

# **A Grammar of Cliffs Jenaama (Bozo, Mali)**

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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)
	Tiɛma Cɛwɛ	Lac Débo
	Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo	Diafarabé, pockets near Djenné
	Kelenga (= Hainyaxo)	Ké-Macina near Ségou
	Jenaama (= Sorogaama)	Djenné, Mopti, Konna, Youwarou, Lac Débo

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 Korondugu” (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 pààlè-àmà, from pààlèy ‘cliff zone’, i.e. the area along the western escarpment away from the river. The nearby riverine Jenaama varieties are called būr-āmā, from bürger ‘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. pààlè-àmà (Cliffs Jenaama)			
	Bolimba	wóndópà	Karambé
	Bombori-Saré	bōmbōlī-kūwōnì	Cissé
	Dani-Saré	dàànì-kúwónì	Bako
	Goumbo	gūmbō	Bamani
	Kargué	kàrgèw <sup>n</sup>	Traoré
	Kayel-Toupé	kāātūbè	Bamani
	Madougou	mààlù	Traoré
	Namagué	nògù-bèw <sup>n</sup>	Traoré
b. būr-āmā (part of Mopti-Konna Jenaama)			
	Bima	bimà	Traoré
	Bogo	bògò	(unknown)
	Djambakourou	jààngūlì	Fofana
	Foussi	nùùfilè	Soumaré
	Kama	kāāmà	(unknown)
	Konna	kōnà	Kampo
	Koubi	kóbī	(unknown)
	Kotaga	kèràā	(unknown)
	Saingo	séngèw <sup>n</sup>	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.

nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup> ‘Namagué’ is a compound with initial nògù ‘village’ and final resembling bēw<sup>n</sup>/bēn-dē ‘go back’. However, locals have more colorful etymologies. One is a borrowing from Bambara *námá gè<sup>n</sup>* ‘hunt hyena’. The other is nògù bē ‘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) prohibit 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			
	u	(absent)	back unrounded vowel
	3	2	number of distinct tone levels
b. morphological			
	gù ~ gū	-yaw <sup>n</sup>	definite/definite singular
	ē	í <sup>n</sup>	1Pl pronoun
	yè <sup>n</sup>	sínì ~ sání	‘and’ (nominal conjunction)
	bwēỹ, pà	pà	‘with’ (comitative postposition)
	lāgà	dáà	‘for’ (purposive postposition, opaquely cognate)
	gà ~ Ø	gà	remote perfective/all-purpose reflexive
	nà	tà	imperfective negative
	bāynà gà	gíyè gà bé	experiential perfect
	(absent)	kíni <sup>n</sup> ~ kúnú	progressive
	gālà	nà	subjunctive
	kōndō	tù <sup>n</sup> ~ tì <sup>n</sup>	‘was/were’ (part of past imperfective etc.)
	gà X nì	X té(?)	‘isn’t X’
c. lexicon			
	pōgō, màà	kì <sup>n</sup> yè	‘want’
	jénā <sup>n</sup>	díyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘child’ (opaquely cognate)
	pwō	fá	‘thing’ (opaquely cognate)

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

If it is collectively decided at some point that 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 kèlèmpōgòy) 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 Lauschwitzky. 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.

Lauschwitzky 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 Lauschwitzky recognizes just two for Djambakourou. Since Djenné Jenaama also has just two tone levels, I have no reason to doubt Lauschwitzky's analysis. Secondly, Namagué but not Djambakourou has an additional full-fledged vowel quality (back unrounded u) that is apparently not otherwise known in the region, and a somewhat marginal rounded glide ɥ 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 Lauschwitzky 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

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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)    sèédù        gà            sūgē-ē        sà-nà        síbàw<sup>n</sup>  
      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 e 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 ā<sup>n</sup>, 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)	à	gē=	è	k̄5-l̄5
	3Sg	Ipfv	3Pl	hit-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 mono- and bimoraic syllables.

(7)	tone(s)	<i>ma</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>maw</i>
	H	má	máá	máw
	M	mā	māā	māw
	L	mà	màà	màw
	<HL>	mâ	mââ	mâw
	<ML>	m̄	m̄â	m̄w
	<LM>	mă	măâ	măw
	<LML>	m̄	m̄â (or m̄â)	m̄w (or m̄w)

Note in particular that *mă* 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. *sógó* ‘milk’, *sōgō* ‘day (unit)’, and *sògò* ‘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 C̀̀C̄ 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 nàā before an L-tone. I am not confident that there is any consistent phonetic distinction between C̀̀C̄ and C̀̀C̄́, but using C̀̀C̄́ and C̀̀C̄ 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 ñ (+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 ñ (+H) (§4.3.4) and the two pronominal demonstratives, k̀̀<sup>n</sup> (+M) and p̀̀<sup>n</sup> (+M) (§4.4.2, §6.5.1.1). The floating tone is realized, if at all, on the following stem. After 1Sg ñ (+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. ñ (+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  $\bar{\eta}$  in the perfective positive, i.e. with zero post-subject inflectional particle or with bidirectional case-marker allomorph  $=n\grave{a}^n$ , and  $\grave{\eta}$  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 *kō-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/kō-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. dīgā ‘eat (something)’ versus antipassive dīgē ‘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) |
| nà(w) <sup>n</sup> /nā(w) <sup>n</sup> | ‘if/when’, in perfective positive conditional antecedents        |
| tè                                     | perfective negative  |
| gà/gā                                  | imperfective positive  |
| gà/gā                                  | ‘until.Pfv’ (perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses, §15.7.2.2)  |
| nà/nā                                  | imperfective negative  |
| gālā                                   | subjunctive  |
| mà <sup>n</sup> /mā <sup>n</sup>       | prohibitive  |
- b. immediately postverbal
- |    |                   |
|----|-------------------|
| gà | remote perfective |
|----|-------------------|

There are three gà 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 āṅ gā), while the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates (e.g. 2Sg āṅ gà), 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 pronominal demonstratives  $\text{pò}^n$  'that (same)' and  $\text{kò}^n$  '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:  $\bar{\eta}$  as perfective positive subject (with zero post-subject inflectional particle),  $\eta$  as subject of clauses with nonzero particle, and 1Sg  $\eta$  (+H) as object. However, the latter also occurs in possessor and postpositional-complement functions.

A few important postpositions are in (10).

(10)	$\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}$	dative
	$\text{n}\bar{\alpha}$	dative (more limited distribution)
	$\text{n}\bar{\imath}$	instrumental
	$\text{bw}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}$	comitative ('with, by')
	$\text{p}\bar{\alpha}$	comitative ('with, by')
	$\text{n}\bar{\imath}\bar{\eta}\bar{\imath}$	locative ('inside')
	$\text{l}\bar{\alpha}\bar{g}\bar{\alpha}$	purposive-causal ('for' or 'because of')

The most common locative is expressed as a suffix (or enclitic)  $-\bar{\imath}$ , 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  $\text{m}\bar{\alpha}\text{w}^n$  (or variant  $\text{m}\bar{\delta}^n$ ), plural  $\text{m}\bar{\alpha}\text{-l}\bar{\epsilon}$ , 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.

- (11) [p̄ m̄<sup>n</sup>] [dúgún gú] tūn-nī ḡà ḡù  
 [thing **Rel**] [forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv Def  
 ‘the thing that made the forest disappear’ (2017-03 @ 02:06)

In addition to classic restrictive relative-clause function, m̄w<sup>n</sup> may also introduce a referentially variable (nonspecific) entity (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘some time’, etc.). In combination with s̄ā<sup>n</sup> ‘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 ḡà fills the post-subject inflectional position in positive subjunctive complements. It is replaced by prohibitive m̄<sup>n</sup>/m̄ā<sup>n</sup> 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 sò/sò ‘go’, and three others of the shape Cwv or Cyv (§10.1.2.2). For Cv nouns I can cite only pā as premodifier form of pwō ‘thing’ (§4.1.2, §6.1.2), and sō̃ ‘needle, awl’, but the final nasalization of the latter counts as a mora. There are many Cvv<sup>n</sup> stems that reduce to Cv<sup>(n)</sup> in most clause-medial positions.

Onsets may be Cw and less often Cy rather than just C (§3.2.11.2). There are a few words, mostly borrowings, that begin with NC, i.e. a nasal-stop cluster (§3.2.11.1). The nasal does not bear an independent tone and NC could be analysed as a prenasalized consonant. By contrast, nasal proclitics like 1Sg allomorphs ṅ and ṅ̄ 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 ends in what I transcribe (in citation forms) as w<sup>n</sup>. It functions as a nasal archiphoneme. The pronunciation w<sup>n</sup> 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. w<sup>n</sup> can disappear entirely due to vv-Contraction at boundaries (vw<sup>n</sup>#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. tóndō ‘agama lizard’ should be syllabified (tón-dō or tó-ndō ?), 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 māāṅgòró ‘mango’ and kāāṅgō ‘vetiver (grass sp.)’, have superheavy CvvN syllables or just Cvv. The same point applies to words with rare medial triple clusters like tòlmbé ‘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 (C̀̀, C̀̀̀̀, C̀̀C̀̀̀) and heavy (e.g. C̀̀C̀̀̀C̀̀̀̀) 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+ C̀̀C̀̀̀ → C̀́C̀́́. Heavy stems stop the advance of the floating H-tone at the first syllable, e.g. H+ C̀̀C̀̀̀C̀̀̀̀ → C̀́C̀̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ (§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

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

notes: stop j is IPA [t͡ʃ], 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 C̀́C̀̀̀. 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 w<sup>n</sup>, but it is unstable except in prepausal position (§3.2.10.1). Other semivowels that can occur finally are y (§3.2.9), y<sup>n</sup> (§3.2.10.1), and in one case ɥ (§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, káámū ‘doum palm (and fruit)’ is the initial in káám-kòléw<sup>n</sup> ‘pit of doum-palm fruit’, while sālì ‘prayer, holy day’ occurs in the noun-adjective collocation sàl dègè-náw<sup>n</sup> ‘small(er) holy day’ (at the end of Ramadan). In other cases the noun is compound-like but the initial is opaque: kòn-dyéw<sup>n</sup> ‘circumcised boy’.

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

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

### 3.2.2 Palatoalveolar glide (ɥ)

This glide is the semivowel equivalent of high front rounded vowel (IPA [y]). The vowel itself does not occur in Jenaama. ɥ 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		
	ɥèè/ɥèē	‘open’	
	ɥīī/ɥīī-lì	‘winnow by shaking’	

b. stem-medial

*intervocalic*

sùɥè/sùɥē      ‘cook, do cooking’      cf. transitive sùwð/sùwō ‘cook (sth)’

kùɥè/kùɥē      ‘steal’

*in consonant cluster*

tùɥè/tùɥē      ‘approach’ (related to ‘be short; be near’ below)

*word-final*

tùɥ      ‘be short; be near’

Stem-initial ɥ is rare but is attested before a front vowel in two verbs (13a). One could argue that ɥ here is an allophone of w before front vowels. Disregarding initial Cw clusters (kwīi/kwīi-li ‘roll up’), my only example of stem-initial unpalatalized w before a front vowel is the Fulfulde loanword wēētà ‘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 ɯ}, in some cases combined with a following front vowel. The alternation of sùɥè/sùɥē with its transitive counterpart sùwð/sùwō reflects a final-vowel mutation (§9.3.1.1), and constitutes the only known case of ɥ versus w in similar environments. There are few contrasting examples of intervocalic w after high vowel and before front vowel, but I can cite púwē ‘burrow (n)’.

### 3.2.3 Alveopalatals (c j)

Voiceless c occurs word-initially chiefly before front vowels {i e ε} and semivowel y, as in cyēw<sup>n</sup>/cyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘carry on head’ and cēbù/cēbù ‘put (sth) up (on sth)’. However, there is no synchronic process converting either t or k to c before such vowels, as shown by tīw<sup>n</sup>/tī-nà ‘do’ and kiyèw<sup>n</sup>/kiyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘arrive’ among other examples. c is rare before other vowels, but the noun ‘dust’ has variants cōllò and sōllò.

Voiced stop j occurs word-initially and occasionally word-medially, before a wide range of vowel qualities. Word-initial examples are jīr<sup>n</sup> ‘year’, jénā<sup>n</sup> ‘child, young person’, jōō ‘borassus palm’, jùgù ‘boubou (garment)’, and jáŋā<sup>n</sup> ‘shed, stall’. Medial examples are gèjé ‘arrow’ (variant gēsē) and tàjí ‘square basket’.

### 3.2.4 Labial fricative f

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

f in Djenné Jenaama usually corresponds to p in Cliffs, e.g. Cliffs pwð/pð-lò ‘sit’ versus Djenné f(w)ð/fð-rò.

### 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 intervocalically 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 ʔ)

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 hīisà/hīisà ‘count’ and híílā ‘trick, stratagem’.

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

### 3.2.8 Sibilants (s ʃ z ʒ)

ʒ occurs in a few French loans like ʒāndārmū ‘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, hīnì/hīnì ‘be able to’ corresponds to Djenné Jenaama hìnì ~ sìnì.

ʃ and s contrast before front vowels {i e ε}. ʃ is not attested before low or back vowels.

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

{l w y} freely occur stem-initially: lōgū ‘mouth’, yōgō ‘shout (n)’, wàŋgé ‘hare’. All of these consonants are common intervocalically and are attested as first member of medial consonant clusters. There is no restriction against yi or wu sequences: wùù ‘night’, yìràw<sup>n</sup>/yìrān-nà ‘help (v)’. r is attested stem-initially only in the Fulfulde borrowing rēēnà/rēēnà ‘be safe’, used chiefly in greeting formulae.

{l r w y} are common intervocalically: kàlè/kàlè ‘die’, pēērè/pēērè ‘rip, tear’, būwò/būwò-lò ‘do herding’, pìyēè/pìyēè-lè ‘lick’.

y occurs word-finally after low or back vowel: kày/kà-nà ‘see’, tōy ‘new’. I have no examples of word-final w, but final nasalized w<sup>n</sup> is common (see below).

### 3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants

There are no cases of stem-initial w<sup>n</sup>, y<sup>n</sup>, or r<sup>n</sup>. Semivowels w<sup>n</sup> and y<sup>n</sup> occur in other positions (§3.2.10.1 just below), while r<sup>n</sup> is not clearly established as a phoneme (§3.2.10.2).

#### 3.2.10.1 Status of w<sup>n</sup> and y<sup>n</sup>

Stem-final y<sup>n</sup> occurs in three stems after a low vowel: kāy<sup>n</sup> ‘work (n)’ (and related verb forms), māy<sup>n</sup>/māỹ<sup>n</sup> ‘ruin, damage’, mày<sup>n</sup> ‘be good’ (stative).

Stem-final w<sup>n</sup> is common in stems after any vowel qualities except u or o. Examples of noun stems: kùwò-tōmōw<sup>n</sup> ‘patas monkey’, kòbéw<sup>n</sup> ‘(finger-)nail’, nàw<sup>n</sup> ‘mother’, and dāràmà-yīw<sup>n</sup> ‘maize’, and diminutive suffix -lēw<sup>n</sup>. There are also many adjectives and numerals ending in w<sup>n</sup>. There are some verbs that have final w<sup>n</sup> in both Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. cyēw̃<sup>n</sup>/cyēw̃<sup>n</sup> ‘carry on head’, and others that have final w<sup>n</sup> only in the Pfv while the Ipfv adds a nasal suffix, e.g. kāw<sup>n</sup>/kā-nā ‘draw (milk)’. As these verb doublets suggest, stem-final w<sup>n</sup> is unstable. The w<sup>n</sup> 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 Cv<sup>n</sup>wv<sup>n</sup> and Cv<sup>n</sup>w<sup>n</sup>v, between Cv<sup>n</sup>yv<sup>n</sup> and Cv<sup>n</sup>y<sup>n</sup>v, and between Cv<sup>n</sup>rv<sup>n</sup> and Cv<sup>n</sup>r<sup>n</sup>v (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, kùmù ‘sleep (n)’ does not “grow” a homorganic nasal in kùmù bē [kùmùbē] ‘sleep came’, but sūmū<sup>n</sup> ‘visitor’ does grow one in sūmūm bē ‘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 y<sup>n</sup> is brought out by (14). On the right, nouns are followed by the verb bē ‘came’ or the adverb bōw̃<sup>n</sup> ‘here’, both b-initial. In the phonetic transcriptions in (14c), the under-tilde is used instead of superscript <sup>n</sup> for vocalic nasalization to avoid diacritic clutter.

(14) stem gloss with bē ‘came’ or bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’

a. Ciyv<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

with ε<sup>n</sup>

cīyè<sup>n</sup> ‘gathering (n)’ cīyèm bē

with o<sup>n</sup>

tìyò<sup>n</sup> ‘ax’ tìyòm bē

b. Cvvyv<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C and initial vowel other than i

‘long, tall’

kōjā<sup>n</sup> ‘long’ (modifying) kōjām bē

c. Niy<sup>n</sup>v with nasal N

mīy<sup>n</sup>ē ‘flea’ mīy<sup>n</sup>ē bē [mīj<sup>n</sup>ēbē]

mìy<sup>n</sup>è ‘fishing (n)’ mìy<sup>n</sup>è bē [mìj<sup>n</sup>èbē]

mìy<sup>n</sup>è ‘fish (v)’ mìy<sup>n</sup>è bōw<sup>n</sup> [mìj<sup>n</sup>èbōw<sup>n</sup>]

ṅīy<sup>n</sup>ē ‘pity (n)’ ṅīy<sup>n</sup>ē bē [ṅīj<sup>n</sup>ēbē]

In isolation, both vowels of each stem in (14c) are phonetically nasalized, e.g. [mīj<sup>n</sup>ē]. 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 y<sup>n</sup> 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 y<sup>n</sup>. I return to this question below.

Consider now the stems that have a final yv<sup>n</sup> syllable (15). Except when prepausal, the w<sup>n</sup> 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-spreading 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 w<sup>n</sup>, so the whole word sounds nasalized.

(15) stem gloss with bē ‘came’ or bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’

a. Ciy<sup>(n)</sup>vw<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

‘hot’

pīyāw<sup>n</sup> ‘heat (n)’ pīyām bē [pījāmbē]

pīyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘get hot’ (Pfv) pīyēm bōw<sup>n</sup> [pījēmbōw<sup>n</sup>]

pīyē-nā ‘hot’ —

pīyē-nī ‘heat (v)’ (Pfv) —

<i>‘dirty’</i>				
pìyèw <sup>n</sup>	‘filth, dirt’	pìyèm bē	[pìjɛ̃mbē]	
pìyè-nā nì	‘be dirty’			
<i>‘heavy’</i>				
cīyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘heavy’ (predicate)	cīyēm bōw <sup>n</sup>	[cījɛ̃mbōw <sup>n</sup> ]	
<i>‘arrive’</i>				
kìyèw <sup>n</sup>	‘arrive’ (Pfv)	kìyèm bōw <sup>n</sup>	[kìjɛ̃mbōw <sup>n</sup> ]	
<i>‘shadow’</i>				
yíyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘shadow’	yíyém bē	[jijɛ̃mbē]	
<i>‘sorghum’</i>				
síyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘sorghum grains’	síyém bē	[sijɛ̃mbē]	

b. Niy<sup>n</sup>vw<sup>n</sup> with nasal N

<i>‘head’</i>				
nìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup>	‘head’	nìy <sup>n</sup> èm bē	[nìjɛ̃mbē]	
<i>‘easy’</i>				
nìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup>	‘easy’ (predicate)	nìy <sup>n</sup> èm bōw <sup>n</sup>	[nìjɛ̃mbōw <sup>n</sup> ]	
nīyè-gù	‘easy’ (modifying)			
<i>‘thin’</i>				
mìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup>	‘thin’ (predicate)	mìy <sup>n</sup> èm bōw <sup>n</sup>	[mìjɛ̃mbōw <sup>n</sup> ]	
mīyè-gù	‘thin’ (modifying)			

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

I now consider the question whether the better established medial y<sup>n</sup> in mīy<sup>n</sup>ē ‘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 Nvyv to Nvy<sup>n</sup>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 y<sup>n</sup> versus y in predicative nìy<sup>n</sup>èw<sup>n</sup> and mìy<sup>n</sup>èw versus modifying nìyè-gù ‘easy’ and mìyè-gù ‘thin’. In the modifying forms with suffix -gù, the medial ε is not phonetically nasalized, so the medial y cannot be transcribed as nasalized. This shows that the stems are lexically nìyè and mìyè, and their medial y is subject to secondary nasalization only when flanked by nasals on both sides.

Medial w<sup>(n)</sup> behaves essentially like medial y<sup>(n)</sup>. A final nasalized ɔ<sup>n</sup> or o<sup>n</sup> or vowel plus w<sup>n</sup> 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 bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’

a. Cuwv<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

with o<sup>n</sup>

búwō <sup>n</sup>	‘mortar’	búwóm bē	[búwómbē]
būwō <sup>n</sup>	‘horn’	būwóm bē	[būwōmbē]
dūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘hunger’	dūwóm bē	[dūwōmbē]
dùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘cheek’	dùwóm bē	[dùwómbē]
kùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘flank’	kùwóm bē	[kùwómbē]
pùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘water lily’	pùwóm bē	[pùwómbē]
pùw <sup>n</sup> ó <sup>n</sup>	‘fonio (grain)’	pùwóm bē	[pùwómbē]

with ɔ<sup>n</sup>

kūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘bone’	kūwóm bē	[kūwōmbē]
kúwō <sup>n</sup>	‘husband’	kúwóm bē	[kúwōmbē]

b. Nuw<sup>n</sup>v with nasal N

‘ripe’

mùw<sup>n</sup>ḏ-nà ‘ripe’ (participle)  
 distributive mùw<sup>n</sup>ḏ-mùw<sup>n</sup>ḏ-nà  
 cf. verb mwḏ<sup>n</sup>/mḏḏ<sup>n</sup> ‘ripen’

c. Cuwvw<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

‘small’

dùwḏw <sup>n</sup>	‘small’ (predicate)	dùwḏm bōw <sup>n</sup>	[dùwḏmbōw <sup>n</sup> ]
	distributive	dùwḏn-dùwḏw <sup>n</sup>	[dùwḏndùwḏw <sup>n</sup> ]
dūwḏ-gù	‘small’ (modifying)		

3.2.10.2 r<sup>n</sup> not a phoneme

There is no good evidence for phonemically nasalized tap r<sup>n</sup>. In the noun mūrū ‘donation to poor (after Ramadan)’ and the verb mūrī/mūrì ‘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 kùrù<sup>n</sup> ‘(be) short’ and those of dàràrà-yīw<sup>n</sup> ‘maize’ are not phonetically nasalized. r does sound nasalized in nàràw<sup>n</sup> ‘four’, variant of nàtàw<sup>n</sup>, 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 ŋg} and {mp nt ɲc ŋk} 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	
	mb/mp	mbāgārēēwù	‘cheetah’	(from an old speaker)
	nd/nt	ndūɲāā <sup>n</sup>	‘world (of the living)’	
	nj/ɲc	[none]		
	ŋg/ŋk	ŋgàà	‘but’	
		ŋgàlù	‘city’	
		ŋkàlà (~ kàlà)	‘except’; ‘must’; also in greetings	

In ŋgàà and in the full pronunciation ŋkàlà 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 bē ndūɲāān nìŋì ‘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 ~ ŋ̄, Logo/3Ref1Sg ŋ̄), 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 wùù ‘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
	<i>with long vowel</i>	
	kwāā/kā-lā	‘hit’
	kwàà <sup>n</sup> /kwàā <sup>n</sup>	‘be afraid’
	kwēē <sup>n</sup> /kwēē <sup>n</sup> -nē	‘sweep’
	kwīī/kwīī-lì	‘roll up (mat)’

mwàà/mwàā	‘become cold, cool’
mwēē <sup>n</sup> /mwēè <sup>n</sup>	‘massage’
<i>with short vowel</i>	
bwō/bwō	‘burn’
dwō/dō-lō	‘enter’
dwī/dwī	‘stone-grind; crush’
kwē/kwē	‘stretch out (arms, legs)’
pwò/pò-là	‘sit’
wwō/wwō	‘weep’

b. adjectival predicates

kwāā <sup>n</sup> /kwāā <sup>n</sup>	‘be white, clean’	variant kōō <sup>n</sup> ; as modifier: kūwōw <sup>n</sup>
mwàà-nà	‘be cold’	as modifier: mūwā-nā
wwō-nà	‘be dry; be hard’	as modifier: wūwò-nà

c. modifying adjectives

wwō <sup>n</sup> -wwō <sup>n</sup>	‘empty’
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d. nouns

bwò	‘peer, age-mate’
kwàà <sup>n</sup>	‘rain (n)’
kwī	‘terrestrial monitor liquid’
ŋwèw <sup>n</sup>	‘millet or rice cake’
pwō	‘thing’ (variant pō- in some combinations)
pwì <sup>n</sup> -wōbō	‘swelling due to disease’

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

Other stems that I analyse as beginning with Cuw, for example pūwō/pūwò ‘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 Cuwv and Cwv 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 C̄v/C̄v or C̄v/C̄v, e.g. bē/bē ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’. By contrast, no CvCv verb is of the tonal type #C̄vC̄v/C̄vC̄v or #C̄vC̄v/C̄vC̄v with the same tone (M or L) throughout both Pfv and Ipfv. Unlike bwō/bwō ‘burn’ and wwō/wwō ‘weep’, verbs like pūwō/pūwò ‘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 C̄vC̄v/C̄vC̄v or C̄vC̄v/C̄vC̄v. 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 mwð<sup>n</sup>/mṵṵ<sup>n</sup> ‘ripen’ and its participle mùw<sup>n</sup>ḏ-nà ‘ripe’. A more extreme example is stative predicate kwāā<sup>n</sup> ‘be white’, participle kwāā-nā, but modifying kūwō<sup>n</sup> ‘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		related forms
		cyēw <sup>n</sup> /cyēṵ <sup>n</sup>	‘carry on head’
		cṵēṵ <sup>n</sup> / cṵē-nè	‘weave (basket)’
	b. sy		
		syē/syē	‘put in’
			sy = ā-ṵ ‘put (sth) in it’ (§9.3.3)

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

The adjective ‘heavy’ has postnominal modifying form cīyēw<sup>n</sup> ~ cīyōw<sup>n</sup>. By analogy to the adjectival predicates in (18b) above, we might expect a predicative form beginning #cyēē<sup>n</sup> or the like. The actual predicative form is cīyēw<sup>n</sup> ~ cīyōw<sup>n</sup>, 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 tëndé ‘well (n)’, wòmbò ‘hollowed-out trunk’, dèṅgè ‘lower jaw’, and kḏṅjì ‘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. ṅk	tóṅkónō	‘duck’
	mp	sūmpōrō	‘tick’
	nt	kàlāmàntùṅó	‘giant millipede’
	ɲc	tègèɲcím	‘forehead’
	b. md	tēēmdērē	‘hundred’

c.	yn	māynī	‘natural catastrophe’
	yg	kùygù	‘blacksmith’
	rn	kòòrnò	‘carp’ (variant of kòrònò)
	rm	zāndārmū	‘gendarme’
d.	sk	mìskìinà-àmà	‘poverty’
	bd	àsābdì	‘Saturday’
e.	ll	cōllò ~ sōllò	‘dust’

Tonal behavior is generally similar for CvCv, CvNCv, and longer verb stems (§10.1.2.1). However, the floating H of 1Sg object ñ (+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 tòlmbé ‘hornbill (bird)’ and the (borrowed) verb hāyndè ‘amaze, astonish’. The variants dòlùmbé ~ dòlmbé ‘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’ dālm-bī-gē, now mostly supplanted by jēnām-bī-gē ‘children’ (contrast H-toned singular jénā ‘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 Ipv 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)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss	verbal noun	gloss
	a. intransitive has same medial consonant as verbal noun			
	sīw <sup>n</sup> /sī-nī	‘bite’	sīnē	‘biting’
	kwāā/kō-lā	‘hit’	kōlē	‘hitting’
	b. n/m alternation			
	kūū <sup>n</sup> /kū-nū	‘catch’	kūmē	‘catching’

Some of the same verbs, and others, have intransitivized stems (antipassive or mediopassive) ending in e/ε (§9.3.1.1). The available data show the same medial consonants as in verbal nouns of the type in (21). Thus kūū<sup>n</sup>/kū-nū ‘catch’, antipassive kūmē/kūmè ‘(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 \*sini, \*kōla, and perhaps \*kumu. If so, they were reduced to monosyllabic shape as Pfv verbs, and the Ipv of ‘catch’ may have been reshaped to kū-nū by analogy to verbs like ‘bite’.

### 3.2.12.2 bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’

The verb ‘exit, go out’ has Pfv bāā (dialectally also bā) and Ipv bā-lā. There is a suffixed verbal noun bāā-gū based on the Pfv. Comparison with kwāā/kō-lā ‘hit’, mentioned in the preceding section, suggests the possibility that bāā reflects \*bālā, in which case the Ipv preserves the original bisyllabic form of the stem. In Djenné Jenaama, the verb is bá/bá-rá, which belongs to a fairly productive class with Ipv suffix -RV.

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

## 3.3 Vowels

The inventory of vowel qualities is (22). All qualities occur long and short, and oral and nasalized.

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

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 ʊ. 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 ʊ

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 tūū with initial alveolar, and ‘steal’ in (23a) has a final ε vowel.

(23)	form	gloss	Djenné Jenaama cognate
	a. after k		
	kùù/kùū	‘run’	kìyè/kìyē ‘run’
	kūū/kūù	‘catch fire’	kìyè-nì <sup>n</sup> /kìyè-nī <sup>n</sup> ‘turn on (light)’
	kùùè/kùùē	‘steal’	kwèè/kwèē ‘steal’
	kūū	‘moon, month’	kóó ‘moon, month’
	kùù (1)	‘maternal uncle’	kòò-kèèwù ‘maternal uncle’
	kùù (2)	‘shea tree’	kòò ‘shea tree ( <i>Vitellaria</i> )’
	kūū <sup>n</sup>	‘a certain (one)’	(see comment below)
	kùù <sup>n</sup>	‘pit, hole’	kìyè <sup>n</sup> ‘pit, hole’
	kúígū	‘thigh’	kíyè ‘thigh’
	kùlù	‘baobab’	kèrè ‘baobab’
	kāṅāṅ-kùyù <sup>n</sup>	‘termitary’	—

from old men, forms and glosses need checking:

kúúú <sup>n</sup>	‘roan antelope’	kòó ‘roan antelope’
kùúúm	‘eagel sp.’	kòó <sup>n</sup> ‘fish eagle’ ( <i>Haliaeetus</i> )
kōnī-kūūù	‘green pigeon’	—

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

gūgūjō/gūgūjò	‘bite off’	—
gūlū	‘bat (mammal)’	géré <sup>n</sup> ‘bat’
gūū <sup>n</sup> ~ gūyū <sup>n</sup>	‘place’	gíyé <sup>n</sup> ‘place’

from old men, needs checking:

gūlūm-gūjū	‘agave’ (?)	—
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c. other

pā tūū nī	‘new (thing)’	twèè ‘new’
(variant pā tōy nī)		

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 kēw ‘moon, month’ and kèw ‘maternal uncle’, corresponding to Cliffs kūū and kùù. Within Cliffs, the quantificational adjective kūū<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain (one)’, always singular, is likely related to the numeral kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’, though the connection is synchronically opaque. Similarly, the noun gūū<sup>n</sup> ‘place’ has an idiosyncratic iterative form gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> varying with gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> 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.

(24)	Djambakourou	Mopti	gloss	page
a.	toi		‘new’	11
b.	kóó	kéú	‘moon’	11
c.	kèé		‘to steal’	10
d.	kìé		‘to run’	24
e.	kie		‘to light’	24

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

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

(25)	form	gloss
	a. before u	
	kūū <sup>n</sup> /kū-nū	‘catch’
	kùgù	‘daytime’
	gūnū <sup>n</sup>	‘courtyard’
	b. before o	
	kògò	‘newly built house’
	kōlō	‘Nile monitor lizard’
	gòró	‘kola nut’
	c. before e	
	kèŋgé	‘dream (n)’
	kégú	‘cream of millet’
	gēy	‘herb with potato-like tuber ( <i>Raphionacme</i> )’
	d. before ε	
	kēlē	‘fight’
	kēēgū	‘man’
	gèjé	‘arrow’

uu 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’, jīī ‘(be) bad’, dāā<sup>n</sup> ‘distant’, mūū<sup>n</sup>/mū-nū ‘insult (v)’, and ʋèè/ʋèē ‘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’, sē/sē ‘say’, kò/kò ‘provide (with)’, and dō/dō ‘give’. There is also a stative adjectival predicate kō<sup>n</sup> ‘(be) many, numerous’, and there are a handful of Cwv 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 pwō 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 CvvCv. 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 (kāābūūsì ‘pistol’).

(26)	shape	stem	gloss
	CvvCv	bāānā	‘manner’
		gùùsú <sup>n</sup>	‘giant pouched rat’
	CvCvv	hìnēē	‘what one can, one’s best’
		jàmáá <sup>n</sup>	‘crowd’
	CvCvCv	kàbārī	‘news’
		màsírī	‘jewelry’
	CvvCvCv	pūūtūrù	‘red ochre’
		wààjíbí	‘obligation’
	CvCvvCv	àlāābà	‘Wednesday’
		dùgáálā	‘stone-ground millet’
	CvCvCvv	kìrikēē	‘saddle’
		màsàkūù	‘sweet potato’

Among vowel-length minimal pairs are kūūnū/kūūnù ‘crawl’ versus Ipfv kū-nū ‘catches’, and pēērè/pēērē ‘rip, tear’ versus pērè/pērē ‘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 tēēmdērē ‘hundred’.

Most stem-final syllables have short vowels. Some with final long vowels are the Pfv’s in pìyēē/pìyē-lè ‘lick’ and sùwōò/sùwō-lò ‘sing’, and the nouns kèbāà ‘flint lighter’ and kìrikēē ‘saddle (n)’.

### 3.3.3 Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels occur chiefly in word- or morpheme-final position, with vowels of any quality. Examples not involving nasal consonants include pīī<sup>n</sup> ‘black’, sùgū<sup>n</sup> ‘harvested rice heap’, búwō<sup>n</sup> ‘mortar’, sō<sup>n</sup> ‘needle’, kēlēŋ-kālā<sup>n</sup> ‘forked stick’, síyē<sup>n</sup> ‘sorghum kernels’, and 2Sg pronominal ā<sup>n</sup>.

Nasalized vowels in nonfinal syllables not involving a nasal consonant are rare. Aside from compounds, I can cite dò<sup>n</sup>sò ‘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 kú<sup>n</sup>wó ‘bone’ (Cliffs kūwō<sup>n</sup>).

Vowels following nasal or nasalized consonants are subject to a degree of phonetic nasalization. However, the difference between e.g. na and na<sup>n</sup> 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 [nət], while phonemic na<sup>n</sup> combines with it as [nənt], 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 ē (§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 àrjō<sup>n</sup> ‘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: kārāndē ‘tamarind’, kāsò ‘jail’, kèbà ‘marriage ceremony’.



### 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 $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$ )

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  $l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  in plural categories:  $\bar{e}-l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  ‘we’ (also logophoric plural),  $\bar{e}-l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  ‘they’,  $\bar{a}\bar{a}-l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  ‘you-PI’. The singular pronouns are 1Sg  $\bar{n}-d\bar{g}\bar{d}$ , logophoric singular  $\bar{n}-d\bar{g}\bar{d}$ , 2Sg  $\bar{a}\bar{n}-d\bar{g}\bar{d}$ , and 3Sg  $w\bar{d}\bar{g}\bar{d}$ , the latter with an uncommon variant  $l\bar{g}\bar{d}$ . All except the unsegmentable 3Sg  $w\bar{d}\bar{g}\bar{d} \sim l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  are transcribed with hyphens. Taking  $l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  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,  $d\bar{u}w\bar{d} \sim l\bar{u}w\bar{d}$  occurs in independent pronouns and also as plural focus marker. In Cliffs,  $l\bar{g}\bar{d}$  does not function as a focus marker.

Interrogative topic (QTop)  $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$  shows  $l \rightarrow d$  in 1Sg  $\bar{n}-d\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , logophoric singular  $\bar{n}-d\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , and optionally in 2Sg  $\bar{a}\bar{n} l\bar{a}\bar{a} \sim \bar{a}\bar{n}-d\bar{a}\bar{a}$  (§19.1.2). The  $-d\bar{a}\bar{a}$  forms are written with hyphens.

There is no general  $l \rightarrow d$  rule even after nasals. For example,  $l\bar{g}\bar{u}$  ‘mouth’ has possessed forms including  $\bar{n} l\bar{g}\bar{u}$  ‘my mouth’ and  $\bar{a}\bar{n} l\bar{g}\bar{u}$  ‘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  $\bar{e}$ , 2Sg  $\bar{a}^n$ , 2Pl  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , 3Sg  $\bar{a}$ , 3Pl  $\bar{e}$ ). 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  $\bar{a}^n$  (as subject) can combine with 3Sg  $\bar{a}$  (as object), resulting in contracted  $\bar{a} = \bar{a}$  (§3.4.2.3), and 2Sg  $\bar{a}^n$  can combine with itself (as reflexive object), resulting in  $\bar{a}^{(n)} = \bar{a}^n$  (§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  $\bar{v}$  plus  $\bar{v}$  is realized as  $\bar{v}\bar{v}$  with rising tone, and  $\bar{v}$  plus  $\bar{v}$  is realized as  $\bar{v}\bar{v}$  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  $g\bar{a}$  and PfvNeg  $t\bar{e}$  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	gè = 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.	dō-lō ā-ỹ	dō-lā = ā-ỹ	‘enters into it’
b.	hàlì ē	hàlè = ē	‘until we’
c.	tīyē [à nī]	tīyā = [à nī]	‘ask about it’
d.	kìlè [à nìŋû]	kìlā = [à nìŋû]	‘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  $kày$  and hortative  $kèy^n$ , which then behave like  $kà$  and  $kè^n$  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  $\bar{a}^n$ . Pronunciation as  $\bar{a}^n$  with nasalized vowel is normal in isolation and before  $s$ ,  $h$ , and semivowels (29a). Before other consonants it is often realized as  $[\bar{a}^n]$  plus a homorganic nasal (29b-e).

(29)	a.	$\bar{a}^n$ before {s w y h}
		$\bar{a}^n$ sèw <sup>n</sup> / wòbò / yàbà / hōlā
		2Sg            road / disease / guinea.fowl / trust
		‘your-Sg road/disease/guinea-fowl/trust’

b. an before alveolar

**ān**            lōgū / tōy / dāgā / nōgū  
 2Sg            mouth / intelligence / totem / village  
 ‘your-Sg mouth/intelligence/totem/village’

c. āŋ before palatoalveolar

**āŋ**            jūgū / cōllò / pīnā  
 2Sg            medicine / dust / mouse  
 ‘your-Sg medicine/dust/mouse’

d. ām before labial

**ām**            bārmā / pòw<sup>n</sup> / mùlè  
 2Sg            modern.pot / wife / sugarcane  
 ‘your-Sg pot/wife/sugarcane’

e. aŋ before velar

**āŋ**            kèw / gālā  
 2Sg            uncle / indigo  
 ‘your-Sg (maternal) uncle/indigo’

The same alternations occur in the 1Sg allomorph nà<sup>n</sup> of the bidirectional case morpheme.

(30) a. pronounced [nà<sup>n</sup>] or (before L-tone) <LM> toned [nǎ<sup>n</sup>]

n̄	= <b>nǎ<sup>n</sup></b>	wòbō / yàbā / ...	kày
"	"	... / ... / . sèŋ	"
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	disease / guinea.fowl / road	see.Pfv

‘I saw the disease/guinea-fowl/road.’ (< wòbò, yàbà, sèw<sup>n</sup> )

b. pronounced [nàn] or [nān̄]

n̄	= <b>nàn</b>	lōgū / ... / ... / ...	kày
"	= <b>nān̄</b>	/ ... / tōy / dāgā / nōgū	"
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	mouth / intelligence / totem / village	see.Pfv

‘I saw the mouth/intelligence/totem/village.’ (< tōy etc.)

c. pronounced [nàŋ] or [nāŋ̄]

n̄	= <b>nàŋ</b>	jūgū / cōllō / pīnā	kày
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	medicine / dust / mouse	see.Pfv

‘I saw the medicine/dust/mouse.’ (< cōllò)

d. pronounced [nàm] or [nàm̃]

n̄	= <b>nàm</b>	bārmā / ...	kày
"	= <b>nàm̃</b>	... / pòṅ / mùlē	"
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	modern.pot / wife / sugarcane	see.Pfv
'I saw the pot/wife/sugarcane.' (< pòw <sup>n</sup> , mùlè)			

e. pronounced [nàŋ] or [nàṅ]

n̄	= <b>nàṅ</b>	kùlū / gàlā	kày
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	baobab / indigo	see.Pfv
'I saw the baobab/indigo.' (< kùlù, gàlā)			

Neither 2Sg  $\bar{a}^n$  nor 1Sg bidirectional  $\bar{n} = \bar{n}^n$  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. Cvv<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

sáá <sup>n</sup>	'wild grape tree' or 'thorn-branch fence'
sàá <sup>n</sup>	'well bag'
sàà <sup>n</sup>	'honey'
jáá <sup>n</sup>	'fishhook'
jīī <sup>n</sup>	'year'
cíí <sup>n</sup>	'trunk (of tree)'
kūū <sup>n</sup>	'boat'
sōō <sup>n</sup>	'needle'
sūū <sup>n</sup>	'fly (insect)'
pīī <sup>n</sup>	'grain(s)' or 'millet'
tùù <sup>n</sup>	'body'
pāā <sup>n</sup>	'mound (in field)'
wāā <sup>n</sup>	'okra'

b. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...Cvv<sup>n</sup> with nonnasal C

sírāā <sup>n</sup>	'tobacco plant'
súbāā <sup>n</sup>	'morning'
tègèncíí <sup>n</sup>	'forehead'
ṅāmāṅ-kūū <sup>n</sup>	'ginger'
bàṅṅ-kūū <sup>n</sup>	'cassava'
kòṅ-kūū <sup>n</sup>	'vulture'

c. Nvv<sup>n</sup> with nasal consonant N

mùù <sup>n</sup>	‘cold (n)’
nùù <sup>n</sup>	‘belly’
ɲīī <sup>n</sup>	‘tooth’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...Nvv<sup>n</sup> with nasal consonant N

jàŋāā <sup>n</sup>	‘shelter’
kànáà <sup>n</sup>	‘friend’
kūlāā <sup>n</sup>	‘hip’
síbé <sup>n</sup> -nūū <sup>n</sup>	‘week’
súmāā <sup>n</sup>	‘waterskin’
̀̀ndū̀̀ɲāā <sup>n</sup>	‘world’

e. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...Nv<sup>n</sup> (alphabetized by final nasal N)

sūmū <sup>n</sup>	‘visitor’
jénā <sup>n</sup>	‘child’
kòɲó <sup>n</sup>	‘slave’
mù̀̀ɲú <sup>n</sup>	‘harvested millet heap’
sòŋó <sup>n</sup>	‘the bush (outback)’
sù̀̀ɲó <sup>n</sup>	‘crocodile’

f. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...Cv<sup>n</sup> (alphabetized by final nonnasal C)

kābō <sup>n</sup>	‘shoes’
jàmbó <sup>n</sup>	‘grasshopper’
dò̀̀n-dó̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’
ɲò̀̀gò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘soul’
súgū <sup>n</sup>	‘harvested rice heap’
yù̀̀gò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘woman’
tà̀̀à-yū̀̀gò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘grandmother’
wù̀̀jú <sup>n</sup>	‘giant pouched rat’
tù̀̀wò̀̀-kó̀̀ló̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘testicle’ (Konna dialect)
ké̀̀lé̀̀ŋ-kā̀̀lā̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘forked stick’
kā̀̀nā̀̀-kò̀̀ló̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘throat (external)’
tū̀̀wṑ̀-bū̀̀lṑ̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘elephant’ (“ear-big”)
wṑ̀lṑ̀-wò̀lṑ̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘bell’
wò̀̀tò̀̀rò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘cart’
gù̀̀rū̀̀-gù̀̀sú̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘hedgehog’
bò̀̀ŋgūsò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘malevolent object’
sò̀̀ <sup>n</sup> -sò̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘sand’

búwō <sup>n</sup>	‘mortar’
būwō <sup>n</sup>	‘horn’
dūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘hunger’
dùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘cheek’
kàlà̀mà̀ntùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘giant millipede’ (variant)
kà̀à̀ŋ-kúwó <sup>n</sup>	‘crow’
kūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘bone’
kùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘flank’
kúwō <sup>n</sup>	‘husband’
pùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘water lily’
pà̀àm-pùwó <sup>n</sup>	‘sesame’
cīyè <sup>n</sup>	‘gathering, assembly’
síyē <sup>n</sup>	‘sorghum grains’
tìyò <sup>n</sup>	‘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

kàmā̀ ‘tale’

sā̀nā̀ ‘gazelle’

c. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...y<sup>n</sup>v (see §3.2.10.1 for discussion)

mīy<sup>n</sup>ē ‘flea’

ɲīy<sup>n</sup>è ‘pity (n)’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in ...Nv with nasal N (alphabetized by this N)

nùmà ‘rope’

kùmù ‘sleep (n)’

sòmó ‘pick-hoe’

tímī ‘odor’

tìmì ‘rock python’

ɲīmī ‘person’

sòmò ‘louse’

kāmà	‘reason’
kòmó	‘sickle’
kítómó	‘conical hat’
mànàmì	‘dance (n)’
ṅòòmó	‘camel’
ṅàmà-ṅāmā	‘trash’
kààmà	‘lie (n), untruth’
síi-mā	‘sort (n), kind’
kūlāà <sup>n</sup> -nùmà	‘belt’
sīrāān-dūmà	‘snuff tobacco’
māynī	‘disaster’
ságáni	‘bunch (unit of sale)’
bàná (~ bàndà)	‘fatigue’
bànù	‘pestle’
kānà	‘throat’
kānū	‘breast’ or ‘gold’
bònè	‘trouble’
kōnō	‘lungfish’
ṅīnā	‘mouse’
tòṅòṅò	‘truth’
tùjūnù	‘pigeon’
kùwōnì	‘settled area’
ṅīmīnà	‘nose’
tóṅkónō	‘duck’
bānā	‘way, manner’
wùù-tīnā	‘night’
kùgū-tàànà	‘afternoon’
ḡètāānà	‘devil’
kàṅá	‘calabash saw’
ṅāāṅì	‘face’ (Konna dialect)
sìbò-ṅōṅō	‘pig’
nìṅì	‘interior’

Similar data from adjectives are in (33).

(33) Adjectives

a. final nasalized vowel

*after nasal or nasalized consonant*

dēmō<sup>n</sup> ‘sweet’

tīnāā<sup>n</sup> ‘other’

*after other consonant*

dāā<sup>n</sup> ‘distant’

kōjā<sup>n</sup> ~ kōyā<sup>n</sup> ‘long’

pīī<sup>n</sup> ‘black’

b. unnasalized final vowel after nasal consonant

bīllà-nà ‘narrow, tight’ (and others with participial suffix -na)

bánū ‘thick’

ḡīī-ḡīī ‘coarse’

ḡōḡō ‘bad, nasty’

3.4.2.2 Final w<sup>n</sup> alternating with homorganic nasal within phrases

Dozens of stems end in a syllable that is pronounced Cvw<sup>n</sup> prepausally (e.g. clause-finally or in isolation). For verbs, this form is limited to the Pfv stem. All vowel qualities may precede the w<sup>n</sup>, though a and ε 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 Cūw<sup>n</sup> like kūū<sup>n</sup> ‘boat, skiff’ might be added if analysed as Cūw<sup>n</sup>.

(34) a. non-verbs

mèw<sup>n</sup> ‘iron, metal’

nàw<sup>n</sup> ‘mother’

pòw<sup>n</sup> ‘wife’ or ‘tomtom’

bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’

yāw<sup>n</sup> ‘there (discourse-definite)’

sébēw<sup>n</sup> ‘amulet’

bíyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘egg’

dàrà-mà-yīw<sup>n</sup> ‘maize’

sìgèw<sup>n</sup> ~ sikhèw<sup>n</sup> ‘three’

b. verbs (Pfv only)

bāw<sup>n</sup> ‘shave’ (Pfv)

bēw<sup>n</sup> ‘go back’ (Pfv)

kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘snap, break’ (Pfv)
sīw <sup>n</sup>	‘bite’ (Pfv)
pīyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘get hot’ (Pfv)

Some grammatical morphemes are of this type. They include *nàw<sup>n</sup>/nāw<sup>n</sup>* ‘if’ (post-subject, in perfective positive conditional antecedents, §16.1.1), relative marker *màw<sup>n</sup>* (§14.1.1), postpositions *kāw<sup>n</sup>* ‘chez’ (§8.2.4.3) and *bààcéw<sup>n</sup>* ‘toward, around’ (§8.2.9), diminutive *-nāw<sup>n</sup>* (§5.1.7.1), default possessum *pàw<sup>n</sup>* (§6.2.2.2), and place nominal morpheme *-gàw<sup>n</sup>* (§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, *nàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘mother’ can be heard as *nà<sup>n</sup>*, 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 *y<sup>n</sup>*, including the verb *māy<sup>n</sup>/māỹ<sup>n</sup>* ‘malfunction’ and the noun *kāy<sup>n</sup>* ‘work’. When these are followed by another word, the *y* remains audible. For example, *kāy<sup>n</sup>* can be heard without change, or by assimilation as *kāym*, *kāyn*, *kāyŋ*, or *kāyŋ*.

The frequency asymmetry between final *w<sup>n</sup>* and final *y<sup>n</sup>*, along with the general absence of word-final nasal consonants (§3.2.1), suggests a diachronic hypothesis: most examples of final *w<sup>n</sup>* 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. *ā=*      *à*              *kày*  
           2Sg    3Sg              see.Pfv  
           ‘You-Sg saw him.’ (< /ā<sup>n</sup> à kày/)
- b. *sèédù*      *yè=*      *ē-lògò*  
           S            and      1Pl-Indep  
           ‘Seydou and us’ (< /yè<sup>n</sup> ē-/)
- c. *yè=*              *è*              *kwāā*  
           Imprt.2Pl    3Pl              hit.Pfv  
           ‘Hit-2Pl them!’ (< /yè<sup>n</sup> 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 Ipvf stem.

(36)	Pfv	Ipfv	gloss	related form
	yàw <sup>n</sup>	yà-là	‘descend’	causative yèlì/yèlī ‘take down, unload’
	wwò <sup>n</sup>	wwò-lò	‘dry off’	

The regularly formed Ipvf’s would be #yà-nà and #wwò-nò (§10.1.3.3.1). Compare Djenné Jenaama unnasalized yà/yà-rà ‘descend’ and fully nasalized wùwó<sup>n</sup>/wùwó-nò ‘dry (v)’. It may be that Cliffs Pfv yàw<sup>n</sup> ‘descended’ acquired w<sup>n</sup> secondarily by analogy to tāw<sup>n</sup> ‘ascended’. However, the vast majority of verbs whose Pfv’s end in a nasalized vowel or in w<sup>n</sup> preserve the nasality in the Ipvf.

On the other hand, another irregular verb shows nasality only in the Ipvf (37). For Ipvf kà-nà we would expect Pfv #kàw<sup>n</sup>. (Djenné Jenaama unsuffixed kày/kàý ‘see’ and Kelenga héeè/héeé-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 ā<sup>n</sup> before BCM yè or a-initial proclitic

2Sg subject proclitic ā<sup>n</sup> 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 ā<sup>n</sup> as first vowel in vv-Contraction (§3.4.3.2.1).

### 3.4.2.4 n#j with yè ‘said’

yē ~ 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 *ā<sup>n</sup>* then breaks into a vowel and a nasal consonant homorganic to *j*, by regular phonology. Therefore ‘you-Sg said’ is structurally /*ā<sup>n</sup> yè*/, realized as *āj̄ jè*. 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 *káámū* ~ [káám:] ‘doum palm (and fruit)’. In suffixal plurals, Apocope and nasal prolongation fail to occur: *kāmū-yē* ‘wings’, *káámú-yè* ~ *káámé-è* ‘doum palms’.

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

*sémú* ‘right side’ combines with postposition *pà* as *sém 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	
	a.	<i>lèmūrù</i>	‘citrus fruit’	<i>lèmùr-kūmū<sup>n</sup></i>	‘lemon’
	b.	<i>mālì</i>	‘marabout’	<i>māl-kēēgū</i>	‘butterfly’ (< “holy man”)
		<i>sālì</i>	‘prayer; holy day’	<i>sāl-[dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>]</i>	‘eid al fitr (after Ramandan)’
	c.	<i>bànù</i>	‘pestle’ (dialectal)	<i>bàn-dyēw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘pestle’

As noted in §3.2.11.2, Cuvv is distinct lexically from Cwv, but there is a low-level tendency to shorten or syncopate the u in Cuvv. Likewise with Ciyv and Cyv.

### 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  $\bar{e}$ -lògò or proclitic  $\bar{e}$ . The only significant phonological interaction of proclitics with following stems is that 1Sg allomorph  $\eta$  (+H) causes a following L-tone to raise to H, as in *nàà* ‘cow’,  $\eta$  *náá* ‘my cow’. The  $\eta$  (+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 pronominal demonstratives like  $kò^n$  ‘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. *bàń-bànú* ‘shrub sp.’, plural *bàń-bàné-è* varying with *bàń-bànú-yè*. Identificational *nì* ‘it is’ is a good candidate for enclitic status, since a pronoun must take independent rather than proclitic form before it:  $\bar{e}$ -lògò *nì* ‘it’s us’.

### 3.6 Tones

There are three tone levels in Cliffs Jenaama, represented here as H[igh], M[id], 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 Lauschnitzky’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 ẁ̀d̄<sup>n</sup> ‘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 n̄n̄ā ‘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 ñ s̄b̄á ‘my chicken’ from s̄b̄á ‘chicken’. /HM/ lexical melody and <HM> syllables are absent.

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

- |      |    |       |  |
|------|----|-------|--|
| (39) | a. | s̄ḡō | ‘milk’   |
|      |    | s̄ḡō | ‘day’ (unit)   |
|      |    | s̄ḡō | ‘sheep’ (often in diminutive form s̄ḡō-l̄ēw̄ <sup>n</sup> ) |
|      | b. | búw̄ō | ‘mound (in field)’   |
|      |    | būw̄ō | ‘line (drawn)’   |
|      |    | bw̄ō  | ‘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 ñ (+H), contrast third person reflexive ñ k̄à-n̄à ‘sees himself/herself’ with no tonal change on the verb. The fourth form in (40) is a noun.

- |      |           |                     |
|------|-----------|---------------------|
| (40) | k̄à-n̄à   | ‘see.Ipfv’          |
|      | ñ k̄á-n̄à | ‘see.Ipfv me’       |
|      | k̄ā-n̄ā   | ‘milk.Ipfv (a cow)’ |
|      | k̄ān̄à    | ‘throat’            |

The L-toned words in (39) and (40) above have LM variants (s̄ḡō, búw̄ō, k̄à-n̄ā) 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 ñ (+H) does raise lexical tones to H, as in ñ k̄á-n̄à ‘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. C̀̀VC̀̀ 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 Ipv stem may involve a tonal modification and/or addition of a syllabic suffix. The Ipv 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 Ipv suffix.

#### (41) Verbs with segmentally invariant stem

Pfv/Ipfv	melody
a. tones also invariant (Pfv = Ipv)	
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/
b. tones distinguish Pfv (level-toned) from Ipv (contour-toned)	
M/ML (bimoraic and longer stems)	/M/
L/LH (bimoraic and longer stems)	/L/

Verbs of type (41a), with homophonous Pfv and Ipv, are either monomoraic (e.g. Cv, Cwv, Cyv), which are too short to allow overt contour tones in the Ipv, 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 Ipv 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 Ipv LH, and Pfv M corresponds to Ipv 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

Pfv/Ipfv	melody
a. tones invariant	
<i>Cvv, Cvw, and similar light Pfv's with Cv-Cv Ipfv's</i>	
M/M-M	/M/
L/L-L	/L/
ML/M-L (only tīw <sup>n</sup> /tī-nà 'do')	/ML/
<i>C(w)v<sub>v</sub>, Cvy, and similar Pfv's with C(w)v<sub>v</sub>-Cv or Cvy-Cv Ipfv</i>	
M/M-L	/M/
<i>bisyllabic and other heavy stems</i>	
LML/LM-L	/LML/
b. Ipfv tones differ from Pfv tones	
<i>bisyllabic stems</i>	
L/LM-L	/LM/ (?)
ML/ML-L	/ML/

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. CvCvv, 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 un-compounded 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 yòrógō ‘cat’ (lexically /yòrógó/), mākàrí ‘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. yòrógó-yè ‘cats’  
 kúnǵóló-yè ‘dogs’
- b. sūgō-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 un-compounded stems? For example, why kìrìkēè ‘saddle’ instead of #kìrìkéè, and why mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ instead of #mòbólì. 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, mòbōlì has the same pitch profile as sībō pà ‘with the snake’. This is distinct from the sharper pitch rise and fall in sàbá pà ‘with the chicken’ or the compound bààyáŋ-dùgò<sup>n</sup> which is part of some Islamic month names related to the Mawlūd holy day (bààyáw<sup>n</sup>). 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 ñ (+H) with floating H-tone.

(45)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss
/H/	dée	dée-yè	ñ déé	ñ déé-yè	‘cotton’
	jáá <sup>n</sup>	jáá <sup>n</sup> -yè	ñ jáá <sup>n</sup>	ñ jáá <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘fishhook’
/M/	kūū <sup>n</sup>	kūū <sup>n</sup> -yē	ñ kūū <sup>n</sup>	ñ kūū <sup>n</sup> -yē	‘boat’
	tēē	tēē-yē	ñ tēē	ñ tēē-yē	‘meat’
	kāy <sup>n</sup>	kāy <sup>n</sup> -yē	ñ kāy <sup>n</sup>	ñ kāy <sup>n</sup> -yē	‘work’
/L/	dòò	dòò-yè	ñ dós	ñ dós-yè	‘knife’
	nàà	nàà-yè	ñ náá	ñ náá-yè	‘cow’
	kwàà <sup>n</sup>	kwàà <sup>n</sup> -yè	ñ kwáá <sup>n</sup>	ñ kwáá <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘rain (n)’
	nàw <sup>n</sup>	nàw <sup>n</sup> -yè	ñ náw <sup>n</sup>	ñ náw <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘mother’
	tòy	tòy-yè	ñ tóy	ñ tóy-yè	‘intelligence’
	kèw	kèw-yè	ñ kéw	ñ kéw-yè	‘maternal uncle’
/ML/ (loanwords)					
	tēè	tēè-yè	ñ tēè	ñ tēè-yè	‘tea’
	sīi	sīi-yè	ñ sīi	ñ sīi-yè	‘saw (n)’

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

(46)	<b>nàā</b>	tè	bē	wày
	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. *sà<sup>n</sup>á<sup>n</sup>* ‘well-bag’ (French *puisette*) patterns as bisyllabic and belongs here. I tentatively include *cōllò* ‘dust’ here. The floating H of 1Sg ñ (+H) extends over both syllables of /L/ melody nouns, merging them with /H/ melody nouns.

(47)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss
/H/	gándā	gándá-yē	ɲ gándā	ɲ gándá-yè	‘country’
	kégū	kégú-yē	ɲ kégū	ɲ kégú-yè	‘cream of millet with milk’
	búwō <sup>n</sup>	búwó <sup>n</sup> -yē	ɲ búwō <sup>n</sup>	ɲ búwó <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘mortar’
/M/	bōgū	bōgū-yē	ɲ bōgū	ɲ bōgū-yè	‘zaban (fruit)’ or ‘middle’
	lōgū	lōgū-yē	ɲ lōgū	ɲ lōgū-yè	‘mouth’
	sōgū	sōgū-yē	ɲ sōgū	ɲ sōgū-yè	‘grass’
	dūwō <sup>n</sup>	dūwō <sup>n</sup> -yē	ɲ dūwō <sup>n</sup>	ɲ dūwō <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘hunger’
	nāndō	nāndō-yē	ɲ nāndō	ɲ nāndō-yè	‘scorpion’
/L/	kìyè	kìyè-yè	ɲ kiyē	ɲ kiyé-yè	‘stick’
	dàmbà	dàmbà-yè	ɲ dāmbā	ɲ dāmbá-yè	‘daba’
	sòṅgò	sòṅgò-yè	ɲ sóṅgō	ɲ sóṅgó-yè	‘price’
/LH/	sàbá	sàbá-yè	ɲ sâbá	ɲ sâbá-yè	‘chicken’
	bèbé	bèbé-yè	ɲ bêbé	ɲ bêbé-yè	‘mud brick’
	sà <sup>n</sup> á <sup>n</sup>	sà <sup>n</sup> á <sup>n</sup> -yè	ɲ sâ <sup>n</sup> á <sup>n</sup>	ɲ sâ <sup>n</sup> á <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘well-bag’ ( <i>puisette</i> )
	wùjú <sup>n</sup>	wùjú <sup>n</sup> -yè	ɲ wûjú <sup>n</sup>	ɲ wûjú <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘pouched rat’
	tëndé	tëndé-yè	ɲ tēndé	ɲ tēndé-yè	‘well (n)’
	jâmbó <sup>n</sup>	jâmbó <sup>n</sup> -yè	ɲ jâmbó <sup>n</sup>	ɲ jâmbó <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘grasshopper’
	kâmbá	kâmbá-yè	ɲ kâmbá	ɲ kâmbá-yè	‘side of face’
/ML/ (mostly loanwords)					
	mōlì	mōlì-yè	ɲ mōlì	ɲ mōlì-yè	‘holy man’
	ālà	ālà-yè	ɲ ?ālà	ɲ ?ālà-yè	‘God’
	kōrò	kōrò-yè	ɲ kōrò	ɲ kōrò-yè	‘meaning’
	cōllò	cōllò-yè	ɲ cōllò	ɲ cōllò-yè	‘dust’

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

(48)	Sg	Pl	‘my’ (Sg)	‘my’(Pl)	gloss
/H/	báásī	báásí-yè	ɲ báásī	ɲ báásí-yè	‘war’
	káádō	káádó-yè	ɲ káádō	ɲ káádó-yè	‘Dogon’





### 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/	sílē	‘old’
	/M/	tōy	‘new’
	b. suffixed		
	/M/	kūy-gū	‘deep’
		mwāā-nā	‘cold’
	/ML/	pūlù-gù	‘soft’
		sāmtā-nà	‘intermediate’
	c. composite		
	/L-H/	dègè-náw <sup>n</sup>	‘small’
		bòndò-bánū	‘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, pìyè-nà ‘dirty’ and pīyē-nā ‘hot’ are distinct as predicates, but converge as pīyē-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 kùlùbè/kùlùbē ‘knead’. The situation is parallel with /H/-melodic verbs that drop the final tone in the Ipfv, as in gūgūjō/gūgūjò ‘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 *bīrījà/bīrījà* ‘(quadruped) roll over’. However, suffixal derivatives like *nīṅà-àmà/nīṅà-àmā* ‘become bad’ are left-biased. So are *kājàmà/kājàmà* ‘coincide, become equal’ (originally a suffixal derivative) and *pīyèrè/pīyèrè* ‘rip, tear’ (variant *pēērè/pēērè*). 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 *sùmàà<sup>n</sup>sīyè/sùmàà<sup>n</sup>sīyè-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	
	<i>kūù</i>	‘yam’
	<i>jām</i>	‘well-being’
	<i>hūyà</i>	‘courage’
	<i>bārkè</i>	‘being blessed’
	<i>būūrù</i>	‘bread (baguette)’
	b. trisyllabics and longer	
	/M*L/	
	<i>bāsilà</i>	‘tree sp. ( <i>Anogeissus</i> )’
	<i>jāpērè</i>	‘donkey saddle’
	<i>tūbālāājì</i>	‘traditional pants’
	/ML*/	
	<i>kūjāàmà</i>	‘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	
	tèw <sup>n</sup>	‘arboreal snake sp.’
	tàá	‘half’
	wàlá <sup>n</sup>	‘tablet (for koranic pupil)’
	wàŋgé	‘hare’
	yàbáá <sup>n</sup>	‘henna’
	gèèné	‘sweet peanut-millet balls’
	b. trisyllabics and longer	
	/L*H/	
	dèŋgèlé	‘kneading stick’
	dèrèndé	‘burrgrass’
	dòlùmbé	‘ring (on finger)’
	kòròḡḡó	‘trimming hatchet’
	lààràbú	‘Arab (person)’
	kùrùwáá	‘rope attaching donkey saddle’
	wòkùlòníí	‘evil dwarf’
	kàlàràntùḡó	‘giant millipede’
	/LH*/	
	kààpírí	‘nonbeliever’
	kàsíní	‘succulent plant spp. ( <i>Caralluma</i> , <i>Desmidorchis</i> )’

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, CvCvvCv 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’ |
| nìyèṅ-kúrū | ‘fontanel’                 |
- b. /L/-/M/ compounds
- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| kùwò-s <sup>h</sup> | ‘grass sp. ( <i>Enteropogon</i> )’ (“monkey-needle”) |
| kùlù-n-dūū          | ‘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 yògòbāà ‘sky’ is unsegmentable in Cliffs but is composite etymologically (Djenné Jenaama yòó-bàà, Kelenga yògò-fâà). All known examples of /MLH/ are trisyllabic.

- (55) a. L\*ML
- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| nànāà                 | ‘mint’                |
| pàalēy                | ‘cliffs area’         |
| lèmūrù                | ‘orange (citrus)’     |
| lààsārà               | ‘4PM Muslim prayer’   |
| ḡètāānà               | ‘devil (djinn)’       |
| làmbāānà              | ‘mule’                |
| <i>quadrisyllabic</i> |                       |
| làtikōrò              | ‘perfume’             |
| màgàsālà              | ‘cucumber-like melon’ |
| àlikāmà               | ‘wheat (flour)’       |
| gìrìpèè               | ‘grafted fruit tree’  |
| <i>exception</i>      |                       |
| yògòbāà               | ‘sky’                 |

b. MLH

nā̀wó	‘euphorb (shrub)’
mākàrí	‘macari (spice)’
sā̀ṅgòlò	‘broom’
mā̀ā̀ṅgòrò	‘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 Ipv is produced by the following rule if it is unsuffixed:

(56)	Pfv		Ipv	
	L.L	→	L.M	(for prosodically light stems)
	M.M	→	M.L	(for all stems)
	M.L	→	M.L	(no change)

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

Verbs can acquire H-tones by Floating-Tone Docking after 1Sg object ñ (+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 *kà<sup>n</sup>* (+M) and *ñà<sup>n</sup>* (+M), and with 1Sg possessor *ñ* (+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  $\eta$  (+H) and two prenominal demonstratives with floating M. In both cases, only stems otherwise beginning with L-tone are affected.

For 1Sg  $\eta$  (+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 $\eta$ (+H)

The 1Sg pronominal morpheme is variably  $\bar{\eta}$ ,  $\eta$ , or  $\eta$  (+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.  $\eta$  (+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 CvCvw<sup>n</sup> stems, i.e. in light bisyllabics, as well as Cv<sup>v</sup>. If there is a boundary between the two syllables, as in the iterative stem s<sup>ò</sup><sup>n</sup>-s<sup>ò</sup><sup>n</sup> ‘sand’, only the first segment is tone-raised. Heavy stems, such as Cv<sup>v</sup>Cv 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 C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup> stems like sàbá ‘chicken’, the idealized output (sàbá) is articulatorily challenging and it is sometimes simplified to sàbā, perhaps interpretable as downstepped sá<sup>h</sup>bá. Likewise, /LH\*/-melodic C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup> should become C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup> but may resyllabify to C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup> (‘mosque’, ‘ladder’, ‘cat’).

The tonology is illustrated for 1Sg possessor of nouns in (57).



(58)	clause	gloss	input form of verb
a. all-L verbs			
	à ñ káy	‘he/she saw me’	kày ‘see.Pfv’
	à ñ kéré	‘he/she threw me’	kèrè ‘throw.Pfv’
	à ñ kíí-nì	‘he/she awakened me’	kìì-nì ‘awaken.Pfv’
	<i>trisyllabic</i>		
	à m míyè-nì	‘he/she fixed me (up)’	mìyè-nì ‘fix.Pfv’
b. L-initial verb			
	à gā ñ kêrē ~ kéré	‘he/she throws me’	kèrē ‘throw.Ipfv’
c. no change in verb beginning with nonlow tone			
	à ñ kwāā	‘he/she hit me’	kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’

1Sg possessor ñ (+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. sìbò	‘snake’
	b. ñ síbó	‘my snake’
	c. sìbò t̄m̄w <sup>n</sup>	‘red (brown) snake’
	d. ñ síbó t̄m̄w <sup>n</sup>	‘my red (brown) snake’

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

### 3.6.3.1.2 After pronominal demonstratives k̄<sup>n</sup> (+M) and p̄<sup>n</sup> (+M)

Prenominal demonstratives k̄<sup>n</sup> (+M) and p̄<sup>n</sup> (+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 ñ (+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) k̄<sup>n</sup> (+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 p̄<sup>n</sup> (+M), not shown here.

(60) Noun plus visible demonstrative (‘this/that’)

gloss	melody	citation	‘this/that ___’
a. no tone change			
‘day’	/M/	sōgō	kò <sup>n</sup> sōgō
‘ashes’	/H/	síbō	kò <sup>n</sup> síbó (cf. ‘snake’ below)
‘dust’	/ML/	cōllò	kò <sup>n</sup> cōllō
b. tone change on noun with initial L-tone			
‘cow’	/L/	nàà	kò <sup>n</sup> nāā
‘snake’	/L/	sìbò	kò <sup>n</sup> síbō (cf. ‘ashes’ above)
‘porridge’	/L/	bèlè	kòm bēlē
‘folding knife’	/L/	sìrìmbè	kò <sup>n</sup> sìrìmbē
‘rifle’	/L*H/	màlìfá	kòm mālìfā
‘cat’	/LH*/	yòrógō	kò <sup>n</sup> yōrōgō
‘house’	/LML/	yàmbāà	kò <sup>n</sup> yāmbāā (Pl kò <sup>n</sup> yāmbāā-yē)
‘sky’	/LML/	yògōbāà	kò <sup>n</sup> yōgōbāā
‘pigeon’	/LML/	tùjūnù	kòn tūjūnū
‘horse’	/LH/	sìyéw <sup>n</sup>	kò <sup>n</sup> sìyéw <sup>n</sup>
‘mosque’	/LH*/	mìsírí	kòm mìsírī
‘prayer beads’	/L*H/	tèsìbíí	kòn tōsìbíī

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. kòn            síbō            tōmōw<sup>n</sup>  
**Dem**            snake/ashes    **red**  
‘this/that brown snake/ashes’ (< sìbò ‘snake’ or síbō ‘ashes’)
- b. kòn            sìbò            bánū  
**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)	lexical	tone-leveled as compound initial
	a. /LH/	all-L
	/LML/	all-L
	b. /ML/	all-M
	/MLH/	all-M
	/H/	all-M

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 sībò gù (63a), the noun does not undergo Final Tone-Raising (#sībò gù). Expected #yàmbāà gù ‘that house’ is slightly modified to yàmbāā 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

gloss	melody	stem	‘the (same) ___’	
a. L-toned gù after final L-tone (prior to further tone sandhi)				
‘snake’	/L/	sībò	sībò gù	
‘porridge’	/L/	bèlè	bèlè gù	
‘tea’	/ML/	tēè	tēè gù	
‘dust’	/ML/	cōllò	cōllò gù	
‘house’	/LML/	yàmbāà	yàmbāā gù	
‘vehicle’	/LML/	mòbōlì	mòbōlì gù	
b. M-toned gū after final M-tone				
‘meat’	/M/	tēē	tēē gū	
‘goat’	/M/	sūgō	sūgō gū	
c. H-toned gú (shown as prepausal gū) after final H-tone				
‘cotton’	/H/	déé	déé gū	→ gú nonfinally
‘ashes’	/H/	síbō	síbó gū	"
‘mortar’	/H/	búwō <sup>n</sup>	búwóŋ gū	"
‘horse’	/LH/	sìyéw <sup>n</sup>	sìyéŋ gū	"
‘prayer beads’	/L*H/	tòsibíí	tòsibíí gū	"
‘rifle’	/L*H/	màlifá	màlifá gū	"

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
bāā	bā-lā	‘exit (v)’
tāà	tà-là	‘stand’
tūù	tūū-lù	‘spit’
pìyēè	pìyē-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
	a. /L/ melody			
	nàà	/L/	nàà-yè	‘cow’
	pàgù	/L/	pàgù-yè	‘pond’
	sìrìmbè	/L/	sìrìmbè-yè	‘folding knife, razor’
	b. other melodies ending in L			
	pārày	/ML/	pārày-yè	‘outside’
	sāākù	/ML/	sāākù-yè	‘sack’
	yàmbāà	/LML/	yàmbāà-yè	‘house’
(66)	singular	melody	plural	gloss
	a. /H/ melody			
	jáá <sup>n</sup>	/H/	jáá <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘fishhook’
	kólō <sup>n</sup>	/H/	kólō <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘ball (shape)’
	kúnjólō	/H/	kúnjóló-yè	‘dog’ (contracted plural kúnjólé-è)
	b. other melodies ending in H			
	wàṅgé	/LH/	wàṅgé-yè	‘hare’
	wùjú <sup>n</sup>	/LH/	wùjú <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘pouched rat’
	wààjíbí	/LH*/	wààjíbí-yè	‘duty’
	bààdígé	/LH*/	bààdígé-yè	‘manner’
	yòrógō	/LH*/	yòrógō-yè	‘cat’
	tòsibíí	/L*H/	tòsibíí-yè	‘prayer beads’
	sāṅgòlò	/MLH/	sāṅgòlò-yè	‘broom’
	nṵòmó	/MLH/	nṵòmó-yè	‘camel’

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 kúnǵóló-yè or contracted kúnǵólé-è, sometimes heard as kúnǵólē-è or kúnǵólè-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)	n̄	= nàŋ	jáá <sup>n</sup> -yè / ... / ...	tōlō
		= nàŋ	... / kóló <sup>n</sup> -yè / kúnǵóló-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
	kūū <sup>n</sup>	kūū <sup>n</sup> -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)	wà <sup>y</sup>	yè <sup>ŋ</sup>	ɲàà <sup>n</sup> ù
	/wày	yè <sup>n</sup>	ɲàà <sup>n</sup> ù/
	today	and	tomorrow

‘today and tomorrow’

M-toned words like *kēēgū* ‘man’ do not dissimilate to a following L or M tone.

- (70) a. *kēēgū*    *bē*  
man        come.Pfv  
‘A/The man came.’
- b. *kēēgū*    *yèŋ*    *jénā*  
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, *sēdū* ‘Seydou’ (personal name) is usually *sēdū* before an L-tone. Likewise, subjunctive *gālā* often becomes *gālā* 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 *ŋ* (+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 = ā* before the L-toned *kò*.

Post-subject inflectional morphemes *gà/gā* (Ipfv) and *nà/nā* (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 *sìbò tè sò nògù-ỳ* ‘the snake did not go to the village’ is realized as *sìbò tē sò nògī-ỳ* (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#[M-H]. The /M/-melodic element drops to L before the H-tone by M#H-to-L#H, resulting in LL#[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 *gà* fails to raise to *gā* since ‘the bush’ and ‘tree’ are recognizable as lexically /M/-melodic stems.

- (71) a. *à*        ***gà***        *sòŋòŋ-kúŋgóló*        *kà-nà*  
          3Sg    Ipfv        the.bush-dog        see-Ipfv  
          ‘He/She sees a jackal (“bush dog”).’ (< *sòŋòŋ* ‘the bush’)
- b. *à*        ***gà***        *jùgù-náŋ*        *kà-nà*  
          3Sg    Ipfv        tree-Dimin        see-Ipfv  
          ‘He/She sees a shrub (or sapling).’ (< *jùgù* ‘tree’)

This is another example of left-to-right application of tone sandhi. *gà* 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) *sāā*<sup>n</sup> ‘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*        *nǎ*<sup>n</sup>        *sò*        *sāā*<sup>n</sup>  
          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 tǎw*<sup>n</sup> ‘he/she ascended’ is lowered to *à tǎw*<sup>n</sup> before an adverbial phrase beginning with H-tone, as in *à tǎw*<sup>n</sup> [*bóndó kúmà*] ‘he/she went up to the highlands’.

*sòŋòŋ*<sup>n</sup> (~ *sòŋgò*) ‘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. *sòŋòŋ-jīnā* ‘bush mouse (*Arvicanthis*)’, but before H-tone it drops to L, as in *sòŋòŋ-kúŋgóló* ‘jackal’ (“bush-dog”).

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

H-toned diminutive compound final *-náv*<sup>n</sup> (§5.1.7.1) drops a preceding M to L: *yògò* ‘fish’, *yògò-náv*<sup>n</sup> ‘minnow’; *jùgù* ‘tree’, *jùgù-náv*<sup>n</sup> ‘sapling’.

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, *jī nīnī* ‘in water’ drops to L-tones in the habitat-specifying compound. [*jī-nīnī*]-*pūlēw<sup>n</sup>* ‘aquatic bird’, whose final (*pūlēw<sup>n</sup>* ‘bird’) has been raised (§5.1.5.2.2). Likewise, as object in a transitive purposive clause following ‘go’ or ‘come’, iterative noun *sōgō-sōgō* ‘round basket’ and N-Adj *tīmī sūwō<sup>n</sup>* ‘foul smell’ raise the second element to H. The results are *sōgō-sōgō* and *tīmī sūwō<sup>n</sup>* (§17.5.1.3).

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

- (73) a. *à gā bē* [ *tēē bāgā* ]  
 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 gā bè* [ *téé bāgā* ]  
 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/gā*, IpfvNeg *nà/nā*) 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 gā* versus 3Sg Ipfv *à gā*. If the subject is a noun, examples with Ipfv *gà/gā* are *kūŋgóló gá* (‘dog’), *sūgō gā* (‘goat’), and *sībò gā* (‘snake’). The 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 *mà<sup>n</sup>/mā<sup>n</sup>*, do the opposite. They dissimilate to preceding elements. They are M-toned after L-tones, and L-toned after nonlow tones. Examples are 2Sg *ā<sup>n</sup> mà<sup>n</sup>* and 3Sg *à mà<sup>n</sup>*. 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 *kēŋ-<sup>+</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>*, 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 *sàbá* ‘chicken’ acquires a floating H at the left edge, the result is idealized as *sâbá*. It is often heard as *sábā*, arguably a downstepped *sá<sup>h</sup>bá* (§3.6.3.1 above) as the awkward initial <HL> tone shifts rightward. Similarly, the distributive iteration of *kēw<sup>n</sup>* ‘one’ is heard as *kēŋ-<sup>h</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>* with downstepped M (§6.3.2.4).

Sequences of post-subject *C<sup>v</sup>* inflectional particles plus an L-toned vocalic object pronominal take the form *C<sup>v</sup> = <sup>v</sup>* 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 = ā*. If instead it precedes an M-toned verb like *kwāā/kā-lā* ‘hit’, the result is e.g. *gā = à kwāā* in fairly careful speech. However, in allegro speech the tones can shift rightward, resulting in phonetic *gā = ā <sup>h</sup>kwāā*. Here downstepped <sup>h</sup>*kwāā* 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 *púnāw<sup>n</sup>* ‘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 *púnāw<sup>n</sup>* is heard (and transcribed) as *púnáw<sup>n</sup>* 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 sèédù ‘Seydou’, push the lexical tones leftward, in this case producing LMLH-toned sèèdú under focalization.

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

Of diachronic interest: focalization in Djenné Jenaama is expressed by a particle wò following the focalized constituent, and wò 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 yēè→, ...  
 3Sg **said**, “...”  
 ‘He said, “...”’ (2017-04 @ 02:38)
- b. à yē [j̄ j̄ = [à tēè(→)], ...  
 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, kàṅgé gú ‘the hyena’ appears as kàṅgé gù 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 incompleteness and completion terminal intonation effects

As in many languages, parallelistic sequences of the type X (and) Y can be expressed with incompleteness 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) [kàŋgé      gú]      pwò↑,  
       [hyena      Def]      sit.Pfv,  
       [wàŋgé      gú]      pwò↓  
       [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-yè/).

#### (77) Human nouns

singular	plural	gloss	
a. simple noun			
kùygù	kùygù-yè	‘blacksmith’	
púnāw <sup>n</sup>	púná <sup>(n)</sup> -yè	‘Fulbe person’	variant plural pūnām-bē
káádō	káádó-yè	‘Dogon person’	
nòlò	nòlò-yè	‘Bangande person’	
sūmū <sup>n</sup>	sūmū-yē	‘visitor’	
b. agentive derivatives with singular -yà			
bódò-yà	bódò-y-è	‘herder’	
sògò-yà	sògò-y-è	‘farmer’	

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

## (78) Nonhuman nouns

stem	marked plural	gloss
a. animate		
kúŋgólō	kúŋgóló-yè	‘dog’
sūgō	sūgō-yē	‘goat’
nàà	nàà-yè	‘cow’
sògòlōw <sup>n</sup>	sògòlōw <sup>n</sup> -yē	‘sheep’ (dialectally sògò ~ sùwò)
b. inanimate		
kìyè	kìyè-yè	‘stick’
kòyów <sup>n</sup>	kòyów <sup>n</sup> -yē	‘stone’
jūbū	jūbū-yē	‘tree’

There is one Cv<sup>n</sup> noun stem, sō<sup>n</sup> ‘needle; pointed instrument’, and one other that has a premodifier form Cv (pwō ‘thing’, premodifier pā). The nasal in sō<sup>n</sup> counts as a mora. With the exception of pā, the minimal syllabic shape of a noun stem is bimoraic CvV, Cv<sup>n</sup>, Cvw<sup>n</sup>, Cvy<sup>(n)</sup>, or CvCv.

A minor plural suffix -bè (-bē 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
a. compounds				
	tàà-yūgō <sup>n</sup>	tàà-yūgōm-bē		‘grandmother’
	sābāŋ-dīyāw <sup>n</sup>	sābāŋ-dēm-bē		‘koranic school pupil’
b. other human nouns				
	dùgò <sup>n</sup>	dùgòm-bè		‘younger sibling’
	pòŋò-nów <sup>n</sup>	pòŋò-nóm-bè		‘young woman’
	nòlòw <sup>n</sup>	nòlòm-bè		‘Dogon (person)’
	púnāw <sup>n</sup>	pūnòm-bè	púná <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘Fulbe (person), Pullo’
c. nonhuman animate (former diminutives, all known examples)				
	sògò-lēw <sup>n</sup>	sògò-lēm-bē		‘sheep’
	pùléw <sup>n</sup>	pùlém-bè		‘bird (any)’

Plural suffix -lè occurs in nīmī-lè ‘people’, plural of nīmī ‘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).

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

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 jéná<sup>n</sup>-yè preserves the H-tones of the singular.

(80)	singular	plural	gloss
	a. human		
	yùgò <sup>n</sup>	yùgòm-bè	‘woman’
	kēēgū	kēēgū-yē ~ kēēgē-ē	‘man’
	jīmī	jīmī-lè or jīmī-yē	‘person’ (see comment below)
	jéná <sup>n</sup>	jēnām-bī-gē or jéná <sup>n</sup> -yè	‘child’ (§4.1.2)
	—	dālm-bī-gē	‘children’ (plural only)
	—	dēm-bē	‘children (offspring)’ (plural only)
	b. nonhuman		
	pwō	pwō-yē	‘thing’ (see comment below)
	gūū <sup>n</sup>	gūū <sup>n</sup> -yē	‘place’ (see comment below)

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

jīmī ‘person’ has a special form in front of ŋ-kēw̄<sup>n</sup> ‘one’, hence jā ŋ-kēw̄<sup>n</sup> ‘one person’.

pwō ‘thing’ becomes pā (dialectally pō) before any modifier.

gūū<sup>n</sup>, one of the few stems with high back unrounded u, occurs in an unusual iterated form gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw̄<sup>n</sup> (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 Sorogaama. Examples with collective sense are not attested in Cliffs. The noun jàná-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 tones*

yùrùgù-yùrùgù	‘corruption’	cf. yùrùgù ‘this year’
jàmà-jāmā	‘garbage’	also simple jàmà

###### *LH-LH tones*

ɲòý <sup>n</sup> -ɲòý <sup>n</sup>	‘chameleon’
wə̀ɲó <sup>n</sup> -wə̀ɲó <sup>n</sup>	‘bush sp. ( <i>Senna occidentalis</i> )’

###### *L-L tones*

sə̀ <sup>n</sup> -sə̀ <sup>n</sup>	‘sand’
------------------------------------	--------

###### *L-H tones*

dòn-dó <sup>n</sup>	‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’
sàm-sám	‘medicinal herb ( <i>Blepharis</i> )’
kàà-káá	‘tall herb sp. ( <i>Senna obtusifolia</i> )’

###### *M-M tones*

būm-bū <sup>n</sup>	‘red kapok tree ( <i>Bombax</i> )’
wōlō <sup>n</sup> -wōlō <sup>n</sup>	‘bell’
kōlōŋ-kōlō <sup>n</sup>	‘wooden trough’
kōbāŋ-kōbā <sup>n</sup>	‘tree sp. ( <i>Dichrostachys</i> )’

###### *ML-ML tones*

pēgù-pēgù	‘fromager tree ( <i>Ceiba</i> )’
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###### *ML-H tones*

dūwə̀n-dúwó <sup>n</sup>	‘mistletoe (Loranthaceae)’
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##### b. with vocalic change

kéléŋ-kālā <sup>n</sup>	‘forked stick’
yírí-yàrá	‘tree sp. ( <i>Cassia</i> )’

#### 4.1.5 Definite singular suffix (absent)

The definite singular suffix *-yàw<sup>n</sup>* 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 *wùlēē/kùlēē* ‘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 *wùlēē ~ kùlēē*. 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. [sèédū      wùlēē]      bē  
      [S            AssocPl]      come.Pfv  
      ‘The Seydou’s (=Seydou and his group) have come.’
- b. [sèédū      wùlèè]      kúŋgólō  
      [S            AssocPl]      dog  
      ‘the dog of the Seydou’s’

An alternative with personal names like Seydou is to just add the plural suffix: *sèédù-yè ~ sèédè-è* ‘the Seydou’s’. This simpler associative plural is usual in the ‘chez X’ construction (i.e. ‘at X’s place’): *sèédù-yè kāw<sup>n</sup>* ‘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 uncompound 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 unaffixed (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 Ipv)				
<i>M-toned verbal noun and Pfv</i>				
	ɲīnī	‘washing’	ɲīnī/ɲīnì	‘wash’
	kēbē	‘building’	kēbē/kēbè	‘build’
	pīrī	‘flying’	pīrī/pīrì	‘fly (v)’
<i>L-toned verbal noun and Pfv</i>				
	kùù	‘running’	kùù/kùū	‘run’
	mèw <sup>n</sup>	‘drinking’	mèw <sup>n</sup> /mè-nè	‘drink’
	mìy <sup>n</sup> è	‘fishing’	mìy <sup>n</sup> è/mìy <sup>n</sup> ē	‘fish (v), go fishing’
	sògò	‘farming’	sògò/sògō	‘cultivate’
	sùbè-nì	‘breast-feeding’	sùbè-nì/sùbè-nī	‘breastfeed’
<i>ML-toned verbal noun and Pfv</i>				
	sēgè	‘pounding’	sēgè/sēgē	‘pound (in mortar)’
b. verbal noun based on Pfv = Ipv but lengthened from Cv to Cvv				
	bēē	‘coming’	bē/bē	‘come’
	sòò	‘going’	sò/sò	‘go’
	dōō	‘give’	dō/dō	‘give’
	sēē	‘say’	sē/sē	‘say’

#### 4.2.1.2 CvCe/ε verbal nouns

Some verbal nouns differ from the Pfv and Ipv stems by final vocalic mutation to ε 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 ε/e function as intransitivizations of some transitive verbs (§9.3.1.1).

(84)	verbal noun	gloss	verb	gloss
a. mutation of final vowel only				
	bāgē	‘removal’	bāgā/bāgà	‘take away, remove’
	wògè	‘killing’	wògà/wògā	‘kill’
	tòṅè	‘looking at’	tòṅò/tòṅō	‘look at’

b. mutation of final vowel in verbal noun and intransitive (antipassive)

dīgē	‘eatng’	dīgā/dīgà	‘eat (meal)’ (transitive)
		dīgē/dīgè	‘eat’ (intransitive)

c. mutation of final vowel plus stem change

*medial m*

kūmē	‘catching’	kūū <sup>n</sup> /kū-nū	‘catch’
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*medial n*

sīnē	‘biting’	sīw <sup>n</sup> /sī-nī	‘bite’
kōlē	‘hitting’	kwāā/kō-lā	‘hit’

*medial g*

sìgè	‘departure’	sò/sò	‘go’
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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 ε/e in other derivatives, such as kūmē-nā, kōlē-nā, and sīnē-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

a. verbal noun same as or based on identical Pfv= Ipfv, plus -gù

kòṅṅ-gù	‘snoring’	kòṅṅ/kòṅṅ	‘snore’
ṅòlī-gù	‘pointing’	ṅòlī/ṅòlī	‘point at’
tèmbē-gù	‘encountering’	tèmbē/tèmbē	‘encounter’

*stem-final vowel shortened*

kùgē-gù	‘kneeling’	kùgēè/kùgēè	‘kneel’
wòlō-gù	‘snatching’	wòlōò/wòlōò	‘snatch’

*stem-final vowel lengthened*

sòṅgī-gù	‘pecking’	sòṅgī/sòṅgī	‘peck at’
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b. verbal noun same as or based on Pfv, plus -gù

bē-gū	‘coming’	bē/bē	‘come’ (2017-05 @ 00:12)
pwò-gù	‘sitting’	pwò/pò-lò	‘sit’
bāā-gū	‘exiting’	bāā/bā-lā	‘exit (v)’
kēē-gù	‘calling’	kēē/kēē-lì	‘call’
sūū-gū	‘rubbing in’	sūū/sū-lū	‘rub in (lotion)’
tūū-gù	‘spitting’	tūū/tūū-lù	‘spit’
tàà-gù	‘stopping’	tàà/tà-là	‘stop, stand’
sēṅ-gū	‘falling’	sēw <sup>n</sup> /sēn-dē	‘fall’
tēṅ-gū	‘jumping’	tēw <sup>n</sup> /tēlēw <sup>n</sup>	‘jump’
bēṅ-gū	‘returning’	bēw <sup>n</sup> /bēn-dē	‘return’
bāṅ-gū	‘shaving’	bāw <sup>n</sup> /bā-nā	‘shave’
tāṅ-gū	‘ascending’	tāw <sup>n</sup> /tā-nā	‘ascend’
yàṅ-gù	‘descending’	yàw <sup>n</sup> /yà-là	‘descend’
sèy-gù	‘pulling/tying’	sèy/sè-lè	‘pull, tie’
bōy-gù	‘greeting’	bōy/bōy-lì	‘greet’
kōy-gù	‘weaving’	kōy/kōy-lì	‘weave (fabric)’
tīyē-gū	‘question (n)’	tīyē/tīyè	‘ask (question)’
sùwō-gù	‘singing’	sùwō/sùwō-lò	‘sing’
cīyèṅ-gù	‘assembling’	cīyè <sup>n</sup> /cīyè-nè	‘assemble’
kwēèṅ-gù	‘sweeping’	kwēè <sup>n</sup> /kwēè-nà	‘sweep’
sūgòṅ-gù	‘squatting’	sūgò <sup>n</sup> /sūgòn-nà	‘squat’
sīṅàṅ-gù	‘breathing’	sīṅàw <sup>n</sup> /sīṅàn-nà	‘breathe’

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

- (86) a. à            wálé<sup>n</sup>        wòlōò  
           3Sg        money        snatch.Pfv  
           ‘He/She snatched the money.’ (wáléw<sup>n</sup> ~ wóléw<sup>n</sup>)

- b. wòlòò-gù      nà      ì      mǎỹ<sup>n</sup>  
 snatch-VblN    Neg    PsRefl    be.good  
 ‘Snatching isn’t good.’
- c. [wǎlé<sup>n</sup>      wòlòò]      nà      ì      mǎỹ<sup>n</sup>  
 [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-nā]      wògō      mǎnē      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 CvCε/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 -nà	gloss	comment
	a. intransitive				
	sēw <sup>n</sup>	sēn-dē	sēn-nā	‘fall’	
	tāw <sup>n</sup>	tā-nā	tān-nā	‘ascend’	
	yàw <sup>n</sup>	yà-là	yàn-nà	‘descend’	
	wwō	wwō	wwō-nā	‘weep’	
	kùmù	kùmū-nà	kùmù-nà	‘sleep’	
	<i>irregular</i>				
	bāā	bā-lā	bān-nā	‘exit (v)’	
	<i>suppletive</i>				
	sò	sò	sìgè-nà	‘go’	cf. noun sīgè ‘departure’
	<i>Cv lengthened before suffix</i>				
	bē	bē	bēē-nā	‘come’	
	b. transitive				
	mèw <sup>n</sup>	mè-nè	mèn-nà	‘drink’	
	tīw <sup>n</sup>	tī-nà	tīn-nà	‘do’	
	pējē	pējè	pējē-nā	‘split (firewood)’	
	cēbù	cēbù	cēbù-nà	‘push’	
	<i>Cv lengthened before suffix</i>				
	dō	dō	dōē-nā	‘give’	
	tùyè	tò	tòè-nà	‘know’	
	<i>based on alternative CvCε/e form of stem (§4.2.1.2, §9.3.1)</i>				
	dīgā	dīgà	dīgē-nā	‘eat’	
	tōlō	tōlò	tōlē-nā	‘sell’	
	kwāā	kō-lā	kōlē-nā	‘hit’	

kūū <sup>n</sup>	kū-nū	kūmē-nā	‘catch’
sīw <sup>n</sup>	sī-nī	sīnē-nā	‘bite’
wògà	wògā	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.	sūbā pējē-nā	‘splitting firewood’	sūbā	‘firewood’
b.	kúnjóló kōlē-nā	‘hitting a/the dog’	kúnjólō	‘dog’
c.	dùwō 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)	[n̄	dēm-bē	sāāŋ]	kōlē-nā
	[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.	ŋ kōlē-nā	‘the fact of hitting me’
		sèèdù kōlē-nā	‘the fact of hitting Seydou’
	b.	ŋ wògè-nà	‘the fact of killing me’
		sèèdū 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 sí ‘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 -gàw<sup>n</sup>

Addition of suffix -gàw<sup>n</sup> 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 -gàw<sup>n</sup> is treated prosodically as a separate word. The plural is -gè-è or -gà<sup>n</sup>-yè. The examples in (92b) involve verbs that are ordinarily transitive but here take antipassive intransitive form with final e/ε.

(92)	nominal	gloss	verb and gloss
a. initial identical to Pfv stem			
	mūrī-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘hairdressing place’	mūrì/mūrì ‘braid (a girl)’
	kāy <sup>n</sup> -gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘workplace’	kāy <sup>n</sup> /kāy <sup>n</sup> ‘work (v)’
	kēbē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘construction site’	kēbē/kēbē ‘build’
	sāā-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘bedroom’	sāā/sāā ‘lie down’
	<i>initial = Pfv with Final Tone-Raising</i>		
	yàñ-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘(the) way down’	yàw <sup>n</sup> /yàw <sup>n</sup> ‘descend’
	ɸèè-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘opening (passage)’	ɸèè/ɸèè ‘open’
	mèw <sup>n</sup> -gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘drinking place’	mèw <sup>n</sup> /mè-nè ‘drink’
	kìi-nī-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘ignition (of vehicle)’	kìi-nì/kìi-nì ‘wake (sb) up’
	sìɸē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘kitchen’	sìɸè/sìɸē ‘cook (in a pot)’
	sògō-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘cultivating place’	sògò/sògō ‘cultivate (field)’
	<i>initial segmentally = Pfv but not Ipfv</i>		
	pùgēw <sup>n</sup> -gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘hiding place’	pùgèw <sup>n</sup> /pùgēn-nà ‘hide’
	sāā-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘bedroom, sleeping place’	sā(g)ā/sāgà ‘lie down, go to bed’
b. initial with final e/ε and L-toned (becoming LM by tone sandhi)			
	tōlē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘shop (n)’	tōlō/tōlō ‘sell’
	kòlē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘scene of assault’	kwāā/kō-lā ‘hit’

The independent noun meaning ‘place’ is gūū<sup>n</sup>, which may be etymologically related.

Place nominals also function as complements of kílèw<sup>n</sup>/kìlēn-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/ε as in (92b). For such compound place nominals, see §5.1.6.3.

#### 4.2.1.5.2 Place nominal with -lōgū ‘mouth’ as final

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

#### 4.2.2 Uncompounded agentives (-yà ~ -yè)

The suffix is -yà ~ -yè, plural usually contracted as -y-è (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 /sùwṑ-̀yà/ so it is not a real counterexample. The suffix is M-toned by 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 ε/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.	būwə̀/būwə̀-lə̀	‘tend (herd)’	būwə̀-yà	‘herder’
b.	jàgə̀/jàgə̀	‘deal (buy/sell)’	jàgə̀-yà	‘dealer, merchant’
	sə̀gə̀/sə̀gə̀	‘cultivate’	sə̀gə̀-yà	‘farmer’
c.	sùwṑ/sùwṑ-̀lə̀	‘sing’	sùwṑ-yà	‘singer’
d.	kēbē/kēbē	‘build’	kēbē-yā	‘builder’
e.	kòȳ/kòȳ-lì	‘weave’	kòȳ-yà	‘weaver’
f.	sìq̄è/sìq̄ē	‘do cooking’	sìq̄è-yà	‘cook (n)’
	tōlē/tōlè	‘do selling’	tōlē-yā	‘merchant’

There are also a agentive-like lexical nouns such as bārù ‘builder, mason’, dò<sup>n</sup>sò ‘hunter (*chasseur*)’, wààkè ‘butcher’, sàgè ‘carpenter’, mìmá ‘leatherworker (*cordonnier*)’, and kùygù ‘blacksmith’. However, mìmá and kùygù are hereditary, in-marrying castes that are traditionally connected with the trades indicated by the translations, rather than pure agentives denoting occupations. Compare kòlón-tùgù ‘leatherworker, shoemaker’ (“skin-owner”) as an actual occupation agentive regardless of ancestry.

### 4.2.3 Deadjectival abstractives (-àmà)

Adjectives denoting scalar qualities or measurable dimensions have an abstractive nominal with suffix -àmà. It becomes -āmā 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 kō<sup>n</sup> ‘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				
	<i>-gu absent in modifying form</i>				
	kòyà <sup>n</sup>	kōyā <sup>n</sup>	‘long’	kòyà-àmà	‘length’
		(~ kòjà <sup>n</sup> , etc.)			
	bùlò <sup>n</sup>	būlō <sup>n</sup>	‘big’	bùlà-àmà	‘size, bigness’
	kùrù <sup>n</sup>	kūrū	‘short’	kùrà-àmà	‘shortness’
	<i>-gu present in modifying form</i>				
	kùy <sup>n</sup>	kūy-gū	‘deep’	kùy-gà-àmà	‘depth’
	wàà <sup>n</sup>	wāā-gū	‘wide’	wàà-gà-àmà	‘width’
	dùwòw <sup>n</sup>	dūwò-gù	‘small’	dùwò-gà-àmà	‘smallness’
	b. predicative form M-toned				
	<i>M-tone extends to suffix</i>				
	nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>	nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>	‘difficult’	nōgōrā-āmā	‘difficulty, expensiveness’
	<i>shift to ML</i>				
	kō <sup>n</sup>	(pāā-lōw <sup>n</sup> )	‘many’	kūyà-àmà	‘number, abundance’
	ɲī	ɲōɲ	‘nasty’	ɲīɲà-àmà	‘nastiness’

The noun m̀iskíinī ‘pauper, poor person’, which can also be used as a modifier ‘poor, indigent’, has an abstractive m̀iskìinà-àmà ‘poverty’. The antonym is nàfòlò-tùgā-āmā ‘wealthiness’, based on an ‘owner of X’ compound with -tùgù (§5.1.8).

