (he had said) “I was desperate for a woman”, now that other one (=old man) said, “you lied.” ’
\[\text{weērè ‘crave (sth to which one is accustomed but hasn’t had recently)’}\]

[[āŋ tē weērè [yůwōm pā]]
[[2Sg PfvNeg crave.Pfv [woman Comit]]
[[dīgé̃-sā tēm] ām bāā gā [[ām pōŋ] kāw”]],
[[day.before.yesterday just] 2Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv [[2Sg wife chez]],
‘ “You weren’t desperate for a woman. It was just the day before yesterday that you left your wife’s place.’

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They reprimanded each other sharply. They (=residents) drove them out. They (=old men) left there too.

['cause to ripen' = 'reprimand, scold, sharply criticize']

They took the road again. They kept on going, they kept on going.

['pick up' as 'keep VPing' (§15.7.5)]

Eventually they came and found that someone else’s livestock animal had died.

They … the animal—, they butchered it. Its meat—. They were hungry now.'
(01:43) [kḕn̕ gu] yè = [ē nàn [tēè kā-kā] kūwolō, [one Def] said [LogoPl if.Pfv [meat Iter-raw] chew.Pfv, à gā bē = ē wògò dē?], 3Sg Ipfv Fut LogoPl kill.Pfv Emph, ‘The other one said, “if we eat raw meat, it will kill us!” ’ [emphatic dē? in a warning (§19.4.2.4)]

(01:45) [kḕn̕ gu] yā = [ā nē = ē wògò kóy], [one Def] said [3Sg IpfvNeg LogoPl kill.Pfv Emph], ‘The other one said, “no, it certainly won’t kill us!” ’ [emphatic kóy in a strong assertion (§19.4.2.1)]

(01:47) è dāā-mā gā sō sāāⁿ, 3Pl go.far.away.Pfv RemPfv go when, [[kḕn̕ gu] nū =] ā dēgē, [[one Def] belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv, ‘When they had gone far away, the other one’s stomach hurt him.’ [< nùù]

(01:50) [[ā nū =] ā dēgē gā sāāⁿ] [[3Sg belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv when], [ā ān dēn̕ ā [jūgū bwēy]], [3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv [tree Comit]], ‘When his stomach had hurt him, he leaned on a tree (trunk).’

(01:51) [ā ān dēn̕ ā jūgū bwēy] gūtūⁿ-mà-gēŋ gū, [3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv RemPfv [tree Comit] place-Rel-place Def, sāā-kā = [ā kāⁿ], ā pwō [ā pā] nōgōm-bāgē nī], now [3Sg Topic], 3Sg become.Pfv [3Sg Comit] [soul-taking Inst], ‘In the place (=situation) where he leaned on the tree, now, as for him, it became for him a soul-taking.’

[i.e., he gave up his soul (=he died); gūtūⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ (§14.2.4)); bāgē nominal from bāgā ‘remove’ (§4.2.1.2)]

(01:55) [ā kālē yāwⁿ], [kḕn̕ gu] yā = [ān tā = ā kāy], [3Sg die.Pfv there.Def, [one Def] said [2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q], [ān [tēè gu] kūwolō gā] [2Sg [meat Def] chew.Pfv RemPfv] ‘He died there. The other one said, “have you-Sg not seen it? You ate the meat.” ’
(01:59) [ān tā = ā kā = [ā = āⁿ wāgá]],
[2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg 2Sg kill.Pfv.Q]],
kú yè á!, [ī kón] tè mūlēŋ kóy,
Dem said “oh!, [1Sg Topic] PfvNeg do.on.purpose Emph,
‘ “Have you-Sg not seen (that) it has killed you?” That one said, “oh! as for me, I
didn’t mean to do it!”’
[direct quotation with 1Sg, not logophoric; < tè mūlēʷ]

(02:02) màŋ— kālē-pūwógú, à yē [ń tè mūlēŋ kóy],
Rel— die-blind, 3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg do.on.purpose Emph],
[kú pē] yè [ńōŋ kōⁿ] ān tè wāa,
[Dem also] said [Dem Topic] 2Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv,
‘The one who—, the dead one, he said “I didn’t mean to do it!” This one said,
“anyway, you didn’t die.”’
[i.e. if you were dead you wouldn’t be able to speak]

(02:06) [ān tè wāa kóy] [ā dēgē gā],
[2Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Emph] [3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv]
kī [ē gālā sò],
get.up.Pfv [1Pl Sbjn go],
‘ “You didn’t die, it (just) hurt. Get up and let’s go!”’

(02:09) à yē [[ī kón] nā sò]
3Sg said [[1Sg Topic] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv]
[sò [ān gālā īn bāy bōwⁿ]],
[go.Pfv[2Sg Sbjn 1Sg leave.Pfv here]],
‘He said, “as for me, I won’t go. (You) go and leave me here!”’
[double imperative expressed as imperative plus subjunctive (§10.4.1.1)]

(02:11) à bā = ā bāy yāwⁿ,
3Sg Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv there.Def,
à bè kīyē,
3Sg Seq pass.Pfv,
‘Then he left him there. He went on his way.’
When he had gone on his way, and when the other one had gone ahead, his foot entered (=was caught in) a trap.

After the trap caught him, now some travelers were passing by.

They said (=asked), “where did you leave (=come from)?” He said, “I don’t know my place of origin.”

“You don’t know your place of origin!”

[This turn spoken rapidly in one breath; the passers-by are incredulous]
They said (=asked), “where are you-Sg going?” He said, “I said (=planned) that I’m going east.”

“This I am going to Mecca. My traveling companion died on the road.’

‘Well, they said: “given that you’re going to Mecca, what will you-Sg go and do there?”’

‘He said, “I am going to the pilgrimage site (in Mecca).”’

