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

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

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

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

1.1 Bozo languages

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

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

(1) language location(s)

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

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

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

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

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

1.2.1 Geography and neighboring ethnicities

A sociolinguistic survey of “Jenaama” (Blühberger 2006) notes that it is spoken by three distinct (sub-)ethnic groups: a) the Bozo sensu stricto, b) the Somono, and c) the Nononké or Marka. The
ethnic Bozo and Somono are primarily fishers and are interspersed along the rivers and floodplains. The Nononké/Marka practice rice cultivation along the river, and extend eastward into the millet-growing sandy plains west of the Dogon plateau, reaching the base of its cliffs. Blühberger points out that the previously accepted name of the language, Sorogaama, is used in this sense by the Bozo s.s., while the Somono and the Nononké/Marka call their language Jenaama.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jenaama</th>
<th>French (map)</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. major city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jêné</td>
<td>Djenné</td>
<td>cosmopolitan, locals speak a Songhay variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Djenné Chiini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Jenaama-speaking villages (alphabetized by French name)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâárà-tûwò</td>
<td>Baratou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîyéràrà</td>
<td>Djéra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jómbugù</td>
<td>Djombougou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gômí-tûwò</td>
<td>Gomitogo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kërâá</td>
<td>Kéra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòbásà</td>
<td>Kobassa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûmâráá</td>
<td>Kombaka</td>
<td>Bozo &amp; Fulbe; Fulfulde koomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibâájâmdáá</td>
<td>Komba Daga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwûⁿ</td>
<td>Kouin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwââkûrù</td>
<td>Kouakourou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nînà</td>
<td>Noina</td>
<td>Fulbe, some Bozo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nûnà</td>
<td>Nouna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàànàà</td>
<td>Pana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàâmûûnà</td>
<td>Sanouna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sárø</td>
<td>Sarantomo</td>
<td>(Bambara sâántòmbô)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîrîmû</td>
<td>Sirimou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sûm’a-tûwò</td>
<td>Soumatogo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sófâárâbà</td>
<td>Sofara-Ba</td>
<td>Bozo part of Sofara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sûwâlàà</td>
<td>Soala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîⁿ</td>
<td>Syn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîràá-bûgû</td>
<td>Sirabougou</td>
<td>Bambara &amp; Fulbe, some Bozo at river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâgâ-mâràgâlâ</td>
<td>Taga Marka</td>
<td>related dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kônó-tûwò</td>
<td>Tombona</td>
<td>(Bambara tômînà, Fulfulde tombona)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîyêrà</td>
<td>Wêraka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wûñò</td>
<td>Wono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approximate geo-coordinates for the villages based on the 2017 government map for “San” sector are in (4). Coordinates are in degrees and minutes (not decimals).

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

Data for this grammar were from the villages of Tombona (“dialect 1”) and Baratou (“dialect 2”), which are bolded in (4). Although these villages are geographically close, there are many small lexical, grammatical, and phonological differences between their dialects. This suggests that J-S of Djenné more generally has considerable internal variation, never mind the larger J-S dialect complex. This variability is perhaps to be expected for a linguistic variety spoken in many small villages without a dominant capital. Djenné and Mopti, the two big cities in the area, are mostly non-Bozo ethnically and linguistically. The data in this grammar are best thought of as two snapshots in a much larger linguistic complex. It may be that one or the other of dialect 1 or dialect 2 is the mainstream subdialect in the Djenné area and the other is an outlier, but this remains to be determined.
The predominant lingua franca of the zone around Djenné is Bambara (also called Bamana). Bambara belongs to the vast Manding dialect/language chain. Manding, like Bozo, is part of the larger Mande language family, but Manding and Bozo are not closely subgrouped within the larger family. The local Bambara are primarily farmers. There are numerous villages of ethnic Bambara interspersed among Bozo and Fulbe villages in the Djenné area, especially its drier parts. Bambara is the overwhelmingly dominant language in densely populated southern Mali including the capital Bamako and major cities such as Séguo. Bambara is also widely used nationally in broadcast media, and Bambara literacy programs are more advanced than other native-language programs. Bambara loanwords of all stem-classes are easily integrated into Bozo languages, which already have many cognates as well as similar phonotactics, clause structure, and lexical semantic patterns.

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

1.2.2 Jenaama varieties: languages or dialects?

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

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

Not the least of the Cliffs/Djenné differences is that Cliffs has three lexical tone levels, including minimal trios among nouns, along with a complex morpho-tonology, while Djenné has two lexical tone levels and a somewhat simpler morpho-tonology. This difference alone compels
separation of the two reference grammars and lexical spreadsheets. Other differences can be assessed by reading the two parallel grammars side by side, and examining the two lexical spreadsheets side by side. Among the more obvious differences are those in (5a-b).

(5) | Cliffs | Djenné | category or gloss |
--- | --- | --- |

a. phonological
- **\( u \)** (absent) | | back unrounded vowel |
- 3 | 2 | number of distinct tone levels |

b. morphological
- **\( -gù \sim -gû \)** | -yaw\(^n\) | definite singular |
- **\( ō \)** | ū\(^n\) | 1Pl pronoun |
- **\( yà\(^n\) \)** | sǐnì ~ sánì | ‘and’ (nominal conjunction) |
- **\( bwḗ̄y \)** | pà | ‘with’ (comitative postposition) |
- **\( lāqà \)** | dàà | ‘for’ (purposive postposition) |
- **\( gā \sim Û \)** | gà | perfective positive (optional in Cliffs) |
- **\( bāynà gā \)** | gǐíýé gà bě́ | experiential perfect |
- **(absent) kíí\(^n\) \sim kúnú \)** | | progressive |
- **\( gālā \)** | nà | subjunctive |
- **\( kōndō \)** | tì\(^n\) \sim tì\(^n\) | ‘was/were’ (and shift to past reference time) |
- **\( nà X nì \)** | X té(?)) | ‘isn’t X’ |

c. lexicon
- **\( màà, p₃g₃ \)** | kî“yè́ | ‘want’ |
- **\( jēnà\(^n\) \)** | dǐíyèw\(^n\) | ‘child’ (opaquely cognate) |
- **pw₃ \)** | fā | ‘thing’ (opaquely cognate) |

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

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

### 1.3 Environment

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.4 Previous and contemporary study of J-S of Djenné

#### 1.4.1 Previous work

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

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

Lauschitzky worked on the dialect of Djambakourou village, said to be located at 60 km north of Konna and 10 km west of the main highway. It is geographically close to the Cliffs variety,
but its position within J-S dialectology remains to be sorted out. Lauschitzky reported that this dialect has two tone levels, as with J-S of Djenné but unlike Cliffs which has three full-fledged tone levels.

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.2 Fieldwork

My fieldwork on Cliffs began in 2016 in Namagué. The security situation in that area began to deteriorate shortly thereafter, and insecurity spread to the Djenné area by 2020. Follow-up work on Cliffs continued episodically through 2021. My fieldwork on J-S of Djenné occurred in 2021, after the COVID pandemic prevented planned fieldwork in summer 2020. Starting in June 2021, initially two native speakers and later a third speaker from Tombona and Baratou villages traveled to my base in Bobo Dioulasso in neighboring Burkina Faso. Fieldwork was delayed until June of
that year by the closure of land borders between Mali and Burkina. I was able to work with the
speakers from June to early December of 2021, and did brief follow-up work in late summer 2022.

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

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

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

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Studies Center and UM Office of Research).

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languages of Mali,” for the period 2020-2024. This project covers Cliffs, Jenaama-Sorogaama of
Djenné, Kelenga, and Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo. A Kelenga grammar should be ready soon based on
already completed research; fieldwork on Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo is planned for the first half of 2023.

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

1.4.4 Supplements

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

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

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

(6) sèèdú gà súwó-yè sà-nà súbàⁿ-ýⁿ
S  Ipfv goat-Pl buy-Ipfv market.Loc

‘Seydou buys goats in the market.’

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

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

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

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

(7) à gé = è kwá-rá
3Sg Ipfv 3Pl hit-Ipfv

‘He/She (often) hits them.’
Transcriptional uncertainties at the segmental level mainly involve word-final \( N_v \) versus \( N_{v^n} \) versus \( N_{vw^n} \), e.g. \( \eta a \) versus \( \eta a^n \) versus \( \eta aw^n \) (§3.3.3, §3.4.2.3.1-2), and \( C_o \) versus \( C_wa \). These are subdialectal and idiolect-internal variants, and transcriptions of them in rapidly spoken recordings are not reliable.

2.1.2 Tones and tonal diacritics

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{tone(s)} & \text{ma} & \text{maa} & \text{maw} \\
H & m\check{a} & m\check{a}\check{a} & m\check{a}w \\
L & m\acute{a} & m\acute{a}\acute{a} & m\acute{a}w \\
<H,LH> & m\ddag & m\ddag\ddag & m\ddag\ddag \\
<H,HL> & m\ddag & m\ddag\ddag & m\ddag \ddag \ddag \\
<LHL> & m\ddag & m\ddag (or m\ddag\ddag) & m\ddag (or m\ddag\ddag)
\end{array}
\]

Minimal pairs include, among nouns, \( sò\ 'grass' \) and \( sò\ 'net' \), the latter becoming \( sò \) by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone. The tonally modified \( 1Sg \) possessor forms are \( ñ \) \( sò \) 'my grass' and \( ñ \) \( sò \) 'my net'. In other words, the syllable \( soo \) can appear with \( H, L, <HL> \), or \( <HL> \) tones after tonal processes. Among verbs we can mention \( fúwò/fúwò \ 'winnow in wind' \) and \( fúwò/fúwò \ 'jab' \), shown in PfV/IpfV pairings. Here the bisyllabic sequence \( fuwo \) can appear with \( H, L, HL, \) or LH tone sequence.

Bell-shaped tones occur in the singular relative marker \( mè\ddag \) and in the spatial postposition \( nà\ddag \ 'between' \). They could alternatively be transcribed \( mè\ddag\ddag \) and \( nà\ddag\ddag \), or as \( mè^n \) and \( nà^n \).
“Melody” in this grammar means the lexical tone pattern of a stem. This involves factoring out variation due to tonal ablaut at stem level, and due to tone sandhi at boundaries. For nouns and numerals, the singular citation form reveals the melody. For verbs, the Pfv stem in prepausal position reveals the melody. Adjectives too have lexical melodies, but they are masked in binary N-Adj strings by Tone Leveling. Slashes /.../ are used for lexical melodies.

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

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

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

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

### 2.1.3 Tone sandhi

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

(9) sùwá-díŋ kì⁹yè gá nògí-ý
/sùwá-yàw⁵/ kì⁹yè gá nògù-ý/
/sheep-DefSg arrive.Pfv Pfv village-Loc
‘The sheep-Sg arrived in the village.’

For LHL-toned words like the personal name sèèdú, the H-tone shifts to the right edge in most of the same environments, hence sèèdú before most L-tones. This is called Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2).
For 3Sg à and 3Pl è, the pitch is raised in the same environments, but it stops at mid pitch and does not reach the pitch level of true H-tone. This partial raising process is here called Pitch Upstep (§3.6.4.1).

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

2.1.4 Tonal morphophonology (tonal ablaut)

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

(10)  a. nominal compounds (chapter 5)
       noun plus adjective (§6.3.1)

       b. 1Sg ŋ̀ plus following word (noun, verb, particle, postposition; §4.3.3)
           demonstrative plus following noun (§3.6.3.2, §6.5.1-2)

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

(11)  a. compound    sùyèn-kwèrè-kiìⁿ ‘racing skiff (boat)’
       < sùyèn ‘propel (boat)’, kwèrè ‘hit’, (sùyèn-kwèrè ‘boat race’), kiìⁿ ‘skiff’

       b. noun-adjectivè  ñàmàè bòròⁿ ‘big house’
       < ñàmàè ‘house’, bòròⁿ ‘big’

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

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

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

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

2.2 Verbal and clausal inflection

2.2.1 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

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

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

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

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

2.2.2 Suffixal derivation of verb stems

The only productive suffixal derivations within verbal morphology are causative, intransitivization, and participle. See chapter 9 for full coverage.
The causative suffix is -ni, acquiring its tone secondarily (§9.1.1). It adds an external causal agent. Usually the input verb is intransitive (12a), so the causativized verb is a simple transitive (12b).

(12)  a. à kíyé gà
     3Sg run.Pfv Pfv
     ‘He/She ran.’

     b. sèédù yá = à kíyé-nfₙ ñà
     S Sbj/Obj 3Sg run-Caus.Pfv Pfv
     ‘Seydou made him/her/it run.’ or ‘Seydou drove it (=vehicle).’

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

(13)  a. ín yá = à díyá gà
     1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg eat.Pfv Pfv
     ‘We ate it.’

     b. ín díyé gà
     1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv
     ‘We ate.’

     c. kú tá díyè
     Dem IpfvNeg be.eaten.Ipfv
     ‘That isn’t eaten (=isn’t edible).’

2.2.3 Clause-level inflections (TAMP)

The aspectual (Pfv/Ipfv) marking on verb stems is complemented by the array of post-subject inflectional particles in (14). These particles reinforce the verb’s own aspect marking but also mark polarity and (epistemic and deontic) mood. The forms shown have lexical tones, before tone sandhi. IpfvNeg tà ~ tá are dialectal variants.
perfective positive (the usual form)
tè  perfective negative
gà  imperfective positive (also copular and locational ‘be’)
tà ~ tá  imperfective negative (also copular and locational ‘not be’)
bé  future (can combine with negation as tà bé)
mà  prohibitive

b. yè  bidirectional case marker (in transitive perfective positive)

c. nà  perfective positive in conditional antecedents (‘if.Pfv’)
  nà  perfective positive after 1Sg subject (‘Pfv.1Sg’)
  nà  subjunctive

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

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

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

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

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

(16) a. sèèdú súwò pi"yè-ná-yè saá"  
  S sheep black-Ppl-Pl all  
  ‘all of Seydou’s black sheep-Pl’

  b. kú-nù jámáà bòró sigé^n-yàw^n  
  Dem-Link house big three-DefSg  
  ‘those three big houses’

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

There is no genitive marker in possessor-possessum combinations, and no inflectional gender or noun-class marking.
Possessors, numerals, the postnominal discourse-definite marker, discourse-functional elements (‘too’, topic), ‘all’, and ‘any’ have only minor tonal interactions with the noun and any intervening modifiers. However, adjectives and prenominal demonstratives ɲɔ̀ⁿ ‘that (same)’ and kɔ̀ⁿ ‘this/that’ do have unexpected tonal interactions with nouns. There are also complex tonal patterns inside noun-noun compounds.

2.4 Case-marking and PPs

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

A few important postpositions are in (17).

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

The most common locative PP has a syllabic full variant yì but is usually realized as a suffix (or enclitic) -yì.

2.5 Relative clauses

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

(18) sèëdù [sùwò mèëⁿ] sàⁿ ɲá
S [sheep Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv
‘the sheep-Sg that Seydou bought’

In addition to classic relative-clause function, màⁿ or mèëⁿ may also introduce a referentially variable (nonspecific) entity (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘some time’, etc). The sense is roughly
‘(suppose there is) [someone who …/something that …]’, introducing a nonspecific (generic) referent in a backgrounded clause. Because of this, the “relative” morpheme can occur twice on different constituents in the same clause, making a free translation as an English relative clause impossible (19); see also §14.1.2

(19)  [kééwú mèëⁿ] yé mèëⁿ sâⁿ ñá
[man Rel] Sbj/Obj Rel buy.Pfv Pfv
‘(suppose that) some man has bought something’

2.6 Interclausal syntax

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

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

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

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

(21)  a. à yé [ééⁿ nà bé]
  3Sg said [1Pl Sbjn come.Pfv]
  ‘He/She told us to come.’

  b. à yé [ééⁿ mà bé]
  3Sg said [1Pl Proh come.Pfv]
  ‘He/She told us not to come.’
3 Phonology

3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1 Syllables

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 Word-internal metrical structure

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

Stem-level tone melodies have a weak resemblance to pitch-accent, since there is rarely more than one H-toned peak on a stem. /LHL/ is a common lexical melody, but /HLH/ is rare in
uncompounded stems; see discussion of (57) in §3.6.1.4. However, stems of any size can be all-L-toned or all-H-toned; indeed, many entire nominal compounds surface as all-H or all-L due to Tone Leveling. This makes a pitch-accent analysis unattractive.

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

3.2 Consonants

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

(22) Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>((((v)))</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w^n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>((z))</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveopalatal</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td>((3))</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y^n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar labial</td>
<td>(kp)</td>
<td>(gb)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laryngeal</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>(((ʔ)))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Palatoalveolar glide (ɥ) absent as phoneme

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

(23) Cliffs Djenné gloss

ɥɛ̀/ɥɛ̀ wɛⁿ/ wɛ-nɛ ‘open’
 sûɥे/sûɥे sûyɛ/sûyɛ ‘do cooking’
 kùɥे/kùɥे kwɛ̄/kwɛ̀ ‘steal’
 tùq twiin ‘be short’

However, a phonetic front rounded glide or vowel can be heard in the sequence that is structurally Cuwe/Cuwe, as in /suvw/ ‘cook, do cooking’ (intransitivized by vocalic fronting from transitive suwɔ ‘cook’). This has realizations like [sỳjɛ] or [suqɛ] depending on how far leftward the fronting/palatalization extends, for which the phonemic transcription sûyɛ is used.

3.2.3 Alveopalatals (c j)

c (palatoalveolar stop) is relatively uncommon. It is attested stem-initially before various vowels in a few nouns denoting plant or animal species, e.g. cámù ‘tree sp.’ and cèbú ‘black-faced dioch (bird)’. The other noun stem is the important word meaning ‘wood, stick’, which is kiyè (dialect 1, as also in Cliffs) or cè (dialect 2). There are no adjectives with c. The numeral ‘ten’ is kémí ~ cèmí (cf. Cliffs támm). For verbs, córɔⁿ/córɔ-nɔ ‘sneak up on’ is the only known case.

j (palatoalveolar stop) is a regular consonant that occurs in basic lexical items. Word-initial examples are the verb jɔŋjɔ/jɔŋjɔ-nɔ ‘shake’ and nouns jíʃ ‘water’ and júgú ‘tree; medication’. Medial examples are ɲgójù ‘board game’ and wáájibi ‘obligation’.
3.2.4 Labial fricative f

f is fairly common and occurs in core vocabulary, e.g. verbs f(w)ɔ̀(-rɔ̀) ‘sit’ and fīgẹ́/fīgẹ́n ‘hide’, predicate adjective fōrin ~ fèrù ‘be lightweight’, and nouns fìlè ‘anus’ and fọ̀nj. ‘throat’. f in native (unborrowed) vocabulary appears to reflect *p, as preserved in Cliffs cognates like pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’, pùgèw/pùgèn-nà ‘hide’, and pélùn ‘be lightweight’. The important noun fá ‘thing’ still has an archaic variant pá.

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

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

Medial nasal-stop clusters in some stems vary interdialectally between voiced {mb nd nj ng} and voiceless {mp nt nc nk}. There are also some stems that vary interdialectally between {mb nd nj ng} clusters and simple nasals {m n n ḫ}.

3.2.6 Labial velars (kp gb)

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

(24) a. gbègènáw’n ~ gwègènáw’n ‘hare’
   b. kpéŋé tè ~ kwéŋé tè ‘leprosy’

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

3.2.7 Laryngeals (h ?)

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

Glottal stop ? occurs marginally as a prosodic element. Clause-final emphatic dé? (§19.4.1.4) is pronounced with a final glottal stop. One of the single-word ‘no’ expressions is ṣàṣìaṣën.
3.2.8 Sibilants (s[z] and s/h alternations)

Voiced sibilants z and ʒ occur in a handful of stems. In borrowings from French they merge as z, as in zándárámú ‘gendarmerie’ and bázéⁿ ‘bazin (=bassam) fabric’. A term for ‘squacco heron’ has variants kálé-júyéᵗᵉ and kálé-ʒwéᵗᵉ.

Voiceless s is one of the basic consonants. It tends to have a slightly laminal articulation.

The syllable si is often heard as [ʃi].

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

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

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

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

Tap r is unattested stem- or word-initially.

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

For nasalized semivowels see just below.

3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants

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

3.2.10.1 Status of wⁿ and yⁿ

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

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

23
nàtwⁿ ‘4’, and tàmpàwⁿ ‘kick’. The speaker of dialect 1 consistently pronounced the labial in prepausal position as indicated by these transcriptions. The other speaker (dialect 2) pronounced some of the same words with unrounded final aⁿ even prepausally (e.g. nàtwⁿ ‘4’). However, before pauses he did generally pronounce the rounding in diyàwⁿ ‘child’, in definite singular -yàwⁿ, and some other forms. The relevant items are transcribed with parenthesized (w)ⁿ in the lexicon.

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

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

### 3.2.10.2 rⁿ not a phoneme

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

### 3.2.11 Consonant clusters

#### 3.2.11.1 Stem-initial NC

Stem-initial nasal-stop clusters (arguably prenasalized stops) occur in about twenty nouns denoting flora and fauna species. The stop is voiced in most cases, but nt is also attested. The cases in the working lexicon as of November 2021 are mb (2), nd (3), nt (2), nj (2), and ng (10). Examples are mbúwⁿ ‘grasshopper sp. (Hieroglyphus)’, ndólóni ‘Gambian sun squirrel’, ntééré ‘grey-headed sparrow’, njólôngô ‘white-bellied bustard’, and ngèrèntè ‘herb with burrs’ (any of three species). The initial nasal in these stems does not bear an independent tone. This distinguishes stem-initial NC from combinations of words with a preceding nasal proclitic that is tone-bearing (1Sg ñ, third person reflexive singular ñ). Since the initial nasal is limited to nouns of a semantic class, one could argue that it is a marginal class-marking prefix. However, some of the nouns in question may be borrowings. Fulfulde has many stems with initial NC clusters. Montane Songhay languages (Humburi Senni, Tondi Songway Kiini) have several terms, mostly flora-fauna, that begin with ʔaN- with homorganic nasal.

There are no known examples of initial NC involving verb, adjective, or numeral stems.
3.2.11.2 Stem-initial Cw and Cy clusters

True initial Cy appears to be limited to the plural noun dyé-nà-méé ‘children’, whose dyé behaves in tonal ablaut as a single syllable, hence ñ dyé-nà-méé ‘my children’ (non-kinship sense). The singular is bisyllabic diyáwⁿ ~ diyáwⁿ ‘child’, cf. ñ diyáwⁿ-yáwⁿ ‘my child’ (non-kinship). Stems like singular ‘child’ that begin with Ciuyv tend to reduce the i phonetically and approach Cyv without quite getting there.

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

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

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

3.2.11.3 Medial CC and CCC clusters

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(25)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>variant(s)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. NT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sǒmpèⁿ</td>
<td>sǒmbè</td>
<td>‘small hatchet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúmpè</td>
<td>kúmbè</td>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóntò</td>
<td>kóndò, kònò</td>
<td>‘left (side)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúwóntá(w)ⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘unmarried woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péntèⁿ</td>
<td>bòndò</td>
<td>‘herd, flock’ (compound final)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bòntò</td>
<td>bònò</td>
<td>‘granary’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no examples of #nc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùŋkò</td>
<td>kùŋgò</td>
<td>‘(sb’s) concern, interest’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bárâŋkàrì</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cart pole’ (French brancard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. ND

bòmbò"  'snot'
sóndşó  'joint’ (bones, carpentry)
pòndè  'sulk.Pfv'
tőrţjè  ‘Galam striped frog’
jéngèrent  jenteřè  ‘shed, stall’

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

There is an issue whether the NT and ND forms behave phonologically as clusters, or as unit phonemes in the form of prenasalized stops (which could then be transcribed as "b, etc.). The best way to test this is to compare the Ipfv stems of ČvČv and ČvNCv verbs. The Ipfv stem drops the final mora from H to L in /H/-melodic stems of the bimoraic shapes Čv and ČvČv, but not in trimoraic /H/-melodic stems like ČvČv and ČvČv and others (e.g. trisyllabics) that are still heavier. The Ipfv stems are HL-toned ČvČv and ČvČv in the first set, but ČvČv and ČvČv (unchanged from the Pfv stem) in the second set. It turns out that there are few ČvNCv Pfv stems to test. The limited evidence suggests that at least ČvNTv with voiceless stop is treated tonally as trimoraic. There is one clear example, kónt₅⁰/kónt₅¹ ‘curl up’, whose Pfv and Ipfv are identical. A rather messy case is ‘throw’, which has three attested variants either subdialectally or for individual speakers, reflecting different stages of lenition. The Pfv’s are génté, gendé, and géné. Individuals can alternate between either géné and génédé, or between génédé and géné. The data appear to suggest that génté is trimoraic (Ipfv also génté), géné is bimoraic (Ipfv génè), and génédé is treated variably (Ipfv génédé ~ géné).

/H/-melodic CvºCv stems with nasalized vowel and a medial sonorant or fricative are treated tonally as bimoraic. An example is pf"yè/pf”yè ‘get hot’.

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

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

3.2.11.4 Final CC clusters

There are no final consonant clusters at word level, excluding the variant pronunciation [m:] for stem-final mu (§3.4.3.1).
At word boundaries, the nasalization in stem-final \( y^n \) is expressed as a homorganic nasal (or, arguably, prenasalization) before a stop, e.g. \( ym \ b \ (\sim y^m b) \) and \( yn \ d \ (\sim y^nd) \) from \( y^n \) plus \( b \) or \( d \).

### 3.2.12 Historical linguistic significance of verb-stem alternations

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

#### 3.2.12.1 Unusual bisyllabic stem variants

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

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

(26) \( \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \text{Pfv/Ipfv} & \text{gloss} & \text{intransitive} & \text{gloss} \\ \hline \text{a. intransitive has same medial consonant as Ipfv} & & & \\ sîⁿ/sî-nil & \text{‘bite’} & sîné/sînè & \text{‘bite (do biting), take a bite’} \\ kwâ(-râ) & \text{‘hit’} & kwéré/kwérè & \text{‘hit (do hitting)’} \\ \hline \text{b. n/m alternation} & & & \\ kûⁿ/kû-nû & \text{‘catch’} & kûmé/kûmè & \text{‘be caught’} \\ \end{array} \)

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

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

#### 3.2.12.2 bâ(-râ) ‘exit (v)’

In J-S of Djenné, bâ(-râ) ‘exit (v)’ is a regular member of a fairly productive verb class with -RV Ipfv suffix (§10.1.3). See discussion of Cliffs irregular bâ/bâ-lâ in the corresponding subsection of the parallel grammar.
3.3 Vowels

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

\[
(27) \quad \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{back} & \text{front} \\
\text{high} & u & i \\
\text{mid} & [+\text{ATR}] & o & e \\
 & [-\text{ATR}] & \text{o} & \varepsilon \\
\text{low} & & a \\
\end{array}
\]

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

3.3.1 u absent

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

3.3.2 Short and long vowels

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

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

\[
(28) \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{stem} & \text{gloss} \\
a. \text{oral vowel (Cv)} & \\
fá ~ fó & \text{‘thing’ (§4.1.2)} \\
kà & \text{‘father’} \\
kò & \text{‘characteristic sound’} \\
\end{array}
\]
b. nasalized vowel (Cvⁿ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shape</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cvv</td>
<td>bóⁿ</td>
<td>‘cupping (medical bleeding)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fàⁿ</td>
<td>‘(sb’s) share’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kùⁿ</td>
<td>‘reason, basis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pèⁿ</td>
<td>‘collective hunt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3.3.3 Nasalized vowels

All seven oral vowel qualities, both short and long, are compatible with phonemic nasalization. Nasalized vowels occur word-finally, before semivowels {y w}, and before fricatives {f s} within a stem.
Sonorants do not spread nasality from one syllable to another. Note the contrasts in the nouns in (30a-b) and those in the verbs in (30c-d). Verbs like kiⁿyè (30c) do not end in a nasalized vowel and therefore do not nasalize Pfv morpheme ɡà to ɲà. Compare ɡà in (30c) with ɲà in (30d).

(30)  a. Cvⁿwv
      kúⁿwó 'bone'
      kúⁿwò 'husband'

     b. Cvvvⁿ
      kùwòⁿ 'five'

     c. Cvⁿyv
      kiⁿyè 'arrive' (Pfv) perfective kiⁿyè ɡà

     d. Cvvyv(w)ⁿ
      tíyë(w)ⁿ 'assemble' perfective tíyëⁿ ɲà

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

(31) [yùwóŋ kùwòm] bé ɡà
     /yùwòⁿ kùwòⁿ/ [woman five] come.Pfv Pfv
     'Five women came.'

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

(32)  a. áⁿ ɲà bóⁿ
     2Sg be.Loc here
     'You-Sg are here.'

     b. íⁿ ɲà bé bé
     1Pl Ipfv Fut come.Pfv
     'We will come.'
Postverbal Pfv ɲà also nasalizes to ŋà after many verbs ending in Nv syllables that do not prenasalize other following stops; see §9.1.1 for examples.

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

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

(33) [yùwóⁿ nàtâⁿ] nùmàsáⁿ ŋà /yùwóⁿ nàtâ(w)ⁿ /
[woman four] forget.Pfv Pfv
‘Four women forgot.’

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

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

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

3.3.4 Initial vowels

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

Vowel-initial lexical stems are rare. There are no vowel-initial verb, adjective, or numeral stems. There are a handful of a-initial nouns borrowed from Arabic and European languages: álà ‘God’, àlkámà ‘wheat’ (not grown locally), ápóló ‘conjunctivitis’ (which broke out in 1969, coinciding with the Apollo space mission). Some other Arabic nominal borrowings that might have added to this list have been reshaped by dropping the initial a as in lòbáànit ‘amber’ (cf.
Djenné Chiini *allubaa*), or by reshaping it as ga as in day-of-the-week terms like gâlââtì ~ gârááti ‘Sunday’ (cf. Djenné Chiini *alhaddi*).

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

3.3.5 Stem-final vowels

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

3.3.6 ATR harmony and Back/Rounding Harmony

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

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

(34) transitive (Pfv) intransitivized (Pfv) gloss

- a. tóró twéré ‘sell’
- b. sùwò súyè ‘cook’
- c. kú’ kúmè ‘catch’
- d. kwá kwérè ‘hit’
  wàà wiyè ‘kill’
  yàà yiyè ‘put down’
  dìyá dìyè ‘eat’

The a/e alternation with ‘hit’ suggests that the low vowel a patterns as [-ATR].
3.3.7 Diphthongs and VC syllable codas

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

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

3.3.8 Front rounded [y]

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

An example is the pairing of transitive tùwɔ́ ‘look at’ (transitive) and intransitive tùwɛ̀ ‘take a look’ (antipassive) or ‘be looked at, considered’ (passive), see §9.3.1. tùwɛ̀ can be pronounced as [tùwɛ̀], [tùjɛ̀], or [tỳ(j)ɛ̀]. For speakers who use the latter two pronunciations the transcription is tùyɛ̀.

3.3.9 Vocalic sound symbolism

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

3.3.10 Diphthongization of ɔ to wa

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

a. kɔ̀nì kwànì ‘bird’
kóŋó kwáná ‘lungfish’
kɔrì kwàrì ‘cooking pot’

b. gɔ́pì gwápì ‘transform’

c. fɔ̀ fɔ̀wá ‘become’ (§11.2.4.2)

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

For (reflexive) verb ‘sit’, the usual paradigm is fɔ̀pɔ̀ ‘disease’, but fwɔ̀pɔ̀ has also been recorded. ‘Sit’ and ‘become’ (with NP predicates) are partially homophonous, as in Cliffs (pwɔ̄/pɔ̀-lɔ̀).

3.4 Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1 Local segmental processes

3.4.1.1 d/l alternations

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

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

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

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

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

The interrogative topic (QTop) morpheme làa becomes dàa after a nasal in some combinations (§13.2.2.1). However, the shift l to d after nasal is not fully productive, as shown by nón làa with demonstrative nóⁿ and the QTop morpheme.
3.4.1.2 vv-Contraction

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

(36)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>input</th>
<th>output</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a a/</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>gà = à</td>
<td>Ipfv plus 3Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e e/</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>té = è</td>
<td>PfvNeg plus 3Pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(37)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>input</th>
<th>after Ipfv gà</th>
<th>after PfvNeg të</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>íⁿ</td>
<td>gè = ééⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logo/3ReflPl</td>
<td>é (~ íí)</td>
<td>gè = éé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

35
(38) final vowel example gloss DefSg plus bé gà ‘came’

a. nonlow vowels
i bàñi ‘pestle’ bàñí-im bé gà
e díyé ‘blood’ díyé-èm bé gà
ë bërè ‘porridge’ bërè-èm bé gà
ɔ gòpò ‘disease’ gòpò-òm bé gà
o búwòⁿ ‘mortar’ búwòⁿ-ò́m bé gà
u diyèmù ‘talk (n)’ diyèmù-ùm bé gà

b. low vowel
a gántè ‘country’ gántè-èm bé gà

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

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

3.4.2 Processes involving nasality

3.4.2.1 Word-final vⁿ and vwⁿ alternating with vN

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

(39) áⁿ sò gà ‘you-Sg went’
árn bé gà ‘you-Sg came’
án dègú gà ‘you-Sg were squeezed’
áŋ gòpò gà ‘you-Sg got sick’
áŋ ʃégó gà ‘you-Sg hiccuped’

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

2Sg áⁿ does not occur before a pause. Stems and other morphemes that can occur before a pause can be pronounced with final wⁿ in this position when the preceding vowel is from the set {a ɔ e}. The rounding disappears when the morpheme has a suffix or is phrased with another word,
in which case the nasality has the same realizations as for 2Sg áⁿ shown above. The extra rounding does not add a mora, and CvCv(w)ⁿ is treated prosodically (e.g. in tonal ablaut) like CvCv. The rounding can be interpreted as a a phonetic quirk of some nasalized vowels before pauses.

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

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

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

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

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

(40)  category          proclitic      ‘_ said’       with bidirectional case marker

      1Pl            ífⁿ          ífⁿ ñè           ífⁿ ɲè
      2Sg            áⁿ            áⁿ ñè           áⁿ ɲè
      1Sg            íj (+tones)  íj ñè           [not applicable]
      Logo/3ReflSg  íj            íj ñè           íj ɲè

3.4.2.3  Full nasalization of oral consonant

A few grammatical particles fully nasalize initial g or r ~ 1 to the corresponding nasal consonant, respectively ɲ and n, after a nasalized vowel or Nvⁿ syllable.
3.4.2.3.1 Full nasalization ǧà → ŋà

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

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

(41) morpheme gloss ‘_ come(s)’

a. áⁿ 2Sg áⁿ ŋà bí-yé
firⁿ 1Pl ŋíⁿ ŋà bí-yé
ũ LogoSg ŋ í ŋà bí-yé
ũ Sg ŋ í ŋà bí-yé (dialect 1)
 ŋ í ŋà bí-yé (dialect 2)

b. sùwó-yàwⁿ ‘the sheep’ sùwó-3ⁿ ŋà bí-yé

c. yùwóⁿ ‘a woman’ yùwóⁿ ŋà bí-yé

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

(42) verb (Pfv) gloss with Pfv ǧà

a. with ŋà after Tvⁿ

ţⁿ ‘swallow’ ŋţⁿ ŋà
ţrɔⁿ ‘pester’ ŋţrɔⁿ ŋà
tágaàn ‘line up to race’ ŋtágaàn ŋà

b. with ŋà after Nvⁿ

dònì(”) (variant) ‘make doughy’ dònìⁿ ŋà
kámi(”) ‘blink’ kámiⁿ ŋà
kánà("")  ‘share (v)’  kánà nà  
bàntà-ní("")  ‘make weary’  bàntà-ní nà  
c. with gà after Nv  
síyèmè  ‘tilt’  síyèmè gà  
tíyé-má  ‘become heavy’  tíyé-má gà  
kòmò  ‘cry out’  kòmò gà  
sóynà  ‘espy’  sóynà gà  
mànà  ‘become good’  mànà gà

3.4.2.3.2 Full nasalization rv/lv → nv

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

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

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

(43) verb (Ipfv)  gloss

a. with -nv after Tvⁿ  
tòrò-nà  ‘pester’

b. with -nv after Nvⁿ  
dònjí-ní (variant)  ‘make (sth) doughy’
kámi-ní  ‘blink’
kànjà-nà  ‘share (v)’

c. with -nv after Nv  
kòmò-nò  ‘cry out’
sóynà-nà  ‘espy’
d. with -nv after Nyyv
   míyè-nè                      ‘weave (strands)’

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

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

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

3.4.3 Apocope and Syncope

3.4.3.1 Apocope (deletion of final u)

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

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

3.4.3.2 Syncope

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

(45)    stem       gloss           compound            gloss
   a. tàábáři  ‘table (portable stand)’  tàábàr-twèrè-yà  ‘re-seller (with table)’
   b. súgə̀rù  ‘sugar’               súgór-diỳé-yà  ‘honey ant’ (“sugar-eater”)

For Cuwv and Ciyv incompletely syncopating to Cwv and Cyv, see §3.2.11.2.
3.5 Cliticization and linkers

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

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

Pronouns have full independent forms, and proclitic forms that occur before verbs (as subjects or objects), before nouns (as possessors), and before postpositions. Most of the independent pronouns can be segmented into a proclitic and a noun-like stem. For example, 1Pl is independent ín-dùwɔ̀ or proclitic ín. Other than minor sandhi processes involving tone dissimilations and nasal assimilations, the proclitics have little phonological interaction with the following hosts. An important exception is the 1Sg proclitic ñ which produces idiosyncratic tonal changes on the following host (§4.3.3). Likewise, prenominal demonstratives (§4.2.1) interact tonally with nouns.

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

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

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

3.6 Tones

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

(46) tone example gloss
H gôôn ‘okra’
L côò ‘stick’
<HL> dóò ‘cotton’
<LH> tàá ‘half’
<LHL> nààn ‘between’
‘Between’ is a rare example of <LHL> in a syllable and reflects contraction of an original bisyllabic preserved in Cliffs cognate nāŋā. The other example is mēⁿ allomorph of the relative morpheme, which is probably contracted from definite singular *māⁿ-yāwⁿ (§14.1.1).

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

Most contour-toned syllables have long vowels or else a short vowel plus a sonorant. Where possible, transcriptions like Cvā have long vowels, or else a short vowel plus a sonorant. Where this does not work, Cv means <HL, Cv means <LH and Cv means <ML> tone (see “Abbreviations and Symbols” which follows the texts and references cited).

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

(47) a. /H/ versus /L/
    dō ‘mouth’
    dā ‘knife’
    kūwō ‘pole’
    kūwā ‘salt’
    sōŋō ‘the bush, outback’
    sōŋā ‘price’

b. /H/ versus /HL/
    tūwō ‘cemetery’
    tūwā ‘handle’

c. /HL/ versus /L/
    dábā ‘soluble ink’
    dābā ‘daba (hoe)’
    tīnē ‘waterjar’
    tīnē ‘stool’

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

In addition, H-toned stems and particles are phonetically downstepped in two positions: a) after an LH-toned word (§3.6.5.1), and b) at the end of intonation phrases following another H-
toned word (§3.6.5.2). Since the pitch drop in both (a) and (b) is predictable, it is not indicated in the basic transcription used here.

3.6.1 Lexical tone melodies

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

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

3.6.1.1 Summary of lexical tone melodies of verb stems

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

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

(48) Verbs with segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv</th>
<th>melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. tones also invariant (Pfv = Ipfv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/H (Cv/Cv)</td>
<td>/H/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/H (trimoraic or heavier stems)</td>
<td>/H/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/L (only sò/sò ‘go’)</td>
<td>/L/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. tones distinguish Pfv (level-toned) from Ipfv (contour-toned)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H/HL (only bimoraic-bisyllabic Cv/Cv/Cv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/LH (bimoraic and longer stems)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In J-S of Djenné, H-toned Pfv’s of three or more moras, e.g. kú“wáá ‘whiten’, génté ‘throw’ (variant), and féré-gá ‘become light(er)’, have homophonous H-toned Ipfv’s. By contrast, in Cliffs, heavy stems like these behave like CvCv stems and drop the final tone in the Ipfv.
(49) summarizes tonal patterns for verbs that do have an Ipfv suffix. A hyphen represents the boundary between stem and Ipfv suffix.

(49) **Verbs with Ipfv suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv</th>
<th>melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a. tones invariant</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>monosyllabic</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/H-H</td>
<td>/H/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/H-L (only kɔ́ⁿ/kɔ́-nɔ́ ‘take to pasture’)</td>
<td>/H(L)/ (or /H/ plus floating L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/L-L</td>
<td>/L/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL/H-L (Cvv and CvY stems)</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>heavier stems</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL/H-L-L (bisyllabic and longer stems)</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHL/LHL-L (trimoraic and longer stems)</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Ipfv tones differ from Pfv tones**

* bimoraic and longer stems
  
| LH/LH-L              | /LH(L)/              |

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

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

§3.6.5.1 below will discuss the possibility that all apparent LH-final stems and words are covertly LHL (or LH plus floating L).
3.6.1.2 Summary of lexical tone melodies for noun stems

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

(51) a. monosyllabic
   monomoraic (Cv, Cvⁿ, Cwv)
   /H/, /L/
   bimoraic (Cvv, Cvẏ, Cvwn)
   /H/, /L/, /HL/, rarely /LH/

b. light bisyllabic (CvCv)
   /H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/

c. bisyllabic with heavy initial syllable (CvvCv, CvNCv)
   /H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/

d. bisyllabic with heavy final syllable (e.g. CvCvv, CvCvy)
   /H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/

e. trisyllabic and longer (CvCvCv, etc.)
   /H/, /L/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/
   rarely /HLH/, see (57) in §3.6.1.4 below

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

Monosyllabic nouns are in (52). The common melodies are monotonal /H/, /L/, and /HL/. /LH/ melody is attested in one noun stem. In addition to simple singular and plural, forms with 1Sg possessor Ń (+H) are shown. Stems with /L/ melody have subdialectally based variation in plural tones, depending on whether Final Tone-Raising applies to the second mora of the stem. If it does not apply, the plural suffix polarizes to the entirely L-toned stem and raises to -yé. Diachronically, forms like mùùⁿ-yè ‘noses’ are likely original, while forms like mùùⁿ-yé reflect a rightward shift of the H-tone.
The tonal changes associated with 1Sg possessor (§3.6.3) shift /L/ and /HL/ melodies to HL, /HL/ melody to LH, and /H/ melody to L.

### 3.6.1.3 Rising melodies in nouns

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

### 3.6.1.4 Examples of lexical tone melodies of nouns

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(52)</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’ (Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>múù(^n) múù(^n)-yè</td>
<td>rm múù(^n) rm múù(^n)-yè</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dòò</td>
<td>dòò-yè</td>
<td>ñ dòò</td>
<td>ñ dòò-yè</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>pàà</td>
<td>pàà-yè</td>
<td>rm pàà</td>
<td>rm pàà-yè</td>
<td>‘beer vat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>téè</td>
<td>téè-yè</td>
<td>ñ téè</td>
<td>ñ téè-yè</td>
<td>‘tea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>dòò</td>
<td>dòò-yè</td>
<td>ñ dòò</td>
<td>ñ dòò-yè</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàà</td>
<td>nàà-yè</td>
<td>ñ nàà</td>
<td>ñ nàà-yè</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>tàà</td>
<td>tàà-yè</td>
<td>ñ tàà</td>
<td>ñ tàà-yè</td>
<td>‘half’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’ (Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>tääná</td>
<td>tääná-yè</td>
<td>ñ tääná</td>
<td>ñ tääná-yè</td>
<td>‘crazy person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ ñ tääná-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kéewú</td>
<td>kéewú-yè</td>
<td>ñ kéewú</td>
<td>ñ kéewú-yè</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ ñ kéewú-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/-1 (productive type)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáárù</td>
<td>sáárù-yè</td>
<td>ñ sáárù</td>
<td>ñ sáárù-yè</td>
<td>‘broom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(variant sáárò)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/-2 (only example)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>báanà</td>
<td>báanà-yè</td>
<td>ñ báanà</td>
<td>ñ báanà-yè</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both \( /H\) and \( /L\) stems \( /L*H/ \) and \( /LH*\), since the available examples are all L.L.H with the tone break at the right edge and \( /HL*\) for H.L.L sequences.

Trisyllabic shapes are in (55).

(55)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’ (Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H</td>
<td>kùràa kùràá-yè</td>
<td>ñ kùràa ñ kùràá-yè</td>
<td>‘eating bowl’</td>
<td>‘eating bowl’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mánáá(n) mánáá(n)-yè</td>
<td>ñ mánáá(n) ñ mánáá(n)-yè</td>
<td>‘plastic, rubber’</td>
<td>‘plastic, rubber’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>kùràá kùràá-yè</td>
<td>ñ kùràá ñ kùràá-yè</td>
<td>‘hip’</td>
<td>‘hip’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L</td>
<td>jàtti jàtti-yè ~ jàtti-yè</td>
<td>ñ jàtti ñ jàtti-yè</td>
<td>‘host’</td>
<td>‘host’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sisàa sisàa-yè ~ sisàá-yè</td>
<td>ñ sisàa ñ sisàá-yè</td>
<td>‘cream of millet’</td>
<td>‘cream of millet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>dùbáá dùbáá-yè</td>
<td>ñ dùbáá ñ dùbáá-yè</td>
<td>‘ground’</td>
<td>‘ground’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wàláá(n) wàláá(n)-yè</td>
<td>ñ wàláá(n) ñ wàláá(n)-yè</td>
<td>‘wooden tablet’</td>
<td>‘wooden tablet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>nàmáá nàmáá-yè</td>
<td>ñ nàmáá ñ nàmáá-yè</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kënéé kënéé-yè</td>
<td>ñ kënéé ñ kënéé-yè</td>
<td>‘dream’ (variant)</td>
<td>‘dream’ (variant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trisyllabic shapes are in (56). /HL/ melody divides into into /H*L/ for H.H.L syllable sequences, and /HL*/ for H.L.L sequences. Evidence is lacking for a parallel division of trisyllabic /LH/ into /L*H/ and /LH*, since the available examples are all L.L.H with the tone break at the right edge. Both /HL*/ and /L/ stems allow Final Tone-Raising to apply before the plural suffix. For trisyllabic
(and longer) /L/ stems, omission of Final Tone-Raising is uncommon. The 1Sg possessor forms show tone patterns similar to those on shorter stems described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(56)</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’ (Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>kérégé</td>
<td>kérégé-yè</td>
<td>ĕ kérègè</td>
<td>ĕ kérègè-yè</td>
<td>‘saddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tántabá</td>
<td>tántabá-yè</td>
<td>ñ tántabá</td>
<td>ñ tántabá-yè</td>
<td>‘ladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H*L/</td>
<td>kérémù</td>
<td>kérémù-yè</td>
<td>ĕ kérémù</td>
<td>ĕ kérémù-yè</td>
<td>‘armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sárífə</td>
<td>sárífə-yè</td>
<td>ĕ sárífə</td>
<td>ĕ sárífə-yè</td>
<td>‘married person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL*/</td>
<td>námakù</td>
<td>námakù-yè</td>
<td>ĕ námakù</td>
<td>ĕ námakù-yè</td>
<td>‘gingerroot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>támàrò</td>
<td>támàrò-yè</td>
<td>ñ támàrò</td>
<td>ñ támàrò-yè</td>
<td>‘date(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>kà-bòrò</td>
<td>kà-bòrò-yè</td>
<td>ĕ kà-bòrò</td>
<td>ĕ kà-bòrò-yè</td>
<td>‘paternal uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diyèmù</td>
<td>diyèmù-yè</td>
<td>ñ diyèmù</td>
<td>ñ diyèmù-yè</td>
<td>‘talk (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH/</td>
<td>fʊŋnò(w)²</td>
<td>fʊŋnò-yè</td>
<td>ĕ fʊŋnò</td>
<td>ĕ fʊŋnò-yè</td>
<td>‘young woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tümpanà</td>
<td>tümpanà-yè</td>
<td>ñ tümpanà</td>
<td>ñ tümpanà-yè</td>
<td>‘necked gourd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>màsakùu</td>
<td>màsakùu-yè</td>
<td>mà màsakùu</td>
<td>mà màsakùu-yè</td>
<td>‘sweet potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bùgùtù</td>
<td>bùgùtù-yè</td>
<td>mà bùgùtù</td>
<td>mà bùgùtù-yè</td>
<td>‘buttock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>màrifà</td>
<td>màrifà-yè</td>
<td>mà màrifà</td>
<td>mà màrifà-yè</td>
<td>‘rifle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(57)</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>‘my’ (Sg)</th>
<th>‘my’ (Pl)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/HLH/</td>
<td>mààngòró</td>
<td>mààngòró-yè</td>
<td>mà mààngòró</td>
<td>mà mààngòró-yè</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fiintími</td>
<td>fiintími-yè</td>
<td>ĕ fiintími</td>
<td>ĕ fiintími-yè</td>
<td>‘a trifle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ fiintímí)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns of four or more moras, especially those with at least four syllables, may well be parsed prosodically by native speakers as compounds, even when component stems cannot be identified. Some nouns with apparent /HLH/ melody might be reanalysed in this way. Similarly, the tones of kàrbòrò ‘Songhay person’ with the tone break between second and third out of four syllables
would be unusual and probably irregular in an uncompounded noun, but not so if parsed
prosodically as a compound kɔ́r-bɔ̀rɔ́.

A tonal minimal trio is (58).

(58)  a. bʊwɔ́ ‘track, footprint’ /H/
b. bʊwɔ̀ ‘dike (in field)’ /HL/
c. bʊwɔ̀ ‘agmate’ /L/

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

(59)  a. kʊⁿwɔ́ ‘bone’ /H/
b. kʊⁿwɔ̀ ‘husband’ /HL/
c. kʊⁿwɔ̀ ‘hot season’ /L/

3.6.1.5 Lexical tone melodies for adjectives and numerals

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

(60)  melody adjective (Adj2) gloss

   a. underived
       /H/ dʊ́mɔ́ ‘sweet’
       /L/ mɑ̀nɔ̀ ‘good’
       /HL/ wáárà(w)n ‘smart, well-behaved’

   b. diminutive suffix -gù
       LH-L miyé-gù ‘small’
       HL-H fɔ́rì-gù ‘lightweight’

   c. participial suffix -na
       H-H  ɲíŋá-ná  ‘nasty, mean’
       HL-L nɔgɔ́-nà  ‘dirty’
       L-L  tɔmɔ́-nà  ‘red’
       LH-L dègù-nà  ‘tight, crowded’
3.6.1.6 Tone-break location for bitonal verb stems

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

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

Verbs with bitonal lexical melodies have syllabic Ipfv suffixes, but do not shift the tone break rightward when the suffix is present: tăpĭ(-rī) ‘push’, kŏmă(-nă) ‘(animal) cry out’. CvCv, CvCv, and CvCv verbs keep the break at the syllable boundary: lăbăăn/lăbăă-nă ‘finish (a job)’, filôn/filô-nò ‘slurp (tea)’, sápı(-nă) ‘espy’, and wăăjă(-rī) ‘sweat (v)’. Underived trisyllabic and longer verbs with /HL/ melody have the tone break at the rightmost syllable boundary, as in sărătī(-rī) ‘schedule (v)’. This does not apply to suffixally derived verbs like kásă-mă/kásă-mă ‘coincide’.

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

3.6.1.7 Tone-break location for tritonal verb stems

Trimoraic /LHL/-melodic verbs take the forms CvCvCv, CvCv, and CvCv, as each mora bears one tone. If the stem has four moras, the tone breaks are at syllable boundaries, as in dūwáabù ~ dūwáawù ‘give a blessing to’. If the first of three syllables is long, there are two tonal options:
initial rising tone in bàádiyè ‘injure’, but tone breaks at syllable boundaries in bàämíyè ‘imitate’ and pààŋkàrà ‘get together with (others)’. This divergence might be resolved if one or both types are treated as composite (bàá-diyè, bàá-míyè, pààŋ-kàrà). Iterative stems also show a divergence: kùsùn-kùsù ‘shake up and down’ but dògò-dògò ‘tickle’ (if the H-tone of the latter is not secondary).

3.6.1.8 Tone-break location for bitonal non-verb stems

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

For /HL/, if a bisyllabic stem is trimoraic CvCv, CvycV, CvCvv, or CvCvy, the tone break is normally at the syllable boundary: wááti ‘time’, múynà ‘mood’, sìrà ‘snuff’, pátày ~ pátèy ‘outside of house’. The known exceptions are báánà ‘manner’ (cf. Cliffs Jamsay báánà), sìrè ‘kite (hawk)’ (variant sìyèrè), and the onomatopoeic kúyú ‘(women’s) ululation’.

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

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

3.6.1.9 Tone-Component location for tritonal non-verb stems

Most /LHL/-melodic nouns are trimoraic CvCvCv, CvvCv, or CVCv with one tone element per mora. Trisyllabics with a long second or third vowel keep the tone breaks at the syllable boundaries: kásáàrà ‘natural disaster’, ñàŋmìi ‘tax’. Trisyllabics with long first vowel either do the same, as in bààdégè ‘noise’, or have the tone break in the first syllable as in jòòŋkòmù ‘black emperor scorpion’. These heavy trisyllabics can alternatively be parsed prosodically as compounds, as is also the case with quadrisyllabic gàràámùsà ‘Thursday’.

The only /HLH/ nouns are mááŋgòrò ‘mango’ and fiìntimì ~ fiìntinì ‘a trifle’, with one tone element per syllable.

52
3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.6.2.1 Summary of grammatical tone modifications for verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

Examples are in (64).
When a transitive verb is immediately preceded by 1Sg object ŋ, at least the onset of the verb undergoes Tone Inversion. For example, 1Sg ŋ combines with kà‘see.Pfv’ as ŋkà, and with kwá-rà ‘hit.Ipfv’ as ŋkwá-rà. See §4.3.3.4 for details.

3.6.2.2 Summary of grammatical tone modifications for nouns

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

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

(65) noun gloss plural
dialect 1 dialect 2

a. kù‘basis’ kù-yè kù-yé
dò ‘knife’ dò-yè dò-yé
bògò ‘squash (n)’ bògò-yè bògò-yé

b. dò’sò ‘hunter’ dò-sò-yè
yàbùyà ‘albino’ yàbùyà-yè
Under some conditions, the dialectal difference in (61a) is masked by subsequent tone sandhi triggered by following L-toned words or particles.

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

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

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

3.6.3 Tonal ablaut (morphophonology)

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

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

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

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

The maximal set of input-output relationships is summarized in (66). In this subsection, place assimilation of ŋ̀ (to m, ŋ, ŋ) is disregarded to focus on tones.
(66) | input tones | output | output formula |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>all-H</td>
<td>ħ all-L</td>
<td>H#L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>HL, rarely HLH</td>
<td>ħ LH…</td>
<td>H#LH…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>all-L, LH(L)</td>
<td>ħ HL…</td>
<td>L#HL…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

3.6.3.2 Tonal changes on noun after demonstrative

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

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

a. /H/ melody
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
múú & múú-yè & kù-nù(\text{“}) múú-yàw^n & kù-nù(\text{“}) múú-yè & \text{‘nose’} \\
sùbá(w)^n & sùbá^-yè & kù-nù(\text{“}) sùbá^-yàw^n & kù-nù(\text{“}) sùbá^-yè & \text{‘market’} \\
tîyé & tîyé-yè & kù-nù(n) tîyé-yàw^n & kù-nù(n) tîyé-yè & \text{‘oil’} \\
kérégé & kérégé-yè & kù-nù(\text{η}) kérégé-yàw^n & kù-nù(\text{η}) kérégé-yè & \text{‘saddle’} \\
\end{array}
\]

b. /HL/ melody

\[
\text{remains HL-toned (bisyllabic)} \\
kásò & kásò-yè & kù-nù(\text{η}) kásò-yàw^n & kù-nù(\text{η}) kásò-yè & \text{‘prison’} \\
sâärû & sâärû-yè & kù-nù(\text{“}) sâärû-yàw^n & kù-nù(\text{η}) sâärû-yè & \text{‘broom’} \\
\text{becomes HLH-toned (trisyllabic)} \\
támârò & támârò-yè & kù-nù(n) támârò-yàw^n & kù-nù(n) támârò-yè & \text{‘date(s)’} \\
\]

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

(68) noun plural ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’ gloss

a. /L/ melody
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
dòò & dòò-yè & kùnù(n) dòò-yàw^n & kùnù(n) dòò-yè & \text{‘knife’} \\
\sim dòò-yè & & & & \\
yùwò^n & yùwò^-yè & kùnù(“) yùwò^-yàw^n & kùnù(“) yùwò^-yè & \text{‘woman’} \\
\sim yùwò^-yè & & & & \\
dìyèmù & diyèmù-yè & kùnù(n) diyèmù-yàw^n & kùnù(n) diyèmù-yè & \text{‘talk (n)’} \\
\end{array}
\]

b. /LH/

\[\text{becomes HL} \]
\[
kòmò^n & kòmò^-yè & kùnù(\text{η}) kòmò-yàw^n & kùnù(\text{η}) kòmò-yè & \text{‘sickle’} \\
\]

57
becomes HLH

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wàláá}^n & \quad \text{wàláá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}^n & \quad \text{wàláá}^n-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘tablet’} \\
\text{túmpánà}^n & \quad \text{túmpánà}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{túmpánà}^n-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘gourd’} \\
\text{fòŋòŋnà}^n & \quad \text{fòŋòŋnà}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{fòŋòŋnà}^n-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘young woman’}
\end{align*}
\]

becomes HHH (trisyllabic)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kàmáá}^n & \quad \text{kàmáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{kàmáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘tale’} \\
\text{námáá} & \quad \text{námáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{námáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{mísírí} & \quad \text{mísírí}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{mísíří}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘mosque’} \\
\text{wòtó́rò} & \quad \text{wòtó́rò}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{wòtó́rò}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘cart’}
\end{align*}
\]

c. /LHL/

becomes HLH

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kàmáá}^n & \quad \text{kàmáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{kàmáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘tale’} \\
\text{námáá} & \quad \text{námáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{námáá}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{mísírí} & \quad \text{mísírí}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{mísíří}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘mosque’} \\
\text{wòtó́rò} & \quad \text{wòtó́rò}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{kùnù}(n) & \quad \text{wòtó́rò}-\text{yè} & \quad \text{‘cart’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.6.3.3 Tone Leveling

The domain of Tone Leveling, consisting of an initial and a final, is either a nonpossessive N-N compound or a N-Adj combination. The tone-leveled N-N compound type is distinct from another N-N compound type which takes the tonal form of a possessor-possessum combination. The tone-leveled N-Adj type is limited to a noun plus just one adjective. If there is a second adjective, i.e. [N-Adj1]-Adj2 (note the bracketing), Adj2 is unaffected and surfaces with its lexical tone melody. The process works as indicated in (69).

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

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

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

a. /L/, /LH/, /LHL/  /L/, /H/  L#L
   /H/, /HL/  /L/, /H/  H#H

b. /L/, /LH/, /LHL/  /HL/, /LHL/, /LH/  L#H*L
   /H/, /HL/  /HL/, /LHL/, /LH/  H#H*L

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

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

3.6.4  Low-level tone sandhi rules

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

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

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

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

Upstep is more significant in Kelenga, where upstepped 3Sg à and 3Pl è are more consistently mid-pitched and where they remain tonally distinct from 2Sg á and 2Pl í.
second and third person proclitics distinct is less of an issue in J-S of Djenné. In the latter, 2Sg áⁿ is distinguished from 3Sg à and its tonal variants by nasality, and 2Pl áá cannot be confused with 3Pl è or its variants. Likewise, 1Pl ííⁿ is distinguished from 3Pl è and from Logo/3ReflPl é by nasality.

3.6.4.2 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

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

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

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

3.6.4.3 Suffixal H-Tone Spreading

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

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

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

(71) agentive gloss source(s)

a. -yà after /L/ or contour melody
/L/ melody
kùⁿwà-yà ‘coward’ kùⁿwà ‘fear (v)’

/HL/ melody
káràⁿ-yà ‘herder’ káràⁿ ‘take/drive (herd) to pasture’

/LH/ melody
sùwó-yà ‘singer’ sùwó ‘sing’
b. -yá after all-H verb

kéré-yá  ‘warrior’
béwóⁿ-mééní-yá  ‘carpenter’

kéré ‘fight (v)’, béwóⁿ ‘mortar’, mééní ‘make’

1. -yá after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)

kóⁿ-yá  ‘herder’
kóⁿ (Ipfv kóⁿ-nó) ‘take to pasture’

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

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

(72) Pfv Ipfv gloss

a. L-toned suffix after /L/ or contour melody

/HL/ melody

bóy  bóy-rí  ‘greet’
súgòⁿ  súgòⁿ-nó  ‘squat’

/LH/ melody

báfí  báfí-rí  ‘post (v), affix’

/LHL/ melody

táási  táási-rí  ‘think’

/L/ melody (applies to monomoraic Cv verbs)
wá  wá-rá  ‘become fragile’

b. H-toned suffix after /H/ melody

síⁿ  sí-ní  ‘bite’

c. L-toned suffix after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)
kóⁿ  kóⁿ-nó  ‘take to pasture’

Another suffix with similar tonal expression is participial -nó (§4.5.1.3).
(73) Pfv participle gloss of verb

a. -nà after /L/ or contour melody
   /HL/ melody
   nógò   nógò-nà ‘be dirty’
   /LH/ melody
   kùrgùtú kùrgùtú-nà ‘make into ball shape’
   /L/ melody
   pìynyè  pìynyè-nà ‘become black’

b. -ná after /H/ melody
   bílá  bílá-ná ‘be alive’

c. -nà after covertly /HL/-melodic Cv verb (only example)
   kóń  kó-nà ‘remove pus from a pustule (pimple)’

3.6.4.4 Final Tone-Raising and Rightward H-Tone Shift

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

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

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

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

Some examples of Final Tone-Raising follow. In (74), the final mora (bolded) of an /L/-melodic stem or L-toned monosyllabic particle is raised before another L-tone. Monomoraic C\v raises to C\v in some cases (inflectional particles, sò ‘go’), but to C\v in others. (74a) shows /L/-melodic nouns in subject, possessor, object, and postpositional complement functions. (74b) shows L-toned Pfv verbs before various postverbal adjuncts. (74c) shows C\v grammatical particles before verbs, objects, or (in the case of Pfv gà) postverbal adjuncts.
In (74), a word ending in H-tone plus two L-toned moras raises its final L to H. This is typical of dialect 1, though the raised final H may be at lower pitch than the earlier H due to downdrift. For the dialect 2 speaker, the final mora is not raised.
(75) dialect 1 type gloss input

a. bááná gà yáwⁿ N ‘a manner is there’ báánà ‘manner’
kóngòrò gà yáwⁿ N ‘a dog is there’ kôngòrò ~ kôngòrò ‘dog’

b. … bàádiyè nògí-ŷ V ‘wounded in the village’ bàádiyè ‘wounded’
… nàgàsí-nì nògf-ŷ V ‘withered in the village’ nàgàsí-nì ‘made wither’

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

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

(76) combination type gloss input

a. … sàńà yùwòⁿ ‘and’ ‘… and a woman’ sàńà ‘and’

b. misíří sigèⁿ N ‘three mosques’ misíří ‘mosque’

c. … síyè [bàńí nì] V ‘… pounded with a pestle’ síyè ‘pounded’
… tǐⁿ nògí-ŷ V ‘… did in the village’ tǐⁿ ‘did’

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

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

Nouns but not verbs show a shift of bell-shaped /LHL/ melody to H-final L(L)H in some of the positions where /L/-melodic nouns undergo Final Tone-Raising.
The /LHL/-melodic nouns in question have the shapes C̀vC̀v, C̀vC̃ṽ, and C̀vĆṽ. They become respectively C̀vC̀vC̀v, C̀vC̃ṽC̃ṽ, and C̀vĆṽC̃ṽ, before most of the same L-toned forms that trigger Final-Tone Raising in /L/-melodic noun (but not Focus wò, see below).

(77) sèdù ‘Seydou’ màiřa ‘a rifle’

a. unshifted before H-tone
‘_ came’ sèdù bê gã màiřa bê gã

b. shifted before L-tone
‘_ comes’ sèdù gã bí-yé màiřa gã bí-yé
‘_ went’ sèdù sò gã màiřa sò gã
‘under _’ sèdù mún màiřa mún
‘they saw _’ (i) yè sèdú kây gã (i) yè màiřã kây gã
‘three _’ — màiřa sigèn
‘_’s house’ sèdú jàmàà màiřa jàmàà

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

For the failure of Rightward H-Tone Shift to occur before Focus marker wò, see §3.6.4.4.4. Verbs with LHL tones, including cases where the final L is a suffix, do not undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift before L-tones (78a-b). Final Tone-Raising, on the other hand, does apply if the verb is otherwise all-L-toned (78c).

(78) a. ā gã bá= ā dègú-mí nògí-ŷ
   3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg be.squeezed-Caus.Pfv village-Loc
   ‘He/She squeezed it in the village.’

b. ā gã jègú-rù nògí-ŷ
   3Sg Ipfv hiccup-Ipfv village-Loc
   ‘He/She hiccups in the village.’

c. ā yà= ā mènê ná nògí-ŷ
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg fix.Pfv Pfv village-Loc
   ‘He/She made (=manufactured) it in the village.’ (< mènêni, nà)
3.6.4.3 Final Tone-Raising and Tone Jumping on C̀v stems

There are a few L-toned monomoraic stems (C̀v). Six such nouns, e.g. kà ‘father’ and dáⁿ ‘maximum (n)’, are included in the list (28) in §3.3.2. Inflectionally full-fledged C̀v verbs are sò/sò ‘go’ (§10.1.6.1) and, in the Pfv only, the stems listed in (524b) in §10.1.3. To these verbs can be added the L-toned variant of quotative quasi-verb yè ~ yé ‘said’ (§17.1.2), whose tone is mainly controlled by the preceding subject.

The C̀v noun stems raise partially to C̀v in dialect 1 and fully to C̀́v in dialect 2 when followed by another L-tone. This is illustrated for kà ‘father’ in (79). Dialect 1 C̀v can be realized as [C̀ví] with level mid pitch, approximating the pitch of upstepped third person pronominals like 3Sg à (upstepped ā).

(79) [ä / íŋ] kà] sò gá [dialect 1]
    [ká] [dialect 2]
    [3Sg/1Pl father] go.Pfv Pfv
    ‘His-or-her/Our father went.’

Excluding ‘go’ and ‘said’, Pfv C̀v verbs take rising-toned form in tone-raising environments, in both dialects. This is illustrated with Pfv wà ‘became threadbare’ (80). Phonetically, wà can be leveled to flat mid pitch [wå].

(80) ä gà bé wà nògí-ŷ
    3Sg Ipfv Fut become.threadbare.Pfv village-Loc
    ‘It will become threadbare in the village.’

For sò/sò ‘go’, the rising-toned option is not available; it either raises to só or remains L-toned (with the expected H-tone transferred rightward). In dialect 1, it raises to só (81).

(81) ä gà bé só nògí-ŷ [dialect 1]
    3Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv village-Loc
    ‘He/She will go to the village.’

In dialect 2, sò ‘go’ remains L-toned. However, if it is followed by an all-L-toned word or by a word beginning with two L-toned syllables, the H-tone that would be expected on sò appears on the left edge of the following word (82a-b). This can be referred to as Tone Jumping.

(82) a. à gà bé só (~ yè) [nàmàà bòróⁿ]-ë [dialect 2]
    3Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [house big-DefSg]-Loc
    ‘He/She will go to the big house.’ (<nàmàà bòróⁿ)
b. áⁿ  njá  sô  mîⁿ [dialect 2]
   2Sg  Ipfv  go.Ipfv  where?
   ‘Where are you-Sg going?’ (< mîⁿ)

However, in dialect 2 when sô is followed by an LH-toned word with a single initial L-toned mora, raising the first syllable of the LH-toned word is blocked, presumably since this would eliminate the L-tone. In (83), therefore, neither sô nor the left edge of the following word (both bolded) is raised to H.

(83) á  gà  bé  sô  ngî-ŷ [dialect 2]
   3Sg  Ipfv  Fut  go.Pfv  village-Loc
   ‘He/She will go to the village.’

yè ~ yé ‘said’ is H-toned yé after L-toned pronominal proclitics: 3Sg à, 3Pl è, 1Sg ĵ (+H). These combinations can be disregarded here. The quasi-verb is L-toned yè after nonpronominal subjects and after H-toned pronominals, so the issue of whether it is subject to Final Tone-Raising is relevant. In my (incomplete) data it becomes yè before another L-tone (84). This usefully distinguishes it from bidirectional case-marker yè, which raises fully to yé before another L-tone (§3.6.4.4.5 below).

(84) áámadû  yè  [sèédû  gà  bi-yè]  
   A  said  [S  Ipfv  come-Ipfv]
   ‘Amadou said that Seydou is coming.’

In both dialects, Çv and Çvⁿ Pfv verb stems combine with postverbal Pfv particle gà (or nasalized ñà) as Çv gà and Çvⁿ ĵà (§10.1.3, §10.2.1.1), for expected *Çv gà and *Çvⁿ ñà. These combinations show Tone Jumping not limited to just sô ‘went’.

Tone Jumping may also be responsible for the subdialectal difference between nominal plurals like ÇvÇv-yè (dialect 2) and ÇvÇv-yè (dialect 1) for /L/-melodic nouns. have applied in nominal plurals in dialect 2 (§4.1.1). If the dialect 1 forms are taken as diachronically older, Tone Jumping has applied in dialect 2.

3.6.4.4.4  Çv morphemes that partially fail to trigger raising/shift

The suffixes and enclitics in (85) trigger Final Tone-Raising only on preceding words and particles that are all-L, and (in dialect 1) others that end with at least two L-toned moras. They do not trigger Final Tone-Raising on words ending in HL tones (with a single L-toned mora), and they do not trigger Rightward H-Tone Shift.
(85) a. after nominals, adverbs, etc.
    -yè     plural
    -yàwⁿ  definite singular
    wò ~ wù focus (enclitic)

b. after verbs
gà   perfective positive (enclitic)

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

(86)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tonal type</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gloss (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. all-L</td>
<td>nàà</td>
<td>nàà-yè</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sùwɔ</td>
<td>sùwɔ-yè (dialect 1)</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sùwɔ-yè (dialect 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. HLL</td>
<td>báànà</td>
<td>báànà-yè (dialect 1)</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>báànà-yè (dialect 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. HLL/HHL</td>
<td>kóŋgòrò</td>
<td>kóŋgòrò-yè (dialect 1)</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kóŋgòrò</td>
<td>kóŋgòrò-yè (dialect 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. HL</td>
<td>sègè</td>
<td>sègè-yè</td>
<td>‘leggings, (pair of) pants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. LHL</td>
<td>misírí</td>
<td>misírí-yè</td>
<td>‘mosque’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The situation is similar with DefSg -yàwⁿ. Prepausal including citation forms are shown in (87). Within clauses (recall the S-infl-O-V-X order which makes prepausal position rare for NPs), the DefSg suffix is usually severely contracted, sometimes masking the full tonal pronunciation.
(87)  | tonal type | stem | DefSg (prepausal) | gloss of stem
--- | --- | --- | --- |
a. all-L | nàà | nàá-yàwⁿ | ‘cow’
  | sùwò | sùwó-yàwⁿ | ‘sheep’
b. HLL | báànà | báànà-yàwⁿ (dialect 1) | ‘manner’
  | báànà-yàwⁿ (dialect 2) |
c. HLL/HHL | kòngóò | kòngóó-yàwⁿ (dialect 1) | ‘dog’
  | kòngóó-yàwⁿ (dialect 2) |
d. HL | ségè | ségè-yàwⁿ | ‘leggings, (pair of) pants’
e. LHL | misíí | misíí-yàwⁿ | ‘mosque’

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

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

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

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

(89)  a. ë/ë  yè  sèèdú  kàý  gà
      3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv
     ‘He-or-she/They saw Seydou.’

      b. áá / áámàdú  ýé  sèèdú  kàý  gà
         2Pl / A Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv
     ‘You-Pl/Amadou saw Seydou.’

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

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

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

(90)  a. derivational
      -ni  causative (§9.1.1)
      -(a)ma  inchoative (§9.4.4)
      -ga  inchoative (§9.4.5)

      b. inflectional (aspect-marking)
         -RV  imperfective

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

The Pfv morpheme gà follows a Pfv verb stem in perfective positive clauses. The transcription here separates gà from the verb by a space, but it could also be transcribed as an enclitic or possibly even as a suffix. When gà follows an /L/-melodic Pfv verb of two or more moras, Final Tone-Raising applies (91a). However, /HL/-melodic Pfv stems with a single final L-toned mora remain HL-toned (91b).
The handful of monomoraic C vô stems like ‘go’ and ‘become threadbare’ remain L-toned before gà, which however itself raises to gá.

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

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

3.6.4.4.7 Final Tone-Raising within possessive-type compounds

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

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

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

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

(93) \[kùwò gá sò nògf-ý\]
/\[kùwò gâ sò ...\/\]
salt lpfv go.lpfv village-Loc
‘Salt goes to the village.’

3.6.5 Downstep and downdrift

3.6.5.1 Downstep of H-toned words after LH-tones

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

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

(94) noun gloss plural ‘(some) _s went’ ‘a_ came’
\[fàgnà\n ‘young woman’ \[fàgnà\n-yè \[fàgnà\n-yè sò gá \[fàgnà\nm ‘bè gà\n gbègènà(w)\n ‘hare’ \[gbègènà\n-yè \[gbègènà\n-yè sò gá \[gbègènà\n ‘bè gà\n båtò\n ‘steamboat’ \[båtò\n-yè \[båtò\n-yè sò gá \[båtò\n ‘bè gà\n
72
The tones of the last two syllables in plurals like kərnɔ̣-yé before an L-toned element are distinct from those of plurals of /L/-melodic nouns whose final L-tone is raised to H, and of plurals of /H/-melodic nouns. For example, /L/-melodic kɔ̀gɔ̀nɔ́ ‘carp (fish)’ occurs in (95a), where both nɔ̀ and yé syllables are fully H-toned. Likewise with /H/-melodic sóó-yè ‘grasses, herbaceous plants’ in (95b).

(95) a. kɔ̀rɔ̀nɔ́-yé sò gá
carp-Pl go.PfV PfV
‘(The) carps went.’

b. sóó-yè sò gá
grass-Pl go.PfV PfV
‘The grasses (herbaceous plants) went.’

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

(96) a. à gá bé sùwó ˈsɔŋ-ɔ́n
3Sg IpfV Fut sing.PFV the.bush-Loc
‘He/She will sing out in the bush.’

b. à gá bé diyè sɔŋ-ɔ́n
3Sg IpfV Fut eat.Antip.PFV the.bush-Loc
‘He/She will eat out in the bush.’

c. sùwó bé gá
goat come.PFV PfV
‘A goat came.’

3.6.5.2 Downdrift and prepausal pitch-drop

At the end of an intonational group, a sequence of two phonemically H-toned words typically shows a pitch divergence, with the final element dropped somewhat. In (97a), from a dialect with H-toned IpfVNeg tá, the pitch of tá can be slightly higher than that of bí-yé. (97b), in which PfVNeg té has been raised from tè under the influence of 1Sg ŋ̀(+H), can be pronounced with té as the pitch peak, slightly higher than sùwó, which is in turn slightly higher than tóró. However, the pitch
relationships depend on factors that are too variable to justify encoding in the everyday transcription.

(97)  a. à tá bí-yé     [dialect 2]
      3Sg IpfvNeg come-Ipfv
      ‘He/She doesn’t come.’

      b. ñ té súwó tóró
      1Sg PfvNeg goat sell.Pfv
      ‘I didn’t sell a goat.’

The pitch patterns in (97) are sensitive to position preceding a pause. This distinguishes them from downstep after an LH-toned word or stem (preceding subsection).

3.7 Word- or phrase-final intonation effects

3.7.1 Final H-tone (absent)

For raising of the final syllable of a word to H to express focalization, polar interrogation, and other functions in Cliffs, see the parallel grammar (Heath 2022). There is no equivalent of this in J-S of Djenné.

3.7.2 Final falling HL at prosodic break before complementary matter

Certain words that commonly occur preclausally have a final HL falling tone overlay before a pause. This is the case with kémberè ‘certain ones’ in preclausal topic function in (98).

(98) kémberèë, hàlí è tà kíyé     [[kùbù cémé-é kùwàⁿ] nà]
     certain.Pl, even 3Pl IpfvNeg pass.Pfv [[day ten-and five] Dat]
     ‘Some (of them), even if they have not spent fifteen days, …’ (2017-01 @ 03:02)

The homologue in Cliffs is a final ML overlay.

Quasi-verb yè ~ yé ‘said’ (§17.1.2), whose y becomes ñ after a nasal, is also subject to this intonation-like effect. In (99), it is uttered once with this effect before a pause, then repeated without the effect and without a pause.

(99) ñéë, ñé [íⁿ ñà bé …]
     1Sg said, 1Sg said [1Pl Ipfv Fut …]
     ‘I said, I said that we will …’ (2017-01 @ 00:14)
This HL-effect is not the result of a hesitation as when a sentence is interrupted in mid-stream. It is fully grammaticalized and associated with specific lexical items. It functions pragmatically like ‘(said) as follows, “…”’.

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

4.1 Nouns

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

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

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

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

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

(100) singular plural gloss

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. two alternative tonal treatments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cvv</td>
<td>tòò</td>
<td>tòò-yè ~ tòò-yé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CvCv</td>
<td>tiyè</td>
<td>tiyè-yè ~ tiyè-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yùwòⁿ</td>
<td>yùwòⁿ-yè ~ yùwòⁿ-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fàgù</td>
<td>fàgù-yè ~ fàgù-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nògù</td>
<td>nògù-yè ~ nògù-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nùmà</td>
<td>nùmà-yè ~ nùmà-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tègè</td>
<td>tègè-yè ~ tègè-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tùbù</td>
<td>tùbù-yè ~ tùbù-yè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| b. Final Tone-Raising plus -yè for heavy stems |
| CvCvCv | ŋàndòmiⁿ | ŋàndòmiⁿ-yè | ‘dance (n)’ |
The dialect 2 forms like tiyè-yè ‘fields’ may reflect earlier *tiyé-yè (as in dialect 1) which then underwent Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3).

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

(101) singular plural gloss

\[\begin{array}{lll}
Cvv & \\
    kíi & kíi-yè & \text{‘boat (skiff)’} \\
CvCv & \\
    giyé & giyé-yè & \text{‘place’} \\
    júgu & júgu-yè & \text{‘medication’} \\
    pénú & pénú-yè & \text{‘bird trap with net’} \\
CvCvCv and longer & \\
    diyé-fá & diyé-fá-yè & \text{‘meal’} \\
    kánaá-júú & kánaá-júú-yè & \text{‘boubou (garment)’} \\
\end{array}\]

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

(102) singular plural gloss

\[\begin{array}{lll}
Cvv & \\
    dóó & dóó-yè & \text{‘cotton’} \\
CvCv & \\
    biyá(w) & biyá-yè & \text{‘egg’} \\
    kásò & káwó-yè & \text{‘prison’} \\
    \text{heavy /H*L/} & \\
    fājíri & fājíri-yè & \text{‘dawn prayer’} \\
    mòmbíri & mòmbíri-yè & \text{‘vehicle’} \quad \text{(variant móombíri)} \\
    \text{heavy /HL*/} & \\
    támorò & támoró-yè & \text{‘date(s)’} \\
    \text{heavy stems with variable plural tone} & \\
    námàkù & námàkù-yè & \text{‘gingerroot’} \\
    námàkù-yè & & \\
    bánbàrà & bánbàrà-yè & \text{‘Bambara (person)’} \\
    bánbàrà-yè & & \\
\end{array}\]
/LH/ melody is illustrated in (103). This melody is arguably really /LHL/ as pointed out earlier.

(103)     singular        plural        gloss

\[CvCv\]
\[kɔ̀bó \quad kɔ̀bó-yè \quad ‘knee’\]
\[kɔmɔⁿ \quad kɔmɔⁿ-yè \quad ‘sickle’\]
\[sɔmɔ \quad sɔmɔ-yè \quad ‘daba (hoe)’\]
\[CvCvCv\]
\[tùmpànà \quad tùmpànà-yè \quad ‘necked gourd’\]

/LHL/ melody is illustrated in (104).

(104)     singular        plural        gloss

\[CvCv\]
\[nàmáá \quad nàmáá-yè \quad ‘house’\]
\[CvCvCv\]
\[mísíři \quad mísíři-yè \quad ‘mosque’\]

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

(105)     singular        plural        gloss

\[kéewúⁿ \quad kéewú-yè \quad ‘man’\]
\[dúúⁿ \quad dúú-yè \quad ‘flour, powder’\]


High-frequency nouns whose plurals are frequently irregular in languages of the zone are in (106). ‘Woman’, ‘child’, and ‘wife’, whose stems end in a nasalized syllable, have optional irregular plurals with ending -méé ~ (m)-béé, often with further stem changes, alongside the less common regular plurals with -yè. ‘Child’ also has an irregular tonal inversion from singular to plural. One ethnicity term (‘Fulbe’) also has the -méé ~ (m)-béé plural. ‘Person’ has a unique plural with -réé. The “regular” plural which should be #númúⁿ(yè) is unattested in uncontracted form. Its contraction pú-mèé ~ nú-méé functions as a plural discourse-definite demonstrative (‘those aforementioned’), often resuming a just-introduced plural discourse referent (§6.5.2). ‘Man’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, and ‘manner’ are regular.
The three irregular human plurals in -réé, -méé, and -béé in (106a) can be reduced to two, since (m)-béé is the prenasalized variant of -méé. Similar endings occur in relative markers, of which màⁿ is the etymologically basic singular form, with plurals including mà-réé ~ mà-léé and even doubly-suffixed mà-ré-méé ~ mà-lé-méé (§14.1.1).

númúⁿ ‘person’ combines irregularly with ṭ-kóóⁿ ‘one’ as ṭááñ-kíyéⁿ or ṭááñ-kóóⁿ ‘one person, someone’.

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

For compounds including ‘man’ and ‘woman’ see §5.1.4.5. For diminutives and compounds including ‘child’ see §5.1.7.
Singular dǐyáwⁿ ~ dǐyéwⁿ ‘child’ is sometimes heard with low pitch. Evidence for /H/ melody is that it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-toned word. In addition, the 1Sg possessor forms are those that we would expect from an H-toned stem.

(107) a. sèédù dìyê-ê
    à dìyê-ê
    ‘Seydou’s child’

    b. sèédù dé-méé
    à dé-méé
    ‘Seydou’s children’

    c. ñ dìyêⁿ-ê
    ‘my child’

    d. ñ dê-méé
    ‘my children’

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

4.1.3 Collectives

4.1.3.1 Collectives with -àmà

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

4.1.3.2 Collectives with -råà ~ -láà

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

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

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

(109) a. no vocalic change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>flora-fauna</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báá-báá</td>
<td>‘tiny termite in houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíí-bíí</td>
<td>‘whirlygig beetle (Dineutes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáá-daáá</td>
<td>‘roselle (Hibiscus sabdariffa)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dóó-dóó</td>
<td>‘pufferfish (Tetraodon)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káá-káá</td>
<td>‘medicinal bush sp. (Senna occidentalis)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kááyáy</td>
<td>‘bush sp. (Tephrosia)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóóŋ-ŋóó</td>
<td>(synonym of kááyáy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kérérérér</td>
<td>‘cockroach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóóróóróó</td>
<td>‘catfish sp. (Auchenoglanis)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúbábábábábá</td>
<td>‘hamerkop (bird)’; tonal variant kúbábábábábá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúmbúmbúmbúmbúmbu</td>
<td>‘darkling beetle sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúyúyú</td>
<td>‘spur-winged lapwing (Vanellus)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miímíímíí</td>
<td>‘herb sp. (Corchorus)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná-ná</td>
<td>‘fish sp. (Hyperopisus)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náá-náá</td>
<td>‘tall herb sp. (Hibiscus cannabinus)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píí-píí</td>
<td>‘stirring-stick’ or ‘butterfly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáá-sáá</td>
<td>‘Abdim’s stork (Ciconia)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síí-síí</td>
<td>‘stinging black ant (Brachyponera)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súí-súí</td>
<td>‘tree sp. (Diospyros)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táá-táá</td>
<td>‘darter (bird)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tíítíí</td>
<td>‘cormorant (Microcarbo)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tímí-tímí  ‘bush spp.’
wóró-wóró  ‘stingless bee sp. (tribe Meliponini)’

**flora-fauna LH-LL suggestive of Final Tone-Raising**
bóró-bóró  ‘amaranth’
fɔ̀²-fɔ̀ⁿ  ‘sweet millet balls’
kɔ́yɔ̀-kɔ́yɔ̀  ‘black bird’ (several spp.)
pùwɔ̀-pùwɔ̀  ‘physalis (plant)’

**other (non-flora fauna)**
bùwɔ̀-bùwɔ̀  ‘Bobo (person)’
déé-déé  ‘condiments’ likely < Songhay
pùm-pùiⁿ  ‘charcoal’ cf. piiⁿ ‘black’ (§4.5.1.1)
pírí-pírí  ‘stirring-stick’
sàⁿ-sàⁿ  ‘vegetable garden’

b. with vocalic change

**flora-fauna**
nímí-námá  ‘trailing vine spp. (Ipomoea)’
père-pàrà  ‘trailing vine sp.’ (Ipomoea asarifolia)
síⁿ-sáⁿ  ‘tree sp. (Cassia)’
yírígí-yírígí  ‘liana sp. (Cissus quadrangularis)’

**flora-fauna LH-LL after Final Tone-Raising**
kòntó-kàntá  ‘knifeﬁsh (Papyrocranus)’

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

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

(110) a. final is iterative
[jíí-níŋ]-[gúlé-gúlé]  ‘worms that grow in waterjars’
dúbáá-[kèrè(ŋ)-kèrè(")]  ‘millipede’ (various spp.)
kòní-nàŋ-[kúwòŋ-kúwòⁿ]  ‘cattle egret’
[sóŋ-ýⁿ]-[póŋ-póŋ]  ‘shrub sp. (Calotropis)’

b. initial is iterative
[tíín-táŋ]-kírí  ‘nightjar (bird)’
[téŋ(ŋ)-téné(ŋ)]-kòmò  ‘catfish sp. (Synodontis)’
4.1.5 Definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ

A suffix whose full form is -yàwⁿ can be added to singular nouns that are preceded by a possessor or by demonstrative kù-nùⁿ. The corresponding plural has just the usual plural suffix -yè, so there is no overt distinction between indefinite plural and definite plural. One could argue that there is such a distinction covertly, but that definite plural /-yàwⁿ-yè/ contracts to -yè, merging on the surface with simple -yè. However, such a contraction would not be tonally regular since /-yàwⁿ-yè/ should become #-yàwⁿ-yè by Final Tone-Raising, compare agentive plural -yá-yè ~ -yè-è (§4.2.2). There is no trace of either the raised tone or of secondary nasalization in plurals with -yè.

The definite singular suffix may have originated as a development from demonstrative adverb yàwⁿ ‘there (definite)’. It can still have weak demonstrative force with possessors, where it is used in deictic contexts (pointing to or otherwise indicating the referent). It appears to be obligatory when the noun is preceded by demonstrative kù-nùⁿ (111b).

(111) a. ʃ mòmbíří(-yàwⁿ)
   1Sg vehicle(-Sg)
   ‘my vehicle’

b. kù-nùⁿ mòmbíři-yàwⁿ
   Dem-Link vehicle-Sg
   ‘this/that vehicle’

c. kù-nùⁿ mòmbíři-yè
   Dem-Link vehicle-Pl
   ‘these/those vehicles’

4.1.6 -yè as associative plural

If X is a human personal name or another expression denoting an individual, an associative plural can be formed by adding the plural suffix. The associative plural denotes the individual plus his/her associates (family, household, companions, etc.).

(112) a. sèédù-yè bé gà
   S-Pl come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The Seydou’s (=Seydou and his group) have come.’

b. sèédù-yè kóŋgórò
   S-Pl dog
   ‘the dog of the Seydou’s’
4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Deverbal nominalizations

4.2.1.1 Bare verbal noun identical to Pfv stem

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(113)</th>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv</th>
<th>Pfv gà</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/ melody</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>‘exiting’</td>
<td>bá(-rá)</td>
<td>bá gà</td>
<td>‘exit (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dó</td>
<td>‘entering’</td>
<td>dó(-ró)</td>
<td>dó gà</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tó</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>tó(-ró)</td>
<td>tó gà</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáá</td>
<td>‘lying down’</td>
<td>sáá/sáá</td>
<td>sáá gà</td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tá(w)n</td>
<td>‘ascending’</td>
<td>táw'/tá-ná</td>
<td>tá'n gà</td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káy'n</td>
<td>‘working’</td>
<td>káy'n/káy'n</td>
<td>káy'n ñà</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kónó</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
<td>kónó/kónó</td>
<td>kónó gà</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tíyén-kúmé</td>
<td>‘breathing’</td>
<td>tíyén-kúmé/-kúmé</td>
<td>tíyén-kúmé gà</td>
<td>‘breathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /L/ melody</td>
<td>fô</td>
<td>‘sitting’</td>
<td>f(w)ô(-rò)</td>
<td>f(w)ô gà</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mè'n</td>
<td>‘drinking’</td>
<td>mè'n/mè-nè</td>
<td>mè'n ñà</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tà</td>
<td>‘standing’</td>
<td>tà(-rà)</td>
<td>tà gà</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sà</td>
<td>‘laughing’</td>
<td>sà/sàá ~ sà-rà</td>
<td>sà gà</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kày</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>kày/kày</td>
<td>kày gà</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàlé</td>
<td>‘dying’</td>
<td>kàlé/kàlé</td>
<td>kàlé gà</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kùmù'n</td>
<td>‘sleeping’</td>
<td>kùmù'/kùmù'n</td>
<td>kùmù'n ñà</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiyè</td>
<td>‘running’</td>
<td>kiyè/kiyè</td>
<td>kiyè gà</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diyèmù'n</td>
<td>‘speaking’</td>
<td>diyèmù'/diyèmù'n</td>
<td>diyèmù'n ñà</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /HL/ melody</td>
<td>kèè'n</td>
<td>‘calling’</td>
<td>kèè'/kèè-nì</td>
<td>kèè'n ñà</td>
<td>‘call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kòy'n</td>
<td>‘sweeping’</td>
<td>kòy'/kòy-nì</td>
<td>kòy'n ñà</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The L-toned verbal nouns in (113b) are subject to Final Tone-Raising when they are followed by an L-tone.

4.2.1.2 CvCe/ɛ and similar verbal nouns

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(114)</th>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv</th>
<th>Pfv with gà</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>bé, bí-yé</td>
<td>‘coming’</td>
<td>bé/bí-yé</td>
<td>bé gà</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sò, sì-yè</td>
<td>‘going’</td>
<td>sò/sò</td>
<td>sò gà</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>iyà, yèè</td>
<td>‘descending’</td>
<td>yà(-rà)</td>
<td>yà gá</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>dwéé</td>
<td>‘entering’</td>
<td>dó(-ró)</td>
<td>dò gà</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tèéⁿ</td>
<td>‘ascending’</td>
<td>tá(w)ⁿ/tá-nà</td>
<td>táⁿ ŋà</td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Several transitive verbs have similar bisyllabic verbal nouns ending in e/e (115a). These verbal nouns are usually identical in form to antipassive derivatives of these verbs, i.e. forms used when the direct object is omitted (§9.3.1.2). The bisyllabic requirement sometimes makes the
verbal nouns (and antipassives) resemble Ipfv stems in those cases where the Pfv is monosyllabic and the Ipfv is bisyllabic (115c). Note, however, that ‘catch’ (115c) has medial m in the verbal noun, versus n in the Ipfv stem. Cf. discussion in §3.2.12.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(115)</th>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pfv/Ipfv</th>
<th>Pfv gà</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>miyè</td>
<td>‘seeking’</td>
<td>màà/màá</td>
<td>màá gà</td>
<td>‘look for, seek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wiyè</td>
<td>‘killing’</td>
<td>wàà/wàá</td>
<td>wàá gà</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tùⁿwèm</td>
<td>‘looking at’</td>
<td>tùⁿwó/tùⁿwó</td>
<td>tùⁿwó gà</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kwé-ré</td>
<td>‘hitting’</td>
<td>kwá(-rá)</td>
<td>kwá gà</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sínè</td>
<td>‘biting’</td>
<td>sìⁿ/sì-ní</td>
<td>sìⁿ ñà</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>kúmé</td>
<td>‘catching’</td>
<td>kúⁿ/kú-nú</td>
<td>kúⁿ ñà</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.3 Verbal noun -gu (absent)

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

4.2.1.4 Participial -na as instantiating verbal noun

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

| (116)   | à fò̀-nà     | ‘its founding, original settling’ | 2021-03 @ 12:02 |
|---------|             |                                    |                |
|         | à dûwò-nà    | ‘its end’                          |                |
|         | à sìntì-nà   | ‘its beginning’                    |                |
|         | à sìyè-nà    | ‘its going (=departure)’           |                |
|         | à bìyé-nà    | ‘its coming (arrival here)’        | 2021-03 @ 14:47|

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

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

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

(117) nominal gloss verb and gloss

a. initial tonally and segmentally identical to Pfv stem
bá-wúwɔn ‘exit (n)’ bá(-rã) ‘exit (v)’
dó-wúwɔn ‘entrance’ (variant) dó(-rã) ‘enter’
yà-wúwɔn ‘the way down’ yà(-rã) ‘descend’
tá'-wúwɔn ‘the way up’ tá(w)/tá-ná ‘ascend’
sáá-wúwɔn ‘bedroom’ sáá/sáá ‘lie down’
mè-wúwɔn ‘drinking place’ mè/mè-në ‘drink’

b. sábârè-wúwɔn ‘hospital, clinic’ sábârè/sábârè-në ‘treat (medically)’
gómi-wúwɔn ‘sifting place’ gómi/gómi-ni ‘sift’
jôñfi-wúwɔn ‘conversing place’ jôñfi/jôñfi-ni ‘converse at night’
kámáá-wúwɔn ‘narrating place’ kámáá/kámáá-nà ‘narrate’

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

(118) nominal gloss verb and gloss
dó-wúwɔn (cf. §9.3.2) ‘entrance’ (variant) dó(-rã) ‘enter’
súwè-wúwɔn ‘kitchen’ súwè/súwè (variant) ‘do cooking’
twéré-wúwɔn ‘shop (n)’ twéré/twéré ‘do commerce’
diýë-wúwɔn ‘eating place’ diýë/diýë ‘eat, have a meal’

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

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

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

(119) nominal gloss verb and gloss

a. dóó- as initial
   dóó-wèⁿ ‘opening’ dóó-wèⁿ/dóó-wè-nè ‘open’
   ~ dóó-gwèⁿ ~ dóó-gwèⁿ/dóó-gwè-nè
   dóó-tíyéwⁿ ‘closure’ dóó-n-tíyé(wⁿ)/dóó-n-tíyé(wⁿ)
   ~ dáá-tíyéwⁿ n

b. -dóó as final
   bé-dóó ‘exit (n)’ bé(-rá) ‘exit (v)’
   dóó-dóó (cf. §9.3.2) ‘entrance’ dóó(-rá) ‘enter’

4.2.2 Uncompounded agentives (-ya)

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

(120) verb (Pfv/Ipfv) gloss agentive gloss

a. /H/ melody
   tó(-ró) ‘jump’ tó-yá ‘jumper’
   séyⁿ/seýⁿ ‘carve’ séyⁿ-yá ‘carver’

b. /L/ melody
   súwɔ̃/súwɔ́ ‘cultivate’ súwɔ́-yá ‘farmer’
   kiyè/kiyé ‘run’ kiyè-yá ‘runner’
   kùmù/kùmú ‘sleep’ kùmùⁿ-yá ‘sleeper’
c. /LH/ melody

sùwó(-rò)  ‘sing’  sùwó-yà  ‘singer’
jègú(-rù)  ‘belch’  jègú-yà  ‘belcher’
süsú(-rù)  ‘stutter’  süsú-yà  ‘stutterer’

d. /HL/ and /LHL/ melodies

/HL/ overt in Ipfv (masked in monomoraic Pfv)
kóⁿ/kó-nò  ‘take to pasture’  kóⁿ-yà  ‘herder’

/HL/ clear

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

/LHL/ clear

kàrááⁿ/kàráá-nà  ‘read’  kàrááⁿ-yà  ‘reader’

As with verbal nouns, some basic transitives shift to the antipassive stem (§9.3.1.2) in the agentive. This is seen in the bisyllabic stem shape with final front vowel

(121)  verb (Pfv/Ipfv)  gloss  agentive  gloss

a.  sùyè/sùyé  ‘cook (antipassive)’  sùyè-yà  ‘cook (n)’
   sùwó/sùwó  ‘cook (sth)’

b.  twéřé/twérè  ‘sell (antipassive)’  twéřé-yà  ‘merchant’
   tóró/tórò  ‘sell (sth)’

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

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

4.2.3 Deadjectival abstractives (-ama, -gà)

Several adjectives denoting scalar qualities or measurable dimensions have an abstractive nominal with suffix -ama of variable tone (122a). The abstractive is typically possessed (‘its length’, etc.). It is not formed from color or taste adjectives (‘redness’, ‘sweetness’).
Adjectives that have -gù or (participial) -ga-na in the modifying form have -gà as the abstractive, which however is L-toned like the predicate form (122b). Predicate kò ‘be many, abound’ is supplanted by kúsàmà in participial kúsàmà-nà ‘many’. The abstractive kúsàmà has the form of an unsuffixed verbal noun, which avoids two final mà syllables. The “modifying” column in (122) shows no tones for adjectives subject to Tone Leveling.

(122)  predicate  modifying  gloss  abstractive  gloss

a. abstractive -àmà
   bòrò     boro’n  ‘big’     bòrà-àmà ‘size, bigness’
   kwàsà’n  kwasa(w)n  ‘long’     kwàsà-àmà ‘length’
   ñìì      ñììa-na  ‘nasty’     ñììa-àmà ‘nastiness’
   ñùwó’tò’n ñùwó’tò’n  ‘difficult’     ñùwó’tó-àmà ‘difficulty, expensiveness’

b. abstractive -gà corresponding to -gù or -gà-nà in modifying form
   miyèw’n  miyè-gù ‘small’     miyè-gà ‘smallness’
   twíl’n  twíl-gù ‘short’     twíl-gà ‘shortness’
   wàà      wàà-àmà ‘wide’     wàà-gà ‘width’

c. zero-derived verbal noun corresponding to participial -nà
   kò’n     kúsàmà-nà ‘many’     kúsàmà ‘number, abundance’

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

4.2.4  Gentilic nominals

4.2.4.1  Gentilics with -ŋɔ ~ -ŋwa as final

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

a. H-initial
  kóŋó-túwò  Tombona  kóŋó-túwó-ŋò (~ -ŋώ)
  bááráà-túwò  Baratou  bááráá-túwó-ŋò (~ -ŋώ)

b. L-initial
  gömí-túwò  Gomitogo  gömí-túwó-ŋò (~ -ŋώ)
  kèráá  Kèra  kèrá-ŋò (~ -ŋώ)
  sàgá(w)"  Mopti  sàgàŋ-ŋò (~ -ŋώ)

For the city of Djenné (jènè) that dominates the local area, in addition to jènè-ŋò ‘resident of Djenné’ there is a term jènè-kènò denoting a member of the Songhay-speaking core population. -ŋò ~ -ŋώ can also be used instead of ɲúmù ‘person’ (see the following subsection) in expressions denoting positions from front to back, as in a race or other procession. The initials are spatial adverbs (‘in the rear’, ‘in front’, ‘in the middle’). kènè- is contracted from locative definite kènè-yè ‘in the middle’.

(124) kwàtìyè-ŋò  ‘laggard, one in the rear’
  tìgàá-ŋò  ‘leader, one in the lead’
  kènèé-ŋò  ‘one in the middle (of the pack)’

Cliffs has gentilic -ŋga.

4.2.4.2 Gentilics with HL-toned -ɲúmù" ‘person’ as final

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

(125) spatial  gloss  gentilic  gloss

a. yòò-bàà  ‘on top’  yòò-bàà-ɲúmù"  ‘highlander’
  dùbàà  ‘at bottom’  dùbàà-ɲúmù"  ‘lowlander’

b. tìgàà  ‘in front’  tìgàá-ɲúmù"  ‘leader, one in front’
  kòtò-pàà  ‘in back’  kòtò-pàà-ɲúmù"  ‘laggard, one in back’
  kòtiyè  "  kòtiyè-ɲúmù"  "

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The HL-tones of -ɲúmùⁿ are unexpected since the independent noun ɲúmùⁿ is level-toned and should therefore acquire all of its tones by spreading from the leftmost tone of the initial (Tone Leveling). Cognates for ‘person’ Kelenga ɲí ní and Cliff’s ɲími have level tones, so it is unlikely that the forms in (125) preserve an archaic contour tone. Instead, these forms belong to a minority compound pattern with \{\text{HL}\} tone overlay on the final (§5.1.5.1).

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Summary of personal pronouns

The system distinguishes three persons and two numbers (singular versus plural), plus logophorics. Each pronominal category has a simple proclitic form consisting of a nasal (1Sg, logophoric singular) or a short or long vowel. Independent pronouns consist of the proclitic plus -dùwɔ́, with a variant -lùwɔ́ in the third person forms (for d/l see §3.4.1). An L-toned vowel or nasal (3Sg or 3Pl) preceding -dùwɔ́ ~ -lùwɔ́ has its pitch upstepped to mid tone by subphonemic tone sandhi (§3.6.4.1).

(126) Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>possessor</th>
<th>in PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ǹ-dùwɔ́</td>
<td>ī (tones)</td>
<td>(ǹ) nà, ǹ/ǹ (H)</td>
<td>ī (tones)</td>
<td>ī (tones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ín-dùwɔ́</td>
<td>ín (➞=ééⁿ)</td>
<td>ín</td>
<td>ín (➞=ééⁿ)</td>
<td>ín (➞=ééⁿ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>án-dùwɔ́</td>
<td>áⁿ</td>
<td>áⁿ</td>
<td>áⁿ</td>
<td>áⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>áá-dùwɔ́</td>
<td>áá</td>
<td>áá</td>
<td>áá</td>
<td>áá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>ā-dùwɔ́ ~ ɬ-ɬùwɔ́</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>á ~ ālùwɔ́</td>
<td>ā~ ālùwɔ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>ĕ-dùwɔ́ ~ ĕ-lùwɔ́</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ (~ i)</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The nonsubject logophoric forms can also function as third-person reflexives in nonsubject functions.

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

(127) a. ë yà = áŋ kày gà (careful speech)
   (í) yà = “ ” “ ” (allegro speech)
   3Pl Sbj/Obj 2Sg see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘They saw you-Sg.’

   b. ë yé …
   (í) yé “ ” ‘they said, “…” ’

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

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

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

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

   b. à yé = [í sò gá]
   3Sg said [LogoSg go.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘He/She said that he/she (=him-/herself) went.’
c. à yá = [áⁿ sò gá]
3Sg said [2Sg go.Pfv Pfv]
‘He/She said that you-Sg went.’

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

4.3.2 Vocalic pronominals and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

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

4.3.2.1 Vocalic subject pronominals before the BCM

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

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

(129) subject ‘_ saw Seydou/Amadou’

a. 1Pl íⁿ (ñé) sèèdú káy gà
   " (ñè) áámàdú " "

b. 2Sg áⁿ (ñé) sèèdú káy gà
   " (ñè) áámàdú " "

c. 2Pl áá (yö) sèèdú káy gà
   " (yø) áámàdú " "

With LogoPl subject, contraction is usual (130).

(130) a. (i) \( \text{yè=} [\text{éé } \emptyset \text{sèédú kày gà}] \)
    " \( \text{yè=} [\text{é } \text{yè } " " " ] \)
    3Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘They\textsubscript{x} said that they\textsubscript{x} saw Seydou.’

b. \( \text{yiyèm-béé yè=} [\text{éé } \emptyset \text{sèédú kày gà}] \)
    " \( \text{yè=} [\text{é } \text{yè } " " " ] \)
    woman-Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘The women\textsubscript{x} said that they\textsubscript{x} saw Seydou.’

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

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

(131) subject ‘_ saw Seydou/Amadou’

a. 3Sg à (\( \text{yè} \)) sèédú kày gà
   à (\( \text{yè} \)) áámàdú " "

b. 3Pl (i) \( \text{yè} \) sèédú kày gà
   (i) \( \text{yè} \) áámàdú " "

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

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

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

(132) 1Pl and second person object

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

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

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

(133) Third person object

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

b. sèédú yè = è kàý gà
   S Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Seydou saw them.’

Logophoric objects are in (134).

(134) a. à yé [sèédú yè ū kàý gà]
   3Sg said [S Sbj/Obj LogoSg see.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Heₓ said that Seydou hit himₓ.’
b. ì yé [sèèdú yè= é kàý gà]
   3Pl said [S Sbj/Obj LogoPl see.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘They said that Seydou hit them.’

4.3.2.3 BCM between vocalic subject and object pronominal

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

(135) 1Pl object

a. áⁿ ɲè = ééŋ kàý gà
   2Sg Sbj/Obj 1Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Sg saw us.’

b. áá yè = ééŋ kàý gà
   2Sg/2Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Pl saw us.’

c. ā/(i) yè = ééŋ kàý gà
   3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He-or-she/They saw us.’

(136) 2Sg and 2Pl objects

a. ā/(i) yà = áŋ/áá kàý gà
   3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 2Sg/2Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He-or-she/They saw you-Sg/-Pl.’

b. íǐⁿ jà = áŋ/áá kàý gà
   1Pl Sbj/Obj 2Sg/2Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘We saw you-Sg/-Pl.’
Third person objects

a. áá yá = à kàý gà
   2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Pl saw him/her/it.’

b. áⁿ/íⁿ já = à kàý gà
   2Sg/1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Sg/We saw him/her/it.’

c. áá yé = è kàý gà
   2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Pl saw them.’

d. áⁿ/íⁿ jé = è kàý gà
   2Sg/1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘You-Sg/We saw them.’

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

(138) a. á/(i) yà = à kàý gà
    3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘He-or-she/They saw him/her.’ (nonreflexive)

b. á/(i) yè = è kàý gà
    3Sg/3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘He-or-she/They saw them.’ (nonreflexive)

See also §11.1.2 for more context on the tones.

4.3.3 1Sg and Logophoric Sg (nasal pronominal proclitics)

The pronominal proclitics consisting of nasal consonants are illustrated in (139).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ñ nà (dialect 2)</td>
<td>subject (perfective positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø nà (dialect 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ́ (+H) (dialect 2)</td>
<td>subject (except perfective positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ́ (+H) (dialect 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ́ (+tones)</td>
<td>nonsubject (with Tone Inversion, §3.6.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ŋ́</td>
<td>all functions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nasal assimilates in point of articulation to following stops, nasals, and l, and is transcribed accordingly. Before semivowels and s it tends to be pronounced as a vocalic nasal, but it will be transcribed as ŋ́.

### 4.3.3.1 1Sg (ñ) nà and LogoSg ŋ́ subjects in perfective positive clauses

Perfective positive differs from all other clause-level inflections in lacking an overt post-subject inflectional particle after most pronominal and all nonpronominal subjects. The situation is more complex when the subject is 1Sg.

In simple perfective positive clauses, for 1Sg subject dialect 2 has ñ nà while dialect 1 has just nà (transcribed Ø nà). Here nà is glossed, somewhat arbitrarily, as “Pfv.1Sg”; see the following subsection for discussion.

The presence of nà distinguishes 1Sg (140a-b) from LogoSg (140c-d). These examples are intransitive clauses.

### Examples

#### (140)

a. ñ nà bé gà [dialect 2]
   Ø nà bé gà [dialect 1]
   1Sg **Pfv.1Sg** come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I came.’

b. ñ ná sò gà [dialect 2]
   Ø ná sò gà [dialect 1]
   1Sg **Pfv.1Sg** go.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I went.’

c. à yé [𤩍 bé gà]
   3Sg said [LogoSg come.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘He/Shex said that he/shex came.’
When the 1Sg subject is preceded by a clause-initial particle like nì ~ nè ‘if’, even dialect 1 has nà (nì nà ‘if I …’).

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

(141) a. n à súwó kàý gà [dialect 2]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I saw a goat.’

b. ñ à [ŋ́ Ø sèèdú kàý gà]
   à yè [ŋ́ nè sèèdú kàý gà]
   3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘He/She said that he/she saw Seydou.’

c. áámàdú yè [ŋ́ Ø sèèdú kàý gà]
   áámàdú yè [ŋ́ nè sèèdú kàý gà]
   A said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Amadou said that he saw Seydou.’

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

(142) a. (ñ) ná sò gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I went.’

b. (ñ) ná sùwó kàý gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg sheep see.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I saw the sheep-Sg.’
4.3.3.2 Grammatical function of post-1Sg nà

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

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

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

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

(144) a. ń nà bè gà [dialect 2]
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
    ‘I came.’

    b. sèédù / à / áá Ø bè gà [dialect 2]
    S / 3Sg / 2Pl Pfv come.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Seydou/he-or-she/you-Pl came.’

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

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

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

Dialect 1 has Ø nà, not ń nà, in 1Sg subject perfective positive main clauses. One could treat this as a minor variation on the dialect 2 situation and gloss nà as “Pfv.1Sg” or perhaps as a
linker. In this model, Ø represents underlying 1Sg ŋ, presumably due to a minor synchronic nasal-deletion process (/ŋ nà/ → Ø nà).

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

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

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

4.3.3.3 1Sg ŋ and LogoSg ŋ subjects before inflectional morphemes

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

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

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

(146) morpheme    category  1Sg (dialect 1)  1Sg (dialect 2)

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

(147) a. ń ṭà súwó ṭuẉó [dialect 1]
   ń ṭá " " [dialect 2]
   1Sg IpfvNeg goat know.Ipfv
   ‘I don’t know a goat (=goats).’

   b. Ṿ̃ Ṿ̃à súwó ṭuẉó [dialect 1]
   Ṿ̃ Ṿ̃á " " [dialect 2]
   1Sg Ipfv goat know.Ipfv
   ‘I know a goat (=goats).’

   c. ń ṭé súwó ḳay [dialect 1]
   ń ṭé " " [dialect 2]
   1Sg PfvNeg goat see.Pfv
   ‘I didn’t see a goat.’

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

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

(148) morpheme category     LogoSg (dialect 1)     LogoSg (dialect 2)

   a. ń ṭá (dialect 1) IpfvNeg ń ṭá ń ṭá ń ṭá (dialect 2)

   b. Ṿ̃ ń ṭá (dialect 2) both dialects Ṿ̃ ń ṭá Ṿ̃ ń ṭá

   b. ń ṭá (dialect 2) both dialects ń ṭá ń ṭá

Comparison of (146) and (148) shows that 1Sg and LogoSg are indistinguishable in dialect 1 for all three inflectional categories presented. By contrast, dialect 2 distinguishes 1Sg from LogoSg
4.3.3.4 1Sg ŋ́ (+tones) and LogoSg ŋ́ as nonsubjects

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

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

4.3.3.4.1 1Sg ŋ́ (+tones) as object

As direct object, 1Sg ŋ́ follows the subject and (if there is one) a post-subject inflectional particle or bidirectional case marker, and it immediately precedes the transitive verb. The verb following the 1Sg object pronominal undergoes tonal changes that affect its first two syllables. Tones in third and subsequent syllables of the input form of the verb are not affected. The stem-final tonal
changes that occur in the Ipfv stem of many verbs (changing Pfv H to Ipfv HL and Pfv L to Ipfv LH) are overridden. (150) summarizes the input-output relationships. There are no HLH-toned inputs since verbs do not have this shape.

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

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

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

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

a. /H/ melody
   kù" kù" ñà ķ # kù" ñà ķ # kù" ‘catch’
   kwá kwá gà ĵ # kwá gà ĵ # kwá ‘hit’
   báá báá gà ĵ # báá gà ĵ # báá ‘remove’
   gëndé gëndé gà ĵ # gëndé gà ĵ # gëndé ‘throw’ (~ gëndé)
   sàá-ní sàá-ní" ñà ĵ # sàá-ní" ñà ĵ # sàá-ní ‘put to bed’
   yàárá yàárá gà ĵ # yàárá gà ĵ # yàárá ‘look for’
   kù"wàá-ní kù"wàá-ní" ñà ĵ # kù"wàá-ní" ñà ĵ # kù"wàá-ní ‘whiten (sth)’
   këntá-áma-ní ĵ # këntá-áma-ní" ñà ‘cure (sb)’
   këntá-áma-ní" ñà ĵ # këntá-áma-ní
b. /HL/ melody

*bimoraic*

| keẽ̂n | keẽ̂n nà | ķ keẽ̂n nà | ķ keẽ̂n | ‘call’ |
| ṇômẽ | ṇômẽ nà | ķ ṇômẽ nà | ķ ṇômẽ | ‘nudge’ |

*trimoraic or longer*

| sòynà | sòynà gà | ķ sòynà gà | ķ sòynà | ‘espy’ |
| nèrè-nì | nèrè-nì nà | ķ nèrè-nì nà | ķ nèrè-nì | ‘make slide’ |
| pòsòní | pòsòní nà | m pòsòní nà | m pòsòní | ‘poison’ (variant) |

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

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

a. /L/ melody

| sè | sè gà | ķ sè gà | ķ sè | ‘tie’ |
| màà | màà gà | m màà gà | m màà | ‘seek out’ |
| kày | kày gà | ķ kày gà | — | ‘see’ |
| miyè | miyè gà | m miyè gà | m miyè | ‘hear’ |
| kwèrènè | kwèrènè gà | ķ kwèrènè gà | ķ kwèrènè | ‘wait for’ |
| tûmàànà | tûmàànà gà | n tûmàànà gà | n tûmàànà | ‘encounter’ |

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

*bimoraic*

| kòy | kòy gà | ķ kòy gà | ķ kòy | ‘weave’ |
| bàti | bàti gà | m bàti gà | m bàti | ‘post, affîx’ |

*trimoraic and longer*

| dàbàrêⁿ | dàbàrêⁿ nà | n dàbàrêⁿ nà | n dàbàrêⁿ | ‘bewitch’ |
| báádiyè | báádiyè gà | m báádiyè gà | m báádiyè | ‘wound (v)’ (dialect 2) |
| báámiyè | báámiyè gà | m báámiyè gà | m báámiyè | ‘imitate’ |

The difference between ‘wound’ and ‘imitate’ in (152b) shows that the position of the H-tone in /LHL/-melodic verbs determines how the overlaid HL is realized. If there is an H-tone following the first two moras, as in ‘imitate’, the HL overlay is applied to those first two two moras, otherwise the HL overlay is applied to the first two syllables (‘wound’).
1Sg object in imperfective positive clauses is illustrated in (153). The tones are consistent with those illustrated above for Pfv stems. Some verbs that have monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody, reflected in the Pfv, have contoured Ipfv forms with /HL/ or /LH/, and this is reflected in the forms with 1Sg ŋ. In particular, Pfv CvCv corresponds to Ipfv CvCv, as with ŋiní/ŋiní ‘bathe, wash’. The initial LH overlay for HL-toned Pfv inputs in (153b) above is also valid for Ipfv CvCv, so Ipfv ŋiní becomes ŋiní (153a). The other input types are also treated in the same way as Pfv stems: all-H-toned Ipfv’s drop to all-L-toned (153b), and L-initial Ipfv’s get the partial HL overlay (153c).

One detail specific to Ipfv stems is that monomoraic Cv verbs with suffixed Cv-Rv Ipfv stems keep the tones of the two Ipfv syllables identical (before tone sandhi), hence either Cv-Rv or Cv-Rv, not #Cv-Rv or #Cv-Rv, unless the stem has a contoured lexical melody, the only example being kàn ‘tend (livestock)’. This tone-harmonic proviso is needed to explain why sè-rè ‘ties’ becomes þ sè-rè ‘ties me’ (153d) instead of #þ sè-rè with HL overlay. The cases of Ipfv Cv-Rv becoming þ Cv-Rv (153e) are consistent with this, but are also directly explained by the dropping to L-tones seen in (153b).

(153) Ipfv with 1Sg object gloss

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. HL-toned Ipfv</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X ŋiní</td>
<td>gà ñ ŋiní</td>
<td>‘bathes me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X ŋmè-nè</td>
<td>gà ñ ŋmè-nè</td>
<td>‘nudges me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. H-toned Ipfv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X gèndè</td>
<td>... gà ñ gèndè</td>
<td>‘throws me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X jùgùnì</td>
<td>... gà ñ jùgùnì</td>
<td>‘fines me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Ipfv begins with L-tone LH-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X kày</td>
<td>... gà ñ kày</td>
<td>‘see(s) me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X mìyè</td>
<td>... gà ñ mìyè</td>
<td>‘hear(s) me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X kwèrènè</td>
<td>... gà ñ kwèrènè</td>
<td>‘wait(s) for me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHL-toned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X bàtì-rì</td>
<td>... gà ñ báti-rì</td>
<td>‘posts me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X dàbàrè-nè</td>
<td>... gà ñ dàbàrè-nè</td>
<td>‘bewitch(es) me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X bàádyè-rè</td>
<td>... gà ñ báádyè-rè</td>
<td>‘wound(s) me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X bàámìyè</td>
<td>... gà ñ báámìyè-nè</td>
<td>‘imitates me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. gà X sè-rè</td>
<td>... gà ñ sè-rè</td>
<td>‘ties me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. gà X kwà-rà</td>
<td>... gà ñ kwà-rà</td>
<td>‘hit(s) me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà X kú-nú</td>
<td>... gà ñ kú-nú</td>
<td>‘catches me’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3.4.2 1Sg ŋ́ (+tones) and Logo/3ReflSg ŋ́ as possessors

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(154)</th>
<th>input tones</th>
<th>output</th>
<th>output formula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>all-H</td>
<td>ŋ́ all-L</td>
<td>H#L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>HL and the rare HLH</td>
<td>ŋ́ LH…</td>
<td>H#LH…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>all-L, LH(L)</td>
<td>ŋ́ HL…</td>
<td>L#HL…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(155)</th>
<th>melody</th>
<th>noun X</th>
<th>‘my X’</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>fá</td>
<td>ŋ́ fá</td>
<td>‘my thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>múúⁿ</td>
<td>ŋ́ múúⁿ</td>
<td>‘my nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jńí</td>
<td>ŋ́ jńí</td>
<td>‘my tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>súwó</td>
<td>ŋ́ súwó</td>
<td>‘my goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sępéⁿ</td>
<td>ŋ́ sępéⁿ</td>
<td>‘my strength’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṁááŋgilá</td>
<td>ŋ́ ṁááŋgilá</td>
<td>‘my garbage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pírí-pírí</td>
<td>ŋ́ pírí-pírí</td>
<td>‘my stirring-stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>máántiniá</td>
<td>ŋ́ máántiniá</td>
<td>‘my peanut(s)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. /HL/  páá    mí páá    ‘my beer vat’  
köngörò  ŋ köngörò  ‘my dog’  
tápéétéi  ŋ tápéétéi  ‘my sandals’  
tábáláájí  ŋ tábáláájí  ‘my (traditional) pants’

c. /HLH/  múnumúntu  ‘my grass sp. (Sacciolepis)’  
máángöró  ‘my mango’  

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

(156) melody noun X ‘my X’ gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(156)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /L/</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>ŋ ká</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>náá</td>
<td>ŋ náá</td>
<td>‘my cow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwò</td>
<td>ŋ súwò</td>
<td>‘my sheep-Sg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>túwò̀rò</td>
<td>ŋ túwò̀rò</td>
<td>‘the side of my face’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kúrúzú”zú”</td>
<td>ŋ kúrúzú”zú”</td>
<td>‘my calabash (with bulges)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /LH/</td>
<td>táá</td>
<td>ŋ táá</td>
<td>‘my half’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sòmò</td>
<td>ŋ sòmò</td>
<td>‘my daba’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>báábíi</td>
<td>m báábíi</td>
<td>‘my plastic sandals’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>màsàkùù</td>
<td>m màsàkùù</td>
<td>‘my sweet potato’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /LHL/</td>
<td>misírí</td>
<td>m misírí</td>
<td>‘my mosque’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yòrògò</td>
<td>ŋ yòrògò</td>
<td>‘my cat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>báráádà</td>
<td>m báráádà</td>
<td>‘my tea kettle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dúwókùù</td>
<td>n dúwókùù</td>
<td>‘my cheek’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H-tone in tail is dropped as part of L-toned sequence

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>látikò́rò</td>
<td>ŋ látikò́rò</td>
<td>‘my perfume’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kérébúwò</td>
<td>ŋ kérébúwò</td>
<td>‘my flint’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìyètàáñi</td>
<td>ŋ sìyètàáñi</td>
<td>‘my devil’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H-tone in tail is retained

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bábárintò</td>
<td>m bábárintò</td>
<td>‘my herb sp. (Glinus)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with other possessive NPs, definite singular -yàw” (§4.4.2) may be added after the possessum, often in reduced segmental form. The suffix affects the tones, since -yàw” itself has L-tone which triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone. For example, ŋ súwò ‘my goat’ most often
appears in definite singular form ŋ́ sùwó-yàwⁿ or (clause-medially) a reduced version of the same such as ŋ́ sùwó-ôⁿ.