#### 4.2.4 Gentilic nominals with -ɲga suffix after spatial noun

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

(95)	spatial	gloss	gentilic	gloss
a.	jííɲ-kóndō	‘north’	jííɲ-kóndó-ɲgā	‘northerner’
	jíín-sémū	‘south’	jíín-sémú-ɲgā	‘southerner’
	jíí <sup>n</sup> -cíí <sup>m</sup>	‘east’	jíí <sup>n</sup> -cíí <sup>n</sup> -ɲgā	‘easterner’
	jííɲ-kàmāà	‘west’	jííɲ-kàmāā-ɲgà	‘westerner’
b.	bóndó-kúmà	‘on top’	bóndó-kúmá-ɲgā	‘highlander’
	dàmī-ȳ	‘at bottom’	dàmīi-ɲgà	‘lowlander’
c.	tīgàà	‘in front’	tīgāā-ɲgā	‘leader, one in front’
	kòrē-ȳ	‘in back’	kòrēē-ɲgà	‘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 *nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup>*. The gentilic is *nògù-bè-ɲgà*.

### 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 -lǝgǝ, hardening to -dǝgǝ after a nasal (for d/l see §3.4.1.1), and a variant wǝgǝ without proclitic for 3Sg. The independent forms shift a final L-tone to H under (full) focalization, e.g. 3Sg wǝgǝ́.







b. 3Sg (à)	sèédū yā = à kwāā (~ sèédū yā = ā 'kwāā)	sèédū yā = ā kày
3Pl (è)	sèédū yē = è kwāā (~ sèédū yē = ē 'kwāā)	sèédū yē = ē kày
c. 1Pl (ē)	sèédù y = ē kwāā	sèédù y = ē kày
Logo/3ReflPl (ē)	sèédù y = ē kwāā	sèédù y = ē kày

#### 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 ā<sup>n</sup> 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 kày ‘saw’.

(101)	subject	object	before kwāā ‘hit’	before kày ‘saw’
a.	3Sg	2Sg 2Pl 3Sg	à = āŋ kwāā à = ā(ā) kwāā à = à kwāā	à = āŋ kày à = ā(ā) kày à = à kày
b.	2Sg	3Sg 2Sg (reflexive)	ā = ā kwāā ā = āŋ kwāā	ā = ā kày ā = āŋ kày
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.

(102)	subject	object	before kwāā ‘hit’	before kày ‘saw’
a.	3Sg	1Pl Logo/3Ref1Pl 2Sg 2Pl 3Sg (!)	à y = ē kwāā à y = ē kwāā à yà = āŋ kwāā à yà = ā(ā) kwāā à yā = à kwāā (~ à yā = ā ‘kwāā)	à y = ē kày à y = ē kày à yà = āŋ kày à yà = ā(ā) kày à yā = ā kày
		3Pl	à yè = è kwāā	à yē = ē kày
b.	3Pl	1Pl Logo/3Ref1Pl 2Sg 2Pl 3Sg 3Pl	ì y = ē kwāā ì y = ē kwāā ì yà = āŋ kwāā ì yà = ā(ā) kwāā ì yà = à kwāā ì yè = è kwāā	ì y = ē kày ì y = ē kày ì yà = āŋ kày ì yà = ā(ā) kày ì yā = ā kày ì yē = ē kày
c.	2Sg	1Pl Logo/3Ref1Pl 3Sg (!) 3Pl	ā y = ē kwāā ā y = ē kwāā ā <sup>(n)</sup> yà = à kwāā ā yè = è kwāā	ā y = ē kày ā y = ē kày ā <sup>(n)</sup> yā = ā kày ā yē = ē kày
d.	2Pl	1Pl Logo/3Ref1Pl 3Sg 3Pl	āā y = ē kwāā āā y = ē kwāā āā yà = à kwāā āā yè = è kwāā	āā y = ē kày āā y = ē kày āā yā = ā kày āā yē = ē kày
e.	1Pl	Logo/3Ref1Pl 2Sg 2Pl 3Sg 3Pl	ē y = ē kwāā ē yà = āŋ kwāā ē yà = ā(ā) kwāā ē yà = à kwāā ē yè = è kwāā	ē y = ē kày ē yà = āŋ kày ē yà = ā(ā) kày ē yā = ā kày ē yē = ē kày
f.	Logo/3Ref1Pl	1Pl Logo/3Ref1Pl 2Sg 2Pl 3Sg 3Pl	ē y = ē kwāā ē y = ē kwāā ē yà = āŋ kwāā ē yà = ā(ā) kwāā ē yà = à kwāā ē yè = è kwāā	ē y = ē kwāā ē y = ē kwāā ē yà = āŋ kày ē yà = ā(ā) kày ē yā = ā kày ē yē = ē kày

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 = ā <sup>n</sup>
	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<sup>+</sup>), and BCM-3Pl object is yē = è (~ yē = ē<sup>+</sup>). 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 = ā<sup>+</sup>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 ā<sup>(n)</sup> 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 ā<sup>n</sup>, 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 pronominals and post-subject inflectional particles

The expression “(true) inflectional” or “post-subject inflectional” particles is used here to refer to the set of PfvNeg *tè*, Ipfv *gà*, 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 *ā<sup>n</sup>* is denasalized before IpfvNeg *nà*, in the sense that there is no audible distinction between *ā<sup>n</sup>* and *ā* before *n*. 2Sg subject *ā<sup>n</sup>* 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 *à* only by tone, and from 2Pl *āā* only by length.

- (104) a. *ā nà bē*                    ‘you-Sg don’t come’  
           *à nà bē*                    ‘he/she/it doesn’t come’  
           *āā nà bē*                  ‘you-Pl don’t come’
- b. *ē nà bē*                    ‘we don’t come’ or ‘they (logophoric) don’t come’  
           *è nà bē*                    ‘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/kō-lā* ‘hit’ and before /L/-melodic *kày/kà-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 *gà* and IpfvNeg *nà* assimilate tonally to *gā* and *nā* (§3.6.4.6) before vv-Contraction, so *gè=*, *gà=*, *nè=*, and *nà=* in (105a-b) become M-toned.

(105)	object	PfvNeg	Ipfv	IpfvNeg
a.	1Pl, Logo/3Ref1Pl	<i>tè= ē kwāā</i> <i>tè= ē kày</i>	<i>gè= ē kō-lā</i> <i>gè= ē kà-nà</i>	<i>nè= ē kō-lā</i> <i>nè= ē kà-nà</i>
b.	2Sg	<i>tà= āŋ kwāā</i> <i>tà= āŋ kày</i>	<i>gà= āŋ kō-lā</i> <i>gà= āŋ kà-nà</i>	<i>nà= āŋ kō-lā</i> <i>nà= āŋ kà-nà</i>
	2Pl	<i>tà= āā kwāā</i> <i>tà= āā kày</i>	<i>gà= āā kō-lā</i> <i>gà= āā kà-nà</i>	<i>nà= āā kō-lā</i> <i>nà= āā kà-nà</i>

c. 3Sg	tā = à kwāā	gā = à kō-lā	nā = à kō-lā
	tē = ā kà y	gā = ā kà-nà	nā = ā kà-nà
3Pl	tē = è kwāā	gē = è kō-lā	nē = è kō-lā
	tē = ē kà y	gē = ē kà-nà	nē = ē kà-nà

Because object pronominals 1Pl and Logo/3Ref1Pl ē, 2Sg ā<sup>n</sup>, and 2Pl āā are M-toned, the preceding particles remain L-toned. By contrast, 3Sg à and 3Pl è 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 kà y/kà-nà ‘see’, but they remain L-toned (in careful pronunciation) before M-toned kwāā/kō-lā ‘hit’. vv-Contraction then applies, affecting the vowel features but not the tones of the particles.

Optional low-level tonal modifications like tā = à kwāā → tā = ā <sup>4</sup>kwāā (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 = è 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 = è 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.

(106) category	form	grammatical function
1Sg	ṅ	subject (perfective positive)
	ṅ̄	subject (before inflectional particles)
	ṅ̄ (+H)	nonsubject
LogoSg	ṅ	all functions

The nasal assimilates in point of articulation to following stops, nasals, and l, and is transcribed accordingly. LogoSg ṅ 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. **m̄**            bē  
           1Sg            come.Pfv  
           ‘I came.’
- b. **ṁ**            sò  
           1Sg            go.Pfv  
           ‘I went.’
- c. à            yē            [**m̄**            bē]  
           3Sg            said            [LogoSg            come.Pfv]  
           ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> came.’
- c. à            yē            [**ṁ**            sò]  
           3Sg            said            [LogoSg            go.Pfv]  
           ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> went.’

See also (823-824) in §18.1.1.3.

##### 4.3.4.1.2 Transitive perfective positives with BCM = nà<sup>n</sup>

An allomorph = nà<sup>n</sup> 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 = nà<sup>n</sup> before nonpronominal objects. The final nasal feature in = nà<sup>n</sup> assimilates to a following stop or nasal (108b-c). = nà<sup>n</sup> is raised to <LM>-toned = nǎ<sup>n</sup> (assimilated = nǎṁ etc.) before an L-tone (108b). = nǎ<sup>n</sup> is sometimes flattened to = nā<sup>n</sup>.

- (108) a. **n̄**            = nà<sup>n</sup>            sūgō            kwāā  
           1Sg            Sbj/Obj            goat            hit.Pfv  
           ‘I hit-Past the goat.’

- b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $\bar{n}\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv  
 ‘I hit-Past the cow.’
- c.  $\bar{n}$  =  $\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $k\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{g}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$   $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 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  $\bar{n}$  is M-toned here, as it is in intransitive perfective positives. Without (109a), the other examples (109b-c) and the BCM combination  $\bar{n} = \bar{n}^n$  in (108a-c) above would be compatible with either  $\bar{n}$  or L-toned  $\bar{n}$  in view of tone sandhi.

- (109) a.  $\bar{n}$   $\emptyset$   $s\bar{u}\bar{g}\bar{o}$   $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv  
 ‘I hit-Past the goat.’ [= (108a)]
- b.  $\bar{n}$   $\emptyset$   $\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow hit.Pfv  
 ‘I hit-Past the cow.’ [= (108b)]
- c.  $\bar{n}$   $\emptyset$   $k\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{g}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$   $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 1Sg (Sbj/Obj) dog hit.Pfv  
 ‘I hit-Past the dog.’ [= (108c)]

Overt  $=\bar{n}^n$  is obligatory when the following object is another pronominal, whether vocalic or nasal. The final nasal feature in  $=\bar{n}^n$  is lost under vv-Contraction and is elided before a nasal pronominal. This effectively reduces bimoraic  $=\bar{n}^n$  to monomoraic  $=\bar{n}$  in these combinations. (110) illustrates 1Sg subject with various pronominal objects before  $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$  ‘hit’ (which does not affect the tones of the pronominals) and before  $k\bar{a}\bar{y}$  ‘saw’ (which induces Final Tone-Raising on the 3Sg and 3Pl object combinations).

(110)	subject	object	before $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ‘hit’	before $k\bar{a}\bar{y}$ ‘saw’
a.	1Sg	2Sg	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a}\bar{n} kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a}\bar{n} k\bar{a}\bar{y}$
		2Pl	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a}(\bar{a}) kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a}(\bar{a}) k\bar{a}\bar{y}$
		3Sg	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a} kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{a} = \bar{a} k\bar{a}\bar{y}$
		3Pl	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{e} = \bar{e} kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{e} = \bar{e} k\bar{a}\bar{y}$
		Logo/3ReflPl	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{e} = \bar{e} kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{e} = \bar{e} k\bar{a}\bar{y}$

b. 1Sg	Logo/3ReflSg	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kày
	1Sg reflexive	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ káy

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

(111) a. $\bar{n}$	= nā =	à	kwāā
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	<b>3Sg</b>	hit.Pfv
‘I hit-Past him/her/it.’			

b. $\bar{n}$	= nā =	[à	kúngóló]	kwāā
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	[ <b>3Sg</b>	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 ā<sup>n</sup> before H-initial possessums (112).

(112) $\bar{n}$	= nà =	[à $\eta$	kúngóló]	kwāā
1Sg	Sbj/Obj	[2Sg	dog]	hit.Pfv
‘I hit your-Sg dog.’				

LogoSg  $\bar{\eta}$  occurs only in quoted matter. (113) shows its combinations with pronominal objects. It shares the BCM allomorph = nā<sup>n</sup> with 1Sg. Since = nā<sup>n</sup> is L-toned, the M-tone of LogoSg  $\bar{n}$  in  $\bar{n}$  = nā<sup>n</sup> could reflect lexical M-tone or it could be due to Final Tone-Raising from  $\bar{\eta}$ . I assume lexical M-tone by extrapolation from  $\bar{\eta}$  as subject without = nā<sup>n</sup> as in (115a) below.

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

	subject	object	before kwāā ‘hit’	before kày ‘saw’
a. LogoSg	1Pl		$\bar{n}$ = nè = ē kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nè = ē kày
	2Sg		$\bar{n}$ = nà = ā $\eta$ kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà = ā $\eta$ kày
	2Pl		$\bar{n}$ = nà = ā(ā) kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà = ā(ā) kày
	3Sg		$\bar{n}$ = nā = à kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nā = ā kày
	3Pl		$\bar{n}$ = nē = è kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nē = ē kày

b.	LogoSg	reflexive	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kày
	1Sg		$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ kwāā	$\bar{n}$ = nà $\bar{\eta}$ káy

As with 1Sg, the BCM = nà<sup>n</sup> is optional before unpossessed nonpronominal objects. (114a-c) are versions with overt BCM.

- (114) a. à yē [ $\bar{n}$  = nà $\eta$  sūgō kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the goat.’
- b. à yē [ $\bar{n}$  = nā $\bar{n}$  nàà kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the cow.’
- c. à yē [ $\bar{n}$  = nà $\eta$  kúŋgóló kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the dog.’

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

- (115) a. à yē [ $\bar{\eta}$  Ø sūgō kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the goat.’ [= (114a)]
- b. à yē [ $\bar{n}$  Ø nàà kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the cow.’ [= (114b)]
- c. à yē [ $\bar{\eta}$  Ø kúŋgóló kwāā]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> hit-Past the dog.’ [= (114c)]

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

- (116) a. à yē [ **$\bar{\eta}$**  Ø sūgō kwāā]  
 3Sg said [**1Sg** (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She said that I hit-Past the goat.’

- b. à        yē        [ñ        Ø        nàà        kwāā]  
      3Sg    said        [1Sg        (Sbj/Obj)    cow        hit.Pfv]  
      ‘He/She said that I hit-Past the cow.’
- c. à        yē        [ŋ        Ø        kúŋgóló    kwāā]  
      3Sg    said        [1Sg        (Sbj/Obj)    dog        hit.Pfv]  
      ‘He/She said that I hit-Past the dog.’

#### 4.3.4.1.3 Cliffs BCM allomorph = nà<sup>n</sup> versus Djenné post-1Sg nà

The homologue to Cliffs post-subject = nà<sup>n</sup> 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 ŋ in the combination ní nà, and it does not occur after LogoSg ŋ. 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 ŋ 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 ŋ and LogoSg ŋ 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 nā<sup>n</sup>, and subjunctive gālà (§10.1.1).

Before a post-subject inflectional particle, the 1Sg proclitic is L-toned ŋ. 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). ŋ gà, n nà, and n tè in (117a-c) function prosodically as single L-toned words, i.e. as portmanteaus.

- (117) a. ŋ        gà        bē  
      1Sg    Ipfv    come.Ipfv  
      ‘I come/am coming/will come.’
- b. n        nà        bē  
      1Sg    IpfvNeg    come.Pfv  
      ‘I do/will not come.’
- c. n        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 *ɲ gā sò* ‘I go’. This raising has nothing to do with the 1Sg subject proclitic.

M-toned LogoSg *ɲ* (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 *ɲ* never drops to L-tone by M#H-to-L#H.

- (118) a. *à yē [ɲ gā bē]*  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> says that he<sub>x</sub> comes/is coming/will come.’
- b. *à yē [ɲ tē sò]*  
 3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg go.Ipfv]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> says that he<sub>x</sub> didn’t go.’

#### 4.3.4.3 1Sg *ɲ* (+H) and LogoSg *ɲ* as nonsubjects

As preverbal objects, as possessors, and as complements of postpositions (except as specified below), the 1Sg proclitic takes the form *ɲ* (+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 *ɲ* 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 *ɲ* (+H) and LogoSg *ɲ* 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.



#### 4.3.4.3.2 1Sg ñ (+H) and LogoSg ñ̄ 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. ñ            kúnǵólō / sūǵō  
           1Sg        dog / goat  
           ‘my dog/goat’
- b. ñ            **kó**lów<sup>n</sup> / **káá** / tǵ̀ǵ̀nǵ̀  
           1Sg        skin / father / / truth  
           ‘my skin’ (< kòlòw<sup>n</sup>, kàà, tǵ̀ǵ̀nǵ̀)

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

LogoSg ñ̄ 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            [ñ̄            kúnǵóló ...]  
           3Sg        said        [LogoSg    dog        ...]  
           ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that his<sub>x</sub> dog...’
- b. à            yē            [ñ̄            sūǵō / kàà ...]  
           3Sg        said        [LogoSg    goat / father ...]  
           ‘He<sub>x</sub> said that his<sub>x</sub> goat/ his<sub>x</sub> father...’

#### 4.3.4.3.3 1Sg ñ (+H) and LogoSg ñ̄ as postpositional complements

Many postpositions originate as possessed nouns (‘side’, ‘back’, ‘front’), so it is not surprising that 1Sg ñ (+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. ñ            tǵ̀ǵ̀àà  
           1Sg        front  
           ‘in front of me’

- b. m̄            pá  
 1Sg          Comit  
 ‘with me’ (< pà)

The tonal effects of C<sup>v</sup> and C<sup>̂</sup> postpositions are displayed in (125).

(125)	postposition	gloss	1Sg	Logo/3ReflSg	2Sg	‘snake’	‘Seydou’
a.	tē	dative	h̄ tē	n̄ tē	ān tē	sībō tē	sèédù tē
	nā	dative	h̄ nā	n̄ nā	ān nā	sībō nā	sèédù nā
b.	pà	‘with’	m̄ pá	m̄ pà	ām pà	sībō pà	sèédū pà

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  $\bar{n}$  remains M-toned before M or L tone.

(126)	a.	à	yē	[... n̄	tīgàà	...]
		3Sg	said	[... LogoSg	front	...]
				‘Hex said that ... in front of him <sub>x</sub> ...’		
	b.	à	yē	[... m̄	pà	...]
		3Sg	said	[... LogoSg	with	...]
				‘Hex said that ... with him <sub>x</sub> ...’		

## 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 kú (see the following subsection).

Singular gu (~ wu) gets its tone by spreading from the preceding tone. It is realized as M-toned gū 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) sūgō gū                    ‘that goat’  
 kúŋgóló gū                ‘that dog’                    (kúŋgóló gú nonfinally)  
 bùwà gù                    ‘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 nīmī-lè ‘people’ (< nīmī ‘person’) and in relative plural mà-lè (§14.1.1).

- (129) sūgē-ē kù-lè                ‘those goats’  
 kúŋgólé-é kù-lè                ‘those dogs’  
 bùwà-yē kù-lè                ‘those shoulderbags’

Postnominal gu can co-occur with, but is not required by, a prenominal demonstrative kò<sup>n</sup> or ɲò<sup>n</sup> (on which see the following subsection) In this combination, the plural is gu-yè with the productive nominal plural ending -yè.

The combination ɲóŋ gú with discourse-definite demonstrative ɲó<sup>n</sup> 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                 | ɲó <sup>n</sup> | ɲó <sup>n</sup> -yè |

b. combinations with noun X without definite

general	kɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X	kɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X-yè	
discourse-definite	ɲɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X	ɲɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X-yè	(~ ɲà <sup>n</sup> ...)

c. combinations with noun X and definite

general	kɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X gu	kɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X gu-yè
discourse-definite	ɲɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X gu	ɲɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> (+M) X gu-yè
	~ ɲà <sup>n</sup> ... in some combinations, e.g. (370e)	

We can speak informally of k-forms and ɲ-forms. The ɲ-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 ɲ-forms. This is consistent with the fact that both k- and ɲ-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 ɪ̃ (+H), see §3.6.3.1.2 above. For the syntax of NPs including a demonstrative, see §6.5.

What may be a homophone ɲɔ̃<sup>n</sup> functions as a possessed noun or compound final with abstract meaning ('situation, matter, problem') as in (131). My assistant interprets this possessed ɲɔ̃<sup>n</sup> as a contracted form of the noun ɲɔ̃gɔ̃-lɛw<sup>n</sup> 'eye(s)' (with frozen diminutive ending).

- (131) a. [à            ɲɔ̃m]            màà  
           [3Sg            **situation**]    look.for.Pfv  
           'You-Sg figure out a solution for it!'
- b. à<sup>n</sup>            wólé<sup>n</sup>-ɲɔ̃ɲ            kílɛ  
       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
	bōw <sup>n</sup>	‘here’
	kìntá	‘over there’ (deictic, not far)
	yāw <sup>n</sup>	‘there’ (discourse-definite)

For nondemonstrative spatial adverbs, see §8.4.6.4.

#### 4.4.3.2 Deictic manner adverb or verb (kìyèw<sup>n</sup>)

kìyèw<sup>n</sup> 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 kiyéw<sup>n</sup>.

- (133) a. è            kúngóló        kwāā        gà            kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl            dog                hit.Pfv     RemPfv     **like.this**  
 ‘We hit-Past the dog like this.’
- b. ē            gā =            à            kō-lō        kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl            Ipfv            3Sg        hit-Ipfv     **like.this**  
 ‘We (often) hit it like this.’
- c. ē            gā =            kiyén                    tū-nà  
 1Pl            Ipfv            **like.this.Foc**        do-Ipfv  
 ‘This (way) [focus] is how we do it.’ (variant of tū-nà)

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

- (134) a. ē            gā =            ā            kiyè-ná  
 1Pl            Ipfv            3Sg        **do.like.this-Ipfv.Foc**  
 ‘We’ll do it like this/that [focus].’
- b. ē            gā =            ā            kiyè-nà            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl            Ipfv            3Sg        **do.like.this-Ipfv**    here  
 ‘We’ll do it like this/that here.’

- c. ē            nā=            ā            kiyè-nà  
 1Pl          IpfvNeg       3Sg          **do.like.this-Ipfv**  
 ‘We won’t do it like this/that.’
- d. ò-dógó      gá=            ā            kiyè-nà  
 1Sg-Indep Ipfv       3Sg          **do.like.this-Ipfv**  
 ‘It’s I [focus] who will do it like this/that.’
- e. ē            yā=            ā            kiyēŋ            gà  
 1Pl          Sbj/Obj       3Sg          **do.like.this.Pfv**    RemPfv  
 ‘We did it like this/that.’

#### 4.4.4 Presentatives

##### 4.4.4.1 kây ~ kày (‘here’s ...!’)

The presentative morpheme kây ~ 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. sèédù      kây  
 S            Prsntv  
 ‘Here’s Seydou!’
- b. ìj            káy  
 1Sg        Prsntv  
 ‘Here I am!’
- c. (internally reconstructed)  
 \*sèédū      kày  
 \*S            see.Pfv  
 \*‘See Seydou!’
- d. sèédū      tòŋò  
 S            look.at.Pfv  
 ‘Look at Seydou!’

The presentative morpheme is M-toned kây after a nonpronominal NP. Therefore in (136a) kây does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on the final syllable of òngù. kây drops to kày before H-tone

by regular tone sandhi; compare *kāy* (136b) with *kày* (136c). Even when *kāy* has dropped to *kày* in this way, it does not allow Final Tone-Raising on the preceding syllable (136d).

- (136) a. *nògù*      *kāy*  
village      **Prsntv**  
‘There’s/Here’s a village!’
- b. *nògù-n-tómbó*                      *kāy*  
village-Link-abandoned      **Prsntv**  
‘There’s the former village site!’
- c. *nàmàgēlē*    *gà*            [*ē*    *nògù-n-tómbó*                      *kày*]            [*bóndó*    *kūmà*]  
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*      *kày*      [*bóndó*    *kūmà*]  
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 *ɲ* (+H) raises the tone to *káy*, which presupposes a basic L-toned form *kày* 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      *ɲ káy*
- b. 1Pl      *ē káy*  
2Sg      *āɲ káy*  
2Pl      *āā káy*  
LogoSg    *ɲ káy*  
LogoPl    *ē káy*
- c. 3Sg      *à kày*  
3Pl      *è kày*

#### 4.4.4.2 Grammar and functions of presentative

The 2Sg combination  $\bar{a}\eta$   $k\bar{a}y$  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  $k\bar{a}y/k\grave{a}y$  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  $k\bar{a}y/k\grave{a}y$  replaces Ipfv  $g\grave{a}$ , 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. [sèédù  $k\bar{a}y$ ]  $k\grave{u}t\bar{u}$  /  $t\bar{a}-n\bar{a}$   
 [S **Prsntv**] run.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv  
 ‘There’s Seydou running/climbing!’
- b. [sèédù  $k\bar{a}y$ ]  $t\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $k\bar{u}l\bar{e}n-n\grave{a}$   
 [S **Prsntv**] meat cut-Ipfv  
 ‘There’s Seydou cutting the meat!’
- c. [sèédù  $k\bar{a}y$ ]  $pw\grave{o}-n\grave{a}$   
 [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  $k\bar{a}y/k\grave{a}y$  and then resumed by a subject pronominal (139a), or an initial  $\grave{a}$   $k\grave{a}y$  (originally imperative ‘see it!’) with fixed 3Sg pronominal (resuming the entire scene) is followed by a perfective clause (139b).

- (139) a. [sèédù  $k\bar{a}y$ ] [ $\grave{a}$   $s\bar{e}w^n$ ]  
 [S **Prsntv**] [3Sg fall.Pfv]  
 ‘There’s Seydou, he fell!’

- b. [à kày] [jēnām-bī-gē sēw<sup>n</sup> gà]  
 [3Sg Prsntv] [child-Pl fall.Pfv RemPfv]  
 ‘Look, the children have fallen down.’

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. ì gà bē [jūgū màw<sup>n</sup> kāy] kūlēw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Sg Ipfv Fut [tree Rel Prsntv] cut.Pfv  
 ‘I will cut down the tree that there it is! (=that is visible over there).’

- b. ì gà bē [āṅ gā [jūgū màṅ] kà-nà] kūlēw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 kāy in the predicate. See (136c) in the preceding section.

When an NP ending in kāy/kày functions as relative head, the relative morpheme precedes kāy/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 *sèlé* ‘soft, brittle (rock)’, which is only attested in two combinations: *sīlē sèlé* ‘soft rock’ and *sòō<sup>n</sup> sèlé* ‘sandstone’. One could consider *sèlé* 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		
	<i>bánū</i>	à m̀ <i>bánū</i>	‘big (and solid), massive, thick’
	<i>sīlē</i>		‘old’
	b. modifying adjective is M-toned		
	<i>stative predicate is also M-toned</i>		
	<i>cīyēw<sup>n</sup></i>	à j̀ <i>cīyēw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘heavy’
	<i>dāā<sup>n</sup></i>	à ñ <i>dāā<sup>n</sup></i>	‘distant’
	<i>dēmō<sup>n</sup></i>	à ñ <i>dēw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘delicious, sweet’
	<i>kāā</i>	à <i>kāā-mā-nā</i> ñ	‘wet; raw; unripe’
	<i>kāgājī</i>	à ñ <i>kāgājī</i>	‘bitter’
	<i>kāmnā</i>	à ñ <i>kāmnā</i>	‘old (person)’
	<i>nōgōrōw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>nōgōrōw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘difficult’
	<i>ɲōɲō</i>	à j̀ <i>ɲī</i>	‘bad; nasty’
	<i>sūmū<sup>n</sup></i>	à g̀ <i>sūmū</i> ñ	‘foreign’
	<i>stative predicate is L-toned</i>		
	<i>būlō<sup>n</sup> ~ būrō<sup>n</sup></i>	à m̀ <i>bùlòw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’
	<i>kōjā<sup>n</sup> ~ kōyā<sup>n</sup></i>	à ñ <i>kòjàw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘long; tall’
	<i>kūrū<sup>n</sup></i>	à ñ <i>kùrù<sup>n</sup></i>	‘short’
	<i>māṅnāw<sup>n</sup></i>	à m̀ <i>mày<sup>n</sup></i>	‘good’
	<i>no stative predicate</i>		
	<i>tīnāā<sup>n</sup></i>	—	‘other’
	<i>tōy</i>	—	‘new’
	<i>primary color adjectives (stative predicate is participial)</i>		
	<i>kūwō<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>kwāā-nā</i> ñ	‘white’
	<i>pīī<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nā</i> ñ	‘black’
	<i>tōmōw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tòmò-nā</i> ñ	‘red’

*iterative adjectives (stative predicate is participial)*

wwō <sup>n</sup> -wwō <sup>n</sup>	wwō <sup>n</sup> -mā-nā nì	‘empty; isolated, by itself’
nīī-nīī	nīī-nīī-nā nì	‘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 ŋ kù <sup>n</sup>	‘deep’
pēlū-gū	à m̄ pēlū <sup>n</sup>	‘light(weight)’

b. /HL/ melody

dūwò-gù	à n̄ dùwò <sup>n</sup>	‘small’
tūù-gù	à n̄ tū <sup>n</sup>	‘nearby’
mīyè-gù	à m̄ mīyè <sup>n</sup>	‘thin’
nīyè-gù	à j̄ nīyà <sup>n</sup>	‘easy’
pūlù-gù	à m̄ pūlù <sup>n</sup>	‘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 dègè-náw<sup>n</sup> ~ dégé-náw<sup>n</sup> ‘small’

-náw<sup>n</sup> is the productive diminutive suffix with nouns, especially those that denotes inanimates (§5.1.7.1). It is also part of the adjective ‘small’: dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>, which occurs in modifying function only. It is replaced in predicative function by pseudo-reflexive dùwòw<sup>n</sup> as in à ñ dùwòw<sup>n</sup> ‘it is small’. Even as modifying adjective, dègè-náw<sup>n</sup> ~ dégé-náw<sup>n</sup> competes with dūwò-gù.

- (143) a. yàmbàà      dégé-náw<sup>n</sup>  
           house      small  
           ‘a small house’
- b. kùṅgòlò      tòmòn      dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>  
           dog          red          small  
           ‘a small red (=brown) dog’

The stems in dègè-náw<sup>n</sup> and dūwò-gù may be etymologically related, though any synchronic connection is opaque. Compare Djenné Jenaama dúwò-gù ‘meager’ and Kelenga lógò ‘be small, tiny’.

#### 4.5.1.3 Adjective-like participles with suffix -nà

The participial suffix -nà ~ -nā 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. māātīgē / tēē      ɲēṅē-nā  
           peanut / meat      fry-Ppl  
           ‘lightly fried peanuts/meat’ (< ɲèṅà ‘shallow-fry, cook with a little oil’)
- b. gòrò      pērè-nà  
           kola.nut      split-Ppl  
           ‘split kola nuts’ (< pērè ‘split’)
- c. tēē      kōy-nā  
           meat      char-Ppl  
           ‘charred (over-roasted) meat’ (< kōy ‘become charred’)
- d. pīī<sup>n</sup>      sēgè-nà  
           millet      pound-Ppl  
           ‘millet grain that has been pounded in a mortar’ (< sēgè ‘pound in mortar’)

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
a. M-toned as modifier				
	kījī-nā	à kījì-nā nì	à kījì	‘plump’
	kūmā-nā	à kūmā-nā nì	à kūmā	‘lean, emaciated’
	kūrī-nā	à kūrì-nā nì	à kūrì	‘full-strength, undiluted’
	mūwā-nā	à mwàà-nā nì	à mùwà	‘cold’
	ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū-nā	ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū-nā nì	à ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū	‘multicolored (spotted, striped)’
	pān-nā	à pān-nā nì	à pāā	‘full’
	pīyē-nā	à pīyē-nā nì	à pīyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘hot’
	pīyē-nā	à pīyè-nā nì	à pīyèw <sup>n</sup>	‘dirty’
	pōrē-nā	à pōrē-nā nì	à pòrè	‘wet’
	wwōmā-nā	à wwō <sup>n</sup> nì	à wwō-mā (inch.) à wwō <sup>n</sup> -wō <sup>n</sup> nì (‘it is’)	‘empty’
b. HL-toned as modifier				
	bīllà-nà	à bīllà-nā nì	à bīllà	‘narrow, tight’
	dāātà-nà	à dāātà-nā nì	à dāātà	‘smooth’
	tāndà-nà	à tāndà-nā nì	à tāndà	‘sour’
	wūwò-nà	à wwō-nā nì	à wwō <sup>n</sup>	‘dry; hard’
	<i>iterative</i>			
	yōrṣ-yōrṣ-nà	à yōrṣ-yōrṣ-nā nì	à yōrṣ-yōrṣ	‘loose, slack’

#### 4.5.2 Exemplars as “adjectives”

‘Yellow’ is based on the exemplar nērèn-dūū ‘powdery bright yellow meal (flour) inside pods of néré tree (*Parkia biglobosa*)’. The compound initial is based on the Bambara word for the tree (cf. Cliffs nàndò). As modifying color adjective, ‘yellow’ is contracted and tone-raised to nēlōndūū, e.g. jùgù nēlōndūū ‘yellow cloth’.

‘Green’ is based on the exemplar sōgū kāā ‘wet (=fresh) grass’. As color adjective it is usually contracted to sōgō-kāā or sōs-kāā, as in jùgù sōs-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’ (kēw̃<sup>n</sup>, sànnā) and ‘same (one)’

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, ...’), ‘1’ is expressed by sànnā. Elsewhere ‘1’ is kēw̃<sup>n</sup> ~ kēè<sup>n</sup> 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). kēw̃<sup>n</sup> can occasionally combine with a discourse-definite determiner, if the referent has been established in preceding discourse (146c). kēw̃<sup>n</sup> can be repeated in each of two parallel clauses; the free translation is ‘one ..., the other ...’ (146d).

(146) a. sàbà        ŋ-kēw̃<sup>n</sup>  
chicken    Link-**one**  
‘one chicken’ (< sàbá)

b. ŋ            kó            [kḕn        nī]  
1Sg        furnish.Pfv    [**one**       Inst]  
‘Give me one!’

c. [kḕj        gù]            dō            [̀n        tē]  
[**one**       Def]        give.Pfv    [1Sg       Dat]  
‘Give me the one (e.g., the one that you mentioned).’

d. [tèw̃<sup>n</sup>        yè̀n        dùgòŋ]        kṑndō        gà,  
[elder.sib    and        younger.sib]    stay.Pfv    RemPfv,  
[kḕn        sò / ]        [kḕj        kṑndō        yāw̃<sup>n</sup>]  
[one        go.Pfv]    [one        stay.Pfv        there.Def]  
‘There were two brothers, elder and younger, were (there). One left, the other stayed there.’ (kṑndō §10.3.2)

‘One person’ is irregularly nā ŋ-kēw̃<sup>n</sup>, compare nīmī ‘person’ in all other contexts.

An extra syllable -law<sup>n</sup> occurs between a modified noun and kēw̃<sup>n</sup>. 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 ṅ-. It spreads the noun’s initial tone rightward, showing that ‘one’ behaves like an adjective morphophonologically.

(147)	noun	with ‘one’	gloss
	màrpá	màrpà-là ṅ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one rifle (musket)’
	sāākù	sāākū-lā ṅ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one sack’
	nàà	nàà-là ṅ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one cow’
	sūgō	sūgō-lā ṅ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one goat’
	ṅarágō	ṅarágó-lá ṅ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one calabash cover’

Distributive (ṅ-)kēṅ-kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 (ṅ-)kēṅ-‘kēw<sup>n</sup>.

In addition to its use as a numeral (‘1’ as opposed to ‘2’ or more), kēw<sup>n</sup> 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 -law<sup>n</sup> is absent.

(148)	sēēnì	yèñ	lààsìnè,	[nà <sup>n</sup>	ṅ-kē <sup>n</sup> ]	[kàà	ṅ-kē <sup>n</sup> ]	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 kūū<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain’ (§6.3.2.2) is likely etymologically related to kēw<sup>n</sup> 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.

(149)	gloss	form	melody
	‘2’	pēndē	/M/
	‘3’	sìgèw <sup>n</sup>	/L/
	‘4’	nàtàw <sup>n</sup> ~ nàràw <sup>n</sup>	"
	‘5’	kòògòw <sup>n</sup>	"
	‘6’	tùùmì	"
	‘7’	yìyèni	/L/
	‘8’	sēkī	/M/
	‘9’	kàpì	/L/
	‘10’	cēm ~ cēmū	/M/

Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4) is triggered by an /L/-melodic numeral: *nàà* ‘cow’, *nàā nàtàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘4 cows’; *sògò* ‘sheep’, *sògò kòògòw<sup>n</sup>* ‘5 sheep’.

The bisyllabic variant *cēmū* for ‘10’ is often pronounced [cēm:] with prolonged nasal.

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

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

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, ...’), an incantational prosody is overlaid. A suppletive form of ‘1’ is used. ‘10’ is lengthened to *cēm*. ‘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 (*sānnā pēndē sīkēw<sup>n</sup>*), or with audibly distinct L and M tones (*sànnā pēndē sīkēw<sup>n</sup>*). In the latter case, the final tone of *sānnā* is at the same pitch level as the following *pēndē*. 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

gloss	form	tones
‘1’	sànnā	L.M
‘2’	pēndē	M.M
‘3’	sìkēw <sup>n</sup>	L.M
‘4’	nàtāw <sup>n</sup>	"
‘5’	kòògōw <sup>n</sup>	"
‘6’	tùumī	"
‘7’	yìyèní	"
‘8’	sēkī	M.M
‘9’	kàpī	L.M
‘10’	cēm	M

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

The multiples of ‘10’ are in (151). *dèbè* ‘40’ and *yōlō* ‘80’ are the only simple, monomorphemic forms. ‘20’ and ‘30’ consist of the numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’ following *tā<sup>n</sup>-*, which suppletes *cēm* ‘ten’ (compare English *-ty* in *twenty* etc.). A similar composite structure is observed in *tààlmā-sìgèw<sup>n</sup>* ‘60’. Its final is clearly a variant of *sìkèw<sup>n</sup>* ‘3’, so *tààlmā-* 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 subtract ‘10’ from the next higher decimal (*cēm-àà-kèw<sup>n</sup>* roughly ‘one less ten’).

(151)	<i>tām-pēndē</i>	20
	<i>tā<sup>n</sup>-sìgèw<sup>n</sup></i>	30
	<i>dèbè</i>	40
	<i>dèbè-Ø-cēm</i>	50
	<i>tààlmā-sìgèw<sup>n</sup></i>	60
	<i>tààlmā-sìgè-Ø-cēm</i>	70
	<i>yōlō-cēm-àà-kèw<sup>n</sup></i>	"
	<i>yōlō bànmārà</i>	80
	<i>yōlè-Ø-cēm</i>	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 *dèbè-Ø-’40-and’* is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone: *dèbē-Ø-nàtàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘44’. L-toned nouns likewise raise their final syllables to M before *dèbè*, as in *sògō dèbè* ‘40 sheep’.

- (152)
- |      |   |
|------|---|
| ‘11’ | <i>tēm(b)è-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>  |
| ‘21’ | <i>tām-pēndè-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>  |
| ‘31’ | <i>tā<sup>n</sup>-sìgè-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>  |
| ‘41’ | <i>dèbè-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>   |
| ‘51’ | <i>dèbè-Ø-cēm-è-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>   |
| ‘61’ | <i>tàalmā-sìgè-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>  |
| ‘71’ | <i>tàalmā-sìgè-Ø-cēm-è-kēw<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>yōlō-cēm-àà-gè-kēw<sup>n</sup></i> |
| ‘81’ | <i>yōlō-(è-)kēw<sup>n</sup></i>   |
| ‘91’ | <i>yōlè-(è-)cēm(ù)-è-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>  |

The otherwise M-toned digits ‘2’ and ‘8’ rise to H-toned in such combinations. This triggers a drop in tones of a preceding M-toned stem 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’	<i>kēw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tēmbè-Ø-kēw<sup>n</sup></i>
‘2’	<i>pēndē</i>	<i>-pēndē</i>	<i>tēmbè-Ø-pēndē</i>
‘3’	<i>sìgèw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>-sìgèw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-sìgèw<sup>n</sup></i>
‘4’	<i>nàràw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>-nàràw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-nàràw<sup>n</sup></i>
‘5’	<i>kòògòw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>-kòògòw<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-kòògòw<sup>n</sup></i>
‘6’	<i>tùùmì</i>	<i>-tùùmì</i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-tùùmì</i>
‘7’	<i>yìyèni</i>	<i>-yìyèni</i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-yìyèni</i>
‘8’	<i>sékī</i>	<i>-sékī</i>	<i>tēmbè-Ø-sékī</i>
‘9’	<i>kàpì</i>	<i>kàpì</i>	<i>tēmbē-Ø-kàpì</i>

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 *dèbè* ‘40’, as in *sibō dèbè* ‘40 snakes’.

#### 4.6.1.5 Large numerals ('100', '1000', ...) and their composites

The stems in (154) are noun-like morphosyntactically.

(154)	tēēmdērè	hundred
	mùjù	thousand
	mīlyō <sup>n</sup>	million

The numeral '1' is not normally present after any of these: sògò tēēmdērè 'a hundred sheep'.

In examples like sògò mùjù 'a thousand sheep' (< sògò), 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 yè<sup>n</sup> or yèhīni 'and' connects the two.

(155)	sògò	tēēmdērè	pēndē	yè <sup>n</sup>	yōlō
	sheep	hundred	two	<b>and</b>	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 dārì 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. dārì is usually omitted when money is understood to be the topic, for example in market transactions. dārì is also normally contracted to dēē before numerals from '2' to '99', thus dārì ñ-kēw<sup>n</sup> 'one unit' (5 FCFA) but dēē pēndē 'two units' and so forth, up to dārì tēēmdērè 'one hundred units' (500 FCFA).

The 5000 FCFA banknote is called mùjū-silāāmù or (especially among older speakers) silāāmū-mùjù, and the 10000 FCFA banknote is called mùjù-pēndē-silāāmù. These compounds contain mùjù 'thousand', pēndē '2', and a compounding element related to silāāmā '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).

(156)	gloss	digit	distributive
	‘1’	kēw <sup>n</sup>	(ŋ-)kēŋ-kēw <sup>n</sup> ~ (ŋ-)kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	‘2’	pēndē	pēndē-pēndē
	‘3’	sìgèw <sup>n</sup>	sìgēn-sìgèw <sup>n</sup>
	‘4’	nàràw <sup>n</sup>	nàrán-nàràw <sup>n</sup>
	‘5’	kòògòw <sup>n</sup>	kòògòŋ-kòògòw <sup>n</sup>
	‘6’	tùùmì	tùùmī-tùùmì
	‘7’	yìyèni	yìyèni-yìyèni
	‘8’	sēkī	sēkī-sēkī
	‘9’	kàpì	kàpī-kàpì
	‘10’	cēm	cēm-cēm
	‘20’	tām-pēndē	tām-pēndē-tām-pēndē
	‘40’	dèbè	dèbē-dèbè

kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘1’ differs from the nonsingular numerals in being an adjective, with consequences for tonal interactions with the noun. Its distributive iteration kē<sup>n</sup>-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup> 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. kē<sup>n</sup>-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup> 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.

- (157) a. dèbè-(è-)cēm-cēm      ‘fifty by fifty’  
 b. tēmbè-(è-)kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>      ‘eleven by eleven’

See also interrogative jèŋ-jèw<sup>n</sup> ‘how much/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 yàmbāà pēndē-pēndē ‘two houses at a time’, mànàmì sìgēn-sìgèw<sup>n</sup> ‘three dances each’ (< mànàmì), mǎāngòró kòògòŋ-kòògòw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 jèy<sup>n</sup>-àà ‘how-manieth?’ (French *quantième*, §13.2.2.7).

#### 4.6.2.1 ‘First’ (pānāā<sup>(n)</sup>) and ‘last’ (dāgālē)

pānāā<sup>(n)</sup> ‘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. nàà	‘cow’	nàà pānāā <sup>(n)</sup>	nàà dāgālē
	b. sūgō	‘goat’	sūgō pānāā <sup>(n)</sup>	sūgō dāgālē
	c. kūṅgōlō	‘dog’	kūṅgōlō pānāā <sup>(n)</sup>	kūṅgōlō dāgālē

Example (159) presents the positive predicate forms ‘be first/last’. pānāā is M-toned, but dāgālē is L-toned (before tone sandhi).

(159)	a.	ṅ	gà	pānāā <sup>n</sup>	nì
		1Sg	be	first	it.is
		‘I am first.’			
	b.	ṅ	gā	dāgālē	nì
		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-ānā	‘second’	pēn-ānā
	sìgà-ànà	‘third’	
	nàtā-ànà ~ nàrà-ànà	‘fourth’	
	kòògò-ànà	‘fifth’	kòògà-ànà
	tùùmì-ànà	‘sixth’	
	yìyènà-ànà	‘seventh’	
	sēkī-ānā	‘eighth’	
	kàpì-ànà	‘ninth’	
	cēēmū-ānā	‘tenth’	

b. decimal		
tām-pēndē-ānā	‘twentieth’	tām-pēn-ānā
c. decimal plus single-digit numeral		
tēmbè-(è-)kē-àrà	‘eleventh’	
tēmbè-(è-)pén-àrà	‘twelfth’	
d. hundred		
tēēmdērè-àrà	‘hundredth’	

Ordinals behave like other adjectives in tonal interactions with preceding nouns, e.g. kūngōlō pēn-ānā ‘second dog’ (< kúngólō).

#### 4.6.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’ (always with a possessor) is tàá or péjē. The minimal form is à tàá or à péjē ‘half of it’. A full NP possessor occurs in [wóléj gú] tàá or [wóléj gú] péjé ‘half of that money’. Diminutive tàà-lēw<sup>n</sup> 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)’, kùrí ‘piece, segment (of a long object such as a rope or a stem)’, pérē ‘half (of a split object, e.g. kola nut or watermelon)’, and the very general kómbē ‘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-jēw <sup>n</sup>	‘heart of palm’	pùù ‘germinated borassus palm nut’
b.	nàà-m-būwò-yà	‘cowherd’	nàà ‘cow’
c.	sīlē-n-sàbá	‘stone partridge’	sīlē ‘rock’

kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’ appears with a nasal linker (ŋ-kēw<sup>n</sup>) 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-bī-gē]-kòñù ‘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-nìyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘sun’  
           kùgù ‘daytime’ plus nìyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘head’
- b. kàṅgé-[pùù-n-jēw<sup>n</sup>] ‘wild onion spp.’  
           kàṅgé ‘hyena’ plus pùù-ṅ-jēw<sup>n</sup> ‘heart of palm’
- c. [yùgòn-sílé]-nī ‘trailing vine sp.’  
           yùgòn sílé ‘old woman’ plus nī ‘tooth’
- d. màlìfá-būūrū<sup>n</sup> ‘barrel of rifle’  
           màlìfá ‘rifle’ plus būūrū<sup>n</sup> ‘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. sīlē-n-sàbá ‘stone partridge’ (*Ptilopachus*)  
           sīlē ‘rock’ plus sàbá ‘chicken’
- b. ʃèmpùwò-[túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup>] ‘aloe’  
           ʃèmpùwò ‘donkey’ plus túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘ear’
- c. nàà-kūmū ‘trailing herb with bends at nodes’ (*Portulaca*)  
           nàà ‘cow’ plus kūmū ‘knee’ (dialectal)
- d. kùwò-sṣṣ<sup>n</sup> ‘grass sp. (*Enteropogon*)’  
           kùwò ‘monkey’ plus sṣṣ<sup>n</sup> ‘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. kùwò-yē nàm-jīī ‘floating vegetative pond scum’  
           kùwò-yè ‘monkeys’ plus nàm-jīī ‘baobab-leaf sauce’
- b. pùlé-mbē pùwó<sup>n</sup> ‘herb sp. (*Amaranthus*)’  
           pùlé-mbè ‘birds’ plus pùwó<sup>n</sup> ‘fonio (grain)’
- c. nòlòm-bē sòm-bàà-tīī ‘prickly herb sp. (*Achyranthes*)’  
           nòlòm-bè ‘Dogon-PI’ plus sòm-bàà-tīī ‘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/	kàŋgé	‘hyena’	kàŋgè-
/LH*/	kìtómó	‘conical hat’	kìtòmò-
/L*H/	màlifá	‘rifle’	màlifà-
/LML/	yàmbàà	‘house’	yàmbàà-

b. melody begins with M, becoming all-M

/ML/	sīisò	‘scissors’	sīisō-
/MLH/	mākàrí	‘macari’	mākārī-

c. melody is /H/, dropping to M-toned

/H/	kúŋgóló	‘dog’	kūŋgōlō-
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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/	dègè	‘pain’	-dēgē
	cìyè	‘field’	-ɲ-cīyē
	wògè	‘killing’	-wōgē

b. melody is /M/, unchanged

/M/	dīgē	‘eating’	-dīgē
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c. melody is contour-toned, becoming ML-toned

/ML/	būwò-yà	‘herder’	-būwò-yà
/LML/	yàmbàà	‘house’	-yāmbàà

d. melody is raised to H-toned (§5.1.5.2.2)

/LH/	sàbá	‘chicken’	-sábá
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### 5.1.5 Compounds with tonally modified finals

#### 5.1.5.1 Final raised from /L/ melody to M

The /L/-melodic noun *cìyè* ‘field’ combines with a compound initial as *-n-cìyē*, 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-ŋ-cìyē	‘sorghum field’	kèndè
	pùwòŋ-cìyē	‘fonio field’	pùwó <sup>n</sup>
	[dàrà-mà-yìŋ]-cìyē	‘maize field’	dàrà-mà-yīw <sup>n</sup>
	sàbùl-à-ŋ-cìyē	‘cow-pea field’	sàbùlá
	b. initial has M-initial melody (/M/, /ML/)		
	dūgā-ŋ-cìyē	‘rice field’	dūgā
	pīīŋ-cìyē	‘millet field’	pīī <sup>n</sup>
	tābā-cìyē	‘tobacco field’	tābà
	c. initial has H-initial melody		
	kūū-ŋ-cìyē	‘yam field’	kūū (< /kúú/)
	dēē-ŋ-cìyē	‘cotton field’	dēé

Another /L/-melodic noun that is common as compound final is *dègè* ‘pain, illness’. Some of its compounds are in (168).

(168)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial has L-initial melody		
	kòrò-n-dēgē	‘back pain’	kòrò
	nùùn-dēgē	‘upset stomach’	nùù <sup>n</sup>
	ŋèlèn-dēgē	‘tongue disease’	ŋèléw <sup>n</sup>
	ŋìyèn-dēgē	‘headache’	ŋìyèw <sup>n</sup>
	b. initial has M-initial melody		
	ŋīīn-dēgē	‘toothache’	ŋīī <sup>n</sup>

c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)  
 [tūwō-lēn]-dēgē ‘ear-ache’ túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup>

Another final of this type is sòrdāāsì ‘soldier’.

(169)	compound	gloss	initial
	a. initial has L-initial melody		
	tùbàà <sup>-n</sup> -sòrdāāsī	‘European soldier’	tùbáábú ‘white person’
	b. initial has M-initial melody		
	gōŋō-sòrdāāsī	‘slave soldier’	gōŋō ‘slave’
	c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)		
	pūnān-sòrdāāsī	‘Fulbe soldier’	púnāw <sup>n</sup> ‘Fulbe’

See also §5.1.8 for -tūgū from tūgù ‘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 §11.1.1.2, two correspond to H-final compounds (170a-b). These compounds denote events rather than cardinal directions (‘west’, ‘east’).

(170)	a. [kùgù-ŋìyèn]-tú <sup>n</sup>	‘sunset’
	kùgū-ŋìyèn tū <sup>n</sup>	‘the sun has set’ (lit. “has gotten lost”)
	b. [kùgù-ŋìyèn]-táw <sup>n</sup>	‘sunrise, dawn’
	kùgū-ŋìyèn tāw <sup>n</sup>	‘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. *sɔŋɔ̃*<sup>n</sup> ‘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.

(171)	PP compound	gloss	final
a.	<i>jīi nìŋīi</i> [jìi-nìŋì]-púlēw <sup>n</sup> [jìi-nìŋì]-sábā	‘in water’ ‘aquatic bird’ ‘aquatic chicken, waterfowl’	púlēw <sup>n</sup> ‘bird’ sábā ‘chicken’
b.	<i>sīlē kūmà</i> [sìlè-kùmà]-sábā	‘on rock’ ‘stone partridge ( <i>Ptilopachus</i> )’ (synonym <i>sīlē-n-sàbá</i> )	sábā ‘chicken’
c.	<i>sɔŋɔ̃</i> <sup>n</sup> sòŋòŋ-sábā sòŋòŋm-púlēw <sup>n</sup>	‘the bush ( <i>la brousse</i> )’ ‘wild chicken’ ‘bush birds’	sábā ‘chicken’ púlēw <sup>n</sup> ‘bird’

### 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.

(172) a.	[kùwò-cyèŋ]-kùmbùrū kùwò cyēw <sup>n</sup> kùmbùrù	‘dung beetle (scarab)’ ‘carry excrement on head’ ‘bug, beetle’
b.	[nàm-sègè]-búwō <sup>n</sup> nàm sēgē búwō <sup>n</sup>	‘mortar for pounding sauce ingredients’ ‘pound dried baobab leaves’ ‘mortar’

#### 5.1.5.2.4 H-final compounds based on sīi ‘breed’

The noun sīi means ‘kind, type’ or ‘breed, clan, race, species’. In the sense ‘clan’ it occurs several times in the texts as -síi following the L-toned form of a clan name. Thus bààkòlò<sup>n</sup>-síi-yè ‘the Bakoro clans’ (2017-01 @ 08:31), nààgò<sup>n</sup>-síi-yè ‘the Yanoguè clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:50), and sìnògò<sup>n</sup>-síi-yè ‘the Sundago clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:54).

#### 5.1.5.2.5 -kúúlú ‘lack’

This final is attested in kwààṅ-kúúlú ‘drought’, cf. kwàà<sup>n</sup> ‘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 -sēgè (173d).

The uncompounded verbal noun is shown if elicitable, but some occur only in compounds.

(173)	compound	gloss	lexical form of initial
a.	< verb dīgē/dīgè	‘eat (antipassive)’	
	dīgē	‘eating’	
	tēē-dīgē	‘meat-eating’	tēē
	kēgū-dīgē	‘cream of millet-eating’	kēgū
	mākārī-dīgē	‘macari-eating’	mākārī

- b. < verb wògè/wògē (variant wàgè/wàgē) ‘kill (antipassive)’
- |              |                 |         |
|--------------|-----------------|---------|
| wògè         | ‘killing’       |         |
| kùṅgólò-wògē | ‘dog-killing’   | kùṅgólò |
| sūgō-wògē    | ‘goat-killing’  | sūgō    |
| kàṅgè-wògē   | ‘hyena-killing’ | kàṅgé   |
| yòrògò-wògē  | ‘cat-killing’   | yòrógō  |
| kùmbùrù-wògē | ‘bug-killing’   | kùmbùrù |
- c. < verb kū<sup>n</sup>/kū-nū ‘catch’
- |              |                   |                    |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| kūmē         | ‘catching’        |                    |
| kùṅgólò-kūmē | ‘dog-catching’    | kùṅgólò            |
| kàṅgè-kūmē   | ‘hyena-catching’  | kàṅgé              |
| tōrū-kūmē    | ‘fetish-catching’ | tōrù               |
| gīlēṅ-kūmē   | ‘cowry-catching’  | gīlèw <sup>n</sup> |
- d. < verb sēgè/sēgē ‘pound (in mortar)’
- |                       |                   |                 |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| mākàrì-sēgè           | ‘macari-pounding’ | mākàrí          |
| nàm-sēgè              | ‘baobab-pounding’ | nàmù            |
| pī <sup>n</sup> -sēgè | ‘millet-pounding’ | pī <sup>n</sup> |
- e. < verb mìyèni/mìyèni ‘fix; manufacture’
- |                  |                      |                   |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| màlìfà-mìyēni    | ‘rifle-making’       | màlìfá            |
| būwōm-mìyēni     | ‘mortar-making’      | būwō <sup>n</sup> |
| kìyè-kùlā-mìyēni | ‘bowl-making’        | kìyè-kùlā         |
| kìtòmò-mìyēni    | ‘conical hat-making’ | kìtómó            |
| sīisō-mìyēni     | ‘scissors-making’    | sīisò             |
- f. < verb mēw<sup>n</sup>/mè-nè ‘drink’
- |                       |                  |      |
|-----------------------|------------------|------|
| dùwò-mēw <sup>n</sup> | ‘beer-drinking’  | dùwò |
| sógō-mēw <sup>n</sup> | ‘milk-drinking’  | sógō |
| jīi-mēw <sup>n</sup>  | ‘water-drinking’ | jīi  |
| tēē-mēw <sup>n</sup>  | ‘tea-drinking’   | tēè  |
- g. < verb kēbē/kēbè ‘build’
- |             |                    |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| yàmbàà-kēbē | ‘house-building’   | yàmbāà             |
| tùbà-kēbē   | ‘granary-building’ | tùbà               |
| jāṅāāṅ-kēbē | ‘shed-building’    | jāṅāā <sup>n</sup> |
| mìsìrì-kēbē | ‘mosque-building’  | mìsírì             |

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. [kòn        nāā-yē      kù-lè]            kōlē  
           [Dem       cow-Pl      Def-Pl]           hit.VbIN  
           ‘hitting those cows’ (< nāā-yè)
- b. ñ                kōlē  
           1Sg            hit.VbIN  
           ‘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 (175a) is just a compound initial, like ‘child’ in (175b).

- (175) a. [jēnām-bī-gē]-kōlē            ‘children-hitting’  
       b. jēnāñ-kōlē                    ‘child-hitting’

#### 5.1.6.2 Agentive compounds with incorporated object

For uncompounded agentives with suffix -yà ~ -yè, 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.	būwḍ-yà ‘herder’ (< būwḍ/būwḍ-lò)		
	nāā-m-būwḍ-yà	‘cowherd’	nāā
	sūgō-būwḍ-yà	‘goatherd’	sūgō
	[sḍgḍ-lēm]-būwḍ-yà	‘sheep herder’	sḍgḍ-lēw <sup>n</sup>
b.	tōlē-yā ‘seller’ (< antipassive of tōlō/tōlò)		
	kūṅgōlō-tōlē-yā	‘dog seller’	kūṅgólō
	nāā-tōlē-yā	‘cattle seller’	nāā
	pīin-tōlē-yā	‘grain seller’	pīi <sup>n</sup>

	kààn-tōlē-yā	‘calabash seller’	kàànú
	màlìfā-tōlē-yā	‘gun seller’	màlìfá
c.	sènè-yà ‘buyer’ (< antipassive of sàw <sup>n</sup> /sà-nà)		
	pīī <sup>n</sup> -sēnē-yā	‘millet buyer’	pīī <sup>n</sup>
d.	sògò-yà ‘cultivator’ (< sògò/sògō)		
	pīī <sup>n</sup> -sògō-yā	‘millet farmer’	pīī <sup>n</sup>

A textual example is jīī-kāy-yā ‘water-draw-Agent’, i.e. ‘water carrier’ (2017-04 @ 00:51).

### 5.1.6.3 Place-of-action nominal (-gàw<sup>n</sup>) plus incorporated noun as initial

The usual noun ‘place’ is gūū<sup>n</sup>. A diachronically related form -gàw<sup>n</sup> 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 -gàw<sup>n</sup>. /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. mōtōm-mīyēnī-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 motorcycle-repair.VblN-place  
 ‘garage, motorcycle-repair place’ (< mōtō<sup>n</sup>, verb mīyēnī/mīyēnī)
- b. jàmà-m-pīī-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 garbage-dump.VblN-place  
 ‘refuse heap’ (< jàmà, verb pīī/pīī)
- c. yàmbàà-kēbē-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 house-build.VblN-place  
 ‘place for building a house’ (yàmbàà, verb kēbē/kēbè)
- d. dùwò-mēŋ-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 beer-drink.VblN-place  
 ‘beer-drinking place’ (dùwò, verb mēw<sup>n</sup>/mē-nè)
- e. sàbà-wōgē-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 chicken-kill.VblN-place  
 ‘chicken-slaughtering place’ (sàbà, verb wògà/wògā)

The homologue of -gàw<sup>n</sup> in Djenné Jenaama is -wúwò<sup>n</sup>, 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.	jīī ‘water’		
	mèŋ-jīī	‘drinking water’	mèw <sup>n</sup> /mè-nè ‘drink’
	ŋīnī-jīī	‘dishwater; bathwater’	ŋīnī/ŋīnī ‘wash’
b.	tīyē ‘oil’		
	[sūū-gū]-tīyē	‘lotion, rubbing oil’	sūū/sū-lū ‘rub on’
	[dīgē-gū]-tīyē	‘cooking (eating) oil’	dīgē/dīgè ‘eat’
c.	kìyè ‘wood, stick’		
	kēbē-kīyē	‘lumber (for building)’	kēbē/kēbè ‘build’
	[kūū-nī]-kīyē	‘firewood’	kūū-nī/kūū-nī ‘ignite’
	[sūgū-kūmē]-kīyē	‘staff held in hand’	kūū <sup>n</sup> /kū-nū ‘catch’, sūgū ‘hand’
	[būwō-gū]-kīyē	‘herder’s staff’	būwò/būwò-lò ‘tend (herd)’
d.	búwō <sup>n</sup> ‘mortar’		
	[sègè-gù]-búwō <sup>n</sup>	‘mortar for pounding’	sègè/sègè ‘pound (in mortar)’
	pìim-búwō <sup>n</sup>	‘millet mortar’	pīī <sup>n</sup> ‘millet’
e.	bàn-dyēw <sup>n</sup> ‘pestle’		
	[sègē-gū]-bàn-dyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘pestle for pounding’	sègè/sègè ‘pound (in mortar)’
f.	kūwō <sup>n</sup> ‘bone’		
	sīnē-kūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘bone for biting’	sīw <sup>n</sup> /sī-nī ‘bite’

A verb and an incorporated object may combine before the instrument noun (179).

- (179) a. [sūbā-pējē]-tīyō<sup>n</sup>  
 [firewood-split]-ax  
 ‘ax for splitting wood’ (< sūbā, pējē/pējè, tīyò<sup>n</sup>)
- b. [pì<sup>n</sup>-sègè]-búwō<sup>n</sup>  
 [millet-pound]-mortar  
 ‘mortar for pounding millet grain’ (< pī<sup>n</sup>, sègè/sègè, búwō<sup>n</sup>)

Sometimes a verb is not necessary, and the initial simply denotes the object, as in pīm-[bàn-dyèw<sup>n</sup>] ‘millet pestle’.

### 5.1.7 Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds

#### 5.1.7.1 Diminutives with -náv<sup>n</sup>

This suffix is the productive diminutive for inanimate nouns. For adjective dègè-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘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. jūgū ‘tree’                      jùgù-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘sapling’  
           kùlù ‘baobab (tree)’        kùlù-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘baobab sapling’
- b. kūlā ‘eating bowl’                kùlā-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small eating bowl’  
       búwō<sup>n</sup> ‘mortar’                bùwò-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small mortar’  
       bàn-dyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘pestle’            bàn-dyèn-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small pestle’  
       yàmbāà ‘house’                yàmbāà-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small house’  
       àrjò<sup>n</sup> ‘radio’                    àrjòn-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small radio’  
       kūū<sup>n</sup> ‘boat (skiff)’            kùùn-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘small boat; brick mold’
- c. tàbà ‘foot, leg’                    tàbà-náv<sup>n</sup> ‘pants, shorts, leggings’

An example of a noun that occurs only in diminutive form is *sàmà-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘soap’. This variant of a regionally widespread word (e.g. Fulfulde *saabunde*, French *savon*) has been secondarily reshaped as a diminutive.

The diminutive in *-náw<sup>n</sup>* is distinct tonally and semantically from compounds with final *-nàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘mother’. The distinction is important for *jūgū* ‘tree’ and tree species names. The compound *jūgū-nàw<sup>n</sup>*, literally “tree-mother,” means ‘(entire) tree’ as opposed to *jūgū-dyēw<sup>n</sup>* “tree-child,” which means ‘fruit of tree’. *jūgū-nàw<sup>n</sup>* differs tonally from diminutive *jùgù-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘sapling’ (180a).

*-náw<sup>n</sup>* can combine with terms of animals. It is not the productive compound type for juveniles (puppy, goat kid, lamb, calf), which have *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* instead of *-náw<sup>n</sup>*, see (182) in the following section. However, *-náw<sup>n</sup>* can be used to denote an unusually small (e.g. stunted) animal. With human nouns ‘woman’ and ‘man’, *-náw<sup>n</sup>* has a specialized use in denoting preadolescent children (181b). My assistant rejected *-náw<sup>n</sup>* with other human nouns such as *nīmī* ‘person’ or ethnicity and caste terms like ‘Fulbe person’ and ‘blacksmith’.

- (181) a. *nàà-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘small (e.g. stunted) cow’  
           *[sògò-lèn]-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘small (e.g. stunted) sheep’  
           *sùgò-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘small (e.g. stunted) goat’
- b. *yùgòn-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘girl’ (around 7-8 years old)  
           *kèègù-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘boy’ (around 7-8 years old)

In the animal cases (181a), the compound with *-náw<sup>n</sup>* has more or less the same sense as the noun plus adjective *dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘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 *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* (plural *-lēm-bē*)

A semantically somewhat opaque formative *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* occurs in a number of nouns. It was originally diminutive (cf. Djenné Jenaama nominal diminutive *-liyew<sup>n</sup> ~ -liyaw<sup>n</sup>*), and therefore likely etymologically related to *-dyēw<sup>n</sup>* ‘child’ (compound final), *dyēw<sup>n</sup>* ‘child (son or daughter)’, and *jénā<sup>n</sup>* ‘child (young person)’. However, the relationship is synchronically obscure in Cliffs, and there is no transparent synchronic connection. *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* has a distinctive plural *-lēm-bē* which is especially common for semantically diminutive nouns, compare the variant plural *dēm-bē* ‘children’. *-lēm-bē* competes with the productive plural *-lē<sup>n</sup>-yē*, which is favored in nouns that have no clear diminutive sense.

With most animal terms, *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* denotes the juvenile (182a). For ‘sheep’, however, *sògò-lēw<sup>n</sup>* is in common use for adults as well as juveniles, and is more common than the

unsuffixed form (182b).  $-l\bar{e}w^n$  does not normally occur on human nouns, but  $j\acute{e}n\acute{a}n-l\bar{e}w^n$  can replace the usual ‘child’ noun  $j\acute{e}n\acute{a}$  in ironic contexts, as when a child attempts unsuccessfully to perform an adult feat (182c). The plural in this context is  $j\acute{e}n\acute{a}m-b\bar{i}-g\bar{e}-l\bar{e}m-b\bar{e}$ .

(182)	juvenile	gloss	based on
	a. animals (juvenile)		
	$s\bar{u}g\bar{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘goat kid’	$s\bar{u}g\bar{o}$ ‘goat’
	$n\grave{a}\grave{a}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘calf (yearling)’	$n\grave{a}\grave{a}$ ‘cow, bovine’
	$k\acute{u}n\grave{g}\acute{o}l\acute{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘puppy’	$k\acute{u}n\grave{g}\acute{o}l\acute{o}$ ‘dog’
	$p\grave{u}l\acute{e}n-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘chick’	$p\grave{u}l\acute{e}w^n$ ‘bird’
	b. animals (all life stages)		
	$s\grave{o}g\grave{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘sheep’	$s\grave{o}g\grave{o}$ ‘sheep’
	c. humans		
	$j\acute{e}n\acute{a}n-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘child’ (special contexts)	$j\acute{e}n\acute{a}$ ‘child’

A fair number of inanimate nouns also end in  $-l\bar{e}w^n$ . Small external body-part terms are included. The noun  $p\bar{a}-l\bar{e}w^n \sim p\bar{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$  ‘a little’, diminutive of  $p\bar{w}\bar{o}$  ‘thing’, is used as a noun or adverb (§8.4.3.2). The other inanimate examples are likewise rather lexicalized, but  $-l\bar{e}w^n$  is phonologically conspicuous, making segmentability easier. The plural with  $-l\bar{e}m-b\bar{e}$  is sometimes used instead of  $-l\bar{e}^n-y\bar{e}$ . 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
	a. inanimates with recognizable initial		
	$j\bar{u}g\bar{u}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘wild prune tree ( <i>Sclerocarya</i> )’	$j\bar{u}g\bar{u}$ ‘tree (in general)’
	$k\grave{u}g\grave{u}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘blazing hot sun (at mid-day)’	$k\grave{u}g\grave{u}$ ‘daytime’
			$k\grave{u}g\bar{u}-j\grave{e}w^n$ ‘sun’ (celestial body)
	b. inanimates without a recognizable initial		
	$d\grave{u}b\grave{a}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘mirror’	
	$k\grave{a}n\grave{a}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘tall grass sp.’	
	$k\bar{o}g\bar{u}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘tall grass sp. ( <i>Andropogon</i> )’	
	$k\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{a}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘shrub sp. ( <i>Sarcocephalus</i> )’	
	$n\bar{o}g\bar{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘eye(s)’	
	$p\acute{o}m\acute{o}-l\bar{e}w^n$	‘herb sp. ( <i>Commelina</i> )’	

tígé-lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘cut (wound)’
túwó-lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘ear’
tùwò-lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘penis’
wōō-lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘groundnut ( <i>Vigna subterranea</i> )’
wóó-lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘cataract’

c. H-toned

dúgú-léw <sup>n</sup>	‘thorny scrub acacia spp.’	dúgū <sup>n</sup>	‘dense forest, thicket’
-----------------------	----------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------

kùgù-lēw<sup>n</sup> (183a) emphasizes mid-day heat. In the collocation (184a) below, un-compounded kùgù occurs since there is no specific reference to heat. kùgù-lēw<sup>n</sup> occurs in (184b) which does emphasize heat.

- (184) a. kùgū      tàà-nà  
**daytime**    stand-Ppl  
‘The sun is at its zenith (mid-day).’
- b. kùgù-lēm      bàà      mánē      wày  
**sun**            exit.Pfv    a.lot      today  
‘The sun is really blazing hot today.’ (< bāā)

For -lēw<sup>n</sup> in adverbial expressions meaning ‘a little, not much’, see §8.4.3.2.

5.1.7.3 Compounds with ‘child’ as final (-dyēw<sup>n</sup>, -jēw<sup>n</sup>, -jéw<sup>n</sup>)

The following un-compounded 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)      singular      plural      gloss
- a. juvenile person
- |                   |                                    |            |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| jénā <sup>n</sup> | jēnām-bī-gē, jéná <sup>n</sup> -yè | ‘child’    |
| —                 | dālm-bī-gē                         | ‘children’ |
- b. offspring (kinship)
- |                   |   |                          |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| dyēw <sup>n</sup> | dyē <sup>n</sup> -yē, dēm-bē, dēm-bē-yē | ‘child, son or daughter’ |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|

Only dyēw<sup>n</sup> 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.	púnāw <sup>n</sup> ‘Fulbe person’	púnán-dyēw <sup>n</sup>	púnán-dēm-bē
	b.	kùygù ‘blacksmith (caste)’	kùygù-dyēw <sup>n</sup>	kùygù-dēm-bē
	c.	mìimá ‘leatherworker (caste)’	mìimá-dyēw <sup>n</sup>	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-sīlē  
grind.Pfv-stone  
‘large stone on which grain is ground’
- b. dwī-sīlē-dyēw<sup>n</sup>  
grind.Pfv-stone-child  
‘smaller round stone held in hand for grinding grain’

‘Heart of (borassus) palm’ is pùù-ñ-dyēw<sup>n</sup>, compare pùù ‘germinated borassus palm nut’.

#### 5.1.8 Compounds with tùgù ‘owner’

The noun tùgù ‘owner’ requires a possessor or compound initial, minimally 3Sg possessor à (188).

(188)	ñ	nā =	[ā	tùgū]	tò
	1Sg	IpfvNeg	[3Sg	owner]	know.Ipv
	‘I don’t know its owner.’				

The plural is tùgù-yè, often pronounced tùgè-è.

Examples of compounds denoting ownership are in (189). The tonal patterns are those of possessive-type compounds.

(189)	bìtígí-tùgù	‘shop owner (storekeeper)’	
	dáábá-tùgù	‘owner of livestock’	
	yàmbāā-tùgù	‘homeowner’	< yàmbāā
	sìrìmbē-tùgù	‘folding knife-owner’	< sìrìmbè

In addition, -tùgù ‘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’	wòbò-tùgù	‘sick person, carrier of disease’
	b. body part			
	sìmbò-cīī	‘beard’	sìmbò-cīī-tùgù	‘bearded (person)’
	kùlù	‘hump’	kùlù-tùgù	‘humped, hunchback’
	c. abstract attribute			
	dáwlā	‘aura of success’	dáwlā-tùgù	‘one who is constantly successful’

-tūgū with M-tones is also attested. The known examples are nāmbārā-tūgū ‘dishonest person’, nùùn-tūgū ‘pregnant woman’ (nùù<sup>n</sup> ‘belly’), tàbà-tūgū ‘young man’ (tàbà ‘foot’), and nàpòrò-tūgū and synonym wólén-tūgū ‘wealthy person’.

(191b) is formed from the compound noun that appears as final in (191a).

(191)	a.	nīmī-[sògò-bēw <sup>n</sup> ]	
		person-[serious(ness)]	
		‘responsible (trustworthy) person’	
	b.	[sògò-bèn]-tūgū	
		[serious(ness)]-owner	
		‘responsible one (person)’	

#### 5.1.9 ‘Male’ (-kēēgū) and ‘female’ (-yūgō<sup>n</sup>) as compound finals

kēēgū ‘man’ and yūgō<sup>n</sup> ‘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’
		bwò-kēēgū	‘male age-mate’
		bwò-yūgō <sup>n</sup>	‘female age-mate’
	b.	cìyè-kēēgū	‘grandfather’
		tàà-yūgō <sup>n</sup>	‘grandmother’

- |    |                                      |                   |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| c. | dùgò <sup>n</sup>                    | ‘younger sibling’ |
|    | dùgòᅇ-kēēgū                          | ‘younger brother’ |
|    | dùgò <sup>n</sup> -yūgō <sup>n</sup> | ‘younger sister’  |
| d. | tè <sup>n</sup> ~ tèw <sup>n</sup>   | ‘elder sibling’   |
|    | tèᅇ-kēēgū                            | ‘elder brother’   |
|    | tè <sup>n</sup> -yūgō <sup>n</sup>   | ‘elder sister’    |

Any sex-differentiated animal species (livestock or wild) can combine with these compound finals (193).

- |          |                           |                |
|----------|---------------------------|----------------|
| (193) a. | sàbá                      | ‘chicken’      |
|          | sàbà-kēēgū                | ‘rooster’      |
|          | sàbà-yūgō <sup>n</sup>    | ‘hen’          |
| b.       | kàᅇgè                     | ‘hyena’        |
|          | kàᅇgè-kēēgū               | ‘male hyena’   |
|          | kàᅇgè-yūgō <sup>n</sup>   | ‘female hyena’ |
| c.       | kúᅇgólō                   | ‘dog’          |
|          | kūᅇgólō-kēēgū             | ‘male dog’     |
|          | kūᅇgólō-yūgō <sup>n</sup> | ‘bitch’        |
| d.       | sūgō                      | ‘goat’         |
|          | sūgō-kēēgū                | ‘billygoat’    |
|          | sūgō-yūgō <sup>n</sup>    | ‘nannygoat’    |
| e.       | yōgō                      | ‘fish’         |
|          | yōgō-kēēgū                | ‘male fish’    |
|          | yōgō-yūgō <sup>n</sup>    | ‘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 *G. flavescens* are eaten while those of *G. bicolor* are not. (194d) is a figurative use of an ostensibly human term to denote an insect.

- |          |                           |                                 |
|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (194) a. | kārāndē                   | ‘tamarind (tree and fruit)’     |
|          | kārāndē-kēēgū             | ‘sterile tamarind tree’         |
|          | kārāndē-yūgō <sup>n</sup> | ‘fruit-producing tamarind tree’ |

- |    |                                       |  |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| b. | yīyē                                  | ‘borassus palm’                        |
|    | yīyē-kēēgū                            | ‘male borassus palm’                   |
|    | yīyē-yūgō <sup>n</sup>                | ‘female (fruit-bearing) borassus palm’ |
| c. | sāmbō <sup>n</sup>                    | ‘shrub sp. (any <i>Grewia</i> sp.)’    |
|    | sāmbōŋ-kēēgū                          | ‘shrub ( <i>Grewia bicolor</i> )’      |
|    | sāmbō <sup>n</sup> -yūgō <sup>n</sup> | ‘shrub ( <i>Grewia flavescens</i> )’   |
| d. | mōlì                                  | ‘holy man, marabout’                   |
|    | mōl-kēēgū                             | ‘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’ (māṅāw<sup>n</sup>) and ‘bad’ (ṅōṅō) 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’ (jāṅām būlō<sup>n</sup>). See also jáátī ‘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. | pī <sup>n</sup>     | ‘millet (cultivated <i>Cenchrus americanus</i> , formerly <i>Pennisetum glaucum</i> )’ |
|       |    | sùwò <sup>n</sup>   | ‘false millet’ (stray millet plants, not sown from seedstock)                          |
|       | b. | dūgā                | ‘rice’ (cultivated <i>Oryza sativa</i> )   |
|       |    | kōbà                | ‘wild rice’ (wild <i>Oryza</i> spp.)   |
|       | c. | ʃì                  | ‘wild fruit tree sp. ( <i>Vitex doniana</i> )’   |
|       |    | ʃì-náw <sup>n</sup> | ‘sapling of ʃì tree’ or ‘related tree sp. ( <i>Vitex madiensis</i> )’                  |

Some other devices are illustrated in the following subsections.

##### 5.1.10.1 Compound final ṅómō ~ ṅómē ‘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. ṅómō

~ ηómē ‘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 ηómō is used by older speakers, ηómē by younger ones. Two compounds are in use.

- (196) a. pāā-m-pùwó<sup>n</sup> ‘sesame’ (cultivated *Sesamum indicum*)  
 pāā-m-pùwòη ηómō/ē ‘false sesame’ (wild *Sesamum alatum*)
- b. sààgù ‘roselle’ (cultivated *Hibiscus sabdariffa*)  
 sààgù ηómō/ē ‘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*)  
 jīnā sàbúlá “mouse(’s) cowpea” (wild *Vigna* spp.)
- b. sō<sup>n</sup> ‘needle’  
 kùwò-sō<sup>n</sup> “monkey(’s) needle” (*Enteropogon*, a grass)
- c. tìgèn-dīyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘African eggplant’ (cultivated *Solanum aethiopicum*)’  
 sàbé-ē tìgèn-dīyēw<sup>n</sup> “chicken’s eggplant” (*S. incanum*)
- d. sáá<sup>n</sup> ‘wild grape tree (*Lannea*)’  
 būwō-yè ‘herders’ (plural)  
 [būwō-yè]-sáá<sup>n</sup> “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. kūmū ‘knee’  
 nàà-kūmū “cow(’s) knee” (purslane, *Portulaca*)
- b. tùwò-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘penis’ (with diminutive suffix)  
 yàā-tùwó “lion-penis” (*Stachytarpheta*)

- c. túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘ear’  
 sòmputòwò-[túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup>] “donkey(’s) ear” (aloe)
- d. jīī<sup>n</sup> ‘tooth’  
 yùgò<sup>n</sup>-sílé jīī<sup>n</sup> “old woman’s tooth” (*Tribulus*)

### 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. kwààj-jīī ‘rain (water, as it falls)’  
 b. kwààj-sàj-jīī ‘rainwater (on ground)’

The initial is kwàà<sup>n</sup> ‘rain (n)’. The final is jīī ‘water. The verb in (199b) is sàw<sup>n</sup>/sà-nà ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’, here in Pfv stem.

## 5.2 Adjectival compounds

### 5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihis 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-, ML-, 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. sībò            bōndō- / nīyē<sup>n</sup>- / pīyē-            pī<sup>n</sup>  
 snake            neck- / head- / tail-            black  
 ‘black-necked/-headed/-tailed snake’  
 (< bōndò, nīyèw<sup>n</sup>, pīyē)
- b. kēēgū            sūgū- / bükūrū- / nīyē<sup>n</sup>-            [dūwò-gù]  
 man            hand- / buttock- / head-            [small-Adj]  
 ‘a small-handed/-buttocked/-headed man’  
 (< sūgū, bükúrú, nīyèw<sup>n</sup>)
- c. kèègù / jènà<sup>n</sup>            sùgù- / bükùrù- / bōndò-            bānū  
 man / child            hand- / buttock- / neck-            big  
 ‘a big-handed/-buttocked/-necked man/child’  
 (< jènā<sup>n</sup>, sūgū, bükúrú, bōndò)
- d. sībò            pīyè-            bānū  
 snake            tail-            big  
 ‘a big-tailed snake’  
 (< pīyē)
- e. sībò            kōlōn-            dāātà-nà  
 snake            skin-            smooth  
 ‘a sleek-skinned snake’  
 (< kòlòw<sup>n</sup>)

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)            lexical melody            before M ‘black’            before H ‘big’
- a. /H/            M            L  
 pīyē ‘tail’            pīyē-pī<sup>n</sup>            pīyè-bānū  
 kúgū ‘thigh’            kúgū-pī<sup>n</sup>            kùgù-bānū
- b. /M/            M            L  
 sūgū ‘hand’            sūgū-pī<sup>n</sup>            sùgù-bānū  
 lōgū ‘mouth’            lōgū-pī<sup>n</sup>            lògù-bānū

c. /ML/	M	L
ɲìŋàw <sup>n</sup> ‘face’	ɲìŋām-pī <sup>n</sup>	ɲìŋàm-bánū
d. /L/	M	L
bòndò ‘neck’	bòndō-pī <sup>n</sup>	bòndò-bánū
ɲìyèw <sup>n</sup> ‘head’	ɲìyēm-pī <sup>n</sup>	ɲìyèm-bánū
e. /LH/	M	L
ɲèléw <sup>n</sup> ‘tongue’	ɲèlēm-pī <sup>n</sup>	ɲèlèm-bánū
bùkù(rú) ‘buttock’	bùkū(rū)-pī <sup>n</sup>	bùkù(rù)-bánū

### 5.2.1.2 With numeral final

Examples of noun-numeral bahuvrihis as postnominal modifiers are in (202).

- (202) a. sībò      ɲìyē<sup>n</sup>-      kēw<sup>n</sup> / sīgèw<sup>n</sup>  
snake      head-      one / three  
‘one-/three-headed snake’  
(< ɲìyèw<sup>n</sup>)
- b. sībò      lǫgū-      ŋ-kēw<sup>n</sup> / sīgèw<sup>n</sup> / kògòw<sup>n</sup>  
snake      mouth-      one / three / five  
‘one-/three-/five-mouthed snake’  
(< lǫgū)

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 sīgèw<sup>n</sup> ‘three’ as nūū sīgèw<sup>n</sup> ‘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) sībō      nūū-sīgèw<sup>n</sup>  
snake      belly-three  
‘three-bellied snake’ (< sībò, 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 sɪ̀bò (not sɪ̀bō) in both versions of (204a). In other words, in sɪ̀bò nìyè̀m-pé̀ndé the initial nìyè̀w<sup>n</sup> is first raised from L to M (whereupon sɪ̀bò cannot undergo Final Tone-Raising), and then nìyè̀w<sup>n</sup> is dropped back to L. Alternatively, sɪ̀bò nìyè̀m-pé̀ndé might be analysed as a tone-leveled compound bracketed as [sɪ̀bò nìyè̀m]-pé̀ndé.

- (204) a. sɪ̀bò            nìyè̀m-pé̀ndé  
                               ~ nìyè̀m-pé̀ndé  
          snake        head-two  
          ‘two-headed snake’ (< pé̀ndé)
- b. sɪ̀bò            nìyè̀<sup>n</sup>-sɪ̀bè̀w<sup>n</sup>  
          snake        head-three  
          ‘three-headed snake’

### 5.2.2 Other composite adjectives

The adjective ‘fast, rapid, speedy’ is bàà<sup>-n</sup>-húú<sup>n</sup>, as in mòbòlì bàà<sup>-n</sup>-húú<sup>n</sup> ‘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 hùù<sup>n</sup> (205a-c). There is also an inchoative verb hūmā/hūmā-nā ‘be(come) fast’ that appears in non-present-time contexts (205d).

- (205) a. [[m̩            m̩b̩l̩]        bàā]        hùù<sup>n</sup>  
          [[1Sg        vehicle]        body]        be.fast  
          ‘My car is fast.’
- b. [[m̩            m̩b̩l̩]        bàā]        nǎ<sup>n</sup>        hùù<sup>n</sup>  
          [[1Sg        vehicle]        body]        not.be        be.fast  
          ‘My car is not fast.’
- c. [m̩            báá]        hùù<sup>n</sup>  
          [1Sg        body]        be.fast  
          ‘I am fast.’
- d. [[m̩            m̩b̩l̩]        bàà]        gà        bē        hūmā  
          [[1Sg        vehicle]        body]        Ipfv    Fut        be.fast.Pfv  
          ‘My car will be(come) fast.’



- (208) a.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$  [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,  
 [yèñ [sàbé-è pē sāān]] tōlō  
 [and [chicken-Pl **too** **all**]] sell.Pfv  
 ‘I sold all the goats, and I sold all the chickens too.’
- b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$  [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,  
 [ñgàà [sàbé-è kù-lē kòn sāāñ] gà bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 [but [chicken-Pl Def-Pl **Topic** **all**] be.Loc here  
 ‘I sold all the goats, but as for all the chickens, they’re all (still) here.’

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 *sāā<sup>n</sup>*. Asked if a sequence ‘chickens-all-too’ was possible, my assistant produced (209).

- (209)  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$  [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,  
 [m̄ bē [sàbé-è sāām pē]] kwē = [è bwēȳ]  
 [1Sg Seq [chicken-Pl **all** **too**]] hit.Pfv [3Pl Comit]  
 ‘I sold all the goats, and I (then) added all the chickens too.’ (< kwāā)

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).

- (210) a. ñ kó [kú nī]  
 1Sg furnish.Pfv [**Dem** Inst]  
 ‘Give me that!’
- b. ñ kó [kēñ nī]  
 1Sg furnish.Pfv [**one** Inst]  
 ‘Give me one!’ (< kēw<sup>n</sup>)

However, adjectives require a noun, minimally *pā* ‘thing’ (premodifier form) (211a). Likewise, *sāā*<sup>n</sup> ‘all’ requires at least a pronominal clitic (211b).

- (211) a. *ɪ̀ kó [pā t̄m̄ɔ̄n] nī*  
 1Sg furnish.Pfv [**thing red**] Inst  
 ‘Give me a/the red one!’
- b. *ɪ̀ kó [à s̄ān] 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 paronyms have paradigms like those above. Inalienable ‘father’ is parallel to alienable ‘cow’, and inalienable ‘hand’ is parallel to alienable ‘medication’

(212)	<i>kàà</i> ‘father’	<i>nàà</i> ‘cow’	<i>sūgū</i> ‘hand’	<i>jūgū</i> ‘medication’
1Sg	<i>ɪ̀ káá</i>	<i>ɪ̀ náá</i>	<i>ɪ̀ sūgū</i>	<i>ɪ̀ jūgū</i>
1Pl	<i>ē kàà</i>	<i>ē nàà</i>	<i>ē sūgū</i>	<i>ē jūgū</i>
2Sg	<i>āɲ kàà</i>	<i>ān nàà</i>	<i>ān sūgū</i>	<i>āɲ jūgū</i>
2Pl	<i>āā kàà</i>	<i>āā nàà</i>	<i>āā sūgū</i>	<i>āā jūgū</i>
3Sg	<i>à kà</i>	<i>à nàà</i>	<i>à sūgū</i>	<i>à jūgū</i>
3Pl	<i>è kà</i>	<i>è nàà</i>	<i>è sūgū</i>	<i>è júgú</i>
Logo/3ReflSg	<i>ɲ̄ kàà</i>	<i>n̄ nàà</i>	<i>ɲ̄ sūgū</i>	<i>ɲ̄ jūgū</i>
Logo/3ReflPl	<i>ē kàà</i>	<i>ē nàà</i>	<i>ē sūgū</i>	<i>ē jūgū</i>



For more on the phonology of 1Sg ñ (+H) and following possessum, see §3.6.3.1.1.

### 6.2.2.2 Default possessum pàw<sup>n</sup>

When the category of the possessum (e.g. ‘dog’ or ‘house’) is already contextually understood, the possessum is expressed minimally by the noun pàw<sup>n</sup>, plural pà<sup>n</sup>-yè. This is the case in parallel sequences (214a-b) or more generally whenever the possessum type is contextually clear. The 1Sg possessor form is ìn páw<sup>n</sup>, plural ìn pá<sup>n</sup>-yè.

- (214) a. [sèédù yàmbāā] gà bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [S house] be.Loc here,  
 [ìn pá<sup>n</sup>] yè ñ dāā<sup>n</sup> [bōm bwēỹ]  
 [1Sg **Poss**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]  
 ‘Seydou’s house is here, (but) mine is far from here.’

- b. [sèédù yàmbāā-yè] gà bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [S house-PI] be.Loc here,  
 [ìn pá<sup>n</sup>-yē] yè ñ dāā<sup>n</sup> [bōm bwēỹ]  
 [1Sg **Poss-PI**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]  
 ‘Seydou’s houses are here, (but) mine are far from here.’

pàw<sup>n</sup> also occurs in the ‘Y belong to X’ predicate, in the combination pàn ñ including the ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.5.2). However, predicative pàn ñ 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 nāā tàbà ‘the cow’s foot’, from nāā ‘cow’. The possessor and possessum can be separately pluralized (215b-c).

- (215) a. jéná<sup>n</sup> yàmbāā  
 child house  
 ‘the child’s house’

- b. jēnām-bī-gē      yàmbāà  
 child-P1-P1      house  
 ‘the children’s house’
- c. jēnām-bī-gē      yàmbāà-yè  
 child-P1-P1      house  
 ‘the children’s houses’

#### 6.2.4 Pronominal possessors

Pronominal possessors are in (216), excerpted from §4.3.1.

(216) category	possessor
1Sg	ḥ̣ (+H)
1Pl	ē
2Sg	ā <sup>n</sup>
2Pl	āā
3Sg	à
3Pl	è
Logo/3ReflSg	ḥ̣
Logo/3ReflPl	ē (identical to 1Pl)

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 pronominals 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	sògò	lōgū	jánā	kāsò	kòbó
	‘sheep’	‘mouth’	‘shed’	‘jail’	‘knee’
	/L/	/M/	/H/	/ML/	/LH/
<b>1Sg</b>	m̀ sògò	ḥ̣ lōgū	ḥ̣ jánā	ḥ̣ kāsò	ḥ̣ kòbó
1Pl	ē sògò	ē lōgū	è jánā	ē kāsò	ē kòbó
3Pl	è sògò	è lōgū	è jánā	è kāsò	è kòbó

### 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. [sèédù kàā] yàmbāà  
 [S father] house  
 ‘Seydou’s father’s house’ (< sèédù, kàà)
- b. [sèédù kúnǵóló] píyē  
 [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

	<b>adjective</b> /M/	/ML/	/H/
<b>Noun</b> /H/	M	M	L (< M)
/M/	M	M	L (< M)
/ML/	M	M	L (< M)
/MLH/	M	M	L (< M)
/L/	L	L	L
/LH/	L	L	L
/LML/	L	L	L

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

(219). 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 *kólō* ‘squared basket’ and M-toned *kōlō* ‘Nile monitor lizard’ merge as *kōlō* before an adjective beginning with a nonhigh tone, and as *kòlò* 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 Ipfv *gà/gā*. 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.

(220)	melody	noun	gloss	‘I (regularly) sell a big ___’				
	a. /LH/	sàbá	‘chicken’	ɲ	<b>gā</b>	[sàbà	bánú]	tōlò
	/L/	nàà	‘cow’	ɲ	<b>gā</b>	[nàà	bánú]	tōlò
	b. /M/	sūgō	‘goat’	ɲ	<b>gà</b>	[sùgò	bánú]	tōlò
	/H/	kúṅgólō	‘dog’	ɲ	<b>gà</b>	[kùṅgòlò	bánú]	tólò

Similarly, only nouns with L-initial lexical melodies are accessible to floating tones coming from the left, specifically from a preceding 1Sg possessor *ɲ* (+H) or demonstrative *kò<sup>n</sup>* (+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).

(221)	melody	noun	gloss	‘my big ___’		‘this big ___’		
	a. /LH/	sàbá	‘chicken’	ɲ	<b>sábà</b>	bánū	kò <sup>n</sup> <b>sábà</b>	bánū
	/L/	nàà	‘cow’	ɲ	<b>nàà</b>	bánū	kò <sup>n</sup> <b>nàà</b>	bánū
	b. /M/	sūgō	‘goat’	ɲ	<b>sùgò</b>	bánū	kò <sup>n</sup> <b>sùgò</b>	bánū
	/H/	kúṅgólō	‘dog’	ɲ	<b>kùṅgòlò</b>	bánū	kò <sup>n</sup> <b>kùṅgòlò</b>	bánū

In these combinations 1Sg *ɲ* (+H) is always distinguishable from Logo/3ReflSg *ɲ̄*, 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 sáá" 'thorn-branch fence' and nárágō '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 sílē           'old fence'  
           nàràgò sílē       'old calabash cover'
- b. adjective has /M/ melody  
           sāān tōy           'new fence'  
           nārāgō tōy       'new calabash cover'
- c. adjective has /ML/ melody  
           nārāgō pūlù-gù   'soft calabash cover'  
           nārāgō billà-nà   'narrow calabash cover'

Combinations with /M/-melodic pwō 'thing' (becoming pā before modifier) and yōgō 'fish' are in (223). They show the same tonal patterns seen in (222) above.

- (223) a. adjective has /H/ melody  
           pà sílē           'old thing'  
           yògò sílē       'old fish'
- b. adjective has /M/ melody  
           pā tōy           'new thing'  
           yōgō tōy       'new fish'
- c. adjective has /ML/ melody  
           pā pūlù-gù       'soft thing'  
           pā billà-nà       'narrow thing'

Combinations with /L/-melodic nàà 'cow', sībò 'snake', kànàà 'friend', and tōṅòṅò 'truth' are in (224). These nouns remain L-toned throughout.

- (224) a. adjective has /H/ melody  
           nàà sílē           'old cow'  
           sībò sílē       'old snake'  
           kànàà sílē       'old friend'  
           tōṅòṅò sílē      'old truth'

- b. adjective has /M/ melody
- |            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| nàà tōy    | ‘new cow’    |
| sìbò tōy   | ‘new snake’  |
| kàràà tōy  | ‘new friend’ |
| tòṅòṅò tōy | ‘new truth’  |

- c. adjective has /ML/ melody
- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| nàà pūlù-gù  | ‘soft cow’   |
| nàà bíllà-nà | ‘narrow cow’ |

Combinations with /LH/-melodic nouns gèjé ‘arrow’ and wùjú<sup>n</sup> ‘giant pouched rat’, /LH\*/-melodic gàribū ‘child beggar’ and mìsírì ‘mosque’, and /LML/-melodic mòbòlì ‘vehicle’ and yàmbàà ‘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
- |             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| gèjè sílē   | ‘old arrow’        |
| wùjùn sílē  | ‘old pouched rat’  |
| gàribù sílē | ‘old child beggar’ |
| mìsìrì sílē | ‘old mosque’       |
| mòbòlì sílē | ‘old vehicle’      |
| yàmbàà sílē | ‘old house’        |

- b. adjective has /M/ melody
- |            |                    |
|------------|--------------------|
| gèjè tōy   | ‘new arrow’        |
| wùjùn tōy  | ‘new pouched rat’  |
| gàribù tōy | ‘new child beggar’ |
| mìsìrì tōy | ‘new mosque’       |
| mòbòlì tōy | ‘new vehicle’      |
| yàmbàà tōy | ‘new house’        |

- c. adjective has /ML/ melody
- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| gèjè bíllà-nà   | ‘narrow arrow’  |
| gèjè pūlù-gù    | ‘soft arrow’    |
| mìsìrì bíllà-nà | ‘narrow mosque’ |
| yàmbàà bíllà-nà | ‘narrow house’  |

Combinations with /ML/-melodic nouns tēè ‘tea’, kāsò ‘jail’, mōlì ‘holy man’, cōllò ‘dust’, sākù ‘sack’, nīṅàw<sup>n</sup> ‘face’, and gīlāw<sup>n</sup> ‘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

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

tèè sílē	‘old tea’
kàsò sílē	‘old jail’
mòl(i) sílē	‘old holy man’
còllò sílē	‘old dust’
sààkù sílē	‘old sack’
ɲìɲà <sup>n</sup> sílē	‘old face’
gìlà <sup>n</sup> sílē	‘old cowry’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

tēē tòy	‘new tea’
kāsō tòy	‘new jail’
mōl(i) tòy	‘new holy man’
cōllō tòy	‘new dust’
sāākū tòy	‘new sack’
ɲìɲān tòy	‘new face’
gīlān tòy	‘new cowry’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

cōllò pūlù-gù	‘soft dust’
sāākù bìllà-nà	‘narrow sack’

Combinations with /MLH/-melodic bāānā ‘manner’ and māāngōrō ‘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

bāānā sílē	‘old manner’
māāngōrō sílē	‘old mango’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

bāānā tōy	‘new manner’
māāngōrō tōy	‘new mango’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

bāānā pūlù-gù	‘soft manner’
māāngōrō pūlù-gù	‘soft arrow’

bāānā billà-nà	‘narrow manner’
māāṅgōrō billà-nà	‘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 *dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>* ‘small’, which ends in a recognizable diminutive derivational suffix (§5.1.7.1). The stem *dègè-* 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 *bòndò-bánū* ‘big-necked’ (§5.2.1.1). The initial in *bahuvrihis* does occur independently, so its lexical melody is determinable, in this case *bòndò* ‘neck’. Both *dègè-náw<sup>n</sup>* and *bahuvrihis* interact with preceding nouns in the manner of adjectives. The third type consists of the quantifier *tàá-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’
a.	/H/	kólō	‘basket’	kólō <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	kólō <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/M/	yōgō	‘fish’	yōgō <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	yōgō <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/ML/	sāākù	‘sack’	sāākù <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	sāākù <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/MLH/	māāṅgòró	‘mango’	māāṅgòró <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	māāṅgòró <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
b.	/L/	sìbò	‘snake’	sìbò <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	sìbò <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/LH/	wùjú <sup>n</sup>	‘rat’	wùjùn <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	wùjùm <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/LH*/	mìsìrì	‘mosque’	mìsìrì <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	mìsìrì <i>bòndò-bánū</i>
	/LML/	mòbòlì	‘vehicle’	mòbòlì <i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	mòbòlì <i>bòndò-bánū</i>

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 *bòndò-bánū* ‘big-necked’, whose initial is the /L/-melody noun *bòndò*. 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 ṅ (+H) is applied is the entire N-Adj complex, so even when the noun (like ‘snake’

or ‘rat’) is the prosodically light C̀VC̀, and by itself would become ĆVĆ with a floating H, it appears as ĆVC̀ in N-Adj combinations (229a,c). Logo/3ReflSg possessors are well-separated tonally from 1Sg (229b). Prenominal demonstrative k̀̀n applies its floating M to the noun stem but not to the adjective (229c).

(229) a.	ɲ	síbò / wùjú <sup>n</sup> / ...	dìgè-náw <sup>n</sup>
	m̀	... / ... / m̀sírì	
	1Sg	snake / rat / mosque	small
		‘my small snake/rat/mosque’ (< s̀b̀, ẁjú <sup>n</sup> , m̀sírì)	
b.	ɲ	síbò / ẁjú <sup>n</sup> / ...	dìgè-náw <sup>n</sup>
	m	... / ... / m̀sírì	
	Logo/3ReflSg	snake / rat / mosque	small
		‘his/her (logophoric or reflexive) small snake/rat/mosque’	
c.	[k̀̀ <sup>n</sup>	síb̀ / ẁjú <sup>n</sup> / m̀sírì	dìgè-náw <sup>n</sup> ]
	[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 s̀ā<sup>n</sup>, the preceding noun preserves its lexical melody, except for productive tone sandhi. Final Tone-Raising applied to /L/ melody ‘snake’.