‘They said, “as for a pilgrim (=you), if a trap has caught you-Sg, …”’
[āŋ gālā ām bēw”] [wɔ̃gɔ̊ ṃ pàyò], [2Sg Sbjn 2Sg return.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep PsRefl be.better], [ān hijj gà] tē mànê, [2Sg pilgrimage DEF] PfvNeg be.good.Pfv, ‘“You-Sg should go back, that is (=would be) better. Your pilgrimage hasn’t been good.” ’
[pàyò (§12.1.3)]

(02:42) à yā = [ā mànê yàá], [ŋ̄ jáátí-jáátí kɔ̆], 3Sg said [3Sg be.good.Pfv Emph], [LogoSg Iter-exactly Topic], hāli ŋ̄ kī gà, since LogoSg get.up.Pfv RemPfv,
‘He said, “it has been good! As for me personally, (ever) since I got up (=was born),” ’
[emphatic yàá (§19.4.2.5)]

(02:45) ŋ̄ tē bāa [hijj-sèm pà] LogoSg PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv [pilgrimage-road Comit] [nā = ā nā wāy nī], [if 3Sg not.be today it.is],
‘“I have not set out on the pilgrimage except (=until) today.” ’
[lit. “if it is not today”; < sèw”]

(02:48) [[wāy mà] ṃ bā gà pē] [[today Rel] LogoSg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv also] [kārángé ŋ̄ kūŋŋ gà gà gà], [trap LogoSg catch.Pfv RemPfv Def],
‘“This day on which I set out, when the trap caught me,” ’

(02:50) ŋ̄ = ŋa” ālà tūyè LogoSg Sgj/Obj God know.Pfv [ālàà kɔdɔrì gà [ṃ bwëy] [God ordain.Pfv RemPfv [LogoSg Comit]
‘“I recognized God, God ordained it on me.” ’
‘That being the case, when you-Pl free me (from the trap), you should leave me here.’

[third person for original addressee in quotation]

‘Those (passers-by) in turn said, “we certainly won’t leave you-Sg!”

‘The same way (=in the same condition) that you-Sg are in the trap there, (that’s how) we will get you out (and leave you).’

[relative with definite gü]

‘They helped him and he got out of the trap.’

‘When they came away from the trap, lo! he had esoteric powers.’

‘When they sat down next to him, he threw a (magic) potion on them.’

[< pìi-sò “pour.out-go”]
Sleep came over them. His leg healed.

Then he went on his way.

[3Sg until] 3Pl Seq [3Sg foot-link-line] pick-up.Pfv,
'They picked up (=started with) his footprints, and they went after him.'

Eventually they went and caught him. He said, “oh!” He said, “since you-Pl have just now caught me,”

[< è gà sò ; < à yè ; sá-sàà-lèwⁿ ‘right now, just now’]
(03:27) kā ŋ tē kī
but LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv
[ŋ̄ gā = [ā pī ġù] sāā-nì kóy,
[LogoSg Ipfv [3Sg property Def] go-Caus.Pfv Emph,
‘“But I did not get up (intending that) I would go off with your-Sg property.”’
/(< sāā-nì (§9.1.2))]/

(03:29) [kəndō bē gā= [ā nī] [m̄ pà],
desperation.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [LogoSg Comit],
[nōn lāā] [(wāy-sùrūgū kōn] nįį],
[Dem QTop] [(today-remainder Topic] inside],
Desperation [focus] is what brought it to me. From today on, ’
/(< kəndō)]

(03:31) kālā = āā gālā [m̄ bāy],
must 2Pl Sbjn [LogoSg leave.Pfv],
[ē pē] yē = [ē nā = ā bāy],
[3Pl also] said [LogoPl IpfvNeg 3Sg leave.Pfv],
‘“You must leave me (here).” They in turn said, “we won’t leave you.” ’
/kālā ~ īkālā ‘must’ (§17.3.3)]

(03:34) hàyā, à tāā gā bōw"
well, 3Sg end.Pfv RemPfv here
‘Well, it has ended here.’
Text 2017-06 Tale: The picky bride and Python

Djonsare Traoré (dt) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration 03:34

(00:01) ac [kéérán syēŋ kāā-ŋ-jōnsāärē], [welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father-Link-D]
dt [kéérán syēm bābā] [welfare spend.midday.Pfv Dad]
ac: ‘Good afternoon, Papa Dionsare!’
dt: ‘Good afternoon, friend.’

(00:03) ac kō jāṁ syēŋ gā [āā pā]
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]
dt āā syēŋ [nēēmâ ni] 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [pleasant.weather Inst]
ac: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’
dt: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’

(00:05) ac āā yēŋ [kēnāŋ kōŋ] wā 2Pl and [health Topic] anyway
ac: ‘You-Pl and good health?’
dt: ‘You-Pl are in good health?’
[singular-addresssee counterpart of first part is āŋ [kēnāŋ kōŋ] wā/]

(00:06) ac [bāā sī] kōŋ [trouble any] not.be
dt [āā jīmī-lē lāā] [2Pl person-Pl QTTop
ac: ‘There is no trouble.’
dt: ‘What about your people (=kin)?’

(00:07) ac [bāā sī] nē = [ē pā] [trouble any] not.be.Loc [3Pl Comit]
dt bāārikāllā praise.God
ac ‘There’s no trouble among them.’
dt: ‘Praise God.’
(00:08) ac  mbåà  tàbàärkållà  
(reply)  God.be.praised

dt  ènnà  à  ¬  käy  
(reply)  2Sg  and  work(n)

ac: ‘Fine, God be praised.’
dt: ‘Fine, you-Sg and work!’

[greeting formula reduced < ‘àn yèŋ käy’]

(00:09) ac  bon,  ë  gā  nògù-bëw,  ë  gā  bòw,  
well,  1Pl  be.Loc  N,  1Pl  be.Loc  here,
à  [tálám  pëndé]  bāgā,  
3Sg  [day  two]  remove.Pfv,
‘Okay, we are in Namagué. We are (=have been) here, it has removed (=taken) a couple of days.’

[‘two’ here is meant as ‘a couple’, ‘a few’]

(00:12) ac  donc  ë  käy  gù  kò,  [[ë  käy']  lògå]
so  1Pl  work(n)  Def  Topic,[[1Pl  work(n)]  be.completed.Pfv]
[ë  gā =  à  pògò  [ë  gālå  åŋ  ciyè]]
[1Pl  Ipfv  3Sg  like.Ipfv  [1Pl  Sbjn  2Sg  ask.Pfv]
‘So, as for our work, our work is completed. We would like to ask you-Sg,’

(00:15) ac  jà =  à  nàm  bā =  à  tiw  
[if  3Sg  if.Pfv  come.Pfv  3Sg  find.Pfv]
[kàmåà  màn]  gā =  [åŋ  sògi-ý],  
[tale  Rel]  be.Loc  [2Sg  hand-Loc],
‘If it happens that (there is) a tale that you-Sg,’

(00:16) ac  åŋ  gālå  pò  sè  [ë  tā = ]  [[à  nį̃jì]  quoi
[2Sg  Sbjn  thing  say.Pfv  [1Pl  Dat]  [3Sg  inside]
dt  yèm  bisìmilà  
Imprt.2Pl  welcome
ac: ‘Please tell us something in it.’
dt: ‘You-Pl are welcome.’