LogoSg (also 3ReflSg) is consistently ŋ́ as possessor, with no tonal effects on the following noun.

(157) a. à yé [ŋ́ kà …]  
3Sg said [LogoSg father …]  
‘Heₓ said that hisₓ father …’

b. à yé [ŋ́ súwó…]  
3Sg said [LogoSg goat …]  
‘Heₓ said that hisₓ goat …’

4.3.3.4.3 1Sg ŋ́ (+tones) and LogoSg ŋ́ as postpositional complements

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

(158) postposition 1Sg gloss/category

a. nà ŋ́ nà dative (with ‘give’)  
tè ŋ́ té dative (with ‘say’)  
pà m̀ pà comitative

b. ní ŋ́ ní instrumental

c. tígàà ŋ́ tígàà ‘in front of me’

d. kwàtiyè ŋ́ kwàtiyè ‘behind me’  
mùⁿ m̀ múⁿ ‘under me’  
búú-án m̀ búú-án ‘under me’

LogoSg is again ŋ́ with no tonal effect on the postposition.
4.3.3.5 Tone of post-subject morphemes before 1Sg ŋ (tones)

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

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

(160) a. sèédú yé ŋ kay gå [dialect 1]
    S Sbj/Obj 1Sg see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Seydou saw me.’

b. sèédú yé [ŋ namàà-ŋ] kay gå [dialect 1]
    S Sbj/Obj [1Sg house-DefSg] see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Seydou saw my house.’

c. sèédú ŋ kay gå [dialect 1]
    S 1Sg see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Seydou saw me.’

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

a. H-toned subject pronoun
2Sg áⁿ ɲè ɲ́ káy gà
2Pl áá yè
LogoPl ɲ́ yè
LogoPl é yè

b. L-toned subject pronoun
3Sg á (yè)ɲ́ káy gà
3Pl (i) yè

c. nonpronominal NP subject
‘Seydou’ sèédú Ø ɲ́ káy gà
sèédú yè
‘the fish-Pl’ yúwó-yè Ø ɲ́ káy

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

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

a. H-toned subject pronoun
2Sg áⁿ ɲà ɲ́ káy
2Pl áá gà
LogoPl ɲ́ ɲà
LogoPl é gà

b. L-toned subject pronoun
3Sg à gà ɲ́ káy
3Pl è gà

c. nonpronominal NP subject
‘Seydou’ sèédú gà ɲ́ káy
‘the fish-Pl’ yúwó-yè gà ɲ́ káy
Perfective negative tè behaves exactly like gà in dialect 2 (e.g. án tè ŋ kày ‘you-Sg didn’t see me’ but à tè ŋ kày ‘he/she didn’t see me’). So does subjunctive nà (e.g. án nà ŋ kày ‘that you-Sg may see me’ but à nà ŋ kày ‘that he/she may see me’). So does prohibitive mà (e.g. án mà ŋ kày ‘that you may not see me’ but mà ŋ kày ‘that he/she may not see me’). Imperfective negative tá is irrelevant since it is always H-toned in dialect 2.

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

### 4.4 Determiners

#### 4.4.1 Definite singular -yàwⁿ

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

\[
\begin{array}{l|llll}
(163) & \text{gloss} & \text{unmarked Sg} & \text{DefSg} & \text{Pl (unmarked = Def)} \\
\hline
a. & ‘goat’ & súwó & súwó-yàwⁿ & súwó-yè \\
b. & ‘big goat’ & súwó bóró & súwó bóró-yàwⁿ & súwó bóró-yè \\
c. & ‘sheep’ & sùwò & sùwò-yàwⁿ & sùwò-yè \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
(164) & \text{sèédú kànàà péndé-yàwⁿ} \\
& \text{S friend two-Def} \\
& \text{‘the two friends of Seydou’s’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

In nonfinal position within phrases and clauses, -yàwⁿ is reduced phonetically. In this position, some combination of vowel lengthening, nasality, and contour tone are the cues that
listeners look for. All three cues are present in (165b), distinguishing the definite NP from its unmarked counterpart in (165a).

(165) a. [sèédù súwó] bé gà
[S goat] come.Pfv Pfv
‘A goat of Seydou’s has come.’

b. [sèédù súwó-(ò)m] bé gà
[S goat-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
‘Seydou’s goat (definite) has come.’

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

(166) a. Ø nà kámpúwón jîní jì
1Sg Pfv.1Sg shoe wash.Pfv Pfv
‘I washed a shoe.’

b. Ø nà kámpúwóⁿ-(ò)ǹ jîní jì
1Sg Pfv.1Sg shoe-DefSg wash.Pfv Pfv
‘I washed the shoe.’

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

4.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

4.4.2.1 Forms of ‘this/that’ demonstratives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deictic (but see below)</td>
<td>kú</td>
<td>kú-yè ~ kí-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse-definite</td>
<td>nóⁿ (dialect 1)</td>
<td>nú-méé ~ nú-mèè (both dialects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nóⁿ (dialect 2)</td>
<td>nóⁿ-yè (dialect 1) ~ nóⁿ-yè (dialect 2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(168) áⁿ ɲá wàá sà-nà bí-yè

2Sg 1pfv Dem.Def.Foc buy-1pfv come-1pfv

‘That [focus] is what you-Sg buy and bring.’ (2021-03 @ 20:03)

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

(169) Prenominal forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. dialect 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deictic</td>
<td>kú-nùⁿ(+H) X-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>kú-nùⁿ(+H) X-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse-definite</td>
<td>nú-nùⁿ(+H) X-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>nú-nùⁿ(+H) X-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ nó-nùⁿ(+H) X-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>~ nó-nùⁿ(+H) X-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. dialect 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deictic</td>
<td>kú-nùⁿ(+tones) X-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>kú-nùⁿ(+tones) X-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse-definite</td>
<td>nó-nùⁿ(+H) X-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>nó-nùⁿ(+H) X-yè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In dialect 2, nó-nùⁿ can reduce to nó-ǹ in allegro speech.
Demonstrative ɲɔⁿ ~ ɲóⁿ is distinct from a noun or compound final ɲɔɲⁿ ‘situation, problem, issue’ which occurs in phrases like (170a-b). This is mentioned here since the two converge partially in Cliffs.

(170) a. [à ɲɔóm] màà
    [3Sg issue] seek.Pfv
    ‘You-Sg figure out a solution for it!’

    b. áⁿ yà = [án sèbè-ɲɔóm] bàá gà rà
    2Sg Sbj/Obj [2Sg matter-issue] remove.Pfv Pfv Q
    ‘Did you-Sg resolve your problem?’

4.4.2.2 Deixis versus discourse definiteness

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

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

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

(171) [nùmàⁿ'sìyè ɲíyè] tá bòⁿ sááwù,
    [giant.Malapterurus too] not.be.Loc here now,
    [[kí-yè ɲùnù sìf] tá bòwⁿ sááwù] [[kí-yè sáán] dùwɔⁿ ñà]
    ‘(… and) giant Malapterurus (electric fish) too is not here now. All those (species) are not here now, those have all become extinct.’ (2021-03 @ 04:07)
4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(172) form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bóⁿ</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bón-tàà</td>
<td>‘just over here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwí-tàà</td>
<td>‘over there’ (deictic, not far)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyém-pà</td>
<td>‘over there’ (cf. kiyéwⁿ ‘like this/that’, §4.4.3.2 below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāwⁿ ~ yōⁿ</td>
<td>‘there’ (discourse-definite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

4.4.3.2 Deictic manner adverb or verb (kiyéwⁿ ~ kiyéⁿ wù)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(173)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ífŋ kõŋgòrò-ŋ kwá gá [kiyéⁿ wù]</td>
<td>1Pl dog hit.Pfv Pfv [thus Foc]</td>
<td>‘We hit-Past the dog like this.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ífn ná = à kwá-rá [kiyéⁿ wù]</td>
<td>1Pl Ipfv 3Sg hit-Ipfv [thus Foc]</td>
<td>‘We (often) hit the dog like this.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variant kiyéⁿwù may reflect the prepausal intonational HL pattern described in §3.7.2.
A verbal counterpart of this adverb, meaning ‘do like this’, could not be elicited. Such a verb does occur in Cliffs.

4.4.4 Presentatives

4.4.4.1 kày ~ gày (‘here’s …!’; ‘there’s …!’)

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

(174) a. zàkí gày (~ kày)
   S Prsntv
   ‘Here’s Zaki!’

   b. ŋ̀ŋ́ gày (~ kày)
   1Sg Prsntv
   ‘Here I am!’

   c. *zàkí kày
   *Z see.Pfv
   ‘See Zaki!’ (internally reconstructed but unacceptable synchronically)

   d. zàkí tù"wô
   Z look.at.Pfv
   ‘Look at Zaki!’

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

gày subdialect  kày subdialect

a. 1SG  ṭŋáy  ṭŋáy

b. 1PL  ífnŋáy  ífnkày
  2SG  áŋkày  áŋkày
  2PL  áákày  áákày

c. 3SG  āgày  ākày
  3PL  ēgày  ēkày

d. LogoSg  ṭŋáy  ṭŋkày
  LogoPl  ēgày  ēkày

4.4.4.2 Grammar and functions of presentatives

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

(176) sëèdú  kày  fɔ̀rɔ̀-nà
  S       Prsntv    sit-Stat
‘There’s Seydou sitting!’

4.5 Adjectives

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

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

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

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

4.5.1.1 Morphologically simple modifying adjectives

The adjectives in (177) lack diminutive or participial suffixes. As immediately postnominal modifying adjectives (Adj1), shown in the N__ column, most of them are subject to Tone Leveling, i.e. they acquire their tone by spreading from the noun (177a). Based on tone patterns in N-N compounds, this means that these modifying adjectives are lexically level-toned i.e. /H/ or /L/). A few have fixed HL-tones (177b), which by extrapolation from compounds would mean that they are contour-toned lexically. For L-toned ‘other’ (177c), see §6.3.1.2. The lexical melody of the level-toned adjectives is determined to be either /L/ or /H/ when they occur as Adj2 (second of two postnominal adjectives), as shown in the Adj2 (N-Adj1__) column. Also shown for each adjective is a typical stative predicate, in the ‘it is ___’ column. The various predicative constructions bring out semantic and syntactic differences among the stems that are masked in the modifying forms. For adjectives whose stative predicate is gà ‘be’ plus the same segmental form that occurs in modifying function, the tones of the stative predicate match those in Adj2 function where they are distinct from the tones in Adj1 function. For the short forms of ‘red’, ‘white’, and ‘black’ in (177a), the melody is indeterminate since only the longer participial forms occur in the non-Adj1 functions. The lexical melody, where determinable, is /H/, /L/, /LH(L)/, or /HL/.

(177) Adj1 Adj2 (after Adj1) ‘it is ___’ gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. modifying adjectives subject to Tone Leveling</th>
<th>predicate is or may be reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baa(ŋ)gu bàà́gù</td>
<td>à ṅ bàà́bù ngùǹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boro(ⁿ) bò̖ròⁿ</td>
<td>à ṅ bò̖ròⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daaⁿ dááⁿ</td>
<td>[à tò̖] ñ dááⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumbo dūmò</td>
<td>à ñ dëⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këëminë këëminë</td>
<td>à ṅ këëminë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwasa(ⁿ) kwàsàⁿ</td>
<td>à ṅ kwàsàⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manàa mâpàà</td>
<td>à ṅ màyⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
suwó^n  sùwò^n  à ñ sùwò^n  ‘foul (taste); dull (blade)’

**predicate is ‘be’ plus participle**

- bula-maw^n  búlá-máw^n  à gà búlànà  ‘blue’
- kaasi  káási  à gà kááso-má-nà  ‘bitter’
- piì^n  —  à gà piỳè-nà  ‘black, dark; dense (forest)’
- tömɔ^n  —  à gà tömɔ-nà  ‘red’
- kuwo^n  —  à gà kûwáá-nà  ‘white, light-colored’

**predicate is ‘be’ plus noun/adjective plus ni ‘it is’**

- kaa  káá  à gà káá nì  ‘fresh (milk), green (vegetation)’
- kéewu  kééwú  à gà kéewú nì  ‘male’ (§5.1.4.5)
- sumu  sùmú  à gà sùmú nì  ‘foreign’
- twee  twèè  à gà twèè nì  ‘new’
- yuwo^n  yùwò^n  à gá yùwò nì  ‘female’ (§5.1.4.5)

**predicate is perfective verb**

- wuwo^n  —  à wúwó-má gà  ‘empty’

**other or no predicate**

- gaaya  gááyá  —  ‘unseasoned, plain (food)’
- pana  páná  à gà páná  ‘full; robust (animal)’

b. /HL/ melody

**predicate is reflexive**

- wáárá(w)^n  wáárá(w)^n  à ñ wáárá(w)^n  ‘smart, well-behaved’

**predicate is perfective verb**

- sìrè  sìrè  à sìrè-gá gà  ‘very old, decrepit, worn-out’ (§6.3.1.3)

c. /L/ melody

- tànàà  tànàà  tànàá wò nì  ‘other’ (§6.3.1.2)

(wò focus particle)

d. /LH/ melody

[none, but see below on -gù adjectives]

4.5.1.2 Modifying adjectives with suffix -gù

The modifying adjectives with -gù form a semantically well-defined class, denoting smallness and lightness. However, there are no oppositions between presence and absence of -gù for any given
stem. In other words, -gù is not a derivational suffix like -liy(e(w)^n ~ -liy(e(w)^n, which converts ordinary nouns (and a few adjectives) into diminutives.

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

(178)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adj1</th>
<th>Adj2 (after Adj1)</th>
<th>‘it is ___’</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>/LH/ melody observed as Adj2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predicate is reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dúwò-gù</td>
<td>dúwò-gù</td>
<td>à ní dúwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fírí-gù</td>
<td>fírí-gù</td>
<td>à ní fírí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(~ fűrú-gù)</td>
<td>(~ fűrú-gù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miyè-gù</td>
<td>miyè-gù</td>
<td>à ní miyèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>níyè-gù</td>
<td>níyè-gù</td>
<td>à ní níyèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>twíi-gù</td>
<td>twíi-gù</td>
<td>à ní twíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no predicative form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yérè-gù</td>
<td>yérè-gù</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>/HL/ melody observed as Adj2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no predicative form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fórí-gù</td>
<td>fórí-gù</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(~ férú-gù)</td>
<td>(~ férú-gù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>/H/ melody</td>
<td>[none]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>/L/ melody</td>
<td>[none]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is reasonable to suggest that -gù adjectives like Adj2 dúwò-gù (178a) have /LHL/ rather than /LH/ melody, the idea being that the second L of the melody is realized on the suffix since there is
no room for it on the (bimoraic) noun. Moreover, /LH/-melodic stems show signs of being covertly /LHL/ (§3.6.5.1).

4.5.1.3 Adjective-like participles with suffix -na

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

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

a. /H/ melody
   predicate is reflexive

   jíñá-ná         jíñá-ná            à ní jíí          ‘nasty, mean’
   jíuwéstô-má-ná  jíuwéstô-má-ná    à jí jíuwéstô     ‘difficult; expensive’
   tíyè-má-ná      tíyè-má-ná        à ní tíyèⁿ       ‘heavy’

   predicate is ‘be’ plus participle

   bílá-ná         bílá-ná            ńí gà bílá-ná      ‘living, alive’
   kàáámá-ná       kàáámá-ná          ńí gà kàáámá-ná    ‘wet’
   kàáásumá-ná     kàáásumá-ná        ńí gà kàáásumá-ná  ‘bitter’
   kûmá-ná         kûmá-ná            ńí gà kûmá-ná      ‘lean, emaciated’
   kútû-kútû-ná    kútû-kútû-ná       ńí gà kútû-kútû-ná ‘coarse, rough’
   kúⁿwáá-ná       kúⁿwáá-ná          ńí gà kúⁿwáá-ná    ‘white, light-colored’
   pîⁿ’yé-ná       pîⁿ’yé-ná          ńí gà pîⁿ’yé-ná    ‘hot’

   predicate is perfective verb

   kálé-ná         kálé-ná            ńí kálé gà         ‘dead’ (variant káré-ná)
   pî-ná           pî-ná              ńí pîⁿ t̪à        ‘rotten’
   wúwó-má-ná      wúwó-má-ná        ńí wúwó-má gà      ‘empty’
Two color categories are expressed by exemplars.

(180) color term   gloss           source
  a. sóó-káá-jíí  ‘green’         “grass-fresh-water(?)”
  b. nárón-dúú    ‘yellow’        “Parkia-powder”
‘Green’ is naturally expressed as ‘fresh vegetation’ (sóó káá), but optionally adds -jíí (elsewhere ‘water, liquid’). ‘Yellow’ is exemplified by the powdery bright yellow meal inside pods of the tree (*Parkia biglobosa*), local French néré (< Bambara). The tree is called nárò, the powder nárò-n-dúú. It changes to H-toned nárò-n-dúú when it becomes a modifying color adjective.

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

(181) a. jùù sóó-káá(-jíí) ‘green garment’
ñámáá sóó-káá(-jíí) ‘green house’
mómbírí sóó-káá(-jíí) ‘green vehicle’

b. jùù nárò-n-dúú ‘yellow garment’
ñámáá nárò-n-dúú ‘yellow house’
mómbírí nárò-n-dúú ‘yellow vehicle’

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

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

4.6 Numerals

4.6.1 Cardinal numerals

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

4.6.1.1 ‘One’ (kóò”, sànà), ‘same (one)’

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

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

b. ŋ-kò [kòò ní]
1Sg furnish.Pfv [one Inst]
‘Give me one!’

c. [tòòŋ-kèwù sìni dûgòŋ-kèwù wò] tûŋ ñá yàw,
[elder.sib-male and younger.sib-male Foc] be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
[kòò nsò gá] [kòò kónó gá]
[one go.Pfv Pfv] [one stay.Pfv Pfv]
‘There was an elder brother and a younger brother. One left, the other stayed.’

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

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

(183) noun with ‘one’ gloss
màrìfà màrìfà-liyë ŋ-kòò ‘one rifle (musket)’
nàa nàa-liyë ŋ-kòò ‘one cow’
súwò súwò-liyë ŋ-kòò ‘one goat’

In some of these combinations, -liyë can be understood by some speakers to still have a weak
diminutive sense, so that súwò-liyë can mean ‘half-grown goat’. However, the tendency is
for -liyë to generalize before ŋ-kòò.

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

(184) a. Ø ñà bé sò [ŋ-kòò]
1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [1Sg one]
‘I will go alone.’
kóòⁿ has a special emphatic form kóón-kásì ‘just one’ (denigrating), or in some contexts ‘completely alone, isolated’.

(185) [[wááti mãⁿ-y]-é à gá fɔⁿ-rɔⁿ]
[[time Rel-DefSg]-Loc 3Sg lpfv be.settled-lpfv]
[à  kóōn-kásì wú] tìⁿ  njá bòⁿ
[3Sg  one-just Foc] be.Past be.Loc here

‘At the time it (=a village) was being settled, it was completely isolated.’

(2021-03 @ 12:28)

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

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

4.6.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’ as postnominal modifiers

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

(186) gloss  form  melody

‘2’  péné ~ péndé  /H/
‘3’  sìgèⁿ  /L/
‘4’  nàtà(w)ⁿ  "
‘5’  kùwɔⁿ  "
‘6’  tùùmì  "
‘7’  yìyènì  "
‘8’  ségí ~ sékí  /H/
‘9’  kàpì  /L/
‘10’  cèmí ~ kèmí  /H/

Preceding nouns optionally end in the linker -liyewⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ, see (321) in §6.4.1.2. For numerals in bahuvrihis (e.g. ‘two-headed’), see §5.2.1.2.
4.6.1.3 ‘1’ to ‘10’ in the counting recitation

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

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

(187) Counting recitation (version 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘1’</td>
<td>sànà</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td>péné</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td>sígèⁿ ~ síkèⁿ</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘4’</td>
<td>nátâwⁿ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘5’</td>
<td>kúwɔⁿ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘6’</td>
<td>tûúmì</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘7’</td>
<td>yìyènì</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘8’</td>
<td>ségí ~ sékí</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘9’</td>
<td>kápi</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>cêmí</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(188) Counting recitation (version 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘1’</td>
<td>sànà</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td>péné</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td>sìgèⁿ</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘4’</td>
<td>nátâwⁿ</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘5’</td>
<td>kúwɔⁿ</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘6’</td>
<td>tûúmì</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘7’</td>
<td>yìyènì</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘8’</td>
<td>ségí</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.1.4 Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and composites (‘11’, ‘59’, …)

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

(189) tám-péné 20
táⁿ-sigêⁿ 30
dèbè 40
dèbè-ý-cémí ~ dèbè-è-cémí 50
tànnùmá-sigêⁿ 60
tànnùmá-sigê-èñ-cémí 70
bámbárá-yòrò ~ bámbárá-yòrò 80
bámbárá-yòrò-èñ-cémí 90

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

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

(190) ‘11’ cémè-è-kòòⁿ ~ cémè-è-kòòⁿ
‘21’ tám-péné-è-kòòⁿ
‘31’ táⁿ-sigè-è-kòòⁿ
‘41’ dèbè-è-kòòⁿ
‘51’ dèbè-è-cémè-è-kòòⁿ (~ -cémè-è-kòòⁿ)
‘61’ tànnùmá-sigé-èñ-kòòⁿ
‘71’ tànnùmá-sigé-èñ-cémè-è-kòòⁿ (~ -cémè-è-kòòⁿ)
‘81’ bámbárá-yòrò-èñ-kòòⁿ
‘91’ bámbárá-yòrò-èñ-cémè-è-kòòⁿ (~ -cémè-è-kòòⁿ)
In isolation and prepausally, the final -kööⁿ in (190) is pronounced with low pitch. Its HL-tones reappear in medial position within phrases and clauses.

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

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

(191)  ‘23’  tám-péné-é-sigéⁿ
       ‘43’  dèbé-é-sigéⁿ
       ‘93’  bambilá-yóró-yéⁿ-sigéⁿ

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

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

(192)  yóró  hundred
       músù  thousand
       mílyóⁿ  million

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

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

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

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

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

4.6.1.6 Currency

As in all languages of the zone except French, currency is calculated by means of a currency unit equivalent to five CFA francs. Thus ‘one thousand FCFA’ is expressed as ‘two hundred (units)’. The unit is called déè in J-S of Djenné. The smallest coin is for 5 FCFA.
Most actual occurrences of higher numerals from ‘100’ up in everyday speech are references to money. déè is usually omitted when money is understood to be the topic, for example in market transactions.

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

4.6.1.7 Distributive iteration of numerals

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(194) gloss</th>
<th>digit</th>
<th>distributive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘1’</td>
<td>kòòⁿ</td>
<td>kòòŋ-kòòⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td>pèné ~ pèndé</td>
<td>pèné-pèné ~ pèndé-pèndé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td>sigèⁿ</td>
<td>sigèⁿ-sigèⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘4’</td>
<td>nàtà(w)ⁿ</td>
<td>nàtàⁿ-nàtà(w)ⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘5’</td>
<td>kùwɔⁿ</td>
<td>kùwɔŋ-kùwɔⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘6’</td>
<td>tùùmì</td>
<td>tùùmì-tùùmì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘7’</td>
<td>yìyèñì</td>
<td>yìyèñì-yìyèñì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘8’</td>
<td>ségí ~ sékì</td>
<td>ségí-ségí ~ sékì-sékì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘9’</td>
<td>kàpì</td>
<td>kàpì-kàpì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>cèm(i)</td>
<td>cèm-cèm ~ cèmí-cèmí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘20’</td>
<td>tám-pèné</td>
<td>tám-pèné-tám-pèné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘40’</td>
<td>dèbè</td>
<td>dèbè-dèbè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kòòⁿ ‘1’ differs from the nonsingular numerals in being an adjective, with consequences for tonal interactions with the noun. Its distributive iteration kòòŋ-kòòⁿ has the same tonal and morphological effects on a preceding noun. A noun X plus kòòŋ-kòòⁿ appears as X-liyeⁿ ŋ-kòòŋ-kòòⁿ or as X ŋ-kòòŋ-kòòⁿ.

For ‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘9’, and ‘40’, all of which are based on L-toned digit terms, the tones of the distributives are explained by regular operation of Final Tone-Raising. This converts LL-LL to LH-LL.

Complex numerals other than ‘20’ and ‘30’ that end in a clearly recognizable digit term usually just iterate this digit term (195). Alternatively, the full complex numeral can be iterated.
(195) a. dèbè-y-cémi-cémi ~ dèbè-è-cémi-cémi  ‘fifty by fifty’
    b. cémè-è-kóòŋ-kóòŋ" ~ cémè-è-kóòŋ-kóòŋ"  ‘eleven by eleven’

See also interrogative jènì-jènì ‘how much/many each?’ (§13.2.2.7).

Distributives based on nonsingular numerals do not control tonal changes on preceding modified nouns, except for tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable. In other words, the noun has the same form it would have before a simple (nondistributive) numeral. Thus pámaá pènè-pènè ‘two houses at a time’, nònòmì" sigèn-sigèn’ three dances each’ (< nònòmì’), máangòró kùwòŋ-kùwòŋ  ‘five mangoes each’.

4.6.2 Ordinal adjectives

Ordinals derived from numerals are presented below. For interrogative jènà-ànà ‘how-many-eth?’ (French quantième) see §13.2.2.7.

4.6.2.1  ‘First’ (pánaá") and ‘last’ (làbàá", kòtò)

pánaá" ‘first’ is a suppletive ordinal (compare English first and many other parallels). It is also a noun or adverb meaning ‘(in) the past, (in) the old days’. Its antonym is làbàá" or (less often) kòtò ‘last’. Representative combinations are in (196).

(196) noun   gloss  ‘first’   ‘last’   ‘last’
      a. nàà  ‘cow’  nàà pánaá"  nàà làbàá"  nàá kòtò
      b. súwò  ‘goat’  súwò pánaá"  súwò làbàá"  súwò kòtò
      c. kóngó́rò ~ kóngó́rò  ‘dog’  kóngó́rò pánaá"  kóngó́rò làbàá"  kóngó́rò kòtò
      d. nàmáá  ‘house’  nàmáá pánaá"  nàmáá làbàá"  nàmáá kòtò

Of the two terms for ‘last’, làbàá" is preferred in temporal contexts (‘the last = final day’), kòtò in spatial contexts.

Both pánaá" and làbàá" combine with modified nouns in standard N-Adj fashion tonally; pánaá" is part of the domain of Tone Leveling, while làbàá" (like other HL-toned adjectives) blocks Tone Leveling beyond the N-Adj boundary. kòtò, on the other hand, takes possessor-possessum tones. kòtò is also the noun meaning ‘back (of body)’ and is related to adverbs and postpositions including kwà́tîyè ‘behind’. Compounds like kwà́tîyè nàá-yàw" ‘the last cow’ are also in use.

While kòo" ‘1’ is not the morphological basis for ‘first’, it occurs in ordinals like ‘eleventh’, see (198c) below.
(197) presents positive predicate forms ‘be first/last’. This is an instance of the regular copula construction.

(197) a. zàkí gà pánáà nì
      Z be first it.is
      ‘Zaki is first.’

    b. zàkí gà kòtò nì
       " gà lábàà "
       Z be last it.is
       ‘Zaki is last.’ (< kòtò)

4.6.2.2 Other ordinals (-ana)

Other ordinals are formed by adding -ana to the numeral. The tone of the numeral stem extends into the suffix. Stem-final high vowels in the numeral stem usually desyllabify to semi-voels (y, w) and compensatorily lengthen the first suffixal vowel. Other stem-final vowels contract with the first suffixal vowel.

(198) full form     gloss

a. from single-digit numeral
   pénà-ánà   ‘second’
   sìgà-ánà   ‘third’
   nàtà-ánà   ‘fourth’
   kúwà-ánà   ‘fifth’
   tùumy-àànà ‘sixth’
   yìyènà-ánà ‘seventh’
   sékyà-ánà ~ ségyà-ánà ‘eighth’
   kàpyà-ánà  ‘ninth’
   cèmỳà-ánà  ‘tenth’

b. decimal
   tám-pénà-ánà ‘twenty-first’

c. decimal plus single-digit numeral
   cèmè-é-kwà-ánà ~ cèmè-é-kwà-ánà ‘eleventh’
d. hundred
yórá-áná
‘hundredth’

Like other adjectives, ordinals are included in the domain of Tone Leveling coming from the modified noun. Examples are kóŋgóró péná-áná ‘second dog’ (< kóŋgórò) and sùwò péná-áná ‘second sheep’.

4.6.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’ (or similar large portion) is tàá. It can occur alone (with understood partitive), or with an overt possessor or compound initial denoting the partitive as in wálé tàá ‘half of the money’, nàà-yé tàá ‘half of the cows’ (< nàà-yè), mááŋgóró tàá ‘half of a mango’, and simple pronominal ā tàá ‘half of it’. tàá can refer to the split half of a nut, or the cut half of a fruit such as a watermelon.

Diminutive tàá-liyèw can mean ‘(small) portion’ of variable size. There are no terms specifically meaning ‘a third’ or other fraction.

Also relevant is kútǐ ‘piece (of meat, fabric, etc.)’ or ‘shard (of calabash, pottery)’
5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

The two most important types of noun-noun compound are a) the possessive type, resembling a possessor plus possessum combination, and b) a more fully lexicalized compound type characterized by Tone-Leveling. The latter process also applies to N-Adj combinations, suggesting a close relationship between compounding and adjectival modification.

A good example of the distinction is when the compound final is ɲàmàà ‘house’. When the initial denotes an occupant, even if generic, a possessor-possessum compound is the usual choice. Both the initial (the “possessor”) and the final (the “possessum”) present their regular tones, except for tone sandhi at the boundary (199a). When the compound as a whole denotes a general type of house (defined by a spatio-temporal location, a function, or style), it takes tone-leveled form, with ɲàmàà reshaped tonally as HL-toned -ɲàmàà and with the initial spreading its leftmost tone to the compound boundary (199b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(199) compounds</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sàbà-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘chicken coop’</td>
<td>sàbá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóŋgòrò-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘doghouse, kennel’</td>
<td>kóŋgòrò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèédú ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘Seydou’s house’</td>
<td>sèédú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. tùbàábu-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘European-style house’</td>
<td>tùbáábù ‘white person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wày-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘house of today, modern house’</td>
<td>wày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t5⁰-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘association center’</td>
<td>t5⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[søŋø-ỳ⁰]-ɲàmàà</td>
<td>‘house (out) in the bush’</td>
<td>søŋø-ỳ⁰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.1 Nasal linker between initial and final

Scattered throughout the compounds presented in this chapter are some that have a nasal linker separating the initial from the final. The nasal assimilates in position to following stops and some other consonants. Examples are in (200).
A difficulty in analysing these nasal linkers is that nasality at the end of a noun stem can sometimes be interpreted as a reduction of the definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ. Such a parsing (diachronic and perhaps synchronic) is attractive in e.g. the noun-verb compound dîs-n-tiyeⁿ ‘shut’ (§9.5.2), cf. dîs-yàwⁿ ‘the mouth/door’. However, this parsing is improbable in cases like (200a-c). Furthermore, the direct and indirect tonal signature of -yàwⁿ, when reduced to a nasal consonant, is masked by Tone Leveling in most lexicalized noun-noun compounds.

kóòⁿ ‘one’ requires a nasal linker after noun stems in its primary function as a numeral, as in sàrà j-kóòⁿ ‘one frog’. Here again there is no question of definiteness.

5.1.2 Possessive-type versus tone-leveled compounds

The following subsections will show that there are two main types of N-N compound. They are distinguished mainly by tones.

One is modeled on possessor-possessum NPs. The first element (possessor or compound initial) and the second element (possessum or compound final) both present their regular tones. The exception is that tone sandhi applies at the boundary, which confirms that the two elements are distinct prosodic words. The tone-sandhi rule in question is Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4.7), e.g. LL#L becoming LH#L. The initial is an invariant plural in a few cases, especially with ‘children’ as initial, as in [dyè-nà-mèè]-yîyèⁿ ‘arboreal snake sp.’, literally “children’s shadow.”

The other N-N compound type is expressed by Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). This process also applies to N-Adj combinations. Unlike the possessive compound type, the tone-leveled type is treated tonally as a single complex word. The initial cannot be independently pluralized. The leftmost tone in the initial spreads rightward, minimally to the internal compound boundary. It continues to spread rightward farther (to the end of the compound) unless the final contains an internal tone break.

A possessive-type compound can be thought of as a possessed noun that is in the process of lexicalizing as a compound, so that the initial is no longer easily quantified (e.g. pluralized) or determined (by a demonstrative, definite suffix, or its own possessor). Full lexicalization, where there is no longer any salient trace of possession, is expressed by shifting to the tone-leveled type.
5.1.3 Compounds resembling possessor-possessum NPs

In this type, the initial and final retain their lexical tones (prior to tone sandhi), and there is no tone-leveling in the initial. There is no sharp distinction between true possessor-possessum and this type of compound. That compounding is in progress may be suggested by the infrequency of separately pluralizing or determining the initial, at least in the core sense of the compound. However, a few such compounds do have a fixed plural or definite initial.

5.1.3.1 With simple initials

To distinguish this type from that with level-toned initial, we consider compounds whose initial has a contoured lexical melody, which is not possible in tone-leveled compounds. The initial usually has generic reference.

(201) a. dègè sòò ‘small fishnet’
    dègè ‘sardine-like fish (Brycinus)’ plus sòò ‘net’

    b. dènè tíf ‘beard’
    dènè ‘chin’ plus tíf ‘hair’

In combinations like (201b) with tone formula LH-H, the final is downstepped phonetically (§3.6.5.1), especially when prepausal (or in isolation).

  In (202), the initial has lexical /L/ melody but undergoes Final Tone-Raising before the initial L-tone of the final.

(202) a. bàsì kòrí ‘couscous steamer’
    bàsì ‘couscous’ plus kòrí (~ kwàrí) ‘cooking pot’

    b. bònò kòtò ‘nape’
    bònò ‘neck’ plus kòtò ‘back’

    c. kèré nàmù-jì ‘baobab-leaf sauce’
    kèré ‘baobab’ plus nàmù-jì ‘leaf sauce’

Partonymic compounds whose initial expresses the entire entity are of the possessive compound type, with lexical tone melodies preserved prior to tone sandhi. For example, dúwó ‘leaf’ combines with initials of various tone melodies (203).
(203) compound gloss independent form of initial

a. initial has /L/ melody
   kèrè dúwô ‘baobab leaf’ kèrè

b. initial has /H/ melody
   gósñ dúwô ‘okra leaf’ gós’n
   máántíná dúwô ‘peanut greens’ máántíná

c. initial has contour-tone melody
   sàpflà dúwô ‘cowpea greens’ sàpflà (~ sàfülà)

5.1.3.2 With plural initials

When the initial is pluralized, the compound is clearly of the possessive type. In lexicalized examples, the initial denotes a generic type of “possessor,” which may be an animal species, an ethnicity, or an age-sex category. Plural -yè is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone (204a).

(204) a. kùwò-yè sìì ‘shrub sp. (Rytigynia)’
   kùwò-yè ~ kùwò-yè ‘monkeys’ plus sìì ‘tree sp. (Vitex)’

b. kònì-yè jíi-méñ-kóri ‘drinking trough for chickens and pigeons’
   kònì-yè ‘birds’ plus jíi-méñ-kóri ‘water-drinking-trough’

c. dyè-nà-méé yíyè’n ‘snake sp. (Psammophis)’
   dyè-nà-méé ‘children’ plus yíyé’n ‘shadow’

5.1.3.3 -nàw’n ‘mother’ as final

nà(w’n) ‘mother’ is a basic kin term, so it often has a human possessor.

(205) a. à nà(w)n ‘his/her mother’
   b. ñ nà(w)n ‘my mother’
   c. sèè dú nà(w)n ‘Seydou’s mother’

-nà(w)n also occurs as a final in possessive-type compounds whose initial denotes a natural species. It can denote the queen of social insect colonies, especially the large mound-building termites.
Macrotermes spp.), whose queens can be collected and eaten (206a). For domestic animals, such compounds are not the usual terms for adult females, but can occur in contexts where their maternal relationship to offspring or eggs is relevant (206b).

(206) a. kòbòrò-nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} ‘termite queen’ kòbòrò ‘mound-building termite’

  b. nàà-nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} ‘mother cow’ nàà ‘bovine’
  sùwò-nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} ‘mother ewe’ sùwò ‘sheep-Sg’
  sùwó-nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} ‘mother nanny-goat’ súwó ‘goat’
  yúwó-nà(e)\textsuperscript{n} ‘mother fish’ yúwó ‘fish’

However, the most common use of -nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} as compound final is with flora terms. The compound with -nà(w)\textsuperscript{n} denotes the entire tree or plant. It contrasts with the fruit or other conspicuous part, which can be specified using -diyàw\textsuperscript{n} (or variant) ‘child’ as final (§5.1.7.2).

(207) noun gloss compound type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>compound type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kèrè</td>
<td>‘baobab’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèrè-nà(w)\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>‘baobab tree’</td>
<td>possessor-possessum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèrè-diyàw\textsuperscript{n}</td>
<td>‘baobab fruit’</td>
<td>tone-leveled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further examples are in (208). The tone patterns are consistent with possessive-type compounds.

(208) a. shows Final Tone-Raising at end of initial

  gálá-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘indigo bush’ gálà ‘indigo (dye)’
  támàràro-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘date palm’ támàràro ‘dates’
  jàbíí-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘henna bush (Lawsonia)’ jàbíí (variant) ‘henna’

  b. other

  káránté-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘tamarind tree’ káránté ‘tamarind (pods)’
  máángòrò-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘mango tree’ máángòrò ‘mango’
  pègú\textsuperscript{n}-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘wild grape tree’ pègú ‘wild grape (fruit)’
  sòmò-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘cashew tree’ sòmò ‘cashew apple’

In some of the examples just given, the uncompounded noun denotes a familiar commodity that is widely traded far from its source plant. In (209), by contrast, the plant is the “mother” (i.e. source) of an implement rather than a fruit.

(209) kúwó-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘bamboo plant’ kúwó ‘pole (for boats)’
    [pífrí-pífrí]-nàw\textsuperscript{n} ‘shrub sp. (Hoslundia)’ pífrí-pífrí ‘stirring stick’
5.1.3.4  táámà ‘shortage’ as final

The noun táámà ‘shortage, insufficiency’ can combine with initials that keep their tones. The nasal linker occurs in both such compounds attested in the recordings.

(210) [jíí-n]-táámà  yé  [[yòò-bàà]-n]-táámà
    [water-Link]-shortage  and  [[rain]-Link]-shortage
    ‘lack of water and lack of rain (=drought)’ (2021-03 @ 05:27)

5.1.4  Tone-leveled compounds

In these compounds, unlike the possessor-possessum type, the leftmost tone of the initial spreads at least to the compound boundary. It continues spreading to the end of the entire compound if the input form of the final is level-toned /L/ or /H/. When the result is an entirely L-toned compound, Final Tone-Raising does not apply at the internal boundary. In other words, these compounds behave tonally more like stems than like phrases. For the phonology see §3.6.4.4.

The basic formulae linking inputs to outputs are those in (211).

(211) initial: spread leftmost tone to the compound boundary
    (result is that initial is all-L or all-H)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>melody of final</th>
<th>after L-toned initial</th>
<th>after H-toned initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/H/</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LH(L)/</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These patterns will be illustrated with simple N-N compounds below. More complex tone-leveled compounds containing three or more stems are presented in §5.1.4 below.

(212) exemplifies tone-leveled compounds with diyè ‘pain’ as final. Because the final is lexically /L/-toned, the entire compound surfaces as either all-H-toned or all-L-toned. The lexical melody of the final is erased.
(212) compound gloss independent form of initial

a. initial begins with L-tone
kòtò-diye ‘back pain’ kòtò
nùùn-diye ‘upset stomach’ nùù
kòbò-diye ‘knee-ache’ kòbò
niyèrèn-diye ‘tongue’ niyèrèn

b. initial begins with H-tone
ɲí̂n-diye ‘toothache’ ɲí̂n
kúráá-diye ‘hip-ache’ kúráá

Another common final that forms compounds of this type is tiyè ‘field’.

(213) compound gloss initial reference

a. initial begins with L-tone
dàràmàn-tiyè ‘sorghum field’ dàràmà
jèm-pììn-tiyè ‘pearl millet field’ jèm-pììn
mèlòn-tiyè ‘melon field’ mèlò

b. initial begins with H-tone
dóó-tiyè ‘cotton field’ dóó
 dúgò-n-tiyè ‘rice field’ dúgò 2021-01 @ 06:48, -03 @ 08:24
kúù-tiyè ‘yam field’ kúù
pììn-tiyè ‘millet field’ pììn 2021-03 @ 08:22
tába-tiyè ‘tobacco field’ tába

If the compound is entirely L-toned, it behaves like uncompounded nouns with lexical /L/ melody in tone sandhi with following words. In particular, Final Tone-Raising applies to the final syllable of the compound when the following word begins with L-tone, and before an L-toned nominal suffix such as plural -yè.

Finals with lexical /H/ melody are treated just like those with lexical /L/ melody. The leftmost tone of the initial spreads to the end of the compound, erasing the melody of the final. An important effect of this is to neutralize /H/ versus /L/ minimal pairs, e.g. sóó ‘grass, herbaceous plant’ versus sòò ‘net’, as compound finals. Examples with ‘grass’ are in (214).
(214) compound gloss initial

a. initial begins with L-tone

dòbò-sòò ‘river grass’ dòbò ‘river’
[nògì-y]-sòò ‘grass in village’ nògì-ỳ ‘in village’

b. initial begins with H-tone

dáráⁿ-sóó ‘grass sp. (Brachiaria)’ dáráⁿ ‘lowland, floodplain’
dóm pó-sóó ‘grass sp. (Andropogon)’ dóm pó ‘matting, secko’
sírè-sóó ‘rock grass’ sírè ‘rock, mountain’

Compare síná-sóó ‘long fishnet with poles’, based on sòò ‘net’. Perhaps fortunately, some other compounds with ‘net’ as final are of the possessive type, e.g. dègè sòò ‘net for sardines (Brycinus)’.

Tone-leveled compounds with /H/-melodic súbà(w)ⁿ ‘market’ as final are in (215). This noun denotes large, organized markets, such as the major weekly markets in Djenné and other cities. It was possible to elicit ‘(livestock) animal’ and ‘fish’ as initials, denoting separate sections of such markets.

(215) compound gloss initial

a. initial begins with L-tone

jènè-súbàⁿ ‘Djenné market’ jènè ‘Djenné’
sòfàrà-súbàⁿ ‘Sofara market’ sòfàrà ‘Sofara’

b. initial begins with H-tone

dáábá-súbàⁿ ‘animal market’ dáábà
yúwò-súbàⁿ ‘fish market’ yúwò

yúwò ‘fish’ as final is illustrated in (216). The tone-leveled compounds denote fish of particular zones rather than species.
Nouns with any contour-toned melody appear as HL-toned as finals in tone-leveled compounds. For trisyllabic and longer stems the tone break is usually right-biased, e.g. H.H.L (i.e. H*L) rather than H.L.L, with some subdialectal exceptions involving ‘dog’. When the final is already lexically /HL/-melodic, it can become difficult to distinguish tone-leveled from possessive-type compounds. The distinction can be made if the initial has a contour-toned melody like /HL/ or /LHL/, since a tone-leveled compound flattens such initials to all-H or all-L. If the initial is monotonal /H/- or /L/-melodic and the final is /HL/-melodic, there is no overt distinction between the two types of compounds. Classification can then only be inferred by comparison to other, semantically similar compounds.

(217) illustrates with /HL/-melodic ‘dog’ as final. With ‘yesterday’ or ‘white person’ as initial, tone-leveling is audible in the initial. With ‘today’ or ‘long ago’ as initial, the tones are compatible with either possessive-type or tone-leveled compounding. One infers that these initials are covertly tone-leveled by extrapolation from the overtly tone-leveled ‘yesterday’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(216) compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. initial begins with L-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kùwò-jì]-yùwò</td>
<td>‘marine fish’</td>
<td>kùwò-jì ‘saltwater’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dòbò-yùwò</td>
<td>‘river fish’</td>
<td>dòbò ‘(big) river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dòbò-kùwòⁿ]-yùwò</td>
<td>‘Niger R. fish’</td>
<td>dòbò-kùwòⁿ ‘white river (Niger)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dòbò-pììⁿ]-yùwò</td>
<td>‘Bani R. fish’</td>
<td>dòbò-pììⁿ ‘black river (Bani)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàgù-yùwò</td>
<td>‘pond fish’</td>
<td>pàgù ‘pond’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| b. initial begins with H-tone |
| sîré-yùwò | ‘rock fish’ | sîré ‘rock’ |

Similarly, túbàájì ( ~ tábáájì) ‘traditional baggy pants’ keeps its tones in e.g. digèn-tábáájì ‘baggy pants of yesterday’.

There is no similar difficulty in determining the compound type when the final is /LH/- or /LHL/-melodic, it shifts to HL as final under Tone Leveling. /LHL/-melodic finals are featured in
(218-221). pàpòrò (~ pàpòlò) ‘basket-like fishtrap’ becomes -pàpòrò as final in tone-leveled compounds (218).

(218)  compound          gloss         initial

  a. initial begins with L-tone
    wày-pàpòrò        ‘fishtrap of today’  wày ‘today’
    digèm-pàpòrò      ‘fishtrap of yesterday’ digèm ‘yesterday’

  b. initial begins with H-tone
    pánáám-pàpòrò      ‘fishtrap of the old days’  pánáám ‘long ago’

Similarly, màrífà ‘rifle’ becomes -màrífà (219).

(219)  compound          gloss         initial

  a. initial begins with L-tone
    wày-màrífà          ‘rifle of today’  wày ‘today’
    digèm-màrífà        ‘fishtrap of yesterday’  digèm ‘yesterday’

  b. initial begins with H-tone
    pánáám-màrífà       ‘rifle of the old days’  pánáám ‘long ago’

A quadrisyllabic /LHL/-melodic noun with the third syllable H-toned is siyètááni ‘devil, satan’. It is realized with H.H.H.L tone sequence as tone-leveled final in (220).

(220)  compound          gloss         initial

  a. initial begins with L-tone
    wày-siyètááni       ‘devil of today’  wày ‘today’
    digèm-siyètááni     ‘devil of yesterday’  digèm ‘yesterday’

  b. initial begins with H-tone
    pánáám-siyètááni    ‘devil of the old days’  pánáám ‘long ago’

These data confirm that /LHL/-melodic nouns become H*L-toned as finals. The rightmost L-tone is borne by a full syllable (heavy or light) unless the stem is monosyllabic. Thus pàmà ‘house’ ends in a long HL-toned syllable as simple noun, but takes the form -pàmà ‘house’, not #-pàmà, as final in tone-leveled compounds. The variant -yàmà in one compound (‘extended agnatic family’) is likely archaic, cf. Cliffs yàmà ‘house’ (§3.4.2.2).
(221)  compound  gloss  initial

a. initial begins with L-tone
   wà-ńámàa  ‘house of today’  wày ‘today’
   kùbà-ńámàa  ‘marriage house’  kùbà ‘wedding’
   tùbáábù-ńámàa  ‘white people’s house’  tùbáábù ‘white person’
   y instead of n
   kà-yámàa  ‘extended agnatic family’  kà ‘father’

b. initial begins with H-tone
   tòó-ńámàa  ‘association center’  tòó ‘association, club’

Some of the same nouns illustrated here as tone-leveled finals also occur as finals in possessive-type compounds, with different tones (§5.1.2). For ‘house’, if the initial denotes an occupant, even if generic, the possessive-type compound type occurs: kóngó-ro-ńâmàa ‘dog(’s) house (kennel)’ < kóngórô, sábá-ńámàa ‘chicken coop’ < sábá. Therefore tone-leveled ‘white people’s house’ in (221a) above means ‘European-style house’ rather than ‘house occupied by white people’.

Like /LHL/-melodic nouns (preceding subsection), /LH/-melodic nouns shift to H(H)L in finals. The first illustration is bisyllabic sábá ‘chicken’ (222).

(222)  compound  gloss  initial

a. initial begins with L-tone
   tùbáábù-sábá  ‘white person’s chicken’  tùbáábù ‘white person’
   dígè-sábá  ‘chicken of yesterday’  dígè ‘yesterday’

b. initial begins with H-tone
   pánáá-sábá  ‘chicken of the old days’  pánáá ‘the old days’

Trisyllabic tùmpánà(wo) ‘necked gourd’ is illustrated in (223).
(223)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a. initial begins with L-tone  
  wày-túmpánà | ‘necked gourd of today’ | wày ‘today’ |
|  digèn-túmpánà | ‘necked gourd of yesterday’ | digènù ‘yesterday’ |
| b. initial begins with H-tone  
  pánáán-túmpánà | ‘necked gourd of the old days’ | pánáán ‘the old days’ |
|  finántúmpánà | ‘Fulbe necked gourd’ | finà(w) ‘Fulbe’ |

5.1.4.1 Compounds with kò ‘sound’

kò ‘sound’ is readily combined with a preceding verbal noun. If the initial has a monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody, Tone Leveling spreads to the final. If the initial has contoured tones, the combination is treated tonally as a possessive-type compound.

(224)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verb (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a. H-toned initial  
  gó-kó | ‘sound of weeping’ | gó/gó-ró ~ gúwó |
|  bá-kó | ‘sound of exiting’ | bá(-râ) |
|  sén-kó | ‘sound of falling’ | sèⁿ/sé-né |
| b. L-toned initial  
  sà-kó | ‘sound of laughing’ | sà-sà-rà |
|  kiyè-kó | ‘sound of running’ | kiyè/kiyé |
| c. contour-toned initial  
  tígá-kó | ‘sound of coughing’ | tígà(-râ) |
|  tísóó-kó | ‘sound of sneezing’ | tísóò/tísóó-rô |
|  jégó-kó | ‘sound of hiccupping’ | jègó(-rô) |
| d. irregular verbal noun  
  dwéy-kó | ‘sound of entering’ | dô(-rô) |
5.1.4.2 Compounds with -tuwɔ ‘time during’

These compounds are used in one of the ‘while VP-ing’ constructions. Since it functions as a temporal adverbial clause, it is covered in §15.4.2.

5.1.4.3 Compounds with jíí ‘water’ as final

jíí ‘water’ is the final in terms for most liquids (225). The examples in (225a-b) show Tone Leveling to the end of the final, so they are either all-L or all-H. Those in (225c) show a reduced allomorph -jì. The noun wáájì ‘sweat, perspiration’ might belong here at least diachronically, cf. Cliffs noun wáá ‘sweat’, but Kelonga verb wɔ́ʃì(-lì) ‘sweat’ may complicate this etymology. The compound in (225d) is tonally of the possessive type.

(225)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. initial begins with L-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòtò-jií</td>
<td>‘liquid soda ash’</td>
<td>kòtò ‘soda ash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùwò-jií</td>
<td>‘saltwater’</td>
<td>kùwò ‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù&quot;wàn-jií</td>
<td>‘rainwater’</td>
<td>kù&quot;wàn ‘rain (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. initial begins with H-tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fùlàn-jií</td>
<td>‘foam’</td>
<td>verb fùlà ‘foam up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fú-jií</td>
<td>‘dew’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñámákù-jií</td>
<td>‘ginger juice’</td>
<td>ñámàkù ‘ginger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóò-jií</td>
<td>‘meat juice’</td>
<td>tóò ‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáři-jií</td>
<td>‘ablutions’</td>
<td>sáři ~ sáñi ‘prayer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. irregular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáá-ji</td>
<td>‘saliva’</td>
<td>dáá ~ dɔ́ ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káñí-ji ~ káñú-ji</td>
<td>‘breast milk’</td>
<td>kàñ ‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔ́-ji</td>
<td>‘urine’</td>
<td>(unattested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàmù-ji</td>
<td>‘leaf sauce for tò’</td>
<td>nàmù ‘tò (millet cakes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nòšn-ji</td>
<td>‘tears’</td>
<td>nòš‘eye(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. possessor-possessum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yòó-bàà jíí</td>
<td>‘rainwater’</td>
<td>yòó-bàà ‘rain (n)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liquids emerging from trees (júgù) are complex tone-leveled compounds (226a-b), the finals being ‘tears’ and ‘breast milk’ from the list given just above.
(226)  a. júgú-[nóyan-ji] ‘tree sap’ (“tree tears”)  
b. júgú-[kânû-ji] ‘tree latex’ (“tree breast-milk”)

5.1.4.4 Compounds with spatial PP initials for habitat

In this type, the initial is a spatial PP that specifies the habitat of the referent of the final. Tone Leveling applies. The leftmost tone of the PP spreads rightward to the compound boundary. This tone spreads to the end of /H/- and /L/-melodic finals, while finals of contour melodies take HL-toned form.

(227) compound     gloss          final  

a. < jíí n(w)ùn ‘in water’  
   final preserves /H(L)/ melody  
   [jíí-nín]-kérëkëtë ‘water snail’ kérëkëtë  
   [jíí-nín]-kôngòrò ‘otter’ kôngòrò ‘dog’  
   ~kôngòrò  
   [jíí-nín]-kùmù ‘tree sp. (Olax)’ kùmù(“) ‘tree sp. (Diospyros)”  
   [jíí-nín]-táálé‘ ‘water spider’ táálé” (~ tááré”) ‘spider’  
/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned  
   [jíí-nín]-kònì ‘aquatic bird’ kònì (~ kwànì) ‘bird’  
   [jíí-nín]-sàró ‘(aquatic) frog’ sàró ‘frog, toad’  
   [jíí-nín]-tëmò ‘aquatic jujube tree’ tëmò ‘jujube’  
/LH(L)/-melodic final inverted to HL-toned  
   [jíí-nín]-sàbà ‘crake (bird)’ sàbà ‘chicken’  
   [jíí-nín]-sàntò ‘water cricket’ sàntò ‘cricket’  
   [jíí-nín]-gûlé-gûlà ‘aquatic worms’ gûlé-gûlà (synonym)  

b. < sòŋṣ-ỹ ‘in the bush’  
   final preserves /H(L)/ melody  
   [sòŋṣ-ỹn]-kôngòrò ‘side-striped jackal’ kôngòrò ‘dog’  
   ~kôngòrò  
/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned  
   [sòŋṣ-ỹn]-kérë ‘tree sp. (Cola)” kérë ‘baobab’  
   [sòŋṣ-ỹn]-nàá ‘buffalo’ nàá ‘cow’  
   [sòŋṣ-ỹn]-[pórółm-póròn] ‘shrub sp. (Calotropis)” pórółm-póròn ‘fig tree sp.’  
   [sòŋṣ-ỹn]-sòbò ‘wild animal’ sòbò ‘creature’

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[sóŋó-yⁿ]-sómpóⁿ ‘mule’  sòmpůwóⁿ ‘donkey’
[sóŋó-yⁿ]-yábá ‘wild guinea-fowl’  yábá ‘guinea-fowl’

/LH(L)/-melodic final extends H leftward but final syllable L-toned

[sóŋó-yⁿ]-yórgò ‘wild cat sp.’  yórgò ‘cat’
[sóŋó-yⁿ]-yórgò ‘bush cat’  yórgò ‘cat’
[sóŋó-yⁿ]-fóró(ⁿ) ‘laughing dove’  fóróⁿ ‘pigeon’

c. < kóbó-y ‘on dry land’
[kóbó-y]-kóntó ‘tree pangolin’  (not otherwise attested)
/L/-melodic final raised to H-toned
[kóbó-y]-sáró ‘toad’  sáró ‘frog’

d. < nògí-y ‘in the village’ (< nògú)
final preserves /H(L)/ melody
[nògí-y]-kóngòrò ‘domestic dog’  kóngòrò ‘dog’
[nògí-y]-táálèⁿ ‘domestic spider’  táálèⁿ ‘spider’
/L/-melodic final unchanged
[nògí-y]-yábà ‘domestic guinea-fowl’  yábà ‘guinea-fowl’
/LH(L)/-melodic final inverted to HL-toned
[nògí-y]-fóróⁿ ‘domestic pigeon’  fóróⁿ ‘pigeon’

e. < síré kúmá ‘on the rock (or mountain)’
/L/-melodic final tone-leveled to H
[síré-kúmáá]-kwání ‘mountain birds’  kwání (~ kóñi) ‘bird’

f. < pómó kúmá ‘on a water lily’
no Tone Leveling
pómó-kúmáá-tàríffá ‘jacana (bird)’  (tàríffá unattested)

g. (< nwíím pà) ‘with (the) interior’ (not in common use)
nwíím-pàа-fiỳé ‘niche in interior wall’  fiỳé ‘window’

5.1.4.5 ‘Male’ (-kééwú) and ‘female’ (-yuwóⁿ) in compounds
kééwú ‘man’ and yúwóⁿ ‘woman’ can function as adjective-like modifiers to another noun in the senses ‘male’ and ‘female’. The compounds are tone-leveled, either all-L or all-H depending on the initial tone of the noun. (228) illustrates with kin terms that are not otherwise sex-specified.
(228) a. bùwò  ‘age-mate, peer, generation-mate’
    bùwò-kèewù  ‘male age-mate’
    bùwò-yùwòn  ‘female age-mate’

b. tìyè-kèewù  ‘grandfather’
    tà-yùwòn  ‘grandmother’

c. tồn  ‘elder sibling’
    tồŋ-kèewù  ‘older brother’
    tồn-yùwòn  ‘older sister’

Ethnicity terms are illustrated in (229).

(229) a. ñá(w)n  ‘Fulbe person (Pullo)’
    ñáŋ-kèewù  ‘Fulbe man’
    ñáⁿ-yùwó  ‘Fulbe woman’

b. túbáábù  ‘white person’
    túbáábù-kèewù  ‘white man’
    túbáábù-yùwòn  ‘white woman’

Domestic animals whose biological sex is known can be sex-specified in this way, as with chickens (230a). For conspicuously dioecious plants such as palms, the male-female distinction is botanically correct (230b). The key from the native point of view is the sterility (i.e. lack of fruits) on the male plants, so any plant not known to produce fruits can be called ‘male’. For fish, insects, and other fauna whose biological sex is not obvious, compounds may differentiate “male” varieties with long thin shape from “female” varieties with a more rounded shape (230c).

(230) a. sàbá  ‘chicken’
    sàbà-kèewù  ‘rooster’
    sàbà-yùwòn  ‘hen’

b. yóó  ‘borassus palm’
    yóó-kèewù  ‘male borassus palm’
    yóó-yùwòn  ‘female (fruit-bearing) borassus palm’

c. múñú  ‘trunkfish spp. with relatively blunt snouts’
    múñúŋ-kèewù  e.g. Hyperopisus and Brienomyrus (with relatively long and slender bodies)
    múñún-yùwòn  Marcusenius (with relatively rounded body)
5.1.4.6 Triple tone-leveled compounds

The triple compounds that have been observed can be analysed as binary compounds one of whose components is internally compounded. The known examples are fully tone-leveled. Examples are in (231). The bracketing affects the operation of Tone-Leveling. In (231a), disregarding the plural suffix, the final stem is lexically /LHL/, so it appears as /HL/-toned. In (231b-c), the final stem is lexically level-toned, so the leftmost lexical tone of the initial spreads to the end of the compound, even though the penultimate stem is lexically contour-toned. Therefore in each of (231a-c) everything except the final stem is bracketed together.

(231) a. [kɔ̀nì-dwè]-láántà-ystore
   [excision]-custom-Pl
   ‘excision customs’ (2021-01 @ 13:55)
   (< kɔ̀nì-dwè plus láántà)

b. [[dèé-déé]-siyé]-bànní
   [[condiments]-pound.VblN]-pestle
   ‘spice-pounding pestle’ (§5.1.6.4)
   (< dèé-déé, siyé, and bànní)

c. [[sórgà-ámad]-láántà]-kùbà-ystore
   [[Bozo-Abstr]-custom]-wedding-Pl
   ‘traditional Bozo wedding’ (2021-01 @ 09:23)
   (< sórgà-àmadà, làántà, and kùbà)

5.1.5 Compounds with tonally modified finals

J-S of Djenné does not have a close match for the Cliffs compound type with tone-leveled initial and raised M- or H-toned final. The corresponding compounds in Djenné are fully tone-leveled. However, Djenné does have a number of compounds with an {HL} overlay on the final (see below).

5.1.5.1 Unexpected HL-toned finals

There are a few compounds where a noun that functions as final otherwise has a monotonal melody /L/ or /H/ and would therefore be expected to be included in the domain of Tone Leveling, but
instead takes HL-toned form. This is distinct from regular tone-leveled compounds where the final already has a lexical contoured melody and so takes HL-toned form as final by regular rules.

The relevant examples all show Tone Leveling in the initial. This is observable when the initial has a contour-toned melody but appears in the compound as as all-H or all-L before the HL-toned final. It is as though, for purposes of tone patterning, the final had a contoured lexical melody /LH/ or /HL/ or /LHL/, which would make the HL-toned final regular. But aside from the HL-toned compound final form there is no other evidence for contoured melodies for these stems.

Color terms ‘white’ and ‘red (including brown)’, whose short forms are elsewhere tone-leveled, appear in HL-toned form in some compounds. All known examples are in (232). (232a) is a bahuvrihi, but the cases in (232b) are simple N-Adj compounds. (232c) has counterparts to the compounds to (232a), replacing ‘white’ by ‘black’. ‘Black’ is a Cvv monosyllabic, which may explain its H- rather than HL-tone in (232c). Initials in these examples include kômãn ‘catfish’, tûn ‘body’, and kûwô ‘monkey’.

(232)  a. tûn-kûwôn ‘white-skinned person’ (bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.1)
       kômã́n-kûwôn ‘light-colored catfish sp.’

       b. kàmûn-têmân ‘tiny brown ant sp.’
          kômã́n-têmân ‘catfish sp. (Synodontis sp.)’
          kûwô-n-têmân ‘patas monkey’

       c. tûn-pîîn ‘black-skinned person’
          kômã́n-pîîn (variant) ‘dark catfish (Synodontis spp.)’ (variant kômã́n-pîîn)

A basic gentilic construction, deriving terms for categories of people from their village (cf. New Yorker, Parisian), has final -nûmû in what are otherwise tone-leveled compounds (§4.2.4.2). The final is tonally modified from pûmû ‘person’.

A modifier meaning ‘very old, decrepit’ has the form sirè as second adjective (which usually reveals the lexical melody), but -sîrè in what appear to be compounds, as in këmnîn-sîrè ‘very old person’ (§6.3.1.3).

diyâw ~ diyèw ‘child (offspring)’ is a common compound final (§5.1.7.2). There are some cases of HL-toned -diyâw ~ -diyèw after tone-leveled initial; see (251) in §5.1.7.2. for a list.

All of the preceding compounds with unexpected HL-toned finals denote animate beings. This is not the case with -sèbè final from noun sèbè ‘issue, matter, topic’, again after tone-leveled initial, as shown especially in (233a-b).
(233) | compound | gloss | initial | textual reference |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>sàbà-sébè</td>
<td>‘chicken issue’</td>
<td>sàbá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàmàà-sébè</td>
<td>‘house issue’</td>
<td>nàmàà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>sísó-sébè</td>
<td>‘whip issue’</td>
<td>sísò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kòŋgò-rô-sébè</td>
<td>‘dog issue’</td>
<td>kòŋgòrò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>sùwè-sébè</td>
<td>‘cooking issue’</td>
<td>sùwè (~ sùyè)</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 07:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sùwò-sébè</td>
<td>‘farming issue’</td>
<td>sùwò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìyè-sébè</td>
<td>‘running issue’</td>
<td>kìyè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>jìí-sébè</td>
<td>‘water issue’</td>
<td>jìí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìyé-sébè</td>
<td>‘passing issue’</td>
<td>kìyé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the examples with -sébè can alternatively take fully tone-leveled form with final -sébè ~ -sèbè.

5.1.6 Nominal compounds that include a verb stem

The following subsections cover deverbal nominals (verbal noun, agentive, place of action) that additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object. These are followed by a subsection on function-specifying compounds that indicate the use to which the entity is put.

Most of these complex compounds are of the tone-leveling type as described in preceding subsections.

5.1.6.1 Verbal-noun final with incorporated object as initial

In this construction, a transitive verb takes verbal-noun form. The initial is an incorporated noun that denotes the general category of object. Tone Leveling applies. For some verbs like ‘build’ (234c), the verbal noun is unelicitable without an incorporated noun.

In (234) the verbal noun has /L/ melody (234a-c) or /H/ melody (234d), so the final in included in the domain of tone-leveling.
Examples with verbal nouns that have various contour-toned melodies, and that therefore appear in HL-toned form as finals, are in (235).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>incorporated noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mèⁿ</td>
<td>‘drinking’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with H-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíí-mèⁿ</td>
<td>‘water-drinking’</td>
<td>jíí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súwò-mèⁿ</td>
<td>‘milk-drinking’</td>
<td>súwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with L-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dùwò-mèⁿ</td>
<td>‘beer-drinking’</td>
<td>dùwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. súwò</td>
<td>‘cultivating’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with H-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pííⁿ-súwò</td>
<td>‘millet-farming’</td>
<td>pííⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mááñéⁿ-súwò</td>
<td>‘maize-farming’</td>
<td>mááñéwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mááñtígěⁿ-súwò</td>
<td>‘peanut-farming’</td>
<td>mááñtígěwⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with L-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔntɔrɔ⁻súwò</td>
<td>‘sorghum-farming’</td>
<td>kɔntɔrɔ (synonym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔrɔm̀⁻súwò</td>
<td>‘sorghum-farming’</td>
<td>dɔrɔm̀ (synonym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. (-tà⁻niⁿ)</td>
<td>‘building, construction (with mud bricks)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with L-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔn(t)ɔ⁻tà⁻nì</td>
<td>‘granary-building’</td>
<td>bɔn(t)ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìsìrì⁻tà⁻nì</td>
<td>‘mosque-building’</td>
<td>mìsìrì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲàmàà⁻tà⁻nì</td>
<td>‘house-building’</td>
<td>ɲàmàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. sèyⁿ</td>
<td>‘carving’ (&lt; verb sèyⁿ/sèỳⁿ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with H-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jùgù⁻sèyⁿ</td>
<td>‘wood-carving’</td>
<td>jùgù ‘tree, wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with L-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàbà⁻sèyⁿ</td>
<td>‘carving a chicken’</td>
<td>sàbà ‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(235) verbal noun gloss incorporated noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>incorporated noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sìyè</td>
<td>‘pounding’ (&lt; sìyè(-rè) )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with H-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pííⁿ⁻sìyè</td>
<td>‘millet pounding’</td>
<td>pííⁿ ‘millet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>initial begins with L-tone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fùùⁿ⁻sìyè</td>
<td>‘fonio pounding’</td>
<td>fùùⁿ ‘fonio’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. tàmpáⁿ ‘kicking’ (< tàmpáⁿ/tàmpá-na)

*initial begins with H-tone*

[díyé-nán]-tàmpáⁿ ‘kicking a child’

díyé-nàwⁿ ‘child’

*initial begins with L-tone*

yùwòn-tàmpáⁿ ‘kicking a woman’

yùwòⁿ ‘woman’

c. sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating (medically)’ (< sàbàrèⁿ/sàbàrè-nè)

*initial begins with H-tone*

[díyé-nán]-sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating a child’

díyé-nàwⁿ ‘child’

*initial begins with L-tone*

yùwòⁿ-sàbàrèⁿ ‘treating a woman’

yùwòⁿ ‘woman’

If the object is pronominal, it behaves like a possessor or direct object (pronominals have the same forms in both functions). There is no sign of Tone Leveling, so the verbal noun has its lexical tones (236b-c), except that 1Sg ū (+tones) has its usual tonal effects (236a).

(236) a. ū  wiyè  / figèⁿ  / …

ū  / …  / …  / sàbàrèⁿ

1Sg  kill.VblN  / hide.VblN  / treat.VblN

‘killing/hiding/treating me’

b. ūfⁿ  wiyè  / figèⁿ  / sàbàrèⁿ

1Pl  kill.VblN  / hide.VblN  / treat.VblN

‘killing/hiding/treating us’

c. ā  wiyè  / figèⁿ  / sàbàrèⁿ

3Sg  kill.VblN  / hide.VblN  / treat.VblN

killing/hiding/treating him/her/it’

The tone-leveled nominal initials in (234) above cannot be independently pluralized or determined. To pluralize and/or determine them, the initial is replaced by a full NP (DP) which functions as possessor rather than as compound initial. Compare the tone-leveled compound (237a) with the possessor-possessum combinations (237b-c). Likewise, a personal name cannot normally function as a compound initial, so here it too takes possessor form (237d).

(237) a. kóngórò-kwéré

dog-hit.VblN

‘dog-hitting’ (< kóngórò ~ kóngórò)
Agentive compounds with incorporated object

For uncompounded agentives with suffix -ya of variable tone, see §4.2.2. An incorporated object can be added for more specificity. The compounds are tone-leveled.

\[(238) \begin{array} {ccc}
\text{compound} & \text{gloss} & \text{initial} \\
\hline
\text{a. initial begins with L-tone} & & \\
\text{juù-sùpà-yà} & \text{‘weaver’} & \text{juù ‘garment’} \\
\text{kòròn-tùtù-yà} & \text{‘leatherworker’} & \text{kòrò ‘skin’} \\
\text{nùmà-kwèrè-yà} & \text{‘rope-maker’} & \text{nùmà} \\
\text{àmàà-tààni-yà} & \text{‘house-builder’} & \text{àmàà} \\
\end{array}\]

\[(238) \begin{array} {ccc}
\text{compound} & \text{gloss} & \text{initial} \\
\hline
\text{b. initial begins with H-tone} & & \\
\text{jàmà-kù-sùwò-yà} & \text{‘ginger grower’} & \text{sùwò/sùwò ‘cultivate’} \\
\text{tóo-wiyè-yà} & \text{‘butcher’} & \text{wiyè/wiyè ‘kill (intr.)’} \\
\text{dùgò-gàràbù-yà} & \text{‘rice reaper’} & \text{gàràbù/gàràbù ‘reap’} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Rope-maker’ (238a) and ‘butcher’ (lit. “meat-killer”) (238b) show the antipassive form of the stem (with final vowel fronted), even though an incorporated object is included. This suggests that such compounds have a bisyllabic template for the verb. In this light, the PfV stems of kwà(-rà) ‘hit; make (rope)’ and wàà/wàà ‘kill’ are subminimal and are replaced by their antipassive forms.

Some transitive verbs occur in multiple compounds of this type. ‘Seller’ can combine with initials denoting any commercial commodity, with full tone-leveling (238a). By contrast, the two synonymous contour-toned agentives kò-ya and kàràn-ya meaning ‘herder’ show different tone patterns, with tones flattened within the initial only (238b-c). This is regular for tone-leveled
compounds. k₃ⁿ-yà requires a nasal linker (unless the initial already ends in a nasal syllable), while káráⁿ-yà does not.

(239)    | compound       | gloss               | basic form of initial |
---------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a. twéré-yà  | ‘seller’        |                      |                       |
| *initial begins with H-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| kóŋgó́ró-twéré-yà  | ‘dog seller’      | kóŋgó́ró ~ kóŋgó́ró  |                       |
| pín-twéré-yà     | ‘grain seller’    | pín                  |                       |
| *initial begins with L-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| nàá-twèrè-yà    | ‘cattle seller’   | nàá                  |                       |
| káán-twèrè-yà   | ‘calabash seller’ | káánì                |                       |
| màří-fà-twèrè-yà| ‘gun seller’      | màřírá               |                       |
| b. k₃ⁿ-yà      | ‘herder’         |                      |                       |
| *initial begins with H-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| súwó-ŋ-k₃ⁿ-yà   | ‘goatherd’       | súwó                 |                       |
| *initial begins with L-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| nàá-ŋ-k₃ⁿ-yà    | ‘cowherd’        | nàá                  |                       |
| súwó-ŋ-k₃ⁿ-yà   | ‘sheep-herd’     | súwó                 |                       |
| siyé-ŋ-k₃ⁿ-yà   | ‘horse herder’   | siyé                 |                       |
| c. káráⁿ-yà     | ‘herder’, synonym of (b) |                        |                       |
| *initial begins with H-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| súwó-káráⁿ-yà   | ‘goatherd’       | súwó                 |                       |
| *initial begins with L-tone* |                        |                      |                       |
| nàá-káráⁿ-yà    | ‘cowherd’        | nàá                  |                       |
| súwó-káráⁿ-yà   | ‘sheep-herd’     | súwó                 |                       |
| siyé-káráⁿ-yà   | ‘horse herder’   | siyé                 |                       |

5.1.6.3  Place-of-action nominal (−wúwóⁿ) plus incorporated object

Simple place nominals consist of a verbal noun (based on the Pfv stem of the verb) plus suffix -wúwóⁿ (§4.2.1.5). If the verb is transitive, an incorporated object may be added as compound initial. In this case, the compound undergoes tone-leveling, with the leftmost tone of the noun spreading rightward. If the verbal noun is level-toned (L or H), it is included in the domain of tone-leveling.
(240) compound initial verb

a. [ɲàmà-[tàà-ní]-wúwɔⁿ] ɲàmà tàà-ní/tàà-ní
   [house-[build]]-place
   ‘construction site’

b. [ɲáàŋglá-píí]-wúwɔⁿ ɲáàŋglá píí/píí
   [garbage-dump(v)]-place
   ‘refuse heap’

c. [búwɔ-mééni]-wúwɔⁿ búwɔ mèéni/mèéni
   [mortar-make] -place
   ‘place where mortars are carved’

d. [ɲiýèm-báⁿ]-wúwɔⁿ ɲiýèwⁿ báⁿ/bá-ná
   [head-shave]-place
   ‘place for shaving heads’

Some verbs switch at least optionally to an intransitivized E-stem here as in other derivatives, e.g. [ɲiýèm-béñè]-wúwɔⁿ as an alternative to (240d).

If the verbal noun (identical to the PfV stem) has a contour tone, it appears in H*L form following the usual rules for Tone Leveling. This is illustrated by the HL-melodic verbs in (241a-b), the LH-melodic verb in (241c), and the LHL-melodic verb in (241d), which merge in the place nominal as HL-toned following the usual rules for Tone Leveling.

(241) a. [jùù-púwɔⁿ]-wúwɔⁿ jùù púwɔⁿ(-rò)
   [garment-rip]-place
   ‘place where clothing is torn’

b. [ɲiýèm-múti]-wúwɔⁿ ɲiýèwⁿ múti(-ri)
   [head-braid(v)]-place
   ‘hair-braiding place’

c. [dúwɔ-bàti]-wúwɔⁿ dúwɔ bàti(-ri)
   [paper-post(v)]-place
   ‘place where papers are posted’

d. [dýèⁿ-sàbàrè]-wúwɔⁿ dýèwⁿ sàbàrèⁿ/sàbàrè-nè
   [child-treat]-place
   ‘children’s hospital’
Corresponding to noun ći̇yéⁿ ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix -wúwòⁿ are Cliffs gũũⁿ ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix -gàwⁿ. Kelenga has wóróⁿ-ọ or synonym kámù-ụ ‘place’ and place-nominal suffix -tó́ or -tò́.

5.1.6.4 Function-specifying compounds including verbal nouns

Nouns like ‘water’, ‘oil’, and ‘wood’ denote substances that are put to different uses. In the case of ‘oil’ the uses correlate with source (peanut, shea-tree, etc.). This is less so with wood and generally not relevant with water.

The substance-denoting noun can function as a compound final, preceded by a verbal noun (normally identical in form to the Pfv stem of the verb) that denotes the prototypical action. These are tone-leveling compounds. (242a) exemplifies with ‘water’ and (242b) does so with ‘oil’.

(242) noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv)

a. jíí ‘water’
mèn-jíí ‘drinking water’ mèwⁿ/mè-nè
ɲíń-i-jíí ‘bathing water’ ɲíní/ɲíní

b. tístè ‘oil’
sìì-tístè ‘lotion, rubbing oil’ sìì/sìì ‘rub on’
dístè-tístè ‘cooking (eating) oil’ dístè/dístè ‘eat (antipassive)’

The Vb-N combination may additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object or instrument to constitute a N-VblN-N sequence, semantically bracketable as [N-VblN]-N. ‘Bathing water’ in (242a) above can be elaborated as (243a). ‘Wood’ as compound final is illustrated in (243b). For the record, other functional types of wood include the noun-noun compound ɲàmáá-kiyè ‘lumber’ (“house-wood”) and the lexical noun súbá ‘firewood’. The final is ‘soap’ in (243c) and ‘pestle’ in (243d).
(243)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>other components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a. [tìgè-ɲìnì]-jìì | ‘dishwater’            | tìgè ‘gear’ (here: dishes, pots)  
|                     |                        | ɲìnì-jìì ‘bathing water’ (242a) |
| b. kìyè (~ cò)      | ‘wood, stick’          | súú ‘hand’       |
| [sùú-kúmè]-kìyè     | ‘staff held in hand’   | kúmè/kúmè ‘hold (antipassive)’ |
| [sùwò- hàra]-kìyè    | ‘staff for herding sheep’ | sùwò ‘sheep’    |
|                     |                        | kára/kára-nà ‘drive, propel’ |
| c. sàmpìnà (~ sàfìnà) | ‘soap’            | dìyèw (~ dìyàw) ‘child’  
| [dìyèn-ɲìnì]-sàmpìnà | ‘child-bathing soap’  | ɲìnì/ɲìnì ‘wash, bathe’ |
| d. bànì             | ‘pestle’               | dè-de-dè ‘condiments’ |
| [[dè-dè]-sìyè]-bàni | ‘spice-pounding pestle’ | sìyè(-rè) ‘pound in mortar’ |
| [[nàmù-dù]-sìyè]-bàni | ‘baobab-pounding pestle’ | nàmù-dùù ‘dried baobab leaf’ |

A textual example is jàá¬-mùndé-kíí ‘skiff (boat) for checking fishhook traps’ (2021-03 @ 21:42), based on jàá¬ ‘fishhook trap’, mùndé(-rè) ‘check (net or fishtrap, from one end to the other, to see what it has caught)’, and kíí ‘skiff (boat)’.

In the same spirit but of a different structure is sùyèn-kwèrè-kíí ‘racing skiff’ (2021-03 @ 21:29). This is really a N-N compound whose initial is sùyèn-kwèrè ‘boat race’, (11a) in §2.1.4, a lexicalized compound based on verbal nouns of sùyèn/súyè-nè ‘propel, drive and antipassive kwèrè/kwèrè ‘hit’, (780) in §15.1.3.

5.1.7 Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds

For lexicalized adjectival diminutives with suffix -gù in modifying function, see §4.5.1.2. The focus in the subsections below is on nouns.

5.1.7.1 Vestiges of diminutive *-na(w)-

Diminutive -nàw occurs in Cliffs as a fairly productive nominal diminutive. A vestige of this in J-S of Djenné may be present in the obscure nasal syllables (bolded) with variable vowel quality and tone in (244a-c).
(244) noun  |  gloss  | related forms  
---|---|---
ỳè-nè-mìyàw  | ‘unmarried adolescent girl’  | yùwò’n ‘woman’, mìyè-gù ‘small’  
~ yè-rè-mìyàw  
káá-ná-mìyàw  | ‘unmarried adolescent boy’  | kééwù ‘man’, mìyè-gù ‘small’  
dìyé-nà(w)ⁿ  | ‘child (young person)’  | dìyéⁿ ~ dìyáwⁿ ‘child (offspring)’  
fá-ľỳé-nà-nìyèwⁿ  | ‘a trifle, a tiny bit’  | fá-ľỳéwⁿ ‘a little’

Another obscure element is -nà(w)ⁿ in (245b). The forms with and without -nà(w)ⁿ appear to be interchangeable.

(245) a. jòŋò  | ‘kinsman, relative’
  
b. jòŋò-nà(w)ⁿ  | ‘kinsman, relative’

An apparent suffix -náwⁿ occurs in tàbà-náwⁿ ‘pants’, compare tàbà ‘foot, leg’. This is likely a newer word, replacing sègè ‘pants’. Cliffs has tàbà ‘foot, leg’ and tàbà-náwⁿ ‘pants’. While these ‘pants’ terms look like diminutives, ‘pants’ is hardly a good semantic diminutive of ‘foot, leg’. Pseudo-diminutive tàbà-náwⁿ ‘pants’ terms is probably a mutation from a regionally widespread set including Fulfulde tuuba, dialectal Dogon túbáľájí, and Cliffs túbáľájí, denoting traditional baggy pants.

For compounds with -nà(w)ⁿ ‘mother’ as final, which likewise have no connection with diminutivity, see §5.1.3.3.

5.1.7.2 Compounds with dìyéwⁿ ~ dìyáwⁿ ‘child’ as final

The basic nouns for ‘child’ and their plurals are in (246a). Forms with 1Sg possessor ŋ (+tones) are in (246b); they show that plural dìyé-nà-méé begins with dìyé rather than with dìyá.

(246) singular  |  gloss  | plural  
---|---|---
a. dìyé-nà(w)ⁿ  | ‘child (young person)’  | dìyé-nà-méé ~ dìyé-nè-méé  
dìyéⁿ ~ dìyáwⁿ  | ‘child (offspring)’  | dìyáⁿ-yè ~ dìyéⁿ-yè, dé-méé  
b. ń dìyé-nà(w)  | ‘my child (young person)’  | ń dyè-nà-mèè ~ ń dyè-nè-mèè  
ń dìyéwⁿ  | ‘my child (offspring)’  | ń dè-méé
The choice between a and e in díyéwⁿ ~ díyáwⁿ is subdialectal. díyéwⁿ will be used hereafter in this subsection, but all forms have variants with díyáwⁿ. díyé-nà(w)n (246a) has e for all speakers checked.

Of the two stems, only díyéwⁿ (246b) is relevant to compounding and derivation since it implies a possessor (‘my child’) or a category (‘cow-child’ = ‘calf’). Of its plurals, díyéⁿ-yè is the regular -yè plural, and dé-méé is irregular. Both types of plural occur in compounds. Plural dé-méé is typical of compounds denoting humans, while diyéⁿ-yè is typical of inanimates including plants, but there is some free variation.

Compounds with tonally variable -diyéwⁿ as final can be of the possessive type or of the tone-leveled type. A contoured tone in the initial is possible only with the possessive type.

The semantically most straightforward compounds are those whose initial denotes a category of person. The compound denotes a young member of the category.

(247) noun gloss 'young X' plural

a. fínàwⁿ 'Fulbe person' fínan-diyèwⁿ fínan-dè-mèé
b. kwììgù 'blacksmith (caste)' kwììgù-diýèwⁿ kwììgù-dè-mèé

Similar compounds are readily generated from terms for animals, especially domestic animals (248).

(248) noun gloss juvenile plural gloss

a. súwó ‘goat’ súwó-diyèwⁿ súwó-[dé-mèé] ‘goat kid’
yúwó ‘fish’ yúwó-diyèwⁿ yúwó-[dé-mèé] ‘minnow’

b. súwó ‘sheep’ súwó-diyèwⁿ súwó-[dè-mèè] ‘lamb’
kòñì ‘bird’ kòñì-(n-)diyèwⁿ kòñì-[dè-mèè] ‘fledgeling’

c. sàbá ‘chicken’ sàbá-diyèwⁿ sàbá-[dè-mèè] ‘chick’
kòngò̀ ‘dog’ kòngò̀-diyèwⁿ kòngò̀-[dè-mèè] ‘puppy’

'Child' as compound final can also extend to inanimates. In (249a), two paired objects of different sizes are distinguished by the use of this compound final.
(249) a. gárrá-síré
ground.millet-stone
‘large stone on which grain is ground’

b. gárrá-síré-diýěw
grind.Pfv-stone-child
‘smaller round stone held in hand for grinding grain’

Some other interesting cases are in (250).

(250) a. jí-diýěw
‘water demon’
jí ‘water’
kálá-diýěw
‘arrow’
kálá ‘bow (n)’
sórsgú-diýěw
‘latch on wooden lock’
sórsgú ‘lock’
tóó-diýěw
‘flint lighter’
tóó ‘fire’

b. kúpan-diýěw
‘key’
kúpán ‘door’
bàrà-ŋ-kàání-diýěw
‘calabash ladle’
bàrà ‘gourd’, kàání ‘calabash’

c. sòndòmin-diýěw
‘bastard child’

There are a few examples of HL-toned -diýěw with plural -dé-mè (251). All have human reference.

(251) a. kàrààn-diýěw
‘pupil (student)’
variant kàrààn-diýěw
mándárasá-n-diýěw
‘koranic school pupil’
mándárasá ‘koranic school’
móri-kàràán-diýěw
‘holy man’s pupil’
móri ‘holy man’

b. káyná-n-diýěw
‘messenger; prophet’
káyná ‘message’

c. yàtàìmèn-diýěw
‘orphan’

5.1.7.3 Diminutive -liyěw ~ -liyaw with nouns

diyěw ~ diyáw ‘child (offspring)’ discussed above is the presumed etymological source for the diminutive ending -liyěw ~ -liyaw of variable tone. Diminutives with -liyěw ~ -liyaw are mostly of the tone-leveled type. The plural is the regular one with suffix -yè, or else -le-mee modeled on dé-mè ‘children’.

The d/l alternation is unproductive but also occurs in independent pronouns (§3.4.1.1) and in the plural focus marker dùwò ~ lùwò. There are a few cases of -niyěw ~ -niyaw which are
analysed here as surface forms of -liyɛ́wⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ after nasalized vowels. There are also a few cases of -diyɛ́wⁿ ~ -diyawⁿ following a nasal consonant where hardening of l to d is suspected on grounds both semantic (nonhuman reference) and tonal (compatibility with tone-leveled compounding). Examples of types with n and d are in (252). The vowels ɛ and a are interchangeable.

(252)  

a. with suspected l → n after nasalized vowel  

tintⁿ-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘small colorful finches’ (reduplicative-looking)  

gɛ́ɛⁿ-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘cowry shells’  
fá-liyɛ́-nà-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘a trifle, a tiny bit’  

b. with suspected l → d after nasal  

búmúⁿ-díyɛ́wⁿ ‘young Nile perch (Lates)’  

fɔ́n-ốn-lyɛ́wⁿ ‘tonsils’  
káñ-ốn-lyɛ́wⁿ ‘herb sp. (Cleome)’  
tò́n-ốn-lyɛ́wⁿ ‘snake sp.’

Further examples of the compound final that are compatible with tone-leveling are in (253), although in some cases the initial does not occur elsewhere.

(253)  

form  
gloss  
related forms

a. all-H-toned  

bó-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘heart (organ)’  
fá-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3)  
kée-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘boy’

b. all-L-toned  

dùù-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘bush sp. (Solanum)’  
kòò-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘cross-cousin’  
kôñi-kùùm-mà-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘Rüppell’s vulture’  
kùbù-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘sun’  
kùwà-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘grass sp. (Eragrostis)’  
kûwɔ̀-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘vervet monkey’  
wàa-ố-nyɛ́wⁿ ‘skin rash’

Examples that do not fit the tone-leveled compound type at the level of the entire compound are in (254). In (254a-b) the L-toned -liyɛ́wⁿ is arguably bracketed tonally with the immediately preceding L-toned morpheme (though the morphemic composition is opaque). In (254d), the
diminutive morpheme is nonfinal in a longer combination. In ‘lutefish’ and ‘catfish’ it has the same tones as the preceding morpheme.

(254) | form          | gloss           | related forms |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sí-sàà-liyèw⁹⁰</td>
<td>‘right now’</td>
<td>sááwù ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ sá-sàà-liyèw⁹⁰)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. dúbáá-kà-liyèw⁹⁰</td>
<td>‘earthworm’</td>
<td>dúbáá ‘earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. f Bíinté-má-liyèw⁹⁰</td>
<td>‘a trifle, a tiny bit’</td>
<td>f Bíinté ‘a small amount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. f Bíú-liyé-m-pàátà</td>
<td>‘tiny trunkfish (Petrocephalus)’</td>
<td>cf. (?) f Bíu ‘pufferfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táá-liyám-pòò</td>
<td>‘lutefish sp. (Citharinus)’</td>
<td>táá ‘lutefish (various spp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòmò-liyé-m-pìi⁹⁰</td>
<td>‘certain spotted catfish spp.’</td>
<td>kòmò ‘catfish (Synodontis spp.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.7.4 Diminutive -liyèw⁹⁰ ~ -liyaw⁹⁰ with adjectives

The same -liyèw⁹⁰ ~ -liyaw⁹⁰ can be used to diminutivize certain adjectives. The most common examples are those in (255a), where diminutivization intensifies an adjective that already has intrinsic diminutive sense. On the other hand, in (255b) diminutivization mitigates bigness, pulling the referent back toward the middle of the scale. When the adjective does not specify size, as with color terms like ‘black’ (255c), diminutivization specifies object size rather than degree of blackness.

(255) | adjective | gloss         | diminutive | gloss         |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(as Adj²)</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. miyé-gù</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>miyé-gù-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>miyé-gù-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘tiny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twí-gù</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>twí-gù-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>twí-gù-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘very short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyé-gù</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
<td>niyé-gù-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>niyé-gù-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘very easy/cheap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúwó-gù</td>
<td>‘meager’</td>
<td>dúwó-gù-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>dúwó-gù-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘very meager’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. bòrò⁹⁰</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>bòrò⁹⁰-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>bòrò⁹⁰-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘biggish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. pì’yè-nà</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>pì’yè-nà-liyàw⁹⁰</td>
<td>pì’yè-nà-lè-mèè</td>
<td>‘small and black’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.8 Compounds with tùù ‘owner’

The noun tùù ‘owner’ (plural tùù-yè or tùù-yè, dialectally also tii-yè) requires a possessor or compound initial, minimally 3Sg possessor à (256).

\[
\begin{align*}
(256) \quad & \text{ù} \quad \text{tá} = \quad [\text{à} \quad \text{tùù}] \quad \text{tò} \\
& 1\text{Sg} \quad \text{IpfvNeg} \quad [3\text{Sg} \quad \text{owner}] \quad \text{know.Ipfv} \\
& \text{‘I don’t know its owner.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of compounds denoting ownership are in (257). Most are of the possessive compound type, with -tùù L-toned (before tone sandhi). -tùù shortens to -tù in the high-frequency combination nògù-tù ‘village chief’. Final Tone-Raising applies to an L-toned initial (257a) as expected. In (257b) the medial H-tone of /(L)HL/-melodic initials spreads to the boundary. Three compounds with human reference based on abstract properties are level-toned and could be analyzed as tone-leveled compounds (257c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(257) compound</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /L/-melodic initial, possessor-possessum type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bòné-tùù</td>
<td>‘granary’</td>
<td>bòné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dùwò-tùù</td>
<td>‘beer owner’</td>
<td>dùwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùwò-tùù</td>
<td>‘sheep owner’</td>
<td>sùwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shortened to -tù</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nògù-tùù</td>
<td>‘village owner (=chief)’</td>
<td>nògù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /(L)HL/ initial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/HL/ initial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábà-tùù</td>
<td>‘owner of livestock’</td>
<td>dábà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gómò-tùù</td>
<td>‘head of household’</td>
<td>gómò ‘courtyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/LHL/ initial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bútígí-tùù</td>
<td>‘shop owner (storekeeper)’</td>
<td>bútígí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màrífà-tùù</td>
<td>‘rifle owner’</td>
<td>màrífà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàmáà-tùù</td>
<td>‘homeowner’</td>
<td>nàmáà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. tone-leveled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàforò-tùù</td>
<td>‘rich person’</td>
<td>nàforò ‘wealth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hàgérè-tùù</td>
<td>‘intelligent person’</td>
<td>hàgérè ‘intelligence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tábà-tùù</td>
<td>‘young man’</td>
<td>tábà ‘foot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-tùù ‘owner’ occurs in a wide range of compounds denoting attributes, ranging from conditions to unusual body parts to abstractions.

(258) noun gloss ‘owner of X’ gloss

a. condition
kpéŋté ‘leprosy’ kpéŋté-tùù ‘leper’

b. body part
dèŋé-tíí ‘beard’ dèŋé-tíí-tùù ‘bearded (person)’
kbò-kùrù ‘hump’ kbò-kùrù-tùù ‘humped, hunchback’

c. abstract attribute
dáwúlá ‘aura of success’ dáwúlá-tùù ‘one who is constantly successful’

5.1.9 ‘True’ versus ‘false’ species

There are several asymmetrical pairs of natural-species terms where one variety is the focal or “true” version, in contrast to a secondary variety. One way to make the distinction overt is to express the nonprototypical variety with a nonhuman animate possessor. ‘Hyena’ and ‘frog’ are suitable possessors.

(259) compound gloss literal

a. kàỳ ‘hyena’ as possessor
kàỳ-díí ‘herb sp. (Amaranthus)’ “hyena-root”
kàỳ-tiŋà ‘mushroom’ “hyena-stool”
kàỳ-yàbàròò ‘wild onion (Crinum)’ “hyena-onion”

b. sàrò ‘frog, toad’ as possessor
sàrò-[dààn-dàà] ‘wild hibiscus sp.’ “frog-roselle”
sàrò-[nàmù-jìì] ‘pond scum (Spirogyra)’ “frog-[millet.sauce]”
5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihis can function as modifiers or as nouns. A bahuvrihi denotes or describes individuals who have a feature (such as a body part) of a specified quality (e.g. size, color) or quantity. Compare English adjectives *big-bellied* and *two-headed*, and nouns *Blackbeard* and *greenhorn*.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival final

An example is ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[kùwàa-nà] ‘white-headed’. Its own tones without Final Tone-Raising at the boundary identify it as a tone-leveled compound. However, when this compound functions as an adjectival modifier, the leftmost tone of the preceding modified noun spreads rightward.

(260) modified noun ‘white-headed ___’

a. modified noun begins with L-tone

sùwò ‘sheep’  sùwò  ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[kùwàa-nà]
sìyè ‘horse’  sìyè  “
yòrógò ‘cat’  yòrógò  “

b. modified noun begins with H-tone

sùwó ‘goat’  sùwó  ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[kùwáa-ná]
kóŋgóró ‘dog’  kóŋgóró  “

‘Small-headed’ ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[mìyè-gù] has the HL-toned adjective mìyè-gù (~ mìyà-gù), which is resistant to Tone Leveling triggered by a stem to its left. When ‘small-headed’ modifies a preceding noun, Tone Leveling spreads to ‘head’ but is blocked by ‘small’, which becomes HL-toned.

(261) modified noun ‘small-headed ___’

a. modified noun begins with L-tone

sùwò ‘sheep’  sùwò  ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[mìyè-gù]
sìyè ‘horse’  sìyè  “
yòrógò ‘cat’  yòrógò  “

b. modified noun begins with H-tone

sùwó ‘goat’  sùwó  ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-[mìyè-gù]
kóŋgóró ‘dog’  kóŋgóró  “
The two terms in (262) diverge from the tonal patterns seen so far. The initial is tùùⁿ ‘skin’, followed by short forms of ‘black’ or ‘white’.

(262) a. tùùm-pifⁿ ‘African, black-skinned person’
   b. tùùŋ-kúwóⁿ ‘white-skinned person’ (includes Asians and Arabs)

For the rare HL-toned form -kúwóⁿ ‘white’; see §5.1.5.1.

5.2.1.2 With numeral final

Examples of noun-numeral bahuvrihis as postnominal modifiers are in (263). Unlike the adjectival bahuvrihis, here the nominal compound initial (e.g. ‘tail’, ‘leg’) and the numeral have the same forms as in non-bahuvrihi combinations. For example, ‘two-tailed’ in (263a) has the same form as ‘two tails’. ‘One’ likewise has its usual linker (263b). Tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) applies when the initial (at least its last two moras) and the numeral are both L-toned as in ‘three-legged’ (263c). If the bahuvrihi modifies another noun, like ‘dog’ or ‘horse’ in (263d), this noun does not spread its initial tone rightward by Tone Leveling.

(263) a. dùbàà-fà píyèm -péndé
    snake tail  two
    ‘two-tailed snake’
    (< píyèwⁿ)

   b. kée̱wú tábà-liyèŋ-kóóⁿ
      man foot-Link-one
      ‘one-legged man’
      (< tábà)

   c. kée̱wú tábà -péndé/…
      tábà -…/sigèⁿ
      man foot -two/three
      ‘two-/three-legged man’
      (< tábà)

   d. kóngòrò / jìyè tábà -sigèⁿ
      dog / horse foot -three
      ‘three-legged dog/horse’
5.2.2 Derived adjectival diminutives (-li-yawⁿ, -lé-méé)

§4.5.1.2 above described adjectives with obligatory suffix -gù that is associated with smallness (‘small’, ‘short’, etc.). In those cases the -gù is arguably part of the stem.

By “derived diminutive” is meant optional diminutive marking on an adjective that can freely occur without it. The textual examples involve the adjectives ‘small’ and ‘big’, whose diminutivized forms mean ‘tiny’ and ‘a bit big’, respectively. In other words, diminutivization intensifies ‘small’ and weakens ‘big’. Speakers accepted diminutives for ‘long’ and ‘short’ and there is no obvious morphological barrier for diminutivizing other simple adjective stems.

(264) presents forms of ‘big’ in absolute function (without a noun) but with a 3Sg possessor denoting a larger set. The sense is ‘a (slightly) big one’, plural ‘(slightly) big ones’, from a set established in prior discourse.

(264) Diminutive of ‘big’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ-yè ~ ā börōⁿ-yé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diminutive</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ-liyàwⁿ</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ-liyéⁿ-èⁿ</td>
<td>ā börōⁿ-lé-méé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or: ā börōⁿ-liyáⁿ-yè</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing ā börōⁿ-liyàwⁿ with ā börōⁿ-yàwⁿ and with ā börōⁿ-lè-méè would ordinarily require segmentation of -liyàwⁿ into diminutive -li- and definite singular -yàwⁿ. However, the diminutive definite singular ā börōⁿ-liyéⁿ-èⁿ and the variant diminutive plural ā börōⁿ-liyáⁿ-yè show that outer suffixes are added to -liyàwⁿ.

The other textually attested diminutive adjective is based on miyé-gù ‘small’ (265).

(265) Diminutive of ‘small’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular</td>
<td>ā miyé-gù</td>
<td>ā miyé-gú-yàwⁿ</td>
<td>ā miyé-gù-yè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diminutive</td>
<td>ā miyé-gù-liyàwⁿ</td>
<td>ā miyé-gù-liyéⁿ-èⁿ</td>
<td>ā miyé-gù-lé-méé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or: ā miyé-gú-liyáⁿ-yè</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For ‘long’, ā kwásà-àmà ‘a long one’ has an elicitable diminutive ā kwásà-àmà-liyàwⁿ ‘a slightly long one’.
5.2.3 Composite adjective bàgù ~ bàŋgù ‘fast’

The adjective ‘fast’ is composite in Cliffs, where it is based on a noun bà ‘body’ that is used chiefly in speed expressions. In J-S of Djenné bà does not occur as a separate noun. This makes ‘fast’ unsegmentable, though there is a diachronically revealing variation between medial ŋg and g in different forms.

The verb is bàgù-má/bàgù-má ‘become fast, accelerate, speed up’ (266a) or causative bàgù-mà-nì/bàgù-mà-nì ‘(sb) accelerate (sth)’. The participle with -na likewise has unclustered g (266b-c).

(266) a. mọmbìrì-m bàgù-má gà
   vehicle-DefSg fast-Inch.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The vehicle speeded up.’

   b. mọmbírí bàgù-má-ná
      vehicle fast-Inch-Ppl
      ‘a fast vehicle’

   c. sùwò bàgù-mà-nà
      sheep fast-Inch-Ppl
      ‘a fast sheep’

However, the stative predicate (267a-c) and the simple modifying adjective (267d-e) are based on bàŋgù(”) with medial ŋg. In addition, for some speakers the stative predicate is a simple intransitive (267a), while for others it is a reflexive (267b-c), like many similar stative predicates.

(267) a. à bàŋgùn
   3Sg be.fast
   ‘It is fast.’ (dialect 2, as a variant)

   b. à mbàŋgùn
      3Sg 3ReflSg be.fast
      [=,(a), dialect 1, sometimes dialect 2]

   c. à tá mbàŋgùn
      3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.fast
      ‘It isn’t fast.’
d. mómbirí  bàâŋgùn
vehicle  fast
‘a fast vehicle’

e. süwɔ  bàâŋgùn
sheep  fast
‘a fast sheep’

The form bàâŋgù with ng must have originated in a reflexive construction of the type *{X bàâ] ý
gùn} ‘X’s body/speed is fast’. This means that the forms based on bàâgù without the nasal originated as bahuvrihi compounds. However, bàâŋgù can no longer be segmented in this fashion. This is shown most clearly by the position of post-subject inflectional particles, like IpfvNeg tá in (267c).

Compare Kelenga à là-gùn ‘it is fast’, with a different initial element also found in the Kelenga antonym à là-mùn ‘it is slow’.
6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order within multi-word NPs

The order of elements within an NP that contains modifiers as well as a head noun is summarized in (268). Determiners split into prenominal demonstratives and a suffixed postnominal definite singular marker, and the two can co-occur. Discourse-functional morphemes include ‘also/too’, ‘only’, and ‘as for’ (topic). “Pl” is a suffix added to a noun or N-Adj.

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

Examples showing the relative orderings are in (269).

(269) a. sèédû sûwó pîⁿyé-ná péndé
   S     goat black-Ppl two
   ‘Seydou’s two black goats’ Poss-N-Adj-Num

   b. kù-nù sûwó péndé-yâwⁿ
   Dem  goat two-DefSg
   ‘these/those two goats’ Dem-N-Num-DefSg

   c. kù-nù sûwó pîⁿyé-ná-yè sááⁿ
   Dem-Link goat-Pl black-Pl all
   ‘all these/those black goats’ Dem-N-Adj-Pl-‘all’

   d. hàlí sèédû sûwó-yâwⁿ
   even S   goat-DefSg
   ‘even Seydou’s goat’ ‘even’-Poss-N-DefSg

   e. sûwó-yè pîyé sááⁿ
   goat-Pl too all
   ‘all the goats too’ N-Pl-DiscFun-‘all’
sáān ‘all’ is usually final in NPs, following even ‘too’, as seen in (270).

\[(270)\] ń nà [súwó-yè sáān] tóró gà, 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv Pfv, ń ná [sàbá-yè plýé sáän] tóró gà 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [chicken-Pl too all] tóró gà ‘I sold all the goats, and I (then) sold all the chickens too.’

However, sáān can be followed by sisí ‘any’ when both are added to the relative morpheme màān (271). The combination màān sáān optionally fuses slightly as mà-sáān. See also (302d) below.

\[(271)\] [nàmáā màán sáān sisí] gà bôân, [house Rel all any] be.Loc here, [à sáān] ná [n-dúwó fûwû] ní [3Sg all] be [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is ‘The whole house that is here, all of it belongs to me.’

In texts, care should be taken to distinguish NP-final sáān ‘all’ from clause-final sáān in subordinated clauses (e.g. §16.1.2), where it may accidentally follow an NP.

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A numeral or demonstrative by itself may function absolutely as an NP in the absence of a modified noun (272a-b).

\[(272)\] a. kú dò [ń ná] 1Sg Dem give.Pfv [1Sg Dat] ‘Give me that!’

b. kóon dò [ń ná] one give.Pfv [1Sg Dat] ‘Give me one!’ (< kóo)n

Adjectives require a noun, minimally a semantically light noun like fá ‘thing’, when the referent is nonspecific (e.g. ‘a black one’, ‘something black’). However, adjectives can function nominally
when the referent is specific. In this case they require a following definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ or
the plural suffix -yè (in this case functioning as definite plural). Definite singular -yàwⁿ is subject
to phonetic reduction except when prepausal. Stem-final a combines with contracted -yàwⁿ as
e₇ = èⁿ.

(273) a. kúⁿwáá-né-èn    dó   [ná
white-Ppl-DefSg   give.Pfv   [1Sg  Dat]
   ‘Give me the white one!’ (< kúⁿwáá-ná)

   b. miyé-gù-ùn    dó   [ná
small-Adj-DefSg   give.Pfv   [1Sg  Dat]
   ‘Give me the small one!’ (cf. postnominal modifying miyé-gù)

   c. bòróⁿ-òn    dó   [ná
big-Adj-DefSg    give.Pfv   [1Sg  Dat]
   ‘Give me the big one!’ (< bòróⁿ)

   d. tìyé-má-ná-yè    dó   [ná
heavy-Inch-Ppl-Pl  give.Pfv   [1Sg  Dat]
   ‘Give me the heavy ones!’

sááⁿ ‘all’ requires at least a pronominal possessor in the inanimate sense ‘everything, all of it’
(274a), but it occurs without a noun or possessor in the human sense ‘everyone’ (274b).

(274) a. [á  sááⁿ]    dó   [ná
[3Sg  all]  give.Pfv   [1Sg  Dat]
   ‘Give it all to me!’

   b. sááṁ    bé    gà
all  come.Pfv   Pfv
   ‘Everyone has come.’

6.2 Possessives

Possessors immediately precede possessed nouns (possessums). There is no segmental genitive
morpheme. Regular tone sandhi applies at the possessor-possessum boundary, and additional
minor tonal changes occur in possessors before L-tone. Tonal ablaut occurs in the possessum when
the possessor is 1Sg.
6.2.1 Alienability

The only morphosyntactic difference between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns is that definite singular marking is usually omitted with possessed singular kin terms and usually present with other possessed singular nouns.

Possessed singular kin terms without definite marking are illustrated in (275). The nouns are kà ‘father’ and näwⁿ ‘mother’.

(275) a. [ŋ̀ ká / nám] bé gà
   [1Sg father/mother] come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘My father/mother came.’

   b. [ā kà / nàm] bé gà
   [3Sg father/mother] come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘His/her father/mother came.’

When we replace the possessed kin terms with the alienable noun sūwò ‘sheep-Sg’, definite singular marking is present. The suffix is reduced phonetically in nonfinal position, but its final nasal is clearly heard in (276a-b) and the tone pattern especially in (276b) is distinctive.

(276) a. [ŋ̀ sūwò-(ɔ)m] bé gà
   [1Sg sheep-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘My sheep-Sg came.’

   b. [ā sūwò-ɔ́m] bé gà
   [3Sg sheep-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘His/her sheep-Sg came.’

However, the definite suffix can be added to the kin terms, for example to emphasize discourse-definiteness, and it can be omitted with the alienables when indefinite.

6.2.2 Form of possessum

6.2.2.1 No tonal changes except after 1Sg ŋ̀

The possessum has its usual tonal form when a possessor is added, unless the possessor is 1Sg ŋ̀ (+tones), which flips at least the initial tone of the possessum. For combinations of various nouns with 1Sg possessor, see §4.3.3.4.2.

Examples showing preservation of the form of the possessum with possessors other than 1Sg are in (277). As in these examples, the definite singular suffix -yáwⁿ is common when the
The plural form are compared

Counterparts with plural possessums are in (278).

6.2.2.2 Default possessum féêⁿ-yàwⁿ and variants

When the nature of the possessum is contextually understood, the possessum is expressed minimally by one of the variants in (279), depending on subdialect. The forms appear to be based on a mix of definite singular forms of fá ‘thing’ and fáⁿ ‘(someone’s) share, portion’. féêⁿ-yàwⁿ appears to re-add definite singular -yàwⁿ to féêⁿ, which is already the contracted definite singular of fáⁿ.

The plural fâⁿ-yè ~ fâⁿ-yé does not contract.

A prototypical context of use for these forms is when two possessors of the same possessum type are compared. The possessum is spelled out the first time and is replaced by a form of fâⁿ-yàwⁿ the second time.
(280) a. [sèèdú njàmàà-"n] ɲá tòmà-ná ńi,
[S house-Def] be red-Pplit.is,
[ŋkà [jí ñèè-ë]
ɲá pi"yè-ná ńi
[but [1Sg Poss] be black-Ppl it.is
‘Seydou’s house is brown, (but) mine is black.’

b. [sèèdú njàmàà-yè] gá tòmà-ná ńi,
[S house-Pl] be red-Ppl it.is,
[ŋkà [jí ṭà-yè] gá pi"yè-ná ńi
[but [1Sg Poss-Pl] be black-Ppl it.is
‘Seydou’s houses are brown, (but) mine are black.’

A similar use of ‘thing’ replacing a more specific noun as final in a compound-like construction is observed in (281).

(281) à bé-kíyé nàfiyè-yàw", síni [wày fá-yàw"],
3Sg times.past benefit-DefSg, and [today thing-DefSg],
köôn té
one it.is.not
‘Its benefit in times past and the one (=its benefit) of today are not the same.’
(2021-01 @ 04:14)

6.2.3 Nonpronominal possessors

The possessor can be anything from a pronominal proclitic to a full NP.

(282) a. ɑ njàmàà-yàw" ‘his/her house’
b. sèèdú njàmàà-yàw" ‘Seydou’s house’
c. sùwɔ njàmàà-yàw" ‘a sheep’s quarters’
d. kù-nù yùwòⁿ-ɔŋ njàmàà-yàw" ‘this woman’s house’
e. yùwòⁿ sigé-(è)jì njàmàà-yàw" ‘the house of the three women’

There are no major structural changes in an NP when it functions as possessor. Tone sandhi does affect L-final possessors before possessums like ‘house’ that begin with L-tone. Final Tone-Raising from sùwɔ ‘sheep-Sg’ to sùwɔ is observed in (282c), and subphonemic Upstep of 3Sg ɑ to á occurs in (282a). Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2) converts /LHL/-melodic nouns like sèèdú to LLH-toned before an L-tone (282b).
Further examples are in (283). Possessors that already end in H-tone do not change (283a). H(L)L-toned possessors become H(L)H-toned by Final Tone-Raising (283b). (283c) confirms the operation of Rightward H-Tone Shift, converting LHL to LLH.

(283) noun/NP   gloss  

a. H-final possessors  
dýé-nè-méé  ‘children’  
sùwó  ‘crocodile’  

b. /HL/-melodic possessors  
díyé-nèwⁿ  ‘child’  
kóŋó  ‘viper’  
ňúwósì  ‘chameleon’  
kóŋgóró  ‘dog’  
áāmádù  ‘Amadou (name)’  

c. /LHL/-melodic possessors  
màřífà  ‘rifle’  
yòrógò  ‘cat’  

6.2.4 Pronominal possessors

Pronominal possessors are in (284), excerpted from §4.3.1.

(284) category   possessor  

1Sg  ŋ (†tones)  
1Pl  íí (contracting with preceding vowel as = éé)  

2Sg  áa  
2Pl  áá  

3Sg  à  
3Pl  è  

Logo/3ReflSg  ŋ  
Logo/3ReflPl  é (contracting with preceding vowel as = éé)  
(after pause or interruption also íí)
The tones of the possessum are not affected by the presence of a possessor, except in the case of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+tones). The tonal effects of 1Sg possessor are described and exemplified under the rubric of Tone Inversion in §3.6.3.1.

6.2.5 Recursive possession

A possessed NP can itself be a possessor (285a-b).

(285) a. [sèédú kà] ɲàmáà
   [S father] house
   ‘Seydou’s father’s house’ (< sèédù, kà)

   b. [sèédù kóŋgóró-òm] píyèⁿ-yàwⁿ
   [S dog-DefSg] tail-DefSg
   ‘Seydou’s dog’s tail’

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Tonal interactions between noun and modifying adjective

6.3.1.1 Noun plus one regular modifying adjective

N-Adj combinations are subject to Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3). In other words, N-Adj is treated tonally like the main type of fully lexicalized N-N compound (5.1.4).

If we focus just on two-word N-Adj1 sequences (noun plus a single adjective), the situation is simple, at least superficially. This is because adjectives of monotonal /L/ and /H/ lexical melodies are tonally merged in N-Adj, due to Tone Leveling. These adjectives get their surface tones by spreading of the leftmost tone of the noun all the way to the end of the N-Adj string. Contour-toned adjectives are covered later, see (291) below.

(286) illustrates the spread of an initial H from the left edge of the noun, which has lexical melody /H/ or /HL/, through the entire N-Adj1 string. The adjectives in (286) are those that can readily apply to animals like ‘goat’ and ‘dog’.
(286) adjective súwó kóngòrò  
‘goat’ (/H/) ‘dog’ (/HL/)  
level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain  
‘fast’ súwó báá(ŋ)gú kóngòrò báá(ŋ)gú  
‘big’ súwó bóróⁿ kóngòrò bóróⁿ  
‘old’ súwó kékémíné kóngòrò kékémíné  
‘white’ súwó kú"wáá-ná kóngòrò kú"wáá-ná  
‘long/tall’ súwó kwásáⁿ kóngòrò kwásáⁿ  
‘good’ súwó máŋáá kóngòrò máŋáá  
‘full/robust’ súwó páná kóngòrò páná  
‘first’ súwó pánááⁿ kóngòrò pánááⁿ  
‘black’ súwó pì"yé-ná kóngòrò pì"yé-ná  
‘foreign’ súwó súmú kóngòrò súmú  
‘red’ súwó tómó-ná kóngòrò tómó-ná  
‘new’ súwó twéé kóngòrò twéé  
‘female’ súwó yúwóⁿ kóngòrò yúwóⁿ  

Array (287) pairs the same adjectives with nouns of melody /L/, /LH/, or /LHL/. These adjectives are H-toned in (286) above but L-toned in (287), in both cases as Adj1 subject to Tone Leveling.  

(287) adjective súwó siyé márifa  
‘sheep’ (/L/) ‘horse’ (/LH/) ‘rifle’ (/LHL/)  
level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain  
‘fast’ súwó báá(ŋ)gú siyé báá(ŋ)gú márifa báá(ŋ)gú  
‘big’ súwó bóróⁿ siyé bóróⁿ márifa bóróⁿ  
‘old’ súwó kékémíné siyé kékémíné márifa kékémíné  
‘white’ súwó kú"wáá-ná siyé kú"wáá-ná márifa kú"wáá-ná  
‘long/tall’ súwó kwásáⁿ siyé kwásáⁿ márifa kwásáⁿ  
‘good’ súwó máŋáá siyé máŋáá márifa máŋáá  
‘full/robust’ súwó páná siyé páná márifa páná  
‘first’ súwó pánááⁿ siyé pánááⁿ márifa pánááⁿ  
‘black’ súwó pì"yé-ná siyé pì"yé-ná márifa pì"yé-ná  
‘worn-out’ — — márifa sirè  
‘foreign’ súwó súmú siyé súmú márifa súmú  
‘red’ súwó tómó-ná siyé tómó-ná márifa tómó-ná  
‘new’ súwó twéé siyé twéé márifa twéé  
‘empty’ — — márifa wúwóⁿ  
‘female’ súwó yúwóⁿ siyé yúwóⁿ —
Array (288) repeats the tonal patterns in (286) above with food/drink nouns, which combine with a different set of adjectives denoting taste, temperature, and ripeness. As in (286), the nouns are H-initial. máángóró ‘mango’ is a rare /HLH/-melodic noun.

(288) adjective  tôó  sùwò  máángóró
‘meat’ (/H/) ‘milk’ (/HL/) ‘mango’ (/HLH/)

level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

‘sweet’  tôó dúmó  sùwò dúmó  máángóró dúmó
‘unseasoned’  tôó gááyá  —  —
‘fresh/raw’  tôó káá  sùwò káá  máángóró káá
‘bitter’  tôó káási  sùwò káási  máángóró káási
‘cold/slow’  tôó múwá-ná  sùwò múwá-ná  máángóró múwá-ná

(‘sour milk’)

‘rotten’  tôó píí-ná  sùwò píí-ná  máángóró píí-ná
‘hot’  tôó pí‘yé-ná  sùwò pí‘yé-ná  máángóró pí‘yé-ná
‘foul’  tôó sùwò  sùwò sùwò  máángóró sùwò

The same adjectives of taste etc. are paired with L-initial food/drink nouns in (289). The adjectives now present as L-toned because of Tone Leveling, as in (287) above.