(230)	melody	noun	gloss	‘certain (ones)’
	/H/	kólò	‘basket’	kóló tàá-yè
	/M/	yōgō	‘fish’	yōgō tàá-yè
	/ML/	s̀ā̀k̀	‘sack’	s̀ā̀k̀ tàá-yè
	/MLH/	m̀ā̀ng̀r̀ó	‘mango’	m̀ā̀ng̀r̀ó tàá-yè
	/L/	s̀b̀	‘snake’	s̀b̀ tàá-yè
	/LH/	ẁjú <sup>n</sup>	‘rat’	ẁjú <sup>n</sup> tàá-yè
	/LH*/	m̀sírì	‘mosque’	m̀sírì tàá-yè
	/LML/	m̀b̀l̀	‘vehicle’	m̀b̀l̀ tàá-yè

Retention of lexical melodies in nouns also occurs with other specific indefinite quantifiers: s̀r̀ ‘the remaining one’ (plural s̀r̀-è), singular-only k̀ū<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain (one)’, and the latter’s suppletive plural p̀-ye ‘certain (ones)’. p̀-ye and k̀ū<sup>n</sup> 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 tīnāā<sup>n</sup> ‘other’

This modifier behaves like an adjective, not as a possessed noun (as in Djenné Jenaama). An example is sàbà tīnāā<sup>n</sup> ‘(an)other chicken’ from sàbá.

## 6.3.2 Set-partitioning quantificational modifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’)

### 6.3.2.1 ‘Certain (ones)’ (pō-yē, tàá-yè)

pō-yē and tàá-yè 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) [ɛ̃                    sūgō                    pō-yē / tàá-yè]                    bē,  
           [1Sg                goat                    **certain-Pl**]                    come.Pfv,  
           pō-yē / tàá-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 pō-yē or tàá-yè. Instead, the nouns preserve their lexical tones, as they do before nonsingular numerals. See §6.3.2.1 above for additional examples with tàá-yè. Further examples with pō-yē are kúŋgóló pō-yē ‘certain dogs’, mìsírí pō-yē ‘certain mosques’, and yàmbāà pō-yē ‘certain houses’.

### 6.3.2.2 ‘A certain one’ (kūū<sup>n</sup>)

When one individual is picked out of the larger set, the quantificational modifier kūū<sup>n</sup> is used instead of pō- or tàá-.

- (232) ñ      gà      [ñimī      kūūn]      tò  
 1Sg    Ipfv    [person    **a.certain**]    know.Ipfv  
 [màŋ      gà      kú      tī-nà]  
 [Rel    Ipfv    Dem    do-Ipfv]  
 ‘I know a certain person who does that.’

The etymological affinity between kūūn<sup>n</sup> and the numeral kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’ is no longer apparent to native speakers.

Combinations of noun plus kūūn<sup>n</sup> do not follow the tonal rules for noun-adjective combinations. Nouns preserve their lexical tones before kūūn<sup>n</sup>, as they do before nonsingular numerals and before the plural quantificational modifiers pō-yē and tàá-yè. Examples: kúŋgóló kūūn<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain dog’, mìsírí kūūn<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain mosque’, yàmbāà kūūn<sup>n</sup> ‘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-lēw<sup>n</sup> ~ pō-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘a little’ can be used in a comparable parallel construction.

- (233) [sógó      pā-lē<sup>n</sup>]      pì ò ↗,  
 [milk      **a.little**]      spill.Pfv,  
 [(sógó)      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 kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’, pronounced kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup> with downstep. If the noun does not already end in a nasalized vowel, a linker ŋ- precedes kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>. A similar nasal linker occurs in some compounds.

- (234) a. wógátú      ñ-kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 time      **one-one**  
 ‘now and then, occasionally, at times’
- b. jàmàná<sup>n</sup>      ñ-kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 time      **one-one**  
 [= (a)] (< jàmáná<sup>n</sup>)

- c. gūú<sup>n</sup>            ń-kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 place            **one-one**  
 ‘here and there, in places’

The noun preceding kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup> 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/	kólō	‘basket’	kóló ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	b. M-initial noun			
	/M/	yōgō	‘fish’	yōgó ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	/ML/	sāākù	‘sack’	sāākú ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	/MLH/	māāŋgòró	‘mango’	māāŋgòró ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	c. L-initial noun			
	/L/	sìbò	‘snake’	sìbò ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	/LH/	wùjú <sup>n</sup>	‘rat’	wùjùŋ kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	/LH*/	mìsírì	‘mosque’	mìsìrì ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>
	/LML/	mòbòlì	‘vehicle’	mòbòlì ń-kēŋ- <sup>4</sup> kēw <sup>n</sup>

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. bō<sup>n</sup>      yèm      bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 here      and      here  
 ‘here and there’ (< bōw<sup>n</sup>)
- b. wógátú      yè<sup>n</sup>      wógátū  
 time      and      time  
 ‘from time to time’

- c. sàà-gū      yè<sup>n</sup>      sàà-gù  
 now          and          now  
 ‘soon, shortly’ (< sàà-gù)

### 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      pī<sup>n</sup>  
 house          black  
 ‘a black house’
- b. yàmbàà      bŭlōw<sup>n</sup>  
 house          big  
 ‘a big house’
- c. yàmbàà      bŭlòm      pī<sup>n</sup>  
 house          big          black  
 ‘a big black house’
- d. yàmbàà      pìim      bŭlōw<sup>n</sup>  
 house          black      big  
 [= (c)]

Further examples are in (238). Note in particular that /H/-melodic bánū ‘thick’ drops to L-toned as Adj1 in (238c).

- (238) a. yàmbàà      màpàm      pī<sup>n</sup>  
 house          good      black  
 ‘a good black house’

b. yàmbàà      bùlòm      mánāw<sup>n</sup>  
 house      big      good  
 ‘a good big house’

c. kiyè      bànù      píí<sup>n</sup>  
 stick      thick      black  
 ‘a thick black stick’ (< kiyè, bánū)

d. silè      pììṅ      cíyēw<sup>n</sup>  
 rock      black      heavy  
 ‘a heavy black rock’ (< silē)

e. kùṅgòlò      pììn      dígè-náw<sup>n</sup>  
 dog      black      small  
 ‘a small black dog’ (< kùṅgóló, pīí<sup>n</sup>, ògè-náw<sup>n</sup>)

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      píí<sup>n</sup>  
 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 ògè-náw<sup>n</sup> ‘small’. (240a) with L-L-H corresponds to the reordered (240b) with M-M-M.

(240) a. kùṅgòlò      pììn      ògè-náw<sup>n</sup>  
 dog      black      small  
 ‘a small black dog’ (< kùṅgóló, pīí<sup>n</sup>, ògè-náw<sup>n</sup>)

b. kùṅgólò      ògè-nām      pīí<sup>n</sup>  
 dog      small      black  
 [= (a)]

### 6.3.3.2 Basic adjective plus quantificational modifier

Quantificational modifiers are plural p̄-yē or tàá-yè ‘certain (ones)’ and singular kũũ<sup>n</sup> ‘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 pīīŋ kũũ<sup>n</sup>  
 house black **a.certain**  
 ‘a certain black house’
- b. yàmbàà pīīm p̄-yē / ...  
 " pīīn ... / 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) [ŋ yâmbāa] p̄yè-nā nì yāālō<sup>n</sup> / pā-lēw<sup>n</sup>  
 [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. t̄m̄n-dīgē m̄ mày<sup>n</sup>  
 jujube-eating(n) PsRefl **be.good**  
 ‘Jujube fruits are good to eat.’
- b. [[k̄ŋ jùgù] kúlé<sup>n</sup> yè j̄ n̄yèw<sup>n</sup>  
 [[Dem tree] cut.up.VblN] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **be.easy**  
 ‘Chopping up that tree is easy.’ (< k̄ŋ jūgū)

c.	sūŋ-kūmē	yē	̀n	nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>
	fly(n)-catch.VblN	Sbj/Obj	PsRefl	<b>be.difficult</b>
	‘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      pī<sup>n</sup>  
           goat      black  
           ‘(a/the) black goat’
- c. sūgō      pīim      pēndē  
           goat      black      two  
           ‘two black goats’ (not #sūgō pēndē pī<sup>n</sup>)

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<sup>n</sup> ‘1’ (§4.6.1.1) after nouns of different tone classes are in (245). The tonal patterns show that kēw<sup>n</sup> 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<sup>n</sup> or -nāw<sup>n</sup>. 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/	kólō	kólō-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘Nile monitor lizard’
	/M/	yōgō	yōgō-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘fish’
	/ML/	kāsò	kāsò-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘jail’
b.	/L/	sìbò	sìbò-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘snake’
		yùgò <sup>n</sup>	yùgò <sup>n</sup> -lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘woman’
	/LH/	gèjé	gèjé-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘arrow’
		sàá <sup>n</sup>	sàá <sup>n</sup> -lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘well-bag ( <i>puisette</i> )’
	/LH*/	mìsírì	mìsírì-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘mosque’
	/LML/	mòbòlì	mòbòlì-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘vehicle’
c.	irregular (human)				
	/M/	jīmì	jāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘person’
d.	diminutive nouns				
	/L-H/	jùgù-náw <sup>n</sup>	jūgū-nāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘sapling’ (< jūgū ‘tree’)
	/M-M/	yōgō-lēw <sup>n</sup>	yōgō-lēŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘minnow’ (< yōgō ‘fish’)
e.	compounds				
	/L-H/	nàpòrò-tūgū	nàpòrò-tùgù-lāŋ kēw <sup>n</sup>		‘rich man’

For distributive (ŋ-)kēŋ-<sup>4</sup>kēw<sup>n</sup> 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 nàtàw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 kāsò and mòbòlì, resulting in variants kāsò nàtàw<sup>n</sup> ‘four jails’ and mòbòlì nàtàw<sup>n</sup> ‘four.’

(246)	melody	noun	‘eight ...’	‘four ...’	gloss
a.	/H/	kólō	kóló sēkī	kóló nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘Nile monitor lizard’
	/M/	yōgō	yōgō sēkī	yōgō nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘fish’
	/ML/	kāsò	kāsò sēkī	kāsò nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘jail’

	/LH/	gèjé	gèjé sēkī	gèjé nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘arrow’
	/LH*/	mìsírí	mìsírí sēkī	mìsírí nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘mosque’
	/LML/	mòbōlì	mòbōlì sēkī	mòbōlì nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘vehicle’
b.	/L/	nàà	nàà sēkī	nàà nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘cow’
	/L/	sìbò	sìbò sēkī	sìbò nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘snake’
	/L/	bìrìgì	bìrìgì sēkī	bìrìgì nàtàw <sup>n</sup>	‘manure’

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. mìsírí      dèbè  
 mosque      forty  
 ‘40 mosques’

b. mìsírí      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. mìsírí      [tēēmdērè      pēndē]  
 mosque      [hundred      two]  
 ‘200 mosques’

b. mìsírí      mùjù  
 mosque      thousand  
 ‘1000 mosques’

## 6.4.2 ‘Many’ and ‘few’

### 6.4.2.1 pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> ~ pāà-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 kō<sup>n</sup> ‘be many’, a pseudo-reflexive verb, as in ē yè ñ kō<sup>n</sup> ‘we are many’.

pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> ~ pāà-lēw<sup>n</sup> 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 pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> here but the variant pāà-lēw<sup>n</sup> can substitute for it.

(249)	melody	noun	‘many/much ...’	gloss
a.	/H/	kólō	kólō pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘Nile monitor lizard’
	/M/	yōgō	yōgō pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘fish’
	/ML/	kāsò	kāsò pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘jail’
b.	/L/	sìbò	sìbò pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘snake’
	/LH/	gèjé	gèjé pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘arrow’
	/LH*/	mìsìrì	mìsìrì pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘mosque’
	/LML/	mòbòlì	mòbòlì pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>	‘vehicle’

While pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> differs from kūū<sup>n</sup> ‘a certain’ and the latter’s relatives in its tonosyntactic properties, the two occur in the same linear position, following other adjectives.

(250)	yògò	pìim	pāà-lōw <sup>n</sup>
	fish	black	many
	‘many black fish’ (not #yògò pāà-lòm pī <sup>n</sup> )		

‘A lot’, either abstract or with understood but covert common noun, is pā pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup>, literally ‘many things’. Note the unexpected tone of pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> in this combination. This ‘a lot’ phrase can function adverbially, but in (251) it is treated as an object NP, effectively transitivity ‘sleep’ in the process (compare ñ kùmù ‘I slept’).

(251)	a.	ñ	= nàm	[pā	pāà-lē <sup>n</sup> ]	tólō
		1Sg	Sbj/Obj	[thing	<b>many</b> ]	sell.Pfv
		‘I sold a lot/many.’				

- b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $\bar{n}\bar{a}m$  [ $\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w$ ]  $k\bar{u}m\bar{u}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [thing **many**] sleep.Pfv  
 ‘I slept a lot.’

The noun modified by  $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w^n$  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. [[ $\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ]  $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w^n$ ]  $w\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 [[1Sg cow] many] die.Pfv  
 ‘Many of my cows died.’

- b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $\bar{n}\bar{a}$  [[ $\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ]  $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w^n$ ]  $t\bar{o}l\bar{o}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Sg cow] many] sell.Pfv  
 ‘I sold many of my cows.’

- c.  $\bar{e}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}m\bar{i}$   $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w^n$   
 1Pl person many  
 ‘many of us’

- d. [ $\bar{e}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}m\bar{i}$ ]  $\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{l}\bar{o}w^n$   
 [1Pl person] thing many  
 [= (c)]

#### 6.4.2.2 $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ ‘a few, a little of’

This quantificational adjective requires a preceding noun, minimally a light noun like  $\bar{p}\bar{a}$  ‘thing’ or  $\bar{n}\bar{i}m\bar{i}$  ‘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                        | $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$                                   | gloss          |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|
| $y\bar{a}m\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{a}$  | $y\bar{a}m\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$  | ‘a few houses’ |
| $k\bar{u}w\bar{g}\bar{o}l\bar{o}$ | $k\bar{u}w\bar{g}\bar{o}l\bar{o}$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ | ‘a few dogs’   |
| $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$           | $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$           | ‘a few cows’   |
| $y\bar{u}g\bar{o}^n$              | $y\bar{u}g\bar{o}^n$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$              | ‘a few women’  |
| $\bar{n}\bar{i}m\bar{i}$          | $\bar{n}\bar{i}m\bar{i}$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$          | ‘a few people’ |

jénāw <sup>n</sup>	jēnān dāmā-dāmā	‘a few children’
pwō	pā dāmā-dāmā	‘a few things’
sūkōrō	sūkōrō dāmà-dāmà	‘a little sugar’
tēè	tēè dāmà-dāmà	‘a little tea’
tēē	tēē dāmā-dāmā	‘a little meat’

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 dāmá ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1). The adverb has its own iterative form dāmá-dāmá.

- (254) māāngòró      dāmá-dāmá      gā =      [à      sūgì-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	ɲó <sup>n</sup>	ɲó <sup>n</sup> -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 kò<sup>n</sup> (+M) or ɲò<sup>n</sup> (+M)

Prenominal demonstratives kò<sup>n</sup> (+M) or ɲò<sup>n</sup> (+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 ñ (+H), whose floating H is limited to the first one or two syllables of the noun, the M of kò<sup>n</sup> (+M) or ɲò<sup>n</sup> (+M) spreads over the entire noun stem. See §3.6.3.1.2 for details and examples of the tonal patterns.



‘Everything’ is à s̄ā<sup>n</sup> with 3Sg pronominal possessor in partitive function (257a). Its plural à s̄ā<sup>n</sup>-yē means ‘all of them’ with reference to a nonhuman set. ‘Everyone’ is è s̄ā<sup>n</sup> with 3Pl pronominal (257b).

- (257) a. à =            [à            s̄ā<sup>n</sup>]            dīgā  
           3Sg            [3Sg            **all**]            eat.Pfv  
           ‘He/She ate everything.’
- b. [è            s̄ā<sup>m</sup>]            bē  
       [3Pl            **all**]            come.Pfv  
       ‘Everyone has come.’

s̄ā<sup>n</sup> 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 s̄ā<sup>n</sup> 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) [jéná<sup>n</sup>        s̄ā<sup>n</sup>]            bē            [[ṅ            kàà]            nī]  
           [child        all]            come.Pfv    [[3Ref1Sg    father]        Inst]  
           ‘Each child<sub>x</sub> brought his/her<sub>x</sub> father.’

mà s̄ā<sup>n</sup> (variant mà h̄ā<sup>n</sup>) 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 màw<sup>n</sup> and s̄ā<sup>n</sup>.

- (259) [mà        s̄ā<sup>n</sup>]        nàm        bē,            āṅ            gālā =        à            sē  
           [**Rel**    **all**]        if.Pfv    come.Pfv,    2Sg        Sbjn        3Sg        say.Pfv  
           [ṅ        nà            bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
           [1Sg    not.be.Loc    here]  
           ‘If anyone comes, say that I am not here.’

See also mà s̄ā<sup>n</sup> in (329c) in §8.4.4.4.

## 6.6.2 Quantifiers with negation

### 6.6.2.1 Negation and s̄ā<sup>n</sup> ‘all’

Clausal negation scopes over a universal quantifier.

(260) ò            tẹ            [bíyé<sup>n</sup>      sǎǎ<sup>n</sup>]      dīgā  
 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). pā is the premodifier form of pwō ‘thing’. -sí is contracted from sí ‘any’. pwō by itself can mean ‘anything’ or ‘something’ (261b). In (261a), tẹ remains L-toned on the grounds that the following pā is lexically M-toned, though it is dropped by tone sandhi to pà in pà-sí.

(261) a. ò            tẹ            pà-sí            dīgā  
 1Sg      PfvNeg      **anything**      eat.Pfv  
 ‘I haven’t eaten anything.’

b. ā<sup>n</sup>            nàm            pwō            dīgā,  
 2Sg      if.Pfv      **anything**      eat.Pfv,  
 à            gà =            ā<sup>n</sup>            wòbò-nì  
 3Sg      Ipv      2Sg            sicken-Caus.Ipv  
 ‘If you-Sg eat something/anything, it will make you sick.’

c. sèédù            pwō            dīgā,  
 3Sg            **something**      eat.Pfv,  
 wògā =            ā            wòbò-nì            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 òmì-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. ò            tẹ            [yàmbāà      sí]            tōlō  
 1Sg      PfvNeg      [house      **any**]      sell.Pfv  
 ‘I haven’t sold any houses.’

- b. ò            tē            [[kò<sup>n</sup>    yàmbāā-yè]    sí]            tōlō  
 1Sg          PfvNeg    [[Dem    house-Pl]    **any**]        sell.Pfv  
 ‘I haven’t sold any of these houses.’
- c. [yàmbāā    sí]            tē            sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 [house       **any**]    PfvNeg        fall.Pfv  
 ‘No house(s) fell.’
- d. jìmì-sí            nà            bē            sò  
 person-**any**      IpfvNeg       Fut            go.Pfv  
 ‘Nobody will go.’
- e. à    yē    [ñ        nā        dwō        [[è    sí]    kàw<sup>n</sup>]]  
 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 sāā<sup>n</sup> ‘all’ with immediately following sí.

## 6.7 Accusative (absent)

There is no morphological accusative marking on direct object NPs.

## 7 Coordination

### 7.1 Conjunction (yè<sup>n</sup> or yèhīnì)

The usual ‘and’ conjunction between two NPs or adverbial X and Y is yè<sup>n</sup>.

There are two other particles of the same form yè<sup>n</sup>. One functions as bidirectional case-marker, separating subject from (mainly pronominal) objects in the inflectionally unmarked perfective positive. Another occurs in plural-addressee imperatives. All three yè<sup>n</sup> 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. yè<sup>n</sup> à → yā = à (including Final Tone-Raising).

For this reason, there is a risk of confusing these three particles with a fourth morpheme, yè ~ yē ‘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 yè<sup>n</sup> ‘and’. To avoid any mis-parsing, a longer variant yèhīnì can also be used.

yè<sup>n</sup> raises to yě<sup>n</sup> (<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 yè<sup>n</sup> (263c,e,f) when the conjoined NP is tightly phrased (263f).

- (263) a. kēēgū    yě<sup>n</sup>    yùgò<sup>n</sup>  
man        and        woman  
          ‘a man and a woman’
- b. dīgégw<sup>n</sup>    yě<sup>n</sup>        wày  
yesterday    and        today  
          ‘yesterday and today’
- c. bōw<sup>n</sup>        yè<sup>n</sup>        yāw<sup>n</sup>  
here         and        there.Def  
          ‘here and there (definite)’ (< bōw<sup>n</sup>)

- d. sògò-lōn yēn nàà  
 sheep and cow  
 ‘a sheep and a cow’ (< sògò-lōw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. nàā yè<sup>n</sup> sūgō  
 cow and goat  
 ‘a cow and a goat’ (< nàā)
- f. sòmputwō yēn nàà  
 donkey and cow  
 ‘a donkey and a cow’ (< sòmputwò)

See also wùlāā [yě<sup>n</sup> wùlāā] ‘who and who?’ in §13.2.2.2. For yè<sup>n</sup> or vestiges of it in composite numerals see §4.6.1.4-5.

The extended variant yèhīnì is illustrated in (264).

- (264) a. kòyów<sup>n</sup> yèhīnì bíyēw<sup>n</sup>  
 stone and egg  
 ‘a stone and an egg’
- b. nàmà-gēw<sup>n</sup> yèhīnì bàrà  
 Namagué and Bara  
 ‘Namagué and Bara (villages)’
- c. túbā yèhīnì yàmbāà  
 granary and house  
 ‘a granary and a house’ (< túbà)

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 yè<sup>n</sup> may precede all nonital 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. ò-dógó ↗(,) [yà = ān-dògò ↗(,) [yē = è-lògò]  
 1Sg-Indep(.) [**and** 2Sg-Indep] [**and** 3Pl-Indep]  
 ‘me, you-Sg, and them’

- b. yùgòm-bè ↗      kēēgē-ē ↗      yèn      jēnā-mbī-gē  
 woman-Pl      man-Pl      **and**      child-Pl-Pl  
 ‘women, men, and children’

### 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. m̄      bē  
 1Sg      come.Pfv  
 ‘I have come.’
- b. ñ-dógó      bē  
 1Sg-Indep      come.Pfv  
 ‘I have come.’
- c. [sèédū      yē      ñ-dógó]      bē  
 [S      and      1Sg-Indep]      come.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou and I came.’
- d. [ñ-dógó      yē      [ñ      káá]]      gá      bē  
 [1Sg-Indep      and      [1Sg      father]]      Ipfv      come.Ipfv  
 ‘I and my father will come.’
- e. ñ-dógó      yē      [ñ      sūgō]  
 [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.

- (267) sūgō            yèn            sògò-lēm-bē  
           sūgē-ē  
           goat(-PI)    and            sheep-PI

The background to this is that the productive plural suffix is -ye (-yē 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 yè<sup>n</sup> ‘and’ as -yē = è<sup>n</sup> (or as -yē = ē<sup>n</sup> 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. sògò-lē<sup>n</sup>            yèn            sūgē-ē  
           sògò-lēm-bē  
           sheep(-PI)    and            goat-PI  
           ‘sheep and goats’
- b. yùgō<sup>n</sup>            yèŋ            kēēgē-ē  
           yùgòm-bē  
           woman(-PI)    and            man-PI  
           ‘women and men’
- c. kēēgū            yě<sup>n</sup>            yùgòm-bē  
           kēēgē-ē  
           man(-PI)        and            woman-PI  
           ‘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-dògò  
           1Sg-Indep    and            2Sg-Indep  
           ‘me and you’

- b. ān-dògō      yě<sup>n</sup>      wògò  
 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 $\bar{n}$ 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) sèédū      yè      [ $\bar{n}$ ]      kàà]  
 S      and      [3ReflSg      father]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> and his<sub>x</sub> 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      [[ $\bar{n}$       sògò-lēm-bē]      yè      [ $\bar{n}$       sūgē-ē]]      tōlō  
 3Sg      [[3ReflSg      sheep-Pl]      and      [**3ReflSg**      goat-Pl]      sell.Pfv  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> sold his<sub>x</sub> sheep and his<sub>x</sub> goats.’
- b. è      yè=      [[ $\bar{e}$       sògò-lēm-bē]      yè=      [ $\bar{e}$       sūgē-ē]]  
 3Pl      Sbj/Obj      [[3ReflPl      sheep-Pl]      and      [**3ReflPl**      goat-Pl]  
 tōlō  
 sell.Pfv  
 ‘They<sub>x</sub> sold their<sub>x</sub> sheep and (their<sub>x</sub>) goats.’

- c.  $\bar{n}$  =nà [[sùgò sílé(-yē)] yě<sup>n</sup> [sògò-lē<sup>n</sup> sílé=yē]] sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [[goat old(-Pl)] and [sheep **old-Pl**] buy.Pfv  
 ‘I bought some old goats and (old) sheep.’
- d. [kò<sup>n</sup> sògò-lē<sup>n</sup>-bē] yě<sup>n</sup> [kò<sup>n</sup> sùgò-ē]  
 [Dem sheep-Pl] and [**Dem** goat-Pl]  
 ‘these sheep and (these) goats’
- e. [sògò-lē<sup>n</sup> pēndē] yè<sup>n</sup> [sùgò pēndē]  
 [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  $sāā^n$  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  $yè^n$  ‘and’, and with a resumptive pronoun and another ‘all’ in the clause proper (272b).

- (272) a. [[yùgò<sup>n</sup> yè<sup>n</sup> kēēgē-ē]  $sāā^n$ ] bē  
 [[woman and man-Pl] **all**] come.Pfv  
 ‘All the women and men came.’
- b. yùgò<sup>n</sup>-bè  $sāā^n$ , kēēgē-ē  $sāā^n$ , [è  $sāā^n$ ] bē  
 woman-Pl **all**, man-Pl **all**, [3Pl **all**] come.Pfv  
 ‘All the women, all the men, they all came.’
- c.  $\bar{n}$  =nā= à sē  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv  
 [[[kēēgū yě<sup>n</sup> yùgò<sup>n</sup>-bè]  $sāā^n$ ] 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 ñ kó [[sògò-lē<sup>n</sup> yè<sup>n</sup> sùgò] nī]  
 3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [[sheep **and** goat] **Inst**]  
 ‘He gave me (=provided me with) a sheep and a goat.’ (< ñ(+H) kò)

b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}$  =  $\grave{a}$   $s\bar{e}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv  
 [[[ $\eta$   $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ ]  $y\grave{a}$ = [ $\bar{a}\eta$   $k\grave{a}\grave{a}$ ]  $t\bar{e}$ ]  
 [[[1Sg father] **and** [2Sg father] **Dat**]  
 ‘I told (“said it”) to my father and (to) your father.’

c.  $\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}$   $g\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}$   $k\bar{o}$  [[ $w\bar{i}$   $y\grave{e}\eta$   $k\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ ]  $n\bar{i}$ ]  
 God Sbjn 1Pl furnish.Pfv [[long.life **and** health] **Inst**]  
 ‘May God give us long life and good health.’ (<  $k\bar{o}$   $w\bar{i}$ ) (2017-01 @ 04:21)

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)  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}$  =  $\grave{a}$   $s\bar{e}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv  
 [[[ $\eta$   $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ ]  $t\bar{e}$ ]  $y\grave{a}$ = [[ $\bar{a}\eta$   $k\grave{a}\grave{a}$ ]  $t\bar{e}$ ]  
 [[[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)  $\bar{e}$   $g\bar{a}$   $s\bar{o}$  [ $t\grave{e}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{e}$   $k\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ ]  $y\grave{e}h\bar{i}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $s\bar{o}\eta\grave{d}\bar{e}\text{-}y$   
 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)  $\grave{n}$   $n\grave{a}$  [ $\bar{l}\bar{a}k\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $y\grave{e}\bar{n}$   $s\grave{a}b\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{a}$ ]  $p\bar{o}g\grave{d}\bar{e}$   
 1Sg IpfvNeg [couscous and cowpea] like.Ipfv  
 ‘I don’t like (either) couscous or cowpeas.’ (<  $\bar{l}\bar{a}k\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{i}$ )

### 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 yèy<sup>n</sup> ‘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      sògō]      gāà→,  
 [1Pl    Ipfv    Rel-Pl    cultivate]    be,  
 pìí<sup>n</sup>→,  
 millet  
 dùgá→,  
 rice,  
 kèndé→,  
 sorghum,  
 pàà-m-pùwó<sup>n</sup>→,  
 sesame,  
 sààgú→,  
 roselle,  
 wòò-léw<sup>n</sup>→,  
 groundnut,  
 sàbùlá→,  
 cowpea,  
 bògò-[dù-tòmó<sup>n</sup>]→,  
 melon-[?-red].

yèhīnì      màgàsàlà

as well as      yellow.melon

‘What we cultivate is: millet, rice, sorghum, sesame, roselle, groundnut, cow-pea, watermelon, and (finally) yellow melon.’

(< pī<sup>n</sup>, dūgā, kèndè, pàà-m-pùwó<sup>n</sup>, sààgù, wòò-léw<sup>n</sup>, sàbùlá, bògò-[dù-tòmōw<sup>n</sup>])

This prosody also occurred in a text listing clan surnames, and in follow-up elicitation. In (278a) and its inversion (278b) the clans are tārāwōrē ‘Traoré’ and cìsē ‘Cissé’. (278c) adds a third clan, bààkòlò ‘Bakoro’. For these names, the nonfinal items have the tonal form of focalized names.



- (280) [ɲ túgɔ] [wàli-màà āŋ gālā sò]  
 [1Sg pay.Pfv] [or 2Sg Sbjn go.Pfv]  
 ‘Pay me, or go!’

French *ou bien* ‘or (else)’ is widely used by younger speakers.

### 7.2.2 ‘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 sām] p̀w̄ɔ̀ gà bṑw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here]  
 [[è sāj̄ɲ] j̄amu] gà— t̄ar̄aw̄or̄è ò tà→,  
 [[3Pl all] clan.name] be— T it.is **or.Q**,  
 nè= [[è bē] gà bṑŋ] k̀òr̀ò bw̄ḕȳ]  
**or.else.Q** [[3Pl come.Pfb RemPfv here] back Comit]  
 [[w̄òḡɔ̀ n̄i] tr̄àòr̄è k̄il̄è gà]  
 [[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 *yè/yē* (~ *jè/ē*) ‘said’.

- (283) a. *sèédù*    *màsí*    *sē*    *gà=*    [*ān*    *tē*]  
S            what?    say.Pfv    RemPfv    [2Sg    **Dat**]  
‘What did Seydou say to you-Sg?’
- b. *ām*    *màsí*    *sē*    *gà*    [*sèédù*    *tē*]  
2Sg    what?    say.Pfv    RemPfv    [S            **Dat**]  
‘What did you-Sg say to Seydou?’
- c. *jà*    *jē*    [*sèédù*    *tē*]    ò<sup>n</sup>ó<sup>n</sup>  
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. *n̄* (= *nàñ*) *nàà* *dō* [*sèédù* *tē*]  
 1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow give.Pfv [S **Dat**]  
 ‘I gave a cow to Seydou.’  
 (variant *n̄* *nàà* ... without the Sbj/Obj linker)

c. *n̄* (= *nàñ*) *nàà* *wōjī* [*sèédù* *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) *ñ*  $\emptyset$  *sèédū* *kō* [*nàà* *nī*]  
*n̄* *nă<sup>n</sup>*  
 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 *dēmō<sup>n</sup>/dēmò<sup>n</sup>* ‘please, be pleasing to’ (286). ‘X like(s) Y’ is expressed as ‘Y pleases X’ with dative X.

(286) [[*āā* *bē-gū*] *dēmō<sup>n</sup>* [*ē* *tè*] *mápnè*]  
 [[2Pl come.VblN] please.Pfv [1Pl **Dat**] a.lot]  
 ‘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.

- (287) a. āā    gā    màn    tī-nà    [ālà    tē]  
 2Pl    Ipfv    Rel    do-Ipfv    [God    **Dat**]  
 māā    kwààṅ    gā    bē  
 that    rain(n)    Ipfv    come.Ipfv  
 ‘what you-Pl do for God, so that rain comes’ (2017-02 @ 02:13; slightly edited)
- b. [è    sāā<sup>n</sup>]    kēēgū    màā    [à    tē]  
 [3Pl    all]    man    look.for.Pfv    [3Sg    **Dat**]  
 ‘They all looked for a man (i.e. a husband) for her.’ (2017-06 @ 00:26)

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
a.	noun of /L/	melody		
	/L/	nàà	nàà tē	‘cow’
b.	nouns of other melodies			
	/LML/	tùjūnù	tùjūnù tē	‘pigeon’
	/M/	jīmī	jīmī tē	‘person’
	/MLH/	jōòmó	jōòmó tē	‘camel’
	/H/	kúṅgólō	kúṅgóló tē	‘dog’

The pronominal paradigm is (289).

(289) a.	1Sg	ṅ tē
b.	1Pl	ē tē
	2Sg	ān tē
	2Pl	āā tē
	3Sg	à tē
	3Pl	è tē
	Logo	ṅ tē

#### 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 *tē*)  
 b. adjunct with ‘pass (by)’, including ‘surpass’  
 c. adjunct with ‘join, be added to X’

[X *nā*] can occur in place of [X *tē*] with ditransitives ‘give’ and ‘show’, but not with ‘say’. Both postpositions are possible in (291a), but only *tē* is possible in (291b). *tē* is more common than *nā* even with the ditransitives.

- (291) a. *n̄* = *nā<sup>n</sup>*      *wólén*      *dō*      [sèédù      *nā/tē*]  
 1Sg      Sbj/Obj      money      give.Pfv      [S      **Dat**]  
 ‘I gave the money to Seydou.’
- b. *n̄* = *nā* =      *à*      *sē*      [sèédù      (# *nā*) / *tē*]  
 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*      *kīyē*      [nògù-bèn      *nā*]  
 3Pl      Seq      pass.Pfv      [N      **Dat**]  
*è*      *bē*      *sō*      *mààlù*  
 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*      *sò*      *kō-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 *n̄ 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 nī and nì 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.	sìrìmbè	‘razor’	sìrìmbè nī	sìrìmbē nì
	dàmbà	‘daba (hoe)’	dàmbà nī	dàmbā nì
b.	dēē	‘blood’	dēē nī	dēē nì
	déé	‘cotton’	déé nī	déé 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.	nī	nàŋ	kúŋgóló	kwāā	[kìyè	nī]
		1Sg	Sbj/Obj	dog	hit.Pfv	[stick	<b>Inst</b> ]
		‘I hit-Past (a/the) dog with (a/the) stick.’ (< kìyè)					

- b. ñ      gā      sògō      [dàmbà      nī]  
 1Sg    Ipfv    cultivate.Ipfv    [daba      **Inst**]  
 ‘I cultivate (=do farm work) with a daba (hoe).’
- c. ñkàlà    āñ      gālā =    ā      kày      [[ān    nōgō-lēn]    nī]  
 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      dwō      gà      [sēmbē      nī]  
 3Pl      enter.Pfv    RemPfv    [force(n)      **Inst**]  
 ‘They entered by force.’
- d. à      bē      gà      [mòbōlì      nī]  
 3Sg    come.Pfv    RemPfv    [vehicle      **Inst**]  
 ‘He/She came in the vehicle (e.g. by bus, by car).’

3Sg à nī ‘by means of it’ often resumes a previously introduced NP denoting an object that can be used as an instrument (297).

- (297) ñ      (= nāñ)      dōò      dēē      gà  
 1Sg    (Sbj/Obj)    knife    take.Pfv    RemPfv  
 [m̄      bē      tēē      kŭlē<sup>n</sup>      [à      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      ñ      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 *nī* 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 intransitivized (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 *nī*.

- (299) a. *āā syēŋ gā [nēēmà nī]*  
 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather **Inst**]  
 ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’ (i.e., ‘how was your day?’)  
 (greeting formula, 2017-01 @ 00:04)
- b. *è bē gā bōw<sup>n</sup> [[m̀w̄ō bàà̀nà-sí] nī]*  
 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here [[which? manner-kind.Foc] **Inst**]  
 ‘In what way did they come here?’ (2017-01 @ 00:44)
- c. [*à dùgā=*] *ā tībēŋ gā [iisū̀bù nī]*  
 [3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg baptise.Pfv RemPfv [Y **Inst**]  
 ‘His younger brother baptised him as Yousouf.’ (2017-01 @ 03:54)
- d. *yèŋ k̄ā= à yàgā [k̄iyē<sup>n</sup> nī]*  
 Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [like.this **Inst**]  
 ‘Let’s-2Pl decide (the issue) like this.’ (2017-01 @ 04:45)
- e. [*w̄ōḡōtū ŋ-kūūn nī*],  
 [time Link-one **Inst**],  
*à k̄iyē= [ē nògù] 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 *nī* to denote the result of a transformation.

- (300) a. *kālā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sòrdā̀sì nī]*  
 except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier **Inst**]  
 ‘except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

- b. hàlì-kànā    à        gā            p̀ẁō            [kàpàrá<sup>n</sup>    nī]  
 until            3Sg    until.Pfv    become.Pfv    [corporal    **Inst**]  
 ‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’ (2017-01 @ 06:30)
- c. sàà-gù,        à        p̀ẁō            [dūgā-j̄n-cīyē    nī]  
 now,            3Sg    become.Pfv    [rice-Link-field    **Inst**]  
 ‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)
- d. [ɲ    káá]        yā=        ā        yàgà            [dēē<sup>n</sup>-ñ-cīyē    nī]  
 [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. à    bē    sò        ɲ        wōbì            [[āādāmā-dyēm    mōjō]    nī]  
 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. ē        gā=        à        p̀ōg̀ò  
 1Pl    Ipfv    3Sg    like.Ipfv  
 [ē    gālà=    ān    tīyē    [[pā    kūū<sup>n</sup>]    nī]    *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. [ē        gā=        à        p̀ōg̀ò]        [ē        gālà=        ān    tīyē]  
 [1Pl    Ipfv    3Sg    like.Ipfv]    [1Pl    Sbjn    2Sg    ask.Pfv]  
 [[kāmāà    gù]    nī]  
 [[tale        Def]    **Inst**]  
 We would like to ask you for a tale.’ (2017-04 @ 00:11)

### 8.1.2.1.3 Focalized instrumental ní

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 *nī* to *ní* in addition to raising the final tone of the noun. With /H/-melodic nouns like ‘dog’, only the raising of *nī* to *ní* 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 nī is therefore expressed by mid pitch for ní versus low pitch for nī.

(302)	melody	noun	instrumental		gloss
			regular	focalized	
a.	/H/	túwō	túwó nī	túwó ní	‘handle’
		bílā <sup>n</sup>	bílán nī	bílán ní	‘torch’
		búwō <sup>n</sup>	búwón nī	búwón ní	‘mortar’
		déé	déé nī	déé ní	‘cotton’
		kúṅgólō	kúṅgóló nī	kúṅgóló ní	‘dog’
b.	/LH/	sòmó	sòmó nī	sòmó ní	‘pick-hoe’
		bèbé	bèbé nī	bèbé ní	‘brick’
		kàṅá	kàṅá nī	kàṅá ní	‘saw (n)’
c.	/LH*/	tìmbógó	tìmbógó nī	tìmbógó ní	‘ladder’
d.	/MLH/	māāṅgòró	māāṅgòró nī	māāṅgòró 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 #dòó nī is reshaped as dḁḁ 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/	dḁḁ	dḁḁ nī	dḁḁ ní	‘knife’
		tàw <sup>n</sup>	tàn nī	tàn ní	‘mat’
		tòy	tòy nī	tòy ní	‘intelligence’
b.	/M*L/	dāgānà	dāgānà nī	dàgànà ní	‘cream of millet’
	/ML/	kḁrḁ	kḁrḁ nī	kḁrḁ ní	‘meaning’
	/LML/	kèbāà	kèbāà nī	kèbāà ní	‘flint lighter’

Prosodically light /M/-melodic stems (Cṽṽ, CṽCṽ, or CṽNCṽ 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	téé ní	‘meat’
		dēē	dēē nī	déé ní	‘blood’
b.	/M/	tīyē	tīyē nī	tíyé ní	‘oil, butter’
		sūgū	sūgū nī	súgú ní	‘hand’
		sēmbē	sēmbē nī	sémbé ní	‘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 CṽṽCṽ), 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/	tìgè	tìgè nī	tìgé ní	‘baggage’
		tìyòw <sup>n</sup>	tìyòn nī	tìyón ní	‘ax’
		ɲìyèw <sup>n</sup>	ɲìyén nī	ɲìyén ní	‘head’
b.	/L/	sìrìmbè	sìrìmbè nī	sìrìmbé ní	‘razor (folding knife)’
c.	/M/	kārāndē	kārāndē nī	kàràndé ní	‘tamarind’
		kēēgū	kēēgū nī	kèègú ní	‘man’
d.	/L/	dàmbà	dàmbà nī	dàmbáá ní	‘daba (hoe)’
		tàbà	tàbà nī	tàbáá ní	‘foot’

For interrogative màsí nī ‘with what?’ see §13.2.2.3.

### 8.1.2.2 Comitative PPs

The two postpositions *bwḕỳ* 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 *bwḕỳ*.

#### 8.1.2.2.1 Forms of comitative postpositions (*bwḕỳ*, *pà*)

*bwḕỳ* 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 *m̀ bwḕỳ* ‘with me’. The final semivowel is not always audible. *bwḕỳ* can also function as a stand-alone adverb ‘together’ (§18.4.3). In addition, it is part of composite postpositions *sóǵó-bwḕỳ* ‘right next to’ (§8.2.5.2), *kùwóm bwḕỳ* ‘next to’ (§8.2.5.3), and *mū̀m bwḕỳ* ‘in front of’ (§8.2.7.3).

*pà* is the only L-toned monomoraic postposition. It combines with 1Sg *ɲ̀* (+H) as *m̀ pá*. It triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone, as in *sìbò pá* ‘with the snake’ (< *sìbò*) and *sèédū pá* ‘with Seydou’ (< *sèédū*).

#### 8.1.2.2.2 Functions of postpositions *bwḕỳ* 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 *bwḕỳ*.

- (306) a. [[*bààkùwò* *kéré*] *kùwòɲ̀* *jáátí*] *pà* *gù*  
 [[B wall] flank precisely] **Comit** Def  
 ‘right beside Bakuwo’s wall’ (2017-01 @ 02:41)
- b. [*à* *gā* *kēēm* *pwò-nì*] [[*ɲ̀* *sém*] *pà*],  
 [3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] **Comit**],  
 [*à* *gā* *kēēm* *pwò-nì*] [[*ɲ̀* *kóndó*] *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)
- (307) a. [[*jàwálè* *kùwóm*] *bwḕỳ*] *yā̀w<sup>n</sup>*  
 [[OG flank] **Comit**] there.Def  
 ‘next to Ouro Guéou (village) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:01)

- b. hālī-kālā= à gā tùu-gà [yāw<sup>n</sup> bwēy],  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv approach.Pfv [there.Def **Comit**]  
 ‘Eventually he approached there.’ (2017-04 @ 00:33)
- c. [jīīnī kāy] pwò-nà [bētèhēērè jūgū gū] bwēy  
 [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 bwēy in (308b-c).

- (308) a. wògó sēmē-nā nì [ē bwēy] bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg.Indep.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl **Comit**] here,  
 sògò jáátí-jáátí kò<sup>n</sup>,  
 farming(n) specific Top,  
 [[kòm pā sīgèw<sup>n</sup>] sēmē-nā nì [ē pà] bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[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 kiyēw<sup>n</sup> [sìbw-è bwēy]  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl **Comit**]  
 ‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst.’ (2017-04 @ 01:53)
- c. dūwōn nè= [ē bwēy]  
 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 bwēy 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 (309). bwēy, which seems to be more common than pà in this context, is illustrated in (310).

- (309) è bè bē= ē kwāā [[jàngē-ē kù-lē] pà]  
 3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3RefPl add.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] **Comit**]  
 ‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’  
 (2017-02 @ 01:27)

- (310) a. bē (ŋ) kō-lā [[nààn-[súbáá<sup>n</sup>-só<sup>n</sup>] bwēȳ  
 come (3RefISg) **be.added**-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] **Comit**  
 ‘including (=even) tomorrow morning’
- b. bē kō-lā [wày-kúgú bwēȳ]  
 come **be.added**-Ipfv [today-Dem **Comit**  
 ‘including (even) today’
- c. [à sãã<sup>n</sup>] gā pā kō-lā [hūnē bwēȳ]  
 [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 pà, and (312) with bwēȳ.

- (311) a. màn gā tēn-nā= [ā pà]  
 Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg **Comit**  
 ‘the one who succeeded him (as chief)’ (2017-01 @ 04:11)
- b. sãã-gū ðigàmū tè bē [[ē dēm-bē] pà]  
 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 gārdè-è tūwē-nī<sup>n</sup> gā= [ā pà]  
 3Pl guard-Pl follow-Caus.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg **Comit**  
 ‘They had (military) guards follow him.’ (2017-01 @ 06:54)
- d. ē gā= à bāgā [[kùwò-lògū]-[kùwò-lògū] pà]  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[doorway]-[doorway] **Comit**  
 ‘We take it out (=distribute it) doorway by doorway.’ (2017-02 @ 02:45)
- e. à nìmì [[tēē gū] pà]  
 3Sg desire.Pfv [[meat Def] **Comit**  
 ‘I it (hyena) wanted the meat.’ (2017-07 @ 00:17)

- f. [kòndó bē gā= [à nī] [m̄ 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 wēērè gā [yùwōm pà]  
LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman **Comit**]  
'(He said:) "I have a craving for a woman.'" (2017-05 @ 01:19)
- h. [ān dūṅāā-lātīgē] gā bē pwò [ām pà] [kāy<sup>n</sup> nī] dē?  
[2Sg world-crossing] Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg **Comit**] [work(n) Inst] Emph  
'Your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.' (2017-09 @ 00:17)
- i. à gālā nōtō-mō-nī [kālāam pà]  
3Sg Sbjn have.courage.Pfv [reading **Comit**]  
'May he/she be dedicated to studying.'
- (312) a. è gē= [ē mārḗ-è] tūkà= [à bwēȳ]  
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. è bā= à tàbà-m-būwō dēē,  
3Pl Seq 3Sg foot-Link-line pick.up.Pfv,  
è bè= ē tūwō [à bwēȳ]  
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 wāājū nī, bē [jēnām-bī-gē bwēȳ]  
[Dem be advice it.is, come [children **Comit**]  
'This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people.' (2017-09 @ 00:01)
- d. [à jūgū pī-sē= [è bwēȳ]  
[3Sg medication throw.Pfv [3Pl **Comit**]  
'He threw a (magic) potion (=cast a spell) on them.' (2017-05 @ 03:04)
- e. à kōlē gā= [à bwēȳ] sāā  
3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg **Comit**] when  
'when he touched it (=tree), ...' (2017-04 @ 02:44)

f. à        ñ            dɛ̃ɲɛ        [jũgũ    bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 3Sg    3ReflSg    lean.Pfv    [tree    **Comit**]  
 ‘He leaned on a tree (trunk).’ (2017-05 @ 01:50)

g. à        gālà        ñ            dũkõrõ        [à        bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 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 bwɛ̃ỹ (314). bwɛ̃ỹ is favored by my relatively young assistant.

(313) è        bē            gà            [tārāwōrē    nē = ]    [ē        pà]  
 3Pl    come.Pfv    RemPfv    [T            Inst]    [3ReflPl    **Comit**]  
 ‘They brought Traoré (clan) with them(selves).’ (2017-01 @ 05:58)

(314) a. ɲ        gà        kāy<sup>n</sup>        [sèédù    bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 1Sg     Ipfv    work.Ipfv    [S        **Comit**]  
 ‘I work with Seydou.’

b. à        gà        kāy<sup>n</sup>        [ē        bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 3Sg     Ipfv    work.Ipfv    [1Pl     **Comit**]  
 ‘He/She works with us.’

c. ɲ        gā        sō        bàmàkó    [sèédù    bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 1Sg     Ipfv    go.Ipfv    B        [S        **Comit**]  
 ‘I’m going to Bamako with Seydou.’

d. è        gà        bē            [sààn    nī]        [m̄        bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 3Pl     Ipfv    come.Ipfv    [honey Inst]    [3ReflSg    **Comit**]  
 ‘He is bringing (the) honey with him.’ (< nì)

bwɛ̃ỹ is also part of the ‘think of/about’ construction, which can also mean ‘remember, be reminded of’. The verb mīlā/mīlā (< Fulfulde) is reflexive.

(315) ñ        =nà<sup>n</sup>        ɲ        mīlā        [sèédù    bwɛ̃ỹ]  
 1Sg     Sbj/Obj    1Sg    think.Pfv    [S        **Comit**]  
 ‘I thought of/about Seydou.’

pà seems to be preferred to bwɛ̃ỹ in expressions of affliction (316), and in combination with ‘road’ in the sense ‘on the road’ (317).





b.	‘market’	síbēw <sup>n</sup>	síbèw <sup>n</sup>
	‘mosque’	mìsírí	mìsírì
c.	3Sg pronoun	à	ā-ỳ
	3Pl pronoun	è	ē-ỳ

For pronominal ā-ỳ (very common!) and ē-ỳ see especially the rather fused combinations with syē/syē ‘put (sth) in’, discussed in §9.3.3.

sūgì-ỳ ‘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 nìjì ‘inside’ and the related noun nìjì ‘interior’ may also have originated as forms containing the same suffixal locative. From kòrò ‘back (of body)’ is derived kòrē-ỳ, which can function as a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.

The noun kùwōnì ‘(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 gā ‘be (present)’ or its negation nā ‘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 -ỳ is absent (322d).

- (322) a. [m̄      pāān]      gā =      ā-ỳ  
           [1Sg    care(n)]    be.Loc      3Sg-**Loc**  
           ‘I care about it.’ = ‘It concerns (=is relevant to) me.’
- b. [m̄      pāān]      nā =      ā-ỳ  
           [1Sg    care(n)]    not.be.Loc    3Sg-**Loc**  
           ‘I don’t care about it.’ (French *je m’en fous*)
- c. [m̄      pāān]      tē      kōndā =      ā-ỳ  
           [1Sg    care(n)]    PfvNeg    stay.Pfv    3Sg-**Loc**  
           ‘I didn’t (use to) care about it.’ (< kōndō)
- d. [m̄      pāān]      nā      [kwààn    tē]  
           [1Sg    care(n)]    not.be.Loc    [rain(n)    **Dat**]  
           ‘I don’t care about the rain.’

In (322a-c) ā-ȳ 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)	jēw	jèw
	b. nonmonosyllabic		
	Namagué (village)	nògù-bèw <sup>n</sup>	nògù-béw <sup>n</sup> (2017-05 @ 00:12)
	Kargué (village)	kàrgèw <sup>n</sup>	kàrgéw <sup>n</sup>
	Bounou (village)	būnū	bùnú

‘East’ is jíŋ-cí<sup>n</sup> ~ jí<sup>n</sup>-cí<sup>n</sup> (§8.4.6.4). A tonal variant jì<sup>n</sup>-cí<sup>n</sup> 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)’, bōgì ‘in the middle of’, lāgà ‘at the edge of’ or purposive ‘for’, sōgòy ‘next to’, kūmà ‘on’, tīgàà ‘in front of’, and kāmà ‘for the sake of’.

Data involving monosyllabic /ML/-melodic postpositions with two moras are mixed. The assimilation has been observed with mūù ‘below’ (→ múù) but not with comitative bwēȳ.

## 8.2.4 Locational postpositions (‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’)

### 8.2.4.1 ‘In(side) X’ (nìṅî)

Location inside a container or other enclosing space (such as a house or vehicle), or in an encompassing mass (like water) is expressed by nìṅî. This word can also be used as a noun ‘interior’. nìṅî may have originated as a derivative of an earlier form of nùù ‘belly’ (cf. Kelenga núṅù ‘belly’). Its form resembles that of suffixal locatives like nògī-ỳ ‘in/to the village’ (see the preceding subsection).

- (324) a. ṅ            gā            [yàmbáá    nìṅî]
- 1Sg    be.Loc    [house.Foc    inside]
- ‘I am in the house [focus].’
- b. ṅ            gā            sò            [jī            nìṅî]
- 1Sg    Ipfv    go.Ipfv    [water    inside]
- ‘I am going in(to) the water.’
- c. sībò          gā            [sògū          nìṅî]
- snake    be.Loc    [grass        inside]
- ‘The snake is in the grass.’
- d. ñ            =nǎ<sup>n</sup>        ʃè<sup>n</sup>            syē            [bùwā          nìṅî]
- 1Sg    Sbj/Obj    squirrel    put.Pfv    [shoulderbag    inside]
- ‘I put-Past the squirrel in the shoulderbag.’ (< ʃèw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. ṅ            gā            sō            bàməkò        [káár          nìṅî]
- 1Sg    Ipfv    go.Ipfv    B            [bus        inside]
- ‘I (will) go to Bamako in the bus.’ (< bàməkó)

nìṅî 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)’ (kānà)

Location ‘at’ a well (to draw water by letting down a rope with a waterbag attached) is expressed by kānà, 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. ñ      gā      [tèndé      kánà]  
 1Sg   be.Loc [well(n)   **at**]  
 ‘I am at the well.’ (< tèndé)

b. [tèndè      būlōŋ]      kánà  
 [well(n)   big]      **at**  
 ‘at the big well’

In addition, kánà 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      [[m̄      pé]      kánà]  
 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 kāw̄<sup>n</sup>)

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. ē      kāw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl      **chez**  
 ‘at our place’

b. sèédù-yè      kāw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 S-Pl      **chez**  
 ‘at Seydou’s place’ (lit. “chez the Seydou’s”)

c. kúŋgóló      kāw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 dog      **chez**  
 ‘at the dog’s place’

#### 8.2.4.4 tó<sup>n</sup> and tō<sup>n</sup>

tō<sup>n</sup> is a possessed noun ‘X’s place/position’.

8.2.4.4.1  $t\bar{o}^n$  as complement of ‘forget’

M-toned  $t\bar{o}^n$  as noun ‘(someone’s) place’ is the regular complement of the verb ‘forget’.

- (328)  $\bar{i}\bar{j}$              $\eta\bar{u}m\bar{a}s\bar{a}^n$             [ $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$      $t\bar{o}^n$ ]  
 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  $m\bar{i}l\bar{a}/m\bar{i}l\bar{a}$  ‘think’(reflexive verb) plus a PP with comitative  $bw\bar{e}y\bar{y}$ . ‘X remember Y’ is expressed as ‘X’s mind come [to Y]’ with a dative PP.

8.2.4.4.2  $t\acute{o}^n$  ‘in/at the place of’ as postposition

As a postposition ‘at X’s place’ in contexts of substitution or separation  $t\acute{o}^n$  is H-toned. For final H-tone in place names see §8.2.3.3. Substitution (replacement) is the context in (329).

- (329) a.  $\bar{a}$              $s\bar{o}$             [ $\bar{n}$              $t\acute{o}^n$ ]  
 3Sg            go.Pfv            [1Sg            **place.Loc**]  
 ‘He/She went in my place.’ = ‘He/She went instead of me.’
- b.  $\bar{a}$              $g\bar{a}$              $t\bar{o}l\bar{e}$             [ $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$      $t\acute{o}^n$ ]  
 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  $t\acute{o}^n$  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. [ $k\bar{a}a\acute{d}\acute{o}-y\bar{e}$              $y\bar{e}\bar{n}$              $j\bar{a}n\bar{a}-\eta g\bar{e}-\bar{e}$              $s\bar{a}\bar{a}\eta$ ]             $g\bar{e} =$             [ $\bar{e}$              $t\acute{o}^n$ ]  
 [Dogon-Pl            and            Bozo-Pl            all]            be.Loc [3ReflPl            **place.Loc**]  
 ‘Dogon and Bozo (are) separate.’
- b.  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$              $g\bar{a}$             [ $\bar{n}$              $t\acute{o}^n$ ],             $\bar{a}\bar{a}m\bar{a}d\bar{u}$              $g\bar{a}$             [ $\bar{n}$              $t\acute{o}^n$ ]  
 S            be.Loc [3ReflSg            **place.Loc**], A            be.Loc [3ReflSg            **place.Loc**]  
 ‘Seydou and Amadou are in separate places.’

- c.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}m$  [mà s $\bar{a}\bar{a}^n$ ] b $\bar{a}y$  g $\bar{a}$  [n $\bar{h}$  t $\bar{o}^n$ ]  
 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 b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$ )

Corresponding to the noun b $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$  ‘middle’ (e.g. near the center of a village or field, or in middle position in an oriented line), and to adverb b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$  ‘in the middle’, is postposition b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$  (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 # $\bar{m}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$ , 2Sg # $\bar{a}m$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$ ). It can raise to b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$  after H-tone.

- (331) a. n $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$   
 village **amidst**  
 ‘in the middle of the village’
- b. w $\bar{u}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$   
 night **amidst**  
 ‘in the middle of the night’
- c.  $\bar{e}$  /  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$  /  $\bar{e}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$   
 1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl **amidst**  
 ‘in our/your-Pl/their midst’
- d.  $\bar{a}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$   
 3Sg **amidst**  
 ‘in the middle of it’
- e. j $\bar{e}n\bar{a}m$ -b $\bar{i}$ -g $\bar{e}$  b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$   
 child-Pl-Pl **amidst**  
 ‘in the middle of/amidst the children’

A compound postposition [X b $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$ ] n $\bar{i}n\hat{i}$  ‘in(side) the middle of X’ is also possible with similar sense.

The gentile derivative denoting something or someone in the middle, e.g. of a long line (queue), is b $\bar{o}g\bar{i}$ - $\eta g\bar{a}$ .

## 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 lōgū ‘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 lágà after /H/-melodic noun (332c,e).

- (332) a. pàgù        lāgà  
         pond        **at.edge.of**  
         ‘at (the edge of) the pond’
- b. dèbò        lāgà  
         river        **at.edge.of**  
         ‘at (the bank of) the river’
- c. à            bè            [síbén        lágà]  
         3Sg        come.Pfv    [market      **at.edge.of**]  
         ‘He/She came to the approaches to the market’ (< síbēw<sup>n</sup>)
- d. tēlè        lāgà  
         television   **at.edge.of**  
         ‘at the edge of (=watching) the TV’
- e. dúgú<sup>n</sup>      lágà  
         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 sōgòy and X sógó-bwēy)

The noun sōgòy means ‘vicinity, proximity (of sth)’. It may contain locative -ȳ (§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.



### 8.2.5.3 ‘Next to, beside X’ (X kùwóm bwēy)

This composite postposition is based on the noun kùwóm<sup>n</sup> ‘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 sōgòy.

- (335) a. ē            bē            bē            pwò            jēw-kàmēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 1Pl        Seq            come.Pfv    sit.Pfv        J-K,  
 [[jāwālē        kùwóm]        bwēy]        yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 [[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. sēēdù      gà            [[ŋ        kùwóm]        bwēy]        bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 S            be.Loc    [[1Sg    **flank**]        **Comit**]        here  
 ‘Seydou is here next to (=close to) me.’

### 8.2.5.4 ‘In the whole area’ (gìyèlè-gíyélé)

This word may be an expressive adverbial. It occurs in this passage in a tale:

- (336) [à        nìmèn-[tábá-túgú]        tē            kílè  
 [3Sg    like-[young.man]        PfvNeg    be.gotten.Pfv  
 [[yā̀]            g̀iyèlè-g̀iyéle        sāā<sup>n</sup>]        ǹiŋi  
 [[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<sup>n</sup> Y] nàŋāà)

The ‘between’ postposition is nàŋāà, prepausally sometimes shortened to nàŋà. It can be added to a conjoined NP (chapter 7).

- (337) [n̩ nógú] gā  
 [1Sg village] be.Loc  
 [[sēwāārē yèŋ kōnà] nàŋāà]  
 [[S and K] **between**]  
 ‘My village is (located) between Sevaré and Konna (cities).’ (< nògù)

The postposition can also be added to any NP or pronoun denoting two or more entities,

- (338) a. ē nàŋāà  
 1Pl **between**  
 ‘between us’
- b. kànààm-bē nàŋāà  
 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 kūmà)

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). kūmà raises to kúmà by assimilation to a preceding /H/-melodic noun (339d).

- (339) a. kòyóŋ gā yàgà-nā [tàn kūmà]  
 stone be be.put-Ppl [mat **on**]  
 ‘The stone is on the mat.’ (< kòyóŋ<sup>n</sup>, gā, tàw<sup>n</sup>)
- b. n̩ = nàŋ kòyóŋ<sup>n</sup> yàgā [tàn kūmà]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.Pfv [mat **on**]  
 ‘I put the stone on the mat.’
- c. kiyè sē<sup>n</sup> [ŋ kūmà]  
 stick fall.Pfv [1Sg **on**]  
 ‘The stick fell on me.’

- d. tóndó      gà      [kéré      kúmà]  
agama      be.Loc      [wall      **on**]  
‘The agama lizard is on the wall.’ (< kéré̄)

Combinations with nouns of different tone melodies are in (340).

(340)	melody	noun	‘on/over X’	gloss
a. noun ends in H-tone				
	/H/	kúṅgólō	kúṅgóló kúmà	‘dog’
	/LH/	tèndé	tèndé kúmà	‘well (n)’
	/LH/	màlìfá	màlìfá kúmà	‘rifle’
	/MLH/	ṅòòmó	ṅòòmó kúmà	‘camel’
b. noun ends in L-tone				
	/L/	tàbà	tàbà kúmà	‘foot’
	/ML/	kāsò	kāsò kúmà	‘jail’
	/LML/	yàmbāà	yàmbāà kúmà	‘house’
c. noun ends in M-tone				
	/M/	ṅīmī	ṅīmī kúmà	‘person’

The pronominal paradigm is (341). The tonal form is kúmà throughout.

(341)	1Sg	ì kúmà
	1Pl	ē kúmà
	2Sg	āṅ kúmà
	2Pl	āā kúmà
	3Sg	à kúmà
	3Pl	è kúmà

#### 8.2.7.2 ‘In front of’ (X tīgàà)

The noun tīgàà ‘front’ can function as a postposition ‘in front of’. The 1Sg form is ò tīgàà ‘in front of me’. tīgàà can raise to tígàà after an H-tone (342c).

(342)	a.	ì	gā	[sèédù	tīgàà]
		1Sg	be.Loc	[S	<b>front</b> ]
		‘I am in front of Seydou.’			

b. sèédù      gā            [yàmbāà      tīgàà]  
           S            be.Loc        [house        **front**]  
 ‘Seydou is in front of the house.’

c. kúnǵóló      tīgàà  
       dog            **front**  
 ‘in front of the dog’

This postposition can also have the temporal sense ‘before X’.

(343) à            gà        bē        ñ            kílè<sup>n</sup>        [ñ      tīgàà]  
           3Sg      Ipfv     Fut      3ReflSg    finish.Pfv    [1Sg    **front**]  
 ‘He/She will finish before me (=before I do).’

Adverb ‘in front, ahead’ is tīgàà.

(344) à            gà / sò        tīgàà  
           3Sg        be / go.Pfv    **in.front**  
 ‘He/She is/went in front.’

The alternative is an instrumental PP with noun tīgàà and the landmark expressed as possessor.

(345) sò            [[ān      tīgàà]      nī]  
           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 tīgāā-  
 ṅgā (§4.2.4).

### 8.2.7.3 ‘In front of, facing X’ ([X mūūm] bwēy)

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 bwēy is based on the noun mūū<sup>n</sup> ‘lower face, mouth and chin’. My assistant sharply distinguishes this from mūū ‘under’. The noun mūū<sup>n</sup> with the sense ‘lower face’ in Cliffs appears to be cognate to mūū ‘nose’ in the nearby Konna-area dialect. For ‘nose’, Cliffs has pīmīnà.

8.2.7.4 ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X k̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀)

The noun k̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀ ‘rear’, cf. k̀̀r̀̀ò ‘back (n)’, serves as the postposition ‘behind, in back of’.

- (346) a.   ̀̀           gā           [sè̀̀d̀̀       k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀]  
           1Sg       be.Loc   [S         **back-Loc**]  
           ‘I am behind Seydou.’
- b.   sè̀̀d̀̀       gā           [yàmbā̀̀     k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀]  
           S        be.Loc   [house     **back-Loc**]  
           ‘Seydou is behind the house.’

The 1Sg form is ̀̀ k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀ ‘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 k̀̀r̀̀ò bwḕ̀ỳ̀ or synonymous k̀̀r̀̀ò pà (with a choice of comitative postpositions) or by a phrase of the type ‘(when) X has passed’.

- (347) a.   sā̀̀lì           k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀  
           holy.day   **back-Loc**  
           ‘behind (=after) the holy day’
- b.   sā̀̀à-g̀̀       k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀  
           now         **back-Loc**  
           ‘later, afterwards (not now)’
- c.   kú           k̀̀̀r̀̀ò       bwḕ̀ỳ̀  
           "           k̀̀̀r̀̀ò       pà  
           Dem       **back**     **Comit**  
           ‘after that’
- d.   sā̀̀lì       nā̀̀ŋ       k̀̀̀ỳ̀è  
           holy.day   If.Pfv     **pass.Pfv**  
           ‘when the holy day has passed’

Only k̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀ occurs in ‘after X’ where X is a person, in the context ‘in X’s absence’ or ‘after X is no longer around’. Example: ̀̀ k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ỳ̀ ‘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 k̀̀̀r̀̀e-ŋ̀̀gà (§4.2.4).

kòrē-ȳ can also function as an adverb ‘behind, in back, to the rear’ without an overt landmark.

- (348) à            gā / sō            kòrē-ȳ  
 3Sg            be / go.Pfv    **in.back**  
 ‘He/She is/went in/to the rear.’

#### 8.2.7.5 ‘Below/under X’ (X mū̀)

The noun mū̀ ‘base, bottom part’ (also abstractly ‘reason, cause, grounds’ for a situation) can function as postposition ‘below X, under X’. The 1Sg form is ñ mū̀. The form mú̀ occurs after an H-tone.

- (349) a. ñ            gā            [sīlē        mū̀]  
 1Sg    be.Loc    [rock        **under**]  
 ‘I am below/under the rock.’
- b. sīlē            gā            [ñ            mū̀]  
 stone        be.Loc        [1Sg        **under**]  
 ‘The rock is below/under me.’
- c. kúnḡúló        mú̀  
 dog                **under**  
 ‘under the dog’

The adverb ‘down below’ is dāmī-ȳ.

For ‘over X, above X’, see kū̀mà §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 bṑndō-kū̀mà ‘hilly area’ and dāmī-ȳ ‘below’.

- (350) a. bṑndō-kū̀mā túlū        ‘upper section’  
 b. dāmī túlū                ‘lower section’

These can be made into PPs by changing túlū to túlū-y, a suffixal locative.

### 8.2.9 ‘Toward X’ or ‘around X’ (X bààcéw<sup>n</sup>)

‘Toward X, in the direction of X’ in connection with a motion event is expressed with the postposition bààcéw<sup>n</sup> 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 céw<sup>n</sup> as an independent element. The tones are compatible with tonal locatives (final H-tone).

- (351) è            bē            bē            [ɲón        nì]            jííŋ-kàmāà,  
3Sg        Seq            come.Pfv    [Dem        Inst]        west,  
[nògù-bēŋ        bààcéw<sup>n</sup>]  
[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<sup>n</sup> bààcéw<sup>n</sup>, but it is usually contracted to ū-mààcéw<sup>n</sup> (2017-01 @ 05:23).

bààcéw<sup>n</sup> can take a pronominal complement: ē bààcéw<sup>n</sup> ‘toward us’.

Like French *vers* ‘toward’ (motion) or ‘around, in the vicinity of’ (static location), bààcéw<sup>n</sup> can indicate nonspecific static location (352).

- (352) sáá<sup>n</sup>-léw<sup>n</sup>        gá            kílē                            [nògù-bēŋ        bààcéw<sup>n</sup>]  
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’ (lāgà)

Purposive ‘for’ (generally prospective) and causal ‘because’ (generally retrospective) are expressed by the postposition lāgà. 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 lāgà after verbal nouns, see §17.5.3.

- (353) a. ē            dwō            gà            [kwààn    lāgà]  
 1Pl            enter.Pfv    RemPfv    [rain(n)    **Purp**]  
 ‘We went in(side) because of the rain.’ (< kwààn<sup>n</sup>)
- b. è            bē            gà            [sààn    lāgà]  
 3Pl            come.Pfv    RemPfv    [honey    **Purp**]  
 ‘They came for (the) honey.’ (< sààn<sup>n</sup>)
- c. à            sò            [kāy<sup>n</sup>    lāgà]    nògī-ỳ  
 3Sg            go.Pfv    [work(n)    **Purp**]    village-Loc  
 ‘He/She went to the city for work.’  
 also with different order: à sō nògī-ỳ [kāy<sup>n</sup> lāgà]
- d. wólén        lágà  
 money        **Purp**  
 ‘for/because of money’ (< wólēw<sup>n</sup> ~ wálēw<sup>n</sup>)

lāgà 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 focalized form, but no other tonal form is attested. The expanded PP is [X sààbí] lāgà, as in [sìbó sààbí] lāgà ‘on account of a snake’, with assimilated variant [X sààbí] lágà. 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, lāgà is often omitted and the result is ālā sààbí (354b).

- (354) a. à            =à    dō            gà            [n̄    tē]    [[sèédù sààbí]    lāgà]  
 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            ì            yīrēw<sup>n</sup>    gà            [ālā    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)’ (kāmà)

kāmà ‘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.

- (355) [nògù-míírù kāmà] ñ gà bā = āñ kō [ciyè nī]  
 [village-chief sake] 1Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg provide.Pfv [field Inst]  
 ‘Out of respect for the village chief, I will give you-Sg a field.’

## 8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

### 8.4.1 Similarity (‘like X’)

#### 8.4.1.1 Predicate ‘Y be like X’ (síí, nùmēw<sup>n</sup>)

‘Y is like (similar to) X’ is expressed as ‘Y is [X’s likeness]’, with either síí or nùmēw<sup>n</sup> 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/nā after the subject Y, and the ‘it is’ particle nī 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. ñ gā [sèédù síí / nùmēn] nī  
 1Sg be [S **likeness**] it.is  
 ‘I am like Seydou.’
- b. ñ nā [sèédù síí / nùmēn] nī  
 1Sg not.be [S **likeness**] it.is  
 ‘I am not like Seydou.’
- c. ñ Ø kōndō gà [sèédù síí / nùmēn] nī  
 ñ tè " " " " [S **likeness**] it.is  
 1Sg (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv RemPfv [S **likeness**] it.is  
 ‘I was (not) like Seydou.’
- d. ē gā [pūnàm-bè síí] nī  
 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 pà<sup>n</sup> (§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 pà<sup>n</sup>.

- (357) a. [[sèédù yàmbāà] sí] gā [̀n tē]  
 [[S house] **likeness**] be [1Sg Dat]  
 ‘I have the same kind of house as Seydou.’ (< yàmbāà)
- b. [[sèédū pà<sup>n</sup>] sí] gā [̀n tē]  
 [[S Poss] **likeness**] be [1Sg Dat]  
 ‘I have the same kind of thing as Seydou.’
- c. ̀̀ kōndō gā [[sèédū pà<sup>n</sup>] sí] nì  
 1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv [[S Poss] **likeness**] it.is  
 ‘I was like Seydou (in behavior).’

For sí and nùmēw<sup>n</sup> in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.4.2. For manner adverbial relatives, see §15.8.3.1.

sí ‘likeness’ may be related to the nouns sī ‘description, breed, race, species, type’ and sí-mā ‘sort, kind’. sí, reduced to suffixal -sí in some lexicalized combinations, is also an indefinite quantifier ‘(not) any’ (§6.6.2.2).

#### 8.4.1.2 Adverbial ‘like X’ (hònò)

An adverbial phrase ‘like X’ attached to a main verb begins with hònò ‘like’ (< Fulfulde *hono*), which is followed by ‘X’s likeness’ using either sí or nùmēw<sup>n</sup> as possessum (see the preceding section). X may be expanded by adding the default possessum pàw<sup>n</sup>, especially when X is pronominal (358b).

- (358) a. ̀̀ gā kāy<sup>n</sup> [hònō [sèédù nùmēw<sup>n</sup>]]  
 1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** [S **likeness**]]  
 ‘I work like Seydou.’ (< kāy<sup>n</sup>)
- b. sèédù gā kāy<sup>n</sup> [hònō [̀̀ pà<sup>n</sup>] sí]  
 S Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** [1Sg Poss] **likeness**]  
 ‘Seydou works like me.’ (< kāy<sup>n</sup>)
- c. sèédù gā kāy<sup>n</sup> [hònō [̀̀ sí]  
 S Ipfv 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’ (jáátí)

/H/-melodic jáátí can occur at the end of an NP in the sense ‘specific(ally)’ or ‘personally’ (359a-b).

- (359) a. sèédù      gā / nā      [ɲ]      káá      jáátí]      nì  
 S            be / not.be   [1Sg      father      **precise**]      it.is  
 ‘Seydou is/is not my real father.’
- b. [pūnàm-bè            sāāŋ]      gā      būwò-ló,  
 [Fulbe-Pl            all]      Ipfv      tend.livestock-Ipfv,  
 [ɲ      kón      jáátí]      ná            = à      pōgò  
 [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 jáátí takes independent pronoun form (360).

- (360) ò            nā            [ɲ      jēm]      bày            sò,  
 1Sg      IpfvNeg      [1Sg      child]      leave.Ipfv      go.Ipfv,  
 [ò-dógó            jáátí]            gā      sò  
 [1Sg-**Indep**      **precise**]      Ipfv      go.Ipfv  
 ‘I won’t (just) send my son; (rather) I will go myself (in person).’ (< jēw<sup>n</sup>)

As NP-final word, jáátí can be iterated as jáátí-jáátí for emphasis (361).

- (361) [kèlè      jáátí-jáátí      mà<sup>n</sup>]      āŋ      gā      tò            kóy  
 [war      **Iter-precise** Rel]      2Sg      Ipfv      know.Ipfv      Emph  
 ‘the very same war that you-Sg know (of)’ (2017-01 @ 06:20) (< kēlē)

For HL-toned jáátí ‘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, yāālō<sup>n</sup>)

The two key adverbs are those in (362). *máɲè* can denote extent (‘a lot’) or quality (‘well’). *yāālō<sup>n</sup>* 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. *yāālō<sup>n</sup>* ‘greatly, excessively, too much’

Examples are in (363).

- (363) a. *ɲ*            *kùùù*        *máɲè*  
 1Sg            run.Pfv        **a.lot/well**  
 ‘I ran a lot / ran hard.’
- b. *à*            *kùùù / dīgē*                    *yāālō<sup>n</sup>*  
 3Sg            run.Pfv / eat.Antip.Pfv        **a.lot**  
 ‘He/She ran/ate a lot (or: too much).’

For quantificational adjective *pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup>* ‘many, much’ see §6.4.2.1.

#### 8.4.3.2 ‘A little, somewhat’ (lēw<sup>n</sup>, pā-lēw<sup>n</sup>)

The usual NP meaning ‘a lot’ is *pā-lēw<sup>n</sup> ~ pō-lēw<sup>n</sup>*. For *-lēw<sup>n</sup>* without *pā-* see the end of this section. *pā-lēw<sup>n</sup>* is a diminutive (§5.1.7.2) of *pwō* ‘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-lēɲ*        *kìlè*  
 3Sg            **a.little**        get.Pfv  
 ‘He/She got a little.’
- b. *à*            *ɲ*            *kó*            [*pā-lēn*        *nī*]  
 3Sg        1Sg        furnish.Pfv    [**a.little**        Inst]  
 ‘He/She gave me a little.’ (< *kò*)
- c. *ɲ*            *kùùù*        *pā-lēw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Sg            run.Pfv        **a.little**  
 ‘I ran a little.’

pā-lēw<sup>n</sup> 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. [pīim pā-lēŋ] gā [ŋ sūgì-y]  
 [millet **a.little**] be.Loc [1Sg hand.Loc]  
 ‘I have a little millet.’
- b. m̄ bē [[sògò-lēm-bē pā-lēŋ] nī]  
 1Sg come.Pfv [[sheep-Pl **a.little**] Inst]  
 ‘I brought a few sheep.’

Diminutive -lēw<sup>n</sup> can also be added to other nouns. In (366) it follows the compound ɲògòlēw<sup>n</sup>-nūmè ‘blink (n)’.

- (366) à gālà ɲògòlēw<sup>n</sup>-nūmè-lēŋ dàamá tū<sup>n</sup>  
 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 túwó-lēŋ-dūū. It literally denotes the pinch of powder (dūū), i.e. gunpowder, put in the “ear” (túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup>) of an old-fashioned musket before firing a shot.

#### 8.4.4 Evaluation

##### 8.4.4.1 ‘Well’ (máɲè) and ‘badly’

máɲè 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. sèèdù gà pīn sògò máɲè  
 S Ipv millet cultivate.Ipv **well(adv)**  
 ‘Seydou farms millet well (=is good at farming millet).’ (< sògò)
- b. sèèdù kúŋgóló kwàà máɲè  
 S dog hit.Pfv **well(adv)**  
 ‘Seydou really hit the dog.’ = ‘Seydou gave the dog a good beating.’ (< kwāā)

There is no adverb ‘badly, poorly’. The sense is expressed by negating the clause containing máɲè.

#### 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 [kùũnà]. It is a participle of kùũ/kùũ ‘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      kùũ      kùũ-nà  
           S          run.Pfv      **run-Ppl**  
           ‘Seydou ran fast.’
- b. sèèdù      gà      kāy<sup>n</sup>      kùũ-nà  
           S          Ipv      work.Ipv      **run-Ppl**  
           ‘Seydou works fast.’ (< kāy<sup>n</sup>)

However, ‘drive (vehicle) fast’ is phrased with mǎpè ‘well’ or ‘greatly’, compare English *drive hard*.

The antonym ‘slowly’ or ‘gently, not hard’ is mīyē-nà. It is another participle, related in a slightly irregular way to adjective mīyè-gù ‘thin’ (§4.5.1.2.1), hence ‘meager, insignificant’, its pseudo-reflexive stative predicate mīyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘be thin’ (§11.4.1.2), and inchoative verb mīyè-gà/mīyè-gā ‘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)            [gũũn    dāāŋ]      kùũ / ...  
           "            "            [ "      dāāŋ]      ... / jìŋì  
           3Sg          (PfvNeg)    [place    **distant**]    run.Pfv / walk.Pfv  
           ‘He/She ran/walked (did not run/walk) far away.’

b.	à	(tè)	kùù / ɲìɲì	[gūūm dāā <sup>n</sup> -ỳ <sup>n</sup> ]
	3Sg	(PfvNeg)	run.Pfv / walk.Pfv	[place <b>distant-Loc</b> ]
	[=(a)]			

The antonym gūūm tū̀-̀gù ‘nearby place’ and its locative gūūm tū̀-̀gū-̀ỳ 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 sā̀- are part of a regional complex (Bambara, Fulfulde) that may derive from Arabic saaʿ-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-kúgú	‘nowadays’ (2017-01 @ 05:32)
		tū <sup>n</sup>	‘again (another time)’ (§19.3.1)
		sā̀-̀gù	‘now’ (< *‘time-Def’ < *‘time-this’)
		sā̀-̀kò <sup>n</sup>	‘now; then, after that’ (< *‘time-Topic’)
		sásààlèw <sup>n</sup>	‘right now, just now’
	b.	dìgèw <sup>n</sup>	‘yesterday’
		dìgè <sup>n</sup> -sá	‘day before yesterday’
		dìgè <sup>n</sup> -sá-sā	‘two days before yesterday’
		pānā <sup>n</sup>	‘formerly; in the old days’
		sílèw <sup>n</sup>	‘formerly; in the old days’
	c.	ɲàà̀nù	‘tomorrow; in the future; the next day (in a narrative)’
		ɲàà̀nū-sèw <sup>n</sup>	‘day after tomorrow’
		ɲàà̀nū-sèɲ kōrēɲgà	‘second day after tomorrow’ (“...behind”)
	d.	sègò ~ ʃègò	‘last year’
		kò̀nò̀sè	‘next year’
		yù̀rù̀gù	‘this year’
	e.	ɲàn só <sup>n</sup>	‘at that time, in those days’
		ɲà <sup>n</sup> wógátū	‘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 tú<sup>n</sup>, òàànú, and so forth. The syntactic restrictions on this process imply weak focalization of the adverb (§13.1.6).

dìgè<sup>n</sup> ‘yesterday’ is also part of the compound dìgè<sup>n</sup>-síbēw<sup>n</sup> ‘the last (=most recent) market day’. This can be further elaborated by adding either tèw<sup>n</sup> ‘elder sibling’ or an iterative form with two occurrences of tèw<sup>n</sup> separated by pē ‘also’. Either of these additions pushes the time back one unit.

- (371) dìgè<sup>n</sup>-síbén                      tèm-pē-tèw<sup>n</sup>  
 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) gâtìnè                              ‘Monday’  
 tàlāātà                                  ‘Tuesday’  
 àlāābà                                   ‘Wednesday’  
 lààmūsà ~ làāmsà                  ‘Thursday’  
 gājūmà                                  ‘Friday’  
 àsābdì                                   ‘Saturday’  
 àlāādì                                   ‘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” (gâtìnē wùù).

#### 8.4.6.2 ‘First(ly)’ (sōṅòṅò), ‘later’ (sāà-gù kòrē-ỳ), and ‘not yet’

These adverbials function to sequence two or more time intervals and associated activities. sōṅòṅò is not transparently segmentable. sāà-gù kòrē-ỳ means ‘behind/after now’. kòrē-ỳ is also a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.

- (373) a. ē      gā      kāy<sup>n</sup>      sōḥòṇì,      ē      bè      dīgē  
 1Pl    Ipfv    work.Ipfv    **firstly**,    1Pl    Seq    eat.Antip.Pfv  
 ‘We’ll work first, then we’ll eat.’
- b. ē      gē =      ēn(d)è =      [ē      sīnì]      [sāà-gù      kòrē-ỵ]  
 1Pl    Ipfv    be.able.Ipfv    [1Pl    begin.Ipfv]    [**now**      **behind**]  
 ‘We can begin later.’

Under negation, sōḥòṇì means ‘(not) yet’.

- (374) a. ù      tè      dīgē      sōḥòṇì  
 1Sg    PfvNeg    eat.Antip.Pfv    **firstly**  
 ‘I haven’t eaten (yet).’
- b. kùgù-lēn      tè      sāgā      sōḥòṇì  
 sun            PfvNeg    lie.down.Pfv    **firstly**  
 ‘The sun hasn’t set yet.’
- c. sèédū      tè      bē      sōḥòṇì  
 S            PfvNeg    come.Pfv    **firstly**  
 ‘Seydou hasn’t come yet.’

#### 8.4.6.3 ‘Still’ and ‘still (has) not’ (hàlì sāà-gù, hàlì wày)

hàlì sāà-gù ‘(all the way) until now’, with hàlì ‘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 sōḥòṇì ‘firstly’, as indicated in the preceding section. hàlì sāà-gù can be added to make this more emphatic (‘still hasn’t’) (375b).

- (375) a. j̄      j̄ā =      [à      gālā      kùū      tàà-nì],  
 1Sg      said      [3Sg      Sbjn      run.Nom      stop-Caus.Pfv]  
 ḥ̄gàà    [= àlì    sāà-gù]    à      gā      kùū  
 but    [**until**    **now**]    3Sg    Ipfv    run.Ipfv  
 ‘I told him/her to stop running, but he/she is still running.’
- b. [hàlì      sāà-gū]      sèédū      tè      bē      sōḥòṇì  
 [**until**    **now**]    S            PfvNeg    come.Pfv    **firstly**  
 ‘Seydou still hasn’t come.’

hàlì wày (variants hǎl wày, hǎl wāy) ‘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 hǎl wāy. However, hàlì wày 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. bóndó-kúmà ‘above, on top; upstairs’ (§8.2.7.1)  
dàmī-y ‘below, (at) the bottom, down; downstairs’ (§8.2.7.5, §8.2.8)  
dùgūbāà ‘on the ground; on the plains (below the cliffs)’
- b. jííŋ-cíí<sup>n</sup> ~ jíí<sup>n</sup>-cíí<sup>n</sup> ‘east’ (cf. cíí<sup>n</sup> “source; trunk [of tree]”)  
jííŋ-kàmāà ‘west’ (? cf. kàmāà ‘occipital bone (above nape)’)  
jíí<sup>n</sup>-sémū ‘south’ (cf. sémū ‘right (hand)’)  
jííŋ-kóndō ‘north’ (cf. kóndō ‘left (hand)’)
- c. kòrē-y ‘(in) the rear, behind’ (§8.2.7.4)  
tìgàà ‘forward, ahead, (in) front’ (§8.2.7.2)

Gentilic nominals with suffix -ŋgà are derivable from these adverbs, see §4.2.4. For tonal variant jíí<sup>n</sup>-cíí<sup>n</sup> ‘east’ see §8.2.3.3.

dùgūbāà ‘on the ground’ (376a), along with the noun yògōbāà ‘sky’, end in a syllable bāà that corresponds to a spatial compound final or postposition fáà in Kelenga (e.g. yògó fáà ‘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 tāw<sup>n</sup>/tā-nā ‘ascend’ in the sense ‘head south (to Mopti, Bamako, etc.)’ and yàw<sup>n</sup>/yà-là ‘descend’ in the sense ‘head north (to Konna, Douentza, etc.)’. Using the same vertical imagery, they use kùmà-sèw<sup>n</sup> ‘upper road, high road’ for the road to Mopti and Bamako, and dàmì-séw<sup>n</sup> ‘lower road, low road’ for the road to Douentza and Gao. Conventionally, sō kùmà-sèw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 sémú and kóndó. ‘Right hand/arm’ is sémū-sūgū, as in à sémū-sūgū ‘his/her right hand’ from sùgù ‘hand’. ‘Left hand’ is kōndō-sūgū. The final -sūgū may be omitted in both compounds if the context is clear. ‘Right leg/foot’ is sémū-tābā and ‘left leg/foot’ is kōndō-tābā from tàbā ‘foot’.

‘Right’ and ‘left’ may be used to indicate relative position with comitative postposition *bwēȳ*, as in à<sup>n</sup> *sémú bwēȳ* ‘to your right’, à<sup>n</sup> *kóndó bwēȳ* ‘to your left’. Likewise with direction: *sò à<sup>n</sup> sémú bwēȳ* ‘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.	<i>pīī<sup>n</sup></i>	‘black’	<i>pìim-píí<sup>n</sup></i>	‘blackish’
	<i>kūwō<sup>n</sup></i>	‘white’	<i>kùwòŋ-kúwó<sup>n</sup></i>	‘whitish, off-white’
	<i>tōmōw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘red’	<i>tòmòŋ-tómó<sup>n</sup></i>	‘reddish’
b.	<i>dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘small’	<i>dègè-nàn-dègè-náw<sup>n</sup></i>	‘all small’
	<i>kūrū</i>	‘short’	<i>kūrū-kūrū</i>	‘all short’
	<i>kōyā<sup>n</sup></i>	‘long’	<i>kōyāŋ-kōyā<sup>n</sup></i>	‘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.	<i>à</i>	<i>pìy<sup>n</sup>ē-pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nā</i>	<i>nì</i>
	3Sg	black-black-Ppl	it.is
		‘It is blackish.’ (< <i>pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nā nì</i> )	
b.	<i>ì</i>	<i>yè</i>	<i>ì</i> <i>kōyāŋ-kōyā<sup>n</sup></i>
	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) dúgún gá k̄n-nā-ȳ 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 ɥèè/ɥèè 'open (v)' is common in reversive contexts, e.g. 'untie' reversing sèy/sè-lè 'tie', and 'un-braid, undo braids of' reversing mūrì/mūrì 'braid the hair of (a woman)'. The sense 'open (v)' is itself construable as the reversive of tēgē/tēgè '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 = ɲ kēw<sup>n</sup> 'it (e.g. a stick) snapped', compare regular transitive verb à = à kēw<sup>n</sup> 'he/she snapped it'. Another pattern is the use of a labile verb in both transitive and intransitive senses, e.g. transitive kîlè/kîlè 'get' as intransitive in e.g. à gā kîlè '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 Ipfv (§10.1.3.1). In (380a), the Pfv is M and the Ipfv ML, in both input and causative. In (380b), the input has Pfv L and Ipfv LM, while the Pfv and both causative stems are L.

(380)	input Pfv/Ipfv	gloss	causative Pfv/Ipfv	gloss
a. input and causative M/ML				
	kūū/kūū	'catch fire'	kūū-nī/ kūū-nì	'ignite'
	sāgā/sāgā	'lie down'	sāgā-nī/sāgā-nì	'lay down'
	pīyēw <sup>n</sup> /pīyèw <sup>n</sup>	'get hot'	pīyē-nī/pīyē-nì	'heat (sth)'

b. input L/LM, causative L/L

kii/kii	‘get up’	kii-ni/kii-ni	‘awaken, get (sb) up’
taa/taa	‘stop, stand’	taa-ni/taa-ni	‘stop (sth)’
mwɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> /mwɔ̃ <sup>n</sup>	‘ripen; heal’	mwɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> -ni/mwɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> -ni	‘cause to ripen; heal (sth)’
kwaa <sup>n</sup> /kwaa <sup>n</sup>	‘fear (v)’	kwaa <sup>n</sup> -ni/kwaa <sup>n</sup> -ni	‘frighten’
sùbè/sùbè	‘suckle’	sùbè-ni/sùbè-ni	‘(woman) breastfeed (baby)’
bàndà/bàndà	‘get tired’	bàndà-ni/bàndà-ni	‘weary, pester (sb)’

c. input M/M-M (suffixal Ipfv), causative M/ML

tūū <sup>n</sup> /tū-nū	‘get lost’	tūn-ni/tūn-ni	‘cause to disappear’
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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.

(381)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
	Pfv/Ipfv		Pfv/Ipfv	

input M/M, causative M/ML

dwɔ̃/dɔ̃-lɔ̃	‘enter’	dūwē-ni/dūwē-ni	‘take/bring in’
wwō/wwō	‘weep’	wwō-ni/wwō-ni	‘cause to weep’

9.1.2 Pseudo-causative of ‘come’ (biyè-ni) and ‘go’ (sāā-ni)

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 -ni. The forms are in (382).

(382)	input	gloss	pseudo-causative	gloss
	Pfv/Ipfv		Pfv/Ipfv	

a. input M/M, causative ML/ML

bē/bē	‘come’	biyè-ni/biyè-ni	‘bring; cause to come’
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b. input L/L, causative L/LM

sò/sò	‘go’	sāā-ni/sāā-ni	‘convey; cause to go’
		less often: sōā-ni/sōā-ni	

biyè-ni has also been heard as byē-ni.

Clausal examples including preverbal objects, showing that these function as transitive verbs, are in (383).

- (383) a.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$   $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$   $b\bar{i}y\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  /  $s\bar{a}\bar{a}-n\bar{i}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj S come-/go-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘I made/had Seydou come/go.’
- b.  $\eta$   $g\bar{a}$   $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$   $b\bar{i}y\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  /  $s\bar{a}\bar{a}-n\bar{i}$   
 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  $g\bar{a}$  (384), like ordinary causatives.

- (384)  $\grave{a}$   $y\bar{e}$  [[ $m\bar{w}\bar{d}$   $l\bar{a}\bar{a}=$ ]  $\bar{a}m$   $b\bar{i}y\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$   $g\bar{a}$ ]  
 3Sg said [[which? QTop.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  $\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$  ‘with it’, which is by far the most common postverbal PP in the conveyance construction. Thus  $*b\bar{e}$   $\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$  ‘come with it, bring it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to come’, and  $*s\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$  ‘go with it, convey it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to go’.

### 9.1.3 Causative of $s\bar{e}/s\bar{e}$ ‘say’

The other Cv verb that can be causativized is  $s\bar{e}/s\bar{e}$  ‘say’. It has a causative  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}/s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  ‘cause (X) to say (Y, to Z)’. In (385a)  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  is followed by a subjunctive complement. In (385b) the original quotation is a 3Sg pronominal within a PP  $\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$  that contracts with  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  as phonetic [ $s\bar{e}:n\bar{a}:n\bar{i}$ ]. This contracted form could be in very early stages of reanalysis as a an irregular causative  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{a}\bar{a}-n\bar{i}$  with an augment  $-n\bar{a}\bar{a}-$  preceding causative suffix  $-n\bar{i}$ . However, there is not yet any morphosyntactic sign of this reanalysis, and the imperfective version in (385c) has phonetic [ $s\bar{e}:n\bar{a}:n\bar{i}$ ], whose tones point to  $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  [ $\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$ ] before tone sandhi and vv-Contraction.

- (385) a. [ $\eta$   $k\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ]  $y\bar{e}$   $\eta$   $s\bar{e}\bar{e}-n\bar{i}$  [ $s\bar{e}\bar{e}d\bar{u}$   $t\bar{e}$ ]  
 [1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg **say-Caus.Pfv** [S Dat]  
 [ $\grave{a}$   $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}$   $b\bar{e}$ ]  
 [3Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]  
 ‘My father made me tell Seydou to come.’

- b. [ɪ̄ káá] yè ɪ̄ sēē-nā= [à nī] [sèédù tē]  
 [1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg **say-Caus.Pfv** [3Sg Inst] [S Dat]  
 ‘My father made me say it to Seydou.’
- c. [ɪ̄ káá] gā ɪ̄ sēē-nā= [à nī] [sèédù tē]  
 [1Sg father] Ipfv 1Sg **say-Caus.Ipfv** [3Sg Inst] [S Dat]  
 ‘My father (often) makes me say it to Seydou.’ (< Ipfv sēē-ni)

#### 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) [ɪ̄ káá] yē [ɪ̄ 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  $kēw^n/kē-nē$  ‘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 ~ ε 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 o}. The intransitive has ε corresponding to a or ɔ, and o corresponding to e. 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. sùwḍ/sùwḱ	sìṽè/sìṽē	‘cook (in a pot)’
	c. tōlō/tōlò	tōlē/tōlè	‘sell’

‘Cook (in a pot)’ (387b) is phonologically interesting since the shift from ɔ to ε brings about the fronting of w to ṽ, 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 Ipfv.

(388)	transitive	kūū <sup>n</sup> /kū-nū	‘catch’
	intransitive	kūmē/kūmè	‘(trap) catch (an unspecified animal)’

### 9.3.1.2 Other mutations to verb-final e/ε

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/ε 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-nī/dīgē-nì	‘feed (v)’	causative
	dīgē-pwḱ	‘food’	compound (pwḱ ‘thing’)
	dìgè-nà	‘eating’	with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)
	<i>with incorporated object</i>		
	tēē-dīgē	‘meat-eating’	verbal noun with object
	tēē-dīgē-yà	‘meat-eater’	agentive with object
	b. ‘cook (in pot)’		
	sìṽè-yà	‘cook (n)’	agentive
	sìṽē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘kitchen, cooking area’	place nominal
	sìṽè-nà	‘cooking’	with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

c. ‘sell’		
tōlē-yà	‘seller, merchant’	agentive
tōlē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘selling place’	place nominal
tōlē-nā nì	‘be (already) sold’	stative (resultative)
tòlè-nà	‘selling’	with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)
d. ‘catch’		
kūmē	‘catching’	verbal noun
kūmē-nā nì	‘be (already) caught’	stative (resultative)
kūmē-yà	‘collector, captor’	agentive
kùmè-nà	‘catching’	with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

Examples like tēē-dīgē ‘meat-eating’ and tēē-dīgē-yà ‘meat-eater’ with incorporated object (389a) show that the form in e/ε occurs even in “transitive” contexts with an incorporated object, in spite of the fact that the transitive form (dīgā/dīgà) is obligatory in transitive main clauses with an overt object (X tēē dīgā ‘X ate meat’).

Another verb that presents an ɔ/ε alternation is ‘enter’. Since the variant with final ɔ is already intransitive, no transitivity pairing occurs. However, its suffixal derivatives mutate ɔ to ε in the same way seen with ‘eat’.

(390) a.	dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄	‘enter’
b.	dūwē-ní/dūwē-nì	‘cause to enter, take/put in’
	dūwē-gàw <sup>n</sup>	‘entering place, access’
	dūwē-gù	‘entering’ (verbal noun)
c.	dūwē	‘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 pwì perhaps results from resyllabification of older \*pùwì.

(391) transitive	pùù/pùù	‘blow on; inflate’
intransitive	pwì/pwì	‘(body part) become swollen’

There is no shift of pùu to pwì in suffixal derivatives: pùu-gàw<sup>n</sup> ‘inflating place’. This weakens the connection with the cases described in preceding sections. Djenné Jenaama has fùu/fùú for both transitive ‘blow (on)’ and intransitive ‘swell’.

### 9.3.3 Shift of final ε to (a)y for locative sense

The transitive verb syē/syē ‘put X (in Y)’ is exemplified in (392a-c).

- (392) a. n̄ = nān dāndì syē [kòlū nìŋi]
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj chili **put.in.Pfv** [pot inside]
   
‘I put-Past the chili peppers in the pot.’
- b. n̄ = nān dāndì syē
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj chili **put.in.Pfv**
  
‘I put-Past the chili peppers in.’
- c. n̄ = nā = à syē [kòlū nìŋi]
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **put.in.Pfv** [pot inside]
   
‘I put-Past it in the pot.’

syē/syē can also combine with a following ā-ȳ ‘in it’ or ē-ȳ ‘in them’ (§8.2.3.1). The two words fuse in a way that gives the initial appearance of a suffixal derivation.

- (393) a. n̄ = nā = à sy = ā-ȳ
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **put.in.Pfv** 3Sg-**Loc**
  
‘I put it (=chili) in (it).’
- b. à nà sómé sy = ē-ȳ
   
3Sg IpfvNeg condiments **put.in.Ipfv** 3Pl-**Loc**
  
‘She doesn’t put (enough) condiments in (them).’
- c. ān tā = à syē,
   
2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg put.in.Pfv
   
è nā = à sy = ā-ȳ
   
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  $\bar{a}$ - $\dot{y}$  or  $\bar{e}$ - $\dot{y}$  is a separate word, not a derivational suffix, is shown in examples with remote perfective  $g\grave{a}$  separating the two.

- (394)  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}$  =  $\grave{a}$   $sy\bar{e}$   $g\grave{a}$  =  $\bar{a}$ - $\dot{y}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.in.Pfv **RemPfv** 3Sg-Loc  
 ‘I put-Past it in (it).’

### 9.3.4 No special derivation for $d\bar{o}/d\bar{o}$ ‘give’

Djenné Jenaama (Sorogaama) has two versions of the ‘give’ verb,  $d\acute{o}/d\acute{o}$ - $r\acute{o}$  when followed by a dative recipient, and  $d\acute{u}w\grave{o}/d\acute{u}w\grave{o}$ - $r\grave{o}$  when there is no overt dative PP.

There is no similar variation in Cliffs. The verb  $d\bar{o}/d\bar{o}$  ‘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,  $n\grave{i}y\grave{e}$ - $g\grave{a}$  ‘become easy/cheap’ (§9.4.4) has factitive  $n\grave{i}y\grave{e}$ - $g\grave{a}$ - $n\grave{i}$  (395).

- (395) [ $\bar{a}l\grave{a}$   $g\bar{a}$  =  $\bar{a}$   $n\grave{i}y\grave{e}$ - $g\grave{a}$ - $n\grave{i}$ ]  
 [God Ipfv 3Sg easy-**Inch-Caus**.Ipfv]  
 ‘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  $pw\grave{d}/p\grave{d}$ - $l\grave{d}$  ‘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  $n\bar{i}$ .

- (396) a. pwò jīi-jīi ‘become coarse’  
 b. pwò [sūmū nī] ‘become foreign’  
 pwò [tīnààn nī] ‘become other’

In the case of ‘new’, an actual noun, minimally ‘thing’ (pā), is required to form a predicate (397).