[the remainder of this text is spoken by dt]
kú gà kêrán nì, kú gà [pɔŋnàŋ kùtùn] nì,
Dem be welfare it.is, Dem be [young.woman a.certain] it.is,
kàà yèn nàw, ɲímí-lè yèn sùmèŋkàrè-è
father and mother, person-Pl and relative-Pl
‘This is a blessing. This is a young woman. (Her) father and mother, (her) people, and (her) close kin.’

[è sàã˘], yùgò” — këégù màá [à tè],
[3Pl all], woman— man look.for.Pfv [3Sg Dat],
à yè [n ná dw5 [[è sí] kàw”]],
3Sg said [LogoSg lpfvNeg enter.Pfv [[3Pl any] chez]],
‘They all looked for a woman— (or rather) a man for her. She said, “I will not go in
with any of them, …” ’
[< màà (Pfv); ná dw5 reduced from ná bë dw5 (future negative)]

ŋkàlà [n dém-àâti gù këégù],
except [LogoSg beloved Def male],
bon, tìmi bè jnm minjè,
okay, python Seq Dem.Def hear.Pfv,
‘ “…except (=unless it is) my beloved man.” All right, a python heard that.’
[emend to ŋ [dèm-àâti]-këégù gù ]

à bë sò ŋ wòbì [[ādāmā-dyèm mòŋs] nì]
3Sg Seq go.Pfv 3RefISg change.Pfv [[Adam-child good] Inst]
[a nimèn-[tábà-tùgù] tè kilè
[3Sg like-[young.man] PfvNeg be.gotten.Pfv
[[yàŋ giyèlè-giyèlè sàã]” niŋií],
[[there.Def around all] inside],
‘It (=python) went and turned itself into a fine human being. No young man the likes
of him could be found anywhere in that area.’
[compound with L-H tones from nimèw” ‘like’ and tábà-tùgù ‘young man’]

kàà tìmi nì, bon, à bë kòndò yàw”
but python it.is, okay, 3Sg Seq remain.Pfv there.Def
[hàlí-kànà è gà [kìbà gù] dw5],
[until 3Pl until.Pfv [marriage Def] enter.Pfv],
‘But it was a python. All right, it remained there until eventually they entered
(=celebrated) the marriage.’
When they had entered the marriage, they … the woman —, they had her younger sibling go with her so that —.

That was her little (sister), she was going to help her at work, at her home there.

They were going to leave the man and the two women together.

Now they kept going along. Wherever they arrived, she said “oh!”

“Are we still not arriving at your-Pl village?” He said, “we haven’t arrived.”
Eventually they crossed a river. When they had crossed the river,

They went and arrived at some enormous mountains. There were caves in it.

‘They said, “hey! As for you, you have left (=come from) all (these) villages, and yet you are settled inside these caves here?”’

‘It said “uh-huh!” (It explained:) it was a python, it had turned himself into a human.’
äywà, è wùù yāwⁿ, sāaⁿ  
well, 3Pl do.long.time.Pfv there.Def, when, 
ì yā= ã kày [à ē wɔbì [timì ni]], 
3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg 3ReflSg change.Pfv [python Inst]],

‘Well, they were there for a long time. They saw it as it turned (back) into a python.’

['see’ with propositional complement]

(01:37)  
[tèëŋ gù] yē sèè [[n dugòń] tē]  
[elder.sib Def] said thus [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat] 
[kú lâa] [ē lâa] [kú lâa] mèn ti-nà, 
[Dem QTop] [LogoPl QTop] [Dem QTop] how? do-lPfv, 
[ā→, kú gā [sèbè tîrîgi-nà= ] nì] sàa-gù dē?,
[ah!, Dem be [matter trample-Ppl] it.is] now Emph, 

‘The older sister said to her younger sister, “as for us, how is this? Ah! This is a perilous situation now!”’

(01:45)  
kāā è nā= ã sē [āŋ gâlâ [mà sāaⁿ] tiw, 
but 3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [2Sg Sbjn [Rel all] do.Pfv, 
ām bā— āŋ gâ sâŋgī [[è sāaⁿ] nā] wù,  
(false start) 2Sg Ipfv refuse.Ipfv [[3Pl all] Dat] Def, 
(Older sister:) “But all the things that they tell you to do, You must refuse them all.”’

(01:49)  
[pɔ sùrù kɔⁿ]  
[thing remainder Topic] 
ŋkâlâ āŋ gâlâ= ā kày [[āŋ nögò-lèn] nì], 
must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg see.Pfv [2Sg eye] Inst], 
(Older sister: “(But there’s) one remaining (=other) thing. You must see it with your own eye(s).”’

(01:52)  
[n jè] yè ñ dò [kêëgê-ê nā]  
[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat] 
[ŋ jè] [n =nā = à màā],  
[LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],

‘ “My (=our) father gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.”’
“My mother gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.”

“The brothers came, they gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want him.”

“What I hooked up with, it didn’t become (=it wasn’t) a human.”

“Ah, it has gone bad in our hands now! They said (=decided), well,”

“Now we should let (=wait for) the python to come up close, so we can flee.”

“We will flee. When we arrive at the river, crossing it will be a headache for us.”
'All right, they fled then. They arrived at the river. They looked all over. The skiff (=ferry) was nowhere to be seen.'

'They had no other way out. Where they were (supposed) to cross, '

'When they aimed their eyes, a bird landed. A sudden inspiration came to them. They said (sang):'

'Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!'
Eventually it (=bird) picked them both up. It had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.

‘It crossed the river. Well, in that (situation), when they turned around (to look back),’

They saw it, the python too was coming (after them). The bird was going to take it across too.

‘Well, when the python reached the edge of the river, a sudden inspiration came to them.’

‘“Don’t take it across the river, Little black sparrow with a long neck!” ’
‘Don’t take it across the river, Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!’ [end of song] (They) said (in Bambara): “it isn’t a person!”’