(289) adjective  nàmù (/L/)  mi‘yé (/LH/)nàmásà (/LHL/)
‘tò (=millet cake)’ ‘grass sp. (Acroceras)’ ‘banana’

level-toned adjective included in tone-leveling domain

‘sweet’  nàmù dúmò  mi‘yé dúmò  nàmásà dúmò
‘unseasoned’  nàmù gááyá  —  —
‘fresh/raw’  nàmù káá  mi‘yé káá  nàmásà káá
‘foul’  nàmù sùwò  mi‘yé sùwò  nàmásà sùwò
‘bitter’  nàmù káási  mi‘yé káási  nàmásà káási
‘hot’  nàmù pí‘yé-ná  mi‘yé pí‘yé-ná  nàmásà pí‘yé-ná
‘rotten’  nàmù píí-ná  mi‘yé píí-ná  nàmásà píí-ná
‘cold/slow’  nàmù múwá-ná  mi‘yé múwá-ná  nàmásà múwá-ná

‘Distant’ is an awkward semantic fit with the animal and food nouns in the preceding lists, but it is subject to the same tonal patterns. Using the more appropriate nouns ‘village’ and ‘rock/mountain’, the simple adjective (290a) is synonymous with the participial version (290b). Here again the N-Adj sequence is subject to Tone Leveling.
For the N-Adj combinations considered so far, the adjective makes no contribution to the resulting tonal pattern since it gets its tones by spreading from the noun. By extrapolation from N-N compounds, this implies that the adjectives exemplified so far have level-toned (monotonal) melodies, either /L/ or /H/. This is confirmed by their tonal forms in contexts not subject to Tone Leveling. Such contexts include Adj2 position (§6.3.1.1) and, for some adjectives, predicate function. See §4.5.1.1 for an inventory of adjectives showing these forms.

A smaller contrasting set of adjectives appear with fixed HL-tones as Adj1 in N-Adj combinations. This includes adjectives with suffix -gù (§4.5.1.2), plus wàárà(w) (§4.5.1.1). The noun still undergoes Tone Leveling up to the boundary, but the tones of the noun have no effect on those of the adjective, which has invariant HL-tone. By extrapolation from N-N compounds, these adjectives have one or another of the contour-toned melodies /HL/, /HLH/, or /LH(L)/, and merge here as HL-toned as part of Tone Leveling. This is confirmed since the lexical melodies are overt in contexts where they are not subject to Tone Leveling; see §4.5.1.1-2 and §6.3.3.1.1.

(291) shows these adjectives as Adj1 with H-initial nouns.

(291) adjective ‘goat’ ‘dog’ ‘mango’
       súwó (/H/) kóngórò (/HL/) máängóró (/HLH/)

a. ‘small’ súwó míỳè-gù kóngórò míỳè-gù máàngóró míỳè-gù
   ‘short’ súwó twñi-gù kóngórò twñi-gù máàngóró twñi-gù
   ‘easy’ súwó nìỳè-gù kóngórò nìỳè-gù máàngóró nìỳè-gù

b. ‘smart’ súwó wááràw’ kóngórò wááràw’ —
   ‘sour’ — — máàngóró tántà-nà

These adjectives present the same HL tone pattern as Adj1 when preceded by L-initial nouns (292).
Therefore in simple N-Adj strings, there are only two tonal types of adjective. One gets its tones by spreading from the left edge of the noun. The other has fixed HL-tones regardless of the tones of the noun.

For the -gù adjectives that have lexical melody /LH(L)/, i.e. /LH/ if -gù is excluded and /LH-L/ if it is included, Tone Leveling disregards the suffix -gù and applies only to the preceding stem. The adjectives (in Adj2 form) miyé-gù ‘small’, twi-gù ‘short’, and niyé-gù ‘easy, cheap’ become HL-toned miyé-gù ‘small’, twi-gù ‘short’, and niyé-gù as modifiers in N-Adj strings, see (291a) and (292a) above. The regular Tone Leveling process converts trisyllabic L.H.L nouns into H.H.L, with the tone break right-biased. If we take miyé-gù etc. as trisyllabic as inputs to Tone Leveling, in Adj1 function they should present as e.g. #miyé-gù, with just the suffix L-toned. The actual Adj1 outputs like miyé-gù can be produced by regular operation of Tone Leveling is limited to the noun and the unsuffixed adjectival stem.

6.3.1.2 tànàà ‘other’

The modifying adjective ‘other’ is somewhat noun-like, and the N-Adj combination patterns tonally like a possessive compound (5.1.3). The noun presents in its lexical tones except for tone sandhi.

(293) noun gloss ‘other _’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sùwò</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyé</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yòrógò</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.1.3 kèmínè ‘old’ and sìrè ‘very old, descrepit’

The general adjective for ‘old’ is kèmínè, while sìrè is a stronger word meaning ‘very old, decrepit, worn-out’. Both can apply to people, animals, or things.

kèmínè is the noun ‘old person’, with /H/ melody (294a). As a single nominal modifier, analysable as either Adj1 or as a compound final, it undergoes Tone Leveling from the noun (294b-c). As second adjective (Adj2), it is L-toned (294d), revealing an /L/-melody as adjective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(294)</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kèmínè</td>
<td>kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kèwú kèmínè</td>
<td>kèwú kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó kèmínè</td>
<td>súwó kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>yúwò nga kèmínè</td>
<td>yúwò nga kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó kèmínè</td>
<td>súwó kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàmàà kèmínè</td>
<td>nàmàà kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old house’ (&lt; nàmàà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>súwó bórón kèmínè</td>
<td>súwó bórón kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old big sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó bórón kèmínè</td>
<td>súwó bórón kèmínè-yè</td>
<td>‘old big goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sìrè does not occur as a simple noun. As a modifier, except as noted below, sìrè takes HL-toned form. In this form it can be compounded to the noun kèmínè (295a) or to other nouns (295b-c). It can also be compounded to the adjective kèmínè, in the same HL-toned form (295d-e). For other unexpectedly HL-toned compound finals, see §5.1.5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(295)</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kèmínè-sìrè</td>
<td>kèmínè-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kèwú-sìrè</td>
<td>kèwú-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó-sìrè</td>
<td>súwó-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>yúwò ng-sìrè</td>
<td>yúwò ng-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó-sìrè</td>
<td>súwó-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàmàà-sìrè</td>
<td>nàmàà-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kèwú kèmínè-sìrè</td>
<td>kèwú kèmínè-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súwó kèmínè-sìrè</td>
<td>súwó kèmínè-sìrè-yè</td>
<td>‘very old goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. yùwòŋ kēmû-n-siřè  yùwòŋ kēmû-n-siřè-yè  ‘very old woman’
sùwò kēmû-n-siřè  sùwò kēmû-n-siřè-yè  ‘very old sheep’
jamin kēmû-n-siřè  jamin kēmû-n-siřè-yè  ‘very old house’

When added as Adj2 to an Adj1 other than kēmûnè, siřè takes L-toned form, revealing its lexical melody. In (296b), L-toned siřè triggers Final Tone-Raising on the -nà participial suffix of sùwò tôm-nà ‘red (=brown) sheep’.

(296)  singular  plural  gloss
a. sùwò tôm-nà siřè  sùwò tôm-nà siřè-yè  ‘very old red (=brown) goat’
b. sùwò tôm-nà siřè  sùwò tôm-nà siřè-yè  ‘very old red (=brown) sheep’

6.3.1.4 Interaction of Tone Inversion with N-Adj combinations

1Sg possessor ĵ and forms of deictic demonstrative kú are associated with tonal modifications of the following word (§3.6.3.1-2). When 1Sg ĵ or deictic demonstrative kû-nû (or variant) is the possessor of a N-Adj1 combination, the possessor treats the latter in the same way it treats simple nouns. Strings that are otherwise all-L become HL-toned, with a single initial H (297a). All-H strings are entirely tone-dropped except for tone sandhi triggered by DefSg -yâwⁿ (297b). A contour-toned adjective like miyê-gû ‘small’ (Adj2 form) appears with HL-tones as in the simple N-Adj1 combination (297c).

(297)  N-Adj  gloss  ‘my _ ’  ‘this/that _ ’
a. sùwò piⁿyê-nà  ‘black sheep’  ĵ sùwò piⁿyê-nà  kû-nû sùwò piⁿyê-nâ-yâwⁿ
yôrögô piⁿyê-nà  ‘black cat’  ĵ yôrögô piⁿyê-nà  kû-nû yôrögô piⁿyê-nâ-yâwⁿ
b. sùwò piⁿyê-nà  ‘black goat’  ĵ sùwò piⁿyê-nà  kû-nû sùwò piⁿyê-nâ-yâwⁿ
kôngôřô piⁿyê-nà  ‘black dog’  ĵ kôngôřô piⁿyê-nâ  kû-nû kôngôřô piⁿyê-nâ-yâwⁿ
c. sùwò miyê-gû  ‘small sheep’  ĵ sùwò miyê-gû  kû-nû sùwò miyê-gû-yâwⁿ
sùwò miyê-gû  ‘small goat’  ĵ sùwò miyê-gû  kû-nû sùwò miyê-gû-yâwⁿ
6.3.2 Set-partitioning quantifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’)

6.3.2.1 ‘Certain ones’ (kémberè)

kémberè partitions off a subset (‘some Xs’) of a larger set (‘all Xs’) of countable entities. One common construction is a juxtaposition of two clauses, each with an identical quantified NP (except that the noun is often omitted in the second clause), in the same grammatical function. Especially when the predicates are positive and negative, the two subsets exhaust the larger set. In this case, idiomatic free translations have ‘some Xs’ in the first clause and ‘the others’ in the second.

(298) [í súwó-yè kémberè] bé gà,
[1Sg goat-Pl certain.Pl] come.Pfv Pfv,

certain.Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv
kémberè tè bé

‘Some of my goats came (back), the others didn’t come (back).’

Nouns modified by kémberè have their independent tonal and morphological form, including plural suffixation. The tonal modifications that occur in N-Adj combinations do not occur before kémberè. In this respect, kémberè joins other morphologically free quantifiers including ‘all’ (§6.6.1) and ‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3), as well as ‘a certain’ (just below).

When kémberè with or without a modified noun functions as a preposed topical NP followed by a planned pause, it takes the form kémberè with final HL-toned syllable (§3.7.2).

In 2071-01 @ 07:17, a speaker adds kémberè twice to preposed topical NPs (the first but not the second with this intonational HL-toned final syllable). The modified noun is unexpectedly marked with DefSg suffix -yàw
. The context is: some years (or: one year) it’s good, some other years (or: another year) it isn’t.

6.3.2.2 ‘A certain one’ (kíyéⁿ, ɾ-h-kiyéⁿ)

When a single individual is picked out of a larger set, the quantificational adjective kíyéⁿ is used instead of kémberè (299a). Speakers have produced combinations with and without a nasal ɾ preceding kíyéⁿ. When present, it is probably the definite singular suffix on the noun, rather than a nasal linker associated with kíyéⁿ. For human reference there is a special combination ṛáñ-kíyéⁿ ‘someone/a certain person’ (299b), compare the usual noun ṛúmúⁿ ‘person’. kíyéⁿ can also be used alone in this human sense (‘someone’).
(299) a. ń nà [súwó(-ŋ) kíyén] tóró gà,
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg [goat(-DefSg) a.certain] sell.Pfv Pfv,
   ñ té sùrù-méé tóró
   1Sg PfvNeg remainder-Pl sell.Pfv
'I sold one (particular) goat, (but) I didn’t sell the others.'

b. ğ ŋa nááŋ-kíyén tò
   1Sg Ipfv person-a.certain know.Ipfv
   [ā gā kú tíí-ní]
   [Rel Ipfv Dem do-ıpfv]
'I know someone/a (certain) person, (who) he/she does that.'

The relationship of kíyéⁿ to the singular numeral (ŋ-)kóóⁿ ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1) is synchronically obscure due to phonological divergence. kíyéⁿ may have originated as a definite form of the numeral (‘the one’ as opposed to ‘the other’).

The singular numeral (ŋ-)kóóⁿ can itself occur (twice) in parallel double-clause pairings. In this case its vowel is slightly longer than usual, indicating the presence of the (synchronic) definite singular suffix reduced from -yàwⁿ (300).

(300) ń nà kóó-ön tóró gà,
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg one-DefSg sell.Pfv Pfv,
   ñ té kóó-(ò)n tóró
   1Sg PfvNeg one-DefSg sell.Pfv
'I sold one goat (out of two that I have), (but) I didn’t sell the (other) one.'

Combinations of various nouns with (ŋ-)kóóⁿ and (ŋ-)kíyéⁿ ‘a certain’ are in (301). They show that the numeral ‘one’ behaves tonally like modifying adjectives, so the noun spreads its first tone rightward. By contrast, kíyéⁿ follows the independent form of the noun, showing that kíyéⁿ is tonally a (nonadjectival) free quantifier like kémberè (preceding subsection), fâ-liyéwⁿ ‘a little’ (§6.4.2.3), and sááⁿ ‘all’ (§6.6.1).

(301) melody noun gloss ‘one X’ ‘a certain X’
/H/ súwó ‘goat’ súwó ŋ-kóóⁿ súwó kíyéⁿ
/L/ súwó ‘sheep’ súwó ŋ-kóóⁿ súwó kíyéⁿ
/HL/ kóngòrò ‘dog’ kóngòrò ŋ-kóóⁿ kóngòrò kíyéⁿ
6.3.2.3 síí ‘any’ and fóy ~ fwé ‘nothing (at all)’

Most occurrences of síí are as postnominal modifiers functioning as indefinite quantifiers ‘any X’). síí is another free quantifier that does not change the tones of the preceding nominal. The NP is often singular in form unless plurality is expected, in which case plural síí-yè is possible. síí occurs mainly in negative (302a-b) and interrogative (302c) frames, i.e. in nonassertive modal contexts, cf. §6.6.4 below. síí is less common in conditional antecedents, which can use relative màⁿ to introduce an indefinite referent, but for emphasis síí can be added to màⁿ sááⁿ ‘whatever’ or ‘whoever’ including sááⁿ ‘all’ (302d), cf. §6.6.3.

(302) a. ín té só [gíyeⁿ síí]-y
   1Pl PfvNeg go.Pfv [place any]-Loc
   ‘We didn’t go anywhere.’

b. [ númú síí] tè bé
   [person any] PfvNeg come.Pfv
   ‘Nobody came.’

c. áá gà … [mùwó yúwó-síífà síí-yè lùwò] kú-nú
   ‘What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch?’
   (2021-03 @ 00:04, hesitation omitted)

d. ãⁿ ná [màⁿ sááⁿ síí] kày,
   2Sg if.Pfv [Rel all any] see.Pfv,
   à ná= à sé [n té]
   3Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘If you-Sg see anybody at all, tell it to me!’

For the short variant -sí in númú-sí ‘(not) anyone’, see (346d) below.

Other indefinite quantifiers not including síí that occur in negative contexts are the emphatic fóy ~ fwé ‘nothing (at all)’ and the negative existential perfect construction (‘have never VPed’, §10.2.1.2).
(303) a. ín tè fòy tìⁿ
   1Pl PfvNeg nothing do.Pfv
   ‘We didn’t do anything.’

b. à tè gíyé [bí bé]
   3Sg PfvNeg ExpPf [Seq come.Pfv]
   ‘He/She has never come (back).’

2021-01 @ 10:03 has possessed à fòy ‘nothing of it’. Other textual examples of fòy are 2021-01 @ 06:24, 14:37, 14:44, 14:49, and 2021-03 @ 06:42, 08:34, 12:20, 12:34, 12:37, 12:40. These include combinations of fòy with a preceding noun, as in júgú fòy ‘no trees (at all)’ (2021-03 @ 12:40).

fòy ‘nothing’ may be related in some way to few ‘completely’ or (under negation) ‘(not) at all’ (§19.4.1.3). However, the two are synchronically distinct.

6.3.2.4 Mass-partitioning ‘some (but not all)’

For mass nouns, there is no dedicated quantificational adjective of the types described above (‘certain ones’, ‘a certain’). However, fá ‘thing’ or ‘something’ can be used in a comparable parallel construction.

(304) [súwë-wⁿ fá] píí gà,
   [milk-DefSg thing] spill.Pfv Pfv,
   fá kónó gà [tigë-ëⁿ n(w)ìⁿ]
   thing stay.Pfv Pfv [container-DefSg inside]
   ‘Some (of the) milk was spilled, some (=the rest) has remained in the container.’
   (< tigè)

In the first clause, ‘the milk’ takes its full form, indicating that fá is a free quantifier rather than a compound final or adjective.

6.3.2.5 Distributive-paucal ‘some (times, places)’

Distributive-paucal ‘some’ as in temporal ‘sometimes, now and then, at times’ is expressed in several ways: conjoining the noun ‘time’ to itself (305a), combining ‘time’ with the plural specific indefinite ‘certain ones’ (305b), or ‘time’ plus an iterated numeral ‘one’ in distributive sense (305c). wááftì ‘time’ lacks plural marking in the fixed phrase (305b). Nasalized ëⁿ is an archaic conjunctive particle (§7.1.2).
(305) a. wááti  yèⁿ  wááti
time  and  time
‘from time to time’

b. wááti  kém bèrè
time  certain.Pl
‘at (certain) times’

c. wááti  ŋ̀-kóòŋ-kóòⁿ
time  Link-one-one
‘sometimes’

Other temporal nouns (‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can be substituted for wááti.
Spatial distribution (‘here and there, in places’) is expressed in similar ways, but ‘here’ occurs instead of gíyéⁿ ‘place’ in the conjunction (306a).

(306) a. bôⁿ  yèŋ  bôⁿ
here  and  here
‘here and there’ (lit. “here and here”)

b. gíyéŋ  kém bèrè
place  certain.Pl
‘in (certain) places’

c. gíyéⁿ  ŋ̀-kóòŋ-kóòⁿ
place  Link-one-one
‘in some places’

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

6.3.3.1.1 [N Adj1] Adj2 without a conjunction

Two adjectives may follow and modify the same noun. Unless there is a lexicalized N-Adj collocation, the order of the adjectives appears to be free. This is the case with size and color adjectives in (307c-d).
In the sequence N-Adj1-Adj2, the tonal bracketing is [N-Adj1]-Adj2. Within the bracket, Tone Leveling occurs as described in preceding subsections. Adj2, on the other hand, appears with its lexical tone melody, and is not included in the domain of Tone Leveling. Therefore ‘black’ and ‘white’ have the same tones when functioning as Adj1 (307a), but differ tonally from each other when they function as Adj2 (307c,e). In other words, Adj2 brings out lexical tone melodies /L/ and /H/ that are neutralized as Adj1. Furthermore, L-toned Adj2 can trigger tone sandhi on the end of the N-Adj1 string. This accounts for the H-toned suffix -ná in (307d).

The lexical melodies of adjectives are also overt in stative predicates after gà ‘be’ or after a reflexive pronominal: à gà pî"yê-ná ‘it is black’ with L-toned adjective, but à gà kû"wáá-ná ‘it is white’ (§4.5.1.1, §11.4.1.1).

The melody is also observable when it is “possessed.” For example, miyé-gù ‘small’ shifts to H*L-toned miyé-gù as modifying adjective but keeps its lexical tones in à miyé-gù ‘a small one (of it), its small one’, e.g. 2021-03 @ 01:30.

6.3.3.1.2 ‘[N Adj1] and Adj2’ (with a conjunction)

Two color adjectives from the same semantic domain can be conjoined by sání ~ sínì to denote a mixed pattern. N-Adj1 again shows Tone Leveling, and Adj2 again has its lexical tone melody.
(308) ñàmàà kùⁿwàâ-nà sání pìⁿyè-nà
house white and black
‘a white-and-black house’

6.3.3.2 Basic adjective plus quantificational adjective ‘(a) certain’

As illustrated in §6.3.2.1-2, kémbèrè ‘certain ones’ and kíyéⁿ ‘a certain (one)’ are treated as a free quantifiers rather than as an adjective. The effect is that they do not interact tonally with a preceding modified noun, or with a preceding tone-leveled N-Adj1 string as in (309a-b).

(309) a. ñàmàà pìⁿyè-nà kíyéⁿ
house black a.certain
‘a certain black house’

b. ñàmàà pìⁿyè-nà kémbèrè
house black certain.Pl
‘some (=certain) black houses’

6.3.3.3 Adjectival intensifiers

Some adjectives are associated with noncognate expressive adverbials that function as intensifiers.

(310) a. [ŋ ñámàà-áⁿ] ṅá pìⁿyè-nà kíí-kíí
[1Sg house-DefSg] be black-Ppl very.black
‘My house is very black.’

b. [ŋ ñámàà-áⁿ] ṅá kúⁿwàá-ná páñí-páñí
[1Sg house-DefSg] be white-Ppl very.white
‘My house is very white.’

There is considerable interspeaker variation in the form of intensifiers. Most are lexicalized iterations. Those in (311) have been observed. Some are regional, likely from Bambara.
(311) | gloss | predicate | intensifier |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>pîⁿyè-nà</td>
<td>kîtî-kîtî ~ kĬrî-kĬrî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>kúⁿwáá-ná</td>
<td>pásì, pásì-pásì, fyé→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>tôm̂-nà</td>
<td>dûyé, bwà”→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rotten’</td>
<td>pí-fé-ná</td>
<td>pôtí-pôtí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘emaciated’</td>
<td>kû má-nà</td>
<td>nûwôtí”n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘robust (animal)’</td>
<td>páná</td>
<td>débê-débê, tēê-tēê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sweet, pleasing’</td>
<td>dú-nà-pí</td>
<td>támá-támá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stretched tight’</td>
<td>dú-nà-pí</td>
<td>déé-déé”n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general adverb ‘a little, slightly, somewhat’ is fâ-lîyáw”, a diminutive of fâ ‘thing’. It can be added to any adjectival predicate to weaken it.

(312) à gá pîⁿyè-nà / tôm̂-nà fâ-lîyáw”n
3Sg be black-Ppl / red-Ppl a.little
‘It is blackish/reddish.’

See §8.4.3.1 for more on extent expressions.

6.3.3.4 ‘Good to eat’

‘X is good to eat’ is phrased as ‘X-eating is good’. The subject is a verbal noun (usually zero-derived from the Pfv stem) with a third person possessor or an incorporated object.

(313) a. [à dîyá / mè”] m̀ mày”
[3Sg eat/Vbn / drink/Vbn] 3ReflSg be.good
‘It is good to eat/drink.’

b. [[kû-nû jûgû-ùŋ] kûlè] ǹ nîyèw”n
[[Dem tree-DefSg] cut.up/Vbn] 3ReflSg be.easy
‘Chopping up that tree is easy.’ (< jûgû)

6.4 Noun or N-Adj plus numeral

6.4.1 Regular N-Num and N-Adj-Num sequences

Numerals follow nouns and N-Adj combinations (314a-b). No inversion of numeral and adjective is allowed (314c).
(314) a. súwó  péné
goat  two
‘two goats’

b. súwó  pî‘yê-ná
goat  black-Ppl
‘(a/the) black goat’

c. súwó  pî‘yê-ná  péné
goat  black-Ppl  two
‘two black goats’ (not #súwó péné pî‘yê-ná)

There is no plural marker (-yê) in nouns or adjectives preceding a nonsingular numeral.
For noun-numeral bahuvrihi compounds like ‘two-headed’, see §5.2.1.2.

6.4.1.1 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘1’

Examples of kóòⁿ ‘1’ (§4.6.1.1) after nouns of different tone classes are in (315). kóòⁿ is
morphosyntactically an adjective rather than a numeral. This is clear from the tones, which follow
the pattern of noun plus HL-toned adjective.

Before kóòⁿ, the linking element -liyêwⁿ is added more often than not to nouns that do not
already end in a diminutive ending. Speakers accept the variant without -liyêwⁿ but state that its
presence is preferred. -liyêwⁿ preceding kóòⁿ does not add a diminutive sense. Without -liyêwⁿ
there is an audible nasal linker η- in η-kóòⁿ. The transcription here assumes the presence of the
linker even after -liyêwⁿ, but the latter’s final nasal would account for the η anyway.

(315) melody  noun  gloss  ‘one …’
               simple       with -liya(w)ⁿ

a. /H/  yúwó  ‘fish’  yúwó η-kóò  yúwó-liyêⁿ η-kóòⁿ
b. /L/  tàbà  ‘foot’  tàbà η-kóòⁿ  tàbà-liyêⁿ η-kóòⁿ
c. /HL/  kásò  ‘jail’  kásò η-kóòⁿ  kásò-liyêⁿ η-kóòⁿ
d. /LHL/  kànni  ‘calabash’  kànni η-kóòⁿ  kànni-liyêⁿ η-kóòⁿ
eyòrògò  ‘cat’  yòrògò η-kóòⁿ  yòrògò-liyêⁿ η-kóòⁿ

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Basic human nouns also optionally add -liywⁿ (316a). There is an irregular combination ṭááŋ-kóöⁿ ‘one person’ (316b).

(316) noun | gloss | ‘1 …’ | with -liya(w)ⁿ
---|---|---|---
| díyé-náwⁿ | ‘child’ | díyéⁿ-ná(w) ṭ-kóöⁿ | díyéⁿ-níyéⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ
| kééwú | ‘man’ | kééwú ṭ-kóöⁿ | kééwú-liyéⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ
| yùwòⁿ | ‘woman’ | yùwòⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ | yùwò-liyéⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ
| ṭúmúⁿ | ‘person’ | ṭááŋ-kóöⁿ | ṭáá-liyéⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ
| ṭúmúⁿ kóöⁿ | ṭúmúⁿ-liyéⁿ ṭ-kóöⁿ

The distributive iteration indicates spatial or temporal separation (‘one by one’, ‘one at a time’, ‘one each’), or else a scattered or occasional presence. (317a) is actually a participle with -nà and can be pluralized (kóöŋ-kóöⁿ-ná-yè). The nasal linker is absent unless ‘one’ modifies a noun as in (317c).

(317) a. ē ᬋ kóöŋ-kóöⁿ-nà
    3Pl be Rdp-one
    ‘They are isolated (scattered, infrequent).’

    b. kóöŋ-kóöⁿ ṭà bóⁿ
    Rdp-one be.Loc here
    ‘A few are (scattered around) here.’

    c. sùwò ṭ-kóöŋ-kóöŋ
    sheep Link-Rdp-one
    ‘one sheep at a time’

Such iterations are distinct from superficially similar juxtapositions like that in (318a), which could also be expressed as a conjunction with yèⁿ (318b).

(318) a. ē ᬋ kóöŋ-kóöⁿ ni
    3Pl be Rdp-one it.is
    ‘They are (tied) one to one.’

    b. ē ᬋ [kóöⁿ yèŋ kóöⁿ] nì
    3Pl be [one and one] it.is
    [=\(a\)]
6.4.1.2 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’

Before a numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’, a noun has its singular form, without plural suffix -yè. The numerals are in two tone-melodic classes, /H/ illustrated here by péndé ~ péné ‘2’, and /L/ illustrated here by sigèn ‘3’. For combinations with linker -liyaw see (321) below.

If the noun has a level (monotonal) melody, whether /H/ or /L/, its combinations with a numeral are shown in (319). /L/-melodic sigèn ‘3’ behaves tonally like a possessed noun; it is L-toned and so it triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding /L/-melodic noun. For /H/-melodic péné ~ péndé ‘2’, two treatments have been observed. In dialect 1, the possessor-possessum tone patterning applies to ‘2’ as it does to ‘3’. This means that ‘2’ remains H-toned pén(d)é. This appears to be the dominant pattern. In dialect 2, however, Tone-Leveling seemingly applies to the combination of noun plus ‘2’, in the fashion of N-Adj strings and nominal compounds. The effect is that pén(d)é seemingly drops to pèn(d)è after an /L/-melodic noun. This may, however, be a low-level phonetic effect, as opposed to a structurally significant one that would give H-toned and L-toned numerals different tonal syntax. In clause-medial position, at least some dialect 1 speakers keep pén(d)é H-toned even after /L/-melodic nouns.

Other H-toned numerals behave like ‘2’, and other L-toned numerals behave like ‘3’.

(319) noun gloss ‘two …’ ‘three …’

a. /H/-melodic noun
   támú ‘credit (loan)’ támú péné támú sigèn
   súwó ‘goat’ súwó péné súwó sigèn

b. /L/-melodic noun
   yùwòn ‘woman’ yùwòm pén(d)é yùwò5n sigèn
         ~ yùwòm pënè (dialect 2)
   nàá ‘cow’ nàá pén(d)é nàá sigèn
         ~ nàá pènè (dialect 2)

If the noun has contour tones, the complications increase. After /HL/-melodic nouns, H-toned pén(d)é ‘2’ is heard as L-toned in isolation, but for most speakers it behaves as H-toned in neither triggering nor undergoing Final Tone-Raising. If the noun has /LH/ or /LHL/ melody, the noun does not change before pén(d)é, but the latter is subject to phonetic Downstep after /LH/ (320b-c). Before L-toned sigèn, /HL/-melodic nouns undergo Final Tone-Raising, see especially ‘dog’ in (320a), /LHL/-melodic nouns undergo Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2), and /LH/-melodic nouns do not change.
(320) noun gloss with ‘2’ with ‘3’

a. /HL/ melody
  kôngorô ‘dog’ kôngorô pén(d)é kôngorô sigè~n
~ kôngorô pén(d)é (dialect 2)
sáárô ‘broom’ sáárô pénê sáárô sigè~n
~ sáárô pén(d)é (dialect 2)
tíjà (~ tíjë) ‘waterjar’ tíjà pénê tíjà sigè~n
~ tíjà pén(d)é (dialect 2)

b. /LHL/ melody
  ñàmáà ‘house’ ñàmáà pénê ñàmáà sigè~n
  misirí ‘mosque’ misirí pénê misirí sigè~n
  wótórô ‘cart’ wótórô pénê wótórô sigè~n
  màiřá ‘rifle’ màiřá pénê màiřá sigè~n
  kàáñì ‘calabash’ kàáñì pénê kàáñì sigè~n

c. /LH/ melody
  kómó ‘sickle’ kómó pénê kómó sigè~n
  tûmpâná ‘necked gourd’ tûmpâná pénê tûmpâná sigè~n

Array (321) shows the same combinations with the -liyew~n ~ -liyaw~n linker between noun and numeral. The linker is L-toned before pénê and (due to Final Tone-Raising) LH-toned before sigè~n.

(321) noun gloss with ‘2’ with ‘3’

a. /HL/ melody
  kôngorô ‘dog’ kôngorô-liyàm pénê kôngorô-liyà~n sigè~n
~ kôngorô-liyàm pénê (dialect 2)
sáárô ‘broom’ sáárô-liyàm pénê sáárô-liyà~n sigè~n
~ sáárô-liyàm pénê (dialect 2)
tíjà (~ tíjë) ‘waterjar’ tíjà-liyàm pénê tíjà-liyà~n sigè~n
~ tíjà-liyàm pénê (dialect 2)

b. /LHL/ melody
  ñàmáà ‘house’ ñàmáà-liyàm pénê ñàmáà-liyà~n sigè~n
  misirí ‘mosque’ misirí-liyàm pénê misirí-liyà~n sigè~n
  wótórô ‘cart’ wótórô-liyàm pénê wótórô-liyà~n sigè~n
  màiřá ‘rifle’ màiřá-liyàm pénê màiřá-liyà~n sigè~n
  kàáñì ‘calabash’ kàáñì-liyàm pénê kàáñì-liyà~n sigè~n

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c. /LH/ melody
kómó ‘sickle’ kómó-liyàm péné kómó-liyáŋ sigéŋ
túmpàná ‘necked gourd’ túmpàná-liyàm péné túmpàná-liyáŋ sigéŋ

/L/-melodic sigéŋ ‘3’ behaves like other L-toned stems in undergoing Final Tone-Raising when followed by an L-tone (322a). In the questionable dialect 2 pattern described above, where ‘2’ appears as L-toned pèn(d)è after /L/-melodic nouns, in clause-medial environments the numeral reverts to H-tones for one speaker checked. For the other dialect 2 speaker, it is treated as L-toned, so Final Tone-Raising applies to its final syllable, producing pènè.

(322) a. Ø ná [yùwóŋ sigéŋ] kày 1Sg Lpfv [woman three] see.Lpfv
‘I (regularly) see three dogs.’

b. ñ ná [yùwòm pén(d)é] kày gà
~ pènè (one dialect 2 speaker)
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [woman two] see.Pfv Pfv
‘I saw two women.’

6.4.1.3 Combination of noun plus decimal numeral

Decimal-multiple numerals (‘20’ to ‘90’) and their extensions have the same tonal interaction with preceding nouns as do other numerals.

(323) a. mìsìrí dèbè
mosque 40
‘forty mosques’ (< dèbè)

b. mìsìrí tám-péné
mosque 20
‘twenty mosques’ (< tám-péné)

6.4.1.4 Combination of noun plus higher numeral

mùsù ‘thousand’ behaves tonally like the other /L/-melodic numerals (324a). ýóró ‘hundred’ and mìlý5 ‘million’ behave like the other /H/-melodic numerals.
(324) a. misirí / kong dó mòsù
mosque / dog thousand
‘a thousand mosques/dogs’ (< misirí, kong dó)

b. misirí / kong dó mìlyán (dialect 1)
misirí / kong dó mìlyán (dialect 2)
mosque / dog million
‘a million mosques/dogs’

c. misirí / kong dó yòrò-pèndè
mosque / dog hundred-two
‘two hundred mosques/dogs’

6.4.2 ‘Many’ and ‘few’

6.4.2.1 pééntë(w)⁴ ‘many/much’

This quantificational adjective follows both count nouns (‘many Xs’) and mass nouns (‘much X’). With count nouns, there is no plural suffix -yè on either the noun or the quantifier. The latter does not occur as a predicate adjective, in which function it is replaced by reflexive predicate kó⁴ as in íí yè = éé̩ kó⁴ ‘we are many’.

Combinations of noun with pééntë(w)⁴ are treated tonally as N-Adj phrases, rather than as phrases with noun plus numeral or noun plus free quantifier (‘all’, ‘a little’, etc.). That is, the noun spreads its initial tone rightward to the word boundary by Tone Leveling, and pééntë(w)⁴ has HL-toned form which is compatible with Tone Leveling in N-Adj1 strings and in N-N compounds.

(325) melody noun ‘many/much …’ gloss

a. /H/ kong dó kong dó pééntë(w)⁴ ‘dog’
/H/ yúwò yúwò pééntë(w)⁴ ‘fish’
/HL/ kásò kásò pééntë(w)⁴ ‘jail’

b. /L/ yúwò⁴ yúwò⁴ pééntë(w)⁴ ‘woman’
/LHL/ misirí misirí pééntë(w)⁴ ‘mosque’

pééntë(w)⁴ follows other modifying adjectives (326).
(326) yúwó pí’yé-ná pééntè(w)n
fish black-Ppl many
‘many black fish’ (not #yúwó pééntèn píyé-ná)

pééntè(w)n can also be used as an independent NP ‘a lot’ (327a), and as an adverb ‘a lot, greatly’ (327b). Adverbial use is somewhat limited, but cf. §8.4.3.1. When it is semantically possible to add pééntè(w)n as an NP-internal modifier, this is preferred (327c). In some other contexts, mápnáá ‘well’, i.e. ‘thoroughly’, is preferred as an adverb (327d).

(327) a. Ø nà pééntèn tóró gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg many sell.Pfv Pfv
‘I sold a lot/many.’

b. [yóó-báá]-á'n òà bì-yé pééntèw'n
[sky]-DefSg Lpfv come.Lpfv a.lot
‘It rains a lot.’

c. zàkí [kày'n pééntè'n] tíf'n òà
Z [work(n) much] do.Pfv Pfv
‘Zaki did a lot of work.’

d. á kùmú gà mápnáá
3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv well(adv)
‘He/She slept well (=a lot).’

The noun modified by pééntè(w)n may take a possessor. This tends to force a partitive interpretation (‘many/much of …). In nonsubject positions such as object, pééntè(w)n must be phrased with the possessed noun, showing no outward sign of the partitive-quantifier division (328a). When the relevant NP is subject, the partitive can be set off subtly by allowing plural marking (328b). Partitivity involving a pronoun requires a postposition ‘among’ followed by a resumptive noun ‘person’ (328c).

(328) a. Ø ná [[ǹ náá-àm] pééntèn] tóró gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[1Sg cow-DefSg] many] sell.Pfv Pfv
‘I sold many of my cows.’

b. [[ǹ náá-yè] pééntèn kàlè gà
[[1Sg cow-PI] many die.Pfv Pfv
‘Many of my cows died.’
6.4.2.2 dámá-dámá or dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few’

The logical particle dámá ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1) is the basis for iterative dámá-dámá and diminutive dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few’, though the derivational mechanism is obscure. These quantificational adjectives require a preceding noun, minimally a light noun like fá ‘thing’ or númúⁿ ‘person’. Our speakers rejected combinations with mass nouns (‘sugar’, ‘tea’, ‘meat’).

The noun spreads its initial tone to its right edge, as it does before an H-toned numeral (§6.4.1.2). dámá-dámá and dámá-líyéwⁿ are H-toned. There is no plural suffixation.

(329) noun dámá-dámá dámá-líyéwⁿ gloss
---
jámáa jámáa dámá-dámá jámáa dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few houses’
kóngórò kóngórò dámá-dámá kóngórò dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few dogs’
nàa nàa dámá-dámá nàa dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few cows’
yùwò yùwò dámá-dámá yùwò dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few women’
húmú húmú dámá-dámá húmú dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few people’
dìyèwⁿ diyèn dámá-dámá diyèn dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few children’
fá fá dámá-dámá fá dámá-líyéwⁿ ‘a few things’

6.4.2.3 fá-líyéwⁿ ‘a little’

‘A little (of sth)’ is expressed by adding fá-líyéwⁿ, diminutive of fá ‘thing’, to the noun denoting a substance or other mass. The preceding noun has its regular tonal form, as before other free quantifiers (‘all’ §6.6.1, ‘a certain/some’ §6.3.2.1-2).

(330) noun ‘a little N’ gloss of noun
---
súkóru súkóru fá-líyéwⁿ ‘sugar’
tèè tèè fá-líyéwⁿ ‘tea’
tóó tóó fá-líyéwⁿ ‘meat’
dàrámà dàrámà fá-líyéwⁿ ‘sorghum’
kúwò kúwò fá-líyéwⁿ ‘salt’

See §8.4.3.1 for adverbial functions.
6.5 NP with determiner

When a demonstrative ‘this/that’ or ‘these/those’ is used without a following noun, the forms are those in (331), repeated from §4.4.2 above.

(331) type singular plural

a. deictic (visible) kú kú-yè
b. discourse-definite nàⁿ núng-méé ~ núng-mèè

The following subsections present combinations of demonstratives with nouns. Unlike most modifiers, and even the definite singular suffix, demonstratives precede rather than follow the modified noun. In Dem-N combinations, the demonstrative grows a linker, and plural marking occurs only later in the NP.

6.5.1 Prenominal deictic kù-nù(ⁿ) ~ kú-nù(ⁿ) with tonal effects on noun

Before a modified noun, the visible (deictic) demonstrative is kù-nù (dialect 1) or kú-nù (dialect 2) (§4.4.2), sometimes with final nasalized vowel (ùⁿ). For a given speaker it is invariant in form. When the demonstrative is present, a singular noun is followed by suffix -yà(w)ⁿ (§6.5.3). Plural nouns have their regular plural suffix -yè.

Both tonal variants of the demonstrative itself come with associated tonal effects (or floating tones) which are realized on at least the first one or two moras of a following noun stem. Two dialectal tonal patterns have been observed. In dialect 1, kù-nù is L-toned. An initial L-tone of the following noun is raised to H. If the noun has /L/ melody the H-tone spreads to the end of the noun. If the noun has /LH/ or /LHL/ melody, the added H-tone does not spread all the way to the end, except in prosodically light (Cvv, CvCv) /LH/-melodic stems like ‘daba’ (332a). H-initial nouns undergo no overt change (332b). We can represent this as dialectal variant as kù-nù (+H).

(332) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

a. noun with L-initial melody

/L/ jùù ‘garment’ kù-nù jùú-yàwⁿ kù-nù júú-yè
sùwô ‘sheep’ kù-nù sùwò-yàwⁿ kù-nù sùwò-yè
kòⁿ’sòrò ‘ladle’ kù-nù kòⁿ’sòrò-yàwⁿ kù-nù kòⁿ’sòrò-yè

/LH/ sòmò ‘daba’ kù-nù sòmò-yàwⁿ kù-nù sòmò-yè
túmpânà ‘gourd’ kù-nù túmpânà-yàwⁿ kù-nù túmpânà-yè

/LHL/ nàmáà ‘house’ kù-nù námáà-yàwⁿ kù-nù námáà-yè
pàpórò ‘fishtrap’ kù-nù pàpórò-yàwⁿ kù-nù pàpórò-yè
6.5.2 Discourse-definite ŋú-nù (+H) ~ ŋó-nù (+H) preceding noun

The prenominal form of the discourse-definite demonstrative (§4.4.2.1) has dialectal variants ŋú-nù (+H) and ŋó-nù (+H). The final ŋ is sometimes nasalized (-nù⁺).

For the dialect 1 speaker who has deictic kù-nù (+H) (preceding subsection), the discourse-definite form is ŋú-nù (+H). As with kù-nù (+H), an initial L-tone is raised to H, it spreads to the end of /L/-melodic nouns (334a), and there is no change in H-initial nouns (334b).
(334) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. noun with L-initial melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /L/ jùù ‘garment’             | jú-nù júú-yàw
| /L/ sùwó ‘sheep’              | jú-nù sùwó-yàw
| /L/ kì’sòrò ‘ladle’            | jú-nù kì’sòrò-yàw
| /LH/ sòmò ‘daba’               | jú-nù sòmò-yàw
| /LH/ tùmpànà ‘gourd’           | jú-nù tùmpànà-yàw
| /LHL/ nàmáà ‘house’            | jú-nù nàmáà-yàw
| /LHL/ pàpòrò ‘fishtrap’        | jú-nù pàpòrò-yàw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. noun with H-initial melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /H/ sùwó ‘goat’               | jú-nù sùwó-yàw
| /HL/ kòngòrò ‘dog’             | jú-nù kòngòrò-yàw

For the dialect 2 speaker who has deictic kú-nù (+tones), the discourse-definite form is nò-nì ~ nò-nù(+) (+H). Unlike kú-nù, nò-nì does not drop a following H-tone to L (335b). It does raise a following L-tone to H (335a).

(335) melody noun (X) gloss ‘this/that X’ ‘these/those Xs’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. noun with L-initial melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /L/ jùù ‘garment’             | jò-nù júú-yàw
| /L/ sùwó ‘sheep’              | jò-nù sùwó-yàw
| /L/ kì’sòrò ‘ladle’            | jò-nù kì’sòrò-yàw
| /LH/ sòmò ‘daba’               | jò-nù sòmò-yàw
| /LH/ tùmpànà ‘gourd’           | jò-nù tùmpànà-yàw
| /LHL/ nàmáà ‘house’            | jò-nù nàmáà-yàw
| /LHL/ pàpòrò ‘fishtrap’        | jò-nù pàpòrò-yàw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. noun with H-initial melody</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /H/ sùwó ‘goat’               | jò-nù sùwó-yàw
| /HL/ kòngòrò ‘dog’             | jò-nù kòngòrò-yàw

nù-méé ~ nù-mèè is morphologically a variant plural of nùmùn ‘person’, but it functions as a discourse-definite demonstrative, resuming an already introduced plural discourse referent. An example is 2021-01 @ 08:37, where ‘old people of the past’ is introduced, then after a brief pause is immediately resumed as nù-méé as possessor of ‘manner’. In 2021-03 there are several occurrences of nù-méé resuming lists of fish spp. (@ 00:29, 00:46, 00:49, 01:28, 01:34, 02:14, 02:30, 03:04, 03:19, 03:26); then the same nù-méé resumes a list of rice cultivars (~ 07:12). These

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examples show that ɲú-méén—ɲú-méè can apply to nonhumans and inanimates as well as to humans.

6.5.3 Definite singular -yàwⁿ and variants

Definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ can be added to singular nouns and N-Adj combinations, but not (at least overtly) to their plural counterparts (which end in plural suffix -yè or allomorph). Final Tone-Raising is triggered by the suffix if the stem ends in L-tone: süwò ‘sheep-Sg’, definite süwò-yàwⁿ.

The best way to hear the full form of the suffix is to elicit a form of the noun with a possessor, or better yet a prenominal demonstrative.

(336)  

a. kù-nù süwò-yàwⁿ  
   Dem-Link goat-DefSg  
   ‘this/that (deictic) goat’

b. ɲú-nù süwò-yàwⁿ  
   Dem-Link goat-DefSg  
   ‘that (afore-mentioned) goat’

c. sèédù süwò-yàwⁿ  
   S goat-DefSg  
   ‘Seydou’s goat’

d. ɬ süwò-yàwⁿ  
   1Sg goat-DefSg  
   ‘my goat’

In the absence of a demonstrative or possessor, whether -yàwⁿ is structurally present or absent is sometimes difficult to determine. This is because, as detailed in §4.4.2, -yàwⁿ is reduced phonetically, sometimes almost to zero, except before a pause. Since nouns do not occur prepausally in sentences, the effect is that the full form of the suffix occurs only in citation forms and in sentence fragments.

However, there are some restrictions on the use of the DefSg suffix. An alienably possessed noun like ‘goat’ has definite marking in (337a). So does a possessed partonym like ‘foot’ in (337b). By contrast, a kin term like ‘father’ does not allow definite marking. (337c) is correct, while (337d) is rejected as ungrammatical.
(337) a. [ŋ̀ súwó-(ò)m] bé gà
    [1Sg goat-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
    ‘My goat came.’

b. [ǹ tábà-yà₃] ṣá ã diyè
    [1Sg foot-DefSg] Ipfv 1Sg hurt.Ipfv
    ‘My foot hurts me.’

c. [ŋ̀ ká] bé gà
    [1Sg father] come.Pfv Pfv
    ‘My father came.’

d. #[ŋ̀ ká-(à)m] bé gà
    #[1Sg father-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv
    intended: =(c).’

Likewise, ‘name’ does not require -yà₃ even though it is normally possessed. Thus án túbé ‘your-Sg name’ by itself functions as the question ‘(what is) your name?’. Definite án túbé-yà₃ requires an unusual context, such as when the interlocutor has refused to give his/her name the first time.

Definite “singular” -yà₃ can be added to a N-Num phrase, which of course is not semantically singular. This occurs when the N-Num has previously been introduced and is now discourse-definite ‘the (same) three nights (mentioned before)’ (338). Plural -yè is not added (redundantly) to numerals, which therefore avoid plural morphology.

(338) áá gà ɲɔ́nɔ́mí, [gùú sigé₃-yà₃]
    2Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv, [night three-DefSg]
    ‘(The wedding lasts three days …) You-Pl dance the three nights.’ (2021-01 @ 10:30)

The fact that -yà₃ can be added to a nonsingular numeral adds possible credence to the hypothesis that plural -yè might be, at least diachronically, the conflation of simple -yè and definite plural *-yà₃-yè. However, synchronically it is not possible to derive -yè from /-yà₃-yè/.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 ‘All’ (sáá₃)

The basic universal quantifier is sáá₃. It can follow a pronominal clitic (ír° sáá₃ ‘all of us’, áá sáá₃ ‘all of you’, è sáá₃ ‘all of them’, à sáá₃ ‘all of it’). It can follow a noun, or an NP including modifiers. It can be used by itself as a noun meaning ‘everyone’, distinct from è sáá₃ ‘all of them’.

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sááⁿ is subject to subphonemic downstep after an H-tone (not indicated in our transcription) as well as the usual prepausal pitch-dropping.

‘All (of) the Xs’ where X is a countable common noun requires the plural suffix -yë or allomorph. This is interpreted as definite plural. sááⁿ itself cannot take the plural suffix -yë. ‘All (of) the X’ where X is a mass noun requires the definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ. For distributive ‘each X’ see the following subsection.

For the phonetic realization of definite singular -yàwⁿ see §4.4.2. Examples are in (339a), followed by examples with plural suffixes in (339b).

(339) melody noun X gloss ‘all the X(s)’

a. mass nouns
/L/ kòntôrá ‘sorghum’ kòntôrá-n sááⁿ
kùwô ‘salt’ kùwô-n sááⁿ
tiyè ‘field’ tiyè-n sááⁿ

/H/
/súwô ‘milk’ súwô-n sááⁿ
/píń ‘millet’ píń-n sááⁿ

/LHL/ dárámà ‘sorghum’ dárámè-n sááⁿ

b. plurals
yiyèm-béé ‘women’ yiyèm-béé sááⁿ
siyé-yè ‘horses’ siyé-yè sááⁿ
kòrò-yè ‘stones’ kòrò-yè sááⁿ

Examples including sááⁿ are in (340).

(340) a. à [súwô-n sááⁿ] mèn ṇá
3Sg [milk all] drink.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She drank all the milk.’

b. à yè [jì ȶàmáá-yè sáán] tórò gà
3Sg Sbj/Obj [3RefIg house-Pl all] sell.Pfv Pfv
‘He sold all of his houses.’

c. à gà bé [ií-n sááⁿ] wàà
3Sg Ipfv Fut [1Pl all] kill.Pfv
‘He/She will kill us all.’
'Everything' is à sááⁿ with 3Sg pronominal possessor in partitive function, equivalent to 'all of it' (341a). 'Everyone' is simple sááⁿ (341b).

(341) a. à yà = [à sááⁿ] diýá gà
3Sg Sbj/Obj [3Sg all] eat.Pfv Pfv
'He/She ate everything.'

b. sááᵐ bé gà
all come.Pfv Pfv
'Everyone has come.'

6.6.2 ì-kóòŋ-kóòⁿ sááⁿ ‘each’, ‘every one of’

sááⁿ can also function as distributive ‘each’ (or for a set of two, ‘both’). In this case the noun is not morphologically pluralized, and may be replaced by 3Sg à. Distributive sense is clearest when the NP with sááⁿ is paired with another quantified or possessed NP. In (342b), ‘child’ is singular in form and is coindexed distributively with the possessor of ‘father’.

[woman Link-one-Link-one all] come.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflSg husband] Inst]
'Each woman (=every one of the women) brought her husband.'

[child Link-one-Link-one all] come.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflSg father] Inst]
'Each child (=every one of the children) brought his/her father.'

c. [à sááⁿ] yè [í] hágè] nì
[3Sg all] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is
'Each one has its (respective) capacity.' (2021-03 @ 20:22; big versus small boats)
6.6.3 màⁿ sóáⁿ (sí) ‘whoever, anyone’

màⁿ sóáⁿ ‘anyone’ or its extension màⁿ sóáⁿ sí ‘anyone’ is a specialized form that can occur in the absence of any other noun or pronoun. The referent may be anything from human to inanimate. màⁿ is a frozen relative marker (‘one who …’). In the combination màⁿ sóáⁿ, the nasality of the first vowel may be omitted (mà sóáⁿ).

(343) [màⁿ sóáⁿ (sí)] nà bé, án nà ñí kèêⁿ
[Rel all (any)] if.Pfv come.Pfv, 2Sg Sbjn 1Sg call.Pfv
‘If anyone comes, call me!’ (< kèêⁿ/kèê-nì ‘call’)

6.6.4 Quantifiers with negation

Clausal negation scopes over a universal quantifier.

(344) ní tè [bíyën sóánn] diyá
1Sg PfvNeg [egg all] eat.Pfv
‘I didn’t eat all the eggs.’

‘Nothing’ can be expressed as mildly emphatic fóy (345a). Indefinite ‘anything (at all)’ can be expressed as fá màⁿ sóáⁿ or dialectally sù màⁿ sóáⁿ, both of which have expanded variants with màⁿ sóáⁿ sí ‘anything’.

(345) a. ní tè fóy diyá
1Sg PfvNeg nothing eat.Pfv
‘I haven’t eaten anything.’

b. án nàⁿ [fá màn sóánn] diyá
2Sg if.Pfv [thing Rel all] eat.Pfv,
áñ ñá gòpò
gòpò
2Sg Ipfv sicken.Ipfv
‘If you-Sg eat anything, you will be sick.’

c. sèédù [fàñ kíyên] diyá gà,
3Sg [thing a.certain] eat.Pfv Pfv,
ñò-wò yà = à gòpò-nfà ñà
Dem.Def-Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg sicken-Caus.Pfv Pfv
‘Seydou ate something. That [focus] is what made him sick.’
sí ‘any’ or its short variant -sí is added to other nouns under the scope of negation (346a). The noun can be morphologically pluralized in partitive function (346b). Subjects can combine with sí just like NPs in any other function (346c-d).

(346) a. ñ té [nàmáà sí] tóró
   1Sg PfvNeg [house any] sell.Pfv
   ‘I haven’t sold any houses.’

   b. ñ té [[kù-nù námáà-yè] sí] tóró
   1Sg PfvNeg [[Dem house-Pl] any] sell.Pfv
   ‘I haven’t sold any of these houses.’

   c. [nàmáà sí] tè sé
   [house any] PfvNeg fall.Pfv
   ‘No house fell.’

   d. númú-sí tá só
   person-any IpfvNeg go.Pfv
   ‘Nobody will go.’

6.7 Accusative (absent)

There is no accusative marking on direct object NPs. Since transitive clauses are S-infl-O-V-X, with both subject and object slots obligatorily filled, there is rarely any difficulty in identifying the object. The exception would be when the inflection slot is empty (perfective positive clauses without the bidirectional case marker) and when the S-O sequence could plausibly be (mis-)parsed as possessor-possessum.
7 Coordination

7.1 Conjunction

7.1.1 X(,) (síñì ~ sáñì) Y

Two NP conjuncts are linked by síñì ~ sáñì ‘and’. The choice between the two variants is subdialectal. The final syllable is raised to H before an L-tone by regular tone sandhi.

(347) a. kéewú(,) síñì yùwòⁿ
   man(,) and woman
   ‘a man(,) and a woman’

   b. dìgèⁿ(,) síñì wày
   yesterday(,) and today
   ‘yesterday(,) and today’

   c. bôⁿ(,) sáñì kwíí-tàà
   here(,) and over.there
   ‘here(,) and (over) there’

   d. sùwɔ̀(,) sáñì súwó
   sheep(,) and cow
   ‘a sheep(,) and a goat’

This conjunction permits but does not require a seamless prosody. The left conjunct can be uttered as a regular NP or as an independent pronoun, followed by a pause or other terminal prosodic marking. Then síñì ~ sáñì and the right conjunct can be uttered. In other words, síñì ~ sáñì and its complement can be additive.

In this afterthought-like additive construction, the first NP may be produced, then a prosodic break is followed by a conjoined NP consisting of a resumptive third person pronoun (referring back to the first NP) and the second conjunct: “X, he/she, and Y”. An example is ‘Bozo woman, she and her benefit (=earnings)’ in 2021-01 @ 05:55 to 06:02.

For conjoined NPs as heads of relative clauses, see §14.2.2.
7.1.2  yè ‘and’, and composite numerals, and yèⁿ ‘in addition’

yèⁿ is the productive ‘and’ conjunction in Cliffs. yèⁿ(’) ‘and’ is much less common in J-S of Djenné, where sînī ~ sānī is the usual ‘and’ conjunction. However, there are morphological constructions where yèⁿ(’) or a reduced variant regularly occurs as a conjunctive linker between two elements.

The most systematic use of -yèⁿ(’) - is in composite numerals (§4.6.1.4). In odd-numbered decimal terms like ‘50’ (expressed as ’40 plus 10’), -yèⁿ(’) or a phonetically reduced variant intervenes between the two elements. The combinations are pronounced seamlessly as single words (348).

(348) a. dèbè-y-cémî ~ dèbè-è-cémî  ‘50’  dèbè ‘40’, cémî ‘10’
    b. tàànûmá-sígé-èn-cémî  ‘70’  tàànûmá-sígêⁿ ‘60’

Combinations of decimal terms and single digits also show traces of -yèⁿ(’), often reduced to minor vocalic modifications (349).

(349) a. cémè-è-kóòⁿ ~ cémè-è-kóôⁿ  ‘11’  cémî ‘10’, kóôⁿ ‘1’
    b. dèbè-è-kóôⁿ  ‘41’  dèbè ‘40’

In several of these composite numerals (but not in ‘70’), there is no surviving trace of the nasality in *yèⁿ. Indeed, the occurrences of this morpheme outside of numeral phrases have unasalized yè. It occurs in certain tightly-knit parallelistic (including iterative) constructions.

(350) a. [à bòròⁿ]  yá = [à miyé-gù]  
    [3Sg big]  and  [3Sg small-Adj]
    ‘big (ones) and small (ones) of it’
    (2021-03 @ 17:54)

b. póⁿ  ná [mùwɔ júgú-sířá sířá]  yè [sířá sířá]  lûwò  nì  
    Dem.Def Ipfv [which? tree-kind any]  and  [kind any]  Foc.Pl  it.is  
    ‘That is (=means) which kinds of tree?’ (2021-03 @ 19:47)

Asked if yè could be used in contexts like yìyèm-bèé yè këégû-yè ‘women and men’, a speaker grudgingly allowed the possibility (likely from having heard it in other J-S varieties), but strongly preferred sàni ‘and’. An obvious obstacle for widespread use of yè ‘and’ is the risk of confusion with plural suffix -yè on the left conjunct. This is artfully dodged in the ‘women and men’ example by positioning the irregular plural ‘women’ as left conjunct.

yè does occur in ‘your-Sg name and your-Sg clan name’ (2021-01 @ 13:42), where no confusion with plurals is possible. Another example is ‘shortage of water and shortage of rain’ (2021-03 @ 05:27). Another is ‘big ones and small ones’ of the same category (2021-03 @ 17:54)
and 20:17). In such examples the two conjoined nouns have overlapping or complementary reference, as opposed to two randomly conjoined individuals. The data show that yè is still a viable ‘and’ conjunction in some subdialects under such limited conditions.

Archaic nasalized yèⁿ has been heard in fixed phrases with distributive spatiotemporal sense, like wááti yèⁿ wááti ‘from time to time’, (305a) in §6.3.2.5. yèⁿ is also the source of yèⁿ ‘in addition, …’, which occasionally precedes an conjunct added as an afterthought. For the superimposed falling pitch of prepausal yèⁿ see §3.7.

(351) sìyègó-yàwⁿ, sàsⁿ-yàwⁿ, áⁿ já= à fàámù ñà= à, Alestes, Hydrocynus, 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q, yèⁿ, búmún-dé-méé, yòróñɔ-yè
and, juvenile.Lates-child-Pl, adult.Lates-Pl
‘Alestes, Hydrocynus forskalii. Did you-Sg understand it? Along with young and full-grown Lates.’ (2021-01 @ 02:17)

7.1.3 Three or more conjuncts

It is possible to conjoin three or more NPs. The conjunction sìní ~ sáñi occurs before the final conjunct (352a) and optionally also before medial conjuncts (352b).

(352) a. ñ-dúwɔ ~ (,) án-dúwɔ ~ (,) [sìní = è-dúwɔ]
   1Sg-Indep(,) 2Sg-Indep] [and 3Pl-Indep]
   ‘me, you-Sg, and them’

b. yùwɔ-méé [sìní kéewù-yè] [sìní dyé-né-méé]
   woman-Pl [and man-Pl] [and child-Pl]
   ‘women, men, and children’

However, triple and longer conjunctions are more often expressed as lists (enumerations) with their distinctive prosody (§7.1.9). In (352b) one can use this prosody for the first conjunct as an alternative to following it with sìní.

7.1.4 Pronouns as conjuncts

In elicitation, pronouns take independent form as right conjunct, and either proclitic or independent form as left conjunct. No strong preferences for the relative ordering of two conjoined pronouns have been observed. In conjunctions of a pronoun with a nonpronominal NP, either order is
possible, except that combinations like ‘you and your father’ involving a possessed NP tend to be asymmetrical.

(353) a. án-dùwò sìnì ñ-dùwò
   2Sg-Indep and 1Sg-Indep
   ‘you-Sg and me’ (interchangeable with ñ-dùwò síná = án-dùwò)

b. án sànì ñ-dùwò
   2Sg and 1Sg-Indep
   [= (a)]

c. ñ sàná = à-dùwò
   1Sg and 3Sg-Indep
   ‘I and he/she/it’

d. sëédù sínà = án-dùwò
   S and 2Sg-Indep
   ‘Seydou and you-Sg’ (interchangeable with án-dùwò sínì sëédù)

In texts, a discourse-definite referent may be expressed by the proclitic 3Sg form à as left conjunct when a new referent is introduced as right conjunct.

(354) [nó-ná pápóló mà-réé] gà dó-rá = á-ý yáw°,
   [Dem.Def basket.fishtrap Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.set.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc there.Def,
   à sínì [sááw-pápóló-yè] gà kóò ní ñà
   3Sg and [now-basket.fishtrap] be one it.is Q
   ‘Those basket fishtDraps that were (formerly) set in it there, was it (=were they) the same as basket fishtDraps of today?’ (2021-03 @ 03:21)

7.1.5 Reflexive possessor in right conjunct

If the NP serving as left conjunct denotes a single individual other than the current speaker or addressee, it binds a third-person reflexive pronominal possessor (§18.1.4) in the right conjunct. The order of the two conjuncts cannot be inverted (355a-b). By contrast, 1st/2nd person pronouns can co-occur with coindexed possessors in either order (355c).

(355) a. sëédù sínì [ţi kà]
   S and [3ReflSg father]
   ‘Seydou, and his father’
b. dyé-nè-méé sánè = [é nāⁿ-yè]  
child-Pl and [3ReflPl mother-Pl]  
‘the children and their mothers’

c. [ŋ̀ ká] sínì n-dúwò  
[1Sg father] and 1Sg-Indep  
‘my father and I’ (interchangeable with n-dúwò sínì [ŋ̀ ká])

This construction occurs several times in the recordings to express the sense ‘each X has its own Y’. There is no verb in this construction (compare the Spanish dictum en cada tierra su uso ‘in each land its customs’, also verbless). For example, different fish species are caught with customized traps or nets. An example is (356).

(356) dègé [à sánì [ŋ̀ dègé-sòó wò] nì]  
{Brycinus} [3Sg and [3ReflSg Brycinus-net Foc] it.is]  
‘Brycinus leucotis (a small oily fish), (it has) its (own) Brycinus-net.’  
(2021-03 @ 00:59)

There is a textual attestation of this construction with archaic yè ‘and’ (357).

(357) [à sā‟n] yè [ŋ hágè] nì  
[3Sg all] and [3ReflSg extent] it.is  
‘Each one (two types of boat) (has) its (respective) capacity.’  (2021-03 @ 20:22)

In the recording this is quickly followed by a repeat with sánì instead of yè (2021-03 @ 20:26). But the speaker again uses yè in the same context @ 20:57.

While ‘[X and [itsx Y]]’ is expressed with 3Refl possessor, ‘[[X’s Y] and [itsx Z]]’ is expressed with a regular (nonreflexive) 3Sg pronominial (358). Only the head of the left conjunct can function as antecedent for the reflexive possessor in the right conjunct.

(358) [[hú mēⁿ] báàná-yè] sínì [à sááwú-báàná-yè]  
[[thing Rel] manner-Pl] and [3Sg now-manner-Pl]  
‘the manners of which and its manners nowadays’ (2021-01 @ 09:27)

7.1.6 ‘X and Y’ with a broad-scope modifier

The basic principle is that both conjuncts in a conjoined NP must be complete.
When a modifier (possessor, adjective, determiner, numeral) has scope over both conjuncts, the modifier is repeated. In (359), the repeated modifier is bolded in the interlinear. It is a possessor in (359a-b), an adjective in (359c), a demonstrative in (359d), and a numeral in (359e). Omission of the repeated modifier results in ungrammaticality (or in a distinct narrow-scope reading). Free English translations show optional “conjunction reduction” (except with numerals).

(359) a. ā yè [ți súwó-yè] sání [ți súwó-yè] tóró gà
    3Sg Sbj/Obj [[3ReflSg sheep-Pl] and [3ReflSg goat-Pl]] sell.Pfv Pfv
    ‘He sold his sheep and (his) goats.’

b. ē yè= [è súwó-yè] sánè= [è súwó-yè] tóró gà
    3Pl Sbj/Obj [[3ReflPI sheep-Pl] and [3ReflPI goat-Pl]] sell.Pfv Pfv
    ‘They sold their sheep and (their) goats.’

c. ń nà [súwó kéémíné] sání [súwó kéémíné] sà’ ná
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[goat old] and [sheep old]] buy.Pfv Pfv
    ‘I bought an old goat and (an old) sheep.’

d. [kú-nú súwó-yè] sání [kú-nú súwó-yè]
    [Dem sheep-Pl] and [Dem goat-Pl]
    ‘these sheep and (these) goats’

e. [súwó péndé] sání [súwó péné]
    [sheep two] and [goat two]
    ‘two sheep and two goats’

The universal quantifier ‘all’ may occur after the entire NP with inclusive scope (360). Speakers disapproved of a variant with sáá’ ‘all’ repeated after each conjunct. This is consistent with the phrase-final summarizing function of sáá’.

(360) [yùwó-méé sínì kééwú-yè sáám] bé gà
    [[woman-Pl and man-Pl] all] come.Pfv
    ‘All the women and men came.’
7.1.7 ‘X and Y’ with a shared postposition

A single postposition with abstract (nonspatial) sense, such as instrumental and dative, can readily take an entire conjoined NP as its complement (361a-b). Speakers disapprove of versions where the postposition is repeated.

(361) a. à bé gà [[sùwò sìnì sùwó] ní]
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [[sheep and goat] Inst]
   ‘He brought a sheep and a goat.’

    b. Ø ná = à sé gà
       1Sg Pfvs.1Sg 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv
       [[[ñà ká] sínà = [án ká]] tè]
       [[[1Sg father] and [2Sg father]] Dat]
   ‘I said it to my father and (to) your father.’

When the PPs are spatial, the spatial element (postposition or locative suffix) is marked separately for each conjunct.

(362) ñà bér só nògí-ý sání sóŋá-ý
    1Pl lpfv Fut go.Pfv village-Loc and the.bush-Loc
   ‘We are going to the village and out to the bush.’

7.1.8 Conjunctions under the scope of negation

Unlike English, a conjunction has scope over negation. J-S of Djenné (363) is literally “I don’t like [couscous and cowpea].” It doesn’t mean that I dislike the combination. It means that I don’t like couscous and also I don’t like cowpeas. In other words, the conjunction scopes over the negation. Note ‘or’ rather than ‘and’ in the free translation.

(363) ñà tá [bási sínì sàfúlá] fùwó
    1Sg lpfvNeg [couscous and cowpea] like.lpfv
   ‘I don’t like (either) couscous or cowpeas.’

7.1.9 Lists (incompleteness intonation)

In extended lists, no unusual intonation or prolongation on the nonfinal items was observed in elicitation. The final item has lower than normal pitch if it is monotonal.
The things that we cultivate (as grain), it is: millet, sorghum, rice, maize, (and) fonio.'

7.1.10 “Conjunction” of verbs, VPs, and clauses

Verbs, VPs, and clauses cannot be conjoined by yè. See chapter 15 for various mechanisms to combine VPs and clauses.

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 ‘Or’ (wáràmà and variants)

When the two elements to be disjoined are constituents (NP, PP, adverb), a complete clause is usually uttered with the first disjunct, and this is followed by a separate ‘or’ phrase beginning with wáràmà (variants wárimà, wárámà).

(365) a. [sùwó bònò kúlè] [wárimà súwó]
    [sheep neck cut.Pfv] [or goat]
    ‘Slaughter-2Sg a sheep, or a goat!’

    b. [Ø ñà bé káy” wày] [wárimà ñàànù]
    [1Sg Ipfv Fut work.Pfv today] [or tomorrow]
    ‘I will work today, or tomorrow.’

    c. [[[ŋ ká] wáràmà = [áŋ kà]], ñááŋ-kóøŋ kám [bé sò]
     [[[1Sg father] or [2Sg father]], person-one should [Seq go.Pfv]
     ‘My father or your father, one (of them) should go.’
Example (365a) is best analysed as ‘Cut the neck of a sheep, or (cut the neck of) a goat’ with the second clause pruned. (365b) is likewise ‘I will work today, or (I will work) tomorrow.’ (365c) begins with a disjunctive topicalized NP that is then resumed by ‘one person’ (= ‘someone’) in the clause proper.

Two imperative clauses cannot be combined as a disjunction. Instead, only the first clause is imperative in form (i.e. with a Pfv verb). The second clause is subjunctive.

(366) [ñ tógòni] [wárámà = āⁿ ná só]
    [1Sg pay.Pfv] [or 2Sg Sbjn go.Pfv]
‘Pay me, or go!’

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

7.2.2 Interrogative ‘X or Y?’

Two competing propositions that are proposed to the addressee as an ‘X or Y?’ question may simply be juxtaposed without a disjunctive (‘or’) particle. The first clause has polar-interrogative form with clause-final rà or variant, and the second clause expressing the alternative proposition usually takes simple declarative form. An example is (367).

(367) [[ā ŋ-kóɔⁿ] sááwù rà], [ā tà ŋ-kóɔⁿ]
    [[3Sg Link-one] now Q], [3Sg not.be Link-one]
‘Is it the same now? (Or) it isn’t the same?’ (2021-01 @ 08:52)

2021-01 @ 13:11 is one of several additional textual examples.

7.2.2.1 ‘X? or Y?’ (nà→)

An interrogative posing a choice between two constituents can be phrased as a content interrogative (e.g. ‘who?’) clause, followed by the two options in conjunction form, completed with nà→ (intonationally prolonged) (368). This is distinct from the usual clause-final rà polar interrogative particle, which nasalizes to nà only after a nasal syllable and which is not normally prolonged.

(368) wùláá gà bê só, ŋ-duwò sáíí án-duwó nà→
    who lPfv Fut go.Pfv, 1Sg-Indep and 2Sg whether?
‘Who will go, between me and you-Sg?’
An alternative is to separately phrase the first disjunct including an interrogative particle, with the second then added on as an ‘or’ phrase.

(369) wùláá gà bé sò, ǹ-dúwò rà, wáràmà = án-dúwò  
    who  lpfv  Fut  go.Pfv,  1Sg-Indep  Q,  or  2Sg  
    ‘Who will go? Me? Or you-Sg?’

7.2.2.2 ‘X or Y?’ (ńtàà)

ńtàà ‘or’ can occur at the beginning of the second of two alternative propositions that function together as an ‘X or Y?’ question. See §13.2.1.8 for details and examples.

7.2.3 Clause-final yà

In one somewhat broken textual passage, clause-final yà arguably means ‘or’ (2021-01 @ 07:26).
8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Dative, instrumental, and comitative

8.1.1 Dative

There are two dative postpositions, tè with verbs of speaking and nà with ditransitives. Both also occur in comparative constructions (‘than X’). Overall nà tends toward benefactive sense while tè does not.

8.1.1.1 Dative tè with ‘say’

A postverbal PP with dative postposition tè is regularly used for the indirect object of ‘say’. This applies to the regular verb sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’ (370a-b) and to the pre-quotative yé (or variant) ‘said “…” ’ (370c). The 1Sg combination is ñ tè.

(370) a. sèédù (yé) múwɔ sé gà = [án tè]
   S (Sbj/Obj) what? say.Pfv Pfv [2Sg Dat]
   ‘What did Seydou say to you-Sg?’

   b. ám múwɔ sé gà [sèédù tè]
   2Sg what? say.Pfv Pfv [S Dat]
   ‘What did you-Sg say to Seydou?’

   c. ì ñé ñòñò [fînён-én tè] / yòrògò-(o)ñì tè
   1Sg said uh.huh [Fulbe-DefSg Dat] / cat-DefSg Dat
   ‘I said yes to the Fulbe person/to the cat.’ (< fînàa”)

In (370b), LHL-toned name sèédù becomes LLH-toned by Rightward H-Tone Shift. yòrògò ‘cat’ avoids this since it has DefSg -yåw".

When tè is followed immediately by other words, it is subject to Final Tone-Raising which raises it to té.

(371) zàkì gà bà = à sá = [à té] wày
   Z Ipv Fut 3Sg say.Pfv [3Sg Dat] today
   ‘Zaki will say it to him/her today.’
tè is not used with ditransitives like ‘give’ (see the following subsection). Other examples that do have tè are in (372). Note that (372b) has one PP with each of the two dative postpositions.

(372) a. [m̀ pààn] tá [sèèdù tè]
    3ReflSg  care(n)  not.be.Loc  [S  Dat]
‘He/She doesn’t care about Seydou.’

b. à kwá gà [nì nà] [ài tè]
    3Sg  help.Pfv  Pfv  [1Sg  Dat]  [God  Dat]
‘He/She helped me for God (i.e. without expecting recompense)’

c. à ̀ ñ dè³n [nì tè]
    3Sg  3ReflSg  be.sweet  [1Sg  Dat]
‘It pleases me.’

tè also occurs after kásà-mà ‘coincide (with)’ (§12.2.2).

8.1.1.2 Dative nà with ditransitives

There are two ‘give’ constructions (11.1.2.3). One is of the structural type [X furnish/provide Z [with Y]] where the recipient is direct object and the theme is a postverbal instrumental phrase (373a). The other is of the type [X give Y [to Z]] with preverbal direct object (theme) and postverbal dative recipient. In the second construction, the dative postposition is nà (373b). The same construction is used with ‘show’ (373c).

(373) a. Ø nà sèèdù kó gà [nàà nì]
    1Sg  Pfv.1Sg  S  furnish.Pfv  Pfv  [cow  Inst]
‘I gave Seydou a cow.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with a cow.’)

b. Ø ná nàà dò gà [sèèdù nà]
    1Sg  Pfv.1Sg  cow  give.Pfv  Pfv  [S  Dat]
‘I gave a cow to Seydou.’

c. Ø ná nàá gàsí gà [sèèdù nà]
    1Sg  Pfv.1Sg  cow  show.Pfv  Pfv  [S  Dat]
‘I showed a cow to Seydou.’

The 1Sg form is ná. LHL-toned nouns like the personal name sèèdù undergo Rightward Tone-Shift before nà (e.g. sèèdù nà).
nà should not be confused with the spatial postposition nàâ“ ‘between, among, in the midst of’ (§8.2.6.1).

8.1.1.3 Choice between tè and nà

An interesting contrast between the two dative morphemes is observed in (374a-b). Both have dò as the verb, presumably ‘give’, though dò can also mean ‘enter’ or ‘wear (garment)’. (374a) has a cooperative context like that in ordinary ‘give’ clauses, and has the nà dative that is usual in those clauses. (374a) has a more adversarial context and has tè.

(374) a. [àn tégé] dò [nà]
   [2Sg forehead] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘Give me your forehead!’ (i.e. ‘Face me!’ or ‘Look at me!’)

   b. [àn kòtò] dò [té]
   [2Sg back] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘Give me your back!’ (i.e. ‘Turn your back to me!’ or ‘Look away from me!’)

Also of interest is the use of both nà and tè in the sense ‘than’. Each occurs in specific comparative clause types (§12.1.1.1, §12.1.2).

8.1.2 Instrumental and comitative

8.1.2.1 Instrumental (ní)

ní, which occurs in postverbal instrumental PPs, can be confused with the ‘it is’ morpheme ní. The latter occurs in simple identificational predicates of the subjectless type X ní ‘it’s (an) X’ or the fuller version with subject Y gà [X ní] ‘Y is (an) X’ (§11.2.2.1). This is because both instrumental and ‘it is’ morphemes usually occur at the end of clauses, where H-tones are not reliably high-pitched. However, instrumental ní does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone (§3.6.4.4.4).

Instrumental ní should also not be confused with postposition n(w)ní“ ‘in, inside’, although the latter is also often pronounced slackly.

The 1Sg instrumental PP is ń ní, often realized as ń nì or (clause-finally) leveled to mid pitch.

Examples of instrumental ní are in (375). ‘Cultivate’ and ‘cook’ verbs are homophones.
(375) a. Ø ɲá sùwó [sòmpùwò ní]
1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [donkey Inst]
‘I do farm work with a donkey.’

b. ín tá kú sùwó [kùwò ní]
1Pl Ipfv Neg Dem cook.Ipfv [salt Inst]
‘We don’t cook that with salt.’

Note that ‘donkey’ and ‘salt’ remain L-toned in (375a-b), even though ní may be pronounced prepausally with low pitch.

More so than other postpositions, instrumental ní combines easily with nouns unmarked for definiteness. Combinations with nouns of various tone melodies are in (376). Tone sandhi is regular with no unexpected lengthening or irregular tone-raising.

(376) melody noun instrumental gloss of noun

a. /L/ vowel-final
dàbà dàbà ní ‘daba (hoe)’
tìgè tìgè ní ‘baggage’
tàbà tàbà ní ‘foot’
dòò dòò ní ‘knife’
nasal-final
tòò ní ‘mat’
tèè ní ‘ax’
semivowel-final
twèè  tôy ní ‘esoteric powers’

b. /H/ dòó dòó ní ‘cotton’
tìyé tìyé ní ‘oil, butter’
búwò ní ‘horn’
dìyéw ní ‘child’

c. contoured melodies ending in L
/L/ bìyèw bìyèw ní ‘egg’
búwò ní ‘mortar’
/LML/ màrifà màrifà ní ‘rifle’
/lalali/ sèdù sèdù ní ‘Seydou’
/HL* / màángòró màángòró ní ‘mango’
d. contoured melodies ending in H
   /LH/ sômô sômô ní ‘daba (hoe)
   /L*H/ tömpànâ tömpànâ ní ‘necked gourd’

The complement of the postposition is very often focalized in positive statements: simple dàbà ní ‘with a daba’, very often focalized as [dàbà wò] ní ‘with a daba [focus]’.

This postposition is used in classic instrumental contexts, in connection with tools or other physical instruments (377a-b) and with abstractions like ‘power, force’ (377c). For other constructions with instrumental PPs see the following subsection.

(377) a. Ø nà kôngôrò-ôj kó gà [kiyè ní]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg dog-DefSg hit.Pfv Pfv [stick Inst]
   ‘I hit-Past the dog with a stick.’ (< kiyè ; kó variant of kwâ)

b. Ø ñá sùwò [dàbà ní]
   1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [daba Inst]
   ‘I cultivate (=do farm work) with a daba (hoe).’

c. è dó gà [sêmpe'n ní]
   3Pl enter.Pfv Pfv [force(n) Inst]
   ‘They entered by force.’

3Sg à ní often resumes a previously introduced NP denoting an object that can be used as an instrument (378).

(378) ñí ná dòò dé gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg knife take.Pfv Pfv
   [bè toó-ôj kúlá = [à ní]
   [Seq meát-DefSg cut.up.Pfv [3Sg Inst]
   ‘I took a knife to cut up the meat with it.’ (< kúlé)

‘With what?’ is mûwô(y) ní or [mûwô fà sí] ní (§13.2.2.3).

8.1.2.2 Instrumental ní in ‘become’, ‘give’, and conveyance constructions

Instrumental PPs occur in the ‘X become/turn into (noun)’ and for some noun-like adjectives the ‘X become/turn (adjective)’ constructions. They can be parsed literally as “X sit [N/Adj Inst]”. Instrumental PPs also occur in corresponding causative constructions ‘Z turn/transform X into [N]’
and ‘Z make/turn X [Adj]’. See §9.4.1 for adjectival predicates and §11.2.4.2 for nominal predicates.

ní is also the postposition for the postverbal theme (transferred entity) of one of the two ‘give’ verbs (compare English furnish X with Y), as well as the theme of conveyance VPs ‘bring’, and ‘take (convey somewhere)’. For ‘give’, see §8.1.1.2 above. For ‘bring’ and ‘take (convey)’ phrased as ‘come [with X]’ and ‘go [with X]’, see §11.1.4.

ní in this construction is often clause-final and heard with low pitch. The evidence that it is H-toned, and therefore identifiable as the instrumental postposition, is again that L-toned nouns like ‘salt’ do not undergo Final Tone-Raising before it (379a), and LHL-toned nouns like ‘Seydou’ do not shift their H-tone rightward (379b). The combination of ní with 1Sg proclitic ŋ̀ is sometimes pronounced with rising-toned ní. It is best brought out by adding an H-toned word bôn ‘here’ (379c).

(379) a. å tè bé [kùwɔ́ ní]
   3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [salt Inst]
   ‘He/She didn’t bring (any) salt.’

   b. å tè bé [sèédu ní]
   3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [S Inst]
   ‘He/She didn’t bring Seydou.’

   c. å tè bé [ń ní]bôn
   3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [1Sg Inst] here
   ‘He/She didn’t bring me here.’

8.1.2.3 pà ‘with’ (comitative and custodial)

This is the only comitative postposition. It expresses association or custody rather than instrumentality.

(380) a. å gá fɔ-rɔ-nɔ [sèédú pá]
   3Sg be sit-Ipfv-Ppl [S Comit]
   ‘He/She is sitting with Seydou.’

   b. ŋ̀ nà wàlèŋ kàlìfà gà [sèédú pá]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg money entrust.Pfv Pfv [S Comit]
   ‘I entrusted the money to (=left it with) Seydou.’
pà occurs in the basic ‘have’ construction, with ‘X have Y’ phrased as ‘Y be [with X]’ (§11.5.1.1). It also occurs in various collocations involving the presence of an affliction or other condition, see (588) and (590) below.

pà occurs in a wide range of contexts involving co-presence with or separation from another entity. Examples are in (381).

(381)  a. à gá [sèém pà]
   3Sg be.Loc [road Comit]
   ‘He/She is on the road.’ (< sèé̂n)

b. tóntô-ó̂ nà [këtë-ëm pà]
   agama-Def be.Loc [wall-DefSg Comit]
   ‘The agama lizard is up on the wall.’

c. ñ ná tàbàà-në-ën dò gá [m pà]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg pants-DefSg wear.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]
   ‘I have put on (=am wearing) pants.’

d. ñ nà bá gá [zàkì pà]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit(v).Pfv Pfv [Z Comit]
   ‘I separated from Zaki.’ (e.g. I moved out of a shared home)

e. [íí̂ hàgìrì] pà
   [1Pl mind] Comit
   ‘in our thinking’ (2021-03 @ 14:43)

f. [íí̂m pà] yáŵn
   [1Pl Comit] there.Def
   ‘there among us (e.g. in our Bozo country)’

g. nènè-ëm pà
   evening-DefSg Comit
   ‘in the evening’
pà is the final part of some complex postpositions that express proximity: [X tèsé] pà ‘beside X’ (§8.2.5.1), [X bààtiyám] pà ‘in the vicinity of’ (§8.2.5.3), [X tégë-tégë] pà ‘in front of X’ (§8.2.7.3), and [X kòtë] pà ‘behind X’ (§8.2.7.4).

A noun pà with a possessor has the sense ‘location, position (of sb/sth)’. It is an archaic alternative to tôó in expressions specifying distance (382).

(382) [è pà] tá ní dáá
[è tôó]
[3Pl position] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.distant
‘They aren’t far away.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 13:27)

pà also occurs in some locutions and compounds. One combination is with nàá” ‘gap, space in between (two things)’, cf. postposition nàá” ‘between, among’ (383).

(383) a. nàám-pà
‘middle (of an object or path)’

b. nàám-pàá-nàá”
‘between-Comit-between
‘intermediate’ (2021-03 @ 00:17)

Another combination of pà is with the numeral ‘one’ (384).

(384) a. pà-[ŋ-kóö]-té
?-[Link-one]-not.be
‘(not) entirely, (not) particularly’ (in negative clause, 2021-03 @ 03:50)

b. à màyn pà-[ŋ-kóö”]
3Sg be.ruined.Pfv Pfv ?-[Link-one]
‘It was completely ruined.’

pà may also be an etymological component of the verb pàŋkàrà ‘rejoin, catch up with’. Cf. perhaps kàrà”/kàrà-nà ‘drive (livestock)’.

8.2 Spatial postpositions

8.2.1 Spatial NPs without postposition

Place names such as names of villages and cities, in other than subject or object position, are assumed to function as locative adverbs. No overt locative marking is present (385a-b).
8.2.2 Locative, allative, and ablative senses

The distinction between (stationary) locative, allative (‘to’), and ablative (‘from’) is not made by PPs, rather by verbs, as in all languages of the zone. Thus the city name ‘Djenné’ (see preceding subsection) can be used without change in any of these three contexts. The same is true of overt PPs (386a), including suffixal locatives (386b-c).

(386) a. Ø ṓá jënnè
1Sg be.Loc S
‘I am in Djenné.’

b. Ø ṓá káynthia bàmàkò
1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv B
‘I work in Bamako.’

c. ŋ nà bá gà [ŋ nógi-ŷ]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit.Pfv Pfv [1Sg village-Loc]
‘I have left (=I come from) my village.’

A textual example of the ablative context is 2021-03 @ 13:11 (“exited where?” meaning ‘came from where?’).  

8.2.3 Suffixal locative -ŷ with nouns and NPs

The locative suffix -ŷ is a postposition that is usually reduced phonologically to a suffix (or enclitic). -ŷ is nasalized after a nasalized vowel or nasal syllable. Some common examples are in (387).
(387) gloss  noun  locative

a. ‘village’ nɔ̀gù nɔ̀gí-ŷ
‘the bush (=outback)’ sọ́ŋ̀s sọ́ŋ̀s-ŷⁿ
‘hand’ súú súú-ŷ
‘field’ tìyè tìyé-ŷ

b. ‘market’ sùbáwⁿ sùbá-ŷⁿ

c. ‘mosque’ misírí misírí-y

-ŷ follows postnominal adjectives and numerals (388a-b). It could not be elicited after plural -yè. It can follow definite singular -yáwⁿ, which contracts with it as -y-è (388c).

(388) a. ŋ̀ ná bë só [nɔ̀gù bóřóⁿ-ŷⁿ]
1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [village big-Loc]
‘I am going to a large village.’

b. zàkí gà káyⁿ [nɔ̀gù péndé-ŷ]
Z Ipfv work.Ipfv [village two-Loc]
‘Zaki works in two villages.’

c. zàkí gà káyⁿ [kù-nù nɔ̀gù-y-è]
Z Ipfv work.Ipfv [Dem village-DefSg-Loc]
‘Zaki works in this village.’

The locative with -ŷ also occurs in some collocations (389).

(389) à ń tāási gà sèédû-ŷ
3Sg 3RefSg think.Pfv Pfv S-loc
‘He/She thought about Seydou.’

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

8.2.4.1 ‘In(side) X’ (nwiⁿ ~ niⁿ)

Location inside a container or other enclosing space (such as a house or vehicle), or in an encompassing mass (like water), is expressed by nwi ~ ni. The first variant with w is typical of

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more careful pronunciation. The source is the noun nwifⁿ ‘interior’, which itself may have originated as the suffixal locative of nùùⁿ ‘belly’.

(390) a. ḱ̥ ná [nàmáà nǐf]
1Sg be.Loc [house inside]
‘I am in the house.’

b. ḱ̥ ná bé nì [jíí nwìffⁿ]
1Sg Ipfv Fut walk.Pfv [water inside]
‘I am going to walk in the water (=wade).’

c. à yé kèrëⁿ yàá gà [[kò̀rò̀n dògì-nè]-ěⁿ nifⁿ]
3Sg SbjObj squirrel put.Pfv Pfv [[shoulderbag]-DefSg inside]
‘He/She put-Past the squirrel in the shoulderbag.’

d. Ø ná bé = é bàmàkà [kàáré nwìffⁿ]
1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv B [bus inside]
‘I will go to Bamako in the bus (=by bus).’ (< bé só)

More abstractly, X n(w)ìffⁿ can mean ‘about, concerning, on the subject of X’, in connection with a verb like ‘know’ or ‘speak’. An example is 2021-01 @ 00:03.

n(w)ìffⁿ requires an overt complement, minimally 3Sg à. It cannot be used adverbially without such a complement.

For compounds of the type [X-niïⁿ]-Y denoting a species of Y defined by a habitat X, e.g. ‘water birds’, see §5.1.4.4.

8.2.4.2  ‘On the torso of’ (kánàà) and other bodily postpositions

The noun kánàà means ‘torso’, referring to the portion of the body over which a shirt or robe is worn (from the shoulders down). It occurs as a compound initial in kánàà-júú ‘boubou’ (a robe or similar outer garment), cf. jùù ‘garment’. kánàà can also mean ‘voice’.

There is a related postposition kánàà meaning ‘on X’ describing the position of a garment worn over the torso, i.e. a garment (shirt or boubou) or a necklace (391a-c). The sense ‘X wear Y (garment, necklace)’ is expressed by the verb dò̥(-rò) ‘wear, put on’ (also ‘enter’ or ‘give’) or sà(-rà) ‘add (sth), put (sth) in addition’, optionally followed by the PP. Complements of third person subjects take reflexive form (391b). The 1Sg form is ḱ̥ kánàà (391a). If the garment instead of the person is subject, it co-occurs with locational ‘be’ (391c).
(391) a. Ø ṉà kánáá-júú dö-ró / sà-rà [í j kánáá]  
1Sg Ipfv boubou wear-Ipfv / add-Ipfv [1Sg on.torso]  
‘I (regularly) wear a boubou (on me).’

b. zàkí gà kánáá-júú dö-ró / sà-rà [í j kánáá]  
Z Ipfv boubou wear-Ipfv / add-Ipfv [3ReflSg on.torso]  
‘Z (regularly) wears a boubou (on him).’

c. kánáá-júú gá = [à j kánáá]  
boubou be.Loc [3Sg on.torso]  
‘A boubou is on him/her.’ (i.e. he/she is wearing a boubou)

A similar construction with dö(-ró) in the sense ‘give’ and the same postposition kánáá can also be used in connection with loans that are to be reimbursed (392) as opposed to outright gifts. The semantic connection is that the loan is (conceptually) hung over the recipient and can be taken off (by repaying the loan).

(392) ñ ñà támú dö gà [zàkí j kánáá]  
1Sg Pfv.1Sg loan(n) give.Pfv Pfv [Z on.torso]  
‘I gave a loan to Zaki.’

For garments worn on the head or feet, the optional PP is based on the body part plus locative -ŷ. While Final Tone-Raising occurs elsewhere in tábá-ŷ ‘on the foot’ and niyèⁿ-ŷⁿ ‘on the head’, in this construction the tones are usually all-L, showing that the forms (nouns plus -ŷ) are in the process of grammaticalization as L-toned complex postpositions: tábá-ŷ (393a), niyèⁿ-ŷⁿ (393b).

(393) a. zàkí kámpón dö gà (ñ tábá-ŷ)  
Z shoes wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg foot-Loc)  
‘Zaki put on shoes (on his feet).’

b. zàkí bàflà dö gà (ñ niyèⁿ-ŷⁿ)  
Z hat wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg head-Loc)  
‘Zaki put on (=wore) a hat (on his head).’

For pants, comitative pà is the optional postposition (394a). For garments that are wrapped on and fastened (women’s wraps, belts, turbans), the verb is sè(-rè) ‘tie’ (394b).

(394) a. zàkí tábàà-nén dö gà (m pà)  
Z pants wear.Pfv Pfv (3ReflSg Comit)  
‘Zaki put on pants.’
b. yùwóⁿ-ôn tàbá-sigéⁿ sè gá
   woman-DefSg wrap(n) tie.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The woman tied on (=wore) a wrap.’

8.2.4.3 X káwⁿ (≈ kâⁿ) ‘chez X’

The postposition káwⁿ ~ kâⁿ can function like French chez, i.e. in the sense ‘at the place (or home) of X’. The complement X denotes humans, or personified animals in tales. X is often phrased as a plural when referring to a dwelling or housing compound with multiple residents, since in some contexts it is culturally inappropriate to specify a single owner. A singular noun such as a personal name can be made into an associative plural for this purpose (395b). However, a singular complement is possible.

(395) a. íņ káwⁿ
    1Pl chez
    ‘at our place’ (chez nous)

b. sèédù-yè káwⁿ
    S-Pl chez
    ‘at Seydou’s place’ (lit. ‘chez the Seydou’s’)

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 10:11 (‘at the fathers’ place’) and 2021-03 @ 10:35 (‘at your-Sg place’, apparently referring to the referent’s private grain storage area). See also the comment on 2021-03 @ 07:40.

   káwⁿ gets some competition from the comitative postposition pà.

8.2.4.4 tó(ó) ‘location’ as postposition

The usual noun for ‘place, location’ is gîyéⁿ. It is more or less supplanted by tóó ‘location, position’ in certain expressions that have an obligatory possessor. The possessor helps to pre-empt confusion with tóó ‘meat’.

   ‘X is far away’ is phrased as ‘X’s location/position is distant’, with possessed tóó. For archaic pà as an alternative to tóó in this construction, see (382) above.

(396) [zâkì tóó] ñ dàáⁿ
   [Z location] 3ReflSg be.distant
   ‘Zaki is far away.’
tóó does not occur in ‘X is nearby’.

tó, reduced from tóó, occurs as a kind of postposition in contexts involving physical separation of two entities. The possessors (or complements) of tó are coindexed with preceding subjects (397a-b) or objects (397c-d). If the antecedents are third persons, the possessors (or complements) take reflexive form.

(397) a. [sórógò-yè sání finàm-béé] gè= [ =éé tó] [Bozo-Pl and Fulbe-Pl] be.Loc [3ReflPl place] ‘Bozo and Fulbe are separate (they each have their place).’

b. sèédú gà [ní tó], áámàdú gà [ní tó] S be.Loc [3ReflSg place], A be.Loc [3ReflSg place] ‘Seydou and Amadou are in separate places.’

c. Ø né= [è sáá”] yàá gà= [é tó] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [3Pl all] leave.Pfv Pfv [3ReflPl place] ‘I put both/all of them in their (respective) places.’

d. Ø ná= à yàá gà [ní tó] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Sg leave.Pfv Pfv [3ReflSg place] ‘I put him/her in his/her place.’

Textual attestations of tó are 2021-01 @ 10:43 (women dance separately from men) and 2021-03 @ 18:19 (tree spp. whose trunks are used for boat hulls are specific).

PPs with postposition tó are the regular complements of verbs and phrases meaning ‘forget (about) X’.

(398) a. ñí ná nùmààsá” nà [sèédù tó] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg forget.Pfv Pfv [S place] ‘I have forgotten Seydou.’

b. ñí nà hágérè bá gà= [à tó] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg mind exit.Pfv Pfv [3Sg place] ‘I have forgotten (about) him/her.’

tó is not used with other mental verbs like ‘remember’ or ‘think (about)’, which have locative complements with -ỳ.
8.2.4.5 búwɔ̀y ‘instead of X, in X’s place’

[X búwɔ̀y] means ‘in the place of X’, denoting replacement or substitution in a location. búwɔ̀y likely contains a frozen locative suffix *-y. The 1Sg form is mí búwɔ̀y.

(399) a. ṣe dũ buwɔ̀y [sèédũ buwɔ̀y]
    1Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [S in.place.of]
    ‘I will go in Seydou’s place.’

b. mà gwɔ́rɛ́[mí buwɔ̀y]
    3Sg Ipfv sell.Ipfv [1Sg in.place.of]
    ‘He/She is selling (=running the shop) in my place.’

búwɔ̀y is tonally distinct from bùwɔ̀-y ‘together’ (§18.4.3).

The Cliffs cognate bwẹ̀y is one of two more or less interchangeable comitative postpositions (‘with X, in the company of X’).

8.2.4.6 ‘In the middle of, amidst’ (X kéné nwi"n, X kéné-y-è)

Corresponding to the noun kéné ‘chest (of body)’ or ‘middle’ (e.g. near the center of a village or field, or in middle position in an oriented line) is locative adverbial kéné n(w)i"n or kéné-y-è ‘in the middle’ (“middle-DefSg-Loc”). These locative forms can function as composite postpositions following another NP (400a). They can co-occur with plural pronouns (400b) and with 3Sg à denoting e.g. a field or village, but not with 1st/2nd singular person pronouns except in the bodily sense ‘my/your chest’.

(400) a. nògù-ùn kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwi"
    village-DefSg amidst
    ‘in the middle of the village’

b. ìní / ìá / è kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwi"
    1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl amidst
    ‘in our/your-Pl/their midst’

c. à kéné-y-è (~ kéné nwi"
    3Sg amidst
    ‘in the middle of it (e.g. field)’
With plural complements (and some plural-like mass nouns like ‘grass, vegetation’), kéné-y-è ~ kéné nwììn is more of less interchangeable with nàâⁿ ‘between’ (§8.2.6.1 below), but ‘in the middle of the field’ cannot use nàâⁿ.

‘Person in the middle’ (e.g. in the middle of the pack in a race) is kéné-njúmùn, the initial contracted from kéné-y-è.

8.2.5 Postpositions of proximity

8.2.5.1 ‘Beside X’ ([X tèśè] pà)

‘Beside X’ is expressed by the compound postposition [[X tèśè] pà, consisting of tèśè ‘side’ and comitative pà. The landmark is usually an oriented entity (e.g. person, house) with a front, back, and sides.

(401) a. Ø ŋá [[sèèdù tèśè] pà]
  1Sg be.Loc [[S side Comit]
   ‘I am beside Seydou.’

   b. sèèdù gá [[nàmà ng õ pà]
    S be.Loc [[house side Comit]
    ‘Seydou is next to the house.’

A textual attestation is 2021-03 @ 13:06 (other villages next to/nearby a village).

8.2.5.2 ‘Near X’ (X sógō-ŷ ~ swō-ŷ)

‘Near X, close to X’ is X sógō-ŷ, subdialectally X swō-ŷ. The -ŷ is identifiable as the suffixal locative, but no noun #sógọ is attested. The 1Sg form is ñ sógọ-ŷ. The postposition specifies proximity rather than orientation. The landmark may be human or nonhuman.

(402) a. Ø ŋá [sèèdù sógō-ŷ]
  1Sg be.Loc [S near]
  ‘I am close to Seydou.’

   b. sèèdù gá [nàmà-owany sógō-ŷ]
    S be.Loc [house-DefSg near]
    ‘Seydou is close to the house.’

sógọ-ŷ is also used to denote the overnight quarters (e.g. a pen) occupied by livestock.
8.2.5.3 ‘In the vicinity of’ ([X bàätìyäm] pà)

This complex postposition is attested in combinations where the landmark X is a house, a neighborhood, or a village or city. It is based on the noun bàätìyàwⁿ ‘vicinity’.

(404) a. ḳë ṣà [[jure bàätìyäm] pà]
   1Sg be.Loc [[Dj vicinity Comit]
   ‘I am in the vicinity (e.g. suburbs) of Djenné (city).’

b. ń nà bà gà [[[sèdù kàm] bàätìyäm] pà]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg exit(v).Pfv Pfv [[[S chez vicinity Comit]
   ‘I left (=have come from) the neighborhood of Seydou’s place.’ (< kàwⁿ)

Such PPs can also be used more abstractly where the landmark is a topic of discourse that one can ‘exit’ to change the subject, as in text 2021-03 @ 16:14.

8.2.5.4 Locative ‘at (the outskirts of)’ (X-ròó nìiⁿ, X-ròó-y-è)

A compound final related to dòó ‘mouth’ has the form -ròó after vowel and -ðòó after nasal. It combines with a postposition, often n(w)ìiⁿ ‘inside’, here usually pronounced without the w, or locative -y in the definite singular combination -ròó-y-è. The combination functions in effect as a complex PP meaning ‘at the edge of X’ where X is a topographic feature (especially aquatic but also ‘field’ or ‘forest’), a well, or an organized market or transportation station.

(405) a. pàgù ‘pond’ pàgù-ròó nìiⁿ ‘on the edge of the pond’
    dòbò ‘river’ dòbò-ròó nìiⁿ ‘on the riverbank’
    jìi ‘water’ jìi-ròó nìiⁿ ‘on the edge of water’
    siyè ‘creek’ siyè-ròó nìiⁿ ‘at the riverside or creekside’

b. sùbáwⁿ ‘market(place)’ sùbány-ròó nìiⁿ ‘at the edge of the market’
    kìiⁿ ‘skiff (boat)’ kìi-n-dòó nìiⁿ ‘near the skiffs (departure area)’
c. tên(té) ‘well’ tên(té)-rős níi’ ‘at (the edge of) the well’

d. tiyè ‘field’ tiyè-rős-y-è ‘at the field’ (2021-03 @ 11:16)
dúngù‘forest’ dúgùn-dős-y-è ‘at the edge of the forest’

The postposition ràá ~ láá ~ táá ‘at’, see the following subsection, is related to rős.

8.2.5.5 Locative ràá ~ láá ‘at (edge of)’ and variants

This postposition (ràá dialect 1, often láá dialect 2, becoming dáá after nasal) occurs in a few locative phrases. It is evidently an offshoot of -rős (preceding subsection), and more distantly of dáá ‘mouth’, which is replaced by (possessed) dáá in some collocations: X yè [Y dáá] kàmá gà ‘X replied to Y’. Unlike -rős, a compound final that requires a following locative postposition, ràá is a postposition and does not require a further postposition.

In (406a), ‘at the well’ means in practice being at the edge of (not inside) the well, close enough to drop in a bag or to operate a pulley. In ‘at (the) field’ (406b), the referent is in the general area of the fields (as opposed to being in the village), and may or may not be enclosed inside a particular field. The PP in (406c) is modeled on the noun sìyè-rős ‘riverside’ which treats -rős and therefore ràá as L-toned.

(406) a. tên(té) ràá
    well(n) at.edge.of
    ‘at the well’

b. tiyè láá (~ ràá)
    field at.edge.of
    ‘at (the) field’ (2021-03 @ 10:54) (< tiyè)

c. sìyè ràá
    creek at.edge.of
    ‘at the riverside’ (< sìyè)

Example (407) illustrates a combination of dáá in postposition-like position, or possibly possessum position, following invariant [X bàádègè-yàw’] ‘X’s noise’ (here ‘X’s sound level’). It is difficult to unpack the phrasing but dáá has some connection to ‘mouth’.

(407) [fá sá [ [ám bàádègè-èn] dáá]
    [thing add.Pfv [ [2Sg noise-DefSg] at.mouth]
    ‘Speak louder!’ (2021-03 @ 17:25)
The compound with -dáá-ràì in (408) seems to have two occurrences of the morpheme in question. It also has an irregular vocalic change in the initial (elsewhere nògù ‘village’), perhaps extrapolated from the very common suffixal locative nògi- ‘in the village’.

(408) nògi-dáá-ràì
    village-edge-at
    ‘at the edge of the village’ (< nògù)

Another form that may be (irregularly) connected to all these forms is -táá. It is attested in a single combination (409). The noun is nwiìì ‘interior’, which is also the source (now somewhat opaque) of the postposition nwìì ‘inside’ (§8.2.4.1 above).

(409) nwììn-táá
    interior-at
    ‘inside, in the interior’

8.2.6 Postpositions of alignment

8.2.6.1 ‘Between, among, amidst’ ([XY] nàâ’)

The postposition nàâ’ means ‘between (two entities)’ or ‘among, amidst (multiple entities or a mass with differentiated elements)’. It should not be confused with dative nà (§8.1.1.2). It is attested in a temporal context with ‘night’ (410d). Cliffs has nànjàá.

(410) a. [dúba-fé]-êì [sóó nàâ’] wày
    [snake]-DefSg be.Loc [grass amidst] today
    ‘The snake is in the grass today.’

b. [mùwó fá sí] gê = [éì nàâ’]
    ‘What (trouble) is there between us?’ (i.e. ‘Why are you angry with me/us?’)

c. [sàgá’ sìì bàmàkà] nàâ’
    [M and B] between
    ‘between Mopti and Bamako (cities)’
As a noun, nààⁿ means ‘gap, space between (two objects)’. The compound noun nààm-pàà means ‘middle (of an object or path)’. In definite singular locative form it can take a possessor, forming a composite PP.

(411) à gá [tìyé [nààm-pàà]-y]-ë
3Sg Ipfv [field [middle]-DefSg]-Loc
‘He/She is in the middle of the field.’

‘Person who is in the middle’, either in a race or in some scalar comparison (such as height), is nààm-pàà-ùùmù” (for the final see §4.2.4.2). A nonhuman counterpart is nààm-pàà-fà ending in a final meaning ‘thing’.

8.2.6.2 ‘Aligned with X’ ([X tânà])

This postposition describes a relationship between X and Y where both are in the same row or line, which may include additional individuals. If X and Y are persons or other oriented entities (i.e. with intrinsic fronts and backs), the two can be in a row facing forward (like Muslims praying, or like sprinters lined up at the beginning of a race), or they can be in a line with one behind the other.

(412) a. ṣì ɲá tàà-nástàná [sèèdú tànà]
1Sg be stand-Ppl [S aligned]
‘I am standing lined up (in a row) with Seydou.’

b. ɪ̀ná ɲá tàà-ná [bùwò tànà]
1Pl be stand-Ppl [Recip aligned]
‘We are standing side by side (in a row).’

c. ɲá kòrò-yé tàà-ninya ɲá [bùwò tànà]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-Pl stand-Caus.Pfv Pfv [Recip aligned]
‘I arranged the stones in a row.’
8.2.7 Postpositions of spatial relationship

8.2.7.1 ‘On X’ or ‘over X’ (X kùmà)

In this PP, the landmark X is conceptualized as being held up by an extended surface, whether horizontal (mat) or vertical (wall), or else as being in the atmosphere above something (object or surface). The postposition is kùmà, 1Sg form ŋ kùmà.

(413) a. sírè-ën ɳá [tò̀-ŋj kùmà]
rock-DefSg Ipfv [mat-DefSg on]
‘The rock is on the mat.’

b. ń ná kòrò-ën yáá gà [tò̀-ŋj kùmà]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [mat-DefSg on]
‘I put the stone on the mat.’

c. còò-ën sèn ɳá [ŋ j kùmà]
stick-DefSg fall.Pfv Pfv [1Sg on]
‘The stick fell on me.’

The context can also be abstract or figurative. Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 09:04 (bestow sth on X), @ 09:31 (ask about X), and @ 11:57 (agree on/about X), along with 2021-03 @ 13:28 (immigrants found their village on X [site]).

8.2.7.2 ‘In front of’ or ‘before’ (X tígàà)

The noun tígàà ‘front’ can function without change as a postposition ‘in front of’. The 1Sg form is ñ tígàà ‘in front of me’.

(414) a. ń ɳá [sèédù tígàà]
1Sg be.Loc [S front]
‘I am in front of Seydou.’

b. sèédù gà [ŋàmà-àŋ tígàà]
S be.Loc [house-DefSg front]
‘Seydou is in front of the house.’

This postposition can also have the temporal sense ‘before X’.
(415) à gà bé ŋ kilàŋ tigáà
3Sg lpfv Fut 3ReflSg finish.Pfv [1Sg front]
‘He/She will be done (with a job) before me (=before I do).’

Adverb ‘in front, ahead’ is tígáà.

(416) ā gà / sò tigáà
3Sg be.Loc / go.Pfv in.front
‘He/She is/went in front.’

‘The leader (person in front)’ is tígáá-ńúmú ~ tígáá-ńúmú.

8.2.7.3 ‘In front of’ ([X tégé-tégé] pà)

Another, less common ‘in front of X’ postposition is [X tégé-tégé] pà. It appears to consist of iterated tégé ‘forehead’ plus comitative pà. The referent X may be a person or a table, for example. The 1Sg form is [ń tégé-tégé] pà ‘in front of me’.

(417) nànáá-ńu ná [ń tégé-tégé] pà
house-DefSg be.Loc [1Sg front] Comit
‘The house is in front of me.’

tégé ‘forehead’ also occurs in the context of an entity facing another entity. It is the antonym of kótò ‘back’ in this context.

(418) [án téré] dó [ń ná]
[2Sg forehead] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
‘Give me your forehead!’ (i.e. ‘Face me!’ or ‘Look at me!’)

8.2.7.4 ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X kótìyè ~ kwátìyè or kótò pà)

The noun kótìyè ~ kwátìyè ‘rear’ (subdialectal variants) serves as the postposition ‘behind, in back of’. It can also be used adverbially (‘in back’), as in 2021-01 @ 01:55. It is related to the partonym kótò ‘back’, and specifically the latter’s definite singular locative form kótò-yè ‘in/on the back’ which can also function as an adverb ‘in back, in the rear’ or abstractly ‘omitted, left out’ (2021-01 @ 10.03). The noun kótò is also the basis for a synonymous composite postposition kótò pà ‘behind’. The 1Sg forms are ŋ kótìyè ~ ŋ kwátìyè and ŋ kótò pà.
The sense ‘after X’, where X is a temporal reference point like sári ~ sání ‘holy day’, is expressed occasionally by this same postposition, but more usually by a phrase of the type ‘(when) X has passed’.

kòtìyè ~ kwáñìyè is preferred in the sense ‘after X’ where X is a person, in the context ‘in X’s absence’ or ‘after X is no longer around’. Example: ŋ̀ kòtìyè ‘after me (=after I am gone)’.

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 01:55 (‘passing behind X’ = ‘aside from X’), @ 14:18 and 14:28 (‘on X’s back’), and 2021-03 @ 14:22 (‘after X’) and @ 18:07 (‘after X’ = ‘in addition to X’).

kòtò-pà]-nùmùn or kwáñìyè-nùmù means ‘the one in back, the last one, the one bringing up the rear’.

kòtò pà can also function as an adverbial PP ‘behind, in back, to the rear’ without an overt landmark.

kòtò ‘back’ is the antonym of tégé ‘forehead’ (preceding subsection) in examples like (422).

‘Give me your back!’ (i.e. ‘Turn your back to me!’ or ‘Look away from me!’)
8.2.7.5 ‘Below/under/next to X’ (X mùⁿ, X búú-mùⁿ)

The noun mùⁿ ‘base, bottom part’ (also abstractly ‘reason, cause, grounds’ for a situation) can function as postposition mùⁿ ‘below X, under X’. The 1Sg form is m mùⁿ. An expanded form is búú-mùⁿ (1Sg m búú-mûⁿ), cf. búú ‘rear (of sth)’.

(423) a. Ø ɲà [sírè-èm  buú-mù]  
    Sg  be.Loc [rock-DefSg  under]  
    ‘I am below/under the rock.’

    b. Ø ɲà [sírè-èm  mûⁿ]  
    Sg  be.Loc [rock-DefSg  under]  
    [=a]

mûⁿ can also approximate the sense ‘beside, next to’, competing with têsé pà. In (424), Baratou is a village and Tantana is an abandoned village whose people later settled in Baratou.

(424) bàárá-tùwò  bá  gá  táántànà  [líⁿ  múm]  bòⁿ  
    B  exit.Pfv  Pfv  T  [1Pl  next.to] here  
    ‘Baratou came from Tantana, here next to us.’ (2021-03 @ 13:18)

A PP with mûⁿ combines with the verb sìnì/sìnì (~ hìnì/hìnì) ‘be able’ (§15.1.1.1) in a construction meaning ‘be able to stand up to (sb), be stronger than’.

(425) à  gá  sìnì  [sóó-òⁿ  mûⁿ]  
    3Sg  Ipfv  be.able.Ipfv [grass-DefSg  under]  
    ‘It (=a variety of rice) can stand up to the grass (=weeds).’ (2021-03 @ 07:48)

The adverb ‘down below’ is dûbáá. This is also a noun ‘ground, earth’.

8.2.7.6 ‘Upper’ and ‘lower’

Since the geographical area around Djenné and Sofara is broadly flat with no notable escarpments or hills, there are no villages divided into “upper” and “lower” settlements (quartiers). Villages that do have two well-separated settlements (túrů) usually distinguish them by ethnicity or topographic feature. Fulbe cattle herders for example may have their own settlement next to a Bozo settlement but on drier land.
(426) a. kéembáá  
    kéembáá   finà(w)\textsuperscript{n}  ‘Komba’ (village name) 
    kéembáá   jámú-láá  ‘Fulbe section of Komba’ 

b. síráá-búgú  
    síráá-búgú   finà(w)\textsuperscript{n}  ‘Sirabougou’ (village) 
    síráá-búgú   bámbàrà  ‘Fulbe section of Sirabougou’ 
    síráá-búgú   bámbàrà  ‘Bambara section of Sirabougou’ 

8.2.8  kàà\textsuperscript{n} as source of fear

The verb kù\textsuperscript{wà}/kù\textsuperscript{wá} ‘fear, be afraid’ can be intransitive with a PP complement denoting the source (i.e. the feared object). The postposition kàà\textsuperscript{n} is not otherwise attested. The 1Sg form is ŋ̀ kàà\textsuperscript{n}.

(427) a. à  gá  kù\textsuperscript{wá}  [kóŋgòrò-òjì  kàà\textsuperscript{n}]
    3Sg  lpfv  fear.lpfv  [dog-DefSg  Source]
    ‘He/She is afraid of the dog.’

b. sèédú  gá  kù\textsuperscript{wá}  [ŋ̀  kàà\textsuperscript{n}]
    S  lpfv  fear.lpfv  [1Sg  Source]
    ‘Seydou is afraid of me.’

No other contexts for kàà\textsuperscript{n} have been observed. This postposition is likely cognate to Kelenga kàà\textsuperscript{n}  ~ kàà\textsuperscript{n}  ‘in front of’. If the latter sense is original, the development in J-S of Djenné was from ‘be fearful in front of/before X’ to the more abstract ‘be fearful of X’.

8.3  ‘For’ and ‘because of’

For purposive and causal (‘because’) clauses, see §15.3.2 AND §17.4.3.

8.3.1  Purposive-causal ‘for’ (dáà)

Purposive ‘for’ (generally prospective) and causal ‘because’ (generally retrospective) are expressed by the postposition dáà. (The Cliff's cognate is lágà.) The NP complement is normally focalized.
Pronouns take independent form (§4.3.1) when partially or fully focalized. The independent forms are usual before dáà.

(429) á-dúwò dáà ‘because of him/her/it’

ǹ-dúwò dáà ‘because of me’

The wò syllable in the independent pronouns often assimilates to the low vowel of dáà, as in 3Sg ā-dúwò dáà.

With nonpronominal NPs as complements, definite singular -yàwⁿ plus focus marker wò combine as -wàà, This accounts for purposive -wàà dáà (430a-c).

(430) a. ín dó gà [[yòó-bàà]-jìí-wàà] dáà]
1Pl enter.Pfv Pfv [[rain]-water-DefSg.Foc] Purp]
‘We went in(side) because of the rain.’

b. è bé gà [[sàáⁿ-wàà] dáà]
3Pl come.Pfv Pfv [[honey-DefSg.Foc] Purp]
‘They came for the honey.’

c. ā jìíⁿ nà [[káyⁿ-wàà] dáà]
3Sg walk.Pfv Pfv [[work(n)-DefSg.Foc] Purp]
‘He/She traveled for (the) work.’

8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Similarity ‘like X’ (síná ~ siní)

‘Y is like (similar to) X’ is expressed with siná or siní (subdialectal variants) in a copular clause, with positive gà (431a) or negative tà (431b). The predicate may be shifted to past time by an auxiliary (431c). The comparandum appears as a bare NP or independent pronoun following the ‘like’ particle.
(431) a. ŋ̀ ŋ́á [siná sèédü]
   1Sg be [like S]
   ‘I am like Seydou.’

   b. sèédü tá [siná ñ-dúwɔ́]
   S not.be [like 1Sg-Indep]
   ‘Seydou is not like me.’

   c. ñ́ tìⁿ ŋ́á [siná sèédü]
   1Sg be.past.Pfv Pfv [like S]
   ‘I was (=used to be) like Seydou.’

The ‘like X’ adverbial may also be attached as an adjunct to a main verb (432a). An alternative phrasing is “you-Sg (would) say it (that)” (432b), cf. French on dirait. Still another is “you-Sg would” reduced from “you-Sg would say it (that)” (432c). The homophony between variant siní ‘like’ and siní ‘be able’ would seem to suggest that ‘could (say)’ might be the source of ‘like’. However, this would not account for the other variant sànná, which resembles forms such as sanda ‘like’ in some other languages of the region.

(432) a. ñ̀ ŋ́á káỳⁿ [sànná áámàdù]
   1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [like A]
   ‘I work like Amadou.’ (< káỳⁿ)

   b. ñ̀ ŋ́á káỳⁿ [áⁿ ñ́á á sè-ré áámàdù]
   1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv A]
   ‘I work like Amadou.’

   c. sèédü gà káỳⁿ [áⁿ ñ́á siní ñ-dúwɔ́]
   S Ipfv work.Ipfv [2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 1Sg-Indep]
   ‘Seydou works like me.’

The noun bánná ‘manner’ may be added as compound final after the referent noun.

(433) ñá [siná sèöm-bánná]
Dem.Def be [like Hydrocynus-manner]
‘That one (a fish sp.) is like Hydrocynus (tigerfish).’ (2021-03 @ 03:46)
The relationship between siná ‘like’ and síí ‘any’ (as modifier) or less often ‘kind, type’ (as noun) is obscure. ‘Kind, type’ is most often síífá, ultimately from an Arabic word meaning ‘description’. síí occurs as a noun in (434), which expresses similarity using different phrasing.

(434) [[íí nàmáá-yè sáá̱] ṃá [síí ṃ-kóó̱] ní]
[1Pl house-Pl all] be [kind Link-one] it.is
‘Our (respective) houses are both/all of one (=the same) kind.’

For other manner adverbs see §4.4.3.2 (‘like this/that’) and §8.4.4. For manner relatives (‘the way X VPs’) see §15.5.3.

8.4.2 Specificity (jááti ‘exactly, precisely’)

jááti ‘exactly’ can occur at the end of an NP in the sense ‘precise, authentic, real’ or the sense ‘personally’ (435a-b). Pronouns take proclitic rather than independent form. The focus particle follows jááti if present. The 1Sg form is ý jááti before additional tone sandhi.

(435) a. sèèdú ŋá [ň ká jááti] ní
S not.be [1Sg father exactly] it.is
‘Seydou is/is not my real father.’

b. [ň jááti] ní
[1Sg exactly] it.is
‘It’s precisely me.’

c. [-await jááti wò] ní
[3Sg exactly Foc] it.is
‘It’s precisely him-or-her [focus].’

A semantically more complex example is (436).

(436) ní tá bé [ň díyém] báý sò,
1Sg IpfvNeg Fut [1Sg child] leave.Ipfv go,
[ň jááti] gá bé sò
[1Sg exactly] Ipfv Fut go.Pfv
‘I won’t (just) send my son; (rather) I will go myself (in person).’
At the end of an NP, jááti occasionally takes nominal suffixation. In the few textual examples, jááti appears to function appositionally. In (437a) it takes plural form, but it follows a plural pronoun. In (437b) both jááti and the preceding noun take the normally NP-final definite singular suffix.

(437) a. [ípā jááti-yè] ná gèpò, …
[1Pl exactly-Pl] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv, …
‘when we ourselves get sick, …’ (2021-01 @ 06:35)

b. [sòó-ୖn jááti-im] pìfn mèèn] ñà bì-yé yàwìn
[grass-DefSg exactly-DefSg] grain Rel Ipfv come-Ipfv there.Def
‘the grain (=seeds) of real grass that comes there’ (2021-03 @ 11:06)

For jááti ‘exactly’ as an independent form, for example confirming an interlocutor’s statement, see §19.4.1.2.

8.4.3 Extent and evaluation

There is overlap between quantitative and evaluative manner adverbials. In both contexts, the adverbs often combine with a form of the verb tìí/tíí-ni ‘do’.

8.4.3.1 Extent (‘a lot, greatly’ versus ‘a little’)

The lexical stems that describe the extremes of extent are those in (438). As in English, they can function as adverbs (‘run a lot’) or as NPs (‘give a lot’). fà-liyéwì is an archaic diminutive of fà ‘thing’ (§6.4.2).