- (397) pwò [[pā tōy] nī] ‘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

	inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a.	sīlē / sīlè dēmō / dēmò tòmè / tòmō	sīlē dēmō <sup>n</sup> tòmōw <sup>n</sup>	‘old’ ‘delicious, sweet’ ‘red’
b.	kwāā <sup>n</sup> / kwāà <sup>n</sup>	kūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘white; clean’
c.	màjè / màjē	mājāw <sup>n</sup>	‘good’
d.	pìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup> / pìy <sup>n</sup> ēw <sup>n</sup>	pī <sup>n</sup>	‘black’

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

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a. inchoative L-toned, modifying adjective M-toned		
kìjì / kījī	kījī-nā	‘plump’
kūmā / kūmà	kūmā-nā	‘lean, emaciated’
mwàà / mwāā	mwāā-nā	‘cold’
pìyèw <sup>n</sup> / pìyēw <sup>n</sup>	pīy <sup>n</sup> ē-nā	‘dirty’
pòrè / pòrē	pōrē-nā	‘wet’
b. inchoative and modifying adjective M-toned		
ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū / ṅāāmū-ṅāāmù	ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū-nā	‘multicolored, spotted, striped’
pāā / pā-lā	pān-nā	‘full’
pīyēw <sup>n</sup> / pīyèw <sup>n</sup>	pīyē-nā	‘hot’
c. inchoative and modifying adjective ML-toned		
bīllà / bīllā	bīllà-nà	‘narrow, tight’
dāātà / dāātā	dāātà-nà	‘smooth’
tāndà / tāndā	tāndà-nà	‘sour’
d. inchoative <LML>-toned, modifying adjective ML(-L)-toned		
wwō <sup>n</sup> / wwō-lò	wūwò-nà	‘dry; hard’

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

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a. ...à-àmà/...à-àmā		
<i>H/M alternation</i>		
bānà-àmà / bānà-àmā	bānū	‘big, massive, thick’
<i>M/L alternation</i>		
bùlā-àmà / bùlā-àmā	būlō <sup>n</sup>	‘big; wide, loose’
kòjà-àmà / kòjà-àmā	kòjāw <sup>n</sup>	‘long; tall’ (variant)

kòyà-àmà / kòyà-àmā	kōyāw <sup>n</sup>	‘long; tall’ (variant)
kùrà-àmà / kùrà-àmā	kūrū	‘short’
ɲīɲà-àmà / ɲīɲà-àmā	ɲōɲō	‘bad; nasty’
b. ...ā-āmā/...ā-āmà		
kāgājā-āmā / kāgājā-āmà	kāgājī	‘bitter’
kāmnā-āmā / kāmnā-āmà	kāmnā	‘old (person)’
nōgōrā-āmā / nōgōrā-āmà	nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>	‘difficult’
c. -mā/-mà		
cīyē-mā / cīyē-mà	cīyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘heavy’
dāā-mā / dāā-mà	dāā <sup>n</sup>	‘distant’
kāā-mā / kāā-mà	kāā	‘wet; raw; unripe’
wwō-mā / wwō-mà	wwō <sup>n</sup> -wwō <sup>n</sup>	‘empty’

A suppletive and tonally slightly irregular inchoative is kūsā-āmà/kūsā-āmà (or variants with j instead of s) ‘abound, multiply, become many’, cf. modifying adjective pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup> ‘many’.

For inchoatives with suffix combination -ga-ama, see (402) below.

#### 9.4.4 Inchoatives with -ga ~ -gε and -ga-ama

In (401), the inchoative ends in -ga or -gε, corresponding to -gu in the modifying adjective. The stems are L-toned in the inchoatives.

##### (401) Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga ~ -gε

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a. -ga		
mìyè-gà / mìyè-gā	mīyè-gū	‘thin’
ɲìyè-gà / ɲìyè-gā	ɲīyè-gù	‘easy’
dùwò-gà / dùwò-gā	dūwò-gù	‘small’
b. -gε or -ga		
tùɥ-gè / tùɥ-gē	tūɥ-gù	‘nearby’
or: tùɥ-gà / tùɥ-gā		

There are also some inchoatives that combine -gu- with -ama (402). Again the modifying adjective has -gu.

(402) Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga-ama

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)	modifying	gloss
a. stem L-toned in inchoative		
pùlù-gà-àmà / pùlù-gà-àmā	pùlù-gù	‘soft’
kùy-gà-àmà / kùy-gà-àmā	kūy <sup>n</sup>	‘deep’
b. stem remains M-toned in inchoative		
pēl-gà-àmà / pēl-gà-àmā	pēlù-gù	‘light(weight)’

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 yàw<sup>n</sup>).

(403)	à	gā	[yà-lā]-[yà-là]
	3Sg	Ipfv	<b>Iter</b> -[descend-Ipfv]
	‘He/She descends over and over.’		

In bùrù/bùrū ‘cut (sth long) in two’ and its iteration bùrū-bùrù (Pfv) / bùrū-bùrū-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 bùrū-bùrù has been lexicalized, though it originated as tone sandhi.

tēgē/tēgè ‘cover’ or ‘shut’ has iteration tēgē-tēgē (Pfv) and tēgē-tēgē (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: kīnī-kīnī (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘stir (porridge)’, kùjù-kùjù (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘shake up and down (in a container)’, pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrī ‘writhe’, wīy<sup>n</sup>ā<sup>n</sup>-wīy<sup>n</sup>āw<sup>n</sup>/wīy<sup>n</sup>ā<sup>n</sup>-wīy<sup>n</sup>ā-nà ‘spread out (leaves) to dry’, and (sigh!) the inevitable jḡgì-jḡgī/jḡgì-jḡgī ‘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 interlinears, 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 <i>gà</i> <i>bē</i> X Pfv	Sbj <i>nà</i> <i>bē</i> X Pfv
	remote perfective	Sbj X Pfv <i>gà</i>	Sbj tè X Pfv <i>gà</i>

b. imperfective system

imperfective	gà X Ipfv	nà X Ipfv
presentative	kày X Ipfv	—
presentative stative	kày X Ppl	nà X Ppl

c. some composite categories

experiential perfect ('have ever')	bāynà gà X Ipfv	tè bāynà gà X Ipfv
'already'	pààŋ-kēw <sup>n</sup> (§19.3.3)	—
'(not) yet'	—	sōŋòni (§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)				
in main clause	Pfv	(zero)	(zero)	(zero)
in 'if' clause	if.Pfv	nà(w) <sup>n</sup> /nā(w) <sup>n</sup>	nā(w) <sup>n</sup>	nà(w) <sup>n</sup>
in 'until' clause	until.Pfv	gà/gā	gā	gà
perfective negative	PfvNeg	tè	tē	tè
imperfective (positive)	Ipfv	gà/gā	gā	gà
imperfective negative	IpfvNeg	nà/nā	nā	nà
presentative(-progressive)				
positive	Prsntv	kày/kāy	kāy	kày
future (positive)	Fut	bē	(not applicable)	
imperative (positive)				
singular addressee	(Imprt)	(zero)	(zero)	(zero)
plural addressee	Imprt.2Pl	yè <sup>n</sup>	yē <sup>n</sup>	yè <sup>n</sup>
prohibitive	Proh	mà <sup>n</sup> /mā <sup>n</sup>	mā <sup>n</sup>	mà <sup>n</sup>
hortative	Hort	kè <sup>n</sup>	kě <sup>n</sup> (<LM>)	kè <sup>n</sup>
subjunctive	Sbjn	gālā	gālā	gālā

(406) below presents forms of most of these particles before bē/bē ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’. The subjects are sībò ‘snake’, 1Pl ē (representing the M-toned proclitics), and 3Pl è (representing the L-toned proclitics). Ipfv gà/gā and IpfvNeg nà/nā fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising on preceding morphemes, even when L-toned. In (406a), sībò ‘the snake’ remains L-toned even when followed by L-toned gà and nà, which should trigger raising (to sībō) as in fact happens before the other particles in (406b-c). The diachronic reason for this is that gà/gā and nà/nā formerly had nonlow

tones, i.e. the M-toned variants *gā* and *nā* were once generalized. Another important takeaway from (406) is that Ipfv *gà/gā* and IpfvNeg *nà/nā* (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 *tè* neither assimilates nor dissimilates. The data are superficially complicated by the application of Final Tone-Raising to an L-tone preceding *sò/sò* ‘go’, so the forms with *bē/bē* ‘come’ are more revealing.

(406)	‘the snake’	1Pl	3Pl
a. L after nonpronominal NP, tone- <b>assimilating</b> to pronominal proclitic			
Ipfv	<i>sìbò gà bē</i>	<i>ē gā bē</i>	<i>è gà bē</i>
	<i>sìbò gā sò</i>	<i>ē gā sò</i>	<i>è gā sò</i>
IpfvNeg	<i>sìbò nà bē</i>	<i>ē nā bē</i>	<i>è nà bē</i>
	<i>sìbò nā sò</i>	<i>ē nā sò</i>	<i>è nā sò</i>
b. neither assimilating nor dissimilating to proclitic			
PfvNeg	<i>sìbò tè bē</i>	<i>ē tè bē</i>	<i>è tè bē</i>
	<i>sìbò tē sò</i>	<i>ē tē sò</i>	<i>è tē sò</i>
c. L after nonpronominal NP, tone- <b>dissimilating</b> to pronominal proclitic			
Proh	<i>sìbò mām bē</i>	<i>ē mām bē</i>	<i>è mām bē</i>
	<i>sìbò mān sò</i>	<i>ē mān sò</i>	<i>è mān sò</i>
‘if.Pfv’	<i>sìbò nām bē</i>	<i>ē nām bē</i>	<i>è nām bē</i>
	<i>sìbò nān sò</i>	<i>ē nān sò</i>	<i>è nān sò</i>
‘until.Pfv’	<i>sìbò gā bē</i>	<i>ē gà bē</i>	<i>è gā bē</i>
	<i>sìbò gā sò</i>	<i>ē gā sò</i>	<i>è gā sò</i>
[likewise <i>yè/yē</i> ‘said’ and its variants (§17.1.2)]			
d. M-toned after nonpronominal NP, tone- <b>assimilating</b> after pronominal proclitic			
Prsntv	<i>sìbò kāy bē</i>	<i>ē kāy bē</i>	<i>è kāy bē</i>
	<i>sìbò kāy sò</i>	<i>ē kāy sò</i>	<i>è kāy sò</i>

Presentative *kày/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 *ṅ káy* with H-toned *káy*, since the presentative originated as a transitive imperative with 1Sg object *ṅ* (+H) rather than 1Sg subject *ṅ*.

## 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 w<sup>n</sup>. A few examples are in (407).

(407)	gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
	a. CvCv		
	‘sleep’	kùmù	kùmū-nà
	b. CvNCv		
	‘stay’	kōndō	kōndò
	c. CvYNCv		
	‘amaze’	hāyndè	hāyndè
	d. Cvvcv		
	‘crawl’	kūūnū	kūūnù
	‘fly (v)’	pīirī	pīirī
	‘pass away (die)’	fāātī	fāātī
	e. CvCvw <sup>n</sup>		
	‘arrive’	kìyòw <sup>n</sup>	kìyòw <sup>n</sup>

A few unsegmentable verb stems are trisyllabic (408).

(408)	gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
	a. CvCvCv		
	‘roll over’	bīrījà	bīrījà
	‘replaster’	bīyēgà	bīyēgà
	‘bite off shell’	gūgūjō	gūgūjò
	‘coincide’	kājàmà	kājàmà
	‘entrust’	kàlìfà	kàlìfà
	b. CvCvNCv		
	‘twist’	kòlōmbì	kòlōmbì

### 10.1.2.2 Monosyllabic verb stems

The known Cv verb stems (excluding Cvw<sup>n</sup> and Cv<sup>n</sup> which pattern as bimoraic) are the two most basic motion verbs plus ‘give’ (409a). There are also a few Cwo and Cyē 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’	bē	bē
	‘give’	dō	dō
	‘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), Cvw<sup>n</sup>, and Cvy<sup>n</sup>. Cvw<sup>n</sup> ends in a nasal(ized) element of variable pronunciation, usually w<sup>n</sup> prepausally and an assimilating nasal before another word. A partial inventory is (410a-c). These stems are able to distinguish Pfv from Ipvf by tones (‘get up’, ‘run’, ‘ruin’), or by addition of a syllabic suffix in the Ipvf.

(410)	gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
a.	Cvv		
	‘get up’	kìì	kīī
	‘run’	kùùù	kùùū
	‘stand’	tàà	tà-là
b.	Cvw <sup>n</sup>		
	‘descend’	yàw <sup>n</sup>	yà-là
	‘ascend’	tāw <sup>n</sup>	tā-nā
c.	Cvy <sup>n</sup>		
	‘ruin’	māy <sup>n</sup>	māỹ <sup>n</sup>

### 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 Cw̄o and Cj̄e, and that in any event behave tonally like monomoraic stems (411b).

#### (411) Ipv identical to Pfv

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
a. L-toned			
Cv			
‘go’	sò	sò	
b. M-toned			
Cv			
‘come’	bē	bē	
‘give’	dō	dō	
Cwv or Cyv			
‘burn’	bwō	bwō	
‘stone-grind, crush’	dwī	dwī	
‘put in’	syē	syē	
‘weep’	wwō	wwō	phonetic [w̄w̄ō]

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 C̄vC̄v reduced from older C̄vC̄v̄, or denote bodily noises, or both. /L/-melodic examples are also rather limited and do not include C̄vC̄v̄ (412d).

#### (412) a. /ML/-melodic (among many others)

CvCv			
‘push’	cēbù	cēbù	also ‘put up on fire’
‘be able to’	hīnì	hīnì	
‘blink’	ŋōmè	ŋōmè	‘touch lightly (as sign)’
‘begin’	sīnì	sīnì	reflexive (variant sīndì)
CvCCv			
‘burst’	fēllà	fēllà	

CvVCv			
‘pass away, die’	fāātì	fāātì	
‘reply’	jāābì	jāābì	
‘rip, tear’ (var.)	pēērè	pēērè	variant pīyèrè
‘count’	hīisà	hīisà	synonym yīyē
‘think’	mīilà	mīilà	reflexive verb
CvCvCv			
‘rip, tear’ (var.)	pīyèrè	pīyèrè	variant pēērè
‘slip’	yīyèrè	yīyèrè	

b. /LML/-melodic (all known examples excluding causatives)

CvCvV			
‘court (a girl)’	gìnāà	gìnāà	
‘wail’	kòmṣṣ	kòmṣṣ	
‘kneel’	kùgēè	kùgēè	variant kùgāà
‘stutter’	sùsūù	sùsūù	
‘snatch’	wòlòò	wòlòò	
CvVCv			
‘understand’	fāāmù	fāāmù	
trisyllabic			
‘give a blessing’	dùwāwù	dùwāwù	
‘converse’	gàlwāājà	gàlwāājà	
‘beg’	gàribù	gàribù	
‘twist’	kòlòmbì	kòlòmbì	
‘protect’	sùtùrà	sùtùrà	
‘develop (intr.)’	yìrìwà	yìrìwà	

c. /LM/-melodic (all known examples)

CvCv (bodily sounds)			
‘hiccup (v)’	gègū	gègū	
‘ululate’	kòmṣ	kòmṣ	variant kòmṣṣ/kòmṣṣ
‘snore’	kòṅṣ	kòṅṣ	
CvCv (auxiliary-like)			
‘as soon as’	gìlēw <sup>n</sup>	gìlēw <sup>n</sup>	(§15.4.2)
CvNCv			
‘pick (a lock)’	pòndē	pòndē	
‘peck’	sòṅgī	sòṅgī	verbal noun sòṅgī-gù

d. /L/-melodic (all known examples of two or more moras)

‘become swollen’	pwìì	pwìì
‘pardon (v)’	yààfê	yààfê
‘entrust’	kàlifà	kàlifà
‘renege’	nàmbàrà	nàmbàrà
CvCvw <sup>n</sup>		
‘arrive’	kìyèw <sup>n</sup>	kìyèw <sup>n</sup>
‘become black’	pìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup>	pìy <sup>n</sup> èw <sup>n</sup>
‘become dirty’	pìyèw <sup>n</sup>	pìyèw <sup>n</sup>

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 C<sup>v</sup> 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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
a. Cvv			
‘get up’	kìì	kìì	
‘look for’	màà	màā	
‘run’	kùùù	kùùū	
‘pour out’	pìì	pìì	
‘blow’	pùù	pùū	
‘laugh (v)’	sàà	sàā	
‘wipe, erase’	sìì	sìì	
‘die’	wàà	wàā	
‘do long time’	wùù	wùù	
‘fear’	kwàà <sup>n</sup>	kwàā <sup>n</sup>	

b. Cv̄y

‘leave, abandon’	bà̄y	bà̄ȳ
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c. Cv̄Cv̄

‘curse (v)’	jìgà	jìgā
‘dispossess’	kàmà	kàmā
‘throw’	kèrè	kèrē
‘obtain’	kìlè	kìlē
‘open’	ɸèè	ɸèē
‘walk’	ɲìɲì	ɲìɲí
‘dig’	sàgà	sàgā
‘cultivate’	sògò	sògō
‘cook in pot’	sùwò	sùwō
‘look at’	tòɲò	tòɲō
‘kill’	wàgà	wàgā
‘put down’	yàgà	yàgā
‘give birth’	yègè	yègē
‘take down’	yèlì	yèlī

d. Cv̄NCv̄

‘get tired’	bàndà	bàndā
‘betray’	jàmbà	jàmbā
‘carry on back’	tìndì	tìndī

e. trisyllabic

‘talk (v)’	dìgè̀mù	dìgè̀mū	
‘dance (v)’	mànà̀mì	mànà̀mī	variant m̀ò̀ǹd̀m̀ì/m̀ò̀ǹd̀m̀ī
‘fix, repair’	mìyè̀nì	mìyè̀nī	

The last verb in (413e), mìyè̀nì/mìyè̀nī ‘fix, repair’, may be etymologically a causative, distantly related to mà̀ɲè̀/mà̀ɲè̀ ‘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. C̀v̄C̀v̄) for verb stems with rising tone patterns.

(414) below gives representative examples of verbs whose Pfv is M-toned, but whose Ipv 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 C̀v̄, C̀w̄, and C̀ȳ (see the preceding subsection) which are probably too short to allow contour-toned Ipv’s. The Pfv (M) versus Ipv (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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
<b>a. Cvv</b>			
‘shatter (sth)’	kāā	kāà	
‘pick up; take’	dēē	dēè	
‘catch fire’	kūūū	kūūù	
‘melt’	yāā	yāà	
<b>b. Cvy</b>			
‘ruin (v)’	māy <sup>n</sup>	māy <sup>n</sup>	
<b>c. CvCv</b>			
<i>Ciye, Ciye</i>			
‘count’	yīyē	yīyè	synonym hīsà
‘ask, inquire’	tīyē	tīyè	
‘pass’	kīyē	kīyè	also ‘(day) break’
<i>Cuwo, Cuwɔ</i>			
‘winnow in wind’	pūwō	pūwò	(homophone)
‘jab, poke’	pūwō	pūwò	(homophone)
<i>other CvCv</i>			
‘scrape’	kāgā	kāgà	
‘build’	kēbē	kēbè	
‘die’	lōgō <sup>n</sup>	lōgò <sup>n</sup>	
‘nudge’	mēmē	mēmè	
‘bathe, wash’	ɲīnī	ɲīnì	reflexive or transitive
‘like (v)’	pōgō	pōgò	
‘lie down’	sāgā	sāgà	
‘get old’	sīlē	sīlè	
‘shut; cover’	tēgē	tēgè	
‘sell’	tōlō	tōlò	
‘show’	wājī	wājì	
<b>d. CvCvw<sup>n</sup></b>			
‘become hot’	pīyēw <sup>n</sup>	pīyèw <sup>n</sup>	

e. CvCCv and CvNCv

‘remain’	kōndō	kōndò	
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f. Cvvcv

‘fly (v)’	pīirī	pīirì	
‘crawl’	kūūnū	kūūnù	
‘rub’	sāālō	sāālò	
‘ask for’	wāālē	wāālè	
‘chew’	kwōōlō	kwōōlò	

g. trisyllabic

‘paw (v)’	sōgōrī	sōgōrì	
‘lay down’	sāgā-nī	sāgā-nì	causative
‘bite off’	gūgūjō	gūgūjò	
‘get old’	kāmnā-āmā	kāmnā-āmà	

### 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<sup>n</sup> 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-C<sub>1</sub> 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’	dwō	dō-lō	
‘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’	pwò	pò-lò	
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c. diphthongal Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘pull; tie’	sèy	sè-lè	
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*denasalized*

‘descend’	yàw <sup>n</sup>	yà-là	irreg. causative yèlì/yèlī
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The discrepancy in nasality between yàw<sup>n</sup> and its Ipfv yà-là is irregular. However, there is one other case of this: wwò<sup>n</sup>/wwò-lò ‘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
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The suffix takes the form -nv with copied vowel after nasal stems in (416). Unlike the isolated yàw<sup>n</sup>/yà-là ‘descend’ in the preceding array, whose Ipfv is denasalized, other C/w<sup>n</sup> 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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix		
‘catch’	kūū <sup>n</sup>	kū-nū
‘insult (v)’	mūū <sup>n</sup>	mū-nū
‘get lost’	tūū <sup>n</sup>	tū-nū
a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix		
‘milk (v)’	kāw <sup>n</sup>	kā-nā
‘bite’	sīw <sup>n</sup>	sī-nī
‘shave’	bāw <sup>n</sup>	bā-nā
‘ascend’	tāw <sup>n</sup>	tā-nā
‘break (tr)’	kēw <sup>n</sup>	kē-nē
‘carve’	sēw <sup>n</sup>	sē-nē
‘drink’	mèw <sup>n</sup>	mè-nè
‘buy’ or ‘(rain) fall’	sàw <sup>n</sup>	sà-nà
‘swallow (v)’	tòw <sup>n</sup>	tò-nò

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 Cēw<sup>n</sup> Pfv’s have irregular Ipfv stems. Two have Ipfv Cēn-dē (418a) for expected #Cē-nē. The other has an unusual infix Ipfv affix (418b).

(418) Irregular Cēw<sup>n</sup> stems (Ipfv Cēn-dē or Cē-lē-w<sup>n</sup>)

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
a. ‘fall’		
‘fall’	sēw <sup>n</sup>	sēn-dē
‘go back’		
‘go back’	bēw <sup>n</sup>	bēn-dē
b. -lv- seemingly infix before final semivowel		
‘jump’	tēw <sup>n</sup>	tē-lē-w <sup>n</sup>

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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
a. /ML/ melody			
‘spit; set (trap)’	tū̀ù	tū̀ū-lù	
‘do’	tī̀w̃ <sup>n</sup>	tī̀- <i>nà</i>	
‘sneeze (v)’	c̃ỹè <sup>n</sup>	c̃ỹè-nè	
‘assemble (intr)’	c̃ỹè <sup>n</sup>	c̃ỹè-nè	homonym of preceding
b. /LML/ melody			
‘weave (basket)’	c̃ỹèw̃ <sup>n</sup>	c̃ỹè-nè	also ‘spin (cotton)’
‘dry off’	w̃w̃ō <sup>n</sup>	w̃w̃ō-lò	Ipfv denasalized

For Pfv ‘sneeze (v)’ and ‘assemble (intr)’ one could argue for a bisyllabic transcription cī(y)è<sup>n</sup>.

Few nonmonosyllabic verbs have Ipfv -lv ~ -nv with copied vowel. Two verbs with C̃vC̃ṽ 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) C̃vC̃ṽ verbs with Ipfv suffix after shortened stem

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv
‘lick’	p̃ỹèè	p̃ỹè-lè
‘sing’	s̃ùw̃ṑ	s̃ùw̃ṑ-lò

One suspects that these stems were once \*C̃vC̃ṽC̃ṽ and lost a C<sub>3</sub> (such as \*l or \*r). The Kelenga cognate for ‘lick’ is féélè/féélè-lè, perhaps pointing to \*pvyele.

Several other C̃vC̃ṽ 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)v<sub>v</sub> and C<sub>v</sub>y verbs with Ipfv suffix -lì

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	(Djenné Jenaama cognate)
a. C(w)īī			
<i>Pfv M-toned</i>			
‘winnow up and down’	ɸīī	ɸīī-lì	—
‘roll up’	kwīī	kwīī-lì	(kwīī/kwīī)
b. C <sub>v</sub> y with invariant -lì			
<i>Pfv M-toned</i>			
‘greet’	bōy	bōy-lì	(bóy/bóy-rì)
‘call’	kēē	kēē-lì	(kéè <sup>n</sup> /kéé-nì)
<i>Pfv rising-toned</i>			
‘weave (cloth)’	kòy	kòy-lì	(kòy/kòy-rì)

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 (#ɸīī, #kwīī). 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 C<sub>v</sub>y verb is sèy/sè-lè ‘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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
a. ML/ML-L 'breathe'	sīṅàw <sup>n</sup>	sīṅàn-nà	
b. LM/LM-L 'lock (v)' 'forget'	tàbāw <sup>n</sup> nùmàsāw <sup>n</sup>	tàbān-nà nùmàsā-nà	
c. L/LM-L 'help (v)'	yìràw <sup>n</sup>	yìrān-nà	
d. LML/LML-L 'narrate' 'read'	kàmāà kàlāà <sup>n</sup>	kàmāā-nà kàlāā-nà	

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

gloss	Pfv	Ipfv	comment
a. M/M-L 'spend mid-day'	syēw <sup>n</sup>	syēn-nà	
b. ML/ML-L 'sweep' 'roast in oven' 'squat' 'copulate' 'heal (tr)'	kwēè <sup>n</sup> dībìw <sup>n</sup> sūgò <sup>n</sup> tīgèw <sup>n</sup> sābūlèw <sup>n</sup>	kwēè-nà dībìn-nà sūgòn-nà tīgèn-nà sābūlèn-nà	reciprocal verb



sāgā-nā	‘be lying down’	sāgā	sāgà	‘lie down’
sēn-nā	‘be fallen’	sēw <sup>n</sup>	sēn-dē	‘fall down’
<i>from transitive</i>				
tēgē-nā	‘be shut’	tēgē	tēgè	‘shut’
māy <sup>n</sup> -nā	‘malfunction, be ruined’	māy <sup>n</sup>	māỹ <sup>n</sup>	‘ruin (v)’
kēn-nā	‘be broken’	kēw <sup>n</sup>	kē-nē	‘break (tr)’
kwīi-nā	‘be rolled up’	kwīi	kwīi-lì	‘roll up’

b. stative versus Ipfv suffix variant -nà

sùnū-nà	‘be squatting’	sùnù	sùnū-nà	‘squat’
kùmù-nà	‘sleep, be asleep’	kùmù	kùmū-nà	‘sleep (v)’
~ kùmū-nà				

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 -nà 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 *nì* ‘it is’, whether or not a locational expression follows (426a). L-toned suffix variant -nà rises to -nā before *nì* by regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising). The positive predicate of statives is like that of NPs, which likewise have *nì* when functioning as predicates. However, *nì* is absent in negative stative predicates, which instead have IpfvNeg *nà* (426b). By contrast, negative NP predicates have both post-subject *nà* and clause-final *ni*. 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               nì               bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
           3Sg           lie.down-Ppl       it.is           here  
           ‘He/She is lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

b.    à               nà               sāgā-nā               bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
           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) [sèédù       cýyé<sup>n</sup>]       bān-nā       nì  
       [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 Ipv). 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 sō nògì-y ‘we went to the village’.

It combines with remote perfective particle gā as sō gā, which may take the slightly irregular form sū gā. The particle occurs optionally when a spatial expression is overt. In this context ‘go’ raises to M-tone, and gā also raises to gā 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            ∅            nògì-y  
               "         sū            gā            "  
               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.    wùlāā         sū            gà  
           "            "            (#∅)  
           who?         go.Pfv  
           ‘Who went?’
- b.    n-dógó         sū            gà  
               "            "            (#∅)  
               1Sg-Indep    go.Pfv  
               ‘It’s I [focus] who went.’

c.	ā <sup>n</sup>	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 sāā-nì/sāā-nì ‘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	(bōw <sup>n</sup> )
	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 gā, 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 dēē-[bā-lā] X, literally ‘it picked up (and) exited X’. The second part is just bē Y (§15.7.3.2).

For pseudo-causative bīyè-nì/bīyè-nì ‘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 /LML/. 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 *tē* between subject and verb.

(431) has a pronominal-subject paradigm for ‘slept’, which is L-toned. 1Sg subject is M-toned *ḡ* in the positive, L-toned *ḡ* in the negative (as in imperfective clauses). The PfvNeg particle is *tè*, rising to *tē* before an L-tone. 1Sg *ḡ ~ ḡ* assimilates to the position of the following consonant, e.g. negative *ḡ tè*.

(431)	‘slept’	‘didn’t sleep’
1Sg	<i>ḡ kùmù</i>	<i>ḡ tè kùmù</i>
1Pl	<i>ē kùmù</i>	<i>ē tè kùmù</i>
2Sg	<i>āḡ kùmù</i>	<i>ān tè kùmù</i>
2Pl	<i>āā kùmù</i>	<i>āā tè kùmù</i>
3Sg	<i>à kùmù</i>	<i>à tè kùmù</i>
3Pl	<i>è kùmù</i>	<i>è tè kùmù</i>

Array (432) has a subject paradigm for ‘fall’. This verb is M-toned, so negative *tè* remains L-toned in all combinations.

(432)	‘fell’	‘didn’t fall’
1Sg	ṅ sēw <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
1Pl	ē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ē tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
2Sg	ā <sup>n</sup> sēw <sup>n</sup>	ā <sup>n</sup> tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
2Pl	āā sēw <sup>n</sup>	āā tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
3Sg	à sēw <sup>n</sup>	à tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
3Pl	è sēw <sup>n</sup>	è tē sēw <sup>n</sup>

A fuller set of intransitive perfectives showing 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Sg forms is in (433).

(433) Perfective

gloss	1Sg	1SgNeg	1Pl	1PlNeg	3Sg	3SgNeg
a. L-toned verb						
‘get up’	ṅ kii	ṅ tē kii	ē kii	ē tē kii	à kii	à tē kii
‘run’	ṅ kùù	ṅ tē kùù	ē kùù	ē tē kùù	à kùù	à tē kùù
‘go’	ṅ sò	ṅ tē sò	ē sò	ē tē sò	à sò	à tē sò
‘stand’	ṅ tàà	ṅ tē tàà	ē tàà	ē tē tàà	à tàà	à tē tàà
‘descend’	ṅ yàw <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē yàw <sup>n</sup>	ē yàw <sup>n</sup>	ē tē yàw <sup>n</sup>	à yàw <sup>n</sup>	à tē yàw <sup>n</sup>
‘arrive’	ṅ kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	ē kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	ē tē kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	à kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	à tē kiyòw <sup>n</sup>
‘sleep’	ṅ kùmù	ṅ tē kùmù	ē kùmù	ē tē kùmù	à kùmù	à tē kùmù
‘sit’	m̄ pwò	ṅ tē pwò	ē pwò	ē tē pwò	à pwò	à tē pwò
b. M-toned verb						
‘exit’	m̄ bāā	ṅ tē bāā	ē bāā	ē tē bāā	à bāā	à tē bāā
‘come’	m̄ bē	ṅ tē bē	ē bē	ē tē bē	à bē	à tē bē
‘fall’	ṅ sēw <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ē tē sēw <sup>n</sup>	à sēw <sup>n</sup>	à tē sēw <sup>n</sup>
‘ascend’	ṅ tāw <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē tāw <sup>n</sup>	ē tāw <sup>n</sup>	ē tē tāw <sup>n</sup>	à tāw <sup>n</sup>	à tē tāw <sup>n</sup>
‘weep’	ṅ wwō	ṅ tē wwō	ē wwō	ē tē wwō	à wwō	à tē wwō
‘enter’	ṅ dwō	ṅ tē dwō	ē dwō	ē tē dwō	à dwō	à tē dwō
‘stay’	ṅ kōndō	ṅ tē kōndō	ē kōndō	ē tē kōndō	à kōndō	à tē kōndō
‘crawl’	ṅ kūūnū	ṅ tē kūūnū	ē kūūnū	ē tē kūūnū	à kūūnū	à tē kūūnū
‘die’	ṅ lōgō <sup>n</sup>	ṅ tē lōgō <sup>n</sup>	ē lōgō <sup>n</sup>	ē tē lōgō <sup>n</sup>	à lōgō <sup>n</sup>	à tē lōgō <sup>n</sup>
‘lie down’	ṅ sāgā	ṅ tē sāgā	ē sāgā	ē tē sāgā	à sāgā	à tē sāgā

### 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: sògò ‘cultivate.Pfv’, remote sògò 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            sēw<sup>n</sup>  
           3Sg        fall.Pfv  
           ‘He/She (just) fell.’
- b. à            sēŋ        gà  
           3Sg        fall.Pfv    RemPfv  
           ‘He/She fell (some time ago).’ (< sēw<sup>n</sup>)

polar interrogative tone/intonation (§13.2.1.2) is compatible with gà.

- (435) ān            dāwā        gāá  
           2Sg        travel.Pfv    **RemPfv.Q**  
           ‘You went on a trip?’ (< dāwà)

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).’ (< sēw<sup>n</sup>)

In practice, negative perfectives with RemPfv gà are limited to specific discourse contexts, especially in the polar interrogative (§13.2.1.2) form gāá. 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        gāá ↗  
           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-OVX 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 pronominals 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. sèèdù      (yè)              jénán      kwāā  
           S            (Sbj/Obj)    child      hit.Pfv  
           ‘Seydou hit the child.’
- b. sèèdù      (yè)              sògòlón / kòyón      kwāā  
           S            (Sbj/Obj)    sheep / rock      hit.Pfv  
           ‘Seydou hit the 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’ (*bāynà 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 *bāynà*, 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 *bāynà* 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 *bāynà gà* is rather fused, and might be analysed as a single-word portmanteau.

- (439) a. *ām bāynà gà tūwō-būlōŋ kà-nà ↗*  
 2Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv.Q  
 ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’
- b. *m̄ bāynà gà tūwō-būlōŋ kà-nà*  
 1Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv  
 ‘I have (once) seen an elephant.’
- c. *ṅ tè bāynà gà tūwō-būlōŋ 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 *kḏ<sup>n</sup>* 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 *kóy* (§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 *kóy* might alternatively be parsed as the emphatic morpheme. When it is clause-final, however, it has lower pitch than one would expect for emphatic *kóy* even allowing for prepausal pitch drop (§3.6.5.2). I provisionally gloss both post-subject *kḏ<sup>n</sup>* and clause-final *kòy* as ‘already’ in (440).

- (440) a. [*ṅ kón]* *dīgē kòy*  
 [1Sg **already**] eat.Antip.Pfv already  
 ‘I’ve already eaten.’ (< *ṅ* (+H) *kḏ<sup>n</sup>*) (e.g. in response to an invitation to a meal)

- b. [à kɔ̃<sup>n</sup>] yè ñ **tūwō** kòy  
 [3Sg **already**] Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv already  
 ‘He/She has already left.’
- c. [ɪ̃ kóŋ] kiyè kŭlēŋ kòy  
 [1Sg **already**] wood cut.Pfv Emph  
 ‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) the wood.’
- d. [ɪ̃ kó<sup>n</sup>] yā =à kŭlēŋ kòy  
 [1Sg **already**] Sbj/Obj 3Sg cut.Pfv **Emph**  
 ‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) it.’
- e. [āŋ kòŋ̃] kiyè kùlèŋ kóy  
 [2Sg **already**] wood cut.Pfv **Emph**  
 ‘You-Sg have already cut (=chopped) the wood.’ (< kŭlēw<sup>n</sup>)
- f. [à bè kóy] [ŋgàà à tè bē [pà-sí nī]]  
 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 gà combines with it as gā kòy.

For negative ‘have not yet VPed’, see 8.4.6.2.

#### 10.2.1.6 Perfective positive markers in subordinated clauses (post-subject gà, ñ<sup>n</sup>)

In a few subordinated clause types, a nonzero Pfv particle occurs after the subject, making the bidirectional case marker unnecessary (and ungrammatical).

gà/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 gà/gā as ‘be’ verb or Ipfv particle, in both cases limited to positive clauses. The two gà/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 gà, which follows the verb rather than following the subject.

In perfective positive conditional antecedent clauses, nà(w)<sup>n</sup> (glossed ‘if.Pfv’) occurs in post-subject position. It therefore forms a positive/negative opposition with PfvNeg tè 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 *nàw<sup>n</sup>/nāw<sup>n</sup>*. 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). This 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 *gā* and *nā*, before further tone sandhi. Nonpronominal NPs are followed by *gà* and *nà*.

(441)		'fall(s)'	'didn't/doesn't fall'
a.	1Sg	ḡ gà sēn-dē	ḡ nà sēn-dē
	3Sg	à gà sēn-dē	à nà sēn-dē
	3Pl	è gà sēn-dē	è nà sēn-dē
b.	1Pl	ē gā sēn-dē	ē nā sēn-dē
	2Sg	āḡ gā sēn-dē	ān nā sēn-dē
	2Pl	āā gā sēn-dē	āā nā sēn-dē
	LogoSg	ḡ gā sēn-dē	ḡ nā sēn-dē
	LogoPl	ē gā sēn-dē	ē nā 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’	
	a.	1Sg	ɨ̄ gā kùmū-nà	ɨ̄ nā kùmū-nà
		3Sg	à gā kùmū-nà	à nā kùmū-nà
		3Pl	è gā kùmū-nà	è nā kùmū-nà
	b.	1Pl	ē gā kùmū-nà	ē nā kùmū-nà
		LogoPl	ē gā kùmū-nà	ē nā kùmū-nà
		2Sg	āɨ̄ gā kùmū-nà	ān nā kùmū-nà
		2Pl	āā gā kùmū-nà	āā nā kùmū-nà
		LogoSg	ɨ̄ gā kùmū-nà	n̄ nā kùmū-nà

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)’	
	a.	‘Seydou’	L	sèédù	gā / nā kùmū-nà	gà / nà sēn-dē
	b.	‘goat’	M	sūgō	gā / nā kùmū-nà	gā / nā sēn-dē
	c.	‘dog’	H	kúnǵóló	gá / ná kùmū-nà	gá / ná sēn-dē

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)

	gloss	1Sg	1SgNeg	1Pl	1PlNeg
a.	L-toned verb				
	<i>unsuffixed</i>				
	‘get up’	ɨ̄ gā kìì	n̄ nā kìì	ē gā kìì	ē nā kìì
	‘run’	ɨ̄ gā kùùù	n̄ nā kùùù	ē gā kùùù	ē nā kùùù
	‘go’	ɨ̄ gā sò	n̄ nā sò	ē gā sò	ē nā sò
	‘arrive’	ɨ̄ gā kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	n̄ nā kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	ē gā kiyòw <sup>n</sup>	ē nā kiyòw <sup>n</sup>

*suffixed*

‘stand’	ìj gā tà-là	̀n nā tà-là	ē gā tà-là	ē nā tà-là
‘descend’	ìj gā yà-là	̀n nā yà-là	ē gā yà-là	ē nā yà-là
‘sit’	ìj gā pò-lò	̀n nā pò-lò	ē gā pò-lò	ē nā pò-lò
‘sleep’	ìj gā kùmū-nà	̀n nā kùmū-nà	ē gā kùmū-nà	ē nā kùmū-nà

b. M-toned verb

*unsuffixed*

‘come’	ìj gā bē	̀n nā bē	ē gā bē	ē nā bēe
‘weep’	ìj gā wwō	̀n nā wwō	ē gā wwō	ē nā wwō
‘enter’	ìj gā dwō	̀n nā dwō	ē gā dwō	ē nā dwō

*unsuffixed, final L-tone*

‘stay’	ìj gā kōndò	̀n nā kōndò	ē gā kōndò	ē nā kōndò
‘crawl’	ìj gā kūūnù	̀n nā kūūnù	ē gā kūūnù	ē nā kūūnù
‘die’	ìj gā lōgò <sup>n</sup>	̀n nā lōgò <sup>n</sup>	ē gā lōgò <sup>n</sup>	ē nā lōgò <sup>n</sup>
‘fly (v)’	ìj gā pīrì	̀n nā pīrì	ē gā pīrì	ē nā pīrì
‘lie down’	ìj gā sāgà	̀n nā sāgà	ē gā sāgà	ē nā sāgà

*suffixed*

‘exit’	ìj gā bā-lā	̀n nā bā-lā	ē gā bā-lā	ē nā bā-lā
‘fall’	ìj gā sēn-dē	̀n nā sēn-dē	ē gā sēn-dē	ē nā sēn-dē
‘ascend’	ìj gā tā-nā	̀n nā tā-nā	ē gā tā-nā	ē nā tā-nā

Normally Ipfv gā/gā and IpfvNeg 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 [sīi tīnāā<sup>n</sup>] gā j̄ nāāmū [à nìj̄i]
   
or.else [breed other] Ipfv 3RefISg mix.Ipfv [3Sg inside]
   
‘... or does another clan mix in (=intermarry) with it?’

speaker 2:

à gā, à gā
   
3Sg Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv
   
‘It does (mix), it does.’ (2017-01 @ 07:21 to 07:23)

Example (446) illustrates clause-final IpfvNeg nā.

- (446) [[mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] nā= à sē [n̄= nā] gū]  
 [[Rel Pl] if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [LogoSg **IpfvNeg**] Def  
 ‘If there is anyone (=you) who says “I will not” (=refuses), ...’ (2017-01 @ 04:47)

Even the L-toned gà and nà 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 mīrù-**yè**] gā sō [b̀w̄ō k̀à̀y] yā̀w̄<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[1Pl chief-Pl] Ipv go.Ipv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]  
 ‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)  
 (< gà sò)
- b. [à **tè̀ɛ̀ŋ**] gà bā-lā [[ŋ̀ s̀ìȳé<sup>n</sup>] k̄umà] s̄āā<sup>n</sup>  
 [3Sg elder.sib] Ipv exit(v)-Ipv [[3Refl horse] on] when  
 ‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, ...’ (2017-01 @ 02:52)
- c. [b̀à̀à̀k̀ò̀l̀ò̀-<sup>n</sup>-s̀í-ỳè k̀ù-**l̀è**] nà= āā bāgà k̄j̄à̀m̀à̀-̀ȳ<sup>n</sup> d̄ē?  
 B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpvNeg 2Pl equal.Ipv number-Loc Emph  
 ‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl in population.’ (2017-01 @ 08:31)

#### 10.2.2.2 Future (preverbal gà/gā bē, negative nà/nā bē)

The future makes use of the same Ipv gà/gā (positive) and nà/nā (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 Ipv stem. The following main verb takes Pfv (!) form, further distinguishing this construction from the regular imperfective construction. This aligns future gà 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 gà bē and nà 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 gà and nà do not raise to gā and nā by Final Tone-Raising in this combination.

In one text, an expected n̄ nā bē dw̄ō ‘(he said) “I will go in” ’ is reduced to n̄ nā dw̄ō by omitting bē (2017-06 @ 00:26). When this happens, the combination of nà/nā and Pfv stem is future negative, versus nà/nā plus Ipv stem for imperfective negative.

The 1Pl combination ē gā bē, and the 3Pl combination è gà bē, can assimilate in vowel quality to ē gē bē and è gè 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 kùmù, compare Ipfv kùmū-nà.

(448)		‘will sleep’	‘won’t sleep’
	1Sg	ḡ gà bē kùmù	ḡ nà bē kùmù
	1Pl	ē gā bē kùmù	ē nā bē kùmù
	2Sg	āḡ gā bē kùmù	ān nā bē kùmù
	2Pl	āā gā bē kùmù	āā nā bē kùmù
	3Sg	à gà bē kùmù	à nà bē kùmù
	3Pl	è gà bē kùmù	è nà bē kùmù

The future paradigm of M-toned ‘fall’ is (449). The verb again takes Pfv stem sēw<sup>n</sup> rather than Ipfv sēn-dē.

(449)		‘will fall’	‘won’t fall’
	1Sg	ḡ gà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ḡ nà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>
	1Pl	ē gā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ē nā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>
	2Sg	āḡ gā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	ān nā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>
	2Pl	āā gā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	āā nā bē sēw <sup>n</sup>
	3Sg	à gà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	à nà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>
	3Pl	è gà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>	è nà bē sēw <sup>n</sup>

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.	ḡ	gà	bè	kúḡgóló	tōlō
		1Sg	Ipfv	<b>Fut</b>	dog	sell.Pfv
					‘I will sell the dog.’	
	b.	ḡ	gà	bē	sūgō / yàmbāà	tōlō
		1Sg	Ipfv	<b>Fut</b>	goat / house	sell.Pfv
					‘I will see the goat/house.’	

### 10.2.2.3 Presentative (kày ~ kây)

The presentative morpheme has allomorphs *kày* (becoming *kây* by tone sandhi before L-tone) and *kây*. *kày* is homophonous to the Pfv stem of *kày/kà-nà* ‘see’, its likely etymological source. Compare French *voici* and *voilà* from the imperative of *voire* ‘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 kây	‘here/there is Seydou’
yàbà kây	‘here/there is the guinea-fowl’

b. 1Sg with floating H

ɲ káy	‘here I am’
-------	-------------

c. M-toned pronominal proclitics

ē kây	‘here we are’
āɲ kây	‘here/there you-Sg are’
āā kây	‘here/there you-Pl are’
ɲ̄ kây	‘here he/she is’ (logophoric)
ē̄ kây	‘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 *kày* in the third-person pronominal forms undergoes Final Tone-Raising to *kây* before the L-toned verb.

(452) a. NP

[sèédù kây] yà-là	‘here/there is Seydou descending’
[yàbà kây] yà-là	‘here/there is the guinea-fowl descending’

b. 1Sg

[ɲ káy] yà-là	‘here I am descending’
---------------	------------------------

c. M-toned proclitics

[ē kāy] yà-là	‘here we are descending’
[āŋ kāy] yà-là	‘here/there you-Sg are descending’
[āā kāy] yà-là	‘here/there you-Pl are descending’
[ī kāy] yà-là	‘here I am descending’ (logophoric)
[ē kāy] yà-là	‘here we are descending’ (logophoric)

d. L-toned pronominals

[à kàȳ] yà-là	‘here/there he-or-she is descending’
[è kàȳ] yà-là	‘here/there they are descending’

An object NP, if present, follows kày.

(453) a. [à kày] tēē kūlēn-nà  
 [3Sg Prsntv] meat cut-Ipfv  
 ‘Look, he/she is cutting the meat.’

b. [à kā=] à kūlēn-nà  
 [3Sg Prsntv] 3Sg cut-Ipfv  
 ‘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) à kày [à nà tā-nā]  
 3Sg Prsntv [3Sg IpfvNeg ascend-Ipfv]  
 ‘There he/she is, not going up!’

#### 10.2.2.4 Subjunctive (gālà)

The post-subject particle gālà 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).

- (455) a. ē            gā=            à            pōgò  
 1Pl            Ipfv            3Sg            like.Ipfv  
 [ē            gālā=            à            tīyē            ...]  
 [1Pl            **Sbjn**            3Sg            ask.**Pfv**            ...]  
 ‘We would like to ask it, ...’ (2017-03 @ 00:07)
- b. à            bè            sēw<sup>n</sup>            [[wàngé            gú]            nùmà],  
 3Sg            Seq            fall.Pfv            [[hare            Dem]            rope],  
 ĩj            gālā            [kàngé            gú]            hīlā  
 LogoSg            **Sbjn**            [hyena            Def]            deceive.**Pfv**  
 ‘It occurred to that hare to deceive the hyena.’ (2017-07 @ 00:13)
- c. gīlēw<sup>n</sup>            gā=            [ām            bwēỹ]  
 thirst            be.Loc            [2Sg            Comit]  
 āŋ            gālā =            ām            mēm            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 2Sg            **Sbjn**            2Sg            drink.Pfv            here  
 ‘You are thirsty. You must drink here.’ (2017-07 @ 01:16)
- d. [ē            nè            bēm-bē            sà<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1Pl            when            come.back.Pfv            when,  
 [[ē            gālā            bē            [tēē            gū]            dè]  
 [1Pl            **Sbjn**            come.**Pfv**            [meat            Def]            pick.up.Pfv]  
 [ē            bē            sò            [à            nī]]  
 [1Pl            Seq            go.Pfv            [3Sg            Inst]]  
 ‘When we come back, we’ll come and take the meat and go off with it.’  
 (2017-07 @ 00:26)

#### 10.2.2.5 Presentative stative and its negation

The presentative construction with *kày* (§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 *kày* by *nà*, which is elsewhere the negative locational-existential (‘be absent’) or the IpfvNeg particle. This suggests that *kày* is structurally parallel to Ipfv (positive) particle *gā*. Both *kày* 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            kày            pùwò-nà  
           3Sg        **Prsntv**        sit-**Ppl**  
           ‘He/She is sitting (=seated).’
- b. à            nā            pùwò-nà  
           3Sg        **not.be**        sit-**Ppl**  
           ‘He/She is not sitting (=seated).’

The construction also accepts detransitivized 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. n̄            = nān̄        tàā<sup>n</sup>        sīnā  
           1Sg        Sbj/Obj        mat        lay.Pfv  
           ‘I laid out the mat.’
- b. tàā<sup>n</sup>        yè            n̄            sīnā  
           mat        Sbj/Obj        3ReflSg        lay.Pfv  
           ‘The mat was laid out.’ (lit. “The mat laid itself out.”)
- c. [tàŋ        kāy]        sīnā-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/māā ‘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 tē 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. jénán kōndō (gà) kùũ  
 child stay.Pfv (RemPfv) run.Ipfv  
 ‘The child was running/used to run.’
- b. tàrà déé kūnà ĩ s̀g̀ b̀m̀ p̀ǹǹ<sup>n</sup>  
 Q cotton Past.Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv here formerly  
 ‘Was cotton cultivated here formerly?’ (2017-03 @ 00:58)
- c. jénán tè kōndō (gà) kùũ  
 child PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) run.Ipfv  
 ‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’
- d. #jénán<sup>n</sup> (tè) kōndō nā kùũ  
 child (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv IpfvNeg run.Ipfv  
 [intended: ‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’]

### 10.3.3 Past stative (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō)

kōndō (gà) can also be added to a stative to shift its time to the past. (459a) illustrates with a stative derived from an active verb pẁ/̀p̀-̀l̀ ‘sit’. Other semantically stative constructions are illustrated in (459b-e).

- (459) a. à kōndō (gà) p̀ẁ-̀ǹ<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) sit-Ppl  
 ‘He/She was sitting (=seated).’

- b.  $\bar{1}$  kōndō (gà) nḡgī-ỳ  
 1Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) village-Loc  
 ‘I was in the village.’
- c. yàmbāà kōndō (gà) [ḡ tē]  
 house stay.Pfv (RemPfv) [1Sg Dat]  
 ‘I had a house.’
- d.  $\bar{1}$  kōndō (gà) sḡgḡ-yā nì  
 1Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) cultivate-Agent it.is  
 ‘I used to be a farmer.’
- e.  $\bar{1}$  kōndō (gà) sābūlē<sup>n</sup>-yā tò  
 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. kḡ<sup>n</sup> with the subject along with clause-final kòy (§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. [ā kḡ<sup>n</sup>] ḡ tūwō kòy  
 [3Sg **already**] 3Ref1Sg depart.Pfv **already**  
 ‘He/She has already left.’
- b. [ā kḡ<sup>n</sup>] ḡ tūwō gà kòy  
 [3Sg **already**] 3Ref1Sg 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’.

(461)		particle	‘come’	‘stop’
	a. (positive) imperative			
	singular addressee	(zero)	bē	tàà
	plural addressee	yè <sup>n</sup>	yèm bē	yēn tàà
	b. prohibitive			
	singular addressee	mà <sup>n</sup>	ām màm bē	ām mām tàà
	plural addressee	mà <sup>n</sup>	āā màm bē	āā mām tàà

#### 10.4.1.1 Imperative (unsuffixed singular, plural yè<sup>n</sup>)

The Pfv stem is used, without any preverbal material (subject pronoun, inflectional particle) as intransitive singular-addressee imperative.

(462)	a. M-toned imperative (= Pfv)	
	bē	‘come!-2Sg’
	tāw <sup>n</sup>	‘ascend!-2Sg’
	dwō	‘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!’)
	pwò	‘sit!-2Sg’
	yàw <sup>n</sup>	‘descend!-2Sg’
	c. other tones: imperative (= Pfv)	
	yīyèè	‘slide!-2Sg’
	tīgè	‘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.	sō	nàmàgèw <sup>n</sup>
		go.Pfv	Namagué
		‘Go-2Sg to Namagué (village)!’	

- b. sò                    mōptì  
 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 ñ (+H) raises the tone of a following L-toned verb to H, e.g. wágá from wàgà in (464a).

- (464) a. ñ                kwāā / wágá  
 1Sg        hit.Pfv / kill.Pfv  
 ‘Hit-/Kill-2Sg me!’ (< ñ (+H), wàgà)

- b. sógó                mèw<sup>n</sup>  
 milk                drink.Pfv  
 ‘Drink-2Sg the milk!’

For plural addressee, yè<sup>n</sup> appears clause-initially. It raises to yē<sup>n</sup> before L-tone. The remainder of the clause is as for singular addressee.

- (465) a. yèṅ                jénáṅ        kwāā  
 Imprt.2Pl    child        hit.Pfv  
 ‘Hit!-2Pl the child!’

- b. yē<sup>n</sup>                yùgòṅ        kwāā  
 Imprt.2Pl    woman        hit.Pfv  
 ‘Hit!-2Pl the woman!’

- c. yēṅ                kùùù  
 Imprt.2Pl        run.Pfv  
 ‘Run!-2Pl’

yè<sup>n</sup> also occurs in hortatives, but not in prohibitives.

There is an ambiguity about the grammatical function of yè<sup>n</sup>. It does not resemble the 2Pl pronoun āā, 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 mà<sup>n</sup>. 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.

- (466) sò            [āŋ      gālà      m̄      báy      bōw̄<sup>n</sup>]  
 go.Pfv    [2Sg    **Sbjn**    1Sg    leave.Pfv    here]  
 ‘Go and leave me here!’ (2017-05 @ 02:09) (< báy)

#### 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 ñ (+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. ñ / ē / à / è                      kwāā  
           1Sg/1Pl/3Sg/3Pl                  hit.Pfv  
           ‘Hit-2Sg me/us/him-or-her/them!’
- b. ñ                                      wágá  
           1Sg                                      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 yè<sup>n</sup> with pronominal objects are fused. The nasality in plural-addressee imperative yè<sup>n</sup> is lost in the contractions. The yè<sup>n</sup> morpheme does not raise to M-tone before an L-toned object pronominal.

- (468) a. yè = ñ / 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 =                      ñ                      wágá  
           Imprt.2Pl                  1Sg                      kill.Pfv  
           ‘Kill-2Pl me!’
- c. yè =                      ē / è                      wàgà  
           Imprt.2Pl                  1Pl/3Pl                      kill.Pfv  
           ‘Kill-2Pl us/them!’

- d. yà = à wàgà  
 Imprt.2Pl 3Sg kill.Pfv  
 ‘Kill-2Pl him-or-her!’

Reflexive imperatives are (469a-b-b') for singular addressee. In high-frequency lexicalized reflexives denoting ordinary actions like ‘bathe’, the simple 2Sg pronominal  $\bar{a}^n$  is usual (469a). Here  $\bar{a}^n$  could be labeled as either regular 2Sg object (cf.  $\bar{n} = n\grave{a} = \bar{a}n$   $n\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  ‘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.  $\bar{a}n$   $n\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 2Sg bathe.Pfv  
 ‘Bathe-2Sg (yourself)!’
- b.  $\bar{a}^n$  wàgà  
 2Sg kill.Pfv  
 ‘Kill-2Sg yourself!’
- b'. [ $\bar{a}n$   $n\grave{e}\bar{w}^n$ ] wàgà  
 [2Sg head] kill.Pfv  
 [= (b)]

Reflexive imperatives for plural addressee are in (470).

- (470) a. yà =  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $n\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 Imprt.2Pl 2Pl bathe.Pfv  
 ‘Bathe-2Pl (yourselves)!’
- b. yà =  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$  wàgà  
 Imprt.2Pl 2Pl kill.Pfv  
 ‘Kill-2Pl yourselves!’
- b'. yà = [ $\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $n\grave{e}\bar{w}^n$ ] 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 mà<sup>n</sup> (2Sg ā<sup>n</sup> mà<sup>n</sup>, 2Pl āā mà<sup>n</sup>)

Prohibitives have a particle mà<sup>n</sup>. It is preceded by a regular second person proclitic (2Sg ā<sup>n</sup>, 2Pl āā). It dissimilates to them as L-toned mà<sup>n</sup>, but may be re-raised by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone (471a,d).

- (471) a. ā<sup>n</sup>      māj      kùùù  
           2Sg      **Proh**      run.Pfv  
           ‘Don’t-2Sg run!’
- b. āā      mà<sup>n</sup>      wwō  
           2Pl      **Proh**      weep.Pfv  
           ‘Don’t-2Pl cry!’
- c. ām      mà<sup>n</sup>      jénáj      kwāā  
           2Sg      **Proh**      child      hit.Pfv  
           ‘Don’t-2Sg hit the child!’
- d. āā      māj      yùgòŋ      kwāā  
           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 mām bē ‘may he/she not come!’, è mām bē ‘may they not come!’. Another post-subject morpheme that has this tonal patterning is nà(w)<sup>n</sup>/nā(w)<sup>n</sup> ‘if.Pfv’ (§16.1.1).

### 10.4.1.4 h̄m ‘here, take this!’

h̄m 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 yè<sup>n</sup> h̄m, but it cannot be negated. The only way to add an “object” is to combine h̄m with a presentative clause.

- (472) h̄m            māāṅgòró        kāy  
**here!**            mango            Prsntv  
 ‘Here! (Take) a mango!’

## 10.4.2 Hortatives

### 10.4.2.1 Hortative (kè<sup>n</sup>)

In the first inclusive plural hortative (‘let’s VP!’), hortative morpheme kè<sup>n</sup> precedes the VP. It regularly becomes <LM>-toned kě<sup>n</sup> (assimilated kèṁ, kèñ, etc.) by Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone. kè<sup>n</sup> denasalizes when it contracts with a following vocalic pronominal. For example, it combines with 3Pl object as kē = è, 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. kě<sup>n</sup>            yàw<sup>n</sup> / ...  
           kèñ            ... / tàà  
           **Hort**        descend.Pfv / stand.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s-2Sg go down!/stop!’
- b. kèṁ            bāā / bē  
           **Hort**        exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s-2Sg go out!/come!’
- c. kèn            tēē            dīgā  
           **Hort**        meat        eat.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s-2Sg eat the meat!’
- d. kèñ            kùù            dīgā  
           **Hort**        meal        eat.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s-2Sg eat a meal!’
- e. kèṁ            bwò            kwāā  
           **Hort**        Recip        hit.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s-2Sg fight (=hit each other)!’
- f. kè =            [ē            jìyēw<sup>n</sup>]        wàgà  
           **Hort**        [1Pl        head]        kill.Pfv  
           ‘Let’s (each) kill ourselves!’

For two or more addressees, 2Pl imperative pronominal  $yè^n$  is added in the subject slot:  $yèn\ kēm\ bāā$  ‘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.  $kè^n\ só$   
 $kè\ só$   
 $kò\ só$

It is slightly irregular:  $kè^n\ só$  with H-toned  $só$  instead of expected L-toned Pfv  $sò$  (cf.  $\bar{e}\ sò$  ‘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)  $kè\ só\ (síbèw^n)$   
**Hort** go.Pfv (market.Loc)  
 ‘Let’s go (to the market)!’

#### 10.4.2.2 Hortative negative ( $\bar{e}\ mà^n$ )

Hortatives are negated by  $\bar{e}\ mà^n$ , consisting of regular 1Pl  $\bar{e}$  plus the same negative marker  $mà^n$  used in prohibitives (2Sg  $\bar{a}\ mà^n$ , 2Pl  $\bar{a}\bar{a}\ mà^n$ ).

(476) a.  $\bar{e}\ m\bar{a}^n\ y\grave{a}w^n / \dots$   
 $m\grave{a}n\ \dots / t\bar{a}w^n$   
 1Pl **Proh** descend.Pfv / ascend.Pfv  
 ‘Let’s not go down!/go up!’

b.  $\bar{e}\ m\grave{a}m\ b\bar{a}\bar{a} / b\bar{e}$   
 1Pl **Proh** exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv  
 ‘Let’s not go out!/come!’

c.  $\bar{e}\ m\bar{a}^n\ sò$   
 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        dīgē]                    [à        tāw<sup>n</sup>]  
           [3Sg    eat.Antip.Pfv]    [3Sg    ascend.Pfv]  
           ‘He/She ate and (then) went (away).’
- b. [à        gà        bē        dīgē]                    [à        bē        tāw<sup>n</sup>]  
           [3Sg    Ipfv    Fut    eat.Antip.Pfv]    [3Sg    Fut        ascend.Pfv]  
           ‘He/She will eat and (then) go up.’
- c. dīgē                    [āŋ        gālà        tāw<sup>n</sup>]  
           eat.Antip.Pfv    [2Sg    **Sbjn**        ascend.Pfv]  
           ‘Eat-2Sg and go up!’
- d. [yèn        dīgē]                    [āā        gālà        tāw<sup>n</sup>]  
           [Imprt.2Pl    eat.Antip.Pfv]    [2Pl    **Sbjn**        ascend.Pfv]  
           ‘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. [yèn        kēn        dīgē]                    [kè        só]  
           [Imprt.2Pl    Hort    eat.Antip.Pfv]    [Hort    go.Pfv]  
           ‘Let’s-2Pl eat and then go!’
- b. kèn        dīgē                    [ē        gālā        kùmù]  
           Hort    eat.Antip.Pfv    [1Pl    **Sbjn**        sleep.Pfv]  
           ‘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 *mà<sup>n</sup>* if negative.

(479) a. *ālà*      *gālà*      *ē*      *yìràw<sup>n</sup>*  
God      **Sbjn**      1Pl      help.Pfv  
'May God help us!'

b. *à*      *gālà*      *tāw<sup>n</sup>*  
3Sg      **Sbjn**      ascend.Pfv  
'May he/she go up!'

c. *à*      *mān*      *tāw<sup>n</sup>*  
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. *ì*      *gālà*      *bē*      [*tēè*    *nī*]  
1Sg      **Sbjn**      come.Pfv    [tea    Inst]  
'Should I bring the tea?' (i.e. do you want me to bring the tea?)

b. *ìm*      *mām*      *bē*      [*tēè*    *nī*]  
1Sg      **Proh**      come.Pfv    [tea    Inst]  
'Should I not bring the tea?' (i.e. do you want me to not bring the tea?)

c. ñ      gālā =      à      sē-sò  
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. sèédù    bē            ðìgēw<sup>n</sup>  
S            come.Pfv    yesterday  
‘Seydou came yesterday.’
- b. sèédù    [sògò-lēw<sup>n</sup>    bòndò]    kùlēn    ðìgēw<sup>n</sup>  
S            [sheep        neck]        cut.Pfv    yesterday  
‘Seydou slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the sheep yesterday.’
- c. ñ            =nǎ<sup>n</sup>            sèédù        kò            [wōlē<sup>n</sup>    nī]  
1Sg        Sbj/Obj        S            furnish.Pfv    [money    Inst]  
‘I gave Seydou the money.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with the money.’)
- d. sèédù        tè            bē            [tēè    nī]  
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 ñ for perfective positive subjects, ò for other subjects, and ò (+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.  $\eta$ gàà ‘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
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| gà/gā                                  | perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses |
| nà(w) <sup>n</sup> /nā(w) <sup>n</sup> | perfective positive in ‘if’ clauses    |
| gà/gā                                  | imperfective positive                  |
| nà/nā                                  | imperfective negative                  |
| tè                                     | perfective negative                    |
- b. gālà                    subjunctive  
 mà<sup>n</sup>                      prohibitive  
 bè                         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) sèédū            sō            nògī-ỳ  
 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 =nà<sup>n</sup> after nasal pronominal proclitics, and the form yè after other subjects (485).

- (485) ē            yē=            ē            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  $yè^n$  that precedes the VP. It is here glosses as Imprt.2Pl, a portmanteau. Prohibitives (negative imperatives) do have regular second person subject proclitics, 2Sg  $ā^n$  and 2Pl  $āā$ , preceding the prohibitive morpheme. In positive hortatives (‘let’s VP!’) there is again a difficulty in glossing clause-initial  $kè^n$ , 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  $wù$  is a short form for ‘night’. The full term for ‘night’ is the compound  $wù-tīnā$ .

(486) a.  $jīŋ$              $kīyē$   
           year            pass.Pfv  
           ‘Day has broken.’

b.  $wù$                  $tūū^n$   
       night          be.lost.Pfv  
       ‘Night has fallen.’

Collocations with ‘sun’ as subject are in (487). The term for ‘sun’ as a celestial body is  $kùgū-nìyèw^n \sim kùgū-nèw^n$ , literally “daytime-head.” In the sense ‘blazing hot sun (at mid-day)’ it is replaced by  $kùgù-lēw^n$ , with an ending that is elsewhere sometimes diminutive in sense (§5.1.7.2). (487c) has simple  $kùgù$  as subject.

(487) a.  $kùgū-nìyèn$          $tāw^n$   
           daytime-head    ascend.Pfv  
           ‘The sun has risen.’ (= ‘It has dawned.’)

b.  $kùgū-nìyèw^n$          $sāgā$   
       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-ṅìyēn tè tāw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 kākāgà ‘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. kākāgā                      kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
 rainy.season                      arrive.Pfv  
 ‘The rainy season is about to begin.’ (around late May) (< kākāgà)  
 (local French: *l’hivernage s’annonce*)
- b. kākāgā                      dùwò  
 rainy.season                      enter.Pfv  
 ‘The rainy season has begun.’ (timing variable, often June or July)
- c. kākāgà                      tāw<sup>n</sup>  
 rainy.season                      ascend.Pfv  
 ‘The rainy season is over.’ (e.g. late October)

Expressions with jààmùndè ‘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. jààmùndē                      kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
 harvest(n)                      arrive.Pfv  
 ‘The harvest season is not far off.’ (around end of September)
- b. jààmùndē                      yàw<sup>n</sup> / dùwò  
 harvest(n)                      descend.Pfv / enter.Pfv  
 ‘It is harvest season.’ (October)
- c. jààmùndè                      tāw<sup>n</sup>  
 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      yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 cold(n)    be.Loc    there.Def  
 ‘It is cold (out).’ (French *il fait froid*)
- b. kùgù-lēw<sup>n</sup>      gà      yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 sun                be.Loc    there.Def  
 ‘It is hot (out).’ (French *il fait chaud*)

kwàà<sup>n</sup> ‘rain (n)’ is the subject in (491). (491a) and (491b) are more or less interchangeable.

- (491) a. kwāā<sup>n</sup>                sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 rain(n)                fall.Pfv  
 ‘Rain fell.’
- b. kwààm                bē  
 rain(n)                come.Pfv  
 ‘Rain came (=fell).’
- c. kwāān                tàà  
 rain(n)                stand/stop.Pfv  
 ‘The rain has ended.’
- d. kwààŋ                gà      mījī-mījī  
 rain(n)                Ipfv    drizzling(adv)  
 ‘It is drizzling (raining very lightly).’

The subject in (492) is cīyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘wind’. The same collocations occur with cōllō ‘dust’, which in this region generally refers to ‘airborn dust, dust storm’. Dust storms are fairly common locally in the dry season.

- (492) a. cīyē<sup>n</sup> / cōllō      kīi  
 wind(n) / dust      get.up.Pfv  
 ‘The wind/dust (storm) has risen/kicked up (=is blowing).’
- b. cīyēw<sup>n</sup>                tàà / sāgā  
 wind(n)                stand / lie.down.Pfv  
 ‘The wind has died down.’

- c. cōll̩̄                      t̩̀àà / ...  
 cōll̩̀                      ... / s̩̀āgā  
 wind(n) / dust      stand / lie.down.Pfv  
 ‘The dust (storm) 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. dūwōŋ      gā              [sèédù      bwēȳ]  
 hunger      be.Loc      [S              Comit]  
 ‘Seydou is hungry.’
- b. gīlēw<sup>n</sup>      gā              [sèédù      bwēȳ]  
 thirst      be.Loc      [S              Comit]  
 ‘Seydou is thirsty.’
- c. sòmū / kùrù-kūrū              gā              [sèédù      bwēȳ]  
 Guinea.worm / measles      be.Loc      [S              Comit]  
 ‘Seydou has (=suffers from) Guinea worm/measles.’
- d. kùmū      kàŋgé      kūū<sup>n</sup>  
 sleep(n)      hyena      catch.Pfv  
 ‘Hyena became sleepy.’ (or ‘Sleep overcame Hyena’) (< kùmù)  
 (2017-07 @ 00:48)

For ‘fever’ a different construction is used. Possessed ‘body’ (tùù<sup>n</sup>) 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. [sèédū      tùù<sup>n</sup>]      pīyē-nā      nì  
 [S              body      hot-Adj      it.is  
 ‘Seydou is running a fever (e.g. malaria).’
- b. [sèédū      tùùn]      nà              pīyē-nā      nì  
 [S              body]      IpfvNeg      hot-Adj      it.is  
 ‘Seydou is not running a fever.’



- (497) a. [sèédù dēē] gà pūndì  
 [S blood] Ipfv ooze.Ipfv  
 ‘Seydou is bleeding.’ (blood is oozing out slowly)
- b. [sèédù dēē] gā kùùù  
 [S blood] Ipfv run.Ipfv  
 ‘Seydou is bleeding profusely.’ (blood is pouring out)
- c. [sèédù nīmīnà] pūndì  
 [S nose] ooze.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou has gotten a bloody nose.’
- d. [sèédù nīmīnā] tē pūndì  
 [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) [sèédù wāā] bāā  
 [S sweat(n)] exit.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou (has) sweated (=is sweaty).’

The related transitive verb *bāli/bālì* ‘cause to exit, remove, take out’ occurs in (499) where the emission comes from a liquid.

- (499) *tēè / dùwò* púlá bā-lī  
 tea / beer foam(n) cause.to.exit.Pfv  
 ‘The tea/beer foamed up.’

Toilet excretions are ‘put (in)’.

- (500) a. *sèédū* kònjì syē  
 S urine put.in.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou urinated.’
- b. *sèédū* kùwò syē  
 S excrement put.in.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou defecated.’

c. sèédù      tūwō<sup>n</sup>      syē  
 S            fart(n)      put.in.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou farted.’

‘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            [tēè      nī]  
 3Sg      come.Pfv    [tea      Inst]  
 ‘He/She brought the tea.’

b. à            sò            [tēè      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’ (pāā<sup>n</sup>)

In this somewhat opaque construction, a form pāā<sup>n</sup> which can be taken as a possessed noun is followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation nà, then either a dative PP with postposition tē (502c) or, as default, ā-ȳ ‘in it, therein’.

(502) a. [m̄            pāān]            nà =            ā-ȳ  
 [1Sg            concern(n)]    not.be.Loc    3Sg-Loc  
 ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’

b. [m̄            pāān]            gà =            ā-ȳ  
 [1Sg            concern(n)]    be.Loc        3Sg-Loc  
 ‘I care about it.’

- c. [m̄            pāān]            nā            [kwààn    tē]  
      [1Sg           **concern(n)**]    not.be       [rain(n)    **Dat]**  
      ‘I don’t care about the rain.’

### 11.1.2 Transitives and ditransitives

The inventory of transitive verbs resembles that of English. Simple transitives include verbs of impact and creation (‘hit’, ‘cut’, ‘make/fix’), perception (‘see’, ‘hear’), acquisition (‘get’), and transportation (‘carry’).

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, *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/yē* (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 gā*) and immediately precede the verb.

- (503) *sèédù    gā            sūgō            sà-nà            bōw̄<sup>n</sup>*  
      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 =nà<sup>n</sup> (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.	sèédù	Ø	sūgō	sàm	bōw <sup>n</sup>
		?sèédū	yè	"	"	"
		S	<b>(Sbj/Obj)</b>	goat	buy.Pfv	here
		‘Seydou bought a goat here.’ (< sàw <sup>n</sup> )				

b.	sèédù	Ø	āāmādū	kày
	?sèédū	yè	"	"
	S	<b>(Sbj/Obj)</b>	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	(yē)	sèédù	kwāā
	3Sg	<b>(Sbj/Obj)</b>	S	hit.Pfv
	‘He/She hit Seydou.’			

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a plural pronoun (1Pl or Logo/3Ref1Pl ē, 2Pl āā, or 3Pl è), the BCM is required.

(507)	sèédù	y =	ē	kwāā
	S	<b>Sbj/Obj</b>	1Pl	hit.Pfv
	‘Seydou hit us.’			

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a singular pronoun, i.e. 1Sg ñ (+H), 2Sg ā<sup>n</sup>, 3Sg à, or LogoSg ñ̄, the BCM is optional.

(508) sèédù      Ø            ñ            kwāā  
           sèédū      yè  
           S            **(Sbj/Obj)**    1Sg            hit.Pfv  
           ‘Seydou hit me.’

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 yā= 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 = nà<sup>n</sup>

The BCM takes the enclitic form = nà<sup>n</sup> after 1Sg subject ñ or LogoSg subject ñ, resulting in ñ = nà<sup>n</sup>. Here nà<sup>n</sup> 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) ñ            = nà<sup>n</sup>            sūgō            sàñ            dīgég<sup>n</sup>  
           ñ            Ø  
           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 *yè<sup>n</sup>*. Since *yè<sup>n</sup>* also occurs in intransitive imperatives, it cannot be analysed as being, or containing, a BCM.

- (512) a. *sūgō*      *sàw<sup>n</sup>*  
           goat        buy.Pfv  
           ‘Buy-2Sg a/the goat!’
- b. *yè<sup>n</sup>*        *sūgō*        *sàw<sup>n</sup>*  
       Imprt.2Pl    goat        buy.Pfv  
       ‘Buy-2Pl a/the goat!’

### 11.1.2.2 *tīw<sup>n</sup>/tī-nà* ‘do’ in collocations

This verb occurs in a modest number of collocations with object NPs.

- (513) a. *ñ*        = *nà*        [*m̄*        *pá<sup>n</sup>*]        *tīw<sup>n</sup>*  
           1Sg        Sbj/Obj    [1Sg        **Poss**]        **do.Pfv**  
           ‘I did my part (=my share).’
- b. *ñ*        = *nà*        [*ṝ*        *hīnē̄*]        *tīw<sup>n</sup>*  
           1Sg        Sbj/Obj    [1Sg        **capability**]        **do.Pfv**  
           ‘I did my best (=what I could).’
- c. *à*        *bònnè*        *tīw<sup>n</sup>*        *sèy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>*  
           3Sg        **trouble**        **do.Pfv**        road-Loc  
           ‘He/She caused an incident on the way.’ (< *sèw<sup>n</sup>*)

In some cases the “object” is not otherwise attested as a noun, and apparently only occurs in a lexicalized collocation with ‘do’.

- (514) [*wàṅgé*    *gú*]        *pūri*        *tīw<sup>n</sup>*  
           [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 Cliffs verbs. Predicates meaning ‘hunt (v), go hunting’,

‘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) à            jīī            dō            [ñ            tē]  
           3Sg            water        **give.Pfv**    [1Sg        **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) à            ñ            kò            [jīī        nī]  
           3Sg        1Sg            **provide.Pfv** [water    **Inst**]  
           ‘He/She gave me water (provided me with water).’

‘Show’ is *wōjī/wōjī*. Its syntax is like that of *dō/dō* rather than like that of *kò/kò* (517a). ‘Entrust’ is *kàlîfā/kàlîfā*. Its syntax is like those of *dō/dō* and *wōjī/wōjī* except that it has a comitative rather than dative PP.

(517) a. à            jīī            wōjī        [ñ            tē]  
           3Sg            water        **show.Pfv**    [1Sg        **Dat**]  
           ‘He/She showed water to me.’

b. à            [ñ]            sūgō]        kàlîfā        [m̄            bwēȳ]  
           3Sg        [3Ref1Sg    goat]        **entrust.Pfv** [1Sg        **Comit**]  
           ‘He/She entrusted his/her goat to/with me.’

### 11.1.2.4 Valency of causatives

Most suffixal causatives are based on intransitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive (518a) becomes the object of the causative (518b).

(518) a. jénán tēw<sup>n</sup>  
 child jump.Pfv  
 ‘The child jumped.’

b. n̄ = n̄ɲ jénán tēn-nī  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child jump-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘I made the child jump.’

bēw<sup>n</sup>/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 m̄ bēw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv  
 ‘He/She went back.’

b. n̄ = n̄ = à bēn-nì  
 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 dīgē (§9.3.1), not on transitive dīgā, even when the specific food term is added as an instrumental.

(520) a. n̄ = n̄ɲ jénán dīgē-nī  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘I fed the child.’

b. n̄ = n̄ɲ jénán dīgē-nī [sàbúlá ní]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv [cowpea Inst.Foc]  
 ‘I fed the child with cowpeas (=beans).’

c. jénán sàbúlá dīgā  
 child cowpea eat.Pfv  
 ‘The child ate cowpeas (=beans).’

The syntax of mèn-nì ‘cause to drink, give something to drink to (sb)’ is the same.

Other transitives are less frequently causativized. However, my assistant did produce wògè-nì/wògè-nī ‘X cause Y [to kill Z]’. As with the ‘eat/feed’ examples above, here too the

transitive verb ‘kill’ (wògà/wògā) is first intransitived (antipassivized) to wògè/wògē-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.  $\bar{n}$  =nàŋ kúŋgóló wògà  
 1Pl Sbj/Obj **dog** kill.Pfv  
 ‘I killed the dog.’
- b. à ñ wógè-nì [kúŋgóló nī]  
 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 ñ 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. sèédū yè ñ tūwō  
 S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou has departed.’
- b. sèédù gà bē ñ tūwō  
 S Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg depart.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou will depart.’

c.	n̄	= nǎ <sup>n</sup>	sèédù	tūwē-nī
	1Sg	Sbj/Obj	S	depart.Antip-Caus.Pfv
	‘I made/had Seydou depart.’ = ‘I sent Seydou away.’			

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)	bēw <sup>n</sup> /bēn-dē	‘return, go back’
	kìlèw <sup>n</sup> /kìlēn-nà	‘finish’
	mīlā/mīlā	‘think, reflect’
	pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrī	‘(body) writhe’
	tānī/tānī	‘vomit (v)’
	tūwō/tūwō	‘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-būwō	‘warm (sth) up at a fire’	‘warm oneself up at a fire’
	dāngè/dāngè	‘post, affix, stick (sth) on’	‘adhere, stick, be posted’
	kāā/kāā	‘shatter (sth)’	‘be shattered’
	kēw <sup>n</sup> /kē-nē	‘snap, break (sth)’	‘(sth) snap, break’
	nīnī/nīnī	‘bathe (sb), wash (sth)’	‘bathe (oneself)’
	pāndī/pāndī	‘make a fissure in (sth)’	‘become cracked (fissured)’
	pùgèw <sup>n</sup> /pùgēn-nà	‘hide (sb, sth)’	‘hide (oneself)’
	sèṅēw <sup>n</sup> /sèṅēn-nà	‘tilt (sth)’	‘tilt, lean over’
	sīndī/sīndī	‘begin (sth)’	‘begin’
	sùnù/sùnū-nà	‘bend (sth, sb) over’	‘bow, bend (oneself) over’

The verb kwāā/kā-lā ‘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 bwēy ‘together’, related to the comitative position bwēy.

(526)	i	ye =	è	kwāā	bwēy
	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.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$   $\bar{m}$   $m\acute{e}w^n$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj **1Sg** drink.Pfv  
 ‘I drank/had a drink.’ (<  $\bar{n}$  (+H)  $m\acute{e}w^n$ )
- b.  $\grave{a}$   $\bar{m}$   $m\grave{e}w^n$   
 3Sg **3ReflSg** drink.Pfv  
 ‘He/She drank/had a drink.’

This construction is less common with ‘eat’, where the morphology already provides a distinction between transitive  $d\bar{i}g\bar{a}/d\bar{i}g\grave{a}$  ‘X eat Y’ and (antipassive) intransitive  $d\bar{i}g\bar{e}/d\bar{i}g\grave{e}$  ‘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 pronominals. The verb takes the morphologically intransitivized form.

- (528) a.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$   $\grave{n}$   $d\bar{i}g\bar{e}$   
 1Sg Sbj/Obj **1Sg** eat.Antip.Pfv  
 ‘I have eaten.’
- b.  $\grave{a}$   $\bar{n}$   $d\bar{i}g\bar{e}$   
 3Sg **3ReflSg** eat.Antip.Pfv  
 ‘He/She has eaten.’
- c.  $\grave{i}$   $y\grave{e} =$   $\bar{e}$   $d\bar{i}g\bar{e}$   
 3Pl Sbj/Obj **3ReflPl** 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 statives and inchoatives

### 11.2.1 Identificational predicates

#### 11.2.1.1 ‘It is X’ (nì)

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 interlinears, 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. *ṅ-dógó nì*  
1Sg it.is  
‘It’s me.’
- e. *bùwā nì*  
shoulderbag it.is  
‘It’s a shoulderbag.’ (< *bùwà*)

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 *ṅ-dógó nì*
- b. 1Pl *ē-lògò nì* ~ *ē-lògō nì*  
2Sg *ān-dògò nì* ~ *ān-dògō nì*  
2Pl *āā-lògò nì* ~ *āā-lògō nì*

- c. 3Sg      wògō nì  
      3Pl      è-lògō 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/gā, which can be equated with Ipfv particle gà/gā and with existential-locational gà/gā ‘be (present)’. In equational clauses gà/gā functions as a copula ‘be’.

- (531) a. kú      gā      màsí      nì  
      Dem    **be**    what?    **it.is**  
      ‘What is that?’
- b. ìj      gà      káádó      nì  
      1Sg    **be**    Dogon    **it.is**  
      ‘I am a Dogon.’
- c. ē      gà      káádó-yè      nì  
      1Pl    **be**    Dogon-Pl    **it.is**  
      ‘We are Dogon.’
- d. ìj      gā      nìyēn      nì  
      1Sg    **be**    head      **it.is**  
      ‘I am the chief.’ (<nìyèw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. ē      gā      nìyè<sup>n</sup>-yē      nì  
      1Pl    **be**    head-Pl    **it.is**  
      ‘We are the chiefs.’

- f. wùlāā      gā      kēbē-yān      nì  
 who?      **be**      build-Agent      **it.is**  
 ‘Who is a builder?’

#### 11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y nàw<sup>n</sup> X nì)

Under negation, gā/gā is replaced by nàw<sup>n</sup>/nāw<sup>n</sup> ‘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<sup>n</sup> ‘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            būwō-yā            nì  
 3Sg          not.be          tend.animals-Agent      it.is  
 ‘He/She is not a herder.’ [ànàmbūwōjānì] (< būwō-yà)
- b. à            nà            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg          not.be.Loc          here  
 ‘He/She is not here.’ [ànàbōw<sup>n</sup>]
- c. à            nà            bē  
 3Sg          IpfvNeg          come.Ipfv  
 ‘He/She doesn’t come.’ [ànàbē]

Negative copula nàw<sup>n</sup> is treated as bimoraic and can therefore become <LM>-toned nàw̄<sup>n</sup> before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

- (533) à            nān̄<sup>n</sup>          sògò-yà            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 nàw<sup>n</sup> X nì ‘he/she/it isn’t X’, with 3Sg subject pronominal à (534b-c).

- (534) a. nāā            nì  
 cow            it.is  
 ‘It’s a cow.’ (< nāā)

- b. à            nàñ            nàā            nì  
 3Sg        **not.be**        cow            it.is  
 ‘It isn’t a cow.’
- c. à            nàw<sup>n</sup>            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/gā*)

The basic positive locational or existential ‘be (present)’ verb is *gà/gā*. 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/gā*, which shows the same tone assimilations (§10.1.1, §10.2.2.1).

Except in truncated responses to questions, *gà/gā* must be followed by an overt locational expression, the defaults being *gà bōw<sup>n</sup>* ‘be here’ (535a) and *gà yāw<sup>n</sup>* ‘be there (definite)’.

- (535) a. à            *gà*            *bōw<sup>n</sup> / yāw<sup>n</sup>*  
 3Sg        **be.Loc**        here / there.Def  
 ‘He/She/It is here/there.’
- b. à            *gā*            *nògī-ỳ / nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup>*  
 3Sg        **be.Loc**        village-Loc / N  
 ‘He/She/It is in the village / in Namagué.’
- c. wùlāā        *gà*            [*jūgū*        *kūmà*]  
 who.Foc?    **be.Loc**        [tree        on]  
 ‘Who is up in the tree?’

d. ò-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 gā. This is only possible in truncated replies to questions (536).

(536) question:      sūgō      gà      bô<sup>n</sup>  
                          goat      be.Loc    here  
                          ‘The goat is here?’    (pronounced [sùgògàbô<sup>n</sup>])

answer:              à              gā  
                          3Sg          be.Loc  
                          ‘(Yes,) it is (here).’

As noted in §10.1.1, Ipfv gà may itself undergo Final Tone-Raising to gā before L-tone, but it does not itself trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-toned noun. This is also true of gà as locational ‘be’ verb. For example, sībò in (537a) and its plural sībò-yè in (537b) remain L-toned. Contrast this with sībō sò ‘the snake went’ and sībò-yē 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. sībò      gà      sōḡḡ-ỳ  
          snake    **be.Loc**    the.bush-Loc  
          ‘A snake is out in the bush.’

b. sībò-yè      gà      sōḡḡ-ỳ  
          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. ē        kōndō        gà        bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl    **stay.Pfv**    **RemPfv**    here  
 ‘We were here.’ or ‘We stayed here.’

b. ē        kōndō        bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl    **stay.Pfv**    here  
 [= (a)]

c. ē        kōndō        gà  
 1Pl    **stay.Pfv**    **RemPfv**  
 ‘We were present.’ or ‘We stayed.’

d. wùlàà      kōndō        gà        bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 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 locational (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 *nā* in negative existential sense in the absence of a locational, which can occur in truncated responses to questions (539b).

(539) a. à        *nà*        bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    not.be.Loc    here  
 ‘He/She/It is not here.’

b. à        *nā*  
 3Sg    not.be.Loc  
 ‘He/She/It is absent’ or ‘There is/are none.’

For past time, *kōndō* is directly negated as *tè kōndō*, which can also mean ‘did not stay’. After *tè kōndō*, *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        kōndō        (gà)        bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    PfvNeg    stay.Pfv    (RemPfv)    here  
 ‘He/She/It was not here.’

- b. à            tè            kōndō        gà  
       3Sg        PfvNeg    stay.Pfv    RemPfv  
       ‘He/She/It was absent.’ or ‘There was none.’

In the greeting phrase [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup> ‘there is no trouble’ (§19.6.1), likely reduced from an earlier longer phrase where kò<sup>n</sup> was just a topic marker, kò<sup>n</sup> now appears to function synchronically as a simple existential negative.

#### 11.2.4 ‘Become (noun)’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

##### 11.2.4.1 ‘Remain’ (kōndō)

As a simple intransitive verb, kōndō means ‘stay, remain’.

- (541) à            kōndō            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
       3Sg        remain.Pfv    here  
       ‘He/She remained here.’

kōndō 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’ (pwò/pò-lò)

‘Become (something)’, with a noun or NP (rather than an adjective) as complement, is pwò (Pfv) or pò-lò (Ipfv). The predicate nominal is part of an instrumental PP with postposition nī. By regular tone sandhi the verb becomes pw̄ò or pò-l̄ò before an L-tone. Its basic lexical meaning as an intransitive is ‘sit’.

- (542) a. sèēdū    pw̄ò            [pùlén / tìmì    nī]  
       S        become.Pfv    [bird / python    Inst]  
       ‘Seydou became (= turned into) a bird/python.’ (< pùléw<sup>n</sup>)
- b. hàlī-kànā    à        gā            pw̄ò            [kàpàrán    nī]  
       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 wābì ‘change’, with the same final PP as in (543).

- (543)  $\bar{n}$  = nān sèēdù wābī [pùlén nī]  
 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 tò is regular.

- (544) ñ gā = ā tò  
 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **know.Ipfv**  
 ‘I know (it/him/her).’

tò 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 sèēdū tò  
 1Sg Ipfv S **know.Ipfv**  
 ‘I know Seydou.’

Negation is regular (imperfective negative).

- (546) ñ nā = ā tò  
 1Sg **IpfvNeg** 3Sg know.Ipfv  
 ‘I don’t know it/him/her.’

For past time stative ‘knew’, kōndō ‘stay’ is added as an auxiliary.

- (547) a. à kōndō (gà) sèédù tò  
 3Sg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) S know.Ipfv  
 ‘He/She knew Seydou.’
- b. ò tè kōndō à tò  
 1Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv 3Sg know.Ipfv  
 ‘I didn’t know it.’

The Pfv form is *tùyè* (~ *tùè*). It occurs in special contexts like ‘recognize, identify’ or ‘find out’.

- (548) a. à gà bā= ā tùyè  
 3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg know.Pfv  
 ‘He/She will know/recognize (it).’ (< bē)
- b. ò tā= ā tùyè  
 1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg know.Pfv  
 ‘I didn’t find out about it.’
- c. ē gā= à pōgò  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv  
 [ē gālā= ā tùyè  
 [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg know.Pfv  
 [nògù-bēm pòw gà [bānā māv]]  
 [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 *tòynì/tòynī* occurs in the specific context of transmitting esoteric knowledge, i.e. initiation into tribal or family secrets (549).

- (549) kàā yè [n̄ dīyē<sup>n</sup>] tòynì [kòòrò nī]  
 father Sbj/Obj [3ReflSg child] initiate.Pfv [secret Inst]  
 ‘The father initiated his son into tribal (or family) secrets.’

*tòynì/tòynī* may be more directly related to the noun *tòy* ‘intelligence; knowledge’, but both are distantly related etymologically to *tò/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 *kumbā*

‘ignorance, not being aware’ or its suffixal locative kúmbà-y. ‘Inform X’ is phrased as ‘remove X from ignorance’ (550a).

- (550) a.  $\bar{n}$  =nǎ<sup>n</sup> sèédū bāgā kúmbà-y  
**1Sg Sbj/Obj S remove.Pfv ignorance-Loc**  
 ‘I informed Seydou.’
- b. jēn-tībēm p̀w̄ō [sèédù bwḕȳ] [kúmbá nī]  
 baptism sit.Pfv [S Comit] [**ignorance** Inst]  
 ‘The baptism (name-giving) took place unbeknownst to Seydou.’

#### 11.2.5.2 ‘Want’ (p̄ōḡō, màà) and ‘need’ (m̀r̀ā̀r̀ú)

Two transitive verbs can be used in the general sense ‘want (something)’. These are p̄ōḡō/p̄ōḡò ‘want; like’ and màà/màā ‘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 k̄ōnd̄ō gà and Ipfv verb (551d).

- (551) a. āṅ gā màsí màā  
 2Sg Ipfv what? **look.for.Ipfv**  
 ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’ (= ‘What do you want?’)
- b. ñ nà tēè p̄ōḡò  
 1Sg IpfvNeg tea **want.Ipfv**  
 ‘I don’t want/like tea.’
- c. ñ t̄ā = ā màà / p̄ōḡō  
 1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg **look.for.Pfv / want.Pfv**  
 ‘I didn’t want it.’
- d. à k̄ōnd̄ō gà s̄óḡó màā / p̄ōḡò  
 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 m̀r̀ā̀r̀ú ‘need (n)’ (originally from Arabic) or focalized m̀r̀ā̀r̀ú is the subject, followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation and then by a comitative PP (‘with X’).

- (552) a. [m̀ múrààrú]      gà      [wólém    bwḕỳ]  
 [1Sg    **need(n).Foc**]    be.Loc      [money    **Comit**]  
 ‘I need money.’
- b. [sèédū    mùrààrú]      nā      [kòmbò    bwḕỳ]  
 [S      **need(n).Foc**]    not.be.Loc      [charcoal    **Comit**]  
 ‘Seydou doesn’t need any charcoal.’

### 11.2.5.3 ‘Resemble’ (d̀g̀d̀)

In stative contexts (‘resemble’), this transitive verb too normally takes Ipfv form (553a-b). The perfective means ‘imitate, act like’ (553c).

- (553) a. sèédū      gā =      ā      d̀g̀g̀  
 S      Ipfv      3Sg      **resemble.Ipfv**  
 ‘Seydou resembles him/her.’
- b. à      nā      ù      d̀g̀g̀  
 3Sg      IpfvNeg      1Sg      **resemble.Ipfv**  
 ‘He/She doesn’t resemble me.’
- c. ì      yà =      ā      d̀g̀g̀  
 3Pl      Sbj/Obj      3Sg      **resemble.Pfv**  
 ‘They resembled/imitated him.’

However, ‘imitate’ is better expressed by a dedicated verb: bààndīyè̀/bààndīyè̀-̀lè̀.

## 11.3 Quotative verbs

‘Say’ is expressed either by a regular verb sḕ/̀sḕ, compatible with all inflectional categories, or with an invariant quasi-verb yè̀ ‘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

This 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’, *tīnāā*<sup>n</sup> ‘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 *-na*. 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 *ḡ* 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 *ḡ nà* with L-toned *ḡ* as in the imperfective negative of active verbs.

- (554) a. *à / ē*                      *tòmḡ-nā / pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nā / kwāā-nā*                      *nì*  
           3Sg/1Pl                      red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl                      it.is  
           ‘It is red/black/white.’
- b. *ḡ*                      *tòmḡ-nā / ... / ...*                      *nì*  
           *m̄*                      *... / pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nā / ...*                      *nì*  
           *ḡ*                      *... / ... / kwāā-nā*                      *nì*  
           1Sg                      red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl                      it.is  
           ‘I am red/black/white.’
- c. *à*                      *nā*                      *tòmḡ-nà / pìy<sup>n</sup>è-nà / ...*  
           *à*                      *nà*                      *... / ... / kwāā-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.

(555)	predicative	modifying	gloss
a. predicative identical to modifying			
<i>/ML/ tones</i>			
	wwō-nà	wwō-nà	‘dry; hard’
	billà-nà	billà-nà	‘narrow, tight’
	tāndà-nà	tāndà-nà	‘sour’
	dāātà-nà	dāātà-nà	‘smooth’
<i>/M/ tones</i>			
	kūmā-nā	kūmā-nā	‘lean, emaciated’
	kōō-nā	kōō-nā	‘clean, clear’
	pīyē-nā	pīyē-nā	‘hot’
	wwōmā-nā	wwōmā-nā	‘empty’
<i>/M/ tones, iterative</i>			
	ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū-nā	ṅāāmū-ṅāāmū-nā	‘multicolored (e.g. spotted, striped)’
b. like (a) but no -na in modifying			
	ṅīī-ṅīī-nā	ṅīī-ṅīī	‘coarse’
c. predicative L-toned, modifying M-toned			
	mwàà-nà	mwāā-nā	‘cold’
	wàà-nà	wāā-nā	‘dead; slow’
	pòrè-nà	pōrē-nā	‘wet’
	kìjì-nà	kījī-nā	‘plump’
	kùrì-nà	kūrī-nā	‘full-strength, undiluted’
	pìyè-nà	pīyē-nā	‘dirty’
<i>iterative</i>			
	yòrò-yōrō-nā	yōrō-yōrò-nà	‘loose, slack’
d. like (c), but no -na in modifying			
	tòmò-nà	tōmōw <sup>n</sup>	‘red’
e. more complex cases			
	kāā-mā-nā	kāā	‘wet; raw; unripe’
	pāā-nā	pān-nā	‘full’
	pìy <sup>n</sup> è-nà	pīī <sup>n</sup>	‘black’
	kwāā-nā	kūwō <sup>n</sup>	‘white’
<i>iterative</i>			
	wwō <sup>n</sup> -mā-nā	wwō <sup>n</sup> -wwō <sup>n</sup>	‘empty’

### 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  $\eta$  preceding the predicate. There is some danger of confusing it with 3ReflSg  $\bar{\eta}$ , which occurs in a similar preverbal position in the reflexive-object construction. Tonally,  $\eta$  and  $\bar{\eta}$  merge as  $\eta$  before H-tone, and they merge as  $\bar{\eta}$  before L-tone, due to tone sandhi rules. However,  $\eta$  and  $\bar{\eta}$  remain tonally distinct before M-tone. More importantly,  $\eta$  in adjectival-stative predicates combines with all subjects, including the full set of pronominal subject proclitics, whereas 3ReflSg  $\bar{\eta}$  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  $\bar{\eta}$  occurs only after 3Sg subjects, exactly as in reflexive-object clauses.

Although Cliffs distinguishes pseudo-reflexive adjectival statives with invariant  $\eta$  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  $y\grave{e}$  separates the pronominal subject from pseudo-reflexive  $\eta$  (556a). The 1Sg-subject version likewise has its characteristic bidirectional allomorph  $n\grave{a}^n$ , hence  $\bar{n} = n\grave{a}^n \eta$  (556b). This superficially matches 1Sg reflexive  $\bar{n} = n\grave{a}^n \eta$  (+H), but the two differ in that pseudo-reflexive  $\eta$  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.  $\grave{i} / \bar{e} / \bar{a}\bar{a}$                        $y\grave{e}$                        $\eta$                        $c\acute{i}y\bar{e}w^n$   
           3Pl / 1Pl / 2Pl                      Sbj/Obj                      PsRefl                      be.heavy  
           ‘They/We/You-Pl are heavy.’
- b.  $\bar{n}$                        $= n\grave{a}^n$                        $\eta$                        $c\acute{i}y\bar{e}w^n$   
           1Sg                      Sbj/Obj                      PsRefl                      be.heavy  
           ‘I am heavy.’
- c.  $\bar{n}$                        $= n\grave{a}^n$                        $\bar{\eta}$                        $k\grave{\delta}j\grave{a}w^n$   
           1Sg                      Sbj/Obj                      PsRefl                      be.long  
           ‘I am long (=tall).’
- d.  $\grave{a}$                        $\eta$                        $c\acute{i}y\bar{e}w^n$   
           3Sg                      PsRefl                      be.heavy  
           ‘He/She/It is heavy.’

e.	ā <sup>n</sup>	ɰ	cīyēw <sup>n</sup>
	2Sg	PsRefl	be.heavy
	‘You-Sg are heavy.’		

Negation is by what is elsewhere the IpfvNeg morpheme *nà* (557a-b). In the 1Sg subject form, positive *n̄ = nà<sup>n</sup> ɰ* is distinguished from negative *n̄ nà ɰ* by the tone of the initial 1Sg pronominal. In all cases the pseudo-reflexive *ɰ* becomes *ɰ̄* by regular tone-sandhi before an L-tone (557b).

(557) a.	à	nà	ɰ	cīyēw <sup>n</sup>
	3Sg	<b>IpfvNeg</b>	PsRefl	heavy
	‘He/She is not heavy.’			

b.	n̄	nà	ɰ̄	kòjàw <sup>n</sup>
	1Sg	<b>IpfvNeg</b>	PsRefl	long
	‘I am not long (=tall).’			

Irregularly, ‘(be) good’ is *mày<sup>n</sup>* in positive predicates but its tones shift to *māy<sup>n</sup>* in negative ones. The PsRefl morpheme does not raise to M-tone before *mày<sup>n</sup>*.

(558) a.	à	ɰ̄	mày <sup>n</sup>	
	3Sg	PsRefl	<b>be.good</b>	
	‘He/She/It is good.’			
b.	à	nà	ɰ̄	māy <sup>n</sup>
	3Sg	IpfvNeg	PsRefl	<b>be.good</b>
	‘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 ɰ̄ māy<sup>n</sup>* ‘is not good’ as in (557b) above with the imperfective negative *nà māy<sup>n</sup>* ‘does not malfunction’ as in (559b).