‘(in Jenaama:) “It isn’t a person!” The bird pulled itself out from under it (=python).’

‘It (=bird) dumped it (=python). As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’

‘It turned out that they were safe. Well, that is it. That is advice.’

‘Namely, that young women, they—, they must not disobey their people (=kin).’

‘To the point of ending up in a foreign (=dangerous) place.’

['come' meaning ‘all the way to’ (§15.7.3.2)]
Text 2017-07 Tale: Hyena, Hare and Lion

narrator †Adama Badji Kamian (ak) accompanied (murmured “mhm” only) by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration: 02:48
note: [mhm] at the right margin is ac’s murmured backchannel at pauses in ak’s narration

(00:02) áywà, kú gā [kàm̄àa gù] nì,
well, Dem be [tale Def] it.is,
[i] ká(y)] bē [kàm̄àâ gù] sē sāà-gù,
[1Sg Prsntv] Seq [tale Def] tell.lpfv now,
‘Well, this is the tale. Here I am to tell the tale now.’

(00:06) wàŋgé yēŋ kàŋgé,
hare and hyena,
è sū gā sōŋδɔ-y,
3Pl go.lpfv RemPfv the.bush-Loc,
‘Hare and hyena, they went out into the bush.’
[< sū ~ sō ‘went’]

(00:10) è bè bā = ə tiwà↑,
3Pl Seq come.lpfv 3Sg find.lpfv,
tēw gā yègê-nà,
meat be put.down-Ppl,
‘They came and found that some meat (a carcass) had been put down.’
[< bè bā ; tēw variant of tēē]

(00:13) à bè sēw” [[wàŋgé gù] nùmā]
3Sg Seq fall.lpfv [[hare Def in.mind],
ŋ gālā [kàŋgé gù] hiilà,
LogoSg Sbjn [hyena Def] deceive.lpfv,
‘It occurred to that hare to deceive the hyena.’
[cf. à gā [ŋ nùmā] ‘it’s in my mind, I haven’t forgotten it’, à gā [ŋ nùmā] ṣà bē sō ‘I have in mind to go, I’m thinking of going’; unrelated to nùmā ‘rope’, n nùmá ‘my rope’]

(00:17) [kàŋgé gù pē lāā],
[hyena Def too QTop],
à nīm [[tēē gù] pà],
3Sg desire.lpfv [[meat Def] Comit]
‘As for the hyena, it too wanted the meat.’
(00:19) [a ye i gā tēe gū dēe, [mhm]
    [3Sg said LogoSg lpfv [meat Def] pick.up.lpfv,
    wàng gé yā = [a tēe→], [mhm]
    hare said [3Sg Dat],

    ‘He (=hyena) said (=thought), “I will take the meat.” Hare said to him,’

    [< yê à tê with intonational final falling-tone/pitch on tê at a planned prosodic break
    (§3.7.2)]

(00:22) [ān mām bē [tēe gū] dēe kiyèw n kōy, [mhm]
    [2Sg Proh Seq [meat Def] pick.up thus Emph,
    ké n só [kòn gūūr flàànā-ý], [mhm]
    Hort go [Dem place such.and.such-Loc],

    ‘(Hare:) “Don’t take the meat like that. Let’s go to such-and-such a place.”’

    [kè n só irregular hortative for ‘let’s go!’ (§10.4.2.1); flààná < Arabic fulaan- ‘such-and-such’, a function over names]

(00:26) [ē nè = ē bēm-bē sān", [mhm]
    [1Pl if.Pfv 1Pl come.back.Pfv when,
    [[ē gālà bē [tēe gū] dēe]

    ‘When we come back, we’ll come and take the meat and go off with it.’

    [< ē nān ē bēm-bē; < ē bē sō à ni ]

(00:30) kàngé yè áyyò, [mhm]
    hyena said okay,

    [ē gālā sō, à yō mm, [mhm]
    [1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv, 3Sg said uh.huh,

    ‘Hyena said “all right, let’s go.” He (=hare) said, “uh-huh”’

(00:33) ë bē sō, [mhm]
    3Pl Seq go.Pfv,

    ë sū gā sān", [mhm]
    3Pl go.Pfv RemPfv when,

    ‘They went. When they had gone,’
‘The hyena sat down and the hare sat down.’

*incompletion then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)*

‘Then the hare was chatting with the hyena.’

‘During that conversation of theirs, hyena just sat for a long time, he just sat for a long time,’

*ťuw5 ‘heart’ as compound final in durative construction (§15.4.5)*

‘(Only) hare was speaking. It became heated (=lively). When it (=conversation) had become heated,’

*mw5 ‘(food) became cooked, done’ or ‘ripe’, here by extension ‘(conversation) become lively’; however, the hare was droning on and the hyena was probably getting bored*
(00:48) kùmù kàŋgé kùūⁿ, [mhm]
sleepiness hyena catch.Pfv,
kùmù [kàŋgé gù] kùūŋ gà sāāⁿ, [mhm]
sleepiness [hyena Def] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,
'Sleep overtook the hyena. When the hyena became sleepy,'
/kùmù 'sleep (n)' /

(00:52) à bè ŋ tēē-n-sò, [mhm]
3Sg Seq 3Reflg lie.on.back.Pfv,
à gà jōgō-lēn tēgē-tēgē gū, [mhm]
3Pl Ipfv eye shut-shut.Ipfv Def,
'He (=hyena) lay down on his back. While he was shutting his eyes (=dozing off),'
/tēē-n-sò/tē-lē-n-sò 'lie on back', ≠tēē/tē-lē not attested as simple verb

(00:54) [wàŋgé gū] pūrī tiwⁿ, [mhm]
[hare Def] sneaking(n) do.Pfv,
[wàŋgé pūrī tiwⁿ] [à kūtū gā sāāⁿ], [mhm]
[hare sneak.away do.Pfv] [3Sg run.Pfv RemPfv when],
'Hare sneaked away. When hare had sneaked away and run away,'
/pūrī tiwⁿ (§11.1.2.2)]