(438) a. pééntèwì ‘a lot’ or ‘greatly’ §6.4.2.1
b. fà-liyéwì ‘a little’ §6.4.2.3

Examples (439a-b) illustrate these as NPs in object position. For ‘a little’ but not ‘a lot’ our speakers also allow a kind of postverbal adverbial use (439c), in which case the verb is antipassivized.

(439) a. àpééntèn diyá gà
3Sg a.lot eat.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She ate a lot.’

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b. à fá-liyén díyá gà
3Sg a.little eat.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She ate (a) little.’

c. à díyé gà fá-liyéw'
3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv a.little
‘He/She ate a little.’

These can also be added as nominal modifiers as objects of tíⁿ/tí-ní ‘do’.

(440) à [káyⁿ pééntàn / fá-liyén] tíⁿ ɲà
3Sg [work(n) a.lot / a.little] do.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She did a lot/a little work.’

Evaluative adverbs ‘well’ and ‘badly’ (see the following subsection) are often used to indicate extent, e.g. ‘thoroughly’ and ‘too much’, respectively.

8.4.3.2 Evaluation (‘good/well’ versus ‘bad/poorly’)

The adjectives that describe the poles of evaluation are those in (441), shown in modifying form where the tones are spread from the preceding noun (Tone Leveling).

(441) a. màŋàa – màŋáá ‘good’
b. júwò ~ júwò ‘bad’

As a modifying adjective, màŋàa becomes part of a Tone-Leveling domain, as in ɲàmàa màŋàa ‘good house’ and jí màŋáá ‘good water’. The lexical /L/ melody is brought out in Adj2 position, as in kòŋgòró kúⁿwáá-nà màŋàa ‘good white dog’, and as a possessed noun as in [à màŋáá] ní ‘(that) is its good part’.

júwò ‘bad’ can also be a modifying adjective, as in kòŋgòró júwò ‘nasty dog’. Its form is júwò as Adj2, as in kòŋgòró píⁿyé-ná júwò ‘nasty black dog’, and as a possessed noun as in [á júwò] ní ‘(that) is its bad part’.

H-toned màŋáá is adverbial, either evaluative ‘well’ or quantitative ‘very much, greatly’. In this uncommon short form it is attested in combination with túⁿ ‘again’ (442).

(442) [à kúmê] tá ǝ jí kòⁿ màŋáá túⁿ
[3Sg catch.VblN] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(adv) again
‘Catching them (=a type of fish) is not very common (in that time of year).’
(2021-03 @ 03:04)
More often, adverbial ‘well’ and ‘badly’ are expressed by compounds or syntactic constructions including ‘do’ (see just below).

8.4.3.3 Combinations of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ with tíⁿ/tíí-nì ‘do’

More often, evaluative ‘well’ or quantitative ‘greatly’ is expressed as in a lexicalized suffixal locative (-ỳ) of a compound with -tíⁿ (verbal noun of tíⁿ/tíí-nì ‘do’, §11.1.2.2). This common expression can mean ‘well’ or ‘very much’. In pejorative contexts, i.e. ‘badly’ or ‘too much’, a parallel adverb with -tííⁿ-ỳⁿ is built from the adjective ‘bad’.

(443)            evaluative       extent

a. máŋáá-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ  ‘well (excellently)’  ‘very much, greatly, thoroughly’

b. nůwó-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ  ‘badly, poorly’       ‘too much, excessively’

Under negation, máŋáá(-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ) means ‘not very much’. nůwó-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ occurs with ‘pester’ (2021-03 @ 07:14) and with ‘(weeds) proliferate’ (2021-03 @ 08:03).

Examples are in (444).

(444) a. à ́ jí kóⁿ máŋáá(-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ)
   3Sg 3ReflSg be.many well(-do.VblN-Loc)
   ‘It (e.g. fish) is very abundant.’

b. à tá ́ jí kóⁿ máŋáá(-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ)
   3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(-do.VblN-Loc)
   ‘It isn’t very abundant.’

c. à kwá gā [h ná] máŋáá-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ
   3Sg help.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat] well-do.VblN-Loc
   ‘He/She helped me greatly.’

d. Ø ná kiyé gā nůwó-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.Pfv Pfv badly-do.VblN-Loc
   ‘I ran badly.’ or ‘I ran too much.’

e. Ø ná kiyé gā máŋáá-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.Pfv Pfv well-Abstr-Loc
   ‘I ran well.’
Extent adverb màŋáá-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ ‘greatly, very much’ can even modify its evaluative cognate màŋá ‘become good’; see 2021-03 @ 06:26.

In the other construction based on the same lexical elements, an inflected tííⁿ/tíí-nì ‘do’ follows a compound containing the substantive verb (likely as a zero-derived verbal noun), the noun bàánà ‘manner’ as compound final, and an extent or evaluation adjective. The tripartite compound undergoes Tone Leveling as in many other complex deverbal compounds. For the tones compare especially (445d) and the segmentally identical (445e), based respectively on two verbs that are tonal minimal pairs. In these oversized compounds, -bàánà- ~ -báánà- is optionally truncated to -nà- ~ -ná-. In (445a-b), postverbal Pfv morpheme gà (here nasalized to ŋà) follows tííⁿ, showing that this is the only inflected verb in the construction. If the substantive verb is transitive, the object precedes the tripartite compound (445a). One might parse the “object” as possessor of the compound, but the tones suggest rather that the compound is an initial in a larger compound.

(445) a. ííⁿ yá = à [mèènì-(bàà)nà-ñúwɔ/-màŋà] -tííⁿ ŋà
1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg [manufacture-manner-bad/-good] -do.Pfv Pfv
‘We made (=built) it badly/well.’

b. à kííⁿ [mèènì-(bàà)nà-ñúwɔ] -tííⁿ ŋà
3Sg skiff [manufacture-manner-bad] -do.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She made (=built) the skiff badly.’

c. lá [diyêmù-(bàà)nà-ñúwɔ] -tííⁿ ŋà
3Sg [speak-manner-bad] -do.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She spoke badly.’

d. à yá = à [fùwò-(bàà)nà-màŋáá] -tííⁿ ŋà
3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg [winnow-manner-good] -do.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She winnowed it (in the wind) well.’

e. à yá = à [fùwò-(bàà)nà-màŋàà] -tííⁿ ŋà
3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg [jab-manner-good] -do.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She jabbed it well.’

8.4.4 Deadjectival and other manner adverbials

There is no morphological mechanism for converting adjectives into adverbs or adverbial phrases. Certain adjective-like senses do have an adverbial phrase, however.
8.4.4.1 ‘Fast, quickly’ and ‘slowly’

Adverb ‘fast, quickly’ is kiyé-nà. It is related to kiyé ‘run’ and is most likely a participle. It is compatible with predicates denoting any time-sensitive activities (446b). ‘Slowly’ (also ‘gently’) is expressed by iterating ‘a little’ (446c).

(446) a. ìì́ ñá = à tàà-ñì́ ñ à kiyé-nà
   1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg build.Pfv Pfv run-Ppl
   ‘We built it (=house) fast.’

b. sèèdú kiyé gà kiyé-nà
   S run.Pfv Pfv run-Ppl
   ‘Seydou ran fast.’

c. ìì́ ñá = à tàà-ñì́ ñ à [fá-líyéwⁿ]-[fá-líyéwⁿ]
   1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg stand-Caus.Pfv Pfv [a.little]-[a.little]
   ‘We built it slowly (little by little).’

8.4.4.2 Adverbial ‘far’ and ‘near’

With motion verbs ‘run’, ‘walk’, etc. “adverbial” ‘far away’ is expressed in either of two ways, both involving the adjective dááⁿ ‘distant’, cf. (290) in §6.3.1.1, and a modified nominal. In one version, an adjunct in the form of the locative adverbal phrase ‘(all the way) at/to a distant place’ is added to an already well-formed version of the motion clause (447a). fó ‘until, all the way’ (§8.4.5.7) is optional. In the second construction, the motion verb (presumably in zero-derived nominalized form) is itself modified by dááⁿ ‘distant’, and this NP is the object of the following inflected ‘do’ verb (447b). The first construction is also used with ‘nearby’ (447c).

(447) a. òò ñìiⁿ ñ à [fó [gréyé dááⁿ]-ýⁿ]
   3Sg walk.Pfv Pfv [until [place distant]-Loc]
   ‘He/She walked far away.’

b. òò ñìiⁿ dááⁿ tìíⁿ ñ à
   3Sg [walk.VblN distant] do.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She made a distant (=long) walk.’
c. ífì¹ ɲà bè sáá [gìyèn twù-gù]-ỳ
   1Pl  Ipfv  Fut  lie.down.Pfv  [place nearby-Adj]-Loc
   ‘We will lie down (=spend the night) nearby.’

8.4.5 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.5.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (448).

(448) a. wày
   tù¹
   sááwù ~ sááw
   ɲú-nù wàáti-yè ~ ɲó-nù wàáti-yè
   sá-sàà-liyènw¹ – sí-sàà-liyènw¹
   ‘today; nowadays’
   ‘again (another time)’, §19.3.1.1
   ‘now’ (perhaps < *sáá gù ‘the/this time’)
   ‘at that time’ (dialectal variants)
   ‘right now, just now’

b. dìgèn¹
   dìgènsà
   dìgènsà-sà
   pánáàn ni²
   pánáàmi pánáàn ni²
   pánáámi pánáàn ni²
   bë-kìyè
   ‘yesterday’
   ‘day before yesterday’
   ‘two days before yesterday’
   ‘formerly; in the old days’, < pánáàn ‘first’
   (§4.6.2.1, §8.4.5.3)
   ‘formerly; in the old days’
   ‘formerly; in the old days’
   ‘formerly; in the old days’ (kìyè ‘pass by’)

c. ɲààñù
   jìí² nà kìyè
   ɲóŋ jìí²-nààñkìyè-yàw²
   ɲààñú-kòtò
   ɲààñú-kòtò fàŋ-kòtò
   ‘tomorrow’ (the usual term)
   ‘tomorrow’ (“if/when a night has passed”)
   ‘the day after that, the next day’
   ‘the day after tomorrow’ (“tomorrow-back”)
   ‘two days after tomorrow’

d. sògò
   sògò-sà
   sògò-sà-sà
   jìín tààà
   kùnààsè ~ kùnààsìyè
   màm-pìyè-tà-kùnààsè nì
   yùrùgù
   ‘last year’
   ‘the year before last’
   ‘three years ago’
   ‘next year’, lit. “other year”
   ‘next year’
   ‘the year after next’, lit. “what is not next year”
   ‘this year’
The major weekly markets in the area take place on a fixed day of the modern seven-day week: Djenné on Monday, Sofara on Tuesday, Madiama on Thursday.

The seven days of the week are expressed by terms of Arabic origin, as generally in the region. Some of them are disguised by phonological mutations. The initial gà in several of the day names is from Arabic definite prefix al- or assimilated variant, with the addition (except in ‘Tuesday’) of initial g of unknown origin.

(449) gàtînën ~ gàtînèn ‘Monday’
tàráátà ‘Tuesday’
gàràábà ‘Wednesday’
gàrààmûsà ‘Thursday’
gàyîmàn ~ gàjûmàwàn ‘Friday’
gàsâmùtí ~ gàsîbîtí ‘Saturday’
gàràáti ‘Sunday’

The night between two days is expressed as the night of the following day, beginning with the 4PM prayer. For example, the period beginning in early evening on Sunday is called “Monday night” (gàtînèn gàùù).

8.4.5.2 dúwàn ~ lûwàn ‘already’ or ‘previously’

This adverb can be added at the end of the clause. It is likely a reduced form of the sequential VP bé dúwàn ‘and (then) finish’. For the dialectal d/l alternation see §3.4.1.1. The adverb is usually clause-final, making its tones indistinct, but notice that Pfv gà does not raise to gá before it. In conversational contexts it means ‘already’ with the present moment as the reference time. In displaced narratives it means ‘already/previous’ in comparison with some other reference time (§10.1.1). For example, it can occur in the antecedent clause of a conditional (450d-e).

(450) a. à bé gà dúwàn
    3Sg come.Pfv Pfv already
    ‘He/She has already come.’

b. Ø nà wàlèn dò gà [zàkî nà] dúwàn
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [Z Dat] already
    ‘I already gave the money to Zaki.’

c. ín diyê gà lûwàn
    1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv already
    ‘We have already eaten.’
d. áⁿ ná [sòò-ǹòò mañ] sàn dúwòⁿ,
 2Sg if.Pfv [net-eye Rel] buy.Pfv **already,**
áⁿ ǹà [jó-ó jòó] siyënnàŋ kú-nú
2Sg lpfv [Dem.Def-Foc eye] Clarias catch-lpfv

‘Whatever net size you have already/previously bought, it’s (with) that size [focus] of net that you-Sg catch Clarias (catfish).’ (2021-03 @ 02:07 to 02:11)

e. mais yárónò-yè sání támú-yè,
but *Lates-Pl* and *Heterobranchus-Pl,*
né [káágà-jíí ṣùnú] nà bá = á-y áwòⁿ,
if [rainy.season-water Top] if.Pfv exit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc **already,**
[ns-méé ṣùnù]
[Dem.Def-Pl Top]
[à kúmè] tá ū kóⁿ mapáá tún
[3Sg catch.VblN] lpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many well(adv) again

‘But *Lates* (Nile perch) and *Heterobranchus* (large catfish), when the rainy season floodwaters have already receded from it, as for those (fish species), catching them is no longer very common.’ (2021-03 @ 03:01 to 03:04)

8.4.5.3 ‘First(ly)’ (pánáá”) and ‘later’ (kótó pà)

These adverbials function to sequence two or more time intervals and associated activities. kótó ‘back (of body)’ is the basis for the PP kótó pà.

(451) a. íⁿ ná bé káyⁿ pánááⁿ,
 1Pl lpfv Fut work.Pfv **first,**
[íⁿ nè = ééⁿ kilàⁿ] [íím bé díyé]

‘We’ll work first, when we’re finished then we’ll eat.’

b. [kótó pà] íím bé díyé

‘We will eat later.’

8.4.5.4 ‘(Not) yet’ (súwòñi)

‘Not yet’ is expressed by súwòñi in a negated clause. súwòñi does not occur in positive clauses.
sùdú tè bé sú"wòni
S PfvNeg come.Pfv yet
‘Seydou hasn’t come yet.’

sú"wòni also occurs in positive clauses, meaning either ‘first (before others)’ or ‘first (before doing something else)’.

For ‘no longer, not any more’ see §19.3.1.2.

8.4.5.5 ‘Still’ (hàlí wày) and ‘first(ly); not yet’ (sú"wòni)

hàlí wày ‘until (=all the way to) today’ indicates that the eventuality has not ended at the time of speaking (453).

(453) [hàlí wày] á tà  subTitleable kénté
[until today] 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.healthy
‘He/She is still sick.’

8.4.5.6 Spatial adverbs

The following are the main nouns used in simple spatial adverbials.

(454) a. yòó-bàà ‘above, on top; upstairs’
    dùbáà ‘below, (at) the bottom, down; downstairs’

b. jíń-tíⁿ ‘east’
    jíń-kàmàà ‘west’
    dòbò-(ŋ)-kùwòⁿ ‘south’ (“river-white”, also Niger River)
    dòbò-píiⁿ ‘north’ (“river-black”, also Bani River)

c. kòtí-yè ‘(in) the rear, behind’
    kòtí pá ‘(in) the rear, behind’
    tígàà ‘forward, ahead, (in) front’

‘Right’ and ‘left’ are used in connection with body parts. The key stems are those in (455).

(455) a. súmpɔ ~ sùmbɔ ‘right’
    b. kòntɔ ~ kònɔ ‘left’
With body parts, the ‘right’ and ‘left’ stems function as compound initials, and level their tones but do not spread them into the final. Thus súmpó- (súmbó-) and kóntó- (kónó-) in e.g. súmpó-tàbà ‘right foot’ and kóntó- tàbà ‘left foot’. For ‘hand’ specifically, an alternative compound initial for ‘right’ is diyè-, related to diyé ‘eat (antipassive)’: diyè-súú ‘right hand’. This is unsurprising since the people eat with their right hand. Some but not all speakers allow diyè- with ‘right foot’ also.

‘Right’ and ‘left’ may be used to indicate the position of one entity in comparison to an oriented landmark (such as a person), and to indicate a direction defined with reference to such a landmark. These constructions involve comitative PPs with ‘right’ or ‘left’ as complement, plus a possessor denoting the landmark.

(456) a. zàkí gà [[[ỳ súmpó] pà)]
   Z be.Loc [[[1Sg right] Comit]
   ‘Zaki is on my right.’

   b. sò [[[áŋ kóntó] pà)]
   go [[[2Sg left] Comit]
   ‘Go to your left.’

8.4.5.7  fò ‘all the way to/until’

fò precedes a temporal or spatial NP or adverb. It is an emphatic ‘(all the way) until’ in temporal contexts (457a) and ‘(all the way) to’ in spatial contexts (457b). The complement may be a PP (457c).

(457) a. în' ngà bé kány' [fò jànànù]
   1Pl Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [[all.the.way tomorrow]
   ‘We will work all the way to tomorrow.’

   b. à kiyé gà [fò bó’]
   3Sg run.Pfv Pfv [[all.the.way here]
   ‘He/She ran all the way to here.’

   c. à kiyé gà sò [fò [[ỳ kwátiyè]]]
   3Sg run.Pfv Pfv go.Ipfv [[all.the.way [1Sg behind]]
   ‘He/She ran all the way to just behind me.’ (for Ipfv sò see §15.1.1.6)
8.4.5.8 Adjectival intensifiers

Expressive adverbials ("ideophones") can be added to intensify some adjectives. See §6.3.3.3 for a list. They are generally added to predicate adjectives and to deadjectival inchoative verbs, and so are not directly relevant to NP syntax.

For ordinary extent modifiers like ‘very’, ‘a lot’, and ‘a little’, see §8.4.3.1 above.

8.4.5.9 Iterative adjectives in distributive sense

Iteration of color adjectives to denote off-center hues in the fashion of Cliff’s pǐm-pǐiⁿ ‘blackish’ (with L-H tone overlay) was denied by speakers of J-S of Djenné. They did however confirm the use of iteration (with regular tones except for tone sandhi at the boundary) for distributivity. In the case of color adjectives, this means ‘spotted with (color)’. Final Tone-Raising applies at the boundary between L-toned iterations (‘black’, ‘red’)

(458) adjective gloss iterative gloss

pǐⁿʸẽ-ⁿà ‘black’ [pǐⁿ’yẽ-ⁿá]-[pǐⁿ’yẽ-ⁿà] ‘with dark spots on lighter background’
kǔⁿwáá-ⁿá ‘white’ [kǔⁿ’wáá-ⁿá]-[kǔⁿ’wáá-ⁿá] ‘with light spots on darker background’
tòⁿm₃-ⁿà ‘red’ [tòⁿm₃-ⁿá]-[tòⁿm₃-ⁿà] ‘with red (brown) spots’

pǐm-pǐiⁿ (L-L-toned) is the noun ‘charcoal’.

Dimension adjectives can be iterated for distributivity, presupposing multiple individuals (even if the noun is singular in form).

(459) sóó [mǐ’yẽ-gunakan]-[mǐ’yẽ-gunakan]
herb [small-Dimin]-[small-Dimin]
‘(various) small herbs (non-woody plants)’
9 Verbal derivation

At stem-level, the main verb-to-verb derivations are the fully productive causative with suffix -ni (§9.1.1) and the semi-productive intransitivization (antipassive or passive/middle) and nominalization by fronting (at least) the final stem vowel (§9.3). Many adjectives correspond to inchoative verbs, some of them suffixed (§9.4). Noun incorporation is unproductive but there are a few noun-verb combinations that qualify as compounds (§9.5). Minor derivations include incorporation of ‘in it’ in one verb (§9.3.2) and valency reduction by dative-dropping for ‘give’ (§9.3.3).

There is no morphological reversive (‘un-’). Pairs of meanings like ‘open/close’, ‘forget/remember’, and ‘tie/untie’ are expressed by pairs of unrelated verb stems.

9.1 Causative

9.1.1 Causative suffix -ni

Many verbs can be causativized by addition of derivational suffix -ni. A following Pfv morpheme gà is almost always nasalized to nà, but in combinations with other following words the suffix is usually heard as -ni without prenasalizing the next word. The transcription -niⁿ can be used in citing the Pfv stem in the combination -niⁿ nà, but the superscript will not be used in other contexts.

The tone of the Pfv suffix is acquired by spreading from the preceding stem. In the Ipfv stem, the suffix is subject to word-final tonal inversions similar to those that apply to underived verb stems: all L-toned Pfv’s become HL-toned, and H-toned Pfv’s of bisyllabic Cvⁿí shape become HL-toned.

(460) shows some examples with intransitive inputs and no unusual phonology. Here as elsewhere verbs are cited as Pfv/Ipfv stem pairs. Where the input has a suffixed Ipfv stem (460c-e), the causative is clearly based on the unsuffixed Pfv stem.

(460)     verb      gloss      causative      gloss
a. input of /H/ melody
monomoraic stem
túⁿ/tú-nú            ‘get lost’          tú-ní/tú-ní  ‘cause to disappear’

heavier stems
sáá/sáá            ‘lie down’          sáá-ní/sáá-ní  ‘lay (sth) down’
dúmè/dúmè        ‘catch fire’          dúmè-ní/dúmè-ní  ‘ignite (sth)’
intransitivization, has no suspense about the form of the causative. The only common cases are with ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ in the senses ‘feed (give food to)’ and ‘give a drink to’. ‘Eat’ has a transitive form ‘eat (sth)’ with final a that requires an object, and an objectless antipassive with final e ‘eat, have a meal’ (§9.3.1.2). Only the latter can be causativized (462a). ‘Drink’ has no morphological intransitivization, so there no suspense about the form of the causative.
(462) | verb | gloss | causative | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>díyé/díyè</td>
<td>‘eat. Antip’</td>
<td>díyé-ní/díyé-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>díyá/díyà</td>
<td>‘eat (sth)’</td>
<td>#díyá-ní/díyá-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>mèⁿ/mè-nè</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>mè-ní/mè-ní</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.2 Causative of Cv- verbs with -ri and -ni

Some Cv verbs have phonologically regular causatives.

(463) | verb | gloss | causative | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>/H/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tá(w)/tá-ná</td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
<td>tá-ní/tá-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>té(-ré)</td>
<td>‘cross’</td>
<td>té-ní/té-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>túⁿ/tú-nú</td>
<td>‘get lost’</td>
<td>tú-ní/tú-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>/L/ melody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mèⁿ/mè-nè</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>mè-ní/mè-ní</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others have irregular forms that function as causatives. In (464), a common theme is that the causative has either a rhotic medial syllable (resembling that of the input Ipfv stem and therefore likely part of the proto-form of the stem) or a Cvv- shape (which could reflect contraction of a medial rhotic syllable). In (464d), bà-ří is specialized for use when there is an enclosing container or space out of which the object is taken, while the more general bàá can also be used in open-air contexts (e.g. ‘pick a mango off a tree’), and in abstract contexts (‘remove fatigue’).

(464) | verb | gloss | causative | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>f(w)õ(-rõ)</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>fõ-rõ-ní/fõ-rõ-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ fõ-ní/fõ-ní</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>yà(-rà)</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
<td>yà-ří/yà-ří</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ yà-ří-ní/yà-ří-ní</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. yàà/yàå ‘put down; put (sth) on (fire, hearth)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. tà(-rà) ‘stop’ tàà-ní/tàà-ní ‘stop (sb, sth)’

d. bá(-rá) ‘exit (v)’ báá/báá ‘remove; take out; pick (fruit)’
     bá-rí/bá-rí ‘take (sth) out, cause to exit’

Causatives of ‘come’, ‘go’, and ‘enter’ are in (465).

(465)     verb     gloss      causative      gloss
  a. bé/bí-yé ‘come’ bí-yé-ní/bí-yé-ní ‘cause to come’
  b. sò/sò ‘go’ sì-yè-ní/sì-yè-ní ‘cause to go’
  c. dò(-rɔ́) ‘enter’ dwéé-ní/dwéé-ní ‘take/bring (sth) in’

Motion verbs like these occur frequently in a conveyance construction (‘bring’, ‘convey’, ‘bring/take in’) with intransitive verb an instrumental PP, the most common such PP being 3Sg à ní ‘with it’ (§11.1.1.4, §8.1.2.2). It is possible that original conveyance constructions of the forms *bé [à ní] ‘brought it’, *sò [à ní] ‘conveyed/took it (somewhere)’, and *dó [à ní] ‘entered with it, brought/took it in’ were reinterpreted as causative stems. For ‘enter’ see also §9.3.2 for similar fusion with a different 3Sg PP. The situation is complicated by the existence of CvCè/é derivatives that intransitivize or nominalize several verbs, including some other Cv stems that must be converted to CvCv shape (§9.3.1).

No morphological causative could be elicited for sè(-rɛ́) ‘say’.

9.1.3 pà(-rà) ‘be filled’ and pàáⁿ/pááⁿ ‘fill (sth)’

The intransitive verb pà(-rà) means ‘become full, fill up’, with extended senses like ‘(count) be complete, be all accounted for’ and ‘(animal) become well-fed, full-sized, plump’. Its functionally causative counterpart is pàáⁿ/pááⁿ ‘fill (sth), load (a vehicle)’.

This pairing, involving shifts in vowel length and nasalization, is obscure morphologically. Cliffs has an equally irregular pairing of intransitive pāā/pā-lā ‘become full’ and transitive pāgā/pāgā. Kelenga has ambi-valent fàgì(-lì) in both transitive and intransitive functions.

9.1.4 Causative ‘make X VP’ phrased as ‘tell X to VP’

Something functionally similar to a true causative can be cobbled together as a quoted imperative with ‘say’ plus a subjunctive clause expressing an original imperative. The implication is that the command was carried out.
9.2 Ambi-valent and reflexive verbs

The existence of ambivalent and reflexive transitive verbs reduces somewhat the need for valency-changing morphological derivation.

### 9.2.1 Ambivalent (labile) verbs

Some verbs can occur in the same form as transitive and intransitive verbs. In the known cases, the basic sense is probably that of the transitive verb, while the intransitive functions as an agentless passive. (467) presents transitive-intransitive pairings whose intransitive version is attested in the recordings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(467)</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>intrans. reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dý(-ŕ)</td>
<td>‘set (trap)’</td>
<td>‘(trap) be set’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 03:08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gárábú/gárábú</td>
<td>‘reap (crop)’</td>
<td>‘(crop) be reaped’</td>
<td>2021-03 @ 06:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fáá mú(-nú)</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
<td>‘be understood’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 05:39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiláw&quot;/kiláw°</td>
<td>‘get, obtain’</td>
<td>‘be obtainable, be present’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 04:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káy/ká́y</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>‘be seen’</td>
<td>2022-03 @ 03:26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káy&quot;/ká́y°</td>
<td>‘work (v)’</td>
<td>‘(crop) be worked, grown’</td>
<td>2022-03 @ 05:23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá(-ŕ)</td>
<td>‘put in, add’</td>
<td>‘be put in; fall into’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 02:48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súwá/súwó</td>
<td>‘cultivate (crop)’</td>
<td>‘(crop) be cultivated’</td>
<td>2021-03 @ 06:13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A subset of these stems are phonologically unsuitable for the intransitivization process that shifts final back/low vowels to front (§9.3.1.1).

### 9.2.2 Reflexive clauses and the infrequency of morphological passives

Many verbs can occur in reflexive clauses that have (medio)passive sense, as well as occurring in transitive clauses with an agent. In the lexical spreadsheet for verbs, these verbs occur twice. The “valency” column flags one occurrence as “tr” (transitive) and the other as “refl.” Verbs meaning ‘return, go back’ occur only in reflexive clauses.
Some examples of reflexive/transitive doublets are in (468). They range semantically from mediopassive (468a-d) to passive (468e-g). The 3ReflSg pronominal ŋ́ assimilates in position to a stem-initial stop, becoming mb́, ń, ŋ́, or ŋ́.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(468)</th>
<th>clause</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>similar textual example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>à mb́ máyⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘It malfunctioned.’</td>
<td>2021-03 @ 06:37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à máyⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘He/She ruined it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>à ŋ́ káá gá</td>
<td>‘It shattered.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à káá gá</td>
<td>‘He/She shattered it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>à ŋ́ fígéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘He/She hid.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à fígéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘He/She hid it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>à ŋ́ kwéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘It (=stick) snapped.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à kwéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘He/She snapped it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>ā yà ŋ́ sé gá</td>
<td>‘It was said.’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 07:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à sé gá</td>
<td>‘He/She said it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ā yà ŋ́ tíⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘It was done.’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 08:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à tíⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘He/She did it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>ā yà ŋ́ dó gá</td>
<td>‘It was given.’</td>
<td>2021-01 @ 12:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā yà = à dó gá</td>
<td>‘He/She gave it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with other than 3Sg subject are in (469).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(469)</th>
<th>clause</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>(i) yè = é(é) fígéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘They hid.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áⁿ ŋ̀ = áⁿ “”</td>
<td>‘You-Sg hid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>íⁿ yè = ééⁿ “”</td>
<td>‘We hid.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>ŋ́ ná ŋ́ fítéⁿ ŋ́</td>
<td>‘I hid.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to typologically standard mediopassive/transitive doublets like those in (468-469) above, reflexive clauses have extended functions. In (470a), the reflexive clause might be analysed as antipassive (omitting the object), but since the emphasis is on the subject’s change of state it isn’t far removed from middle function. The verb in (470b) can only be used in reflexive clauses;
transitive ‘cause to return’ would require the causative suffix. In (470c), the simple intransitive ‘be used up, (supply) be exhausted’ becomes a euphemism for ‘die’ when the reflexive object is added.

(470)

a. à mènè ṣá  ‘He/She had a drink.’
   à yà= à mènè ṣá  ‘He/She drank it.’

b. à ní dèbè gà  ‘He/She returned.’

c. à dúw5n ṣá  ‘It (e.g. sugar) is used up.’
   à ní dúw5n ṣá  ‘He/She passed away (died).’

Given the productivity of reflexive clauses, especially those with mediopassive function, the need for valency-reducing derivational verb morphology (see below) is reduced. In addition, transitives with nonspecific 3Pl pronominal subjects (‘they buy X’) obviate the need for impersonal passives. However, the following section will show that some transitive verbs do have intransitive derivatives that can function as antipassives, or as (medio-)passives.

9.3 Valency reduction by dropping a nonsubject argument

9.3.1 Intransitivization of transitive verbs

A number of transitive verbs have an intransitive counterpart marked mainly by fronting the final vowel. The intransitivization can function as antipassive (the object is omitted) or (medio-)passive (the agentive subject is omitted). The intransivization also has its own verbal noun, which is also part of agentive nominals.

9.3.1.1 Intransitivized verb stems of shape CvCe/ε

A morphologically intransitive verb that is derived from a transitive can function as antipassive (object is omitted) or passive (subject is omitted). In formatted examples and in texts, the interlinear includes “VERB.Antip” for the antipassives and “be.(VERB)ed” for the passives based on function in context, but at the morphological level there is no difference.

An intransitivized stem is subject to the template CvCe/ε. It is bisyllabic and bimoraic, even if the input transitive is monosyllabic. The input stems, if already bisyllabic, end in a nonhigh, nonfront vowel from the set \{a o\}. In the intransitivized form these are fronted, with \{a o\}→ε and o→ε, preserving the stem’s ATR value. The first-syllable vowel, if not a high vowel \{i u\}, also fronts to harmonize with the final vowel, but first-syllable \{o o\} leave behind a trace of their rounding in the form of desyllabified w in the syllable onset (Cwe, Cwε), as in twéré from transitive tóró ‘sell’.
If the stem is already CvCv, no further change is needed in the intransitivization (471a). Caa stems become Ciye (471b). Stems with PfV Cv either borrow a medial nasal from the Ipfv or add a different medial nasal (471c). Input stems heavier than CvCv do not have phonologically marked intransitivizations. In pairs like those for ‘cut’ (471d), the fact that the transitive ends in a front vowel makes it impossible to determine whether the intransitive has been derived by (redundantly) fronting the final vowel, or whether the verb is simply ambi-valent.

(471) transitive intransitive gloss

a. input CvCv
díyá/díyà  
díyé/díyè  ‘eat (a meal)’
tóró/tórorò  twéré/twérè  ‘sell’
sùwè/sùwò  sùyè/sùyè  ‘cook (in a pot)’
~ sùwè/sùwè ~ sùqè/sùqè (§3.2.2)
tù"wò/tù"wò  tù"yè/tù"yè  ‘look (at)’
~ tù"wè/tù"wè

b. input Cvv
wàà/wààá  wiyè/wiyè  ‘kill’
yàà/yàá  yiyè/yiyè  ‘put down’

c. input C(w)v
kú"/kú-nú  kúmé/kúmè  ‘catch’
kwá(-rá)  kwérè/kwérè  ‘hit’
sí"/sí-ní  síné/síné  ‘bite’

d. no overt segmental change
kúlè/kúlè  kúlé/kulè  ‘cut’

Intransitivized ‘cook (in a pot)’ and ‘look’ in (471a) show the (subdialectal) palatalization of w to y, harmonizing with the final e. The form transcribed sùyè has a range of pronunciations including [sùjè], [sỳjè] and [sỳqè] with fronting or palatalization extending variably leftward into the nucleus of the first syllable.

Verbs that end in vowels other than {a o o}, and verbs whose basic stem is heavier than CvCv (e.g. CvvCv or CvCvCv), do not form CvCe/e intransitivizations, at least none that are phonologically distinct from the transitive. Some such verbs are nonetheless ambi-valent (labile), so they can function as transitive or intransitive verbs with no overt change in form.
9.3.1.2 Antipassive function of CvCe/ɛ intransitivizations

In main clauses, the intransitivization can be used in antipassive function (“.Antip” in interlinears) when the object of a transitive verb is nonspecific or unimportant. Compare ‘eat’ in antipassive (472a) and regular transitive (472b) clauses. In (272a) the point is that the speaker doesn’t need another meal; what he or she ate isn’t at issue. Incidentally, dîyê-fâ ‘food’ in (272b) contains contains the same dîyê, but in verbal-noun function (§4.2.1.2).

(472) a. Ø nà dîyê gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I have eaten.’

   b. Ø nà dîyê-fâ dîyá gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg food eat.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I have eaten a meal.’ (dîyê-fâ literally “eat.VblN-thing”)

Examples with ‘sell’ are in (473). (473a) describes the subject’s stable occupation.

(473) a. zàkí gà twérè
   Z Ipfv sell.Antip.Ipv
   ‘Zaki sells (does commerce).’

   b. zàkí gà tôó tórò
   Z Ipfv meat sell.Ipv
   ‘Zaki sells meat.’

Examples with ‘cook (in a pot on the fire)’ are in (474). The antipassive corresponds semantically to French faire la cuisine.

(474) a. à gà süyé
   3Sg Ipfv cook.Antip.Ipv
   ‘She cooks.’

   b. à yà= à sùwó gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg cook.Pfv Pfv
   ‘She cooked it.’

Examples with ‘bite’ are in (475). (475a) is a warning to be careful with a reptile or insect that can bite.
(475) a. ā gà sínè
   3Sg  Ipfv  bite.Antip.lpfv
   ‘It bites.’

   b. ā gà júmúⁿ sí-ní
   3Sg  Ipfv  person bite-lpfv
   ‘It bites a person (=people).’

Examples with ‘hit’ are in (476).

(476) a. ā gà kwérè
   3Sg  Ipfv  hit.Antip.lpfv
   ‘It hits.’

   b. ā gà júmà-réé kwá-rá
   3Sg  Ipfv  people hit-lpfv
   ‘It hits people.’

Parallel examples with ‘catch’ are in (477)

(477) a. ā gà kúmè
   3Sg  Ipfv  catch.Antip.lpfv
   ‘It (e.g. a trap) catches.’

   b. ā gà júmà-réé kú-nú
   3Sg  Ipfv  person-Pl catch-lpfv
   ‘It catches people.’

The occurrence of the CvCe/e shape in verbal nouns and (with suffix -ya) in agentives is most often antipassive but can be passive (see below).

9.3.1.3 Passive function of CvCe/e intransitivizations

The same CvCe/e intransitivizations can also function as passives, especially in habitual contexts. Representing CVCe as “Vbe” the underlying transitive [X Vb Y] shifts to [Y VbE] in (habitual) passive function, versus [X VbE] in antipassive function. The passive function is illustrated by the two verbs in (478). A circumcision ceremony is being planned.
day Ipfv be.looked.at.Ipfv, Dem.Def Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv
‘A day is considered, that (day) is caught (=set).’ (2021-01 @ 12:00)

Passive kumé/kumé ‘be caught’ also occurs several times with fish species terms as subjects in the
texts about fishing, e.g. 2021-03 @ 00:29 and 00:40.
The passive function of CvCe/e is circumscribed by the availability of other constructions
for (medio-)passive function. Particularly important is the reflexive-object construction (§9.2.2, §18.1.1).

9.3.1.4 CvCe/e stems in deverbal derivatives

For transitive verbs that have such a CvCe/e intransitivization, the intransitive stem also occurs in
the otherwise unsuffixed verbal noun and in various suffixal derivatives and compounds, some of
which are illustrated in (479). -bánà ‘manner’ (dialectal variant -báánà) combines easily with
zero-derived verbal nouns based on the intransitivization and is therefore well-represented in
(479).

(479) a. ‘eat’ (díyá/díyà)

díyé ‘eating’ verbal noun
tóó-díyé ‘meat-eating’ verbal noun with object
díyé-ní/díyé-ní ‘feed (v)’ causative
díyé-fá ‘food’ compound (fá ‘thing’)
díyé-bánà ‘manner of eating’ compound

with incorporated object

tóó-díyé-yá ‘meat-eater’ agentive with object
tóó-díyé-bánà ‘manner of eating meat’ double compound

b. ‘cook (in pot)’ (súwá/súwà)
súyé-yà ‘cook (n)’ agentive
súyé-wúwà ‘kitchen, cooking area’ place nominal
súyé-bánà ‘manner of cooking’ compound

c. ‘sell’ (tóró/tórò)
twéré-yá ‘seller, merchant’ agentive
twéré-wúwà ‘selling place, store’ place nominal
twéré-ná ní ‘be (already) sold’ resultative
twéré-bánà ‘manner of selling’ compound
d. ‘catch’ (kú'/kú-nú)
   kúmë ‘catching’ verbal noun
   sábá-kúmë ‘catching a chicken’ verbal noun with object
   kúmë-ná ni ‘be (already) caught’ stative (resultative)
   kúmë-yá ‘collector, captor’ agentive
   kúmë-báànà ‘way of catching’ compound
   with incorporated object
   náa-kúmë-báànà ‘way of catching cows’ double compound

e. ‘put down’ (yàà/yàá)
   yiýè ‘putting’ verbal noun
   yiýè-báànà ‘manner of putting down’ compound

f. ‘hit’ (kwá(-rá))
   kwérré-báànà ‘manner of hitting’ compound

g. ‘laugh’ (sá/sáá – sá-rá)
   sá-báànà ‘manner of laughing’ compound

h. ‘lie down’ (sáá/sáá)
   sáá-báànà ‘manner of lying down’ compound

Examples like tóó-díyé ‘meat-eating’ and tóó-díyé-yá ‘meat-eater’ with incorporated object (479a) show that the form in e/e occurs even in “transitive” contexts where an object is overt, in spite of the requirement for the transitive form (díyá/díyá) in transitive main clauses (X tóó diýá gá ‘X ate meat’, never #X tóó diýé gá).

9.3.2 dó ‘enter’ fused with á-ý ‘in it’ as dwéý/dwéé-

In at least one case, however, an original *á-ý ~ *á yì has fused to the verb to form a new verb. One special context for dó(-ró) ‘enter’ is ‘enter into (=undergo) circumcision or excision’, as in (480a). If ‘circumcision’ in (480a) is pronominalized this should result in (480b). This pronominal phrasing is rejected in the context of circumcision, though it is fine if á-ý denotes a place. In the circumcision sense, *dó and *á-ý fuse as dwéý, which can then be followed by Pfv morpheme gá (480c). The Ipfv stem is also dwéý, without the Ipfv suffix -RV otherwise typical of contour-toned stems. Verb dwéý is related to the composite noun, with two variants, denoting entry into circumcision/excision (480d).
The variant with -dwéë in (480d) suggests the possibility that this form has been secondarily associated with the CvCe/e intransitivizations, which are characterized mainly by stem-final vowel-fronting (§9.3.1 above). Compare verbal noun dwéë ‘going’ (§4.2.1.2) and place nominal dse-wúwà ‘entrance’ (§4.2.1.5).

A further complexity is that causative dwéë-ní/dwéë-ní ‘take/bring (sth) in’, which ends synchronically in causative -ní with the plausible literal sense ‘cause to enter’ (§9.1.2), may have its diachronic source, fully or partially, in *dò [à ní] ‘enter with it’, parallel to ‘bring’ and ‘convey’ constructions with instrumental PP.

In examples like (481), where a verb of putting that ends in a-vowel is followed by á-ỳ ‘in it, there in’, vv-Contraction can give the impression that (á-ỳ) is fusing to the verb in the same way as with dò ‘enter’ in the preceding example.

(481) à dò gà kònv-ỳn
3Sg enter.Pfv Pfv circumcision-Loc
‘He entered into (=underwent) circumcision.’

b. à dò gà = á-ỳ
3Sg enter.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc
‘He entered it (=place).’

#‘He entered into (=underwent) it (=circumcision).’

c. à dwéë gà
3Sg be.circumcised.Pfv Pfv
‘He entered into (=underwent) it (=circumcision).’ = ‘He was circumcised.’

d. kònní-dséë
≈ kwànní-dwëë
circumcision-entry
‘excision/circumcision’

The variant with -dwéë in (480d) suggests the possibility that this form has been secondarily associated with the CvCe/e intransitivizations, which are characterized mainly by stem-final vowel-fronting (§9.3.1 above). Compare verbal noun dwéë ‘going’ (§4.2.1.2) and place nominal dse-wúwà ‘entrance’ (§4.2.1.5).

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In examples like (481), where a verb of putting that ends in a-vowel is followed by á-ỳ ‘in it, there in’, vv-Contraction can give the impression that (á-ỳ) is fusing to the verb in the same way as with dò ‘enter’ in the preceding example.

(481) nà bé dantí-ìń yàà = á-ỳ
1Sg Ipfv Fut chili-DefSg put.Pfv 3Sg-Loc
‘I will add the chili peppers to the pot.’

However, the phonological fusion is accidental rather than morphosyntactic in (481). Other morphemes or constituents may separate the verb yàà/yàá from á-ỳ ~ á-yì, as shown by (482).

(482) ná dantí-ìń yàá gà = á-yì
1Sg Pfv.1Sg chili-DefSg put.in.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc
‘I put-Past the chili peppers into it (=the pot.’
Other apparently unsegmentable verbs ending in ay or ey might have originated in the same way as dwé, though the source may be less obvious than with ‘enter’. A clue is that a contour-toned verb fails to show the usual -RV suffix in the Ipfv stem.

One verb that was initially suspected to have such an origin is dábay/dábay ‘abandon, give up (a traditional practice)’, which lacks the Ipfv suffix. However, its etymology may be unrelated to *á-ý. In a reflexive frame, with the name of the practice as subject, there is a variant dámbay/dámbay with a medial nasal. This implies an etymological segmentation *dá-m-bay, which in turn suggests a distant connection with háy/báy ‘leave, abandon’. The original construction is attested in the combination of nonadjacent noun dá ‘custom’ and reflexive verb m háy ‘leave, abandon’ in 2021-03 @ 16:46.

9.3.3 Dative Dropping for ‘give’ (dó → dúwò)

dó(-ró) ‘give’ is ditransitive, requiring a postverbal dative PP expressing the recipient as well as a preverbal object expressing the theme (483a). It changes to dúwò when no recipient is expressed (483b). It may be a frozen combination of the original 'give' verb plus a pro forma pronominal element, but synchronically it is obscure.

(483) gloss Pfv Pfv with gà Ipfv
a. ‘give (sth, to sb)’ dó dó gà dó-ró
b. ‘give (sth)’ dúwò dúwò gà dúwò-rò

For example, (484a) shows the recipient-less dúwò, while (484b) shows the full ditransitive construction with dó.

(484) a. à dúwò
  3Sg give.Pfv
  ‘Give it (to me)!’

  b. à dó [zákí nà]
  3Sg give.Pfv [Z Dat]
  ‘Give it to Zaki!’

Both dative-dropped dúwò(-ró) and regular dó(-ró) occur in 2021-01 @ 06:28.

The discrepancy between [-ATR] dó(-ró) and apparently [+ATR] dúwò is interesting, but the obscure morphology of dúwò makes it difficult to decipher. On occasion I have initially transcribed ‘give.Pfv’ as dó instead of dó, as in (428b), When questioned, the speakers stated that
dó is correct for their dialects, and I recorded only dó-ró for the Ipfv, so I corrected dó to dó. However, ‘give.Pfv’ is dó in the more northerly Jenaama variety described by Lauchitsky (2007: 20), and also in Cliffs. In these varieties, dó ‘give’ and dó ‘enter’ are phonologically distinct. On the other hand, Kelenga has lɔ́lɔ́lɔ́ for both ‘give’ and ‘enter’. In view of the comparative facts it is likely that dó and dɔ́ are widely distributed in Jenaama-Sorogaama varieties for ‘give’.

There is no similar morphological Dative Dropping for ‘show’. In (485), gàsì has the same form whether ‘to Amadou’ is overt or is omitted.

(485) ə́ gàsì  ([áámadú nà])
3Sg  show.Pfv  ([A  Dat])
‘Show it (to Amadou)!’

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative verbs

Most but not all basic modifying adjectives have a corresponding intransitive inchoative verb. In some cases, the “adjective” is itself derived from the verb.

9.4.1 fà(-rà) or variant ‘become (Adj)’ and yàà/yàá ‘transform into (Adj)’

Some noun-like adjectives can only be made into inchoative predicates using the verb ‘become’ (Pfv fɔ̀ ~ fɔ̀ ~ fà, Ipfv fɔ̀-rà ~ fà-rà), which takes PP complements with instrumental ní (§11.2.4.2). For speakers with fɔ̀(-rà), the (nonreflexive) ‘become’ verb is identical in form to the (reflexive) verb ‘sit’.

Examples of adjectives that lack morphological inchoative verbs and so must use this construction are in (486).

(486) a. fà gà súmú ní  ‘become foreign’
b. fà gà tànàà ní  ‘become other’
c. fà gà twèè ní  ‘become new’

Other adjectives that do have inchoatives can also use this construction as an alternative.

A close variant of the construction in (486) is to add fà ‘thing’, and convert the adjective into a modifier. The adjective is then subject to the tonal changes that apply to modifying adjectives immediately following a noun. For example, (487) is based on the N-Adj fà twéé ‘new thing’.

(487) ə́ fà gà  [[fà twéé] ní]
3Sg become.Pfv  [Pfv  [[thing new] Inst]
‘He/She/It became new.’
In both constructions, if the subject is plural, the adjective or N-Adj is pluralized with -yè.

(488) a.  tä fà gà [twé-yè ní]
   3Pl become.Pfv Pfv [new-Pl Inst]
   ‘They became new.’

   b.  tä fà gà [[fà twé-yè] ní]
   3Pl become.Pfv Pfv [[thing new-Pl] Inst]
   ‘They became new (things).’

The verb yà/ya ‘put (down)’, which functions a kind of suppletive causative for fɔ̀ ‘sit’, is also the suppletive causative of fɔ̀ and variants ‘turn/transform/make X into N/Adj’.

(489) zakhir yà = à yà gà [twè ní]
   Z Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv Pfv [new Inst]
   ‘Zaki renewed/rejuvenated it (=made it new).’

9.4.2 Reflexive inchoatives

The verbs in (490) are aspect-marking inchoative verbs that occur in reflexive clauses. This appears to be usual for iterative adjectival stems.

(490) adjective gloss reflexive inchoative

kútù-kútù ‘coarse, rough’ kútù-kútù / kútù-kútù-rù
sógi-sógi ‘multicolored, spotted’ sógi-sógi / sógi-sógi-rù

Examples (491a-b) illustrate the reflexive construction.

(491) a.  à j kútù-kútù gà
   3Sg 3ReflSg become.coarse.Pfv Pfv
   ‘It (skin, body) became coarse (develop sores).’

   b.  è gè = é(é) kútù-kútù-rù
   3Pl Ipfv 3ReflPl become.coarse-Ipfv
   ‘They (often) become coarse.’
kútú-kútú is related to the reflexive verb kútú(-rù) ‘(skin) develop a sore’. Causative -ni can be added: kútú-kútú-ni/kútú-kútú-ni ‘cause (skin, surface) to be rough’. The modifying and stative predicate forms are participial, e.g. kútú-kútú-ná.

9.4.3 Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

In (492), the inchoative is identical or similar to the modifying adjective, without an obvious derivational suffix. The modifying adjective is unsuffixed in (492), but in most case the modifying adjective has participial -na (492b).

(492) Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying (Adj2)</th>
<th>gloss of Adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. màŋà/màŋá</td>
<td>màŋà</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. dègú(-rù)</td>
<td>dègú-nà</td>
<td>‘narrow, tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dúmá/dúmà</td>
<td>‘delicious, sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káámá/káámá</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìsi/kìsi</td>
<td>‘plump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kúmá/kúmá</td>
<td>‘lean, emaciated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>múwá/múwá</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nòg∂(-r∂)</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nìŋá/nìŋá</td>
<td>‘bad; nasty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nùgù/nùgù</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pà(-rà)</td>
<td>‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pì&quot;yè/pì&quot;yè</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tàngì/tàngá-nà</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wùwò&quot;/wùwó-nò</td>
<td>‘dry, hard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The corresponding factitive (‘cause to be ADJ’) is usually the regular causative of the inchoative, as with káámá-ní/káámá-ní ‘moisten, wet (sth)’. For màŋà/màŋá ‘become good, improve’ (492a), the causative is mènì/mènì ‘improve, cause to be good’. This is also the basic verb meaning ‘fix, repair’ or ‘make, manufacture’.

The color adjectives in (493a) likewise have participial -na, which can occur in any position. As immediately postnominal modifiers (i.e. in N-Adj), the participles compete with short unsuffixed CvCv or Cvv forms. The short forms occur exclusively in modifying function and so always get their tones from the noun (§6.3.1.1). The factitive is built on the inchoative.
(493) inchoative participle short gloss factitive

kú²wáá/kú²wáá kuwo² ‘white; clean’ kú²wáá-ní/kú²wáá-ní
pi³yé/pi³yé pii² ‘black’ pi³yé-ní/pi³yé-ní
tòmò/tòmò tòmò-ná tòmò² ‘red’ tòmò-ní/tòmò-ní

9.4.4 Inchoatives with -(a)ma

In (494), the inchoative verb ends in a suffix -(a)ma, which gets its tones by spreading from the stem.

(494) Deadjectival inchoatives with -(aa)ma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv)</th>
<th>modifying</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -aama / aama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bùrà-àmà / bùrà-àmà</td>
<td>boro²</td>
<td>‘big, massive, thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéémína-àmá / kéémína-àmá</td>
<td>këemine</td>
<td>‘old (person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòsà-àmà / kòsà-àmá</td>
<td>kòsa²</td>
<td>‘long; tall’ (variant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ kwàs…)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -ma-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáá-mà / dáá-mà</td>
<td>daa²</td>
<td>‘distant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káàsú-mà / káàsú-mà</td>
<td>kaasi</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḗówó tô-mà / Ḗówó tô-mà</td>
<td>Ḗówó tô-mà-na</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìyé-mà / tìyé-mà</td>
<td>tìye-mà-na</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wùwó-mà / wùwó-mà</td>
<td>wùwo²</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causative -ni can be added to any of these inchoatives, as in kòsà-àmà-ní/kòsà-àmà-ní ‘lengthen (sth)’.

káámá/káámá ‘become wet’ belongs here historically, but segmentation is opaque synchronically since the only attested modifying adjective is participial káámá-ná. (Cliffs has inchoative verb káá-mà ‘become moist’, clearly segmentable by comparison to modifying adjective káá.)

Inchoative kùsà-mà/kùsà-mà ‘abound, multiply, become many’ corresponds semantically to modifying adjective pééntë(w)² ‘many’. There is also a derived adjective kùsà-mà-nà ‘abundant’.
9.4.5 Inchoatives with -ga

In (495), the inchoative verb ends in -ga. síré-gá (495a) is somewhat isolated. The examples in (495b) involve inchoative -ga corresponding to diminutive adjectival suffix -gù. The second column shows the forms as free adjective or as Adj2 (in N-Adj1-Adj2), whose initial L-tone accounts for the L-toned inchoative. For Adj2 versus Adj1, see §4.5.1.1 and §6.3.3.1.1.

(495) inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) Adj2/free gloss

a. síré-gá / síré-gá sírè, síré-gá-ná ‘worn-out, old (thing)’

b. dúwà-gá / dúwà-gá dúwɔ́-gù ‘small’
fóří-gá / fóří-gá fóří-gù ‘light(weight)’
(ê fóří-gá / fóří-gá) (~ fóřú-gá)
fìří-gá / fìří-gá fìří-gù ‘soft’
(ê fìřú-gá / fìřú-gá) (~ fìřú-gù)
kwì-gá / kwì-gá kwì-gù ‘deep’
mìyè-gá / mìyè-gá mìyè-gù ‘small’
(ê mìyà-gá / mìyà-gá) (~ mìyà-gù)
nìyè-gá / nìyè-gá nìyè-gù ‘easy’
twì-gá/twì-gá twì-gù ‘short’

twì-gá/twì-gá ‘become short’ has an extended variant twì-gá-àmà/twì-gá-àmá.

9.5 Nouns as compound initials in verbs

There are a number of constructions suggesting that a diachronic transition is underway from the schema (496a), with a reflexively possessed body part as object of a transitive verb, into schema (496b), with a reflexive pronominal object and an incorporated noun compounded to the verb. The diachronic mechanism is rebracking.

(496) a. original: (subject) (inflection) [3ReflSposs PART] Vb
b. rebracketed: (subject) (inflection) 3ReflSpobj [PART-Vb]

The rebracketing may be imperceptible, in the absence of overt case distinctions. Compounding can be inferred from a combination of negative evidence (impossibility of plural or definite marking on the noun) and positive evidence (semantic and/or phonological divergence), as well as text frequency. The addition of a nonpronominal object before the PART-Vb sequence also favors a compound analysis, provided that the object cannot be plausibly interpreted as possessor of the body part.
In addition to constructions with reflexively possessed partonyms as objects (496b), such rebracking can also occur with any noun that is invariant in form and that frequently occurs as object of a specific verb. If the noun has a possessor (of any syntactic type), it evolves into the object of a transitive compound verb. If there is no possessor, the result is an intransitive compound verb (497b).

(497) original: (subject) (inflection) [(NP_{pos}) N] Vb
rebracketed: (subject) (inflection) (NP_{obj}) [N-Vb]

An example of this is týéŋ(-)kúmé ‘breathe’ from týé ‘air’ and kúmé ‘catch’. Other examples are presented in the subsections below.

9.5.1 kànì ‘breast’ as compound initial

The intransitive verb kánì-mèⁿ/kánì-mè-nè ‘(baby) suckle, nurse’ is composed of kànì ‘breast, mammary’ and mèⁿ/mè-nè ‘drink’. The latter elsewhere takes objects denoting liquids, or occurs in a reflexive construction in the antipassive sense ‘have a drink’. The combination of tonal, semantic, and syntactic divergence marks this as a compound.

(498) à kánì=meⁿ ná
3Sg suckle.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She suckled (nursed).’

9.5.2 dɔ́ɔ–dáá ‘mouth’ initial (‘begin’, ‘open’, ‘reply’, ‘sharpen’)

dɔ́ɔ ‘mouth’, in the form dɔ́ɔ- or dáá- depending on the combination, is a compound initial in lexicalized combinations with certain verbs. The meanings in question are ‘shut’ and ‘open’, ‘sharpen’, ‘reply’, and ‘begin’.

The vocalic variation between dɔ́ɔ ‘mouth’ and variant dáá (as in dáá-jì ‘saliva’) goes back to Proto-Bozo. Cf. Kelenga lógó-ó ‘mouth’ and its variant lágà-à in some combinations. Some of the noun-verb compounds are also old.

‘Open’ and ‘shut’ are illustrated in (499). The issue is whether dɔ́ɔ is the direct object ‘mouth’ (by extension: ‘door’) or is a compound initial on the verb. The markup suggests that it is an object in (499a-b), since ‘catch one’s mouth’ is a reasonable phrasing of ‘become quiet, shut up’. Conversely, the markup suggests that dɔ́ɔ is a compound initial in (499c-d), where it adds little to the clause-level meaning.
(499) a. [án dọ́ọ́] kúⁿ
   [2Sg mouth] catch.Pfv
   ‘Shut up!’

b. (i) yè = [é dọ́ọ́] kúⁿ ẹ̀
   3Pl Sbj/Obj [3ReflPl mouth] catch.Pfv Pf v
   ‘They shut up.’

    (variant dọ́ọ́-nọ́w ẹ̀)

c. à yè kúpè-èn dọ́ọ́-gwèⁿ ẹ̀
   3Sg Sbj/Obj door-DefSg open.Pfv Pf v
   ‘He/She opened the door.’
   (variant dọ́ọ́-wèⁿ ẹ̀)

d. à yè kúpè-èn dọ́ọ́-tiyèⁿ ẹ̀
   3Sg Sbj/Obj door-DefSg shut.Pfv Pf v
   ‘He/She shut the door.’

If ‘door’ is omitted in (499d), the verb ‘shut’ optionally takes the form dọ́ọ́-ń-ñiyèⁿ (or -tiyàⁿ), where -ń- could be taken as a phonetically eroded DefSg -yàwⁿ, implying that dọ́ọ́ still means ‘mouth, door’. See dọ́ọ́-ń-tiyàⁿ in (819b) in §15.4.2.

In the same semantic zone (open/shut) is dọ́ọ́-săràⁿ/-sărà-nà ‘sew up the mouth of (sack)’. The final element is not otherwise attested.

dọ́ọ́ combines with kúⁿ/kú-nú ‘catch’ in the sense ‘begin’. ‘Begin’ has semantic affinities with ‘open’, and the idiom ‘catch mouth’ = ‘begin’ also occurs in some other languages of the region including Bambara. dọ́ọ́-kúⁿ/dọ́ọ́-kú-nú is transitive with a nominal object. There is an intransitive version (passive rather than antipassive) dọ́ọ́-kúmè-/kúmè (500a,c).

(500) a. káyⁿ-ỳⁿ  dọ́ọ́-kúmè  gà
   work-DefSg be.begun.Pfv Pf v
   ‘The work has (been) begun.’

b. zàkì káyⁿ-ỳⁿ  dọ́ọ́-kúⁿ  ẹ̀
   Z work-DefSg begin.Pfv Pf v
   ‘Zaki has begun the work.’

c. káyⁿ tè dọ́ọ́-kúmè
   work(n) Pf vNeg mouth-catch.Antip.Pfv
   ‘Work has not begun.’

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Other ‘begin’ verbs are síntí人寿/síntí-ŋí borrowed from Songhay and ultimately from Tamashek, and súú-dó(-ró) (§9.5.8), literally “hand-give” or “hand-enter.” These two verbs differ from dóó-kú人寿/dóó-kú-ńú in also allowing sequential VP complements (§15.2.13).

The verb ‘reply to (sb), answer (sb)’ is a compound of dâá with kàmà/kàmá, which elsewhere means ‘receive, take (sth given)’ or ‘occupy (a place)’. Alternatively, dâá combines with the verb’s intransitivization kêmè/kêmé. The compound is clearly lexicalized (501).

(501) a. zâkî yé sèédû dâá-kàmà gà
   Z Sbj/Obj S reply.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Zaki answered Seydou.’

   b. zâkî dâá-kêmè gà
      Z reply.Antip.Pfv Pfv
      ‘Zaki replied.’

Compound verbs meaning ‘sharpen, hone (blade)’ have dáá- or dóó- as initial (502). Rather than a natural semantic extension from ‘mouth’ to ‘blade’, this may reflect a blurry convergence of dóó ‘mouth’ and dóó ‘knife’, in spite of their tonal difference. The final in dáá-ñóó(-rò) (502a) is obscurely related to dóó(-ró), which has a range of senses including ‘give’, ‘enter’, ‘put on (garment)’, and ‘set’. In dóó-báá/dóó-báá (502b) the final appears to be báá/báá ‘take out, remove’. The third (and most common) option is dóó-dúmá-ní/dóó-dúmá-ní, whose final is the deadjectival causative ‘make sweet, sweeten’, reflecting the region-wide convergence of ‘sweet, delicious (taste)’ with ‘sharp (blade)’.

(502) a. zâkî yé dóó-ñóó dâá-dóó gà
   Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’

   b. âyé dóó-ñóó dóó-báá gà
      Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
      ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’

   c. zâkî yé dóó-ñóó dóó-dúmá-ní nà
      Z Sbj/Obj knife-DefSg sharpen.Pfv Pfv
      ‘Zaki sharpened the knife (blade).’
9.5.3 múúⁿ ‘nose’ as compound initial

The parallel sense ‘sharpen (point)’ (German *spitzen*) is expressed with a similar compound. The object may be an awl, a spike, an arrow, a spear, a pencil, or a knife point. Here the noun is múúⁿ ‘nose’. It is compounded to ‘sweeten’.

(503) ṭàá-áⁿ múúⁿ-dúmá-níⁿ ñà
Z Sbj/Obj spear-DefSg nose-become.sweet-Caus.Pfv Pfv
‘Zaki sharpened the spear (point).’

9.5.4 kòbò ‘knee’ as compound initial

The sense ‘kneel’ (as in prayer) is expressed by kòbò-sígáⁿ. It occurs in a reflexive construction like that for other stance verbs. Elsewhere sígáⁿ/sígáⁿ is an intransitive verb ‘be submerged (in water)’. Since ‘kneel’ is clearly lexicalized, and since unsuffixed sígáⁿ/sígáⁿ is not elsewhere transitive (it has a causative with -ni), kòbò-sígáⁿ can be analysed as a compound.

(504) Zákí 3ReflSg kneel.Pfv Pfv
‘Zaki kneeled.’

Unlike other body-part terms that appear to behave as compound initials with verbs, kòbò is L-toned. In kòbò-sígáⁿ it undergoes Final Tone-Raising, showing that it still behaves tonally as an object noun.

9.5.5 Compounds with sùgu/sùgú ‘place (hand/foot) on ground’

The combination of súú ‘hand’ or tábá ‘foot’ with sùgu/sùgú ‘firmly place, plant (hand/foot) on ground’ is a borderline case of compounding. That the combinations are tending toward compounding is suggested by the infrequency of definite or plural marking. However, the semantics is transparent and the phonology is regular.

(505) kééwú-ýé yè = =é súú-/tábá -súgu gà
Z Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg hand/foot-put.on.ground.Pfv Pfv
‘The men planted their hands/feet on the ground.’
9.5.6 pùwò ‘corpse’ as compound initial

‘Bury X’ is expressed with pùwò ‘corpse’ and dọ(-rọ). Of the latter’s senses, ‘set’ is most relevant here. One can argue that this is a transitive compound based on the absence of definite or plural marking. Unlike most previous cases, this is not a reflexive construction.

(506) fí caregivers ę pùwò-dọ gá
1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl bury.Pfv Pfv
“We buried them.”

9.5.7 bònò ‘neck’ as compound initial

bònò ‘neck’ combines with kúlé/kúlè ‘cut’ to mean ‘cut the throat of, slaughter (an animal)’. This is a borderline case since the phonology and semantics are transparent. The evidence for compounding is the absence of definite or plural marking.

(507) fí caregivers sùw3-yé bònò-kúlé gá
1Pl sheep-Pl neck-cut.Pfv Pfv
“We slaughtered (the) sheep-Pl.”

9.5.8 súú ‘hand’ in súú-dọ(-rọ) ‘begin’

One of three verbs meaning ‘begin’ (for the others see §9.5.2 above) is súú-dọ(-rọ), which consists of súú ‘hand’ and dọ(-rọ) ‘give’ or ‘enter’. súú is preceded by a pronominal that was originally most likely the possessor of ‘hand’ but can now be construed as reflexive object. If there is an NP complement it is expressed as an instrumental PP.

(508) a. í nà ę sùú-dọ gá [káy“-ý” ni]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg 1Sg hand-give.Pfv Pfv [work-DefSg Inst]
“I started the job.’ (lit. “I gave my hand …’)

b. káy“-ý” tè ę súú-dọ
work-DefSg PfvNeg 3ReflSg hand-give.Pfv
“The work has not begun.”

c. sèédù ę súú-dọ gá
S 3ReflSg hand-give.Pfv Pfv
“Seydou has begun (an activity).”
The reflexive clause with súú-dó(-ó) may be followed by an imperfective VP (§15.1.1.2) or by a sequential VP (§15.2.13) as complement.

9.5.9 Bodily emissions with verb sé(-ré)

The verb sé(-ré) occurs in a number of collocations. Especially those in (509a) are candidates for compound status, as the noun (which denotes the discharge) has invariant form. Those in (509b) allow definite or plural marking of the object.

(509) a. kọ́n-jí sé(-ré) ‘urinate’
       kúwò sé(-ré) ‘defecate’
       tówò̀ sé(-ré) ‘fart (v)’

b. bíyè̀ sé(-ré) ‘lay egg’
   tógó sé(-ré) ‘construct (a hut)’

The Kelenga cognate of the verb is sée ‘put in; lay (egg)’.

9.5.10 ‘Hold a party’ (núwẹ́n-kú́wá-ní)

The composite intransitive verb núwẹ́n-kú́wá-ní ~ nọ́sí-kú́wá-ní contains variants of nọ́sí ‘eye(s)’ and causative kú́wá-ní ‘whiten/clean’.

9.6 Verb-stem iteration

Verb stems can be iterated to indicate repetition or prolongation, less often distributivity. In iterations, the first part has fixed form based on the simple Pfv, subject to Final-Tone Raising. For some verbs only the Ipfv stem is attested, for understandable semantic reasons. Parentheses indicate marginality (elicitable but not in use).

(510) Pfv/Ipfv gloss iteration (Pfv/Ipfv) gloss

a. jọ̀n̄/jọ̀n̄-n̄ ‘shake (once)’ jọ̀n̄-jọ̀n̄/jọ̀n̄-jọ̀n̄-n̄ ‘shake (back and forth)’

b. kúlè/kúlè ‘cut’ kúlè-kúlè ‘keep cutting’

c. kwá(-rά) ‘hit’ (kwá-kwá(-rά) ) ‘keep hitting’

d. n̄n̄i/n̄n̄i ‘walk’ n̄n̄i-n̄n̄i ‘keep walking’

e. yáárá/yáárá ‘go around’ yáárá-yáárá/yáárá-yáárá ‘walk around, wander’
Iteration is very common with ‘shake’ and ‘go around’, but requires narrative emphasis for other verbs (‘they hit me and hit me’), and a speaker indicates that some elicitable examples are not in common use.

Iteration is compatible with perfective aspect when it denotes a time-bounded activity, albeit prolonged or repetitious. A distributive function is less common but can be discerned in (511). Distributivity is also relevant to pété-pété ’split up’ in 2021-03 @ 15:43.

(511) [nɔ́gú-tū mà-lé-méé] f̀ẃ̥-fwò  gá
[village-owner  Rel-Pl-Pl] Rdp-be.installed.Pfv  Pfv
‘the various village chiefs who have been installed’ (2021-03 @ 14:40)

Some verbs occur only in iterative form. The examples in (512a) have the same tonal and morphological structure as the iterations in (510). In (512b), the compound verb has a distinctive L-HL tone melody not derivable from a putative simple input.

(512)  Pfv  lpfv  gloss

a. kááŋ-káá"  kááŋ-káá"  ‘rust (v)’
dògò-dògò  dògò-dògò  ‘tickle’

b. kúsùŋ-kúsù"  kúsùŋ-kúsù-nù  ‘shake (water container) up and down’
10 Verbal inflection

The abbreviations Pfv (perfective) and Ipfv (imperfective) with uppercase initial refer to the two stems that each verb presents; these are morphological categories. Phrases for syntactic constructions or groupings of them (e.g. perfective negative, imperfective system) are not abbreviated in the main text, and are abbreviated with lowercase formulae like pfv, ipfv, pfvneg, and ipfvneg in tables where spellout is not possible.

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

At the word level, verbs have two basic stems, Pfv (perfective) and Ipfv (imperfective). Many verbs also have a stative, in the form of a participial (“Ppl”) predicate with suffix -na.

A minority of verbs have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Many distinguish the two only by tones. Others distinguish them by suffixation in the Ipfv or some other segmental mechanism. the type of Pfv/Ipfv stem alternation is usually predictable from the form of the Pfv stem.

At clause level, TAMP categories (tense, aspect, mood, polarity) are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology, post-subject inflectional particles, and auxiliary verbs.

(513) category expressed by

- tense (past versus unmarked non-past) auxiliary verb
- aspect (perfective, imperfective) inflectional particle and verb stem
- stative participial suffix
- mood (subjunctive, deontic) inflectional particle
- polarity (negative, unmarked [positive]) inflectional particle

As (513) indicates, verbal morphology plays only a limited role in TAMP marking. Tense in this language is a higher-level category that specifies whether the reference time in the background is the moment of speaking or a displaced past reference time.

This chapter covers both the morphology of verbs (Pfv, Ipfv, Stat) and the broader TAMP inflectional system in main clauses.

10.1.1 Overview of AN categories

The most important types of main clauses are those in (514). Minor subdialectal variants (gày for käytä for tài) are omitted here. Included are categories whose expression includes preverbal or
postverbal particles and/or auxiliaries. “S” is the subject, which is obligatory except in singular-addressee imperatives. “X” indicates the position of the object NP in transitive clauses and is absent in intransitive clauses. Pfv and Ipfv are two different stems of the verb. The Pfv verb form, which is morphologically simpler than the Ipfv for many verbs, is also the unmarked verb form functionally. It is the basis for deontic modals such as the imperative, and for most nominalizations. The future construction is morphologically hybrid, combining an Ipfv or IpfvNeg particle (gà, tà) with the Pfv stem of the verb.

(514) category positive negative

a. perfective system
   perfective S Œ X Pfv gà S tè X Pfv (dialectally tì)
   future S gà bê X Pfv S bà bê X Pfv
   imperative/prohibitive (S) X Pfv S mà X Pfv
   hortative/subjunctive S nà X Pfv S mà X Pfv

b. imperfective system
   imperfective S gà X Ipfv S tà X Ipfv (dialect 1)
   presentative/progressive S kày X Ipfv S tày X Ipfv
   progressive S kày kíí X Ipfv S tà kúnnì X Ipfv (dialect 1)
   or: S gà kúnnì X Ipfv

   S tà kúnnì X Ipfv (dialect 2)

   c. some composite categories
   experiential perfect S gîyè gà [bê X Pfv] S tè gîyè [bê X Pfv]
   ‘already’ (perfective) S X Pfv gà [bê dúwɔ̀n] — —
   ‘not yet’ (perfective) — S tè X Pfv sùwɔ̀nì

The post-subject inflectional morphemes and their tonal variants are summarized in (515). (Postverbal inflectional morphemes are omitted.)

(515) category gloss basic before L-tone

   perfective (positive)
   in main clause Pfv (zero) (zero)
   in ‘if’ clause if.Pfv nà nà
   perfective negative PfvNeg tè tè
   imperfective (positive) Ipfv gà gà
   imperfective negative IpfvNeg tà (dialect 1) tà

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Construction</th>
<th>Pronunciation (1)</th>
<th>Pronunciation (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>kúnú</td>
<td>kínú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presentative-progressive positive</td>
<td>kày ~ gày</td>
<td>kày ~ gày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular progressive positive</td>
<td>gà kúnú/kínú</td>
<td>gà kúnú/kínú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future (positive)</td>
<td>~ tá /kínú</td>
<td>~ tá /kínú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (positive) singular addressee</td>
<td>(zero)</td>
<td>(zero)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prohibitive (subjunctive negative) singular addressee</td>
<td>án mà</td>
<td>án mà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortative (subjunctive)</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future bé is basically H-toned. In allegro speech it can sound low-pitched before an H-tone. The H-tone is audible in slow speech. Even in allegro speech it is expressed indirectly by the failure of preceding gà and tà to raise to gá and tá, as they do before L-tones.

10.1.2 Verb stem shapes

Verb stems are often cited in Pfv/Ipfv formulae like yèrí/yèrí ‘give birth’ and tó(-ró) ‘jump’. Verbs can be divided into those that have the same segmental shape in the Pfv and Ipfv stems, differing only by tones or not at all, and those that have a segmental distinction between Pfv and Ipfv, so they can be distinguished regardless of tones. Most verbs of the second type have a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv. The choice between the first (nonsuffixing) and second (suffixing) types is generally predictable from the syllabic shape and tone melody of the Pfv.

The following subsections are organized in part by the prosodic shape (e.g. CvCv) of the stem. No known verb begins with a vowel. The initial labial clusters {kw gw tw dw fw} can take the place corresponding to C₁ in other verbs, and might be analysed as labialized consonants (kʷ etc.). Examples (using Pfv stems) of verbs with these onsets are kwá ‘hit’, gwë n ‘untie’, twìgà ‘approach’, dweé-ní ‘take in’, and fìwà ‘become (sth)’ (variants fà ~ fì). With verbs as with other stem-classes, some stems end in a syllable that can be pronounced Cawⁿ or Cewⁿ prepausally. Before a consonant they are pronounced Caⁿ before fricatives and semivowels, and often with a homorganic nasal (or prenasalization) before stops and l. Examples are tá(w)ⁿ ‘ascend’ and tìyè(w)ⁿ ‘shut’ (Pfv stems). Some speakers do not pronounce the w even
prepausally, but they do pronounce nasalization. This syllable can count as monomoraic, like simple Cv, in prosodic formulae.

10.1.2.1 CvCv and CvY verbs with PfV = Ipfv segmentally

Array (516) illustrates the core perfective and imperfective systems for two underived CvCv verbs and two Cv-ni causatives that have the same segmental form in PfV and Ipfv stems. X is the object and begins with H-tone. The dialectal variants are due to IpfvNeg tà (dialect 1) versus tá (dialect 2), partially merged as tá by tone sandhi.

(516)  category  ‘die’ (/L/)  ‘let X drink’ (L)  ‘pass’ (/H/)  ‘raise X’ (/H/)

a. perfective system (kålè, mè-ní, kiyè, tá-ní)
   pfV   à kålè gà   à X mè-ní gà   à kiyè gà   à X tá-ní gà
   pfVneg à té kålè   à té X mè-ní   à té kiyè   à té X tá-ní
   fut   à gà bè kålè   à gà bè X mè-ní   à gà bè kiyè   à gà bè X tá-ní
   futneg à tà bè kålè   à tà bè X mè-ní   à tà bè kiyè   à tà bè X tá-ní
   imprt kålè   X mè-ní   kiyè   X tá-ní
   proh   (dialect 1) versus (dialect 1)

b. imperfective system (kålè, mè-ní, kiyè, tá-ní)
   ipfv   à gà kålè   à gà X mè-ní   à gà kiyè   à gà X tá-ní
   ipfVneg à tà kålè   à tà X mè-ní   à tà kiyè   à gà X tá-ní
   ~ à tà tè mè-ní   ~ à tà kiyè   ~ à tà X tá-ní
   prsnty-prog
   pos.   (dialect 1) versus (dialect 1)
   neg.   (dialect 1) versus (dialect 1)

The verbs of this type have level-toned (monotonal) /H/ or /L/ lexical melodies (based on the PfV). Verbs with contour melodies like /HL/ and /LH/ are covered in later subsections because they have suffixes in the Ipfv.

In (516), the Ipfv inverts the tone of the final syllable or monosyllabic mora, so /H/-melodic verbs have H.L Ipfv stems while /L/-melodic verbs have L.H Ipfv stems. The PfV/Ipfv tonal distinction is partially masked by tone sandhi, which converts CvCv to CvCv before L-tone, for example before postverbal PfV particle gà. This is the case in à kålè gà and in à X mè-ní gà in the “pfV” row in (516). Therefore the aspectual tone oppositions are best observed in constructions that require the PfV stem but that lack postverbal gà. This includes the future, the perfective negative, the imperative, and the sequential VP.
Cvy stems of /L/ and /H/ melody behave tonally like CvCv stems of the same melodies. In particular, both C̄v and C̃v invert the tone on the final mora to form the Ipfv stem.

(517) category ‘be seen’ (/L/) ‘malfunction’ (/H/)

a. perfective system (kày, máỳⁿ)
pfv ā kâỳ gâ ā máỳⁿ ṭa
pfvneg ā tê kâỳ ā tê máỳⁿ
fut ā gâ bè kâỳ ā gâ bè máỳⁿ
futneg ā tâ bè kâỳ ā tâ bè máỳⁿ
~ ā tâ bè kâỳ ~ ā tâ bè máỳⁿ
imprt kâỳ máỳⁿ
proh ām mà kâỳ ām mà máỳⁿ

b. imperfective system (kày, máỳⁿ)
ipfv ā gâ kâỳ ā gâ máỳⁿ
ipfvneg ā tâ kâỳ ā tâ máỳⁿ
~ ā tâ máỳⁿ
prog ā kây kâỳ ā kây máỳⁿ
progneg ā tây bè kâỳ ā tây bè máỳⁿ

The known Cvy verbs with monotonal Pfv stems are those in (518).

(518) a. /H/ melody
kày/kàỳ ‘draw water (at well)’
máỳⁿ/máỳⁿ ‘malfunction’ or (transitive) ‘ruin, damage’
kóy/kóỳ ‘be overcooked’
séyⁿ/séỳⁿ ‘carve’

b. /L/ melody
bày/bàỳ ‘leave, abandon’
kày/kàỳ ‘see’
kàỳⁿ/kàỳⁿ ‘commission, send on an errand’
pày/pàỳ ‘lay out (on ground)’
séy/séỳ ‘pull’
10.1.2.2  Cv and Cvv verbs with PfV = Ipfv segmentally

/H/-melodic CvCv stems remain H-toned in the Ipfv rather than dropping the final mora to L-tone. This distinguishes them from CvvCv and Cvvy, which as shown above drop the tone of the final syllable or monosyllabic mora in the Ipfv stem (CvvCv, Cvvy). By contrast, /L/-melodic Cvv vines do behave like CvvCv and Cvvy in raising the tone of the final mora to H.

(519) presents the one Cv verb that does not add a suffix in the Ipfv, along with the Cvv stems of monotonal /H/ and /L/ melodies. Expanding the onset as Cw does not affect the prosody (519c).

(519)  shape  melody  PfV/Ipfv  gloss
   a. Cv  /L/  sò/sò  ‘go’
   b. Cvv  /H/  báá/báá  ‘take out’
           káá/káá  ‘shatter’
           píí’/píí’  ‘rot’
           sáá/sáá  ‘lie down, go to bed’
           yáá”/yáá”  ‘melt’
           /L/  fúú/fúú  ‘swell’
           gúú/gúú  ‘do for a long time’
           màà/màà  ‘seek’
           níí/níí  ‘travel’
           píí/píí  ‘be first’
           píí/píí  ‘pour out’
           síí/síí  ‘wipe’
           wàà/wàà  ‘kill’
           yàà/yàà  ‘put down’
   c. Cwvv  /H/  kwèè/kwèè  ‘steal’

10.1.2.3  Trimoraic and longer verbs with segmentally identical PfV and Ipfv

Verbs of three or more moras that have monotonal /H/ or /L/ melody have segmentally identical PfV and Ipfv stems. Like CvCv stems (preceding subsection), /H/-melodic heavy stems also have tonally identical PfV and Ipfv stems. Again like CvCv stems, /L/-melodic heavy stems raise the final mora to H-toned in the Ipfv.

(520) compares bimoraic CvCv to heavier shapes. In all cases, the /L/-melodic verbs raise the tone of the final syllable in the Ipfv stem (by ablaut). The key difference in stem weight is
observed in the Ipfv stems of /H/-melodic verbs. Those of bimoraic CvCv shape drop the final tone in the Ipfv stem (520a). Those of heavier shapes (three or more moras) remain all-H-toned (520b).

(520) shape melody Pfv Pfv with gà Ipfv gloss
a. CvCv /H/ tóró tóró gà tóró ‘sell’
   /L/ kàmà kàmà gà kàmà ‘take, receive’
b. CvvCv /H/ gáará gáará gà gáará ‘stone-grind’
   /L/ gààsù gààsù gà gààsù ‘scoop’
CvNCv /H/ gênté gênté gà gênté ‘throw’
   /L/ [none]
CvCv /H/ kú"wáá kú"wáá gà kú"wáá ‘whiten’
   /L/ jináá jináá gà jináá ‘(boy) date (girl)’
CvCvCv /H/ pírítí pírítí gà pírítí ‘fly away’
   /L/ tògòbì tògòbì gà tògòbì ‘crush’

The only known CvNCv stem (with medial nasal-stop cluster) is gênté (~ gêndé) ‘throw’ or dialectally gêné. The variable syllabic shape and mora count is reflected in the variable tones of the Ipfv stem, and also in the nasalization of Pfv particle gà.

(521) ‘throw’ Pfv Pfv with gà Ipfv
a. dialect 1 gêné gêné ñà gêné
b. dialect 2 gênté gênté gà gênté

For dialect 2, therefore, the medial nasal-stop cluster in CvNCv adds a third mora.

On the other hand, a nasalized first-syllable vowel (before a sonorant or fricative), a nasalized second-syllable vowel, or an initial Cw cluster do not add an extra mora. Stems of these types behave like bimoraic CvCv. The evidence for this is that /H/-melodic verbs of these shapes drop the final tone of the Ipfv. The data in (522) are valid for both dialects tested.

(522) shape melody Pfv Pfv with gà Ipfv gloss
CvCv /H/ tìyé tìyé gà tìyè ‘ask’
CvwCv /H/ twéré twéré gà twérè ‘sell’ (antipassive)
CvCv(w)n /H/ tìyá(w)n tìyá" ñà tìyàwn ‘shut’
CvoCv /H/ tì"yè tì"yè gà tì"yè ‘carry on head’
10.1.3 Verbs with Ipfv suffix -RV

Nearly all verbs that do not have segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv have an unsuffixed Pfv and an Ipfv with -Cv suffix. The suffix variants -nv and -rv, and the marginal -lv, are the same morpheme in different phonological environments. -rv is the most basic form, and the label -RV can be used to subsume the three variants.

(523) Ipfv suffix distribution

-nv after a nasalized vowel
-lv optionally after a rhotic oral syllable (rv)
-rv after an oral (nonnasal) syllable

For bé/bí-yé ‘come’ see §10.1.6.2.

For the dominant Ipfv suffix -RV, the quality and tone of the suffixal vowel are carried over from the stem. For this purpose, apparent /LH/ melody is interpreted as /LHL/, with the second L realized only on the imperfective suffix (§3.6.1.1, cf. §3.6.5.1).

There are two distinct types of verbs that have Ipfv suffixes. They are a) monomoraic Cv stems, and b) stems that have contour-toned melodies /HL/, /LH/, or /LHL/ and that are not derived by a suffix (causative, inchoative).

With the exception of the two basic motion verbs sò/sò ‘go’ and bé/bí-yé ‘come’, all aspect-marking monomoraic Cv verbs stems have Ipfv stems with suffix -RV. There are many suffixing Cv verbs of /H/ and /L/ melodies, and one of /HL/ melody (524a-c). The latter reveals its melody only in the bisyllabic Ipfv, since the monomoraic Pfv stem is too short to carry the contour and appears as H-toned (524c). The fact that Cwv stems behave like Cv stems shows that the w following C1 (arguably labialization of C1) does not change the prosodic weight of the stem.

(524) Suffixing Cv verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>melody</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Pfv with gà</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /H/</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>bá gà</td>
<td>bá-rá</td>
<td>‘exit (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá“</td>
<td>bá“ gà</td>
<td>bá-ná</td>
<td>‘shave (head)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bé“</td>
<td>bé“ gà</td>
<td>bé-né</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bó</td>
<td>bó gà</td>
<td>bó-ró</td>
<td>‘burn, roast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>dé gà</td>
<td>dé-ré</td>
<td>‘take, pick up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dé“</td>
<td>dé“ gà</td>
<td>dé-né</td>
<td>‘rejoin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dó</td>
<td>dó gà</td>
<td>dó-ró</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dó</td>
<td>dó gà</td>
<td>dó-ró</td>
<td>‘give’ (variant dó, §9.3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Díⁿ</td>
<td>Díⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Díⁿ-ɲó</td>
<td>'encounter'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dúⁿ</td>
<td>Dúⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Dúⁿ-ɲú</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fú</td>
<td>Fú ɠà</td>
<td>Fú-rú</td>
<td>'sprout (v)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gó</td>
<td>Gó ɠà</td>
<td>Gó-ró</td>
<td>'weep' (Ipfv also gúwó)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kú</td>
<td>Kú ɠà</td>
<td>Kú-rú</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kúⁿ</td>
<td>Kúⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Kúⁿ-ɲú</td>
<td>'catch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Múⁿ</td>
<td>Múⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Múⁿ-ɲú</td>
<td>'insult (v)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pá</td>
<td>Pá ɠà</td>
<td>Pá-rá</td>
<td>'become full, complete'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sá</td>
<td>Sá ɠà</td>
<td>Sá-rá</td>
<td>'put in'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sé</td>
<td>Sé ɠà</td>
<td>Sé-ré</td>
<td>'say, speak'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Séⁿ</td>
<td>Séⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Sé-né</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sè</td>
<td>Sè ɠà</td>
<td>Sè-ré</td>
<td>'lay (egg)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siⁿ</td>
<td>Siⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Si-ní</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Só</td>
<td>Só ɠà</td>
<td>Só-ró</td>
<td>'mix in'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tá(w)ⁿ</td>
<td>Táⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Tá-ná</td>
<td>'ascend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Té</td>
<td>Té ɠà</td>
<td>Té-ré</td>
<td>'cross'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti</td>
<td>Ti ɠà</td>
<td>Ti-rí</td>
<td>'sow, plant (seeds)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tó</td>
<td>Tó ɠà</td>
<td>Tó-ró</td>
<td>'compel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cc’vé**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kwá</th>
<th>Kwá ɠà</th>
<th>Kwá-rá</th>
<th>'hit'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwéⁿ</td>
<td>Kwéⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Kwé-né</td>
<td>'snap (sth)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. /L/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bíⁿ</th>
<th>Bíⁿ ɲà</th>
<th>Bí-ní</th>
<th>'wrap around'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dáⁿ</td>
<td>Dáⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Dá-nè</td>
<td>'adhere, stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fá</td>
<td>Fá ɠà</td>
<td>Fá-rá</td>
<td>'become (sth)' (variant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kò</td>
<td>Kò ɠà</td>
<td>Kò-rò</td>
<td>'spear (v)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méⁿ</td>
<td>Méⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Mé-nè</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sà</td>
<td>Sà ɠà</td>
<td>Sà-rà</td>
<td>'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáⁿ</td>
<td>Sáⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Sá-nà</td>
<td>'(rain) fall’ or ‘buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sè</td>
<td>Sè ɠà</td>
<td>Sè-rè</td>
<td>‘tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tà</td>
<td>Tà ɠà</td>
<td>Tà-rà</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóⁿ</td>
<td>Tóⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Tó-nó</td>
<td>'swallow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wà</td>
<td>Wà ɠà</td>
<td>Wà-rà</td>
<td>'become fragile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wéⁿ</td>
<td>Wéⁿ ɲà</td>
<td>Wè-nè</td>
<td>'open; untie’ (variant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cc’vé**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gwéⁿ</th>
<th>Gwéⁿ ɲà</th>
<th>Gwé-nè</th>
<th>'open; untie’ (variant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fwà</td>
<td>Fwà ɠà</td>
<td>F₃-ró</td>
<td>'become’ (variant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fwä</td>
<td>Fwä ɠà</td>
<td>F₃-ró</td>
<td>'sit’ (variant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. /HL/**

| Kóⁿ | Kóⁿ ɲà | Kó-nó | 'take to pasture' |
The /HL/ melody of ‘tend (livestock)’ (524c), revealed by the tones of Ipfv kɔ́-nà (and by those of
generative kɔ́n-à ‘herder’), is unique among Cv stems. The fact that this verb takes the -RV Ipfv
suffix is doubly motivated by its monomoraic shape and by its contour tone.

As noted earlier, the combination of a contoured lexical tone melody with the absence of
derivational suffixation correlates with the presence of the -RV imperfective suffix. This
correlation is clear with stems of two or more moras. Representative contour-toned suffixing verbs
are in (525). Both Cᴠv and Cᴠʏ spread the H-tone to the suffixal boundary in the Ipfv, but only
Cᴠv does so before Pfv ɡà.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(525) shape</th>
<th>melody</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Pfv with gà</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cᴠv</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>túú</td>
<td>túú ɡà</td>
<td>túú-rù</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tìि́</td>
<td>tìि́ ɡà</td>
<td>tìि́-nì</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cᴠy</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>bọ́y</td>
<td>bọ́y ɡà</td>
<td>bọ́y-rì</td>
<td>‘greet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwé́ýn</td>
<td>kwé́ýn ɡà</td>
<td>kwé́y-nì</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCv</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>sù̄gù n</td>
<td>sù̄gù n ɡà</td>
<td>sù̄gù-nò</td>
<td>‘squat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tì́ỳ(w)n</td>
<td>tì́ỳn ɡà</td>
<td>tì́ỳ-nè</td>
<td>‘assemble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(HL)/</td>
<td>bà́tì</td>
<td>bà́tì ɡà</td>
<td>bà́tì-ri</td>
<td>‘post, affix’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCvCv</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>tàáśì</td>
<td>tàáśì ɡà</td>
<td>tàáśì-ri</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCv</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>tìsò́ò</td>
<td>tìsò́ò ɡà</td>
<td>tìsò́(ó)-rò</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCvCv</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>kà́lì́fà</td>
<td>kà́lì́fà ɡà</td>
<td>kà́lì́fà-rà</td>
<td>‘entrust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCvCvCv</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>bà́ádiyè</td>
<td>bà́ádiyè ɡà</td>
<td>bà́ádiyè-rè</td>
<td>‘wound (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CᴠCvCvCv</td>
<td>/LHL/</td>
<td>kù́rùgù́tù</td>
<td>kù́rùgù́tù ɡà</td>
<td>kù́rùgù́tù-rù</td>
<td>‘shape into ball’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs derived by adding a suffix (causative, inchoative), even if contour-toned, do not take an Ipfv
suffix. Examples are kù́sà-mà/kù́sà-mà ‘abound’ and dè́gù-nǐ/dè́gù-nǐ ‘squeeze’.

The Ipfv suffix takes the form -rì or nasalized -nì after stems of shape Cᴠ (526) showing
that the vowel quality of the suffix is based on the semivowel r y rather than on the nuclear vowel
of the stem. The Ipfv suffix -nì for ‘sweep’ (526a) is of course distinct from causative -nì, which
occurs in Pfv as well as Ipfv stems and which cannot co-occur with an Ipfv suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(526) shape</th>
<th>melody</th>
<th>Pfv</th>
<th>Pfv with gà</th>
<th>Ipfv</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Cᴠ</td>
<td>/HL/</td>
<td>bọ́y</td>
<td>bọ́y ɡà</td>
<td>bọ́y-rì</td>
<td>‘greet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwé́ýn</td>
<td>kwé́ýn ɡà</td>
<td>kwé́y-nì</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Cᴠ</td>
<td>/L(H)L/</td>
<td>kò́y</td>
<td>kò́y ɡà</td>
<td>kò́y-rì</td>
<td>‘weave (fabric)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The -lv Ipfv variant occurs sporadically after verb stems ending in a rhotic syllable rv (527a). There are rather few verbs of this shape. In focused elicitation, speakers generally prefer the rhotic suffixal variant, but in natural speech the lateral variant is sometimes heard.

(527) | shape | melody | Pfv | Pfv with gà | Ipfv | gloss
|-----|--------|-----|------------|------|------
| a.  | Cvrv   | /HL/ | nérè  | nérè gà  | nérè-lè | ‘slip, slide’ (dialect 2)
|     |        |      |        | ~nérè-rè |        | (dialect 1, with η)
| b.  | CvCrv  | /LHL/ | táfári | táfári gà | táfári-lying | ‘be done well’
|     |        |      | ~táfáti | ~táfáti gà | ~táfáti-rì | (dialect 2)
|     | CvvCrv | /LHL/ | pààŋkàrà | pààŋkàrà gà | pààŋkàrà-là | ‘get together’
|     |        |      | ~pààŋkàrà-rà |        |        | (dialect 1, with η)
| c.  | Cvrv   | /HL/ | sārì  | sārì gà  | sārì-ri | ‘pray’
|     |        |      | ~sānì  | ~sānì gà  | ~sānì-ŋà | ~sānì-ŋà

10.1.4 Irregular verbs

Each verb in (528) has one irregular form (bolded)

(528) | gloss | Pfv | Pfv with gà | Ipfv
|-----|-----|------------|------
| a.  | ‘come’ (§10.1.6.2) | bë | bë gà | bí-ye
| b.  | ‘laugh (v)’ | sà | sà gà | sàá ~ sà-rà

‘Come’ (528a) has a unique extension in the Ipfv stem. There is a variant verbal noun bí-ye ‘coming, arrival (here)’.

For ‘laugh’ (528b), Ipfv variant sà-rà is regular in form, but the other variant sàá is irregular. Diachronically, the irregular form may actually be the short-voweled Pfv sà. Both Cliffs sàà/sàá ‘laugh’ and Kelenga sjàà/jjá-là ‘laugh’ suggest an original *Caa shape. Within J-S of Djenné, homophony avoidance with the segmentally similar sàá/sáá ‘lie down’ (< *ságá) may have been a factor in how the forms of ‘laugh’ have evolved.
10.1.5 Participial (stative) form of verb (suffix -na)

A participle (abbreviation Ppl) that can occur in stative predicates is derived from several dynamic verbs (i.e. verbs that can mark aspect) by means of the suffix -na on the verb. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the stem (-ná or -nà).

Participles can also function as postnominal modifiers, and some “adjectives” have participial form (§4.5.1.3). Here their use in stative predicates rather than as modifiers is the issue. Statives are especially common with stance verbs. The verbs in (529a) occur elsewhere in the reflexive construction, where aspect is marked. Statives can also be formed from transitive verbs, denoting the state resulting from an external act (resultative stative) (529b).

(529) stative gloss Pfv Ipfv gloss (active)

a. from reflexive
   from intransitive
   fɔ̀-nà ‘be sitting (=seated)’ fɔ̀ fɔ̀-rɔ̀ ‘sit down’
   ~ fɔ̀rɔ̀-nà
   kirì-nà ‘up (having gotten up)’ kirì kirì ‘get up’
   sáá-ná ‘be lying down’ sáá sáá ‘lie down’
   sè-ná ‘be fallen’ sèⁿ sè-né ‘fall down’
   súgò-ná ‘be squatting’ súgòⁿ súgò-nò ‘squat’
   tàà-ná ‘be standing, be up’ tà tà-rà ‘stand up, stop’

b. from transitive or reflexive
   dɔ̀-tìyè-ná ‘be shut’ dɔ̀-tìyèwⁿ dɔ̀-tìyèwⁿ ‘shut’
   máyⁿ-ná ‘be out of order’ máyⁿ máyⁿ ‘ ruin (v)’
   kwé-ná ‘be broken’ kwéⁿ kwé-né ‘break (tr)’
   kwī-ì-ná ‘be rolled up’ kwī kwī ‘roll up’

When the participle denotes a transitory state, its predicate is generally a simple copula construction without ni ‘it is’ (530a-b), as with some other adjectival predicates.

(530) a. á gà sáá-ná bôn
   3Sg be lie.down-Ppl here
   ‘He/She is lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

b. á tà sáá-ná bôn
   3Sg not.be lie.down-Ppl here
   ‘He/She is not lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’
However, some participles that denote more permanent states, such as color, occur as predicates with following ni ‘it is’ (§11.4.1.1).

An idiomatic use of the stative is (531). The literal image is of disinflation as of a balloon. The context is that Seydou has lost his strength or energy.

(531) [sèédù tìyéⁿ] nà bá-ná ni
[S air] be exit(v)-Ppl it.is
‘Seydou’s air has gone out.’ = ‘The air has gone out of Seydou.’

10.1.6 ‘Go’ and ‘come’

The two primordial motion verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ both have somewhat irregular PfV/IpfV morphology. They, and less often other basic motion verbs (‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’), combine with other verbs or VPs in interesting multi-verb constructions. See especially the use of IpfV ‘go’ and ‘come’ as finals in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.1.5), and combinations of motion verbs with following perfective VPs often in purposive contexts (§15.1.2).

10.1.6.1 sò/sò ‘go’ and its mutations (yè)

The basic noncentripetal motion verb is sò (Pfv and Ipfv). The verb can be used alone, or followed by a spatial expression. It becomes H-toned by regular tone sandhi before an L-tone, as in è só nògú-ยก ‘they went to the village’.

In allegro speech sò is often mutated to è when medial in a clause. The mutation is most common in subordinated clauses and sequential VPs. è can reduce to encliticized =ย or =è (subdialectal choice) when it follows a nonzero inflectional morpheme. The =è variant can contract with a preceding vowel. Like sò, è can function as either PfV or IpfV stem.

(532) uncontracted contracted gloss

a. imperfective positive
   à gá só sóŋê-ยก
   à gá =ย sóŋê-ยก
   (~ à gê = è sóŋê-ยก)
   ‘He/She goes to the bush.’

b. imperfective negative
   à tá só sóŋê-ยก
   à tá =ย sóŋê-ยก
   (~ à té = è sóŋê-ยก)
   ‘He/She doesn’t go to the bush.’
c. perfective negative
   à té sò sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  à té = y sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  ‘He/She didn’t go to the bush.’
   (~ à té = è sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ)

d. subjunctive/hortative
   ífⁿ ná sò sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  ífⁿ ná = y sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  ‘Let’s go to the bush!’

e. perfective conditional (‘if.Pfv’)
   à ná sò sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  à ná = y sõŋ-ɔ́-ỳⁿ  ‘if he/she goes to the bush’

f. sequential (‘and then’)
   ɲú-méé gá sò  [bé yé kùbà-yùwóm [bùwɔ̥ pà]]
   Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv  [Seq go.Pfv wedding-woman [Recip Comit]]
   ‘those ones go and accompany the bride’ (2021-01 @ 10:11)

No mutation or unusual contraction occurs in clauses not preceded by a nonzero post-subject inflectional morpheme, or in prepausal position. Invariant sò is required in perfective positive sò ‘went’, imperative sò ‘go!’, and prepausal forms like à gá sò ‘he/she will go’.

The verb sò/sò ‘go’ often fails to raise to H-toned before an L-toned word by Final Tone-Raising. Where we would expect tone-raised sò we hear sò with the H-tone jumping to the onset of the other word (533a-b). See §3.6.4.4.3 for the tonology.

(533) a. ā gā bé sò (~ yè) [sùwɔ̥ tórọ]
   3Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv [sheep sell.Pfv]
   ‘He/She will go to sell a sheep.’ (< sùwɔ̥)

   b. à gá sò (~ yè) yâ(w)ⁿ
   3Sg Ipfv go.Pfv descend.Pfv
   ‘He/She (often) goes and climbs down.’ (< yâwⁿ)

10.1.6.2 bé/bf-yé ‘come’

This verb has an idiosyncratic Ipfv stem. The verb is a simple intransitive, though it can be followed by a spatial expression like ‘here’ or ‘in(to) the village’. It can denote arrival, as in ‘X has come’, or the entire trajectory.

(534) à bé gā (bòⁿ)
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv (here)
   ‘He/She came here.’ or ‘He/She has arrived here.’
When followed by an H-tone, Pfv bé can sound low-pitched, but it still behaves as H-toned in not triggering Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L.

\[(535) \text{ā tē bè bō}^n\]
\[3\text{Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv here} \]
\[\text{‘He/She/It didn’t come here.} \]
\[\text{heard as [ātēbēbōʻn]} \]

For verbal nouns bé and bí-yé see §4.2.1.2.

‘Come’ is also the likely source for two important grammatical morphemes, sequential bé and future bé. In the sequential construction, a regular main clause is followed by a sequential VP without an overt subject (§15.2.1), or sometimes by a sequential clause with a pronominal subject (§15.2.4).

The future construction contains a post-subject imperfective particle (positive gà, negative nà) plus bé and a VP with a Pfv verb (§10.2.2.2). The combinations are positive gà bé and negative tà bé.

10.1.6.3  gó ‘weep’ (Ipfv gó-ró or gówó)

The verb ‘weep’ has Pfv stem gó. The Ipfv varies subdialectally between regular gó-ró and slightly irregular gówó. The causative is gówó-ní/gówó-ní, less often gó-ní/gó-ní. Cognates of ‘weep’ are Kelenga gwóó(-ló) and Cliffs wwó/wwö.

10.2  Indicative AN categories

10.2.1  Perfective and perfect categories

Each aspect-marking verb has a Pfv stem (§10.2.1.1). Further elaborations of perfective and perfect semantics involve the addition of auxiliary-like verbs or adjuncts, as with the experiential perfect (§10.2.1.2) and rough equivalents of the recent perfect (§10.2.1.3).

In the perfective positive, 1Sg subject ŋ is followed by its own perfective positive allomorph nà (§4.3.3.1) in both intransitive and transitive clauses. In transitive clauses only, in some subject-object combinations the two are separated by the bidirectional case marker yè (§11.1.2.1, §4.3.2.). Otherwise there is no true post-subject inflectional particle in perfective positives, except in conditional antecedent clauses where the post-subject particle is nà (§10.2.1.4, §16.1.1).
10.2.1.1 Simple perfective (positive and negative) of intransitive verbs

The simple perfective is used to report a bounded event that has been completed in the past, before the present (or other designated reference time). In positive main clauses, the Pfv stem of the verb must be immediately followed by Pfv particle gà. The latter is nasalized to ñà after most Nv and Cvⁿ syllables. It is raised to H-toned gà (nasalized ñá) after L-toned monomoraic Cv verbs, regardless of the tones of the following word, as in sò gà ‘went’. If not already raised in this way, it is raised by Final Tone-Raising when followed by an L-tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pfv stem</th>
<th>‘they __-ed’</th>
<th>‘they will __’</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bé</td>
<td>è bé gà</td>
<td>è gà bé bé</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táb(w)ⁿ</td>
<td>è táⁿ ñà</td>
<td>è gà bé táb(w)ⁿ</td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèⁿ</td>
<td>è dèⁿ ñá</td>
<td>è gà bé dèⁿ</td>
<td>‘adhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yà</td>
<td>è yà gà</td>
<td>è gà bé yà</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pfv stem occurs without Pfv gà in the future construction, in the perfective negative, and in the imperative. This suggests that gà combines realis mood (it actually happened) with past time (it does not occur in the imperfective or progressive even when visibly happening). For an interesting modal nuance involving presence/absence of gà in subordinated perfective positive clauses, see (869c-d) in §17.3.6 and comments preceding (869). Also of possible interest, but difficult to interpret, is the fact that post-subject perfective positive nà in conditional antecedents appears to be incompatible with postverbal gà, see (823a-b) in §16.1.1.

Morphologically, the Pfv stem has no segmentable suffix. It reveals the lexical melody of the verb (before tone sandhi processes). The melody may be monotonal /L/ or /H/, or contoured /HL/, /LH/, or /LHL/.

Verbs of /L/ melody that have two or more moras (Cvv, CvCv, etc.) undergo Final Tone-Raising before Pfv gà (and, in the future construction, before any other L-tone).

The perfective negative has particle tè in post-subject position, before the VP. It raises to té before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The 1Sg subject combination is ū té (dialect 2) or ū tè (dialect 1) prior to tone sandhi. An occasional variant tì instead of tè has been recorded for dialect 2 with the ‘come’ verb (ā tì bè ~ ā tè bè ‘he/she didn’t come’) but its dialectal and morphosyntactic distribution is unclear.

(537) has a pronominal-subject paradigm for kùmù ‘slept’. This verb has /L/ melody. It therefore triggers Final Tone-Raising on PfvNeg tè, and (in the positive) it triggers Upstep on 3Sg à and 3Pl è. The verb kùmù itself raises to kùmù before Pfv gà (here ñà).
Array (538) has a subject paradigm for ‘fall’ for positive and negative perfective clauses. This verb is H-toned, so it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising or Upstep on preceding morphemes. In the perfective negative construction, dialects differ as to whether 1Sg ŋ̀ requires H-tone on PfvNeg ŋ. 1Sg ŋ̀ is raised to ŋ́ before L-tones. Otherwise the dialects studied have identical paradigms.

Pfv stems based on contour melodies are illustrated in (539).
10.2.1.2 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (gíyé gà)

This construction expresses a past event that may have occurred long ago but that has left an imprint in the subject’s memory and/or status. It corresponds to have ever and to its negation have never in English. It’s main ingredient is the intransitive auxiliary gíyé, which occurs in a perfective clause. In positive clauses gíyé is followed by Pfv gà, and in negative clauses it is preceded by PfvNeg tè. This clause is followed by a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.1), beginning with bé and containing a Pfv verb.

(540) a. áŋ gíyé gà [bé tuvwó-bòróŋ kày] rà
   2Sg ExpPf Pfv [Seq elephant see-Pfv] Q
   ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’

b. ñ nà gíyé gà [bé dúwó mèn]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg ExpPf Pfv [Seq beer drink.Pfv]
   ‘I have (at least once) drunk (millet) beer.’

c. ñ tè gíyé [bé dúwó mèn]
   1Sg PfvNeg ExpPf Pfv [Seq beer drink.Pfv]
   ‘I have never drunk (millet) beer.’

10.2.1.3 Equivalents of present perfect

There is no fully grammaticalized present perfect. Addition of sáwù ‘now’ to a perfective clause approximates one type of perfect (‘has just VPed’) as in (541a). Addition of a sequential VP with one of the verbs kilàn ‘finish’ (reflexive) or dúwó ‘end’ (541b-c) approximates another type (‘has already VPed’). The sequential bé dúwó can be reduced to dúwó ~ lúwó ‘already’, functioning then as an adverb.

(541) a. ín díyé gà sáwù
   1Pl eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv now
   ‘We just ate.’

b. è díyé gà [bé = é(é) kilàn]
   ‘They have finished eating.’ (= ‘They already ate.’)
c. ń nà diyé gà [(bé) dúwà³]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv [(Seq) end.Pfv]
‘I have finished eating.’ (= ‘I already ate.’)

10.2.1.4 ń as perfective positive marker in conditionals

While there is usually no overt post-subject inflectional morpheme in perfective positive clauses, in conditional antecedents of this category ń separates the subject from the VP. Since other post-subject inflectional morphemes, like perfective negative tè, occur in the same post-subject position, one could interpret this ń as a perfective positive marker (it is glossed “if.Pfv”). See §16.1.1 for the conditionals.

ń can be separated from the subject only by past morpheme tì³ – tò³. An example is 2021-03 @ 07:14.

ń also occurs after subjects in positive subjunctive clauses, which likewise require the Pfv stem of verbs (§17.4.1). The phonological similarity, the shared post-subject position, and the shared irrealis modal values raise the question whether the two ń’s are the same morpheme, or homophones. An obstacle to equating them is that the subjunctive is negated by prohibitive mà, while perfective conditional antecedents are negated with perfective negative tè. In Cliffs, subjunctive gálà is unrelated to nàw³ ~ nàw³ ‘if.Pfv’.

10.2.2 Nonperfective categories

The nonperfective indicative categories are a) imperfective, b) future, c) presentative, and d) progressive. They are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology and preverbal particles.

10.2.2.1 Post-subject imperfective particles (positive gà, negative tà ~ tá)

The imperfective is expressed by the combination of post-subject inflectional particles, described in this subsection, and the imperfective stem of the verb (see the following subsection). It may express habitual or gnomic eventualities, where it has no competition. As the unmarked all-purpose imperfective, it may also denote ongoing processes (competing with the marked presentative and progressive), or future events (competing with the marked future construction).

Ipfv particle gà occurs between subject NP and VP in positive clauses. The g becomes ñ after a nasal or nasalized vowel. gà is elsewhere the ‘be’ copula used in positive equational (§11.2.2.1) and locational-existential predicates (§11.2.3.1). The 1Sg subject combination (before further tone sandhi) is ñ gà (dialect 1) and, with Tone Inversion on the particle, ñ gà (dialect 2).

gà is replaced by tà (dialect 1) or tá (dialect 2) in negative clauses. The dialectal distinction between tà and tá is audible before an H-tone, but they merge as tá due to Final Tone-Raising.
before an L-tone, tà ~ tá is also the negative ‘not be (somewhere)’ in locational-existentiel clauses (§11.2.2.2). The 1Sg combination (before further tone sandhi) is ní tà (dialect 1) and, with Tone Inversion, ní tà (dialect 2).

A pronominal-subject paradigm for ‘sleep’ is in (542). The imperfective stem of this verb begins in L-tone, which triggers Final Tone-Raising. For example, 1Sg variant ŋá kumú is from /ŋgà kumú/ with two left-to-right instantiations of Final Tone-Raising.

(542) ‘sleep(s)’ ‘don’t/doesn’t sleep’

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Sg</td>
<td>ŋá kumú</td>
<td>ní tà kumú (dialect 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋá kumú</td>
<td>ní tà kumú (dialect 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 3Sg</td>
<td>à gá kumú</td>
<td>à tá kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>è gá kumú</td>
<td>è tá kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ín ŋá kumú</td>
<td>ín tà kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>áŋ ŋá kumú</td>
<td>án tà kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>áá gá kumú</td>
<td>áá tá kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ŋá kumú</td>
<td>ní tà kumú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoPl</td>
<td>gá kumú</td>
<td>é tá kumú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Array (543) presents the imperfective paradigm of an /H/-melodic verb ‘fall’. Ipfv gà and (for dialect 1) IpfvNeg tà do not undergo Final Tone-Raising before H-tone.

(543) ‘fall(s)’ ‘doesn’t fall’

dialect 1 dialect 2

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Sg</td>
<td>(ŋ) ŋá sé-né (dialect 1)</td>
<td>ní tà sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋá sé-né (dialect 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 3Sg</td>
<td>à gá sé-né</td>
<td>à tá sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>è gá sé-né</td>
<td>è tá sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>ín ŋá sé-né</td>
<td>ín tà sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>áŋ ŋá sé-né</td>
<td>án tà sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>áá gá sé-né</td>
<td>áá tá sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg</td>
<td>ŋá sé-né</td>
<td>ní tà sé-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoPl</td>
<td>gá sé-né</td>
<td>é tá sé-né</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10.2.2.2 Future (preverbal gà bè, negative tà bè ~ tá bè)

This is a marked future construction; future events can also be denoted by the general imperfective. The future is expressed by Ipfv gà or its negation tà plus what could be analysed as a same-subject sequential VP beginning with bè and containing a PfV (not Ipfv!) verb. While this is a good bet as the original proto-construction, the future is sufficiently distinct syntactically and semantically that bè is labeled “Fut” (rather than “Seq”).

The paradigm of ‘sleep’ illustrates the tonal effects of a verb beginning with L-tone. bè is clearly H-toned throughout, but it is not clear from this paradigm whether this is already a lexical H, or a lexical L that raises by Final Tone-Raising. gà ~ ñà is L, but raises (to ñá) dialectally after the 1Sg proclitic. tà does not raise after the 1Sg proclitic.

\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l}
& \text{will sleep} & \text{won’t sleep} \\
\hline
\text{dialect 1} & \text{dialect 2} \\
\hline
\text{a. 1Sg} & ñà bè kùmù (dialect 1) & ñ tà bè kùmù \\
& ñá bè kùmù (dialect 2) & ñá bè kùmù \\
\hline
\text{1Pl} & ñà bè kùmù & ñ tà bè kùmù & ñ tà bè kùmù \\
\text{2Sg} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\text{2Pl} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\text{3Sg} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\text{3Pl} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\text{LogoSg} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\text{LogoPl} & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù & ñ à bù kùmù \\
\end{array}
\]

The future paradigm of H-toned ‘fall’ is (545). The transcription here shows H-toned bè, but it is sometimes heard with low pitch. It behaves as H-toned morpheme by the failure of preceding gà or tà to undergo Final Tone-Raising. The 1Sg combinations show the same dialectal difference as in (544) above.

\[
\begin{array}{l|l}
& \text{will fall} & \text{won’t fall} \\
\hline
\text{dialect 1} & \text{dialect 2} \\
\hline
\text{a. 1Sg} & ñà bè sè(w) & ñ tà bè sè(w) & \text{(dialect 1)} \\
& ñá bè sè(w) & ñ tá bè sè(w) & \text{(dialect 2)} \\
\text{b. 1Pl} & ñà bè sè(w) & ñ tà bè sè(w) & \text{(for dialect 2, tà instead of tà)} \\
\text{2Sg} & ñà bè sè(w) & ñ tà bè sè(w) & \text{á à bè sè(w)} \\
\text{2Pl} & ñà bè sè(w) & ñ tà bè sè(w) & \text{á à bè sè(w)} \\
\end{array}
\]

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Another idiosyncracy of dialect 2 is that future gà bé and the Pfv verb bé ‘come’ usually combine as gà bì bé. The same shift of bé to bì before ‘come’ occurs in sequential clauses.

If the clause is transitive, bé is followed by the object.

\[(546)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{'I will sell the dog.'} \\
& \text{1Sg Ipfv Fut dog-DefSg sell.Pfv} \\
& \text{ŋ̀ŋá bè kôngoró-ôn tóró} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{'I will look at the house.'} \\
& \text{1Sg Ipfv Fut goat / house look.at.Pfv} \\
& \text{ŋ́ŋá bè ñámáá-(a)jí tù"wò} \\
\end{align*}
\]

There are many future positive clauses in the recordings, e.g. 2021-01 @ 00:14. An example of the future negative is 2021-03 @ 13:25.

10.2.2.3 Presentative (káy ~ gày)

The presentative (§4.4.4) can be integrated into an imperfective positive clause. káy (dialect 1) or gày (dialect 2) replaces Ipfv gà. The 1Sg form is ŋájáy. The awkward English translations do not capture the seamlessness of the J-S of Djenné construction.

\[(547)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{'There they are, speaking/going up!'} \\
& \text{3Pl Prsntv speak.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv} \\
& \text{é káy (~ gày) diyèmú / …} \\
& \text{káy (~ gày) … / tá-ná} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{'There they are, eating meat!'} \\
& \text{3Pl Prsntv meat-DefSg eat.Ipfv} \\
& \text{é gày tóó-ōù diyà} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In true presentative clauses like these, negation is not possible, and shifts to non-present time are only possible as part of a full-fledged narrative time shift.

However, the presentative form can spill into progressive function, with or without juxtaposition of a dedicated progressive morpheme. See below.
10.2.2.4 Presentative as progressive

There are two competing progressive constructions. For some speakers, the original presentative (see the preceding subsection) has spread into progressive function where it competes with the regular progressive construction (see the following subsection). A key indicator of this spread is that the “presentative” marker can be negated. The possibility of negation is an indicator of progressive but not presentative function. The forms in gày ~ ɲày etc. (preceding subsection) are negated by replacing their initial consonant by t, just as Ipfv gà is replaced by tà. (548a) can function as either presentative or progressive, while (548b) is progressive negative.

(548) a. ā gày diyèmú / …
    gayy … / tà-ná
    3Sg Prsntv/Prog speak.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
    ‘There he/she is, speaking/going up.’ or ‘He/She is speaking/going up.’

b. ā tày diyèmú / …
   täy … / tà-ná
   3Sg ProgNeg speak.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
   ‘He/She is not speaking/going up.’

10.2.2.5 Progressive (kíniⁿ ~ kúnú)

In the main positive progressive construction, kúnú (dialect 1) or kíniⁿ (dialect 2) follows the presentative morpheme kày ~ gày or (sometimes in dialect 1) the simple imperfective positive morpheme gà. kúnú and kíniⁿ may be slightly compressed locative forms of demonstratives, cf. kú nwínn ‘in(side) that’. In the negative progressive, imperfective negative tà (dialect 1) or tá (dialect 2) replaces kày ~ gày or gà. In both positive and negative versions, the verb is in the Ipfv stem.

(549) a. ā gày kíni
    kày kúnú
    3Sg Prsntv Prog
    [diyèmú / día / tál-ná / [tóó-(ó)ň díyà]]
    ‘He/She is talking/eating/going up/eating the meat.’
b. ä gà kúnú
3Sg Ipfv Prog
[diyèmù / diyè / tá-ná / [tóó-(ò)ǹ díyà]]
[=(a)]

3Pl Prsntv Prog sit-Ppl
‘There they are, seated.’

10.2.2.6 Subjunctive (nà)

The subjunctive particle nà (functionally equivalent to Cliffs gàlà) occurs in irrealis contexts, as opposed to assertions. Without a higher clause, it functions as a hortative or to express a wish (§10.4.2-3). With 2Sg subject, a subjunctive clause can function as a polite request; an example is 2021-01 @ 00:03. There are also subjunctive complement clauses (§17.4.1).

nà follows the subject, preceding the VP. The subject position must be filled by at least a pronominal clitic. The VP following nà has a verb in the Pfv stem, as with débè in (551).

(551) [ń ká] gà = [à pà]
[1Sg father] be.Loc [3Sg Comit]
[ít nè = éen débè só nàgí-ǹ]
[1Pl Sbjn 1Pl return.Pfv go.Ipfv village-Loc]
‘My father wants us to go back to the village.’

The subjunctive is negated by replacing nà with the prohibitive morpheme mà (§17.4.1) This distinctive feature of the subjunctive arguably distinguishes it from the ‘if.Pfv’ particle nà, which occurs in post-subject position in perfective positive hypothetical conditional antecedent clauses (§16.1.1)
For 1Sg subject ŋ̀ (+H), the pronominal nasal itself is sometimes inaudible, but nà and mà become H-toned. Presumably ŋ̀ (+H) is responsible for the raising, and then the nasal optionally drops before another nasal. Thus 1Sg subjunctive Ō ná varying with ŋ̀ ná, and 1Sg prohibitive Ō mà varying with mà mà.

A tightly-phrased preceding yè ‘said’ is raised to yé before even a segmentally zeroed 1Sg pronominal ŋ̀; see (466) in §9.1.4 above.

10.3 Shift of reference time

10.3.1 Shift to past time viewpoint

Ordinary tense-aspect marking (perfective, present, future, progressive, stative) presupposes the perspective of the here-and-now of the speech event. The time interval or point of an event or situation that is described is compared to the moment of speaking. In narrative, an unfolding scenario may use the displaced “present” as the reference time.