(559) a.	à	māy <sup>n</sup>	
	3Sg	malfunction(v).Pfv	
	‘It malfunctioned.’ or ‘It was ruined.’		
b.	à	nà	māy <sup>n</sup>
	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			
<i>H-toned</i>			
	m̄ bánū	bánū	‘big (and solid), massive, thick’
<i>M-toned</i>			
	ḡ cīyēw <sup>n</sup>	cīyēw <sup>n</sup>	‘heavy’
	ḡ dāā <sup>n</sup>	dāā <sup>n</sup>	‘distant’
	ḡ kāgājī	kāgājī	‘bitter’
	ḡ nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>	nōgōrōw <sup>n</sup>	‘difficult’
b. predicate L-toned, modifying M-toned			
	m̄ b̄lòw <sup>n</sup>	b̄lō(w) <sup>n</sup>	‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’
	ḡ kòjāw <sup>n</sup>	kōjā(w) <sup>n</sup>	‘long’ (variants with y for j)
c. tones as in (b), plus segmental changes			
	ḡ kùrù <sup>n</sup>	kūrū	‘short’
	m̄ mày <sup>n</sup>	māḡāw <sup>n</sup>	‘good’
d. tones consistent, but segmental changes			
	dēw <sup>n</sup>	dēmō <sup>n</sup>	‘sweet’
	ḡ nī	ḡ nōḡ	‘bad, nasty’
e. -gu in modifying			
<i>L-toned as predicate</i>			
	n̄ dùwòw <sup>n</sup>	dūwòw-gù	‘small’
	ḡ kùy <sup>n</sup>	kūy-gū	‘deep’
	n̄ tūḡ <sup>n</sup>	tūḡ-gù	‘nearby’
	m̄ miyèw <sup>n</sup>	mīyè-gù	‘thin’
	ḡ niyàw <sup>n</sup>	ḡ niyè-gù	‘easy’
	m̄ p̄lùw <sup>n</sup>	p̄lù-gù	‘soft’
<i>M-toned as predicate</i>			
	m̄ p̄lūw <sup>n</sup>	p̄lū-gū	‘light(weight)’

f. suppletive

ḡ kō<sup>n</sup>

pāà-lōw<sup>n</sup>

‘numerous, abundant, many’

See also (ḡ) kām̄bē ‘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)            tòmò-nà            (# nì)  
           3Sg        **stay**.Pfv        (RemPfv)        red-**Ppl**            (# it.is)  
           ‘He/She/It was red.’

b. à            tè            kōndō            (gà)            tòmò-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 / nōgōrā-āmā-na / kùy-gà-àmà-nà  
           3Sg        **stay**.Pfv        (RemPfv)        heavy-/difficult-/deep-Inch-**Ppl**  
           ‘He/She/It was heavy/difficult/deep.’

b. à            tè            kōndō            (gà)  
           3Sg        PfvNeg        **stay**.Pfv        (RemPfv)  
           cīē-mā-nā / nōgōrā-āmā-na / kùy-gà-àmà-nà  
           heavy-/difficult-/deep-Ø -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 ḡ cīyēw<sup>n</sup> ‘it was heavy’.

The tonal distinction between positive māj<sup>n</sup> ‘be good’ and negative māj̄<sup>n</sup> ‘(not) be good’, described in the preceding subsection, is preserved (along with its pseudo-reflexive morphology) in the past forms. There is no participialization.

- (563) a. à kōndō [m̄ mày<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg stay.Pfv [PsRefl **good**]  
 ‘He/She/It was good.’
- b. à tè kōndō [m̄ māy<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv [PsRefl **good**]  
 ‘He/She/It was no good.’

## 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 sūgì-ỳ, suffixal locative of sūgū ‘hand’, see §8.2.3.1. For dative postposition tē, see §8.1.1.1.

- (564) a. kúṅgóló gā [ṅ̄ sūgì-ỳ]  
 dog **be.Loc** [1Sg hand-Loc]  
 ‘I have a dog.’
- b. kúṅgóló gā [ṅ̄ tē]  
 dog **be.Loc** [1Sg Dat]  
 ‘I have a dog.’
- c. kúṅgóló nā [ṅ̄ sūgì-ỳ]  
 dog **not.be.Loc** [1Sg hand-Loc]  
 ‘I don’t have a dog.’
- d. kúṅgóló nā [ṅ̄ tē]  
 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 gā/gā ‘be’ or its negation nāw<sup>n</sup>/nāw<sup>n</sup> ‘not be’. This is followed by X denoting the owner, a default possessum pà<sup>n</sup> (§6.2.2.2), and the ‘it is’ clitic nì. If X is a pronoun, it takes independent form, compare m̄ pá<sup>n</sup> ‘mine’ as default possessum with ñ-dógó pàn nì ‘it is mine’. In the positive, Y and gā/gā may be omitted if the

reference of Y is understood, hence just [X pàn] nì. In the negative, nàw<sup>n</sup>/nāw<sup>n</sup> is required and Y is expressed minimally by 3Sg subject pronominal à, hence à nàw<sup>n</sup> [X pàn] nì.

Although the bracketing Y gà/nàw<sup>n</sup> [X pàn] nì, literally ‘Y is (not) X’s’, is semantically reasonable, pà<sup>n</sup> and nì fuse into a monolithic predicative form pà(n)nì. The combination pàn nì does not undergo the tone sandhi process Final Tone-Raising to become #pān nì. Also, whereas pà<sup>n</sup> as default possessum has a plural pà<sup>n</sup>-yè, predicative pàn nì does not allow pluralization to #pà<sup>n</sup>-yē nì (565e).

- (565) a. [kò<sup>n</sup> yāmbāà] gā [wùlāā pàn] nì  
 [Dem house] be [who? Poss] it.is  
 ‘This/That house belongs to who(m)?’
- b. cìyē gà [ñ-dógó pān] nì  
 field be [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is  
 ‘The field is mine.’
- c. à nà= [ān-dògō pān] nì  
 3Sg not.be [2Sg-Indep Poss] it.is  
 ‘It isn’t yours-Sg.’
- d. [yāmbāà gù] gà [sèédū pān] nì  
 [house Def] be [S Poss] it.is  
 ‘That house is Seydou’s.’
- e. [yāmbāà gù-yè] gà [sèédū 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’ (kīyē/kīyè or stative kīyē-nā)

12.1.1.1 ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb

The intransitive motion verb ‘X go past, X pass (by), X move on’ is kīyē (Pfv) or kīyè (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 kīyē-nā ‘(be) more than, outdo’, it denotes static (temporally extended) rank (566b).

(566) a. āāmādù      kīyē      [sèédù      nā]  
 A                    **pass.Pfv**    [S            **Dat]**  
 ‘Amadou passed Seydou.’ (e.g. in a race)  
 or: ‘Amadou has surpassed Seydou.’

b. āāmādù      kīyē-nā      [sèédù      nā]  
 A                    **pass-Ppl**    [S            **Dat]**  
 ‘Amadou outdoes Seydou.’  
 default interpretation: ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

A domain of comparison, e.g. strength or wealth, may be expressed overtly as a PP with postposition nìṅṅì ‘in, inside’.

(567) a. āāmādù    kīyē      [sèédù      nà]      [sémbé / wólé<sup>n</sup> / tàā-gū      nìṅṅì]  
 A            **pass.Pfv**    [S            **Dat]**      [strength / money / stand-VblN      **inside]**  
 ‘Amadou has moved past Seydou in strength/wealth/height.’ (< tàā-gù)  
 (= ‘Amadou has become stronger/richer/taller than Seydou.’)

b. āāmādù    kīyē-nā    [sèédù      nà]      [sémbé / wólé<sup>n</sup> / tàā-gū      nìṅṅì]  
 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. *āāmādū dīgē (yāālō<sup>n</sup>) [bè kīyē [sèédù nā]]*  
 A eat.Antip.Pfv (greatly) [**Infin** **pass.Pfv** [S Dat]]  
 ‘Amadou ate more than Seydou (ate).’
- b. *āāmādū yè ñ kó mápè [bè kīyē [sèédù 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. *ī tēē mēw<sup>n</sup> [bè kīy = [ān nā]]*  
 1Sg tea drink.Pfv [**Infin** **pass.Pfv** [2Sg Dat]]  
 ‘I drank more tea than you-Sg (drank).’
- d. *sèédū yè ñ kwāā [bè kīy = [āāmādū 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. *sèédù bānà-àmà [bè kīy = [āāmādū 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. *āñ gā mánāmī [bè kīyē [ñ 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. [ā<sup>n</sup> sògò-lēŋ] kūmā-nā nì  
 [2Sg sheep] skinny-Ppl it.is  
 [bè kīyē [[ŋ sógó-lēn] nā]]  
 [**Infin** pass.Pfv [[1Sg sheep] Dat]  
 ‘Your sheep-Sg is more emaciated than my sheep (is).’
- b. āāmādū pìyè<sup>n</sup>-nā nì [bè kīyē [sèédù nā]]  
 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 òn bání [sèédù tē]  
 A Sbj/Obj **PsRefl** stout [S **Dat**]  
 ‘Amadou is stouter than Seydou.’
- b. n̄ =nà òn kāmñā [sèédù 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 *kō<sup>n</sup>* ‘much’ or ‘many’. Plural suffix *-ye* (of variable tone) is usually omitted before *yè* (~ *yē*) bidirectional case marker (571b). In (571a), *kō<sup>n</sup>* denasalizes before a vowel (§3.4.2.3.1).

- (571) a. jēnām-bī-gē yē òn kō [ē tē]  
 child-Pl-Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl **many** [1Pl Dat]  
 ‘The young people outnumber us.’
- b. kúnǵóló(-yè) yē òn kō<sup>n</sup> [yòrógò-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 *tē*. 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        m̄        pàyò        [kú    tē]  
           Dem     PsRefl    **be.better**   [Dem   **Dat**]  
           ‘This is better than that.’
- b. kú        m̄        mày<sup>n</sup>        [kú    tē]  
           Dem     PsRefl    **be.good**     [Dem   **Dat**]  
           [= (a)]
- c. kú        kiyè-nà    [kú    nā]  
           Dem     **pass-Ppl**   [Dem   **Dat**]  
           ‘This surpasses (=is better than/exceeds) that.’ (< kiyē-nā)

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) [āŋ    gālà    ām    bēw<sup>n</sup>]        [wògō        m̄        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        [nògū        dò"sò        māṅā<sup>n</sup>]    nì  
           S        be        [village    hunter        good]        it.is  
           ‘Seydou is the village’s good (=best) hunter.’ (< nògù)

In (575), ‘be many’ emphasized by ‘greatly’ functions as superlative, especially with ‘in the village’ delimiting the pool.

- (575) [m̄ pē] gā = à kūmbà y  
 [1Sg also] Ipfv 3Sg be.aware.of.Ipfv  
 [māà tārāwōrē wògó ñ kō<sup>n</sup>  
 [that T 3Sg.Indep.Foc PsRefl be.many  
 [nògū nìṅì] mājè  
 [village inside] greatly  
 ‘I too am aware that the Traore (clan), it [focus] is most abundant (=the majority) in the village.’ (2017-01 @ 08:01)

## 12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

### 12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’ (kāw<sup>n</sup>)

kāw<sup>n</sup> ‘equal’ occurs in the pseudo-reflexive predicate construction, preceded by ñ. The subject is plural, either a conjunction of two NPs or an otherwise semantically plural NP or pronoun. The universal quantifier sāā<sup>n</sup> ‘all’ or ‘both’ occurs at the end of the subject in either case (e.g. ē sāā<sup>n</sup> ‘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. [sèédū yè<sup>n</sup> āāmādù sāā<sup>n</sup>] yè ñ kāw<sup>n</sup>  
 [S and A **all**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **equal**  
 ‘Seedu and Amadou are equal.’
- b. [sèédū yè<sup>n</sup> āāmādù sāā<sup>n</sup>] yè ñ kāw<sup>n</sup> [tàā nìṅì]  
 [tàā-gū  
 [S and A **all**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **equal** [stand(-VblN) **inside**]  
 ‘Seedu and Amadou are of the same height.’
- c. [jēnām-bī-gē sāā<sup>n</sup>] yē ñ kāw<sup>n</sup> [ṅìyēn-tàā nìṅì]  
 [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’ (kājāmà)

The verb kājāmà/kājāmà ‘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



#### 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, síí ‘likeness, the likes of’, and ‘do’. The phrasing resembles that of the resultative verbal noun construction (§4.2.1.4). sēn-nā drops to sèn-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       [hōnō       [n̄       nûmēw<sup>n</sup>]]  
           3Sg    Ipfv    fall-Ipfv    [like       [1Sg       **likeness**]]  
           ‘He/She falls like (=as much as) I (fall).’ (< nûmēw<sup>n</sup> §8.4.1.1)
- b.    à           gā           [[ɲ̄       sèn-nà]       síí]       tī-nà  
           3Sg    Ipfv    [[1Sg       fall-**Ppl**]    **likeness**]    **do**-Ipfv  
           ‘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           [[ɲ̄       kòlè-nà]       síí]       tī-nà  
           3Sg    Ipfv    [[1Sg       hit-**Ppl**]       **likeness**]    do-Ipfv  
           [kúnjól-é       bwēȳ]  
           [dog-Pl       Comit]  
           ‘He beats dogs as much as I (do).’ (< kōlè-nā)
- b.    à           gà =       [[ā<sup>n</sup>       sùbà-pèjè-nà]       síí]       tī-nà  
           3Sg    Ipfv    [[2Sg       firewood-split-**Ppl**]    **likeness**]    do-Ipfv  
           ‘He cuts wood as much as you-Sg do.’ (< sùbā-pèjè-nā)
- c.    à           gà =       [[ān       dùwò-mèn-nà]       síí]       tī-nà  
           3Sg    Ipfv    [[2Sg       beer-drink-**Ppl**]       **likeness**]    do-Ipfv  
           ‘He drinks beer as much as you-Sg do.’ (< dùwò)

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           gà=       [[ām       mū-nū]       [hòndè   [[m̄   pà<sup>n</sup>]   síí]]  
           3Sg    Ipfv   [[2Sg   insult-Ipfv]   **like**   [[1Sg   Poss]   **likeness**]]  
           ‘He/She insults you-Sg like me (=as much as I do).’ (< m̄ páw<sup>n</sup>)

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  $\bar{a}^n$ , 3Sg  $\grave{a}$ ) with independent pronouns (e.g. 2Sg  $\bar{a}n-d\grave{o}g\grave{o}$ , 3Sg  $w\grave{o}g\grave{o}$  ; 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  $g\grave{a}$  if a constituent is focalized. ‘Seydou’ is unfocalized in (584a) but focalized in (584b).

(584) a.  $\bar{n}$              $=n\check{a}^n$          $s\grave{e}\bar{e}d\grave{u}$          $k\grave{a}y$   
1Sg    Sbj/Obj    S                see.Pfv  
‘I saw Seydou.’

b.  $\bar{n}$              $=n\check{a}^n$          $s\grave{e}\bar{e}d\acute{u}$          $k\grave{a}\bar{y}$          $g\grave{a}$   
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  $g\grave{a}$  is generally avoided in simple perfective negative clauses. This applies to unfocalized (585a) and focalized (585b) clauses.

(585) a. ò tē sèédù kày (#gà)  
 1Sg PfvNeg S see.Pfv (#RemPfv)  
 ‘I didn’t see Seydou.’

b. ò tē sèédú 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) ò-dógó tē sò,  
 1Sg-**Indep.Foc** PfvNeg go.Pfv,  
 sèédú sō 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. ò tē sō (#gà) [à kwāā]  
 1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv (#RemPfv) [3Sg hit.Pfv]  
 ‘I didn’t go and hit him/her.’

b. ò tē sō gà wògó 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 ò-dógó from ò (+H) plus /-lògò/, since its final syllable is already H-toned due to the floating H (588a). The other independent pronouns end in ...ògò, and appear



(590)	noun	gloss	focalized
	a. /L/ melody		
	dòò	‘knife’	dòó
	sìbò	‘snake’	sìbó
	dàndì	‘chili pepper’	dàndí
	tìṅgè	‘stool’	tìṅgé
	dàmbà	‘daba (hoe)’	dàmbáá
	tìyòw <sup>n</sup>	‘ax’	tìyé <sup>n</sup>
	kùmbùrù	‘insect’	kùmbùrú
	sòmputwò	‘donkey’	sòmputwó
	b. /ML/ and /LML/		
	sòllò	‘dust’	sòlló
	sùkòrò	‘sugar’	sùkòró
	sèèdù	‘Seydou’	sèèdú
	<i>no audible change</i>		
	tēè	‘tea’	tēè

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
	a. /M/ melody		
	<i>short</i>		
	tēè	‘meat’	téé
	tyē	‘oil’	tyé
	yógò	‘fish’	yógó
	tìmì swò <sup>n</sup>	‘foul smell’	tìmì swó <sup>n</sup>
	kéndē	‘chest (body)’	kéndé
	<i>longer</i>		
	tìgèlēw <sup>n</sup>	‘cut (wound)’	tìgèléw <sup>n</sup>
	sùmpòrò	‘biting fly sp.’	sùmpòró
	wàràbā	‘lion’	wàràbá
	sògò-sògò	‘round basket’	sògò-sògó

If a multi-word NP or compound noun is focalized, only the final stem is affected by the tonal changes (592a-c).

(592)	unfocalized	focalized	gloss
a. N-Adj			
	yōgō kūwō <sup>n</sup>	yògò kúwó <sup>n</sup>	‘white fish’
	yōgō pēlù-gù	yōgō pēlù-gú	‘lightweight fish’
b. N-Num			
	yōgō kòògòw <sup>n</sup>	yōgō kòògów <sup>n</sup>	‘five fish’
c. N-Def			
	yōgō-gū	yògò-gú	‘the fish’
d. compound noun			
	kēndē-kūwō <sup>n</sup>	kèndè-kúwó <sup>n</sup>	‘breastbone’
	pórí-pūwō	pórí-púwó	‘slingshot’

sāā<sup>n</sup> ‘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 yōgō-yē sāā<sup>n</sup>.

(593)	[yògò-yè	sáá <sup>n</sup> ]	bē
	[fish-Pl	all.Foc]	come.Pfv
	‘ <u>All the fish</u> [focus] came.’		

One might suspect that the semantic awkwardness of this combination means that ‘all’ cannot be focalized. However, sāā<sup>n</sup> 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 ñ-dógó 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 *nó<sup>n</sup>* referring back to a recently described referent (as in ‘beans, that’s what I want’), focalized 3Sg *wògó* is usual (594d).

- (594) a. *ē gā bē tāw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Pl Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv  
 ‘We will go up.’ (no focalization)
- b. *ē-lògó gá bé tāw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Pl-**Indep** Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv  
 ‘It’s wē [focus] who will go up.’
- c. *ñ-dógó gá bé tāw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Sg-**Indep** Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv  
 ‘It’s I [focus] who will go up.’
- d. *wògó gá m̀wò̄m pānā<sup>n</sup>*  
 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. *sòmpùwò bē [pī̄n nī]*  
 donkey come.Pfv [millet Inst]  
 ‘The donkey brought the millet.’
- b. *sòmpùwó bē gà [pī̄n nī]*  
 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 yè ñ kwāā gà*  
**Dem** Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘This hit me.’ or ‘This [focus] is what hit me.’

- b.  $\text{ɲó}^n$              $\text{gā}$              $\text{ɲ}$              $\text{kā-lā}$   
**Dem.Def**    **Ipfv**        **1Sg**        **hit-Ipfv**  
‘That (definite) hits me.’ or ‘That (definite) [focus] is what hits me.’

However,  $\text{kú}$  and  $\text{ɲó}^n$  are already H-toned, so focalization is not well-marked on them in subject position (deictic  $\text{kú}$  can be lengthened to  $\text{kúú}$  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.  $\text{sèédù}$              $\text{yè}$              $\text{ɲ}$              $\text{kwāā}$              $\text{gà}$   
S                    Sbj/Obj    **1Sg**        hit.Pfv            RemPfv  
‘Seydou hit me.’
- b.  $\text{sèédù}$              $\text{yà=}$              $\text{ān-dògó}$              $\text{kwāā}$              $\text{gà}$   
S                    Sbj/Obj    **2Sg-Indep.Foc**    hit.Pfv            RemPfv  
‘It’s you-Sg [focus] that Seydou hit.’
- c.  $\text{ān}$              $\text{tē}$              $\text{ɲ-dògó}$              $\text{kwāā}$ ,  
**2Sg**    **PfvNeg**        **1Sg-Indep.Foc**    hit.Pfv,  
 $\text{ā}^n$              $\text{sèédú}$          $\text{kwāā}$              $\text{gà}$   
**2Sg**    **S.Foc**        hit.Pfv            RemPfv  
‘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,  $\text{wārābā}$  ‘lion’ is unfocalized in (598a) but it is focalized by tonal modification in (598b).

- (598) a.  $\text{ń}$              $=\text{nā}^n$              $\text{wārābā}$              $\text{kày}$   
**1Sg**    Sbj/Obj    **lion**            see.Pfv  
‘I saw a lion.’
- b.  $\text{ń}$              $=\text{nǎ}^n$              $\text{wàràbá}$              $\text{kày}$              $\text{gà}$   
**1Sg**    Sbj/Obj    **lion.Foc**        see.Pfv            RemPfv  
‘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*      *sògō*  
 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 *nī*) 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 lāgà* (or assimilated variant *kú lágà*) ‘for/because of that’ resumes preceding discourse that spells out the purpose in detail (not shown).

- (600) [*kú*    *lāgā*    *nì*]      *m̄*      *bē*      *gà*  
 [Dem    Purp    **it.is**]    1Sg      come.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘That [focus] is why I came.’

The same construction is used with interrogative *màsí lāgà* (~ *màsí 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 *nàw<sup>n</sup>* functions here as a near-distant discourse-definite demonstrative. It is tonally (and semantically) distinct from clause-initial

nāw<sup>n</sup> ‘if’ in conditionals. Overall the two-clause construction resembles a correlative construction (a specialty of South Asian languages).

- (601) m̄      bē      gā      [wógótú / tálám / jīim      màw<sup>n</sup>]  
 1Sg    come.Pfv   RemPfv   [time / day / year      **Rel**]  
 [nà<sup>n</sup>      wógótú / tálám / jīijn      (jáátí)      nà = ]      à      lōwōŋ      gā  
 [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.’ (< nì à lōwō<sup>n</sup>)

It is also possible to resume the temporal adverbial clause with 3Sg independent pronoun wògò (focalized from wògò) (602).

- (602) [[jīim      mà<sup>n</sup>]      jēnām-bī-gē      gā      sùwō-lò]  
 [[year      Rel]      child-Pl-Pl      Ipfv      sing-IPfv]  
 [wògò      nì]      ŋ      kiyēŋ      gā  
 [**3Sg.Independ.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      gā      bē      sō      nàànù  
 1Pl    Ipfv    Fut      go.Ipfv      **tomorrow**  
 ‘We will go tomorrow.’
- b. ē      gā      bē      sō      nàànú  
 1Pl    Ipfv    Fut      go.Ipfv      **tomorrow.Foc**  
 ‘Tomorrow [focus] is when we will go.’
- c. nàànù (# nàànú)      ē      gā      sò  
**tomorrow**      1Pl      Ipfv      go.Ipfv  
 ‘Tomorrow we will go.’
- c. [nàànū      nì]      ē      gā      sò  
 [**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 *bōw̃<sup>n</sup>* ‘here’ and *yāw̃<sup>n</sup>* ‘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) *ɲ      gà      kōndò      bōw̃<sup>n</sup>*  
 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) *yāw̃<sup>n</sup>* ‘there’ is clause-final with no overt sign of syntactic focalization, though the optional *jáátī* ‘precise’ makes semantic focus evident.

- (605) [*n̄      = nān̄      t̄ɲgē      bàȳ      gà      gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw̃<sup>n</sup>*]  
 [1Sg    Sbj/Obj    stool    leave.Pfv    RemPfv    place-Rel-place]  
*ē      gā      p̄̀-ł̄      [yāw̃<sup>n</sup>      (jáátī)]*  
 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 *k̄̀ȳ̀w̃<sup>n</sup>* ‘like this/that’ is focalized or not.

- (606) *ē      gā      p̄̀-ł̄      k̄̀ȳ̀w̃<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Pl    Ipfv    sit-Ipfv    **like.this**  
 ‘We will sit like this.’  
 or: ‘(Like) this [focus] is how we will sit.’

However, under limited conditions *k̄̀ȳ̀w̃<sup>n</sup>* can be focalized as *k̄̀ȳ̀w̃<sup>n</sup>*; 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 *k̄̀ȳ̀w̃<sup>n</sup>/k̄̀ȳ̀-à* ‘do like this/that’; see focalized Ipfv *k̄̀ȳ̀-à* in (134a) in §4.4.3.2.



(608)	lexical form	raised form	gloss
	kòndàsè	kòndàsé	‘next year’
	jàà̀nù	jàà̀nú	‘tomorrow’
	sā̀à-gù	sā̀à-gù	‘now’
	sègò	sègò	‘last year’
	tū <sup>n</sup>	tú <sup>n</sup>	‘again’ (§19.3.1)
	yùrùgù	yùrùgù	‘this year’

The ungrammaticality of tonally raised forms like *jàà̀nú* 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*            *dīgē*  
**Q**        2Sg            eat.Antip.Pfv  
‘Have you-Sg eaten?’
- b. *tāmà*    *āŋ*        *gā*        *sò*            *síbèw<sup>n</sup>*  
**Q**        2Sg        Ipfv        go.Ipfv        market.Loc  
‘Are you going to the market?’

The only textual example of *tāmà* is 2017-03 @ 00:58, where the younger assistant asks a complex question of an older speaker.

*tāmà* can also follow the clause, see (888a) below.

#### 13.2.1.1.2 Clause-initial *kòrì*)

The other clause-initial interrogative particle *kòrì*, 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. *kòrì* 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) *kòrì*    *ā=*        *ā*            *kìlè*  
           **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*]        *bē*  
           [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  $b\bar{e}\searrow$  or perhaps even  ${}^Hb\bar{e}$  with downstep diacritic. The main question here is the status of what is written phonetically as  $b\acute{e}$  in (611b). There are three possibilities: a) M-toned  $b\bar{e}$  has been raised to H-tone, correctly transcribed  $b\acute{e}$ ; b) the pitch of  $b\bar{e}$  has been raised by a gradient intonational process, transcription  $b\bar{e}\nearrow$ ; or c) the tone has been raised to H with additional add-on intonational pitch raising, transcription  $b\acute{e}\nearrow$ . 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  $\nearrow$ .

- (612) a.  $\bar{a}m$        $b\bar{a}yn\grave{a}$        $g\grave{a}$        $t\grave{u}w\grave{o}b\grave{u}l\grave{o}\eta$        $k\grave{a}-n\acute{a}\nearrow$  (or  $k\grave{a}-n\grave{a}\nearrow$  ?)  
 2Sg      ExpPf      Ipfv      elephant      see-Ipfv.Q  
 ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’ (<  $k\grave{a}-n\grave{a}$ )
- b.  $\grave{a}$                $dw\acute{o}\nearrow$  (or  $dw\bar{o}\nearrow$  ?)  
 3Sg              enter.Pfv.Q  
 ‘Did he/she go in?’ (<  $dw\bar{o}$ )

Further examples with inputs that begin with L are in (613). They are transcribed here with final H-tone, plus  $\nearrow$  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				
<i>monomoraic</i>				
	$C\grave{v}$	$C\acute{v}\nearrow$	$s\grave{o} \rightarrow s\acute{o}\nearrow$	‘go’ (Pfv/Ipfv)
<i>bimoraic or heavier</i>				
	$C\grave{v}y$	$C\acute{v}y\nearrow$	$k\grave{a}y \rightarrow k\acute{a}y\nearrow$	‘see’ (Pfv)
	$C\grave{v}C\grave{v}$	$C\grave{v}C\acute{v}\nearrow$	$k\grave{a}-n\grave{a} \rightarrow k\grave{a}n\acute{a}\nearrow$	‘see’ (Ipfv)
			$j\grave{i}\eta\grave{e} \rightarrow j\grave{i}\eta\acute{e}\nearrow$	‘accept’ (Pfv)
	$C\grave{v}NC\grave{v}$	$C\grave{v}NC\acute{v}\nearrow$	$b\grave{a}n\grave{d}\grave{a} \rightarrow b\grave{a}n\acute{d}\acute{a}\nearrow$	‘get tired’ (Pfv)
	$C\grave{v}C\grave{v}C\grave{v}$	$C\grave{v}C\grave{v}C\acute{v}\nearrow$	$k\grave{u}l\grave{u}b\grave{e} \rightarrow k\grave{u}l\grave{u}b\acute{e}\nearrow$	‘knead’ (Pfv)
b. indicative LM-toned				
	$C\grave{v}C\bar{v}$	$C\grave{v}C\acute{v}\nearrow$	$j\grave{i}\eta\bar{e} \rightarrow j\grave{i}\eta\acute{e}\nearrow$	‘accept’ (Ipfv)
	$C\grave{v}NC\bar{v}$	$C\grave{v}NC\acute{v}\nearrow$	$b\grave{a}n\bar{d}\grave{a} \rightarrow b\grave{a}n\acute{d}\acute{a}\nearrow$	‘get tired’ (Ipfv)
	$C\grave{v}C\bar{v}C\bar{w}$	$C\grave{v}C\bar{v}C\acute{v}w\nearrow$	$n\grave{u}m\grave{a}s\bar{a}w^n \rightarrow n\grave{u}m\grave{a}s\acute{a}w^n\nearrow$	‘forget’ (Pfv)

c. indicative LML-toned

Cỳv̀v̀	C̀v̀v̀ ↗	cỳèè <sup>n</sup> → cỳèé <sup>n</sup> ↗	‘weave (basket)’ (Pfv)
C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀ ↗	gàrib̀ù → gàrib̀ú ↗	‘beg’ (Pfv/Ipfv)
C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀ ↗	nùmàsà-nà → nùmàsà-ná ↗	‘forget’ (Ipfv)

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 ↗ 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

C̀v̀	C̀v̀	bē → bé (bē ↗ ?)	‘come’ (Pfv/Ipfv)
C̀v̀v̀	C̀v̀v̀	bāā → báá (bāā ↗ ?)	‘exit (v)’ (Pfv)
C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀	kīyē → kīyé (kīyē ↗ ?)	‘pass’ (Pfv)
C̀v̀NC̀v̀	C̀v̀NC̀v̀	kōndō → kōndó (kōndō ↗ ?)	‘remain’ (Pfv)

*heavy stems*

C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	pēgēlē → pēgēlé (pēgēlē ↗ ?)	‘winnow by shaking’ (Pfv)
C̀v̀CC̀v̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀CC̀v̀v̀C̀v̀	kāmnā-āmā → kāmnā-āmá (kāmnā-āmā ↗ ?)	‘get old’ (Pfv)

b. indicative ML-toned

C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀	kīyè → kīyé (kīyè ↗ ?)	‘pass’ (Ipfv)
C̀v̀NC̀v̀	C̀v̀NC̀v̀	kōndò → kōndó (kōndò ↗ ?)	‘remain’ (Ipfv)

*heavy stems*

C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	nīmīsà → nīmīsá (nīmīsà ↗ ?)	‘regret’ (Pfv/Ipfv)
C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀C̀v̀C̀v̀	pēgēlē → pēgēlé (pēgēlē ↗ ?)	‘winnow by shaking’ (Ipfv)
C̀v̀CC̀v̀v̀C̀v̀	C̀v̀CC̀v̀v̀C̀v̀	kāmnā-āmà → kāmnā-āmá (or kāmnā-āmà ↗ ?)	‘get old’ (Ipfv)

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 *ḍigéw<sup>n</sup>* ‘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. sèédù      sō          ðigéw<sup>n</sup>  
           S          go.Pfv      yesterday  
           ‘Seydou left yesterday.’
- b. sèédù      sō          ðigéw<sup>n</sup> ↗  
           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’          dūgá→ ↗  
           b. sààgù      ‘roselle’      sààgú→ ↗

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 -kúwó<sup>n</sup>→ ↗ (617a). L-toned bisyllabic final segments only raise the final syllable (617b).

- (617)      noun                  gloss                  as polar Q
- a. kūwó<sup>n</sup>              ‘water lily tuber’      kūwó<sup>n</sup>→ ↗  
           būrūgù-kūwó<sup>n</sup>    ‘type of water lily tuber’    būrūgù-kúwó<sup>n</sup>→ ↗
- b. bòndò              ‘neck’                  bòndó→ ↗  
           pīim-bòndò        ‘millet grain spike’      pīim-bòndó→ ↗

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            síbèn            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) can be used when the speaker needs confirmation that he himself is being summoned by another person. Likewise kú tà→ ↗ ‘(you mean) that one (over there)?’ and so forth.

- (619) ò-dógó            tàà→ ↗  
           1Sg-Indep        Q  
           ‘(You mean) me?’

### 13.2.1.4 Tag question

The equivalent (roughly) of an English tag question is expressed by preposing wàà or postposing wāà 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        síbèw<sup>n</sup>  
           Q        2Sg        Ipfv        go.Ipfv        market.Loc  
           ‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’

b.	āŋ	gā	sò	síbèw <sup>n</sup>	wāà
	2Sg	Ipfv	go.Ipfv	market.Loc	Q
	[=(a)]				

Preposed wāà does not rise to #wāā before an L-tone: wāà à ('he/she ...').

Whether these forms are related to Bambara clause-final interrogative wa is unclear.

### 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 lāā after subject

The particle lāā optionally follows the subject in a clause containing a content interrogative, whether or not this interrogative is itself the subject. It becomes dāā in 1Sg ñ-dāā, 2Sg ān-dāā, and logophoric singular ñ-dāā, which are written here as single words. Nouns ending in w<sup>n</sup> do not change l to d. When the constituent ending in lāā is focalized the particle appears as láá. The particle is glossed QTop (interrogative topic) in interlinears, 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 lāā is grammatically and prosodically part of the interrogative clause.

- (621) a. [sèèdù lāā]      gā      bē      sāgā      mātāy  
 [S      **QTop**]      Ipfv      Fut      lie.down.Pfv      where?  
 'Where will Seydou spend the night?'

- b. [mwò      láá=]      ām      bīyè-nī      gà  
 [which?      **QTop.Foc**]      2Sg      bring.Pfv      RemPfv  
 'What has brought you (here)?' (2017-04 @ 02:36)  
 [for bīyè-nī see §9.1.2]

There is a tendency for -lāā to become fused with pronominals, weakening or losing the topicality value. Especially 1Sg ñ-dāā and 2Sg ān-dāā can replace the usual independent pronouns (§4.3.1), with the unproductive d/l alternation (§3.4.1.1) somewhat masking the identity of lāā. Another lāā can then be added in true QTop function, thus 1Sg ñ-dāā lāā (2017-08 @ 00:02), likewise 2Sg ān-dāā lāā. Fusion may also have occurred in wùlāā 'who?' just below.

When QTop lāā is followed by a planned pause, there is some possibility of confusion with phrase-final particle lā from local French *là* 'there' (§19.4.2.6).

### 13.2.2.2 ‘Who?’ (wùlāā)

The human WH interrogative noun is wùlāā. It occurs in the normal range of syntactic environments for NPs. It is dropped to wùlàà before an H-tone (622c) by M#H-to-L#H.

- (622) a. wùlāā      gā      sò/bē  
**who?**      Ipfv      go.Ipfv/come.Ipfv  
 ‘Who will go/come?’
- b. wùlāā      bē      gà  
**who?**      come.Pfv      RemPfv  
 ‘Who came?’
- c. wùlàà      kúnḡóló      kwāā      gà  
**who?**      dog      hit.Pfv      RemPfv  
 ‘Who hit the dog?’
- d. wùlāā      nì  
**who?**      it.is  
 ‘Who is it?’ (e.g. to someone knocking at the door)

Examples in nonsubject functions are in (623).

- (623) a. ā<sup>n</sup>      wùlāā      kwāā      gà  
 2Sg      **who?**      hit.Pfv      RemPfv  
 ‘Who(m) did you-Sg hit?’
- b. ē      gā      sāgà      [wùlàà      káw<sup>n</sup>]  
 1Pl      Ipfv      lie.down.Ipfv      [**who?**      chez.Foc]  
 ‘At whose place will we spend the night?’
- c. kú      gā      [wùlàà      kán]      nì  
 Dem      be      [**who?**      chez.Foc]      it.is  
 ‘This is whose house?’ (French *chez qui?*)
- d. ā<sup>n</sup>      wùlāā      kàȳ      gà      síbàw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 *wùlāā-yē* is optionally used.

- (624) a. *wùlāā-yē*    *bē*                    *gà*  
**who?-Pl**    come.Pfv            RemPfv  
 ‘Who-Pl came?’
- b. *ā<sup>n</sup>*            *wùlāā-yē*            *kày*            *gà*  
 2Sg    **who?-Pl**            see.Pfv            RemPfv  
 ‘Who(m)-Pl did you-Sg see?’

Another possibility is ‘who and who?’. The conjunction *yè<sup>n</sup>* becomes *yě<sup>n</sup>* (<LM>-toned) before the initial L-tone of the second *wùlāā*.

- (625) a. [*wùlāā*    *yě<sup>n</sup>*    *wùlāā*]    *bē*            *gà*  
 [**who?**    and    **who?**]    come.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘Who and who came?’
- b. [*wùlāā*    *yě<sup>n</sup>*    *wùlāà*]    *kúṅgóló*    *kwāā*    *gà*  
 [**who?**    and    **who?**]    dog            hit.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘Who and who hit the dog?’
- c. *ā<sup>n</sup>*            [*wùlāā*    *yě<sup>n</sup>*    *wùlāā*]    *kày*            *gà*  
 2Sg            [**who?**    and    **who?**]    see.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘Who and who did you-Sg see?’
- d. *ā<sup>n</sup>*            [*wùlāā*    *yě<sup>n</sup>*    *wùlāā*]    *kwāā*            *gà*  
 2Sg            [**who?**    and    **who?**]    hit.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘Who(m) and who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

### 13.2.2.3 ‘What?’ (*màsí*), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

The nonhuman interrogative noun is *màsí* ‘what?’.

- (626) a. *màsí*            (*yē*)                    *ṅ*                    *tīṅ*            *gà*  
 what?    (Sbj/Obj)    3ReflSg            do.Pfv    RemPfv  
 ‘What (has) happened?’ (lit. “What has done itself?”) (< *tīw<sup>n</sup>*)

b. ām            māsí        dīgā        gà  
 2Sg            what?      eat.Pfv     RemPfv  
 ‘What did you-Sg eat?’

c. kú            gā            māsí        nì  
 Dem           be            what?      it.is  
 ‘What is that?’

d. āŋ            gā            māsí        tī-nà  
 2Sg            Ipfv        what?      do-Ipfv  
 ‘What are you-Sg doing?’

māsí 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 mwè ‘which?’. mwè 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 nī (§8.1.2.1) the form is māsí nī ‘with what?’ (627a), or focalized māsí ní. This is tonally distinct from focalized clause-initial māsí nì ‘(it is) why?’ (627b). The full form for ‘why?’ is māsí lāgà (clause-initially māsí lāgà nì as focus) (627c-d), or tone-assimilated variant māsí lāgà.

(627) a. āŋ            gā            cī-lī            [māsí    nī]  
 2Sg            Ipfv        sow-Ipfv      [what?   **Inst**]  
 ‘With what will you-Sg plant (the seeds)?’

b. [māsí        nì]            āādāmà      bē            gà  
 [what?      **it.is**]      A            come.Pfv     RemPfv  
 ‘Why did Adama come?’

c. ām            bē            gà            [māsí        lāgà]  
 2Sg            come.Pfv    RemPfv      [what?      **Purp**]  
 ‘Why did you-Sg come?’

d. [māsí        lāgà        nì]            ām            bē            gà  
 [what?      **Purp**    **it.is**]      2Sg            come.Pfv     RemPfv  
 [= (c)]

#### 13.2.2.4 ‘Where?’ (màtày, lāā-mì , lāā-màtày)

màtày 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. āṅ            gā            sō            màtày  
 2Sg        Ipfv        go.Ipfv        where?  
 ‘Where are you-Sg going?’ (2017-05 @ 02:27)

b. màtày  
 where?  
 ‘Where (is it)?’

c. āṅ            gā            màtày  
 2Sg        be.Loc        where?  
 ‘Where are you-Sg?’

As an alternative to predicative gā màtày ‘be where?’ with locational ‘be’, there are specialized predicative forms lāā-mì and lāā-màtày, 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-mì and lāā-màtày cannot be parsed in this fashion. In past-time contexts, only gà/gā ‘be’ plus màtày is possible (629b).

(629) a. ān            lāā-mì / lāā-màtày  
 2Sg        **be.where?**  
 ‘Where are you-Sg?’

b. āṅ            kōndō        gà            màtày  
 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 wógátū ‘(moment in) time’ is used as default (630a).

- (630) a. āŋ      gā      bē      [mwò      wóǵátū]  
 2Sg    Ipfv    come.Ipfv    [**which?**    **time**]  
 ‘When will you-Sg come (back)?’
- b. āŋ      gā      bē      [mwò      tálāw<sup>n</sup>]  
 2Sg    Ipfv    come.Ipfv    [**which?**    **day**]  
 ‘When (on what day) will you-Sg come (back)?’

For ‘which?’ see §13.2.2.8 below.

### 13.2.2.6 ‘How?’ (-mèn- and variants)

The manner interrogative is built from a combination of -mèn- and the verb ‘do’ (tīw<sup>n</sup>/tī-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      tī-nà  
 1Pl        Ipfv        **how?**      do.Ipfv  
 ‘What will we do?’
- b. ā<sup>(n)</sup>        à-mèn      tīŋ        gà  
 1Pl        **how?**      do.Pfv     RemPfv  
 ‘What did you-Sg do?’ (< tīw<sup>n</sup>)
- c. sèédū      yā =        à-mèn      tīŋ        gà  
 1Pl        Sbj/Obj    **how?**      do.Pfv     RemPfv  
 ‘What did Seydou do?’ (< tīw<sup>n</sup>)

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 tīw<sup>n</sup> 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<sup>n</sup>        [mèn      tīw<sup>n</sup>]  
 how?    Ipfv        work.Ipfv    [**how?**    do.Pfv]  
 ‘How do you-Sg work?’

- b. ām        bē            gà            [mèn        tīw̃<sup>n</sup>]  
 2Sg        come.Pfv    RemPfv    [**how?**    do.Pfv]  
 ‘How did you-Sg come?’

With topic-subject, which might happen to be 3Sg à, the form mèn-tīw̃<sup>n</sup> (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 kōndō (§10.3.2) is (633d).

- (633) a. à        mèn-tīn        nì  
 3Sg    **how?**        it.is  
 ‘How is it?’
- b. è        mèn-tīn        nì  
 3Pl    **how?**        it.is  
 ‘How are they?’
- c. dīgē-pwō        mèn-tīn        nì  
 food            **how?**        it.is  
 ‘How is the food?’
- d. à        kōndō        gà            mèn-tīw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    stay.Pfv    RemPfv    **how?**  
 ‘How was it?’

### 13.2.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (jèw̃<sup>n</sup>)

The interrogative for quantities is jèw̃<sup>n</sup>, raising to jèw̃<sup>n</sup> before L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The w̃<sup>n</sup> 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. jèw̃<sup>n</sup> may follow a noun or occur by itself. The iterative form is distributive jèn-jèw̃<sup>n</sup> ‘how much/many each?’ (634e).

- (634) a. jèn                    nì  
**how.much?**        it.is  
 ‘How much is it?’
- b. jèy<sup>n</sup>-yē                nì  
**how.much?-Pl**        it.is  
 ‘How many are they?’ (e.g. counting sheep)

- c. [āā nīmī jèŋ]                      gà        bē  
 [2Pl    person    **how.much?**] Ipfv    come.Ipfv  
 ‘How many of you-Pl are coming?’
- d. ā<sup>n</sup>        [sògò-lēn    jèŋ]                      sàŋ              gà  
 2Sg        [sheep        **how.much?**] buy.Pfv        RemPfv  
 ‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’ (< sògò-lēw<sup>n</sup>, sàw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. sāŋgòlò      gā        jèñ-jèñ                                      nì  
 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 jèy<sup>n</sup>-àà. This is the ordinal derivative with suffix -àà (§4.6.2.2).

#### 13.2.2.8 ‘Which?’ (mwò ... sīi)

The interrogative identificational adjective is mwò preceding the noun, as in mwò sūgò ‘which goat?’ It becomes mwò by Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone. The noun is often but not always followed by sīi ‘kind’ (locative sī-ỳ).

- (635) a. āŋ              gā              bā-lā              [mwò        nògù        sī-ỳ]  
 2Sg        Ipfv        exit-IPfv        [**which?**    village        **kind-Loc**]  
 ‘What (=which) village are you-Sg from?’
- b. ām              [mwò        nàà        sīi]              tōlō              gà  
 2Sg        [**which?**    cow        **kind**]        sell.Pfv        RemPfv  
 ‘Which cow did you-Sg sell?’
- c. āŋ              gā =        à              pōgò  
 2Sg        Ipfv        3Sg        want.Ipfv  
 āŋ              gālā        [mwò        nàà        sīi]              sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 2SbSbj    Sbjn        [**which?**    cow        **kind**]        buy.Pfv  
 ‘Which of my cows do you-Sg want to buy?’
- d. [mwò        yùgò<sup>n</sup>        sīi]              yà =              āŋ              kēē              gà  
 [**which?**    woman        **kind**]        Sbj/Obj    2Sg              call.Pfv        RemPfv  
 ‘Which woman called you-Sg?’ (< kēy)

e. ām [m̀w̄s̄ ỳùgò<sup>n</sup> s̄ī] kēē gà  
 2Sg [which? woman kind] call.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘Which woman did you-Sg call?’

mẁ is also attested without a noun in combination with t̄īw̄<sup>n</sup>/t̄ī-nà ‘do’. In this combination, mẁ ‘what?’ competes with à-mèn ‘how?’ (§13.2.2.6).

(636) āŋ gā s̄ō mẁ t̄īy<sup>n</sup> yāw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 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<sup>n</sup>

Relative clauses are usually internally headed. The relative morpheme màw<sup>n</sup> (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<sup>n</sup> 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<sup>n</sup> and gà as separate words.

- (637) a. [yùgōm      màñ]      ðìgèmū      gà  
         [woman      **Rel**]      speak.Pfv      **RemPfv**  
         ‘the woman who spoke’ (< yùgò<sup>n</sup>, ðìgèmù)
- b. [yùgò-mbē      mà-lē]      ðìgèmū      gà  
         [woman-Pl      **Rel-Pl**]      speak.Pfv      **RemPfv**  
         ‘the women who spoke’ (< yùgò-mbè, ðìgèmù)

The clause may contain postverbal constituents such as ‘yesterday’ in (638). If so, they follow RemPfv gà.

- (638) [yùgōm      màñ]      ðìgèmū      gà      ðìgéw<sup>n</sup>  
         [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 nī],  
 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) [[dúgú<sup>n</sup> mà<sup>n</sup>] 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 màw<sup>n</sup> 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 sāā<sup>n</sup> ~ hāā<sup>n</sup> ‘all’ (§6.6.1). mà<sup>n</sup> in (641a) is a variant of màw<sup>n</sup>.

- (641) a. [pō mà<sup>n</sup> sāān] nī,  
 [thing **Rel** **all**] Inst,  
 [ē jè gù] nā<sup>n</sup> hāŋgà gù,  
 [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= ēnì kāy<sup>n</sup> màŋ kāy<sup>n</sup>  
 [**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 sāā<sup>n</sup>] nā= à māy<sup>n</sup>] [à nà ì m māy<sup>n</sup> [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)  $án$        $nàm$       [ $pō$        $màn$ ]       $dēē$   
 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/know’.

- (644) a. [ $kāā-ŋ-kābūwō$        $mā^n$ ]       $āŋ$        $kā-nā$        $gù$   
 [Papa-Link-K      Rel]      2Sg      see-Ipfv      Def  
 ‘the Papa Kabuwo whom you-Sg see’ (2017-01 @ 03:41)
- b. [ $āŋ$        $gā$       [ $kēlē$        $mā$        $hāā^n$ ]       $tò$        $gū$ ]       $nì$   
 [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.

- (645) a. [[ē-lògō mà-lē] gà nògī-y] mùrààrú]  
 [[1Pl-Indep Rel-Pl] be.Loc village.Loc need(n)]  
 nà= [[àà kéérán] tē]  
 not.be [[2Pl benevolence] Dat]  
 ‘We who are in the village don’t need your charity.’
- b. āṅ gā [ṅ-dógó màñ] tò gù  
 2Sg Ipfv [1Sg-Indep Rel] know.Ipfv Def  
 ‘I who(m) you-Sg know’

#### 14.2.2 Conjoined NP as head

A conjoined NP may function as head, with a single occurrence of the relative morpheme at the end of the NP. My assistant tended to use singular relative màw<sup>n</sup> after a singular right conjunct (646b), but accepted the plural mà-lè.

- (646) a. [yùgò-mbē yèṅ kēēgē-ē mà-lè] bē gà  
 [woman-Pl **and** man-Pl **Rel-Pl**] come.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘the women and (the) men who have come’
- b. [yùgō<sup>n</sup> yèṅ kēēgū màṃ] bē gà  
 mà-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 màw<sup>n</sup> or plural mà-lè may head a relative clause, without an overt head NP (647a-b). See also (639) above.

- (647) a. màṅ kōndō gà  
**Rel** stay.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘(the) one who stayed’
- b. [mà-lè gà kāy<sup>n</sup>] yē [mà-lè nà kāy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [**Rel-Pl** Ipfv work.Ipfv] and [**Rel-Pl** IpfvNeg work.Ipfv]  
 ‘those who work, and those who don’t work’

#### 14.2.4 gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> ~ gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> as relative head for ‘place’

The noun ‘place’ is gūū<sup>n</sup>. As head of a relative, it takes an unusual iterative form gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> varying with gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup>. For the vocalic variation, see §3.3.1. The apparent linking element -mà- is likely an irregularly truncated form of relative māv<sup>n</sup>, which is otherwise absent. One would have expected #gūūm māv<sup>n</sup> without the iteration.

- (648) [ɨ           gà           gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup>       tō]            n̄           dāā<sup>n</sup>  
           [1Sg       Ipfv       **place-Rel-place**   know.Ipfv]   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 gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> or gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> is an idiosyncratic iterative compound synchronically, one might internally reconstruct it as \*[gūū<sup>n</sup> māv<sup>n</sup> LOC] with some locative postposition that was later (mis-)interpreted as an iteration of \*gūū<sup>n</sup>. 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, gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> or gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> can function as a nominal argument as well as adjunct. The current locative postpositions in Cliffs, the most productive of which is n̄ɨ̄ (§8.2.4.1), do not resemble gūū<sup>n</sup> phonologically.

### 14.3 Position of māv<sup>n</sup> vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs

Relative māv<sup>n</sup> follows adjectives, numerals, and the demonstrative gu. It precedes s̄āā<sup>n</sup> ‘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. [n̄gù       nám-bē   mà-lè]       gà       bōw̄<sup>n</sup>  
           [village   **small-Pl**   Rel-Pl]   be.Loc   here  
           ‘the small villages that are here.’



#### 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 *màw<sup>n</sup>* may occur in its place even for countable nouns. *mà<sup>n</sup> sãã<sup>n</sup>* (652b) optionally contracts to *mà-sãã<sup>n</sup>* with unnasalized vowel in the first element (652c).

- (652) a. [jēnā-mbī-gē    mà-lè    sãã<sup>n</sup>]    sēŋ    gà    ðìgév<sup>n</sup>  
 [child-Pl-Pl    **Rel-Pl**    **all**]    fall.Pfv    RemPfv    yesterday  
 'all the children who fell yesterday'
- b. āŋ    gā    [yàmbāā    mà<sup>n</sup>    sããŋ]    kà-nà  
 2Sg    Ipv    [house    **Rel**    **all**]    see-Ipv  
 'all the houses that you-Sg see'
- c. [jīim    mà-sãã<sup>n</sup>]    jī    kwààn    nã<sup>n</sup>    sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 [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 *kòw<sup>n</sup>* follows the entire relative construction and is not part of the internal head NP.

- (653) [[jēnā-mbī-gē    mà-lè]    sēŋ    gà    ðìgév    kòm]    bē  
 [[child-Pl-Pl    **Rel-Pl**]    fall.Pfv    RemPfv    yesterday    **Topic**]    come.Pfv  
 'As for the children who fell, they have come.' (< sēw<sup>n</sup>, ðìgév<sup>n</sup>, kòw<sup>n</sup>)

### 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 *màw<sup>n</sup>* occurs at the end of the head. RemPfv *gà* follows the the verb in perfective positive relatives.

- (654) a. jéná<sup>n</sup> / yàmbāà    sēn    ðìgév<sup>n</sup>  
 child/house    fall.Pfv    yesterday  
 'The child/house fell yesterday.'

- b. [[jéná<sup>n</sup> / yàmbāā mà<sup>n</sup>] sēŋ gà dìgé<sup>n</sup>] lāā-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. jēnām-bī-gē / yàmbāā-yè sēn dìgéw<sup>n</sup>  
 child-Pl-Pl / house-Pl fall.Pfv yesterday  
 ‘The children/houses fell yesterday.’
- b. [[jēnām-bī-gē / yàmbāā-yē mà-lè] sēŋ gà dìgé<sup>n</sup>] lāā-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. [jénám màñ] tè sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 [child **Rel**] PfvNeg fall.Pfv  
 ‘the child who didn’t fall’
- b. [jénám màŋ] gà sēn-dē  
 [child **Rel**] Ipfv fall-Ipfv  
 ‘the child who falls’
- c. [jénám màn] nà sēn-dē  
 [child **Rel**] IPfvNeg fall-Ipfv  
 ‘the child who doesn’t fall’

#### 14.4.2 Object relative clause

The object NP functioning as head remains in its regular position, following the subject and post-subject inflectional markers but preceding the verb and any postverbal constituents. In the perfective positive, the verb is again followed immediately by remote perfective gà.

- (657) a. [ñ nāñ [nāā màā<sup>n</sup>] sàŋ gà dìgén] lāā-mì  
 [1Sg Sbj/Obj [cow **Rel**] buy.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?  
 ‘Where is the cow that I bought?’ (< sàw<sup>n</sup>, dìgéw<sup>n</sup>)

- b. [n̄      nān      [nāà-yē    mà-lē]    sàŋ      gà      dīgén]    lāā-mì  
 [1Sg    Sbj/Obj    [cow-Pl    **Rel-Pl**]    buy.Pfv    RemPfv    yesterday]    be.where?  
 ‘Where are the cows that I bought?’ (< nāà-yè, sàw<sup>n</sup>)

Further examples of object relatives are perfective negative (658a), imperfective positive (658b), and imperfective negative (658c).

- (658) a. n̄      dè      [jénám    màŋ]    kày  
 1Sg    PfvNeg    [child    **Rel**]    see.Pfv  
 ‘the child who(m) I didn’t see’ (dè variant of tè)
- b. ñ̄      gà      [jénám    màŋ]    kà-nà  
 1Sg    Ipfv    [child    **Rel**]    see-Ipfv  
 ‘the child who(m) I see’
- c. n̄      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    yàmbāà  
 man      house  
 ‘a/the man’s house’
- b. [[kēēgū    mǎ<sup>n</sup>]    yàmbāà]    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).

- (660) a.  $\bar{n}$  =nà<sup>n</sup> wólén dō gà [[yùgōm màn] tē]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj money give.Pfv RemPfv [[woman **Rel**] **Dat**]  
 ‘the woman to whom I gave the money’ (< wólēw<sup>n</sup>)
- b.  $\bar{n}$  =nà<sup>n</sup> wólé<sup>n</sup> syē gà [[sāākù màn] nìḡì]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj money put.in.Pfv RemPfv [[bag **Rel**] **inside**]  
 ‘the bag into which I put-Past the money’
- c. ḡ gā sògō [[dāmbā màn] nī]  
 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba **Rel**] **Inst**]  
 ‘the daba (=hoe) with which I cultivate (=work in the field).’

In relatives with  $\bar{g}\bar{u}\bar{u}$  ‘place’ as head, the special iterative form  $\bar{g}\bar{u}\bar{u}^n$ -mà- $\bar{g}\bar{u}\bar{u}^n$  (§14.2.4) does not allow the expected locative postposition  $n\bar{i}\bar{g}\bar{i}$ .

Manner relatives of the type ‘the way X VPs’ do not take the form of relative clauses. Instead,  $s\bar{i}$  ‘likeness’ or a synonym is added to a nominalized form of the subordinated clause (§15.8.3.1).

#### 14.4.5 Presentatives

Presentative  $k\bar{a}y$  or tonal variant is ordinarily treated as the final word in the highlighted NP. When relativized on, the relative marker precedes  $k\bar{a}y$ , as though the latter were still a verb (cf.  $k\bar{a}y$  ‘see.Pfv’).

- (661) [jūgū màn]  $k\bar{a}y$   $\bar{g}\bar{u}$   
 [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.

(662) [jīim      mà-sāā<sup>n</sup>]      [jī      kwààn      nā<sup>n</sup>      sàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [year      **Rel-all**]      [if      rain(n)      if.Pfv      rain.fall.Pfv]  
 [ē      tēlēw<sup>n</sup>]      bē      màpè  
 [1PI      gourd.plant]      **Seq**      be.good.Pfv  
 ‘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 adverbial 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 *sò/sò* ‘go’ can form compound-like sequences with other verbs, often without their usual directional senses. In addition, *hīnī* ‘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. *sèédù*    *sēw<sup>n</sup>*    [*à*        *bē*        *yà<sup>n</sup>-sò*]  
           S        **fall.Pfv**    [3Sg        Seq        **descend.Pfv-go**]  
           ‘Seydou fell and (then) dropped all the way)down.’ (< *yàw<sup>n</sup>*)
- b. *sèédù*        *sēw<sup>n</sup>-[yà-là]*  
           S            **fall.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv]**  
           ‘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*            *kùùù*  
           3Sg        (PfvNeg)        **be.able.Pfv**    run.Pfv  
           ‘He/She was (not) able to run.’

- b. à (tè) hīnì tāw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg (PfvNeg) **be.able.Pfv** ascend.Pfv  
 ‘He/She was (not) able to go up.’
- c. [kú-yē kòṁ] bè hīnì [dwō kwōnì]  
 [Dem-Pl Topic] Seq **be.able.Pfv** [enter.Pfv settlement]  
 ‘As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’  
 (2017-06 @ 03:14)

The more frequently occurring Ipfv stem of ‘be able’ undergoes contraction with the inflectional particle gā/gā (positive) and nà/nā (negative). For example, if gā 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 kùū  
 3Sg Ipfv / IpfvNeg **be.able.Ipfv** run.Ipfv  
 ‘He/She can (not) run.’
- b. à gè = / nè = ēnì tā-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 hīnì [sàbá kūū<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg be.able.Pfv [**chicken** catch.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She could not catch the chicken.’
- b. ñ 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 hīnì. 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<sup>n</sup> yìràw<sup>n</sup>]  
 1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [2Sg help.Pfv]  
 ‘I can help you-Sg.’

b. ñ      gè=      ēnā=      [ā<sup>n</sup>      yìrān-nà]  
 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 *tāw<sup>n</sup>* after Ipfv ‘be able’.

In some contexts the verb *kilè/kilē* ‘get, obtain’ can approximate the sense ‘be able (to VP)’ (668), cf. English *get to VP*.

(668) ñ      tē      kilè      dīgē      sōṅḍnì  
 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)      m̀ǹǹm̀      bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg      **come.Pfv**    (RemPfv)    dance.**Pfv**    here  
 ‘He/She came here to dance.’  
 or: ‘He/She came here and danced.’

b. à      bē      [kāy<sup>n</sup>      màà      bōw̃<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg      **come.Pfv**    [work(n)    look.for.**Pfv**    here]  
 ‘He/She came to look for work here.’

- c. à            bē            (gà)            [āŋ            kwāā]            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 *lāgà*, 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            gà            bē            [ŋ            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            gà            bē            sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 *sò/sò* ‘go’ can likewise be chained to a following VP in this function.

- (671) à            mān            sò            [m̄            bīindī]  
 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 noncentrifugal (‘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/sò                           -tāw<sup>n</sup>  
               3Sg       **come.Pfv/go.Pfv**       -ascend.**Pfv**  
               ‘He/She came/went and climbed up.’
- b.    à            gà            bē                           -tāw<sup>n</sup>  
                               gā            sò  
               3Sg    Ipfv    **come.Ipfv/go.Ipfv**       -ascend.**Pfv**  
               ‘He/She (often) goes and climbs up.’

### 15.2.4 bēw<sup>n</sup> ‘return’ plus another verb

bēw<sup>n</sup>/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	Ipfv	gloss
bēw <sup>n</sup>	bēŋ gà	bē-nē (~ bēn-dē)	‘return’
bēm-bē	bēŋ gà bē	bē-nē-bē (~ bēn-dē-bē)	‘come back’
bē <sup>n</sup> -sò	bēŋ gà sò	bē-nē-sò (~ bēn-dē-sò)	‘go back’

Unlike ‘come’ and ‘go’, bēw<sup>n</sup>/bē-nē is a reflexive verb, whether uncompounded or compounded (674).

- (674) a.    à        m̄            bēw<sup>n</sup> / bēm-bē / bē<sup>n</sup>-sò  
               3Sg   **3ReflSg**   return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv  
               ‘He/She returned/came back/went back.’

- b. ē      yè=      ē      bēw<sup>n</sup> / bēm-bē / bē<sup>n</sup>-sò  
 1Pl    Sbj/Obj    1Pl      return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv  
 ‘We returned/came back/went back.’
- c. è      gè=      ē      bē-nē / bē-ne-bē / bē-ne-sò  
 3Pl      Ipfv      3Ref1Pl    return.Ipfv / come.back.Ipfv / go.back.Ipfv  
 ‘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 bè. Care must be taken to distinguish Infin/Seq bè (which can raise to bē by tone sandhi) from bē ‘come’.

In (675a), bē-nē is followed by an infinitival VP that begins with bè. No centripetal motion is involved, so the alternative parsing with bē-nē-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 bè. In each of (675c-d) a form of ‘come back’ co-occurs with a sequential clause containing Seq bè.

- (675) a. è      gè=      ē      bē-nē      [bā=      à      kēbē]  
 3Pl    Ipfv    3Ref1Pl    **return**-Ipfv    [**Infin**    3Sg    build.Pfv]  
 ‘They are re-building it.’
- b. à      sēw<sup>n</sup>,      à      kīi,  
 3Sg      fall.Pfv,    3Sg      get.up.Pfv,  
 à      m̄      bēm-bē      [à      sēn]      tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    3Ref1Sg    **come.back**.Pfv    [3Sg    fall.Pfv]    **again**  
 ‘He fell, he got back up, and he (came back and) fell again.’ (< sēw<sup>n</sup>)
- c. à      gà      sēn-dē,      à      gā      kīi,  
 3Sg      Ipfv      fall.Ipfv,    3Sg      Ipfv      get.up.Ipfv,  
 à      gà      m̄      bēn-dē-bē      [à      bè      sēn]      tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    Ipfv    3Ref1Sg    **come.back**.Ipfv    [3Sg    **Seq**    fall.Pfv]    **again**  
 ‘(Often) he falls, he gets back up, and he (comes back and) falls again.’
- d. à      gà      sēn-dē,      à      gā      kīi,  
 3Sg      Ipfv      fall.Ipfv,    3Sg      Ipfv      get.up.Ipfv,  
 à      bè      m̄      bēm-bē      [à      bè      sēn]      tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg    Seq    3Ref1Sg    **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 Ipv stems (676a), those that take Ipv or Pfv form by agreement with Vb1 (676b), and those that have identical Pfv and Ipv stems so their aspectual form as Vb2 in compounds is indeterminate (676c).

(676)	Pfv/Ipfv	gloss	form as Vb2 in compound
a. Vb2 is Ipv stem			
	yàw <sup>n</sup> /yà-là	‘descend’	-[yà-là]
	tāw <sup>n</sup> /tā-nā	‘ascend’	-[tā-nā]
	bāā/bā-lā	‘exit (v)’	-[bā-lā]
b. Vb2 agrees with Vb1 in aspect			
	dwō/dō-lō	‘enter’	-dwō (Pfv) or -[dō-lō] (Ipfv)
c. Pfv and Ipv stems are indistinguishable			
	bē/bē	‘come’	-bē
	sò/sò	‘go’	-sò

In all such Vb1-Vb2 compounds, Vb1 takes its regular Pfv or Ipv 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 Ipv stem is usual in other contexts. The evidence for this is *è bē sō-yàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘then they went and retired (for the night)’ with Pfv *yàw<sup>n</sup>* ‘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 *tēw<sup>n</sup>/tē-lē-w<sup>n</sup>* ‘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.	yàw <sup>n</sup> /yà-là	‘descend’	tē <sup>n</sup> -[yà-là]	[tē-lē <sup>n</sup> ]-[yà-là]
	tāw <sup>n</sup> /tā-nā	‘ascend’	tēn-[tā-nā]	[tē-lēn]-[tā-nā]
	bāā/bā-lā	‘exit (v)’	tēm-[bā-lā]	[tē-lēm]-[bā-lā]
b.	dwō/dō-lō	‘enter’	tēn-[dwō]	[tē-lēd]-[dō-lō]
c.	bē/bē	‘come’	tēm-bē	[tē-lēm]-bē
	sò/sò	‘go’	tē <sup>n</sup> -sò	[tē-lē <sup>n</sup> ]-sò

In (678) tāw<sup>n</sup>/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/sò	Ø
				bē/sō	gà
		3Sg	<b>ascend-Pfv</b>	<b>come</b>	(RemPfv)
			‘He/She came up/went up.’		
	b.	à	gà	tā-nā	-bē/-sò
		3Sg	Ipfv	<b>ascend-Ipfv</b>	<b>come/go</b>
			‘He/She (often) comes/goes up.’		

Manner-of-motion verbs kùù/kùū ‘run’, kūūnū/kūūnù ‘crawl’, and pīrī/pīrì ‘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	kùù / kūūnū / pīrī	-[tā-nā]	(gà)
		3Sg	run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv	-[ascend- <b>Ipfv</b> ]	(RemPfv)
			‘He/She/It ran/crawled/flew up.’		
	b.	à	kùù / kūūnū / pīrī	-[tā-nā]	[ē      kwāā]
		3Sg	run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv	[-ascend- <b>Ipfv</b> ]	[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 (-*tā-nā* ‘ascends’). See, however, (683) below for a different ordering.

- (680) a. *à*            *sùwṑ̀*            -*bē* / -[*tā-nā*]  
 3Sg            sing.Pfv            -**come** / -[ascend-**Ipfv**]  
 ‘He/She came singing/went up singing.’
- b. *à*            *gā*            *sùwṑ̀-̀̀*            -*bē* / -[*tā-nā*]  
 3Sg            Ipfv            sing.Ipfv            -**come** / -[ascend-**Ipfv**]  
 ‘He/She came/went up singing.’
- c. *à*            *sèmpù̀̀wò̀̀*            *kwāā*            -*bē* / [-*tā-nā*]            *gà*  
 3Sg            donkey hit-Ipfv            hit.Pfv            -**come** / ascend-**Ipfv**            RemPfv  
 ‘He/She came/went up beating the donkey.’
- d. *à*            *gā*            *sèmpù̀̀wò̀̀*            [*kā-lā*]            -*bē*  
 3Sg            Ipfv            donkey            [hit-**Ipfv**]            -**come**  
 ‘He/She came beating the donkey.’
- e. *yèn*            *tēē*            *dīgā*            *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*            *tā<sup>n</sup>*            -*bē*/ -*sò*            [*ē*            *kwāā*]            (*gà*)  
 3SgAbj            ascend-Pfv            -**come** / -**go**            [1Pl            hit.**Pfv**]            (RemPfv)  
 ‘He/She came/went up to hit us.’

b. à           gà           tā-nā           -bē/ -sò                   [ē           kwāā]  
 3Sg       Ipfv       ascend-Ipfv   **-come / -go**       [1Pl       hit.**Pfv**]  
 ‘He/She (often) comes/goes up to hit us.’

At least ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, and ‘exit (v)’ show that Vb2 may be morphologically Ipfv 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 dèni ‘send (message, package)’, dèni-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, dèni-bē “send-come” can be used (cf. English *send ahead*).

(682) n̄        =nà        [n̄        tígé]        dèni-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) gà can intervene between Vb1 and Vb2. This contrasts with the ordering in (680c) above.

(683) mwò   [[dúgúŋ   gú]   tūn-nī                   gà       bā-lā   [ē   bwēy]   bōw̄"]  
 Rel   [[forest   Def]   disappear-Caus.Pfv   **RemPfv**   exit-Ipfv   [1Pl   Comit]   here]  
 ‘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)’, *tūwò* ‘depart(s)’, and *bày* ‘leave(s)’ cannot replace the Pfv verbs in these *bè* clauses.

(684) a. *ñ* = *nà<sup>n</sup>* *sūgē-ē* *kày*,  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see.Pfv,  
*̀m̀* *bē=* *ē* *sàw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.**Pfv**  
 ‘I saw some goats and bought them.’

b. *̀j̀* *gà* *sūgē-ē* *kà-nà*  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see-Ipfv,  
*̀m̀* *bē=* *ē* *sàw<sup>n</sup>*  
 1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.**Pfv**  
 ‘I (regularly) see goats and buy them.’

(685) a. *̀j̀* *sāā* *gà*  
 1Sg lie.down.Pfv RemPfv  
 [*̀m̀* *bē* *̀ǹ* *tūwō*]  
 [1Sg **Seq** 1Sg depart.**Pfv**]  
 ‘I spent the night and left.’

b. *̀j̀* *gà* *sāgà*,  
 1Sg Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv,  
 [*̀m̀* *bē* *̀ǹ* *tūwō*]  
 [1Sg **Seq** 1Sg depart.**Pfv**]  
 ‘I (often) spend the night and leave.’

(686) a. *ñ* = *nà<sup>n</sup>* *sāākū* *yàgà*  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj sack put.down.Pfv  
 [*̀m̀* *bā=* *ā* *bày* *yāw<sup>n</sup>*]  
 [1Sg **Seq** 3Sg leave.**Pfv** there.Def]  
 ‘I put-Past down and left the sack there.’

b. *̀j̀* *gà* *sāākū* *yàgā*  
 1Sg Ipfv sack put.down.Ipfv  
 [*̀m̀* *bā=* *ā* *bày* *yāw<sup>n</sup>*]  
 [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 *bē* 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           pēllà,  
           3Sg       pouched.rat   shoot.Pfv,  
           à=       à           wàgà  
           3Sg       3Sg       kill.Pfv  
           ‘He/She shot and killed a pouched rat.’

b.    à           wùjúm           pēllà  
       3Sg       pouched.rat   shoot.Pfv  
       à        bā=       ā           wàgà  
       3Sg       **Seq**       3Sg       kill.Pfv  
       ‘He/She shot and killed a pouched rat.’

The likely etymon for sequential *bè* is the verb *bē/bē* ‘come’, which often combines with other verbs and VPs in its literal motion sense. ‘Come’ is also the probable source of future *bē* and infinitival VP complementizer *bè*. Sequential *bè*, like future *bē* 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 *bē* 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) sèédù       yē       [ŋ           sāā           gà]  
       S       said   [LogoSbj   lie.down.Pfv   RemPfv]  
       [ṁ       bè       tāw<sup>n</sup>]  
       [**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 *bē kîlè* ‘proceed to’

Sequential *bè* can be elaborated by adding Pfv *kîlè* ‘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 *bē kîlè* clause does not vary according to the inflectional category of the first clause.

(689) a. *à = à sèȳ gà↑, à bē kîlā = [à bòndò] kûlēw<sup>n</sup>*  
 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 bā = à sèȳ↑,*  
 3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg tie.Pfv  
*à bē kîlā = [à bòndò] kûlēw<sup>n</sup>*  
 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-lê↑, à bē kîlē = [è bòndò] kûlēw<sup>n</sup>*  
 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) *dàmàngārì, ... è bē kîlè bē 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 *bē kîlè* is a mutation from *bē kîlèw<sup>n</sup>* 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            s̄āā                    gà            bōw̄<sup>n</sup>,  
           3Sg    lie.down.Pfv    RemPfv    here,  
           à            bè            ñ                    tūwō  
           **3Sg    Seq    3ReflSg    depart.Pfv**  
           'He/She spent the night here and left.'

b. è            s̄āā                    gà            bōw̄<sup>n</sup>,  
           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 s̄āā<sup>n</sup>

s̄āā<sup>n</sup> 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 gà, 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    p̄íȳé]    k̄ūū<sup>n</sup>,  
           3Sg    [3Sg   tail]    catch.Pfv,  
           à=        [à    p̄íȳé]    k̄ūūŋ        gà            s̄āā<sup>n</sup>  
           3Sg    [3Sg   tail]    catch.Pfv    **RemPfv when**,  
           [wōgōtū    ŋ-k̄ūūn    n̄í],  
           [time        Link-one    Inst],  
           à        k̄iȳē        [ē    n̄ògù]    n̄ā]  
           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, *sāā<sup>n</sup>* 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. *sāā<sup>n</sup>* 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’ (*gìlēw<sup>n</sup>*)

The verb *gìlēw<sup>n</sup>/gìlēw<sup>n</sup>* 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 *sāā<sup>n</sup>* ‘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            *gìlēm*            *bāā*            *gà*            *sāā<sup>n</sup>*]  
           [3Sg            **as.soon.as**            exit.Pfv            RemPfv            **when**]  
           [ì            *yā=*            *ā*            *wògà*]  
           [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*            *gìlēm*            *bā-lē=*]            [ē            *gā*            *dīgē*]  
           [3Sg            Ipfv            **as.soon.as**            exit-Ipfv]            [1Pl            Ipfv            eat.Antip.Ipfv]  
           ‘As soon as he/she comes out, we will eat.’ (< *bā-lā*)

#### 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 *sāā<sup>n</sup>* ‘all’, as right-edge marker.

(694) a. hàyà è kàȳlà bāā mēnēmēnè gù,  
 okay 3Pl **when** exit(v).Pfv M **Def**,  
 è bè bē bōw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 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 kàȳlà bē gū,  
 today livestock-Pl **when** come.Pfv **Def**,  
 à nā màṅè [sīlē pē-ỳ] sōkàālā dùgūbà  
 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= [ē siyé] kùù-ṅì,  
 3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv,  
 è kàȳlà dāā-mā gū  
 3Pl **when** go.far.Pfv **Def**  
 ‘They rode their horse. When they had gone a long way, ...’ (2017-04 @ 01:08)

d. à kàȳlà sāgā gū, [à kàȳ] à bè bē  
 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 kàȳlà clauses in the texts have Pfv verbs, an example with a stative verb is also attested (695).

(695) è kàȳlà bē-nā 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 gā and clause-final gu (see the following section) for the echo clause. Other speakers use kàȳlà without either gā or clause-final gu, as in (696).

- (696) [hàli-kànà è gā [kìbà gù] dwō],  
 [until 3Pl until.Pfv [marriage Def] enter.Pfv],  
 è kàȳlà [kìbà gù] dwō  
 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 kàȳlà involve motion verbs, although (694d) above with ‘lie down, spend the night’ shows that this is not obligatory. There is a particular association between kàȳlà and bāā/bā-lā ‘exit, leave’, as in (694a). As a result, kàȳlà 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) ᵐᵐᵐ kàȳlà bāā gū  
 Dem.Def when **exit**.Pfv Def  
 ‘after that’ (literally “when that had gone out”) (2017-01 @ 03:04)

A short variant kày instead of kàȳlà is attested (698). This raises the question whether kàȳlà may be diachronically related to presentative kày ~ kāy ‘here’s (X)!’ (§4.4.4.1, §10.2.2.3) and therefore (at one remove) related to the verb kày/kà-nà ‘see’.

- (698) è kày bē gù  
 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 kàȳlà ‘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 kàȳlà, but in its current state clause-final gu has taken on the role of ‘when/while’.

(699) à        bɛ        ñ            tɛɛ-n-sò,  
 3Sg    Seq     3ReflSg    lie.on.back.Pfv,  
 à        gà        ɲɔgɔ-lɛn    tɛgɛ-tɛgɛ        gù,  
 3Pl    **Ipfv**   eye        Iter-shut.Ipfv    **Def**,  
 [wàŋgé    gú]     pūri            tīw<sup>n</sup>  
 [hare        Def]    sneaking(n)    do.Pfv  
 ‘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 kàylà does not occur in this construction with final gu.

(700) hàlikàlā =    à        gā            kiyèw<sup>n</sup>        [[fāātūmà    ārdò]    kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 until            3Sg    until.Pfv    arrive.Pfv    [[F            chief]    chez],  
 à        kiyɛŋ        gà            [[fāātūmà    ārdò]    kāw<sup>n</sup>]    gù,  
 3Sg    arrive.Pfv    **RemPfv**    [[F            chief]    chez]    **Def**,  
 à        yɛ  
 3Sg        said  
 ‘... 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).

(701) súbáá<sup>n</sup>-só<sup>n</sup>        è        bɛ =        è        kū<sup>n</sup>,  
 morning            3Pl     Seq        3Pl     catch.Pfv,  
 ì        yè =        è        kūū-nā        gù,        à        yɛ  
 3Pl    Sbj/Obj    3Pl    catch-**Ppl**    **Def**,    3Sg    said  
 ‘In the morning they caught them. When they had caught them, he said: ...’  
 (2017-05 @ 00:34 to 00:38)

An initial kàylà ‘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 kàylà, but do feature RemPfv gà and clause-final definite gu (702).

(702) ē      kàylà    t55      dw =      ā-ȳ      gù,  
 1Pl    **when**    fire      put.in.Pfv    3Sg-Loc    **Def**,  
 t55    sāā              gā      gù,  
 fire    lie.down.Pfv    **RemPfv**    **Def**,  
 jīŋ    kīyē              gā      gù  
 year    pass.Pfv          **RemPfv**    **Def**

‘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)  
 (for jīŋ kīē see (486) in §11.1.1.2)

#### 15.4.5 ‘When/while’ PP with final -tūwō gū (nī)

In this construction, tūwō appears to function as a compound final after a verbal noun. tūwō is followed by definite gū, which is optionally followed by instrumental postposition nī. The construction is therefore basically an adverbial PP with tūwō or composite tūwō nī as postposition. tūwō is equated with the noun ‘heart’, since /H/-melodic tūwō ‘heart’ would regularly become M-toned -tūwō as final in a tone-leveled compound.

(703) a. è      nàŋ              gālwāājā-tūwō      gū  
 3Pl      Dem.Def      conversation-**heart**      **Def**  
 ‘during that conversation of theirs, ...’ (2017-07 @ 00:42)

b. è      nàŋ              kīirī-tūwō      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 gú] cyēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Seq [hare Def] carry.on.head.Pfv,  
 [à gā sò] [à gā sò]  
**[3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv] [3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv]**  
 hàlì-kànā à gā kiy<sup>n</sup>èŋ jīi-lāgà  
**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 nìŋî ‘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 bēē-nā] nìŋî  
 [3Pl come-Ppl] **inside**  
 ‘at the time of their coming’ (2017-01 @ 05:46)

#### 15.5 ‘Before ...’ clause (sò plus sequential bè clause)

A ‘before ...’ clause begins with sò (becoming sō before L-tone), most likely etymologically sò/sò ‘go’ but glossed simply as “before” in interlinears.

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. ĩj kùũ gà,  
 1Sg run.Pfv RemPfv,  
 sò zāndārmū-yē bē yàw<sup>n</sup> / ...  
 bè ... / tāw<sup>n</sup>  
**before** gendarme-Pl **Seq** descend.Pfv/ascend.Pfv  
 ‘I fled, before the gendarmes came down/came up.’
- b. sēdù bāā gà,  
 S exit.Pfv RemPfv,  
 sō ìn bē kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
**before** 1Sg **Seq** arrive.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou had (already) left before I arrived (here).’

- c. ñ            gā            ì            pùgèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 1Sg    Ipfv        1Sg        hide.Pfv,  
 [sō            tùù<sup>n</sup>-yē    bē        kì]         
**[before    bee-Pl        Seq        get.up.Pfv]**  
 ‘I will hide (=take shelter) before the bees get up (=swarm).’ (< bē)
- d. ām            pùgèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 2Sg        hide.Pfv,  
 [sō            tùù<sup>n</sup>-yē    bà=        ā<sup>n</sup>        sīw<sup>n</sup>]  
**[before    bee-Pl        Seq        2Sg        bite.Pfv]**  
 ‘Hide (=take shelter) before the bees bite you.’ (< bē)  
 (‘hide’ is reflexive imperative)
- e. sò            kōrsòl        bē            kiyèw<sup>n</sup>  
**before    buildup    Seq        arrive.Pfv**  
 ‘before the buildup to the rainy season arrives’ (2017-02 @ 02:16)

If the ‘before ...’ clause denotes a harmful event that is/was avoided, instead of bē one can use prohibitive mà<sup>n</sup>, as in ‘lest’ complements of ‘fear’ (§17.2.3). This alternative is possible in (707d) above, which could therefore be re-phrased as (707a) below. Another example is (707b), which also illustrates the pejorative function of the second sò ‘go’ (§15.2.2) preceding the final VP.

- (707) a. ām            pùgèw<sup>n</sup>  
 2Sg        hide.Pfv  
 sō            tùù<sup>n</sup>-yè    mā=        ā<sup>n</sup>        sīw<sup>n</sup>  
**before    bee-Pl        Proh        2Sg        bite.Pfv**  
 ‘Hide-2Sg (=take shelter) before/lest the bees bite you.’ (< bē)
- b. ñ            kùù        gā,  
 1Sg    run.Pfv    RemPfv,  
 sò            zāndārmū-yē    mà<sup>n</sup>    sō        [ñ        kwāā]  
**before    gendarme-Pl        Proh    go.Pfv    [1Sg    hit.Pfv]**  
 ‘I fled, before the gendarmes (could) (go and) hit me.’ (< kùù, sò)

## 15.6 Coincidence in time and space (bā = à tìw<sup>n</sup>)

tìw<sup>n</sup>/tī-nà ‘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 bē ‘come’ followed by a perfective VP in the sense ‘came and VPed’ or ‘came in order to VP’ (§15.2.1).

(708) a.  $\bar{m}$        $b\bar{e}$             (gà)            [sèédù       $t\bar{i}w^n$ ]  
 1Sg    **come.Pfv**    (RemPfv)    [S            **find.Pfv**]  
 ‘I ran into Seydou.’

b.  $\eta$       gà       $b\bar{e}$             [sèédù       $t\bar{i}w^n$ ]  
 1Sg    Ipfv    Fut            [S            **find.Pfv**]  
 ‘I (often) run into Seydou.’

$t\bar{i}w^n$  can also have a propositional complement expressed as a regular main clause, which is resumed by 3Sg  $\grave{a}$  as object of  $t\bar{i}w^n$ . The phrase  $b\bar{a} = \grave{a} t\bar{i}w^n$  (variant with  $t\bar{i}^n$ ) 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  $g\grave{a}$  is not allowed after ‘come’ in this construction.

(709) a.  $\bar{m}$        $b\bar{a} =$              $\grave{a}$              $t\bar{i}\eta$   
 1Sg    come.Pfv    3Sg    **find.Pfv**  
 [jēnām-bī-gē      gà      tēē      dīgà]  
 [child-Pl-Pl      Ipfv    meat    eat.Ipfv]  
 ‘I encountered the children eating meat.’

b.  $\bar{m}$        $b\bar{a} =$              $\grave{a}$              $t\bar{i}^n$   
 1Sg    come.Pfv    3Sg    **find.Pfv**  
 [sèédū      sò]  
 [S            go.Pfv]  
 ‘I came only to find that Seydou had (already) left.’

c. sèédù       $b\bar{a} =$             [ $\grave{a}$              $t\bar{i}^n$ ]  
 S            **come.Pfv**    [3Sg      do.Pfv]  
 [[ $\eta$                       kànààṅ-kēē]      bāā]  
 [[3Ref1Sg      friend-male]      exit(v).Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> came (only) to find that his<sub>x</sub> friend had gone out.’ (<  $t\bar{i}w^n$ )

d. sèédù      gà       $b\bar{e}$              $b\bar{a} =$             [ $\grave{a}$              $t\bar{i}^n$ ]  
 S            Ipfv    Fut            **come.Pfv**    [3Sg      do.Pfv]  
 [[ $\eta$                       kànààṅ-kēē]      bāā]  
 [[3Ref1Sg      friend-male]      exit(v).Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> will come (only) to find that his<sub>x</sub> friend has gone out.’

- e. sèèdù      gà      bā =      [à      tī<sup>n</sup>]  
 S      Ipfv      **come.Ipfv**      [3Sg      do.Pfv]  
 [[ī]      kànààṅ-kēē]      bāā]  
 [[3ReflSg      friend-male]      exit(v).Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> (often) comes (only) to find that his<sub>x</sub> friend has gone out.’

à tī<sup>n</sup> 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 tī<sup>n</sup> in (709) was originally of the type ‘X came, it happened (that ...)’. However, this parsing is no longer transparent as bā = à tī<sup>n</sup> has become fused.

This structurally somewhat opaque bā = à tī<sup>n</sup> 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 tī<sup>n</sup> is in the murky zone between a compositional reading including bē ‘come’ and a reading where bā = à tī<sup>n</sup> is fused together.

- (710) a. ī      kīyēṅ      gà  
 1Sg      arrive.Pfv      RemPfv  
 [(m̄)      bā =      à      tī<sup>n</sup>]  
 [(1Sg)      **come.Pfv**      3Sg      **do.Pfv**]  
 [jēnā-mbī-gē      gā      sùwō-lò]  
 [child-Pl-Pl      Ipfv      sing-Ipfv]  
 ‘I arrived to find that the children were singing.’
- b. sèèdū      gà      bē      sō      nḡgī-ỳ,  
 S      Ipfv      Fut      go.Pfv      village-Loc,  
 [(à)      bā =      à      tī<sup>n</sup>]  
 [(3Sg)      **come.Pfv**      3Sg      **do.Pfv**]  
 [āṅ      kwà =      ān      tūwō]  
 [2Sg      already      2Sg      depart.Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou will go to the village, (only) to find that you-Sg have left.’  
 (< kḡ<sup>n</sup> §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 *bē* ‘come’, then Ipfv *kō-lā* ‘be added, join’, a time adverb like *wày* ‘today’, then comitative *bwēy* ‘with’ which accompanies *kō-lā* in the relevant sense (‘be added, join’).

- (711) [ *bē*            *kō-lā*                            [ *wày-kúgú*            *bwēy* ] ]  
 [ come    be.added-Ipfv            [ today                            Comit ] ]  
*ē*            *nā*                            *bwō*                            *kà-nà*  
 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 dīgēw*<sup>n</sup> ‘(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*                            *m̄*                            *bē*                            *gà,*                            *̀n*                            *tè*                            *dīgē*  
**all.the.way**    1Sg                            come.Pfv    RemPfv,    1Sg                            PfvNeg    eat.Antip.Pfv  
 ‘Since I got here, I haven’t eaten.’
- b. *hàlā*=                            [ *ā*                            *kàà* ]                            *lōgōŋ*                            *gà,*  
**all.the.way**    [ 3Sg                            father ]                            die.Pfv                            RemPfv,  
 [ *à*                            *ŋōgō<sup>n</sup>* ]                            *wwō-nā*                            *nì*  
 [ 3Sg                            soul ]                            weep-Ppl                            it.is  
 ‘Ever since his father died, he has been distraught.’

- c. h̀̀l̀̀i      ń              k̀̀i              g̀̀a,  
 since      LogoSg      get.up.Pfv      RemPfv,  
 ń              t̀̀e              b̀̀āa              [h̀̀j̀̀i-s̀̀ēm              p̀̀a]  
 LogoSg      PfvNeg      exit(v).Pfv      [pilgrimage-road      Comit]  
 [ń̀̀a =      à              ǹ̀a              ẁ̀āy              ǹ̀i]  
 [if      3Sg      not.be      today      it.is]  
 ‘(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 h̀̀l̀̀i and h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀aǹ̀a ~ h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀al̀̀a ‘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 h̀̀l̀̀i or its extension h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀aǹ̀a ~ h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀al̀̀a (sometimes syncopated to h̀̀l̀̀-k̀̀aǹ̀a ~ h̀̀l̀̀-k̀̀al̀̀a). Simple h̀̀l̀̀i (but not h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀aǹ̀a) 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. ń      =ǹ̀āŋ      k̀̀ūŋgóló      kw̄āa      [h̀̀al̀̀a =      à      ẁ̀āa]  
 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. ń      =n̄̄<sup>n</sup>      [s̀̀ib̀̀ò      p̀̀īiŋ]      k̀̀al̀̀a      [h̀̀al̀̀a =      à      t̄aw<sup>n</sup>]  
 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 h̀̀l̀̀i plus post-subject g̀̀a/g̀̀a ‘until’

There is a second type of ‘until’ clause. This one is characterized by post-subject g̀̀a/g̀̀a (glossed as ‘until.Pfv’ in interlinears) and a Pfv verb. Clause-initial h̀̀l̀̀i or h̀̀l̀̀i-k̀̀aǹ̀a ‘until’ is often but not always present.

This g̀̀a/g̀̀a is segmentally homophonous to the high-frequency imperfective positive inflectional marker g̀̀a, and the two occur in the same post-subject position. However, the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates tonally to the preceding tone, while Ipfv g̀̀a/g̀̀a assimilates tonally to it. 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)<sup>n</sup>/nā(w)<sup>n</sup> 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	‘until X came’	‘until X went’
a.	2Sg	āŋ gà bē	āŋ gā sò
	2Pl	āā gà bē	āā gā sò
	1Pl	ē gà bē	ē gā sò
	LogoSg	ŋ gà bē	ŋ gā sò
	LogoPl	ē gà bē	ē gā sò
b.	3Sg	à gā bē	à gā sò
	3Pl	è gā bē	è gā sò
	1Sg	ì gā bē	ì gā sò
c.	‘Seydou’	sèèdù gā bē	sèèdù gā sò
	‘the snake’	sìbò gā bē	sìbò gā sò

Examples are in (715).

(715)	a.	à	kùmū	gà		
		3Sg	sleep.Pfv	RemPfv		
		[hàlì	ŋ	gā=	à	kwāā]
		<b>[all.the.way</b>	1Sg	<b>until.Pfv</b>	3Sg	<b>hit.Pfv]</b>
		‘He/She slept until I tapped him/her.’ (< kùmù)				
	b.	à	tè	pà-sí	tìw <sup>n</sup> ,	
		3Sg	PfvNeg	thing-any	do.Pfv,	
		hàlì	ŋ	gā	sūgō	kwāā
		<b>until</b>	1Sg	<b>until.Pfv</b>	goat	<b>hit.Pfv</b>
		‘He/She didn’t do anything, until I beat the goat.’				

- c. [à            tàbā-bàā]            pàjùgà,  
 [3Sg            foot-body]            heal.Pfv,  
 à        gē=            [ē        tìgè            sāāŋ]        kùrwè,  
 3Sg    **until.Pfv**    [3Pl        baggage        all]        steal.Pfv,  
 [à        gā=            à        cyēw<sup>n</sup>]                            [à        bè        kīyē]  
 [3Sg    **until.Pfv**    3Sg    carry.on.head.Pfv]    [3Sg    Seq    pass.Pfv]  
 ‘His leg healed, until he (was able to) steal all of their possessions and load them up on his head. Then he went on his way.’ (2017-05 @ 03:07-09)

- d. è        bē=            ē            tūwō            [à        bwēȳ],  
 3Pl    Seq        3Ref1Pl    depart.Pfv    [3Sg        Comit],  
 hāl-kànà    è            gā            sà=            [à        kūū<sup>n</sup>]  
 until        3Pl        **until.Pfv**    go.Pfv        [3Sg        catch]  
 ‘They went after him. Eventually they went and caught him.’  
 (2017-05 @ 03:20-23)

Example (715c) shows that two gā/gā clauses can be juxtaposed.

One narrator uses gā/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’ (gìlì, hālì)

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 gā/gā ‘until.Pfv’ and a Pfv verb. One or the other of the two book-ending clauses begins with hālì ‘all the way (to)’, which can be prospective ‘until’ or retrospective ‘since’. If the second clause has hālì (or its extended variant hālì-kànà) the first clause is either bare or begins with gílì ‘since, from the time that’. If the first clause has hālì, the second clause has no initial subordinator.

The combination gílì plus hālì is illustrated in (716a). (716b) has just hālì-kànà at the beginning of the second clause. (716c) has just hālì in the first clause.

(716) a. gīlā=      à              yàñ              gà,  
**since**      3Sg              descend.Pfv              RemPfv,1  
hàlā=      à              gā              tāw<sup>n</sup>,  
**until**      3Sg              **until.Pfv**              ascend.**Pfv**  
à              tè              dīgē  
3Sg              PfvNeg              eat.Antip.Pfv  
‘From the time that he/she went down, until he/she went (back) up, he/she didn’t eat.’  
(< gīlī à yàw<sup>n</sup> gà, hàlī à)

b. [ī              yā=              ā              yègē              gà]  
[3Pl              Sbj/Obj              3Sg              give.birth.Pfv              RemPfv]  
[hàlī-kànà      à              gā              lōgō<sup>n</sup>]  
[**until**              3Sg              **until.Pfv**              die.**Pfv**]  
[à              nà              m̄              māy<sup>n</sup>]  
[3Sg              IpfvNeg              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. hàlī              kúngóló      bē              gà,  
**all.the.way**      dog              come.Pfv              RemPfv,  
à              gā              ñ              tūwō,  
3Sg              until.Pfv              3ReflSg              depart.**Pfv**,  
ñ              kōndō      gà              kwāā<sup>n</sup>=      [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 dēē-[bā-lā] X, bē 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. déé-[bá-lá] is a special H-toned variant, used in this construction only, of the regular verbal compound dēē-[bā-lā] ‘pick up and exit’ (i.e. ‘pick up and take out’). In (717) the context is spatial.

(717) [à              déé-[bá-lá]                              yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
[3Sg              **pick.up.Pfv**-[**exit(v)**]-Ipfv]              there,  
bē              [tèngèlì-págú      mà(w)<sup>n</sup>]      āñ      gā=      ā              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) [nògù-bēm      p̀w̄ō      g̀à]              bē              [s̀āà-g̀ù      bwḕȳ]  
 [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              s̀āà              [h̀ālā =      ā              b̀ànd̀à]  
 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*/*dēè* ‘pick up’ plus imperfective (‘keep doing’)

In this construction, the main clause with *dēē*/*dēè* 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      b̀ā =      à      dē =              [ē              g̀ā      s̀ò],  
 3Pl      Seq      3Sg      **pick.up.Pfv**      [3ReflPl      Ipfv      go.Ipfv],  
 è      b̀ā =      à      dē =              [ē              g̀ā      s̀ò]  
 3Pl      Seq      3Sg      **pick.up.Pfv**      [3ReflPl      Ipfv      go.Ipfv]  
 ‘They kept on going, they kept on going.’ (2017-05 @ 01:30)
- b. ì̄      g̀ā =      à      dēē              [ì̄      g̀à      dīgē̄]  
 1Sg      Ipfv      3Sg      **pick.up.Pfv**      [1Sg      Ipfv      eat.Antip.Ipfv]  
 ‘I kept on eating.’

c. zàkí    à    dēē            [ŋ            gā    kùmū-nà]  
 Z        3Sg    **pick.up.Pfv**    [3ReflSg    Ipfv    sleep-Ipfv]  
 ‘Zaki kept sleeping.’

## 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            [wógótú / tálám / jīim            màw<sup>n</sup>]  
 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 wógótū ‘time, moment in time’.

(722)    ŋ            kùmū            gā  
 1Sg            sleep.Pfv            RemPfv  
 [[wógótú    mà<sup>n</sup>]    sùrù-mbē    gā    mànàmī]  
 [[**time**    **Rel**]    remainder-Pl    Ipfv    dance.Ipfv]  
 ‘I slept while the others danced.’

b.    n̄            =nà<sup>n</sup>            n̄            mīlā  
 1Sg            Sbj/Obj            1Sg            think.Pfv  
 [[wógótú    mà<sup>n</sup>]    n̄            kōndō            gā            n̄n̄ī]  
 [[**time**    **Rel**]    1Sg            stay.Pfv            RemPfv            walk.Ipfv]  
 ‘I thought (=reflected) while I was walking.’

### 15.8.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where ...’)

The noun ‘place’ is gūū<sup>n</sup>. It has an irregular iterative form as relative-clause head, pronounced either gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> or gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup>, instead of expected #gūū<sup>m</sup> màw<sup>n</sup>. This occurs in the regular position of spatial adverbials, postverbal and followed only by temporal adverbs.

- (723) ē            gā            bē            sò  
 1Pl            Ipfv            Fut            go.Pfv  
 [jéná<sup>n</sup>        sēŋ            gà            gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēn        dìgég<sup>n</sup>]  
 [child        fall.Pfv        RemPfv        place-Rel-place        yesterday]  
 ‘We will go (to) where the child fell yesterday.’

For additional information on gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gég<sup>n</sup> or gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> 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 síí ‘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 §12.2.4.2.

- (724) a. ñ            nā            [sèédù        kāy<sup>n</sup>-nà            síí]            pōgò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        [S            work(v)-**Nom**        **likeness**]        like.Ipfv  
 ‘I don’t like the way Seydou works.’
- b. ñ            gā            [sèédù        kāy<sup>n</sup>-nà            síí]            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. ñ            gā            [sèédù        sūgō            būwò-nà            síí]            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 (hòndò)

An ‘as though’ clause takes the form of an instrumental PP (postposition ñ) whose complement is a compound noun of the type ‘likeness of [X VP]’. This complement NP begins with hòndò ‘like’ and optionally ends with síí focalized from sī ‘description, breed, kind’ or synonym.

- (725) a.    à           gà           ṅ                   yàgà  
           3Sg       Ipfv       3ReflSg           put.down.Ipfv  
           [[hònò    ṅ            nā            h       tó]            ní]  
           [[**like**    3ReflSg    IpfvNeg   1Sg   know.Ipfv]   Inst.Foc]  
           ‘He<sub>x</sub> acts like (pretends that) he<sub>x</sub> doesn’t know me.’
- b.    jénánj       gá       wwō  
       child       Ipfv       weep.Ipfv  
       [[hònò    ṅ            tè            dìgè]                   sí]           (ní)]  
       [[**like**    3ReflSg    PfvNeg   eat,Antip.Pfv]   **breed.Foc**]   (Inst.Foc)]  
       ‘The child is weeping as though he/she hasn’t eaten.’ (< dīgē)

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 *pàw<sup>n</sup>* (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) yùrùgū       kwààn       nà           bē       sàw<sup>n</sup>,  
       this.year    rain(n)    IpfvNeg   Fut       rain.fall.Pfv,  
       [[hònō    [ʃègō       pà<sup>n</sup>]       sí]       (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 $jā^n \sim jī^n$ ‘if’, perfective $nà(w)^n/nā(w)^n$

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  $jā^n \sim jī^n$ . The post-subject inflectional slot has a specialized ‘if’ marker  $nà(w)^n/nā(w)^n$ , found only in perfective positive clauses, which elsewhere lack a post-subject morpheme. When  $nà(w)^n/nā(w)^n$  is present, the clause-initial  $jā^n \sim jī^n$  is optional. In perfective negative antecedents, the only post-subject morpheme is the usual PfvNeg morpheme *tè*, so the clause-initial  $jā^n \sim jī^n$  is necessary to mark the clause as an antecedent. The forms are summarized in (727).

(727) a. clause-initial	$jā^n \sim jī^n$	
b. post-subject	positive	negative
perfective	$nà(w)^n/nā(w)^n$	<i>tè</i>

Pronominal and other subjects combined with  $nà(w)^n/nā(w)^n$  are in (728). The morpheme dissimilates to the tone of a pronominal proclitic (before further tone sandhi). Thus  $nà(w)^n$  after M-toned pronominal (728a) and  $nā(w)^n$  after L-toned pronominal (728b). The distinction between  $nà(w)^n$  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	$\bar{e} \ n\grave{a}m \ b\bar{e}$	$\bar{e} \ n\bar{a}^n \ s\grave{o}$
	2Sg	$\bar{a}^n \ n\grave{a}m \ b\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}^n \ n\bar{a}^n \ s\grave{o}$
	2Pl	$\bar{a}\bar{a} \ n\grave{a}m \ b\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}\bar{a} \ n\bar{a}^n \ s\grave{o}$
	Logo/3ReflSg	$\bar{n} \ n\grave{a}m \ b\bar{e}$	$\bar{n} \ n\bar{a}^n \ s\grave{o}$
	Logo/3ReflPl	$\bar{e} \ n\grave{a}m \ b\bar{e}$	$\bar{e} \ n\bar{a}^n \ s\grave{o}$

b. 3Sg	à nām bē	à nā <sup>n</sup> sò
3Pl	è nām bē	è nā <sup>n</sup> sò
1Sg	h̄ nām bē	h̄ nā <sup>n</sup> sò

The tonal alternation in nà(w)<sup>n</sup> versus nā(w)<sup>n</sup> is paralleled by that of prohibitive mà<sup>n</sup> and mā<sup>n</sup>.