(00:57) à gā sō [[tēē gū) kāwⁿ] yāwⁿ, [mhm]
3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] chez] there.Def,
[sāā-kāⁿ à gā sō [[tēē gū) dēē gūrūⁿ-mā-giwn] [now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]
jākā [[kū pē] jōgōlēwⁿ] ū uēē, [mhm]
lo! [[Dem too] eye] 3Refl open.Pfv,
'He (=hare) was on his way to where the meat was there. Now (while) he was on his way to take the meat, lo! The eyes of that other one (=hyena) opened.'
/< kāwⁿ yāwⁿ ; obviative kū pē 'that one too’ (§18.2.3)>

(01:00) [à bè kūtū-sā = ]
[3Sg Seq run.Pfv-go.Pfv]
[à bè sā = à tābā yāwⁿ, [mhm]
[3Sg Seq go 3Sg rejoin.Pfv there.Def,
'He (=hyena) ran, he went and found him (= hare).'
/< sō à : < /tābā yāwⁿ/ /}
(01:02) [à bè [ñ tàbà-làwⁿ këwⁿ] dè]
[3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot one] pick up]
[à bá = à yàgà [à kûmà], [mhm]
[3Sg Seq 3Sg put down [3Sg on],
‘He (=hyena) lifted up one paw and put it down on it (=meat).’
[-làwⁿ before numeral ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1); /këwⁿ dè/]

(01:04) à yè hà! [ñ kàà], [mhm]
3Sg said hey! [1Sg friend],
àn-dàà [kú gà mûwⁿ nì], [mhm]
2Sg-QTop [Dem be which? it is],
‘He (=hyena) said, “Hey, my pal, you, what is that?” ’
[i.e., what have you been up to?; ñ kàà vocative ‘my pal!’]

(01:06) à yâ = [[ám pè là] m báy gà yàwⁿ]
3Sg said [[2Sg too QTop] 1Sg leave.Pfv RemPfv there.Def]
[mûwⁿ nì], [mhm]
[which? it.is],
‘He (=hyena) said, “why did you too leave me there?” ’

(01:08) à bè [ñ tàbà] yàgà [à kûmà]
3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot] put on.Pfv [3Sg on]
[à bá = à tirigî], [mhm]
[3Sg Seq 3Sg trample.Pfv],
‘He (=hyena) then put his foot on it (=the meat), and he trampled it (rubbing it into the ground).’

(01:09) [[[kângé gú] pê] bè gîrîw”]
[[[hyena Def] too] Seq be started.Pfv]
[à bè kûî], [mhm]
[3Sg Seq get up.Pfv],
‘He (=hyena) jumped up startled.’
[gîrîwⁿ/gîrî-nà/]

(01:10) à bè [wàngé gú] cyêwⁿ, [mhm]
3Sg Seq [hare Def] carry on head.Pfv,
[à gà sò] [à gà sò]
[3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv] [3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv]
‘Then he (=hyena) carried hare on his head. He was going and going (=kept going),’
[rapidly spoken durative background clause]
(01:13) hàlì-kànà à gă  kiy"èn jìi-lāgà, [mhm]
until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv water-edge
à yē hàyà sā-a-gù, [mhm]
3Sg said okay now,
‘Until he arrived at the edge of the water. He (=hare) said, “okay now,”’
[-lāgà especially in compounds, cf. lōgū ‘mouth’ as noun (§4.2.1.5.2)]

(01:16) gīlēwⁿ gā= [ām bwēy]
thirst be [2Sg Comit]
āŋ gālā= āⁿ mēm bōwⁿ, [mhm]
2Sg Sbjn 2Sg drink.Pfv here,
‘(Hare:) “You are thirsty. You must drink here.”
[(‘have a) drink’ without an object is reflexive; this passage uses direct quotation
with 2Sg and 1Sg pronominals]}

(01:18) wàŋgē yē [ŋ k5’]
hare said [1Sg Top]
gīlēwⁿ nā [m pā] kōy, [mhm]
thirst not.be [1Sg Comit] Emph,
‘Hare said, “As for me, I certainly am not thirsty.”’

(01:20) ɲēŋ gīlēwⁿ gā [ān-dōgō pā]
if thirst be [2Sg-Indep.Foc Comit]
[āŋ gālā= āⁿ mēwⁿ], [mhm]
2Sg Sbjn 2Sg drink.Pfv,
‘(Hare:) “If it’s you [focus] who are thirsty, you should drink.”’
[ŋēⁿ ~ nāⁿ ‘if’; independent 2Sg pronoun ān-dōgō in focus tones]

(01:22) [kú pē] yē úⁿ?ūⁿ
[DemSg too] said unh.unh!
ṅ = nā m mé-né, [mhm]
1Sg IpfvNeg 1Sg drink-Ipfv,
‘The other (=hyena) said, “Nope! I won’t drink.”’
[< į nā į(+H) mē-né/]
During that discussion of theirs, another hyena came (to the meat) in their absence.

He (=other hyena) picked up the meat and went away with it.

He (=hare) said, “okay, now let’s go and find out about (=check on) our meat”

‘Now we have found (=verified) that neither of us can (dominate) on the other.’

When they had returned (to where the meat had been), they did not find the meat there.'
Hyena said, he said to hare, “Haven’t you seen that you tricked me?”

(Hyena:) “You (took) hyena’s—. You took the meat!”

The other (=hare) said, “I didn’t come and take it. My uncle took it.”

He (=hyena) said, “that uncle of yours left (=comes from) where?” He (=hare) said, “that uncle of mine has left the bush and come.”

[combination Poss-Dem-N; sôŋ-y suffixal locative (§8.2.3.1) of sôŋ ‘the bush (brousse)’]

“He (=hyena) said, “All right, go and show me where your uncle is!””
(01:47) [kāā nà ñ tā = [āŋ kùtũ] kāy]  
[but if LogoSg PfvNeg [2Sg uncle] see.Pfv]  
jī gā = āⁿ wōgā,  
1Sg Lpfv 2Sg kill.Lpfv,  
'(Hyena:) “But if I don’t see your uncle, I will kill you.”'  
[hypothetical conditional (§16.1)]

(01:49) à yē hayà kē só,  
3Sg said okay Hort go,  
[ē gā = ā dēē =] [ē gā sō]  
[3Pl Lpfv 3Sg pick.up.Lpfv] [3Pl Lpfv go.Lpfv]  
[ē gā = ā dēē =] [ē gā sō],  
[mhm]  
[3Pl Lpfv 3Sg pick.up.Lpfv] [3Pl Lpfv go.Lpfv],  
'He (=hare) said, “all right, let’s go!” They went and kept going,’  
[background durative passage (§15.7.5); < dēē ē]