The constructions described below involve ‘be.Past’ (i.e. ‘was/were’) or its negation (552) as auxiliaries, followed by a VP in any of several aspect-negation inflections. túⁿ was recorded for dialect 1, tíⁿ for dialect 2.

(552)  
perfective positive       túⁿ ~ tíⁿ  
perfective negative      túń tè ~ túń tè  
imperfective positive    túⁿ ŋá ~ tíⁿ ŋá  
imperfective negative    túń tâ ~ tín tá  
cf. PfvNeg tè  
cf. Ipfv gâ  
cf. IpfvNeg tâ ~ tâ

For ‘be.Past’ as a stand-alone existential ‘there was/were X(s)’ or combined with a locational expression as in ‘X was here/in the house’, see §11.2.3.2. The irregular tone patterns described there suggest that túⁿ ŋá ~ tíⁿ ŋá may have originally been a perfective verb with postverbal Pfv gâ (becoming gâ after L-toned monosyllabic and nasalizing g to ŋ). Regular Final Tone-Raising affects the negative particles tè and tâ (for dialect 2, tâ is always H-toned).

10.3.2 Past imperfective

The past imperfective describes either a formerly habitual eventuality (‘we used to hunt antilopes’), or one that was in progress as background to a separate foregrounded event (‘I was sweeping the place when they arrived’). It consists of the ‘be.Past’ forms presented above, in auxiliary function, plus a VP with Ipfv verb.

Intransitive examples are (553a-b).
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(553)  a.  à  tùⁿ  (~ tìn)  n já  kiyé / tá-ná
    3Sg  be.Past  Ipfv  run.Ipfv/ascend-Ipfv

‘He/She used to run/go up.’

b.  à  tì  n  tá  kiyé / tá-ná
    (dialect 2)

tún  tá  kiyé / …
    (dialect 1)

tún  tá  … / tá-ná
    (dialect 1)

3Sg  be.Past  IpfvNeg  run.Ipfv / ascend-Ipfv

‘He/She didn’t use to run/go up.’

Transitive examples are in (554).

(554)  a.  [pánááⁿ  niîⁿ]  íîn  tùⁿ  n já  fuúⁿ / píîⁿ  süwá
    [before  inside]  1Pl  be.Past  Ipfv  fonio/millet  cultivate.Ipfv

‘In the past we used to grow fonio/millet.’

b.  [pánááⁿ  niî]  íîn  tùn  tá  sàfúlà / …  süwá
    tà … / dòò
    [before  inside]  1Pl  be.Past  IpfvNeg  cowpea/cotton  cultivate.Ipfv

‘In the past we didn’t use to grow cowpea/cotton.’ (dialect 1)

c.  è  gà =  à  sè-ré,
    3Pl  Ipfv  3Sg  say-Ipfv,
    [é  tìⁿ  n já  [yúwó-síffà  këmbërë]  kú-nú]

‘They, say that they used to catch certain kinds of fish.’ (2021-03 @ 03:23)

10.3.3 Past stative

tùⁿ  n já  ~ tìn  n já  or its negation can also be added to a stative to shift its time to the past. (555a-b)
illustrates with a stative derived from an active verb f(wò)(-rò) ‘sit’.

(555)  a.  à  tùⁿ  (~ tìn)  n já  fôr-ná
    3Sg  be.Past  Ipfv  sit-Stat

‘He/She was sitting (=seated).’

b.  à  tún  (~ tìn)  tá  fôr-ná
    3Sg  be.Past  IpfvNeg  sit-Stat

‘He/She was not sitting (=seated).’
Other semantically stative constructions are illustrated in (556).

(556) a. ñ tǔn ñá [nògú nìf’]
1Sg be.Past be.Loc [village inside]
‘I was in the village.’

b. əmáa tíñ ñá [tín pá]
house be.Past be.Loc [1Sg Comit]
‘I had a house.’

c. ñ tíñ ñá sùwò-yà nì
1Sg be.Past be cultivate-Agent it.is
‘I used to be a farmer.’

d. ñ tǔn ñá sàbàrè-yá-àŋ túwò
1Sg be.Past Pfv heal-Agent-DefSg know.Pfv
‘I used to know the healer.’

10.3.4 Past perfect

To indicate that an event had already happened at a reference time in the past, the perfective ‘be.Past’ construction is used.

(557) a. ã tǔn (~ tǐn) sò / … gà
ã tum (~ tǐm) … / bé gà
3Sg be.Past go.Pfv/come.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She had (already) gone/come.’

b. ã tún (~ tìn) té sò / …
ã tǔní (~ tìí) tè … / bé
3Sg be.Past PfvNeg go.Pfv/come.Pfv
‘He/She had not gone/come.’
This construction is specifically past perfect. An approximation to the present perfect is expressed differently, by adding bè dúw5n (558a) in the positive (§10.2.1.3) and sùn wòni in the negative (558b).

(558) a. à sò gá [bè dúw5n]
3Sg go.Pfv Pfv [Seq finish.Pfv]
‘He/She has already left.’

b. à té sò sùn wòni
3Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv yet
‘He/She has not yet gone.’

10.3.5 Future-in-past (‘was/were about to VP’)

The future-in-past means ‘was/were going to VP’ or ‘was/were about to VP’. It makes use of the same future particle bè that occurs in the regular future construction (positive gá bè, negative tà bè). Even the positive future-in-past (559a) does not imply that the event actually took place.

(559) a. à tùn ná bè sò
3Sg be.Past lpfv Fut go.Pfv
‘He/She was going to go/was about to go.’

b. à tùn ná bè sèn
3Sg be.Past lpfv Fut fall.Pfv
‘He/She was about to fall/nearly fell.’

c. à têm tà bè sèn
3Sg be.Past lpfvNeg Fut fall.Pfv
‘He/She was not about to fall.’
It is possible to elaborate the ‘be.Past’ verb by adding an invariant comitative PP à pà, literally ‘with it’. The pronominal is invariant 3Sg and does not agree with (or refer to) the subject. This construction can also mean ‘wanted to VP’.

(560) tö tiⁿ nà̂ = [à pà] [bé seⁿ]
3Pl be.Past lpfv [3Sg Comit] [Fut fall.Pfv]
‘They were about to fall/nearly fell.’
or: ‘They wanted to fall.’

10.3.6 tì-nà and tì-ɲè

tì-nà, apparently a participialized verb stem, occurs in one textual passage (561).

(561) [nòɡù- tù]-sèbè-èn tà tì-nà
[village-owner]-matter-DefSg lpfvNeg be.able.Past-Ppl
[bé seën kilà̂ n sûwɔ̀ñì]
[Seq road get.Pfv (not.)yet]
‘The matter of the chief(-hood) has not yet been able to find a solution.’
(2021-03 @ 15:08)

The construction is obscure. It may involve a fusion of tìn ‘be.Past’ and sinì/sìnì ‘be able’. In follow-up elicitation, another speaker produced a positive counterpart with tì-ɲè functioning as the Pfv, followed by perfective verbs (562). He rejected sequential bé in the positive version.

(562) a. a tì-ɲè sèen kilàⁿ nà
3Sg be.ablePast-Pfv road get.Pfv Pfv
‘It has been able to find a solution.’ (< seën)

b. a tì-ɲè wàlèn kilàⁿ nà
3Sg be.ablePast-Pfv money get.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She was able to find money.’

### 10.4 Deontic modals

Deontic modals are imperatives (including prohibitives) and hortatives.
10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

All imperatives and prohibitives are based on the Pfv stem of the verb. The inflectional morphemes that occur with them, and examples using ‘come’ and ‘go’ along with transitive ‘shatter it!’, are in (563).

(563) Imperatives and prohibitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type</th>
<th>particle</th>
<th>‘come!’</th>
<th>‘go!’</th>
<th>‘shatter it!’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. positive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg subject</td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>bé</td>
<td>sò</td>
<td>à káá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl subject</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>yè bé</td>
<td>yé sò</td>
<td>yá = à káá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg subject</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>á&quot; mà bé</td>
<td>á&quot; má sò</td>
<td>á&quot; má = à káá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl subject</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>áá mà bé</td>
<td>áá má sò</td>
<td>áá má = à káá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For indirect commands and imprecations with open-ended subjects, see §10.4.3.1. For quoted imperatives see §17.1.5.1.

10.4.1.1 Imperative (bare Pfv for singular, plural yé)

The Pfv stem is used, without a subject. For singular addressee there is no preverbal (i.e. post-subject) inflectional particle. Transitive verbs have their usual preverbal objects.

(564) Pfv/Ipfv Imprt (Sg) gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. /H/ melody</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bé/bí-yé</td>
<td>bé</td>
<td>‘come!-2Sg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| tá(w)/tá-ná     | tá(w)
| dó(-ró)         | dó        | ‘enter!-2Sg’ |
| káá/káá        | à káá     | ‘shatter it!-2Sg’ |
| kónó/kónó      | kónó      | ‘stay!-2Sg’ |
| pírití/pírití  | pírití    | ‘fly off!-2Sg’ |
b. /L/ melody

| sò/sò | sò | ‘go!-2Sg’ |
| yà(-rà) | yà | ‘descend!-2Sg’ |
| nùmààsàⁿ/nùmààsáⁿ | nùmààsàⁿ | ‘forget-2Sg’ |

c. /HL/ melody

| diáyè/díyè | diáyè | ‘eat!-2Sg’ (antipassive) |
| tígà(-rà) | tígà | ‘cough!-2Sg’ |
| (~ tígàⁿ/tígà-nà) | (~ tígàwⁿ) |

d. /LH/ melody

| bàtí(-ri) | à bàtí | ‘post it!-2Sg’ |

e. /LHL/ melody

| dábárëⁿ/dábárë-nè | à dábárëⁿ | ‘bewitch him/her!-2Sg’ |
| bàádiyè(-rè) | à bàádiyè | ‘wound (him/her)!-2Sg’ |

For plural addressee, yè is clause-initial, preceding the VP including an object if present. It becomes yé by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone. It is phonologically unrelated to 2Pl proclitic áá.

(565) singular addressee | plural addressee | gloss

| bé | yè bé | ‘come!’ |
| sò | yé sò | ‘go!’ |
| à káá | yá = à káá | ‘shatter it!’ |
| súwó sà(w)ⁿ | yè súwó sà(w)ⁿ | ‘buy a goat!’ |

For singular addressee, an intransitive verb is clause-initial, and the object of a transitive verb is clause-initial, as in súwó sà(w)ⁿ ‘buy a goat!’.

Imperatives of reflexive verbs require a 2Sg or 2Pl object pronominal preceding the verb. In addition, a 2Pl reflexive imperative begins with yè.

(566) Imprt (Sg) | Imprt (Pl) | gloss

| áⁿ fò (~ fwò) | yà = áá fò (~ fwò) | ‘sit down!’ |
| án tà | yà = áá tà | ‘stop!’ |

Because 2Sg and 2Pl pronominals have the same forms as reflexive and non-reflexive objects, it is not obvious from (566) whether áⁿ and áá are syntactically reflexive objects as opposed to
ordinary second-person objects. This is an issue since nearby Dogon languages use non-reflexive 2Sg and 2Pl pronominals in semantically reflexive commands like ‘kill yourself/yourselves!’ The structure in (566) can be clarified by converting the commands into quoted imperatives, taking advantage of the fact that the original addressee (if not the current speaker or addressee) is normally phrased as a 3Sg or 3Pl pronominal in quotations. The result is a quoted imperative with a clearly reflexive pronominal.

(567) à yé [zàkí tè] [ā nà ĕj fwayne]
3Sg said [Z Dat] [3Sg Sbjn 3Ref1Sg sit.Pfv]
‘He/She told Zaki to sit down.’

10.4.1.2 No conjoining or juxtaposition of two imperatives

If the command contains two different verbs, the first is expressed as an imperative and the second is expressed as a subjunctive clause (with 2Sg or 2Pl subject). The subjunctive is also used in quoted imperatives as illustrated just above. (568a-b) show how two same-actor events are combined in indicative contexts, using the sequential morpheme bè. The corresponding double commands (568c-d) begin with simple imperatives, which are followed by finite subjunctive clauses.

(568) a. [ā dyé ĕ] [bè tá(w)n]
[3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv] [Seq ascend.Pfv]
‘He/She ate and (then) went up.’

b. [ā gā bè dyé] [bè tá(w)n]
[3Sg Ipfv Fut eat.Antip.Pfv] [Seq ascend.Pfv]
‘He/She will eat and (then) go up.’

c. dyé [ān nà tá(w)n]
‘Eat-2Sg and (then) go up!’

d. yè dyé [āá nà táw"
‘Eat-2Sg and (then) go up!’
10.4.1.3 Prohibitive (mà)

The prohibitive (negative imperative) has its own post-subject inflectional particle mà. It requires a preceding second person subject pronominal: 2Sg áⁿ mà, 2Pl áá mà. The imperative plural morpheme yè is absent. These details suggest that mà is morphologically the negation of subjunctive nà (on this, see §17.4.1).

(569) Proh (Sg)  Proh (Pl)  gloss
     áⁿ mà bé  áá mà bé  ‘don’t come!’
     áⁿ má só  áá má só  ‘don’t go!’
     áⁿ má ŋ́ wáá  áá má ŋ́ wáá  ‘don’t kill me!’ (< wáá)

10.4.1.4 1Sg object in deontic modals

1Sg object ŋ́ (+tones) has the same tonal effects on a following verb in transitive imperatives as it has in indicative transitives; see Tone Inversion (§3.6.3.1). L-initial verbs like ‘sell’ and ‘squeeze’ become HL-toned. /H/-melodic verbs become L-toned, and /HL/-melodic verbs become LH-toned. The tones are easily heard in simple imperatives (570a), and are partially masked by downdrift but still audible in prohibitives (570b).

(570) verb (Pfv)  with 1Sg object  gloss
a. imperatives
     dëgùnì  ṋ dëgù-nì  ‘squeeze me!’
     tápì  ŋ́ tàpí  ‘push me!’
     tòrò  ŋ́ tòrò  ‘sell me!’
     kwá  ŋ́ kwá  ‘hit me!’

b. prohibitives
     dëgùnì  áⁿ mà ŋ́ dëgù-nì  ‘don’t squeeze me!’
     tápì  áⁿ mà ŋ́ tàpí  ‘don’t push me!’
     tòrò  áⁿ mà ŋ́ tòrò  ‘don’t sell me!’
     kwá  áⁿ mà ŋ́ kwá  ‘don’t hit me!’

10.4.1.5 hɔⁿ ~ hàⁿ ‘here, take this!’

When handing something to another person, the (mild) imperative ‘here, take this!’ is the one-syllable utterance hɔⁿ or hàⁿ depending on subdialect. That it is imperative is shown by the plural-
addressee form yé hàⁿ ~ yé hàⁿ. It cannot be negated (i.e. there is no prohibitive form). It is not transitive and cannot be preceded by an object (or subject), though it can be followed by a presentative (571).

(571) hàⁿ, máángòró kày
take!, mango Prsntv
‘Here’s a mango, take it!’

10.4.2 Hortatives

10.4.2.1 Hortative with subjunctive nà

The first inclusive plural hortative (‘let’s VP!’) is expressed as a subjunctive clause with 1Pl subject and no higher clause. There is no indexing of addressee number. nà undergoes regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising before L-tone).

(572) a. íîⁿ ná yà / sò
1Pl Sbjn descend.Pfv / go.Pfv
‘Let’s-2Sg go down!/go!’

b. íîⁿ nà tâ(w)ⁿ / dîyé
‘Let’s go up!/eat!’

c. íîⁿ nà tóó-(ò)ǹ dîyá
1Pl Sbjn meat-DefSg eat.Pfv
‘Let’s eat the meat!’

d. íîⁿ ná bùwó kwá
1Pl Sbjn Recip hit.Pfv
‘Let’s hit each other (=fight)!

Replacing nà by prohibitive mà produces hortative negatives. As noted above, prohibitive clauses are similar in structure to (positive) subjunctives, not to (positive) imperatives.

(573) a. íîⁿ má yà / sò
1Pl Proh descend.Pfv / go.Pfv
‘Let’s-2Sg not go down!/not go!’
b. ín mà tá(w)n / dáyé
1Pl **Proh** asc.Pf/ eat.Ant.Pf
‘Let’s not go up! / not eat!’

c. ín mà tóó-(ò)n dáyá
1Pl **Proh** meat-DefSG eat.Pf
‘Let’s not eat the meat!’

10.4.3 Non-second person-subject deontics

10.4.3.1 Wishes with third-person agent

A wish, blessing, curse, or other imprecation involving a non-third-person agent is expressed with subjunctive nà if positive, and with prohibitive mà if negative. The structure is identical to that of 1Pl hortatives, but now the subject is open-ended. The particle yála can be preposed to wishes. This particle resembles yára ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4, §17.4.3), but it may really be from Maghrebi Arabic (e.g. Moroccan *yallaah* ‘let’s’, originally ‘Oh God!’).

(574) a. yála, alà nà kwá [ín nà]
   hopefully, God **Sbjn** help.Pf [1Pl Dat]
   ‘May God help us!’

b. à nà tá(w)n
   3Sg **Sbjn** asc.Pf
   ‘May he/she go up!’

c. à mà tá(w)n
   3Sg **Proh** asc.Pf
   ‘May he/she not go up!’

d. álà nà í kentà-àmë-nì
   God **Sbjn** 1Sg heal-Inch-Caus.Pf
   ‘May God cure me!’ (< kentà-àmë-nì)

These wishes have the same form as quoted imperatives (jussives), as in ‘I told Seydou (not) to come’ (§17.1.5.1). The similarity in form suggests the possibility that wishes like (574a-d), which consist of a single overt clause, are reduced from biclausal constructions with a higher ‘say’ clause and a quoted imperative. However, one might argue against this on cultural grounds when ‘God’ is the subject as in (574a) and (574d).
10.4.3.2 Clarifications with a first-person subject

A first-person agent occurs in a subjunctive or prohibitive clause when the speaker seeks clarification or confirmation of command or unspoken wish from an interlocutor.

(575) a. ṇ ná bé [téè ní] nà
    1Sg Sbjn come.Pfv [tea Inst] Q
    ‘Shall I bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to bring the tea?)

b. màn má bé [téè ní] nà
    1Sg Proh come.Pfv [tea Inst] Q
    ‘Shall I not bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to not bring the tea?)
    (wondering if you would like tea, or confirming that you don’t want it)
11 Clause, VP, and predicate structure

11.1 Clausal constituents

Constituent order is maximally S-infl-O-V-infl-X. The post-subject “infl” position is empty in perfective positive intransitive main clauses and under some conditions in perfective positive transitive clauses. There is a single preverbal object slot; if a second “object” is present it must follow the verb as part of the residual X, which also includes adverbs. (576a) is S-infl-V-infl-Adv. (576b) is S-infl-O-V-infl-Adv. (576c) is S-infl-O-V-infl-PP. The negative sentence (576d) is S-infl-V-PP. The zero inflection for perfective positive is elsewhere omitted in transcriptions, but in (576a-b) it is marked with Ø.

(576) a. sèdû Ø bé gà digéⁿ
   S Pfv come.Pfv PfV yesterday
   ‘Seydou came yesterday.’

   b. sèdû Ø [sùwó bònò] kúlé gà digéⁿ
   S Pfv [sheep neck] cut.Pfv PfV yesterday
   ‘Seydou slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the sheep-Sg yesterday.’

   c. nà wálèn dó gà [sèdû nà]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [money Dat]
   ‘I gave money to Seydou.’

   d. sèdû tè bé [tèè ní]
   S PfvNeg come.Pfv [tea Inst]
   ‘Seydou didn’t bring tea.’

11.1.1 Subjects

11.1.1.1 Subjects in indicative main clauses

With the exception of the 1Sg pronominal, there is no difference in form for NPs in subject versus object function. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish subjects from objects on the basis of their linear position and some other properties.
Subjects, both pronominal and noun-headed, occur in a fixed clause-initial position. Except in singular-addressee imperatives and subordinated infinitive-like VPs, an overt nonzero subject is obligatory. Subjects are preceded only by preclausal elements of the types listed in (577).

(577) a. temporal adverbs and adverbial phrases (e.g. ‘today’, ‘after the holy day’)
    b. discourse markers (e.g. ŋkà ‘but’)
    c. optional polar interrogative markers
    d. topicalized NPs and adverbials
    e. ‘if’

Since temporal adverbs and adverbials more commonly occur in absolute clause-final position, when they do precede subjects they may be topicalized, at least in some cases.

Subjects are immediately followed by any of a number of inflectional morphemes, marking aspect and polarity for indicatives and some modals. The main ones are listed in (578).

(578) a. indicative
    gà    imperf. positive
    tà (dialect 1)    imperf. negative
    tá (dialect 2)    “”
    të    perf. negative

    b. nà    subjunctive
    mà    prohibitive

It is possible for the post-subject inflectional “slot” to be empty. This is the case in perfective positive main clauses, especially with intransitive verbs like ‘go’ (579), where the subject NP is immediately followed by the verb or other predicate.

(579) sèèdú    sò    gà    nàgù-ŷ
       S    go.Pfv  Pfv        village-Loc
‘Seydou went to the village.’

In perfective positive transitive clauses, the empty post-subject inflectional “slot” is filled under some conditions by the bidirectional case marker ŋè, glossed “Sbj/Obj” in interlinears.

(580) ě    ŋè    sèèdú    kàý    gà
      3PL  Sbj/Obj  S    see.Pfv  Pfv
‘They saw Seydou.’
What probably once was an allomorph nà of the bidirectional case marker, associated with 1Sg subject or perhaps more generally with pronominals consisting of nasal consonants (as in Cliffs), is no longer limited to transitive clauses, so labeling it is difficult.

Singular-addressee imperatives lack overt subjects, and also lack an overt modal marker. Plural-addressee imperatives begin with a morpheme yè that precedes the VP. It is difficult to gloss this morpheme, since it is unrelated to the usual 2Pl pronominal áá. It is here glossed as “Imprt.Pl”, treating it as a portmanteau. Prohibitives (negative imperatives) do have overt second person subjects, 2Sg áⁿ and 2Pl áá, preceding the prohibitive morpheme. See §10.4.1-2 for more on imperatives and prohibitives.

“Subject” as a syntactic category is relevant to anaphora. Reflexive objects and possessors, which have a distinctive form for 3Sg and 3Pl, are coindexed to clausemate subjects (§18.1.1).

Since reflexive objects can occur in imperative as well as indicative clauses, the preponderance of evidence supports recognition of imperative subjects, even if covert.

11.1.1.2 Temporal and meteorological collocations

Unusual subject-verb collocations denote transitions between day and night. In (581a), the noun functioning as subject elsewhere means ‘year’, but the collocation here denotes a daily event. The combination in (581b) is also odd semantically; one might have expected “day disappear” or “night arrive/become black” instead of “night disappear/get lost.”

(581) a. jíñ  kíyé  gà
year  pass.Pfv  Pfv
‘Day has broken.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 03:14)

b. gùù  túⁿ  ŋà
night  disappear.Pfv  Pfv
‘Night has fallen.’ (cf. 2021-01 @ 12:39)

Collocations with ‘sun’ as subject are in (582). In (582a-b) the subject is a compound understood by some speakers to contain ɲ́ɔ̀ ‘eye’ but whose tones suggest an origin with ɲ́yè(w) ‘head’ as more transparently in Cliffs (kùgū-ɲ́yèwⁿ). (582c-d) have simple kùbù as subject.

(582) a. kùbú-ɲ́ɔ̀-mì  bá  gà
sun-eye-DefSg  exit.Pfv  Pfv
‘The sun has risen.’ (= ‘It has dawned.’)
b. kùbú-ŋà-ŋà sén ŋà
sun-eye-DefSg fall.Pfv PfV
‘The sun has set.’

c. kùbú tàà-nà
sun stand-Ppl
‘The sun is at its zenith. (mid-day)

d. kùbù té tà sùwɔ̀ni
sun PfVNeg stand.Pfv yet
‘The sun isn’t at its zenith yet.’

Expressions with ‘rainy season’ (roughly June to September) as subject are in (583). Verbs glossed ‘arrive’ in languages of this zone have a primary sense ‘arrive at the door or gate (of a house)’, i.e. waiting to be invited to ‘enter’. This is relevant to (583a).

(583) a. káágà kiyéŋ ŋà
rainy.season arrive.Pfv PfV
‘The rainy season has begun.’ (June)

b. káágà dọ gà
rainy.season enter.Pfv PfV
‘The rainy season is in full swing.’ (July-August)

c. káágà kiyé gà
rainy.season pass.Pfv PfV
‘The rainy season is over.’ (e.g. October)

Other terms for seasons or annual landmarks can also use these verbs (‘arrive’, ‘enter’, ‘pass’). Some of these terms are listed in (584). They are compounds with a noun as initial and a zero-derived verbal noun as final. One can add -wááti ‘time’ as an outer compound final.

(584) piǹ-kúlè ‘millet-cutting’ (millet harvest, October)
dùgù-gárábù ‘rice-reaping’ (rice harvest, January)
jíi-kérén ‘water-receding’ (dry season)
jíi-dọ́ ‘water-entering’ (middle of rainy season, July)
mùwɔm-bá ‘cold season’

Ambient temperature extremes are phrased with mùn ‘cold (n)’ and fìntà ‘heat’ as subjects of the verb ‘descend’, in the sense ‘come down (to us), become manifest’.

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Rainfall is expressed by the intransitive verb sàⁿ/sà-nà ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’ or by bé/bí-yé ‘come’. sàⁿ/sà-nà is not otherwise attested as an intransitive verb. It is distinct from séⁿ/sé-né ‘fall’, but homophonous with transitive sàⁿ/sà-nà ‘buy’. The subject of ‘(rain) fall’ or ‘come’ is kùⁿwàⁿ ‘rain (n)’ for older speakers but often yòó-bàà ‘sky’ for younger speakers.

(586) a. kùⁿwàⁿ sàⁿ ɲá
rain(n) rain.fall Pfv Pfv
‘It rained.’

b. yòó-bàà bé gà
sky come Pfv Pfv
‘Rain came.’ (= ‘It rained.’)

c. yòó-bàá tà gà
sky stand Pfv Pfv
‘The rain has ended.’

d. kùⁿwàⁿ ɲá múṣú-múṣú
rain(n) be drizzling(adv)
‘It is drizzling (raining very lightly).’

The subject in (587) is tíyeⁿ ‘wind’ or fɔ̀rɔ̀gɔⁿ ‘dust’. In this region, ‘dust’ generally means ‘airborn dust, dust storm’. Dust storms are fairly common locally in the dry season.

(587) a. tíyeⁿ / fɔ̀rɔ̀gɔⁿ(ɲ) kirí gà
wind(n) / dust get.up Pfv Pfv
‘The wind/dust (storm) has risen/kicked up (=is blowing).’

b. tíyeⁿ / fɔ̀rɔ̀gɔ́n tà gà
wind(n) / dust stand Pfv Pfv
‘The wind/dust (storm) has died down.’
11.1.1.3 Emotion and bodily-emission collocations

Afflictions such as hunger, thirst, and most named diseases are subjects in (588), with the afflictee appearing as a comitative PP. See also §11.5.1.1.

(588) a. dúwóⁿ ɲá [sèdú pá]  
**hunger** be.Loc [S Comit]  
‘Seydou is hungry.’

b. géréⁿ ɲá [sèdú pá]  
**thirst** be.Loc [S Comit]  
‘Seydou is thirsty.’

c. [fályá míyè-gù] gá [sèdú pá]  
**[measles]** be.Loc [S Comit]  
‘Seydou has (=suffers from) measles.’

For ‘fever’ a different construction is used. Possessed ‘body’ is subject of a participial predicate based on ‘hot’.

(589) a. [sèdú tùúⁿ] ɲá pīⁿyé-ná (nì)  
[S **body**] be hot-Ppl (it.is)  
‘Seydou is running a fever (e.g. malaria).’

b. [sèdú tùún] tá pīⁿyé-ná  
[S **body**] IpfvNeg hot-Ppl  
‘Seydou is not running a fever.’

‘Be angry’ can be expressed by either of two intransitive verbs (590a-b). A comitative PP may be added to specify the target of anger.

(590) a. sèdú pòn décé gá [m pá]  
S **get.angry**.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]  
‘Seydou got angry with me.’

b. sèdú diyé gá [m pá]  
S **get.angry**.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]  
‘Seydou got angry (with me).’
A possessed form of bóó ‘heart (emotional center)’, cf. bóó-líyé(w)ⁿ ‘heart (organ)’, combines with ‘exit (v)’ or ‘lie down’ (591a-b) to express stages of an anger episode. It can also combine with ‘shatter’ (591c) and with taste predicates (591d).

(591) a. [à bóó] bá gà ([ minced])
[3Sg heart] exit(v).Pfv Pfv ([1Sg Comit])
‘He/She got angry (blew up) at me.’

b. [à bóó] sóá gà
[3Sg heart] lie.down.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She cooled off (after being angry).’

c. [à bóó] ñ káá gà
[3Sg heart] 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She is heart-broken.’

d. [à bóó] dúmá gà
[3Sg heart] be.sweet.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She is happy.’

Euphoria and dysphoria can be expressed by possessed múynà ‘(positive/negative) emotion, mood’ as subject, combined with a taste predicate like ‘be sweet/delicious’ or ‘be foul/bad-tasting’.

(592) a. [à múynà] dúmá gà
[3Sg mood] be.sweet.Pfv Pfv
‘He/She is happy.’

b. [à múynà] tè dúmá
[3Sg mood] PfvNeg be.sweet.Pfv
‘He/She is unhappy/sad.’

c. [à múynà] gá swàà-nà (~ sù"wà-nà)
S mood be bad.tasting-Ppl
‘He/She is sad.’

tímí-nà ‘mood, state of energy/encouragement’ can combine with taste predicates, or with ‘exit’ in the sense ‘emerge’.
(593) a. [à tímí-nà] bà́ gà
   [3Sg encouragement] exit(v).Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She is happy.’ or ‘He/She is encouraged.’

   b. [à tímí-nà] tà ń dén
   [3Sg encouragement] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.sweet
   ‘He/She is discouraged/distraught.’

   c. [à tímí-nà] sùwá gà
   [3Sg encouragement] taste.bad.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She is discouraged.’

‘X bleed’ is phrased as ‘X’s blood exit’ (594a), or with reference to extreme cases as ‘X’s blood gush out’ (594b).

(594) a. [sèédù díyé] gà bá-rá
   [S blood] Ipfv exit.Ipfv
   ‘Seydou is bleeding.’ (blood is oozing out slowly)

   b. [à díyé] gà sírítí
   [3Sg blood] Ipfv gush.Ipfv
   ‘He/She is bleeding profusely.’

Nosebleeds are described with possessed ‘nose’ as subject and reflexive verb ‘be shattered’. ‘With blood’ can be added (595b). Alternatively, “nose-blood runs” (595c).

(595) a. [à múù-ù] ñ káá gà
   [3Sg nose-DefSg] 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv Pfv
   ‘His/Her nose has broken (=is bleeding, or bled).’

   b. [m múùn] tà ñ káá [díyé ní]
   [1Sg nose-DefSg] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg shatter.Pfv [blood Inst]
   ‘My nose is not bleeding.’

   c. [â múùn-díyé] gà kiyé
   [3Sf nose-blood] Ipfv run.Ipfv
   ‘He/She is bleeding profusely.’ (blood is pouring out)

There are dedicated verbs for ‘sweat, perspire’ (wááji(-rì) ) and ‘foam’ (fùlâⁿ/fùlâ-nà). Both occur in reflexive constructions.
(596) a. sèédù  nj wáájì  gà
S 3ReflSg sweat(v).Pfv Pf
‘Seydou perspired.’

b. téèⁿ / dùwòⁿ nj fúlán njà
tea-DefSg / beer-DefSg 3ReflSg foam(v).Pfv Pf
‘The tea/beer foamed up.’

The verb sé(-ré) occurs in the four collocations in (597). The contexts suggest a gloss ‘emit’ or ‘deposit’. The verb is elsewhere attested only in the sense ‘build (a hut)’. Cognates in other Bozo languages have the more general sense ‘put in’ or ‘put down’.

(597) a. à káŋ-ji sé gà
3Sg urine emit/deposit.Pfv Pf
‘He/She urinated.’, cf. (225c)

b. ā kùwò sé gà
3Sg excrement emit/deposit.Pfv Pf
‘He/She defecated.’

c. à tuwò sè gà
3Sg fart(n) emit/deposit.Pfv Pf
‘He/She farted.’

d. à bìyè sè gà
3Sg egg emit/deposit.Pfv Pf
‘It (=bird) laid an egg.’

gèrèntè/gèrènté ‘burp, belch’ and jègò/jègò or yègù/yègù ‘hiccough’ are simple intransitive verbs.

11.1.1.4 Conveyance construction (motion verb plus instrumental PP)

Verbs of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘take/deliver’) are expressed as intransitive motion verbs, most often ‘come’ or ‘go’, plus instrumental PPs with postposition ní.

(598) a. à bé gà [tèèⁿ / sùwò ní]
3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [tea-(DefSg) / sheep Inst]
‘He/She brought (the) tea/a sheep.’
11.1.1.5 ‘(Don’t) care’

This construction involves a locative or dative PP adjunct, minimally ‘in it’ (á-yì ~ á-ŷ) in the sense ‘about it’. The subject is possessed noun màgó or pàáⁿ ‘concern, interest, relevance’, depending on the dialect. Negative versions correspond to ‘don’t care about it’ (French je m’en fous).

(599) a. [m̀ màgó] tá = á-ŷ
   [1Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’ (dialect 2)

b. [ā màgó] tá = á-ŷ
   [3Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘He/She doesn’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern him/her.’ (dialect 2)

c. [m̀ tàn] tá = á-ŷ
   [1Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’ (dialect 1, < tà)

d. [ā tàn] tá = á-ŷ
   [3Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘He/She doesn’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern him/her.’ (dialect 1)

Positive versions are also possible.

(600) a. [m̀ màgó] gá = á-ŷ
   [1Sg concern(n)] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘I care about it.’

b. [m̀ tàn] tá [kùⁿwàn-jíí tè]
   [1Sg concern(n)] not.be [rain(n) Dat]
   ‘I don’t care about the rain.’
11.1.2 Transitives and ditransitives

The inventory of transitive verbs resembles that of English. Simple transitives include verbs of impact and creation (‘hit’, ‘cut’, ‘make/fix’), perception (‘see’, ‘hear’), acquisition (‘get’), and transportation (‘carry’).

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, sé-ré, is transitive, with optional PP based on dative postposition tè (§8.1.1.1). It has an obligatory 3Sg pronominal object (‘say it’) even when followed by quoted matter (§17.1.3). There is also a ‘said’ quasi-verb ye ~ yé in past positive contexts, but it is not a true verb.

Predicates of conveyance (‘bring X’, ‘take/convey X’) are expressed as ‘come [with X]’ and ‘go [with X]’, i.e. as intransitives with instrumental PPs (§11.1.4, §8.1.2.2).

11.1.2.1 Direct objects and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The S-infl-O-V-X linear order of J-S of Djenné makes it easy to identify objects and study their properties, even though there is no accusative marking. Direct object NPs including pronominals follow the subject NP and any post-subject inflectional particles (e.g. imperfective gà) and immediately precede the verb.

(601) sèdú gà suwó sà-nà bòn
     S   Lpfv goat  buy-Lpfv here
     ‘Seydou (often) buys a goat here.’

In perfective positive main clauses, which have no overt inflectional particle, a bidirectional case marker (BCM) ye glossed “Sbj/Obj,” can separate the subject NP from the object NP. (602) shows the tones of ye before L-tone (‘sheep’) and H-tone (‘goat’) following nonpronominal and various pronominal subjects. The y in this morpheme becomes ɲ after a nasal (§3.4.2.2). With 1Sg subject the inflectional slot is occupied by nà, so ye does not occur (602a). There is dialectal variation in the tone of the BCM when it occurs between an H-toned pronominal subject (i.e. other than third person or 1Sg) and an H-initial object (‘goat’) (602d). For dialect 1, the BCM is L-toned here, while for the dialect 2 speaker checked the H-tone of the pronominal subject appears to spread into the BCM. The distinction is masked before ‘sheep’ due to Final Tone-Raising on the BCM. For combinations of subject pronominal and object pronominal see below.
Although (602) presents a full paradigm for yè before nonpronominal object, in practice the occurrence of yè is more common after some subjects than others. (603) is an approximate ranking. 1Sg is omitted here.

(603) a. common after … plural pronominals
    b. fairly common after … 2Sg, LogoSg
    c. uncommon after … 3Sg or nonpronominal NP

In (604a-c), therefore, the variant without yè is more common than that with yè. As a result, when yè is heard after a subject noun, it is usually plural suffix -yè rather than BCM yè (604d).
d. kéewú-yé sùwó sà

man-PI sheep buy.Pfv Pfv

‘The men bought a sheep.’

When the object of a perfective positive clause is pronominal, yè is obligatory before vowel-initial pronominal objects regardless of the subject (605a), but it can be omitted before consonant-initial (i.e. nasal-initial) ones (605b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(605) category</th>
<th>proclitic as object after BCM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 2Sg áⁿ</td>
<td>... yà = áⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl áá</td>
<td>... yà = áá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl íⁿ</td>
<td>... yè = ééⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoPl é</td>
<td>... yè = é(é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 1Sg ŋ (tones)</td>
<td>... yè ŋ (tones) ~ ... yè ŋ (tones) (dialect 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LogoSg ŋ</td>
<td>... yè ŋ (dialect 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 3Sg à (ā/i) yà = à</td>
<td>... yà = à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl è (ā/i) yè = è</td>
<td>... yè = è</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dialect 2 speaker who had a clear H-toned yè (or ŋè) after H-toned subject pronominals before H-initial noun object, see (602d) above, switched to L-toned yè (or ŋè) after these subjects before another H-toned object pronominal, either reflexive or not. In (606a) with nominal object, the tones of the first five syllables from the left form a single H-toned terrace with level pitch. In (606b), the BCM is H-toned only because of Final Tone-Raising before an L-toned pronominal object. In (606c) the BCM ŋè remains L-toned before an H-toned pronominal.

| (606) a. án ŋa = āamàdù kàỳ gà      |
| 2Sg Sbj/Obj A see.Pfv Pfv |
| ‘You-Sg saw Amadou.’ (<ŋé) |
| b. án ŋa = à kàỳ gà      |
| 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv Pfv |
| ‘You-Sg saw him/her.’ (<ŋé) |
The subdialextal tonal variations described in this section need to be checked with multiple native speakers from the Djenné area to determine the predominant pattern in the area.

11.1.2.2 tîⁿ/tî-nî ‘do’ in collocations

This ‘do’ verb occurs in a modest number of collocations with object NPs.

(607) a. ń ná [ń fán-tà-ân] tîⁿ ńà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg [1Sg share(n)-DefSg] do.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I did my part (=my share).’ (< fân-táà)

b. ń ná [ń hàǹ-ɛ̀] tîⁿ ńà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg [1Sg capability] do.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I did my best (=what I could).’ (< hàǹfí)

However, some borrowed nouns can be directly inflected as verbs without an auxiliary like ‘do’. For example, the noun dùwááwù ~ dùwáábù ‘blessing’ (< Arabic) can function as a verb ‘give a blessing’ (with dative PP denoting the recipient); the Ipfv stem is dùwááwù-rù ~ dùwáábù-rù.

11.1.2.3 Ditransitives

‘Give’ is the prototypical ditransitive verb cross-linguistically, but in J-S of Djenné ‘X give Z to Y’ can be expressed by either of two verbs, each with its own syntax. The verb dɔ́(-rɔ́) ‘give’ takes a preverbal direct object denoting the theme, and is followed by a dative PP denoting the recipient (608). For dialectal variant dó see comments in §9.3.3.

(608) à jíí dò gà [ń ná]
   3Sg water give.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘He/She gave water to me.’

The other verb is kò(-rɔ́) which is glossed ‘furnish, provide’ because its preverbal direct object denotes the recipient. The theme is expressed as a postverbal instrumental PP.
‘Show’ is kāsì/kāsí or gāsì/gāsí. Its syntax is like that of dó(-rò) rather than like that of kō(-rò) (610a). ‘Entrust’ is kàlfà(-rà). It’s syntax is like ‘show’ except that the final PP is comitative, since the entrusted entity is in the custody of the recipient (610b).

(610) a. à jíí kāsí (~ gāsí) gà [ñí ná]
   3Sg water show.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘He/She showed water to me.’

b. à [ñí súwó] kàlfà gà [mí pá]
   3Sg [3ReflSg goat] entrust.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Comit]
   ‘He/She entrusted his/her goat to/with me.’

11.1.2.4 Valency of causatives

Most suffixal causatives are based on intransitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive (611a) becomes the object of the causative (611b).

(611) a. [díyé-né]-èn tó gà
   [child]-DefSg jump.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The child jumped.’

b. zàkí (yè) [díyé-né]-èn tó-níⁿ ñà
   Z (Sbj/Obj) [child]-DefSg jump-Caus.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Zaki made the child jump.’

sáá ‘lie down’ is a lexically reflexive verb, i.e. it has a pro forma reflexive pronominal object that is coindexed with the subject (612a). In the causative, the reflexive object is omitted since it is coindexed with what is now the object (612b).

(612) a. à ń sáá gà
   3Sg 3ReflSg lie.down.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She lay down (=went to bed).’
Among the transitive verbs that are readily causativated are ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. The causative of ‘eat’, glossed ‘feed (v)’, is illustrated in (613a-b). It is based on the antipassive form of ‘eat’ (§9.3.1.2). The specific food is optionally expressed by an instrumental PP (613b). This food term corresponds to the direct object of simple ‘eat’ (613c).

(613) a. zàkí yè [dífé-né]-èn dífé-níŋ jà
Z Sbj/Obj [child]-DefSg eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv Pfv
‘Zaki fed the child.’

b. zàkí yè [dífé-né]-èn dífé-níŋ jà [sàpílà ní]
Z Sbj/Obj [child]-DefSg eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv Pfv [cowpea Inst]
‘Zaki fed the child with cowpeas (=beans).’

c. [dífé-né]-èn sàpílà dífá gà
[child]-DefSg cowpea eat.Pfv Pfv
‘The child ate cowpeas (=beans).

The syntax of mè-nì ‘cause to drink, give something to drink to (sb)’ is the same.

With most other transitives it is not possible to express causativity with a single clause, probably because neither the underlying subject (agent) nor the underlying object can readily be expressed in a postverbal PP.

The use of instrumental PPs for “demoted” objects is reminiscent of their use in predicates of conveyance (§11.1.1.4) based on motion verbs (‘come with X’ = ‘bring X’), where no demotion from transitive object has occurred.

11.1.3 Verb phrase (VP)

VP, consisting of a clause minus subject and post-subject aspect-polarity marker, is relevant to J-S of Djenné syntax. In particular, sequential bé (similar to English to) combines with VPs in the most common subordinated clause type (other than relative clauses).
11.1.4 Restarting a clause after a heavy object NP

Transitive clauses have the schematic form subject-inflection-object-verb-(other). Speakers sometimes stop after the object, especially if it is heavy (polysyllabic or multi-word), then restart with a pronominal subject, the inflectional particle, and a pronominal object, then the verb. Free English translations cannot capture such restarting because of the difference in verb-object order, so the free translation is smoothed out. The heavy object NP is bolded in the interliners.

(614) a. áⁿ ṇá siní [ki[ían jàáti-yàwⁿ], 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [skiff exactly-DefSg], áⁿ ṇá siní à k̀ŋ̀-nò, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv, bè kiⁿyé [[mùwò wááti] pà] Seq arrive.Pfv [[which? time] Comit] ‘How much time does it reach (=take) for you-Sg to be able to assemble a real skiff?’ (< kíⁿ) (2021-03 @ 21:03)

b. ńá [ńá fàⁿ-yàw], 1Sg Ipfv [1Sg share(n)-DefSg], ńá = à sé-ré [sòrógà-àmá wi]-y 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [Bozo-Abstr Foc]-Loc ‘I will speak my turn in Bozo [focus].’ (2021-03 @ 17:39)

11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives and inchoatives

11.2.1 Identificational predicates

11.2.1.1 ‘It is X’ (X nì)

Clause-final nì (glossed ‘it.is’ in interliners) occurs in identificational predicates, which are defined here as predicates that specify the identity or type of an understood but covert referent. nì is preceded by an NP. The construction has focalized and unfocalized variants. In (615a), wò is the singular focalizer and dùwò is the plural focalizer (chapter 13).
(615) a. focalized
   \[\text{X wò] nì}\] singular
   \[\text{X-yé dùwò] nì}\] plural

   b. unfocalized
   \[\text{X nì}\] singular
   \[\text{X-yé nì}\] plural

\(\text{nì}\) is usually clause-final, where both \(\text{C}^\circ\) and \(\text{C}^\circ\) are usually pronounced with low pitch. The main indicator that \(\text{nì}\) is L-toned is that it can trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone.

The application of Final Tone-Raising before \(\text{nì}\) is somewhat inconsistent, however. Focus morphemes \(\text{wò}\) (singular) and \(\text{dùwò}\) (plural) are common before \(\text{nì}\) but do not raise to H-tone. When L-toned common nouns precede \(\text{nì}\), Final Tone-Raising applies inconsistently. This is the case with ‘salt’ in (616). How much of this is attributable to Downdrift is unclear. A secondary association or confusion with instrumental \(\text{nì}\), which also occurs chiefly in clause-final position, may be a factor.

(616) \(\text{kù tá kùwò (~ kùwò) nì}\)
   Dem not.be salt it.is
   ‘That is not salt.’ (< \(\text{kùwò}\))

Final Tone-Raising is, however, consistently applied in some high-frequency combinations such as \(\text{wùláá nì ‘who is it?’}, \text{ñànnú nì ‘it’s tomorrow’},\) and participial predicates like \(\text{tómò-ná nì ‘it’s red’}.\) A reasonable hypothesis is that \(\text{nì}\) was originally L-toned but that its tonal profile has become blurred.

The subjectless identificational ‘it is’ construction functions to introduce foregrounded new information about an unexpressed but contextually understood referent. Focalized forms of X or plural X-ye are therefore common, and the unfocalized versions can be thought of as covertly or partially focalized. There is very little pragmatic difference between (617a) and (617b). Any of these forms can serve as the answer to ‘who is it (knocking at the door)?’

(617) a. \[\text{[sèédù wò] nì}\] ‘It’s Seydou [focus].’
   \[\text{[kèéwú-yé dùwò] nì}\] ‘It’s (the) men [focus].’

   b. \[\text{sèédù nì}\] ‘It’s Seydou.’
   \[\text{kèéwú-yé nì}\] ‘It’s (the) men.’

A question like ‘what is that?’ has an overt subject and so requires \(\text{gà ‘be’}\) (618a). This is the copular construction (§11.2.2.1). The reply usually takes the form of the simpler identificational construction with subject and \(\text{gà}\) omitted (618b-c).
(618) a. kú gá múwó-ỳ nì
dem be what? it.is
‘That is what?’ (i.e. ‘What is that?’)

b. [súwó wò] nì
[sheep Foc] it.is
‘It’s a sheep.’

c. [súwó-yé dûwò] nì
[sheep-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is
‘It’s (some) sheep.’ or ‘They’re sheep.’

If X is a pronoun, it must take full independent form (as elsewhere under focalization), rather than proclitic form (619). This avoids confusion with instrumental PPs with a proclitic plus postposition ní.

(619) a. ā-duwò nì  ‘It’s him/her/it.’
    b. ŋ-duwò nì  ‘It’s me.’
    c. íń-duwò nì  ‘It’s us.’

There is a past-time version tùⁿ nì ~ tìⁿ nì (620). It has also been heard as tùⁿ ní, tonally parallel to tùⁿ ñá ‘was’ (§11.2.3.2).

(620) a. ŋ-duwò tùⁿ nì
    lSg-Indep be.Past it.is
    ‘It was me.’

    b. [súwó wó] tùⁿ nì
    [goat Foc] be.Past it.is
    ‘It was a goat.’

    c. [súwó-yé dûwò] tùⁿ nì
    [goat-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past it.is
    ‘It was (some) goats.’
11.2.1.2 X té(ʔ) or X tè(ʔ) ‘it isn’t X’

Because the identificational construction as illustrated above has no overt subject, and therefore no copula, it cannot be negated by simply swapping positive copula gà for negative copula tà. Therefore identifications, unlike copular clauses, must replace nì ‘it is’ with an explicitly negative counterpart. This is tè or for some speakers tèʔ with glottal stop. One dialect 2 speaker appears to have L-toned tè ~ tèʔ.

(621) a. sèdı̀̀ sèdù té(ʔ)
   S it.is.not
   ‘It isn’t Seydou.’

b. sùwɔ̀ sùwɔ̀ tè(ʔ)
   sheep it.is.not
   ‘It isn’t a sheep.’

c. sùwɔ̀-yè (~ sùwɔ̀-yè) sùwɔ̀-yè tè(ʔ)
   sheep-Pl it.is.not
   ‘It isn’t sheep-Pl’ or ‘They aren’t sheep.’

Focalization of most NPs in the X position is not possible under negation. Speakers reject versions of the preceding examples when a focus marker is added.

However, there is a high frequency expression nò-ò tè ‘it is not that’, abbreviated from ‘if it is not that’, meaning ‘otherwise’ or ‘anyway’ or ‘in addition’, i.e. slightly changing the train of thought. Here nò-ò is an irregularly (and therefore opaquely) focalized form of the discourse-definite demonstrative. An example is 2021-03 @ 02:39.

11.2.2 Equational (copular) clauses

11.2.2.1 ‘Y is X’ (Y gà X nì)

The copula ‘be’ is gà in positive utterances. The g is subject to full nasalization to ñ after a nasalized vowel (§3.4.2.3.1).

Equational clauses, also known as copular clauses, are defined operationally as those of the type [Y gà X nì], where the subject Y is a known entity and X provides information about Y. Y is often a pronoun, while X is usually a nonpronominal NP, X but not Y may be a content interrogative. In interlinear, gà is glossed ‘be’ and nì is glossed ‘it.is’. X is occasionally focalized (622c).
The subject and gà must be present in this construction. Neither can occur without the other. The alternative is to omit both the subject and the copula, leaving just X ni. This is the identification construction described in §11.2.1.1 above, which is negated in a different way.

For past time, gà is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ.

11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y tà X nì)

To negate the copular construction [Y gà X nì], the positive copula gà is replaced by tà ‘not be’. The same change occurs in locational-existential clauses (see below). There is no change in nì. X cannot be focalized. For past time, gà is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ (624c).

11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y tà X nì)

To negate the copular construction [Y gà X nì], the positive copula gà is replaced by tà ‘not be’. The same change occurs in locational-existential clauses (see below). There is no change in nì. X cannot be focalized. For past time, gà is preceded by tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ (624c).
c. ǹ tín tá sùwà-yá ní
1Sg be.Past not.be cultivate-Agent it.is
‘I was not a farmer.’

11.2.3 Locational-existential ‘be’

The constructions described below express ‘X be (present) [in a location]’.

11.2.3.1 ‘Is/are (present)’ (gà)

The basic locational ‘be (present)’ verb occurs as gà before nonlow tone and (due to Final Tone-Raising) as gá before L-tone. It is followed by a locational expression (625a-b). gà in this type of clause is glossed ‘be.Loc’ in interlinars. In the limiting case where the location is nonspecific ‘there’, free translations can be of the type ‘X exists’ or ‘there is/are some X(s)’. With village names and adverbs of spatial orientation, no locative postposition or suffix is used (625c). gà by itself is ungrammatical (625d); minimally ‘here’ or ‘there’ must be added.

(625) a. ã gà bōn / yàw
3Sg be.Loc here / there.Def
‘He/She/It is here/there.’

b. à gà nôgí-ỳ / …
ã gà … / sóŋ-ỳ
3Sg be.Loc village-Loc / the.bush-Loc
‘He/She/It is in the village/out in the bush.’

c. à gà jènè / yòó-bàà
3Sg be.Loc Djenné / above
‘He/She/It is in Djenné / above.’

d. #ã gà
#3Sg be.Loc
intended: ‘He/She/It is present (here/there).’ or ‘There is some.’

e. wùláá gà [júgúŋ kùmà]
who? be.Loc [tree on]
‘Who is up in the tree?’
f. ñ-dúwɔ̀ gá [jùɡún] kùmà
   1Sg-Indep be.Loc [tree on]
   ‘I [focus] am up in the tree.’

The construction X gà yáwɔ́ ‘X be there (definite)’ can only be existential rather than locational in function when X denotes an abstraction. This is the case in 2021-03 @ 21:17 (‘There is good health and there is sickness’).

11.2.3.2 ‘Was/were (present)’ (tìŋ ñá ~ tùŋ ñá)

The past-time version of locative-existential gà is tìŋ ñá or tùŋ ñá depending on the subdialect.

(626) a. íñ tùŋ (~ tìŋ) ñá bòŋ
   1Pl be.Past be.Loc here
   ‘We were here.’

   b. wùlláá tùŋ (~ tìŋ) ñá bòŋ
      who? be.Past be.Loc here
      ‘Who was here?’

The tones (with ñá always H-toned) suggest that this was originally the perfective positive of an L-toned monomoraic stem, comparable to sò gà ‘went’ and tòŋ ñá ‘swallowed’. However, the ñá in tìŋ ñá ~ tùŋ ñá must now be parsed as gà ‘be.Loc’ rather than as postverbal Pfv gà, as shown by its negation (see the following subsection).

11.2.3.3 ‘Is/Are not (present)’ (tà ~ tá) and past-time counterparts

Negation of present-time locational-existentials is expressed by tà (dialect 1) or tá (dialect 2) replacing gà (627a). After tone sandhi, both dialects have tà before L-tone. Like gà, tà/tá cannot be used without an overt locational (627b).

(627) a. ã tà bòŋ / ... / ...
   à tà ... / nòɡì-yì / jènè
   3Sg not.be.Loc here / village-Loc / Djenné
   ‘He/She/It is not here/in the village/in Djenné.’
b. #à tá
    #3Sg not.be.Loc
intended: ‘He/She/It is absent’ or ‘There is/are none.’

For past time, tà ~ tás is preceded by tà~n ~ tìⁿ. Even in dialect 1, tà is raised to tás in this combination by tone sandhi. The tones are comparable to those of the positive counterpart.

(628) à tún (~ tún) tás bóⁿ
    3Sg be.Pfv not.be.Loc here
‘He/She/It was not here.’ or ‘There was none (here).’

11.2.4 ‘Become (noun),’ ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

11.2.4.1 ‘Remain’ (kónó/kónò)

As a simple intransitive verb, kónó/kónò means ‘stay, remain’.

(629) à kónó gá bóⁿ
    3Sg remain.Pfv Pfv here
‘He/She remained here.’

11.2.4.2 ‘Become, turn into’ (fwà ~ fà ~ fô)

‘Become (something),’ with a noun or NP (rather than an adjective) as complement, is Pfv fwà, fà, or fô and Ipfv fâ-rà or fô-rô. The dialect 2 speaker shifts between fâ(-râ) and fô(-rô). Given the existence of dialectal variants C۰ ~ Cwa with the latter in dialect 2 (§3.3.10), a reasonable hypothesis is that fô is archaic, it has diphthongized dialectally to fwà, which has then usually simplified to fà. This in turn suggests that ‘become’ was originally an intransitive form of (otherwise reflexive) f(ও)â(-râ) ‘sit’ (630). The two verbs are still identical in form for some speakers.

(630) sèédù ʊ fô gá
    S 3RefSg sit.Pfv Pfv
‘Seydou sat down.’

‘Become (something)’ is a (nonreflexive) intransitive, followed by a PP with instrumental postposition nî (631a). Although nî is often low-pitched when clause-final (its usual position), its failure to trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-tone shows that it is the instrumental
postposition rather than identificational nì ‘it is’. fɔ̀ or variant can also be attached as a same-subject sequential VP to a main clause with gɔ́pì (dialectally gwɔ́pì) ‘transform’ (631b).

(631) a. sèédù́ fwà (~ fɔ̀) gá [kwàñì ní]  
S become.Pfv Pfv [bird Inst]  
‘Seydou became a bird.’

b. sèédù́ ñ gwɔ́pì gá
S 3ReflSg transform.Pfv Pfv  
[bé fɔ̀wá [kwàñì ní]]  
[Seq become.Pfv [bird Inst]]  
‘Seydou transformed himself into a bird.’

For this ‘become’ verb with noun-like “adjectives” see §9.4.1.

The semantically causative counterpart is noncognate transitive yàa ‘put down’ or gwɔ́pì ‘flip’, with the same final instrumental PP as in (631). ‘Sit’ and ‘put down’ make a semantically sensible pairing.

(632) a. ñ ná sèédù́ yáá gá [kòñì ní]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg S put.Pfv Pfv [bird Inst]  
‘I turned Seydou into a bird.’

b. ñ ná sèédù́ gɔ́pì gá
1Sg Pfv.1Sg S transform.Pfv Pfv  
[bé à yáá [kòñì ní]]  
[Seq 3Sg put.Pfv [bird Inst]]  
‘I transformed Seydou into a bird.’

11.2.5 Mental and emotional statives

These predicates described below (‘know’, ‘want’, ‘resemble’) have senses that can be construed as stative (aspect-neutral). However, in J-S of Djenné they are expressed by morphosyntactically more or less regular aspect-marking verbs.

11.2.5.1 ‘Know’ (tiyà/tiùwò ~ tò)

‘Know’ is a transitive verb; whether it is a stative transitive or a regular aspect-marking transitive is discussed below. It requires an object, minimally a 3Sg pronominal. In normal contexts the
clause has time reference including the present. In stative sense, the imperfective form tûwò is regular, with tò as a variant in allegro speech. Speakers correct the linguist when he pronounces it as tò.

(633) ṣá á tûwò
1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv
‘I know (it/him/her).’

tûwò can mean ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be familiar with (someone)’, cf. French savoir and connaître. The familiarity sense is exemplified in (634).

(634) ṣá sèèdú tûwò
1Sg Ipfv S know.Ipfv
‘I know Seydou.’

For propositional (factive) complements as in ‘know that …’, see §17.3.1.1. Negation is the regular imperfective negative.

(635) ṣá tá á tûwò
1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
‘I don’t know (it/him/her).’

For past time stative ‘knew’, tûⁿ ~ tîⁿ ‘be.Past’ is added as an auxiliary.

(636) a. tûⁿ ṣá sèèdú tûwò
3Sg be.Past Ipfv S know.Ipfv
‘He/She knew Seydou.’

b. tûⁿ táo tó á tûwò
1Sg be.Past IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
‘I didn’t know (it/him/her).’

What arguably functions as the perfective form is tiyà. It is less common than tûwò but can be elicited in special contexts (realize, find out, recognize).

(637) a. gà bé á tiyà
3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg know.Pfv
‘He/She will know/learn about (it).’
b. ń tí= à tiyà
1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg know.Pfv
‘I didn’t find out about it.’

In the form tiyà/tiyà this is an independent verb with the senses ‘understand (sth)’ and ‘be known’. If Pfv tiyà is assigned to this verb, rather than to ‘know’, the corollary would be that tòwò ‘know’ is an non-aspect-marking stative transitive verb.

What would be a regular causative derivative ‘cause to know’ (#tiyà-nì or whatever) does not exist. Its functions are fulfilled by kibärù(-rù) ‘inform’ as well as by simple clauses with ‘say’ verbs.

twè ‘esoteric knowledge’ is probably an original verbal noun. There is an unusual causative derivative twè-nì ‘initiate (someone) into esoteric knowledge’. Both twè and twè-nì reflect the shift to stem-final front vowel described in §9.3.1 above.

The absence of an all-purpose causative ‘cause to know; inform’ (cf. English let X know and French faire savoir) can also be made up for by expressions involving the noun kúmpá(w)n ‘ignorance, unawareness, curiosity’ or its suffixal locative kúmpá-ỳ’n. ‘Inform X’ can be phrased as ‘remove X from curiosity/ignorance of it’ (638a).

(638) a. ń ná sèèdù básì gà= [à kúmpaⁿ-ỳⁿ]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg S remove.Pfv Pfv [3Sg curiosity-Loc]
‘I informed Seydou.’

b. dìyèⁿ-nìyém-bené básì gà
baptism exit.Pfv Pfv
[sèèdù tè básì= [à kúmpaⁿ-ỳⁿ]]
[S PfvNeg exit.Pfv [3Sg ignorance]]
‘The baptism (christening) took place unbeknownst to Seydou.’

11.2.5.2 ‘Like’ (fùwòⁿ/fùwòⁿ)

The verb fùwòⁿ/fùwòⁿ means ‘like X, be fond of X’ where X is an NP. It usually describes a positive appreciation that is extended in time. It is therefore usually imperfective.

(639) a. à gà [tòò wò] fùwòⁿ
3Sg Ipfv [meat Foc] like.Ipfv
‘He/She likes meat.’
b. à tá tôó fùwò
   3Sg IpfvNeg Ipfv like.Ipfv
   ‘He/She doesn’t like meat.’

c. pánáá"-è ñ ti" ĥà tôó fùwò
   first-DefSg-Loc 1Sg be.Past Ipfv meat like.Ipfv
   ‘In the past I used to like meat.’

Perfectives can be elicited in contexts like ‘I liked the film (we watched yesterday)’.
In some contexts ‘X be [in Y]’ with locative -ỳ ~ -yì can mean ‘X likes Y’. Compare English X is into yoga. This phrasing seems to work better when Y is a simple demonstrative (kú, ĥùò ~ ĥòò) or a third person pronoun.

(640) a. zákí gà kú-ỳ
   Z be.Loc Dem-Loc
   ‘Zaki likes that.’ or ‘Zaki is in(to) that.’

   b. zákí tá= á-ỳ
   Z not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc
   ‘Zaki doesn’t like it.’ or ‘Zaki isn’t in(to) it.’

11.2.5.3 ‘Seek’ (màà/màà) as ‘want’ verb

‘X seek (look for) Y’ is elsewhere a grammatically ordinary transitive verb. It can have the contextual sense ‘X want Y’, especially in imperfective clauses. The subject X is actively seeking the object Y, either by searching (looking around) or requesting.

(641) a. ā gà [tóó wò] màá
   3Sg Ipfv [meat Foc] seek.Ipfv
   ‘He/She wants (=is seeking) meat [focus].’

   b. ā ti" ĥà [tóó wò] màá digè
   3Sg be.Past Ipfv [meat Foc] seek.Ipfv yesterday
   ‘He/She wanted (=was seeking) meat [focus] yesterday.’

   c. â' ĥà múwö màá
   2Sg Ipfv what? seek.Ipfv
   ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’ (= ‘What do you want?’)
11.2.5.4 ‘Want’ with kìⁿyè/kìⁿyè plus comitative

‘X want Y’ is directly expressed with the intransitive verb kìⁿyè/kìⁿyè in the imperfective stem kìⁿyè, plus a comitative PP. It describes what the subject X wants to get on a particular occasion. There is no implication of active searching. (642) could express a choice made among alternative dishes.

(642) à gá kìⁿyè [[kùú wó] pà]
3Sg Ipfv want.Ipfv [[cooked.rice Foc] Comit]
‘He/She wants/would like cooked rice [focus].’

Elsewhere kìⁿyè/kìⁿyè, with the same syntax (intransitive plus comitative PP) but often in perfective aspect, means ‘come right up to (e.g. a wall, a boundary)’.

The verb kìⁿyè/kìⁿyè may be omitted in (642), leaving just the comitative PP as the predicate, and forcing reinterpretation of Ipfv gà as existential-locational gà ‘be.Loc’. This is marginally possible when the desired object is expressed as an NP as in (643).

(643) zákí gà [jíí pà]
Z be.Loc [water Comit]
‘Zaki would like water.’
(better: zákí gà kìⁿyè [jíí pà])

Arguably (643) can be parsed alternatively as a construction with gà as Ipfv, ‘water’ as object, and pà as stative transitive verb ‘want’. In Kelenga, the postposition and the ‘want’ verb have fallen together and the counterpart to (643) is syntactically ambiguous.

In the same-subject construction ‘X want [to VP]’ (§15.2.8.1) and the different-subject construction ‘X want Y [to VP]’ (§17.4.6.3), it is common to omit kìⁿyè/kìⁿyè.

11.2.5.5 ‘Need’ (màgó)

‘X need Y’ where Y is an NP is expressed by a possessed form of the noun màgó ‘need (n)’ as subject, followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation and then by a comitative PP (‘with X’). A literal translation would be “X’s need/concern is with Y.”

(644) a. [m màgó] gà [wálém pà]
[1Sg need(n)] be.Loc [money Comit]
‘I need money.’ (< wálèn)
b. [sèèdú màgò] tá [pìím-pìím pà] [S need(n)] not.be.Loc [charcoal Comit]
   ‘Seydou doesn’t need any charcoal.’

See also §11.1.1.5.

11.2.5.6 ‘Fear’ (kù"wà/kù"wá)

The verb kù"wà/kù"wá ‘fear, be afraid’ can function as a simple intransitive (Pfv, Ipfv) or participial stative kù"wá-nà, with optional complement in the form of a PP with postposition kààⁿ. The sense is ‘fear X, be afraid of X’.

(645) a. ņá kù"wá-nà [sèèdú kààⁿ]
    1Sg be fear-Pfv [S Source]
    ‘I am afraid of Seydou.’

b. [díyé-nè]-èⁿ ņá kù"wá-nà [tò-ň ŋ kààⁿ]
    [child]-DefSg be fear(v)-Pfv [fire-DefSg Source]
    ‘The child is afraid of the fire.’

This is the only known construction requiring the postposition kààⁿ (§8.2.8).

The verb ‘fear’ also allows indicative factive complements (§17.3.4) and prohibitive and subjunctive clausal complements (§17.4.5).

11.2.6 ‘Resemble’ (…/bá-ná or dògò/dògó)

In stative contexts (‘X resembles Y’), two verbs are in use. One is bá-ná, which has no other form and could be parsed either as an Ipfv verb (from putative Pfv #báⁿ), as an unsegmentable stative verb, or as a predicative participle. It is intransitive and is followed by a comitative PP (646a). The other is the regular aspect-marking transitive verb dògò/dògó (646b).

(646) a. ŋá bá-ná [sèèdú pà]
    1Sg Ipfv resemble-Ipfv/Pfv [S Comit]
    ‘I resemble Seydou.’

b. ŋá bá sèèdú dògò
    1Sg Ipfv Fut S resemble.Pfv
    ‘I will resemble Seydou.’

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‘Imitate’ is expressed by the transitive verb bàmíyè.

### 11.3 Quotative verbs

‘Say’ is expressed either by a regular transitive verb sé(-ré), compatible with all inflectional categories, or with an invariant quasi-verb yè ~ yé ‘said’ that is only used in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts preceding actual quoted matter. See §17.1.2 for more details.

### 11.4 Adjectival predicates

#### 11.4.1 Stative adjectival predicates

This subsection focuses on stative predicates of the type ‘X be red/heavy’ etc., as opposed to inchoative (state-changing) predicates of the type ‘X become red/heavy’. Several of the most prototypical adjectives have stative predicates that occur with reflexive pronouns. Many less prototypical adjectives are expressed as deverbal participles (suffix -na) which can be made into stative predicates by the ‘it is’ construction.

sùmú ‘foreign, strange’ is really a noun that can serve as a compound final or initial. It can be directly predicated with the ‘it is’ or copula construction: zàkí gà sùmú nì ‘Zaki is a stranger’. Likewise with tänà ‘other’ and twëè ‘new’.

#### 11.4.1.1 Participial adjectival predicates (-ná nì, -na)

Many adjectives are participles with suffix -na (§4.5.1.3) which gets its tone by spreading. They occur in predicative (‘be ADJ’) as well as modifying function. For the three basic color terms, participles rather than simple stems are required as predicates. The free or “Adj2” form of the adjective appears in the predicate. Tone Leveling, which applies to modifying adjectives, does not apply to adjectival predicates, except as noted below for dialect 2.

As predicates, the basic construction is [X gà ADJ-ná nì] with copula gà ‘be’ and clause-final nì ‘it is’ (647a). In such participial predicates, unlike copular clauses with NP predicates (e.g. ‘X is a man’), the nì is optional. (647a) shows the full construction with nì (which induces Final Tone-Raising on L-toned -nà in ‘red’ and ‘black’), while (647b) is identical except for the absence of nì. (647c-d) have pronominal subjects.

(647) a. ñàmáà-â” ná tòmò-ná / pl"yë-ná / ... nì "ná ... / ... / kú"wáá-ná "
    house-DefSg  be red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl  it.is
    ‘The house is red (brown)/black/white.’
b. နမာမာအိုး နှ သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / …
   " နှ  … /  … / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ
   ဟောအားနှစ် ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်
   [= (a)]

c. ၊ နှ သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / …  နှ နှ / နှ / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ
   1ဆော် ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်  ဖျင
   ‘I am red (=brown)/black/white.’

d. ၊ နှ သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / …
   ၊ နှ  … /  … / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ
   1ဆော် ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်
   [= (c)]

Negative counterparts replace copula  ‘be’ with negative copula ‘not be’. Again နှ is optional.

(648) a. နမာမာအိုး နှ သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / …  နှ နှ / နှ / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ
   ဟောအားနှစ် ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်  ဖျင
   ‘The house is not red (=brown)/black/white.’

   b. နမာမာအိုး နှ သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / …
   နမာမာအိုး နှ  … /  … / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ
   ဟောအားနှစ် ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်  ဖျင
   ‘The house is not red (=brown)/black/white.’

It is also possible to omit the subject, if the referent is understood. This entails omission of the copula  (or its negation သ)， which requires an overt subject. This is the identificational construction ‘it is (not) က’ which can also have NPs as predicates. With participial adjectives as the predicates, final နှ is required in the positive (649a). Since the negative copula is not allowed, နှ ‘it is’ is replaced by သေ ‘it is not’ for negation (649b). One dialect 2 speaker has သေ ‘it is not’ and raises the tones of ‘red’ and ‘black’ in the negative version, as in “Adj1” modifying function immediately after a noun (649b). ‘White’ is already H-toned.

(649) a. သမာမာ နှ / ပိုးနှ / က်ဦးမာမာ နှ နှ
   ဖျင မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင် / မိုင် မိုင်  ဖျင
   ‘It is red (brown)/black/white.’
b. tɔmɔ̀-nà / píyè-nà / kūwáá-ná té(ʔ) (both dialects)
tɔmɔ̀-ná / píyè-ná / kūwáá-ná tè? (optional dialect 2 variant)
red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
‘It is not red (brown)/black/white.’

As if these alternative constructions are not enough, it is also possible to have an overt subject, no copula, the participle, and obligatory nì (650a). However, there is no structurally parallel negative counterpart. Negation (650b) was frowned on by native speakers, who shifted back to (649b) above.

(650) a. à tɔmɔ̀-ná / píyè-ná / … nì
à … / … / kūwáá-ná
3Sg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is
‘It is red (brown)/black/white.’

b. #à tɔmɔ̀-ná / píyè-ná / kūwáá-ná té (dialect 1)
#à tɔmɔ̀-ná / píyè-ná / kūwáá-ná tè? (dialect 2)
intended: ‘It is not red (=brown)/black/white.’

11.4.1.2 Reflexive adjectival predicates

Several adjectives have stative predicates in reflexive form (§18.1.1).

(651) a. sèèðù ý tìyëⁿ S 3ReflSg be.heavy
‘Seydou is heavy.’

b. sèèðù tá ý tìyëⁿ S IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.heavy
‘Seydou is not heavy.’

Pronominal versions of (651) are in (652). The reflexive structure is clearly seen in (652a-b), whose forms include the bidirectional case marker yè (variant ñè after the nasal in 2Sg). This marker is usually absent in the 3Sg, though speakers accept it as marginally grammatical (652c). The 1Sg subject pronominal has the usual morpheme nà (“Pfv.1Sg”) and the following 1Sg (reflexive) object ý (+tones) flips the initial tone of the verb (652d).

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(652) category ‘__ is/are/am heavy’

a. 2Sg áⁿ nà = áń tìyèⁿ
1Pl íⁿ yè = ééⁿ tìyèⁿ
2Pl áá yà = áá tìyèⁿ
LogoSg ŋ yè = ŋ tìyèⁿ
LogoPl é yè = é tìyèⁿ

b. 3Pl i yè = é tìyèⁿ

c. 3Sg à ŋ tìyèⁿ (usual, all dialects)
   ã yè ŋ tìyèⁿ (marginal)

d. 1Sg ŋ nà ŋ tìyèⁿ

Reflexive adjectival predicates are listed in (653), shown with 3ReflSg ŋ.

(653) predicate ‘he/she/it is ___’

m bààngù ‘fast’ (§5.2.3)
m bòrò ‘big (house, tree, animal); thick (wall)’
ń dááⁿ ‘distant, far away’
ń déⁿ ‘sweet, delicious (taste); sharp (blade)’
ń dúwɔⁿ ‘meager, insufficient’
ń fòrĩⁿ ~ ŋ fèrù ‘lightweight’
ń kákási ‘bitter (taste); (tea) unsugared’
ń kóⁿ ‘many; numerous, abundant’
ń kútũ-kútũ gà ‘coarse, become’
ń kwàsāⁿ ‘long; tall’
ń kwĩĩⁿ ‘deep (well)’
m màÿⁿ ‘good’
m miyěwⁿ ‘small’
ń niyěwⁿ ‘easy (work); inexpensive’
ń niĩ ‘nasty, mean’
ń njúwɔtuⁿ ‘difficult; expensive’
ń sùwò ‘bad-tasting or -smelling; blunt (blade)’
ń tìyèⁿ ‘heavy’
ń twiĩⁿ ~ ŋ twĩĩ ‘nearby, close by’ or ‘short’
ń wàà ‘wide (doorway), spacious (courtyard)’
11.4.1.3 Past adjectival predicates

As with other stative verbs, the time frame for adjectival predicates is shifted to the past with tùⁿ ~ tiⁿ ‘be.Past’ followed by gà. The latter is here glossed ‘be’; for discussion see §10.3.1.

Adjectives that have participial predicates (§11.4.1.1) retain the participle in this construction. The final nì ‘it is’ is absent in the negative version (654c). Speakers disagree whether nì is allowed in the positive, and the speaker who did allow it required focalizer wò (654b).

(654) a. ā tiⁿ ṣá tômà-nà
3Sg be.Past be red-Ppl
‘He/She/It was red.’ (all dialects)

b. ā tiⁿ ṣá [tômà-ná wò] nì
3Sg be.Past be [red-Ppl Foc] it.is
‘He/She/It was red.’ (acceptable to some speakers)

Dialects differ as to whether nì ‘it is’ is allowed in the negative (655).

(655) a. ā tun tá tômà-nà
3Sg be.Past not.be red-Ppl
‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’ (dialect 1)

b. ā tìn tá tômọ-ná (nì)
3Sg be.Past not.be red-Ppl (it.is)
‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’ (dialect 2)

Past-time tùⁿ ~ tiⁿ with reflexive adjectival predicates is illustrated in (656). There is no post-subject Ipfv particle (656a). Bidirectional case marker yè is present where required in perfective positive reflexive clauses, as though the Past morpheme were absent.

(656) a. ā tiⁿ ŋí tìyéⁿ
3Sg be.Past 3ReflSg be.heavy
‘He/She/It was heavy.’

b. è túⁿ yè = ē(é) tìyéⁿ (dialect 1)
è tiⁿ yè = " " (dialect 2)
3Pl be.Past Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.heavy
‘They were heavy.’
11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘X have Y’

11.5.1.1 With comitative pà

‘X have Y’ is most often phrased as ‘Y be [with X]’. The comitative postposition is pà (§8.1.2.3). This construction can express ownership or else temporary possession or custody (657a-b).

(657) a. ñàmàà gá [ màn pà]  
house be.Loc [1Sg Comit]
‘I have (=own) a house.’

b. mááŋgórô gè = [éém pà]  
mango be.Loc [1Pl Comit]
‘We have a mango.’

c. wálèn tá [ màn pà]  
money not.be.Loc [1Sg Comit]
‘I don’t have any money.’

The ‘X have Y’ construction is put to use in many collocations. For example, Y may denote a physical condition or affliction (658). See also §11.1.1.3 above.

(658) a. fùnténi" ná [ màn pà]  
heat(n) be.Loc [1Sg Comit]
‘I am (=feel) hot.’

b. jíí-géré" ná [zákí pà]  
water-thirst be.Loc [Z Comit]
‘Zaki is thirsty.’

11.5.1.2 With swí-́y ~ swí-́y"n

A less common construction has swí-́y (dialect 1) or swí-́y"n (dialect 2) instead of comitative pà as in the preceding subsection. The source of this is a suffixal locative -́y of the noun súú ‘hand’, perhaps specifically a contracted locative of its definite singular form súú-yàw"n (which would account for the nasalized variant in dialect 2).
(659) pánááⁿ-y-è, pánááⁿ-y-è náfóró-òń tùń tà
first-DefSg-Loc, first-DefSg-Loc wealth-DefSg be.Past IpfvNeg
[númú-áⁿ sw-í-ży]
[person-DefSg hand-DefSg-Loc]
‘In the old days, the person (=people) didn’t use to have wealth.’ (2021-01 @ 05:09)

11.5.2 ‘Y belong to X’ predicates (fùwò nì ~ fùwò nì)

A predicate of (long-standing) possession, translatable ‘Y belongs to X’ or ‘Y is X’s’, takes the form Y gà [X fùwò] nì, or tonal variant with fùwò nì. The markup is “[Y be [X(’s) possession] it.is].” This is a special case of the regular copular construction (§11.2.2.1). ‘Be’ here is positive gà or negative tà. The noun ‘possession’ is fùwò, obscurely related to fá ‘thing’, perhaps as an obsolete definite singular form. There is a morphological plural fùwò-yé ~ fùwò-yè ‘possessions’ in other contexts, but it does not occur in this predicative construction. The possessor is an NP or a pronoun. 1Sg possessor is n-dúwò fùwò with the 1Sg independent pronoun) or ṣ fùwò with the 1Sg proclitic ṣ (+tones).

(660) a. [kú-nù ɲámáá-áⁿ] ṣá [wùráá fùwò] nì
[Dem-Link house-DefSg] be [who? Poss] it.is
‘This/That house belongs to who(m)?’ (<ɲámáá)

b. tiyéⁿ-èⁿ ṣá [n-dúwò fùwò] nì
field-DefSg be [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is
‘The field is mine.’

c. tiyé-yè tá [sèèdú fùwò] nì
field-Pl not.be [S Poss] it.is
‘The fields are not Seydou’s.’

If it is understood what the entity is whose possessor is to be specified, the former may be omitted along with the copular verb. The result is the identificational construction (‘it’s __’), with the final nì ‘it is’ functioning as predicate. Since gà ‘be’ is absent and cannot be negated as tà ~ tá, the negative identificational construction is applied, with té replacing nì.

(661) a. [n-dúwò fùwò] nì
[1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is
‘It’s mine.’

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b. [n-dúwɔ ʃùwɔ] té
   [1Sg-Indep Poss] it.is.not

   ‘It isn’t mine.’
12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 With verb ‘(sur)pass’ kíyé/kíyè or stative kíyé-ná

12.1.1.1 ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb with dative nà

The intransitive motion verb ‘X go past, X pass (by), X move on’ is Pfv kíyé or Ipfv kíyè. As a motion verb, it can mean ‘X pass (by) Y’, where Y is expressed as the complement of dative postposition nà (§8.1.1.2), as in (662a). This can denote change of position (rank) in a race, or more abstractly a change of rank in a more abstract comparative context not involving literal motion. In the stative form kíyé-ná ‘be more than, outdo’, it denotes static (temporally extended) rank. This stative form follows the subject without intervening gà ‘be’, with or without a reflexive pronominal (662b).

(662) a. áámâdù kíyé gà [sèèdù nà]  
A pass.Pfv Pfv [S Dat]
‘Amadou passed Seydou.’ (e.g. in a race)  
or: ‘Amadou has surpassed (=has become better than) Seydou.’

b. áámâdù (ŋ) kíyé-ná [sèèdù nà]  
A (3ReflSg) pass-Stat [S Dat]
‘Amadou outdoes Seydou.’
default interpretation: ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

A domain of comparison, e.g. strength or wealth, may be expressed overtly as a locative PP.

(663) a. áámâdù kíyé gà [sèèdù nà] sémpéⁿ-ẗⁿ  
A pass.Pfv Pfv [S Dat] strength-Loc
‘Amadou has moved past Seydou in strength.’
(= ‘Amadou has become stronger than Seydou.’)

b. áámâdù kíyé-ná [sèèdú nà] [nàfërɔ̃-tùwà-àmá]-ẗ  
A pass-Stat [S Dat] [wealth-owner-Abstr]-Loc
‘Amadou is richer than Seydou.’ (< tùù ‘owner’, §5.1.8)
12.1.1.2 ‘(Sur)pass’ in sequential VP

When the comparison is about an event type that requires expression by its own verb, like ‘eat’ or ‘give’, the ‘pass’ verb is chained to it in the sequential construction with bé. The context can be quantitative (‘more than Y’) or qualitative (‘better than Y’). If the context is quantitative, the main clause normally includes an extent quantifier. When the main clause has two or more human arguments, the comparandum phrase (‘than Y’) does not overtly indicate which grammatical role is at hand. This accounts for alternative readings of sentences like (664b) and (664d).

(664) a. áámàdǘ diyé́ gá [bé kíyé [sèèdú nà]]
   A eat.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘Amadou ate more than Seydou (ate).’

b. áámàdǘ ṣó kó gá [bé kíyé [sèèdú nà]]
   A 1Sg furnish.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘Amadou gave me more than Seydou (gave me).’
or: ‘Amadou gave me more than (Amadou gave to) Seydou.’ (< kò)

c. ḥáá tèè mè-nè [bé kíyá= [áⁿ nà]]
   1Sg Ipfv tea drink.Ipfv [Seq pass.Pfv [2Sg Dat]]
   ‘I drink more tea than you-Sg (drink).’

d. sèèdú yè ṣó kwà gá [bé kíyá= [áámàdü nà]]
   S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
   ‘Seydou hit me more than Amadou (hit me).’
or: ‘Seydou hit me more than (Seydou hit) Amadou.’ (< kwá)

e. sèèdú bùrà-àmá gá [bé kíyá= [áámàdü nà]]
   S stout-Inch.Pfv Pfv [Seq pass.Pfv [A Dat]]
   ‘Seydou has gotten fatter than Amadou.’
or: ‘Seydou has grown more than Amadou (has grown).’

f. áⁿ tā̀ nù̀ndì́ [bé kíyé [n nál]]
   2Sg Ipfv dance.Ipfv [Seq pass.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]
   ‘You-Sg dance better than I (dance).’

The same construction can be applied to adjectival predicates with participialized adjectives and with final ‘it is’ clitic (665a-b).
An alternative construction for such predicates is presented in the following subsection.

12.1.2 Comparatives with dative tè

Some adjectives have a reflexive predicate (§11.4.1.2). In the corresponding comparative construction, the verb ‘(sur-)pass’ is absent. Instead, the regular predicative form of the adjective (reflexive clause or ‘be’ plus predicate adjective) is followed by the comparandum. The latter is expressed with dative tè, not by the other dative nà. (666a) is synonymous with (665b) in the preceding subsection. (666b-c) illustrate with reflexive predicates.

(666) a. áámàdú gá pỹè-nà [bé kíyé [sèdú nà]]
    A be black-Ppl [Seq pass.Pfv [S Dat]]
    ‘Amadou is darker than Seydou.’

b. yè = é(é) kwàsá' [sèdú tè]
    3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.long [S Dat]
    ‘They are taller than Seydou.’ (< kwàsá)

c. ń nà ŋè kémínë [sèdú tè]
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg 1Sg be.old [S Dat]
    ‘I am older than Seydou.’

This construction is also the way to compare quantity (numbers or measures). The reflexive adjective in this case is kó ‘much’ or ‘many’. Plural suffix -ye (of variable tone) is usually omitted before yè (~ yè) bidirectional case marker (667b), but other irregular plurals are not reduced (667a).
(667) a. dyé-nà-méé yè = é(e) kwé = [één tè]            
    child-Pl-Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl many [1Pl Dat]
    ‘The young people outnumber us.’ (< kóⁿ)

b. kóngóro(-yè) yè = é kóⁿ [yörógò-yé tè]            
    dog(-Pl) Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl many [cat-Pl Dat]
    ‘There are more dogs than (there are) cats.’

12.1.3 ‘Be better’ (pâsòⁿ)

The reflexive stative verb pâsòⁿ means ‘be better’. It takes a dative complement with tè.

(668) a. áámàdù m pâsòⁿ [sèdù tè]            
    A 3ReflSg be.better [S Dat]
    ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

b. dúgó-ɔⁿ m pâsôm [pífin tè]            
    rice-DefSg 3ReflSg be.better [millet-DefSg Dat]
    ‘Rice is better than millet.’

c. (i) yè = é(e) pâsòⁿ [íín tè]            
    3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.better [1Pl Dat]
    ‘They are better than we (are).’

d. à tìⁿ m pâsòⁿ [n té]            
    3Sg be.Past 3ReflSg be.better [1Sg Dat]
    ‘He/She was better than I (was).’

e. à tá m pâsòⁿ [n té]            
    3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.better [1St Dat]
    ‘He/She is not better than I (am).’

See 2021-03 @ 07:59 for a textual example. In 2021-03 @ 07:57, iterative pâsóⁿ-pâsòⁿ is distributive (pluractional) in sense.
12.1.4 Superlative ‘most’, ‘best’

There is no dedicated superlative construction. Something like a superlative reading can be forced by adding an expression denoting or presupposing a pool of individuals, either as possessor or in an adverbial adjunct. An example is ‘village’ in (669).

(669) sèédú gá [sùwò-yà måñáá] ní nɔ̀gí-y
  S be [sing-Agent good] it.is village-Loc
  ‘Seydou is the good (=best) singer in the village.’

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’ ká(w)ᵃ

ká(w)ᵃ ‘be equal’ occurs in a stative reflexive predicate construction. The subject is plural, either a conjunction of two NPs or an otherwise semantically plural NP or pronoun. The universal quantifier sááⁿ ‘all’ or ‘both’ occurs at the end of the subject in either case (e.g. ìfⁿ sááⁿ ‘both/all of us’). If the domain of comparison is understood in context, no further adjunct is needed (670a). As in asymmetrical comparatives, it is possible to specify the domain of comparison. In (670b) this is done by making the two comparanda possessors of the abstract nominal denoting the scalar dimension (670b).

(670) a. [sèédú sàñì áámàdù sááⁿ] yè = élé ká(w)ⁿ
    [S and A all] Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl equal
    ‘Seedu and Amadou are equal.’

    b. [[áá sááⁿ] tìyè-má] yè = élé ká(w)ⁿ
       [[2Pl all] heavy-Abstr] Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.equal
       ‘You-Pl have the same weight.’ (lit. “Your-Pl weights are equal”)

ká(w)ⁿ is perhaps obscurely related in some way to the adjective-like numeral kóóⁿ ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1). Since kóóⁿ often translates as ‘same’, it too occurs in symmetrical comparative predicates (‘X and Y are one’ = ‘are the same’ = ‘are equal’).

(671) [jì sàñì sèédù sááⁿ] yé [jàtè ǹ-kóóⁿ] sàⁿ ǹjà
     [1Sg and Seydou all] Sbj/Obj amount Link-one buy.Pfv Pfv
     ‘I and Seydou bought the same (=equal) number/amount.’ (< jàtè)

Other phrasings can occur in specific contexts. In (672), tàñà ‘side’ occurs in a compound that can be construed as depicting two individuals standing side by side.
12.2.2 Dynamic ‘become equal’ (kásà-mà)

The verb kásà-mà/kásà-mà ‘become equal’ denotes the process of convergence of two or more individuals in some measure (673a). It is nontransparently parsable as a lexicalized inchoative, cf. deadjectival inchoatives with -(a)ma- (§9.4.4). If the two comparanda are separated syntactically, so that the subject NP denotes the individual most responsible for the convergence, the second comparandum can be adjoined as a PP with instrumental ní or dative tè (673b). Causative kásà-mà-ní/kásà-mà-ní adds a causal agent who is responsible for equalizing two or more entities (673c).

(673)  a. è kásà-má gá
       3Pl become.equal Pfv Pfv
     ‘They have become equal.’

   b. ñ nà kásà-má gá [è ní]
       1Sg Pfv.1Sg be.equal-Caus Pfv Pfv [3Pl Inst]
     ‘I have equaled them.’

   c. ñ né= è kásà-mà-níₚ nà
       1Sg Pfv.1Sg 3Pl be.equal-Caus Pfv Pfv
     ‘I equalized them (e.g. treated them equally).’

12.2.3 Adverbial ‘as much (as)’

12.2.3.1 With játé or hágè ~ hákè ‘amount’

játé and hágè ~ hákè are abstract terms for ‘amount’. játé occurs in contexts like money where actual counting or calculation is assumed. hágè ~ hákè is preferred for noncountable masses. However, there is considerable interchange.

One way these nouns occur in symmetrical comparisons is with the adjective-like numeral ‘one’ (674a). Another is to establish one quantity in a relative clause and then refer to that quantity by a discourse-definite demonstrative (674b).
12.2.3.2 nûmê ‘the likes/equal of’

The possessed noun nûmê (e.g. 1Sg ñ nûmê) is treated syntactically somewhat like ‘the likes of X’ in English. It indicates a similarity between an individual and one or more other individuals (who need not be named).

(675) mṳ́sà gá [sèɛdù nûmê wò] nì [nỳɛŋ-kùwɔ̃]-ŋùwɔtɔ-má]-y
M be [S likeness Foc] it.is [[head-bone]-hard-Abstr]-Loc
‘Moussa is the likes/equal of Seydou in banditry.’
13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

13.1.1 Basic morphosyntax of focalization

NPs including pronouns and most adverbs can be focalized. They remain in their regular position within the clause. The focus markers that are added at the end of focalized nonpronominal constituents are those in (676). The tones are discussed later in this subsection.

(676)  a. singular
        wò ~ wù after personal names and unsuffixed nouns
        -wàà DefSg -yàwⁿ plus wò ~ wù ; also demonstrative kù wàà

        b. plural
        dûwò (dialect 1 or 2)
        lûwò (dialect 2, as variant)

Singular wò is illustrated in (677). This form is regular after personal names like Seydou, and it can be used after other singular NPs and adverbs that do not have definite singular -yàwⁿ.

(677)  a. [sèédû wò] bé gà
        [S Foc] come.Pfv Pfv
        ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who came.’

        b. ń ná [sèédû wó] kàý gà
        1Sg Pfv.1Sg [S Foc] see.Pfv Pfv
        ‘It’s Seydou [focus] whom I saw.’

        c. ń nà wálè-n dó gà [[sèédû wó] nà]
        1Sg Pfv.1Sg money-DefSg give.Pfv Pfv [[S Foc] Dat]
        ‘It’s Seydou [focus] to whom I gave the money.’

        d. ṇ ná bé [sùwó wò] sàⁿ
        1Sg Ipfv Fut [sheep Foc] buy.Pfv
        ‘It’s a sheep [focus] (not a goat) that I will buy.’
Plural důwà ~ lůwɔ occurs in (678a). Definite singular -wà occurs in (678b), and the combination kú wà with demonstrative kú is in (678c). Since the demonstrative would otherwise be just kú, without a DefSg suffix, kú wà suggests that wà is generalizing beyond definite singular -yàw", or else that kú formerly did have the DefSg suffix (*kú-yàw*). However, some speakers use wò instead of wà à after the demonstrative.

(678) a. ñ nà [yūwò-mée důwà] kày gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [woman-Pl Foc.Pl] see.Pfv Pfv
‘It’s the women [focus] that I saw.’

b. ñ nà = [á' nàwà] kày gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem sheep-DefSg.Foc] see.Pfv Pfv
‘The sheep-Sg [focus] is what I saw.’

c. ñ nà [kú wà] kày gà
[kú wò]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem (DefSg.)Foc] see.Pfv Pfv
‘That [focus] is what I saw.’

All of the focus markers are L-toned, and can induce Final Tone-Raising on otherwise L-toned final syllables/moras of the preceding complement: sūwà wò ‘sheep (focus)’ from sūwò. However, LHL-toned nouns and NPs do not shift the H-tone to the final by Rightward H-Tone Shift (§3.6.4.4.2), hence sêdù ‘Seydou’ retains its tones when it is focalized: sêdù wò, not #sêdú wò. Likewise [mərîfà wò] ní ‘it’s a rifle (focus)’. A possible diachronic interpretation of this is that wò was once H- or M-toned.

The focalized forms of discourse-definite demonstrative nɔ̀ ~ nò are in (679).

(679) a. nò-ò common, 2021-01 @ 00:18 & 03:40, etc.; 2021-03 @ 02:11, etc.
nò-gò rare; (674b) in §12.2.3.1

b. wàà used by some speakers instead of nò-ò

The variant nò-gò (679a) arguably points to *go (of indeterminate tone) as the original form of focus marker wò, but at the moment I have no comparative evidence supporting this. wàà looks like focalized definite singular -wàa (680a), and may be a further sign that wàà is spreading from that function.

nò-ò is very common in the recordings. The two attestations of wàa in the same function, evidently a subdialectal variant, are (680a-b).
(680) a. áⁿ ñà káỳⁿ [wàà nì]
    2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]
    ‘That [focus] is what you will work with.’ (2021-03 @ 20:51)

    b. [áⁿ fàⁿ] ñà fɔ̀-ró wàà nì
    [2Sg share(n)] Ipfv become-Ipfv Dem.Def.Foc it.is
    ‘That [focus] is what yous will become.’ (2021-03 @ 21:47)

    c. án ñá wàà sà-nà bí-yé
    2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def.Foc buy-Ipfv come-Ipfv
    ‘That (wood) [focus] is what your-Sg buy and bring.’ (2021-03 @ 20:03)

13.1.2 Focalization of pronouns

Pronouns take independent form (e.g. 1Sg ñ-dùwɔ, 3Sg ñ-dùwɔ, 1Pl ñn-dùwɔ, §4.3.1) when focalized, as well as in some other constructions.

When a pronoun is focalized within a clause, the independent pronoun is sufficient to mark focus. Singular pronouns optionally add focus marker wò or variant (681a), but speakers reject adding plural focus marker dùwɔ lùwɔ to a plural pronoun which already ends in the homophonous independent marker (681b).

(681) a. sèèdú yè [ñ-dùwɔ (wò)] káỳ gà
    S Sbj/Obj [1Sg-Indep (Foc)] see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘It was me [focus] that Seydou saw.’

    b. sèèdú yè = [éèn-dùwɔ (#dùwɔ)] káỳ gà
    S Sbj/Obj [1Pl-Indep (#Foc.Pl)] see.Pfv Pfv
    ‘It was us [focus] that Seydou saw.’

13.1.3 Interaction of focalization and negation

Negative clauses do not readily lend themselves to constituent focalization. In (682), ‘it wasn’t Seydou [focus] that I saw’ is rephrased with a relative clause as subject of a negative identificational.

(682) [ń ná mèèŋ káỳ gà] sèèdú té?
    [1Sg Pfv.1Sg Rel see.Pfv Pfv] S it.is.not
    ‘The one who(m) I saw was not Seydou.’
Focalization is routine in positive identificational and copular clauses, even without special contrastive focus (683a). Focalization is avoided in their negations (683b).

(683) a. kú gá [sèédù wò] nì
    Dem be [S Foc] it.is
    ‘That is Seydou [focus].’

    b. kú tá sèédù (#wò) nì
    Dem not.be S (#Foc) it.is
    ‘That is not Seydou.’

However, a constituent may be focalized under negation in some circumstances. For example, (684a) can answer the question ‘Who did not go?’ in a context where most others did go, and (684b) can answer ‘What did he/she not eat?’ in a context where the individual did eat other foods. The focalized constituent is the subject in (684a), but the object in (684b), so there is no subject/nonsubject asymmetry.

(684) a. [sèédù wò] té só
    [S Foc] PfvNeg go.Pfv
    ‘It was Seydou [focus] who did not go.’

    b. à té [sàpilà wò] dìyá
    3Sg PfvNeg [cowpea Foc] eat.Pfv
    ‘It was cowpeas [focus] that he/she did not eat.’

Independent pronouns but not focalized NPs can occur in examples like (685a-b), where negation scopes over the first clause. In (685a) the object ‘me’ takes independent form, though without the addition of focus marking. In (685b) ‘Seydou’ is in the same position, but it has no overt focus marking.

(685) a. án tè ŋ-dúwò kwá,
    2Sg PfvNeg 1Sg-Indep hit.Pfv,
    án pé [sèédù wò] kwá gà
    2Sg Sbj/Obj [S Foc] hit.Pfv Pfv
    ‘It wasn’t me [light focus] that you-Sg hit, it was Seydou [focus] that you hit.’
b. án té sèédù kwá,
2Sg PfvNeg S hit.Pfv,
áⁿ [ń-dúwò wò] kwá gà
2Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg-Indep Foc] hit.Pfv Pfv
‘You didn’t hit Seydou, it was me [focus] that you hit.’

13.1.4 Subject focalization

Further examples of pronominal subject focalization are in (686). Addition of a focus marker is allowed after singular pronouns, cf, (681) above. It is disallowed after plural pronouns since the focus marker is identical to the independent pronoun ending (686).

(686) a. [ńn-dúwò (#dúwò)] gà bé tǎwⁿ
[1Pl-Indep (#FocPl)] lpfv Fut ascend.Pfv
‘It’s we [focus] who will go up.’

b. [ń-dúwò (wò)] gà bé tǎwⁿ
[1Sg-Indep (Foc)] lpfv Fut ascend.Pfv
‘It’s I [focus] who will go up.’

c. [ń-lúwò (wò)] gà bé tǎwⁿ
[3Sg-Indep (Foc)] lpfv Fut ascend.Pfv
‘It’s he/she/it [focus] who/that will go up.’

Examples (687a-b) exemplify nonpronominal NPs as focalized subjects. A focus marker is necessary to mark focalization. -wà can function as the fusion of definite singular -yàwⁿ and singular focus marker wò after common nouns (687b). Since personal names do not allow the definite suffix, wò rather than -wà is their focus marker (687c).

(687) a. [sòmpóⁿ wò] bé gà [píⁿ-iⁿ ní]
[donkey Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [millet-DefSg Inst]
‘It was a donkey [focus] that brought the millet.’

b. [kú-nú sòmpóⁿ-wà] bé gà [píⁿ-iⁿ ní]
[Dem-Link donkey-DefSg.Foc] come.Pfv Pfv [millet-DefSg Inst]
‘It was this donkey [focus] that brought the millet.’
c. \([\text{Sèdù wò / (#wàà)}] \text{ bé gà} = [\text{à ní}]\)
\([\text{S Foc} / (#\text{DefSg.Foc})] \text{ come.Pfv Pfv} [3\text{Sg Inst}]\)
‘It was \text{Seydou [focus]} who brought it.’

13.1.5 Object focalization

Further examples of object focalization are in (688).

(688) a. \([\text{sèdù yà} = [\text{àn-dúwò O}] \text{ kwá gà} ]\)
\([\text{àn-dúwò wò}]\)
\([\text{S Sbj/Obj} [2\text{Sg-Indep Foc}] \text{ hit.Pfv Pfv} ]\)
‘It’s \text{you-Sg [focus]} that \text{Seydou hit.’}

b. \([\text{ń nà} [\text{kómp's wò}] \text{ kày gà} ]\)
\([\text{1Sg Pfv.1Sg [lion Foc]}] \text{ see.Pfv Pfv} ]\)
‘It’s \text{a lion [focus]} that I saw.’

13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverbial phrase

13.1.6.1 Focalization of purposive-causal expression

In purposive PPs like \(\text{kú dàà} \text{ ‘for that’} \text{ and ɲón dàà \text{ ‘for that (discourse-definite)’}}\), the complement of the postposition is very often focalized when the clause is positive. The purposive PP may be preclausal (689a-b) or postverbal (not shown). Under negation, there is normally no overt focalization, and the PP must be postverbal to avoid an incorrect reading (689c).

(689) a. \([[[\text{kú wàà} \text{ dàà}]]] \text{ ń nà bé gà} ]\)
\([[[\text{Dem Foc} \text{ Purp}] 1\text{Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv} ]\)
‘That (just mentioned, or deictic) [focus] is why I came.’

b. \([\text{ɲó-ò dàà}] \text{ ń nà bé gà} ]\)
\([\text{Dem.Def-Foc Purp}] 1\text{Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv} ]\)
‘That (discourse-definite) [focus] is why I came.’

c. \(\text{ń té bé} [\text{kú / ɲón dàà}] \)
\(1\text{Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [Dem/Dem.Def Purp]}\)
‘That’s not why I came.’ = ‘I didn’t come for that (reason).’
13.1.6.2 Focalization of temporal adverb or PP

A simple temporal adverb can be focalized. It may be preclausal (690a) or postverbal (690b), reflecting the positional freedom of (unfocalized) temporal adverbs.

(690) a. [ɲànnú ùwù] ífn ɲà bé sò
[tomorrow [Foc] IPl lpfv Fut go.Pfv
‘It’s tomorrow [focus] that we will go.’

b. ífn ɲà bé sò [ɲànnú ùwù]
IPl lpfv Fut go.Pfv [tomorrow [Foc]
[=(a)]

Some relevant combinations are in (691). Most of them (691c) are morphologically straightforward combinations with wù (variant of wò). However, in (691a) there are pronunciations with an i-vowel before wù, a possible analog of yi focalizing spatial adverbs (§13.1.6.4 below). In (691b), wà is a focus marker allomorph and -ỳ is the locative postposition (also present in disguise in pánááⁿ-ɲ-è).

(691) adverb focalized gloss

a. wày wàý wù ~ wàyí wù ‘today’
ɲànnú ɲànní wù ~ ɲànnú = ù ‘tomorrow’

b. pánááⁿ(-ɲ-è) pánááⁿ wà-y ‘in the old days’

c. dígéⁿ dígéⁿ wù ‘yesterday’
ázàwù ñáwù = ù ‘now’
sɔ̀gò sɔ̀gò wù ‘last year’
yùrùgù yùrùgù wù ‘this year’
kùnààsiyè kùnààsiyé wù ‘next year’

In (692), a temporal relative clause occurs first, headed by a temporal noun ‘day’. The head may occur clause-finally (as shown) or it may be clause-initial. The completed temporal adverbial clause ‘the day when I came’ is then resumed and focalized as ‘that (very) day’ at the beginning of the main clause. The effect is that of a correlative construction (§14.1.2).
For a similar correlative construction, see (679) in §13.1.6.4 below.

13.1.6.3 Focalization of manner adverbial

The demonstrative adverb kiyéwⁿ ~ kiyéʷu ‘thus, like this’ (§4.4.3.2) can be focalized with wò ~ wù (693).

(693) íºⁿ ṉà bé = ééⁿ fúó [kìⁿyáwⁿ wò]
    1Pl  Ipfv Fut 1Pl sit-Pfv [like.this Foc]
    ‘(Like) this [focus] is how we will sit.’

‘Like X’ is expressed with síná ~ síni ‘like’ preceding the complement X (§8.4.1), as in (694a). The complement may be focalized. The fact that the focus marker agrees in number (694b-c) shows that the focus marker is bracketed with the complement, not with the ‘like X’ phrase as a whole.

(694) a. íºⁿ ṉà bé káyⁿ [síná sèèdù]
    1Pl  Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [like S]
    ‘We will work like Seydou.’

b. íºⁿ ṉà bé káyⁿ [síná [sèèdù wò]]
    1Pl  Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [like [S Foc]]
    ‘It’s like Seydou [focus] that we will work.’

c. íºⁿ ṉà bé káyⁿ [síná [yìyèm-bé dúwò]]
    1Pl  Ipfv Fut work.Pfv [like [woman-Pl Foc.PI]]
    ‘It’s like women [focus] that we will work.’

13.1.6.4 Spatial adverbs focalized with locative -yì

Spatial adverbs bòⁿ ‘here’ and yáwⁿ (dialect 1) or yôn (dialect 2) ‘there (definite)’ can be overtly focalized with the regular focus marker wò. However, a dialect 1 speaker did not allow wò in this combination, instead adding locative suffix variant -yì to focalize these adverbs. This combination
is only used in focalizing contexts (dialect 2), and is ungrammatical in dialect 2 in any context. Compare the neutral clause (695a) with the focalized adverbs in (695b) for dialect 2 and in (695c) for dialect 1.

(695) a. íǐⁿ ñà bé kónó bòⁿ / yáwⁿ
1Pl Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv here / there.Def
‘We will stay here/there.’

b. íǐⁿ ñà bé kónó bòⁿ-yì / yóⁿ-yì
1Pl Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv here-Loc / there.Def-Loc
‘It’s here/here [focus] that we will stay.’ (dialect 2)

c. íǐⁿ ñà bé kónó [bòⁿ / yáwⁿ wò]
1Sg Ipfv Fut stay.Pfv [here / there.Def Foc]
‘It’s here/here [focus] that we will stay.’ (dialect 1)

By adding the locative suffix (really an encliticized postposition), these locative adverbs are in effect nominalized to mean ‘this place’ and ‘that place’. They can then be pluralized with -yè, to which plural focus marker dûwɔ̀ – lûwɔ̀ is added before the final -yì (696). Elsewhere ‘here’ and ‘there’ as simple adverbs cannot be pluralized.

(696) íǐⁿ ñà bé kónó [bòⁿ-yé / yóⁿ-yé lûwɔ̀] -yì
‘It’s in these/those parts [focus] that we will stay.’

It is possible that resorting to -yì instead of wò originated subdialectally as a device to insure that the focalizing morpheme is clearly audible. In bòⁿ wò ‘here [focus]’ and yáwⁿ wò ‘there.Def [focus]’, with the two most common spatial adverbs, the focus morpheme tends to be “swallowed” by the preceding back rounded segments, and its L-tone is just the continuation of the final L-tone on the adverbs. This is especially so since such adverbs usually occur clause-finally.

A correlative construction similar to that in (692) in §13.1.6.2 above (‘day when I came’) is (697).

(697) [ú ná tiŋá-yè yàá gà [gíyèⁿ màp]-è,
[1Sg Pfv.1Sg stool-Pl put.Pfv Pfv [place Rel]-Loc]
íǐⁿ ñà bé [íǐⁿ fwo] yóⁿ-yì
1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl sit.Pfv there.Def-Loc]
‘(At) the place where I left the stools, (right) there [focus] is where we will sit.’
13.1.7 Clause-final focus marking

In the recordings, the focus marker wò ~ wù is sometimes found clause-finally (or followed only by a clause-final emphatic particle), in contexts where it is not bracketed with an NP or adverbial constituent. This is to be expected in subordinated clauses that function as arguments in a higher clause (698b-c), but in (698a) it seems to be emphatic in a main clause.

(698) a. è tá kúmè sááwù, è tú" ná wò péw
3Pl Ipv Neg be.caught.Ipv now, 3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv Foc completely
‘They (=fish spp.) aren’t caught now, they have completely disappeared.’
(2021-03 @ 03:34)

b. dúgș-yàw, [né jíi nà dô wù],
rice-Def Sg, [if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv Foc],
áá gá= à súwó rà
2Pl Ipv 3Sg cultivate.Ipv Q
‘The rice, is it when the water (=flooding) comes in [focus] (that) you-Pl cultivate it?’
(2021-03 @ 05:46)

c. áywà [[dúgș nùnù] tá siní [sóó timànná] kóy]
well [[rice Top] IpvvN ev be.able.Ipvv [grass prevent.Ipvv] Emph]
né→ pósóni siná= [à té kàré wò] té
if poison otherwise [3Sg Pfv Neg die.Pfv Foc] not.be
‘Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or it
dies [focus].’

13.2 Interrogatives

The following subsections describe questions that take the form of main clauses. For quoted questions see §17.1.6. For propositional complements of ‘know’ and ‘not know’, see §17.3.1.1.

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

13.2.1.1 Clause-final polar interrogative rà ~ là ~ nà ~ =à

The productive polar (yes-no) interrogative marker outside of formulaic greetings is clause-final rà ~ là (subdialectal choice), nasalizing to nà after a nasalized segment. It can also contract as =à with a preceding vowel (699e).
(699) a. án dïyé gà rà
   2Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv Q
   ‘Have you-Sg eaten?’

b. áⁿ ná sèèdú tîwó rà
   2Sg Ipfv S know.Ipfv Q
   ‘Do you-Sg know Seydou?’

c. à gà bë séⁿ nà
   3Sg Ipfv Fut fall.Pfv Q
   ‘Will he/she fall?’

d. áⁿ ná só sûtá-ŷⁿ nà
   2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc Q
   ‘Are you-Sg going to the market?’

e. áⁿ jà= à fààmù nà = à
   2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q
   ‘Did you-Sg understand it?’

f. [án kà] bë gà là
   [2Sg father] come.Pfv Pfv Q
   ‘Did your-Sg father come?’

This particle can be added to a single constituent, such as an NP (including independent pronouns) or PP, functioning as a truncated question with the rest of the clause understood from context.

(700) a. ŋ-dúwò là
   1Sg Q
   ‘Me?’

b. ñàñù là
tomorrow Q
   ‘Tomorrow?’ (<ñàñù)

c. sèèdú là
   S Q
   ‘Seydou?’ (<sèèdú)
13.2.1.2 Clause-initial kɔ̀nì ~ kwànnì in formulaic greeting questions

In greeting formulae, a question may begin with kɔ̀nì ~ kwànnì (701a). The final ‘there’ can be replaced by other locative expressions such as áá pà ‘among you-Pl’. The response omits the interrogative particle (701b).

(701) a. kwànnì [báàsì (síí)] tà yôⁿ
    Q [trouble (any)] not.be.Loc there.Def
    ‘Is there no trouble there?’

b. [báàsì (síí)] tà yôⁿ
   [trouble (any)] not.be.Loc there.Def
   ‘There’s no trouble there.’

13.2.1.3 Polar interrogation by terminal pitch change

Polar interrogation without the final particle (preceding subjection) is not widely used in J-S of Djenné. In the recordings, speakers regularly end polar interrogatives with the particle. Simple intonation to form a polar question is denied by speakers in elicitation, except in incredulous echos like (702). The final syllable has higher than modal pitch.

(702) sèédù
   S
   ‘Seydou?’ (incredulous)

13.2.1.4 Pre-interrogative yárà (~ sárá) ‘(wondering) whether’

yárà is a pre-clausal particle that occurs in a number of constructions that involve different kinds of irrealis mood. It can occur in purposive and ‘lest’ clauses describing desired and unwanted consequences of an action (§17.4.4).

It can serve as a formal preface to a question, as in some of the recorded texts that have interview-like dialog. It might be loosely translated as ‘I wonder whether …’, though it has no subject-predicate structure of its own. Often the question is complex.
(703) yárà [mùwɔ́ difference síí] gà
whether [which? difference any] be.Loc
[[[kíím bóröⁿ] yëⁿ [kííⁿ-níyëⁿ míyë-gù] nááⁿ]] wò
[[[skiff big] and [skiff-Dimin small-Adj] between] Foc]
‘What difference is there between a big skiff and a little skiff?’
(2021-03 @ 20:17)

See also 2021-03 @ 12:06, 18:19, 18:28, 21:29, and 21:54.

yárà ‘whether’ resembles yálà ‘hopefully’ at the beginning of wish expressions (§10.4.3.1), but the relationship between the two particles is unclear.

Along with several occurrences of yárà, there is one with a variant sárà (704). The y/s alternation is unexplained and may reflect distinct etymons.

(704) sárà [yúwɔ́ bóröⁿ-yë lúwɔ̀] ní nà,
whether [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is Q,
ou bien [yúwɔ́-líyàⁿ míyà-gù-yë lúwɔ̀] ní
or [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is
‘Were they big fish-Pl [focus], or were they little minnows [focus]?’
(2021-03 @ 03:30)

13.2.1.5 ńmàà ‘whether’ medially in interrogative passages

Another form glossed ‘whether’ (for lack of a better translation) is ńmàà. There is a subdialectal variant húmà which may be archaic, cf. hú ~ sú ‘thing’ in relative clause heads hú/sú màⁿ ‘something that …’ (§14.2.3).

ńmàà tends to occur at the beginning of noninitial clauses in extended interrogative or otherwise dubitative passages. It can sometimes be translated ‘in other words’ or ‘that is to say’, preceded a clarification of an already pronounced question or musing. The clarification clause is not itself interrogative in form.

(705) áá gà [mùwɔ́ sùwɔ̀-báánà síí-yë lúwɔ̀] tíí-nì,
2Pl Ipfv [which? cultivate.VblN-manner any-Pl Foc.Pl] do-Ipfv,
ńmàà áá gà nápáá kilá á-y
whether 2Pl Ipfv crops get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
‘What forms of farming do you-Pl do? That is, whether you-Pl get crops therein to sustain yourselves.’ (2021-03 @ 05:08 to 05:13)

Additional examples are 2021-01 @ 01:59, 07:40, and 14:48, and 2021-03 @ 04:28, 07:45, 09:33, 11:01, 17:50, 18:48, and 20:00.
For rîmàà in other dubitative contexts, see §17.3.1.1 and §17.3.4.

13.2.1.6 Juxtaposed disjunctive polar interrogatives

Questions that have yes/no answers are, logically speaking, abbreviations of disjunctions: ‘Did you eat the meat, or did you not eat the meat?’

Such double questions occur repeatedly in the recordings, and can take any of four forms. The first possibility is to juxtapose the two clauses without a prosodic break, as in (706). The clause-final polar interrogative rà (or variant) occurs at the end of the first part but is not repeated, nor is there an ‘or’ particle. Usually the first clause is positive in form and the second clause is negative.

(706) [è gá ñònòmilli nè = ]
[3Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv Q]
è tá ñònòmilli
3Pl IpfvNeg dance.Ipfv
‘Do they dance? Or do they not dance?’ (2021-01 @ 13:11)

There is no terminal pitch rise. The second clause ends with relatively low pitch, as in typical indicative statements.

The other three possibilities require an overt ‘or’ at the beginning of the second part (usually the negative clause). The choices for ‘or’ are wàràmà, ñtàà, and French ou bien. Leaving the French form aside, the subsections below illustrate wàràmà and ñtàà.

13.2.1.7 Disjunctive polar interrogatives with wàràmà ‘or’

This differs from simple juxtaposition of the two interrogative clauses (see above) by adding an overt ‘or’ particle wàràmà, which can also occur in non-interrogative disjunctions (§7.2.1). In addition, a clear prosodic break optionally separates the two parts.

(707) [àn ñá sò [sùbé-ên nìì] nà] (,)
[2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [market-DefSg inside] Q] (,)
[wàràmà án tá sò]
[or 2Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv]
‘Are you-Sg going to the market, or aren’t you going?’
13.2.1.8 Disjunctive polar interrogatives (ńtàà)

A more colloquial alternative to wàràmà ‘or’ in disjunctive questions is ńtàà (708). The two are interchangeable in such interrogatives, with wàràmà being more formal stylistically. ńtàà is exemplified in (708).

(708) [áá gà [yúwó bóróⁿ-ýé lùwò] kú-nú nà]
[2Pl Ipfv [fish big-Pl Foc.PI] catch-Ipfv Q]
ńtàà áá gà [yúwó-líýéⁿ míyè-gù-ýé lùwò] kú-nú
or 2Pl Ipfv [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.PI] catch-Ipfv
‘Is it big fish [focus] that you-Pl catch? Or is it little fish [focus] that you-Pl catch?’
(2021-03 @ 00:08-00:10)

See also 2021-03 @ 06:26, 08:14, 10:24, 15:29, and 21:54.

Unlike wàràmà, ńtàà only occurs in interrogative contexts. This along with its unusual nasal-stop onset suggest the possibility that ńtàà is etymologically composite. However, a diachronic connection with interrogative topic làà (~ dàà), on which see §13.2.2.1 below, is dubious for phonological reasons.

13.2.1.9 Tag question (ńnè)

The equivalent (roughly) of an English tag question is expressed by preposing ńnè to the relevant indicative clause. In form it looks like 1Sg subject ŋ加上 a morpheme nè, but the latter is unrecognisable.

The speaker suspects that the proposition is true but requests confirmation. For example, (709a) or (709) might be used when the speaker has observed the interlocutor walking in the general direction of a weekly market while carrying products of the sort typically sold there.

(709) ńnà = áⁿ ŋá só súbáⁿ-ýn
Q 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc
‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’

13.2.2 Content (WH) interrogatives

Content interrogatives normally remain in situ, i.e. they are usually not fronted to clause-initial position.
13.2.2.1 Interrogative topic làà ‘what about _?’

The particle whose basic form is làà is associated mainly with interrogative and similar dubitative contexts. Other variants are ràà, nasalized nàà, and dàà after a nasal (án dàà ‘what about you-Sg’). It is glossed QTop. It is somewhat like ‘what about X?’ preceding a question, but it does not require a preceding statement about a different referent. It can be preclausal with a prosodic break, or integrated into the clause, especially as subject NP.

(710) a. [sèédù làà], à gà bé sáá min-tíyàw

[S QTop] 3Sg Ipfv Fut lie.down.Ipfv where?

‘(What about) Seydou, where will he spend the night?’

b. ǹ-dúwò làà

1Sg-Indep QTop

‘And (what about) me?’

For detailed analysis and textual examples, see §19.1.2.

13.2.2.2 ‘Who?’ (wùlàà – wùràà)

The human WH interrogative noun is wùlàà, sometimes heard as wùràà. It occurs in the normal range of syntactic environments for NPs. It raises to wùláá before L-tone by regular tone sandhi. The làà ~ ràà syllable likely originated as the interrogative topic marker (see just above). Plural variant wù-yé-làà discussed below, used by some speakers, supports a bimorphemic origin. However, for the most part wùlàà is no longer segmentable.

(711) a. wùlàà gà sò / …

   gà … / bì-yé

   who? Ipfv go.Ipfv/come.Ipfv

   ‘Who goes/comes?’

b. wùlàà bè gà

   who? come.Pfv Pfv

   ‘Who came?’

c. wùlàà Ø kón̂gòró-òŋ kwá gà

   wùlàà yè

   who? (Sbj/Obj) dog-DefSg hit.Pfv Pfv

   ‘Who hit the dog?’ (variants with and without the bidirectional case marker)
d. áŋ wûlâà kwá gà
   2Sg who? hit.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

e. íì ñà bê sâá [wûlâà kàw”]
   1Pl Ipfv Fut lie.down.Pfv [who? chez]
   ‘At whose place will we spend the night?’

f. kû gà [wûlâà ñamâå] nì
   Dem be [who? house] it.is
   ‘This is whose house?’

g. wûlâà tù” nì
   who? be.Past it.is
   ‘Who was it?’

h. wûlâà nì
   who? it.is
   ‘Who is it?’