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. jnāŋ kwààn nā<sup>n</sup> sàw<sup>n</sup>, h̄ nā sò sōŋd̄-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. jnāŋ kwàān tē sàw<sup>n</sup>, h̄ gā sò sōŋd̄-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. jnāŋ kwàān tē sàw<sup>n</sup>, kò só sōŋd̄-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. jnāŋ kwàān tē sàw<sup>n</sup>, sò sōŋd̄-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. jnā<sup>n</sup> sèēdù gā bōw̄<sup>n</sup>, kúnǵóló ná wwō  
**if** S be.Loc here, dog IpfvNeg cry.Ipfv  
 ‘If Seydou is here, the dog won’t bark.’
- b. jnān dàmbà gā [h̄ sūgì-ỳ], h̄ gè= ēnī sògō  
**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. jnā<sup>n</sup>= ā<sup>n</sup> sāgā-nā nì,  
**if** 2Sg lie.down-Ppl it.is,  
 āŋ gē= ēnī kāy<sup>n</sup> mèn-tìw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(v).Ipfv how?  
 ‘If you are lying down, how can you work?’ (< kāy<sup>n</sup>)

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) *nā* = *ān*      *nà<sup>n</sup>*      *sēw<sup>n</sup>*,      *āŋ*      *gālā*      *kùì*  
**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) *nāŋ*      *kwààn*      *nā<sup>n</sup>*              *sàw<sup>n</sup>*  
 if      rain      if.Pfv              rain.fall.Pfv  
*ē*      *gā*      *kōndò*      *bōw<sup>n</sup>*,  
 1Pl      1Pfv      stay.Ipfv      here,  
*nā* =      *à*      *nàŋ*      *ŋón*              *ní*,  
**if**      **3Sg**      **if.Pfv**      **Dem.Def.Foc**      **it.is.Foc**,  
*ē*      *gā*      *sò*      *sōŋò-y*  
 1Pl      1Pfv      go.Ipfv      the.bush-Loc  
 ‘If it rains, we’ll stay here. Otherwise (=if not), we’ll go the fields.’  
 (< *à nāw<sup>n</sup>*)

### 16.1.3 *sāā<sup>n</sup>* ‘all’ as right-edge marker in antecedents

The universal quantifier *sāā<sup>n</sup>* ‘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) [*sābì*      *n̄*              *nà* =      *āā*      *kò*              [*jíí*      *nī*]      *sāā<sup>n</sup>*],  
 [because LogoSg if.Pfv 2Pl furnish.Pfv [water Inst] **all**],  
*āŋ*      *gā*      *pò-lò*      [[*ŋ*              *kóló<sup>n</sup>*]      *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 *sāā<sup>n</sup>* occurs without overt conditional markers in temporal adverbial clauses (‘when/after ...’).

## 16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

### 16.2.1 ‘Even if ...’ (*hàli*)

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 *hàli* ‘even’ (§19.1.4). It is optionally followed by *ṅā<sup>n</sup>* ‘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)<sup>n</sup>/nā(w)<sup>n</sup>* ‘if.Pfv’ in (734a-b).

(734) a. *hàl* =     *ān*           *nàm*           *bē*           *ṅàànú* ↗,  
**even**   2Sg           if.Pfv           come.Pfv   tomorrow,Foc  
*ān*       *nā*           *dīgè*       *bōw<sup>n</sup>*  
2Sg       IpfvNeg   eat.Ipfv   here  
‘Even if you-Sg come tomorrow [focus], you won’t eat here.’

b. *hàli*     *ṅāṅ*     *kwààn*     *nā<sup>n</sup>*           *sàw<sup>n</sup>*,  
**even**   if       rain(n)     **If.Pfv**       rain.fall.Pfv,  
*ṅ*       *nà*           *cī-lī*           *ṅàànù*  
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) [*kwāā<sup>n</sup>*   *sàw<sup>n</sup>* ↗]           [*à*       *tē*       *sàw<sup>n</sup>*],  
[rain(n)   rain.fall.Pfv]   [3Sg   PfvNeg   rain.fall.Pfv]  
[*ṅ*   *pāān*]   *nā* =       *ā-ỳ*,       *ṅ*       *gā*       *sò*       *sōṅḍè-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  $jā^n$  ‘if’. Instead, it has a post-subject counterfactual (i.e. irrealis) morpheme  $pàà$ . It is shortened to  $pà$  (becoming  $pā$  by tone sandhi) before 1Sg  $ɲ$  and contracts with vocalic pronominal objects. Before any other word it is realized as  $pàà$  (becoming  $pāā$  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.  $\bar{a}m$        $pā$        $ɲ$        $kwāā$        $gà$        $dìgév^n$ ,  
 2Sg      **Counterf**      1Sg      hit.Pfv      RemPfv      yesterday,  
 $ɲ$        $gà=$        $\bar{a}^n$        $wàgā$   
 1Sg      Ipfv      2Sg      kill.Ipfv  
 ‘If you-Sg had hit me yesterday, I’d have killed you.’

b.  $\bar{a}m$        $pāā$        $tè$        $bē$        $dìgév^n$ ,  
 2Sg      **Counterf**      PfvNeg      come.Pfv      yesterday  
 $ɲ$        $gā$        $sà=$       [ $\bar{a}m$        $māā$ ]  
 1Sg      Ipfv      go.Ipfv      [2Sg      look.for.Ipfv]  
 ‘If you-Sg hadn’t come yesterday, I’d have gone looking for you.’ (<  $sò$ )

c.  $à$        $pāā$        $dìrisā$        $nì$   
 3Sg      **Counterf**      D      it.is,  
 $à$        $nā$        $kùū$   
 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  $jā^n$  ‘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. *jām*    *mōtōm*    *pā*    [ɲ]    *sūgì-y*  
**if**    motorcycle    **Counterf**    [1Sg    hand-Loc]  
ɲ    *gè =*    *ēnì*    [[*sō*    *nògì-ỳ*]    *bē*]  
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. *jām*    *mōtōm*    *pàà*    *nā*    [ɲ]    *sūgì-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. *jā<sup>n</sup>*    *m̄*    *pàā*    *nàpòrò-tūgū*    *nì,*  
**if**    1Sg    **Counterf**    rich.person    it.is,  
ɲ    *nà*    *kōndō*    *nògì-ỳ*  
1Sg    IpfvNeg    stay.Ipfv    village  
‘If I were a rich person, I wouldn’t stay in the village.’
- d. *jā<sup>n</sup>*    *m̄*    *pàà*    *sēɲ*    *gà*  
**if**    1Sg    **Counterf**    fall.Pfv    RemPfv  
ɲ    *gā*    *kī*  
1Sg    Ipfv    get.up.Ipfv  
‘If I fell (=if I were to fall), I’d get up.’ (< *sēw<sup>n</sup>*)

## 17 Complement and purposive clauses

### 17.1 Quotative complements

There are two ‘say’ predicates. One is the defective quasi-verb *yè/yē* ‘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. *sèédù*      *āāmādù*      *tīyē*      [*sālā*      *āŋ*      *gā*      *wùlāā*      *nì*]  
S            A            ask.Pfv      [whether      **2Sg**      be      who?      it.is]  
‘Seydou asked Amadou<sub>x</sub> “who are you<sub>x</sub>?” ’
- b. *sèédù*      *āāmādù*      *tīyē*      [*sālā*      *à*      *gā*      *wùlāā*      *nì*]  
S            A            ask.Pfv      [whether      **3Sg**      be      who?      it.is]  
‘Seydou asked Amadou<sub>x</sub> who he<sub>x</sub> was.’
- c. *é!*,      *tèēn-tùgù*      *yā=*      [*à*      *gālè=*      *ē*      *kò*      [*jíí*      *nī*]]  
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)

- d. à yē [ɲ = nà<sup>n</sup> lōgō<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg if.Pfv die.Pfv all]  
 [è gālā sò [ɲ nī] mààlù  
 [3PI Sbjn go.Pfv [LogoSg Inst] M  
 ‘He (=Lasine) said, “when I die, take-2Pl me to Madougou.”’ (2017-01 @ 04:59)

Conversion of second to third person can create ambiguities. (738a) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou<sub>x</sub> who you<sub>y</sub> were’, where ‘you’ is the current addressee rather than Amadou. Similarly, (738b) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou<sub>x</sub> who he/she<sub>y</sub> 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 yè<sup>n</sup>.

- (739) a. sèédù yē ‘Seydou said’  
 sūgō yè ‘the goat said’  
 kúnǵóló yè ‘the dog said’
- b. à yē ‘he/she said’  
 ì yē ‘they said’
- c. ē yè ‘we said’  
 āā yè ‘you-Pl said’  
 ē yè ‘LogoPl said’
- d. ɲ jē ‘I said’  
 āɲ jè ‘you-Sg said’  
 ɲ jè ‘LogoSg said’

The tonal difference between yē and yè in (739) is overt when they are followed by an M-tone (740), since M-tones do not trigger tone sandhi.

- (740) a. à / ì                    yē            [sūgō    sò]  
           3Sg/3Pl                said            [goat    go.Pfv]  
           ‘He-or-she/They said, the goat has gone.’
- b. ē / ē                        yè            [sūgō    sò]  
           1Pl / LogoPl            said            [goat    go.Pfv]  
           ‘We/They (logophoric) said, the goat has gone.’

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).

- (741) a. ē            yā=        [à        bē]  
           1Pl        **said**        [3Sg    come.Pfv]  
           ‘We said that he/she came.’ (< ē yè à)
- b. ì            yē=        [ē            bē]  
           3Pl        **said**        [1Pl/LogoPl    come.Pfv]  
           ‘They<sub>x</sub> said that we/they<sub>x</sub> came.’ (< è yè ē)

The contraction can occasionally lead to confusion with yè (bidirectional case marker) or with yè<sup>n</sup> ‘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).

- (742) a. sèédù    yā=        [ā<sup>n</sup>        ŋ            kwāā]  
           S            **said**        [2Sg    LogoSg    hit.Pfv]  
           ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> said that you-Sg hit him<sub>x</sub>.’

- b. sèédù yē [̀n tē] [̀j gā bē]  
 S **said** [1Sg **Dat**] [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> told me that he<sub>x</sub> is coming.’
- c. sèédù yē nà̀nù  
 S **said** tomorrow  
 ‘Seydou said (it’s) tomorrow.’
- d. sèédù yè kú  
 S **said** Dem  
 ‘Seydou said (it’s) that.’
- e. sèédù yē [̀n tē]  
 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 yè kú  
 Q S **said** Dem  
 ‘Did Seydou say that?’
- b. wùlāá yē nà̀nù  
 who?.Foc **said** tomorrow  
 ‘Who said (it’s) tomorrow?’
- c. sèédù yē māsí  
 S **said** what?.Foc  
 ‘Seydou said what?’
- d. [mày<sup>n</sup> yē nà̀nù] lāā-màtāy  
 [Rel **said** tomorrow] be.where?  
 ‘Where is the one (=the person) who said (it’s) tomorrow?’

yè/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 Ipfv gā/gā or (in conditional antecedents) perfective positive nà(w)<sup>n</sup>/nā(w)<sup>n</sup>. In all these combinations, yè/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).





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) *sèédù 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) *sèédù yē= [ē mǎ<sup>n</sup> sò]*  
 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 ò tīyē gà*  
 3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv  
*sālā [ɲ káá] gà bōw<sup>n</sup>*  
**whether** [1Sg father] be.Loc here  
 ‘He/She asked me whether my father was there.’

b. *à tīyē gà*  
 3Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv  
*sālā wùlāā gà bē*  
**whether who?** Ipfv come.Ipfv  
 ‘He/She asked, who is/was coming?’

c. *à ò tīyē gà*  
 3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv  
*sālā ò gā sō màtāy*  
**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 yēè → ‘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. [tèɲ        gù]    yē    sèè    [[n̄        dùgòn]        tē]  
           [elder.sib Def] said **thus** [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat]  
           ‘The older sister said to her younger sister, ...’ (2017-06 @ 01:37)
- b. à        yē        sèē    [bōŋ    gà        [ŋ        kān]    nì]  
       3Sg said **thus** [here be.Loc [LogoSg chez] it.is]  
       ‘He said, “here is my home.”’ (2017-06 @ 01:19)

#### 17.1.6.2 māà<sup>n</sup> ‘that ...’ or ‘in other words, ...’

The particle māà<sup>(n)</sup> ‘that ...’ precedes embedded propositions, often optionally. It can reduce to mà or mā 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 māà<sup>(n)</sup> 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 māà<sup>(n)</sup> 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*<sup>(n)</sup> 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. *sèédù*            *bē*  
           S                    come.Pfv  
           ‘Seydou came (=has come).’

b. *ɲ*        *gā*        = *ā*        *tò*            [(*māā*)    *sèédù*    *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 *sālè* = *ē* ‘whether we ...’. *māà*<sup>(n)</sup> shortens to *mà*/*mā* before pronominal subjects, as in *mà ē* ‘that we ...’ and *mà ɲ* ‘that I ...’.

(753) a. *m̄*            *bē*  
           1Sg            come.Pfv  
           ‘I came (=have come).’

b. *sèédù*    *nā=*        *ā*            *tò*            [*mā* / *sālā*    *m̄*            *bē*]  
       S            IpfvNeg    3Sg        know        [**whether**    1Sg            come.Pfv]  
       ‘Seydou doesn’t know whether/that I have come.’

c. ò            nā=            ā            tò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [māā<sup>n</sup>/sālā        sèédù        gà            bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [**whether**        S            be.Loc        here]

‘I don’t know whether Seydou is here.’

d. [kōmō-yārā    lā=]        à        nā=        ā        tò  
 [lion            QTop]    3Sg    IpfvNeg    3Sg    know.Ipfv  
 [māā        kùùùŋ        gà            yāw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [that        pit            be.Loc        there.Def]

‘The lion for his part didn’t know that a pit was there.’ (2017-07 @ 02:30)

Both ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ interrogatives are replaced by relative marker màw<sup>n</sup> in the relevant position within a clause embedded under ‘(not) know’ (754a-b). The same màw<sup>n</sup> can be added to a noun, from human to inanimate, functioning then as embedded ‘which?’ (754c-e).

(754) a. ò            nā=            ā            tò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [mànŋ        gà            bē]  
 [**Rel**        Ipfv            come.Ipfv]

‘I don’t know who/what is coming.’

b. ò            nā=            ā            tò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [sèédù        màn            dīgā        gà]  
 [S            **Rel**            eat.Pfv     RemPfv]

‘I don’t know what Seydou ate.’

c. ò            nā            ā            tò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [[yùgōm    mànŋ]            gà            bē]  
 [[woman    **Rel**]            Ipfv        come.Ipfv]

‘I don’t know which woman will come.’

d. ò            nā=            ā            tò  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [à            [yāmbāā    màn]        sàŋ        gà]  
 [3Sg        [house        **Rel**]        buy.Pfv    RemPfv]

‘I don’t know which house he/she bought.’

e.    ̀̀           nā=           ā           tò  
       1Sg       IpfvNeg     3Sg       know.Ipfv  
       [à           gà           bē           [táá<sup>n</sup>   màw<sup>n</sup>]]  
       [3Sg       Ipfv       come.Ipfv   [day   **Rel**]]  
       ‘I don’t know on what day he/she will come.’

‘Where?’ is replaced by the special iterated form of the noun ‘place’ (§14.2.4).

(755) ̀̀           nā=           ā           tò  
       1Sg       IpfvNeg     3Sg       know.Ipfv  
       [sèédù       sō           gà           gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup>]  
       [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. ̀̀           nā=           ā           tò  
       1Sg       IpfvNeg     3Sg       know.Ipfv  
       sèédù       gà           bē           mèn-tìw<sup>n</sup>  
       S           Ipfv       come.Ipfv   **how?**  
       ‘I don’t know how Seydou will come.’

b. ̀̀           nā=           ā           tò  
       1Sg       IpfvNeg     3Sg       know.Ipfv  
       [jèŋ           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 māà and māw<sup>n</sup>.

(757) a.  m̄           bē  
       1Sg       come.Pfv  
       ‘I have come.’

- b. sèēdū      nùmàsāw<sup>n</sup>      [māà      ĩj      yàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 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) sèēdū      tē      nùmàsāw<sup>n</sup>      [māà      m̄      bē]  
 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) sèēdū      mīlā      [māà      m̄      bē]  
 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 māà<sup>(n)</sup> or variant (§17.1.6.2). The proposition is resumed in the main clause by a pro forma 3Sg object pronoun.

- (760) a. n̄      =nā=      ā      kày  
 1Sg      Sbj/Obj      3Sg      see  
 [māj̄n̄      jēnām-bī-gē      nā      yāw̄<sup>n</sup>]  
 [that      child-P1-P1      not.be.Loc      there.Def]  
 ‘I saw that the children were not there.’ (< māw̄<sup>n</sup>)

- b. n̄      =nā=      ā      m̄ɲè  
 1Sg      Sbj/Obj      3Sg      hear.Pfv  
 [mā=      [āj̄      kàā]      sò]  
 [that      [2Sg      father]      go.Pfv]  
 ‘I have heard (=I hear) that your-Sg father left.’ (< māà<sup>n</sup>)

### 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. *ɲ gā kwààɲ [kúŋgóló mǎn sō [ɲ sīw<sup>n</sup>]]*  
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv** [dog **Proh** go.Pfv [1Sg bite.**Pfv**]]  
 ‘I am afraid that the dog might go and bite me.’

b. *ɲ gā kwàān [sèédù mǎn sō [ɲ kwāā]]*  
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv** [dog **Proh** go.Pfv [1Sg hit.**Pfv**]]  
 ‘I am afraid that Seydou might (go and) hit me.’

c. *ɲ gā kwàān*  
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv**  
 [sèédù mǎn sō [[ɲ kó] [[tēē ɲōŋō] 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. *ɲ gā kwàān*  
 1Sg Ipfv **fear(v).Ipfv**  
 [sèédù mǎn sǎ = [à sē]  
 [S **Proh** go.Pfv [3Sg say.Pfv]  
 [n̄ nā ɲ kó [pà-sí ní]]  
 [LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg provide.Ipfv [anything Inst.Foc]]  
 ‘I am afraid that Seydou might not give me anything.’  
 (lit. “I fear that Seydou<sub>x</sub> might go and say he<sub>x</sub> won’t give me anything.”)

### 17.2.4 ‘Encounter’ with clausal complement

*bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup>* ‘come and find (that ...)’ or ‘come only to find (that ...)’ can be followed by a complete clause. See §15.6 for analysis and examples.



- c. ñ            nà            ñ            kām̄bē        yàw  
 1Sg        IpfvNeg    PsRefl    ought        descend.Pfv  
 ‘I should not go down.’

kām̄bē is otherwise invariant in form and does not combine with kōndō (§10.3.1) for past time. One can add sīlēw<sup>n</sup> ‘previously’ to the end of a construction with kām̄bē.

That kām̄bē itself is etymologically composite is suggested by the occurrence of kām̄ 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. ā<sup>n</sup>            ñ            kām̄            [kàláán        tē]  
 2Sg        PsRefl    ought        [studies        Dat]  
 ‘You-Sg should study (=go to school).’ (2017-09 @ 00:01)

- b. ñ            = nà            ñ            kām̄            [sògò            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 mà<sup>n</sup>/mā<sup>n</sup> 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’ (màṅè) 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 màṅè and a pro forma 3Sg subject resuming the semantically subordinated proposition. All aspect and polarity combinations with màṅè are possible, as in ‘is/was (not) possible’, but imperfective positive gā màṅè ‘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).

(765)	à	gā	màɲè	[è	gālà	bē],
	3Sg	Ipfv	<b>be.possible</b> .Ipfv	[3Pl	<b>Sbjn</b>	come.Pfv],
	à	gā	màɲè	[è	mām	bē]
	3Sg	Ipfv	<b>be.possible</b> .Ipfv	[3Pl	<b>Proh</b>	come.Pfv]

‘Maybe he/she will come, maybe he/she won’t come.’

### 17.3.2 ‘Want’ (pōgō/pōgò) with subjunctive clausal complement

‘Want’ is expressed by either of two transitive verbs, pōgō/pōgò ‘want, like’ or màà/màā ‘look for, seek; want’ (§11.2.5.2). pōgō/pōgò is a simple transitive in (766).

(766)	ɲ	gā	dùwò / mànàmì	pōgò
	1Sg	Ipfv	beer / dance(n)	like.Ipfv`

‘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 gālā by regular tone sandhi before an L-tone. Negation is expressed in the main (‘want’) clause (767c).

(767)	a.	sèédù	gā =	à	pōgò
		S	Ipfv	3Sg	<b>want</b> .Ipfv
		[ɲ	gālà	pwò]	
		[LogoSg	<b>Sbjn</b>	sit. <b>Pfv</b> ]	

‘Seydou wants to sit down.’

b.	jēnām-bī-gē	gā =	ā	màā
	child-Pl-Pl	Ipfv	3Sg	<b>look.for</b> .Ipfv
	[ē	gālā	sàbá	dīgā]
	[LogoPl	<b>Sbjn</b>	chicken	eat. <b>Pfv</b> ]

‘The young people would like to eat chicken.’

- c. ò            nā =            à            pōgò  
 1Sg            IpfvNeg 3Sg            **want.Ipfv**  
 [ò            gālā            tēē            kày]  
 [1Sg            **Sbjn**            tea            see.**Pfv**]  
 ‘I don’t want to see the tea.’ (< tēē)
- d. āṅ            gā =            à            pōgò  
 2Sg            Ipfv            3Sg            **want.Ipfv**  
 [āṅ            gālā            tēē            mèw<sup>n</sup> ↗ ]  
 [2Sg            **Sbjn**            tea            drink.**Pfv.Q**]  
 ‘Do you-Sg want to drink tea?’ (< tēē, mèw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. sèédù            nā =            à            pōgō  
 S            IpfvNeg            3Sg            **want.Ipfv**  
 [ò                       gālā            ṅ            kó            [wólén            nī]  
 [Logo/3Ref1Sg            **Sbjn**            1Sg            provide.**Pfv**            [money            Inst]]  
 ‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me money.’
- f. tāmā            āṅ            gā =            à            pōgò  
 Q            2Sg            Ipfv            3Sg            **want.Ipfv**  
 [āṅ            gālā            bē            bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [2Sg            **Sbjn**            come.**Pfv**            here]  
 ‘Do you-Sg like to come here?’
- g. [ē            gā =            à            pōgò            [ē            gālā            āṅ            cīyē]  
 [1Pl Ipfv            3Sg            **want.Ipfv**            [1Pl            **Sbjn**            2Sg            ask.**Pfv**]  
 ‘We would like to ask you-Sg ...’ (2017-06 @ 00:12)

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. [āṅ            kàà]            gā =            à            pōgò  
 [2Sg            father]            Ipfv            3Sg            **want.Ipfv**  
 [āṅ            gālā            bē]  
 [2Sg            **Sbjn**            come.**Pfv**]  
 ‘Your-Sg father wants you to come.’



Elsewhere  $\bar{n}$ kàlà ~ kàlà 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.  $\bar{n}$  = nàŋ jēnām-bī-gē kàȳ m̀nàmī / sēn-dē  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl see.Pfv dance.Ipfv / fall-Ipfv  
 ‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-ing).’
- b.  $\bar{n}$  = nàŋ jēnām-bī-gē m̀ŋē s̀wō-lò  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl hear.Pfv sing-Ipfv  
 ‘I heard the children sing(-ing).’
- c.  $\bar{n}$  = nàŋ jēnām-bī-gē kàȳ [tēē dīgà]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl see.Pfv [meat eat.Ipfv]  
 ‘I saw the children eat(ing) meat.’

#### 17.4.1.2 ‘Be afraid to’ (kwàà<sup>n</sup>) with imperfective or bē VP complement

The verb kwàà<sup>n</sup>/kwàā<sup>n</sup> ‘fear, be afraid’ can function as a simple intransitive with optional dative complement.

- (771) a. ñ gā kwàā<sup>n</sup> [sèédū tē]  
 1Sg Ipfv fear.Ipfv [S Dat]  
 ‘I am afraid of Seydou.’

- b. jēnāŋ    gā    kwàān    [t̩55    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            kwàā<sup>n</sup>            yà-là  
 3Sg    Ipfv    **fear(v).Ipfv**    descend-**Ipfv**  
 ‘He/She is afraid to go down.’
- b. ñ            gā            kwàā<sup>n</sup>            [dùwō    mē-nē]  
 1Sg    Ipfv    **fear(v).Ipfv**    [beer    drink-**Ipfv**]  
 ‘I am afraid of drinking beer.’
- c. āŋ            gā            kwàān            [dō-lā =    ā-ȳ]  
 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 bē (773), on which see the following section.

- (773) a. à            kwàā<sup>n</sup>            [bē            yàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg    **fear(v).Pfv**    [**Infin**    descend.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She was (suddenly) afraid to go down.’
- b. ñ            kwàā<sup>n</sup>            [bē            dùwō / sógó            mēw<sup>n</sup>]  
 1Sg    **fear(v).Ipfv**    [**Infin**    beer / milk            drink.Pfv]  
 ‘I was (suddenly) afraid of drinking beer/milk.’

#### 17.4.2 Infinitival VP complement with bē

We have seen that bē 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.

bē 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...)’ (nùmàsāw<sup>n</sup>) with bē and infinitival VP

The verb nùmàsāw<sup>n</sup>/nùmàsā-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. n̄            nùmàsām        [bè        tāw<sup>n</sup> / bē]  
           1Sg        **forget.Pfv**    [**Infin**    ascend.Pfv/come.Pfv]  
           ‘I forgot to go up/come.’
- b. sèédū        nùmàsām        [bè        tēē        sàw<sup>n</sup>]  
           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’ (hādà) with bē and infinitival VP or with imperfective

The verb hādà/hādà, a borrowing from Fulfulde, can function as a simple transitive when the larger context is understood (775).

- (775) n̄            =nǎ<sup>n</sup>            sèédū            hādà  
           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. sèédū        yè            ñ            hādà            pò-lò  
           S            Sbj/Obj    1Sg        **prevent.Pfv**    sit.Ipfv  
           ‘Seydou prevented me from sitting down.’

b. sèédù yè ñ hādà [ñ nā pò-lò]  
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** [1Sg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv]  
 [= (a)]

c. sèédù yè ñ hādà [sūgō sà-nà]  
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** [goat buy-Ipfv]  
 ‘Seydou prevented me from buying the goat.’

d. sèédū yè ñ hādà  
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv**  
 [ñ nà sūgō sà-nà]  
 [1Sg IpfvNeg IpfvNeg goat buy-Ipfv]  
 [= (c)]

A third option for the complement is infinitival *bè* plus perfective VP (777).

(777) a. sèédū yè ñ hādà [bè dīgē]  
 S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** [**Infin** eat.Antip.Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou prevented me from eating.’

b. à= ñ hādà [bē dùwō mēw<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** [**Infin** beer drink.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She prevented me from drinking beer.’

c. à= ñ hādà [bè sūgō sàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg 1Sg **prevent.Pfv** [**Infin** goat buy.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She prevented me from buying the goat.’

### 17.4.2.3 ‘Help’ (yìràw<sup>n</sup>) with *bè* and infinitival VP

The verb ‘help’ is yìràw<sup>n</sup>/yìrān-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. sèédū (yē) ñ yíráw<sup>n</sup>  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 1Sg **help.Pfv**  
 ‘Seydou helped me.’

- b. sèèdù ñ yíráw<sup>n</sup> [bè sūgō 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 yìràw<sup>n</sup>  
 [3Pl Seq 3Sg help.Pfv]  
 [à bè bāā [kárángé gú-ỳ]]  
 [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/màā ‘be about to’ as fused màà-bè with infinitival VP

The transitive verb màà/màā means ‘look for, seek’, leaking semantically into ‘want’. In this sense it can take an ordinary direct object NP, as in à gà wálém màā ‘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 #màā-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 sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg **look.for.Pfv** [**Infin** fall.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She was about to fall.’ = ‘He/She nearly fell.’
- b. à gā màà [bè sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg Ipfv **look.for.Ipfv** [**Infin** fall.Pfv]  
 [= (a)]

- c. à            tē            màà            [bè        sēw<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg        PfvNeg    **look.for.Pfv**    [**Infin**    fall.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She was not about to fall.’
- d. à            nā            màà            [bē        sēw<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg        PfvNeg    **look.for.Ipfv**    [**Infin**    fall.Pfv]  
 [= (c)]
- e. ñ            gā            màà            [bē        zàkí      kwāā]  
 1Sg        Ipfv        **look.for.Ipfv**    [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-bē before L-tone (781).

- (781) à            màà            [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) m̄ / ē        màà            [bè        sēw<sup>n</sup>]  
 1Sg/1Pl    look.for.Pfv    [Infin    fall.Pfv]  
 ‘I was/We were about to fall.’

#### 17.4.3 ‘Begin’ (sīndì) with various complements

‘Begin’ is sīndì/sīndì or sīnì/sīnì. ‘Intransitive’ ‘begin’ is expressed as a reflexive transitive, in either antipassive (783b) or middle (783c) sense.

- (783) a. n̄            = nàŋ        kāy<sup>n</sup>        sīndì  
 1Sg        Sbj/Obj    work(n)    **begin.Pfv**  
 ‘I started the job.’

- b. sèédù (yè) ṝ sīndī  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv**  
 ‘Seydou began (e.g. to work).’
- c. kāy<sup>n</sup> (yè) ṝ sīndī  
 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. sèédū yè ṝ sīndī kùū / yà-là  
 sèédū Ø  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv** run.**Ipfv** / descend-**Ipfv**  
 ‘Seydou began to run/to go down.’
- b. sèédū yè ṝ sīndī [kùū / yàṅ-gù nī]  
 sèédū Ø  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv** [run.Nom / descend-VblN Inst]  
 [= (a)]
- c. sèédū yè ṝ sīndī [ṝ kō-lā]  
 sèédū Ø  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv** [1Sg hit-**Ipfv**]  
 ‘Seydou began to hit me.’
- d. sèédū yè ṝ sīndī  
 sèédū Ø  
 S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin.Pfv**  
 [ṝ gā ṝ kō-lā]  
 [**3ReflSg** **Ipfv** 1Sg hit-**Ipfv**]  
 [= (d)]

#### 17.4.4 ‘Stop’ (tāà, tāà-nì) with nominalized verb or VP complement

Intransitive ‘stop, come to a halt’ is tāà/tà-là (785a). The causative is tāà-nì/tāà-nī ‘stop (something), cause to halt’ (785b).

- (785) a. mòbōlī      tàà  
 vehicle      **stop.Pfv**  
 ‘The vehicle stopped.’
- b. zāndārmū      mòbōlī      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              sūwō-gū              tàà-nì  
 3Pl              sing-**VblN**              **stop-Caus.Pfv**  
 ‘They stopped (=interrupted) the song.’  
 (< sūwō-gù)
- b. ē              yàŋ-gū              tàà-nì  
 3Pl              descend-**VblN**              **stop-Caus.Pfv**  
 ‘They stopped (=interrupted) going down.’  
 (< yàŋ-gù)
- c. ē              kùùū              tàà-nì  
 3Pl              run.**Nom**              stop-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘They stopped running.’ (i.e. they interrupted their race)  
 (cf. Pfv kùùù)
- d. è              wwō / sīŋàn              tàà-nì  
 3Pl              weep.**Nom** / breathe.**Nom**              stop-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘They stopped weeping/breathing.’  
 (cf. Pfv sīŋàw<sup>n</sup>)
- e. è              tēē-dīgē / dùwḍ-mēñ              tàà-nì  
 3Pl              meat-eat.**Nom** / beer-drink.**Nom**              stop-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘They stopped drinking beer.’  
 (cf. Pfv mēw<sup>n</sup>)



- (789) a.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$  sèédū bày  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj S **leave.Pfv**  
 ‘I have left Seydou (alone).’
- b.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}\bar{\eta}$  kùū / ... / ... bày  
 " =  $n\bar{a}n$  ... /  $t\bar{a}\eta$ -gū /  $d\bar{u}w\bar{e}$  "  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj run.Nom / ascend-Nom / enter.Nom **leave.Pfv**  
 ‘I have (permanently) given up running/going up/going in.’  
 [< kùū/kùū,  $t\bar{a}w^n/t\bar{a}-n\bar{a}$ ,  $dw\bar{o}/d\bar{o}-l\bar{o}$  ]
- c.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}\bar{n}$  dùw\bar{o}-mè\bar{m} bày  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj beer-drink.Nom **leave.Pfv**  
 ‘I have (permanently) given up beer drinking.’
- d.  $\bar{n}$  =  $n\bar{a}^n$  [[ $\bar{\eta}$  kú\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta-y\bar{e}]  $k\bar{o}-l\bar{e}$ ] bày  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Sg dog-PI] hit-Nom] **leave.Pfv**  
 ‘I have (permanently) given up hitting my dogs.’

## 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/kùmū-nà ‘sleep’, s̄ā(g)ā/s̄āgà ‘lie down, go to bed’, and pwò/pò-lò ‘sit’.

- (790) a. à kùmù  
3Sg sleep-Pfv  
‘He/She slept.’
- b. à s̄āgā  
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 gà kùmú/sàgá/pwò  
3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
‘He/She came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’
- b. m̄ bē gà kùmú/sàgá/pwò  
1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
‘I came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’
- c. ì gà bē bē kùmú/sàgá/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. ì gà bē kùmú/sàgá/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 kùmú/sàgá/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. (yè<sup>n</sup>)            bē            kùmù/sāgā/pwò  
 (Imprt.2Pl)    come.Pfv    sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv  
 ‘Come-2Sg(-2Pl) sleep/lie down/sit down!’
- b. kè            só            kùmù/sāgā/pwò  
 Hort    go.Pfv    sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv  
 ‘Let’s-2Sg go sleep/lie down/sit down!’

The main clause must have simple bē/bē ‘come’ or sò/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            tāw<sup>n</sup>/dwō                            gà            kùmú/sàgá/pwó  
 #3Sg    ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv    RemPfv    sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
 intended: ‘He/She ascended/entered in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’
- b. à            tāŋ/dwō                            gà            bē  
 3Sg    ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv    RemPfv    come.Pfv  
 kùmù/sāgā/pwò  
 sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv  
 ‘He/She came up/came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’
- c. à            tāŋ/dwō                            gà            sō            kùmù/ pwò  
 3Sg    ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv    RemPfv    go.Pfv    sleep.Pfv/sit.Pfv  
 ‘He/She went up/went in in order to sleep/sit down.’
- d. à            tāŋ/dwō                            gà            sò            sāgā  
 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 Ipv 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 Cv<sup>n</sup>, 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
a.	kùmú	kùmù	kùmū-nà	'sleep'
	wàá	wàà	wàā	'die'
	sàá	sàà	sàā	'laugh (v)'
	nùú	nùū	nùū-lù	'swim'
b.	pwò	pwò	pò-lò	'sit'
	dwò	dwò	dò-lò	'enter'
c.	sàgá	sā(g)ā	sāgà	'lie down'
d.	yìráw <sup>n</sup>	yìràw <sup>n</sup>	yìrán-nà	'help'
	gàámú	gāāmū	gāāmù	'yawn'
	kùùnú	kūūnū	kūūnù	
e.	bìrìjá	bìrìjà	bìrìjà	'roll oneself on ground'
	mànàmí	mànàmì	mànàmì	'dance'
	nùmàsáw <sup>n</sup>	nùmàsāw <sup>n</sup>	nùmàsā-nà	'forget'
f.	téw <sup>n</sup>	tēw <sup>n</sup>	tē-lēw <sup>n</sup>	'jump'
	séw <sup>n</sup>	sēw <sup>n</sup>	sēn-dē	'fall'
g.	yìèrè	yìèrè	yìèrè	'slip'
	fāātì	fāātì	fāātì	'pass away'
	gōōjò	gōōjò	gōōjò	'play a child's game'
	fāāmù	fāāmù	fāāmù	'understand'
	tìsòò	tìsòò	tìsòò	'sneeze'
h.	cìyèw <sup>n</sup>	cìyè <sup>n</sup>	cìyè-nè	'sneeze'

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 / p̀wó  
 3Sg    come.Pfv/go.Pfv    RemPfv    sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
 ‘He/She came/went in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’
- a'. # à        bē/sō                      gà              kùmù / s̀agā / pwò  
 #3Sg    come.Pfv/go.Pfv    RemPfv    sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
 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/ ... /pwò  
 "        bē/sò                      ... / s̀agā / ...  
 3Sg    come.Pfv/go.Pfv    sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
 ‘He/She came/went and slept/lay down/sat down.’
- a'. #à        bē/sō                      kùmú/sàgá/p̀wó  
 #3Sg    come.Pfv/go.Pfv    sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp  
 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 ò (+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 ò (+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



- (800) a.    à            [(ñ)                dàndì]        bāgā  
           3Sg        [(3ReflSg)        chili]        take.out.Pfv  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> took out (his/her<sub>x</sub>) chili peppers.’
- b.    à            gā            Ø            dàndì        bāgà  
                   gà            [ñ            dàndì]  
           3Sg    Ipfv        [(3ReflSg)        chili]        take.out.Ipfv  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> takes out (his/her<sub>x</sub>) chili peppers.’

In (801a-b), ‘take out (his/her<sub>x</sub>) 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 *dàndì* ‘chili (pepper)’ has become LH-toned *dàndí*.

- (801) a.    à            bē            gā            [[Ø            dàndí]        bāgā]  
                   gà            [[ñ            dàndí]  
           3Sg    come.Pfv    RemPfv    [[ (3ReflSg)        chili]        take.out.Pfv]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> came to take out (his/her<sub>x</sub>) chili peppers.’ (< *dàndì*)
- b.    à            gà        bē            [[Ø            dàndí]        bāgā]  
                                   [[ñ            dàndí]  
           3Sg    Ipfv    come.Pfv    [(3ReflSg)        **chili**]        take.out.Pfv]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> comes to take out (his/her<sub>x</sub>) chili peppers.’ (< *dàndì*)

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			
	dòò	'knife'	dòó bāgā
	dàndì	'chili pepper'	dàndí bāgā
	tìṅgè	'stool'	tìṅgé bāgā
	tìyòw <sup>n</sup>	'ax'	tìyóm bāgā
	dàmbà	'daba (hoe)'	dàmbá(á) bāgā
	kùmbùrù	'insect'	kùmbùrú bāgā
	sòmputwò	'donkey'	sòmputwó bāgā
b. /M/ melody			
	<i>short</i>		
	tēē	'meat'	téé bāgā
	tyē	'oil'	tyé bāgā
	tīmī swō <sup>n</sup>	'foul smell'	tìmì-swóm bāgā
	<i>longer</i>		
	yōgō	'fish'	yògó bāgā
	tìgēlēw <sup>n</sup>	'cut (wound)'	tìgèlém bāgā
	sùmpōrō	'biting fly sp.'	sùmpòró bāgā
	wārābā	'lion'	wàràbá bāgā
	sōgō-sōgō	'round basket'	sògò-sògó bāgā
c. /H/ melody			
	síbō	'ashes'	síbó bāgā
	sógō	'milk'	sógó bāgā
	sórógō	'door-lock'	sórógó bāgā
d. ...LH			
	sòmó	'pick-hoe'	sòmó bāgā
	sōgò-léw <sup>n</sup>	'gutterspout'	sōgò-lém bāgā
	tìmbógō	'ladder'	tìmbógó bāgā
	tàjí	'basket'	tàjí bāgā



(805) a. à bē gā [[ḥ wáràbá / ...] bāgā]  
 [[ḥ ... / tígèléw<sup>n</sup>]  
 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 [[ḥ yḏgó<sup>n</sup> / téé]] sàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[ḥ ... / téé]]  
 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: kàlámàntùwó<sup>n</sup> ‘giant millipede’, ḥ kálámàntùwó<sup>n</sup> ‘my giant millipede’ (whether independent or as purposive object). With some /LH/ CvCv stems like tàjí ‘basket’, my assistant seemed to be aiming at 1Sg possessor ñ tàjí with <HL>H in careful speech but in allegro speech it came out as tájí.

#### 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 dāmbā sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg daba buy.Pfv  
 [sālā m̄ bè pī<sup>n</sup> sḏgā = [à nī]]  
 [**whether** LogoSg Seq millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]  
 ‘He<sub>x</sub> bought a daba (=hoe) in order for him<sub>x</sub> to cultivate millet with it.’

b. ñ dāmbā sàw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Sg daba buy.Pfv  
 [sālā m̄ bè pī<sup>n</sup> sḏgā = [à nī]]  
 [**whether** 1Sg **Seq** millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]  
 ‘I bought a daba (=hoe) in order for me to cultivate millet with it.’



(809)      m̄            bē            [sàmù-nán    nī]  
 1Sg            come.Pfv    [soap            Inst]  
 āŋ            gālà            jùgù-yè            nīnā =            [à            nī]  
 2Sg    **Sbjn**            garment-Pl    wash.Pfv    [3Sg    Inst]  
 ‘I brought some soap for you to wash the clothes with.’ (< sàmù-náw<sup>n</sup>, nīnī)

b.    ē            gā            bëndè            bīyēgà  
 1Pl            Ipfv            roof            replaster.Ipfv  
 [à            mā<sup>n</sup>            sō            bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [3Sg            **Proh**            go.Pfv            leak.Pfv]  
 ‘We will replaster the roof (with mud) so it won’t go and leak.’

#### 17.5.5 hālà ~ sālà or yēlà with future clause in purposive contexts

hālà ~ sālà (§17.5.2) and yēlà 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), hālà is best translated as ‘so that’ (purposive). In (810b), yēlà 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            kāy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [2Sg    Ipfv    3Sg    work(v).Ipfv]  
 hālà            ē            gā            bē            sùtūrā                            [kwààn-jíí    sèbē-ỳ]  
**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. sālā-kò<sup>n</sup>    [wàngé            gú]            gā            gālwāājà  
 now            [hare            Def]    Ipfv            converse.Ipfv  
 [[kàngé            gú]            bwēy],  
 [[hyena            Def]            Comit],  
 [yēlà            ŋ            gā            bā =            à            hīlā]  
 [**whether**    LogoSg    **Ipfv**    **Fut**    3Sg    deceive.Pfv]  
 ò            gālà            ñ            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 mǎà<sup>(n)</sup> ‘that’

For mǎà<sup>(n)</sup> 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 mǎà<sup>(n)</sup> 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      tī-nà—,      [ālà      tē]  
 2Pl    Ipfv    Rel    do-Ipfv—,    [God    Dat  
 mǎā      kwààŋ      gà      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) [n̄      tē      kù↑],      [mā    ŋ      gā =    ā      kùuqē]  
 [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 bàdì ~ bādì ‘because’

‘Because’ is expressed by bàdì ~ bādì at the beginning of the causal clause. It can become bàdì before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

- (813) a. ò      tē      sògò-lē<sup>n</sup>      sàw<sup>n</sup>,  
 1Sg    PfvNeg    sheep      buy.Pfv,  
 bàdì      [à      sòŋō]      ò      kō<sup>n</sup>      yāālō<sup>n</sup>  
**because**    [3Sg    price]    PsRefl    be.much    a.lot  
 ‘I didn’t buy a sheep, because its price is too much.’

b.	sèédū	tè	bē,			
	S	PfvNeg	come.Pfv,			
	bàdī	[à	nàn]	nà	ḡ	kēnāw <sup>n</sup>
	<b>because</b>	[3Sg	mother]	IpfvNeg	PsRefl	healthy
	‘Seydou didn’t come, because his mother is sick.’ (< nàw <sup>n</sup> )					

Textual examples are 2017-01 @ 00:49 and 2017-02 @ 01:42.

#### 17.5.7.2 s̄abì ~ s̄abù ‘because’

This is another clause-initial (or preclausal) ‘because’ particle. It belongs to a regional set derived from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason’. Cf. noun s̄àbí ‘cause, reason’ in (354) above.

The assistant generally gave *bàdì ~ bādì* in elicitation, perhaps because he considered it to be more authentic while *s̄abì ~ s̄abù* is a borrowing. Both are frequently set off prosodically from the following clause. *s̄abì ~ s̄abù* 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 *ɲìyèw* ‘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.

(814)	category	regular object	reflexive object
a.	1Sg	ɲ̄ (+H)	ɲ̄ (+H)
	1Pl	ē	ē
	2Sg	ā <sup>n</sup>	ā <sup>n</sup>
	2Pl	āā	āā
b.	3Sg	à	ɲ̄
	3Pl	è	ē
c.	Logo/3ReflSg	ɲ̄	ɲ̄
	Logo/3ReflPl	ē	ē

3ReflSg *ɲ̄* is segmentally but not tonally identical to 1Sg *ɲ̄ (+H)*. Both of these are sharply distinct at least segmentally from nonreflexive 3Sg *à*. 3ReflPl *ē* is identical to 1Pl *ē*, both of them being tonally distinct from 3Pl *è* (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 *tè* and IpfvNeg *nà* follow the pattern of Ipfv *gà*. The object proclitics have the same forms as in nonreflexive clauses. For example, 1Sg is *ɲ* (+H) both in reflexive ‘I saw myself’ and in nonreflexive ‘They saw me.’

(815)	perfective Sbj=Obj		ipfv	pfvneg
	unlinked	linked		
1Sg		$\bar{n} = n\bar{a}^n \text{ } \eta$ (+H)	$\eta \text{ } g\bar{a} \text{ } \eta$ (+H)	$\eta \text{ } t\bar{e} \text{ } \eta$ (+H)
1Pl		$\bar{e} \text{ } y = \bar{e}$	$\bar{e} \text{ } g\bar{e} = \bar{e}$	$\bar{e} \text{ } t\bar{e} = \bar{e}$
2Sg	$\bar{a} = \bar{a}^n$	$(\bar{a}^n \text{ } y\bar{a} = \bar{a}^n)$	$\bar{a}\eta \text{ } g\bar{a} = \bar{a}^n$	$\bar{a}n \text{ } t\bar{a} = \bar{a}^n$
2Pl		$\bar{a}\bar{a} \text{ } y\bar{a} = \bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}\bar{a} \text{ } g\bar{a} = \bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}\bar{a} \text{ } t\bar{a} = \bar{a}\bar{a}$

In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker *yè* is obligatory in the plural categories, and its allomorph  $=n\bar{a}^n$  is obligatory after 1Sg subject. BCM *yè* is possible but is usually omitted in the 2Sg, whereupon the two  $\bar{a}^n$  morphemes fuse as  $\bar{a} = \bar{a}^n$ .

The 1Sg forms are illustrated in (816) with /M/-melodic *kwāā/kō-lā* ‘hit’, and with /L/-melodic *kày/kà-nà* ‘see’ and *kèrè/kèrē* ‘throw’.

- (816) a.  $\bar{n} = n\bar{a}^n \text{ } \eta$  *kwāā / káy / kéré*  
 1Sg *Sbj/Obj* 1Sg *hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw-Pfv*  
 ‘I hit-Past/saw/threw myself.’
- b.  $\eta \text{ } g\bar{a} \text{ } \eta$  *kō-lā / ká-ná / kéré*  
 1Sg *Ipfv* 1Sg *hit-Ipfv/see-Ipfv/throw.Ipfv*  
 ‘I (often) hit-Present/see/throw myself.’
- c.  $\eta \text{ } t\bar{e} \text{ } \eta$  *kwāā / káy / kéré*  
 1Sg *PfvNeg* 1Sg *hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw-Pfv*  
 ‘I did not hit/see/throw myself.’

- d. ñ      nā      ñ      kō-lā / ká-ná / kéré  
 1Sg    Ipfv    1Sg      hit-Ipfv/see-Ipfv/throw.Ipfv  
 ‘I do not hit/see/throw myself.’

The other three pronominal categories in (815) above are illustrated in (817) for the perfective positive, with kwāā ‘hit’ as before, plus tònò/tònó ‘look at’.

- (817) a. ē      yè=      ē      kwāā / tònò  
 1Pl    Sbj/Obj    1Pl    hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv  
 ‘We hit-Past/looked at ourselves.’
- b. ā<sup>(n)</sup>=                      āñ      kwāā / ...  
 "                                      ān      ... / tònò  
 2Sg                                      2Sg    hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv  
 ‘You-Sg hit-Past/looked at yourself.’
- c. āā      yà=      āā      kwāā / tònò  
 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 nà and PfvNeg tè have the same tonal patterns.

- (818) a. ē      gē=      ē      kō-lā / tònó  
 1Pl    Ipfv      1Pl    hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv  
 ‘We hit/look at ourselves.’
- b. āñ      gā=      āñ      kō-lā / ...  
 "      "                      ān      ... / tònó  
 2Sg    Ipfv      2Sg    hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv  
 ‘You-Sg hit/look at yourself.’
- c. āā      gā=      āā      kō-lō / tònó  
 2Pl    Sbj/Obj    2Pl    hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv  
 ‘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 sībò ‘snake’.

- (819) a.  $\bar{n}$  =nà [ñ síbó] kày  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg snake] see.Pfv  
 ‘I saw my snake.’
- b.  $\bar{a}$ = [ā<sup>n</sup> sìbō] kày  
 2Sg [2Sg snake] see.Pfv  
 ‘You-Sg saw your snake.’
- c.  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$  yà= [āā sìbō] kày  
 2Pl Sbj/Obj [2Pl snake] see.Pfv  
 ‘You-Pl saw your snake.’
- b.  $\bar{n}$  ñīnā dō [[ñ síbó] tē]  
 1Sg mouse give.Pfv [[1Sg snake] Dat]  
 ‘I gave a mouse to my snake.’

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 ñ síbó in (819a) above and in (820).

- (820) à [ñ 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.  $\bar{n}$  =nàñ kàyów<sup>n</sup> yàgā [ñ mūù]  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.down.Pfv [1Sg under]  
 ‘I put the stone under myself.’
- b.  $\bar{e}$  kàyów<sup>n</sup> yàgè= [ē mūù]  
 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 $\bar{\eta}$ 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  $\bar{\eta}$ . It is also the LogoSg pronominal in any syntactic function (including subject).

Logo (or 3ReflSg)  $\bar{\eta}$  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	$\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	homophonous
	perfective positive, transitive subject	$\bar{\eta}$ (= $n\grave{a}^n$ )	$\bar{\eta}$ (= $n\grave{a}^n$ )	homophonous
b.	subject, before inflectional morpheme	$\grave{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	distinct
c.	nonsubject, before L-tone	$\grave{\eta}$ (+H)	$\bar{\eta}$	distinct
	nonsubject, before M-tone	$\grave{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	distinct
	nonsubject, before H-tone	$\grave{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	homophonous

Perfective positive subjects, intransitive and transitive, are illustrated in (823a-b) for LogoSg and (823a-b) for 1Sg. They are homophonous, as pointed out in §4.3.4.1.1-2 above.

- (823) a.  $\grave{a}$      $y\bar{e}$     [ $\bar{\eta}$      $b\bar{e}$ ]  
 3Sg    said    [LogoSg    come.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> came.’
- b.  $\grave{a}$      $y\bar{e}$     [ $\bar{\eta}$     (=  $n\grave{a}^n$ )     $s\bar{u}g\bar{o}$      $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ]  
 3Sg    said    [LogoSg    (Sbj/Obj)    goat    hit.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> hit a goat.’

- (824) a.  $\bar{\eta}$      $b\bar{e}$   
 1Sg    come.Pfv  
 ‘I came.’
- b.  $\bar{\eta}$     (=  $n\grave{a}^n$ )     $s\bar{u}g\bar{o}$      $kw\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 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,  $\bar{\eta}$  versus  $\eta$  (subject to place assimilation, e.g.  $\bar{m}$  versus  $m$  before labial).

- (825) a.  $\grave{a}$        $y\bar{e}$       [ $\bar{\eta}$        $t\grave{e}$        $b\bar{e}$ ]  
 3Sg    said    [LogoSg PfvNeg    come.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> didn’t come.’
- b.  $\grave{a}$        $y\bar{e}$       [ $\bar{\eta}$        $g\bar{a}$        $b\bar{e}$ ]  
 3Sg    said    [LogoSg Ipfv      come.Ipfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> comes.’
- c.  $\grave{a}$        $y\bar{e}$       [ $\bar{\eta}$        $n\bar{a}$        $b\bar{e}$ ]  
 3Sg    said    [LogoSg IpfvNeg    come.Ipfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> doesn’t come.’

- (826) a.  $\grave{\eta}$        $t\grave{e}$        $b\bar{e}$   
 1Sg      PfvNeg    come.Pfv  
 ‘I didn’t come.’
- b.  $\eta$        $g\grave{a}$        $b\bar{e}$   
 1Sg      Ipfv      come.Ipfv  
 ‘I come.’
- c.  $\grave{\eta}$        $n\grave{a}$        $b\bar{e}$   
 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  $\bar{\eta}$  is doubly distinct from 1Sg  $\eta$  (+H).

- (827) a.  $\grave{a}$        $\bar{\eta}$        $k\grave{a}y$   
 3Sg      3ReflSg    see.Pfv  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> saw himself/herself<sub>x</sub>.’
- b.  $\grave{a}$        $j\acute{i}$        $d\acute{o}$       [[ $\bar{\eta}$        $s\grave{o}g\grave{o}$ ]     $t\bar{e}$ ]  
 3Sg    water    give.Pfv    [[3ReflSg    sheep]    Dat]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> gave water to his/her<sub>x</sub> sheep-Sg.’

- (828) a. à        ñ        káy  
           3Sg    1Sg    see.Pfv  
           ‘He/She saw me.’ (< kày)
- b. à        jíí        dó        [[ñ        sógó]        tē]  
           3Sg    water    give.Pfv    [[1Sg    sheep]    Dat]  
           ‘He/She gave water to my sheep-Sg.’ (< sògò)

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 ñ to ñ̄) nor M#H-to-L#H (dropping Logo/3ReflSg ñ̄ to ñ), the distinction between 3ReflSg (and LogoSg) ñ̄ and 1Sg ñ is preserved.

- (829) a. à        ñ̄        kwāā  
           3Sg    3ReflSg    hit.Pfv  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> hit himself/herself<sub>x</sub>.’
- b. à        jíí        dó        [[ñ̄        sūgō]        tē]  
           3Sg    water    give.Pfv    [[3ReflSg    goat]    Dat]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> gave water to his/her<sub>x</sub> goat.’
- (830) a. à        ñ        kwāā  
           3Sg    1Sg    hit.Pfv  
           ‘He/She hit me.’
- b. à        jíí        dó        [[ñ̄        sūgō]        tē]  
           3Sg    water    give.Pfv    [[1Sg    goat]    Dat]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> gave water to my goat.’

Nonsubject function before lexical H-tone is effectively limited to possessor function with /H/-melodic nouns like kún̄gólō ‘dog’. This is illustrated in (831) for ReflSg and in (832) for 1Sg. Here M#H-to-L#H drops 3ReflSg ñ̄ to ñ, merging with 1Sg.

- (831) à        [ñ̄        kún̄góló]        kwāā  
           3Sg    [3ReflSg    dog]        hit.Pfv  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> hit his/her<sub>x</sub> dog.’

- (832) à            [ɲ]            kúnḡóló]            kwāā  
           3Sg        [1Sg        dog]                hit.Pfv  
           ‘He/She hit my dog.’

Here a reflexive reading can be coerced by using the full reflexive form with ‘head’ (§18.1.1.6).

#### 18.1.1.4 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 ɲ, making glossing ambiguous although no referential ambiguity is present. Here “3ReflSg” is used in interlinears, somewhat arbitrarily.

- (833) a. à            yē            [ɲ            =nà            ɲ            kwāà / t̄ɲɔ̄]  
           3Sg        said        [LogoSg    Sbj/Obj    **3ReflSg**   hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> hit/looked at himself/herself<sub>x</sub>.’
- b. à            yē  
           3Sg        said  
           .            ɲ            =nà            jīnā            dō            [[ɲ            s̄ìbò]        tē]  
           LogoSg    Sbj/Obj    mouse        give.Pfv    [[**3ReflSg**   snake]        Dat]  
           ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he/she<sub>x</sub> gave a mouse to his/her<sub>x</sub> (own) snake.’

#### 18.1.1.5 3Pl reflexive ē

The Logo/3ReflPl pronominal ē is homophonous with 1Pl ē. Together they contrast with 3Pl è. In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker yè is present before the reflexive pronominal. 3Pl subject è combines with yè as (i) yè (834a,c).

- (834) a. (i)        y=            ē            kwāà / t̄ɲɔ̄  
           3Pl        Sbj/Obj    **3ReflPl**   hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv  
           ‘They hit/looked at themselves.’
- b. è            gè=            ē            kwāà / t̄ɲɔ̄  
           3Pl        Ipfv        **3ReflPl**   hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv  
           ‘They hit/look at themselves.’
- c. (i)        y=            [ē            s̄ìbō]            kày  
           3Pl        Sbj/Obj    [**3ReflPl**   snake]            see.Pfv  
           ‘They saw their (own) snake.’

d. è        jīnā        dō        [[ē        sībò]    tē]  
 3Pl    mouse    give.Pfv    [[**3Ref1Pl**    snake]    Dat]  
 ‘They gave a mouse to their (own) snake.’

e. è        kòyów<sup>n</sup>        yàgà        [ē        mūù]  
 3Pl        stone        put.down.Pfv    [**3Ref1Pl**    under]  
 ‘They put the stone under themselves.’

While 3Ref1Sg ē̄ is partially distinguishable from 1Sg ñ̄ and variants, 3Ref1Pl ē̄ is indistinguishable from 1Pl ē̄ 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 =        ē̄        sèy  
           woman        Sbj/Obj    **3Ref1Sg**    tie.Pfv  
           ‘The women tied themselves.’

b. yùgòm-bē        y =        ē̄        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 jìyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘head’, sometimes heard as jèw<sup>n</sup>. This is the case with 1st/2nd person pronominals when coindexed to the subject. The floating tone of 1Sg ñ̄ (+H) is absorbed by ‘head’ (836b). ‘Head’ is not pluralized morphologically in this construction, even with plural subject.

(836) a. ē̄        gē =        [ē̄    jìyèŋ]        kō-lō  
           1Pl    1Pfv        [1Pl    **head**]        hit.1Pfv  
           ‘We hit-Present ourselves.’

- b.  $\bar{n}$  =nà [j̄n níyɛ̀ŋ] kwāā  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg **head**] hit.Pfv  
 ‘I hit-Past myself.’

For third person, the pronominal possessor of ‘head’ is 3ReflSg  $\bar{n}$  or 3ReflPl  $\bar{e}$ .

- (837) a. à gā [j̄n níyɛ̀ŋ] kō-lō  
 3Sg Ipfv [3ReflSg **head**] hit.Ipfv  
 ‘He/She hits himself/herself.’

- b. è gè= [ē níyɛ̀ŋ] kō-lō  
 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  $\bar{t}$ .

- (838) a.  $\bar{m}$  bē [tēè nī] [[j̄n níyɛ̀ŋ] tē]  
 1Sg come.Pfv [tea Inst] [[1Sg **head**] Dat]  
 ‘I brought the tea to/for myself.’

- b. è yāmbāà kēbē [[ē níyɛ̀ŋ] 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      nìyèŋ]    kwāà  
           [2Sg    head]    hit.Pfv  
           [=(a)]

For plural addressee, imperative plural morpheme yè<sup>n</sup> is required (cf. yèm bē ‘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      nìyèŋ]    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/Ipfv)	transitive	reflexive
bàà-būwō	‘warm (sth) up’	‘warm (oneself) up (in sun, at fire)’
cīyè-nì	‘assemble, put together’	‘assemble, come together’
dāŋgè	‘post, affix, stick on’	‘adhere, stick (to sth)’
dèŋè/dèŋē	‘lean (sth) against (sth)’	‘lean (oneself) on/against (sth)’
dīrā/dīrà	‘push, press’	‘throw oneself (on sth)’
fēllā/fēllà	‘detonate (sth)’	‘burst, explode’
kāā/kāà	‘shatter (sth)’	‘be shattered’

kēw <sup>n</sup> /kē-nē	‘break, snap (sth)’	‘(sth) break, snap’
kìlèw <sup>n</sup> /kìlēn-nà	‘finish (sth)’	‘(sth) finish’
kùwòjì/kùwòjì	‘scour, scrape’	‘show off, strut’
kwāā/kō-lā bwēy	‘assemble, put together’	‘assemble, come together’
ṅīnī/ṅīnī	‘wash (sth), bathe (sb)’	‘(sb) bathe’
pālā/pālā	‘put in the way’	‘get in the way’
pāndì/pāndì	‘make a crack in (sth)’	‘(sth) crack, show a fissure’
pīi-sò/pīi-sò	‘throw forward’	‘leap forward’
pùgèw <sup>n</sup> /pùgēn-nà	‘hide (sth, sb)’	‘hide (oneself)’
sààlò/sààlò	‘hang up’	‘hang out (with sb)’
sèṅèw <sup>n</sup> /sèṅēn-nà	‘tilt (sth)’	‘(sth) tilt’
sīn(d)ì/sīn(d)ì	‘begin (sth)’	‘(sth) begin’
sùnù/sùnū-nà	‘bend (sth) over’	‘bend over, bow’
tēw <sup>n</sup> /tē-lē-w <sup>n</sup>	‘put (sth) up against’	‘put oneself up against’
wābì/wābì	‘change (sth)’	‘(sth, sb) change’ variant wōbì
yàgà/yàgā	‘put (down)’	‘act as though, pretend’

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 (bēw<sup>n</sup>, tūwō).

(842) verb (Pfv/Ipfv)	reflexive
bew <sup>n</sup> /bēn-dē	‘return, go/come back’
bīrījà/bīrījà	‘(donkey, horse) roll over on ground’
dūkōrō/dūkōrò	‘take pains’
gūṅgūlī/gūṅgūlì	‘(e.g. barrel) roll along on the ground’
kààmà/kààmā	‘tell a lie’
mīlā/mīlā	‘think, reflect on’
mūlēw <sup>n</sup> /mūlēn-nā	‘do on purpose’
nōtō-mō-nī/nōtō-mō-nì	‘build up courage, buckle up’
pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrī	‘writhe’
tānī/tānì	‘vomit’
tūwō/tūwò	‘depart, leave’

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 yè bidirectional case marker. In the 3Sg case, the reflexive pronominal is ṅ before assimilations.

(843)	à		m̄	bēw <sup>n</sup>	‘he/she returned’
	ì	y =	ē	bēw <sup>n</sup>	‘they returned’
	āā	yà =	āā	bēw <sup>n</sup>	‘you-Pl returned’

### 18.1.2.2 Pseudo-reflexives

Pseudo-reflexives are an important type of adjectival predicate. A partial paradigm of dēw<sup>n</sup> ‘be sweet, delicious, pleasing’ is (844).

(844)	à		ṅ	dēw <sup>n</sup>	‘it is sweet’
	ì	yè	ṅ	dēw <sup>n</sup>	‘they are sweet’
	āā	yè	ṅ	dēw <sup>n</sup>	‘you-Pl are sweet’

Comparing this with the preceding subsection, we see that pseudo-reflexives have invariant ṅ, versus a full paradigm that includes 3ReflSg ṅ among other pronominals for (true) reflexives. In the very common 3Sg subject case, the two constructions can be confused, especially since tone sandhi merges ṅ and ṅ 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 ṅ 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.	sèèdù	nā =	à	pōgò	
		S	IpfvNeg	3Sg	like.Ipfv	
		[ṅ]	gālā	ṅ	kó	[wólén nī]
		<b>[3ReflSg]</b>	Sbjn	1Sg	provide.Pfv	[money Inst]]
		‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me money.’ (§17.3.2)				
	b.	sèèdù	yè	ṅ	sīnī	
		S	Sbj/Obj	3ReflSg	begin.Pfv	
		[ṅ]	gā	ṅ	kō-lā]	
		<b>[3ReflSg]</b>	Ipfv	1Sg	hit-Ipfv]	
		‘Seydou began to hit me.’				

c. kwàā<sup>n</sup>    yè            ñ            sīnī  
 S            Sbj/Obj    3ReflSg    begin.Pfv  
 [ñ            gā            sà-nà]  
 [3ReflSg    Ipfv        rain.fall-Ipfv]  
 ‘Rain began to fall.’

d. yùgòm-bē        yè=            ē            sīnī  
 woman-Pl        Sbj/Obj    3ReflPl    begin.Pfv  
 [ē            gā            ñ            kō-lā]  
 [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 ñ is subtly different tonally from 3ReflSg ñ (846b).

(846) a. ñ            gā=        ā            tò  
 1Sg        Ipfv        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [ñ            gā            màn        tī-nà]  
 [1Sg        Ipfv        Rel        do-Ipfv]  
 ‘I know what I’m doing.’

b. sèédù        gā=        ā            tò  
 S            Ipfv        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [ñ            gā            màn        tī-nà]  
 [3ReflSg    Ipfv        Rel        do-Ipfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> knows what he<sub>x</sub>’s doing.’

c. sèédù        gā=        ā            tò  
 S            Ipfv        3Sg        know.Ipfv  
 [ñ            gā            màn        tī-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. ñ           gè =   ēnī                   [màn    tē]  
           **1Sg**    Ipfv   be.able.Ipfv   [Rel    Dat]  
           ñ           gā           wògò            tī-nà  
           **1Sg**    Ipfv    3Sg.Indep    do-Ipfv  
           ‘I do what I can (do).’  
           (lit. “What I can, that is what I do.”)

b. sèēdù           gè =   ēnī                   [màn    tē]  
           **S**            Ipfv    be.able.Ipfv    [Rel    Dat]  
           à            gā           wògò            tī-nà  
           **3Sg**    Ipfv    3Sg.Indep    do-Ipfv  
           ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> does what he<sub>x</sub> 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 *jáátī* ‘exactly’. See §8.4.2.1 for examples.

## 18.2 Obviation

### 18.2.1 *kēw*<sup>n</sup> ‘one’ as obviatee

*kēw*<sup>n</sup> (and variants) ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1) can occur twice in parallelistic passages denoting different individuals (848).

(848) [à       gā           kēēm    pwò-nì           [[ñ       sém]    pà],  
           [3Sg   until.Pfv   **one**    sit-Caus.Pfv   [[LogoSg   right]   Comit],  
           [à       gā           kēēm    pwò-nì           [[ñ       kóndó]   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)

kēw<sup>n</sup> 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, kēw<sup>n</sup> combines with definite gu. The background to (849) is that two suspects in a theft have been apprehended.

- (849) à yē [n̄-dògò t̄a= ā kùuɛ kóy],  
3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv Emph],  
[kēè<sup>n</sup> gù] ā kùuɛ gà,  
[one Def] 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv,  
[kēè<sup>n</sup> gù pē] yē [à ñ kààmà 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 nāmā ‘someone else’

The noun nāmā means ‘someone else’, i.e. anyone other than the topical referent (cf. French *autrui*). It is attested as possessor: nàmà dáábá ‘somebody else’s (livestock) animal’ (2017-05 @ 01:34). Cf. jīmī ‘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) [sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> à gā sò [[tēē gū] dēē gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gìw<sup>n</sup>]  
[now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]  
jākà [[kú pē] n̄gō-lēw<sup>n</sup>] ñ uèè  
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  $\bar{\eta}$  and 3Pl  $\bar{e}$ , 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  $\bar{\eta}$  and 1Sg  $\eta$  and allomorphs, and that between 3Pl logophoric  $\bar{e}$  and 1Pl  $\bar{e}$  (as opposed to regular 3Pl  $\bar{e}$ ). 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 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub> came’ with logophoric (i.e. coindexed) ‘he<sub>x</sub>’ is the quoted version of ‘I came’ uttered by Seydou.

Logophorics and first-person pronouns fall together systematically as subjects of quoted sentences ( $\bar{\eta}$ ). 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.  $y\grave{e}/y\bar{e}$  ‘said’ after 2nd person subjects combines irregularly with 2Sg subject  $\bar{a}^n$  as  $\bar{a}\bar{\eta}$   $j\grave{e}$  ‘you-Sg said’. If a referent in the quoted matter following ‘you-Sg said’ or  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $y\grave{e}$  ‘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.  $\bar{a}\bar{\eta}$          $j\grave{a} =$         [ $\bar{a}\bar{m}$          $b\bar{e}$ ]  
         2Sg        said        [2Sg        come.Pfv]  
         ‘You-Sg said that you-Sg came.’
- b.  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$          $y\grave{a} =$         [ $\bar{a}\bar{a}$          $b\bar{e}$ ]  
         2Pl        said        [2Pl        come.Pfv]  
         ‘You-Pl said that you-Pl came.’

- c. āṅ           jà =           [āā           bē]  
 2Sg           said           [2Pl           come.Pfv]  
 ‘You-Sg said that you-Pl came.’
- d. āṅ           jè(.)           [āā           bē]  
 2Sg           said(.)       [2Pl           come.Pfv]  
 ‘You-Sg said, you-Pl came.’

### 18.3.1.2 Examples of logophorics

The distinction between 1Sg and 3ReflSg pronouns is covered in §18.1.1.2-3. Since 3ReflSg and LogoSg 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 *yè/yē* ‘said’. This is followed by a logophoric subject only if the subject of ‘said’ is a third person pronoun or an NP (like ‘Seydou’ and ‘the women’) 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. *sèédù*           *yē*           [*m̄*           *bē*]  
 S                   said           [**LogoSg/1Sg**   come.Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> said that he<sub>x</sub>/I came.’
- b. *yùgòm-bè*       *yē* =       [*ē*           *bē*]  
 woman-Pl       said       [**LogoPl/1Pl**   come.Pfv]  
 ‘The women<sub>x</sub> said that they<sub>x</sub>/we came.’
- c. *à*           *yē*           [*m̄*           *bē*]  
 3Sg           said           [**LogoSg/1Sg**   come.Pfv]  
 ‘He/She<sub>x</sub> said that he-or-she<sub>x</sub>/I came.’
- d. *è*           *yē* =       [*ē*           *bē*]  
 3Pl           said       [**LogoPl/1Pl**   come.Pfv]  
 ‘They<sub>x</sub> said that they<sub>x</sub>/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.



c. sèédù/... yē [[ɲ kúnǵóló] sēw<sup>n</sup>  
 .../à yē  
 S/3Sg said [[**LogoSg** dog fall.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub>/He-or-she<sub>x</sub> said that his/her<sub>x</sub> (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) sèédù yē, āāmādù yē  
 S said, A said  
 [ɲ gā ɲ wàgā]  
 [**LogoSg** Ipfv **LogoSg** kill.Ipfv]  
 ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> said that Amadou<sub>y</sub> said that he<sub>y</sub> will kill him<sub>x</sub>.’ (Amadou kill Seydou)  
 or: ‘Seydou<sub>x</sub> said that Amadou said that he<sub>x</sub> will kill him<sub>y</sub>.’ (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 bẁ̀ is syntactically a noun and represents a grammaticalization of the noun bẁ̀ ‘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 bẁ̀

In (857), the sloppily coindexed NP is the object of a transitive verb.

(857) a. ē bẁ̀ kày  
 1Pl **Recip** see.Pfv  
 ‘We saw each other.’

- b. jēnām-bī-gē    bwò        kwāā  
 child-Pl        **Recip**    hit.Pfv  
 ‘The children hit each other.’
- c. è            gā        bwò        kō-lā  
 3Pl        Ipfv    **Recip**    hit-Ipfv  
 ‘The children hit-Present each other.’
- d. āā        mām        bwò        mūū<sup>n</sup>  
 2Pl        Proh        **Recip**    insult.Pfv  
 ‘Don’t-2Pl insult each other!’ (< mām<sup>n</sup>)

#### 18.4.2 Reciprocal bwò 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            gà        kāy<sup>n</sup>        [bwò        bwēȳ]  
 3Pl        Ipfv    work.Ipfv    [**Recip**    Comit]  
 ‘They work with each other.’ (< kāy<sup>n</sup>)
- b. è            [bwò        yāmbāà]        bwō  
 3Pl        [**Recip**    house]        burn.Pfv  
 ‘They burned each others’ houses.’

#### 18.4.3 bwēȳ ‘together’

This adverb derives from bwò ‘agamate’. It is an old locative \*bwō-ȳ with suffix -ȳ.

- (859) è        gà        bē        [kēēgū    yēȳ<sup>n</sup>    [yùgòm    pēndē    gū]  
 3Pl    Ipfv    Fut    [man    and    [woman    two    Def]  
 bàȳ        sò        bwēȳ  
 leave.Pfv    go.Pfv    **together**  
 ‘They were going to leave the man and the two women together.’ (2017-06 @ 00:58)

bwēȳ is also common as a comitative postposition (§8.1.2.2.1).

## 19 Grammatical pragmatics

### 19.1 Topic

#### 19.1.1 Topic (kò<sup>n</sup>)

The morpheme kò<sup>n</sup> is added to an NP or pronominal clitic to make it a topic ('as for X'). The 1Sg pronominal combination 'as for me' is ñ kó<sup>n</sup>, based on 1Sg allomorph ñ (+H) with floating H-tone. Otherwise the morpheme is L-toned kò<sup>n</sup>. Before another L-tone it is heard as <LM>-toned kǎ<sup>n</sup> after tone sandhi, and this can be flattened to kō<sup>n</sup>. Nasality is realized as a homorganic nasal before stops, nasals, and l that follow without a prosodic break, hence [ē kòm] bē 'as for us, we came' and [ē kòm̃] pwè '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. [ñ kóŋ] gà dūgā dīgà  
[1Sg **Topic**] Ipfv rice eat.Ipfv  
'As for me, I eat rice.'

b. [sèédū kòñ] sò  
[S **Topic**] go.Pfv  
'As for Seydou, he has gone.'

c. sèédū tē [ñ kóŋ] kwāā  
S PfvNeg [1Sg **Topic**] hit.Pfv  
'As for me, Seydou didn't hit me.'

d. nōgōrā-āmā [kāṅgō gū kò<sup>n</sup>] tūn-nī gà  
difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv  
'Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear.' (2017-03 @ 03:10)

For a perhaps unrelated kò<sup>n</sup> in subject topics in clauses often translated as 'already', see §10.2.1.5. kò<sup>n</sup> is also commonly part of the greeting response bàà sí kò<sup>n</sup> 'there is no trouble' (i.e. 'we/they are all fine'), and the (slightly worried) greeting question kéérén nī kò<sup>n</sup> 'is everything all right?'

Topic marker  $k\delta^n$  is homophonous to demonstrative  $k\delta^n$  (§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  $k\delta^n$  follows an NP (or more often a pronominal proclitic).

Topic-marking  $k\delta^n$  can be followed by  $s\bar{a}\bar{a}^n$  ‘all’, at least after pronominal clitics. There is little indication of topicality in this combination. This suggests that  $k\delta^n$  is on the way to fusing with the pronominals, to form a new series of independent pronouns (861). A similar evolution of  $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$  is mentioned in the following subsection.

- (861) [è       $k\delta^n$        $s\bar{a}\bar{a}^m$ ]     $b\bar{e}$                $g\bar{e} =$   
 [3Pl    **Topic**    **all**]      come.Pfv      RemPfv  
 [[è               $k\delta^n$ lòm-míyéní]       $n\bar{e} =$ ]      [è       $p\grave{a}$ ]  
 [[3Ref1Pl    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  $s\bar{a}\bar{a}$ - $k\delta^n$  ‘now’ (§8.4.6.1), which sets the temporal scene.

Topic marker  $k\delta^n$  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  $z\acute{a}k\acute{i}$   $k\delta^n$ . If speaker 1’s utterance ended with ‘Zaki’, speaker 2 may simply utter  $k\delta^n$ . In these confirming utterances, the tone is <LH> instead of <LM>, suggesting that final H is added for focus. As mentioned previousl, there are not enough IPA tone diacritics to distinguish <LM> from <LH>. In this grammar  $\delta$  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  $k\delta^n$  to confirm.

### 19.1.2 Interrogative topic ( $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , - $d\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , $l\bar{a}\grave{a}$ )

This alternative topic morpheme is associated mainly with interrogatives. The abbreviation is QTop in interlinears. It takes the basic form  $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$  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  $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$  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. ān-lāā            gā            māsí            dīgà  
 2Sg-**QTop**        Ipfv            what?        eat.Ipfv  
 ‘And you, what do you eat?’ (variant ān-dāā)
- b. [sèédù    lāā]            gā            bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 [S            **QTop**]        be.Loc        here  
 ‘As for Seydou, is he here?’
- c. tāmà        sèédū        yà =            ān-lāā        kwāā  
 Q            S            Sbj/Obj        2Sg-**QTop**    hit.Pfv  
 ‘As for you, did Seydou hit you?’

The pronominal combinations are in (863).

- (863) a. 1Sg                    ñ-dāā  
 LogoSg                    ñ-dāā  
 2Sg                        ān-lāā ~ añ-dāā
- b. 1Pl, LogoPl            ē-lāā  
 2Pl                        āā-lāā  
 3Sg                        à-lāā  
 3Pl                        è-lāā

In the form lāā, 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        yē        [āŋ        gā        sò        māgà        lāā],  
 3Pl        said        [2Sg        Ipfv        go.Ipfv        M        **QTop**],  
 āŋ        gā        sō            mwò        tīy<sup>n</sup>        yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 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?” ’  
 (< tīw<sup>n</sup>) (2017-05 @ 02:32)

However, clause-final lā from (local) French *là* (§19.4.3.6) is easily confused with this lāā.

### 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. [kóngóló pē] bē  
 [dog too] come.Pfv  
 ‘The dog came too.’
- b. à [m̄ 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. à<sup>n</sup> wólén dō [[m̄ pē] tē]  
 2Sg money give.Pfv [[1Sg too] Dat]  
 ‘He/She gave money to me too.’
- e. [[sèédù pē] m̀b̀òlì] māy<sup>n</sup>  
 [[Seydou too] vehicle] be.ruined.Pfv  
 ‘Seydou’s vehicle too broke down.’

pē is not used with clausal scope.

### 19.1.4 ‘Even’ (hàlì)

‘Even’ can be expressed with hàlì, 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. hàlì à t̀ è b̀òy  
 even 3Sg PfvNeg greet.Pfv  
 ‘He/She didn’t even say hello.’

- b. hàlì [jéná<sup>n</sup> (pē)] gē = ēnì [[kòŋ káy<sup>n</sup>] tē]  
**even** [child (too)] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[Dem work(n)] Dat]  
 ‘Even a child is capable of (doing) this work.’

### 19.1.5 ‘A fortiori’ (sōkàālà)

This form is likely composite at least etymologically, roughly \*so(ŋ)ko plus \*hala. The first part resembles ‘a fortiori’ forms in other languages of the region (e.g. Bambara sǎŋko, Kelenga jàngò). For the second part cf. hālà/sālà (§17.5.2).

sōkàālà 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, ŋgàà)

‘But ...’ is expressed by clause-initial kāā or a variant such as ŋgàà (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. ŋgàà 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 ò tē kù ‘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. sèédù bē [ŋgà = à tē dīgē]  
 S come.Pfv [**but** 3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]  
 ‘Seydou came, but he didn’t eat.’
- b. ñ dīgē [ŋgàà sèédù tē dīgē]  
 1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv [**but** S PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]  
 ‘I ate, but Seydou didn’t eat.’
- c. kā [ñ = ñā = ā kùuqē gà lā]  
**but** [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv Emph]  
 ‘(said:) “but when I stole it, ...”’ (2017-05 @ 00:51)
- d. kāā tùmī nì  
**but** python it.is  
 ‘but it was a python’. (2017-06 @ 00:43)

- e. *kāā*,        *ē*        *wày*  
**but**,        1Pl        today  
‘but, in our time, ...’. (2017-09 @ 00:20)

Younger speakers generally use *mèè* (French *mais*), as in other languages in the region.

### 19.2.2 ‘Like ...’ (*sānà*)

This preclausal particle occurs before a clarifying clause. Compare English *in other words*, ... or *that is to say*, ... or *for example*, ...

- (868) *ām*        *mìŋè↑*,  
2Sg        hear.Pfv,  
*sānà*,        *ān-dāā*        *tè*        [*kú*        *sāā<sup>n</sup>*]        *fāāmù↑*  
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 *tū<sup>n</sup>* ‘again’

The adverb *tū<sup>n</sup>* 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. *tū<sup>n</sup>*,        *kúŋgóló*        *kùmù*  
**again**,        dog        sleep.Pfv  
‘Again the dog went to sleep.’
- b. *à*        *kùmù*        *tū<sup>n</sup>*  
3Sg        sleep.Pfv        **again**  
‘He/She went to sleep again.’ = ‘He/she went back to sleep.’

c. à tē kùmù bōh tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg PfvNeg sleep.Pfv here **again**  
 ‘He/She didn’t sleep here again (=go back to sleep).’

d. wùláá kùmū gà bōh tū<sup>n</sup>  
 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 tū<sup>n</sup>)

Negation plus tū<sup>n</sup> ‘again’ produces ‘no longer’ or ‘not again, not any more’.

(870) a. à nā nògī-y tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg **not.be.Loc** village-Loc **again**  
 ‘He/She is no longer in the village.’

b. à tē m̄ bēm-bē nògī-y tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg **PfvNeg** 3Ref1Sg 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 (dàmá)

dàmá ‘only’ is added at the end of an NP, a clitic or (for focus) independent pronoun, or adverbial phrase.

(871) a. [nāj kēn dàmá] bē gà  
 [person one **only**] come.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘Only one person came.’

b. [n-dógó dàmá] gà yān tò  
 [1Sg-Indep **only**] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv  
 ‘Only I know that place.’ (< yāw<sup>n</sup>)

c. ìj      gà      [yāw<sup>n</sup>      dāmá]      tò  
 1Sg    Ipfv    [there.Def    **only**]    know.Ipfv  
 ‘I know only that place.’

d. ìj      gā      sògō      [[dāmbā    dāmá]    ní]  
 1Sg    Ipfv    cultivate.Ipfv    [[daba    **only**]    Inst.Foc]  
 ‘I do farm work only with a daba (=hoe) [focus].’

dāmá can also occur clause-finally with scope over at least the VP.

(872) à      nà      kāy<sup>n</sup>,      à      gā      kùmū-nà      dāmá  
 3Sg    IpfvNeg    work(v).Ipfv,    3Sg    Ipfv    sleep-Ipfv    **only**  
 ‘He doesn’t work, he just sleeps.’

Clause negation scopes over a constituent with dāmá.

(873) [ì-dógó      dāmá]      nā      sò  
 [1Sg-Indep    **only**]    **IpfvNeg**    go.Ipfv  
 ‘It’s not only I who will go.’

### 19.3.2.2 ‘Only’ particle (bāānà)

An alternative ‘only’ particle is bāānà. 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 dāmá requires independent pronouns, the more noun-like bāānà can take a clitic pronominal and can be followed by a definite marker (874b).

(874) a. [tārāwōrē    bāānà]    gā    bwò    dēè      tà→  
 [T            only]    Ipfv    Recip    pick.up.Ipfv    or.Q  
 ‘Do Traoré only marry each other?’ (2017-01 @ 07:11)

b. ē      bāānà      gù  
 1Pl    only      Def  
 ‘only us (e.g. our ethnic group)’ (2017-02 @ 03:04)

### 19.3.2.3 kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one; alone’ versus dāmá ‘only’ for exclusivity

To emphasize that an action was performed by an individual without assistance of others, the numeral kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’ is added to the relevant NP, which may be pronominal (875b) or

nonpronominal. There is no nasal linker in this construction, unlike the case with  $\eta$ - $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  ‘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  $\eta$   $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  ‘I alone’ (875a), likewise 3Sg  $\grave{a}$   $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  and 2Sg  $\bar{a}\eta$   $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$ .

- (875) a. [sèèdù  $k\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ ] jéná<sup>n</sup> yìrā $\eta$  gà  
 [S **one**] child help.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘Seydou alone helped the child.’
- b. [ $\eta$   $k\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ ] jéná<sup>n</sup> yìrā $\eta$  gà  
 [1Sg **one**] child help.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘I alone helped the child.’

As with  $d\grave{a}m\acute{a}$ , clausal negation scopes over  $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  in this function.

- (876) a. [ $\bar{\eta}$   $k\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ ]  $n\grave{e}$ =  $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $k\grave{\delta}y\acute{o}n$   $t\bar{o}nd\grave{o}$   
 [1Sg **one**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfvchild stone lift.Ipfv  
 ‘I can’t lift the rock by myself.’
- b. [sèèdù  $k\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ ]  $n\grave{e}$ =  $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $k\grave{\delta}y\acute{o}n$   $t\bar{o}nd\grave{o}$   
 [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  $\eta$ - $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  is ‘one X’ rather than ‘only an X’ (877).

- (877) [ $k\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{u}$   $\eta$ - $k\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ ]  $g\grave{e}$ =  $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}$  [[ $k\grave{\delta}\eta$   $k\bar{a}y^n$ ]  $t\bar{e}$ ]  
 [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),  $d\grave{a}m\acute{a}$  ‘only’ is required and  $k\bar{e}\bar{w}^n$  is impossible.

- (878) a.  $\bar{e}$   $n\bar{e}$ =  $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}$  [ $k\grave{u}w\bar{o}$   $d\grave{a}m\acute{a}$ ]  $d\bar{i}g\grave{a}$   
 1Pl IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [salt **only**] eat.Ipfv  
 ‘We can’t eat just salt.’

- b. [è dà má] nè = ēnì tā-nā [jūgū kūmà]  
 [3Pl **only**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv ascend-Ipfv [tree on]  
 ‘They can’t climb the tree by themselves (=without help).’
- c. [jēnām-bī-gē dà má] nè = ēnì kàyón tōndò  
 [child-Pl-Pl **only**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv stone lift.Ipfv  
 ‘The children can’t lift the rock by themselves.’

#### 19.3.2.4 Circumlocution with ‘not (any)’ plus (ñ)kàlà ‘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 -sí or síí (§6.6.2.2), as in nìmì-sí ‘anybody’, pè-sí ~ pà-sí ‘anything’, gùù<sup>n</sup>-sí ‘anywhere’, or wáléw<sup>n</sup> síí ‘any money’. There are a few versions of the ‘except X’ expression in the second clause (879).

- (879) a. ñkàlà X ~ kàlà X ‘except ...’  
 b. ñā = à nam bā X lit. ‘if it has left ...’ (i.e. if it does not include)  
 c. X nì lit. ‘it is X’

(880a) combines ñā = à nām bā 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 ñkālā.

- (880) a. nìmì-sí tè kōndō yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 person-**any** PfvNeg stay.Pfv there.Def,  
 [ñā = à nām bā] [ān-dògō dà má] nì  
 [if 3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv] [2Sg-Indep only] it.is  
 ‘There was nobody there, except you-Sg.’
- b. pè-sí nā = [à nìñì]],  
 thing-**any** **not.be.Loc** [3Sg inside]],  
 ñkālā sùwō<sup>n</sup>↑ tìmì↑, ...  
**except** crocodile, python, ...  
 ‘There was nothing in it (=place) except crocodiles, pythons, ...’  
 (2017-04 @ 02:08 to 02:11)

#### 19.3.3 pààñ-kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly’

This adverb, which appears to include kēw<sup>n</sup> ‘one’, can mean ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly, completely’.

- (881) a. à            bē                    pààŋ-kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg        come.Pfv        **already**  
 ‘He/She has already/definitely come.’
- b. sāà-gù    ē    yā=        à    yàgā                    [dùgūbāà    nī]    pààŋ-kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 (mòrù, héé, hóó)

Any of these emphatics may occur clause-initially, or arguably preclausally. They are glossed as ‘truly’ in interlinears. There are no attestations in the recordings.

- (882) a. mòrù            m̄            bàndā            wày  
 héé            "            "            "  
 hóó            "            "            "  
 truly        1Sg    get.tired.Pfv    today  
 ‘I’m really tired (=exhausted) today.’
- b. mòrù            kúŋgóló        m̄            bùlòw<sup>n</sup>  
 héé            "            "            "  
 hóó            "            "            "  
 truly        dog        PsRefl        be.big  
 ‘The dog is really big (=huge).’

#### 19.4.1.2 jākà ‘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-lēm      pīy<sup>n</sup>ē-nā      nī      wày  
sun                  hot-Ppl          it.is      today  
'It's hot out today!'
- B: à                  pīy<sup>n</sup>ē-nā          nì          kóy  
3Sg          hot-Ppl          it.is      **Emph**  
'It sure is (hot)!'

Textual examples are in (884).

- (884) a. à      yā=      [ā<sup>n</sup>      mà<sup>n</sup>      j̄      jámbá      kóy]  
3Sg    said    [2Sg    Proh    1Sg    betray.Pfv    **Emph**]  
'He said, "Don't betray me!"' (2017-01 @ 02:18)
- b. [nà<sup>n</sup>      ñ-kēē<sup>n</sup>]      [kàà      ñ-kēē<sup>n</sup>]      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. [kēē<sup>n</sup>      gù]      yā=      [à      nè=      ē      wògò      kóy]  
[one      Def]    said    [3Sg    IpfvNeg    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 *kòy* occurs at the end of completive perfect clauses (§10.2.1.5). Another *kòy* is part of the fixed greeting (borrowed entire from Fulfulde) *tyāābù kòy*.

### 19.4.2.2 Clause-final or independent jáátì ‘indeed’

jáátì ‘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-ṛ-cīyē nī]  
 3Sg sit.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst]  
 ‘It (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’

B: à pwò, jáátì  
 3Sg sit.Pfv, **indeed**  
 ‘It has, indeed.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)

Since emphatic kóy cannot occur by itself, jáátì is the ordinary way to confirm the correctness of an interlocutor’s statement without repeating it.

In this discourse context (confirming) jáátì is HL-toned. In the H-toned form jáátì it can occur as part of an NP in the sense ‘precisely, exactly’ (§8.4.2.1).

jáátì 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 sàà-gù ē pùwóm bày féy  
 today now 1Pl fonio leave.Pfv **completely**  
 ‘Nowadays we have completely abandoned (cutivating) fonio.’  
 (2017-03 @ 00:34)

b. ē nā= ā mèn-nè féy  
 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            mā<sup>n</sup>            sò / ...            dē?  
                  mām            ... / bē  
                  2Sg            Proh            go.Pfv/come.Pfv            **Emph**  
                  ‘Don’t go/come!’ (warning)
- b. kwààŋ        gà            bē            dē?  
                  rain(n)        Ipfv            come.Ipfv            **Emph**  
                  ‘(Watch out,) it’s about to rain!’ (warning)
- c. [kēè<sup>n</sup>        gū]        yè=        [ē            nàn        [tēē        kāā-kāā]        kūwōlō,  
                  [one        Def]        said        [LogoPl    if.Pfv        [meat        Iter-raw]        chew.Pfv,  
                  à            gà            bē=        ē            wògò        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→,        kú            gā            [[sèbè        tīrīgī-nā=]        nì]        sàà-gù        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 yàá in emphatic affirmative answers

Clause-final yàá 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: ā<sup>n</sup>            sō            bàməkó        tāmà  
                  2Sg            go.Pfv        B            Q  
                  ‘Have you-Sg gone to Bamako?’

- B: ĩj            sō            yàá  
                  1Sg            go.Pfv        **Emph**  
                  ‘(Yes) I have gone.’

The flavor is well-captured by the extra *do* verb in English free translations as in B’s response in (889).

(889) A: āṅ      gālà      pō      sē =      [ē      tē]      [ɲón      nìṅì]      *quoi*  
 2Sg      Sbjn      thing      say.Pfv      [1Pl      Dat]      [Dem      inside]      Ø  
 ‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’

B: ṅ      gà      pō      tò      ā-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) [ā<sup>n</sup>      hijì      gù]      tē      màṅè  
 [2Sg      pilgrimage      Def]      PfvNeg      be.good.Pfv  
 à      yā =      [à      màṅē      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 ṅ gà = ālà tìgè-nī ‘I thank God’.

(891) āālà      tìgē-nì      yàá  
 God      thank(v).Pfv      **Emph**  
 ‘Thank God.’ (2017-02 @ 00:05)

#### 19.4.2.6 Clause-final *lā*

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) [[n-dóǵó            mǎw<sup>n</sup>            kǎy]            kòmbó-ỳ]  
 [[1Sg-Indep        Rel            Prsntv]        edge.of.village-Loc]  
 tē            pà-sí            kilè            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            sǎāŋ]        gā            digèmū        nī            wà  
 [3Sg    all]        Ipfv    talk(n)        it.is        **anyway**  
 ‘It’s all words (=oral tradition) anyway.’ (2017-01 @ 05:49)
- c. āā            rēēnà            kǎ<sup>n</sup>            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            jìŋē            sǎgà  
**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 fǎāmù ‘understand.Pfv’ or mìnè ‘hear.Pfv’. A full question-reply sequence is (892). In the question, the verbs have interrogative tones (final H). fǎāmù and mìnè are normally transitive. The question seemingly treats these verbs as though intransitive, but

this is best analysed as contracted from transitive  $\bar{a}^n$  ( $y\bar{a}=$ )  $\bar{a}$   $f\grave{a}\bar{a}m\acute{u}/m\grave{i}\eta\acute{e}$  ‘did you-Sg understand/hear it’. With optional BCM  $y\grave{e}$  omitted,  $\bar{a}^n \bar{a}$  would reduce to denasalized  $\bar{a} = \bar{a}$   $f\grave{a}\bar{a}m\acute{u}$ , which could be confused with 2Pl  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , so idiosyncratically treating ‘understand’ and ‘hear’ as intransitive here is unsurprising. The reply, with 1Sg subject, always takes transitive form.

(892) Q:  $\bar{a}^n$   $f\grave{a}\bar{a}m\acute{u}$   
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q  
 ‘Did you-Sg understand?’

R:  $\bar{n}$   $= n\bar{a} = \bar{a}$   $f\grave{a}\bar{a}m\grave{u}$   
 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)  $\bar{a}n$   $t\bar{a} = \bar{a}$   $f\grave{a}\bar{a}m\acute{u}$   
 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 $w\grave{a}l\grave{a} \sim w\grave{a}l\acute{a}$ ‘voilà!’

$w\grave{a}l\grave{a} \sim w\grave{a}l\acute{a}$  (< 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 ( $w\grave{a}l\acute{a}$ ) and @ 02:44 ( $w\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ ).  $w\grave{a}l\acute{a}$  could be analysed as the focalized form of  $w\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ .

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  $b\bar{o}y\grave{/}b\bar{o}y\grave{-}l\grave{i}$ . The noun ‘greeting’ is its verbal noun  $b\bar{o}y\grave{-}g\grave{u}$  (§4.2.1.3). In many of the greetings discussed below, 2Pl  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$  is favored over 2Sg  $\bar{a}^n$  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: m̄            bōȳ  
           1Sg            greet.Pfv  
           'I have greeted!'  
 B: èñnà

The formal Islamic greeting exchange in Arabic, chiefly among men, is the A-B sequence in (895).

- (895) A: āsālāā-mwàlēēkù<sup>n</sup>  
           'Peace to you-Pl!'  
 B: wāālēkūmā-sālām̄  
           '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 (*rēene*, *tiyaabu*) also occurred.

- (896) a. āā            rēēnà-nā            nì  
           2Pl            be.safe-Ppl        it.is  
           'You-Pl are safe?' (2017-01 @ 00:18)
- b. āā            yèn            tyāābù            kòy  
           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 *kòrì* and is optionally reduced to *kò*. It is interchangeable in this function with *kàlà* ~ *ñkàlà*, which does not occur in local Fulfulde. For occasional *kò(rì)* outside of greetings, see §13.2.1.1.

- (897) kòrì            jām̄            syēw<sup>n</sup>                            [āā    pà]            kò<sup>n</sup>  
           Q            peace        spend.midday.Pfv            [2Pl    Comit]    Topic  
           '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 sí* is parsable, including indefinite quantifier *sí* '(not) any'. This quantifier explains the otherwise



used retrospectively in the greetings, e.g. ‘good morning’ is phrased as (an abbreviated form of) ‘how did you spend the night?’ In *jām s̄āā* and *jām syēw<sup>n</sup>*, the usual pronunciation is with the L-tone of *m̄* de-linking and downstepping the verb, resulting in *jām ‘s̄āā* and *jām ‘syēw<sup>n</sup>*. Downstepped M-tone is indistinguishable from L-tone in the absence of further tone sandhi. The normal M-toned forms *s̄āā* and *s̄iw<sup>n</sup>* 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 *àmíínà yàràbì* (Arabic for ‘amen oh Lord!’).

(900) a. *ālā gālā wùū jìyè-gà-nì*  
 God Sbjn night easy-Inch-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘May God make the night easy!’

b. *ālā gālā súbáán dwō [ē gàrjàgà-y]*  
 God Sbjn morning enter.Pfv [1Pl luck-Loc]  
 ‘May God put the morning in our (good) luck!’

In (900b), *dwō* is trimmed from the semantically appropriate causative *dwē-nì* ‘cause to enter’, and *gàrjàgà-y* is an L-toned form of the usual *gàrjàgà-ȳ* ‘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 *èñnà* (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 *èñnà*. *àm̄bāā* may be used instead of *èñnà*.

(901) A: *yā = āā bāāy kāy (plural addressee)*  
*ā = āy kāy (singular addressee)*

B: i) *èñnà yā = āā bāāy kày (plural addressee)*  
*èñnà (ā =) āy kày (singular addressee)*  
 ii) *èñnà*

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) ì            yā=            āā            bōȳ            [āā            yèŋ            kāy<sup>n</sup>]  
           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 ì 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, wàlè substitutes for kày in the preceding formulae. This is the noun wālē ‘work completed, accomplishment’, in L-toned form as with kày < kāy<sup>n</sup>.

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 yè<sup>n</sup> ‘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(-lògō)            yè<sup>n</sup>            sībèw<sup>n</sup>  
           2Pl(-Indep)            and            market  
           ‘You-Pl and the market!’ (< sībēw<sup>n</sup> or locative sībèw<sup>n</sup>)
- b. āā(-lògō)            yè<sup>n</sup>            nìjì  
           2Pl(-Indep)            and            walk.Pfv  
           ‘You-Pl and walking!’ (< nījì)

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 kāy<sup>n</sup>, cf. the verb kāy<sup>n</sup>/kāyè<sup>n</sup>.

- (904) a. ān-dògō            yèŋ            kày<sup>n</sup>  
           2Sg-Indep            and            work(n)  
           ‘You-Sg and work!’ (i.e., ‘thanks for the help!’)

- b. āā-lòg5      yèŋ      kày<sup>n</sup>  
 2Pl-Indep    and      work(n)  
 ‘You-Pl and work!’

#### 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 kiyèw<sup>n</sup> ‘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      gālā      kiy<sup>n</sup>à =      [[ām / āā      mǎnèn]      nī]  
 God    Sbjn    arrive.Pfv    [[2Sg/2Pl      be.good.VblN]      Inst]  
 ‘May God (let you) arrive with your goodness (=in safety).’

- b. ālà      gà      bē      gà      [[ām / āā      mǎnèn]      nī]  
 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      gālā      hīnā =      [à      nā]  
 God    Sbjn    have.pity.Pfv    [3Sg      Dat]  
 ‘May God have pity on him/her!’ (< hīnè)

- b. ālà      gālā      [à      sāā-gām]      mùwò-nī      [à      bwēy]  
 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      gālā      ān      tùgò  
 God    Sbjn    2Sg      pay.Pfv  
 ‘May God compensate you-Sg’

Replies to such formulae are 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** [k'éérà<sup>n</sup> syē<sup>n</sup>] nògù-miirù  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] village-chief  
**nt** āā syēŋ gà [nēēmà nī]  
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; nēēmā 'pleasant cool weather']*

(00:06) **ac** [kò jā̀m syēŋ gà [āā pà]  
[Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]  
**nt** āā syēŋ gà [nēēmà nī]  
2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather Inst]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
[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 báásī 'trouble' (Fulfulde baasi < Arabic); kò<sup>n</sup> 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 jām syē<sup>n</sup> [āā bwēȳ]  
 Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 [trouble any] not.be  
**nt:** ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’  
**ac:** ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:10) **nt** yēm bìsìmilà  
 Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv  
**ac** ð<sup>n</sup>→  
 (hesitation)  
**nt:** ‘You-Pl are welcome.’  
**ac:** ‘Uh, ...’  
*[nt invites ac to proceed; plural-addressee imperative yè<sup>n</sup> (§10.4.1.1)]*

(00:12) **nt** yēm bìsìmilà  
 Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv  
**ac** bon  
 well  
**nt** [āā bē-gū] dēmō<sup>n</sup> [ē tē] mápè  
 [2Pl come.VblN] be.pleasing [1Pl Dat] a.lot  
**nt:** ‘You-Pl are welcome.’  
**ac:** ‘Well, ...’  
**nt:** ‘Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’  
*[dēmō<sup>n</sup>/dēmò<sup>n</sup> ‘please (sb)’ = dēw<sup>n</sup>; < ē tē]*

(00:14) **ac** [kéérà<sup>n</sup> syē<sup>n</sup>] [sèédù sisé]  
 [welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [S C]  
**sc** èñnāà  
 (reply)  
**ac:** ‘Good afternoon, Seydou Cissé!’  
**nt:** (greeting reply)

(00:16) **ac** kò jām syēṅ gā [āā bwēy]  
 Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]  
**sc** kàlà= āā syēṅ [jām ní]  
 Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst.Q]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 [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.’  
*[kàlà interrogative in greeting formulae, equivalent to kòrì]*

(00:18) **sc** āā rēēnà-nā nì  
 2Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 [trouble any] not.be  
**sc:** ‘You-Pl are safe?’  
**ac:** ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:19) **sc** kòrì jām syēw<sup>n</sup> [āā pà] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Top  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 [trouble any] not.be  
**sc:** ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’  
**ac:** ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:21) **sc** àlàhāmdùllāy  
 praise.to.God  
**ac** àmbāā  
 (reply)  
**sc** báárikāllā  
 God.be.praised  
**sc:** ‘Praise to God.’  
**ac:** (greeting reply)  
**sc:** ‘God be praised.’  
*[Arabic expressions]*

(00:23) **ac** hàyà, yā = āā bāāy kày  
 okay 2Pl work(n)  
**sc** āā yèn tyāābù kòy  
 2Pl and (greeting formula)  
**ac**: ‘Well, you-Pl and work!’  
**sc**: ‘You-Pl and (greeting).’  
*[for situational greeting yā = āā bāāy kày see §19.6.3; kòy L-toned in the greeting tyāābu kòy (< Fulfulde)]*

(00:26) **sc** hàyà, yā = āā bāāy kày  
 okay 2Pl work(n)  
 [[āā bē-gū] dēmō<sup>n</sup> [ē tē] mánè]  
 [[2Pl come.VblN] please.Pfv [1Pl Dat] a.lot]  
**ac** hàyà  
 okay  
**sc**: ‘You-Pl and work! Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’  
**ac**: ‘All right.’