(01:51) håli-kānē = ē gā dāā-mā,  
until 3Pl until.Pfv distant-Inch.Lpfv,  
ē dāā-mā gā sāāⁿ,  
[mhm]  
3Pl distant-Inch.Pfv RemPfv when,  
'Until they were going far away. When they had gone far away,’  
[< håli-kāna ‘until’]

(01:54) à gā kōmĩ-yārā sōynā,  
3Sg Lpfv lion espy.Lpfv  
à yē hayà [jī kùtũ kāy],  
3Sg said okay [LogoSg uncle Prsntv],  
'He (=hare) perceived a lion at a distance. He said, “all right, there’s my uncle.”'  
[kāy presentative (§4.4.4.1)]

(01:56) kū yè [āⁿ = āⁿ hōōtũ]  
DemSg said [2Sg 2Sg lie.Pfv]  
[kū kāⁿ] nā = [āŋ kùtũ] nĩ,  
[laughs]  
[Dem Top] not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is,  
'That one (=hyena) said, “you lied, that one (=lion) isn’t your uncle,”'  
[cf. 1Sg ŋ = nā ŋ hōōtũ ‘I lied’]
(01:58)  säbì kú bänà-àmà, [laughs]
because DemSg big-Inch.Pfv,
[à yā = [à bänà-àmà] ] [à yē ?ù'ù'], [mhm]
[3Sg said [3Sg big-Inch.Pfv]] [3Sg said uh.huh],
(Hyena:) “because that one is big.” He (=hare) asked, “it’s big?” and he (=hyena)
said, “yes!”

(02:01)  à yē hàà-kòý [ān mām bā = à tīw'ā] [mhm]
3Sg said hey! [2Sg Proh Seq 3Sg do.Pfv]
à yē á! [ũ kūúũ ] n dē?, [mhm]
3Sg said oh! [1Sg uncle] it.is Emph,
‘He (=hare) said, “Hey, don’t do (=say) it!” He said, “it really is my uncle!” ’
[prohibitive; ŋ < ŋnit ‘it is’; dē? adversarial emphatic]

(02:04)  à yē [à nā = [āŋ kūúũ ] n dē?, [mhm]
3Sg said [3Sg not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is Emph,
[kū pē] bā = à tīyē, [mhm]
[DemSg too] Seq 3Sg ask.Pfv,
‘He (=hyena) said, “No it isn’t your uncle!” That one (=hyena) asked him (=lion).’

(02:07)  à yē [ń-dōgò jāátf] gā [ā kūūũ ] nì, [mhm]
3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep indeed] be [3Sg uncle] it.is,
mwũ gā = [āā nāŋáã], [mhm]
which? be [2Pl between],
‘He (=lion) said, “I am indeed his uncle.” What is (going on) between you-Pl?” ’

(02:09)  à yā = [à [ń tēw] kūūũ gā], [mhm]
3Sg said [3Sg [LogoSg meat] steal.Pfv RemPfv],
ān-dōgō bi gā = [ā tēe gū] dēē, [mhm]
2Sg-Indep come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg meat Def] pick.up.Pfv,
‘He (=hyena) said (to the lion), “he stole my meat. (Or maybe) you came and took
his meat.” ’
[bi gā = bē gā ‘came’]
à yē [ń tā= [a tēē gū] dēē]
3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg [3Sg meat Def] take.Pfv]
 [kāā nā= ān tā= ā yēlī sāā-gū], [mhm]
 [but if 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg take.down now],
 ē gā= ān wōgā, [mhm]
LogoSg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv,
 ‘He (=lion) said, “I didn’t take his meat. But if you don’t take him down (off your head) now, I’ll kill you.’

(02:16) à yē hayā [sāā-kōm bē kē só]
3Sg said okay [and.then come.Pfv Hort go.Pfv]
 [ē tēē kilē]
[1Pl meat get.Pfv]
 ‘He (=hare) said, “all right, then come and let’s go. We got some meat.” ’

(02:18) ē gālā [ā tōⁿ] wōjā= [ān tē], [mhm]
1Pl Sbjn [3Sg place] showPfv [2Sg Dat],
ē bā= ā sāā-ni [mhm]
3Pl Seq 3Sg go-Caus.Pfv
 ‘(Hare:) “We’ll show you-Sg where it is (=was).” They conveyed him (=lion) there.’
 [< wōjī ; sāā-ni ‘cause to go’ (§9.1.2)]

(02:20) [ē bē sō-kiyēwⁿ]
3Pl Seq go.Pfv-arrive.Pfv
 [jākā kūtūŋ gā sāgā-nā yāwⁿ], [mhm]
 [lo! pit be dig-Ppl there.Def],
 ‘They went and arrived, and lo, a pit had been excavated there,’
 [cf. Ipfv sō-kiyēwⁿ ; hare and lion had excavated and covered a pit trap]

(02:23) ē gā bā= ā hīlā gūtūⁿ-mā-giwⁿ, [mhm]
3Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Ipfv place.where,
 [kū— wāŋgē yē hayā]
[DemSg— hare said okay]
 ‘where they (=hare and lion) were going to trick him (=hyena). That (one)— Hare said, “all right,” ’

618
(02:26) ɲē = ē nàŋ kiyêm bōwⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]
if 1Pl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv here when,
ē galā tàà,
1Pl Sbjn stop.Pfv,
'(Hare:) “when (=now that) we have arrived here, let’s stop” ,
[perfective conditional antecedent with ɲāⁿ ~ ɲiⁿ and post-subject nà(wⁿ)/nā(wⁿ)
(§16.1.1); sāāⁿ ‘when’ after conditional antecedent (§16.1.3)]

(02:28) ē nāŋ tàà [pò-lēwⁿ]-nāwⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]
1Pl if.Pfv stop.Pfv [a.little]-Dimin when,
ē bè kiyē, [mhm]
1Pl Seq pass.Pfv,
'(Hare:) “when we have stopped for a little while, then we’ll continue on our way.’
[diminutive of pō-lēwⁿ (~ pā-lēwⁿ) ‘a little’]

(02:30) [kōmā-yārā lā = ] ā nā = ā tò
[lion QTop] 3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.lpfv
[māā kūūnj gā yāwⁿ], [mhm]
[that pit be.Loc there.Def],
‘The lion for his part didn’t know that a pit was there.’