There is a plural with subdialectal variants wû-yé-làà or wûlâá-yè that can be used when the questioner assumes the answer will be a plural noun (712a). Of these, wûlâá-yè is the regular plural of wûlâà, while wû-yé-làà implies that wûlâà is itself still segmentable dialectally as wû-làà with wû- the noun-like root. An alternative phrasing is ‘who and who?’ (712b).

(712) a. wûlâá-yè bê gà
    [dialect 1]
    wû-yé-làà
    [dialect 2]
    who?.Pl come.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Who all came?’

b. [wûlâà sînì wûlâà] bê gà
   [who? and who?] come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Who and who came?’

13.2.2.3 ‘What?’ (mûwó ~ mûwóy), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

The simple nonhuman content interrogative ‘what?’ is mûwó or mûwóy. The latter is typical of dialect 2.
(713) a. kú gá múwóý ní
Dem be what? it.is
‘What is that?’

b. múwó bé gà = [áⁿ ní] bôⁿ
‘What has brought you here?’ (2017-04 @ 02:36)

c. sèédù yé múwó (~ múwóy) káý gà
S Sbj/Obj what? see.Pfv Pfv
‘What did Seydou see?’

d. án ñá múwóý tíí-ní
2Sg Ipfv what? do-Ipfv
‘What are you-Sg doing?’

For múwó see also 2021-03 @ 13:52. For múwóy see 2021-03 @ 04:33.
A more complex ‘what?’ expression is múwó fá síí, cf. fá ‘thing’ and síí ‘kind’. Here múwó functions as a compound initial or possessor meaning ‘which?’.

(714) [múwó fá síí] ní tííⁿ ñá
[what? thing any] 3RefSg do.Pfv Pfv
‘What (has) happened?’ (lit. “What has done itself?”)

For múwó fá síí see also 2021-03 @ 16:05 and 20:40.
The combination with instrumental postposition ní (§8.1.2.1) is múwóy ní ‘with what?’ (715a). Purposive ‘why?’ with purposive postposition (§8.3.1) is múwó(y) dáà, which can either be preclausal (715b) or postverbal (715c).

(715) a. án ñá sùwó [mùwó(y) ní]
2Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [what? Inst]
‘With what do you-Sg cultivate (=do farming)?’

b. [mùwóy dáà] áádàmà bé gà
‘Why did Adama come?’
mùwò can also function as a compound initial or possessor meaning ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.9).

13.2.2.4 ‘Where?’ (miⁿ, min-tiyà(w)ⁿ)

The simple interrogative ‘where?’ is miⁿ. Some VP combinations, with subjects omitted, are in (716).

\[(716)\]
\[
a. \quad sò \quad miⁿ \quad ‘go \text{ where?}’ \quad < sò
\]
\[
b. \quad gá \quad miⁿ \quad ‘be \text{ where?}’ \quad < gà
\]
\[
\text{sùwò} \quad miⁿ \quad ‘cultivate \text{ where?}’ \quad < \text{sùwò}
\]

In (716a), we might expect #só miⁿ by Final Tone-Raising, which applies to sò in combinations like só nògú-y ‘go to the village’. Instead, sò miⁿ displaces the H-tone rightward by Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3), as it does in perfective positive só gá (not #só gá). In other combinations, miⁿ behaves as lexically L-toned, and induces Final Tone-Raising on preceding L-toned words.

There is an extended form min-tiyà(w)ⁿ ‘where?’. Its final syllable may be related to yàwⁿ ‘there.Def’ or to the definite singular suffix -yàwⁿ.

Examples are in (717).

\[(717)\]
\[
a. \quad áⁿ \quad ná \quad sò \quad miⁿ
\]
\[
2Sg \quad lpfv \quad go.lpfv \quad \textbf{where?}
\]
\[
‘Where are you-Sg going?’
\]
\[
b. \quad \text{min-tiyà(w)ⁿ}
\]
\[
\text{where?}
\]
\[
‘Where (is it)?’
\]
\[
c. \quad áⁿ \quad ná \quad miⁿ
\]
\[
2Sg \quad be.Loc \quad \text{where?}
\]
\[
‘Where are you-Sg?’
\]
\[
d. \quad áⁿ \quad tùⁿ \quad ná \quad miⁿ \quad digéⁿ
\]
\[
2Sg \quad be.Past \quad be.Loc \quad \text{where?} \quad \text{yesterday}
\]
\[
‘Where were you-Sg yesterday?’
\]
13.2.2.5 ‘When?’ (‘which time’, etc.)

Interrogatives for time are often specified for scale, e.g. ‘which day?’ or ‘which year?’ For shorter time frames (e.g. likely during the same day), the noun wááti ‘(moment in) time’ is used as default (718a). In (718a-b), múwó ‘what?’ is preposed as possessor or compound initial to a temporal noun in the sense ‘which time/day?’, cf. §13.2.2.9 below.

(718) a. áⁿ ṇà bí-yé [mùwó wááti]  
2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [which? time]  
‘When (at what time) will you-Sg come (back)?’

   b. áⁿ ṇà bí-yé [mùwó tárááⁿ]  
2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [which? day]  
‘When (on what day) will you-Sg come (back)?’

Instead of preposed múwó ‘what/which?”, interrogative wèréⁿ ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.8) can be postposed to the ‘time’ noun: wááti wèréⁿ ‘which time?’, tárááⁿ wèréⁿ ‘(on) which day?’.

13.2.2.6 ‘How?’ (mèé-mèéⁿ and variants)

The simple manner interrogative is mèé-mèéⁿ ‘how?’. This sense can also be expressed analytically as báánà ‘manner’ plus wèréⁿ ‘which?’

‘Do what?’ is expressed as ‘put it how?’ (719). This ‘put’ verb has a wide range of uses including ‘transform, convert’.

(719) a. ñíⁿ ñà bá = à yàá mèé-mèéⁿ  
1Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg put.Pfv how?  
‘What will we do?’

   b. ñíⁿ ñà bá = à yàá [báánà wèréⁿ]  
1Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg put.Pfv [manner which?]  
[=(a)]

Examples with verbs other than abstract ‘put’ are in (720).
mê-mêⁿ is a predicate nominal or an adverb, with or without copula, in (721a-e). The subject may be abstract (721a-b) or referentially specific (721c-d). The past-time version with tôⁿ ~ ùⁿ ‘was/were’ (§10.3.2) is (721e).

13.2.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (jêniⁿ)

The interrogative for quantities is jêniⁿ. The quantity may be a measure or a number. jêniⁿ may follow a noun or (less often) occur by itself. Bare jêni is common in the context of currency (i.e. prices). Only regular tone sandhi applies in combinations with preceding nouns (722e). The combinations fâ jêniⁿ (with fâ ‘thing’) for nonhumans and númú jêniⁿ (with númú ‘person’) for
humans are more common than bare jènì("n) in non-currency contexts, and they may be appositional to a preceding noun (722g). The iterative is distributive jènì-jènì ‘how much/many each?’ (722f).

(722) a. jènì nì
how.much? it.is
‘How much is it?’

b. [ númú jènì] bé gà
person how.many? come.Pfv Pfv
‘How many people came?’

c. [fá jènì] nì
[thing how.much?] it.is
‘How many are they?’ (e.g. counting sheep)

d. [áá númú jènì] ńà bí-yé
[2Pl person how.many?] lpfv come-lpfv
‘How many of you-Pl are coming?’

e. áⁿ [sùwò jènì] sàⁿ ńá
2Sg [sheep how.much?] buy.Pfv Pfv
‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’

f. sáárò-yé gá jènì-jènì nì
broom-Pl be Rdp-how.much? it.is
‘How much (each) are the brooms?’ (distributive iteration, §4.6.1.7)

g. kùwò fá jènì
salt thing how.much?
‘how much salt?’

See also 2021-01 @ 12:49 and 2021-03 @ 21:07 and 21:12.

Ordinal adjective ‘how-manieth?’ (Fr quantième) is jènà-ànà. This is the regular ordinal formation with suffix -ànà (§4.6.2.2).
13.2.2.8 ‘Which X?’ (X wéréⁿ)

wéréⁿ ‘which?’ occurs at the end of NPs, following N, N-Adj, and N-(Adj-)Num strings. wéréⁿ can bear the NP-level plural suffix -yè (723c). wéréⁿ behaves tonally like a quantificational modifier, i.e. it does not trigger Tone Leveling.

(723) a. nàà wéréⁿ ‘which cow?’
súwó wéréⁿ ‘which goat?’
màrifà wéréⁿ ‘which rifle?’
sáárò wéréⁿ ‘which broom’

b. nàà míyè-gù wéréⁿ ‘which small cow?’

c. nàà wéréⁿ-yè ‘which cows?’

d. nàà-ìfyéⁿ sigèⁿ wéréⁿ ‘which three cows?’

Some clauses with ‘which?’ are in (724).

(724) a. án ñà bá-rá [nàgù wéréⁿ-yàn] 2Sg Ipfv exit-lpfv [village which?-Loc] ‘What (=which) village are you-Sg from?’

b. án né [nà wérén] tóró gà 2Sg Sbj/Obj [cow which?] sell.Pfv Pfv ‘Which cow did you-Sg sell?’

c. án ñà bé [nén nà wéréⁿ] sà(w)ⁿ 2Sg Ipfv Fut [1Sg cow which?] buy.Pfv ‘Which cow of mine will you-Sg buy?’

d. [yùwòⁿ wéréⁿ] yà = án kéeⁿ ñà [woman which?] Sbj/Obj 2Sg call.Pfv Pfv ‘Which woman called you-Sg?’

e. án [yùwòⁿ wéréⁿ] kéeⁿ ñà 2Sg [woman which?] call.Pfv Pfv ‘Which woman did you-Sg call?’
This construction is common in the Tomina recording (2021-01), examples including @ 01:55, 02:01, 04:26, and 06:43. It is also attested in the Baratou recording (2021-03 @ 07:34).

13.2.2.9 ‘Which X?’ (mùwó X)

mùwó ‘what?’ (but not mùwóy) can be preposed to a noun as an alternative to postposing wéréⁿ ‘which?’. wéréⁿ is used in contexts like ‘which one of these do you want’ where the response is a choice between specified candidates. Preposed mùwó can be used in phrases like ‘what kinds’ or ‘what manners/ways’ where the answer might be a list or a collective (725). However, mùwó is also common in ‘when?’ interrogatives (§13.2.2.5 above).

(725) áá gá [mùwó sùwò-báànà síf-yè lùwò] tí-ní
‘What forms of farming do you-Pl do?’ (2021-03 @ 05:08)

This construction is favored by the dialect 2 speaker from Baratou (text 2021-03), other examples are at @ 00:04, 00:08. 00:40, 00:46, and 00:49.
14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

14.1.1 Relative markers (mēⁿ ~ màⁿ) and its plurals

Relatives are internally headed; the relativized NP (or noun-like adverb) remains in its regular position within the clause. The relativized constituent ends with a relative morpheme from the list in (726).

(726)  a. singular  mēⁿ  (usual form)
       màⁿ  (in some combinations)
       mà-yáwⁿ  (archaic or in careful speech)

       b. plural  mà-yē ~ mà-yè
                  mà-réé ~ mà-léé
                  mà-réé-yè
                  mà-ré-méé ~ mà-lé-méé

The most common singular form is mēⁿ. It is evidently contracted from *mā-yawⁿ, including DefSg -yawⁿ, with the long ee vowel typical of this contraction. Compare màⁿ in quoted ‘who?’ interrogatives (§17.1.6), and màⁿ in ‘the year after next’ phrased as “what is not next year” (§8.4.5.1). The history of mēⁿ, though nontransparent synchronically, helps to explain why a preceding singular noun does not take the DefSg suffix -yawⁿ.

Of the plurals, mà-yē ~ mà-yè are regular outputs (in different subdialects) for adding plural -yè to mà-. The other plural variants, with final éé resembling some nominal plurals (e.g. nümà-réé ‘people’, §4.1.2), are more common. The animacy of the referent plays no role in the choice of variants. When these plural relative markers are added to a noun, the latter usually omits the (redundant) plural suffix -yè. However, irregular plurals not ending in -yè, like yùwò-méé ‘women’, freely occur before plural relative markers.

(727) illustrate the singular-plural distinction.

(727)  a. [yùwòⁿ  mèéⁿ]  [diyèmūⁿ  ṇà]
       [woman  Rel]  [speak.Pfv  Pfv]

       ‘the woman who spoke’ (< yùwòⁿ)
b. [yùwò-méé mà-réé ~ mà-yé] [diyèmúⁿ ñå]
   [woman-Pl Rel-Pl] [speak.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘the women who spoke’

The *in situ* position of the relativized constituent is illustrated in (728): subject (728a), object (728b), and complement of postposition (728c).

(728) a. [sùwò mèéⁿ] séⁿ ñå
   [sheep Rel] fall.Pfv Pfv
   ‘the sheep-Sg that fell’

b. áⁿ [sùwò mèéⁿ] sàⁿ ñå
   2Sg [sheep Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv
   ‘the sheep-Sg that you-Sg bought’

c. ám bé gà [sùwò mèéⁿ] ní] bòⁿ
   2Sg come.Pfv Pfv [[sheep Rel] Inst] here
   ‘the sheep-Sg that you brought here’

The *in situ* structure makes it easy to relativize on a nominal in a subordinated clause. This is the case in 2021-03 @ 17:17 (‘the materials that he must buy’).

The nominal preceding mèéⁿ cannot be marked by the DefSg suffix (729b). As noted above, the rather fused mèéⁿ can be unpacked at least diachronically as Rel-DefSg, and the relativized NP is normally definite referentially (729b). A plural relativized NP omits its plural suffix -yè when followed by a plural relativizer (729d).

(729) a. dàbè-è m mà́yⁿ ñå
   daba-DefSg 3ReflSg malfunction.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The daba (=hoe) was ruined.’

b. [dàbá (#dàbè-è) mèéⁿ] m mà́yⁿ ñå
   [daba (#daba-DefSg) Rel] 3ReflSg malfunction.Pfv Pfv
   ‘the daba that was ruined’

c. dàbá-yè = é mà́yⁿ ñå
   daba-Pl 3ReflPl malfunction.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The dabas (=hoes) were ruined.’
d. [dábá(#-yé) mà-réé =] è mà-yán ngà
daba(#-Pl) Rel-Pl 3ReflPl malfunction.Pfv Pfv
‘the dabas (=hoes) that were ruined’

The few irregular nominal plurals, like those in -méé ~ ...(m)-béé (§4.1.2), optionally remain under relativization. Either the singular or the plural of such nouns may occur before a plural relative marker.

(730) from singular noun from plural noun gloss

yùwòn mà-réé yìyèm-béé mà-réé ‘the women who …’
júmú mà-réé jú-mà-réé mà-réé ‘the people who …’
díyé-ná mà-réé dyé-nà-méé mà-réé ‘the children who …’

For the treatment of NP conjunctions that are relativized as a unit, see below (§14.2.2).

14.1.2 Nonspecific and double-headed relatives

Relative clauses are often preposed as topical phrases, then resumed with a third person pronoun in the following main clause. This is essentially a correlative construction. With a definite (and referentially specific) relative clause, this re-introduces a discourse referent that will then play a role in the ensuing clause(s). Schematic example: ‘We bought a cow in the market. The cow that we bought, we will sell it tomorrow.’ The last phrase can also be focalized: ‘that [focus] is what we will sell tomorrow’. For examples of such focalized resumptive demonstratives, see (692) in §13.1.6.2 and (697) in §13.1.6.4.

Especially with the form màn but for some speakers also with mèèn, this use of relative clauses can be expanded to introduce a new, nonspecific discourse referent (‘any/whatever X’, ‘anyone/whoever’, ‘anywhere/whereever’, etc.). A dubitative modal element can be made explicit by adding clause-initial nè ‘if’, as in 2021-01 @ 11:30 (‘whatever you may know about it’ or ‘if you know something about it’).

As a consequence, two distinct constituents in the same clause may be introduced simultaneously, as in (731). The context is a discussion about how different net sizes are specialized for catching specific fish types.
This double-headed relative construction is difficult to translate freely into English. This is because English extracts relative heads and therefore does not allow more than one such head. One could also translate (731) as ‘if there is a particular net size that catches a particular fish species, …’.

Textual examples of such double-headed relatives are 2021-01 @ 08:52 and 09:01, along with 2021-03 @ 01:11, 01:14, 02:58, 09:22, 20:28, 21:37, and 21:47.

14.1.3 nà ‘if (perfective positive)’ in relatives

The post-subject morpheme nà is common in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§10.2.1.4). It also occurs in some relative clauses (732). See also 2021-01 @ 06:18 and 2021-03 @ 09:22.

Examples like (732) are at the crossroads between relative clause (‘the fishing gear that you-Sg have taken’) and conditional antecedents (‘if you have taken a certain fishing gear’). This is consistent with the frequent correlative function of relative clauses (see the preceding subsection), whereby a discourse referent is introduced (or re-introduced) by a relative clause whose head or heads are then resumed by pronouns or definite expressions in the following clause.

Cliffs likewise has these constructions. The difference between Cliffs and Djenné varieties is that the ‘if.Pfv’ marker nà is homophonous in Djenné but not in Cliffs with the subjunctive marker (Djenné nà, Cliffs gālà). This means that for Djenné we must consider the possibility that ‘if.Pfv’ and subjunctive are the same morpheme. They occur in the same post-subject position, and both contexts are irrealis in one way or another.

The argument against merging them is that subjunctive clauses have negative counterparts with prohibitive mà replacing subjunctive nà (§17.4.1). By contrast, perfective positive relatives,
like perfective positive main clauses, are negated with the usual post-subject perfective negative morpheme të.

14.2 **Internal head NP**

14.2.1 Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

A pronoun (independent or proclitic) can function as relative head.

(733) a. [íⁿ mò-ré-mëë] gá nògi-ëy,
     [1Pl Rel-PI] be.Loc village.Loc,
     [íⁿ mògò] tá kìⁿyà = [ám pà]
     [1Pl need(n)] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Sg Comit]
     ‘We who are in the village, we don’t need you-Sg.’

     b. áⁿ ÷à [n-dúwò ìëwë] tòwò
        2Sg Ipfv [1Sg-Indep Rel] know.Ipfv
        ‘I who(m) you-Sg know’

14.2.2 Conjoined NP as head

A conjoined NP may function as head, with a single occurrence of the relative morpheme at the end of the NP. The relative marker is singular or plural depending on the number of individuals referred to by the right conjunct (734a-b). The left conjunct has no relative marker, but if it is singular it may have the DefSg suffix (734a). When the right conjunct is plural, the plural relative marker makes nominal plural suffix -yè redundant and it is often omitted (734b). However, irregular plurals not ending in -yè are viable as right conjuncts, see ‘women’ in (735c) below.

(734) a. [yùwó-ôⁿ sānì këewú mëëm] bë gà
     [woman-DefSg and man Rel] come.Pfv Pfv
     ‘the woman and the man who have come’

     b. [yïyèm-béé sānì këewú(-yè) mà-rëë] bë gà
        [woman-Pl and man(-Pl) Rel-Pl] come.Pfv Pfv
        ‘the women and (the) men who have come’

Relatives based on conjoined NPs are rather heavy and may occur in a correlative construction where the relative clause is a preclausal topic that is picked up by a resumptive plural pronoun (735a,c). In the correlative construction, it is also possible for just the right conjunct to be picked
up by a resumptive pronoun (735b). In follow-up discussion, the speaker also accepted a version that has the relative marker on the left conjunct only, with the right conjunct marked definite (735d). This has the appearance of a singular relative with a second conjunct added as an afterthought. He rejected a version where both left and right conjuncts have relative markers.

(735) a. [kééwú(-ù") sání [yùw ámb méém] bé gá, [man(-DefSg) and [woman Rel]] come.Pfv Pfv, è gá mìn-tíyàw
3Pl be.Loc where?
‘The man and woman who came, where are they?’

b. [kééwú(-ù") sání [yùw ámb méém] bé gá, [man-(DefSg) and [woman Rel]] come.Pfv Pfv, à gá mìn-tíyàw
3Sg be.Loc where?
‘The man and woman who came, where is she?’
(i.e., ‘The woman who came with the man, where is she?’)

c. [kééwú-yè sání [yìyèm-béé mà-lé-méé]] bé gá, [man-Pl and [woman-Pl Rel-PI-PI]] come.Pfv Pfv, è gá mìn-tíyàw
3Pl be.Loc where?
‘The men and women who came, where are they?’

d. [kééwú mèé ámb sání yùw ámbm] bé gá, [man Rel and woman-DefSg] come.Pfv Pfv, è gá mìn-tíyàw
3Pl be.Loc where?
‘The man and woman who came, where are they?’

14.2.3 Headless relative clause

Either singular mèé ámb or one of its plurals may head a relative clause, without an overt head NP.

(736) a. mèé [kó nó gá bó ámb
Rel stay.Pfv Pfv here
‘(the) one who stayed here’
b. [mà-lé-méé gà káỳⁿ] sàñì [mà-lé-méé tá káỳⁿ]
[Rel-Pl-Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv] and [Rel-Pl-Pl IpfvNeg work.Ipfv]
‘those who work, and those who don’t work’

However, inanimate relative heads are usually headed by at least a pro forma noun. The most general noun ‘thing’ is fá, and it can occur as relative head, but it is often replaced by hú or sú (dialectal choice).

(737) a. ñìmà [sú màn dàå] kí-yè tûⁿ nà,
whether [thing Rel] Purp] Dem-Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
[[íín dòbó nífn] nà
[[1Pl river] inside] Q
‘(Tell us) why have those (fish) disappeared, in our river?’ (2021-03 @ 04:28)

b. án ná sìñì [bé [hú màn] sùwọ]
2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Pfv [Seq [thing Rel] cultivate.Ipfv]
‘whatever you-Sg can cultivate’ (2021-03 @ 09:07)

14.2.4 gíyeⁿ mééⁿ ‘place where’

The noun ‘place’ is gíyeⁿ. Whereas Cliffs has a morphologically unusual relative form (gúũⁿ-mà-gúũⁿ) with ‘place’ repeated, in J-S of Djenné ‘place’ forms regular relative heads. The speaker who was checked prefers a correlative construction with the relative preposed, and resumed by yáwⁿ ~ yôⁿ ‘there (definite)’.

(738) [ŋ̀ ná [gíyeⁿ mééⁿ] tò], yôⁿ ń dááⁿ
[1Sg Ipfv [place Rel] know.Ipfv], there.Def 3ReflSg be.distant
‘The place that I know, there (=that place) is far away.’

See also (697), (821), (845b), (859e). Textual examples: 2021-01 @ 08:14 and 08:52, 2021-03 @ 03:06, 08:22 (plural), 13:25, 16:32, and 16:55.

14.3 Position of mééⁿ vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs

Relative mééⁿ or its plural follows adjectives and numerals. It precedes sááⁿ ‘all’ and discourse-functional particles.
14.3.1 Adjectives

Modifying adjectives follow the noun in the same way (including tonal interactions) as in main clauses. The relative morpheme follows and is not included in the domain of Tone Leveling that applies to the N-Adj pair.

(739) a. [nògù-liyèⁿ míyè-gù mèéⁿ] ṅà bòⁿ
[village-Dim small-Adj Rel] be.Loc here
‘the small village that is here’

b. [nògù-liyèⁿ míyè-gù mà-réé] gà bòⁿ
[village-Dim small-Adj Rel-Pl] be.Loc here
‘the small villages that are here’

c. ń na [nàmàà twèè mèéⁿ] sàⁿ ṅá
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [house new Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv
‘the new house that I bought’

14.3.2 Numerals

Numerals are likewise added to the head noun, preceding the relative marker. After a nonsingular numeral, further plural marking is redundant. Either singular (i.e. unmarked) mèéⁿ or one of its plurals may be used.

(740) a. ń na [nàmáá-liyèⁿ sigèⁿ mèéⁿ / mà-réé] sàⁿ ṅá
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [house-Link three Rel / Rel-Pl] buy.Pfv Pfv
‘the three houses that I bought’

b. [nà-liyéⁿ nàtàⁿ mèéⁿ / mà-réé)] sèⁿ ṅá
[cow-Link four Rel(-Pl)] fall.Pfv Pfv
‘the four cows who fell’

14.3.3 Universal quantifier sááⁿ (‘all’)

The universal quantifier directly follows the relative morpheme when it has scope over the head. A plural relative marker occurs when the sense is universal ‘all’ (741a-b). If the sense is indefinite ‘any’, the relative marker takes the form màⁿ before sááⁿ, and indefinite síi ‘any’ is added (741c), cf. §6.6.3 and examples (271) and (302d). màⁿ is the original relative marker, without the definite singular suffix.
(741) a. [dïye-ná mà-ré-méé sää”] sén Ṽa digéⁿ
[child Rel-Pl all] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday
‘all the children who fell yesterday’

b. án Ṽá [nàmáà mà-ré-méé sáàŋ] kà-nà
2Sg Ipfv [house Rel-Pl-Pl all] see-Ipfv
‘all the houses that you-Sg see’

c. [jííⁿ màⁿ sääⁿ síí] à ná sän máñáá
[year Rel all any] 3Sg if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv well(adv)
‘any year when it has rained well’

14.3.4 Discourse-functional morphemes

Topic morpheme Ṽùnù follows the entire relative construction and is not part of the internal head NP.

(742) [[dýe-nà]-méé mà-ré-méé] sëⁿ Ṽá Ṽùnù, è bé gá
[[child-Pl Rel-Pl-Pl] fall.Pfv Pfv Top, 3Pl come.Pfv Pfv
‘As for the children who fell, they have come.’

14.4 Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

The subsections below give more examples of relative clauses, organized by the grammatical role of the head, but also illustrating various clause-level inflectional categories.

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

From main clause (743a) is formed the subject relative in (743b). The relative morpheme mêⁿ or its plural occurs at the end of the head, replacing DefSg -yàwⁿ if otherwise present. There is no change in the rest of the clause.

(743) a. [dýe-né]-ëⁿ / nàmáà-àⁿ sëⁿ Ṽa digéⁿ
[child]-DefSg / house-DefSg fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday
‘The child/The house fell yesterday.’
b. [[díyé-ná / ɲámáà mèéⁿ] séⁿ ɲà dìgëⁿ]  
   [[child / house Rel] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday]  
   à gá mìⁿ  
   3Sg be.Loc where?  
   ‘The child who / The house that fell yesterday, where is it?’

The main clause (744a) with plural subject corresponds to the relative clause in (744b). There is a plural relative marker, here mà-réé (one of several variants). If the head is an ordinary noun like ‘house’ that takes the productive plural suffix -yè, this suffix is omitted before the plural relative marker. Irregular plurals like ‘children’ are allowed as relative heads.

(744) a. dyé-nà-méé / ɲámáà-yè  séⁿ ɲà dìgëⁿ  
   children / house PfvNeg fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday  
   ‘The children/houses fell yesterday.’

b. [[díyé-nà-méé / ɲámáà mà-réé] séⁿ ɲà dìgëⁿ]  
   [[child-PI-Pl / house Rel-PI] fall.Pfv Pfv yesterday]  
   è gá mìⁿ  
   3Pl be.Loc where?  
   ‘The children who/The houses that fell yesterday, where are they?’

Example (745a) is perfective negative. (745b) is imperfective positive, and (745c) is imperfective negative.

(745) a. [díyé-nà mèéⁿ] tè séⁿ  
   [child Rel] PfvNeg fall.Pfv  
   ‘the child who didn’t fall’

b. [díyé-nà mèéⁿ] ɲà sé-né  
   [child Rel] Ipfv fall-Ipfv  
   ‘the child who falls’

c. [díyé-nà mèéⁿ] tá sé-né  
   [child Rel] IpfvNeg fall-Ipfv  
   ‘the child who doesn’t fall’
14.4.2 Object relative clause

The object NP functioning as head remains in its regular position, following the subject and post-subject inflectional markers but preceding the verb.

(746) a. [ń ńá [nàá mèêⁿ] sàⁿ ɲá digéⁿ]
   [1Sg Pfv.1Sg [cow Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
à gá miⁿ
3Sg be.Loc where?
   ‘The cow that I bought yesterday, where is it?’

   b. [ń ńá [nàá mà-ré-méé] sàⁿ ɲá digéⁿ]
   [1Sg Pfv.1Sg [cow Rel-Pl-Pl] buy.Pfv Pfv yesterday]
ë gá miⁿ
3Pl be.Loc where?
   ‘The cows that I bought yesterday, where are they?’

Further examples of object relatives are perfective negative (747a), imperfective positive (747b), and imperfective negative (747c).

(747) a. ñ té [dîyé-nà mèêŋ] kày
   1Sg PfvNeg [child Rel] see.Pfv
   ‘the child who(m) I didn’t see’

   b. ĕ ɲá [dîyé-nà mèêŋ] kà-nà
   1Sg Ipfv [child Rel] see-Ipfv
   ‘the child who(m) I see’

   c. ñ tá [dîyé-nà mèêŋ] kà-nà
   1Sg IpfvNeg [child Rel] see-Ipfv
   ‘the child who(m) I don’t see’

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

Possessors precede possessums with no genitive marker (748a). It is easy to form possessor relatives by adding the relative morpheme directly to the possessor (748b).
14.4.4 Relativization on the complement of a postposition

A relative can easily be formed from the complement of a postposition. This is illustrated for the dative in (749a), for a spatial postposition in (749b), and for the instrumental in (749c). The PP remains in its usual postverbal position.

(749) a. ń nà wálèn dó g à [[yùwóⁿ mè¨ⁿ] nà] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [[woman Rel Dat] ‘the woman to whom I gave the money’

b. ń nà wálèⁿ yàá g à [[sòkósì mè¨ⁿ] nììⁿ] 1Sg Pfv.1Sg money put.in.Pfv Pfv [[bag Rel inside] ‘the bag into which I put-Past the money’

c. ŋá ná sùwá [[dàbá mè¨ⁿ] ní] 1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba Rel Inst] ‘the daba (=hoe) with which I cultivate (=work in the field).’

A relative headed by the complement of purposive postposition dáà is in 2021-03 @ 01:24.

Manner relatives of the type ‘the way (in which) X VPs’ can take the form of relative clauses (750a). Alternatively, a compound of bànnà ‘manner’ functions as an argument in the clause (750b). For other compounds with bànnà, see §8.4.1, §8.4.3.3 and §9.3.1.4.

(750) a. … à yáá [[bànnà mǎⁿ]-yⁿ] … 3Sg put.Ipfv [[manner Rel]-Loc] ‘… the way in which she operates’ (2021-01 @ 06:02)

b. [zàkí káyⁿ-bááné-è̂n] tá m n màyⁿ [Z work.VblN-manner-DefSg] IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.good ‘The way Zaki works is no good.’
14.4.5 Presentatives

Presentative kà or variant (§4.4.4, §10.2.2.3-4) is ordinarily treated as the final word in the highlighted NP. When relativized on, however, the relative marker precedes the presentative marker, as though the latter were (still) a verb.

(751) [júgú mèêⁿ] này kííⁿ, à tá mí màyⁿ
[tree Rel] PrsnTv PrsnTv, 3Sg IpfvNeg 3RefSg be.good
‘the tree that you can see (lit., “the tree that here it is”), it isn’t good.’
(French: l’arbre que voici)

14.4.6 Relativization from a subordinated clause

Because the head NP is in situ, there is no difficulty in relativizing on an NP in a subordinated clause. This is the case in (752), where the head NP is in a subjunctive clause.

(752) à ú káⁿ [à ná [tigé mà-réé] sàⁿ]
3Sg 3RefSg must [3Sg Sbjn [gear Rel-Pl] buy.Pfv]
‘the materials that he should buy’ (2021-03 @ 17:17)

14.5 Biclausal relative

A relative construction may include the equivalent of two full clauses with that share a single head. However, full clauses as such cannot be conjoined. Therefore relatives based on two clauses are phrased with at least one clause subordinated to the other. In (753), the relative head is followed by two conditional antecedents.

(753) [jííⁿ màⁿ sááⁿ síí]
[year Rel all any]
[né yóó-báá nà bé]
[if rain(n) if.Pfv come.Pfv]
[né kwàyí-yé tè bé],
[if bird-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv],
ú ííⁿ ná síní sùwó máñáá-tííⁿ-ýⁿ
1Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv well (adv)
‘Any year when the rain comes (=falls), and (when) the birds do not come, we can farm successfully.’
An easy way to include two clauses in a single relative, if they share a subject NP, is to use the same-subject sequential VP construction.

(754) [nàá mèèⁿ] séⁿ ṇà [cow Rel] fall.Pfv Pfv
[bé kàlè],
[Seq die.Pfv]
à gá mìn-tíyàwⁿ
3Sg be.Loc where?

‘The cow that fell and died, where is it?’
15 Verb or VP chaining and adverbial clauses

Two main clauses of the same aspect and with the same subject may be directly juxtaposed as in (755a-b), forming a tightly-knit segment best translated without repeating the subject.

(755) a. [à táŋ ṇà [júgú kùmà]] [à seŋ ṇà]
    [3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree on]] [3Sg fall.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘He/She climbed up a tree and fell off.’

b. [ā gā tá-ná [júgú-ūdí kùmà]] [ā gā se-né]
    [3Sg Ipfv ascend-Ipfv [tree-DefSg on]] [3Sg Ipfv fall-Ipfv]
    ‘He/She (regularly) climbs the tree and falls off.’

This chapter covers constructions in which either the first or the second clause is reduced to a VP (without subject) or just a verb. This includes both event sequences like those in (755) and more highly grammaticalized constructions.

Two important constructions covered here are the sequential VP beginning with bé (sometimes expanded into a sequential clause by adding a subject), and verb/VP chains that often include a motion verb. This chapter is complemented by chapter 16 on conditionals and by chapter 17 on subordinated or backgrounded clauses which include subjects, such as indicative and subjunctive and prohibitive complements.

15.1 Chained VPs and verb-verb compounds

A chain is here defined as juxtaposition of a verb with a VP, without sequential bé (§15.2 below) or other overt subordinator. In chains, one verb (‘be able to’, ‘go’, ‘come’) defines the construction. The other component is a VP that is more or less open-ended. The two verbs express a single eventuality that can be analysed into component co-events, rather than two chronologically ordered events. Some chains can be informally described as verb-verb compounds.

15.1.1 Constructions with imperfective VP

15.1.1.1 ‘Be able to VP’ (síní/síní) plus imperfective VP

The verb ‘be able (to VP)’ is síní/síní (variant hiní/hiní). When it expresses temporally unbounded capability to perform an action, as in habitual and future contexts, the main clause is imperfective
(positive gá siní, negative té siní), and the complement is normally an imperfective VP with no overt complementizer. The ‘be able’ verb and the other verb are often adjacent, but they can be separated by an object NP (756c).

(756) a. à gá siní kiyé / tá-ná
    3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
    ‘He/She can run/go up.’

    b. à tá siní kiyé / tá-ná
    3Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv run.Ipfv/ascend.Ipfv
    ‘He/She cannot run/go up.’

    c. à gá siní [sùwó / sùwô sà-ná]
    3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [sheep/goat buy.Ipfv]
    ‘He/She can buy a sheep/a goat.’

    d. ŋá ná siní [kwá-rá [sèèdù nà]]
    1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [help-Ipfv [S Dat]]
    ‘I can help Seydou.’

A textual example is 2021-01 @ 07:28.
This construction does not allow stative complements. When the complement is semantically adjectival (denoting a quality), it takes imperfective inchoative rather than stative form (757).

(757) à gá siní tìyé-má
    3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv heavy-Inch.Ipfv
    ‘It can get (=be) heavy.’

The examples given above reflect the predominant construction for temporally unbounded ‘be able to VP’. For temporally bounded ‘was (not) able to VP’, the main clause is perfective in form and the complement is a same-subject sequential VP beginning with bé (§15.2.10). A sequential VP is marginally possible in temporally unbounded contexts, but it is dispreferred.

15.1.1.2 ‘Begin’ predicates plus imperfective motion VP

The ‘begin’ verb is either sínti’/sínti-ni (borrowed from Songhay), composite sû-dó(-ró) (§9.5.8) which is literally ‘hand-give’ (or ‘hand-enter’), or composite dó-ká’/-kú-nú (§9.5.2). The first two of these occur in reflexive clauses, followed by complements.

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Complements in the ‘begin [to VP]’ construction are typically same-subject sequential VPs (§15.2.13) or verbal-noun phrases. However, under some conditions it is also possible to replace the sequential VP with a simple imperfective VP, compare English begin running alongside begin to run. The attested examples with imperfective VPs involve basic intransitive motion verbs that immediately follow the ‘begin’ verb, e.g. bá-rá ‘exit-Ipfv’, dā-rō ‘enter-Ipfv’, and bí-yé ‘come-Ipfv’. The two verbs can be separated by postverbal Pfv morpheme gà but are otherwise adjacent. The Ipfv motion verb adds motion and direction.

(758) a. (i) yë = é(é) súú-dó gà [bá-rá [jíí niì⁵³]]
    3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl hand-give.Pfv Pfv [exit-Ipfv [water inside]]
    ‘They began to go out of the water.’

b. à ū sintíⁿ⁴⁷ ñà [dá-rò [dúwà-mêyⁿ³⁴]-àn³⁴]
    3Sg 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [enter-Ipfv [beer-drink.VblN]-Loc]
    ‘He/She began to get involved in drinking beer.’

c. (i) yë = é(é) súú-dó gà [bí-yé bòⁿ]
    3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg hand-give.Pfv Ipfv [come-Ipfv here]
    ‘They began to come here.’

Speakers disagreed as to the grammaticality of other imperfective VPs after these ‘begin’ verbs. They generally rejected transitives where the Ipfv verb is separated from the ‘begin’ verb by an object.

15.1.1.3 ‘Finish VPing’ with dúwàⁿ and imperfective motion verb

The intransitive verb dúwàⁿ//dúwàⁿ ‘finish; be depleted’ can also be followed by an imperfective VP complement.

(759) [è dúwàⁿ ñà [bá-rá [jíí nwííⁿ³⁴]]]
    [3Pl finish.Pfv Pfv [exit-Ipfv [water inside]]
    ‘They finished going out of the water.’ (2021-03 @ 04:37)

As an alternative, a sequential VP [bè dúwàⁿ] can follow the main clause. See 2021-03 @ 06:10, 17:50, and 17:54 for examples.
15.1.1.4 Perception verb plus imperfective VP complement

In this construction, the main clause is transitive with ‘see’ as the verb. The object of perception is implicitly coindexed with the (omitted) subject of the lower clause, which is reduced to an imperfective VP or stative participial predicate (‘be fallen’, ‘be seated’).

(760) ń nà dyé-nè-méé kàý gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg child-Pl see.Pfv Pfv
ŋùnàmí / sé-ná / [tóó dfyà] / fòd-nà
dance.lpfv / fall-Ppl / [meat eat.lpfv / sit-Ppl
‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-ing)/eating meat/seated.’

With ‘hear’ instead of ‘see’, a monoclausal construction is preferred. The object of ‘hear’ is a compound with kò ‘sound, cry’ as final (§5.1.4.1). If the agent or source of the sound is mentioned, it is a possessor of this compound.

(761) ń nà [dyé-nè-méé gó-kó] miyé gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [children weep.VblN-sound] hear.Pfv Pfv
‘I heard the children’s weeping.’ (= ‘I heard the children weeping.’)

Fuller versions with imperfective clauses (including subjects) as complements of ‘see’ are described in §17.3.2.

15.1.1.5 Imperfective ‘come’ and ‘go’ as deictic compound finals

The verbs bẹ/bí-yé ‘come’ and só/sọ ‘go’ can follow another verb in a compound-like construction. When the first verb is a motion verb, the incremental semantic contribution of ‘come’ and ‘go’ is to indicate direction relative to the deictic center, either centripetal or noncentripal (including centrifugal). When the first verb is a non-motion activity verb such as ‘sing’ or ‘eat’, ‘come’ and ‘go’ express motion as well as deictic direction.

Some intransitive and reflexive verbs that readily combine with ‘come’ and ‘go’ are in (762). For transitives, see (766) below.
(762) gloss    Pfv/Ipfv

a. intransitive motion verbs
   ‘ascend’   tā(w)/tā-ná
   ‘descend’  yā(-rā)
   ‘enter’    dó(-rō)
   ‘exit’     bá(-rā)
   ‘run’      kiyè/kiyè
   ‘walk’     jīi/jīī

b. reflexive motion verbs
   ‘return’   débè(-rē)
   ‘return’   bēⁿ/bē-nē

c. other intransitive verbs
   ‘sing’      sūwō(-rō)
   ‘eat (antipassive)’ dīyé/dīyè

In this construction, ‘come’ takes its Ipfv stem bí-yé regardless of the inflectional category of the overall clause, which is expressed by the form of the first verb (Pfv, Ipfv) in conjunction with the post-subject inflectional particle. bí-yé is adjacent to the first verb, except that perfective particle gà precedes it if present. Reflexive ‘return-come’ meaning ‘come back’ is illustrated in perfective (763a), future (763b), imperative (763c), and imperfective (763d) clauses. The other ‘return’ verb bēⁿ/bē-nē can be substituted for débè(-rē) with no change in meaning.

(763) a. à ñ débè gà bí-yé bōⁿ
    3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv come-Ipfv here
    ‘He/She came back here.’

    b. è gà bë = = é(é) débè bí-yé bōⁿ
    3Pl Ipfv Fut 3ReflPl return.Pfv come-Ipfv here
    ‘They will come back here.’

    c. yà = áá débè bí-yé
    Imprtl Pl 2Pl return.Pfv come-Ipfv
    ‘Come-2Pl back!’

    d. [tárá’n sá’n] í’n ñè = één débè-rē bí-yé
    [day all] 1Pl Ipfv 1Pl return-Ipfv come-Ipfv
    ‘Every day we come back.’
Intransitive ‘descend’ and ‘sing’ are the first verbs in (764). With ‘sing’ it is understood that the singing coincided with the motion (‘came singing’) rather than preceding the motion (‘sang and then came’). But see below on ‘buy and come/bring’.

(764) a. à yà / … gá bí-yé
   " … / sùwó gà "
   3Sg descend.Pfv/sing.Pfv Pfv come-Ipfv
   ‘He/She came down / came singing.’

   b. à gá yà-rà / sùwó-rò bí-yé
   3Sg Ipfv descend-Ipfv/sing-Ipfv come-Ipfv
   ‘He/She (often) comes down / comes singing.’

sò/sò ‘go’ has identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. By extrapolation from ‘come’, it is here taken to be Ipfv in this compound construction (765).

(765) a. à ní débè gà sò yòn
   3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv go.Ipfv there.Def
   ‘He/She went back here.’

   b. à gá yà-rà sò
   3Sg Ipfv descend-Ipfv go.Ipfv
   ‘It (often) goes down.’

Because ‘come’ and ‘go’ follow the other verb, there is no impediment to combining ‘come’ or ‘go’ with a preceding object-verb string. In other words, transitive VPs may combine with these motion verbs. In (766c), the combination of ‘buy X’ and ‘come’ means ‘buy X and bring it’. Here one can argue that the non-motion event precedes rather than overlaps with the motion, although the two events are tightly coordinated.

(766) a. à tóbó díyá gà bí-yé
   3Sg meat eat.Pfv Pfv come-Ipfv
   ‘He/She came eating meat.’

   b. à gá tóbó díyá sò
   3Sg Ipfv meat eat.Pfv go.Ipfv
   ‘He/She (often) goes along eating meat.’
c. ã nà [kú-nù tíɡé-yē] sàⁿ bí-yē
   3Sg Sbjn [Dem-Link gear-PI] buy.Pfv come-Ipfv
   ‘(tell him/her) to buy those materials and bring (them).’

The ‘come’ or ‘go’ co-event cannot be separately negated or made subjunctive. The compound as a whole functions like a single VP, which can be negated or made subjunctive only as a whole.

(767) a. ã tè ní débè bí-yē
   3Sg PfvNeg 3ReflSg return.Pfv come-Ipfv
   ‘He/She didn’t come back.’

   b. à ní déⁿ [ní té]
   3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
   ã nà ñí débè só
   3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg return.Pfv go.Ipfv
   ‘I would like him/her to go back.’

Postverbal constituents follow the entire compound.

(768) à ní débè gà só nògí-ŷ
   3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv go.Ipfv village-Loc
   ‘He/She went back to the village.’

This compound construction should be distinguished from another construction where ‘come’ or ‘go’ is followed by a perfective VP, often in purposive function. That construction (§15.1.2) describes a normal ‘come’ or ‘go’ motion event that leads up to a second event.

15.1.1.6 Other imperfective motion verbs as finals

In addition to ‘come’ and ‘go’ (preceding subsection), other basic motion verbs can be compounded to a preceding verb. If the preceding verb is another motion verb, the compound final adds a (non-deictic) directional component to the meaning.

Motion verbs that often occur in such compounds are those in (769).
Like ‘come’, these verbs occur in the Ipfv stem regardless of the inflectional category of the larger clause. (770) illustrates with ‘run’ as the first verb in various inflectional contexts.

(770) a. å kiyé gà tá-ná / yà-rà / dọ-rọ / bà-rá
3Sg run.Pfv Pfv ascend-Ipfv/descend-Ipfv/enter-Ipfv/exit(v)-Ipfv
‘He/She ran up/down/in/out.’

b. à gá kiyé tá-ná / yà-rà / dọ-rọ / bà-rá
3Sg Ipfv run.Ipfv ascend-Ipfv/descend-Ipfv/enter-Ipfv/exit(v)-Ipfv
‘He/She (often) runs up/down/in/out.’

c. à té kiyé tá-ná / … / dọ-rọ / bà-rá
kiyé … / yà-rà / … / …
3Sg PfvNeg run.Pfv ascend-Ipfv/descend-Ipfv/enter-Ipfv/exit(v)-Ipfv
‘He/She didn’t run up/down/in/out.’

A speaker indicates that this construction with Ipfv motion verb is essentially interchangeable with the sequential construction (§15.2) using the same verbs.

15.1.1.7 Coincidence in time and space (kásà-mà)

The verb kásà-mà/kásà-mà (intransitive, with dative PP [X tè]) can mean ‘become equal with X, converge with X, match X’, or more relevantly here ‘happen to coincide with X’.

(771) a. [ʃ sànì òò-bàà-jíí] kásà-mà gà [bùwò tè]
[1Sg and rain(n)] coincide.Pfv Pfv [Recip Dat]
‘I and rain happened to coincide with each other.’
(i.e., ‘it happened to rain while I was there’)
b. á nà kásà-má gà [yòó-bàà-jí tè]  
1Sg Pfv.1Sg coincide.Pfv Pfv [rain(n) Dat]  
‘I happened to coincide with rain.’

A textual example with an event as subject is (772).

(772) \[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{ábí díyà }] \text{ kúbà}] \text{ sé}, \\
&[[\text{3RefSg child}] \text{ wedding}] \text{ say.Pfv}, \\
&\text{à gà kásà-má } [[\text{kù-nùn táràâ-àñ}] \text{ tè}], \\
&3Sg \text{ Ipfv coincide.Ipfv } [[\text{Dem-Link day-DefSg}] \text{ Dat}], \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘… and said (=announced) the wedding of his child (=son) is scheduled to coincide with (=take place) on that (specific) day.’” (2021-01 @ 09:49)

kásà-má can also take an abstract 3Sg subject à, resuming a proposition, as in (773).

(773) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{hàlá } = \text{ à nà kásà-má} \\
&\text{even } 3Sg \text{ if.Pfv coincide.Pfv} \\
&[\text{díyé-nà míyè-gù-liyà }] \text{ nà } = \text{ [áñ kwàtúyè]}, \\
&[\text{child small-Adj-Dimin}] \text{ be.Loc [2Sg behind]}, \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘even if it happens that a little baby is (carried) on your back’ (2021-01 @ 14:28)

The phrase à kásà-má gà ‘it happened (that …)’ can also be expanded with a similarly abstract 3Sg dative referring to the previously described situation, literally ‘it coincided with it (that …)’.

(774) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{à kásà-má } gà = [\text{ à tè } \text{ númà-réé té bé}] \\
&3Sg \text{ coincide.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat] person-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘It happened (at that point) that the people didn’t come.’

kásà-má can also be chained to another verb, usually a verb of motion (775a-c). The favored phrasing here is kásà-má = [à tè] with the abstract 3Sg dative (not agreeing with the subject). There is a variant káy-má = [á tè] in allegro speech (775b). In these examples, a speaker rejected versions with a spatial or temporal adverb between the motion verb and the chained kásà-má. Although kásà-má (and variant káy-má) have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems, the construction most closely resembles those described in preceding subsections where the second verb is clearly Ipfv.

(775) a. sèéddù bë gà kásà-má = [à tè]  
S come.Pfv Pfv coincide.Ipfv [3Sg Dat]  
[[í kánáá-kééwù-u”] só gá]  
[[3RefSg friend-male-DefSg] go.Pfv Pfv]  
‘Seydoux came (only) to find that hisx friend had gone.’
15.1.2 Motion verb plus perfective VP

An intransitive motion clause is commonly followed by a VP in fixed perfective form. The context is generally purposive (‘go/come to VP’). The second action is expressed by a verb or VP without an overt subordinator. Spatiotemporal adverbs following the second VP, like ‘here’ in these examples, can have broad scope including the motion event.

In (776) both clauses have Pfv verbs, denoting a completed two-part event beginning with motion. It is implied that both events actually took place.

(776) a. à bé gà [sùwó sà(w)"
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [sheep buy.Pfv]
   ‘He/She came here to buy a sheep.’

    b. à bé gà [káy" màà]
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [work(n) seek.Pfv]
   ‘He/She came to look for work here.’

    c. à bé gà [áŋ kwá]
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [2Sg hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She came here in order to hit you-Sg.’

The time frame is shifted to the future in (777a) and to general imperfective in (777b). This has no effect on the form of the appended VP, which remains perfective.
Even when the second event is also a motion event, ‘come’ or ‘go’ and the second motion event are understood to be chronologically sequenced. For example, (778a-b) could describe someone walking over to a tree or slope and then climbing it, and (778c) could describe someone walking to the village well and then climbing down inside it.

(778) a. ă sò gá táwⁿ
    3Sg go.Pfv Pfv ascend.Pfv
    ‘He/She went and climbed up.’

    b. íⁿ ọ́ sò táwⁿ
    1Pl lpfv go.Ipfv ascend.Pfv
    ‘We (often) go and climb up.’

    c. è bé gá ọ́
    3Pl come.Pfv Pfv descend.Pfv
    ‘They came and climbed down.’

The chronological sequencing explains why this construction is usually understood as purposive.

The negative example (779) can be interpreted as denying both the going and the climbing, but it can also be interpreted as acknowledging the going but denying the climbing, or denying that climbing was the reason for going.

(779) à té sò táwⁿ
    3Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv ascend.Pfv
    ‘He/She didn’t go and climb up.’ or ‘He/She didn’t go in order to climb up.’

sò/sò ‘go’ and its suppletive variant yè/yè may fail to raise in contexts calling for Final Tone-Raising. Instead, the expected H-tone jumps rightward to the onset of a following L-toned word or particle. See §10.1.6.1 for examples and §3.6.4.4.3 for the tonology.
15.1.3 Non-motion verb-verb compounds

Compounding of two non-motion verb stems is rare. One such case is the lexicalized combination of sùyé/sùyé-nè ‘propel, drive (skiff) using poles’ and antipassive kwéré/kwérè ‘hit’ (780a). It often appears in verbal-noun form (780b) as object of ‘do’. As a compound verb, its forms are Pfv sùyèn-kwérè and Ipfv sùyèn-kwérè-lè (or -rè).

(780) a. ē sùyèn-kwérè gà
   3Pl propel.VblN-hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv
   ‘They raced (boats).’

   b. (i) yè sùyèn-kwérè tíín gà
      3Pl Sbj/Obj propel.VblN-hit.VblN do.Pfv Pfv
      ‘They did a boat race.’

15.2 Sequential VPs (and sequential clauses)

15.2.1 Sequential VPs

As shown in the preceding section, it is quite possible to juxtapose two same-subject perfective clauses, or two same-subject imperfective clauses, to express a tightly connected chronological sequence (like ‘climb and fall down’). However, very often the second clause is replaced by a sequential VP, which has an invariant form. Aspect and other clause-level inflectional categories are expressed only in the main clause. In (781), the main clause is perfective, so it is understood that the two-event sequence occurred once.

(781) a. [à tá³ ñà [júgú kùmà]] [bé sé⁰]
   [3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree on]] [Seq fall.Pfv]
   ‘He/She climbed up a tree only to fall off.’

   b. [á kùmú ñà bòm]] [bé só]
      [3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv here]] [Seq go.Pfv]
      ‘He/She slept here and (then) went away.’

In (782), the first clause is imperfective, allowing for the possibility of recurrent events. The second clause is again a sequential VP showing the same form as in (781).

(782) a. [á gà tá-ná [júgú-ùj kùmà]] [bé sé⁰]
   [3Sg Ipfv ascend-Ipfv [tree-DefSg on]] [Seq fall.Pfv]
   ‘He/She (regularly) climbs the tree only to fall off.’
The two events are normally chronologically sequenced when the two VPs clearly denote distinct events. This may seem to be contradicted by (783). However, even here it is possible to conceptualize the incident as a sequence (‘shoot’ followed by ‘kill’), and it would not be possible to invert the order of the subevents within the sequential construction.

(783) [ā gùⁿsùŋ kwá gà] [Seq 3Sg sheep buy.Pfv Pfv] [bé à wàà] [3Sg hit.Pfv Pfv]  
‘He/She bought a sheep and brought it here.’

On the other hand, there are some sequential constructions that do not require chronological sequencing. In some of these constructions, the sequential functions as a same-subject, infinitive-like complement to a main-clause predicate like ‘want (to VP)’ or ‘be able (to VP)’. If different-subject complements are also allowed by a main-clause predicate, they are expressed as subjunctive clauses (§17.4).

15.2.2 Form of sequential VP (bé plus perfective)

A sequential VP begins with bé, glossed “Seq” in interlinear. It is followed by a VP that is perfective in form (with Pfv verb).

(784) a. ā sùwó sàⁿ ńá [bé bé [ā ní] bôⁿ]  
3Sg sheep buy.Pfv Pfv [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst] here]  
‘He/She bought a sheep and brought it here.’

b. ā sùwó sàⁿ ńá [bé [ā bônò] kūlé]  
3Sg sheep buy.Pfv Pfv [Seq [3Sg neck] cut.Pfv]  
‘He/She bought a sheep and slaughtered it.’

A possible etymological source for sequential bé is Pfv bé ‘come’, but the two are clearly distinct synchronically and they co-occur in (784a). The combination is sometimes pronounced bí bé in rapid speech. bé à including 3Sg pronoun à as in (784a-b) can be contracted to byá = à.
bé is H-toned phonemically, although (as a high-frequency grammatical particle) it is often heard with low pitch. It does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L-toned word or particle even when there is no prosodic break. In (785a-b), the preceding L-toned syllable (bolded) fails to raise. It would before a true L-tone.

(785) a. à ū sáá gà [bé táw”]
   3Sg 3ReflSg lie.down.Pfv Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She lay down (=slept) then went up.’

   b. ā gà bé kùmù [bé díyé]
   3Sg Ipfv Fut sleep.Pfv [Seq eat.Antip.Pfv]
   ‘He/She will sleep and then eat.’

   c. à sé” ṣà [bé kìrì]
   3Sg fall.Pfv Pfv [Seq get.up.Pfv]
   ‘He/She fell down and then got back up.’

Since a sequential clause has no post-subject inflectional particle, it cannot be internally negated or aspectually marked.

15.2.3 Relationship of sequential bé and future bé

The future construction (§10.2.2.2) has the forms schematized in (786).

(786) a. positive: subject gà bé (object) Vb.Pfv …
   b. negative: subject tá ~ tà bé (object) Vb.Pfv …

If the sequence beginning with future bé is bracketed off, as in gà [bé …], the bracketed string has the same form as a sequential VP in every respect. However, a true sequential VP follows an already complete main clause, denotes a second event, and is optionally separated by a prosodic break. The future construction minus [bé …] is incomplete, even if gà is interpreted as locational ‘be (somewhere)’ or copula ‘be’, and tá ~ tà as locational ‘not be (somewhere)’ or copula ‘not be’, since these predicators are incomplete without a following NP or adverbial. The future construction has no division into two events, does not imply motion, and has no prosodic break. So the identity in form is more interesting diachronically than synchronically.
15.2.4 Sequential clauses including pronominal subjects

Most sequential phrases are VPs, without subjects. However, subjects can be added under some conditions, creating **sequential clauses**.

One such case is the optional addition of a pronominal subject coindexed to the subject of the preceding main clause. The latter may be perfective (787a) or imperfective (787b).

(787) a. ŋ nà súwó-yé kà́y gà,
1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat-Pl see.Pfv Pfv,
mbé = è sàn
1Sg Seq 3Pl buy.Pfv
‘I saw some goats and I bought them.’

b. ŋ́ ná súwó-yè kà́y
1Sg Ipfv goat-Pl see-Ipfv,
mbé = è sàn
1Sg Seq 3Pl buy.Pfv
‘I (regularly) see goats and buy them.’

The forms of such doubled pronominal subjects with bé are in (788).

(788) a. 1Sg mbé

b. 1Pl iím bé
2Sg ám bé
2Pl áá bé

c. 3Sg à bé
3Pl è bé

d. LogoSg mbé
LogoPl é bé

The important point is that although the subject of the sequential clause is coindexed to that of the main clause, it does not take reflexive form. For example, the form is à bé in (789a), not mbé with 3ReflSg ŋ́. When mbé does occur, it is logophoric (789b).
Aside from such optionally doubled pronominal subjects, there are constructions that require an open-ended subject NP. This is the case with the ‘before’ construction described just below.

15.2.5 ‘Before …’ clause with hàli plus sequential clause

A ‘before …’ clause begins with hàli (~ hâri) followed by a sequential clause (including a subject). The event in question may have already taken place (790a-b), or it may be future or hypothetical (790c). What matters is the relative chronology of the two events. A subject NP is required, even if it is coindexed with the subject of the main clause (790c).

(790) a. ñ ná kiyé gà,
 1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.Pfv Pfv,
 hàli ʒàndárámu-yè bí bé / ... / ...
  before  gendarme-Pl Seq come.Pfv/ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv
 ‘I fled, before the gendarmes came/went down/went up.’

b. sèeddú só gà,
 S go.Pfv Pfv,
 hàli m bé bé
  before 1Sg Seq come.Pfv
 ‘Seydou had (already) left before I came (=arrived here).’

c. ñ ná bé yé kiyè [hàli m bé ŋ já sà]
 1Sg lPfv Fut go.Pfv run.Pfv [before 1Sg Seq 1Sg lie.down.Pfv]
 ‘I will go run, before I go to bed.’ (< sàá)
d. áá ná = á á áá [bontó níí],
 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg take.out.Pfv [granary inside],
hàlà = áá byá = á á á á sé átí
 2Pl Seq 3Sg toss.Pfv
‘When you-Pl take it (=rice grain) out of the granary, before you-Pl sow it, …’
 2021-03 @ 10:15, hesitation removed)

e. hàrí à bé múwò
  before 3Sg Seq ripen.Pfv
‘before it (rice) ripened’ (2021-03 @ 07:17)

hàrí X (~ hàrí X) can also mean ‘even X’ (§19.1.4) or ‘even if …’ (§16.2.1). This suggests that the ‘before’ examples might be translated ‘even before’. While this might have been the case at an earlier stage of the language, this is now the only productive ‘before’ construction and it has no necessary emphatic quality.

In hypothetical contexts, the ‘before’ clause may describe an undesirable event that can be avoided by taking action (791). This can be expressed more explicitly by the ‘lest’ construction (§17.4.4).

(791) a. ñì ñà bé ñì figèn,
 1Sg Ipfv Fut 1Sg hide.Pfv,
hàlí túú-temp bé kìri
  before bee-Pl Seq get.up.Pfv
‘I will hide (=take shelter) before the bees get up (=swarm).’

b. án figèn,
 2Sg hide.Pfv,
hàlí túú-temp bé án si
  before bee-Pl Seq 2Sg bite.Pfv
‘Hide (=take shelter) before the bees bite you!’

c. kiyè,
  run.Pfv
hàlí bándi-temp bé áñ kay
  before bandit-Pl Seq 2Sg see.Pfv
‘Flee, before the bandits see you!’

Such examples can also be phrased as ‘lest’ clauses with clause-initial yárà and prohibitive (§17.4.4).
The ‘before’ clause can also indicate the dispreferred status of its proposition, as opposed to that of the juxtaposed main clause. For the semantic evolution compare English sooner, French plutôt, German eher.

(792) 1Pl 1Pfv Fut [cooked.rice Foc] eat.Pfv today,
before 1Pl Seq tô eat.Pfv

‘We’ll eat rice [focus] today, before (=in preference to) we eat tô (=millet cakes).’

For hàlè in ‘since …’ clauses, without sequential bé, see §17.2.3.1 below.

15.2.6 Sequential VPs involving motion

15.2.6.1 ‘Go’ or ‘come’ in the main clause (often doubled)

Motion verbs can combine with following open-ended VPs without sequential bé (§15.1.2). This subsection covers combinations where a main clause with ‘go’ or ‘come’ does precede a sequential VP. In this case, the motion verb is optionally doubled after sequential bé before the substantive VP (cf. §15.2.7).

With bé/bí-yé ‘come’ in the main clause, the result is, as expected, a sequential VP with bé (bé) including the optionally doubled ‘come’ (793a-b).

(793) a. à bé gà bôm [bé (bé) tôó diyá]  
3Sg come.Pfv Pfv here [Seq (come.Pfv) meat eat.Pfv]  
‘He/She came here and (then) he/she ate some meat.’

b. ã gà bí-yé bôm [bé (bé) tôó diyá]  
3Sg Lpfv come.Lpfv here [Seq (come.Pfv) meat eat.Pfv]  
‘He/She (often) comes here and (then) he/she eats some meat.’

When só/sò ‘go’ occurs in the main clause, the same optional doubling occurs. However, the copy of ‘go’ in the sequential VP is usually the suppletive yè, which can contract with bé as bé = è (794a-b).

(794) a. ã só gà yò” [bé = (=è) tôó diyá]  
3Sg go.Pfv Pfv there.Def [Seq (go.Pfv) meat eat.Pfv]  
‘He/She went there and (then) he/she ate some meat.’
15.2.6.2 Motion verb plus sequential VP with another motion verb

The construction described in the preceding subsection can also occur when the main clause contains a motion verb that is neutral on the ‘hither/thither’ directional axis, e.g. ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘exit’, ‘enter’, or a locomotion verb like ‘run’. In this case, only the optional ‘come’ or ‘go’ in the sequential VP indicates direction vis-à-vis the deictic center.

(795) a. à táⁿ ŋà [bé bé tóó diá] 3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [Seq come.Pfv meat eat.Pfv]
   ‘He/She came up and then ate some meat.’

   ‘He/She ran up/down/in/out.’

   ‘He/She (often) runs up/down/in/out.’

As a result, this construction is essentially interchangeable with another construction that has Ipfv forms of the same motion verbs following a main clause (§15.1.1.5-6 above).
15.2.6.3 ‘Return’ verbs in the sense ‘VP again’ with sequential VP

débè(-rè) and its synonym bén/bé-né are reflexive verbs in their basic sense ‘return, go/come back’. They can combine with a non-motion sequential VP in the more abstract sense ‘VP again’ (797a-b). Adverb tún ‘again’ (§19.3.1.1) is sometimes added clause-finally.

(797) a. ì yè = é(é) débè gà [bé tóó-ôn diyá] (tún)
  3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl return.Pfv Pfv [Seq meat-DefSg eat.Pfv] (again)
  ‘They again ate meat.’

  b. ì yè = é(é) débè gà
  3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl return.Pfv Pfv
  [bé misirì mènì n tún]
  [Seq mosque fix.Pfv again]
  ‘They repaired (or rebuilt) the mosque (again).’

  c. à nì débè gà [bé tawn / yà]
  3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv/descend/Pfv]
  ‘He/She went back up/down.’

Fuller discourse context is provided in (798a-b).

(798) a. à sén ñà, à kirí gà,
  3Sg fall.Pfv, 3Sg, 3Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv,
  à nì débè gà [bé sén]
  3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv Pfv [Seq fall.Pfv]
  ‘He fell, he got back up, and he (went and) fell again.’

  b. à gà sé-nè, à gà kirí,
  3Sg Lpfv fall.Lpfv, 3Sg Lpfv get.up.Lpfv,
  à gà nì débè-rè [bé sén]
  3Sg Lpfv 3ReflSg return-Lpfv [Seq fall.Lpfv]
  ‘(Often) he falls, he gets back up, and he (goes and) falls again.’

It is possible, but less common, to flip the order of ‘return’ and the other verb, so that ‘return’ is in a sequential VP (bé débè) following a main clause with the other verb.
15.2.7 Purposive sequential VP with doubled ‘come’ or ‘go’

In (799a-b), the first clause has main-clause form with ‘go’ or ‘come’ as simple motion verb. A same-subject purposive VP is expressed as a sequential VP, in which bé is followed by a redundant copy of ‘go’ or ‘come’. The combination bé bé in (799a) is sequential bé plus bé ‘come’. The combination with ‘go’ can be bé sò or bé yè ~ bé = è (799b).

(799) a. à bé gà [bé bé ë kwà]
   3Sg come.Pfv Pfv [Seq come.Pfv 1Sg hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She came (here) to hit me.’

   b. á sò gà yáwⁿ [bé sò/=è ë kwà]
   3Sg go.Pfv Pfv there.Def [Seq go.Pfv 1Sg hit.Pfv]
   ‘He/She went there to hit me.’

The same construction is used when the first clause is elaborated by addition of a conveyed object in the form of an instrumental PP (800a-b).

(800) a. zàkí bé gà [dàbà ní]
   Z come.Pfv Pfv [daba Inst]
   [bé bé pífⁿ sùwá= [à ní]]
   [Seq come.Pfv millet cultivate.Pfv] [3Sg Inst]
   ‘Zaki bought a daba (=hoe) (in order) to cultivate millet with it.’

   b. zàkí sò gà yáwⁿ [dàbà ní]
   Z go.Pfv Pfv [daba Inst] there.Def
   [bé sò/=è pífⁿ sùwá= [à ní]]
   [Seq go.Pfv millet cultivate.Pfv] [3Sg Inst]
   ‘Zaki took/conveyed a daba (=hoe) (in order) to cultivate millet with it.’

15.2.8 ‘Want/like to VP’ and sequential VP

15.2.8.1 ‘Want to VP’ with comitative PP (X pà)

‘X want Y’ where Y is a nominal denoting a referent is expressed with the intransitive verb kìⁿ/yè/kìⁿ/yè, plus a comitative PP (§11.2.5.4). When the the complement is a same-subject sequential VP, the verb kìⁿ/yè/kìⁿ/yè is omitted. (801) is therefore literally something “we are with it [to ask you].’
When the subject-agent of the desired action is other than the wanter, the complement takes the form of a subjunctive clause (§17.4.6.3).

15.2.8.2 ‘Like to VP’ with verb fùwɔⁿ⁄fùwɔⁿ ‘like (v)’

The transitive verb fùwɔⁿ⁄fùwɔⁿ ‘like (v)’, shown in (802a) with an object (§11.2.5.2), can take a sequential VP complement as in (802b). In this case, the content of the sequential VP is resumed by a 3Sg pronominal object in the main clause.

(802) a. ŋá = à fùwɔⁿ
   1Sg Lpfv 3Sg want.Lpfv
   ‘I want it.’

   b. ŋá = à fùwɔ́m [bé bé]
   1Sg Lpfv 3Sg want.Lpfv [Seq come.Pfv]
   ‘I want to come.’

For the different-subject construction with subjunctive clausal complement, see §17.4.6.4.

15.2.9 ‘Fear to VP’ with plus sequential VP

kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear, be afraid’ can be a simple intransitive with optional PP [X kààⁿ] specifying the source of fear, as in ‘X be afraid of Y’ (§11.2.5.6).

The complement may also be a same-subject sequential clause in the sense ‘fear to VP’, where the fear is focused on possible adverse consequences of an action by the same subject.

(803) a. à gá kùⁿwá [bé tá(w)^n / yà]
   3Sg Lpfv fear(v).Lpfv [Seq ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She is afraid to climb up/down.’

   b. ŋá kùⁿwá [bé dùwɔ̀ mèⁿ]
   1Sg Lpfv fear(v).Lpfv [Seq beer drink.Pfv]
   ‘I am afraid of drinking beer.’
For clausal complements of ‘fear’ in the form of ‘lest’ prohibitives, where the fear is directed at a potential action of a different subject/agent, see §17.4.5. For ‘fear that’ with indicative complements, see §17.3.4.

15.2.10 ‘Be able to VP’ (siní/síní) plus sequential VP

The verb ‘be able (to VP)’ is siní/síní (variant híní/hiní). In perfective contexts (‘was/were able to VP’), denoting ability to do something on a particular occasion, the main clause is perfective (positive siní, negative té siní) and the complement is a same-subject sequential VP.

(804) a. à té siní [bé kiyè / tá(w)n]
   3Sg PfvNeg be.able.Pfv [Seq run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She was (not) able to run/to go up.’

b. á sinín nà [bé kiyè / tá(w)n]
   3Sg be.able.Pfv Pfv [Seq run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She was able to run/to go up.’

c. á sinín nà [bé súw5 / súwó sån]
   3Sg be.able.Pfv Pfv [Seq sheep/goat buy.Pfv]
   ‘He/She was able to buy a sheep/a goat.’

In imperfective contexts, denoting a temporally unbounded capability (habitual or future), the main clause takes imperfective form (positive gá siní, negative tá siní). There are two options for the complement in this case. The preferred construction is with a same-subject imperfective VP; see §15.1.1.1 for examples. The alternative, with a sequential VP as in perfective contexts, is judged by a speaker to be grammatical but dispreferred (805a-b). However, this speaker did use this construction in a recording (805c).

(805) a. à gá siní [bé kiyè / tá(w)n]
   3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Seq run.Pfv/ascend.Pfv]
   ‘He/She can run/go up.’

b. ña siní [bé kwá [sèèdú nà]]
   1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Seq help.Pfv [S Dat]]
   ‘I can help Seydou.’
15.2.11 ‘Forget to VP’ with nùmàåsà(w)\textsuperscript{n} plus sequential VP

The verb nùmàåsà(w)/nùmàåså(w) ‘forget’ is followed by a same-subject sequential VP with bè 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.

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. \text{nà nùmàåså} \text{[bè táw\textsuperscript{n} \text{/ bè]} 1Sg Pfv.1Sg forget.Pfv Pfv [Seq ascend.Pfv \text{ / come.Pfv]}
\hfill ‘I forgot to go up/come.’
\item b. \text{sèedù nùmàåså} \text{[bè tóó-ò\textsuperscript{n} sà\textsuperscript{n}]} S forget.Pfv Pfv [Seq meat-DefSg buy.Pfv]
\hfill ‘Seydou forgot to buy the meat.’
\end{enumerate}

For ‘forget (that …)’ with an indicative clausal complement, see §17.3.1.2.

15.2.12 ‘Help (sb) to VP’ (kwá(-rá)) with dative and sequential VP

The verb ‘help’ is kwá(-rá) in intransitive clauses with dative PP complement (807a). (Elsewhere this is a transitive verb meaning ‘hit’). This can then be expanded by adding a same-subject sequential VP with bè (807b).

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. \text{sèedù kwá gà} \text{[n ná]} S help.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat]  
\hfill ‘Seydou helped me.’
\item b. \text{sèedù kwá gà} \text{[n ná] [bè súwó-ò\textsuperscript{n} sè]} S help.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Dat] [Seq goat-DefSg tie.Pfv]
\hfill ‘Seydou helped me tie up the goat.’
\end{enumerate}

The semantics of ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ (§17.4.8.4) are slightly distinct. In the case of ‘X prevent Y [from VPing], the covert subject of the lower VP is coindexed only with Y and cannot be
coindexed with X. In the case of ‘X help Y [(to) VP]’, the covert lower subject is coindexed with Y but may or may not also be coindexed with X. If X assists Y directly, for example in a two-person job like carrying a heavy object, then the real agent of that activity is the combined ‘X and Y’. Alternatively, the assistance may be indirect (writing a check, giving permission, etc.), in which case the action is carried out singly by Y. However, this fine distinction is disregarded by the grammar.

15.2.13 ‘Begin’ (súú-dó, sínti”) with sequential VP

‘Begin’ verbs are sínti”/síntu-ni and two compound verbs, dóó-kú”/dóó-kú-nú (§9.5.2), literally “mouth-catch”, and súú-dó(-ró) (§9.5.8), literally “hand-give” or “hand-enter.”

The noncomposite ‘begin’ verb sínti”/síntu-ni has cognates in Songhay and Tamashek (the latter is the likely source). It can be transitive (808a), or reflexive with either inanimate (808b) or animate (808c) subjects.

(808) a. å [kù-nù káy”-ý”] sínti” nà
   3Sg [Dem-Link work(n)-DefSg] begin.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She started this job.’

   b. káy” tè ŋ sínti”
      work(n) PfvNeg 3ReflSg begin. Pfv
   ‘The work did not begin.’

   c. sèédù ŋ sínti” nà
      S 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Seydou has begun (an activity).’

Reflexive sínti” and súú-dó clauses can be elaborated by adding a same-subject sequential VP complement. dóó-kú” cannot be expanded in this way.

(809) a. å ŋ súú-dó gà [bé kíyé]
   3Sg 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [Seq run.Pfv]
   ‘He/She began to run.’

   b. å ŋ sínti” nà [bé kíyé]
      3Sg 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [Seq run.Pfv]
   ‘He/She began to run.’

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Any VP can occur in a sequential VP complement for these two ‘begin’ verbs. Some motion verbs can also appear in imperfective VP complements (§15.1.1.2).

15.2.14 Weak obligation ‘should VP’ with káⁿ plus sequential VP

Weak obligation to perform an action can be expressed using the stative reflexive verb káⁿ. There are two constructions. In the first, the subject of káⁿ is open-ended. The complement is expressed as a same-subject sequential VP (810). The sense is ‘X should VP’ or ‘it is appropriate for X to VP’

(810) a. sèédù ŋ kám [bè sò]  
S 3ReflSg should [Seq go.Pfv]
‘Seydou should go.’

b. án nà = āŋ kám [bè sò]  
2Sg Sbj/Obj 2Sg should [Seq go.Pfv]
‘You-Sg should go.’

c. (i) yè= é(é) kám [bè sò]  
3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl should [Seq go.Pfv]
‘They should go.’

The alternative construction involves an impersonal main clause (‘it must be that …’, cf. French il faut que …) plus a subjunctive clause. See §17.4.7.1 for this version.

15.2.15 fò ‘until’ plus sequential VP

fò ‘until, all the way to’ can precede an NP/adverb, or can occur initially in a full ‘until’ clause. Here we note that it can also occur with just a sequential VP when the notional subject is coindexed with a preceding NP. See 2021-01 @ 14:28 for an example.

15.3 Nominalized complements

Complements in the form of a verbal noun or other deverbal nominal are covered here.
15.3.1 Verbal noun complements

15.3.1.1 ‘Stop VPing’ with tàà-ní/tàà-ní and verbal-noun complement

Intransitive ‘stop, come to a halt’ is tàà-rà (811a). The causative is tàà-ní/tàà-ní ‘stop (something), cause to halt’ (811b).

(811) a. mómbiri-iⁿ tà gà
    vehicle-DefSg 3ReflSg stop.Pfv Pfv
    ‘The vehicle stopped.’

b. zàkì mómbiri-ìì tàà-níⁿ ñà
    gendarme vehicle stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Zaki stopped the vehicle.’

In the sense ‘stop, interrupt (an activity)’, the object of the causative version can also be a verbal noun that denotes the activity. If the verb is transitive, the verbal noun may have a possessor or incorporated compound initial (812e-f).

(812) a. ò sùwó-ôñ tàà-níⁿ ñà
    3Sg sing.VblN-DefSg stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘He/She stopped the singing/stopped the song.’

b. ì yè têⁿ / yê tàà-níⁿ ñà
    3Pl Sbj/Obj ascend.VblN/descend.VblN stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘They stopped (=interrupted) going up/down.’

c. ìñ kiyè-ôñ tàà-níⁿ ñà
    13Pl run.VblN-DefSg stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘We stopped the running.’ or ‘We stopped the race.’

d. ò tìyèn-kûmè tàà-níⁿ ñà
    3Sg breathe.VblN stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘He/She stopped breathing.’

e. ì yè dúwò-mèñ tàà-níⁿ ñà
    3Pl Sbj/Obj beer-drink.VblN stop-Caus.Pfv Pfv
    ‘They stopped drinking beer.’
15.3.1.2 ‘Give up VPing’ with bày ‘abandon’ and verbal-noun complement

The transitive verb ‘leave (sb, sth), abandon, leave alone’ is bày/bày (813a). It can take a nominalized VP complement in the sense ‘(definitely) cease VPing; give up VPing’ (813b-d). The verbal noun can take an incorporated object noun (813c) or a full NP object (813d).

(813) a. Ø ná sèèdú bày gà yàw
1Sg Pfv.1Sg S leave.Pfv Pfv there.Def
‘I left Seydou there.’

b. ná Ø kiyé / .... / .... bày gà
nà " ... / tám / dɔ̥ "
1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.VblN/ascend.VblN/enter.VblN leave.Pfv Pfv
‘I have (permanently) given up running/going up/going in.’ (< kiyé, tá(w))

c. Ø ná dùwà-mè́n bày gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg beer-drink.VblN leave.Pfv Pfv
‘I have (permanently) given up beer drinking.’

d. Ø nà [[t̀ jò ̀kòngò̀rò-yè] kwèrène] bày gà
1Sg Pfv.1Sg [[1Sg dog-PI] hit.Antip.VblN] leave.Pfv Pfv
‘I have (permanently) given up hitting my dogs.’

The verb dàbày/dàbày ‘cease’ (end of §9.3.2) can be used in similar constructions.

15.3.2 Verbal noun in purposive PP

In this construction, a main clause (often with a motion or transfer verb) is followed by a purposive PP whose complement is a verbal noun. If the underlying verb is transitive (and is not intransitivized here), the verbal noun may have a possessor or incorporated object. This monoclausal construction competes with biclausal purposive constructions (§17.4.3). Attestations of the monoclausal version tend to involve at least weak focus on the purposive, as when a motion event took place but the intended followup did not. This is brought out by negation; in (814a) what
is denied is that sheep-buying was the purpose of the motion event. Likewise, in (814b-c) the complement of purposive dáà is overtly focalized.

(814) a. ả tè bê [sùwā-sénè dáà]  
3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [sheep-buy.VblN Purp]  
‘He/She didn’t come in order to buy a sheep.’ (< sà'/sà-nà ‘buy’)

b. ả sò gá yôm [[pí̃-súwā wò] dáà],  
3Sg go.Pfv Pfv there.Def [[millet-cultivate.VblN Foc] Purp]  
‘He/She went there (intending) to grow millet [focus], but he/she didn’t (=couldn’t) get seeds (to plant).’

c. ả dàbá sàŋ [sùwā wò] dáà]  
3Sg daba buy.Pfv Pfv [[cultivate.VblN Foc] Purp]  
‘He/She bought a daba for farming [focus].’

15.3.3 Place-nominal complements

15.3.3.1 ‘Finish’ (kilâ(w)n) with place-nominal (-wúwâ)n) complement

The reflexive verb kilâ(w)n/kilâ(w)n ‘finish’ can take a simple dative PP complement (815a). When the complement includes a verb, the verb takes place-nominal form with -wúwân (§4.2.1.5). If the verb is transitive, the place nominal may take a possessor or an incorporated noun as initial.

(815) a. ả ā̄ kilâŋ ńá [kú nà]  
3Sg 3ReflSg finish.Pfv Pfv [Dem Dat]  
‘He/She has finished that.’

b. ả ā̄ kilâŋ ńá tóó-dìyē-wúwâŋ nà  
3Sg 3ReflSg finish.Pfv Pfv meat-eat.Antip.VblN-place Q  
‘Has he/she finished eating the meat?’

c. ả tè ā̄ kilâŋ ńíní-wúwâŋ  
3Sg PfvNeg 3ReflSg finish.Pfv wash.VblN-place  
‘He/She has not finished bathing.’
d. à ŋ₃ kiláⁿ à ŋ₃ kwèrè-wúwàⁿ
d. à ŋ₃ kiláⁿ à ŋ₃ kwèrè-wúwàⁿ] 3Sg 3ReflSg finish.Pfv Pfv [1Sg hit.Vbl-place]
‘He/She has finished hitting me.’ (< kwèrè)

15.4 ‘While X VP-ed’

15.4.1 With bé X bày …

In this construction, the ‘while’ segment is a sequential VP beginning with bé and containing the perfective verb bày, which elsewhere means ‘leave, abandon (sth)’. Two versions of the construction have been observed (for the same speaker). In (816a-b), the more easily parsed of the two, the object of ‘leave’ is an abstract 3Sg pronominal anticipatorily resuming the following imperfective proposition. ‘Leave’ is then followed by a full imperfective clause including a subject. For example, (816a) is literally “they came, to leave it (that) I was sleeping.” (816b) is similar in structure.

(816) a. [è bé gà]
[3Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
[bé à bày [ŋ₃ ŋ₃ kùmú] wò]
[Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv [1Sg Ipfv sleep.Ipfv] Foc]
‘They came, while I slept [focus].’

b. [sílè-yè sèⁿ ŋà]
[rock-Pl fall.Pfv Pfv]
[bé à bày [ŋ₃ ŋ₃ jùù ŋínì] wò]
[Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv] [1Sg Ipfv garment wash.Ipfv] Foc
‘The rocks fell, while I was washing clothes [focus].’

In (817a-b), the object of ‘leave’ is now the subject of the subordinated imperfective clause. For example, (817a) is literally “he/she came, to leave me sleeping.”

(817) a. [à bé gà]
[3Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
[bé m bây kùmú wò]
[Seq 1Sg leave.Pfv sleep.Ipfv Foc]
‘He/She came, while I slept [focus].’
In both versions of this construction, the entire ‘while’ segment is readily focalized, as these examples show.

15.4.2 With -tuwɔ ‘time (while)’

This element appears to be a nominal compound final, and it may be distantly related to túwɔ ‘earth, soil’. The initial is a verbal noun. The compound denotes the time during which an action or process occurs. An additional possessor (denoting the subject) and/or a compound initial (denoting the object) is required. If a compound initial is present, the whole compound is tone-leveled (818d). If there is no compound initial, the verbal noun retains its lexical melody (as in the Pfv verb), and its final tone spreads to -tuwɔ (818a-c). kɔmɔ-tuwɔ in (818a) is not a counterexample to this since /LH/-melody behaves elsewhere as covertly /LHL/ (§3.6.5.1).

(818)  verb (Pfv)  compound  gloss

| a. kwéyⁿ/kwéy-nì  kwéyⁿ-tuwɔ  ‘while sweeping’ |
| kɔmɔ(-nɔ)  kɔmɔ-tuwɔ  ‘while crying out’ |
| såbàrèⁿ/såbàrè-nè  såbàrèn-tuwɔ  ‘while treating (medically)’ |

| b. bá(-rá)  bá-tuwɔ  ‘while exiting’ |
| dɔ(-rɔ)  dwɛɛ-tuwɔ  ‘while entering’ |
| bɛ/bɪ-yɛ  bìyɛ-tuwɔ  ‘while coming’ |
| káyⁿ/káyⁿ  káyⁿ-tuwɔ  ‘while working’ |

| c. sò/sò  siyɛ-tuwɔ  ‘while going’ |

| d. tôó dìyá/dìyà  tôó-dìyɛ-tuwɔ  ‘while eating meat’ |
| nàmù dìyá/dìyà  nàmù-dìyɛ-tuwɔ  ‘while eating tô (=millet cakes)’ |

The compounds are used adverbially without additional marking, hence ‘while/as (someone) VERB-s’.
‘It was while (I was) working [focus] that I happened to encounter it.’

‘As you-Sg leave, please shut (the door).’

15.5 Noun-headed adverbial relative clauses

15.5.1 Temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when …’)

A relative clause headed by a temporal noun (‘time/moment’, ‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can function as a temporal relative clause, without an additional postposition (820).

‘(On) (whatever) day Zaki comes, I will go.’

15.5.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where …’)

giyë ‘place’ is the head of a relative in (821), occurring in the usual postverbal position for spatial adverbials. The construction is regular (§14.2.4). The entire relative construction (‘the place where we saw the elephants’) is the complement of locative -y ~ -yi in the form -ë which ultimately derives from *-yáw*-y(i) with DefSg suffix. In (821), the preposed spatial relative clause is resumed by yô ‘there (definite)’ in the main clause.

‘In the place where we have seen elephants, I will build a house there.’
15.5.3 Manner clause ‘(in) the way …’

Instead of a relative clause ‘the way (in which) X VPs’, the attested construction is based on a definite singular nominal compound consisting of a verbal noun and báänà ‘manner’ (§8.4.3.3, §14.4.4). The relative construction is phrased as the complement of siná ‘like’ (§8.4.1).

(822) íìi ñà bë kiyé [siná zàkí kiyè-bààná-yàw°]
   1Pl Ipfv Fut run.Pfv [like Z run.VblN-manner-DefSg]
   ‘We will run the (same) way Zaki runs.’
16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional

16.1.1 Hypothetical antecedent with nì ~ né ‘if’, perfective positive nà

A hypothetical conditional construction consists of an antecedent that denotes a possible but uncertain eventuality and a consequent that denotes an eventuality that will result (or be verified as true) if the antecedent is true. In many cases the antecedent is virtually certain to occur, so it can be translated with ‘when’ instead of ‘if’. The common thread is necessary chronological sequence.

A hypothetical conditional antecedent often begins with an ‘if’ particle. When conditionality is marked in the rest of the antecedent clause (see below on post-subject nà in perfective positive clauses), the initial ‘if’ particle is optional. In dialect 1 this particle is L-toned nì ~ nè (rarely nà), which raises to H-toned by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone. In dialect 2 it is H-toned nè. Many textual examples, especially for dialect 1, involve vv-Contraction with a following vowel-initial subject proclitic (3Sg, 3Pl, LogoPl, 2Sg, 2Pl), obscuring the lexical vowel of the ‘if’ particle. However, it is possible to pronounce the ‘if’ particle independently, with some prolongation of the vowel before the clause proper begins.

When a positive antecedent denotes a bounded event, it is expressed by a perfective positive clause. Aside from the optional initial ‘if’ particle, such a clause can take the form of a regular main clause including postverbal Pfv morpheme gà (823a), or else the form of a specifically conditional clause with post-subject nà (glossed ‘if.Pfv’) and without Pfv gà (823b). In the latter case, clause-initial nì ~ né is redundant and is optionally omitted. Negative antecedents take their regular main-clause form with post-subject PfvNeg tè, and clause-initial nì ~ né is necessary to mark it as a conditional (823c).

(823) a. [né zàkí bê gà] [ífn nà dîyè]
   [if Z come.Pfv Pfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Ipfv]
   ‘If/When Zaki comes, we will eat.’

b. [(né) zàkí nà bê] [ífn nà dîyè]
   [(nì) zàkí nà bê] [ífn nà dîyè]
   [if Z if.Pfv come.Pfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Ipfv]
   [=a]
The ‘if.Pfv’ morpheme can also occur in perfective positive relative clauses (§14.1.3). More problematically, it is homophonous with the subjunctive morpheme nà, and the two constructions can mimic each other. However, the two morphemes cannot be directly equated. The negative counterpart of subjunctive nà is prohibitive mà, while that of perfective conditional nà is the regular perfective negative with post-subject tè. Cliffs has completely distinct ‘if.Pfv’ and subjunctive morphemes.

In 2021-03 @ 11:35, the antecedent clause is future in form (‘if you-Sg will take it back’). The context is favorable to a construal of the type ‘if you plan to take it back’.

The antecedent may also denote a state that is a precondition for some act. Since the antecedent has no other marking of conditionality, nì ~ nì ‘if’ is necessary.

(824) a. nì sèedu' gà bò, kóngòrò-ôn tá kòmò-nò
   if S be.Loc here, dog-DefSg PfvNeg cry.out(v)-Pfv
   ‘If Seydou is here, the dog won’t bark.’

b. nì dâbá gà [ŋ sùù-ý], ŋ śa siní sùwós
   if daba be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc], 1Sg Pfv be.able.Pfv cultivate.Pfv
   ‘If I have a daba (=hoe), I can do farm work.’

c. nà = án ŋà sáá-ná
   if 2Sg be lie.down-Ppl, án ŋá siní kàỳn [bàànà wére“]
   2Sg Pfv be.able.Pfv work(v).Pfv [manner which?]
   ‘If you are lying down, how can you work?’

16.1.2 sáá “all” as right-edge marker in conditional antecedents

sáá is elsewhere the universal quantifier ‘all’ (§6.6.1). In its core quantificational sense it occurs at the end of NPs, or it can occur by itself as a noun ‘everybody’.

However, sáá also has another function, at best distantly related, as a right-edge marker in conditional antecedents, especially the more syntactically complex antecedents. In (825), sáá follows a subordinated clause (object of ‘see’), and marks the completion of the ‘if you see’ clause.

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Another example is (826). See also 2021-03 @ 18:54.

(826) ná = án tè [pósání nùnu] sàn sáán,
    if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Top] buy.Pfv all,
án tá dûgà gàrábá = [án tiyé]-ý
2Sg PfvNeg rice reap.Pfv [2Sg field]-Loc
‘Unless you-Sg buy poison (=herbicide), you-Sg won’t harvest any rice in your field.’
(2021-03 @ 07:59 to 08:03)

Similar uses of ‘all’ quantifiers as right-edge markers occur in some other languages of the zone, including Bambara and some Songhay languages.

16.1.3 Hypothetical conditional consequents

There is no special marking of hypothetical conditional consequents. In the usual case where both the antecedent and consequent are bounded events, the consequent is imperfective or a deontic modal (imperative or hortative). Speakers disapproved of explicitly future consequents (with gà be and Pfv verb), since (relative) futurity is understood. Further examples are in (827).

(827) a. [yòó-bàá]-àn nà bë,
    [rain]-DefSg if.Pfv come.Pfv,
    ñ tâ sò [sòŋ-3n niîn]
1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]
‘If it rains, I won’t go to the bush (=to the fields).’

b. [nî [yòó-bàá]-àn tè bë]
    [if [rain(n)]-DefSg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
    [ŋ nà sò [sòŋ-3n niîn]]
1Sg Pfv go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]
‘If it doesn’t rain, I will go to the bush.’
c. \[\text{[nì [yòó-bàá]-áñ tà bí-yé]} \]
\[\text{[if [rain(n)]-DefSg IpfvNeg come-Ipfv]} \]
\[\text{íf\textsuperscript{n} ná sò [sóŋó-ś	extsuperscript{n} níí\textsuperscript{n}]} \]
\[\text{1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]} \]
‘If it isn’t raining, let’s go to the bush!’

d. \[\text{[nì [yòó-bàá]-áñ tà bí-yé]} \]
\[\text{[if [rain(n)]-DefSg IpfvNeg come-Ipfv]} \]
\[\text{sò [sóŋó-ś	extsuperscript{n} níí\textsuperscript{n}]} \]
\[\text{go.Pfv [the.bush-DefSg inside]} \]
‘If it isn’t raining, go!-2Sg to the bush!’

e. \[\text{nà = ā\textsuperscript{n} sé\textsuperscript{n} ñà, kírì} \]
\[\text{if 2Sg fall.Pfv Pfv, get.up.Pfv} \]
‘If you-Sg fall, get (back) up!’

16.1.4 ‘Otherwise (=if not)’

The full construction is of the type ‘if X, then Y; otherwise (=if not X), then Z’. The ‘otherwise’ expression is phrased as ‘if it is not that’ (828) with discourse-definite demonstrative (§4.4.2.1).

(828) \[\text{né à gá sà-nà} \]
\[\text{if 3Sg Ipfv rain.fall.Pfv} \]
\[\text{íf\textsuperscript{n} nà kónó bóñ,} \]
\[\text{1Pl Ipfv stay.Ipfv here,} \]
\[\text{né jñ\textsuperscript{n} té,} \]
\[\text{if Dem.Def not.be,} \]
\[\text{íf\textsuperscript{n} ñà ý sóŋó-ý\textsuperscript{n}} \]
\[\text{3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc} \]
‘If it rains, let’s stay here. Otherwise (=if not), we’ll go the fields.’
\(\text{(ñà ý ~ ñá yè for ñá sò, §10.1.6.1)}\)

Focalized ñó-ó can also occur instead of jñ\textsuperscript{n}; see 2021-03 @ 02:39.
16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 ‘Even if …’ (làlì)

In this construction, the speaker recognizes that it might be thought that the factuality of the antecedent would block that of the consequent, but the speaker asserts that the consequent will occur regardless. The antecedent begins with làlì (or variant làrì, àrì) ‘even’ (§19.1.4). It is optionally followed by nì ~ nè ‘if’, which is absent in (829a) but present in (829b). The remainder of the antecedent is the same as in hypothetical conditionals; note nà ‘if.Pfv’ in (829a-b).

(829) a. làlì nì nà bé ṇàànù,  
     even 1Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv tomorrow,  
     nì tà dìyè bōn  
     1Sg IpfvNeg eat.Pfv here  
     ‘Even if I come tomorrow, I won’t eat here.’

b. làlì ní yòó-báà nà bé ṇàànù,  
     even if rain(n) if.Pfv come.Pfv tomorrow,  
     nì tà píín tì-rì  
     1Sg IpfvNeg millet sow-Ipfv  
     ‘Even if it rains tomorrow, I won’t plant millet.’

16.3 Willy-nilley antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’)

In this construction, two paired antecedents have opposite truth conditions. Usually a positive clause is followed by its negation. If so, the second subject is always pronominalized, some adjuncts may be omitted in the second clause, and the verb is repeated. The first antecedent ends with nonterminal intonation (higher than modal pitch for this position). Whichever antecedent turns out to be true is asserted to have no effect on the truth of the consequent. An explicit ‘don’t care about it’ clause (§11.1.1.5) is optional.

(830) [yòó-báà ná sàn] [à té sàn],  
     [rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Ipfv] [3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv]  
     Ṽ ná sò sósì-ỳ̀n  
     1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc  
     ‘Whether it rains or it doesn’t rain, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’
16.4 Counterfactual conditionals (pàà)

In a counterfactual, the eventuality expressed by the antecedent, whether a current state or a past event, is understood to be false. It is asserted that in an alternative world where the antecedent was true, the consequent would also have been realized, as in ‘if you had hit me, I would have killed you’.

The most consistent formal feature of counterfactuals is the shift to past-time perspective with tùⁿ ~ tǐⁿ ‘be.Past’ following the subject in both antecedent and consequent. In addition, a specifically counterfactual morpheme pàà is optionally inserted between the subject of the antecedent and tùⁿ ~ tǐⁿ. Sometimes the regular ‘if’ particle nì ~ nė occurs clause-initially instead of post-subject pàà. The rest of the antecedent clause is perfective in the normal case where it denotes a bounded event. Therefore tùⁿ ~ tǐⁿ is followed by nì ‘if.Pfv’ in positive antecedents and by PfvNeg tè in negatives, both then being followed by Pfv verbs. In the consequent, tùⁿ ~ tǐⁿ is followed by an imperfective VP beginning with Ipfv gà or IpfvNeg tà.

(831) a. án Ø tùⁿ ná ă kwá dìgěⁿ, ám pàá
2Sg Counterf be.Past if.Pfv 1Sg hit.Pfv yesterday,
ǹ tùⁿ nà = āⁿ waá
1Sg be.Past Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv
‘If you-Sg had hit me yesterday, I’d have killed you.’

b. ám pàá tún tè bé dìgěⁿ,
2Sg Counterf be.Past PfvNeg come.Pfv yesterday
ǹ tùⁿ nà sà = [āⁿ màá]
1Sg be.Past Ipfv go.Ipfv [2Sg seek.Pfv]
‘If you-Sg hadn’t come yesterday, I’d have gone to look for you.’

c. ní sèèdú tùⁿ nì
if S be.Past it.is,
ā tún tá kìyé
3Sg be.Past IpfvNeg run.Ipfv
‘If he was (=if it had been) Seydou, he wouldn’t have run.’

The construction can also appear when the antecedent denotes a state that is presently untrue or a future event that is unlikely to happen. This is pragmatically halfway between hypothetical and (past) counterfactual conditionals. In (832a), the final imperfective bì-yé can be replaced by sequential bé bé (pronounced by some speakers as bí bê).
(832) a. nì móto tìn ñá [ń sùu-ý]
    if motorcycle be.Past be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc]
    ñ tìn ñá [[só nàgí-ý] bí-yè]
    1Sg be.Past Lpfv [[go.Lpfv village-Loc] come.Lpfv]
    ‘If I had a motorcycle, I would go to the village and come back.’

b. né móto tin tá [má pá]
    if motorcycle be.Past not.be.Loc [1Sg Comit]
    ñ tá só nàgí-ý
    1Sg LpfvNeg go.Lpfv village-Loc
    ‘If I didn’t have a motorcycle, I wouldn’t go to the village.’
    (i.e., ‘were it not for the fact that I have a motorcycle’)

c. né ñ tíŋ ñá náfòrò-tùú nì,
    if 1Sg be.Past be rich.person it.is,
    ñ tìn tá kónó nàgí-ý
    1Sg be.Past LpfvNeg stay.Lpfv village
    ‘If I were a rich person, I wouldn’t stay in the village.’
17 Complement clauses

This chapter describes clauses (including subjects as well as VPs) that function as background for foregrounded clauses or that function as subordinated complements for predicates in main clauses.

17.1 Quotative complements

There are two ‘say’ verbs. One is the defective quasi-verb yè ~ yé (and nasalized variants nè ~ nè) ‘said’, which occurs only in veridical perfective positive contexts. It is a kind of verbal left-quotation mark. The other is the all-purpose, fully inflectable verb sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’. Both verbs allow an optional dative PP specifying the original addressee.

Direct quotations repeat the original utterance without change. In the more usual indirect quotation, pronomininals are modified. If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with the current speaker or addressee, it is normally updated to correspond to the current role in the speech event. If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with a third-person quoted speaker (“author”), i.e. if it corresponds to what was a first person pronoun in the original utterance, it is expressed as a logophoric pronoun (§18.3). The original addressee, if overtly mentioned (‘you’ in the original utterance) and if not updated due to coindexation with the current speaker or addressee, is expressed as an ordinary third person pronominal.

17.1.1 Original addressee in quotations

A second person pronominal in the original utterance may be replaced by the corresponding third person pronominal in the quoted clause. Direct quotation (833a) corresponds to indirect quotation (833b).

(833) a. sèèdú yè [áámàdú tè] [áⁿ ɲá wùláá nì]
   S said [ask.Pfv Dat] [2Sg be who? it.is]
   ‘Seydou asked Amadou₃ “who are you₇?” ’

   b. sèèdú yè [áámàdú tè] [à gá wùláá nì]
   S said [ask.Pfv Dat] [3Sg be who? it.is]
   ‘Seydou asked Amadou₃ who he₇ was.” ’

Both (833a) and (833b) are actually ambiguous. (833a) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadou₃ who you₇ were’, where ‘you’ is the current addressee who was not present during the quoted
speech event. Similarly, (833b) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadouₓ who he/sheᵧ was’, referring to a distinct third-party referent.

17.1.2 Invariant yè ~ yé ‘said’

yè ~ yé ‘said’ introduces actual quoted matter, as opposed to a summarizing pronominal, demonstrative, or quotative noun (‘said it’, ‘said that’, ‘said the thing’), which requires the inflectable verb sé(-rē) ‘say, tell’. Whereas sé(-rē) can occur in any aspect-negation clause type, yè ~ yé is intrinsically perfective positive and indicative (assertive). In other words, it frames an actual past quotation, or a hypothetical quotation in a conditional antecedent. It requires a preceding subject, and it is optionally followed by a dative PP before the actual quoted matter begins.

The tone of ye is H or L depending on the category of subject. It is L-toned (before further tone sandhi) after any nonpronominal NP subject, e.g. ‘Seydou’ in (834a). It is H-toned after the L-toned pronominal clitics 3Sg à and 3Pl è (834b), and after the 1Sg clitic ŋ (H), which here as in several similar combinations triggers tonal changes (834c). After H-toned pronominals it is again L-toned (834d) before further tone sandhi. In other words, it dissipilates (or polarizes) to the tone of a preceding pronominal.

The y is nasalized to ŋ after the nasal of 1Sg ŋ (H) and Logo/3ReflSg ŋ, after 2Sg áⁿ, and in some subdialects after 1Pl íⁿ. 3Pl è and Logo/3ReflPl é usually shift vowel quality from e to i before y, and 3Pl i yé can reduce to Õ yé.

(834) a. sèèdú yè ‘Seydou said’
   b. à yé ‘he/she said’
   (i) yé ~ è yé ‘they said’
   c. ŋ ŋè ‘I said’
   d. áŋ ŋè ‘you-Sg said’
   íⁿ yè ~ íŋ ŋè ‘we said’
   áá yè ‘you-Pl said’
   ŋ ŋè LogoSg said
   í yè ~ é yè LogoPl said

The distinction between yé and yè is masked when Final Tone-Raising applies to yè, as in íⁿ yá = [á tè] ‘we said to him/her’.
Usually there is no prosodic break between yè ~ yé and immediately following quoted matter. However, a brief prosodic break is possible. When a planned prosodic break happens, yè ~ yé can be expanded by wòò (835a) or a contracted version thereof (835b-d).

(835)  a. à yé wòò, …
       sèèdú yè wòò, …

    b. à yè wò, …
       sèèdú yé wò, …

    c. à yó = ô, …
       sèèdú yó = ô, …

    d. à yè, …
       sèèdú yè, …

The quoted matter must be close to what is stated to have been spoken (or thought) by the ascribed author of the quotation, except for logophorics and pronominal updates (836a). An exception is that a quoted command (§17.1.5.1) takes subjunctive form (836b). A content or polar interrogative can be quoted (836c-d).

(836)  a. à yé [ń té sèèdú kày]
       3Sg said [LogoSg PřvNeg S see.Přv]
       ‘He/She said that he/she hadn’t seen Seydou.’

    b. à yé [ń ná bé]
       3Sg said [1Sg Sbjn come.Přv]
       ‘He/She told me to come.’

    c. à yé [ň ná wùláá nì]
       3Sg said [1Sg be who it.is]
       ‘He/She asked (me) who I am/was.’

    d. à yé [ň ná yùwò dìyá rà]
       3Sg said [1Sg lPřv fish eat.lPřv Q]
       ‘He/She asked (me), do/did I eat fish?’
17.1.3 Inflectable verb sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’

sé(-ré) ‘say, tell’ is compatible with any inflectional frame (perfective or imperfective, positive or negative, indicative or modal). It is immediately preceded by a pro forma 3Sg object ̀ if there is no other preverbal object NP (such as a demonstrative), even when an actual quotation immediately follows without a prosodic boundary. The à is unmistakable in imperatives (‘say it!’) where it is clause-initial (837a). The verb sé(-ré) is followed by an optional dative PP denoting the original addressee as in (837b). In this case the usual free translation has ‘tell’ rather than ‘say’). Quoted matter follows ‘say it’ and the optional dative (837c). Again, quoted commands take subjunctive form (837a).

(837) a. à sé [sèèdú nà bé]
   3Sg say.Pfv [S Sbjn come.Pfv]
   ‘Tell Seydou to come!’ (lit. “say it, Seydou should/must come”)

b. è té à sé [ǹ té]
   3Pl PfvNeg 3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg Dat]
   ‘They didn’t tell me.’

c. [táráá” sáá”] à gá = à sé-ré
   [day all] 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-lpfv
   [ǹ ǹá bí-yé]
   [LogoSg Ipfv come-lpfv]
   ‘Every day he/she says that he/she is coming.’

17.1.4 Optional ‘that’ expressions (súnù, béyáṣè)

In conversational speech and in narrative, there is normally no ‘that’ complementizer at the beginning of quoted speech. However, in more formal speech an element of this type may appear. súnù can be used with either yè ~ yé ‘said’ (838a) or with fully inflectable sé(-ré) ‘say’ (838b).
(838) a. à ye sùnù [a^n ñà bí-yê]

3Sg said that [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]

‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’

b. à yà = à sé gà sùnù [a^n ñà bí-yê]

3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv that [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]

[=(a)]

sé(-ré) ‘say’ also allows an alternative ‘that’ form, bêyâsè ~ bêyâsè ~ býasè ~ bâásè as in (839). This is even more formal in style, and can be followed by a pause. It may be a mutation of sequential VP bé à sé ‘and then say it’. It may be compared in function to English as follows.

(839) à yà = à sé gà bêyâsè(,) [a^n ñà bí-yê]

3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv that(,) [2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv]

‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’

bêyâsè and variants can also occur in indicative clausal complements of ‘know (that)’, ‘forget (that)’, ‘be sure (that)’ (§17.3.1.1-3), ‘see/hear that’ (§17.3.2), and ‘fear (that)’ (§17.3.4).

wôò at a planned prosodic break between ‘say’ and the quoted matter is described in §17.1.2 above. It seems to function as an intonational extension, but it might alternatively be regarded as another ‘that’ complementizer.

17.1.5 Jussive complement (quoted imperative or hortative)

17.1.5.1 Quoted imperatives and prohibitives

Quoted imperatives take the form [X say [Y Modal … Verb.Pfv …]]. Y is an open-ended NP coindexed with the addressee in the original utterance, but updated in the context of the current speech event. This construction can be elaborated by adding an optional dative addressee, but the lower subject Y remains obligatory: [X say [to Y (or Z)] [Y …]]. The dative is often omitted, since it is usually understood that the original addressee was also the subject Y of the original imperative. Therefore the most common form is [X say [Y …]]. The free translation ‘X tell Y [Ø to …]’ with Y functioning as main-clause object is syntactically misleading. With [X say [Y …]] and no dative it is also possible that Y was not the immediate addressee, in which case the translation could be ‘X say (to an intermediary) that Y must/should VP’.

If the original command was positive, the quoted imperative clause has subjunctive nà following the subject (840a). If it was negative, i.e. if it contained prohibitive mà, the original form is retained verbatim in the quotation except for the presence of an overt subject (840b). 1Sg subject
raises the tones of nà and mà dialectally; the distinction is neutralized by Final Tone-Raising before L-tone.

(840) a. à yé [ń nà táwⁿ/…] (dialect 1) [ń ná táwⁿ/…] (dialect 2) [ń ná … / yà](both dialects) 3Sg said [1Sg Sbjn ascend.Pfv / descend.Pfv] ‘He/She told me to go up/down.’ (or: ‘He said that I should go up/down.’)

b. ġ jé [sèdu tè] [ā mà táwⁿ] 1Sg said [S Dat] [3Sg Proh ascend.Pfv] ‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ or ‘I told Seydou, that he/she, should not go up.’

c. ġ jé [sèdu mà táwⁿ] 1Sg said [S Proh ascend.Pfv] ‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ or ‘I said that Seydou should not go up.’

d. sèdu yè [ń mà táwⁿ/…] (dialect 1) yè [m mà táwⁿ/…] (dialect 2) yè [m mà … / yà] (both dialects) S said [1Sg Proh ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv] ‘Seydou told me not to go up/down.’ or: ‘Seydou said that I should not go up/down.’

17.1.5.2 Quoted hortatives

A quoted hortative has the same basic structure as described above for quoted imperatives. Positive hortatives are expressed under quotation as subjunctive clauses. To avoid confusion between ‘X said (to him/her/them) “let’s VP!” ’ and ‘X told them to VP’, the former has 1Pl as the subject of the quotation (841a,c), rather than 3Sg or 3Pl which would be interpreted as imperative (841b).

(841) a. sèdu yè = [éeⁿ nà diáyé] S said [1Pl Sbjn eat.Antip.Pfv] ‘Seydou said (to him/her/them), “let’s eat!” ’ or ‘Seydou told us to eat.’ or ‘Seydou said that we should eat.’

A main-clause hortative negative has the form of a prohibitive with 1Pl subject. The quoted version therefore has the same form as a quoted prohibitive (preceding subsection).

\[(842)\]  
\[sèèdú \ yè \ [íftٰ \ má \ sô]\]  
S said [1Sg Dat] [1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv]  
\[‘Seydou said to me, “let’s go!” ’\]  

\(17.1.6\) Quoted questions

Both polar and content questions are embedded with \(nì \sim \né\) (subdialetal variants) \(‘if’\). This is all that is needed for polar questions (843).

\[(843)\]  
\[à \ \á \ tiyé \ gâ\]  
3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv  
\[nì (~\né) \ áámâdú \ gâ \ yàw\n\]  
if A be.Loc here  
\[‘He/She asked me if/whether Amadou was there.’\]  

When the original quoted matter was a content interrogative, the latter may appear in direct discourse in its original form. Alternatively, if \(nì \sim \né\) is present clause-initially, the interrogative is replaced by a non-interrogative indefinite light noun such as ‘thing’ plus the simple form \(mà\n\) of the relative marker.

\(844\a)\) preserves the original ‘what?’ interrogative \(mùwó\). In (844b) this is replaced by \(hú \ mà\n \sim \ sû \ mà\n\) (subdialectal variants). This consists of a suppletive noun meaning ‘thing’ plus relative \(mà\n\). The usual noun for ‘thing’ is \(fà\) (dialectally \(fɔ́\)).

\[(844)\a\]  
\[à \ yè \ á \ tiyé \ gâ\]  
3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv  
\[ bénéfic \ mûwó \ tîf-nî\]  
1Sg Lpfv what? do-Lpfv  
\[‘He/She asked me what I was doing.’\]
For wùlàà ‘who?’ the substitute is just màⁿ, a headless relative (‘the one who’). The combination of màⁿ with Lpfv gà appears as màⁿ ṭà or màⁿ ṭà depending on subdialect (845a). For ‘when?’ the replacement is a temporal noun like ‘day’ or ‘time’ (845b). For ‘where?’ the replacement is based on a locative form (suffix -ỳ) with gîyé ‘place’ (845c). For ‘how?’ the replacement is likewise a locative form with bàánà ‘manner’ (845d). For ‘which?’ the relative marker follows the noun and replaces the usual ‘which?’ interrogative (845e).

(845) a. ŋò à yè ŋ tiyé gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
   ní màⁿ ṭà bí-yé (dialect 1)
   né màⁿ ṭà " (dialect 2)
if Rel Lpfv come.Lpfv
‘He/She asked me who is/was coming?’

b. ŋò à yè ŋ tiyé gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
   ní (~ né) [tárâaⁿ màⁿ] ṭà ṭà bí-yé
if [day Rel] 1Sg Lpfv come.Lpfv
‘He/She asked me when (=on what day) I was coming.’

c. ŋò à yè ŋ tiyé gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
   né ṭà ṭà sò [gîyéⁿ màⁿ-ỹⁿ]
if 1Sg Lpfv go.Lpfv [place Rel-Loc]
‘He/She asked me where I was going.’

d. ŋò à yè ŋ tiyé gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg ask.Pfv Pfv
   ní ṭà ṭà bé tám [báñá màⁿ-ỹⁿ]
if 1Sg Lpfv Fut ascend.Pfv [manner Rel-Loc]
‘He/She asked me how I was going to go up.’ (< táwⁿ)
17.2 Backgrounded indicative clauses

17.2.1 Causal clause (bàrì ‘because’)

‘Because’ is expressed by bàrì at the beginning of the causal clause. It becomes bàrì before an L-tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(846) a. ń té sùwó så(w)ŋ,
    1Sg PfvNeg sheep buy.Pfv,
    bàry =  [à sòŋɔ] ń kóŋ
    because [3Sg price] 3ReflSg be.much
    ‘I didn’t buy a sheep, because its price is too much.’

b. ń tè bê
    1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv,
    bàrì zàkì tà ń kéntèŋ
    because Z IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.healthy
    ‘I didn’t come, because Zaki is sick.’

For young people, clause-initial French parce que is now standard, as elsewhere in the zone.

17.2.2 ‘As soon as’ (dàmà)

The ‘as soon as’ construction adds dàmà ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1 at the end of a perfective positive clause. This can serve as background to another perfective clause denoting a past event (847a), or an imperfective or future clause denoting an impending future event (847b).

(847) a.  [à bá gà dàmà]
    [3Sg exit.Pfv Pfv only]
    [i yà = à wàá gà]
    [3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘As soon as he went outside, they killed him.’
    = ‘No sooner did he step outside than they killed him.’
17.2.3 ‘Since’ and ‘until’ clauses

17.2.3.1 ‘Since …’ clauses ( hàlì ~ hàrì)

For hàlì (~ hàrì) in the sense ‘even X’, see §19.1.4.

With a temporal expression T, hàlì T can mean ‘since T’. The more emphatic translation ‘ever since T’ or ‘going all the way back to T’ better captures the connection between emphatic ‘even’ and temporal ‘since’. The clause describes a past event that led to a state that has persisted. The ‘since …’ clause usually precedes the foregrounded main clause.

(848) a. hàlì ŋ ñà bé gà, ŋ té diyé
   since 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv, 1Sg PfvNeg eat.Pfv
   ‘(Ever) since I got here, I haven’t eaten.’

b. hàlá = [à kà] fááti gà,
   since [3Sg father] pass.Pfv Pfv,
   [à múynà] ŋá sù"wà-nà
   [3Sg mood] be be.foul-Ppl
   ‘Ever since his father died, he has been distraught.’

For hàlì in ‘before …’ clauses see §15.2.5 above.

17.2.3.2 ‘Until …’ clauses (fò or fò-sàålì)

The most basic sense of fò preceding a constituent X is ‘all the way to X’. It is prototypically spatial but can extend to temporal contexts, as in fò jàànù ‘(all the way) until tomorrow’ (§8.4.5.7).

Clause-initial fò also forms ‘until’ clauses, the prospective counterpart to the retrospective ‘(ever) since’ clauses with hàlì described above. When the ‘until’ event has already taken place, the clause has perfective form. The ‘until’ clause can denote a culminating event (849a) or an interrupting or terminating event (849b-d). An extended variant fò-sàålì is attested but less common (849b).
(849) a. à kôngôró-ôj kwá gà
3Sg dog hit.Pfv Pfv
[fɔ̀ à kâlê gà] [until 3Sg animal.die.Pfv Pfv]
‘He/She beat the dog until (=to the point that) it died.’

b. ná kiyé gà [dùbàà-fê]-ôj kwâtfyè],
1Sg Pfv.1Sg run.Pfv Pfv [snake]-DefSg behind],
fɔ̀-sààlì à tāº nà [jùgú-ùjì kùmà]
until 3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv [tree-DefSg on]
‘I pursued the snake, until it climbed the tree.’

c. à kùmùn nà
3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv
[fɔ̀ íjì kwàrè gà = [à pà]]
[until 1Pl hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Comit]
‘He/She slept until we nudged him/her.’

d. à tè jòy tìjì,
3Sg PfvNeg anything do.Pfv,
fɔ̀ nà súwó kwá gà
until 1Sg Pfv.1Sg goat hit.Pfv Pfv Pfv
‘He/She didn’t do anything, until I beat the goat.’

fɔ̀ and fɔ̀-sààlì can also be used in habitual and future contexts. In this case, the clause is subjunctive (§17.4) rather than perfective indicative.

17.2.3.3 ‘VPed until got tired’ = ‘VPed for a very long time’

As in other languages of the region, the extended duration of an activity can be emphasized by adding an ‘until X got tired’ clause (local French jusqu’à fatiguer). The main clause may have a verb like ‘work’ or ‘run’ that makes physical weariness plausible. However, it can also be a verb like ‘laugh’ (850) or ‘speak’ where duration is focal and weariness or pain secondary, compare English he laughed until his sides ached or she laughed her … off:

(850) à sàá gà [fà = à bântàº nà]
sà gà
3Sg laugh.Pfv Pfv [until 3Sg get.tired.Pfv Pfv]
‘He/She laughed until he got tired.’ (i.e. he couldn’t stop laughing)
17.2.3.4 Combination of ‘since’ and ‘until’ clauses

A ‘since’ clause with hàlì ~ hàrì can easily be combined with an ‘until’ clause with fɔ́ ‘until’ to mark the temporal bookends of a long time interval.

(851) a. hàrí à yà gà,
since 3Sg descend.Pfv Pfv,
fwá = à táŋ ñà,
until 3Sg ascend.Pfv Pfv,
ā tē dyé
3Sg PfvNeg eat.Pfv
‘From the time that he/she went down, until he/she went (back) up, he/she didn’t eat.’

b. [háré = è bìlá gà]
[since 3Pl be.born Pfv]
[fwé = è kâlé gà]
[until 3Pl die.Pfv Pfv]
[(i) yè = è(é) ñíí]
[3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl be.nasty]
‘From the time they are born until they die, they are evil.’

c. hàlì kôngòló-òm bè gà,
since dog come.Pfv Pfv,
fā = à sò gà,
until 3Sg go.Pfv Pfv,
nà kùwá gà = [à kàâŋ]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg fear(v).Pfv Pfv [3Sg source]
‘From the moment the dog came, until it went away, I was afraid of it.’

17.2.3.5 dé(-řé) ‘take’ denoting starting point

This construction is attested in the context of spatial extent stretching from landmarks X to Y. The starting point is specified by the verb dé(-řé) ‘take, pick up’. The endpoint is specified by fɔ́ ‘until’ plus a spatial expression. Sequential bè is required when the entire sequence is part of a larger clause.
17.2.4 ‘As though …’ clause (siní ~ siná)

An ‘as though’ clause begins with siní ~ siná (subdialectal variants) ‘like’ and is otherwise an ordinary main clause. It usually follows another main clause. Using ‘put’ in the first clause, contextually ‘pretend’ or ‘act (like)’, makes the ‘like’ clause dubitative (i.e. understood to be false).

(854) a. à gé= à yáá
3Sg Ipfv 3Sg put.Ipfv
[siní ń tá ń tůwò]
[like LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv]
‘He, does it like (=pretends that) he, doesn’t know me.’

b. á yá= à yáá gá
3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.Pfv Pfv
[siní ń tá ń tůwò]
[like LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv]
‘He, acted like (pretended that) he, didn’t know me.’

Another construction is with à gá siní … ‘it is like’, with invariant nonreferential 3Sg subject à (855). It has a phonologically similar but structurally divergent dialectal variant áⁿ ńá= à sé-ré ‘you-Sg said it’ (=thought it, cf. French on dirait que ...), and a hybrid à ńá siní is also attested.
(855) diyéⁿ ɲà gó-ró
child Ipfv weep.Ipfv
[à gá siná = [à tè diyé]]
[3Sg be like [3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]]
‘The child is weeping as though he/she hasn’t eaten.’

The phrase with à gá siní … or variant does not always imply that the content of the ‘like’ phrase is false. This is shown by (856).

(856) yùrùgù à té sàⁿ, [à ɲá = à sé-ré]
this.year 3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv, [like]
à sàⁿ ɲá sëgò [bààná màⁿ-ɲé]-è
3Sg rain.fall.Pfv Pfv last.year [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc
‘This year it didn’t rain the way it rained last year.’