(00:28) **sc** mánè mánè kóy  
 a.lot a.lot Emph  
**ac** hàyà  
 okay  
**sc**: ‘Very much indeed.’  
**ac**: ‘All right.’

(00:30) **sc** hàlè = ē nā = ā tō  
 until 1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv,  
 [ē gā = ā yàgā gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gìw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.down.Ipfv place-Link-place]  
**ac** hàyà  
 okay  
**sc**: ‘To the point that we don’t know where to put it (=our happiness).’  
**ac**: ‘All right.’  
*[< hàlì ; tūyè/tō ‘know’ requires an object (§11.2.5.1); gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gìw<sup>n</sup> §14.2.4]*



(00:40) **ac** [mwō bā̀nà-sí] nī  
[which? manner-kind] Inst

**nt** mhm

uh.huh

**ac:** ‘In what manner.’

**nt:** ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:42) **ac** [wùlā̀-ye gā = [[à nīmī pānā̀<sup>n</sup>-yē] nì]  
[who?-Pl be [[3Sg person first-Pl] it.is]

[mā̀-à-lē p̀wō gā = [à nìṅī]],  
[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 gā bṑw<sup>n</sup> [[mwō bā̀nà-sí] nī]*  
well 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here [[which? manner-kind] Inst]

**nt** mhm

uh.huh

**ac:** ‘Well, in what way did they come here?’

**NH:** ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:46) **ac** āṅ gālā pō sē = [ē tē] [nó<sup>n</sup> nìṅī] *quoi*  
2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [Dem inside]

**nt** ṅ gā— ṅ gā pō tò ā-ỳ yàá,  
1Sg Ipfv— 1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc Emph,

**ac:** ‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’

**nt:** ‘I— I do know something in (=about) it.’

*[final yàá in mildly emphatic positive response to polar interrogative (§19.4.2.5)]*

(00:49) **nt** bādī nīmī gā [n̄ tōy-pwó] sē  
because person Ipfv [3ReflSg knowledge-thing.Foc] say.Ipfv

**ac** ìṅǎllàw

if.God.wills

**nt:** ‘Because a person says what he/she knows.’

**ac:** ‘If God wills.’

*[bādī (§17.5.7.1); ìṅǎllàw ‘if God wills’ (Arabic) functions pragmatically somewhat like ‘hopefully’ (Gallicized as inchalla)]*

(00:52) **nt** [ē nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup> lāsārī] bāā gā—  
 [1Pl N origin] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv—  
**sc** [ān-dāā gā mèn-tīw<sup>n</sup> sē]  
 [2Sg-QTop Ipfv how? speak.Ipfv]  
**nt**: ‘The origin of our Namagué was—’  
**sc** (interrupting): ‘How are you speaking?’.  
 [mèn-tīw<sup>n</sup> §13.2.2.6]

(00:54) **sc** [à sē] [ē gālā = ā mìnḡè],  
 [3Sg say.Pfv] [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg hear.Pfv],  
 [n túwó-lēw<sup>n</sup> gū] nā mìnḡē  
 [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 nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup> gù] lāsārī] bāā gā màndēw<sup>n</sup>  
 [[1Pl N Def] origin] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv Mande  
**sc** à<sup>n</sup>hāà<sup>n</sup>→  
 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** màndēw<sup>n</sup>  
 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 bē bē kīyē kùná,  
 1Pl Seq come.Pfv pass.Pfv K,  
 ē bē bē pwò jēw-kàmēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv J-K,  
 [[jàwálè kùwóm] bwēy] yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [[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); jēw (locative jèw) denotes the entire commune of Lowol-Guéou which includes Namagué and Bounou; jēw-kàmēw<sup>n</sup> is a currently uninhabited spot near the entrance to the valley, cf. jí<sup>n</sup>-kàmāà ‘west’; Ouro Guéou (Fulfulde uro gew) is a Fulbe village in the plains near the entrance to the valley; the Cliffs name jàwálè is contracted from jēw plus -wálè, which also occurs in dàànì-wálè, mìtààgù-wálè, and bòmbòlì-wálè, the Cliffs names for the Fulbe villages Daani Ouro, Moulentakou Ouro, and Bombori Ouro, all in the plains near the cliffs]

(01:08) **nt** à<sup>n</sup>hāà<sup>n</sup> [[jàwālē kùwóm] bwēy] yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 uh-huh [[OG flank] Comit] there.Def,  
 [[sīlē mūū<sup>n</sup>] bwēy] [nògù<sup>n</sup>-tómbó màn] gà yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [[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 bē bē pwò yāw<sup>n</sup>, [pō mò<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] nī,  
 1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv there.Def, [thing Rel all] Inst,  
 [ē jè gù] nā<sup>n</sup> hāngà gù,  
 [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 mīirù-yè] gā sō [b̀wò kày] yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 [[1Pl chief-PI] Ipfv go.Ipfv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]  
 [ālā gā = ā nìyè-gà-nī],  
 [God Ipfv 3Sg easy-Inch-Caus.Ipfv],

‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there. God facilitates it.

[nìyè-gà-nī factitive = causative of adjectival inchoative (§9.4.4)]

(01:20) **nt** ē bè bāā yāw<sup>n</sup>, ā<sup>n</sup> mìnǝ  
 1Pl Seq exit.Pfv there.Def, 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘Then we left there. Did you hear (me)?’

**sc**: ‘Definitely!’

[jáátì for confirmation (§19.4.2.2)]

(01:23) **nt** ē bè bē nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 1Pl Seq come.Pfv N,  
 è gā= à sē [nògù bē] [nògù bē] gù,  
 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-bèw<sup>n</sup>]

(01:27) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> mìnǝ dé,  
 2Sg hear.Pfv Emph.Q,  
 ān tè [[[āāmādù jāṅkābā] kògō] kòrē-y],  
 2Sg PfvNeg [[[A J] new.house] behind],  
 ān tē gùù<sup>n</sup>-ná<sup>n</sup>-lēw<sup>n</sup> kày kùwòlì-nà yáw<sup>n</sup>,  
 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** sēēnì yēñ lààsìnè, [nà<sup>n</sup> ṅ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] [kàà ṅ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] nì,  
 O and L, [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is,  
 [è sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā [sìyé kūmà],  
 [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** ā<sup>n</sup> mìnǝ,  
 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q,  
 è gā [sìyé kūmà] gù,  
 3Pl be.Loc [horse on] Def,  
 ‘Did you hear? When they were on the horse,’

(01:40) **nt** è bè kīyē [nògù-bèn nā]  
 3Pl Seq pass.Pfv [N Dat]  
 è bē sō mààlù,  
 3Pl Seq go.Pfv M,

**sc** jáátì

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** è kàȳlà sō mààlù gù,  
 3Pl when go.Pfv M Def,  
 tèē<sup>n</sup> yè ɲōllā —  
 elder.sib said herewith —  
 yā<sup>n</sup> lāā nā [jànàmà-sēē-y-ē tààgàn] 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)” ’

[*kàȳlà ‘when’; tèē<sup>n</sup> ~ tèē<sup>n</sup> ‘elder sibling’; ɲōllā precedes an important statement*]

(01:48) **nt** è bè bē [kāādō kēēgū] tābà  
 3Pl Seq come.Pfv [Dogon man] find.Pfv,  
 [à gā pwò-nà [[ɲ kòlò<sup>n</sup>] kūmà]],  
 [3Sg be sit-Ppl [[3ReflSg skin] on]],

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘They came and encountered a Dogon man, he was seated on his (sheep-)skin (=mat).’

**sc**: ‘Exactly!’

(01:52) ā<sup>n</sup> mìnḗ, é!, tēēn-tùgū yā =  
 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, hey! elder.sib-owner said  
 [à gālè = ē kò [jǐí nǐ]]  
 [3Sg Sbjn LogoPl furnish.Pfv [water Inst]]  
 [ē gālè = ē mēw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [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.” ’  
*[tēēn-tùgù ‘oldest of a group of friends or siblings’; < yè ‘said’; 3Sg à rather than 2Sg in the quotation, denoting the Dogon; subjunctive gālè (§10.2.2.4)]*

(01:57) nt à yē [n̄ nā dē?],  
 3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg Emph],  
 [sābì n̄ nà = āā kò [jǐí nǐ] sāā<sup>n</sup>],  
 [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; dē? is an emphatic particle used in admonitive or other adversarial contexts (§19.4.2.4); sāā<sup>n</sup> ‘all’ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedent]*

(02:01) nt āṅ gā pò-lò [[ṅ kóló<sup>n</sup>] kúmà],  
 2Sg Ipfv sit-Ipfv [[LogoSg skin] on],  
 [n̄ dāā] [ā<sup>n</sup> nām pwò [[ṅ kóló<sup>n</sup>] kúmà] sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 [LogoSg QTop] [2Sg if.Pfv sit.Pfv [[LogoSg skin] on] all]  
 [n̄ dēṅēw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [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.’  
*[dāā variant of lāā, topic mainly in interrogative contexts (‘what about X?’); ‘be outcast’ means losing one’s esoteric powers and being forced to leave]*

(02:05) nt [hàl wāy] [è kòlò<sup>n</sup>] gā mààlù-mísírí,  
 [until today] [3Pl skin] be.Loc M-mosque.Loc,  
 (...)  
 (unintelligible)  
 ‘Even today, their (sheep-)skin is (still) in Madougou (village).’  
*[< hàlī wày ; tonal locative of compound, cf. possessive mààlū mísírí ‘Madougou mosque’]*

(02:08) **nt** ñ dēŋēŋ gū—, ì yā [à gālā sò]  
 1Sg curse(n) Def—, 3Pl said [3Sg Sbjn go.Pfv]  
 [è nā pò-lò],  
 [3Pl IpfvNeg sit-Ipfv].  
 ‘My curse—. They told him (=Dogon) to go, they (=Bozo) would not sit down.’

(02:11) **nt** à gīlēŋ kùì sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg as.soon.as get.up.Pfv when,  
 sēēnì māŋ gā dùgō<sup>n</sup> nì gù,  
 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 yē [làāsīnà tēè→],  
 3Sg said [L Dat]  
 [ñ kó<sup>n</sup>] gá yà-lá,  
 [1Sg Topic] Ipfv descend-Ipfv.Q,  
 ‘He said to Lasine, ‘as for me, I will dismount?’ ’  
*[tēè→ for dative tē 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= [ā<sup>n</sup> mà<sup>n</sup> jì jámbá kóy],  
 3Sg said [2Sg Proh 1Sg betray.Pfv Emph],  
 sāā<sup>n</sup> sēēnì tē<sup>n</sup>-[yà-là],  
 all O jump.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv],  
 ‘He (=Lasine) said, “Don’t betray me!” Immediately Ouséni jumped down.’  
*[jàmbà/jàmbā ‘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 pwǒ [kòlòŋ kūmà], sēēnì pwǒ [kòlòŋ kūmà] sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg sit.Pfv [skin on], O sit.Pfv [skin on] when,  
 [kāādō gū] bē gā sāā<sup>n</sup>, à jí pàŋè,  
 [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.’

(02:27) **nt** à yē [ɲ dēɲēw<sup>n</sup>, [à kò<sup>n</sup>] n̄ tūwō,  
 3Sg said [1Sg be.outcast.Pfv], [3Sg Topic] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,  
 à yē [[ɲ tḕɲ gù] tē̄  
 3Sg said [[3ReflSg elder.sib Def] Dat]  
 ‘He said, “I am cast out.” As for him (=Dogon), he left. He (Ouséni) said to his elder brother,’

(02:32) **nt** āɲ gālā bē [ē gālā yàw<sup>n</sup>],  
 2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv [1Pl Sbjn descend.Pfv],  
 à yē [n̄ =nā yà-là],  
 3Sg said [LogoSg IipfvNeg 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** [ɲ kò<sup>n</sup>]— nà háádí māy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [LogoSg Topic]— IipfvNeg promise ruin.Ipfv,  
 [tḕɲ gū] bē m̄ 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** [jāɲāām būlō<sup>n</sup>] kòrò gù,  
 [shed big] back Def,  
**sc** sîlè-kúru  
 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** [[sîlè-kúru kâ<sup>n</sup>] yāɲ gù]  
 [[stone chez] there.Def Def]  
 [[[bààkùwò kéré] kùwòɲ jáátí] pà gù],  
 [[[B wall] flank precisely] Comit Def],  
 ‘At the rock there, right beside Bakuwo’s wall.’  
*[< kùwó<sup>n</sup> ; NP-final jáátí (§8.4.2.1); Bakuwo is the name of a woman]*

(02:44) **nt** tètē<sup>n</sup>-tùgū bè bē yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 elder.sib-owner Seq come.Pfv there.Def,  
 [à pé] bè yà<sup>n</sup>-[bà-lā] [[ṽ s̄yé<sup>n</sup>] kūmà],  
 [3Sg also] Seq descend.Pfv-[exit(v)-Ipfv] [[3ReflSg horse] on],  
**sc** wālā  
 voilà  
**nt:** ‘The older brother (Lasine) came there. He too dismounted from his horse.’  
**sc:** ‘Right.’

(02:47) **nt** [jà<sup>n</sup> só<sup>n</sup>] nògū-sùrù gà dúgú<sup>n</sup> nì, ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 [Dem time] village-remainder be forest it.is, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 [[dúgú<sup>n</sup> mà<sup>n</sup>] āṽ 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.’  
*[ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú ‘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** [à tètèṽ] gà bā-lā [[ṽ s̄yé<sup>n</sup>] kūmà] s̄āā<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Sg elder.sib] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [[3ReflSg horse] on] when,  
 à bē pwò-[yà-là],  
 [3Sg Seq sit.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv],  
 ‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, he sat down.’

(02:56) **nt** [wògò gā [nògù bē],  
 [3Sg.Independ.Foc be [village come.Pfv],  
**sc** [wògò gā [nògù bē],  
 [3Sg.Independ.Foc be [village come.Pfv],  
**nt:** ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’  
**sc:** ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’  
*[suggested etymology for nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup> ‘Namagué (village)’; wògò 3Sg independent  
 pronoun, here with final H-tone for focus (§13.1.3)]*

(02:58) **nt** [nògù bē] è gā= à sē nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [village come.Pfv] 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv N,  
**sc** jáátì  
 exactly  
**nt:** ‘ “The village has come.” They call it Namagué.’  
**sc:** ‘Indeed!’

(03:01) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q  
**sc** [wògó gā [nògù bē] nì,  
 [3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv] it.is,  
**nt** [wògó gā [nògù 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** āywà, ɲón kàylà bāā gū,  
 well, Dem when exit.Pfv Def,  
 [ē kò<sup>n</sup>] gè = [ē tìgè-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** [sēēni kàylà bāā gū] [àlēē bē pwò],  
 [O when exit.Pfv Def] [A Seq sit.Pfv],  
 àlēē kàylà bāā gū, lààmū-ỳ gù, dīndì bē pwò,  
 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 àlēē kàylà bāā lààmū-ỳ gù]*

(03:21) **nt** dīndì kàylà bāā gū, īsūbù bē pwò,  
 D when exit.Pfv Def, Y Seq sit.Pfv,  
 īsūbù kàylà bāā gū, bükāārè bē pwò,  
 Y when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv  
 ‘When Dindi left, Yousouf thenb sat (as chief). When Yousouf left, Boucary then  
 sat (as chief).’

(03:28) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú, bùkàārè kàȳlà bāā gū,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, B when exit.Pfv Def,  
 bwāākārè bē pwò,  
 B Seq sit.Pfv,  
**sc** jáátì  
 exactly  
**nt:** ‘Did you understand? When Boucary left, Bacary then sat (as chief).’  
**sc:** ‘Exactly!’

(03:34) **nt** bwāākārè kàȳlà bāā gū, bàāyàm bē pwò  
 B when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv  
**sc** bàāyàm bē 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** [[î kó<sup>n</sup>] kàā] tē lààmà  
 [[1Sg Topic] father] PfvNeg govern.Pfv  
**sc** jáátì  
 exactly  
**nt:** ‘As for me, my father didn’t govern.’  
**sc:** ‘Indeed!’  
*[topicalized pronominal as possessor]*

(03:38) bàāyàṅ kàȳlà bāā gū,  
 B when exit.Pfv Def,  
 [īsūbù m̄ bēm-bē gà tū<sup>n</sup>] à bē lààmà,  
 [Y 3ReflSg return-come.Pfv RemPfv again], 3Sg Seq govern.Pfv,  
 ‘When Bayaou left, Yousouf came back, he governed then.’

(03:41) [kàà-ŋ-kàbūwō yèlèn], [kàà-ŋ-kàbūwō mà"] āŋ kà-nà gù,  
 [Papa-Link-K namemate], [Papa-K Rel] 2Sg see-Ipfv Def,  
 ì yā = [à túbé"] gà [ísiyáákà [lààm pānāā"]—  
 Pl said [3Sg name] be [Isiaka [authority first]—  
 [[sèmpùwō kàà] bwēy], wògó gà iisùbù nì,  
 [[S father] Comit], 3Sg.Indep.Foc be Y it.is,

‘Papa Kabuwo’s namemate, the Papa Kabuwo whom you-Sg see, they said that his name is, (in) the first chiefhood of Issiaka [error]— (same name) with the father of Sempuwo, that is Yousouf.’

*[this passage somewhat broken; X yèlèn<sup>n</sup> ‘namemate of X’ (person who shares the same name), Papa Kabuwo is an alternative name for a man whose baptismal name is Yousouf; sèmpùwò ~ sòmputùwò ‘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** jáátì

exactly

**nt** pānāā", [ē mīrù pānāā"]—  
 formerly, [1Pl chief first] —  
 [[[ē kàà-yē] tìgè-kéégū] mīrū pānāāŋ gū],  
 [[[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,’

(03:51) **nt** [wògó gā [[kààŋ kàbūwō] yèlèn] nì.  
 [3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[Papa K] namemate] it.is,  
 āŋ gā = ā tò [[kú-yè kòñ] nàŋāā"] ò dāā"  
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [[Dem-Pl Topic] interval] PsRefl be.distant

**ac** nàŋāā" ò dāā"  
 interval PsRefl be.distant

**nt:** ‘He [focus] was Papa Kabuwo’s namemate. You-Sg know that the (time) interval between those (two) was distant (=long).’

**ac:** ‘The interval was distant.’

(03:54) **nt** hā<sup>n</sup>, hāyà, [[[kààŋ kàbūwō yègè-nā] kòrɔ] pà] nì→,  
 Huh?, well, [[[Papa K give.birth-Ppl] back] Comit] (??),  
 [à dùgā=] ā— [à dùgā=] ā tìbēŋ gā,  
 [3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg— [3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg baptise.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ìsūbù nī  
 Y Inst  
 ‘Huh? Well, when (another) Papa Kabuwo was born, his (old Papa Kabuwo’s)  
 younger brother baptised him, as Yousouf.’  
*[the final nì→ is superfluous; < dùgò<sup>n</sup>]*

(03:59) **nt** [à pē] bē lààmà,  
 [3Sg also] Seq govern.Pfv,  
 wày ò-dógó lààmā gā  
 today 1Sg-Indep govern.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘He too governed. Nowadays it is I [focus] who have taken command.’

(04:01) **sc** wày kú gá lààmū-ỳ<sup>n</sup>  
 today Dem Ipfv authority-Loc  
**ac** àlāāwkùbār  
 praise.God  
**sc**: ‘This one (=nt) is in authority.’  
**ac**: ‘God be praised’

(04:03) **nt** [kēēgū kàmn-è] gā mà-lē lààmā— lààmū tò gù,  
 [man old-Pl] Ipfv Rel-Pl [error]— authority know.Ipfv Def,  
 [nògù-mīrù à [jīin dèb-è-cēm] lààmā gā  
 [village-chief 3Sg [year 40-and-10] govern.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘The government that the old men used to know, the chief, he governed for fifty  
 years.’  
*[< lààmù tò ; rephrase more smoothly as ... gā lààmū màñ tò gù]*

(04:09) **ac** wògó gá [mīrū pānā<sup>n</sup>] nì  
 3Sg.Indep.Foc be [chief first] it.is  
**nt** pānā<sup>n</sup>  
 first  
**sc**: ‘That was the first chief.’  
**nt**: ‘The first one.’

(04:11) **nt** [màŋ gà tēn-nā= [ā pà]]  
 [Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit  
 [jī<sup>n</sup> yìyèni] lààmā gà,  
 [year seven] govern.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘The one who succeeded him governed for seven years.’  
*[cf. reflexive verb tēw<sup>n</sup>/tē-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘put oneself up against’]*

(04:14) **nt** [màŋ gà tēn-nā= [ā pà]]  
 [Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit]]  
 [jīin tēmbē-ē-sìgē<sup>n</sup>] lààmā gà,  
 [year ten-and-three] govern.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘The one who succeeded him governed for thirteen years.’

(04:17) **nt** [n-dógó yùrùgū gā [j̄ jī<sup>n</sup> sìgē<sup>n</sup>] nì  
 [1Sg-Indepthis.year be [1Sg year three] it.is  
**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fāàmú  
 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** ālà gālā ē kò [[wī yèŋ kēnā-āmā] nī]  
 God Sbjn 1Pl furnish.Pfv [[long.life and health] Inst]  
**nt** àmíinà yùrùgū gā [j̄ jī<sup>n</sup> sìgē<sup>n</sup>] nì  
 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** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** [wāy kò<sup>n</sup>] ē-lògò gā kàà-yē nì  
 [today Topic] 1Pl-Indep be father-P1 it.is  
**sc:** ‘I understood it.’  
**nt:** ‘Nowadays it’s wē [focus] who are the fathers (=elders).’

(04:25) **ac** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** sàà-gū dìgāmū tè bē [[ē dēm-bē] pà],  
 now talk(n) PfvNeg 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-bē<sup>n</sup> yèŋ mààlū mà<sup>n</sup>] āŋ k̄ā = ā kà-nà gù,  
 [N and M Rel] 2Sg Prsntv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,  
 [[mà s̄āā<sup>n</sup>] nā = à m̄āy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg ruin.Pfv]  
 [à nà ìn m̄āy<sup>n</sup> [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; < ā<sup>n</sup> k̄āy à kà-nà ‘, mà s̄āā<sup>n</sup> ‘any who’;  
 mixed conditional and relative (§14.1.2); generic 2Sg agreeing with nonspecific  
 ‘anyone’ (§14.1.2)]*

(04:32) **nt** [nà<sup>n</sup> ñ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] [kàà ñ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] nì kóy,  
 [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is Emph,  
 [wày-wày gù-y] [pō nàm bē mààlù]  
 [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-lògó gá bē bààwònè,  
 3Pl-Indep.Foc Ipfv.Foc come.Ipfv plead.Pfv,  
 [pō nàm bē mààlù] [ē pē] bē sō bààwònè,  
 [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)]*

(04:37) **nt** ān t̀è = [ē kàbū] kàý  
 2Sg PfvNeg [1Pl association] see.Pfv.Q  
**ac** n̄ = nā = ā kàý  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv  
**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]*

(04:39) **nt** [mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] nā = à māȳ<sup>n</sup> [à nà hāwrà [ām pà]]  
 [Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg harm.Pfv [3Sg IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv [2Sg Comit]  
**ac** n̄ = nā = ā 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 hāā<sup>n</sup> variant of mà sāā<sup>n</sup>]*

(04:42) **sc** [ē sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā [kàbù ò-kēē<sup>n</sup>] nì  
 [1Pl all] be [association Link-one] it.is  
**nt** [ē sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā [kàbù ò-kēē<sup>n</sup>] 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.’

(04:44) **nt** [bē (ò) kō-lā [[nààn-[súbáá<sup>n</sup>-sò<sup>n</sup>] bwēȳ]  
 [come (Refl) be.added-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] Comit]  
 [mà hāā<sup>n</sup>]— ē nàw<sup>n</sup>—  
 [Rel all]— 1Pl if.Pfv—  
 ‘Including (=even) tomorrow morning. Anyone who—. If we—.’  
*[i.e. the bond is still unbroken]*

(04:45) **nt** [ē pàà bē pwò] [[mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] gā bē]  
 [1Pl if.Counterf Seq sit.Pfv] [[Rel all] Ipv come.Ipv]  
 [è bā= à sē]  
 [3Pl Seq 3Sg say.Pfv]  
 [yèŋ kā= à yàgā [kìyē<sup>n</sup> nī]],  
 [Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.Ipv [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 bē in hypothetical conditional antecedent (§16.4); hortative kē<sup>n</sup> (§10.4.2.1)]

(04:47) **ac** n̄ = nā= ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** [[mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] nā= à sē [n̄= nā] gū]  
 [[Rel Pl] if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [LogoSg IpvNeg] Def,  
 [à nà ìn māȳ<sup>n</sup> [ām pà]],  
 [3Sg IpvNeg 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** n̄ = nā= ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** hàyà, [sēēni gù] lōgōŋ gà pānāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 well, [O Def] die.Pfv RemPfv firstly,  
**ac**: ‘I understood it.’  
 ‘All right, that Ouséni died first (i.e. before Lasine),’

(04:53) **nt** [[māŋ p̄wō gà [mààlù gù]]  
 [[Rel sit.Pfv RemPfv [M Def]]  
 [wògó lōgōŋ gà pānāā<sup>n</sup>],  
 [3Sg.Independ.Foc die.Pfv RemPfv first],  
 ‘The one who had settled in Madougou, it was he [focus] who died first.’

(04:55) **nt** à kàylà lōgōŋ gù↑,  
 3Sg when die.Pfv Def,  
 [à tēŋ màn] gà bōŋ gù, lààsìnè gù,  
 [3Sg elder.sib Rel] be here Def, L Def,  
 ‘When he died, his elder brother who was here (in Namagué), that Lasine,’  
 [bōw̄<sup>n</sup> ‘here’]

(04:59) **nt** à yē [ñ =nà<sup>n</sup> lōgō<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg if die.Pfv when]  
 [è gālā sò [ñ nī] mààlù,  
 [3Pl Sbjn go.Pfv [LogoSg Inst] M,  
 ‘He (=Lasine) said, “when I die, take-2Pl me to Madougou.” ’  
*[original addressees expressed as 3Pl in quotation]*

(05:01) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú, à lōgōη gà sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, 3Sg die.Pfv RemPfv when,  
 è bē sō [à nī] mààlù,  
 3Pl Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] M,  
 ‘Did you understand? When he died, they took him to Madougou.’

(05:04) **nt** è kàylà sō [à nī] mààlù gù,  
 3Pl when go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] M Def,  
 [sēēnì gū] gà jí<sup>n</sup>-cì<sup>m</sup>,  
 [O Def] be.Loc east,  
 ‘When they had taken him to Madougou, Ouséni was to the east.’

(05:08) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú, [lààsìnè màη] gā—  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, [L Rel] be—  
 [lààsìnè màη] gā tèēn nī gù,  
 [L Rel] be elder.sib it.is Def,  
 ‘Did you understand? Lasine who was the elder brother,’  
*[< màw<sup>n</sup> gà tèè<sup>n</sup> nì gu]*

(05:12) **nt** è bè bē [jón nì] jí<sup>n</sup>-kàmāà,  
 3Sg Seq come.Pfv [Dem Inst] west,  
 [nògù-bēm bààcéw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [N toward],  
 ‘They brought that one (=Lasine) to the west, toward Namagué.’

(05:15) **nt** hàl wāy, ē nā kōn-nā-bwēy kòy,  
 until today, 1Pl not.be be.added-Ppl-together already,  
 [nògù-bē<sup>n</sup> yē mààlū] kò<sup>n</sup>↑,  
 [N and M] Topic,  
 [è kábúru] nà kōn-nā-bwēy,  
 [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.’  
 [*< hàli wāy ; participle (stative) of reflexive verb kwāā-bwēy/kō-lā-bwēy ‘be added together, assemble’ (§11.1.3); kòy (§10.2.1.5)*]

(05:20) **nt** [hǎl wāy] nàṅāàṅ gè= [ē tē],  
 [until today] separation be.Loc [1Pl Dat],  
 [kàà ṅ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] [nàṅ Ø-kēē<sup>n</sup>] nī gù,  
 [father Link-one] [mother Link-one] it.is Def,  
 ‘Even today we have a separation, (although) it is (=we are of) same father, same mother.’

(05:23) **nt** nògù-bè-ṅà nān lōgō<sup>n</sup>↑,  
 N-Gent if.Pfv die.Pfv,  
 ē gā= ā [yàgā]-bē ū-mààcēw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg [put.down.Ipfv]-come this way  
**sc** jáátì  
 exactly  
**nt:** ‘If a person from Namagué has died, we come bury him/her this way.’  
**sc:** ‘Indeed!’  
 [*parallel to the following segment; Gentilic suffix -ṅà (§4.2.4); ‘come’ compounded to a preceding verb (§15.2.5); ū-mààcēw<sup>n</sup> contracted < bōw<sup>n</sup> bààcēw<sup>n</sup> ‘toward here’]*

(05:26) **nt** mààlù-ṅà nān lōgō<sup>n</sup>↑,  
 M-Gent if.Pfv die.Pfv,  
 ē gā= ā [yàgā]-sò jì<sup>n</sup>-cì<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg [put.down.Ipfv]-go east.Loc  
 ‘If a person from Madougou has died, we go bury him to the east.’

(05:29) **sc** mààlù gā sò jìì<sup>n</sup>-cìí<sup>n</sup>↑—  
 M Ipfv go.Ipfv east.Loc—  
**nt** ē-lògò ē gā bē jíí<sup>n</sup>-kàmāà  
 1Pl-Indep 1Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv west  
**sc** ē-lògò ē gā bē ū-mààcéw<sup>n</sup>  
 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** [bē kō-lā [wày-kúgú bwēỹ]]  
 [come be.added-Ipfv [today-Dem Comit]]  
 ē nā b̀wò 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** [ē gā [kàà ŋ-kēē<sup>n</sup>] [nàŋ Ø-kēē<sup>n</sup>] nì]  
 [1Pl be [father Link-one] [mother Link-one] it.is]  
 [ālāà gā ñdūjñā-sèbē tò],  
 [God Ipfv world-matters know.Ipfv],  
 ‘We are of one father and one mother. (Only) God knows the affairs of this world.’  
*[ālā ‘God’, here pronounced ālāà with long vowel as in Arabic]*

(05:36) **ac** ñ = nā = ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt** [jón làà] [kú gā kìbárú nì]  
 [Dem QTop] [Dem be information it.is]  
**ac** àlāāwkùbār  
 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 sãā<sup>n</sup>] p̀w̄ō gà bōw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 well, [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here]  
 [[è sãā<sup>n</sup>] jàmù] gà— tàràwòré ò 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; < tārāwōrē]

(05:42) **ac** nè= [[è bē gà bōŋ] k̀r̀ò bwēȳ]  
 or.else.Q [[3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here] back Comit]  
 [[ẁd̀g̀ó nì] tārāwōrē k̀l̀ē gà]  
 [[3Sg.Independ.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 sãā<sup>n</sup>] p̀w̄ō gà bōw̄<sup>n</sup>,  
 [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here,  
 [ē k̀ò<sup>n</sup>]—  
 [1Pl Topic]—  
 ‘All those who came here, as for us (=as far as we know)—’

(05:46) **nt** [[è bēē-nā] nìŋ̀ì]  
 [[3Pl come-Ppl] inside]  
 [ē k̀ò<sup>n</sup>] ē yē [ē tàràwòrè-àmá] m̀ìŋ̀ē gà,  
 [1Pl Topic] 1Pl Sbj/Obj [3Pl Traoré-hood.Foc] hear.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘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  
 < tārāwōrē-āmā]

(05:49) **nt** [à sãā<sup>n</sup>] gā d̀ìg̀è̀m̄ nī wà,  
 [3Sg all] Ipfv talk(n) it.is anyway,  
 [ē k̀ò<sup>n</sup>] tārāwōrē — [hàlè= [è lásárí] 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— [sēēnì wùlēē] pà, è lásírí,  
 until— [O AssocPl] Comit, 3Pl origin,

[tārāwōrē gū] nì  
 [T Def] it.is

**ac** [tārāwōrē gū] nì  
 [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 bē gà [tārāwōrē nē=] [ē pà]  
 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]

**ac** è bē gà [tārāwōrē nē=] [ē pà]  
 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]

**nt:** ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’

**ac:** ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’

[< nī [ē pà] ]

(06:01) **ac** bon, [nògù-bēm p̀wō gà] bē [sāà-gù bwḕy],  
 okay, [N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit],  
 è bā̀ynà gā s̀ò [kḕlē— kḕlē bwḕy]  
 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) ; bā̀ynà gà experiential perfect (§10.2.1.4)]

(06:06) **nt** [nògù-bēm p̀wō gà] bē [sāà-gù bwḕy],  
 [N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit],  
 sē— kà̀lā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [s̀òrdā̀sì nī],  
 (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.’

[bē ‘come’ at beginning of ‘until’ phrase (§15.7.3.2). kà̀lā ~ ĩ̀kà̀lā ‘except’ (§19.3.2.4)]

(06:11) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> mìnǎ, ān tìgè-kēēgū— [ɲ káá] sò,  
 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q 2Sg grandfather— [1Sg father] go.Pfv,  
 ān tìgè-kēēgū sò, ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 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-yè kò<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] sò kēlē-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 [Dem-Pl Topic all] go.Pfv combat(v).Pfv-place  
**ac** [è sāā<sup>n</sup>] sò kēlē-gàw<sup>n</sup>  
 [3Pl all] go.Pfv combat(v).Pfv-place  
**nt**: ‘Those both went to the war zone.’  
**ac**: ‘They both went to the war zone.’  
 [-gàw<sup>n</sup> place nominal added to Pfv verb (§4.2.1.5.1)]

(06:20) **nt** [kèlè jáátí-jáátí mà<sup>n</sup>] āɲ gā tò kóy,  
 [war Iter-precise Rel] 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv Emph,  
 [āɲ kàà]— [ān tìgè-kēēgū sùwòmāānì] yē<sup>n</sup> [ɲ kāā-̀n-dīndì],  
 [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.’  
 [ɲ kāā-̀n-X ‘my dad X’ informal, including a personal name (§6.2.1.1)]

(06:24) **nt** [è kò<sup>n</sup>] [āɲ gā [kēlē mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] tò gū] nì,  
 [3Pl Topic] [2Sg Ipfv [war Rel all] know.Ipfv Def] it.is,  
**sc** dīndì tàràwòrè  
 D T  
**nt** dīndì tàràwòrè  
 D T  
**nt**: ‘As for them, it was the very war that you know (of).’  
**sc**: ‘Dindi Traoré.’  
**nt**: ‘Dindi Traoré.’

(06:28) **sc** wògó d̀wò gà kēlē-ỳ  
3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv Pfv war-Loc

**nt** wògó d̀wò gà kēlē  
3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv Pfv war

**sc:** ‘He [focus] joined in the war.’

**nt:** ‘He [focus] joined the war.’

[i.e. the French colonial army; Malians were recruited into the Senegalese tirailleurs]

(06:30) **nt** hàlī→, hàlī→, hàlī-kànā à gā p̀wò [kàpàrá<sup>n</sup> nī]  
until, until, until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]

**ac** hàlī-kànā à gā p̀wò [kàpàrá<sup>n</sup> nī]  
until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]

**nt:** ‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’

**ac:** ‘Eventually he became corporal.’

[gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2); ‘become NP’ construction (§11.2.4.2); < French caporal/

(06:34) **sc** [à tībēŋ] gā kàpàrán nì  
[3Sg name] be corporal it.is

**ac** [è gā wògó sē]  
[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg.Indep.Foc say.Ipfv]

**sc:** ‘His name was “corporal” ’

**ac:** ‘That [focus] is what they called (him)—

[i.e. when he returned after the war he was called “corporal”]

(06:36) **ac** ǹóŋ gà— gēēr, [̀ndūpāā<sup>n</sup> sāāŋ gēēr pànáá<sup>n</sup>] nì tà→,  
Dem be— war, [world all war first.Foc] it.is or.Q,  
pènà-àná nì  
two-Ord.Foc it.is

‘Was that the war—, the first world war? (Or) was it the second?’

[French guerre ; < pānāā<sup>n</sup> and pēn(d)ā-ānā ordinals (§4.6.2.2); second part of disjunction interrupted]

(06:38) **nt** hàlì túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 until white.person-era  
**sc** túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 white.person-era  
**nt** túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 white.person-era  
**nt**: ‘(It was) back in the colonial (“white person”) era.’  
**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’  
**nt**: ‘The colonial era.’  
*[túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup> apparently an H-final compound (§5.1.5.2), initial < túbáábū, final not otherwise attested]*

(06:40) **sc** à nā màlí nì kóy  
 3Sg not.be M it.is Emph  
**nt** túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 white.person-era  
**sc** túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 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** túbààbù-tóm<sup>n</sup>  
 white.person-era  
**ac**: ‘The second world war.’  
**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

(06:45) **sc** wògó d̀wò gà kēlē-̀ỳ  
 3Sg.Independ.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc  
**nt** wògó d̀wò gà kēlē-̀ỳ  
 3Sg.Independ.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 nī],  
 until 3Pl until.Pfv 3Sg put.Pfv [corporal Inst],  
 wògó gā [kú kàā] nì  
 3Sg.Indep.Foc be [Dem father] it.is  
 ‘Eventually they made him corporal. That [focus] was this one’s (=nt’s) father.’  
 [yàgà/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 gālà yààpè [m̄ pà]],  
 [3Sg Seq 3Sg say.Pfv [3Pl Sbj forgive.Pfv [LogoSg Comit]],  
 [[ḡ kàā] yè<sup>n</sup> [n̄ nān] dàbì] ḡ kūū<sup>n</sup>,  
 [[LogoSg father] and [LogoSg mother] longing] LogoSg catch.Pfv,  
 ‘Then he asked them (=military) to excuse him, he missed his father and his mother.’  
 [yààpè ~ yààfè]

(06:54) **nt** [tálám mà] ì yā= [ā kày bē] gū,  
 day Rel 3Pl said [3Sg Prsntv come.Pfv] Def,  
 è gārdè-è tūwē-nīḡ gā= [à pà],  
 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 túbáábé-è gándá-ỳ↑,  
 [all.the.way white.person-Pl country-Loc,  
 [hàlā= [[ā nàḡ] gūndū-ỳ]  
 [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) **ac** [túbáábé-è gándá-ỳ [bā= [[à nàḡ] gūnī-ỳ]]  
 [white.person-Pl country-Loc [come [[3Sg mother] courtyard-Loc]]  
**nt** mhm, è bè bā= [ā pà] gù  
 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 nàw<sup>n</sup>]

- (07:03) **ac** n̄ = n̄ = ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**sc** wògó gā [kú kàā] nì  
 3Sg.Independ.Foc be [Dem father] it.is  
**ac**: ‘I understood it.’  
**sc**: ‘That [focus] was this one’s (nt’s) father.’
- (07:05) **nt** wògó gā [ɲ káá] nì,  
 3Sg.Independ.Foc be [1Sg father] it.is,  
 wògó [kèlè jáátí kò<sup>n</sup>] tɪŋ gā,  
 3Sg.Independ.Foc [war precise Topic] do.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘That [focus] was my father. That one [focus] did the real war.’
- (07:08) **sc** [wògó d̀w̄ō gā kēlē-̀ȳ  
 [3Sg.Independ.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc  
**ac** n̄ = n̄ = ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly  
**sc**: ‘That one went into the war.’  
**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’
- (07:11) **ac** è→, è gā = à sē m̀è<sup>n</sup>-t̄iŋ<sup>n</sup>, k̀bà-bāānā lāā,  
 (hesitation), 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv how?, marriage-manner QTop,  
 bon [tārāwōrē bāānà] gā bwò dēē tà→,  
 okay [T only] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv or.Q,  
 ‘Uh, what do they call it? Marriage practices, okay, do Traoré only take (=marry)  
 each other?’  
*[lāā topic marker especially with questions (§19.1.2); < dēē]*
- (07:17) **ac** nà tārāwōrē— [ǹg̀ù-bēm bāānà] ò tà→,  
 or T— [N only] it.is or.Q,  
 nà [tārāwōrē mà-lè] gā k̀l̄ē  
 or [T Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv  
 mààlú yèm [[p̄ḡē-ē] ǹŋ̀ì],  
 M.Loc and [[whatchamacallit?-Pl] inside],  
 ‘Or do Traoré— (Do they marry) only in Namagué (to other local Traoré)? Or (do  
 they also marry) Traoré people who are found in Madougou and whatchamallits (=other  
 small villages)?’  
*[tà→ and nà in disjunctive questions (§7.2.2); p̄ḡū ‘whatchamacallit?’ (substitute  
 for a name or noun that is not remembered in time), related to pw̄ō ḡū ‘the thing’]*

(07:21) **ac** [nà [è-lògó bàānà dāmá] gá bwò dēē tà→]  
 [or [3Pl-Indep.Foc only only] Ipfv Recip take.Ipfv or.Q]  
 ou bien [sīī tīnāā<sup>n</sup>] gā jī nāāmū [à nījīi]  
 or.else [breed other] Ipfv 3ReflSg mix.Ipfv [3Sg inside]  
 ‘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?]*

(07:23) **nt** à gā, à gā,  
 3Sg Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv,  
 [[n-dógó n ná<sup>n</sup>] jāmū] gā bààkòlò nì  
 [[1Sg-Indep1Sg mother] clan.name]be B.Foc it.is  
 ‘It does (mix), it does. Myself, my mother’s clan name was Bakoro.’  
*[truncated reply to polar interrogative with Ipfv gā (§10.2.2.1); < jàmù ]*

(07:27) **ac** bààkòlò  
 B  
**nt** bààkòlò, à bāā gā mītàágú  
 B, 3Sg exit.Pfv RemPfv M.Loc  
**ac:** ‘Bakoro.’  
**nt:** ‘Bakoro. She came from Moulentakou Ouro (village).’  
*[< mītáágū]*

(07:29) **ac** mītáágū  
 M  
**nt** mhm mītáágū, [[n nám] bāā gā mītáágū]  
 uh.huh M, [[1Sg mother] exit.Pfv RemPfv M]  
**ac:** ‘Moulentakou Ouro’  
**nt:** ‘Moulentakou Ouro. My mother came from Moulentakou Ouro.’

(07:32) **nt** [à jāmū] gā bààkòlò nì  
 [3Sg clan.name] be B.Foc it.is  
**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv  
**nt:** ‘Her clan name is Bakoro.’  
**ac:** ‘I understood it.’

(07:35) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q  
**ac** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly  
**nt**: ‘Did you understand?’  
**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

(07:38) **nt** [ɲ kāā-<sup>n</sup>-yāākūbā] nàw<sup>n</sup>, à bāā gà kàrgéw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1Sg dad-Y] mother, 3Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv K.Loc,  
 [à jàmū] gà tùùré nì, ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 [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?’  
 [< kàrgèw<sup>n</sup>]

(07:44) **nt** [ē jànààmā kò<sup>n</sup>] [sīi mà hāā<sup>n</sup>] nà<sup>n</sup> jī jnāāmū  
 [1Pl J Topic] [breed Rel all] if.Pfv 3ReflSg mix.Pfv  
 jàmù—, [sīi nè= ēnì—  
 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 jàmù-yè] gè= ē jnāāmū [bwò bwēȳ],  
 [1Pl clan.name-Pl] Ipfv 3ReflPl mix.Ipfv [Recip Comit],  
 kú-yè gà tùùrè-é nì, kú-yè gà bààkòlò-yé nì,  
 Dem-Pl be T-Pl.Foc it.is, Dem-Pl be B-Pl.Foc it.is,  
 kú-yè gà sīsè-é nì  
 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; < jnāāmù]*

(07:52) **sc** kú-yè gà sísè-é nì  
 Dem-Pl be C-Pl.Foc it.is  
**nt** ām mìnǝ́, [ē kò<sup>n</sup> sāāŋ] gā bwò dēè  
 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, [1Pl Topic all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv  
**sc** [ē kò<sup>n</sup> sāāŋ] gā bwò dēè, 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 kò<sup>n</sup>] sīi mà hāāŋ] gā bwò dēè  
 [[1Pl Topic] breed Rel all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv  
**ac** [āŋ jààbí] dēmō [ē tè] jáátì,  
 [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 tē/

(07:59) **ac** [hǎl wày] ñ gālā = à pōgō  
 [until today] 1Sg Sbjn 3Sg like.Pfv  
 [ñ gālā = āā cīyē sāā-kò<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1Sg Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv now,  
 ‘At this point I would like to ask you-Pl now,’

(08:01) **ac** [ñ jáátì kò<sup>n</sup>] [m pē] gā = à kūmbà  
 [1Sg exactly Topic] [1Sg also] Ipfv 3Sg be.aware.of.Ipfv  
 [māā tārāwōrē wògó ñ kō<sup>n</sup>  
 [that T 3Sg.Indep.Foc PsRefl be.many  
 [nògū nìŋì] mǎpè,  
 [village inside] greatly,  
 ‘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** sāà-gù lāā, [[ān-dāā jìgí] bwēy], [tārāwōrē nām bāā]  
 now QTop, [[2Sg-QTop awareness] Comit], [T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv]  
 [m̀wō jàm sīi] yè ñ kō<sup>n</sup> [nògū nìŋì] tū<sup>n</sup>  
 [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** jīn tārāwōrē nām bāā,  
 if T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv  
 [sānā wāy kò<sup>n</sup>] màṅ ṅ kō<sup>n</sup>, sísé  
 [like today Topic] Rel PsRefl be.many, C  
 ‘Aside from the Traoré, like nowadays, the one that is (most) abundant, (it is) Cissé.’  
 [*< màw<sup>n</sup> ṅ kō<sup>n</sup> >*]

(08:11) **ac** sísé  
 C

**nt** kǒ<sup>n</sup>

Topic.Foc

**ac:** ‘Cissé.’

**nt:** ‘As for (it).’

[*kǒ<sup>n</sup> here is <LH> toned, with final H-tone superimposed on kǒ<sup>n</sup> ; this is typical of confirmations (§19.1.1)*]

(08:13) **nt** [āā kàà-yāmbāā gù] jīidì-nā nì [[sùrù gù sāān] tē]  
 [2Pl father-house Def] multiply-Ppl it.is [[remainder Def all] Dat]

**sc** sísé

Cissé

**nt:** ‘Your-Pl father’s-side extended family is more numerous than all (=any of) the remaining ones.’

CS: ‘Cissé’

[*kàà-yāmbāā, cf. kàà ‘father’, yāmbāā ‘house’*]

(08:17) **nt** ē-lògò ē gà tārāwōrē nì,  
 1Pl-Indep 1Pl be T it.is

[jōnsāārē-ē gà tārāwōrē nì,  
 [D-Pl be T it.is,

‘Us, we are Traoré. Dionsaré (man’s name) and his group are Traoré.’

(08:21) **nt** [ē kò<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] [ē kàà-yāmbāā-yē wù-lè],  
 [1Pl Topic all] [1Pl father-house-Pl Dem-Pl],

āā-lògò [āā kàà-yāmbāā gù],  
 2Pl-Indep [2Pl father-house Def]

‘All of us, these paternal extended families—’

[*wù-lè (variant of kù-lè), plural of definite gù*]

(08:25) **nt** [à nām bāā] [[ē kàà-yāmbāà] niŋi]
   
[3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv] [[1Pl father-house] inside]
   
[āā sùrù] ñ kō<sup>n</sup> [[nògù sāān] 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 kō<sup>n</sup> [[sùrù gù sāā<sup>n</sup>] tē ‘you-Pl are the most numerous of the
   
remainder’]

(08:29) **ac** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù jáátì
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly
   
**nt** āā mìnè dē?, āā-lògò sùsè-ē 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.’
   
[dē? (§19.4.2.4)]

(08:31) **ac** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
   
**nt** [bààkòlò<sup>-n</sup>-sìí-yè kù-lè] nà = āā bāgà kūjààmà-ỳ<sup>n</sup> dē?
   
[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 sī as final]

(08:34) **nt** tàràwòré-sìsé kú-yè ñ kō<sup>n</sup>
  
T-C Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many
   
**ac** tàràwòré-sìsé
   
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, kú-yè ñ kō<sup>n</sup>
  
uh.huh Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many
   
**ac** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù
   
1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv
   
**nt**: ‘Uh-huh, those are numerous.’
   
**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

(08:42) **nt** [hǎl wày] [ālā sàgù] [āā sàgù],  
 [until today] [God trust(n)] [2Pl trust(n)],  
 ‘At this point, (I leave it in) God’s trust (and) your-Pl trust.’  
*[conventional leave-taking formula]*

(08:43) **nt** yà = āā bāāy kày  
 2Pl work(n)  
 ‘You-Pl and work!’  
*[for this greeting formula, see §19.6.3]*

(08:44) **nt** [hǎl wày] [ŋ kàà] [ān dükòrò],  
 [until today] [1Sg father] [2Sg have.courage.Pfv],  
 ‘At this point, my friend, have courage (energy, fortitude).’  
*[vocative ŋ kàà ‘my friend’ (prepausally ń kàà) based on ń káá ‘my father’ but with different tones (§6.2.1.1); ān dükòrò 2Sg reflexive imperative (2Pl counterpart yà = āā dükòrò)]*

(08:46) **nt** [āā [kēē gū] dēmō [ē tē] mápè,  
 [2Pl [call(n) Def] please [1Pl Dat] a.lot.  
 ‘Your-Pl calling (us) pleases us a lot.’

(08:47) **nt** āā bē gà nògù-bèw<sup>n</sup> gù,  
 2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv N Def,  
 wàllāy à dēmō [ē tē],  
 by.God 3Sg please [1Pl Dat],  
 ‘The fact that you came to Namagué, by God it pleases us.’

(08:50) **nt** [nògù-bēn nògù-bèŋ gù] ì yē [nògù bē]  
 [N N Def] 3Pl said [village come.Pfv]  
 ‘The (name) Namagué, Namagué, they said “a village has come” ’

(08:53) **nt** nón lāā, āā gālā bìsimilà [hǎl wày]  
 Dem QTop, 2Pl Sbjn be.welcome.Pfv [until today]  
**ac** ìñfǎllàw  
 if.God.wills  
 ‘As for that, you-Pl should be welcome until today (=any time).’

(08:57) **nt** ē tè yēēwà [āā pà] kóy  
1Pl PfvNeg disrespect.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Emph  
**sc** ē 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** [kéérà<sup>n</sup> syē<sup>n</sup>] sèédù↑,  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] S,  
sèédù [kéérà<sup>n</sup> syēw<sup>n</sup>]  
S [welfare spend.midday.Pfv]  
‘Good afternoon, Seydou. [louder:] Seydou, good afternoon.’  
*[repeated more loudly since Seydou is hard of hearing; < syēw<sup>n</sup>]*

(00:03) **nt** kàlà= āā syēŋ [jāmni]  
Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst]  
**sc** [kéérà<sup>n</sup> syēw<sup>n</sup>]  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv]  
**nt**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’  
**sc**: ‘Good afternoon.’

(00:05) **ac** kò jām syēŋ gà= [ām bwēȳ]  
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Sg Comit]  
**sc** āālā tìgē-nī yàá  
God thank(v).Ipfv Emph  
**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Sg?’  
**sc**: ‘Thank God.’  
*[kò contracted < kòrì interrogative in greetings; formula modified < ālā tégè-nì  
‘thank God!’; yàá clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2.5)]*

(00:06) **ac** ā= āy kày  
2Sg and work(n)  
**ac**: ‘You and work!’  
*[ā= āy kày (§19.6.3)]*

(00:07) **sc** kòrì jām syā= [āā pà]  
Q peace spend.day.Pfv [2Pl Comit]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
[trouble any] not.be  
**sc**: ‘Did peace spend the day with you-Pl?’  
**ac**: ‘(There is) no trouble.’  
*[< syēw<sup>n</sup> ; bàà sí (§19.6.1)]*



(00:17) **ac** sālā āŋ gā pō tò  
 whether 2Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv  
 [[jónɔ́ gú] nìŋí]  
 [[Dem.Def Def] inside.Q]  
 ‘(I wonder) whether you-Sg know something in (=about) that?’  
 [*discourse-definite demonstrative jón<sup>n</sup> directly followed by definite gu (§4.4.1)*]

(00:18) **sc** mìmé-è wù-lè↑, ñgōōŋgà ñ gā = ā tò  
 leatherworker-Pl Def-Pl, truly 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv  
 ‘The leatherworkers, truly I know (about) it.’  
 [*wù-lè ~ kù-lè plural of definite gu (§4.4.1); < Fulfulde (ñ)goonɔga ‘truly’*]

(00:23) **sc** mìmé-è wù-lè↑, è kàylà—  
 leatherworker-PlDef-Pl, 3Pl when—  
 è kày bē bōñ gù, ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 3Pl Prsntv come.Ipfv here Def, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 ‘The leatherworkers, when they—. They were coming here. Did you understand?’  
 [*smooth out as è kàylà bē bōñ gù*]

(00:30) **sc** àywà, è bāā gā mēnēmēnè  
 well, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv M  
**ac** mēnēmēnè  
 M  
**sc** mēnēmēnè  
 M  
**sc**: ‘Well, they left (=came from) Menemene (village).’  
**ac**: ‘Menemene.’  
**sc**: ‘Menemene.’  
 [*Menemene is a village in the Dogul Dom (Dogon) speaking zone in the high plateau north of Bandiagara*]

(00:36) **sc** āŋ gā = ā fāám,  
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg understand.Ipfv.Q  
 hàyà è kàylà bāā mēnēmēnè gù,  
 okay 3Pl when exit(v).Pfv M Def,  
 ‘Do you understand it? All right, when they left Menemene,’  
 [= fààmú]

(00:38) **sc** è bē bē bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl Seq come.Pfv here,  
 wògó gà [[hāmmādi sēēbà] kàà-yāmbàà gū] 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** wògó gà [[[hāmmādi sēēbà] kàà-yāmbàà gū] 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** [ān tīgē] gā [wògò tē],  
 [2Sg front.side] be [3Sg.Indep Dat],  
 [āŋ gā dīgēm bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 [2Sg Ipfv speak.Ipfv here  
 ‘You face that. [louder:] You speak here.’

[< dīgēmū ; **nt** is instructing **sc** how to position himself near the microphone]

(00:48) **sc** hāmmādi, hāmmādi, [hāmmādi sēēbà-yē] kàà-yāmbàà gù,  
 (hesitations) [H S-Pl] father-house Def,  
 è bā gà mēnēmēnē,  
 3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv M,  
 ‘The paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba and family, they left Menemene.’  
 [bā gà variant of bāā gà]

(00:55) **sc** ð<sup>n</sup>→ kú, [àlèè pī<sup>n</sup>-yē] kàà-yāmbàà gù,  
 uh Dem, [A black-Pl] father-house Def,  
 ā<sup>n</sup> faàmú, è bā gà ūndùgù,  
 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]

(01:03) **ac** ūndùgù

O

**sc** ūndùgù

O

**ac** ūndùgù

O

**ac:** ‘Oundougou.’

**sc:** ‘Oundougou.’

**ac:** ‘Oundougou.’

(01:04) **sc** [è kàà-yāmbàà] bāā gā yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
[3Pl father-house] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv there.Def.  
‘Their paternal extended family left (=came from) there.’

(01:07) **sc** [[hāmmādi sēēbà-yè] kàà-yāmbàà] bāā ūndùgù—mēnēmēnè<sup>↑</sup>,  
[[H S-Pl] father-house] exit(v).Pfv O— M,  
[[àlèè pī<sup>n</sup>-yē] kàà-yāmbàà] bāā ūndùgù,  
[[A black-Pl] father-house] exit(v).Pfv O,  
‘Hammadi Seeba’s paternal extended family left Oundougou— (or rather) Menemene, (whereas) Black Allaye’s paternal extended family left Oundougou.’

(01:15) **ac** ūndùgù

O

**sc** āŋ gā ñ fààmú,  
2Sg Ipfv 1Sg understand.Ipfv,

**ac:** ‘Oundougou.’

**sc:** ‘Do you understand me?’

(01:17) **sc** [sàbāādògò-yē kàà-yāmbàà] gù, dàmàngārì  
[S-Pl father-house] Def, D

**ac** dàmàngārì  
D

**sc** kòm pā sìgèŋ gù, è-lògō gā mìmé-è nì,  
Dem thing three Def, 3Pl-Indep be leatherworker-Pl it.is,

‘Sabadogo’s paternal extended family, (they left) Damagari. Those three ones (extended families).’

[cf. Sawadogo, a common surname in Burkina Faso; Damagari is a village in the nearby Tiranige-speaking zone; demonstrative kò<sup>n</sup> (+M) (§4.4.2); < è-lògò gā]

(01:24) **sc** è bē kilè bē pwò  
 3Pl Seq find.Pfv come.Pfv sit.Pfv  
**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly  
**sc:** ‘They then proceeded to come and settle (here).’  
**ac:** ‘I understood it exactly.’  
 [bē kilè (§15.3.2)]

(01:27) **sc** è bè bē= ē kwāā [[jànàngē-ē kù-lē] pà]  
 3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3Ref1Pl add.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] Comit]  
**ac** è bē= ē kwāā [[jànàngē-ē kù-lē] pà]  
 3Pl come.Pfv 3Ref1Pl add.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] Comit]  
**sc:** ‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’  
**ac:** ‘They came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’  
 [kwāā/kō-lā ‘hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’, here reflexive]

(01:29) [è kày bē gù], è bē gà [[ē kòlòm-míyéní—]  
 [3Pl when come.Pfv Def], 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [[3Pl skin-fix.VblN—]  
 [[kòlòm-míyéní]-tòy nē= [ē bwēy] 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?’  
 [kày here short for kàylà ‘when’; mìyèni/mìyèni ‘fix; manufacture’, here in H-final compound tones (§5.1.5.2); là→ (§7.2.2)]

(01:32) **ac** [nè= è bē gà bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [or 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here]  
 [wògò nì] ì yā= ā tùyē gà  
 [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)]

(01:33) **sc** kòlòm-míyéní gū, è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē pà]  
 skin-fixing Def, 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**ac** è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē bwēỹ]  
 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**sc** è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē 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 bwēỹ]

(01:39) **sc** āŋ gā= ā fāàmú,  
 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 kòlòm-míyéní gū, è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē 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, [mēnēmēnē-ŋgē-ē wù-lè], è kàỹlà bē-nā gū,  
 because, [M-Gent-Pl Def-Pl], 3Pl when come-Ppl Def,  
 [kāādò sēbè-è] [ē tìgè-kéégū], à gā kòlòm mìyèní,  
 [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 -ŋga (§4.2.4); kàỹlà ‘when’ with participial stative (§15.4.3)]

(01:50) **ac** à gā kòlòm mìyèní  
 3Sg Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc** ɲàɲàgò-<sup>n</sup>-síí-yè wù-lè, [è pē] gā kòlòm mìyèní  
 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 pē] gā kòlòm mìyèní  
 [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc** [sìndògò-<sup>n</sup>-síí-yè wù-lè, [è pē] gā kòlòm mìyèní  
 [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 kòlōm miyènī  
 [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv  
**sc** [è kò<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] bē gè=  
 [3Pl Topic all] come.Pfv RemPfv  
 [[ē kòlòm-míyéní] nē=] [ē pà]  
 [[3ReflPl skin-fixing] Inst] [1Pl Comit]  
**ac:** ‘They too work hides.’  
**sc:** ‘They all brought their leatherworking (skill) to us.’

(02:00) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly  
 àsàlāāmàlēēkùn nògù-miirù  
 peace.to.you village-chief  
 ‘I understood it exactly. [to **nt:**] Peace to you, village chief!’  
*[formal Arabic greeting]*

(02:03) **nt** wālēēkùmāsàlààm  
 and.peace.to.you  
**ac** ē gā= à pōgò  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv  
 [ē gālà= ān tīyē [[pā kūū<sup>n</sup>] nī]  
 [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing one] Inst]  
**nt** ‘Peace to you likewise.’  
**ac:** ‘We would like to ask about something.’

(02:07) **ac** nāṅ kwāān tē bē,  
 if rain(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv  
 [nògū niṅi] nāṅ kwāān tē bē,  
 [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 āālàandá nì]  
 okay, [what? be custom it.is  
 mǎà āā gā màn tī-nà  
 that 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv  
 ‘Okay, what is the custom, so that what you-Pl do—’

(02:13) **ac** mǎà — āā gā màn tī-nà—, [ālà tē]  
 that— 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv—, [God Dat]  
 mǎā kwààŋ gà bē  
 that rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv  
 ‘So that— what you-Pl do, for God, so that rain comes.’

(02:16) **nt** ē gā màn tī-na, ē pānāāŋ-kāmnē-ē wù-lè.  
 1Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv, 1Pl first-old.person-Pl Def-Pl,  
**sc** ŋgwāāŋgà  
 truly  
**nt** sò kōrsòl bē kiyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 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,’  
 [ŋgwāāŋgà variant of ŋgōōŋgà ; sò in ‘before ...’ clause (§15.5)]

(02:23) **nt** ē gā nāā wàgā, ā<sup>n</sup> fāàmú,  
 1Pl Ipfv cow kill.Ipfv, 2Sg understand.Pfv,  
 yèē<sup>n</sup> sàbá sīgèw<sup>n</sup>  
 and chicken three  
 ‘We slaughter a bovine (cow or bull). Did you understand? Along with three chickens.’

(02:27) **nt** [sàbá sīgèw<sup>n</sup>] gā sò nàmàgēlē,  
 [chicken three] Ipfv go.Ipfv N,  
 nàmàgēlē gà [ē nògù-<sup>n</sup>-tómbo kày] [bóndó kùmà],  
 N be.Loc [1Pl village-Link-abandoned Prsntv] [top on],  
 ‘Three chickens go (=are taken) to Namagele. Namagele is located at our former village, on top.’  
 [nàmàgēlē is a rocky area in an abandoned village site; postnominal presentative kày/kày added to locational predication with gà ‘be.Loc’]

(02:31) **sc** nàmàgēlē à kày  
 N 3Sg Prsntv  
**nt** à kày bōw<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg Prsntv here  
**sc**: ‘There’s Namagele!’  
**nt**: ‘Here it is (here)!’

(02:32) **nt** [nàà pī<sup>n</sup>] bē ī wàgà [[jāṅāām bŭlōm] mū̀],  
 [cow black] Seq 3ReflSg kill.Pfv [[shed big] under],  
 ān tè sīlè-kúrú kày kùwòlì-nà yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 2Sg PfvNeg rock see.Pfv surround-Ppl there.Def  
 ‘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. sīlè ‘rock’ prior to M#H-to-L#H]*

(02:36) **ac** [n̄ = nā = ā kày  
 [1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv  
**nt** hàá<sup>n</sup>  
 huh?  
**ac** [n̄ = nā = ā kày  
 [1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv  
**ac**: ‘I have seen it.’  
**nt**: ‘Huh?’  
**ac**: ‘I have seen it.’

(02:38) **nt** [nàà pī<sup>n</sup>] bè ī wàgà [[jāṅāām bŭlōm] mū̀],  
 [cow black] Seq 3ReflSg kill.Pfv [[shed big] under],  
 à gà ī kāṅè yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg share(v).Ipfv there.Def,  
 ‘Then a black bovine is killed under the big palaver shed. It is (butchered and) divided  
 up there.’

(02:41) **nt** à nā<sup>n</sup> ī kāṅè, mà sāā<sup>n</sup>—, [kùwò-lògù sāā<sup>n</sup>],  
 3Sg if.Pfv 3ReflSg share.Pfv, Rel all—, [doorway all],  
 ē nā = à bāgà [[lāmpò bàgà-yē] pà] kóy,  
 1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[head.tax take.out-Agent.Pl] Comit] Emph,  
 ‘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!’  
*[i.e. each household gets one; some other items (government payments, fish piled up  
 after a collective fishhunt) are distributed with one share for each individual who has  
 paid the annual head tax]*

(02:45) **nt** ē gā= à bāgā [[kùwò-lògū]-[kùwò-lògū] pà],  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[doorway]-[doorway] Comit,  
 [āŋ kēē<sup>n</sup>] nām pwò [āŋ kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [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** ñ-dógó [nimī cēm] nām pwò [ŋ kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 1Sg-Indep [person ten] if.Pfv sit.Pfv [1Sg chez],  
 ē gā— ē bā= à bāgā,  
 1Pl Ipfv— 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** [jī<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] sō kwāām bē sàw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,  
 [ē gā [jón] kòm] bāgā,  
 [1Pl Ipfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Ipfv,  
 ‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’  
*[< ē gā jón]*

(02:55) **nt** [jī<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] sō kwāām bē sàw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,  
 [ē gā [jón] kòm] bāgā,  
 [1Pl Ipfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Ipfv,  
 ‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’  
*[repetition of previous segment]*

(02:57) **nt** sàà-gù [[jón nà<sup>n</sup> m̄ bāgā] kòrò] pà,  
 now [[Dem if.Pfv 3Ref1Sg take.out.Pfv] back] Comit,  
 āywà à nā= ā gāyī,  
 well 3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg prevent.Ipfv  
 ‘Now, after that has been taken out, that doesn’t prevent it,’

(03:00) **nt** mǎà ē nē= [ē wāālē tīnāā-yē] tī-nà,  
 that 1Pl IpfvNeg [1Pl request(n) other-Pl] do-Ipfv,  
 ē gā dō-lō [mìsírí nìŋì],  
 1Pl Ipfv enter-Ipfv [mosque inside],  
 ‘(namely) that we make our other prayers (for rain). We go into the mosque,’

(03:04) **nt** ē gā= à tī-nà, nīmī-lē pàà kīyē, ē bàānà gù,  
 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv, person-Pl if.Counterf pass.Pfv, 1Pl only Def,  
 [mà hāāŋ] gē= ēnì [kāy<sup>n</sup> màn] kāy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [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 kāy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]  
 hālà ē gā bē sùtūrā [kwààn-jíí sèbē-ỳ]  
 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 sùtūrā [kwààn-jíí sèbē-ỳ],  
 whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc],  
 n̄ = nā= ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly  
 n̄ = nā= ā fāāmù jáátì  
 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.’

### Text 2017-03 Farming in past times

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** àsàlāāmùàlēykùm  
peace.to.you

**nt** wāālēykūmāsàlāàm  
to.you.peace

**ac:** ‘Peace to you.’

**nt:** ‘And to you peace.’

[*formal Arabic greeting and reply*]

(00:04) **ac** bon [hàlì sàà-gù] ē gā [tīyē-gū]-tābā tīnī  
okay [until now] we Ipfv [ask-VblN]-foot solidify.Ipfv

**nt** à<sup>n</sup>hà<sup>n</sup>, yēm bīsīmìlà  
uh-huh, Impr.2Pl welcome

**ac:** ‘Now we are solidifying (=deepening) the question(s).’

**nt:** ‘(You are) welcome.’

[*tīyē-gū ‘question (n)’; collocation [X tábā] tīnī ‘solidify X’s foot (on solid ground)’*]

(00:07) **ac** ē gā = à pōgò  
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv  
[ē gālā = à tīyē [[bààná mà<sup>n</sup>] nī<sup>↑</sup>], [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 < bààná*]

(00:09) **ac** [pānā<sup>n</sup> māsí gá ŋ sògò]  
[formerly what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv  
[yèhīnì à nà ŋ sògò sàà-gù], [mhm]  
[and 3Sg Neg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now],  
‘What was cultivated in the past, and (yet) it is not cultivated nowadays?’

(00:11) **ac** māsí gá ŋ sògò sàà-gù<sup>↑</sup>, [mhm]  
what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now  
pānā<sup>n</sup> à nà ŋ sògò  
formerly 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv  
‘(And) what is cultivated nowadays, that wasn’t cultivated in the past?’

(00:15) **nt** pānāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 formerly,  
 pī<sup>n</sup>↑, [mhm]  
 millet,  
 kèndè↓, [mhm]  
 sorghum,  
 pùwó<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 fonio,  
 ē gà kúú sògō,  
 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** pùwón gú↑, [mhm]  
 fonio Def,  
 sò pīim bē mwò<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 before millet Seq ripen.Pfv,  
 wògó gā mwōm pānāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv ripen.Ipfv firstly,

‘The fonio, before the millet ripened, it (=fonio) [focus] would ripen first.’

[sò ‘before’ (§15.5); gā pronounced with higher pitch after focalized pronoun, see (594d) in §13.1.4]

(00:26) **nt** ē bā= à kūlēw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 1Pl Seq 3Sg reap.with.sickle.Pfv,  
 à bē= ē sùtūrà, [mhm]  
 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** sàbì, [ɲà<sup>n</sup> wɔ̄gɔ̄tū] kàà-kàà gà yāw<sup>n</sup> kóy, [mhm]  
 because [Dem time[ African.rice be there.Def Emph,  
 kàlà [ɲāŋ kũũ<sup>n</sup>-kũũ<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 except [person one-one],  
 wògò gá= ā sògò, [mhm]  
 3Sg.Independ.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.; kũũ<sup>n</sup>-kũũ<sup>n</sup> variant of kēē<sup>n</sup>-kēw<sup>n</sup>]*

(00:34) **nt** à nà [ɲīmī sāā<sup>n</sup>] nì, [mhm]  
 3Sg Neg [person all] it.is,  
 wày sàà-gù ē pùwóm bày féy, [mhm]  
 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-kò<sup>n</sup>, ē yè= ē dīrā gà pír<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 then 1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl push.on.Pfv RemPfv millet.Foc,  
 kèndé, [mhm]  
 sorghum.Foc,  
 dùgá, [mhm]  
 rice.Foc  
 ‘Nowadays we have come to rely on millet, sorghum, (and) rice.’  
*[each crop name in the list is focalized]*

(00:42) **nt** sàà-gù [kòm pā sīgèw<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 now [Dem thing three],  
 wògò sēmē-nā nì [ē bwēy] bōw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Sg.Independ.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here,  
 ‘Nowadays, those three (crops), that [focus] is what is important among us here.’  
*[sēmē-nā nì stative adjectival predicate (§11.4.1.1), cf. noun sémbē ‘power, force, authority’]*

(00:45) **nt** sògò jáátí-jáátí kò<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 farming(n) specific Top,  
 [[kòm pā sīgèw<sup>n</sup>] sēmē-nā nì [ē pà] bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[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 jáátí ‘specific’]*

(00:48) **nt** sàà-gù [ē kāy<sup>n</sup>-lōgū] gā [[kòm pā sìgèw<sup>n</sup>] kùmà], [mhm]  
 now [1Pl work-mouth] be [[3Sg thing three] on]  
 [kèndē yèm pīñ kò<sup>n</sup> sàā<sup>n</sup>] gā bwè [gūūñ kēē<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [sorghum and millet Top all] be.Loc together [place one-Loc],  
 ‘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  
 lōgū in the sense ‘edge, boundary’ as in ‘riverbank’; bwè variant of bwēy ‘together’,  
 related to comitative bwēy]

(00:52) **nt** sàà-gù [ē jāmū gū], [mhm]  
 now [1Pl river(-bed) Def]  
 pānāā<sup>n</sup> ē nā [pò<sup>n</sup> hílál] tò, [mhm]  
 formerly 1Pl IpfvNeg [Dem method] know.Ipfv,  
 ‘Now (as for) our river(-bed), in the past we didn’t know the right way to use it.’  
 [híílā ‘cleverness, trick, strategem, method’]

(00:54) **nt** sàà-gù, à pwò [dūgā-ñ-ciyē nī], [mhm]  
 now, 3Sg become.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst],  
**sc** à pwò, jáátì  
 3Sg sit.Pfv, indeed  
**nt**: ‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’  
**sc**: ‘It has, indeed.’

[pwò ‘sat’, here ‘become, turn into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2); ciyè ‘field’ becoming -ñ-ciyē  
 as compound final (§5.1.5.1), see also @ 01:10 below]

(00:58) **ac** pānāā<sup>n</sup>, tāmà déé  
 formerly, Q cotton  
 kūnà ñ sògō bōm pānāā<sup>n</sup>  
 Past.Ipfv 3RefISg cultivate.Ipfv here formerly  
 ‘Formerly (=in the old days), was cotton cultivated here formerly?’  
 [tāmà interrogative (§13.2.1.1); kūnà contracted from kōndō gā (past imperfective)  
 (§10.3.2), also @ 01:59 below]

(01:01) **nt** bōw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 here,  
 mājè, [mhm]  
 a.lot,  
 ē yà= [à pē] bày, [mhm]  
 1Pl Sbj/Obj [3Sg too] leave.Pfv,  
 ‘Here, a lot. (But) we have abandoned it too.’

(01:04) **nt** [ɲā<sup>n</sup>= à nāw<sup>n</sup> bā]  
 [if 3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv]  
 dáábá kūsā-āmā gà [pānāān tē], [mhm]  
 livestock abound.Pfv RemPfv [formerly Dat],  
 ‘Afterwards (=since then), livestock have increased in comparison with formerly.’  
*[phrase meaning ‘thereafter’]*

(01:06) **nt** pānāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 formerly  
 āŋ kāy, à<sup>n</sup>→,  
 2Sg Prsntv, (hesitation),  
 ‘Formerly, you see,’  
*[kāy M-toned in this presentative phrase (plural addressee āā kāy), compare transitive perfective ā=ā kày ‘you saw him/her/it’ and 3Sg presentative à kày (§4.4.4.1)]*

(01:10) **nt** bàà-n-sōrī gā [cìyē màw<sup>n</sup>] sògō  
 B Ipfv [field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv  
 sò ām bē kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [āā cìyè gù], [mhm]  
 go 2Sg Seq arrive.Pfv [2Pl field Def],  
 dēē-ñ-ciyē nì, [mhm]  
 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 sò ... bē (§15.5)]*

(01:15) **nt** à<sup>n</sup>→ [[sōrōgō-pī<sup>n</sup>-yè kày] cìyē mā<sup>n</sup> sògō]  
 (hesitation) [[**sp**-Pl Prsntv] field Rel cultivate.Ipfv]  
 tènǵèlì-págù [è sāā<sup>n</sup> lāā] nā [cìyè ñ-kēē<sup>n</sup> ní]  
 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)?’  
*[sp was present at the recording, hence the presentative; plural -yè after man’s name  
 = associative plural; < cìyè mà<sup>n</sup>; tènǵèlì is the name of a forested area, here compounded  
 with pàgù ‘pond’]*

(01:18) **nt** jīi-ñ-kùū<sup>n</sup> nē= [ē nàṅáá],  
 water-Ling-hole not.be.Loc [3Pl between.Q],  
 [à pē] gà dēē-ñ-cìyē nì,  
 [3Sg too] be cotton-Link-field it.is,  
**ac** [à pē] gà dēē-ñ-cìyē nì,  
 [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.’  
*[< nàṅáà]*

(01:21) **nt** [āṅ kāy] [[tènǵèlì búló<sup>n</sup> màw<sup>n</sup>] kà-nà gù, [mhm]  
 [2Sg Prsntv] [[T big] Rel] see-Ipfv Def,  
 [ñ káá] yā= ā yàgà [dēē<sup>n</sup>-ñ-cìyē 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.’  
*[relative clause with final definite morpheme; yàgà ‘put down’ in the sense ‘convert,  
 turn (sth) into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2)]*

(01:24) **nt** [ṅàw<sup>n</sup> só<sup>n</sup>] dáábē-è nà ñ kōṅ kìyèw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 [Dem time] livestock-Pl IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many thus,  
 wòy dáábē-è kàylà bē gū, [mhm]  
 today 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.’

(01:28) **nt** à nā màpè [silē pē-ỳ] sōkàālā dūgūbāà, [mhm]  
 3Sg IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv [rock too-Loc] a.fortiori on.ground,  
 ē nān tāw<sup>n</sup> silè-ỳ, [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,’  
 [sōkàālā ‘a fortiori’ (§19.1.5)]

(01:31) **nt** ē gà déw, [mhm]  
 1Pl Ipfv cotton.Foc,  
 pàā-m̄-pùwó<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 sesame.Foc,  
 ē gā= [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] kilē [silē gū-ỳ] yāw<sup>n</sup>, [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); à sāā<sup>n</sup> can refer  
 to just cotton and sesame or to a wider range of crops]]

(01:36) **sc** yèn tēlēw<sup>n</sup>  
 and gourd.plant  
**nt** yèn tēlēw<sup>n</sup>  
 and gourd.plant  
**sc and nt:** ‘And gourd plant(s).’  
 [cultivated vine, Lagenaria siceraria, source of gourds, calabashes, and ladles]

(01:37) **nt** tēlēw<sup>n</sup> dāmá gá [yāmbāà lāmpò] bāgà, [mhm]  
 gourd.plant only Ipfv [house tax] remove.Ipfv,  
 [[ē yāmbāà kāy] jàté mǎ<sup>n</sup>-ỳ<sup>n</sup> gù,  
 [[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.’  
 [lāmpò (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; mǎ-  
 ỳ<sup>n</sup> synonymous with màw<sup>n</sup> nìhì ‘in which’]

(01:40) **nt** ā<sup>n</sup> mìnḡè↑, [mhm]  
 2Sg hear.Pfv,  
 [jī<sup>n</sup> mà-sāā<sup>n</sup>] [nī kwàà<sup>n</sup> nā<sup>n</sup> sàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [year Rel-all] [if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]  
 [ē tēlēw<sup>n</sup>] bē màḡè,  
 [1Pl gourd.plant] Seq be.good.Pfv,  
 ‘Did you hear? Any year when it has rained well and our gourd plants turn out well,’  
 [mà-sāā<sup>n</sup> *quantificational variant of relative màw<sup>n</sup> (§14.3.4); biclausal relative (§14.5)*]

(01:43) **nt** à gè= [[ē yàmbāà] lāmpò] bāgà,  
 3Sg Ipfv [[1Pl house] tax] remove.Ipfv,  
 pāā-m-pùwó<sup>n</sup>, à gè= [[ē yàmbāà] lāmpò] 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** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā pā kō-lā [hūnē bwēỹ]  
 [3Sg all] Ipfv thing add-Ipfv [staple.food Comit]  
**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fāāmù  
 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** sāà-gù ē bā sīlē-ỹ  
 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** sāà-gù ē yā= ā yàgā [dùgūbāà nī] pàà<sup>n</sup>-kēw<sup>n</sup>  
 now 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg transformed.Pfv [on.ground Inst] exclusively  
**ac** āā yā= ā yàgā [dùgūbāà nī]  
 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 à yàgà*]

(01:54) **ac** è→. hàlì wày, ì gà= āā tīyè↑, [mhm]  
 (hesitation), until today, 1Sg Ipfv 2Pl ask.Ipfv,  
 [pānāāṅ gū] [[ē kò<sup>n</sup>] gā= ā mīṅē]  
 [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= à jāntà] [dúgún gà bōw<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [3Pl Ipfv 3Sg recount.Ipfv] [forest be here],  
 dúgún kūnà bōw<sup>n</sup> májè, [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.’  
 [/kūnà (§10.3.2)]

(02:02) **ac** sàà-gù [nàn dúgún gú lāā] m̀w̄s sū gā—, dúgú<sup>n</sup>—  
 now [Dem forest Def QTop] which? go.Pfv RemPfv—, forest—,  
 [[dúgún gú] tūn-nī gà bā-lā [ē bwēȳ] bōw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv exit-Ipfv [1Pl Comit] here]  
 ‘Now, that forest, what made it go (away)—, made the forest disappear from here among us,’  
*[interrupted segment could be completed as m̀w̄s sū gā= [à nī] ‘what conveyed it (away)’, but the speaker rephrased with tūn-nī ; bā-lā as Vb2 (§15.2.5)]*

(02:06) **ac** [hàlì-kānā à gā kwāāṅ kīyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [until 3Sg until.Pfv become.clean.Pfv thus,  
**nt** [p̄ m̀<sup>n</sup>] [dúgún gú] tūn-nī gà 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,’  
 [/< kwāā<sup>n</sup> ; p̄ m̀<sup>n</sup> variant of pā m̀w̄<sup>n</sup>]

(02:09) **nt** kwàà<sup>n</sup>-kúúlú dúgún tūn-nī gà, [mhm]  
 drought forest disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv,  
 [āṅ kāy] [[āāmādū jāṅkābā] cīyē m̀w̄<sup>n</sup>] kà-nā [ʃèpēl kūmà], [mhm]  
 [2Sg Prsnt] [[A J] field Rel] see-Ipfv [Š on],  
 ‘Drought is what made (the) forest disappear. The field of Amadou Dyankaba that you here see on (=alongside) Chepel (pond),’

(02:14) **nt** [[yààkūbà sēēni kāy] cìyē màw<sup>n</sup>] sògō [[ʃèpēl kūmà], [mhm]  
 [Y S Prsntv] [field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Š on],  
 [[mwàājù kāy] cìyē màw<sup>n</sup>] sògō [[ʃèpēl kūmà], [mhm]  
 [[M Prsntv] field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Š 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** ā<sup>n</sup> mìnjè↑, [mhm]  
 2Sg hear.Pfv,  
 sānà, ān-dāā tè [kú sāā<sup>n</sup>] fāāmù↑, [mhm]  
 like, 2Sg-Pron PfvNeg [Dem all] understand.Pfv,  
 ‘Did you hear? Like, have you not understood all that?’

(02:23) **nt** [kùlù-náw<sup>n</sup> màw<sup>n</sup>] kāy [[bōw<sup>n</sup> bààcéw<sup>n</sup>] kǎrē-y] gù, [mhm]  
 [elevation-Dimin Rel] Prsntv [[here toward] behind] Def,  
 [à déé-[bá-lá] yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [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* dēē-[bā-lā]/dēē-[bā-lā] ‘pick up and take out’  
 (§15.7.3.2)]

(02:27) **nt** bē [tèngèlì-págú mà(w)<sup>n</sup>] āŋ gā= ā kà-nà gù, [mhm]  
 come [T-pond Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,  
 [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà dūgā—,  
 [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’; < màw<sup>n</sup> ā<sup>n</sup>]*

(02:29) **nt** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāngō nì  
 [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is  
**ac** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāngō nì  
 [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 nigrítana), a tall clumpy grass  
 that forms colonies in moist ground near water]*

- (02:31) **sc** yè= [ē cìyē] [pèlèmpélej̄n jāmù-y]  
 and [1Pl field] [P river-Loc]  
**nt** [pèlèmpélej̄n jāmù-ỳ] [à s̄ā<sup>n</sup>] ḡà k̄āāngō nì, [mhm]  
 [P river-Loc] [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is,  
**sc:** ‘And our field in Pelempelen creek.’  
**nt:** ‘Pelempelen creek. It was all vetiver.’  
 [pèlèmpéle<sup>n</sup> is a seasonal creek]
- (02:33) **nt** [āŋ k̄āy] [[pèlèmpélej̄n jāmū] màw̄<sup>n</sup>] k̄à-nà ḡù, [mhm]  
 [2Sg Prsntv] [[P river] Rel] see-Ipfv Def,  
 dúgúŋ ḡà k̄ōn-nā-ỳ k̄íw!,  
 forest be hit-Ppl-Loc dense,  
 ‘The Pelempelen creek that you see, the forest was impenetrable.’  
 [participial k̄ōn-nā ‘hit, beaten’ here implies being thick with objects (here trees);  
 k̄íw! is an interjection-like expressive adverbial (§8.4.7)) with similar sense (too cramped  
 to enter, as a crowded vehicle)]
- (02:37) **nt** à nè= [ē cìyē k̄òw̄<sup>n</sup>] s̄èw̄<sup>n</sup> 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** s̄ànā kw̄àà<sup>n</sup>-j̄í b̄è n̄ōḡōrā-āmā b̄ōw̄<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 like rain(n)-water Seq difficult-Inch.Pfv here,  
 ē ḡà [k̄āāngō ḡū] s̄àgā, [mhm]  
 1Pl Ipfv [vetiver Def] chop.Ipfv,  
 ‘Like, (when) rain is difficult (=rare) here, we cut down the vetiver grass.’  
 [s̄àgà/s̄àgā ‘cut (stem)’ or ‘dig’ with chopping or slashing motion, distinct from  
 b̄ùrù/b̄ùrū ‘cut (into pieces)’ usually with a knife]
- (02:42) **nt** mà-s̄āā<sup>n</sup> n̄àw̄<sup>n</sup> k̄āāngō s̄àgā ḡù, [mhm]  
 Rel-all if.Pfv vetiver chop.Pfv Def,  
 āŋ ḡà k̄èndē k̄ilē,  
 2Sg Ipfv sorghum get.Ipfv,  
 ‘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]

(02:45) **nt** mà-sāā<sup>n</sup> nàw<sup>n</sup> kǎāngō sàgà gù, [mhm]  
 Rel-all if.Pfv vetiver chop.Pfv Def,  
 āŋ gā kèndé kílē, [mhm]  
 2Sg Ipfv sorghum.Foc get.Ipfv,  
 ‘Anyone who has chopped down (=cleared away) the vetiver grass, you-Sg will get sorghum.’  
*[repeats preceding segment]*

(02:47) **nt** wògó [[kǎāngō gū] sīi-mā] tūn-nī gà,  
 3Sg.Indep.Foc [[vetiver Def] type] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv,  
 [āŋ kǎy [āā dūgā-ŋ-cīyē màw<sup>n</sup>] kà-nà gù]  
 [2Sg Prsntv [2Pl rice-Link-field Rel] see-Ipfv Def]  
 ‘That [focus] is what has caused the species of vetiver to disappear. Your-Pl rice field that you-Sg see, ...’

(02:50) **nt** [āā gā = ā sògō wày gù], [mhm]  
 [2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv today Def],  
 tènǵèlì yāw<sup>n</sup> gù, [mhm]  
 T there.Def Def,  
 ‘(and) that you-Pl cultivate nowadays, there at Tengeli’  
*[final gù (twice) at end of relative clause (§14.1.4)]*

(02:52) **nt** [pānāāŋ kǎāngō hàlē = è nā = āŋ kālà]  
 [formerly vetiver even 3Pl if.Pfv 2Sg drive.out.Ipfv]  
 āŋ gā kwāān dō-lā = ā-ỳ,  
 2Sg Ipfv fear.Ipfv enter.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc.  
 ‘In the past, the vetiver, even if they (=other people) don’t drive you away, you were afraid to go into it (=vetiver).’  
*[i.e. because it was so dense; dwō/dō-lō ‘enter’; ‘be afraid to VP’ construction (§17.4.1.2)]*

(02:55) **ac** àllááwàkùbāārù  
 by.God  
**nt** sèw<sup>n</sup> màw<sup>n</sup>—  
 time Rel  
 [[sèw<sup>n</sup> màw<sup>n</sup>] ē sō gā pèw<sup>n</sup>-gàw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[road Rel] 1Pl go.Pfv RemPfv do.collective.hunt.Pfv-place]  
**ac:** ‘By God!’  
**nt:** ‘One time—, one time we went on the annual collective hunt,’  
*[sèw<sup>n</sup> ‘road, path’ here in the sense ‘(one) time/occasion’; < ē sò gà]*

(02:59) **nt** [ē yè= [ē gā kwàà<sup>n</sup> wāālè]],  
 [1Pl said [1Pl Ipfv rain(n) ask.for.Ipfv]],  
 ē bē kiy<sup>n</sup>èw<sup>n</sup> yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 1Pl Seq arrive.Pfv there.Def  
 ‘And we said we would pray for rain.’

(03:01) **nt** ē bè tōō dw = ā-ȳ,  
 1Pl Seq fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,  
 ē kàylà tōō dw = ā-ȳ gù,  
 1Pl when fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Def,  
 ‘Then we set fire in it (vetiver grass). When we have set fire in it,’  
 [*< dwō ā-ȳ ; can also be phrased ē tōō dwō gā = à-y gù*]

(03:04) **nt** tōō sāā gā gù,  
 fire lie.down.Pfv RemPfv Def,  
 jīiŋ kīyē gā gù,  
 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-sāā<sup>n</sup> sū gā  
 Rel-all go.Pfv RemPfv  
 [pūnā<sup>n</sup>-kèrèbé kò<sup>n</sup>] āŋ gā = à kwēè<sup>n</sup>-nā  
 [tortoise Top] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg sweep-Ipfv  
 ‘(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** n̄ = nā = ā fāāmù,  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv,  
**nt** nōgōrā-āmā [kāāŋgō gū kò<sup>n</sup>] tūn-nī gā,  
 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** [sāà-gū nì] ē gā kwàà<sup>n</sup>-n-jíí kílè pā-lēw<sup>n</sup>-pāl-ēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [now it.is] 1Pl Ipfv rain-Link-water get.Pfv Iter-a.little,  
 pānāā<sup>n</sup> [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā dúgú<sup>n</sup> nì  
 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-lēw<sup>n</sup> ‘a little’ (§8.4.3.2), here iterated]

(03:17) **nt** nōgōrā-āmā [kāāngō gū kò<sup>n</sup>] tūn-nī gā,  
 difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ē→, [ān cìyè]—  
 (hesitation), [2Sg field]—  
 ‘Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear. Uh, your-Sg field,’

(03:19) **nt** [ān cìyē] gā [kāāngō nì] ā= ā sàgà,  
 [2Sg field] be [vetiver it.is] 2Sg 3Sg chop.Pfv,  
 ān kèndē kílā= [ā nìñù],  
 2Sg sorghum get.Pfv [2Sg inside],  
 ‘Your-Sg field was vetiver (grass), you cut (=cleared) it. You have gotten sorghum in it (=field).’

[< ā<sup>n</sup> à sàgà ; < kílè à nìñù]

(03:22) **nt** [[n-dógó màw<sup>n</sup> kāy] kòmbó-ỳ]  
 [[1Sg-Indep Rel Prsntv] edge.of.village-Loc]  
 tē pà-sí kílè lā,  
 PfvNeg thing-any get.Pfv Emph,  
 ‘I here who was (cultivating) at the edge of the village didn’t get anything,’  
 [weakly emphatic final lā from local French là ; farming at the edge of the village has become unproductive due to poor rains]

(03:24) **nt** sè-táláw<sup>n</sup> [m̄ pē] nā sò  
 another.day [1Sg too] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv  
 [m̄ pā] sògò  
 [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** ìnsàllàw  
 hopefully  
**nt** kú nì  
 Dem it.is  
**ac:** ‘Hopefully.’  
**nt:** ‘That is it (=the reason).’

(03:28) **ac** ñ = nā = ā fāāmù jáátì  
 1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv indeed  
**nt** [āŋ kāy] mà-sāāŋ kà-nà [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāŋgō nì,  
 [2Sg Prsntv] Rel-all see-Ipfv [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 gālā bā = ān tēw<sup>n</sup>  
 until 2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv 2Sg put.against.Pfv  
 [bóndó kūmà] bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [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** [[kàà-ŋ-kàbúwó] cìyè]— à<sup>n</sup>→ [kàà-ŋ-kàbúwó-yè] cìyè-yè,  
 [[Papa-K] field]— (hesitation) [Papa-K-Pl] field-Pl  
 à<sup>n</sup>→ nàà-yè kày kú— d̀lāy bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
 (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; < kāy]*

(03:37) **nt** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāŋgō nì  
 [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is  
**sc** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāŋgō nì  
 [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is  
**nt:** ‘It was all vetiver.’  
**sc:** ‘It was all vetiver.’

(03:40) **nt** [jōō<sup>n</sup>-sāārè kāy] dūgā màw<sup>n</sup> sògò  
 [JS Top] rice Rel cultivate.Pfv  
 [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà kāāngō nì  
 [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

‘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]

(03:43) **sc** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà dúgú<sup>n</sup> nì  
 [3Sg all] be forest it.is  
**nt** [à sāā<sup>n</sup>] gà dúgú<sup>n</sup> nì.  
 [3Sg all] be forest it.is,

**sc**: ‘It was all forest.’

**nt**: ‘It was all forest.’

(03:45) [jàw<sup>n</sup> wōgōtū], dáábē-y sèmpùwò-yè  
 [Dem time], livestock-Pl donkey-Pl  
 [è kōndō gà [kāāngō gū] kūwōlò,  
 [3Pl stay.Pfv RemPfv [vetiver Def] chew.Ipfv,

‘At that time, livestock, donkeys, they used to graze on the vetiver.’

[past imperfective with kōndō gà and Ipfv verb (§10.3.2)]

(03:48) wày ān tā = ā kày  
 today 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv  
 [ē sèmpùwò-yè sāā<sup>n</sup>] gā sò  
 [1Pl donkey-Pl all] Ipfv go

‘Nowadays, have you-Sg not seen that all our donkeys go ...’

(03:50) **nt** [jā-à-nāw<sup>n</sup> [sàrdīnà nī]] è nā tà-lā gùù<sup>n</sup>-sí,  
 [if.not [garden Inst]] 3Pl IpfvNeg stop-Ipfv place-any,  
 [nògòrà-àmá bē gà [jón nī],  
 [difficulty.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [Dem.Def Inst],

‘(and) they don’t stay anywhere other than in gardens. The hardship (=drought) [focus] brought that (about).’

[jā-à-nāw<sup>n</sup> ‘if it isn’t’, i.e. ‘other than’]

(03:52) **nt** [wògō            nì]    [kāāngō    gū]    tūŋ            gā  
 [3Sg.Indep    it.is]    [vetiver    Def]    disappear.Pfv    RemPfv

**ac**    n̄            = nā =            ā                    fāāmù  
 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** [kééráw<sup>n</sup> syēw<sup>n</sup>] sōrōgō-pī<sup>n</sup>

[safety spend.day.Pfv] **sp**

**sp** kàlà = àà syé<sup>n</sup> [jām nī]

Q 2Pl spend.day.Pfv.Q [peace inside]

**ac**: 'Good evening, **sp**'

**sp**: 'Did you-Pl spend the day in peace?'

[kéérāw<sup>n</sup> 'welfare, absence of harm, safety'; 2Pl meaning 'you and your household'; syé<sup>n</sup> tone-raised in question; kàlà ~ ŋkàlà clause-initial interrogative particle in some formulae]

(00:03) **ac** kò jām syēŋ gà [āā pà]

Q peace spend.day.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**sp** àà syéŋ gà [kēnā-āmā nī]

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** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>

[trouble any] not.be

**sp** [āā kènà-àmà-nà] syéŋ gà kò<sup>n</sup> 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?'

[kò<sup>n</sup> (elsewhere topical 'as for') has negative sense in the formulaic phrase bàà sí kò<sup>n</sup> based on reanalysis of báásī 'trouble' (< Fulfulde < Arabic), see §19.6.1; kò<sup>n</sup> wà is obscure but occurs in formulaic greeting questions (see also the following segment)]

(00:07) **ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
 [trouble any] not.be  
**sp** āā rēēnà kò<sup>5n</sup> wà  
 2Pl be.safe.Pfv Top anyway  
**ac**: ‘There’s no trouble.’  
**sp**: ‘Are you-Pl unharmed?’  
 [rēēnà < *Fulfulde*]

(00:08) **ac** àmbāà tàbārikāllà  
 fine praise.God  
**sp** ē p̄w̄ō gà [kēérá<sup>n</sup> nī]  
 1Pl sit.Pfv RemPfv [welfare Inst]  
**ac**: ‘(We’re) fine, thank God.’  
**sp**: ‘We have sat down (here) with safety.’  
 [àmbāà *greeting response*; tàbārikāllà < *Arabic*]

(00:09) **sp** ālà gālè = ē kù-nì [kēérá<sup>n</sup> nì]  
 God Sbjn 1Pl get.up-Caus.Pfv [welfare inside]  
**ac** àmíínà yàràbì  
 amen oh.Lord  
**sp**: ‘May God get us up in safety.’  
**ac**: ‘Amen oh Lord.’  
 [àmíínà yàràbì < *Arabic*]

(00:11) **sp** ð<sup>n</sup>→, bētēhēērè  
 (hesitation), P  
**ac** [ē gā = à p̄ōḡò] [ē gālà = ān tīyē]  
 [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv] [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv]  
 [[kāmāà gù] nī]  
 [[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** nā = à nām bā = [à tīw<sup>n</sup>]  
 if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]  
 [āṅ gā mǎñ 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’; mǎw<sup>n</sup> in headless relative]

(00:16) **ac** [āŋ gālà pō sē = [ē tā =] [à nìŋì] *quoi*  
[2Sg Sbjn something say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]

**sc** hàyà bìsìmillà,  
okay welcome,

**ac** ‘... you might tell us something in (=from) it.’

**sc**: ‘All right, you’re welcome.’

[*cf.* pōw ‘thing’; *French clause-final quoi*; bìsìmillà < *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) mánè [kú gà [kééré<sup>n</sup> nì]],  
well(adv) [Dem be [safety inside]],  
mìskííni dyēw<sup>n</sup>,  
pauper child,  
nàpòrò-tūgū dyēw<sup>n</sup>,  
wealth-owner child,  
kàànàŋkè djēw<sup>n</sup>,  
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’; kàànàŋkè ‘leader, prince’, cf. Kelenga kââ<sup>n</sup> ‘ahead, in front’*]

(00:23) fāātūmà ārdò,  
F chief  
è gā = [ā kàbár] 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*]

(00:28) ì yē= [ē gā sò [sīyā= [à tē]],  
 3Pl **said** [LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv] [visit.Pfv [3Sg Dat]],  
 [miskíín dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū], ʃ<sup>n</sup>?ʃ<sup>n</sup> [nàpòrò-tūgū dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū],  
 [pauper child Def], unh.unh [wealth-owner child Def],  
 à gā [ɲ sīyéw<sup>n</sup>] kùù-nì,  
 3Sg until.Pfv [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv,  
 ‘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,’

[< sīyéw<sup>n</sup> à tè, verb sīyéw<sup>n</sup> elsewhere means ‘pay a visit (to a woman who has recently given birth)’; throughout this text this speaker uses gā/gā ‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2) like sequential bè; the speaker gets mixed up about the order of visitors: at 00:41 below it becomes apparent that the first suitor to ride his horse to Fatouma would have been the prince, who outranks the rich man’s and the pauper’s sons]

(00:33) hàlī-kàlā= à gā tùu-gà [yāw<sup>n</sup> bwēy],  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv approach.Pfv [there.Def Comit],  
 [à gā tàà yāw<sup>n</sup>]—  
 [3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv there.Def]—  
 [à gā kiyèw<sup>n</sup>], [à gōŋō-yūgō<sup>n</sup>] kāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv], [3Sg slave-woman] chez,  
 ‘Eventually he approached there, he stopped there—he arrived, at the place of her slave woman.’

(00:38) à yē [ɲ kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 3Sg said [LogoSg arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],  
 à gā tàà yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv there.Def,  
 ‘He said (=thought) he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place.’

(00:41) [kú yā= [à tē] bìsimilla]  
 [Dem said [3Sg Dat] welcome  
 [à gā pwò],  
 [3Sg until.Pfv sit.Pfv],  
 ‘That one (=slave) said to him, “come in!” and he sat down.’