(02:32) ē kiyēwⁿ gà yāwⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]
3Pl arrive.Pfv RemPfv there.Def when,
[wāŋgē gū kōⁿ] tēwⁿ gā sāāⁿ, [mhm]
[hare Def already] jump.Pfv RemPfv when,
‘When they arrived there, when the hare had jumped,’
[subject-final kōⁿ in past perfect (§10.3.4)]

(02:35) à m pīi-sō [ŋ kōrē-ỹ], [mhm]
3Sg 3Refl pour.Pfv-go.Pfv [3Refl behind-Loc],
[à pūrî tiwⁿ] [à dwɔ dúgiⁿ-ỹⁿ], [mhm]
[3Sg sneaking(n) do.Pfv] [3Sg enter.Pfv forest-Loc],
‘He (=hare) threw himself backward. He sneaked away into the forest.’
[< dwɔ̃]
When the hyena was going to (=tried to) go back,

[gā M-toned by spreading from gū]

(The) lion caught him (=hyena), and they both fell into the pit there.

[sēwⁿ ‘fell’; suffixal locative added to definite morpheme]
Text 2017-08 Tale: Hyena and Hare

(old) †Amadou Cissé (dit Sorogo-Pi, abbrev sp) accompanied (murmured “mhm”) by (young) Amadou Cissé (ac)
initial comment to sp by †Adama Badji Kamian (ak)
duration: 1:00
note: [mhm] near right margin is ac’s backchannel at pauses in sp’s narration

(00:02) sp  [n-dāā  lāā]  gā  bē  màṣí  sē  sā-gǔ
[1Sg-Indep  QTōp]  Ipfv  Fut  what?  tell.Ipfv  now
‘What should I say now?’
[n-dāā treated as simple independent pronoun (§13.2.2.1)]

(00:04) ak  à  yā=  āŋ  gā=  à  sē
3Sg  said  2Sg  Sbjn  3Sg  tell.Pfv
[kú  gā  [kàmāā  gū]  nì
[DemSg  be  [tale  Def]  it.is
‘He said for you to say that this is the tale.’
[āŋ  gā  contracted from āŋ  gālā ;  kàmāā  ‘tale’]

(remainder of recording is sp speaking, with ac’s murmured backchannel [mhm])

(00:05)  [kú  gā  [kàmāā  gū]  nì
[DemSg  be  [tale  Def]  it.is
‘This is the tale.’

(00:07)  wàŋgé,
hare,
[mmh] yēŋ  kàŋgé
and  hyena
‘Hare, and hyena.’

(00:12)  kàŋ—  wàŋgé—,  kàŋgé  mmm  bè  sāa-jūgū  sáwⁿ,
hye[na]—hare—,  hyena  (hesitation)  Seq  blanket  buy.Pfv,
[mmh]  kàjà,
wool.blanket,
‘Hare— (or rather) hyena bought a blanket, a wool blanket.’
[some confusion initially between hare and hyena;  old-fashioned wool blanket kàsà (archaic pronunciation), now often kàjà]
'Did you understand? (As for) hare, he did not have a blanket.'  
['X have Y' expressed as 'Y be in X’s hand' (§11.5.1); it turns out later that hare had an old, worn-out wool blanket]

'He (=hare) then said to hyena, “As for me, I have some meat in a place.” ’
[dative postposition with special tone/pitch before a planned pause (§3.7.2)]

'(Hare:) “If you agree, when you come and when we go,” ’

'(Hare:) “I will provide you with meat.” ’

‘Because my old wool blanket, it brings down meat.’

‘Did you understand? When they arrived,’
(00:36) [wàŋgé kàyłà]—
hare when—
[[kàngé gü] kàjà gü] déē sāàn, [mhm]
[hyena Def wool.blanket Def] take.Pfv when,
‘When hare picked up hyena’s wool blanket,’

(00:38) à bā = ā kërē-sō,
3Sg Seq 3Sg throw.Pfv-go.Pfv,
tè-ḳṛū bē sēwⁿ, [mhm]
meat-piece Seq fall.Pfv,
‘He threw it (=blanket) ahead, and a piece of meat fell out.’

[hare has taken hyena’s new blanket and is showing hyena that hare’s own old blanket magically produced meat]

(00:42) kàngé bā = ā kùwōlō,
hyena Seq 3Sg chew.Pfv,
[nàànù pē] è bē sō, [mhm]
[tomorrow too] 3Pl Seq go.Pfv,
‘Hyena chewed (=ate) it (=meat). The next day they went again.’

(00:45) [nōⁿ ninji] à bā = ā tīwⁿ [ā bwēį] tūⁿ, [mhm]
[Dem.Def inside] 3Sg Seq 3Sg do.Pfv [3Sg Comit] again,
à bā = ā kùwōlō,
3Sg Seq 3Sg chew.Pfv,
‘In that (way), he (=hare) did it (=throwing) with it (=hare’s old blanket) again.’

(00:48) màn gà bē gü,
Rel Ipfv come.Ipfv Def,
[ā sigā-ānā gü],
[3Sg three-Ord Def],
‘What was coming, the third (time),’

(00:51) [kàngé güū],
[hyena Def],
ā tɛ tɛ̃ tābā yāwⁿ, [mhm]
3Sg PfvNeg meat rejoin.Pfv there.Def
‘(As for) hyena, he didn’t find any meat there (this time).’