17.3 Indicative clausal complements

These clauses have the same form as main clauses, except that in some cases the subject may be reflexive or logophoric. The clauses are complements to a main clause.

17.3.1 Factive clausal complements of knowledge verbs

17.3.1.1 ‘(Not) know …’ with indicative or ‘whether’ complement

tiỳà/tòwò (~ tô) ‘know’ can be a simple transitive (§11.2.5.1), as in ‘I know it’ (where ‘it’ refers to a proposition) and in ‘I know him/her’ in the sense of acquaintance. When the complement is a proposition like (857a), the complement follows the main clause, which includes the 3Sg object marker. So (857b) is literally ‘I know it [Amadou came]’. In positive contexts, ‘X know S’, it is understood that the eventuality S denoted by the complement (e.g. Amadou’s having come) is veridical. The complement has main-clause form with optional ‘that’ subordinator bëyàsè – bìyàsè (§17.1.4).

(857) a. áámàdù bé gà
A come.Pfv Pfv
‘Amadou came (=has come).’

b. ɲá = á tòwò [áámàdù bé gà]
1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [A come.Pfv Pfv]
‘I know that Amadou has come.’

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When ‘know’ is negated, the current speaker may or may not know that the complement event has taken place. In (858b), Seydou is unaware of the fact that we have come. There is no dubitative subordinator in this case, though a ‘that’ expression is optionally present. In (858c), with 1Sg as subject of ‘not know’, the truth of the complement is by definition unknown. Here the dubitative subordinator húmààn~rúmà ‘whether’ (subdialectal variants) is present.

(858) a. ñ nà bé gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg come Pfv
   ‘I came (=have come).’

b. sèédù tá= à tô [(báásè) ím bé gà]
   S PfvNeg 3Sg know [(that) 1Pl come Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Seydou doesn’t know that we have come.’

c. ñ tá= à tô
   1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg know Pfv
   [húmààn~rúmà] sèédù bé gà
   [whether S come Pfv here]
   ‘I don’t know whether Seydou has come.’

When the complement of ‘not know’ is a content question, it shows the same replacements as in quoted interrogatives, e.g. relative ‘the thing/place/time’ (§17.1.6). The complement is occasionally preceded by húmààn~rúmà ‘whether’ or by nì ~ né ‘if, whether’.

(859) a. ñ tá= à tùwò
   1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg know Pfv
   [(rúmà / ní) màn ná bí-yé]
   [(whether/if) Rel Pfv come Pfv]
   ‘I don’t know who is coming.’

b. ñ tá= à tùwò
   1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg know Pfv
   [sèédù yè [hú màn] díyá gà]
   [S Sbj/Obj thing Rel Pfv eat Pfv Pfv]
   ‘I don’t know what Seydou ate.’
c. ná tá = à tůwɔ
   1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
   à [sůwɔ mǎⁿ] só n ẹ̀
   3Sg [sheep Rel] buy.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I don’t know which sheep he/she bought.’

d. ná tá = à tůwɔ
   1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
   à gà bí-yè [tárááⁿ mǎⁿ]
   3Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [day Rel]
   ‘I don’t know on what day he/she will come.’

e. ná tá = à tůwɔ
   1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv
   [(rímàá) sèdù só gà [gíyèⁿ mǎⁿ-ýⁿ]]
   [(whether) S go.Pfv Pfv [place Rel-Loc]]
   ‘I don’t know where Seydou went.’

17.3.1.2 ‘Forget that/whether’ with indicative clausal complement

The complement S of positive ‘X forget that S’ is treated as veridical, with béyàsè (or variant) ‘that’. If the factuality of the complement is in doubt, this can be phrased using a disjunct complement (‘whether X or Y’) (860c).

(860) a. ní nà bé gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I have come.’

   b. sèdù númàsáⁿ ẹ̀ [béyàsè ní nà bé gà]
   S forget.Pfv Pfv [that 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Seydou forgot that/whether I have (=had) come.’

c. ní ná númàsáⁿ ẹ̀ [béyàsè sèdù bé gà]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg forget.Pfv Pfv [that S come.Pfv Pfv]
   [wàràmà = à tè bé]
   [or 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv]
   ‘I have forgotten whether Seydou has come or he has not come.’
‘Remember’ has the same syntax. ‘X remembered’ is phrased as ‘X’s mind/attention fell’.

(861) [sèdù hágérè] séⁿ ṣà [bíyásè ŋ nà bé gà]
[S mind] fall.Pfv Pfv [that 1Sg Pfv.1Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
‘Seydou remembered that I came.’

For ‘forget to VP’ with a sequential VP, see §15.2.11 above.

17.3.1.3 ‘Be sure (that …)’ (sáá/sáá) with indicative clausal complement

This verb occurs either as an aspect-marking verb sáá/sáá (homophonous with ‘lie down’) or, more often, as a participle sáá-ná following the copula ‘be’ as in (862). In either case it takes a fixed 3Sg dative PP complement á nà, where the 3Sg proclitic resumes a proposition. The latter may be expressed as a following indicative main clause, optionally beginning with ‘that’ (bíyásè). The main clause in (862a) can be negated, with no change in the form of the complement.

(862) a. zàkì gà sáá-ná \[à nà\]
   Z be be.sure-Ppl [3Sg Dat]
   [(bíyásè) dyè-nà-méé gà bí-yé] [(that) children lpfv come-lpfv]
   ‘Zaki is sure that the children are coming.’

   b. zàkì tá sáá-ná \[à nà\]
   Z not.be be.sure-Ppl [3Sg Dat]
   [(bíyásè) dyè-nà-méé gà bí-yé] [(that) children lpfv come-lpfv]
   ‘Zaki is not sure that/whether the children are coming.’

17.3.2 Perception verb with indicative clausal complement

When ‘see’ or ‘hear’ has a complement denoting a propositional fact, acquired by the subject through inference or hearsay rather than immediate observation, the proposition is spelled out in the form of a ‘that’ clause. The proposition is resumed in the main clause by a pro forma 3Sg object pronoun.
A textual example with ‘hear that’ is 2021-03 @ 12:26.

A similar biclausal construction is possible when the perceiver directly observes a process rather than recognizing a propositional fact. For example, (864) is literally “I saw the children [they are/were dancing/fallen].”

However, in this case the subject of the subordinated clause is coindexed with the object of the perception verb in the main clause. The redundant subject pronominal and imperfective gâ can be omitted. The result is a complement consisting just of an imperfective VP (§15.1.1.4). The reduced version is preferred.

17.3.3 kásà-mà ‘encounter’ with indicative clausal complement

‘X encounter, come across Y’ describing an unplanned encounter is kásà-mà/kásà-mà ‘coincide’ plus dative PP (865). For other uses of this verb see §12.2.2.
Instead of a referential NP like ‘Seydou’, the dative can be an abstract 3Sg pronominal (à tè), resuming in anticipation a situation that is spelled out as a second clause.

(866) a. ṅ nà kásà-má gà = [à tè]
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg coincide.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
    [kàyⁿ-yé gà sùwò díyà]
    [hyena-Pl Ipfv sheep eat.Ipfv]
    ‘I came across hyenas eating a sheep.’

b. ṅ nà kásà-má gà = [à tè]
    1Sg Pfv.1Sg coincide.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
    [kàyⁿ-yé sùwò kùⁿ nà]
    [hyena-Pl sheep catch.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘I came across hyenas who had caught a sheep.’

17.3.4 ‘Fear that …’ with kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá and indicative complement

The verb kùⁿwà/kùⁿwá ‘fear’ occurs in a range of constructions: a simple main clause with PP denoting the object of fear (§11.2.5.6), a main clause plus same-subject sequential VP complement (‘fear to VP’, §15.2.9), and a main clause plus prohibitive or subjunctive complement denoting a hypothetical future event (‘fear lest …’, §17.4.5).

It is also possible to add an indicative complement. Either dubitative mmàà ~ humàà ‘whether’ (867a) or factive bëyàsè (or variant) ‘that’ (867b) may occur clause-initially.

(867) a. ṅ ná kùⁿwá-ná [húmàà díyì-fá tà bë bë]
    1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [whether eat.VblN-thing IpfvNeg Fut come.Pfv]
    ‘I fear that the meal won’t come.’

b. ñ ná kùⁿwá-ná [bìyàsè = éèn tà bë kìyëⁿ wày]
    1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [that 1Pl IpfvNeg Fut arrive.Pfv today]
    ‘I fear that we won’t arrive (there) today.’

17.3.5 ‘Be possible’ (siní ń tíí-nì) with indicative clausal complement

‘Be possible’ (i.e. ‘maybe’) is expressed as ‘it can happen (that) […]’, where ‘happen’ is literally the reflexive ‘do itself’, i.e. ‘be done, happen’. The embedded clause has main-clause form and can be in any indicative TAMP category.
(868) a. à gá siní  [ní tíí-nè = [ééₙ  hà bí-yè]]
    3Sg lpfv **be.able** lpfv [3ReflSg **do**-lpfv [1Pl lpfv come-lpfv]]
    ‘We might come.’ = ‘It is possible that we are coming.’

b. à gá siní  [ní tíí-nè = [è té sò]]
    3Sg lpfv **be.able** lpfv [3ReflSg **do**-lpfv [3Pl PfvNeg go.Pfv]]
    ‘They may not have gone.’ = ‘It is possible that they haven’t gone.’

17.3.6 **tò ‘have it happen (that …)’** with indicative clausal complement

Basic impact transitive clauses like that with ‘kill’ (869a) cannot easily as a causal agent since there is no productive monoclausal construction that would allow the expression of a causal agent, a subordinated subject (killer), and a subordinated object (victim). A biclausal construction that comes to the rescue has, in the highest clause, the verb tò(-rò) ‘have it happen (that …)’ or more freely ‘bring it about (that …)’, cf. French *faire en sorte que* … . This first clause has an invariant 3Sg object that resumes in anticipation the content of the second clause. The latter can have indicative main-clause form when it denotes an actual event (869b).

If the first clause is negated, there are two options for a perfective positive second clause. In (869c), the speaker acknowledges or presupposes that Zaki did kill the sheep, just not because of hunger. In (869d), there is no acknowledgement that Zaki killed the sheep, which in fact may be contentedly grazing nearby.

(869) a. èzàkí sùw5-₃⁰ wàá gà
    Z sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv
    ‘Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’

b. [dùwòⁿ wò] yá = à tò gà
   [hunger Foc] Sbj/Obj 3Sg **cause** Pfv Pfv
   [èzàkí yé sùw5-₃⁰ wàá gà]
   [Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Hunger brought it about that Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’

c. dùwòⁿ tá = à tò
   hunger PfvNeg 3Sg **cause** Pfv
   [èzàkí yé sùw5-₃⁰ wàá gà]
   [Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘Hunger did not bring it about that Zaki killed the sheep-Sg.’ (< tè)
d. dúwón tá= à tó
hunger PfvNeg 3Sg cause.Pfv
[zàkì yé suwɔ̀-ɔ n wàà]
[Z Sbj/Obj sheep-DefSg kill.Pfv]
‘Hunger did not bring it about that Zaki killed the sheep.’

The complement of tó(-rɔ́) can also be expressed as a subjunctive clause. This is obligatory when the caused event is future or hypothetical, but it is also possible when the caused event has taken place. See §17.4.8.1 below for the subjunctive construction.

In practice, causatives with transitive clauses as inputs are more often phrased as quoted imperatives (jussives) when the external causal agent is human (§17.1.5.1).

(870) [ǹ kà wò] yé [ǹ ná kòŋgòrò-ɔ n wàà]
[1Sg father Foc] said [1Sg Sbjn dog-DefSg kill.Pfv]
‘My father [focus] told me to kill the dog.’
= ‘“My father [focus] had me kill the dog.’

17.4 Subjunctive and prohibitive clausal complements (nà)

17.4.1 Subjunctive nà and prohibitive mà in complement clauses

The positive subjunctive morpheme is nà. It occurs in the same post-subject position as other inflectional particles like imperfective positive gà and perfective negative tè. The 1Sg subject form is ǹ ná. The negative counterpart is expressed with prohibitive mà (1Sg m̀ mà), except where negation is expressed in a higher clause. Both subjunctive nà and prohibitive mà occur in (apparent) main clauses with hortative sense, as in wishes (§10.4.2-3).

An analytical issue specifically for J-S of Djenné is whether subjunctive nà is in some sense the same morpheme as other post-subject nà morphemes. They are listed in (871) along with their counterparts in Cliffs.

(871) Djenné Cliffs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>morpheme</th>
<th>nà</th>
<th>gālà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfective ‘if’</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective (after 1Sg)</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective negative</td>
<td>tà ~ tá</td>
<td>nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(871) for J-S of Djenné the IpfvNeg morpheme is irrelevant since it differs segmentally from the other morphemes. There also seems to be no good reason to directly equate the nà of 1Sg perfective positive nà nà, which occurs in both intransitive and transitive indicative clauses, with the
subjunctive. However, the nà that occurs after subjects in perfective positive conditional antecedents, glossed ‘if.Pfv’, has affinities on the one hand with subjunctive nà (both are irrealis modally), and on the other hand with 1Sg perfective nà (both are aspectually perfective). So we cannot rule out the possibility of a classic radial structure of the type X-Y-Z where both X and Z have affinities with Y but very little affinity with each other.

In the end, the affinities are suggestive but not completely compelling. In particular, subjunctive nà differs from both of the other morphemes insofar as its negative counterpart is prohibitive mà, versus PfvNeg tè for the other two.

17.4.2 Nonpast ‘until’ clause with fɔ́(-sààli) and subjunctive

Past-time ‘until’ clauses begin with fɔ́ or less often fɔ́-sààli ‘until’. Those clauses have perfective form and describe actual past events.

When the ‘until’ clause describes a future or habitual event, the clause takes subjunctive positive form.

(872) a. à kùmùn nà
   3Sg sleep.Pfv Pfv
   [fɔ́-sààli íìn nà kwéřé gà= [à pà]]
   [until 1Pl Sbjn hit.Antip.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Comit]
   ‘He/She slept until we nudged him/her.’

b. à gà bè kiyè [fɔ́ à nà sén]
   3Sg Ipfv Fut run.Pfv [until 3Sg Sbjn fall.Pfv]
   ‘He/She will run until he/she falls.’

Efforts to produce a negative ‘until’ clause with prohibitive morphology were unsuccessful, except when the main clause is already prohibitive.

(873) à má= à tó [è nà kéré]
   3Sg Proh 3Sg compel.Pfv [3Pl Sbjn fight.Pfv]
   [fɔ́-sààli è má só díyëmú [bùwɔ̀ pà]]
   [until 3Pl Proh go.Pfv speak.Ipfv [Recip Comit]]
   ‘Let it not make them fight to the point that they may not speak to each other.’
   (< diyëmù)
17.4.3 Positive purposive clause with yará and subjunctive

A main clause denoting an action may be accompanied by a subjunctive clause that begins with yará, which is here freely translated ‘so that’ or ‘in order that’ but which has a more general dubitative quality (‘whether’), as in the pre-interrogative cases described in §13.2.1.4 above. Further dialectal study may clarify whether yálà ‘hopefully’ at the beginning of wishes (§19.2.2) is related in some way.

The subjects of the two clauses in this purposive construction may be coindexed (874a) or disjoint (874b).

\[(874)\]  
\[\text{a.} \quad \text{í}^n \quad \text{né} \quad \text{dåbà} \quad \text{sà}^n \quad \text{ná} \]  
\[1\text{Pl} \quad \text{Sbj/Obj} \quad \text{daba} \quad \text{buy.Pfv} \quad \text{Pfv} \]  
\[\text{yá} \text{ré} = \text{é}^n \quad \text{nê} = \text{[één tîyé]} \quad \text{sùwá} = \text{[â ní]} \]  
\[\text{whether} \quad 1\text{Pl} \quad \text{Sbjn} \quad [1\text{Pl} \quad \text{field}] \quad \text{cultivate.Pfv} \quad [3\text{Sg} \quad \text{Inst}] \]  
\[\text{‘We bought a daba (=hoe) so we may cultivate our field with it.’}\]

\[\text{b.} \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{bé} \quad \text{gà} \quad [\text{làmpínà} \quad \text{ní}] \]  
\[1\text{Sg} \quad \text{Pfv.1Sg} \quad \text{come.Pfv} \quad \text{Pfv} \quad [\text{soap Inst}] \]  
\[\text{yá} \text{rà} \quad \text{á mâdù} \quad \text{ná} \quad \text{jùù-yê} \quad \text{níná} = \text{[â ní]} \]  
\[\text{whether} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{Sbjn} \quad \text{garment-Pl} \quad \text{wash.Pfv} \quad [3\text{Sg} \quad \text{Inst}] \]  
\[\text{‘I brought some soap for Amadou to wash the clothes with.’}\]

17.4.4 ‘Lest …’ clause with yará plus prohibitive

In this construction, the first clause (often an imperative or hortative) describes an action that can be taken to pre-empt a potentially undesirable future event. To make this explicit, instead of a simple ‘before’ construction with hàlì (§15.2.5), the clause denoting the undesirable event begins with yará ‘whether’, here rendered as ‘lest’ in free translations, and takes prohibitive morphology (875a-b). ‘Lest’ is effectively equivalent to ‘so that … not’.

\[(875)\]  
\[\text{a.} \quad \text{á}^n \quad \text{fígê}^n, \]  
\[2\text{Sg} \quad \text{hide.Pfv,} \]  
\[\text{yá} \text{rà} \quad \text{tàux}-yê \quad \text{mà} = \text{á}^n \quad \text{sì}^n \]  
\[\text{whether} \quad \text{bee-Pl} \quad \text{Proh} \quad 2\text{Sg} \quad \text{bite.Pfv} \]  
\[\text{‘Hide (=take shelter) lest the bees bite you.’ (‘hide’ is reflexive imperative)\}
17.4.5 ‘Fear’ with prohibitive or subjunctive ‘lest’ complement

In this construction, the subject painfully imagines a hypothetical future event. The complement has prohibitive mà (with understood ‘lest’) and a Pfv verb. The primary subordinated verb is often chained to ‘go’ in pejorative function, hence the improbable combination with ‘come’ (876a-b), cf. §15.1.10.2. sò in this function is ambiguous as to Pfv/Ipfv value.

(876) a. ḫŋá ṣò mò rè
1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv
[kóŋgoró-ōn mà bē sò [ŋ́ ṣìn]]
[dog-defSg Proh come.Pfv go [1Sg bite.Pfv]]
‘I am afraid lest the dog might come and (go and) bite me.’

b. ḫŋá ṣò mò rè
1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv
[sɛdú mà bē só [ŋ́ kwà]]
[S Proh come.Pfv go [1Sg hit.Pfv]]
‘I am (often) afraid lest Seydou might come (and go) hit me.’

c. ḫŋá ṣò mò rè
1Sg Ipfv fear(v).Ipfv
[tó-ōn mà bē píin]
[meat-DefSg Proh come rot.Pfv]
‘I am (often) afraid lest the meat might (come and) rot.’

When clause-initial yárà ‘whether’ is added, a prohibitive complement denotes an undesired potential event (877a-b). Interestingly, switching from prohibitive to subjunctive makes the complement of ‘fear’ denote the absence of a desired event, though there is no overt negation (877c).
(877) a. ñ ñá kù̄wá-nà [yárà diyê-né-ên mà bé sén]
1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [whether child-DefSg Proh come.Pfv fall.Pfv]
‘I fear lest the child (come and) fall.’ (= ‘I’m afraid the child might fall.’)

b. ñ ñá kù̄wá-nà [yárà yòó-bàá mà bé sàn]
1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [whether rain(n) Proh come.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]
‘I fear lest it (come and) rain.’ (said by someone organizing an outdoor event)

c. ñ ñá kù̄wá-nà [yárà yòó-bàá nà bé sàn]
1Sg be fear(v)-Ppl [whether rain(n) Sbjn come.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]
‘I fear lest it not (come and) rain.’ (said by a farmer)

For indicative complements (‘fear that …’), see §17.3.4.

17.4.6 ‘Want’ and ‘like’ with complements

17.4.6.1 dén ‘be pleasing’ plus dative and subjunctive

The deadjectival reflexive verb dén ‘be sweet, be pleasing’ is used with a dative PP in (878a). The subject can be elaborated as a verbal noun, either intransitive (878b) or transitive, in the latter case with a possessor or incorporated object noun (878c).

(878) a. à ń dén [ń té]
3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
‘I like it.’

b. kiyè ń dén [ń té]
run.VblN 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
‘I like running.’

c. [ā mèn] ń dén [ń té]
[3Sg drink.VblN] 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Sg Dat]
‘I like drinking it.’

Finally, a subjunctive clause can be added to the main clause, which has 3Sg à as subject, anticipatorily resuming the complement. The context can involve a one-time event or a recurrent one.
(879) a. à ñ dé⁵ⁿ [íñ tè]
   3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [1Pl Dat]
   íⁿ ná só [ám pà]
   1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv [2Sg Comit]
   ‘We (would) like to go with you-Sg.’

   b. à ñ dé⁵ⁿ [zàkí tè]
   3Sg 3ReflSg be.sweet [Z Dat]
   ñ nà = áá tìyé
   3ReflSg Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv
   ‘It would please Zaki (=Zaki would like) to ask you-Pl.’

17.4.6.2 màà/máà ‘seek/want’ plus subjunctive

màà/máà ‘seek’ can express desire tinged with intention and effort. It can be a simple transitive (880a). With some stretching, this can take a different-subject subjunctive clause (880b). Here the content of the subjunctive clause is resumed anticipatorily with 3Sg à as object of ‘seek’.

(880) a. à gà téé màà
   3Sg Ipfv tea seek.Ipfv
   ‘He/She wants/is looking for tea.’

   b. ý nga = à màà [zàkí nà bé bò”]
   1Sg Ipfv 3Sg seek.Ipfv [Z Sbjn come.Pfv here]
   ‘I seek for Zaki to come here.’

When the intended action is to be performed by the seeker, the complement is a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.8).

17.4.6.3 ‘Want’ as comitative PP plus subjunctive

One way to phrase ‘X want Y’ where Y is an NP is with verb ki⁴ⁿyè/ki⁴ⁿyè and a comitative PP (§11.2.5.4). If instead the complement of ‘want’ is a clause with a different subject, the verb ki⁴ⁿyè/ki⁴ⁿyè is omitted. This creates conditions where postposition pà might be reinterpreted as a stative transitive verb ‘want’. In any event, the complement is subjunctive.
We would like you to come with us.

Same-subject complements take the form of a sequential VP (§15.2.8.1).

17.4.6.4  fùwɔⁿ/фуwɔⁿ ‘like’ plus subjunctive

fùwɔⁿ/фуwɔⁿ is a transitive ‘(would) like’ verb (§11.2.5.2). It is often imperfective in form (882a). It can take a subjunctive clause as complement if the latter’s subject is different from that of the desirer (882b). There is an invariant 3Sg pronominal object in the main clause, resuming the content of the subjunctive clause.

(882) a. ḷá = à fùwɔⁿ
    1Sg Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv
    ‘I like it.’

    b. ḷá = à fùwɔⁿ [sèèdù nà bé]
    1Sg Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv [S Sbjn come.Pfv]
    ‘I would like Seydou to come.’

For same-subject complements, see §15.2.8.2.

17.4.7  Obligation (‘should’ and ‘must’)

17.4.7.1 ‘Should VP’ with impersonal káⁿ plus subjunctive clause

Weak obligation to perform an action can be expressed using the stative reflexive verb káⁿ. There are two constructions for the sense ‘X should VP’ or ‘it is appropriate for X to VP’. In the first, the subject of káⁿ is open-ended. The complement is expressed as a same-subject sequential VP (§15.2.14).

In the second construction, presented here, the main clause has fixed 3Sg à as impersonal subject. The complement must then be finite, as a different-subject subjunctive clause (883).

(883) a. à ḷá káⁿ [à nà bé]
    3Sg 3RefIsg should [3Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]
    ‘He/She should come.’
17.4.7.2 ‘Must VP’ with fá ~ fwá ~ fɔ́ plus subjunctive

fá or variants fwá or fɔ́, likely from French *il faut* via other local languages, can be followed by a subjunctive clause to express strong obligation.

\[(884)\] fá = án ná nú-méé báá á-yí wù
\[\text{must} 2\text{Sg Sbjn} \text{ Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Pfv} \text{ 3Sg-Loc Foc}\]
\[\text{You-Sg have to remove those (weeds) from it.} \] (2021-03 @ 11:25)

17.4.7.3 ‘Must VP’ with kàrá plus subjunctive

kàrá is interchangeable with fá (or variant) ‘must’ (preceding subjection). It is part of a scattered regional “cognate” set with forms like Koyraboro Senni (Songhay of Gao) *kala*.

\[(885)\] kàrá = án ná = à mènì wù
\[\text{must} 2\text{Sg Sbjn} \text{ 3Sg do.well.Pfv Foc}\]
\[\text{‘You-Sg must do it well.’} \] (2021-03 @ 11:39)

17.4.8 Compulsion, facilitation, and prevention

Facilitative ‘X let/allow [Y (to) VP]’ with X and Y being distinct referents can be expressed with diyè(w)\textsuperscript{n} ‘consent’, báy ‘leave (alone)’, or tɔ́ ‘bring it about (that …)’ as the main-clause verb, plus a subjunctive clause, as described below. However, in practice it common to phrase compulsion in jussive form (§17.1.5.1), i.e. with ‘say’ and a quoted imperative (886). This is of course only possible if the causal agent is sentient.

\[(886)\] à yé [ǹ ná sùwɔ́]
\[3\text{Sg said} [1\text{Sg Sbjn cultivate.Pfv}]\]
\[\text{‘He/She told me to do farm work.’} \] = ‘He/She made me do farm work.’
17.4.8.1 ‘Have X VP’ with tó(-rò) plus subjunctive

The verb tó(-rò) occurs in biclausal causative constructions with meanings ranging from coercive ‘compel X to VP’ to facilitative ‘let X VP’. The translation with ‘have X VP’ tries to account for this range. Interliners use ‘have happen’ as the gloss.

*tó(-rò)* takes an invariant 3Sg pronominal object resuming in anticipation the content of the complement. The construction is therefore literally “have it (happen) [that X may VP].”

*tó(-rò)* can be coercive, but in some examples it appears to skew into facilitation (cf. German *lassen*).

When the caused event has actually taken place, it is also possible to phrase the complement as an indicative clause (§17.3.6 above).

Polarity is normally expressed only at the main-clause level if the intended sense is ‘not let [X VP]’. A negative main clause still requires a subjunctive rather than prohibitive complement. In other words, the complement cannot be independently negated.

(887) a. -zA  à tó  gà  [é  nà  dýèmù]
  Z Sbj/Obj  3Sg  have.happen.Pfv  Pfv  [3Pl  Sbjn  speak.Pfv]
  ‘Zaki had (=made or let) them speak.’

b.  à  tó  [yiyèm-béé  nè  é  fɔ]
  3Sg  have.happen.Pfv  [woman-Pl  Sbjn  3RefPl  sit.Pfv]
  ‘Have-2Sg the women sit down!’

However, the negation of main-clause dýè(w)n ‘consent’ (see just below) is more idiomatic here.

17.4.8.2 ‘Consent/allow that X VP’ with dýè(w)n plus subjunctive

The intransitive verb dýè(w)n/diyè(w)n or variant diyà(w)n/diyá(w)n ‘consent, accept (a proposal)’ takes a subjunctive complement when the two subjects are disjoint. It is common in both positive (‘consent/agree’) and negative (‘not consent’ = ‘refuse/deny’) constructions. In many contexts, ‘consent’ is tantamount to ‘allow’.
(889) a. [ŋ̀ ká] diyáⁿ ɲà [ná só nògí-ɨ]  
[1Sg father] consent.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Sbjn go.Pfv village-Loc]  
‘My father consented that I go to the village.’

b. è té diyáⁿ [sèdú ná diyèmù]  
3Pl PfvNeg consent.Pfv [S Sbjn speak.Pfv]  
‘They didn’t let Seydou speak.’

The complement takes prohibitive form when it is separately negated (890).

(890) yùrùgù à diyèⁿ ɲà [má sùwɔ]  
this.year 3Sg consent.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Proh cultivate.Pfv]  
‘This year he allowed me to not do farm work.’

17.4.8.3 ‘Let X VP’ (bày/bàý)

As a simple transitive, bày/bàý means ‘leave, abandon, leave alone’. With a subjunctive clause it expresses facilitation: ‘let/allow X to VP’. The facilitation is passive in nature (non-obstruction). Positive examples (‘let go’) are easily elicited.

(891) a. è bày [íí nà dò]  
3Pl let.Pfv [3Pl Sbjn enter.Pfv]  
‘Let them come in!’

b. ñá bé yùwɔ-ɔ̀m bày [à ná sò]  
1Sg Lpfv Fut fish-DefSg let.Pfv [3Sg Sbjn go.Pfv]  
‘I will let the fish-Sg go (from a net or trap).’

Negative counterparts (‘not let X go’) are hard to elicit since they are more naturally phrased with diyè(w)ⁿ ‘consent’. Likewise, positive main clauses with prohibitive complements (‘let X not go’) are phrased with diyè(w)ⁿ ‘consent’.

17.4.8.4 ‘Prevent’ (bàrì/bàrí) with comitative or subjunctive

The verb bàrì/bàrí can function as a simple transitive (‘obstruct, block, stymie’) when the larger context is understood (892).
If the stymied action is spelled out explicitly, the action can be expressed as a subjunctive complement, typically with its subject coindexed to the main-clause object (893a). It can also be reduced to a comitative PP with a verbal noun (893b).

(893) a. sèèdu yè = èm bàrí gà [ííⁿ nè = éeⁿ f5]
S Sbj/Obj 1Pl prevent.Pfv Pfv [1Pl Sbjn 1Pl sit.Pfv]
  ‘Seydou prevented us from sitting down.’

b. sèèdu yé m bári gà [f5 pà]
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv Pfv [sit.VblN Comit]
  ‘Seydou prevented me from sitting down.’

c. sèèdu yé m bári gà [ní ná súwó sà(w)"
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv Pfv [1Sg Sbjn goat buy.Pfv]
  ‘Seydou prevented me from buying a goat.’

d. sèèdu yé m bári gà [súwó-séne pà]
S Sbj/Obj 1Sg prevent.Pfv Pfv [goat-buy.VblN Comit]
  ‘Seydou prevented me from buying a goat.’
18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

When the subject (occasionally the object) and a subsequent argument or possessor are co-indexed, the second element is expressed either with a pronominal form of píyé (§18.1.2) or by a simple pronominal (including third-person reflexives).

18.1.1 Reflexive object expressed by pronominal proclitic

The option to express a coindexed object with a simple pronominal proclitic is typical of contexts where subject and object are conceptually conflated. The forms that express the object in this construction are those in (894). For first and second persons, the form of the object pronominal is identical to that for a nonreflexive object (894a-b), as in ‘You hit me’. For third persons, the specifically reflexive pronominals (894c) are required.

(894) a. 1Sg ŋ̀ (+tones)
   
   b. 1Pl ífⁿ
      2Sg án
      2Pl áá
   
   c. 3ReflSg ŋ́
      3ReflPl é

An example of conceptual conflation of agent and patient is when sè(-rè) ‘tie (oneself)’ has the contextual sense ‘get dressed up’ (putting on fine clothes).

(895) a. ñ ná ŋ sé gà
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg 1Sg tie.Pfv Pfv
   ‘I got dressed up.’

b. yùwó-òⁿ yè ŋ sè gà
   woman-DefSg Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg tie.Pfv Pfv
   ‘The woman got dressed up.’
18.1.2 Marked reflexive object with píyé

Reflexive object in contexts where agent and patient are conceptually distinct is typically expressed by pronominal proclitic plus píyé, which elsewhere means ‘also, too’ (§19.1.3). The 1Sg form is m píyè. For third person subject, reflexive pronominal proclitics are required. The full set of reflexive objects is (896). In this function, píyé is here glossed “Refl” in interlinears.

(896) a. 1Sg  m píyè
  b. 1Pl  ím píyè
       2Sg  ám píyè
       2Pl  áá píyè
  c. 3ReflSg  m píyè
       3ReflPl  é píyè

The clause is not intransitivized. In the perfective positive, it includes the bidirectional case-marker yè under the usual conditions (897b). Other post-subject inflectional morphemes also separate subject from object (897a,c). In such marked reflexives, the usual sense of sè(rè) is ‘tie oneself (up)’ with agent and patient conceptually distinguished, rather than ‘get dressed up’.

(897) a. ń ná  [m píyè] sè  gá
       1Sg Pfv.1Sg  [1Sg Refl] tie.Pfv Pfv
       ‘I tied myself.’

  b. yùwó-òn  yè  [m píyè] sè  gá
      woman-DefSg  Sbj/Obj  [3ReflSg Refl] tie.Pfv Pfv
      ‘The woman tied herself.’

  c. yiyèm-béé  gà  bé=  [=éé píyè] sè
      woman-Pl  Ipfv  Fut  [3ReflPl Refl] tie.Pfv
      ‘The women will tie themselves.’

Reflexive píyé (as opposed to píyé ‘too, also’) is not common in texts. It does occur in 2021-03 @ 05:13.
18.1.3 Reflexive imperatives

In a reflexive imperative, when the addressee is singular, the VP is preceded by a single occurrence of 2Sg áⁿ, with or without píyé. This evidently represents the (reflexive) object rather than the subject, which is absent in other singular-addressee imperatives.

(898) a. áⁿ sè
   2Sg tie.Pfv
   ‘Get-2Sg dressed up!’

   b. [ám píyé] sè
      [2Sg Refl] tie.Pfv
      ‘Tie yourself (up)!’

When the addressee is plural, the clause begins with the regular plural-subject imperative morpheme yè, followed by the 2Pl pronominal áá in reflexive object function (with or without píyé) and the verb.

(899) a. yà = áá sè
      Pl.Imprt 2Pl tie.Pfv
      ‘Get-2Pl dressed up!’

   b. yà = [áá píyé] sè
      ‘Tie yourselves (up)!’

The fact that the object in these imperatives can be expressed with píyé shows that covert second person imperative subjects have at the ability to bind reflexive anaphors.

18.1.4 Reflexive possessor

For first and second person pronominals, there is no difference in form between reflexive and nonreflexive possession, e.g. between ‘I sold my goat’ and ‘They sold my goat’. For third person NPs and pronouns, there is such a distinction. For example, in ‘they, their (own) goat’, the object takes the form é súwó-yàwⁿ with 3ReflPl é, whereas in ‘I sold their goat’ it takes the form è súwó-yàwⁿ with 3Pl è. Likewise, ‘his/her goat’ is reflexive ñ́ súwó-yàwⁿ with 3ReflSg ñ́, or nonreflexive à súwó-yàwⁿ with 3Sg à.
Within simple clauses, reflexive possessors are possible for all nonsubject NPs, with the subject NP as antecedent. Examples are 3ReflSg ŋ́ in 2021-03 @ 01:21 (‘it too catches its share of fish’), and 3ReflPl é in 2021-03 @ 01:21 (‘they take their cows’).

See also §7.1.5 for reflexive possessors in right conjuncts, as in ‘Seydou and his father’, where the left conjunct functions as antecedent.

18.1.5 Reflexive PP complements

If the complement of a postverbal PP is coindexed with the clausemate subject, it is regularly expressed as a simple pronominal (900a). For third persons it takes reflexive form (900b).

(900) a. ń nà sírè-ěⁿ yàá gà [m mô’n]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [1Sg under]
   ‘I put the stone under me (myself).’

   b. zàkí yè sírè-ěⁿ yàá gà [m mûⁿ]
   Z Sbj/Obj stone-DefSg put.Pfv Pfv [3ReflSg under]
   ‘Zaki put the stone under him(-self).’

The option of making reflexivity more explicit by adding pîyé was rejected by native speakers, who pointed out that the normal interpretation of pîyé in this context would be ‘under X too’.

However, PPs in benefactive function are more favorable to the pîyé reflexive (901).

(901) a. ñ ná ñàmáà tàà-níⁿ ñà [[m pîyé] tè]
   1Sg Pfv.1Sg house build.Pfv Pfv [[1Sg Refl] Dat]
   ‘I built the house for myself.’

   b. (i) yè ñàmáà tàà-níⁿ ñà [[éé pîyé] tè]
   3Pl Sbj/Obj build-Pfv build.Pfv Pfv [[3ReflPl Refl] Dat]
   ‘They built the house for themselves.’

Under limited conditions the antecedent can be an object NP instead of the subject NP. This is the case with the construction ‘X put Y [in Y’s place]’, see (397c-d) in §8.2.4.4.

18.1.6 Reflexive subject in subordinated clause

A third person reflexive pronoun can occur in subject position in an embedded subordinated clause.
This is moot in those constructions that make use of sequential bé, which does not allow a coindexed subject pronominal (902a-b).

(902) a. sèédù tá = à fûwɔⁿ
   S LpfvNeg 3Sg like Lpfv
   [bé [ŋ wálè-n] dó [n ná]]
   [Seq [3Refl money-Def] give Pfv [1Sg Dat]]
   ‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me his money.’

b. sèédù ŋ sîntĩⁿ ñà
   S 3ReflSg begin Pfv Pfv
   [bé ŋ kwà]
   [Seq 1Sg hit Pfv]
   ‘Seydou began to hit me.’

However, in constructions that require complements consisting of finite clauses with overt subjects, a coindexed third person subject is expressed by a reflexive pronominal proclitic. This is illustrated for singular and plural subjects in (903a-b). These examples are carefully constructed to avoid the possibility of parsing ŋ and é as logophoric.

(903) a. sèédù tá = à tûwɔ
data LpfvNeg 3Sg know Pfv
data [ŋ ñà [sú màn] tî-nì]
   [3ReflSg Lpfv [thing Rel] do Pfv]
   ‘Seydou, doesn’t know what he is doing.’

b. këélú-yè tá = à tûwɔ
   man Pl LpfvNeg 3Sg know Pfv
data [é ñà [sú màn] tî-nì]
   [3ReflPl Lpfv [thing Rel] do Pfv]
   ‘The men, don’t know what they are doing.

18.2 Emphatic pronouns

There are no special emphatic pronominal forms comparable to the emphatic (nonreflexive) sense of X-self/selves in English.

Exclusivity is marked for pronouns in the same way as for nonpronominal NPs. See especially §19.3.2.1-2 for ‘one; alone’ and ‘only’ in the context ‘unassisted, without anyone/anything else’.
Likewise, specificity in the context ‘personally, in person, instead of someone/something else’ is expressed by jááti ‘exactly’. See §8.4.2 for examples.

18.3 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.3.1 Logophorics identical to third-person reflexives

The forms used for third-person reflexives, 3ReflSg ě and 3ReflPl é, can also function as third-person logophorics. A logophoric is an anaphoric pronominal inside a quotation. It is coindexed to the ascribed author of the quoted material, which may be an articulated thought as well as a spoken utterance.

18.3.2 Logophoric versus first-person pronouns

As with reflexives, we must consider the relationship between 3Sg logophoric ě and 1Sg ě and allomorphs (including ě), as opposed to nonlogophoric 3Sg ā, and that between 3Pl logophoric é (variant éé in contractions) and 1Pl íí (variant éé in contractions), as opposed to nonlogophoric 3Pl è. Since LogoSg and LogoPl are the quoted versions of original 1Sg and 1Pl, respectively, an association of some kind is semantically reasonable.

However, 1Sg ě is always distinguishable tonally from Logo/3ReflSg ě. This is because 1Sg induces tonal changes on the following word, including inverting the latter’s first tone. 1Sg ě becomes ě (by Final Tone-Raising) only before words whose initial H-tone has been inverted to L. The same words retain their initial H-tone after Logo/3ReflSg ě. Likewise, even in contracting environments (i.e. following a word or particle ending in a vowel, without a pause), 1Pl íí (becoming éé) remains distinct from Logo/3ReflPl é (becoming éé), by its nasality. However, in some contracting and tonal environments it may be difficult to distinguish 3Pl è from Logo/3ReflPl é, except by subphonemic phonetic nuances that our transcription may not be able to catch.

18.3.3 Syntax of logophorics

Unlike reflexives, which are coindexed to a specific antecedent (normally the clausemate subject), logophorics can occur in a range of syntactic positions limited only by coindexation to the ascribed author. In other words, logophorics can represent 1Sg and 1Pl pronouns anywhere in the original discourse, at any level of embedding. In (904a-e) LogoSg is subject, object, dative complement, nonsubject possessor, and subject possessor, respectively.
All of these examples have exact parallels with 3Pl author and LogoPl pronominals.

Ambiguity can arise when a nonsubject logophoric occurs in a position where a third-person reflexive reading is also possible. When the grammatical function in question is object or postpositional complement, the problem is usually not serious. The theoretically possible ambiguity in (905a) can be averted by using piyé in the reflexive reading (905b), making the logophoric reading of (905a) most plausible.

(905) a. à yé [[ú kà] yè ú kwá gà]
   3Sg said [[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj Logo/3RefSg hit.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘He/She, said his/her father hit him/her.’

   or: ‘He/She, said his/her father, hit himself.’

   b. à yé [[ú kà] yè [m piyé] kwá gà]
   3Sg said [[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj 3RefSg Refl hit.Pfv Pfv]
   ‘He/She, said his/her father, hit himself.’

However, with nonsubject possessor in the quoted matter, ambiguity is harder to avoid, since piyé is not regularly used for reflexive possessor.
18.3.3.1 No logophorics for second or first person author

Pronominals in quoted material that are coindexed to an author who is the current addressee take regular second-person (not logophoric) form (906a-b). The unusual combination of 2Sg author and 2Pl quoted subject has a similar contracted version (906c). These examples have yè ‘said’ (nasalizing to nè after 2Sg á̀n).

(906) a. án nà = [ám bé gà] 2Sg said [2Sg come.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘You-Sg said that you-Sg came.’

    b. áá yà = [áá bé gà] 2Pl said [2Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘You-Pl said that you-Pl came.’

    c. án nà = [áá bé gà] 2Sg said [2Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘You-Sg said that you-Pl came.’

Likewise, first person author requires first-person coindexed pronominals. In (907), the inverted tone of the verb (kwá gà → kwà gá) is the clue that 1Sg ġ rather than LogoSg ġ is at hand.

(907) ġ né [sèdú yè ġ kwá gá] 1Sg said [S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv Pfv]
    ‘I said that Seydou hit me.’

18.3.4 Logophorics in stacked quotations

Two clauses down, two logophorics can be coindexed respectively with two quoted authors at different levels. In (908) the lower quoted clause has two logophorics, which can be read as coindexed with Seydou or with Amadou indiscriminately.

(908) sèdú yè, [áámàdú yè S said, [A said
    [[ğ nà ġ wàá]]
    [[LogoSg Ipfv LogoSg kill.Ipfv]]
    ‘Seydou, said that Amadou, said that he will kill him.’
    or: ‘Seydou, said that Amadou, said that he, will kill him.’
The second ŋ́ in (908) could also be taken as 3ReflSg, generating two additional readings.

18.4 Reciprocal

In reciprocals, subject and object NPs denote sets. They are at least sloppily coindexed, i.e. at least some nonreflexive subject-object pairings within the set are asserted to have occurred.

The noun bùwɔ means ‘agemate, companion’, and more generally ‘alter ego, double, substitute’. It has nonhuman reference in 2021-03 @ 20:10 where it denotes a replacement for an old boat. In reciprocal constructions (‘each other’), bùwɔ occurs without a possessor in nonsubject grammatical functions. It is coindexed to the clausemate subject. It is not pluralizable.

18.4.1 Reciprocal object bùwɔ

In (909), the sloppily coindexed NP is the object of a transitive verb.

(909) a. ím bùwɔ kàỹ gà
1Pl Recip see.Pfv Pfv
‘We saw each other.’

b. dyé-nà-méé bùwɔ kwá gà
child-Pl Recip hit.Pfv Pfv
‘The children hit each other.’

c. è gá bùwɔ kwá-rà
3Pl Ipfv Recip hit-Ipfv
‘They (often) hit each other.’

d. áá má bùwɔ múⁿ
2Pl Proh Recip insult.Pfv
‘Don’t-2Pl insult each other!’

18.4.2 Reciprocal bùwɔ in other functions

The sloppily coindexed NP may also be the complement of a postposition (910a) or the possessor of a nonsubject NP (910b). (910a) with comitative postposition implies that each individual works with (or for) the other, in rotation. (910b) is usual for a shared workplace.
(910) a. ē gà káỳⁿ [bùwó pà]  
486 3Pl Ipfv work.lpfv [Recip Comit]  
‘They work with each other (one with the other, in turn).’ (< káỳⁿ)

b. [è sáá] yé [bùwó nàmáà] dúⁿ hà  
486 3Pl all Sbj/Obj [Recip house] burn.Pfv Pfv  
‘They burned each other’s houses (down).’

18.4.3 bùwó-ỳ ‘together’

What is literally the suffixal locative is lexicalized as a general adverb ‘in/with/from each other’, often freely translatable ‘together’, denoting cooperative activity and/or spatial contiguity.

(911) ē gà káỳⁿ bùwó-ỳ  
3Pl Ipfv work.lpfv Recip-Loc  
‘They work together.’

Textual examples are 2021-01 @ 08:47 and 2021-03 @ 10:46, 11:01, and 15.43.

Doing something together can also be expressed by a construction with intransitive verb kàpù/kàpú ‘get together’ and a sequential VP. For an example, see 2021-01 @ 07:09.
19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (wùnù ~ ŋùnù)

The topicalization marker (‘as for X’) is ŋùnù or wùnù (subdialectal variants). A following stop is occasionally prenasalized, suggesting variants ŋùnùⁿ and wùnùⁿ. Examples with nonpronominal NP are in (912).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(912)</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>topicalized dialect 1</th>
<th>topicalized dialect 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sèsèdù</td>
<td>‘Seydou’</td>
<td>sèsèdú wùnù</td>
<td>sèsèdú ŋùnù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yùwōⁿ</td>
<td>‘a woman’</td>
<td>yùwóⁿ wùnù</td>
<td>yùwóⁿ ŋùnù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yùwóⁿ-yawⁿ</td>
<td>‘the woman’</td>
<td>yùwóⁿ-ōj wùnù</td>
<td>yùwó-ōj ŋùnù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù-nù yùwóⁿ-yawⁿ</td>
<td>‘that woman’</td>
<td>kù-nù yùwó-ōj wùnù</td>
<td>kù-nù yùwó-ōj ŋùnù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùwó-yè ~ sùwó-yé</td>
<td>‘the sheep-Pl’</td>
<td>sùwó-yé wùnù</td>
<td>sùwó-yé ŋùnù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A pronoun may be in proclitic or independent form (913). The 1Sg proclitic variant has its usual tonal effect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(913)</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>proclitic</th>
<th>independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1Sg</td>
<td>ī wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td>ī-duwó wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 3Sg</td>
<td>ā wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td>ā-duwó wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>íⁿ wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td>íⁿ-duwó wùnù (~ ŋúnù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final syllable of wùnù ~ ŋúnù is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L-tone.

Whereas the English gloss ‘as for X’ suggests preclausal position, followed by a clause with resumptive pronoun, topicalized NP can easily occur within a clause, for example as object (914a) or, more commonly, as subject (914b-c). It can even be complement of a postposition, as in 2021-01 @ 08:20, or a possessor as in 2021-01 @ 08:10. Interlinears have “Top.”
(914) a. ín tá [yòrògò ǹùnùn] díyá
   1Pl IpfvNeg [cat Top] eat.Pfv
   ‘As for cat (meat), we don’t eat it.’

   b. [fínàm-béé sáá] ǹá nàá kó-nò,
      [Fulbe-Pl all] Ipfv cow tend-Ipfv,
      ñkàá [ǹ-dúwò wùnùn] tá nàá-kárán fùwɔn
      but 1Sg-Indep Top IpfvNeg cow-herding like.Ipfv
      ‘All the Fulbe tend cattle, but as for me, I don’t like it.’

   c. [sèèdú wùnù] tè bé
      [S Top] PfvNeg come.Pfv
      ‘As for Seydou, he didn’t come.’

This topic morpheme is extremely common in the texts and is often left best disregarded in free English translations.

19.1.2 Interrogative topic (làà)

The other common topic marker is làà, rarely ràà. It is heard as làá (rather than làá) when raised by Final Tone-Raising, and at a pause làà may become high-pitched due to incompleteness intonation. After a nasal or nasalized vowel the l often (but not always) hardens to d.

làà is likely part of wùlàà ‘who?’ diachronically.

làà prototypically topicalizes an NP that the speaker plans to ask a question about. English what about X? catches the flavor in part, but the English phrase occurs only in follow-up questions, whereas làà can occur with initial as well as follow-up questions.

There are three occurrences of làà in textual passage (915), which is about catching different catfish species. The interlinear label is “QTop.”
Ah, okay, Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl QTop, áⁿ né siyènè-êⁿ, [siyènè-êⁿ láá] gà kûmè,
2Sg said Clarias-DefSg, [Clarias-DefSg QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv,
[múwó kûmè-báánà sîf]-û,
[which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
ou bien sámû-yè, [nú-méé láá] gà kûmè
or Bagrus-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv
[múwó kûmè-báánà sîf]-û,
[which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
‘Ah, okay. What about those fish (species)? You said (=mentioned) Clarias (catfish). What
about Clarias, in what way are they caught? Or Bagrus (catfish), what about those? In what
way are they caught?’ (2021-03 @ 00:40-00:46)

Further textual examples with interrogative or similar dubitative contexts are 2021-01 @ 08:26,
08:47, 14:37, and 2021-03 @ 00:54, 05:08, 09:44, 10:24, 11:54, 12:06, 13:04, 13:52, 15:24, 16:18,
and 18:14.

Not all textual occurrences fit cleanly into this discourse context. In some cases, làà is
clearly topical but the context is not specifically interrogative, though usually new information is
about to be presented. Examples are at 2021-01 @ 05:13, and 2021-03 @ 02:50, 05:21, 09:05,
12:56-58, 14:14, 14:22, 15:03, 16:00, 16:42, and 20:00.

Some combinations involving pronouns (especially 2Sg) and demonstratives suggest an
incipient fusion, forming independent pronouns and demonstratives. Pronominal examples include
2Sg án dàà ~ án nàà (2021-03 @ 07:38 and 14:37), 2Pl áá làà (2021-03 @ 09:40), and 3Sg à làà
(2021-03 @ 08:24 and 14:25). Discourse-definite demonstrative nón làà ~ nón dàà is rather
common, and it can itself be followed by other discourse particles, such as the regular topic
morpheme nûnù (2021-03 @ 04:52 and 05:27) and pîyé ‘too’ (2021-03 @ 09:01).

19.1.3 ‘Also, too’ (pîyé)

pîyé can follow any NP including pronouns, in any syntactic function. The 1Sg form is m pîyè,
and deictic ‘this/that too’ is kû pîyè, showing the usual tonal effects of these morphemes. nóm pîyé
is discourse-definite ‘that too’.

(916) a. [kôngôró-m pîyé] bé gà
[dog-DefSg too] come.Pfv Pfv
‘The dog came too.’
b. ̀aye [m piye] kwà gà
   3Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg too hit.Pfv Pfv
   ‘He/She hit me too.’

c. [à piye] gà ǹ kwàrà
   3Sg too Ipfv 1Sg hit.Ipfv
   ‘He/She too hits me.’

d. à wálèn dì gà [[íim piye] nà]
   3Sg money give.Pfv Pfv [[1Pl too] Dat]
   ‘He/She gave money to us too.’

e. [[sèdù piye] mòmbíri-ǹ] máyè
   1Sg too vehicle-DefSg be.ruined.Pfv Pfv
   ‘Seydou’s vehicle too broke down.’

piye can be added to a constituent within a clause that begins with hàlì ‘even’. In this construction, piye can flag the focal constituent. See the following subsection for examples.

piye favors constituent rather than clausal scope. Negation can therefore scope over it. In context (917) means ‘it’s not the case that they too run (in addition to the other runners)’, rather than ‘they too do not run’. See also 2021-03 @ 03:26.

(917) [è piye] tá kiyé
   3Pl too IpfvNeg run.Ipfv
   ‘They do not also run.’

On the other hand, in (918) the subject with piye behaves like a topicalized NP and is outside the scope of negation. It refers to a catfish sp., and follows clauses discussing other now-vanished fish spp.

(918) [nòm piye] tá kilá
   Dem.Def too IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv now
   ‘That one too is not available (=is locally extinct) now.’

In the discourse-pragmatic sense ‘moreover, furthermore’ clause-final piye is attested with clausal scope. In (919) it therefore scopes over negation.
Elsewhere, píyé can combine with pronominal proclitics to form nonsubject reflexive pronouns (§18.1.2).

píyé is one of the high-frequency particles that is often unstressed and pronounced with low pitch especially at or near the end of a prosodic group. The H-tones are directly audible in some contexts, but as with many similar H-toned grammatical elements the H-tones are often manifested only indirectly, in the failure of preceding words or particles to undergo Final Tone-Raising or (for /LHL/-melodic stems) Rightward H-Shift. Thus sèèdù píyé even when píyé itself is pronounced with low pitch, not #sèèdú piyè.

19.1.4 ‘Even’ (hàllì)

‘Even’ can be expressed with hàllì, the local variant of a regionally widespread form. It is limited to clause-initial position, indicating that it is not usually syntactically bracketed with any specific constituent. However, usually one constituent is pragmatically focused. The focus is on the verb (or VP) in (920a), on the subject (‘child’) in (920b), and on the location (‘Bamako’) in (920c).

(920) a. hàllì = à tè bóy
   even 3Sg PfvNeg greet.Pfv
   ‘He/She didn’t even say hello.’

   b. hàllì diyé-ná ná síní
   even child Ipfv be.able.Ipfv
   [[kú-nù kày“-ý”] tìí-nì]
   [[Dem-Link work(n)-DefSg] do-Ipfv’]
   ‘Even a child is capable of (doing) this work.’ (< káy“)

   c. hàllì ì“ ná = à kilám bámkò
   even 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg get.Ipfv B
   ‘We (can) even get it in Bamako.’

A referential NP can be overtly singled out as a kind of focus by adding píyé ‘too’ (§19.1.3, cf. §18.1.2). The 1Sg form is m píyè (921c).
(921) a. hàlí [zákí píyé] sò gá e\n  even [Z  too] go.Pfv Pf\v
  ‘Even Zaki (too) went.’

b. hàlí [ám píyé] gá siní [káyⁿ-ŷⁿ  tíí-ní]
  even [2Sg  too] lpfv be.able.lpfv [work(n)-DefSg  do-lpfv]
  ‘Even you-Sg (too) can do the work.’

c. hàlá = à yà = à dó gá [[mí  píyé] nà]
  even 3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg give.Pfv Pf\v [[1Sg  too] Dat]
  ‘He/She even gave money to me (too).’

Textual examples of the combination [hàlí X píyé] are 2021-03 @ 03:06 and 12:34.
  hàlí can form a constituent with high-frequency spatiotemporal and manner adverbs. This
  constituent appears as a preclausal topic phrase, optionally set off prosodically (922).

(922) a. [hàlí  Ḗànù], iǐⁿ  ṇá sò
  [even  tomorrow], 1Pl  lpfv  go.Pfv
  ‘Even tomorrow (i.e. at any time) we (can) go.’

b. [hàlí  bōⁿ] iǐⁿ  ṇá = à kiláwⁿ
  [even  here] 1Pl  lpfv  3Sg  get.lpfv
  ‘Even here we (can) get it.’

c. [hàlí  kíyáⁿ] iǐⁿ  ṇá  siná= à tíí-ní
  [even  like.that] 1Pl  lpfv  be.able.lpfv  3Sg  do-lpfv
  ‘Even like that we can do it.’

For hàlí in ‘even if’ conditional antecedents, see §16.2.1. For hàlí in temporal ‘since’ clauses, see
  §17.2.3.1.

19.2  Preclausal discourse markers

19.2.1  ‘But …’ (ńkàà ~ ńkààrà)

  ‘But …’ is expressed by clause-initial ńkàà or (dialectally) ńkààrà (923a-b).

(923) a. sèédù  bè  gá  [[ńkàà = à  tè  dìyé]
  S  come.Pfv Pf\v  [but  3Sg  Pf\vNeg  eat.Antip.Pfv]
  ‘Seydou came, but he didn’t eat.’
b. ñà dîyé gà [ŋùkàrà sèdù tè dîyé]
1Sg Pfv.1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv Pfv [but S PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]
‘I ate, but Seydou didn’t eat.’

19.2.2 ‘Hopefully …’ (yálà)

This preclausal particle can be added to wishes; see §10.4.3.1 for an example and a possible etymology. Its etymological or synchronic relationship to yàrà ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4, §17.4.3) is unclear.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘Again’ and ‘no longer’

19.3.1.1 Adverb túⁿ ‘again’

The adverb túⁿ means ‘again (another time)’. Its position is clause-final, following all other postverbal constituents (spatial adverbs, PPs, and so forth). It is often heard with low pitch, but it fails to trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding syllable.

(924) a. kôngòró-ôŋ kùmù ñà túⁿ
dog sleep.Pfv Pfv again
‘The dog went back to sleep.’

b. à té kùmù túⁿ
3Sg PfvNeg sleep.Pfv again
‘He/She didn’t sleep again (=go back to sleep).’

c. wùláà kùmù ñà bôn túⁿ
who? sleep.Pfv Pfv here again
‘Who slept here again?’

The sense ‘again’ denoting more or less exact repetition, in the context of a repetitive agricultural cycle, is observed in 2021-03 @ 10:44, 10:49, 11:25, and 11:35.

The additive sense ‘as well’ is observed in 2021-03 @ 02:30 and 08:49. In this case, new referents are added to the same event type, rather than events (with the same participants) being repeated.
Another way to express ‘VP again’ is in a sequential VP construction. Here the main clause has the reflexive verb débè(-rè) ‘return’ and the open-ended VP is phrased as a sequential VP (§15.2.6.3).

19.3.1.2 ‘No longer’ (negation plus tú"

Negation plus tú‘again’ produces ‘no longer’ or ‘not again, not any more’.

(925) a. ə tà bóñ tú\n
3Sg not.be.Loc here again

‘He/She is no longer here.’

b. ə tè ŋ débè bí-yé nògú-ý tú\n
3Sg PfvNeg 3RefIpfv return.Pfv come-Ipfv village-Loc again

‘He/She hasn’t come back to the village again.’

c. è tá kàý píyé tú\n
3Pl IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv too again,

[pó-ǹ yúwš-yé] gà yáw\n
[Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl] be.Loc there.Def

‘They (fish spp.) are no longer seen. Those fish were (formerly) there.’

(2021 @ 03:38, cf. also @ 00:21)

19.3.2 ‘Only’

19.3.2.1 ‘Only’ particle (dàmà)

dàmà ‘only’ is added at the end of an NP, a clitic or (for focus) independent pronoun, or adverbial phrase. When added directly to a pronoun, the pronoun combines with the numeral ‘one’ if singular (926a-b), and takes independent pronominal form if plural (926c).

(926) a. [ɲáń-kóön dàmà] bè gà

[person-one only] come.Pfv Rem.Pfv

‘Only one person came.’ (ɲáń-kóôn §4.1.2)

b. [ú kóön dàmà] gà yòn tòwò

[1Sg one only] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv

‘Only I know that place.’ (< yòn, variant of yáw\n)
c. [íín-dùwò à múma] gà yóñ tůwò
   [1Pl-Indep only] lpfv there.Def know.lpfv
   ‘Only we know that place.’

d. 0 nà [yóñ ìamu] tůwò
   1Sg lpfv [there.Def only] know.lpfv
   ‘I know only that place.’

e. 0 ná súwó [[dába ìamu] ní]
   1Sg lpfv cultivate.lpfv [[daba only] Inst]
   ‘I do farm work only with a daba (=hoe).’

f. [zàkí ìamu] gà só
   [Z only] lpfv go.lpfv
   ‘Only Zaki goes.’

dàmá can also occur clause-finally with scope over at least the VP (927).

(927) à tà kàyⁿ, à gà kùmùn à múma
   3Sg lpfvNeg work(v).lpfv, 3Sg lpfv sleep.lpfv only
   ‘He doesn’t work, he just sleeps.’

However, clause-final dàmá can also have the sense ‘as soon as’ (§17.2.2).
Clause negation scopes over a constituent with dàmá.

(928) [nà-dùwò dàmá] tá só
   [1Sg-Indep only] lpfvNeg go.lpfv
   ‘It’s not only I who will go.’

There is one occurrence of dàmá apparently functioning as final in a tone-leveled compound (929).

(929) nó-nù [fà-síffá]-dàmá-yè
   Dem-Link [thing-kind]-only(?)-Pl
   ‘those other kinds’ (2021-03 @ 11:18)

19.3.2.2 kóòⁿ ‘one; alone’ versus dàmá or bàáná only’ for exclusivity

To express ‘X alone’ (as in ‘X will go alone’), if X is singular the NP or pronoun denoting X is either combined with kóòⁿ ‘one’ and remains in its regular syntactic position, e.g. subject in
(930a-b), or kòòⁿ is combined with a pronominal copy (reflexive in the case of third person singular) of X as a postverbal adverbial as in (930d). The sense in either case is exclusivity ‘X alone (unaccompanied)’ rather than ‘merely X’. kòòⁿ is the numeral ‘1’, here without its usual nasal linker, which could be mis-parsed as a nasal pronominal proclitic. The 1Sg combination is ŋ́ kòòⁿ.

(930)  a. [ŋ́ kòòⁿ]  nà  bé  sò  [1Sg  one]  Ipfv  Fut  go.Pfv
  ‘I alone will go.’ (< ŋ́ kòòⁿ)

b. [zàkí  kòòⁿ]  gà  bé  sò  [Z  one]  Ipfv  Fut  go.Pfv
  ‘Zaki alone will go.’

c. Œ  nà  bé  sò  [ŋ́ kòòⁿ]  [1Sg  one]
  ‘I will go alone.’

d. zàkí  gà  bé  sò  [ŋ́ kòòⁿ]  Z  Ipfv  Fut  go.Pfv  [3RefI  one]
  ‘Zaki will go alone.’

As with dàmà ‘only’, clausal negation scopes over kòòⁿ in this function (931). This is the case even when the kòòⁿ phrase is clause-initial as subject (931b).

(931)  a. ŋ́ tá  siní  [bé  kòr̥-ðní  mùndé]  [ŋ́ kòòⁿ]  [1Sg  one]
  1Sg  IpfvNeg  be.able.Ipfv  [Seq  rock-DefSg  lift.Pfv]
  ‘I can’t lift the stone alone (by myself).’ (< kòr̥n)

b. [ŋ́ kòðn]  tá  siní  [bé  kòr̥-ðní  mùndé]  [1Sg  one]  IpfvNeg  be.able.Ipfv  [Seq  rock-DefSg  lift.Pfv]
  ‘I alone (=by myself) can’t lift the rock.’

The exclusivity function of kòòⁿ ‘one’ is limited to specific individuals belonging to sets, including humans. Singular common nouns in generic function are avoided in this construction, since the normal reading of the NP X n-kòòⁿ is cardinality (‘one X’) rather than exclusivity (‘only an X’) (932).
Because of its origin as the numeral ‘1’, kóòⁿ cannot be used in exclusivity function with uncountable (mass) nouns, plural NPs, or plural pronouns. Instead, dàmà ‘only’ or bàánà ‘only’ is used here.

A common periphrastic phrasing of ‘only X’ is ‘not anything/anyone if it is not X’. The ‘any’ phrase can include sífì added to any noun, or the interjection-like fóy ‘nothing (at all)’. The adjoined clause ends with tē(ʔ) ~ tē(ʔ) ‘it is not’ (§11.2.1.2).
(934) a. [ɲúmú síí] tín tá ýōⁿ, [person any] be.Past not.be.Loc there.Def, né n-dúwɔ tè? if 1Sg-Indep it.is.not ‘Nobody was there, except me.’ ‘Only I was there.’ (dialect 2)

b. fóy tín tá ýōⁿ, nothing be.Past not.be.Loc there.Def né sùwɔ tè if crocodile it.is.not ‘There was nothing but crocodiles there.’ (dialect 2)

19.4 Emphatic particles

In addition to the mostly interjection-like clause-final particles presented below, see the adverbs ɲúwɔ-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ (cf. ɲúwɔtá-má ‘become difficult’) and mànjá-tííⁿ-ỳⁿ (cf. mànjá ‘become good’) in §8.4.3.

19.4.1 Clause-final emphatics

19.4.1.1 Clause-final emphatic kóy

The clause-final emphatic particle kóy can function to strongly confirm an interlocutor’s statement or the speaker’s own previous statement after an expression of doubt. It can also accompany a confident answer to a polar interrogative. Compare English sure in A: it’s hot today followed by B: it sure is!

(935) áywà [[dúgò ɲùnù] tá siní [sóò timàãáná] kóy] well [[rice Top] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [grass prevent.Ipfv] Empf] né→ pósɔnì siná = [à té kàrè wò] té if poison otherwise [3Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Foc] not.be Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or it dies [focus].’ (2021-03 @ 07:52)

In the exchange (936), speaker I adds kóy in an emphatic answer to a question.

(936) M: ítàà áá gá sùwɔ [tòpɔ-pà wù] or 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [depression Foc] ‘Or do you-Pl farm on low ground?’
I: [tɔ̀pɔ̀ ñùnú] ɲ kàmá ã kóy
[depression Top] 3ReflSg break.free.Pfv Pfv Emph
‘(Farming) on low ground has been abandoned.’
(2021-03 @ 08:14-20)

See also 2021-03 @ 12:45, 17:06, and 17:39.

19.4.1.2 Clause-final or independent jááti ‘indeed’

jááti ‘indeed’ can emphasize the truth of the speaker’s own statement (‘indeed’, ‘sure [does/is]’).

(937) à→ nùmàà"sìyè, à m bòròⁿ,
    ah giant.Malapterurus, 3Sg 3ReflSg be.big,
à gá bùrà-àmá jááti,
3Sg Ipfv big-become.Ipfv exactly,
‘Ah, giant Malapterurus (electric catfish), it is big. It definitely gets big.’
(2021-03 @ 04:10)

jááti can also confirm the correctness of the interlocutor’s statement (‘exactly!’) or accept the interlocutor’s request (‘sure!’). In this function it can stand alone or be added to an echo of what the interlocutor has said.

(938) S àⁿ nà fà sé = [ = ééⁿ tè]
    2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
‘Please tell us something (about it).’

K jááti, áywà ín" ñà [hú mèén] tòwó [â nìⁿ]
    exactly, well 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv [3Sg inside]
‘Sure! Well, what we know about it, …’
(2021-01 @ 11:33)

jááti occurs at least in the confirming function in many languages in the area. For its function at the end of NPs denoting referential specificity, see §8.4.2.
19.4.1.3 Clause-final emphatic féw and pàñ-kóò°n

The interjection-like clause-final particle féw ~ féwú ~ péw means ‘completely, entirely’ (939a). In positive clauses it is interchangeable with pàñ-kóò°. In negative clauses it means ‘(not) at all’ as in (939b).

(939) a. í’n fùúm bày gà féw / pàñ-kóò°n
today fonio leave.Pfv Pfv completely
‘Nowadays we have completely abandoned (cutivating) fonio.’ (< fúú°)
(2017-03 @ 00:34)

b. ín tá dùwó mè-nè féw(ú)
1Pl IpfvNeg beer drink-Ipfv at.all
‘I don’t drink (alcohol) at all.’

c. è tún nà wò péw
3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv Foc completely
‘They (fish spp.) have completely disappeared.’ (2021-03 @ 03:34)

Further study is needed to determine the relationship between féw ‘completely’ and fóy ‘nothing’ (§6.3.2.3).

19.4.1.4 Clause-final admonitive dé?

This particle adds a note of warning or surprise. For example, the speaker encourages the addressee to perform or avoid an action for the addressee’s own good, or informs the addressee of something important that the addressee might not already know. It can be added to imperatives as well as to statements. Compare English low-toned, nontemporal now in don’t get caught out in the cold now!, or phrases like terminal mind you with similar admonitive functions. The glottal stop is usually heard when the particle is prepausal, but may be omitted when it is immediately followed by the next clause without a prosodic break.

(940) a. à’n mà bé / … / … dé?
má … / sò / kiyè
2Sg Proh come.Pfv/go.Pfv/run.Pfv Emph
‘Don’t go/come/run!’ (warning)
b. á gà bé sàn dé?
3Sg Ipfv Fut rain.fall.Pfv Emph
‘(Watch out,) it’s about to rain!’ (warning, < sà"

c. [[bē-kiye wò] ní kóy] [jikà wà ti dé?] [[times.past Foc] it.is Emph] [but today not.be Emph]
‘That was definitely (true) in the past [focus], but not these days, mind you!’
(2021-01 @ 02:33)

In (941) dé(?) marks a concession (‘admittedly’). It serves to pre-empt a possible misunderstanding of the speaker’s own preceding statement.

(941) [támm piye] ní dùwà₃₄ⁿ,
[Heterobranchus too] 3ReflSg be.few,
[á gà kùmè dé]
[3Sg Ipfv be.caught.lpv Emph]
[jikàà à ní dùwà₃₄ⁿ]
[but 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few]
‘Heterobranchus (catfish) too is uncommon. It is (=can be) caught, admittedly, but it is uncommon.’ (2021-03 @ 03:10 to 03:12)

19.4.1.5 Clause-final déy

This clause-final particle is a mild emphatic, often rendered as clause-final là (‘there’) in local French. It has mild deictic significance and spotlights either the addressee or another nearby object.

(942) a. áⁿ jà bé só min-tiyan déy
2Sg Ipfv Fut go.Pfv where? Emph
‘Where are you-Sg going (there)?’

b. ký gá [müwò fá sí] ní déy
Dem be [what?] it.is Emph
‘What is that (there)?’

c. fá-liyáⁿ sà = [[ám bààdégè-ên] dáá] déy
a.little add.Pfv [[2Sg sound-DefSg] at.mouth] Emph
‘Speak a little louder there!’ (2021-03 @ 17:36)
19.4.1.6 Clause-final kè in affirmative answers

Clause-final kè can be added as a mild emphatic to affirmative answers to polar interrogatives. It is used to insist on the truth of the utterance to a questioning or skeptical interlocutor. It is probably a borrowing from Bambara. It is rather colloquial and used mostly by younger people.

\[(943)\text{ A: áⁿ sò gá bàmàkó rà} \quad \text{B Q} \]
\[\text{2Sg go.Pfv Pfv B} \]
\[\text{‘Did you-Sg go to Bamako?’} \]

\[\text{B:́ ná sò gá bàmàkó kè} \quad \text{Emph} \]
\[\text{1Sg Pfv.1Sg go.Pfv Pfv B} \]
\[\text{‘(Yes) I did go.’} \]

19.4.1.7 Clause-final wúnù ~ ṣúnù ‘anyway’

The particle wúnù ~ ṣúnù, obscurely related to the topic marker (‘as for X’) wúnù ~ ṣúnù (§19.1.1), occurs in clause-final position. The event in question occurred in spite of expectations that it would not occur. It can be glossed ‘anyway’ or ‘nevertheless’.

\[(944) \text{́ ná á mà bé}, \quad \text{Proh come.Pfv,} \]
\[\text{3Sg come.Pfv Pfv anyway} \]
\[\text{I told him/her not to come, (but) he/she came anyway.’} \]

A connection between ‘anyway, nonetheless’ and topic ‘as for X’ is suggested by the use of quand même in both contexts in local French.

19.4.1.8 Clause-final sá (emphatic imperative)

This is a widespread regional emphatic possibly from French ça. It reinforces imperatives and prohibitives (945).

\[(945) \text{áá má=} \quad \text{à sà sá} \quad \text{Proh 3Sg laugh.Pfv Emph} \]
\[\text{2Pl Proh 3Sg laugh.Pfv} \]
\[\text{‘Hey, don’t-2Pl laugh at her!’} \quad \text{(2021-01 @ 15:34)} \]

It is also attested as a general emphatic (946).
19.5 Greetings

The transitive verb ‘X greet Y’ is bóỳ/bóy-rí. The noun ‘greeting’ is its verbal noun bóỳ.

19.5.1 All-purpose greetings

A simple greeting exchange among two people who come across each other is (947).

(947) A: mí bóỳ
    B: íníà

The initial greeting contains bóỳ ‘greet.Pfv’ (verb) or ‘greeting’ (noun), but the mí is opaque. It cannot be parsed as 1Sg; contrast mí bóỳ ‘my greeting’ with different tones, or ínà bóỳ gá ‘I (have) greeted’ with extra morphology. mí is phonologically compatible with 3ReflSg ñ, but this would make no sense. Etymologically, mí in mí bóỳ is probably truncated from 2Sg áⁿ, as object in a fuller phrase (í) yà = ám bóỳ gá ‘they have greeted you.’

For plural addressee the exchange is (948).

(948) A: yáá bóỳ
    B: íníà

Here yáá presumably contains 2Pl áá, and the greeting may be a truncated version of (í) yà = áá bóỳ gá ‘they have greeted you-Pl’.

The response íníà in (947-948) is invariant and opaque, though it vaguely resembles 1Pl dative ífⁿ nà.

The formal Islamic greeting exchange in Arabic, chiefly among men, is the A-B sequence in (949), with pronunciation variants (not shown).

(949) A: àsàláámû-àlèèkúmû
    ‘Peace to you-Pl!’
    B: wàalèèkúmû-sáláámû
    ‘To you peace, and praise and blessing of God!’
19.5.2 Time-of-day greetings

Time-of-day greetings (A) and responses (B) for singular addressee are in (950). Some are truncated or otherwise opaque. The noun kéérëⁿ ‘welfare’ occurs in several formulae. It is final (i.e. in adverbial position) in the initial greetings but appears to take subject position in responses. Kòní (§13.2.1.2) is a clause-initial interrogative that occurs only in such greetings. There are two options for ‘good day’ (950b–b’).

(950) [dialect 1]

a. A: (áⁿ) sáá kéérëⁿ
   B: (íní) (kòní) kéérëⁿ sáá gà
   ‘good morning’ (said until 11 AM)
   (reply)

b. A: (áⁿ) sîrèn kéérëⁿ
   B: (íní) (kòní) kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM)
   (reply)

b’. A: ááyèn kúbù
   B: (íní) (kòní) kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM)
   (reply)

c. A: ááyè nènè
   B: (íní) (kòní) kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good afternoon’ (from 3:30 to 6 PM)
   (reply)

d. A: ááyèn gùù
   B: (íní) (kòní) kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good evening’ (after 6 PM)
   (reply)

The forms recorded for dialect 2 are in (951). 2Sg áⁿ, optional in (950a-b), is required in (951a-b).

(951) [dialect 2]

a. A: áⁿ sáá kéérëⁿ
   B: (íní) kòní kéérëⁿ sáá gà
   ‘good morning’ (said until 11 AM)
   (reply)

b. A: áⁿ sîrèn kéérëⁿ
   B: (íní) kòní kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM)
   (reply)

b’. A: ááyèn kúbù
   B: (íní) kòní kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good day’ (between noon and 3:30 PM)
   (reply)

c. A: ááyèn nènè
   B: (íní) kòní kéérëⁿ sîrèⁿ ñà
   ‘good afternoon’ (from 3:30 to 6 PM)
   (reply)
d. A: áàyêŋ gùù ‘good evening’ (after 6 PM)
   B: (tìmà) kànì kéeřèn sìréŋ ɲà (reply)

The A greeting in (950a) and (951a) inquires about the welfare of the addressee over the preceding evening, using perfective sáá ‘lay down, went to bed’, as in ‘did you sleep well?’ This suggests that sìréŋ ‘spent the mid-day’ in (950b-d) is also retrospective, so that when uttered at mid-day it means ‘have you spent the mid-day in welfare so far?’. In (950c-d), áàyêŋ is synchronically opaque, but etymologically 2Pl *áá plus *yèn ‘and’. It is followed by nèné ‘afternoon’ or gùù ‘night’. The responses in (950c-d) are the same as that in (950b).

For plural addressee, (950a-b) and (951a-b) replace 2Sg áŋ with yàá. In (950c-d), áàyêŋ is replaced by yàá-bwáâyêŋ or slightly shortened yàá-bwáyêŋ (dialect 2). The plural addressee elements are related to yàá bóy (preceding subsection) but are slightly resyllabified.

For prospective ‘(have a) good night!’, said as people get ready to retire, is (952a) or (952b). The reply is àmíñà ‘amen!’ (from Arabic), as to all wishes with ‘God’ as subject (overt or implied).

(952) a. ìfû sáá-nì kéeřèn

b. [two variants]
   álà nè = ën mànàá báá gùú-y-è
   álà nè = ën màỳⁿàá báá gùú-û

Formula (952a) is shortened from álà nè = ën sáá-nì kéeřèn ‘may God have us lie down (to sleep) in welfare’, including subjunctive nà and the causative of sáá ‘lie down’. (952b) means roughly ‘may God get us keep us well during the night’, but the morphosyntax is somewhat opaque; cf. mànàá ‘good’ as modifying adjective (but transitive verb mèñì ‘make good, fix, repair’). báá is the verb ‘take out, remove’. gùù ‘night’ has regular forms gùú-û (locative) and gùú-y-è (definite singular locative).

Some other ‘good night!’ formulae, less opaque than (952b), are in (953).

(953) a. álà ná [gùú-ûŋ kéeřèn] dúwò
   God Sbjn [night-DefSg welfare] give.Pfv
   ‘May God give the welfare of the night!’

b. álà ná gùú-ûn nìyè-gà-nì
   God Sbjn night-DefSg easy-Adj-Caus.Pfv
   ‘May God make the night easy!’
c. álá nà súbàá  yàá [[ííⁿ  gàsígé]  nií]
    God  Sbjn   morning    put.down.Pfv  [[1Pl  luck]  inside]
    ‘May God put the morning in our (good) luck!’ (< súbàá)

19.5.3 Location- or situation-specific greetings

A greeting from A to B when B is involved in work, or is on the way to or from work or other productive activity, greetings including the noun káyⁿ ‘work’ can be used. The response is parallel if the first greeter is also at work, otherwise it is just íìnà. káyⁿ is consistently pronounced with low pitch in this greeting, hence the transcription káyⁿ, but it behaves as H-toned in not triggering Final Tone-Raising.

(954) for singular greeter and addressee:
   A:  má  bwááyèŋ  káyⁿ
   B:  íìnà,  áá-yèŋ  káyⁿ

   for plural greeters and addressees:
   A.  yà=  áá  bwááyèŋ  káyⁿ
   B:  íìnà,  yà=  áá  bwááyèŋ  káyⁿ

More specific terms can be substituted for káyⁿ ‘work’. All are pronounced with low pitch. (955a-c) contain zero-derived verbal nouns. Those that begin lexically with L-tone (all except ‘draw water’) trigger Final Tone-Raising.

(955) greeting to someone who is …
   má  bwááyèm  miyè  …  fishing
   má  bwááyèⁿ  sùwò  …  farming
   má  bwááyèⁿ  sùwè  …  cooking
   má  bwááyèⁿ  jìjí-káy  …  drawing water (at a well)  < jíjí-káy

Array (956) contains greetings based on location. The nouns are again pronounced with low pitch but fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising.

(956) greeting to someone who is …
   má  bwááyèⁿ  sòŋò  …  in or coming from the fields/the bush  < sòŋò
   má  bwááyèⁿ  sùbàwⁿ  …  in or coming from a market  < sùbàwⁿ

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19.5.4 Thanks

Someone who has just provided a helpful service can be thanked with (957), which begins with the all-purpose greeting.

(957) m̀ bóỳ, à dûmá gà = [à nà]
    3Sg become.sweet.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Dat]
    ‘Greetings, it was pleasing for it.’ (i.e., ‘thanks for the help!’)

19.5.5 Travel greetings

One or more departing travelers are given the ‘bon voyage!’ blessing (958a). An arriving visitor, or a villager returning from a long voyage, is received by the ‘welcome!’ expressions (958b-c), which begin with imperative kêmàänà ‘be welcome!’.

(958) a. álà ná kły"â= [[á“/áá mànàà] ní]
    God Sbjn arrive.Pfv [[2Sg/2Pl good] Inst]
    ‘May God (let you-Sg/-Pl) arrive with your goodness (=in safety).’

b. kêmàänà, álà gà bé á“ mànà-ní
   welcome!, God Ipfv Fut 2Sg become.good-Caus.Pfv
   ‘Welcome-Sg! God will take good care of you-Sg!’
   (interpreted as ‘God has brought you-Sg in good shape!’)

c. yé kêmàänà, álà gà bé áá mànà-ní
   Imprt.Pl welcome!, God Ipfv Fut 2Pl good-Caus.Pfv
   ‘Welcome-Pl! God will take good care of you-Pl!’
   (interpreted as ‘God has brought you-Pl in good shape!’)

The blessings in (958b-c) have the form of future constructions with gà bé and Pfv verb, though mànà-ní differs in form from the usual causative mè-ní ‘fix, improve, make good’. The blessings are not understood by native speakers as forward-looking, however, rather as retrospective, the sense being ‘God has brought you-Sg/-Pl (here) in good shape!’ . This suggests that gà bé is inverted from bè gà ‘came’ (with postverbal Pfv gà rather than preverbal Ipfv gà), and that the final -ní has been relocated and tone-dropped from instrumental ní attached to the 2Sg or 2Pl pronominal. In this view, mànà-ní is a secondary verbal formation representing an original adverbial. For ‘come/go [with X]’ meaning ‘bring/convey X’, see §11.1.1.4.
19.5.6 Condolences

The formulae in (959a-b) are uttered when presenting condolences on the death of an adult man or woman. The response is àmíàìnà ‘amen!’ plus a repetition of the formula.

(959) a. álà nà = à hìnè
   God Sbjn 3Sg pity(v).Pfv
   ‘May God pity (=have mercy on) him/her!’

   b. álà nà = à yàfá = [à pà]
   God Sbjn 3Sg forgive.Pfv [3Sg Comit]
   ‘May God pardon him/her!’

   c. álà nà = [à saá-wúwòⁿ] mùwà-nì
   God Sbjn [3Sg lie.down.VblN-place] be.cool-Caus.Pfv
   ‘May God cool (=make comfortable) his/her resting place.’ (< -wúwòⁿ)

Formula (960) is uttered on the death of a child, expressing the hope that another child will soon be on the way.

(960) álà nà tògòńi tìⁿ [áá tè]
   God Sbjn (re)pay.VblN do.Pfv [2Pl Dat]
   ‘May God make compensation for you-Pl!’

19.5.7 Greetings on major Muslim holy days

Major holy days in the Muslim calendar are Aid al-Adha (Feast of the Ram) and the end of Ramadan. On these and other holy days the following A-B-A sequence can be heard.

(961) A álà nà kúnàasyé gàsì [ììⁿ nà]
   God Sbjn next.year show.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
   ‘May God show (us) next year!’
   (dialectally … kúnààsé gàsì)

   B: àmíàìnà
   amen!
A màm-piyè-tá-kúnàasyé-nì
eyar.after.next
‘(And) the year after next!’ (lit. “also the one that is not next year”)
dialectally with -tà-
Texts from Baratou and Tombona villages near Djenné

Audio recordings were made in 2021 in two villages near Djenné, Tombona (text 2017-01) and Baratou (text 2017-03). The recordings were organized and the digital mike held by project manager Minkailou Djiguiba on location in these villages, during periods of insecurity and occasional violence. Recording quality is imperfect due to ambient noise in the village and the limitations of handheld mikes. Different speakers joined in the recordings from time to time, though in each segment there was usually one primary speaker and one interviewer or respondent.

The transcriptions below have time markings which will permit end-users to compare them with the original recordings. The recordings will be archived at Deep Blue Data (University of Michigan Libraries).

In the Tombona text 2021-01, Yacouba (“Y”) and Bintou (“B”) are the same individuals who served as native speakers in my grammatical and lexical work carried out in Bobo Dioulasso. The other speakers are mostly middle-aged and elderly villagers.

In Baratou, a short recording 2021-02 (duration 03:16) was not transcribed. Instead, 2021-03 which covers similar material and much else was transcribed through about the 22:11 mark. Moussa (“M”) served as the native speaker for the grammatical and lexical work. Other speakers on the recording are mostly middle-aged and elderly villagers.

In the transcriptions, occasional comments in Bambara are italicized, as in 2021-01 @ 00:11. Project manager Djiguiba is not a Bozo speaker and comments by him or directed to him are in Bambara.

(00:03) Y nà = àⁿ nà fó [[lààntá mà-réré] gà [sörógà-àmè-ëⁿ nîⁿ]], if 2Sg if.Pfv thing [[custom Rel-Pl] be.Loc [Bozo-Abstr-DefSg inside]], àⁿ nà fó sé [= één té] [à nîⁿ], 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside], ‘If you-Sg (know) something, the customs that exist among the Bozo, please say something to us about it.’

[hypothetical conditional antecedent, §16.1.1, here broken off before the verb; ‘inside’ postposition meaning ‘about, concerning’ (§8.2.4.1); subjunctive in polite request (§10.2.2.6); 1Pl ñî shifts to èⁿ under vv-Contraction (§4.3.1); sé ‘say’ used with nominal object as opposed to quoted matter (§17.1.3)]

(00:07) F à yá= [áⁿ ná diyèmù tá-ní yòó-bàà fâ-liiyèwⁿ], 3Sg said [2Sg Sbjn talk(n) ascend-Caus.Pfv above a.little B nşôte án tá= à miyé dè?, otherwise 2Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg hear.Ipfv Emph F (to YP:) ‘She said, raise the speech a little higher (=speak more loudly).’ B: ‘Otherwise you don’t (=can’t) hear it.’

[yé ~ yè ‘said’ before quoted matter (§17.1.2); quoted imperative (§17.1.5.1), referring to preceding discourse (not transcribed); nşôte (Bambara) = J-S of Djenné ní jón té (§16.1.4); < àⁿ tè à; emphatic dè? (§19.4.1.4)]

(00:09) Dj cèè kûmàà, cèè kûmàà come.on! speak!, come.on! speak! ‘Come on, speak (up)!’

[in popular Bambara (Dj is not a Bozo speaker)]
(00:11) M ['à yá = à dá-minè]

[3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg begin]
[kánà kùmà ká' bilá [à là]

[Proh speak talk(n) put [3Sg Loc]]

Y [overlapping]: [à yá = à dá-minè]

[3Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg begin]

M: ‘He (=Dj) has begun (recording), don’t interrupt it.’
Y: ‘He has begun.’

[in Bambara, transcription approximate]

(00:14) Y ŋ̀ kòò, ŋ̀ nèè, ŋ̀ nè

1Sg said, 1Sg said, 1Sg said

[ií' hà bé án tiyé [sórógà-àmè-ë' làántà-y-ë]],
[1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv [Bozo-Abstr-DefSg custom-DefSg-Loc]],
‘I said, I said, I said we will ask you-Sg about the customs of the Bozo.’

[ŋ̀ kòò (Bambara) repeated in J-S of Djenné; ŋ̀ nè ‘I said’ (nasalized from yè and here with HL pitch before a planned pause (§3.7.1); làántà-y-ë < làántà-yàwⁿ-y(i) with typical contraction of DefSg -yàwⁿ and the special contraction of -yàwⁿ with locative -y]

(00:18) Y [sórógà-àmè-ë' dàmbè-ë'] ñà [[hú mà-réé] níí']

[Bozo-Abstr-ë' custom-DefSg] be [[thing Rel-Pl]] inside

íím bé ñà [án tiyé [ nó-ò níí']]

1Pl come.Pfv Pfv [2Sg ask.Pfv [Dem.Def-ë' inside]]

‘Things that the traditional customs of the Bozo are in. We have come to ask you-Sg about that.’

[dàmbè < Bambara; mà-réé plural relative marker (§14.1.1); relativization on complement of postposition (§14.4.4); nó-ò ~ nó-gò focalized form of discourse-definite demonstrative (§13.1.1)]

(00:20) Y [bé bé [nó-ò nòss] màà],


[2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]],

‘(We) came to seek the basis of that. Please tell us something about it.’

[sequential VP (§15.2); < íí' tè à níí']
(00:26) T sòrówà-amè-è a ṃ̄ ṃa [hù mèè] niíⁿ,  
Bozo-Abstr-DefSg be [[thing Rel] inside],  
iíⁿ ṃa [miyè-yá-yè dúwà] ni,  
1Pl be [fish(v)-Agent-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is,  
‘The thing that the Bozo are in, we are fishers [focus].’

[deverbal agentive nominal -ya (§4.2.2); postnominal plural focus marker dúwà, cf.  
singular wò (§13.1.1); ‘it is’ predicate (§11.2.1.1)]

(00:33) T áⁿ ṃà = à fàámùⁿ ṃà = à  
2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q  
Y [ám túbé-èn] sé  
[2Sg name-DefSg] say.Pfv  
T: ‘Did you-Sg understand it?’  
Y: ‘Say your-Sg name!’  
[‘Did you understand it?’ is a high-frequency uptake check phrase; < áⁿ yè à fàámùⁿ  
gà rà with yè bidirectional case marker (§4.3.2, §3.4.2.2)]

(00:36) T [ń-dúwà ni] [tíyémáání káántò],  
[1Sg-Indep it.is] [T K],  
iíⁿ ṃa [miyè-yá-yè dúwà] ni,  
1Pl be [fish(v)-Agent-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is,  
‘It’s me [focus], Tiemani Kanto. We are fishers [focus].’

[independent pronoun (§4.3.1) with ‘it is’ predicate]

(00:42) T iíⁿ ṃà tìyáwⁿ, aywà, íiⁿ ṃà miyè,  
1Pl Ipfv fish.with.trap.Ipfv, well, 1Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv,  
[sùú-pêné]-miyè-tìyèⁿ] íín tìûⁿ ṃà = à títí-ní,  
[hand-two]-[fish.VblN-fishtrap] 1Pl be.Past Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv,  
‘We fish with two-hand fishtraps. Well, we do fishing. A two-handed fishtrap, we used  
to do (=use or make) it.’

[tìyà(w)ⁿ ~ tìyè(w)ⁿ a fishtrap with a wooden frame and netting, here also used as  
verb tìyà(wⁿ)/tìyàwⁿ, cf. @ 01:59; two fingers defines the size of the holes in the netting;  
tìûⁿ in past imperfective (§10.3.2)]
(00:51) T ííₜₘ sò̀ sìnà, áywà pànàáⁿ-y-è,
1Pl lpfv net set.lpfv, well the.past-DefSg-Loc
ííₜₘ tíyàwⁿ, ííₜₘ sò̀ [sùwₙ-wà̀ kùlè],
1Pl lpfv fish.with.trap.lpfv, 1Pl lpfv go.lpfv [wicker-DefSg.Foc] cut.Pfv,
‘We set the netting. In the past, we fished with a trap, we went (into the bush) and cut
some Combretum branches.’

[flexible branches of the shrub Combretum micranthum, used in woven baskets and
as here in old-fashioned netting; ‘go’ plus perfective VP (§15.1.2) -wà(à) definite singular
plus focus marker wò (§13.1.1)]

(01:02) T ííₜₘ nè= =é sùwₙ kùlè,
1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv wicker cut.Pfv,
ííₜₘ nè= =è nómpₙ kùlè,
1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv Strophanthus cut.Pfv,
‘When we have gone and cut the Combretum branches, when we have gone and cut
Strophanthus (branches),’

[< ííₜₘ nà sò with (y)è replacing sò (§10.1.6.1): Strophanthus sarmentosus, a
scrambling shrub]

(01:10) T nè= =éém bê gà,
if 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv,
ííₜₘ bê sùwₙ-ₙ dàá-dɔ̀,
1Pl lpfv Fut wicker-DefSg sharpen.tip.Pfv,
‘When we have come (back), we will sharpen the tips of the Combretum branches.’

[‘sharpen’ (§9.5.2)]

(01:15) T [nè= éëₙ sùwₙ dàá-dɔ̀ gà]
[if 1Pl wicker sharpen.tip Pfv]
ííₜₘ bê nìmpₙ biⁿ,
1Pl lpfv Fut Strophanthus wrap.around.Pfv,
‘When we have sharpened the tips of the Combretum branches, we will interweave
Strophanthus (branches) among them.’
(01:18) T nè = ééⁿ ñá = à bìⁿ ñá, if 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg wrap.around.Pfv Pfv,
[ñú-n wáátù-yé-è] ííⁿ ñá bé [íín tíyèⁿ]—
[Dem.Def time-DefSg-Loc] 1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl fishtrap]—
ííⁿ ñá bé [íín tíyèⁿ-èñ] dò,
1Pl Ipfv Fut [1Pl fishtrap] set.trap.Pfv,
‘When we have interwoven it, at that time we will set our fishtrap.’
/biⁿ ñá < biⁿ gà with secondary H-tone due to tone sandhi realized on Pfv particle by Tone Jumping (§3.6.4.4.3)

(01:28) T nè = =ééⁿ nè = [=één tíyè-èñ] dò gà,
if 1Pl Sbj/Obj [1Pl fishtrap-DefSg] set.trap.Pfv Pfv,
ííⁿ ñá [yúwó mèèñ] kù-nú,
1Pl Ipfv [fish Rel] catch-Ipfv,
‘When we have set the fishtrap, the fish-Sg (collective) that we catch,’
[relative mèèⁿ (§14.1.1)]

(01:34) T [ñú-n wáátù-yé-è] ííⁿ ñá = à gúsù wò
[Dem.Def time-DefSg-Loc] 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg smoke(v).Ipfv Foc,
[ííⁿ fùwù-m-béé dùwʃ] gà = à gúsù,
[1Pl wife-Pl Foc.Pl] Ipfv 3Sg smoke(v).Ipfv,
‘At that time, we smoke it (=fish). It’s our wives [focus] who smoke it,’
/-béé plural suffix (§4.1.2)

(01:40) T bé sò [à tóró],
Seq go.Pfv [3Sg sell.Pfv],
nè = è yà = à tóró gà,
if 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg sell.Pfv Pfv,
‘and then go and sell it. When they have sold it,’
/< ní è yè à/

(01:45) T é gé = [ =éé déé-déé]-sòŋṣ-yè] [sàñí [kíí-kàà-kíí]-yè]
3Pl Ipfv [3ReflPl condiments]-price-Pl] [and [miscellaneous]-Pl]
báá = á-y, take.out.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘They take out (=get) the price of their daily condiments (for sauce) and whatever from it.’
[nominal conjunction (§7.1.1)]
(01:48) T è bé [à wáléⁿ] dó [íⁿ nà],
3Pl Seq [3Sg money] give.Pfv [1Pl Dat],
[[íⁿ nàmáà] múṣágé-éⁿ] nà bá-rá = á-y,
[[1Pl house] need(n)-DefSg] Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘Then they give us (men) (the rest of) the money of it. Our household need(s) come out of it.’
/dó ‘give’ with nà dative (§8.1.1.2); < múṣágâ-yáwⁿ/

(01:55) Y nóln kiyé-ná kwátyé wò, [miyé-f5 wéřéⁿ-yé důw5]
gá [áá làántà-miyé-fõ-yé] nííⁿ]
be.Loc [2Pl custom-[fish.VblN-thing-Pl] inside],
‘After (=aside from) that, what (other) fishing gear is (in) your traditional fishing gear?’
/kwátyé (§8.2.7.4); ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.8)]

(01:59) Y rímàà = áá nà tiyé-én tiyâwⁿ
whether 2Pl if.Pfv fish.trap-DefSg set.trap.Pfv
gá gá miyá = [á ní]
2Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv [3Sg Inst]
‘In other words when you-Pl have set the fishtrap, (when) you-Pl are fishing with it,’
[rímàà ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.5)]

(02:01) Y áá gá [yúw5 sífà wéřéⁿ-yé důw5] kirá = á-y,
2Pl Ipfv [fish kind which?-Pl Foc.Pl] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
‘… what kinds of fish do you-Pl get in that (way)?’

(02:03) à ní dèⁿ = [één tè]
3Sg 3RefSg be.sweet [1Pl Dat]
áⁿ nà [nóm pífé] sé = [één tè]
2Sg Sbjn [Dem.Def too] say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
‘It pleases us for you-Sg to tell us that too.’
[here nà could be parsed either as Sbjn or as ‘if.Pfv’]

(02:08) T [né-ń wáátu-yé-ė] nè = één tiyé-ėn tííⁿ nà,
[Dem.Def-Link time-DefSg-Loc] if 1Pl fishtrap-DefSg do.Pfv Pfv,
[yúw5 pánáá nà-réê] gá bì-yé,
[fish first Rel-Pl] Ipfv come-Ipfv,
‘At that time, when we have done (=set) the fishtrap, the first fish-Pl that come,’
Alestes, Hydrocynus {\textit{forskalii}}. Did you-Sg understand it? Along with young and full-grown {\textit{Lates}}.

{\textit{Alestes}} are closely related but smaller, {\textit{Hydrocynus}} mainly denotes young {\textit{Alestes}} and can also apply to {\textit{Alestes}} {\textit{dentex}}; {\textit{Lates}} is the "capitaine" fish (Nile perch), sold to restaurants for high prices (there are different terms for juvenile and full-grown).

When we set the fishtraps, big {\textit{Hydrocynus}}-Pl, it's skiffs [focus] that catch (position themselves at) the rear of the fishtrap.

A {\textit{Hydrocynus}} (fish) jumps out of the fishtrap. It will land in the skiff.

[in this passage terms for 'fish' and fish spp. have singular form in collective or generic function]
Our fishing (activity) used to have all that (gear). At this time we set fishnets.

We take that fish out (from the nets). We set out fishhooks and we take the fish out.

A certain (other type of) fishtrap, we fish (with it). Basket fishtraps [focus] are what are set in it (=larger fishtrap).

When the night has passed (=the next morning), we lift up the basket fishtrap, (and) we take out its (=trap’s) fish.

(The) other fishtrap works like that.
(03:21) Y [nù-h pápóló mà-réé] gà dỳ-rá = á-yì yáwⁿ;
[Dem.Def basket.fishtrap Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.set.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc there.Def,
[à sìnì [sááw-pápólò-yè] gà kóóⁿ nì nà]
[3Sg and [now-basket.fishtrap] be one it.is Q]
‘Those basket fishtraps that were (formerly) set in it there, were it and basket fishtraps
of today the same?’

[i.e. ‘were they the same as ...’; sááw ‘now’ as compound initial (i.e. ‘modern’);
< pápóló ; ‘be one’ = ‘be the same, be identical’ (§4.6.1.1); clause-final polar
interrogative rà here nasalized to nà (§13.2.1.1)]

(03:25) Y [è tì kóóⁿ nì],
[3Pl not.be one it.is],
śìⁿ ná màá [áⁿ nà [nám pìyé] sê = [ = één tê]]
‘Or are they not the same? We would like for you-Sg to tell us that too.’

(03:29) T áywà, [bé-kìyé]-pápórò-yè,
well, [times.past]-basket.fishtrap-Pl, and today-basket.fishtrap-Pl,
kóóⁿ tì, báří wày, [ [hù mèⁿ] nà ní tìí-ní],
one it.is.not, because today, [ [thing Rel] Ipfv 3ReflSg do-Ipfv],
‘Well, the basket fishtrap of times past, and today’s basket fishtraps, are not the same.
Because today, the one that is made,’

[tone-leveled compounds with a contour-toned final, here pápórò (§5.1.3.4),
converted to H*L tones, cf. dirígèm-pápórò ‘yesterday’s fishtrap’ < dirígèⁿ; báří ‘because’
(§17.2.1)]

(03:40) T sóó—, sóó—, sóó-pápórò-yè,
net—, net—, net-basket.fishtrap-Pl,
ño-ò gà mì méêní wày,
Dem.Def-Foc Ipfv 3ReflSg make.Ipfv today,
‘Basket fishtraps with netting, that is what is made today.’

[regular possessor-possessum type compound (§5.1.3), keeping the lexical tone
melody of pápórò]

(03:47) T śìⁿ ná miyé [[hù mèm pìyé] nì] wày,
1Pl Ipfv fish(v).Ipfv [ [thing Rel too] Inst] today,
[à pìyé] gà [sòó wò] nì,
[3Sg too] be [net Foc] it.is,
‘What we fish with today, it’s also nets [focus].’
in the old days, 'What (difference) there is between one and the other, the thing that used to be found
now, Dem.Def-Link [times.past benefit-DefSg]
síni [wáy nàfìyé-yàwⁿ],
and [today benefit-DefSg]
'Now, (between) the benefit (=yield) of times past and the benefit of today,'
(04:38) T síní wày, [[hú mèëⁿ ]] njá kilám pánááⁿ-y-è
and today, [[thing Rel] lpfv be.gotten.lpfv first-DefSg-Loc]
ño-ò ú kóⁿ [wày-fè-èn tè],
Dem.Def-Foc 3RefSg be.many [today-share(n)-DefSg Dat],
‘… and today—, what was found in the old days, that [focus] was more than today’s.’
/kóⁿ reflexive stative ‘be many, be much’ (§11.4.1.2); < fàn 'share (n)'; dative tè as ‘than’ in comparatives (§12.1.2)]

(04:43) T ụkà [hú mèëⁿ] njá kiláwⁿ wày, nño-ò—
but [thing Rel] lpfv be.gotten.lpfv today, Dem.Def-Foc—
[nño-ò— nàfiyè] m bòròm [[bè-kíyé pánááⁿ] nà]
[Dem.Def-Foc— benefit] 3RefSg be.big [[times.past first] Dat]
‘But the thing that is found today, the yield (profit) of that [focus] is bigger than in the past.’

(04:52) Y [[mùwò wò] bé gà [náⁿ ní],
pánááⁿ síní sááw, [[sááw nàfiyè-èm] bè bùrà-àmà [pánááⁿ tè]]
formerly and now, [[now benefit] Seq become.big.Pfv [formerly Dat]]
[[mùwò wò] bé gà [náⁿ ní]]
‘What brought that (about)? In the past and now, the yield of now(adays) has become greater (that of) the past. What brought that about?’

(04:59) T mêm bé gà [náⁿ ní],
Rel come.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def Inst],
[nàfóró-wàà] kúsà-má gà, nño-ò bè gà = [à ní],
[wealth-DefSg.Foc] be.much.Pfv Pfv, Dem.Def-Foc come.Pfv Pfv [3Sg Inst],
‘What brought that about (was), the wealth [focus] increased. That [focus] is what brought it.’

(05:09) T pánááⁿ-y-è, pánááⁿ-y-è nàfóró-òní tun tà
first-DefSg-Loc, first-DefSg-Loc wealth-DefSg be.Past lpfvNeg
[nûmè-èn sw-i-ý-ý,
[person-DefSg hand-DefSg]-Loc,
‘In the old days, the person (=people) didn’t use to have wealth.’
[‘have’ construction with sw-i-ý ‘in the hand of’ (§11.5.1.2)]
(05:13) T way láá, álà— álà—
today QTop, God— God—
álà— niyè-gà-nì tì’ì nà [pùmé-ţi’ì tè],
God— easy-Adj-Caus.VblN do.Pfv Pfv [person-DefSg Dat],
‘Nowadays, God has made life easier for the person.’
[can also be phrased as álà yá = à nìyè-gà-nì nà …]

(05:19) T fá-łyéⁿ míyè-gù såáⁿ, án nà—
thing-Dimin small-Adj all, 2Sg Ipfv—
án nà [nàfiyè wó] kirá = á-ﬁ, 2Sg Ipfv [benefit Foc] get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘Every (little) thing, you-Sg get a benefit from it.’

(05:24) T pánááⁿ-yè, án nà — án nà yùw-ðñ kiréⁿ,
first-DefSg-Loc, 2Sg Ipfv 2Sg Ipfv fish-DefSg get.Ipfv, ñkà [án nàfiyè] ní dúwⁿ, but [2Sg benefit] 3ReflSg be.meager,
‘In the past, you would get the fish, but your profit was meager.’
[kiréⁿ variant of kiráwⁿ ~ kiláwⁿ]

(05:31) T ín nà diyè [bè pà] wùnù,
1Pl Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv [Seq become.full.Pfv] Top, ñkà [án nàfiyè]— [án nàfiyè] ní dúwⁿ, but [2Sg benefit]— [2Sg benefit] 3ReflSg be.meager,
‘We would eat well anyway, but your profit was meager.’

(05:39) Y á fàámúⁿ nà, ín nà = [án diyèmú-yáⁿ] míyè gà,
3Sg be.understood Pfv, 1Pl Sbj/Obj [2Sg talk(n)-DefSg] hear.Pfv Pfv, á màng gà, 3Sg become.good.Pfv Pfv,
‘It has been understood. We have heard your words. It was good.’
[màng ‘become good’ (aspectually marked), cf. reflexive stative màyn ‘be good’]

[inaudible low-volume discussion]
S: ‘Okay. Your name?’
F: ‘My name is Foétê Konto.’

‘There’s no trouble (=that’s fine). We will ask you-Sg, (about) the manner of work of your-Pl Bozo (ethnicity’s) woman.’

‘It (=that) and her benefit (=earnings). If (it’s) among you-Pl, the way in which she operates (=works),’

‘When they have brought the fish, we (=women) smoke it.’
(06:14) F bé sw= [à nì] [súbhè̝́-èⁿ nìf],
Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] [market-DefSg Loc],
bé= [=èén déè-dèè] sínì [iíñ dúgò-píⁿ-yè] sàⁿ,
Seq [1Pl condiments] and [1Pl rice-grain-Pl] buy.Pfv,
‘Then (we) take it, to the market (to sell). Then (we) buy our condiments (daily groceries) and our (shelled) rice grain.’
/< sò [à nì] /

[bé bé] [à nì]]
[Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
‘Then (we) bring whatever may remain (of the money).’
/sequential clause is restarted after a heavy object NP, which is reduced to 3Sg pronoun in the final clause (§11.1.4), cf. @ 06:28 below/]

(06:20) F [bé bé] [à wàlè̝n] dò [[gómò-ðñ keémínè̝-èⁿ] nà]],
[Seq come.Pfv [3Sg money] give.Pfv [[courtyard-DefSg old.person-DefSg] Dat]],
S nòⁿ fàámùⁿ nà,
Dem.Def be.understood.Pfv PfV,
F: ‘Then (we) come and give its (=the) money to the elder of the household.’
S: That has been understood.’
/the doyen(ne), i.e. the oldest man or woman of the household (“courtyard”), who traditionally handles the money/

(06:24) S áá ná= à dò [[gómò-ðñ keémínè̝-èⁿ] nà]
2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg give.Pfv [[courtyard-DefSg old.person-DefSg] Dat],
è tó fóy dò-rá= [áá nà] rà
3Pl lpfvNeg nothing give-lpfv [2Pl Dat] Q
‘When you-Pl have given it to the elder of the household, do they not give anything at all to you-Pl?’
/fóy, §6.3.2.3/

(06:28) F è gá= à dúwò-rò
3Pl lpfv 3Sg give-lpfv
[è gé= [=éèⁿ sàfdùnè-sòñò-yàwⁿ]] [è gá= à dò-rá= [=èèⁿ nà],
[3Pl lpfv [1Pl soap-price-DefSg]] [3Pl lpfv 3Sg give-lpfv [1Pl Dat],
‘They do give it. They give us the cost of our soap.’
/dúwò(rò) ‘give (sth)’ after Dative Dropping (§9.3.3) versus dò(-rò) ‘give (sth) to (sb)’; second clause restarted after heavy object NP]
(06:32) F [íñ dé-méé] ná ṣèpɔ̀, ,
[1Pl child-Pl] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv,
è gé = è [è ní] ɮgɔtɔ̀-rɔ̀-y,
3Pl Lpfv go.Lpfv [3Pl Inst] hospital-Loc,
‘When our children get sick, they (=people) take them to the clinic.’
[yè ‘go’ replacing sò]
(06:35) F [íñ jàá-tì-yè] ná ṣèpɔ̀,
[1Pl exactly-Pl] if.Pfv get.sick.Pfv,
è gé = è [è=éeⁿ ní] ɮgɔtɔ̀-rɔ̀-y,
3Pl Lpfv go.Lpfv [3Pl Inst] hospital-Loc,
‘(And) when we ourselves get sick, they take us to the clinic.’
[jàá-tì (§8.4.2)]
(06:39) F á!, sààm bárà kà bònà dé?
oh! rain Prog Infin increase Emph
S á! nɔⁿ nà bá = á-yi,
oh! Dem.Def if.Pfv exit.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
F: (in Bambara, to someone) ‘The rain is increasing (=getting heavier).’
S: Oh! If that is excluded from it (=other than that),’
(06:43) S ā ga— áá sùwè-yè rà,
(hesitation) 2Pl cooking(n)-Pl Q,
áá gá sùwè [bàànà wèrêⁿ]-yⁿ
2Pl Lpfv do.cooking.Lpfv [manner which?]=Loc
‘About your-Pl cooking practices, in which way do you-Pl cook?’
[polar interrogative rà in topicalized phrase; sùwè/sùwè ‘do cooking’, antipassive of
sùwè/sùwè ‘cook (by boiling or steaming)’ (cf. @ 06:51)]
(06:48) F iⁿ ē sùwè [[bàànà mèeⁿ] ní] nà,
1Pl Lpfv do.cooking.Lpfv [manner Rel Inst] Q,
kééwú-yè gé = è dúgg-ɔ̀-n-tiyé-emoji bàá,
man-Pl Lpfv go.Pfv rice-Link-field-DefSg remove.Pfv,
‘(About) the manner by which we cook? The men go and clear a rice field.’
[polar interrogative rà ~ nà in relative clause; compound with ‘field’ as final (§5.1.4);
bàá ‘take out, remove’ in sense ‘clear (a new field)’]
'When the rice has ripened, they (=men) reap (=harvest) it. We (=women) cook the food.'

[‘reap’ = ‘harvest (rice, fonio) by slashing stems with a sickle’]

'We go and give it to the rice-reapers out in the bush (=in the fields). When the rice-reaping is completed,'

[plural of compound agentive dúgò–gárábú-yá]

'They add it to (=store it in) the granary. When they have added it to the granary,'

[they take out a portion of the stored grain for the daily food of the household; bá-ři/bá-ři ‘take out’, frozen causative of bá(-ră) ‘exit’, near-synonym bàà/bàà ‘take out’; yàà/yàà ‘put down’ in the sense ‘transform, convert’ (§9.4.1)]
(07:07) F [díyé-ţá màⁿ] nà dûmé = [=één tè]
  [eat.VblN-thing Rel] Sbjn be.sweet  [1Pl Dat]
  ń ñá = à yáá [à ní]
  1Pl Ipv 3Sg put.down.Ipvf [3Sg Inst],
  ‘A food that may be tasty for us (=that we like), we will transform it (grain) into it
  (tasty food).’

(07:09) F sááⁿ ńá kàpú [byá = à díyá]
  all Ipv get.together.Ipvf [Seq 3Sg eat.Pfv]
  S [nóm píyé] fàâmûⁿ ńá,
  [Dem.Def too] be.understood.Pfv Pfv
  F: ‘Everyone eats it together.’
  S: ‘That too has been understood.’
  [< bë à díyá ; ‘do (something) together’ (§14.8.3)]

(07:12) S nò-nì dúgü-yàwⁿ,
  Dem.Def rice-DefSg,
  à gá = [áá jííⁿ-yèn] díyé-ní—
  3Sg Ipvf [2Pl year-DefSg] eat-Caus.
  ‘That rice (stock), does it feed your-Pl year—'
  [interrupted clause repeated fully in the following segment]

(07:14) S [à gá = [áá jííⁿ-yèn] díyé-ní nà]
  [3Sg Ipvf [2Pl year-DefSg] eat-Caus.Ipvf Q]
  [à tá = à díyé-ní]
  [3Sg IpvfNeg 3Sg eat-Caus.Ipvf]
  ‘Does it feed your-Pl year? Or does it not feed it?’
  [i.e. is the stored rice grain from the harvest enough to feed you all for one year, until
  the next harvest?]}

(07:17) F á!, [jííⁿ-yàŋ kómbèrëë], à gá = [à díyé] báá,
  ah!, [year-DefSg certain.Pl], 3Sg Ipvf [3Sg eat.VblN] take.out.Ipfv,
  [jííⁿ-yàŋ kómbèrëë] à tá = [à díyé] báá,
  [year-DefSg certain.Pl] 3Sg IpvfNeg [3Sg eat.VblN] take.out.Ipfv,
  ‘Ah, some years, it is enough to eat. Some (other) years, it isn’t enough to eat.’
  [jííŋ kómbèrëë ‘certain years’, here with DefSg suffix on jííⁿ, plus kómbèrëë with final-
  syllable intonational HL-tones before planned pause (§3.7.2, §6.3.2.1); báá ‘take out,
  remove’ in sense ‘suffice for’, cf. à gá = à mëm báá ‘it is enough to drink’]
(07:21) F bàrà = àrì yùrùgù] nà dwá = á-ý,  
because even this.year] if.Pfv enter.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,  
[jiì-yèn dỳ gà]  
[wat-e-DefSg enter.Pfv Pfv]  
'Because even if this year has entered into in (=is included), the water has gotten into it.'  
/bàrà 'because' (§17.2.1); (h)àrì 'even (if)' (§16.2.1); < yùrùgù nà dỳ ; heavy rains this.year have flooded the.fields excessively]  

(07:24) F [à yè = [i =één dúgu-n-tíyè-yè sáá'ny] mày'nyà],  
[3Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Pl rice--Link-field-Pl all]] ruin.Pfv Pfv],  
'It (=water) has ruined all of our rice fields.'  

(07:26) F [[á'ny màá] tà [má'n — jiín] té yà]  
[[2Sg QTop] IpfvNeg [Dem.Def year] cross.Pfv or]  
[à jiín-té-[báry-àmà]]—  
[3Sg year-cross.VblN-[prevent-Abstr]]—  
'You-Sg don’t (know) whether (food for) this.year will go across (=be completed), or  
(whether) its inability to get through the.year—'  
[< á'ny làà ; cf. à yà = à bàrí gà [bé té] 'he prevented it from crossing'; incomplete  
sentence, resumed in the following segment]  

(07:28) F á́n tá siní [ná— jìín] faámù-nù sááw,  
2Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv Dem.Def understand-Ipfv now,  
'You-Sg cannot understand (=know) that.now.'  
['be able' construction with both verbs Ipfv (§15.1.1.1)]  

[long silence]  

(07:36) S ná bá = á-ý, áá sù— [áá sínì  
Dem.Def if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv 3Sg-Loc, (hesitation)— [2Pl and  
súbá—] [súbá-nógù wére'ny] n twiìn [áá pà]  
(hesitation) —] [market-village which?] 3ReflSg be.near [2Pl Comit]  
'If that goes out (=aside from that), you-Pl and (which) mar[ket]— Which market  
town (i.e. with a weekly market) is near you-Pl?']  
[somewhat broken, blends 'you and village are near (each other)' and 'village is near  
you-Pl'; the market villages in the.area have one market day per seven-day week, as does  
Djenné]
Returning, you can't make it to Sofara, the only buyers are small
with) our fish, the (right) price isn't even gotten.'

‘If we go to Sofara, it’s the
[1Pl Comit] there.Def,
S: ‘In other words, you-Pl go to sell your fish-Pl (there)?’
F: ‘The market town that is close to us there,’

That is Sofara
IpfvNeg t
Dem

‘Because of the unstable situation, the merchants can’t find the way to come.’
[< naïmì/ naïmì ‘mix, confuse’; dáà (§8.3.1):]

‘If we go to Sofara, it’s the small-time pedlars [focus] who have fun in (=screw around
with our fish, the (right) price isn’t even gotten.’
[< kilá” á-yì : Since the urban merchants who pay hard cash up front for fish can’t
make it to Sofara, the only buyers are small-time resellers who deal on consignment,
returning cash to the sellers only after they resell the fish, and often with meager prices;
jágú-má”-flá is partly Bambara]

‘Uh-huh, it has been understood. I have understood it.’
(07:59) S  síwé-sébè-èn  ǹjé sé gà kóy,  
cook.VblN-issue-DefSg  3ReflSg say.Pfv  Pfv  Emph,  
ì, [hàlí wày] [fò étè kúwóntò], iì̊  ǹjà byá=  án tìyé,  
ah!, [until today] [F  K], 1Pl Ipfv Fut  2Sg ask.Pfv,  
'The matter of cooking has definitely been said (=discussed). Ah, as of now, Foétè  
Konto (addressee’s name), we will ask you-Sg,’  
[< sèbè ‘issue, matter’, with HL-tones as compound final (§5.1.5)]

(08:06) S  áá sórógò-yè lààntà-kúpá-yè,  
2Pl Bozo-Pl custom-marriage-Pl, [if  3Sg if.Pfv sit.Pfv]  
áá gà ǹnà dős-ró  [dős-bànà́ mán]-ýn,  
[2Pl Ipfv Dem.Def perform-Ipfv [perform.VblN-manner Rel]-Loc,  
'The traditional marriage ceremonies of you-Pl Bozos, when it takes place, the way in  
which you-Pl perform that.’  
[< nà ; dős(-ró) has a wide range of senses including ‘set’; dős- is a variant of  
dwéé- (§9.3.2)]

(08:10) F  íì  ǹjà=  á dős-ró  [[dős-bàánà́ mèè]-nìn]-nà,  
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg perform-Ipfv [perform.VblN-manner Rel] inside]  Q,  
[díyè ǹunjù] kúpè-èn  nà  ǹjé sárá́tì,  
[child Top] wedding-DefSg if.Pfv  3ReflSg schedule(v).Pfv,  
'The way we perform it? When the wedding of a young person (=the bride) is  
scheduled,’  
[topic marker ǹunjù (§19.1.1) on possessor]

(08:14) F  à gà ǹjé sé-ré  [[jönà- ǹsù-yè sààán] tè],  
3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg be.said-Ipfv [kinship-hand-Pl all]  Dat,  
è  gà  [díyè  màn  sàà]-yì  
3Pl be.Loc [place Rel all]-Loc  
'It is said (=notified) to all branches of the extended family, wherever they are.’  