(00:43) ā= ā fāàmú,  
 2Sg 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q  
 [nàpòrò-tūgū dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū pē],  
 [wealth-owner child Def also],  
 ‘Have you-Sg understood? The rich man’s son too,’

- (00:47) [à pē] gà [ɲ siyéw<sup>n</sup>] kùù-nī,  
 [3Sg too] until.Pfv [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv  
 hàlikàná = à gā kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [[gūnūŋ gū] nìŋî],  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv [[courtyard Def] inside],  
 ‘... he too rode his horse, until he arrived at the courtyard.’  
 [gūnū<sup>n</sup> ‘courtyard’ or ‘empty lot’]
- (00:49) [à pē] kiyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Sg too] arrive.Pfv,  
 à yē [[m̄ pē] kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 3Sg said [[LogoSg too] arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],  
 ‘He too arrived. He too thought that he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place.’  
 [lit. “he said that he too ...”]
- (00:51) kúú gà = [à jīi-kāy-yā] nī,  
 Dem.Foc be [3Sg water-draw-Agent] it.is,  
 kēēŋ gù pē,  
 one Def too,  
 ‘That one (=the woman whom he met) [focus] was her (=Fatouma’s) water carrier.  
 The other one (=pauper’s son) too (went),’  
 [agentive with incorporated object (§5.1.6.2)]
- (00:54) m̀iskíín dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū,  
 pauper child Def,  
 [à pē] [ɲ siyéw<sup>n</sup>] kùù-nì,  
 [3Sg too] [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv,  
 ‘The pauper’s son, he too rode his horse,’
- (00:56) hàlikàlá = à gā kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],  
 à kiyēŋ gà [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāw<sup>n</sup>] gù,  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv [[F chief] chez] Def,  
 ‘until he arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place. When he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s  
 place,’  
 [backgrounded perfective echo clause (‘when ...’) with RemPfv gà and definite gu  
 (§15.4.4) setting up the next foregrounded event (‘he said’)]

(01:00) à yē [n̄ = nā = ā sùmàà<sup>n</sup>sīyē [gòró-pānān nī]],  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg offer.Pfv [kola-chest Inst]],  
 à pwò yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg sit.Pfv there.Def,  
 ‘He said, “I presented you with a kola-nut box.” He sat down there.’  
 [sùmàà<sup>n</sup>sīyē ‘present (gifts, offerings) to an honored person’]

(01:03) fāātūmà ārdò,  
 F chief,  
 à gā [ŋ d̀lmbé] bāgā,  
 3Sg until.Pfv [3ReflSg ring] take.out.Pfv,  
 ‘Fatouma Ardo, she took off her ring.’  
 [syncopated variant of d̀lumbé]

(01:06) à gā = à dwā = [à sūgì-ỳ],  
 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.’  
 [< dwō]

(01:08) è gē = [ē sīyé] kùtù-nì,  
 3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv,  
 è kàylà 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-kò<sup>n</sup> ð<sup>n</sup>→ bā = ā tàbà ð<sup>n</sup>→  
 then (hesitation) come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv (hesitation)  
 [kàànàṅkè dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū],  
 [leader child Def],  
 ‘Then, as it happened, the prince,’

[high-frequency phrase reduced from e.g. à bā = ā tàbà ... ‘he/she came, only to find that ...’, variant à bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup>... as at 02:08 below]

- (01:15) à yē  
 3Sg said  
 [n-dògó [[fāātūmà ārdò] sīyè<sup>n</sup>] 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 dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū pē] yè  
 [wealth-owner child Def too] said  
 [n-dògó 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) [miskíín dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū pē]  
 [pauper child Def too]  
 yè [ŋ sūgū] tōndō,  
 Sbj/Obj [3ReflSg hand] hold.up.Pfv,  
 ‘The poor man’s son for his part held up his hand.’
- (01:21) à yē [n-dògá= ā kilē gà]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep.Foc 3Sg get.Pfv RemPfv]  
 [à dōlmbé kāy] [ŋ sūgì-ỳ],  
 [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 màrfé-è] tūkà= [à bwēy],  
 3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl rifle-pl] point.at.Pfv [3Sg Comit],  
 ì yē= [ē gā= à kō-la],  
 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]*

(01:26) [kú bāā būmàcéw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [Dem exit(v).Pfv around.here]  
 [kú bāā būmàcéw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [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; būmàcéw<sup>n</sup> contracted from bōw<sup>n</sup> bààcéw<sup>n</sup> ‘over here (pointing)’ with bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’ and bààcéw<sup>n</sup> ‘around’ (§8.2.9), cf. verb bāā ‘exit(v).Pfv’]*

(01:28) è mār pá pēndē gū,  
 3Pl rifle two Def,  
 kú kú kílè↑,  
 Dem Dem get.Pfv  
 kú kú kílè↓,  
 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]*

(01:31) ā<sup>n</sup> fāàmú,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 è sēw<sup>n</sup>↑,  
 3Pl fall.Pfv,  
 ‘Did you understand? They fell.’

(01:33) è sò↓,  
 3Pl go.Pfv,  
 k̀ẁṑnì yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 settlement there.Def,  
 ‘They went, to the village.’

(01:36) āywà kú,  
 well Dem  
 [ɲ gālà tàà [kúú bwēy] lā]  
 1Sg Sbjn stop.Pfv [Dem.Foc Comit] Emph  
 [ɲ gālā = à sē-sò],  
 [1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv],  
 ‘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 lā from French là ‘there’; sē-sò (§15.2.5)]

(01:41) **sp** ɲ gālā = à sè-só,  
 1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv.Q  
**ac** à sē-sò  
 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv  
**sp**: ‘Should I go on telling (it)?’  
**ac**: ‘Go on telling it!’  
 [transitive imperative from **ac**]

(01:43) **sp** ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 è bē kii tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl Seq get.up.Pfv again  
 ‘Did you understand? They got up again.’

(01:45) ì yè [[fāātūmà ārdò] kàbár] mìnè,  
 3Pl Sbj/Obj [[F chief] news] hear.Pfv,  
 à nà ɲ kēnāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.healthy.  
 ‘They had heard about Fatouma Ardo, (that) she was ill.’  
 [cf. positive à ɲ kēnāw<sup>n</sup> ‘he/she is in good health’]

(01:49) ē gā sō [à kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Sg chez],  
 [kēɛɲ gù] bāā,  
 [one Def] exit(v).Pfv,  
 ‘(They said) “we will go to her place.” One of them left.’

- (01:52) [kàànàṅkè dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū] bāā,  
 [leader child Def] exit(v).Pfv,  
 à kiyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv,  
 ‘The prince left. He arrived.’  
*[kàànàṅkè is unclear on the recording but makes sense in context]*
- (01:53) à kiyēw<sup>n</sup> [sìbw-è bwēȳ],  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl Comit],  
 ì yā= ā wàgà,  
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv,  
 ‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst. They (=snakes) killed him.’  
*[< sībò-yè ‘snakes’]*
- (01:56) [nàpòrò-tūgū dyēm pē] kìì,  
 [wealth-owner child too] get.up.Pfv,  
 [à pē] sò,  
 [3Sg too] go.Pfv,  
 ‘The rich man’s son too got up. He too went.’
- (01:59) à tùṽ-gà,  
 3Sg approach.Pfv,  
 ā<sup>n</sup> fààmú,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,  
 ʃètāānè-è bwēȳ,  
 devil-Pl Comit,  
 ‘He approached—did you understand?—among the devils.’
- (02:03) ì yā= ā wàgà,  
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv,  
 m̀iskíín dyēw<sup>n</sup> gū,  
 pauper child Def,  
 à kìì,  
 3Sg get.up.Pfv,  
 ‘They (=devils) killed him. The pauper’s child, he got up (=set off).’

- (02:06) à sò,  
3Sg go.Pfv,  
à kiyèw<sup>n</sup> bētèhēērè,  
3Sg arrive.Pfv B,  
'He went. He arrived in Betehere (village).'
- (02:08) bētèhēērè gù,  
B Def  
à bā= à tīw<sup>n</sup>  
3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv  
[pò-sí nā= [à nìjì]],  
[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*]
- (02:11) ñkālā sùwó<sup>n</sup>↑,  
except crocodile,  
tùmì↑,  
python,  
[è-lògò dāmá] gā= [à nìjì],  
[3Pl-Indep only] be.Loc [3Sg inside],  
'except crocodiles and rock pythons. Only they were in it (the place).'
- [ñkālā 'except' (§19.3.2.4); dāmá 'only' (§19.3.2.1)]
- (02:15) jètāānù gù,  
devil Def,  
à gā— [à gā [tùwò-η-kúrí pēndē] dēē]  
(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. tūwò 'earth'; < dō/dō 'give'*]
- (02:18) à kiyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
3Sg arrive.Pfv,  
à gā kēēη kèrè [[dèbò gū] nìjì],  
3Sg until.Pfv one throw.Pfv [[river Def] inside],  
'He arrived. He threw one (lump) into the river.'

(02:21) à kàylā = ā kèrè [[dèbò gū niḡi],  
 3Sg when 3Sg throw.Pfv [[river Def] inside],  
 [è sāā<sup>n</sup>] tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Pl all] get.lost.Pfv,  
 ‘When he threw it (=the lump) into the river, they all disappeared.’  
*[the river disappeared along with the lump]*

(02:23) [à cyēw<sup>n</sup>] [[ḡ siyéw<sup>n</sup>] kūmà] [à kīyē],  
 [3Sg mount.Pfv [[3ReflSg horse] on] [3Sg pass.Pfv],  
 à kàylā kiyèw<sup>n</sup>, bētèhēērè gù,  
 3Sg when arrive.Pfv, B Def,  
 ‘He mounted on his horse, and he continued on his way. When he arrived, (at) that  
 Betehere (village),’

(02:26) à bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv,  
 [jīinì kāy] pwò-nà,  
 [djinn Prsntv] sit-Ppl,  
 [bētèhēērè jūgū gū] bwēy,  
 [B tree Def] Comit,  
 ‘It happened that a djinn (genie) was sitting (there) by the tree of Betehere.’

(02:30) à kiyèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv,  
 à [ḡ bōw<sup>n</sup>-silè-kúrú] kèrā = ā-y,  
 3Sg [3ReflSg here-rock-piece] throw.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,  
 ‘He arrived. He threw his piece of rock here at it (=tree).’  
*[unusual occurrence of bōw<sup>n</sup> ‘here’ as apparent compound initial; one of the lumps  
 of earth has turned out to be a piece of rock]*

(02:34) ð<sup>n</sup>→ [ʃètāānù gū] yā = [à tē],  
 (hesitation) [devil Def] said [3Sg Dat.],  
 ān-dògō gā wùlāā nì,  
 2Sg-Indep be who? it.is  
 ‘The devil said to him, “who are you?”’  
*[the narrator is using ʃètāānù ‘devil’ and jīinì ‘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 [n̄-dògō gā flàaná nì],  
 3Sg [said [LogoSg-Indep be so.and.so it.is],  
 à yē [[mwò láá=] ām bīyè-nī gà],  
 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 ‘wshat?’ in the absence of a modified noun, here it takes interrogative topic lāā ; bīyè-nī (pseudo)-causative verb (§9.1.2)]

(02:38) à yēè→ [[jūgū màn kāy gū],  
 3Sg said [[tree Rel Prsntv Def],  
 n̄ gà bē— n̄ gā wògó màā,  
 (false start) LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg.Indep.Foc look.for.Ipfv,  
 ‘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) n̄ gālà sò [fāātūmà ārdò] sābūlèw<sup>n</sup>,  
 LogoSg Sbjn go.Pfv [F chief] cure.Pfv,  
 ā<sup>n</sup> fāàmú,  
 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

‘so I may go and cure Fatouma Ardo (with it). Did you understand?’

[sābūlèw<sup>n</sup>/sābūlèn-nà ‘cure (sb)’; jūgū means ‘tree’ or ‘medicine’, the two senses being closely associated]

(02:44) à bè tāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Seq ascend.Pfv,  
 è bè [jūgū gū]—  
 3Pl Seq [tree Def]—  
 à kōlē gà= [à bwēy] sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg Comit] when,  
 ‘Then he climbed the tree. They (touched) the tree—. When he touched it (=tree),’  
 [kōlē/kōlè intransitivized < kwāā/kō-lā ‘hit’]

- (02:48)    ʃètāānà kà{lè}—    ʃètāānà kàlè,  
 devil die.Pfv— devil die.Pfv,  
 è kòmōḏ,  
 3Pl wail.Pfv,  
 ‘The devil di[ed]— the devil died. They (=devils) wailed.’  
*[‘die’ is usually wàà/wàā in Cliffs dialect, kàlè/kàlè in nearby riverine dialects]*
- (02:51)    à [kūūm bwḏ] bā gà tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg [one other] remove.Pfv RemPfv again,  
 ʃètāānà kòmōḏ,  
 devil wail.Pfv,  
 ‘He took another one (piece of wood) off. The devil (women) wailed.’  
*[kūū<sup>n</sup> bwḏ dialectal for kēēm bwḏ]*
- (02:54)    à à à à, (??) tū<sup>n</sup>  
 3Sg (hesitations) (inaudible) again  
 hālìkànā à gā kiyēw<sup>n</sup> sìgē-ỳ<sup>n</sup>,  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv three-Loc,  
 ‘He (verb inaudible) again, until he reached the third (time).’  
*[“??” sounds like āṅgālā on recording, but my assistant couldn’t make sense of it; locative of sìgēw<sup>n</sup> ‘three’]*
- (02:58)    à yē ʃì—  
 3Sg said (false start)—,  
 à yā = [à gālā sāgā bōw<sup>n</sup>],  
 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]*
- (03:00)    sìyé-è gà bā-lā, bētèhēērè nìṅî,  
 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,” ’
- (03:03)    sìyèw<sup>n</sup> kūwō<sup>n</sup>,  
 horse white,  
 à gà bē bē = [ē nàṅāà],  
 3Sg Ipfv Fut come.Pfv [3Pl between],  
 ‘(Devil:) “A white horse will come among them.” ’

- (03:06) [[à píyé] gà kwāā-nā]  
 [[3Sg tail] be white-Ppl] .  
 [[à píyé] gā piyè-nà],  
 [[3Sg tail] be black-Ppl],  
 ‘(Devil:) “It’s tail is black and white.” ’  
*[expressed as two parallel clauses without a prosodic break]*
- (03:08) à gālā = à kūū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Sbjn 3Sg catch.Pfv,  
 [à pē]— [à kàylà sāgā gū],  
 [3Sg too]— [3Sg when lie.down.Pfv Def],  
 ‘(Devil:) “Catch it!” ’ For his part— When he had spent the night,’
- (03:11) [à kày] à bè bē,  
 [3Sg Prsntv] 3Sg Seq come.Pfv,  
 à kiyēw<sup>n</sup> gà— siyé-è kù-lē kiyèw<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv— horse-Pl Dem-Pl arrive.Pfv when,  
 ‘There he was, coming on. He arrived (error)— When those horses arrived,’  
*[the presentative and sequential ‘come’ are used here to foreground a new scene, cf. French voilà que ...]*
- (03:15) à = [à píyé] kūū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv,  
 à = [à píyé] kūūŋ gà sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,  
 ‘He caught its tail. When he had caught its tail,’  
*[perfective echo clause as background]*
- (03:17) [wōgōtū ŋ-kūūm nī],  
 [time Link-one Inst],  
 à kiyē = [ē nògù] nā],  
 3Sg pass.Pfv [3Pl village] Dat],  
 ‘In a flash he passed by their (i.e. Fatouma’s) village,’

- (03:19) à gā m̄ bēm-bē tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg until.Pfv 3ReflSg come.back.Pfv again,  
 à gā— à yē [j̄ jā= [à tēè→],  
 (false start) 3Sg said [LogoSg said [3Sg Dat]],  
 ‘Then he came back. He (=devil) said, “I told you-Sg,” ’  
 [<sub><</sub> ŋ yē ‘Logo said’; tēè→ for dative tē at planned prosodic break before quoted  
 matter (§3.7.2)]
- (03:22) à gālà [nɔ̄gɔ̄-lēw<sup>n</sup>]-nūmè-lēn dāmá tīw̄<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Sbjn [eye]-blink.Pfv-Dimin only do.Pfv,  
 [à [nɔ̄gɔ̄-lēw<sup>n</sup>]-nūmè-lēn tīw̄<sup>n</sup> gà sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 [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 -lēw<sup>n</sup>, see (366) in §8.4.3.2]
- (03:25) [à bā= à tīw̄<sup>n</sup>]  
 [3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv]  
 [ŋ gā tàà-nà [è gūnī-ỳ],  
 [LogoSg be stand-Ppl [3Pl courtyard-Loc]  
 ‘He found himself standing in their (=Fatouma’s) courtyard.’  
 [gūnū<sup>n</sup> ‘courtyard’]
- (03:27) [n̄ tóy] tàà bōw̄<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here,  
 [n̄ tóy] tàà bōw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 [1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here  
 ‘My knowledge has stopped here.’  
 [i.e., ‘that’s all I know’; tòy ‘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** [k'éérán syē<sup>n</sup>] [ɲ̃ k̄āā-āādāmà]  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father-A]  
**ak** [k'éérán syē<sup>n</sup>] [ɲ̃ k̄áá]  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father]  
**ac**: 'Good afternoon, Papa Adama!'  
**ak**: 'Good afternoon, friend!'  
[< ɲ̃ k̄áá '(hey) my pal!' (§6.2.1.1)]

(00:05) **ac** kò jām̄ syēɲ̃ gà [āā pà]  
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]  
**ac**: 'Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?'

(00:06) **ak** kàlà= āā syēɲ̃ [jām̄ nī]  
Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
[trouble any] not.be  
**ak**: 'Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?'  
**ac**: 'There is no trouble.'

(00:07) **ak** kòrì jām̄ syā= [āā bwēỹ]  
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]  
**ac** [bàà sí] kò<sup>n</sup>  
[trouble any] not.be  
**ak**: 'Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?'  
**ac**: 'There is no trouble.'

(00:08) **ak** āā rēēnà kò<sup>n</sup> wà  
2Pl be.safe.Pfv Topic anyway  
**ac** m̄bāā tàbāārìkàllà  
(reply) praise.God  
**ak**: 'You-Pl are safe?'  
**ac**: 'Fine, praise God.'

(00:10) **ak** bāārìkàllà  
 praise.God  
**ac** òbāā tábāārìkàllà  
 (reply) praise.God  
**ak**: ‘Praise God.’  
**ac**: ‘Fine, praise God.’

(00:12) **ak** òbāā  
 (reply)  
**ac** à, ē gā nògù-béw<sup>n</sup>,  
 ah, 1Pl be.Loc N.Loc  
**ak**: ‘Fine.’  
**ac**: ‘Ah, we are in Namagué.’  
 [*< nògù-béw<sup>n</sup> with final H-tone as locative or focus (§8.2.3.3)*]

(00:14) **ac** bon [ē bē jànáàmà pō-lēŋ kàlāà<sup>n</sup>]  
 okay [1Pl come.Pfv Jenaama a.little read.Pfv]  
 ē gā= à pōgò [ē gālà= ān tiyē [[kàmāà gù] nī]]  
 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 nām bā= à tīw<sup>n</sup>  
 if 3Sg if.Pfv Seq 3Sg be.found.Pfv  
 [āŋ gā [pō mǎn] tò],  
 [2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv,  
 ‘If it happens that (there is) something that you-Sg know,’

(00:18) **ac** āŋ gālà pō sē [ē tā=] [ā nìŋì] *quoi*  
 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]  
**ak** ò gā pō tò ā-y yáá,  
 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, kēēgū-kāmnā pēndē, [è bā gà]  
 well, old.man two, [3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv]  
 [è gā sò māgà],  
 [3Sg Ipfv so.Ipfv M],  
 ‘Well, (there were) two old men. They left, they were going to Mecca.’

[the remainder of this text is spoken by **ak**]

(00:27) [è māgà-sèŋ kūūŋ gā gù  
[3Pl M-road catch.Pfv RemPfv Def  
è bē sō yàŋ [nīmī kāw̄<sup>n</sup>],  
3Pl Seq go.Pfv descend.Pfv [person chez],  
‘When they had taken (=set out on) the road to Mecca, they went and retired (for the night) at a (certain) person’s house.’

(00:30) è yàŋ gā [nīmī kāŋ] gù,  
3Pl descend.Pfv RemPfv [person chez] Def,  
[kèègù sílé kēēŋ] gā kùuqè-yā nì,  
[man old one] be steal.Pfv-Agent it.is,  
‘When they had retired at the person’s house, one old man was a thief.’

(00:34) à bē kùuqè, súbáá<sup>n</sup>-só<sup>n</sup> è bē= è kūū<sup>n</sup>,  
3Sg Seq steal.Pfv, morning 3Pl Seq 3Pl catch.Pfv,  
ì yè= è kūū-nā gù,  
3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl catch-Ppl Def,  
‘He then stole (=committed a theft). In the morning they (the residents) caught them.  
When they had caught them,’

(00:38) à yē [ñ-dògò tā= ā kùuqè kóy],  
3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv Emph],  
[kēè<sup>n</sup> gù] ā kùuqē gā,  
[one Def] 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv,  
‘He (=the thief) said, “I sure didn’t steal it! The other one stole it!” ’  
[kēè<sup>n</sup> gù in obviative sense ‘the other one’ (§18.2.1)]

(00:41) [kēè<sup>n</sup> gù pē] yē [à ñ kààmà kóy],  
[one Def also] said [3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv Emph],  
[ñ-dògò tā= ā kùuqè] [wògā= ā kùuqē gā],  
[LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv],  
‘The other one likewise said, “he sure lied. I didn’t steal it. He [focus] stole it.” ’

- (00:44) è bē= è kūū<sup>n</sup> mánè-mánè,  
 3Pl Seq 3Pl catch.Pfv Iter-a.lot,  
 hǎl-kànā à gā dègè,  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv hurt.Pfv,  
 ‘They (= residents) took hold of them thoroughly, to the point that it hurt.’
- (00:47) à dègē-nā gù, è bā= à tīyē tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg hurt-Ppl Def, 3Pl Seq 3Sg ask.Pfv again,  
 à yē [sò gwǝǝŋgà] [n̄-dògā= à kùuqē gà],  
 3Sg said [Ø truly] [LogoSg-Indep 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv],  
 ‘When it had hurt, they asked him again. He said, “to be truthful, I stole it.”’  
 [sò gwǝǝŋgà is an extension of simple gwǝǝŋgà]
- (00:51) kāā [j̄= nā= ā kùuqē gà lā]  
 but [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv Emph]  
 [n̄ tē kù↑], [māà ŋ gā= ā kùuqē]  
 [LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv], [that LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg steal.Ipfv]  
 ‘“But when I stole it, I didn’t get up (intending) that I would steal it.”’  
 [j̄=nā<sup>n</sup> variant of n̄=nā<sup>n</sup> ; lā (< French là ‘there’) here equivalent to definite gu ;  
 māà<sup>(n)</sup> ‘that’ in purposive function (§17.5.6)]
- (00:54) [dūwē= ē kūūŋ gà],  
 [hunger LogoPl catch.Pfv RemPfv],  
 [kēè<sup>n</sup> gù pē] yā=  
 [one Def also] said  
 ‘“We were hungry.” The other one for his part said ...’  
 [< dūwō<sup>n</sup> ‘hunger’]
- (00:56) [à ŋ kààmà], dūwōn nè— [dūwōn nè= [ē bwēy]]  
 [3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv], hunger not.be— [hunger not.be [LogoPl Comit]]  
 [sīrāpānā gè= [ē sūgì-y]],  
 [provisions be.Loc [LogoPl hand-Loc],  
 ‘“He lied, we were not hungry. We have provisions.”’  
 [lit. “hunger was not among us”]

(00:58) è bē= è kālā, è kīyē-nā yāṅ gù,  
 3Pl Seq 3Pl expel.Pfv, 3Pl 3Pl pass-Ppl there.Def Def,  
 è bē sō-yàṅ [gūū<sup>n</sup> nìṅṅì] tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 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) [yùgò<sup>n</sup> sílé] gà yāw<sup>n</sup>, è bē yā= [à kāw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [woman old] be.Loc there.Def, 3Pl Seq descend.Pfv [3Sg chez],  
 [kēēgū-kāmnā kēē<sup>n</sup> gù] bē [yùgò<sup>n</sup> sílé gú] pōgō,  
 [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) ṅ gālā= ā yàgà [[ṁ pòn] nī],  
 LogoSg Sbjn 3Sg transform.Pfv [[3ReflSg wife] Inst],  
 [à tā= à sē [[ṁ 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).’  
*[< pòw<sup>n</sup>]*

(01:09) [è sāā gè=] [ē kùmū gà] sāā<sup>↑</sup>,  
 [3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv] [3Pl sleep.Pfv RemPfv] when,  
 [à gā kī-[bā-lā] [[kēē<sup>n</sup> gù] sōgòy],  
 [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) à gā sò [ṅ dīrā] [[yùgò<sup>n</sup> sílé] kūmà].  
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [3ReflSg push.Pfv] [[woman old] on],  
 [yùgò<sup>n</sup> sílé] gá kòmō,  
 [woman old] Ipfv cry.out.Ipfv,  
 ‘He went and threw himself onto the old woman. The old woman was crying out.’

- (01:15) à yā= [āā tā= ā kàý],  
 3Sg said [2Pl PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q],  
 āā yā= [āā gà sūmē-ē nì]  
 2Pl said [2Pl be visitor-Pl it.is]  
 ‘She said, “have you-Pl not seen? You-Pl said that you-Pl are visitors.’
- (01:17) [āā bē gà [yàŋ [ŋ kãw<sup>n</sup>]]]  
 [2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [descend.Pfv[LogoSg chez]]]  
 [[āā bē gà j̄ jìnà],  
 [[2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv LogoSg fornicate.Pfv].  
 ‘ “You-Pl came to retire (for the night) at my house (and) you came to rape me.”
- (01:19) kú yè n̄ tē bā= [ān jìnà] kóy,  
 Dem said LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv [2Sg fornicate.Pfv] Emph,  
 ŋ wēērè gà [yùwōm pà],  
 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.” ’
- (01:22) ŋ wēērè gà [yùwōm pà] gù,  
 LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit] Def,  
 sāā-kòŋ [kú pē] yà= [ā= āŋ kààmà],  
 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.” ’  
 [wēērè ‘crave (sth to which one is accustomed but hasn’t had recently) ’
- (01:25) [[ān tē wēērē [yùwōm pà]]  
 [[2Sg PfvNeg crave.Pfv [woman Comit]]  
 [[dìg<sup>n</sup>-sá tēn̄] ām bāā gà [[ām pòŋ] kãw<sup>n</sup>]],  
 [[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.’

- (01:27) è bē b̀wō mwò-nì yā̀w<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl Seq Recip ripen-Caus.Pfv .Def,  
 [è bē= è kālē=] [è b̀è bāā yām̀ pē],  
 [3Pl Seq 3Pl expel.Pfv] [3Pl Seq exit(v).Pfv there.Def also]  
 ‘They reprimanded each other sharply. They (=residents) drove them out. They (=old men) left there too.’  
 [“cause to ripen” = ‘reprimand, scold, sharply criticize’]
- (01:30) [è bē s̀eŋ kūūn tū<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl Seq road catch.Pfv again,  
 è bā= à dē= [ē gā s̀ò],  
 3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],  
 è bā= à dē= [ē gā s̀ò],  
 3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],  
 ‘They took the road again. They kept on going, they kept on going.’  
 [dē ‘pick up’ as ‘keep VPing’ (§15.7.5)]
- (01:34) hālī-kànà è gā bā= à tī̀w<sup>n</sup>  
 until 3Pl until.Pfv come.Ipfv 3Sg find.Pfv  
 [[nàmà dáábá] wàà],  
 [[sb.else’s animal] die.Pfv],  
 ‘Eventually they came and found that someone else’s livestock animal had died.’  
 [< nāmā]
- (01:36) è b̀è [dáábá gú]— è bā= à wū̀wò,  
 3Pl Seq [animal Def]— 3Pl Seq 3Sg butcher.Pfv,  
 [à tēē gū]— sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> dū̀wōŋ gē= [è bwḕȳ],  
 [3Sg meat Def]—, now hunger be.Loc [3Pl Comit],  
 ‘They ... the animal—, they butchered it. Its meat—. They were hungry now.’
- (01:40) è gā= [à tēē gū] kū̀wòlò,  
 3Pl Ipfv [3Sg meat Def] chew.Ipfv,  
 à kāā-kāā gū,  
 3Sg Iter-raw Def,  
 ‘They were eating its meat. It was raw.’

- (01:43) [kēè<sup>n</sup> gù] yè= [ē nà [tēē kāā-kāā] kūwōlō,  
 [one Def] said [LogoPl if.Pfv [meat Iter-raw] chew.Pfv,  
 à gà 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) [kēè<sup>n</sup> gù] yā= [à nè= 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 gà sò sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl go.far.away.Pfv RemPfv go when,  
 [[kēè<sup>n</sup> gū] nù=] à dègè,  
 [[one Def] belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv,  
 ‘When they had gone far away, the other one’s stomach hurt him.’  
*[< nù<sup>n</sup>]*
- (01:50) [[à nù=] ā dègē gà sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[3Sg belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv when],  
 [à ñ dèŋè [jūgū bwēy]],  
 [3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv [tree Comit]],  
 ‘When his stomach had hurt him, he leaned on a tree (trunk).’
- (01:51) [à ñ dèŋē gà [jūgū bwēy] gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēŋ gū,  
 [3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv RemPfv [tree Comit] place-Rel-place Def,  
 sāā-kò= [à kò<sup>n</sup>], ā pṵṵ [à pà] [ŋōgōm-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); gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup> (§14.2.4)]; bāgē nominal from bāgā ‘remove’ (§4.2.1.2)]*
- (01:55) [à kàlè yāw<sup>n</sup>], [kēè<sup>n</sup> gù] yà= [ān tā= ā kàý],  
 [3Sg die.Pfv there.Def, [one Def] said [2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q],  
 [ā<sup>n</sup> [tēē gū] kūwōlō gà]  
 [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 kà= [à= ā<sup>n</sup> wàgá]],  
 [2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg 2Sg kill.Pfv.Q]],  
 kú yè á!, [ŋ kón] tè mùlèn 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 mùlēw<sup>n</sup>]*
- (02:02) màñ— kàlè-púwógú, à yē [ñ tè mùlèn kóy],  
 Rel— die-blind, 3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg do.on.purpose Emph],  
 [kú pē] yè [nón kò<sup>n</sup>] ān tē wàà,  
 [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 tē wàà kóy] [à dègē gà],  
 [2Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Emph] [3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv]  
 kù [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 [[ŋ kón] nā sò]  
 3Sg said [[1Sg Topic] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv]  
 [sò [āñ gālā m̀ báy bōw<sup>n</sup>]],  
 [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 báy yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv there.Def,  
 à bè kīyē,  
 3Sg Seq pass.Pfv,  
 ‘Then he left him there. He went on his way.’

(02:13) à kīyē gà sāā<sup>n</sup>, [à pē] sò tigàà sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg pass.Pfv RemPfv when, [3Sg also] go.Pfv ahead when,  
 [à tàbà] dwò káránǵé-ỳ,  
 [3Sg foot] enter.Pfv trap-Loc,  
 ‘When he had gone on his way, and when the other one too had gone ahead, his foot  
 entered (=was caught in) a trap.’

(02:17) káránǵé à kūū<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 trap 3Sg catch.Pfv when,  
 sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> ñìgà<sup>n</sup>-sìǵé-yē-è gà kīyè,  
 now trip-go-Agent-Pl Ipfv pass.Ipfv,  
 ‘After the trap caught him, now some travelers were passing by.’  
 [*‘traveler’: cf. ñìñì-gàw<sup>n</sup> ‘place of walking’ hence ‘trip, voyage’, sǵè ‘departure’*]

(02:20) à yē [è gālà bē m̄ bāgā],  
 3Sg said [3Pl Sbjn come LogoSg take.out.Pfv],  
 káránǵé ñ kūūñ gà,  
 trap LogoSg catch.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘He said, “please come and get me out! A trap has caught me.”’

(02:22) ì yā= [à bāā gà mātāy],  
 3Pl said [3Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv where?],  
 à yē [ñ nā [m̄ bāā-gāñ] tò,  
 3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg [3ReflSg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv ,  
 ‘They said (=asked), “where did you leave (=come from)?” He said, “I don’t know  
 my place of origin.” ’  
 [bāā-gàw<sup>n</sup> (§4.2.1.5.1); can be rephrased as à yē [ñ nā= ā tò [m̄ bāā gà  
 gūūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup>]] ]

(02:25) [ñ nā [m̄ bāā-gāñ] tò]  
 LogoSg IpfvNeg [3ReflSg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]  
 [ān nā= ām bāā-gāñ] tò]  
 [2Sg IpfvNeg 2Sg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]  
 [ān nā= ām bāā-gāñ] tò]  
 [2Sg IpfvNeg 2Sg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]  
 ‘ “I don’t know my place of origin.” “You-Sg don’t know your place of origin!”  
 “You-Sg don’t know your place of origin!” ’  
 [*this turn spoken rapidly in one breath; the passers-by are incredulous*]

(02:27) ì yā= [āŋ gā sō màtāy],  
 3Pl said [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?],  
 à yē [ñ jè [ŋ gā sò jìŋ-cí<sup>n</sup>]]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg said [LogoSg Ipfv go east.Loc]]  
 ‘They said (=asked), “where are you-Sg going?” He said, “I said (=planned) that I’m going east.” ’

(02:29) ñ gā sò māgà,  
 LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv M,  
 [ñ ñìŋì-būwō] kàlē [sèm pà],  
 [LogoSg travel.companion] die.Pfv [road Comit],  
 ‘I am going to Mecca. My traveling companion died on the road.’

(02:32) āywà, ì yē [āŋ gā sò māgà lāà],  
 well, 3Pl said [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv M QTop],  
 āŋ gā sō mwò tíy<sup>n</sup> yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv which? (=what?) do.Pfv there.Def,  
 ‘Well, they said: “given that you’re going to Mecca, what will you-Sg go and do there?” ’

[< tíw<sup>n</sup>; mwò ‘which?’ in the sense ‘what?’ with ‘do’ (§13.2.2.8)]

(02:35) à yē [ŋ gā sò—] [ñ gā sò—]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv—] [LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv—]  
 ñ gā sò hījì-gàw<sup>n</sup>,  
 LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv perform.pilgrimage-place,  
 ‘He said, “I am going to the pilgrimage site (in Mecca).” ’  
 [-gàw<sup>n</sup> (§4.2.1.5.1)]

(02:38) ì yē [hījì-yā kò<sup>n</sup>],  
 3Pl said [perform.pilgrimage-Agent Topic],  
 [[káránǵé kò<sup>n</sup>] nā= āŋ kūū<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[trap Topic] if.Pfv 2Sg catch.Pfv all]  
 ‘They said, “as for a pilgrim (=you), if a trap has caught you-Sg, ...” ’

- (02:40) [āŋ gālà ām bēw<sup>n</sup>] [wògō m̄ pàyò],  
 [2Sg Sbjn 2Sg return.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep PsRefl be.better],  
 [ā<sup>n</sup> hījì gù] tē màṅè,  
 [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 màṅē yàá], [ṅ jáátí-jáátí kò<sup>n</sup>],  
 3Sg said [3Sg be.good.Pfv Emph], [LogoSg Iter-exactly Topic],  
 hàlì ṅ 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) ṅ tē bāā [hījì-sèṁ pà]  
 LogoSg PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv [pilgrimage-road Comit]  
 [ṅā= à nā wāy nì],  
 [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<sup>n</sup>]
- (02:48) [[wāy mà] m̄ bā gà pē]  
 [[today Rel] LogoSg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv also]  
 [káráŋgé ṅ kūūṅ gà gù],  
 [trap LogoSg catch.Pfv RemPfv Def],  
 ‘ “This day on which I set out, when the trap caught me,” ’
- (02:50) ṅ= ṅà<sup>n</sup> ālà tūyè  
 LogoSg Sgj/Obj God know.Pfv  
 [ālāà kōdōrì gà [m̄ bwēyè]  
 [God ordain.Pfv RemPfv [LogoSg Comit]  
 ‘ “I recognized God, God ordained it on me.” ’

- (02:52) [jón lāā] è gālā— jē = è nā<sup>n</sup> j̄ uèè  
 [Dem QTop] (false start) if 3Pl if.Pfv LogoSg untie.Pfv  
 [è gālā m̄ bày bōw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [3Pl Sbjn LogoSg leave.Pfv here],  
 ‘ “That being the case, when you-Pl free me (from the trap), you should leave me here.” ’  
*[third person for original addressee in quotation]*
- (02:54) [kú-yè pē] yè = [ē nā = ā bày kóy],  
 [Dem-Pl also] said [LogoPl IpfvNeg 3Sg leave.Pfv Emph],  
 ‘Those (passers-by) in turn said, “we certainly won’t leave you-Sg!” ’
- (02:56) [à kày [kárángé nìj̄i] [bānā màn gù] ,  
 [3Sg Prsntv [trap inside] [manner Rel Def],  
 ē gā = à bāgā,  
 LogoPl Ipfv 3Sg remove.Pfv,  
 ‘ “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 gù]*
- (02:59) [è bā = ā yìràw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [3Pl Seq 3Sg help.Pfv]  
 [à bè bāā [kárángé gú-ȳ]],  
 [3Sg Seq exit(v).Pfv [trap Def-Loc]],  
 ‘They helped him and he got out of the trap.’
- (03:00) è bāā [kárángé nìj̄i] sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl exit.Pfv [trap inside] when,  
 jākā kòdrò gā = [à sūgì-y],  
 lo! magic be.loc [3Sg hand-Loc],  
 ‘When they came away from the trap, lo! he had esoteric powers.’
- (03:04) è p̄w̄ō gā = [à sōgòy] sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Pl sit.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg beside] when,  
 [à jūgū p̄i-sē = [è bwēȳ],  
 [3Sg medication throw.Pfv [3Pl Comit],  
 ‘When they sat down next to him, he threw a (magic) potion on them.’  
*[< p̄i-sò “pour.out-go”]*

(03:07) [kùmù kīyē = [è kūmà]],  
 [sleep(n) pass.Pfv [3Pl on]],  
 [à tàbā-bàā] pàjùgà,  
 [3Sg foot-body] heal.Pfv,  
 ‘Sleep came over them. His leg healed.’

(03:09) à gē = [ē tìgè sāā<sup>n</sup>] kùuqè,  
 3Sg until.Pfv [3Pl baggage all] steal.Pfv,  
 [à gā = à cyēw<sup>n</sup>] [à bè kīyē]  
 [3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg carry.on.head.Pfv] [3Sg Seq pass.Pfv]  
 ‘Until he (was able to) steal all of their possessions and load them up on his head.  
 Then he went on his way.’  
 [gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2)]

(03:12) [[kú-yè pē] nōgō-lēw<sup>n</sup>] jī uqèè sāā<sup>n</sup>,  
 [[Dem-Pl also] eye] 3ReflSg open.Pfv when,  
 [è bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup>— à kày— ā n̄ tūwō,  
 [3Pl Seq 3Sg find.Pfv— 3Sg Prsntv— 3Sg 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,  
 ‘When those (passers-by’s) eye opened (again), they discovered that he had gone  
 away.’

[at this point a listener interjects a comment (unintelligible on the recording) to the narrator]

(03:20) è bā = à tàbā-m-būwō dēē,  
 3Pl Seq 3Sg foot-Link-line pick.up.Pfv,  
 è bè = ē tūwō [à bwēȳ],  
 3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv [3Sg Comit],  
 ‘They picked up (=started with) his footprints, and they went after him.’

(03:23) hāl-kànà è gā sā = [à kūū<sup>n</sup>], à yè á!,  
 until 3Pl until.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg catch], 3Sg **said** oh!,  
 à yè [sá-sàà-lēŋ kò<sup>n</sup>] [āā yè ŋ kūūŋ kò<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg said [just.now Topic] [2Pl Sbj/Obj LogoSg catch.Pfv Topic],  
 ‘Eventually they went and caught him. He said, “oh!” He said, “since you-Pl have  
 just now caught me,”’  
 [< è gā sò ; < à yē ; sá-sàà-lèw<sup>n</sup> ‘right now, just now’]

- (03:27) k̄ā n̄ tē k̄ì  
 but LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv  
 [ŋ ḡā= [à p̄ì ḡù] s̄āā-n̄ k̄óy,  
 [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.” ’  
 /< s̄āā-n̄ (§9.1.2)/
- (03:29) [k̄òndó bē ḡā= [à n̄i] [m̄ p̄à],  
 [desperation.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [LogoSg Comit],  
 [jón l̄āā] [[w̄āy-s̄ur̄uḡū k̄òñ] n̄iŋī],  
 [Dem QTop] [[today-remainder Topic] inside],  
 ‘Desperation [focus] is what brought it to me. From today on, ’  
 /< k̄òndò/
- (03:31) k̄ālā= āā ḡālā [m̄ b̄áy],  
 must 2Pl Sbjn [LogoSg leave.Pfv],  
 [è p̄ē] yè= [ē n̄ā= ā b̄áy],  
 [3Pl also] said [LogoPl IpfvNeg 3Sg leave.Pfv],  
 ‘ “You must leave me (here).” They in turn said, “we won’t leave you.” ’  
 /k̄ālā ~ ŋk̄ālā ‘must’ (§17.3.3)/
- (03:34) hàyà, à tàā ḡà b̄òw̄<sup>n</sup>  
 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** [k'éérán syēŋ [ŋ k̄ā-j-jōnsāārè],  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father-Link-D]

**dt** [k'éérán syēm b̄àb̄à]  
[welfare spend.midday.Pfv Dad]

**ac**: 'Good afternoon, Papa Dionsare!'

**dt**: 'Good afternoon, friend.'

(00:03) **ac** kò j̄ām syēŋ ḡà [āā p̄à]  
Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**dt** āā syēŋ [nēēmà nī]  
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 yèŋ [kēnāŋ k̄òŋ] w̄à  
2Pl and [health Topic] anyway

**dt** āā ḡā [kēnā-āmā-ỳ<sup>n</sup> k̄òŋ] w̄à  
2Pl be.Loc [health-Loc Topic] anyway

**ac**: 'You-Pl and good health?'

**dt**: 'You-Pl are in good health?'

*[singular-addressee counterpart of first part is āŋ [kēnāŋ k̄òŋ] w̄à]*

(00:06) **ac** [b̄àà sí] k̄ò<sup>n</sup>  
[trouble any] not.be

**dt** [āā j̄īmī-lē l̄āā]  
[2Pl person-Pl QTop]

**ac**: 'There is no trouble.'

**dt**: 'What about your people (=kin)?'

(00:07) **ac** [b̄àà sí] nē = [ē p̄à]  
[trouble any] not.be.Loc [3Pl Comit]

**dt** b̄āārīk̄āll̄à  
praise.God

**ac**: 'There's no trouble among them.'

**dt**: 'Praise God.'

(00:08) **ac** m̄bāā t̄abāārikāllà  
(reply) God.be.praised

**dt** èñnà ā ȳ kày  
(reply) 2Sg and work(n)

**ac**: ‘Fine, God be praised.’

**dt**: ‘Fine, you-Sg and work!’

[greeting formula reduced < ā<sup>n</sup> yèn̄ kāy<sup>n</sup>]

(00:09) **ac** bon, ē gā n̄gù-bēw<sup>n</sup>, ē gā bōw<sup>n</sup>,  
well, 1Pl be.Loc N, 1Pl be.Loc here,  
à [tálám pēndē] 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 [ē kāy<sup>n</sup> gū kò<sup>n</sup>], [[ē kāy<sup>n</sup>] l̄gō<sup>n</sup>]  
so [1Pl work(n) Def Topic],[[1Pl work(n)] be.completed.Pfv]  
[ē gā= à p̄gò [ē gālà āṅ cīyē]  
[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** [jā= à nām bā= à tīw<sup>n</sup>  
[if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv  
[kāmāà m̄àṅ] gā= [ān sūgì-ȳ],  
[tale Rel] be.Loc [2Sg hand-Loc],

‘If it happens that (there is) a tale that you-Sg,’

(00:16) **ac** [āṅ gālà p̄ sē [ē tā=] [à n̄ṅī] *quoi*  
[2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]

**dt** yēm b̄isimilà  
Imprt.2Pl welcome

**ac**: ‘Please tell us something in it.’

**dt**: ‘You-Pl are welcome.’

[the remainder of this text is spoken by **dt**]

- (00:19) kú gà kéérán nì, kú gā [pòṅḍónáj kũũ<sup>n</sup>] nì,  
 Dem be welfare it.is, Dem be [young.woman a.certain] it.is,  
 kàā yèñ nàw<sup>n</sup>, nīmī-lē yèñ sùmèṅkārē-ē  
 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.’
- (00:26) [è sāā<sup>n</sup>], yùgò<sup>n</sup> — kēēgū màā [à tē],  
 [3Pl all], woman— man look.for.Pfv [3Sg Dat],  
 à yē [ñ nā dwō [[è sí] kàw<sup>n</sup>]],  
 3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg 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, ...” ’  
*[< màā (Pfv); nā dwō reduced from nā bē dwō (future negative)]*
- (00:30) ṅkàlà [ñ dēm-āātī gū kēēgū],  
 except [LogoSg beloved Def male],  
 bon, tīmī bè nóm mīṅè,  
 okay, python Seq Dem.Def hear.Pfv,  
 ‘ “...except (=unless it is) my beloved man.” All right, a python heard that.’  
*[emend to ñ [dēm-āāti]-kēēgū gù ]*
- (00:36) à bē sò ṅ wōbì [[āādāmā-dyēm mōpō] nī]  
 3Sg Seq go.Pfv 3ReflSg change.Pfv [[Adam-child good] Inst]  
 [à nīmèn-[tábá-túgú] tē kilè  
 [3Sg like-[young.man] PfvNeg be.gotten.Pfv  
 [[yāṅ] gīyèlè-gíyélé sāā<sup>n</sup>] nīṅī],  
 [[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 nīmēw<sup>n</sup> ‘like’ and tàbà-tūgū ‘young man’]*
- (00:43) kāā tīmī nì, bon, à bè kōndō yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 but python it.is, okay, 3Sg Seq remain.Pfv there.Def  
 [hàli-kànà è gā [kìbà gù] dwō],  
 [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.’

(00:49) è kàylà [kìbà gù] dwō, è bē [yùwòṅ gù]—  
 3Pl when [marriage Def] enter.Pfv, 3Pl Seq [woman Def]—  
 è bā= [à dùgòn] tūwē-nī [à pà] māà→,  
 3Pl Seq [3Sg younger.sib] follow-Caus.Pfv [3Sg Comit] that,  
 ‘When they had entered the marriage, they ... the woman—, they had her younger  
 sibling go with her so that—.’

(00:54) [kúú gā= [à dyē-nā] nì]  
 [Dem be [3Sg small-Ppl] it.is]  
 [à gā sò kō-lā= [à nā]  
 [3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv help-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]  
 kāy<sup>n</sup>-gāw<sup>n</sup>, [ṅ kāy<sup>n</sup>] yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 work-place, [3ReflSg chez] there.Def,  
 ‘That was her little (sister), she was going to help her at work, at her home there.’  
 /< ṅ kāw<sup>n</sup>/

(00:58) è gā bē [kēēgū yēy<sup>n</sup> [yùgòm pēndē gū]  
 3Pl Ipfv Fut [man and [woman two Def]  
 bāy sò bwēy,  
 leave.Pfv go.Pfv together,  
 ‘They were going to leave the man and the two women together.’

(01:02) sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> [è gā sò], [è gā sò], [è gā sò], [è gā sò],  
 now [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv] (repetitions)  
 [è nāṅ kiyèṅ gūū-mà-gūū<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>] [à yè á!],  
 [3Pl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv place-Rel-place all] [3Sg said oh!]  
 ‘Now they kept going along. Wherever they arrived, she said “oh!”’  
*[the python, the woman, and the woman’s younger sister are walking to the python’s  
 supposed village; < à yē]*

(01:07) [hǎl wāy] [ē kò<sup>n</sup>] nā kiyē<sup>n</sup> [āā nògì-ý]  
 [until today] [1Pl Topic] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Pl village-Loc.Q]  
 [à yē= [ē tē kiyèw<sup>n</sup>]],  
 [3Sg said [LogoPl PfvNeg arrive.Pfv]],  
 ‘“Are we still not arriving at your-Pl village?” He said, “we haven’t arrived.”’

- (01:09) hăl-kàlā→, è gā dèbò tēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 until, 3Pl until.Pfv river cross.Pfv,  
 è kâyīlā dèbò tēŋ gù,  
 3Pl when river cross.Pfv Def,  
 ‘Eventually they crossed a river. When they had crossed the river,’
- (01:14) [è bē sō kiyèw<sup>n</sup> [[silē-kùlù nāāfinjē-ē] kâw<sup>n</sup>],  
 [3Pl Seq go.Pfv arrive [[rock-hump enormous-Pl] chez],  
 [pàmbá-yè gā= [ā nìŋî]],  
 [cave-Pl be.Loc [3Sg inside],  
 ‘They went and arrived at some enormous mountains. There were caves in it.’  
 [nāāfinjēw<sup>n</sup> ‘huge, monstrous’ (subregional, from a Songhay vulgarity)]
- (01:19) [à bā= ā nùwòlì]  
 [3Sg Seq 3Sg point.at.Pfv]  
 à yē sèè [bōŋ gā [ŋ kân] nì],  
 3Sg said thus [here be.Loc [LogoSg chez] it.is],  
 ‘He pointed to it. He said thus: “here is my home.”’  
 [sèè ~ sèdē ‘thus’ after yè/yē ‘said’, preceding quoted matter, in formal style  
 (§17.1.6.1)]
- (01:22) ì yē hēè!, [āŋ kòn] [nògè-è sām] bày kāā kāā—  
 3Pl said hey!, [2Sg Topic] [village-Pl all] leave.Pfv but but—  
 ām pwò-nā nī [[kòm pámbá-yè] nìŋî] bōn ní  
 2Sg sit-Ppl it.is [[Dem cave-Pl] inside] here it.is.Q  
 ‘They said, “hey! As for you, you have left (=come from) all (these) villages, and yet  
 you are settled inside these caves here?”’  
 [the final ‘it is’ is grammatically superfluous, but here it supports the interrogative  
 final H-tone]
- (01:27) [à yē mhm], [[à lāā] gā tīmī nì]  
 [3Sg said uh.huh], [[3Sg QTop] be python it.is]  
 [à ŋ wōbì gā [āādāmā-dyēn nī],  
 [3Sg 3RefISg change.Pfv RemPfv [Adam-child Inst],  
 ‘It said “uh-huh!” (It explained:) it was a python, it had turned himself into a human.’  
 [third-person in summarized/paraphrased rather than quoted speech]

- (01:31) āywà, è wùù yāw<sup>n</sup>, sāā<sup>n</sup>  
 well, 3Pl do.long.time.Pfv there.Def, when,  
 ì yā= ā kày [à ñ wōbì [tìmì nī]],  
 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) [tèṅ gù] yē sèè [[ñ dùgòn] tē]  
 [elder.sib Def] said thus [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat]  
 [kú lāā] [ē lāā] [kú lāā] mèn tī-nà,  
 [Dem QTop] [LogoPl QTop] [Dem QTop] how? do-Ipfv,  
 [ā→, kú gā [[sèbè tīrīgī-nā=] nì] sāà-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= à sē [āṅ gālā [mà sāā<sup>n</sup>] tīw,  
 but 3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [2Sg Sbjn [Rel all] do.Pfv,  
 ām bā— āṅ gā sàṅgī [[è sāā<sup>n</sup>] 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) [pō sùrù kō<sup>n</sup>]  
 [thing remainder Topic]  
 ñkàlà āṅ gālā= ā kày [[ān ñōgō-lēn] nī],  
 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) [ñ kàā] yè ñ dò [kēēgē-ē nā]  
 [LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat]  
 [ñ jē [ñ =nā= ā màā]],  
 [LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],  
 ‘ “My (=our) father gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.” ’

- (01:53) [n̄ nà<sup>n</sup>] yè n̄ dò [kēēgē-ē nā]  
 [LogoSg mother] Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat]  
 [j̄ jē [n̄ =nā= ā màā]],  
 [LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],  
 ‘“My mother gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.” ’
- (01:56) [bàà kēēgē-ē] bē [i yè n̄ dò [kēēgē-ē nā]  
 [dad man-Pl] come.Pfv [3Pl Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv[man-Pl Dat]  
 [j̄ jē [n̄ =nā= ā màā]],  
 [LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],  
 ‘The brothers came, they gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want him.’ ’  
*/bàà ‘Dad’, mainly a vocative for adult men]*
- (01:58) n̄ =nà n̄ sààlō gà [mām pà] gù,  
 LogoSg Sbj/Obj Logo/3ReflSg hang.up.Pfv RemPfv [Rel Comit] Def,  
 [à tē pwò [āādāmā-dyēn nī],  
 [3Sg PfvNeg become.Pfv [Adam-child Inst],  
 ‘“What I hooked up with, it didn’t become (=it wasn’t) a human.” ’
- (02:01) [á, àlā— à m̄y<sup>n</sup> [ē sūgì-y] s̄ā-kòñ dē?,  
 [ah, (false start) 3Sg be.ruined.Pfv [LogoPl hand-Loc] now Emph,  
 i yē hàyà,  
 3Pl said well,  
 ‘“Ah, it has gone bad in our hands now! They said (=decided), well,’
- (02:05) s̄ā-kò<sup>n</sup> ē gālā= ā bày  
 now LogoPl Sbjn 3Sg leave.Pfv  
 [[tīmī gū] gālā n̄ dēṅè, ē gālā kùù,  
 [[[python Def] Sbjn 3ReflSg lean.on.Pfv, LogoPl Sbjn run.Pfv,  
 ‘“Now we should let (=wait for) the python to come up close, so we can flee.” ’
- (02:10) ē gā bē kùù, jē= ē nāj kiyēn [dèbò k̄w<sup>n</sup>],  
 LogoPl Ipfv Fut run.Pfv, if LogoPl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [river chez],  
 [à tēṅ-gū] gā bē= ē yōmbà,  
 [3Sg cross-VblN] Ipfv Fut LogoPl worry.Pfv,  
 ‘“We will flee. When we arrive at the river, crossing it will be a headache for us.” ’

(02:16) *bon, è bē kùùù, è kiyēn [dèbò kāw<sup>n</sup>],*  
 okay, 3Pl Seq run.Pfv, 3Pl arrive.Pfv [river chez],  
 [è [tàá sāān] tòṅò, kūūn nā yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Pl [half all] look.Pfv, skiff not.be.Loc there.Def,  
 ‘All right, they fled then. They arrived at the river. They looked all over. The skiff  
 (=ferry) was nowhere to be seen.’

(02:23) [dàbùlèn tìnàà síí] nē= [è sūgì-y],  
 [solution other any] not.be [3Pl hand-Loc],  
 [è kòṅ] gà tē-lē-ṅ gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [3Pl Topic] Ipfv cross.Ipfv place-Rel-place  
 ‘They had no other way out. Where they were (supposed) to cross,’  
 [*< tē-lē-w<sup>n</sup> (§10.1.3.3.1)*]

(02:26) ì yè= [ē nōgō-lēṅ] kwāā sò sāā<sup>n</sup>, pùlém bē tàà,  
 3Pl Sbj/Obj [3RefIPl eye] hit.Pfv go when, bird Seq stop.Pfv,  
 kàlā [è pē=] ē bày gà, ì yē  
 must [3Pl idea] 3RefIPl leave.Pfv RemPfv, 3Pl said  
 ‘When they aimed their eyes, a bird landed. A sudden inspiration came to them. They  
 said (sang):’  
 [*< è pā, idiomatic combination with reflexive form of ‘leave’*]

(02:33) [song in Bambara]  
 [tìgè tìgè [báá là] [kòṅṅòni fíí<sup>n</sup>]  
 [cross cross [river Loc] [sparrow black]  
 [káj-kàlà jà<sup>n</sup>]— káj-kàlà mà jà<sup>n</sup>,  
 [neck-stem long]— [neck-stem long]  
 ‘“Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!”’

(02:38) [tìgè tìgè [báá là] [kòṅṅòni fíí<sup>n</sup>]  
 [cross cross [river Loc] [sparrow black]  
 káj-kàlà mà jà<sup>n</sup>  
 [neck-stem long]  
 ‘“Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!”’  
 [end of song]

- (02:41) [à gē= [è sāān] dēgī,  
 [3Sg until.Pfv [3Pl all] pick.up.Pfv,  
 [à gā kēēm pwò-nì [[ñ sém] pà],  
 [3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] Comit],  
 [à gā kēēm pwò-nì [[ñ kóndó] pà],  
 [3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] Comit],  
 ‘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.’

[< sé mú]

- (02:47) à gā— à gā [dèbò gù] tēw<sup>n</sup>, āywà,  
 (hesitation)— 3Sg until.Pfv [river Def] cross.Pfv, well,  
 [jón niñi] sāā<sup>n</sup>, ì yē kòrò wòbì sāā<sup>n</sup>  
 [Dem inside] when, 3Pl Sbj/Obj back change.Pfv when,  
 ‘It crossed the river. Well, in that (situation), when they turned around (to look back),’

- (02:52) [ì yā= ā kày] [[tìmi gù pē] gā bē],  
 [3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv] [[python Def also] Ipfv come.Ipfv],  
 [pùléj gú] gá bā= [à pē] tēn-nī,  
 [bird Def] Ipfv Fut [3Sg also] cross-Caus.Pfv,  
 ‘They saw it, the python too was coming (after them). The bird was going to take it across too.’

[complement of ‘see (that)’]

- (02:57) hàyà à kàylà— tìmi kàylà— kàylà kiyēn [dèbò lāgà] wù,  
 well 3Sg when— python when— when arrive.Pfv [river at.edge] Def,  
 kàlē= è pē= ē bày gà  
 must [3Pl idea] 3ReflPl leave.Pfv RemPfv  
 ‘Well, when the python reached the edge of the river, a sudden inspiration came to them.’

- (03:01) [song in Bambara]  
 [káná= à tìgè [báá là]] [kòndòni fíí<sup>n</sup>]  
 [Proh 3Sg cross [river Loc]] [sparrow black]  
 [káj-kàlà mà jà<sup>n</sup>],  
 [neck-stem long]  
 ‘“Don’t take it across the river, Little black sparrow with a long neck!”’

- (03:04) [í kàná = à tìgè báá là fíí—  
 [2Sg Proh 3Sg cross (false start)  
 [báá là] [kòndòni fíí] [káṅ-kàlà mà jà<sup>n</sup>], kó [mògò tē],  
 [river Loc] [sparrow black] [neck-stem long], said [person it.is.not],  
 ‘ “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!” ’
- (03:09) à nàp jīmī nì,  
 3Sg not.be person it.is  
 pùlém bè m̄ bùwòjì-[bā-lā=] [à mūù],  
 bird Seq 3ReflSg strip.off-[exit(v)-Ipfv] [3Sg under],  
 ‘(in Jenaama:) “It isn’t a person!” The bird pulled itself out from under it (=python).’
- (03:14) à bā = à pī yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg Seq 3Sg pour.out.Pfv there.Def,  
 [kú-yē kòm̄] bè hīnì [dwō kwōnì],  
 [Dem-Pl Topic] Seq be.able.Pfv [enter.Pfv settlement],  
 ‘It (=bird) dumped it (=python). As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’
- (03:18) bā = à tē = [è rēēnà-nā nì],  
 Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [3Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is],  
 [āywà, wògō nì, kú gā— wāājū nì,  
 [well, 3Sg.Indep it.is, Dem be— advice it.is,  
 ‘It turned out that they were safe. Well, that is it. That is advice.’  
 [subjectless bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup> ‘it happened (that), it turned out (that)’, cf. local French ça trouve/trouvait (que ...)]
- (03:24) [māā pògò-nóm-bē, è gā—  
 [that young.woman-Pl, 3Pl Ipfv—  
 [è mān sàṅgì [[ē jīmī-lè] tē],  
 [3Pl Proh refuse.Pfv [[3ReflPl people] Dat],  
 ‘Namely, that young women, they—, they must not disobey their people (=kin).’
- (03:29) [bē kiyèṅ [gūū<sup>n</sup> sùrì-ỳ]  
 [come arrive.Pfv [place remainder-Loc]  
 ‘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 [kàmāā gū] nì,  
 well, Dem be [tale Def] it.is,  
 [ɲ ká(y)] bē [kàmāā gù] sē sāà-gù,  
 [1Sg Prsntv] Seq [tale Def] tell.Ipfv now,  
 ‘Well, this is the tale. Here I am to tell the tale now.’

(00:06) wàŋgé yēŋ kàŋgé, [mhm]  
 hare and hyena,  
 è sū gā sōŋð-y, [mhm]  
 3Pl go.Pfv RemPfv the.bush-Loc,  
 ‘Hare and hyena, they went out into the bush.’  
 [< sù ~ sò ‘went’]

(00:10) è bè bā= à tīw<sup>n</sup>↑, [mhm]  
 3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv,  
 tēw gā yègè-nà, [mhm]  
 meat be put.down-Ppl,  
 ‘They came and found that some meat (a carcass) had been put down.’  
 [< bè bē à ; tēw variant of tēē]

(00:13) à bè sēw<sup>n</sup> [[wàŋgé gú] nūmā], [mhm]  
 3Sg Seq fall.Pfv [[hare Def] in.mind],  
 ŋ gālā [kàŋgé gú] hīlā, [mhm]  
 LogoSg Sbjn [hyena Def] deceive.Pfv,  
 ‘It occurred to that hare to deceive the hyena.’  
 [*cf.* à gā [ɲ nūmā] ‘it’s in my mind, I haven’t forgotten it’, à gā [ɲ nūmā] ɲ gā bē sò ‘I have in mind to go, I’m thinking of going’; unrelated to nūmā ‘rope’, n nūmā ‘my rope’]

(00:17) [kàŋgé gú pē lāā], [mhm]  
 [hyena Def too QTop],  
 à nīmì [[tēē gū] pà], [mhm]  
 3Sg desire.Pfv [[meat Def] Comit]  
 ‘As for the hyena, it too wanted the meat.’

- (00:19) [à yē ŋ gā [tēē gū] dēē, [mhm]  
 [3Sg said LogoSg Ipfv [meat Def] pick.up.Ipfv,  
 wàṅgé yā= [à tēē→], [mhm]  
 hare said [3Sg Dat],  
 ‘He (=hyena) said (=thought), “I will take the meat.” Hare said to him,’  
 [*< yè à tē with intonational final falling-tone/pitch on tē at a planned prosodic break*  
 (§3.7.2)]
- (00:22) [ā<sup>n</sup> mām bè [tēē gù] dēē kiyèw<sup>n</sup> kóy, [mhm]  
 [2Sg Proh Seq [meat Def] pick.up thus Emph,  
 kè<sup>n</sup> só [kòṅ gūū<sup>n</sup> flààná-ỳ], [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<sup>n</sup> 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 sāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 [1Pl if.Pfv 1Pl come.back.Pfv when,  
 [[ē gālà bē [tēē gū] dēē]  
 [1Pl Sbjn come.Pfv [meat Def] pick.up.Pfv]  
 [ē bē sō [à nī]], [mhm]  
 [1Pl Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],  
 ‘When we come back, we’ll come and take the meat and go off with it.’  
 [*< ē nà<sup>n</sup> ē bēm-bē; < ē bè sò à nì ]*
- (00:30) kàṅgé yè áyyò, [mhm]  
 hyena said okay,  
 [ē gālà sò, 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) è bē sò, [mhm]  
 3Pl Seq go.Pfv,  
 è sū gà sāā<sup>n</sup>↑, [mhm]  
 3Pl go.Pfv RemPfv when,  
 ‘They went. When they had gone,’

- (00:36) [kàŋgé gú] pwò↑,  
 [hyena Def] sit.Pfv,  
 [wàŋgé gú] pwò↓, [mhm]  
 [hare Def] sit.Pfv,  
 ‘The hyena sat down and the hare sat down.’  
*[incompletion then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)]*
- (00:38) sāa-kò<sup>n</sup> [wàŋgé gú] gá gálwāājà  
 now [hare Def] Ipfv converse.Ipfv  
 [[kàŋgé gú] bwēỹ], [mhm]  
 [[hyena Def] Comit],  
 ‘Then the hare was chatting with the hyena.’
- (00:40) [yēlà ŋ gā bā= à hīilà]  
 [whether LogoSg Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Pfv]  
 ŋ gālà ŋ tūwō, [mhm]  
 Logo Sbjn 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,  
 ‘He (=hare) hoped to deceive (hyena) and get away.’
- (00:42) è nàŋ gālwāājā-tūwō gū, [mhm]  
 3Pl Dem.Def conversation-heart Def,  
 [kàŋgé bā= à dēē [à gā pwà-nà]  
 [hyena Seq 3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg be sit-Ppl]  
 [à bā= à dēē [à gā pwà-nà]  
 [3Sg Seq 3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg be sit-Ppl]  
 ‘During that conversation of theirs, hyena just sat for a long time, he just sat for a long time,’  
*[tūwō ‘heart’ as compound final in durative construction (§15.4.5)]*
- (00:45) [wàŋgé gú] gá dīgāmū, [à m̀wō gà] [mhm]  
 [hare Def] Ipfv speak.Ipfv, [3Sg be.cooked.Pfv RemPfv]  
 [à m̀wō gà sāā<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [3Sg be.cooked.Pfv RemPfv when],  
 ‘(Only) hare was speaking. It became heated (=lively). When it (=conversation) had become heated,’  
*[m̀wō ‘(food) became cooked, done’ or ‘ripen’, here by extension ‘(conversation) become lively’; however, the hare was droning on and the hyena was probably getting bored]*

- (00:48) kùmū kàṅgé kūū<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 sleepiness hyena catch.Pfv,  
 kùmū [kàṅgé gú] kūūṅ gà sāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 sleepiness [hyena Def] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,  
 ‘Sleep overtook the hyena. When the hyena became sleepy,’  
 [kùmù ‘sleep (n)’]
- (00:52) à bè ñ tēē-n-sò, [mhm]  
 3Sg Seq 3ReflSg lie.on.back.Pfv,  
 à gà ṅṅgō-lēn tēgē-tēgè gù, [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/tēl-ē-n-sò ‘lie on back’, #tēē/tē-lē not attested as simple verb]
- (00:54) [wàngé gú] pūrī tīw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 [hare Def] sneaking(n) do.Pfv,  
 [wàngé pūrī tīw<sup>n</sup>] [à kūūū gà sāā<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [hare sneak.away do.Pfv] [3Sg run.Pfv RemPfv when],  
 ‘Hare sneaked away. When hare had sneaked away and run away,’  
 [pūrī tīw<sup>n</sup> (§11.1.2.2)]
- (00:57) à gā sò [[tēē gū] kāw<sup>n</sup>] yāw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] chez] there.Def,  
 [sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> à gā sò [[tēē gū] dēē gūūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gìw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]  
 jākà [[kú pē] ṅṅgōlēw<sup>n</sup>] ṅ ɸèè, [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.’  
 [*< kāw<sup>n</sup> yāw<sup>n</sup> ; obviative kú pē ‘that one too’ (§18.2.3)*]
- (01:00) [à bē kùū-sā = ]  
 [3Sg Seq run.Pfv-go.Pfv]  
 [à bē sā = à tábā yāw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 [3Sg Seq go 3Sg rejoin.Pfv there.Def,  
 ‘He (=hyena) ran, he went and found him (= hare).’  
 [*< sò à ; < /tábà yāw<sup>n</sup> /*]

- (01:02) [à bè [ŋ tàbà-làw<sup>n</sup> kēw<sup>n</sup>] dè]  
 [3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot one] pick up]  
 [à bā= ā yàgā [à kūmà], [mhm]  
 [3Sg Seq 3Sg put.down [3Sg on],  
 ‘He (=hyena) lifted up one paw and put it down on it (=meat).’  
 [-làw<sup>n</sup> before numeral ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1); /kēw<sup>n</sup> dē/]
- (01:04) à yè há! [ŋ kàà] , [mhm]  
 3Sg said hey! [1Sg friend],  
 àn-dàà [kú gā m̀w̃<sup>n</sup> 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?; ŋ kàà vocative ‘my pal!’]
- (01:06) à yā= [[ām pē lā] m̀ báy gā yāw̃<sup>n</sup>]  
 3Sg said [[2Sg too QTop] 1Sg leave.Pfv RemPfv there.Def]  
 [m̀w̃<sup>n</sup> nì], [mhm]  
 [which? it.is],  
 ‘He (=hyena) said, “why did you too leave me there?” ’
- (01:08) à bè [n̄ tàbà] yàgā [à kūmà]  
 3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot] put.on.Pfv [3Sg on]  
 [à bā= à t̄irigī], [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) [[[kàngé gú] pē] bè ḡir̄w̃<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[[hyena Def] too] Seq be.startled.Pfv]  
 [à bē k̄i], [mhm]  
 [3Sg Seq get.up.Pfv],  
 ‘He (=hyena) jumped up startled.’  
 [/ḡir̄w̃<sup>n</sup>/ḡir̄-nà/]
- (01:10) à bē [wàngé gú] cyēw̃<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Sg Seq [hare Def] carry.on.head.Pfv,  
 [à gā sò] [à gā 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-kànā à gā kìy<sup>n</sup>èṅ jīi-lāgà, [mhm]  
 until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv water-edge

à yē hàyà sāà-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) gīlēw<sup>n</sup> gā= [ām bwēȳ]  
 thirst be [2Sg Comit]  
 āṅ gālā= ā<sup>n</sup> mēm bōw<sup>n</sup>, [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) wàṅgé yē [ṅ kó<sup>n</sup>]  
 hare said [1Sg Top]  
 gīlēw<sup>n</sup> nā [m̀ pà] kóy, [mhm]  
 thirst not.be [1Sg Comit] Emph,

‘Hare said, “As for me, I certainly am not thirsty.” ’

(01:20) ṅēṅ gīlēw<sup>n</sup> gā [ān-dògó pà]  
 if thirst be [2Sg-Indep.Foc Comit]  
 [āṅ gālā= ā<sup>n</sup> mēw<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [2Sg Sbjn 2Sg drink.Pfv],

‘(Hare:) “If it’s you [focus] who are thirsty, you should drink.” ’  
 [ṅē<sup>n</sup> ~ ṅā<sup>n</sup> ‘if’; independent 2Sg pronoun ān-dògò in focus tones]

(01:22) [kú pē] yè ú<sup>n</sup>?ù<sup>n</sup>  
 [DemSg too] said unh.unh!  
 ò =nà m̀ mé-né, [mhm]  
 1Sg IpfvNeg 1Sg drink-Ipfv,

‘The other (=hyena) said, “Nope! I won’t drink.” ’  
 [< ṅ nà ṅ(+H) mē-nè/]

- (01:23) è [nàŋ kīrī-tūwō gū, [mhm]  
 3Pl [Dem debate-heart Def,  
 [kàŋgè tīnā] bē [[è kòrò] bwēy], [mhm]  
 [hyena other] come.Pfv [[3Pl back] Comit],  
 ‘During that discussion of theirs, another hyena came (to the meat) in their absence.’  
 /tūwō ‘heart’ as compound final in durative construction (§15.4.5)]
- (01:26) [à [tēē gū] dēē]  
 [3Sg [meat Def] pick.up.Pfv]  
 [à n̄ tūwā = [à nī], [mhm]  
 [3Sg 3ReflSg depart.Pfv [3Sg Inst],  
 ‘He (=other hyena) picked up the meat and went away with it.’  
 [< tūwō]
- (01:28) à yē hàyà sāā-kòŋ kèè<sup>n</sup> só, [mhm]  
 3Sg said okay now Hort go,  
 [ē gālā sò] [bāā [[ē tēē gù] kúmbà-y], [mhm]  
 [1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv] [exit.Pfv [[1Pl meat Def] uncertainty-Loc],  
 ‘He (=hare) said, “okay, now let’s go and find out about (=check on) our meat” ’  
 /baà kúmbà-y ‘exit uncertainty’ = ‘find out’]
- (01:30) [sāā-kò<sup>n</sup> ē bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [now 1Pl Seq 3Sg do.Pfv]  
 [ē jìmì-sí] né = =ēnì [[m̄ bwò] tē], [mhm]  
 [1Pl person-any] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [[3ReflSg Recip] Dat],  
 ‘ “Now we have found (=verified) that neither of us can (dominate) on the other.” ’
- (01:32) ì yè = ē bēw<sup>n</sup> gà sò gù, [mhm]  
 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl return.Pfv RemPfv go Def,  
 è tē [tēē gū] tābà yāw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Pl PfvNeg [meat Def] rejoin.Pfv there.Def,  
 ‘When they had returned (to where the meat had been), they did not find the meat there.’

(01:35) [kàŋgé gú] yēè→, [mhm]  
 [hyena Def] said,  
 à yē [wàŋgé tē]  
 3Sg said [hare Dat]  
 [ān tā= ā kày [ā<sup>n</sup>= ñ hīlà]  
 [2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv [2Sg 1Sg deceive.Pfv]  
 ‘Hyena said, he said to hare, “Haven’t you seen that you tricked me?”’  
 [< /ā<sup>n</sup> ñ hīlà/]

(01:37) ān-dògò bē gà kàŋgé—  
 2Sg Seq RemPfv hyena—  
 ān-dògò bē gà [tēē gū] dēē, [mhm]  
 2Sg Seq RemPfv [meat Def] take.Pfv,  
 ‘(Hyena:) “You (took) hyena’s—. You took the meat!”’

(01:39) [kú pē] yè ñ tē bā= à dēē kóy,  
 [DemSgtoo] said LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv 3Sg take.Pfv Emph  
 [ñ kùùù] yā= à dēē gà, [mhm]  
 [LogoSg uncle] Sbj/Obj 3Sg take.Pfv RemPfv,  
 ‘The other (=hare) said, “I didn’t come and take it. My uncle took it.’  
 [< à dēē kóy ; ñ kúúú ‘my (materna)l uncle’]

(01:42) à yā= [ā<sup>n</sup> nàŋ kūūū] bāā gà mātāy, [mhm]  
 3Sg said [2Sg Dem uncle] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv where?  
 à yē [ñ nàŋ kūūū]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg Dem uncle]  
 bāā gà sōŋò-y bē, [mhm]  
 exit(v).Pfv RemPfv the.bush-Loc come,  
 ‘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; sōŋò-y suffixal locative (§8.2.3.1) of sōŋò ‘the bush  
 (brousse)’]

(01:45) à yē hàyà, sò  
 3Sg said okay, go.Pfv  
 [āŋ gālà [[āŋ kùùù] tō<sup>n</sup>] wājī [ñ tē]  
 [2Sg Sbjn [[2Sg uncle] place] show.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]  
 ‘He (=hyena) said, “All right, go and show me where your uncle is!”’

- (01:47) [kāā nà n̄ tà= [āŋ kùũ] kày]  
 [but if LogoSg PfvNeg [2Sg uncle] see.Pfv]  
 ñ gà= ā<sup>n</sup> wògā, [mhm]  
 1Sg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv,  
 ‘(Hyena:) “But if I don’t see your uncle, I will kill you.” ’  
 [hypothetical conditional (§16.1)]
- (01:49) à yē hàyà kè só, [mhm]  
 3Sg said okay Hort go,  
 [è gā= à dēē=] [è gā sò]  
 [3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pick.up.Ipfv] [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv]  
 [è gā= à dēē=] [è gā sò], [mhm]  
 [3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pick.up.Ipfv] [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv],  
 ‘He (=hare) said, “all right, let’s go!” They went and kept going,’  
 [background durative passage (§15.7.5); < dēē è]
- (01:51) hàlì-kànē= è gā dāā-mà, [mhm]  
 until 3Pl until.Pfv distant-Inch.Ipfv,  
 è dāā-mā gà sāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Pl distant-Inch.Pfv RemPfv when,  
 ‘Until they were going far away. When they had gone far away,’  
 [< hàlì-kàna ‘until’]
- (01:54) à gà kōmō-yārā sōynà, [mhm]  
 3Sg Ipfv lion espy.Ipfv  
 à yē hàyà [ŋ kùũ kāy], [mhm]  
 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) kú yè [ā<sup>n</sup>= ā<sup>n</sup> hōōtù]  
 DemSg said [2Sg 2Sg lie.Pfv]  
 [kú kò<sup>n</sup>] nà= [āŋ kùũ] nì, [laughs]  
 [Dem Top] not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is,  
 ‘That one (=hyena) said, “you lied, that one (=lion) isn’t your uncle,”  
 [cf. 1Sg n̄ = nà ñ hōōtù ‘I lied’]

- (01:58) sābì kú bānà-àmà, [laughs]  
 because DemSg big-Inch.Pfv,  
 [à yā= [à bānà-àmà]] [à yē ?ù<sup>n</sup>ú<sup>n</sup>], [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-kóy [ā<sup>n</sup> mām bā= à tīw<sup>n</sup>] [mhm]  
 3Sg said hey! [2Sg Proh Seq 3Sg do.Pfv]  
 à yè á! [ṅ kúúú] ò 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; ò < ò ‘it is’; dē? adversarial emphatic*]
- (02:04) à yē [à nà= [āṅ kùúú] ò dē?, [mhm]  
 3Sg said [3Sg not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is Emph,  
 [kú 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 [ñ-dògò jáátí] gā [à kùúú] ò, [mhm]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep indeed] be [3Sg uncle] it.is,  
 m̀ẁò g̀à= [āā nàṅāà], [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 [ñ tēw] kùúqē g̀à], [mhm]  
 3Sg said [3Sg [LogoSg meat] steal.Pfv RemPfv],  
 ān-dògò bī g̀à= [à tēē g̀ū] 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.”’  
 [bī g̀à = bē g̀à ‘came’]

(02:13) à yē [n̄ tā = [à tēē gū] dēē]  
 3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg [3Sg meat Def] take.Pfv]  
 [kāā n̄ = ān tā = ā yèlì s̄ā-gù], [mhm]  
 [but if 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg take.down now],  
 ñ gā = ā<sup>n</sup> wògā, [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 hàya [s̄ā-kòm bē kè só]  
 3Sg said okay [and.then come.Pfv Hort go.Pfv]  
 [ē tēē kilè]  
 [1Pl meat get.Pfv]  
 ‘He (=hare) said, “all right, then come and let’s go. We got some meat.” ’

(02:18) ē gālā [à tō<sup>n</sup>] wōjā = [ān tē], [mhm]  
 1Pl Sbjn [3Sg place] showPfv [2Sg Dat],  
 è bā = à s̄ā-nì [mhm]  
 3Pl Seq 3Sg go-Caus.Pfv  
 ‘(Hare:) “We’ll show you-Sg where it is (=was).” They conveyed him (=lion) there.’  
 [*< wōjī ; s̄ā-nì ‘cause to go’ (§9.1.2)*]

(02:20) [è bē sō-kìyèw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [3Pl Seq go.Pfv-arrive.Pfv]  
 [jākā kùùṅ gā sàgà-nà yāw<sup>n</sup>], [mhm]  
 [lo! pit be dig-Ppl there.Def],  
 ‘They went and arrived, and lo, a pit had been excavated there,’  
 [*cf. Ipfv sō-kìyēw<sup>n</sup> ; hare and lion had excavated and covered a pit trap*]

(02:23) è gā bā = à hīilā gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gìw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 3Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Ipfv place.where,  
 [kú— wàngé yē hàya]  
 [DemSg— hare said okay]  
 ‘where they (=hare and lion) were going to trick him (=hyena). That (one)— Hare said, “all right,” ’



- (02:38) [kàŋgé gú] gá sò  
 [hyena Def] Ipfv go.Ipfv  
 [m̄ bēw<sup>n</sup>] gūū<sup>n</sup>-mà-gēē<sup>n</sup> sāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 [3Refl return.Pfv] place.where when,  
 ‘When the hyena was going to (=tried to) go back,’  
 [*gā M-toned by spreading from gū*]
- (02:40) kōmō-yārā— [kōmō-yārā gū] à kūū<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
 lion— [lion Def] 3Sg catch.Pfv,  
 [è pēndē sāā<sup>n</sup>] sēw<sup>n</sup>-sò [kùùùŋ gū-ỳ] yāw<sup>n</sup>  
 [3Pl two all] fall.Pfv-go.Pfv[pit Def-Loc] there.Def  
 ‘(The) lion caught him (=hyena), and they both fell into the pit there.’  
 [*sēw<sup>n</sup> ‘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 māsí sē sāà-gù  
[1Sg-Indep QTop] Ipfv Fut what? tell.Ipv 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 [kāmāā gū] nì  
[DemSg be [tale Def] it.is  
‘He said for you to say that this is the tale.’  
*[āŋ gā contracted from āŋ gālà ; kāmāā ‘tale’]*

(remainder of recording is **sp** speaking, with **ac**'s murmured backchannel [mhm])

(00:05) [kú gā [kāmāā gū] nì  
[DemSg be [tale Def] it.is  
‘This is the tale.’

(00:07) wàŋgé, [mhm]  
hare,  
yēŋ kàŋgé [mhm]  
and hyena  
‘Hare, and hyena.’

(00:12) kàŋ— wàŋgé—, kàŋgé mmm bē sāā-jūgū sàw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
hye[na]—hare—, hyena (hesitation) Seq blanket buy.Pfv,  
kàjà, [mhm]  
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]*



- (00:36) [wàŋgé kàylà]—  
[hare when]—  
[[kàŋgé gú] kàjà gù] dēē sāā<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
[[hyena Def wool.blanket Def] take.Pfv when,  
'When hare picked up hyena's wool blanket,'
- (00:38) à bā = ā kèrē-sò, [mhm]  
3Sg Seq 3Sg throw.Pfv-go.Pfv,  
tèè-kúru bè sēw<sup>n</sup>, [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) kàŋgé bā = à kūwōlō, [mhm]  
hyena Seq 3Sg chew.Pfv,  
[ɲàànu pē] è bē sò, [mhm]  
[tomorrow too] 3Pl Seq go.Pfv,  
'Hyena chewed (=ate) it (=meat). The next day they went again.'
- (00:45) [ɲó<sup>n</sup> nìŋi] à bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup> [à bwēy] tū<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
[Dem.Def inside] 3Sg Seq 3Sg do.Pfv [3Sg Comit] again,  
à bā = à kūwōlō, [mhm]  
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 gū, [mhm]  
Rel Ipfv come.Ipfv Def,  
[à sīgà-àna gù], [mhm]  
[3Sg three-Ord Def],  
'What was coming, the third (time),'
- (00:51) [kàŋgé gúù], [mhm]  
[hyena Def],  
à tè tēē tābā yāw<sup>n</sup>, [mhm]  
3Sg PfvNeg meat rejoin.Pfv there.Def  
'(As for) hyena, he didn't find any meat there (this time).'  
*[< kàŋgé gú, for the falling tone/pitch see §3.7.2]*

(00:54) à tē wàṅgé tábā yāw̃<sup>n</sup>↑, [mhm]  
 3Sg PfvNeg hare rejoin.Pfv there.Def,  
 à tè [ṽ kàjà] tábā yāw̃<sup>n</sup>↓, [mhm]  
 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.’  
*[incompletion then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)]*

(00:56) hàyà ñ tàā gà bōw̃<sup>n</sup>  
 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 wāājū nì, bē— bē [jēnām-bī-gē bwēy̆],  
[Dem be advice it.is, (hesitation)— come [children Comit]  
jénā<sup>n</sup>, āŋ ŋ kāŋ [kālāàn tē],  
child, 2Sg Refl ought [study Dat],  
‘This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people. (As) a young person, you-Sg  
should get educated.’

[kā<sup>n</sup> ‘ought (to)’ with dative PP complement (§17.2.5)]

(00:08) [kālāàn gù], nàfá gā [wògō niŋī],  
[study Def], benefit be [3Sg.Indep inside],  
jénā<sup>n</sup>, [āŋ kòñ] tē [pò-sì]-[pò-sí] kālāàn,  
child, [2Sg Topic] PfvNeg Iter-anything read.Pfv,  
‘Education, there is benefit in it. Young person, (suppose) you-Sg have studied  
nothing at all.’

[pò-sì]-[pò-sí] iteration of pò-sí ~ pà-sí ‘anything’]

(00:17) á!, [ān dūjnā-lātīgē]  
ah!, [2Sg world-crossing]  
gā bē pwò [ām pà] [kāy<sup>n</sup> nī] dē?,  
Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg Comit] [work(n) Inst] Emph,  
‘Ah, your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.’

[< Bambara lá-tìgè]

(00:20) kāā, ē wày,  
but, 1Pl today,  
[ē kāy] [sōŋō mām] bōw<sup>n</sup> wāy-wāy kš<sup>n</sup>-y̆,  
[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 -y̆ occurs too far to the right to attract relative  
màw<sup>n</sup>]

- (00:24) ē nā [ā valeur] tò,  
 1Pl IpfvNeg [3Sg value] know.Ipfv,  
 nàfyé gā= [à tē],  
 benefit be.Loc [3Sg Dat],  
 ‘We don’t know (=appreciate) its value.’
- (00:27) à nàfyè pānāā<sup>n</sup>, hàlā= ān nà= [àn tībén] tùqè,  
 3Sg benefit first, even 2Sg if.Pfv [2Sg name] know.Pfv,  
 nàfyé nì,  
 benefit it.is,  
 ‘Its first benefit (is), even if you-Sg have (only) learned (to read and write) your name,  
 it’s a benefit.’
- (00:33) à nām bāā yāw<sup>n</sup>,  
 3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv there.Def,  
 è nā= à sē [kāy<sup>n</sup> bē nògī-ỳ]  
 3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [work(n) come.Pfv village-Loc]  
 ‘If it leaves there (=aside from that), if they say (=if you hear) that work has come to  
 the village,’
- (00:36) è gā kàlāā-nè-è kēē-li,  
 3Pl Ipfv read-Ppl-Pl call-Ipfv,  
 [à nàfyé sīgà-ànà],  
 [3Sg benefit three-Ord],  
 ‘They will call on the educated ones. Its third benefit (is),’  
 [ordinal]
- (00:38) [àn jáátí gú] gá bē [ān dūpāā-lātīgē] tìw<sup>n</sup>  
 [2Sg precisely Def] Ipfv Fut [2Sg world-crossing] do.Pfv,  
 [āṅ gáy<sup>n</sup>] [[lògó tònō] nìṅî],  
 [2Sg work.Foc] [[3Sg.Indep.Foc profit] inside],  
 ‘You yourself will find your destiny in the profit of (=from) your work [focus].’  
 [3Sg independent pronoun lògò (variant of wògò) resumes āṅ kāy<sup>n</sup> ‘your work’, both  
 with tonal focus marking (final H-tone)]

- (00:43) [ē gālè = ē nōtō-mō-nī] [ē gālà kàlāà<sup>n</sup>],  
 [1Pl Sbjn 1Pl have.courage.Pfv] [1Pl Sbjn read.Pfv],  
 [ē gālè = [ē jēnām-bī-gē] dwō kàlāāṅ-gàw<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1Pl Sbjn [1Pl children] put.in.Pfv read-place,  
 ‘Let’s be dedicated to studying. Let’s put our children in school.’  
*[dwō ‘entered’ here used transitively instead of dwē-nì]*
- (00:48) [jénám mà = [à nām bē ñ tīw<sup>n</sup>] [à gā kàlāā-nà],  
 [child Rel [3Sg if.Pfv come 3ReflSg find.Pfv] [3Sg Ipfv read-Ipfv],  
 [à gālà nōtō-mō-nī [kàlāām pà],  
 [3Sg Sbjn have.courage.Pfv [reading Comit],  
 ‘If (there is) a child who, it happens, is (already) studying, may he/she be dedicated  
 to studying.’
- (00:52) sābù, jàà̀nù gā [wògō ñìṅì],  
 because, tomorrow be 3Sg.Indep inside],  
 [ām bè jīmī-lē tòy-nì,  
 [2Sg Seq people make.intelligent.Pfv,  
 ‘Because, tomorrow (=the future) is in that. You-Sg (=that child who goes to school)  
 have made people smarter.’
- (00:57) bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup> [[ān tòy] gā = [ān ñìṅì],  
 Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [[2Sg intelligence] be [2Sg inside],  
 [ām bē jàmàná tòy-nì,  
 [2Sg Seq era make.intelligent.Pfv,  
 ‘Meanwhile it happens that your intelligence is (still) in you. You have made the era  
 (=country) smarter.’  
*[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]*
- (01:00) bā = à tīw<sup>n</sup> [[ān tòy] gā = [ān ñìṅì],  
 Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [[2Sg intelligence] be [2Sg inside],  
 [[āṅ kòṁ] pàn-tóy] ná sò [gùù<sup>n</sup> sí-yì],  
 [[2Sg Topic] share(n)-intelligence] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv [place any-Loc]  
 ‘Meanwhile it happens that your intelligence is (still) in you. Your own share of  
 intelligence doesn’t go anywhere.’  
*[tòy ‘intelligence’, here as H-toned compound final]*

- (01:05) k̄ā āṅ gē = ēnì jīmī-lē tòy-nī  
 but 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv people make.intelligent.Ipfv  
 [è pē] bē b̄w̄ō tòy-nī sò,  
 [3Pl also] Seq Recip make.intelligent.Pfv go,  
 ‘But you-Sg can make people smarter, they for their part then make each other smarter.’
- (01:08) à bē = [ē kilē] yìrìwà-nì,  
 3Sg Seq [1Pl production] develop-Caus.Pfv,  
 [à bē, [ē jàmàná pē] bāgā, [pìyèñ nìṅī],  
 [3Sg Seq, [1Pl era too] remove.Pfv, [dirtiness inside],  
 ‘It then develops our production (=economy). It then takes our era (=country) out of squalor (backwardness).’  
 /< pìyèw<sup>n</sup>/
- (01:15) [ē gālè = ē nōṣtō-mā-nī]  
 [1Pl Sbjn 1Pl have.courage.Pfv]  
 [ē gālè = [ē dēm-bē] kàlāā-nì],  
 [1Pl Sbjn [1Pl child-Pl] read-Caus.Pfv],  
 ‘Let’s buckle up and send our kids to school.’
- (01:17) [à nām bā = [à tīw<sup>n</sup>]  
 [3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg find.Pfv],  
 [à gālà ñ nōṣtō-mā-nī  
 [3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg have.courage.Pfv]  
 à gālà— [à gālà ñ dūkōrō [à bwēy],  
 (hesitation) [3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg take.care.Pfv [3Sg Comit],  
 ‘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).’
- (01:21) ð<sup>n</sup>hò<sup>n</sup> kú gà wāājū nì [jēnām-bī-gē tē]  
 uh.huh Dem be advice it.is [child-Pl Dat]  
 ‘Uh-huh. This is advice for young people.’

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## Abbreviations and symbols

### Abbreviations

Adj	adjective
Agent	agentive nominal
ATR	advanced tongue root (vowel feature)
BCM	bidirectional case marker (§11.1.2.1)
C	consonant (in formulae like CvCv)
Caus	causative
Counterf	counterfactual conditional
Dat	dative postposition
Def	(discourse-)definite
Dem	demonstrative
Dimin	diminutive
DiscFunct	discourse-functional
Emph	emphatic (clause-final particle)
ExpPf	experiential perfect
Fact	factitive (causative of adjectival inchoative)
Fut	future
Gent	gentilic (cf. New York-er, Paris-ian)
H	high (tone)
Hort	hortative
Imprt	imperative
Inch	inchoative (deadjectival verb)
Inst	instrumental postposition
Ipfv	imperfective
Iter	iteration (full reduplication)
L	a) low (tone) b) any sonorant (in formulae like CvL)
Loc	locative
Logo	logophoric
M	mid tone
N	a) noun (in e.g. “N-Adj”) b) nasal consonant (in formulae like CvN)
(n)	noun, in glosses like ‘work (n)’
Neg	negative

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 (îj, §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.

→

=

tone diacritics on vowels

á, etc.

à, etc.

ā, etc.

â, etc.

ã, etc.

ǎ, etc.

ã, etc.

syllable-by-syllable tone pattern of a word

gradient prolongation of final segment of a word

clitic boundary

high tone (H)

low tone (L)

mid tone (M)

falling high-low tone (HL)

falling mid-low tone (ML)

lexical low-high (LH) or sandhi-induced low-mid (LM) tone

bell-shaped tone (LML)

# Index

## 1. selected morphemes

notes:

in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;

alphabetization: ε follows e, ɔ follows o, nasals ordered n then ŋ then ŋ ;

atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;

not all variants due to tone sandhi are presented;

verb-stem pairings shown in Pfv/Ipfv format

a

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| à (ā)               | 3Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1   |
| āā                  | 2Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1   |
| ā <sup>n</sup>      | 2Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1<br>denasalized, §3.4.2.3.3  |
| -ama                | abstractive, §4.2.3   |
| -ana                | ordinal, §4.6.2.2   |
| bā(ā)/bā-lā         | ‘exit (v)’, Pfv stem, §3.2.12.2<br>in sense ‘equal, match (v)’, §12.2.3<br>in multi-verb constructions, §15.2.5<br>dēē-[bā-lā], §15.7.3.2 |
| bààcéw <sup>n</sup> | ‘toward, around’, §8.2.9  |
| bā-lā               | (see bā(a))   |
| be                  |   |
| bē                  | a) ‘come’, §10.0.5.2<br>in multi-verb constructions, §15.2<br>b) future (gà bē), §10.2.2.2<br>c) ‘all the way to’, §15.7.3.2              |
| bè                  | a) sequential, postsubject, §15.3<br>b) infinitival, VP-initial, §17.4.2  |
| bōgì                | postposition ‘in the middle of’, §8.2.4.5   |
| bwēỹ               | a) comitative postposition, ‘with’, §8.1.2.2.1<br>b) adverb ‘together’, §18.4.3   |
| bwò                 | reciprocal, §18.4   |
| dēē                 | ‘take, pick up’,<br>in temporal constructions, §15.7.5, §15.7.3.2   |

-dógó, -dògò	(see -lògò)
e	
è (ē)	3Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
ē	1Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1
ga	
gà/gā	a) imperfective positive, post-subject, §10.2.2.1
gà/gā	b) ‘until’, post-subject, §15.7.2.2
gà	c) remote perfective, postverbal, §10.2.1.2
gàá	(see remote perfective gà)
gālà	subjunctive, §10.2.2.4
-gàw <sup>n</sup>	place nominals, §4.2.1.5.1 in compounds, §5.1.6.3
gìlēw <sup>n</sup>	‘as soon as’, §15.4.2
gìlì	‘since’, §15.7.3.1
gu	
gu	definite, §4.4.1 clause-final, §15.4.4-5
-gu	verbal noun, §4.2.1.3
hàlì	a) ‘until’, §15.7.2, §15.7.3.1, §8.4.6.3 b) ‘since’, §15.7.1, §15.7.3.1
hònò	‘like X’, §8.4.1.2
jaati	
jáátì	‘precise’, at the end of an NP, §8.4.2
jáátì	‘exactly’ (confirmation), §19.4.2.2
kàlà	(see ñkàlà)
kāmà	postposition ‘for the sake of (sb)’, §8.3.2
kānà	postposition ‘at (a well)’ or ‘on (body)’, §8.2.4.2
kāw <sup>n</sup>	postposition ‘at the place of, chez’, §8.2.4.3
kày/kāy	presentative, §4.4.4.1, §10.2.2.3
kāylà	‘when’, §15.4.3
kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘one’, §4.6.1.1
kìyèw <sup>n</sup>	‘thus’, §4.4.3.2
kò	reduced variant of kòrì
kōndō	‘stay’ shift to past time, §10.3.1
kòrì	clause-initial in some greeting questions (synonym ñkàlà), §19.6.1
kɔ <sup>n</sup>	
kò <sup>n</sup>	a) demonstrative ‘this/that’ before a noun, §4.4.2, §3.6.3.1.2 b) recent perfect after subject, §10.2.1.5 c) topic marker, §19.1.1

kòrē-ȳ	postposition ‘behind’, §8.2.7.4
kùlēē	associative plural, §4.1.6
kūmà	postposition ‘on’ or ‘over’, §8.2.7.1
kūnà	past imperfective, contraction of kōndō gà, §10.3.2
kùwóm bwēȳ	‘next to’, §8.2.5.3
laga	
lāgà	a) purposive-causal postposition ‘for, because of’, §8.3.1 b) postposition ‘at (the outskirts of)’, §8.2.5.1
lāgà	in purposive construction, §17.5.3
lēw <sup>n</sup>	‘a little’, §8.4.3.2
-lògò	suffix on independent pronouns, §4.3.1
māā	‘that’ complementizer, §17.1.6.2, §17.5.6
mà-lè	relative marker (plural), §14.1
máɲè	a) ‘a lot, greatly’, §8.4.3.1 b) ‘well’ (adverb), §8.4.4.1
màw <sup>n</sup>	relative marker (singular), §14.1
mūù	postposition ‘below, under’, §8.2.7.5
na	
nà/nā	negative, following the subject imperfective negative, §10.2.2.1 stative negative, §10.2.2.5
nā	dative postposition, §8.1.1.2 ‘than’ in comparatives, §12.1.1.1
-na	a) participle of any verb predicate, §11.4.1.1 modifier, §4.5.1.3 b) participial stative of some verbs, §10.1.4 c) imperfective (Ipfv) suffix for some verbs, §10.1.3.3.2
nàṅà	postposition ‘between’, §8.2.6.1
ni	
nī	instrumental postposition, §8.1.2.1 focalized ní, §8.1.2.1
nì	‘be’ (identificational or equational), §11.2.1-2
-ni	causative suffix on verb, §9.1.1
nìṅì	postposition ‘in, inside’, §8.2.4.1 in ‘when’ clause, §15.4.7
ṅkàlà	a) ‘(not) except/unless X’ before a constituent X, §19.3.2.4 b) ‘must’, clause-initially before subjunctive, §17.3.3 c) clause-initial in some greeting questions (synonym kòrì), §19.6.1
nùmēw <sup>n</sup>	‘likeness’, §8.4.1.1

ŋ	
ñ	1Sg subject pronominal clitic, perfective positive, §4.3.1
ñ	a) 1Sg subject pronominal clitic, except in perfective positive, §4.3.1
ñ	b) 3Sg anaphoric pronominal clitic 3Sg reflexive object, possessor 3Sg reflexive subject (subordinated clause) 3Sg logophoric
	c) pseudo-reflexive (transpersonal) in adjectival predicates
ñ (+H)	1Sg clitic (possessor, object, or postpositional complement), §4.3.1, §3.6.3.1.1
pa	
pā	‘thing’ (form of pwō before modifier), §4.1.2 pā-lēw <sup>n</sup> ‘a little’, §8.4.4.2
pà	comitative postposition, §8.1.2.2.1
pààŋ-kēw <sup>n</sup>	‘already’ or ‘exclusively’, §19.3.3
pānāā <sup>n</sup>	‘first’, §4.6.2.1
pwō	‘thing’, §4.1.2 (see also pā)
saa	
sāà-gù	‘now’, §8.4.6.1
sāā-kò <sup>n</sup>	‘now’, §8.4.6.1
sāā <sup>n</sup>	a) ‘when’, clause-final, §15.4.1 b) ‘all’ or ‘each’, §6.6.1 after conjoined NPs, §7.1.7, §12.2.1 after relative marker mà <sup>n</sup> , §14.3.4 after topicalizer kò <sup>n</sup> , §19.1.1
à sāā <sup>n</sup>	‘everything’, §6.6.1
è sāā <sup>n</sup>	‘everyone’, §6.6.1
sē	‘say’, §11.3, §17.1.3 causative of, §9.1.3
sèè	‘(said) thus’, §17.1.6.1
sèdè	‘(said) thus’, §17.1.6.1
síí	‘likeness’, §8.4.1.1
sò	a) ‘go’, §10.0.5.1 in multi-verb constructions, §15.2 b) clause-initial ‘before’, §15.5
sōgòy	postposition ‘next to’, §8.2.5.2
sōḡòni	‘firstly’ or ‘(not) yet’, §8.4.6.2
te	
tē	dative postposition, §8.1.1.1
tè	perfective negative, post-subject, §10.2.1.1

tīgàà	postposition ‘in front of’, §8.2.7.2
to <sup>n</sup>	
tó <sup>n</sup>	postposition ‘instead of, in the place of’, §8.2.4.4.2
tō <sup>n</sup>	complement of ‘forget’, §8.2.4.4.1
tūwō	in ‘when/while’ construction, §15.4.5
wùlēē	associative plural, §4.1.6
-ȳ	locative suffix, §8.2.3.1
ya	
yà = (yā =)	contraction of yè
yāālō <sup>n</sup>	‘a lot, greatly’, §8.4.3.1
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-hīnì	‘and’, §7.1.1
yè <sup>n</sup>	a) ‘and’, §7.1.1 b) plural imperative

## 2. grammar

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