[< kàngé gü, for the falling tone/pitch see §3.7.2]
(00:54) à tē wàŋgé tābā yāwⁿ↑,
3Sg PfvNeg hare rejoin.Pfv there.Def,
à tē [j̄ kâjâ] tābā yāwⁿ↓,
3Sg PfvNeg [LogoSg wool.blanket] rejoin.Pfv there.Def,
‘He didn’t find hare there, and he didn’t find his own (new) wool blanket there.’
[incompleton then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)]

(00:56) hàyà ŋ tāā ģā bówⁿ
okay 1Sg stop.Pfv RemPfv here
‘All right, I have stopped here.’
Text 2017-09 Advice to young people

Dionsare Traoré (dt) accompanied (murmured “mhm”, not shown) by Amadou Cissé (ac)
duration 01:29

(00:01) [kú gà wääjû ni, bē—bē [jénâm-bi-gē bwēy],
[Dem be advice it.is, (hesitation)—come [children Comit]
jénâ", àŋ į kaŋ [kàlān tē],
child, 2Sg Refl ought [study Dat],
‘This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people. (As) a young person, you-Sg should get educated.’
[kâ‘ ought (to)’ with dative PP complement (§17.2.5)]

(00:08) [kàlāan gù], nàfā gà [wògô ninjû],
[study Def], benefit be [3Sg.Indep inside],
jénâ", [àŋ kōŋ] tē [pô-sî]-[pô-sî] kàlāa”,
child, [2Sg Topic] PfvNeg Iter-anything read.Pfv,
‘Education, there is benefit in it. Young person, (suppose) you-Sg have studied nothing at all.’
/[pô-sî]-[pô-sî] iteration of pô-sî – pà-sî ‘anything’]

(00:17) á!, [ân düña-lätigè]
ah!, [2Sg world-crossing]
gâ bē pwô [âm pâ] [kâyâ ni] dē?,
Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg Comit] [work(n) Inst] Emph,
‘Ah, your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.’
/< Bambara lâ-tigè]

(00:20) kâa, ē wày,
but, 1Pl today,
[ē käy] [sôŋô màm] bôwâ wày-wày kâŋ-ý,
[1Pl Prsntv] [the.bush Rel] here Iter-today Topic-Loc,
‘But, in our time, out here in the bush where we are these days,’
[relative on locative PP, but locative -ý occurs too far to the right to attract relative màwâ]
We don’t know (=appreciate) its value.’

‘Its first benefit (is), even if you -Sg have (only) learned (to read and write) your name, it’s a benefit.’

‘If it leaves there (=aside from that), if they say (=if you hear) that work has come to the village,’

‘They will call on the educated ones. Its third benefit (is),’

‘You yourself will find your destiny in the profit of (=from) your work [focus].’

[3Sg independent pronoun lâgɔ̀ (variant of wɔ̀gɔ̀) resumes âŋ kâyⁿ ‘your work’, both with tonal focus marking (final H-tone)]
Let’s be dedicated to studying. Let’s put our children in school.’

[dwɔ́ ‘entered’ here used transitively instead of dwɛ̀-nì]

‘If (there is) a child who, it happens, is (already) studying, may he/she be dedicated to studying.’

Because, tomorrow (=the future) is in that. You (=that child who goes to school) have made people smarter.’

Meanwhile it happens that your intelligence is (still) in you. Your own share of intelligence doesn’t go anywhere.’

[i.e. ‘you don’t lose anything by making others smarter; the sequential clauses with bè here and below may refer to future rather than past (con)sequences]
But you-Sg can make people smarter, they for their part then make each other smarter.

It then develops our production (=economy). It then takes our era (=country) out of squalor (backwardness).

Let’s buckle up and send our kids to school.

If it happens to be the case (i.e. that the child is already in school), may he/she be dedicated to taking care of it (=education).

Uh-huh. This is advice for young people.
References cited


Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

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Nom  nominalization
NP   noun phrase
Num  numeral
Obj  object
Pf   perfect (in ExpPf)
Pfv  Pfv
Pl   plural
Poss possessive, possessor
PP   postpositional phrase
Ppl  participle
Pron pronoun
Proh prohibitive
Prsntv presentative (‘here’s X!’), §4.4.4.1-2, §10.2.2.3
PsRefl pseudo-reflexive (ŋ̀, §11.4.1.2)
Purp purposive
Q    question
Recip reciprocal
Refl reflexive
Rel  relative marker (in relative clause)
RemPfv remote Pfv
S    subject (in e.g. “SOV order”)
Sbj  subject
Sbj/Obj bidirectional case marker
Sbjn subjunctive
Seq  sequential
Sg   singular
Stat stative
V    a) verb (in e.g. “SOV order”)
b) vowel (in names of phonological rules)
v    vowel (in formulae like CvCv)
(v) verb, in interlinear glosses like ‘fight (v)’
VblN verbal noun
VP   verb phrase

Symbols
*
reconstructed
#
ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested
/L/, /LH/, etc.
lexical tone melody of a stem
<HL>, <LH>, <LML>
contour-toned syllable, e.g. <HL>, <LH>, <LML>
M.M.H, etc. syllable-by-syllable tone pattern of a word
→ gradient prolongation of final segment of a word
= clitic boundary

Tone diacritics on vowels
á, etc. high tone (H)
à, etc. low tone (L)
ã, etc. mid tone (M)
â, etc. falling high-low tone (HL)
ã, etc. falling mid-low tone (ML)
ǎ, etc. lexical low-high (LH) or sandhi-induced low-mid (LM) tone
ã, etc. bell-shaped tone (LML)
Index

1. selected morphemes

notes:
in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;
alphabetization: ɛ follows e, ɔ follows o, nasals ordered n then ɲ then ŋ;
atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;
not all variants due to tone sandhi are presented;
verb-stem pairings shown in Pfv/Ipfv format

a
   à (ã) 3Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
   āā 2Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
   āⁿ 2Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
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e
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- ē 1PI pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

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- gà/gā b) ‘until’, post-subject, §15.7.2.2
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gilí ‘since’, §15.7.3.1

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ŋ

ŋ 1Sg subject pronominal clitic, perfective positive, §4.3.1
ŋ a) 1Sg subject pronominal clitic, except in perfective positive, §4.3.1
ŋ b) 3Sg anaphoric pronominal clitic
   3Sg reflexive object, possessor
   3Sg reflexive subject (subordinated clause)
   3Sg logophoric
c) pseudo-reflexive (transpersonal)
   in adjectival predicates
ŋ (+H) 1Sg clitic (possessor, object, or postpositional complement), §4.3.1, §3.6.3.1.1

pa

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   pā-lēw’ ‘a little’, §8.4.4.2
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wùlḕ  
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ya

yà = (yā = ) contraction of yè

yāālōⁿ  
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ye

yè (yē)  
a) bidirectional case marker separating otherwise adjacent subject and object  
(perfective positive)
b) ‘said’, invariant form in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts

  y → j after nasal, §3.4.2.4

yè-hini  
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yèⁿ  
a) ‘and’, §7.1.1

b) plural imperative

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