(08:18) F  [kú-ùù táráiyè]  [[ń diyè-ǹjé] kúpè-èn]  
[Dem day-DefSg-Loc] [1Sg child-DefSg] wedding-DefSg  
ǹjà bè ń tìn,  
Ipfv Fut  3ReflSg do.Pfv,  
'On that (such-and-such a) day, my child (=daughter)’s wedding will be held.’
(08:20) F àà, [àŋ [jɔŋ-tê]-ê] gà = ám pàŋkàrà-là,  
ah, [2Sg [kin]-Pl] Lpfv 2Sg rejoin-Lpfv,  
ì” nà kùpè-èn tîí-nì, [dù-bàànà sàá” nùnù] nwìf”,  
1Pl Lpfv wedding-DefSg do-Lpfv, [perform.VblN-manner all Top] inside,  
‘Ah, your-Sg relatives get together with you-Sg. We do the wedding, in its full  
performance.’  
[< jɔŋ-tê-nà” plus plural -yè ; pàŋkàrà-là (§8.1.2.3, end); nùnù topic marker on  
complement of postposition]

(08:26) S áwà, ṃ” fàámù” ìà,  
well, Dem.Def be.understood.Pfv Pfv,  
[áá sàáwù-kùbà-yè sìí [áá pààán-ñ-kùbà-yè] làà,  
[2Pl now-wedding-Pl] and [2Pl first-wedding-Pl] QTop,  
‘Okay, that has been understood. What about your weddings of now (=these days) and  
your weddings in the past,’

(08:29) S è gà kòò” ni” là, è tà kòò” ni,  
3Pl be one it.is Q, 3Pl not.be one it.is,  
[dà”fàrà wèrè’] nè = [[è sìí bùwɔ’ nàá”]  
gap which?] be.Loc [3Pl and Recip] between]  
‘… are they the same? (Or) are they not the same? What difference is there between  
them and the other(s)?’  
[dà”fàrà ‘gap; boundary’ is Bambara (=J-S of Djenné làà”); bùwɔ’ ‘each other’]

(08:33) F dà”fàrà— dà”fàrà—  
gap— gap—  
[hù mé”] nè = [[è sìí bùwɔ’ nàá”] yáw”,  
[thing Rel] be.Loc [3Pl and Recip] between] there.Def,  
The gap—. ‘What there is between one and the other there?’

(08:37) F [tàráà” sàá] dìyà”-nó” nà ̀ ý gwè-nè wò sò,  
[day all] world-eye Lpfv 3ReflSg open-Lpfv Foc go.Pfv,  
first-old.person-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl manner-Pl] and now-manner-Pl  
‘Every day the world moves forward. The old people of the past, their ways and the  
ways of (people of) now …’  
[‘eye’ often added to ‘world’, ‘sun’, etc.; ‘open self (and) go’ expresses constant  
change; nù-mé‘ those (ones)’ (§6.5.2)]
F tá siní f5-rù kòò nì, IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv one it.is, bàìi [nùmà-rèé twèé] gà bé kìyé [pángáá nà], because [people knowledge] Ipfv Fut pass.Pfv [first Dat], ‘… cannot be the same. Because (nowadays) people’s knowledge will surpass (that of) the past.’

[‘twèé ’knowledge’, especially ‘esoteric/ritual expertise’ (§11.2.5.1), related to tòwò ‘know’]


S: ‘Your-Pl child (=daughter)— What about the wedding gear (=offerings) of your-Pl children?’

[làà interrogative topic (§19.1.2)]

F [máⁿ hìné-èⁿ] ná = à tàà-nì [gìyéⁿ màⁿ]-yⁿ, [Rel ability-DefSg] if.Pfv 3Sg stop-Caus.Pfv [place Rel]-Loc, S: ‘Is it the same now? (Or) it isn’t the same?’

F: ‘Wherever one’s (=your) ability reaches (=whatever you can afford), …’

[reduced < á gà ñ-kòò ; double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

F npóⁿ ñá tà-rà yáwⁿ, Dem.Def Ipfv stop-Ipfv there.Def, sááⁿ sínì [jì hìné-èⁿ] nì, all and [3ReflSg ability-DefSg] it.is, ‘… that will stop there. Each person has his/her ability.’

[< hìni ; construction ‘X and its Y’ (§7.1.5)]
(09:01) F [hú máⁿ] nà bá= [án tè], [hú mèⁿ wàlèⁿ]
[thing Rel] if.Pfv exit.Pfv [2Sg Dat], [thing Rel money]
ñá kilâⁿ [á̃ dèⁿsá̃-áⁿ mèⁿ] swí]-ŷ,
if.Pfv be.gotten.Pfv [2Sg mother-DefSg Rel] hand]-Loc,
‘Whatever comes from you-Sg, whatever money is gotten (=available) in the hand
(=possession) of some birth mother of yours (=the bride’s).’
[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3); dèⁿsà ‘woman who has recently given birth’,
here extended to ‘birth-mother’]

(09:04) F áⁿ njó-ò sà-nà
2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def-Foc buy-Ipfv
[byá= à yà= [[án díyé-êⁿ] kùmà]],
[Seq 3Sg put.down.Pfv [[2Sg child-DefSg] on]],
‘That [focus] is what you buy and set down on (=present to) your child (=daughter).’
/< bé à yà]/

(09:06) F dàⁿfàrà tá = á-ŷ,
gap not.be 3Sg-Loc,
[[hú mâⁿ sáⁿ] hìñ] ná fû= [án tè]
[[thing Rel all] ability] Sbjn sit.Pfv [2Sg Dat]
‘There is no limit (=fixed sum). Whatever ability (=to pay) may be on you-Sg.’
/< fwò ‘sit’/>

(09:10) S à fàamùⁿ njà fwéêt
3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv F
Dj sâⁿhâⁿ, [áy ká tá]
okay, [let’s go]
S: ‘It has been understood, Foetê.’
Dj (in Bambara): ‘Okay, let’s go!’

(09:13) S áywà, bisímláåy, ê→ nómbá— án túbé
well, welcome!, ah, (error)— 2Sg name
Y [ní túbëⁿ] nj à [yàâkùbà përà]
[1Sg name] be [Y P]
S: ‘All right, please go ahead! Ah, Nomba (error)— Your name.’
Y: ‘My name is Yacouba Pera.’
[biśîmlâåy (< Arabic ‘in the name of God’), common invitation to enter, to eat, to
speak, etc.]

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(09:18) Y bé bá kóŋó-tuwò bò\textsuperscript{n}
Seq exit.Pfv Tombona here
S ì\textsuperscript{n} nó\textsuperscript{n} fàámù\textsuperscript{n} ṃ, ālāhūmdirīlā\textsuperscript{ā}\textsuperscript{y}
1Pl Dem.Def understand.Pfv Pfv, praise.God
Y: ‘Coming from Tombona (village) here.’
S: ‘We have understood that, praise God.’
\textit{[variant of ālāhūmdirīlā\textsuperscript{ā}\textsuperscript{y} etc.]}
Weddings of times past and weddings of nowadays, what we know about it.

In the past, if a wedding is coming for you - mother of bride, it goes and is said (reported) to the local association.

'It is reported to the association head. The association head summons the association members (saying) "Ah, on that (such-and-such) a day, So-and-So came …"'

‘… and said (=announced) the wedding of his child (=son) is scheduled to coincide with (=take place) on that (specific) day.’

[possessor of ‘his child’ could be parsed as LogoSg or as 3ReflSg; kásà-mà ‘coincide (with), occur (at the same time as)’ with dative të denoting the date]
(09:53) Y [tɔ́-ɔⁿ læáントè-ɛ̃] ɲà [[hú mà-reé] nɨⁿ],
[association-DefSg custom-Pl] be [[thing Rel-Pl inside],
à gá= à së-ré [tɔ́-ɔⁿ dé-méé] tè].
3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-1pfv [[association-DefSg children] Dat],
‘The things that the custom(s) of the association are (involved) in, he (=head) says it
to the association members.’
/< læáントè-yè>

(09:57) Y háyà, nè, súbá-bírí gá= á-ỳ, okay, if, firewood-gather. VblN be 3Sg-Loc,
à gá= à së-ré [súbá-bírí gá= á-ỳ], 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-1pfv [firewood-gather. VblN be 3Sg-Loc],
‘All right, if firewood gathering is (involved) in it, he says (to them), “firewood
gathering is in it.”’
/[cf. verb bírí/bírí ‘cut and gather (firewood) in the bush’]

(10:00) Y né kúbê-ɛⁿ ɲà ɲ d5-rá [[ɲ nɔ̃ŋ] pà],
if wedding-DefSg Ipfv 3ReflSg perform-1pfv [[3ReflSg eye] Comit],
háyà, áá gá= à së-rá= [à tè] okay, 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-1pfv [3Sg Dat]
‘If the wedding is (to be) performed in its fullness, okay, you-Pl tell him (=head),’
/’eye’ in phrases involving fullness

(10:03) Y [kúbê-ɛⁿ læáントè-ɛⁿ sááⁿ]
[wedding-DefSg custom-DefSg all]
[à sááⁿ] ɲà [kúbê-ɛⁿ nɨⁿ],
[3Sg all] be.Loc [wedding-DefSg inside],
[à fóy] mà kónó kwátí-y-è,
[3Sg nothing] Proh stay.Pfv back-DefSg-Loc,
‘(you tell him:) “The entire traditional wedding, everything is (to be included) in the
wedding. None of it must be left out.”’
/[fóy (dialectally fwa) ‘anything/nothing at all’ (emphatic negative, §6.3.2.3)]

(10:06) Y háyà né kúbê-ɛⁿ ɲ d5 gá, okay if wedding-DefSg 3ReflSg perform.Pfv Pfv,
[ɡù-ye̱m pà], tɔ́ɔⁿ-[yiyè-méé]—
[night-DefSg Comit], association-[woman-Pl]—
‘All right, when the wedding has taken place, at night, the women—’
/< yiyè-méé ‘women’, here in a tone-leveled compound/>
(10:11) Y nú-méé gá sò [bé yé kúbá-yúwóm [búwó pà]]
Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [Seq go.Pfv wedding-woman [Recip Comit]]
kà-yé káwⁿ,
father-Pl chez,
‘Those ones go and accompany the bride, at (her) fathers’ place.’
[i.e. her father and father’s brothers; nú-méé resuming ‘women’ (§6.5.2)]

(10:14) Y bé sò [ā ní], kúⁿ-wó-ráá níⁿ,
Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst], husband-Collective inside,
né = è sò gá kíⁿ-yè kúⁿ-wó-ráá-yé-è,
if 3Pl go.Pfv Pfv arrive.Pfv husband-residence-DefSg-Loc,
‘And (they) convey her among the husband’s kin. When they have gone and arrived
at the husband’s family’s residence,‘
[dialectally kúⁿ-wó-láá ; with collective -ráá ~ -láá (§4.1.3.2), cf. @ 11:42 below]

(10:18) Y njóⁿ-윤 è gá = à yàfè [[tóó-ǹ dé-méé] pà]
Dem.Def-Loc 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pardon.Ipfv [[association-DefSg children] Comit]
[[njó-n núŋ gúú-y]-è], tóó-ǹ sârīyè-yàwⁿ,
[[Dem.Def night-DefSg]-Loc], association-DefSg law-DefSg,
‘They make amends with the members of the association on that night. (By) the law
(rules) of the association,’

(10:22) Y njó [kúbú sigëⁿ] ní,
Dem.Def be [day three] it.is,
 njó:nmn ná n tíí-ní, tòbó-òⁿ ná ní bá-rí,
dance Ipfv 3ReflSg do-Ipfv, dance.ground-DefSg Ipfv 3ReflSg take.out.Ipfv,
‘... that (=the wedding) is three days (long). Dancing is done, the dance ground is
occupied (for festivities).’
[tòbó plus bá-rí/bá-rí is a collocation ‘occupy dancing ground’, i.e. ‘organize dancing,
hold dances’]

(10:26) Y [tóó-ǹ ñó] díyeⁿ-èⁿ sááⁿ], [sáá ná] búwó tû mà-ná,
[association-DefSg child-DefSg all], [all Ipfv] Recip encounter.Ipfv,
[njó-n nú tòbó-òⁿ níⁿ,
[Dem.Def-Link dance.ground-DefSg] inside,
‘Every member of the association, everyone encounters each other, in that dance
ground.’
(10:30) Y áá gá ñònàmí, [gùú sigéⁿ-yàwⁿ],
2Pl Ipv dance.Ipv, [night three-DefSg],
fɔ̀ bé ye= [[à tûmè] ní],
until Seq go.Pfv [[3Sg complete.VblN] Inst],
‘You-Pl dance the three nights, until (you) deliver its completion.’
[i.e. take it to its completion; “DefSg” on N-Num phrase (§6.5.3); cf. verb tûmè(-nè) ‘become complete’]

(10:34) Y [yè-nè-míyàw]-yè ṃⁿ³-yé gà súbá bìrì,
[unmarried.girl]-Pl Dem.Def-Pl Ipv firewood gather.Ipv,
[tòò-ɔnn diyéⁿ sáⁿ] ñà kûbà-nàmààn kullù
[association-DefSg child all] Ipv wedding-house catch-Ipv
‘The unmarried girls, those ones (go) cut and collect firewood (in the bush). Every member of the association occupies the marriage house.’
[yè-nè-míyàw ‘unmarried girl’, archaic compound (§5.1.7.1); regular tone-leveled compound < kûbà and ñàmàà(n)]

(10:36) Y fɔ̀ kûbèⁿá ná kìrì,
until wedding-Pl Sbjn get.up.Pfv,
ǐⁿ ñà [hù méé] tûwò, kûbèⁿá nìⁿ,
1Pl Ipv [thing Rel], know.Ipv, wedding-DefSg inside,
‘Until the wedding is lifted (=ended). What we know, about wedding(s),’

(10:40) Y ṃⁿ³ ṃà ṃⁿ³ ni
Dem.Def be Dem.Def it.is
S háyà, yàkûbà pèrâ, ǐⁿ ṃⁿ³ fàâmûⁿ ñà,
okay, Y P, 1Pl Dem.Def understand.Pfv Pfv,
Y: ‘… that is it.’
S: ‘Well, Yacouba Pera, we have understood that.’

[woman-Pl too] Ipv [[3ReflPl share(n)-DefSg] dancing] take.out.Ipv
[é tò] rà
[3ReflPl apart] Q
‘Do women too hold their own dancing separately?’
(10:45) Y yiyè-méé è gá= à bá-rió,
woman-PL 3PL Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv,
ña-yè, [nú-mèé píyè] gè= [éé tóbó-óm] bá-rió
mother-PL, [Dem.Def-PL too] Ipfv [3ReflPL dancing-DefSg] take.out.Ipfv
‘Women do hold it. Mothers, those ones (=mothers) hold their (own) dancing.’

(10:49) Y è gá= à sê-ré [nòn tê] [nà-àmà]-tóbò,
3PL Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [Dem.Def Dat] [mother-Abstr]-dancing,
ñòn ñà [ñòn-yè píyè] làántà-yè nì,
Dem.Def be [[Dem.Def too] custom-PL] it.is,
‘They call that “motherhood dancing.” That is their custom too.’

(10:54) Y ñòn sìnì [kèbù-úyò-ìm bùwó] tà-bò-ìwùn
Dem.Def and [man-PL share(n)-DefSg] dancing-DefSg
ñòn-yè tà kòó nì, ñò-nì [nà-àmà]-tóbó-ìwùn,
Dem.Def-Pl not.be one it.is, Dem.Def-Link [mother-Abstr]-dancing-DefSg,
‘That (=women’s dancing) and men’s dancing, those (two) are not the same. That
motherhood dancing,’

(10:57) Y è gá só [[kùbù-úwó-ìm bùwó] pà]
3PL Ipfv go.Ipfv [[wedding-woman-DefSg Recip] Comit]
à gá bì-úyè [tóbó-ì]-nì
3Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [dancing-DefSg inside],
‘They go to (get) the bride. She comes to the dancing ground.’

(11:00) Y làántà gá [yiyè-méé pà], è gá [ñòn-yè sáán] tí-nì
custom be.LOC [woman-PL Comit], 3PL Ipfv [Dem.Def-PL all] do-Ipfv
[ñò-nì kùbù-tóbó-òn] nì
[Dem.Def wedding-dancing-DefSg] inside,
‘(The) women have customs. They do (=perform) them all in that wedding dancing.’

(11:05) Y [[hù mà sáá] ñà [tòó-ùn dìyà] nì]
[[thing Rel all] be [association-DefSg child] it.is]
[è sáá] ñà bùwó tùmàànà yám tóbó-y-è,
[3PL all] Ipfv Recip encounter there.Def dancing-DefSg-LOC,
‘Whatever (=whoever) is a member of the association, they all encounter each other
there are the dancing ground.’
S yâkúbâ ã fââmûⁿ ñà, Y 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv, Y: ‘What we know, that is it.’
S: ‘Yacouba, it has been understood.’

(11:12) S [kú wàá] gâ [án tîyé-kûⁿ-yê] nî, [Dem Foc] be [2Sg question-basis-DefSg] it.is, ã fââmûⁿ ñà, pêrâ, 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv, Pera, ‘That [focus] is the basis of the question to you-Sg, Pera.’
/kú wàá focused form of demonstrative kú (§13.1.1)/

(11:15) S [án tûbê] gâ múwô nî [nî tôôŋ-kêɛwû], [2Sg name] be what? it.is [1Sg elder.sib-male], [nî tûbê] gâ [kôⁿsûmáânâ káàntê] [1Sg name] be [K K]
S (to a new speaker K:) ‘Your-Sg name is what, my elder brother?’
K: ‘My name is Kossoumana Kanto.’
/< tôôŋ-kêɛwû/

(11:20) S àlûhâmindîlâây íⁿ ñà byá = án tîyé praise.God 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv
[[sôrôôɡô-yê lâàntê- kô— kôin-dwế]-yê], [[Bozo-Pl custom- (hesitation) circumcision]-Loc,
‘Praise God. We will ask you about the traditional circumcision of the Bozos.’

(11:25) K 3ⁿh5ⁿ, ã mànnà uh.huh, 3Sg become.good.Pfv
S è gâ kôin dwếy, [bâànnà mà-réé] nîⁿ, 3Pl Ipfv circumcision undergo.Ipfv, manner Rel-Pl] inside,
K: ‘Uh-huh, it’s fine.’
S: ‘The ways in which they are in (=they perform) circumcision.’
/á mànnà dialectally truncated from á mànnà gá (perfective); dwếy as verb (§9.3.3), cf. noun dwếy @ 11:46/
(11:27) S ę gà dyé-nà-méé dó-ró, kééwú-lé-méé dó-ró
3Pl Ipfv child-Pl initiate-Ipfv, man-Dimin-Pl initiate-Ipfv
kənì-ý [bááná má”-y]-è,
circumcision-Loc [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc,
‘About the way they bring children, bring boys, into circumcision.’
[dó(-ró) ‘enter’, here transitive ‘cause to enter (into circumcision), initiate’;
kééwú-lé-méé plural of diminutive kééwú-líyéwⁿ ‘boy’ (§5.1.7.3)]

(11:30) S [pánááⁿ-fé-èⁿ] síni [à saáwú-fá-yáwⁿ],
[first-thing-DefSg] and [3Sg now-thing-DefSg],
ná = áⁿ nà [hú màñí] tůwà = á-ý
if 2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
‘The one (=way) of the old days and its one (=way) of today, whatever you-Sg may
know about it,’
[-fé-èⁿ is the clause medial counterpart of prepausal fá-yáwⁿ, both here as finals in
tone-leveled compounds; nà ‘if’ adds a dubitative modal element to the relative clause;
tůwò ‘know.Ipfv’]

(11:33) S áⁿ nà fá sé = [=één tè]
2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat]
K jááti, áywà ín nà [hú měén] tůwò [à níⁿ],
exactly, well 1Pl Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv [3Sg inside],
S: ‘Please tell us something (about it).’
K: ‘Sure! Well, what we know about it,’

(11:38) K [hágê ɲ-kíyéⁿ wó] gà yáwⁿ
[level Link.a.certain Foc be.Loc there.Def]
díyé-nè-èⁿ ná kì”yè ɲá”-ý [ífm pà] bóⁿ,
child-DefSg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv Dem-Def-Loc [1Pl Comit] here,
‘There is a certain level (=age) there. When the child attains that (age) among us here,’

(11:41) K áywà [kà-yámaá]-àŋ kéémîné-èⁿ nà,
well [extended.family]-DefSg old.person-DefSg Ipfv,
[[kà-yámaá]-áⁿ sááⁿ] kéé-nì,
[[extended.family]-DefSg all] call-Ipfv,
‘Well, the oldest person in the extended family summons the entire extended family.’
/kà-yámaá ‘(agnatic) extended family’, tone-leveled compound (§3.6.3.3) based on kà
‘father’ and *yámaá (now elsewhere nàmáá) ‘house’ (§3.4.3.2)]
Well, the children have attained (the age) of circumcision. Let’s consider (whether) they (=boys) should enter (circumcision) this year.

Because we Bozo here, it’s Sofara [focus] where we enter (circumcisions).

'Ah, if there is mutual agreement on that, everyone does the preparations.'

'When the preparations have been done properly, a day is considered, that (day) is caught (=set).'

'When the elders have caught (=set) that day, when that day arrives,'
(12:11) K *í^n* ɲá ̀sò,  [è ̀nì] sò́fàrà, ̀cá ̀gè  = ̀éé ̀sáá,
1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv,  [3Pl Inst] S,  3Pl Ipfv 3ReflPl lie.down.Ipfv,
*jí^n* ná kiyè, ̀cá ̀gà ̀d̀wè́y-ǹ ̀tí́-ǹì,
night if.Pfv pass.Pfv,  3Pl Ipfv circumcision-DefSg do-Ipfv,
‘We take them to Sofara. They spend the night (there). Early the next morning, they
do the circumcision.’

*jí^n* kiyè is a fixed collocation in the sense ‘night pass’ (§11.1.1.2), elsewhere jí^n
means ‘year’)

(12:18) K ̀nè  =  è ̀d̀wè́y-ǹ ̀tíí^n ɿà,
if  3Pl circumcision-DefSg do.Pfv Pfv,
àywà ̀d̀wèé-sà́ríyè-é^n ɿà [hú ̀m̀èé^n] ̀nì,
well circumcision-law-DefSg be [thing Rel] it.is,
‘When they have done the circumcision, well, (based on) what the circumcision law
(=rules) is,’

(12:22) K ̀nò^n ̀nà ̀ń ̀dò-rò  [è ̀nà],
Dem.Def Ipfv 3ReflSg give-Ipfv  [3Pl Dat],
àywà ̀nè  =  è ̀ná ̀sèé-ǹǹ ̀d̀wèé  =  [è ̀nà],
well if  3Pl if.Pfv road-DefSg give.Pfv  [3Pl Dat],
‘That is what is given (=paid) to them. Well, when they (Sofara people) have given
leave to them (=boys and their fathers, to go),’

[those who perform the circumcisions are paid a standardized fee; < òò è nà ; “give
the road to X” means ‘give permission to X to go’]

(12:25) K ̀í^n ǹè  =  èè̀n ̀dè̀bè-ré  =  [è ̀nì],
1Pl Ipfv  1Pl return-Ipfv  [3Pl Inst],
*í^n* ǹà ̀bì-yè́,
1Pl Ipfv come-Ipfv,
‘We take them (=boys) back. We come (back).’

(12:28) K ̀à, ̀nè  =  èèí^n ̀nà ̀bè́,
ah, if  1Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv,
̀cá ̀nà [sù́bà-nù́]-yè́n ̀tíí^n,
3Pl if.Pfv [week]-DefSg do.Pfv,
‘Ah, when we have come, when they (=boys) have spent the week,’
Dem.Def be dance(n) it.is
‘Well, we also have a little law (=custom) in it here. That (=custom) is dancing.’

(12:35) S ñsállàaw
God.willing
K áywà, [nó-ñ wááti-y]-è è gá bàsí-yàⁿ mënní, well, [Dem.Def-Link time-DefSg]-Loc 3Pl Ipfv couscous-DefSg fix.Ipfv, S: ‘God willing.’
K: ‘Well, at that time they make couscous.’

(12:39) K áywà, è gá bðwò nûwêŋ-kúⁿwáá-ní,
well, 3Pl Ipfv Recip hold.a.party.Ipfv,
[gûú nà tûⁿ] [è gá tòbò-ôm bá-ði],
[night if.Pfv disappear] [3Pl Ipfv dancing-DefSg take.out-Ipfv,
‘Well, they hold festivities together. When night falls, they organize dancing (on the
dance grounds).’

[ŋûwêŋ-kûⁿwáá-ní ‘hold a party’, obscurely related to nóñ kûⁿwáá-ní ‘whiten/clean
eye(s)’]

(12:43) K nûmë-ëⁿ nà bðwò nûwêŋ-kûⁿwáá-ní,
person-DefSg Ipfv Recip hold.a.party.Ipfv,
áywà, ñ nà [hú mënn] tûwà = á-ỳ,
well, 1Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘They hold festivities. Well, what I know about it,’

(12:47) K ñà, nóⁿ nà kú nì,
ah, Dem.Def be Dem it.is
S àláhámdirilááy káántò,
praise.God K,
K: ‘Ah, that is it.’
S: ‘Praise God, Kanto.’
[i.e. ‘that (the situation) is this/that (which you have just said)’]
(12:49) S ëë, [ë gá [kóó jènîn] tíì-nî],
ah, [3Pl Ipfv [moon how.many?] do-lpfv],
[ná è tè bá kò̤̣̄nì]-yî],
[if 3Pl PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv circumcision-Loc],
‘Ah, they spend how many months before they emerge from the circumcision?’
[lit. “if/when they have not exited circumcision”; i.e., how many months of seclusion
during the healing period before ...; nà rare variant of nì ~ né ‘if’]

(12:55) K bon [kóó-hàgè kòò-nà] tá= á-yî,
okay [month-level one-Ppl] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
bon à gà dépààⁿ, [dwèy-yë bàànè-è dûwó]-yî,
okay 3Sg Ipfv depend.Ipfv, [circumcision-Pl manner-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc,
‘Well, no is single (=invariant) count of months in it. Well, it depends on the
(different) forms of circumcision [focus].’
[participial kòó-nà ‘alone, single’, cf. âⁿ má sò [á̃ jù kòó-nà] ‘don’t go alone!’; French
(ça) depend]”

(13:02) K këmbërëè, hàli è tà kíyé [[kùbù cèmè-é-kùwó’î] nà],
certain.Pl, even 3Pl IpfvNeg pass.Pfv [day fifteen Dat],
[à këmbërë] gà kóó tíì-nî,
[3Sg certain.Pl] Ipfv month do-lpfv,
Some (of them), even if they have not spent fifteen days. Some (others) do a month.
këmbëré (§6.3.2.1), here with final HL-tones before pause (§3.7.2); form of ‘fifteen’
(§4.6.1.4); ‘fifteen days’ = French quinze jours (two weeks)]

(13:07) K hàli këmbërë gà [kóó sigèn] tíì-nî,
even certain.Pl Ipfv [month three] do-lpfv,
àwóò ѐ jà [hù mèn] tîwò yáwⁿ, à’háⁿ
yes 1Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.VblN there.Def, uh.uh
‘Some (others) even do three months. Yes, that is what I know there (=about that).’
[< ѐ jà (§4.3.3.3)]

(13:11) S në= ë gà bá-rà kò̤̣̄nì-yî,
if 3Pl Ipfv exit-lpfv circumcision-Loc,
[è gá nòì=mî në=] [è tà nòì=mî]
[3Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv Q] [3Pl IpfvNeg dance.Ipfv]
‘When they emerge from circumcision, do they dance? Or do they not dance?’
[< nà nasalized from interrogative rà]
(13:16) K bon né = è gá bé bá kìnì-ỳ, well if 3Pl Ipfv Fut exit.Pfv circumcision-Loc, è gá bá-rá [táráän mā%-yé]-è, nènè-émn pà, 3Pl Ipfv exit-Ipfv [day Rel-DefSg]-Loc, evening-DefSg Comit, ‘Okay, when they will emerge from circumcision, on the day when they emerge, in the evening,’

(13:19) K lâàsárà ná kì'yuè, è gá sò, [[è tìgè-yè, 4pm.prayer if.Pfv arrive.Pfv, 3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv, [[3Pl gear-Pl, [è sòrì-yè] síné = [è fàgû-yè sáàn] nì] sòŋ̃-yu-è [3Pl clapper-Pl] and [3Pl whatchamacallit-Pl all]] Inst the.bush-DefSg-Loc ‘When the 4pm prayer has arrived, they go (with) their gear, their calabash clappers and all their whatchamacallits out to the bush.’ [fàgû 'whatchamacallit’, cf. fá ‘thing’]

(13:27) K [ä pàà] ní dáàn fà-lí-yáwⁿ, [3Sg location] 3ReflSg be.distant a.little è gá sò [è tāŋ̃á] yáwⁿ, è gé = è kiyè-ní, 3Pl Ipfv go [3Pl in.line] there.Def, 3Pl Ipfv 3Pl run-Caus.Ipfv, ‘Its location is somewhat distant. They go in a procession there. They (=adults) make them (=boys) run (a race).’ [pàà (synonym tóó) ‘location (of a place)’, used mainly with ní dáàn ‘be distant’ (§8.1.2.3); tāŋ̃á used here like a postposition]

(13:32) K né = è ná kìyè if 3Pl if.Pfv run.Pfv [mèⁿ nà [ní bùwó] pìi], [Rel if.Pfv [3ReflSg Recip] be.first.Pfv, ‘When they have run (the race), the one who has preceded (=beaten) the others,’ [compare plural mà-reé ná bùwó pìi without reflexive possessor

(13:34) K áywà, [nàⁿ wàáti-yé]-è well, [Dem.Def time-DefSg]-Loc [nàm pìyè] gà [ń tùwàrà] fètì-liyèⁿ -èⁿ nì, àwòò [Dem.Def too] be [3ReflSg apart] festivity-Dimin-DefSg it.is, yes ‘At that time, that too is a small festivity on its own (apart from the main dancing).’ [French fête]
(13:38) S àlàhàmdirílàyí à fààmù́ n à fààmù́ n à kààntò, praise.God 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv K, à fààmù́ n à fààhàmà́lǎ́yí, 3Sg be.understood.Pfv Pfv praise.God, ‘Praise God, it has been understood, Kanto, it has been understood.’

(13:42) S ìn báà-yù̀wò́ n, ì́ n à fòòtê Kòntò, we will ask you…

(13:50) F à, [hù́ màn] ñ-dúwò̀ yè [á n tù́bè̀-é́ n] ah, [thing Rel] 1Sg-Indep said [1Sg name] sì̀ n [jì̀ jàmù́] sè gà= [á n tè̀] pà[náà-é-è̀ ]— and [1Sg clan.name] say.Pfv Pfv [2Sg Dat] pre[viously]— ‘Ah, I told you before what my name and my clan name are.’ [see @ 05:49; combines invariant yè ‘said’ with inflected sè ‘say’]

(13:53) S fòwètè kùwóntò, í́ n à fòòtê Kòntò, F K, 1Pl lpfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv, F àwò̀ d yes S: ‘Foétè Konto, we will ask you…’ F: ‘Yes.’

(13:55) S áá sórògò— áá sórògò-yè, [yì̀yè-méé làá”n[tà]]— (hesitation)— 2Pl Bozo-Pl, [woman-Pl (hesitation) [kòòni-dwè̀]-lákàntà-yè] [í́ n à fòòtê Kòntò, we will ask you-Sg about that.] 3Sg-Pl ask.Pfv 2Sg ask.Pfv [Dem.Def inside] ‘The excision customs of you-Pl Bozo women, we will ask you-Sg about that.’ [tone-leveled compound with kòòni-dwè̀ as initial and lákàntà as final (§5.1.4.6)]

(13:55) S [nà = á” n à hù̀ mèé] tùwà = á̀ yí [í̀ f 2Sg lpfv [thing Rel] know.lpfv 3Sg-Loc] [á n nà fà sè = [= éé n tè̀ ] nà̀ yí] [2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] Dem.Def-Loc] ‘What you-Sg may know about it, please tell us something about that.’
S: ‘… that we (can) understand. Yes.’
F: ‘As of now, as for us Bozos,’

[the first imperfective clause describes the current situation, the second is prospective (so the free translation is future); dábay (§9.3.2)]

F: ‘As for our women’s circumcision (=excision), it doesn’t cease (=it is still practiced), and moreover it won’t cease.’

[dábay (§9.3.3)]

‘When it (=excision) has been held, even a nursling [focus] that is (carried) on your back,’

[kámà mispronounced for kásà-mà]

‘If you arrive at the circumcision (=excision) place, it (=nursling) will enter (=be excised).’

[< ní ‘inside’]
(14:24) F ɨn ɲè = ɛ—ɨn m píyê ɲóòŋ-kú'wáá-nɨ ɲá ɲ tì-ɲì
1Pl Lpfv (hesitation) [Dem.Def too] festivity Lpfv 3ReflSg do-Lpfv,
[[ɲ ɲóò-ñ náá] pà],
[[3ReflSg eye-DefSg all] Comit,
‘That too, a festivity is done (=held) in its various forms.’
[here ‘eye’ = ‘manner, form’]

(14:28) F ɓó bë ƙì'yè ɲáá bá' nà ɲáá ƙì'yè dwéy-wúwáá]
until Seq arrive.Pfv [[3Pl exit.VblN] Comit], even
à nà kása-má [díyé-nà miyè-gú-liyáá] ɲà = [áŋ kwátìyè],
3Sg if.Pfv happen.Pfv [child small-Adj-Dimin] be.Loc [2Sg behind],
‘(It continues) until reaching their (=girls’) leaving. Even if it happens that a little baby
is (carried) on your back,‘
[fó 'all the way to' §8.4.5.7 with sequential clause (§15.2.150)

(14:31) F [nì yùwó nì], [nà = à ná ƙì'yè dwéy-wúwáá]
[if woman it.is], [if 3Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv circumcision-place]
[á ƙà dɔ-rɔ]
[3Sg Lpfv enter-Lpfv]
‘… if it is female, if it arrives at the circumcision (=excision) place, it enters
undergoes.’

(14:37) S ɗ dwéy-ń nàá,
3Sg circumcision-DefSg QTop,
ɗ tɔ [fọy ɲùnù] máyń [yùwó n tè]
3Sg LpfvNEG [nothing Top] hurt.Lpfv [woman Dat]
‘The circumcision (=excision), does it not hurt a woman at all?’
[< dwéy plus definite singular -yàwā ; QTop làá]

(14:39) S ɓá = á sè, dèpí [làáltè-ɛń níń],
Seq 3Sg say.Pfv, since [custom-DefSg inside],
[áá wùnà] kíří ƙà [ɓá = ƙà kay],
[2Pl Top] get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv],
‘To say, since (the time of) traditional customs, as for you-Pl, you-Pl have grown up
and seen it,’
[French depuis (replacing hàlì in the retrospective sense ‘since’)]
(14:44) S [áá gà dšèy] à tā fōy máyⁿ, [ín tè]—
[2Pl Ipfv be.circumcised.Ipfv] 3Sg IpfvNeg nothing harm.Ipfv, 1Pl Dat—
[áá tè], [byá= à sé]
[2Pl Dat], [Seq 3Sg say.Pfv]
‘You-Pl undergo (excision), it doesn't do any harm to us— (or rather) to you-Pl, to say
...

(14:48) S [[kòlàlò wò] gà= á-y]
[[danger Foc] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc]
[rímmà àá [hú màń] kàý gà= á-y]
[whether 2Pl [thing Rel] see.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc]
‘… (to say) that there is danger in it. That is to say, have you-Pl seen something in it?’
[rímmà §13.2.1.5]

(14:49) S áá tè fōy kà= [à niń]
2Pl PfvNeg nothing see.Pfv [3Sg inside]
1Pl-Indep PfvNeg [danger any] see.Pfv [woman-circumcision Top] inside,
S: ‘(Or) have you-Pl not seen anything?*
F: ‘We [focus] haven’t seen any danger in women’s excision [topic].’
/< kàý à niń>/

(14:52) F hàli ń ná kirí gà [bé kìⁿ-yè [wày pà]],
since 1Sg Pfv.1Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq arrive.Pfv [today Comit]],
ń té [kòlàlò síń] kà= á-y,
1Sg PfvNeg [danger any] see.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘From when I grew up down to today, I haven’t seen any danger in it.’
[from X to Y construction; < kàý á-y]/

(14:58) S è→, áá ná yùwò-méé dó [áá nà= áá kilàwⁿ],
ŋòŋ-kú”wáá-níŋ ná á-y rà, ou bien ŋòŋ-kú”wáá-ní tá= á-y
festivity be.Loc 3Sg-Loc Q, or festivity not.be 3Sg-Loc
‘Uh, if you-Pl stop exciting girls, will there (still) be festivities in it? Or will there be
no festivities in it?’
There will be festivities in it. The (same) way the men’s festivities are,

‘... in that same way [focus] the girls’ (festivities) too are (and will be) in it. We do its festivities in a week.

When the day of their emergence has arrived, do the women run (the race)? Or do they not also run?’

[ negation scopes over ‘they too’ (§19.1.3) ]

They do run. When the 4pm prayer has been done, we take them to the racing course.'
F è súú-kúmé-béré-[lélé-mété] 3Pl hand-catch.VblN-stick-[Dimin-Pl] [1Pl Lpfv fire set-Lpfv 3Sg-Loc] [1Pl Lpfv 3Sg burn-Lpfv], ‘Their hand-held little sticks, we set fire to them, we burn them.’

[Bambara béré ‘stick’ (= J-S of Djenné còò or kiyè); -le-mee diminutive plural (§5.1.7.3)]

(15:22) F è gá kiyé [mááñ ták siní kiyé] 3Pl Lpfv run.Lpfv [Rel LpfvNeg be.able.Lpfv run.Lpfv] è gá náŋ kú-nú [bé kiyá= [à ní]], (laughs) 3Pl Lpfv Dem.Def catch-Lpfv [Seq run.Pfv [3Sg Inst]], ‘They (=girls) run. (If there is) one who cannot run, they (=adults) hold that one and run with her.’

[i.e. an adult woman helps a girl who has difficulty running]


(15:29) S háyà, álà nè= =éë siní sàbáábà témé-ní, well, God Sbjn 1Pl and welfare encounter-Caus.Pfv, F àmínà amen S: ‘Well, may God have us and well-being meet.’ F: ‘Amen’

(laughter and inaudible discussion)

(15:34) F áá má= à sà sá 2Pl Proh 3Sg laugh.Pfv Emph (?) pàápií aⁿ má sà, nà= aⁿ ná sà— P 2Sg Proh laugh.Pfv, if 2Sg if.Pfv laugh.Pfv— F: ‘Hey, don’t-2Pl laugh at her!’ unidentified: ‘Papi, don’t laugh! If you laugh—’ [sà ‘laugh.Pfv’ accidentally adjacent to clause-final emphatic sá (§19.4.1.8); unidentified girl speaks the last line]
Pápi Kanto.

Kanto.

(P: ‘(My name is) Papi Kanto.’
S: ‘Kanto.’)

àwòò

yes

á, íí ñà byá = án tíyé,

ah, 1Pl Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv,

P: ‘Yes.’
S: ‘Ah, we will ask you-Sg (about) …’

Sáá [sórógá-ât]-láántà-yè kémbèrèéê,

2Pl [Bozo-Abstr]-custom-Pl certain.Pl,

áá-duwò mà-réé gà diyé-nà-méé nì [áá yùwò-méé],

2Pl-Indep Rel-Pl be child-Pl it.is [2Pl woman-Pl],

‘Some of your-Pl Bozo customs. You-Pl who are young people, you-Pl (young) women.’

Sáá gà— áá gà = [áá kúwò-yè] kú-nú

(hesitation) 2Pl Ipfv [2Pl husband-Pl] catch-Ipfv

kúmè-bààná wèréⁿ-yè
catch.VblN-manner which?-Loc

‘In which way do you-Pl get husbands?’

(silence, then laughter)
Text 2021-03 from Baratou village

recorded in Baratou village;
speakers and their abbreviations in order of appearance: Moussa Komoto (M) interviewing throughout; Imori Komoto (I) speaking through 16:05; then Mama Napo (N) 16:28 to 19:00; then Dirisa Komoto (D), with one intervention in Bambara by project manager Djiguiba @ 19:01.
duration: 26:23 (transcribed up to 22:07)

topics covered in this text:
00:00— fish species and fishing techniques
05:03— rice farming
11:54— foundation of Baratou village
17:05— boats
22:11— marriage customs

fish species and fishing techniques

(00:01) M á bon, sááwù ñá bé án tìyé, ah! well, now 1Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg ask.Pfv, nè jí já nà dò, if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv
‘Well, now I will ask you-Sg, when the water (=annual floodwaters) have come in,’ [ñá (§4.3.3.3)]

‘What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch? That and (also), when the water has dried up (=floodwaters have receded),’ [mùwὸ ‘what?’ as possessor meaning ‘which?’ (§13.2.2.9)]

‘What kinds of fish [focus] do you-Pl catch? Is it big fish [focus] that you-Pl catch?’
I: ‘Ah, big fish are few in the water’

[‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.2); mánpá ‘well’ in quantitative sense ‘greatly’ (§8.4.3.2, §6.4.2.1)]

I: ‘Ah, big fish are few in the water’

[‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.2); mánpá ‘well’ in quantitative sense ‘greatly’ (§8.4.3.2, §6.4.2.1)]

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I: ‘Ah, big fish are few in the water’

[‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.2); mánpá ‘well’ in quantitative sense ‘greatly’ (§8.4.3.2, §6.4.2.1)]
(00:36) M fá sa [[ám bààdègè-ën] dáá] thing add.Pfv [[2Sg noise-DefSg] at.mouth]
I …
[unintelligible]
M: ‘Raise your voice a little!’
I: [unintelligible]
[dáá (§8.2.5.5)]

(00:40) M á, ókè, nù-nù yúwó-yè làà, ãⁿ né siyènè-ëⁿ, ah, okay, Dem.Def-Link fish-Pl QTop, 2Sg said Clarias-DefSg, [siyènè-ëⁿ láá] gà kümè, [Clarias-DefSg QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv, [mùwó kümé-báánà síí]-yî, [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
‘Ah, okay. What about those fish (species)? You said (=mentioned) Clarias (catfish). What about Clarias, in what way are they caught?’

(00:46) M ou bien sámù-yè, [nú-méé láá] gà kümè or Bagrus-Pl, [Dem.Def-Pl QTop] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv [mùwó kümé-báánà síí]-yî, [which? catch.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
‘Or Bagrus (another catfish). What about those? In what way are they caught?’

(00:49) M ou bien dégè-yè, siyègó-yè, áá gà or Brycinus-Pl, Alestes-Pl, 2Pl Ipfv nú-méé kú-nú [mùwó kümé-báánà síí-fà síí]-yî, Dem.Def-Pl catch-Ipfv [which? catch.Antip.VblN manner-kind any]-Loc,
‘Or Brycinus, (and) Alestes. In what way do you-Pl catch those?’

(00:54) M áá yè ndá— parce que [án dáá] yè (false start)— because [2Sg QTop] said [yúwó bóróⁿ nùnù] dúwóⁿ nà bóⁿ [fosh big Top] finish.Pfv Pfv here
‘Because you-Sg said that big fish have disappeared from here.’
I decide on. Whatever fishing gear someone is able to take, fishing gear.

*Bagrus* too has its fishhooks and its fishnet size.

*Clarias* (catfish) too has its fishhook and its net-size.

Whatever fishing gear whatever (fish) is caught with, that (fish) is caught with that fishing gear.

*Hin/hini variant of sin/sini ‘be able’*
I [áⁿ ɲá = à dé-ré], [áⁿ ná [miyê-fá méěń] dé]
[2Sg If.Pfv 3Sg take-If.Pfv], [2Sg If.Pfv [fish(v)-thing Rel] take-If.Pfv]
[póⁿ ɲá [pó-ń yúwó-ń] kú-nú],
[DefSg If.Pfv [DefSg fish-DefSg] catch-If.Pfv,
‘You-Sg take it. What(ever) fishing gear you-Sg have taken, that (=gear) catches that
(specific) fish (species).’

(01:21) I [à yúwó-yé] gà kúmè [nó-nì báàná-wàà]-y,
[3Sg fish-Pl] If.Pfv be.caught.If.Pfv [DefSg Link manner-DefSg.Foc]-Loc,
tiyáⁿ-yáⁿ [nóm píyé] gà [ú fáⁿ yúwó] kú-nú,
fishtrap-DefSg [DefSg too] If.Pfv [DefSg share(n) fish] catch-If.Pfv,
‘That’s the way in which [focus] its (=gear’s) fishes are caught. The fishtrap rig, it too
catches its share of fish.
[-wàà from definite singular -yáⁿ plus focus marker wò; tiyáⁿ is a large fishtrap
rig with netting and wooden frames that is set in a creek or small river]

(01:24) I áⁿ ná [tiyáⁿ-êⁿ ɲùnù] tiyáⁿ,
2Sg If.Pfv [fishtrap-DefSg Top] set.fishtrap.Pfv,
áⁿ ná = à tiyáⁿ [[yúwó méěń] dáà] yáⁿ,
2Sg If.Pfv 3Sg set.fishtrap.Pfv [[fish Rel] Purp] there.Def,
‘When you-Sg have set the fishtrap rig, the fish (species) for which you have set it
there,’
[relative clause headed by postpositional complement (§14.4.4)]

(01:28) I [nú-méé ɲùnù sááⁿ] áⁿ ɲá ɲóń kiláém
[DefSg.Pl Top all] 2Sg If.Pfv DefSg get.If.Pfv
[byá = à kúⁿ]
[Seq 3Sg catch.Pfv]
‘All those (fish), you-Sg get that and catch it.’

(01:30) I [à ná fwá = [à bóróⁿ] ní]
[3Sg If.Pfv become.Pfv [3Sg big] Inst]
[à ná fwá = [à miyê-gù] ní]
[3Sg If.Pfv become.Pfv [3Sg small-Adj] Instr]
‘Whether it becomes its big one(s), or it becomes its small one(s).’
[< fó ~ fwá ‘become’; adjective with third-person “possessor”]
(01:31) I né án [tỳè-ê” ñùnùm] bàrągá gà if 2Sg [fishtrap-DefSg Top] dam(v).Pfv Pfv [à daà] dúw3n, à [nòn ñùnù”] ñà kúmë, [3Sg Purp] already, ah! [Dem.Def Top] Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv, ‘If you-Sg have already set the fishtrap across (blocking the river) for that purpose, ah, that (fish) is caught.’ /dúw3n ‘already’ (§8.4.5.2)]

(01:34) I èkàà só sùrú-yè— [sòo sùrú-yè] săní jáà”-yè, but (false start)— [net remainder-Pl] and fishhook-Pl, [nú-méé săá”] săní [é yúwó-yè lùwå] nì way, [Dem.Def-Pl all] and [3ReflIpfv fish-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is today, ‘But the remaining (kinds of) net and fishhook (traps), those all have their fish (species) nowadays.’

(01:38) I ñó-nì baànà-wàà]-y 3Sg be [Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg.Foc]-Loc M àá [[nò” wáá-tì”-f”] nì”, ah [[Dem.Def time-DefSg] inside] I: ‘That’s how [focus] it is (done).’ M: ‘Ah, at this time,’

(01:43) M àá gà dègê-ê” kú-nú [[mùwó— sòò-nòd” sìí wò] nì], 2Pl Ipfv Brycinus-DefSg catch-Ipfv [[which? net-eye any Foc] Inst], ou bien siyéè-yàw”, ou bien siyègò-yè, sàmù-yè, or Clarias-DefSg, or Alestes-Pl, Bagrus-Pl ‘With what size net [focus] do you-Pl catch the Brycinus (small sardines)? Or else the Clarias (catfish). Or Alestes (large sardines), (or) Bagrus (catfish).

(01:54) I [dègé-sòó ñùñù] [nóm piyé] gà [kártì dàmà] ni,
[Brycinus-net Top] [Dem.Deft too] be [kind also] it.is,
[dègé, miyé-gù] [[à miyé-gù] sóó] gà yàwⁿ,
[Brycinus, small-Adj] [[3Sg small-Adj] net] be.Loc there.Def,
‘Brycinus net, that one too has (sub-)types. (As for) small Brycinus, there is a net for
its small ones.’

[smooth pronunciation would be dègé miyé-gù with regular Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.3)
but the tone of dègé before a brief hesitation suggests that a different adjective was
initially planned; the lexical /LH(L)/-melodic miyé-gù appears in “possessed” à miyé-gù
(§4.5.1.2); kártì < local French qualité(s)]

(02:00) I [dègé-èn diyéⁿ-èⁿ] ná bùrà-àmà fâ-liyéⁿ-nà-liyàwⁿ,
[Brycinus-DefSg child-DefSg] if.Pfv grow.Pfv a.little-Dimin,
[à piyé] [nóm bôrôⁿ-lè-mëé] gà yàwⁿ,
[3Sg too] [Dem.Deft big-Dimin-Pl] be.Loc there.Def,
‘When the Brycinus’ young has grown a tiny bit, it (=net) too, there are that one’s
slightly bigger ones (=nets).’

[inchoative -ama (§9.4.4); fâ-liyéⁿ-nà-liyàwⁿ with multiple diminutive marking, cf. fâ-
lîyàwⁿ ‘a little’; bôrôⁿ-lè-mëé plural of adjectival diminutive bôrôⁿ-li-yàwⁿ ‘a slightly
big one’ (§5.1.7.4)]

(02:04) I [è sááⁿ] sání [ý sóó] ni,
[3Pl all] and [3RefSg net] it.is,
[à siyènàⁿ ñùnù] [à piyé] sání [ý sóó] ni
[3Sg Clarias Top] [3Sg too] and [3RefSg net] it.is
‘Each of them (fish sizes) has its (special) net. As for Clarias (catfish), it too has its
(special) net.’

(02:07) I [deux gà yàwⁿ] [trois gà yàwⁿ] [quatre gà yàwⁿ],
[two be.Loc there.Def] [three be.Loc there.Def] [four be.Loc there.Def],
áⁿ ná [sòò-nòò màⁿ] sànn dúw5ⁿ,
2Sg if.Pfv [net-eye Rel] buy.Pfv already,
‘There is two(-fingered net), there is three(-fingered net), there is four(-fingered net).
Whatever net size you have already/previously bought,’

[Net sizes are described by how many fingers can go into a hole in the netting, using
French numerals]
(02:11) I \(\text{á}^n\) ñà [nó-ò \(\text{nó}^n\)] siyënáŋ kú-nú, 2Sg Ipfv [Dem.Def-Foc eye] Clarias catch-Ipfv, [à sámù-yè], [3Sg Bagrus-Pl], ‘It’s (with) that size [focus] of net that you-Sg catch Clarias (catfish). (As for) Bagrus (catfish),’
\([nó-ò \text{nó}^n\text{ can also be phrased as a postverbal PP with instrumental ni, but the phrasing here with two preverbal NPs is acceptable}]

(02:14) I \([\text{nú-méé nùnù}] \text{ŋí kó}^n]\)
[[Dem.Def-Pl Top] 3ReflSg be.many]
[à gà kúmè [jáâ\(^{n}\) wò] pà],
[3Sg Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv [fishhook Foc] Comit],
‘As for those (=Bagrus), they are usually caught with fishhook traps.’

(02:16) I \([\text{á píyé} \text{sòó}] \text{gà yáw},\]
[[3Sg too] net] be.Loc there.Def,
[è sáá\(^{n}\) sòó nùnù] ñà yáw\(^{n}\),
[[3Pl all] net Top] be.Loc there.Def,
‘There is a net of it (=Bagrus) too. There are nets for each of them.’

(02:19) I \([\text{á jáám píyé} \text{gà yáw}^n]\]
[[3Sg fishhook too] be.Loc there.Def]
[à sáá\(^{n}\) sáñí [mí miyè-tígè wò] ní,
[3Sg all] and [3ReflSg fish(v)-gear Foc] it.is,
‘Its fishhook trap is there too. Each of them (=fish) has its fishing gear.’

(02:23) M à→ \([\text{siyèné}^{n}\text{-ém píyé}] \text{gà kúmè}, \text{jáám pà, ah}[\text{Clarias-DefSg too}] \text{Ipfv be.caught.Ipfv, fishhook Comit,}
\(\text{jó}^n\) ñáñí sámù-yè],
Dem.Def and Bagrus-Pl,
‘Ah, Clarias (catfish) too is caught, with a fishhook trap. That one (Clarias) and Bagrus.’

(02:30) M mais \([\text{yúw}^{5-}siìfà tànàà}] \text{tá kúmè→}
but [fish-kind other] IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv
[jáà-ám pà] tú\(^{n}\) nà, né jú-méé té rá
[fishhook-DefSg Comit] again Q, if Dem.Def-Pl it.is.not Q
‘But aren’t there other kinds of fish that are caught with the fishhook trap as well, other than those?’
I nowadays trap even catches fish. Whatever fish that is knocked into it,

[be heavy = predominate; But preponderantly the fish that is mainyly caught,]

It catches carp. Those fish are that (i.e. Clarias and Bagrus) nowadays. Anyway, the fishhook trap even catches Brycinus (sardine).

It catches Clarias (catfish) too — or rather it catches carps too.]

['Be heavy' = 'predominate'; mà-Réé-yè (§14.1.1)]
M: ‘But what about Lates fish-Pl?
I: ‘Lates too has its own fishhook traps.’

[Lates niloticus (Nile perch, local French “capitaine”), a large fish that commands high prices for the upscale restaurant trade]

M: ‘But Lates-Pl and Heterobranchus-Pl, when the rainy season floodwaters have already receded from it,’

[i.e. it’s easier to catch them early in the rainy season]
I hárì [káágá-jíí-im píýé] yàrónò, even [rainy.season-water-DefSg too] Lates, à ń dúwò₃n [wà́y-wà́y nìì] [íí nà [gíyé₃n mà₃]-y]]. 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few [today-today inside] [1Pl be [[place Rel]-Loc]],

‘Even in the rainy season, (as for) Lates, it is uncommon these days, in the situation where we are.’

I [támm píýé] ń dúwò₃n, [Heterobranchus too] 3ReflSg be.few, [á gà kúmè dé] 3Sg Ipfv be.caught.lpv Emph

‘Heterobranchus (catfish) too is uncommon. It is caught, admittedly,’

[ŋ́kà à ń dúwò₃n], [but 3Sg 3ReflSg be.few], ñkkà [á sàá₃n] sáì [ín miyè-fà wò] nì, but [3Sg all] and [3ReflSg fish.VblN-thing Foc] it.is,

‘But it is uncommon. But every (species) has its fishing gear.’

M bon íí ná = á miyá₃n [[kèminé-yè píýé] dåà] well 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg hear.lpv [[old.person-Pl too] from]
è gá = á sé-ré 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-lpv

‘Well, we hear from the mouths of old people, they say,’


‘There used to be certain kinds of fish there, now those (species) are not caught in the river.’

M è gá = á sé-ré, 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say-lpv,

‘They say that they, used to catch certain kinds of fish.’

[past imperfective (§10.3.2)]
(03:26) M sááwù nú-méé tá käy [Ṉó ni] piyé, nú-méé
now Dem.Def-Pl IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv [eye Inst] too, Dem.Def-Pl
gá [mûwó [yûwó-síffá síí-yè] [yûwó-síffá síí-yè] lûwó] ni,
be [which? [fish-kind any-Pl] [fish-kind any-Pl] Foc.Pl] it.is,
‘Now those (species) are not seen by the eye too (alongside those that are seen). Those
(species) are which various kinds of fish?’
[yûwó-síffá síí-yè repeated as distributive]

(03:30) M sârâ [yûwó bôróⁿ-yè lûwó] ni nà,
whether [fish big-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is Q,
ou bien [yûwó-liyáⁿ mîyà-gû-yè lûwó] ni
or [fish-Dimin small-Adj-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is
‘Were they big fish-Pl [focus], or were they little minnows [focus]?’
[sârâ ‘whether’ (§13.2.1.4)]

(03:34) I áywà yûwó-yè tiⁿ ñá yáwⁿ, pânâáⁿ-ɲ-è
well fish-Pl be.Past be.Loc there, first-DefSg-Loc
e t̩á kûmè sâáwù, ê túⁿ ñá wò péw,
3Pl IpfvNeg be.caught.Ipfv now, 3Pl get.lost.Pfv Pfv Foc completely,
‘Well, there used to be fish-Pl, in the old days. They aren’t caught now, they have
completely disappeared.’
[pânâáⁿ-ɲ-è ‘in the old days’; clause-final focus marker wò (§13.1.7); emphatic péw
~ few (§19.4.1.3)]

(03:38) I ê tâ tiyá piyé—
3Pl IpfvNeg be.known.Ipfv too—
ê tâ käy piyé túⁿ, [nóⁿ yûwó-yè] gá yáwⁿ,
3Pl IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv too again, [Dem.Def fish-Pl] be.Loc there.Def,
‘They aren’t known any long(er)— They are no longer seen. Those fish were
(formerly) there.’
[tiyá/tiyá ‘be known’; elsewhere tiyá can function at least informally as the Pfv of Ipfv
(or stative) tûwó ‘know’; negation plus tú ‘again’ = ‘no longer’ (§19.3.1.3) if correctly
transcribed, but túⁿ in this recording is often the verb ‘get lost, become extinct’; gá
‘be.Loc’ in a past-time context (overt Past marking with túⁿ ñá is not obligatory)]
I áa Ṇógò gá á-ỳ, [ŋó ŋùnù] tún Ṇà, ah Arius be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, [Dem.Def Top] get.lost.Pfv Pfv, hàrí [ŋóóm-báá-táá-ná pééntèn] tá = à tò, even [mature.person many] IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv, ‘Ah, Arius (giant catfish) was included. As for that one, it has disappeared. Even many mature (experienced) people don’t know it.’

[Arius gigas, a huge catfish, now perhaps locally extinct; ŋóóm-báá ‘thoughtfulness, being responsible’, used with verb tà(-rà) ‘stand’]

(03:46) I bon, sáŋáaŋ Ṇà yáwŋ, [ŋóm píyé] tún Ṇà kiláwŋ, okay, Hepsetus be.Loc there.Def, [Dem.Def too] be.Past Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv, ŋóŋ Ṇà [sìná sòm-bàànná], Dem.Def be [like Hydrocynus-manner], ‘Okay, there was Hepsetus (pike). That too used to be available (catch-able). That one is like Hydrocynus (tigerfish).’

[sìná and compound final -bàànn (§8.4.1)]

(03:50) I [ŋó-ò té] [yúwò bóróm] pàà-ŋ-kòóò té, [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [fish big] entirely it.is.not, [ŋóm píyé] tún Ṇà, [Dem.Def too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv, ‘Anyway, it isn’t a particularly big fish. That one too has disappeared.’

[ŋó-ò té short for ‘if it isn’t that [focus]’; pàà-ŋ-kòóò is adverbial here, cf. comitative pà, ŋ-kòóö ‘one’]


[[[íì ńùnù] dòbó-òj] kùmà] [sí-sàà-liyáŋ nííŋ],

‘Ah, Parachanna (snakehead) used to be present. It too is not seen (=present) in our river now.’
I sámú-pín tiₙ ná yáwₙ,
Bagrus-black be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
bé-kíyé sámú-pín tiₙ ná yáwₙ,
times.past Bagrus-black be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
‘Black Bagrus (catfish) used to be present. In the past, black Bagrus was present.’
[refers to Bagrus docmak, distinct from the still common and lighter-colored Bagrus bayad]

I sámú-pín tá kiláₙ sáwù,
Bagrus-black IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv now
[[támúm piyé] piₙyè-ná] tiₙ ná yáwₙ,
[[Heterobranchus too] black-Ppl] be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
‘Black Bagrus is not available (catch-able) now. The black one of Heterobranchus (catfish) too used to be present.’
[scope of piyé and negation (§19.1.3); the locally common Heterobranchus is H. bidorsalis; its “black” cousin támú-pífn (see @ 04:13 below) is probably the rare H. longifilis]

à → [nóm piyé] tá kiláₙ sáwù,
ah [Dem.Def too] IpfvNeg be.gotten.Ipfv now,
númàₙsiyé tiₙ ná yáw,
giant.Malapterurus be.Past be.Loc there.Def,
‘Ah, that one too is not available (catch-able) now. Giant Malapterurus (electric catfish) used to be present.
[númàₙsiyé (dialectally númàₙsàₙ), Malapterurus minjiriya (not described until 1987), has electrical capabilities similar to the common, much smaller electric catfish called númà (M. electricus)]

[kiₙyè dialectal for kúₙyè ‘these, those’ (deictic, but here functioning as near-distant discourse definite)]
(04:10) I à→ nùmààⁿsiyè, à mò bòròⁿ,
ah giant.\textit{Malapterurus}, 3Sg 3ReflSg be.big,
à gá bùrà-âmá jàáti,
3Sg Ipv big-become.Ipv exactly,
‘Ah, giant \textit{Malapterurus}, it is big. It definitely gets big.’
\newline
\textit{[jàáti \textbullet\textcircled{19.4.1.2}]}

(04:13) I à→ [támú-píím píyé] à gá bùrà-âmá jàáti wù,
ah [\textit{Heterobranchus}-black too] 3Sg Ipv big-become.Ipv exactly Foc,
[à píyé] tùⁿ ñá,
3Sg too get.lost.Pfv Pfv
‘Ah, black \textit{Heterobranchus} too, it definitely gets big. It too has disappeared.’

(04:16) I [sámú-píím píyé] [[à píyé] mò bòròⁿ],
[\textit{Bagrus}-black too] [[3Sg too] 3ReflSg be.big],
[à píyé] tùⁿ ñá wày,
3Sg too get.lost.Pfv Pfv today,
‘Black \textit{Bagrus} too, it too is big. It too has disappeared nowadays.’

(04:19) I ñógò, [nóm píyé] gà [yúwó bóróⁿ wò] ní,
\textit{Arius}, [Dem.Def too] be [fish big Foc] it.is,
[à píyé] tùⁿ ñá,
3Sg too get.lost.Pfv Pfv,
‘\textit{Arius} (giant catfish), it too is a big fish. It too has disappeared.’

(04:22) I ñkàà [sáàjáá ñùnù] [nóⁿ ñá [sóñ jàtë] ní],
but [\textit{Hepsetus} Top] [Dem.Def be [\textit{Hydrocynus} size] it.is],
[nóm píyé] tùⁿ ñá, [ki-yé ñùnù sáàn] tùⁿ ñá wày,
[Dem.Def too] get.lost.Pfv Pfv, [Dem-Pl Top all] get.lost.Pfv Pfv today,
‘On the other hand \textit{Hepsetus} (pike) is the same (middling) size as \textit{Hydrocynus}
tigerfish). That one (i.e. \textit{Hepsetus}) too has disappeared. All of those have disappeared these days.’

(04:28) M àà, àⁿ ñá siní [fà sé-rê = [= één tè]] ñmàà
ah, 2Sg Ipv be.able.Pfv [thing say-Ipv [1Pl Dat]] whether
[[sú màn] dáà] ki-yé tùⁿ ñá, [[fín dòbò] niïⁿ] nà,
‘Ah, can you-Sg tell us something (about) why have those (fish) have disappeared, in our river?’
\newline
\textit{[sú (dialectally hù) default nonhuman noun in relative heads]}

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[[1Pl water] inside], (false start)
‘Or why those (fish) have disappeared (from) in our water.’

(04:35) M ná= à nà bé kàsà-mà
if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv coincide.Pfv
[sù màⁿ-yé=] è tǔⁿ-ní ɗà,
[thing Rel-Pl] 3Pl get.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv,
‘If it happened that things came and made them disappear.’

(04:37) M *ou bien* ná= à nà bé kàsà-mà [à tè]
or if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
[è dúwọⁿ ɗà [bá-rá [jììf nwiforcing]]]
[3Pl finish.Pfv Pfv [exit-Ipfv [water inside]]]
‘Or if it happened to it that they (=fish) finished going out of (=were depleted in) the water.’

*imperfective VP as complement of ‘finish’, as with ‘begin’ (§15.1.1.3)*

(04:41) I à→ [[mèëⁿ ɗùnù] yé= è tǔⁿ-níⁿ ɗà]
ah [[Rel Top] Sbj/Obj 3Pl get.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv]
[jììf-liyéⁿ mìyà-gù kémbëré] tìŋ kìyé gà
‘Ah, what made them disappear (was), some water shortages (=droughts) had happened,’

*past perfect (§10.3.4)*

(04:43) I [wàáti kìyé-n-ẹ]-y, [[fìⁿ hàgírì] pà ɗùnù]
[time pass-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc, [[1Pl mind] Comit Top]
[nó-ò yá= à tǔⁿ-ní ɗà],
[Dem.Def-Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg be.lost-Caus.Pfv Pfv],
‘… in the past. In our thinking, that [focus] is what made it (=fish) disappear.
*topic marker after postposition*
I bàrì \[wááti kíyé\] jí tìn dúwàⁿ ṣà pëw
because [time a.certain] water be.Past finish.Pfv PfV entirely
[íìm pà] bòⁿ,
[1Pl Comit] here,
‘Because one year the water had been completely depleted (=dried up), among us here.’

(04:49) I [dòbò-ònjáátì] tìⁿ ṣá ù kúlè-kúlè
[river-DefSg exactly] be.Past Ipfv 3ReflSg cut-cut.Ipfv
[hàrì kíń tìⁿ ṣá tá-rá],
[even skiff be.Past Ipfv stand-Ipfv],
‘The river itself was cut off (=interrupted) here and there. Even boats were stopped.’
[iterative verb ‘cut’ for distributivity (§9.6)]

(04:52) I háyà [[nóń láá ṣunjú] nà ŋ tìⁿ] —
well [[Dem.Def QTop Top] if.Pfv 3ReflSg do.Pfv]
[yúwó ṣunjú] [júgú tá = á-yá] [sírè tá = á-yá],
[fish Top] [tree not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc] [rock not.be 3Sg-Loc],
‘Well, when that happens, as for fish, there are neither trees nor rocks there.’
[submerged tree trunks and rocks are important for fish habitats]

(04:55) I nóⁿ ŋ lábàáⁿ ṣà [yúwó ṣunjú] —
Dem.Def 3ReflSg result(v).Pfv PfV (hesitation)—
[yúwó-yè kêmbèré] gà dúwàⁿ,
[fish-Pl certain.Pl] Ipfv finish.Ipfv,
‘That resulted in certain fish-Pl being finished (=extinct).’

(04:57) I íⁿ ṣá = à nàátá ṣó-ò yè —
1Pl Ipfv 3Sg notice.Ipfv (hesitation)—
[ṣó-ò yè [yúwó-yè kêmbèré] dúwàⁿ-ńíⁿ ṣà,
‘We observe (=conclude) that that [focus] is what finishes off certain fish (species).’
rice farming

(05:03) M áå bon, [sáágù ŋùnù], ím bá gà jí-fàntáà-y-è—
ah okay, [now Top], 1Pl exit(v).Pfv Pfv\ water-share(n)-DefSg-Loc—
ítm bá gà [yúwù-fàntáà níî'],
1Pl exit(v).Pfv Pfv\ [fish-share(n) inside],
‘Ah okay, now we have exited (=have finished with) the water part—, (or rather) we
have exited the fish part (of the recording).’

(05:08) M ím bá gà, súwù-fàntàà-y-è,
1Pl come.Pfv Pfv, cultivate.VblN-share-DefSg-Loc, [here QTop]
áå gà [mùwù súwù-bàànà sìí-yè luwù] tíí-ní,
2Pl Ipfv [which? cultivate.VblN-manner any-Pl Foc.PI\ do-Ipfv,
‘We have come to the farming part. What about here? What forms of farming do you-
Pl do?’
[< bô' làà/

(05:13) M ñìmàá áå gà nápáà kilá á-ý
whether 2Pl Ipfv crops get.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc
bé [áá pìyé] bílá-ní
‘That is, whether you-Pl get crops therein to sustain yourselves.’
[pìyé in reflexive sense (§18.1.2)]

(05:17) I áå sááwù íî' ŋá [súwù-ná mèèn] tíí-ní,
ah now 1Pl Ipfv [cultivate-Ppl Rel] do-Ipfv,
báárá-tuwù, [dúgu wò] n tíyèn,
B, [rice Foc] 3ReflSg be.heavy,
‘Ah, now, the crops that we do, (in) Baratou (village), rice [focus] is heavy
(=predominant).’

(05:21) I íî' ŋè = éèn tìyèn [dúgu-wàà]-y,
1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl be.heavy [rice-DefSg.Foc]-Loc,
bàrì [píùn dàà],
because [millet QTop],
‘We are heavy on rice. Because as for millet,’
(05:23) I né [jīf-ìyán dúwò-gù] té
if [water-Dimin meager-Adj] it.is.not
[píìn ŋùnù] tā láyì bóñ kììyèwì,
[millet Top] IpfvNeg be.worked.lpv here like.that,
‘Unless there is a drought, as for millet, it isn’t worked (=grown) here so much.’
[“millet” here combines pearl millet (petit mil) and sorghum (gros mil), which cannot
be farmed in floodplains like those that surround Baratou village during normal wet
seasons]

(05:25) I [jīf-yè kíye gà bó]n
[year-Pl pass.Pfv Pfv here]
[ínn tíín ná píñj káyí],
[1Pl be.Past Ipfv millet work.Ipfv],
‘(Some) years in the past here, we used to work (=grow) millet.’

(05:27) I ìjkàà [nón dáá ŋùnú] nà—
but [Dem.Def QTOP TOP] be—
jíí-ní-táàmà yé [yòó-bàà]-ní-táàmà,
[winter-Link]-lack(n) and [rain-Link]-lack(n),
‘But that is— shortage of water and shortage of rain (=drought).’
yè as rare ‘and’ conjunction (§7.1.2)

(05:30) I [nó-ò yè =] =éë nà píñj káyí,
[Dem.Def-Foc Loc] 1Pl Ipfv millet work.Ipfv,
[nó-ò té] [íìi nè = éën tiyëí [dúgo-wàà]-yì,
[Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl be.heavy [rice-DefSg.Foc]-Loc],
‘It’s in that (situation) [focus] that we work (=grow) millet. Otherwise it’s in the rice
[focus] that we are heavy.’
[nó-ò plus locative -y; contracted < né pó-ò té ‘if it isn’t that [focus]’]

(05:33) I íñ ñà dúgo-wàà sûwò, miyè dúgo,
1Pl Ipfv rice-DefSg.Foc cultivate.Ipfv, fish(v).VblN rice,
íñ ñà dúgo-wàà káyí mànnáá-tíìì-ìì, yíì
1Pl Ipfv rice-DefSg.Foc work(v).Ipfv well-Adv,
‘It’s rice [focus] that we farm. Fishing, (and) rice. It’s the rice [focus] that we work
(=grow) well.’
[miyè with final intonational pitch rise for incompletion, followed by terminal low
pitch on dúgo for completion; evaluative adverb mànnáá-tíìì-ìì (§8.4.3.2)]
(05:38) I àⁿ na= à kày [ìfìⁿ ñà [pìfìⁿ ñùnù] sùwɔ̃] sááⁿ,
2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg see.Pfv [1Pl Ipfv [millet Top] cultivate.Ipfv] all,
[jíí wù] tà dɔ̀-rɔ̀,
[wat]er Foc IpfvNeg enter-Ipfv,
‘If you-Sg see that we are cultivating millet, (it means that) water (=flooding) [focus]
is not coming in.’

*sááⁿ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedent (§16.1.2): wù variant of focus wò*

(05:41) I né [jíí ñùnù] ñà dɔ̀-rɔ̀, dúgɔ̀ ë→
if [water Top] Ipfv enter-Ipfv, rice oh!
[pìfì dú mànà] [ìm pà] bôⁿ,
[millet IpfvNeg become.good.Ipfv [1Pl Comit] here,
‘(On the other hand) if water is coming in, rice— oops, millet doesn’t do well among
us here.’

[comparative antecedent with imperfective aspect; mànà/mànà ‘become good’
(aspect-marked), contrast stative reflexive màyⁿ ‘be good’]

(05:46) M àà bɔ̀n, áà gà [ dúgɔ̀-mèèŋ] kàyⁿ yàwⁿ, dúgɔ̀-yàw
ah! okay, 2Pl Ipfv [rice Rel] work.Ipfv there.Def, rice-DefSg
[né jíí nà dɔ̀ wù], áà gà= à sùwɔ̀ rà,
 [if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv Foc], 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv Q,
‘Ah, okay, the rice that you-Pl work (=grow) there, the rice, is it when the water
(=flooding) comes in [focus] (that) you-Pl cultivate it?’

(05:51) M ou bien [né jíí nà kërëⁿ wù]
or [if water if.Pfv dry.up.Pfv Foc]
áà gà= à sùwɔ̀
2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv
‘Or is it when the water dries up (=floodwaters recede) [focus] that you-Pl cultivate
it?’

(05:52) M ou bien, áà gà= [à mùwɔ̀ sùwɔ̀-bààmà sìfì] tíí-nù, ou bien
or 2Pl Ipfv [3Sg which? cultivate.VblN-manner any] do-Ipfv, or
áà gà [kɔ̀rɔ́ⁿ-yé lùwɔ̀] tíí-ñì [kɔ̀rɔ́ⁿ-yé lùwɔ̀] bàá],
‘Or which of its (=rice’s) farming methods do you-Pl do (=use)? Is it irrigation canals
[focus] that you-Pl do (=use) to clear fields?’

[refers to the large-scale irrigation system (dams and irrigation canals) for rice
farming, operated by the Office du Niger; focalized NP repeated]
We don’t have a canal here, we didn’t (=couldn’t) get a canal. We badly want it, but we didn’t get a canal.

“We don’t have a canal here, we didn’t (=couldn’t) get a canal. We badly want it, but we didn’t get a canal.’

We cultivate it (=rice) with our cows (=oxen). When the rainy season has begun,

In the past we used to cultivate it (=rice) in the cold season, but nowadays (as for) winter farming, it has become insignificant among us here.’

It (=winter farming) isn’t very common (now). When the rice has finished being harvested (around February),’
‘Some (=crops) are grown, others wait (until the next rainy season).’

[rainy season begins around June]

‘When the rainy season arrives, ah, they take their cows (=oxen) and they cultivate (=plow).’

‘What(-ever) size (of the field) you were able to cultivate, when the floodwaters come, when it (=rice) has sprouted, this way [focus] is how we grow it.’

[‘come’ plus Pfv verb (§15.1.2)]
(06:32) M sóó— sóó gá kirá= á-ỳ,
(hesitation) grass lpfv get.up.lpfv 3Sg-Loc,
ou bien sóó tá kirá= á-ỳ,
or grass lpfvNeg get.up.lpfv 3Sg-Loc
‘Do the plants get up in it? Or do the plants not get up in it?’

(06:37) I áà, [î'ná sùwɔ̀ sùwɔ̀] [sááwù sùnù]
av, [1Pl i.Pfv cultivate.Pfv Top] [now Top]
[sùwɔ̀-3n ˘ mà máy` nà [íim pà] bóm piyé]
[cultivate.VblN-DefSg 3ReflSg ruin.Pfv Pfv [1Pl Comit] here too]
‘Ah, as for when we have planted, as for nowadays, the farming has also deteriorated
among us here.’

(06:39) I bàrì [tiyé-yè sáán] fà gá [sóó ní],
because [field-Pl all] become.Pfv Pfv [grass Inst],
[á` nà [gíyènìyèn màn sáa` sí] sùwɔ̀]
[2Sg lpfv [place-Dimin Rel all any] cultivate.lpfv]
‘Because all the (rice) fields have become (nothing but) grass (=weeds), any little spot
that you cultivate,’

(06:42) I né án tè [pósóni wò] sàm [bá= à pɔmpè],
if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Foc] buy.Pfv [Seq 3Sg spray(v).Pfv],
án tá [fɔy piyé] kilá= á-ỳ,
2Sg lpfvNeg [nothing too] get.lpfv 3Sg-Loc,
‘If you-Sg haven’t bought insecticide and sprayed it, you-Sg won’t get anything at all
out of it (=field).’
[< sà` bë; French pomper]

(06:46) I sóó-wàà yá= [à sáa`] kàmà gá,
grass-DefSg.Foc Sbj/Obj [3Sg all] take.Pfv Pfv,
á` nà sùwɔ̀ [nàa-á` ní], sóó-òn tá kälé,
2Sg if.Pfv cultivate.Pfv [cow-DefSg Inst], grass-DefSg lpfvNeg die.lpfv,
‘The grass (=weeds) [focus] (will) have taken over all of it (=field). If you-Sg farm
with the ox, the grass (=weeds) won’t die.’

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It’s if you-Sg don’t poison it [focus] that you-Sg won’t get anything any longer nowadays.’

Ah, that too has been understood. Ah, okay, what kinds of rice do you-Pl cultivate here?’

‘Okay, its African rice [focus] that we cultivate here: albà, and máròbájá’n, and sùmú’n.’

[the traditional African rice, Oryza glaberrima, has been broadly supplanted by the Asian white rice O. sativa, but it is making a comeback; of the cultivars, albà has short white grains; máròbájá’n has long brown grains; sùmú’n has short grains that are either black (sùmùm-pìi’n) or brown (sùmùn-tòmò); see also @ 09:18 below]

‘In the past, when we had cultivated it (=white people’s rice), the animals used to give us a lot of trouble.’

[livestock, especially cattle, would eat the rice on the plant; nà ‘if.Pfv’ with past-time tì’n]
(07:17) I íⁿª nón dábay gá, ín tín ná = à sùwò,
1Pl Dem. Def cease.Pfv Pfv, 1Pl be. Past if Pfv 3Sg cultivate.Pfv,
dáába-yè— hàrí à bé müwò,
animal-Pl— before 3Sg Seq ripen.Pfv,
‘We abandoned that (=white people’s rice). When we used to cultivate it, the
animals— before it ripened,’

(07:20) I déáá-sèbèⁿ-èⁿ òù = =één tórò-nà,
animal-issue-DefSg Ipfv 1Pl pester-Ipfv,
1Tn nōn dábay gá,
1Pl Dem.  Def cease.Pfv Pfv,
‘The livestock problem gives us trouble. We abandoned that.’

(07:23) I háyà nè [jíí-yàm píyé] nà bé
well if [water-DefSg too] if Pfv come.Pfv
[bíyé-báàná ŋ-kíyéⁿ]-ýⁿ
[come. VblN- manner Link-a. certain]-Loc
‘Well, when the water (=floodwaters) comes in a certain way (=all at once),’

(07:25) I [à píyé] gá = à nágási-nà,
[3Sg too] Ipfv 3Sg wither-Ipfv,
[háyà íⁿ nón dábay gá]
[well 1Pl Dem.  Def cease.Pfv Pfv]
‘That too makes it (=rice) develop poorly. Well, we abandoned it.’

(07:28) I íⁿª ná [tı tü-pii]-dùgò-yè sótì-sáti-rì,
1Pl Ipfv [body-black]-rice-Pl Rdtp-toss-Ipfv,
íⁿ ná [nú-méé lùwɔ₃] sùwɔ₃,
1Pl Ipfv [Dem. Def-Pl  Foc.Pl] cultivate.Ipfv,
‘We sow (=plant) African rices. Those [focus] are what we cultivate.
[rice and fonio are planted by strewing seeds by hand, unlike other crop plants
which are planted by dropping seeds onto spots in a field that have been slashed with
a tool and tamping down with the foot]’

(07:34) M áⁿ ñé = è sé gà sááwù, 2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Pl say.Pfv PfV now, wéréⁿ ñá siní [sóó mù”] which? IpV be.ableốpfv [grass under] ‘… (that) you-Sg mentioned just now, which one can stand up to grass (=weeds)? [’be able’ plus ‘under X’ means ‘be stronger than X, be able to stand up to X’]

(07:38) M parce que [án dáá] yè súnù because [2Sg QTop] said Quot sóó ñ kóⁿ [áá pà] bóⁿ, grass 3ReflSg be.many [2Pl Comit] here, ‘Because you-Sg said that there is a lot of grass (=weeds) among you-Pl here.’ [quotative súnù ‘that’ (§17.1.4)]

(07:40) M parce que áⁿ ñè súnù, because 2Sg said Quot, sóó-ñⁿ ñè [áá tiyè pééntèn] kàmá gà = [áá nà], grass-DefSg Sbj/Obj [2Pl field a.lot] take.Pfv PfV [2Pl Dat], ‘Because you-Sg said that, the grass (=weeds) have taken over many of your-Pl fields from you-Pl.’ [áá nà emended at the speaker’s request from áá kâⁿ ‘chez vous’ on the recording]

(07:45) M mais [mùwó dúgš-síffá síí] gà yáwⁿ, but [which? rice-kind any] be.Loc there.Def, nmà, áá nà = à sùwɔ, whether, 2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg cultivate.Pfv, ‘But which kind of rice is there, that when you grow it,’
(07:48) M à gá siní, [sóó-n mòn],
     3Sg Ipv be.able.Ipv, [grass-DefSg under],
 wáràmá né [nó-á dúgó] tá = [áá pá]
or if [Dem.Def-Link rice] not.be.Loc [2Pl Comit]
‘It can stand up to the grass (=weeds)? Or if (=whether) that rice does not occur among
you-Pl.’

(07:52) I àywá [[dúgó ṣ̀nù] tá siní [sóó timààná] kóy]
well [[rice Top] IpvNeg be.able.Ipv [grass prevent.Ipv] Emph]
né→ pósóni siná = [á té kàrè wò] té,
if poison otherwise [3Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Foc] it.is.not,
‘Well, as for rice, it sure can’t prevent grass (=weeds), unless poison (kills it) and/or
it dies [focus].’

(07:57) I à→ [dúgó ṣ̀nù] tá siní—
ah [rice Top] IpvNeg be.able.Ipv—
Ø yè = é(é) pásómpásómp [bwó tè] ṣ̀nù sóa,
3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl Rdp-be.better [Recip Dat] anyway Emph
‘Ah, as for rice, it can’t— Some (varieties) are definitely better than others anyway.’
[iteration of pásóⁿ (§12.1.3)]

(07:59) I ūkàa, [ā kàlè-ná-wàà] m pàsóⁿ,
but, [3Sg die-Ppl-DefSg.Foc] 3ReflSg be.better,
ná = án tè [pósóni ṣ̀nù] sóaⁿ sóáaⁿ,
if 2Sg PfvNeg [poison Top] buy.Pfv all,
‘But dead (=grass) [focus] is better. Unless you-Sg buy poison (=herbicide),’

(08:03) I án tá dúgó gàràbá = [án tiyé]-y.
2Sg IpvNeg rice reap.Ipv [2Sg field]-Loc,
bàrí sóó-òŋ kúsà-má gà ɲuwó-tííⁿ-ýⁿ,
because grass-DefSg many-become.Pfv Pfv extremely,
‘You-Sg won’t harvest any rice in your field, because the grass (=weeds) have
proliferated extremely.’
[< gàràbú]
M áá, [sóó-óŋ kúsá-má gá [gíyéⁿ-ëⁿ níⁿ]]
ah, [grass-DefSg many-become.Pfv Pfv [place-DefSg inside]]
sááwù áá gá súwó [bóntó kúmá wú rà→]
now 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [elevation on Foc Q],
‘Ah, (so) the grass has proliferated in the place (=rice field). Now do you-Pl farm on high ground?

(08:14) M ńtà áá gá súwó [tòp-óŋ wù]
or 2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [depression Foc]
I [tòp-óŋ nùnù] ñ kàmá gá kóy,
[depression Top] 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv elevation—
[bóntó-yé lùwó]-ý sááwù,
[elevation-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc now,
‘Or do you-Pl farm on low ground?’
I: ‘(Farming) on low ground has been abandoned.’

(08:20) I [sááwù nùnù] íⁿ ná súwó bóntó—
[now Top] 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv elevation—
[bóntó-yé lùwó]-ý sááwù,
[elevation-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc now,
‘Nowadays, it’s on elevations [focus] that we farm now.’

(08:22) I [né jíí tin té dó]
[if water be.Past PfvNeg enter.Pfv]
íⁿ ná [gíyéⁿ mà-ré-méé] súwó
1Pl Ipfv [place Rel-Pl-Pl] cultivate.Ipfv
[bé = è yàá [pííⁿ-n-tíyé ní] yáwⁿ,
[Seq 3Pl put.Pfv [millet-Link-field Inst] there.Def,
‘(In the past) when water (=flooding) did not come in, we would convert it (=rice field) into a millet field there.’
[conditional antecedent with past-time reference (not counterfactual); mà-ré-méé variant of plural relative marker; yàá ‘put’ in sense ‘convert, transform’]

(08:24) I áá, [né jíí ná bùrà-àmá]
ah, [if water if.Pfv big-become.Pfv]
[[á làá píyé] gá [dúgás-n-tíyé wù] ní]
[[3Sg QTop too] be [rice-Link-field Foc] it.is]
‘Ah, if the water (=flooding) became big, on the other hand, it too was a rice field [focus].’
[-n- linker in compound]
(08:26) I sááwù íⁿ̄ ɲá sùwó [nó-ů bónù-yé lùw]-̃, now 1Pl Lpfv cultivate.Lpfv [Dem.Def-Link elevation-Pl Foc.Pl]-Loc, [nó-ů tē] [ tôp-pá]-yé ŋùnù, [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [depression-Pl Top]

‘Nowadays it’s on those elevations [focus] that we cultivate (rice). Otherwise, as for the depressions,’

(08:29) númún tá síní kwérère [nóm p̣à] túⁿ, person LpfvNeg be.able.Lpfv touch.Lpfv [Dem.Def Comit] again, sóó-ůⁿ yá = ǎ kámá gâ, grass-DefSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg take.Pfv Pfv,

‘Nobody can touch that (=a depression) any longer. The grass has taken it over.’

(08:32) áywà, [jí-f-yâm píyè] nà bé well, [water-DefSg too] if.Pfv come.Pfv [biyè-báànè-ëŋ kíyè]-̃-ûⁿ, [come.Vbl-manner-DefSg a.certain]-Loc,

‘Well, when the water (=flooding) comes in a certain way,’

(08:34) fóy tá māná = á-û, nothing LpfvNeg become.good.Lpfv 3Sg-Loc, [[à píyé] gâ ŋ káá [a kûmâ]]

[3Sg too] Lpfv 3ReflSg burst.Lpfv [3Sg on]]

‘Nothing will turn out well in it. It (=water) floods onto it.’

(08:37) [a ã] gâ = [a sā] máyⁿ,
[3Sg Lpfv [3Sg all] ruin.Lpfv, [ṃ p̣à] iⁿ̄ ɲá sùwó [bônù kûmâ] sááwù,
[1Sg Comit] 1Pl Lpfv cultivate.Lpfv [elevation on] now,
‘And it (=flood) ruins it. I think we farm on high ground now.’

/PP [X pâ] in sense ‘X believes’/

(08:44) M òkè sá-sàà-liyèwⁿ áá gâ [mùwō dúg-síffà sî—] okay now 2Pl Lpfv (hesitation—) [mùwō dúg-síffà sî wû] sùwó,

[which? rice-kind any Foc] cultivate.Lpfv

‘Okay, what kind of rice do you-Pl cultivate nowadays?’

[sá-sàà-liyèwⁿ ~ liyèwⁿ (§5.1.7.3, §8.4.5.1)]
(08:49) M [nôⁿ sâni] [áá gá sùwô] [[nàa wú dàmá] ní] nà [Dem.Def and] [2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[cow Foc only] Inst] Q] [òù wàràmâ] [áá gá sùwô] [[fâ tânáá] ní] tûⁿ, [or] [2Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[thing other] Inst] again], ‘And then, do you-Pl farm with a cow (=ox) only? Or do you-Pl also farm with something else?’ [òù wàràmâ mix of wàràmâ ‘or’ and French ou bien ‘or’]


(08:57) I íⁿ ñá sùwô [[nû-méé lùwô] ní], 1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst], âá [né mâⁿ nà wâléj kilâw’] ah [if Rel if.Pfv money get.Pfv] ‘Those [focus] are what we cultivate with. Ah, if (you are) someone who has gotten money (=wealth),’

(08:59) I âⁿ ñá màsîn-tûù dé-ré, 2Sg Ipfv machine-owner take-Ipfv, ã gâ= [ân tîyé-êⁿ] sùwô, 3Sg Ipfv [2Sg field-DefSg] cultivate.Ipfv, ‘You-Sg take (=hire) a tractor owner, he will cultivate (=plow) your-Sg field.’

(09:01) I bon [nôⁿ lâa pîyé] [wàléⁿ nûnû] tâ [sâám pâ], well [Dem.Def QTop too] [money Top] not.be.Loc [all Comit], wâléⁿ ñá [mànn pà] [áⁿ ñá sîní [màsîn dé-ré]], money be.Loc [Rel Comit] [2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [machine take-Ipfv], ‘Well, regarding that (=tractor), as for the money, not everybody has it. (If you are) someone who has money, you-Sg can hire a tractor.’

(09:05) I â gâ fâ-ïyâⁿ sùwâ= [ân tê] 3Sg Ipfv a.little cultivate.Ipfv [2Sg Dat] nê wâlên tâ= [ám pâ] lâà, if money not.be.Loc [2Sg Comit] QTop, ‘He will cultivate (=plow) for you-Sg for a while. On the other hand, if you-Sg don’t have the money,’
I áⁿ ɲá sòwò [[án nàá-yè] ní],
2Sg Ipfv cultivate.lpv [[2Sg cow-Pl] Inst],
áⁿ ná sìni [bé [hú màⁿ] sòwò]
2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Pfv [Seq [thing Rel] cultivate.lpv]
‘You-Sg cultivate (=plow) with your-Sg cows (=oxen). What(ever) you can cultivate,’

(09:10) I nó-ò  gá= [áⁿ fwò] ní
Dem.Def-Focl be.Loc [2Sg Poss] it.is
‘That [focus] is what is yours.’

(09:14) M áá yá= áá tíyeⁿ
2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl be.heavy
[[mùwò dúgó-síffà síí] kùmà] sááwù
[[which? rice-kind any] on] now
‘You-Pl are heavy on which kind of rice now?’

(09:18) I áà, [dúgó ɲùnù] [á síffà] ḥí kóⁿ,
ah, [rice Top] [3Sg kind] 3RefIsg be.many,
àlibà gá= á-y, tòmbó gá= á-y, sùmuⁿ ɲá= á-y,
A be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, T be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, S be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
‘Ah, as for rice, its kinds (= cultivars) are many. àlibà is (included) in it, tòmbó is in it, and sùmuⁿ is in it.’
[cultivars of rice appear here with list intonation; cf. @ 07:06 above]

(09:22) I á, máróbájàⁿ ɲá= á-y,
ah, M be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
bon [[sùwòró màⁿ] ná niyè-gá [màm pà]]
well [[seedstock Rel] if.Pfv easy-Adj [Rel Comit]]
‘Oh, and máróbájàⁿ is in it. Whatever seedstock is convenient for anyone,’
[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

(09:25) I áⁿ ɲá nó-ò sòwò [[án tiyè-y]-è,
2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def-Focl cultivate.lpv [2Sg field-DefSgl]-Loc,
iíⁿ ɲá [ númée lùwò] sòwò bóⁿ,
1Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Pl Focl] cultivate.lpv here,
‘That [focus] is what you-Sg cultivate (=plant) in your field. Those (cultivars) [focus] are what we cultivate here.’
(00:30) M áá náà = à dúgó-yè sáti [báà = à kilàw"n],
2Pl if.Pfv 3Sg rice-Pl toss.Pfv [Seq 3Sg finish.Pfv]
fà ta [jií nwiìn] thing not.be.Loc [water inside]
‘When you-Pl have finished sowing rices, is there not something in the water …’


(09:37) M [ńó ná só] [à ná bá yáw"n],
[Dem.Def if.Pfv go.Pfv] [3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv there.Def], dúgó ná ñjà gàràbù [wáátùmá màn], rice if.Pfv 3ReflSg reap.Pfv [time Rel] ‘When that has gone and it has left (=after that), at the time when the rice has been reaped (=harvested),’

(09:40) M áá ná bà= [à ní] nàgí-yí, áá gà—
2Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc, (hesitation)—
parce que [áá láá] gà jiín gwimán= [[à ní wù], because [2Pl QTop] Ipfv year turn.Ipfv [[3Sg Inst] Foc]
‘When you-Pl bring it (=rice) to the village, because it’s with it [focus] that you-Pl spend a year.’
[i.e. until the next harvest]

(09:44) M [à jiín-gwimín-i nà]
[3Sg year-turn.VblN-DefSg QTop] [à tá màýn nà],
[3Sg IpfvNeg be.ruined.Ipfv Q],
‘(With) its spending a year, does it (=rice) not spoil?’

(09:46) M ou bien áá gé= è yàá
or 2Pl Ipfv 3Pl put.Ipfv
[mùw5 yiyè-báánà sí]-yí [which? put.VblN-manner any]-Loc
‘Or in what manner do you deposit (=store) them (=crops)?’
(09:48) M [sú mǎⁿ] ɲá = à tó-ró [à tá máỳⁿ]
[thing Rel] Ipfv 3Sg compel-Ipfv [3Sg IpfvNeg be.ruined.Ipfv]
I bon, [dúgš-s'm nǔnù],
well, [rice-DefSg Top],
[hàrí sòŋ-y-è] máỳⁿ-fá gá = á-ỳ,
[even the.bush-DefSg-Loc] ruin-thing be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
M: ‘(With) something that insures that it doesn’t spoil?’
I: ‘Well, as for the rice, even out in the bush (=the fields) there are spoiling agents.’

(09:54) I bàrí, [áⁿ nà dúgš-sâ] sátì
because, [2Sg if.Pfv rice-DefSg toss.Pfv]
né jíí nà dó [à múⁿ],
if water if.Pfv enter.Pfv [3Sg under],
‘Because when you have sown the rice (seeds), when water comes in under it
 (=growing rice plant),’
[i.e. as the annual floods begin to fill up the rice field]

(09:57) I yúwš-yé gá = à kúlè, bon ñíná,
fish-Pl Ipfv 3Sg cut-Ipfv, well mouse,
[hàlì jíí bè dô [à múⁿ]]
[before water come.Pfv enter.Pfv [3Sg under]}
‘Fish-Pl cut it (=rice plant). Well, mice. Before the water comes in under it,’

(10:00) I [[ñíná píyé] gá = à máỳⁿ], [ñú-méé gá = à máỳⁿ],
[[mouse too] Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv], [Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv],
[dúgš-s’ máỳⁿ-fá] nì,
[rice-DefSg ruin-thing] it.is,
‘Mice too damage it. Those (=fish and mice) damage it, they are pests of the rice.’

(10:03) I à nà bè nògí-yì,
3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv village-Loc,
hàyà áⁿ ná = à sá nògí-yì,
well 2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg add.Pfv village-Loc,
‘When it (=harvested rice) has come to the village, that is, when you-Sg have stored
it in the village (=in a granary),’
‘There are pests in it, in that too. Flour beetles are in it.’

[red flour beetle, Tribolium castaneum, a tiny darkling beetle, is a major pest of stored rice]

‘Well, pests are in it. It (=rice) spoils.’

‘Ah, okay. When you-Pl take it (=rice grain) out of the granary, before you-Pl sow it,’

‘Is it its culling [focus] that you-Pl do first? In other words, the ones that are spoiled in it,’

[i.e. bad grains are picked out and removed]

‘Do you-Pl remove those (=bad grains) from it? Or do you-Pl just take it (as it is) and then …’

[focalized clauses (here and in the following segment)]
(10:28) M áá gá yá = [à ní] wù,
2Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst] Foc,
áá gá = à yáá [[mùwó yiyè-báánà síí wú] níⁿ]
2Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.Ipfv [[which? put-manner any Foc] inside]
‘… (and then) you-Pl convey it (=rice grains, to the field)? In what way do you-Pl deposit (=store) it?
[< yè replacing sò ‘go’; yiyè verbal noun of yàà/yàà (§9.3.1.4)]

(10:32) I bon [áⁿ nà bé [dúgáⁿ ní]]
okay, [2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [rice-DefSg Inst]]
[áⁿ ná = à sá-rá fóó— fóórò-ý]
[2Sg Ipfv 3Sg add-Ipfv (hesitation)— sack-Loc],
‘Okay, when you-Sg have brought the rice (to the village), you store it in a sack.’

(10:35) I seq à yáá = [án káwⁿ],
Seq 3Sg put.Pfv [2Sg chez],
[ám pà] [bé sá = [à sáti]],
[2Sg Comit] [Seq go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]],
‘To deposit (=store) it at your-Sg place. When you-Sg plan to go and sow it (in the fields),’
[X pà ‘X wants (plans)’ (§15.2.8.1)]

(10:38) I [sóó-píⁿ mà-ré-méé] gá dò-ró [dúgáⁿ níⁿ],
[grass-grain Rel-Pl-Pl] Ipfv enter-Ipfv [rice-DefSg inside],
[[wáájíbi íⁿ ná nú-méé báá = [à ná]]
[[necessity 1Pl Ipfv Dem. Def-Pl take.out.Ipfv [3Sg Dat]]
‘Grass (=weed) seeds that get into the rice, we must remove those from it.’

(10:41) I [áⁿ ná nú-méé báá = [à ná]],
[2Sg Ipfv Dem. Def-Pl take.out.Ipfv [3Sg Dat]],
[ná = án tê nú-méé báá = [à ná]]
[if 2Sg PfvNeg Dem. Def-Pl take.out.Pfv [3Sg Dat]]
‘You-Sg remove those from it. If you-Sg don’t remove those from it,’

(10:43) I áⁿ ná só [à sátì]
2Sg if.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]
[à gá m bë-në]
[3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg return-Ipfv]
‘when you-Sg go to sow it, it (=weeds) return.’
I à gá fɔ-rɔ̀ [nó-ní sóó-wàà] ní tũ̀
3Sg Ipfv become-Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link grass-DefSg.Foc] Inst again
pó-ɔ̀ gà m̀ bẹ̀-nɛ̀ [bẹ̀ kiri= ɑ̃-yù tũ̀],
Dem.Def-Foc Ipfv 3ReflSg return-Ipfv [Seq stand.Pfv 3Sg-Loc again],
‘That (same) grass (=weeds) [focus] is what it becomes again. That [focus] is what
returns and gets up (=grows) in it again.’
/＜kiri

bà rwí ín ngá = [à sání sóó-wàà] bàá büwó-ù,y,
because 1Pl Ipfv [3Sg and grass-DefSg.Foc] take.out.Ipfv Recip-Loc,
bẹ̀ bá = [à ní] nògí-ù,
Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc,
‘Because it (=rice grain) and the grass (=weeds) [focus] is what we take out together,
and bring it to the village.’
[seeds from weeds get mixed with the rice grains during the harvest and threshing]

né = [=éém pà] [bẹ̀ à sàtì],
if [1Pl Comit] [Seq 3Sg toss.Pfv]
[hàli wày] [í nì ngá = =éém bẹ̀-nɛ̀ tũ̀]
[until today] [1Pl Ipfv 1Pl return-Ipfv again]
‘When we plan to sow it, at that point we go back (to the seedstock) again.’

[bá = [à náangílè-èm] bàá = ɑ̃-yì wù,
[Seq 3Sg garbage-DefSg] take.out.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Foc,
[bẹ̀ à kúwáá-ní] [bẹ̀ ɑ̃ kilá]
[Seq 3Sg whiten-Caus.Pfv] [Seq 2Sg finish.Pfv]
‘Then (we/you) remove its impurities (=seed seeds) from it, then (you-Sg) finish
cleaning (=culling) it,’
[VP-level focus; 2Sg ɑ̀ here is reflexive object]

[bé à sàtì [tiyè láá]]
[Seq 3Sg toss.Pfv [field at.edge.of]]
‘Then (we) sow it at the field.’
/láá, dialectally ráá (§8.2.5.5), related to rɔɔ @ 11:16 below]

M áà pò̀ ná [mùwó náangílá-sìfà sì-yè] nì,
ah Dem.Def be [which? garbage-kind any-Pl] it.is,
pò̀ ná [mùwó sóó-sìfà sì-yè] nì,
Dem.Def be [which? grass-kind any-Pl] it.is,
‘Ah, that is what kinds of impurities? That is what kinds of grass (=weeds)?’
(11:01) M ámà, [áⁿ ná = [á sáí nú-méé] sóti bùwó-ỳ]
è gá = à máyⁿ
3Pl Ipfv 3Sg ruin.Ipfv
‘Such that if you-Sg sow it (=rice) and those (=weeds) together, they (=weeds) ruin it (=rice)?’

(11:06) I áá sóó—
ah (hesitation)—
[[sóó-ŋ jááí-ìm] píⁿ měéⁿ] ṃá bí-yé yáwⁿ,
[[grass-DefSg exactly-DefSg] grain Rel] Ipfv come-Ipfv there.Def,
‘The grain (=seeds) of real grass that comes there,’

(11:08) I dígè-éⁿ ṃá = á-ỳ, mĩ'yè-čⁿ ṃá = á-ỳ,
Oryza-DefSg be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, Acroceras-DefSg be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
múmúmúntűⁿ ṃá = á-ỳ, tégé gá = á-ỳ,
Sacciolepis be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, Melochia be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
‘Oryza is (included) in it. Acroceras is (included) in it. Sacciolepis is (included) in it.
Melochia is (included) in it.’

[three grasses and one erect herbaceous plant that grow in seasonal floodplains or on riverbanks: Oryza longistaminata (a wild rice); Acroceras amplexrens, Sacciolepis africana, Melochia corchorifolia (herbaceous)]

(11:14) I [[sú màⁿ sááⁿ] ná táⁿ [á ní]]
[[thing Rel all] if.Pfv ascend.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
màⁿ sááⁿ— [[án dúgo-Ìm] pà],
(hesitation) [[2Sg rice-DefSg] Comit],
‘All the things that have risen (=grown) in it, all the— among your-Sg rice,’

(11:16) I né áⁿ ná = án débè só [á ní]
if 2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst]
[[án tiyè] rós-y-é],
[[2Sg field] edge-DefSg]-Loc,
‘If you-Sg take it (=weeds) back to your-Sg field.’
[débè só ‘go back’ (§15.2.6.3); rós (§8.2.5.5), cf. @ 10:54 above]
(11:18) I [dúgó-pííⁿ-yàŋ jàáti-yàŋ] ná = á-ñ, [rice-grain-DefSg exactly-DefSg] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc, nó-nù fâ-síífâ-dámá-ñè, Dem.Def-Link thing-kind-only(?)-DefSg ‘Real rice grain (=seed) is (included) in it. Those other kinds (=weeds),’ [cf. dàmâ ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1)]

(11:20) I ná = áⁿ nà = án débè if 2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv [bé [nóⁿ màⁿ sáⁿ síí fúwò] [án dúgó-ñm] pà], [Seq [Dem.Def Rel all any] cultivate.Pfv [[2Sg rice-DefSg] Comit], ‘If you-Sg return (to the fields) and then (you) cultivate (=plant) all those (weeds) among your rice,’

(11:22) I [áⁿ ná yá = [á sáti]] [2Sg if.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv]] à gá kirá = [án tìyé-y]-è, 3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv 2Sg field-DefSg-Loc, ‘When you-Sg go to sow (seeds), it (=weeds) will rise up in your-Sg field.’

(11:25) I á gâ më bé-né [bé [án tìyè] máyⁿ túⁿ], 3Sg Ipfv 3RefSg return-Ipfv [Seq [2Sg field] ruin.Pfv again], fâ = áⁿ nà nú-méé báá á-yí wù, must 2Sg Sbjn Dem.Def-Pl take.out.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Foc, ‘It will return and damage your-Sg field again. You-Sg have to remove those (weed seeds).’ [fâ ~ fâ ~ fú ‘must’ (§17.7.4.2) with following subjunctive, cf. synonym kàrá @ 11:39 below]

(11:29) I bé só [á sáti], nó-nù sóó-pííⁿ-yè, Seq go.Pfv [3Sg toss.Pfv], Dem.Def-Link grass-grain-Pl, nú-méé gá gàrâbú [dúgó-ñm pà] wù, Dem.Def-Pl Ipfv be.reaped.Ipfv [rice-DefSg Comit] Foc, ‘(And) then (you) go sow it. (Otherwise) those grass (=weed) seeds, those (=seeds) will be harvested along with the rice.’
(11:35) I áⁿ ńá bí-yé [á ní] nàgí-ý [nóm pà] wù,
2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv [3Sg Inst] village-Loc [Dem.Def Comit] Foc,
ná= áⁿ ńá bé án débè só [á ní] tùⁿ,
if 2Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg return.Pfv go.Ipfv [3Sg Inst]] again,
‘(and) you-Sg will bring it (=weeds) to the village along with that (=rice). If you-Sg
will take it back (to the field) again,’
/ná= áⁿ ńá bé… future conditional antecedent clause (§16.1.1)/

(11:39) I kàrá= án ná= à mènì wù,
must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg do.well.Pfv Foc,
ná= án tyá= à mènì,
if 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg do.well.Pfv,
‘You-Sg must do it (=culling) well. If you-Sg don’t do it well,’
/kàrá ‘must’ (§17.7.4.3), cf. synonym fá ‘must’ @ 11:25 above; < tè à /

(11:40) I áⁿ ná= án débè [bé sò [á ní]]
2Sg if.Pfv 2Sg return.Pfv [Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]
[jó-ń bàànà-y]-èⁿ
[Dem.Def-Link manner-DefSg]-Loc
‘When you take it (=rice grains) back in that manner,’

(11:41) I à gá yè m bén túm
3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv 3ReflSg return.Pfv again
[bé kirà= [án tiyé]-è]
[Seq get.up.Pfv [2Sg field-DefSg]-Loc]
‘It will go back and then rise up again in your field.’

(11:42) I [bé [án tiyé-èⁿ] máy’],
[Seq [2Sg field-DefSg] ruin.Pfv],
‘Then (it will) damage your-Sg field.’

founding of Baratou village

(11:54) M áà, [sáawù ṣùnù] ṣ ńá= [á pà] [bá= án tiyé],
ah, [now Top] 1Sg Ipfv [3Sg Comit] [Seq 2Sg ask.Pfv],
[bááà-rùwò láá] gá [nàgú wù] ní,
[B QTop] be [village Foc] it.is,
‘Ah, now I would like to ask you-Sg, Baratou is a village.’
When was its village settled? And arrive at (=continue to) the present.

The settling of the village, it was (=happened) how?

Or the way in which it is (now), it was (already) like that in the old days?

Ah, as for this village, it is an old village [focus]. It has been settled for a long time.
(12:20) I ŋkàà à gá fɔ̀-rò [wááti mǎⁿ-y]-è, 
 mais 3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc, 
jùgù fòy] tin tá bòⁿ, 
 [tree nothing] be.Past not.be.Loc here, 
jùgù sì] tin tá bòⁿ, 
 [tree any] be.Past not.be.Loc here, 
 ‘But at the time when it was (being) settled, there were absolutely no trees here, there weren’t any trees here.’ 
 [the interjection-like fòy ‘nothing’ is a more emphatic negation than sìí ‘any’ (§6.2.2.3); here fòy quantifies over a noun (‘tree’)]

(12:24) I ŋkààrà [á fɔ̀-n-é-è”]
 but [3Sg be.settled-Ppl-DefSg-Loc] 
 [nɔ̀gù kèèminé wù] nì ṣùnù, 
 [village old Foc] it.is Top, 
 ‘But in its settlement, it’s an old village [focus].’

(12:26) I ìí” ná = à miyé gá 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv 
 [bèyàsé [nɔ̀gù kèèminé wù] nì] 
 [that [village old Foc] it.is] 
 ‘We heard (from old people) that it’s an old village.’ 
 /bèyàsè and variants ‘that …’ (§17.1.4) /

(12:28) I [[wááti mǎⁿ-y]-è à gá fɔ̀-rò] 
 [ [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc 3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv] 
 [à kòôn-kàsi wù] ìí” ná bòⁿ, 
 [3Sg one-just Foc] be.Past Ipfv here, 
 ‘At the time it was being settled, it was completely isolated.’ 
 /kòôn-kàsi ‘just one’ (denigrating), or as here ‘completely alone’ (§4.6.1.1) /

(12:30) I à gá fɔ̀-rò [wááti mǎⁿ-y]-è 
 [3Sg Ipfv be.settled-Ipfv [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc] 
 [[jùgù fòy] tin tá bòⁿ] 
 [[tree nothing] be.Past not.be.Loc here] 
 ‘At the time when it was being settled, there were absolutely no trees here.’
I ná = [à sáni dákà-yé luwò] té
if [3Sg and animal-Pl Foc.Pl] it.is.not
né [dákà-yé luwò] tin té
if [animal-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past it.is.not
‘If not (=other than) it (=village) and the (wild) animals [focus], if not (=other than) the animals ‘focus’,’

(12:34) I [júgú fóy ñùnú] tin tá bôⁿ,
[tree nothing Top] be.Past not.be.Loc here,
[hàài ìn-duwò mà-léé píyé] tá kéeání mí]
[even 1Pl-Indep Rel-Pl too] not.be old.person it.is]
‘There were absolutely no trees here. Even we who are (=were) not old people,’

(12:37) I ín kírí gà [byá = à kày]
1Pl get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv
[[júgú fóy] tá bôⁿ]]
[[tree nothing] not.be.Loc here]
‘We grew up seeing that there were absolutely no trees here.’

(12:38) I àⁿ ñà án tó-ró [fô [gíyén dáâⁿ]-yú]
2Sg Ipfv 2Sg look.from.afar-Ipv [until [place distant]-Loc]
'àⁿ ñà [báárá-túwò yóó-líyéŋ kóòŋ] kày,
2Sg Ipfv [B borassus.palm-Link one] see.Ipfv,
‘You-Sg (would) look all the way from a distant place, you-Sg (would) see (only) the one borassus palm of Baratou.’
[fô ‘all the way to, until’ here sees to mean ‘all the way from’, another example of how direction is specified by verbs rather than by adpositions (§8.2.2.2)]

(12:40) I [júgú fóy] tá [gíyén sií]-y,
[tree nothing] not.be [place any]-Loc,
íⁿ [nóⁿ ñùnú] kày gà,
1Pl [Dem.Def Top] see.Pfv Pfv,
‘There are (=were) absolutely no (other) trees anywhere. As for that, we saw it,’

(12:45) I [ííⁿ mà-réé píyé] tá [ííŋ kéeání]
[1Pl Rel-Pl too] not.be [1Pl old.person]
júgú tin tá bôn kóy],
[tree be.Past not.be here Emph],
‘… we too who are (=were) not our old people. Trees were not here.’
[i.e. we who were young at the time]
‘We heard it with (=from) the old people. The river and the dry land, both were (full of) wild beasts.’

[dáábà-yé ‘wild beast’, replacing the milder dáábà ‘animal’ used @ 12:30 above; dáábà often denotes livestock and other domestic animals]

‘The animals were in the water, lots of them.’

‘The animals were on dry land too, lots of them in that same way [focus].’

‘Because people were not in the land at the time.’

‘People were not in the place. Baratou is that kind of village. It’s an old village.’
(13:04) M  hàyà  [[wáántù  mǎⁿ-y]-è
  well  [[time  Rel-DefSg]-Loc]
báárá-túwó  gá  fó-ró  làà]
B  Ipfv  be.settled.Pfv  QTop
‘Well, what about when Baratou was being settled,’

(13:06) M  à  bé  gá  káá-sá-má  =  [[à  tè],
3Sg  come  Pfv  coincide.Pfv  [3Sg  Dat],
  [[nògù-yè  gá  =  [[à  tèsé]  pà]  rà]
  [[village-Pl  be.Loc  [[3Sg  side]  Comit]  Q]
‘Did it happen that (other) villages were next to it?’

(13:08) M  ou bien  à  bé  gá  káá-sá-má  =  [[à  tè]
  [or  3Sg  come  Pfv  coincide.Pfv  [3Sg  Dat],
  [[nògù-yè  tá  =  [[à  tèsé]  pà]],
  [[village-Pl  not.be.Loc  [[3Sg  side]  Comit]].
‘Or did it happen that (other) villages were not next to it?’

(13:11) M  éé,  [[báárá-túwò  jááti]]  bá  gá  min-tíyáwⁿ
  eh,  [B  exactly]  exit.Pfv  Pfv  where?
  [bé  bé  fwà  bòⁿ],
  [Seq  come.Pfv  be.settled.Pfv  here],
‘Eh, Baratou itself came from where, to come and be settled here?’

(13:14) M  è  númá-réé]  bá  gá  min-tíyáwⁿ
  [3Pl  people]  exit.Pfv  Pfv  where?
  [bé  bé  fwà  bòⁿ]
  [Seq  come.Pfv  be.settled.Pfv  here]
‘Their people came from where, to come and be settled here?’

(13:18) I  áywà,  íⁿ  ná  =  à  miyè  gá  [[bááná  mǎⁿ-ý]-è
  well,  1Pl  Sbj/Obj  3Sg  hear.Pfv  Pfv  [manner  Rel-DefSg]-Loc
  [báárá-túwò  bá  gá  tááántáá  [íⁿ  mūm]  bòⁿ]
  [B  exit.Pfv  Pfv  T  [1Pl  next.to]  here]
‘Well, the way we heard it, Baratou came from Tantana, here next to us.’
[Tantana is an abandoned site nearby; mūⁿ ‘under’ or as here ‘beside’ (§8.2.7.5)]
(13:21) I [túwó mèën] ñà kwí-tàà— [kwí-táá pà],
[site Rel] be.Loc (hesitation)— [over.there Comit],
‘The burial site (of Tantana) is over that way.
[túwó ‘burial site’ or ‘site (of a village)’, cf. @ 13:31 below, related to the final -túwó in báará-túwó and some other village names]

(13:22) I ín ná= ñà miyé gá [báará-túwó kirí gá bá-rá yõn],
1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [B get.up.Pfv Pfv exit-lpfv there.Def],
[bí-yé f5 bòn],
[come-lpfv be.settled.Pfv here]
‘We heard it that Baratou arose from there, to come and settle here.’
[lpfv bá-rá and bí-yé after Pfv verb ‘get up’ (§15.1.6)]

(13:25) I ñà bá gá [giyèn tânáá]-y bí-yé dé?,
3Sg exit.Pfv Pfv [place other]-Loc come-lpfv Emph,
ýkààrà ín tá bé
but 1Pl lpfvNeg Fut
[= één d55-d5 [nó-ní giyónn mèën sáá]-yí,]
[1Pl mouth-enter.Pfv [Dem.Def-Link place Rel all]-Loc,
‘It (=population) had (previously) come from some other place though. But we won’t
discuss all (about) that place.’
[future negative (§10.2.2.2)]

(13:28) I [á fɔɔ-nà] guú gá
3Sg be.settled-Ppl be.long.time.Pfv Pfv
[túwó-ñí kùmà] bòn máñáá,
[site-DefSg on] here well(adv),
‘Its settling was very long ago on the site (=Tantana).’
[máñáá (§8.4.3.2)]

(13:31) I á kirí gá
3Sg get.up.Pfv Pfv
[bí-yé ŋ f5 [[kù-nún túwó-ñí] kùmà] bòn],
[come-lpfv 3ReflSg sit [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on] here],
‘It (=population) arose and came and settled on this site here (=Baratou).’
(13:33) I bon [wáátı́ máⁿ-y]-è báárá-túwó gà bóⁿ okay [time Rel-DefSg]-Loc B be.Loc here [nágú-yé tīⁿ ñá yáwⁿ]. [village-Pl be.Past Ipfv there.Def], ‘Okay, in the time when Baratou has been here, (other) villages were there.’

(13:35) I ṭkàà, tīⁿ [nágú mà-ré-méé] miyé gà but, 1PI [village Rel-Pl-Pl] hear.Pfv Pfv nòⁿ ñà kùmàràá, sání níñà, Dem.Def be K, and N, ‘But the villages that we have heard about, that is Kombaka, and Noina.’

(13:40) I [è såñì nú-méé lúwó] tīⁿ ñá bùwó— [bùwó niím] bóⁿ, [3Pl and Dem.Def-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Past Ipfv (hesitation)— [Recip inside] here, ṭkàà [nágú sùrù kónó-ná-yè] [én tè nú-méé miyé] but [village remaining remain-Ppl-Pl] [1PI PfvNeg Dem.Def-Pl hear.Pfv] ‘They (=Baratou) and those (two villages) were together here. But (any) remaining villages, we haven’t heard about them.’

(13:45) I [nò-nù nágú sìgëⁿ-yàwⁿ], [Dem.Def village three-DefSg, è-dúwó tīⁿ ñá tòó dé-ré [bùwó pà], 3Pl-Indep be.Past Ipfv fire take-Ipfv [Recip Comit], tīⁿ ñá= à miyé gà [báñá máⁿ-y]-è 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv [manner Rel-DefSg]-Loc ‘Those three villages, they [focus] used to get fire from each other, in the way we heard it.’

[i.e. they could borrow hot coals to be carried back to their own villages to start fires]

(13:52) M àá, [mùwó fá síí láá], áá báá gà táántáñà ah, [what? thing any QTop], 2Pl take.out.Pfv Pfv T [bé byá = áá fòd-ní, bóⁿ] [Seq come.Pfv 2Pl sit-Caus, here] ‘Ah, what took you-Pl away from Tantana and brought you-Pl to settle here?’
(13:57) M éè, [yóó mèéⁿ] ɲá [nəgü niĩⁿ],

eh, [borassus.palm Rel] be.Loc [village inside],

áá yá = áá fwà gà
2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl sit.Pfv Pfv
[bé yóó-òn tím bòⁿ wù] rà→,

[Seq borassus.palm] do.Pfv here Foc] Q,

‘Eh, the borassus palm that is in the village, did you-Pl settle and find the borassus palm (already) here?’

[tíⁿ/tí-ní ‘do’ has the meaning ‘find, discover (sth) (somewhere)’ with a spatial adverbial]

(14:02) M wáràmà, [áá fwɔ-ná-wàá]-ỳ

or, [2Pl settle-Ppl-Def.Sg.Foc]-Loc
áá [kú-nù yóó-òn] tí gà
2Pl [Dem-Link borassus.palm] plant(v).Pfv Pfv

‘Or at your-Pl settling, did you-Pl plant this borassus palm?’

(14:08) I bon, [nóⁿ ɲùnù] diyêmù péndé gà
okay, [Dem.Def Top] [talk(n) two] be.Loc
[nó-ní náán-diyèⁿ-y]-è,

[Dem.Def-Link gap-Dimin-Def.Sg]-Loc,

‘Okay, regarding that, there are two talks (=theories) in that little gap (between two theories).’

(<nó-ní (+H) plus nàãⁿ-liyèⁿ)

(14:10) I kémbèré yè è bé gà [bé bé fɔ]
[bé yóó-òn tíⁿ yáwⁿ],

[Seq borassus.palm-Def.Sg do.Pfv there.Def],

‘Some people say, they came and settled and found the borassus palm (already) there.’

(14:12) I kémbèré yè [è fɔ-ná-wàá]-ỳ

certain.Pl said [3Pl settle-Ppl-Def.Sg.Foc]-Loc
è yóó-òn tí gà,
3Pl borassus.palm-Def.Sg plant(v).Pfv Pfv,

‘Some (other) people say, on their settling they planted the borassus palm.’
talk(n) two Foc be.Loc [Dem.Def-Link place-DefSg] inside,
bon [diyèmù láá] ná guù,
okay [talk(n) QTop] if.Pfv be.long.time.Pfv,
‘There are two talks (=theories) in that place (=matter). Okay, if the discussion lasts a
long time,’

(14:18) I áywà, [a nààⁿ-fuwò] tá tiyá, kémbère yè
well, [3Sg judgement] lpfvNeg be.understood.lpfv, certain.Pl said
[è fò gà [bé yóó-ôn tìîⁿ yáwⁿ]],
[3Pl settle.Pfv Pfv [Seq borassus.palm-DefSg do.Pfv there.Def]],
‘Well, a judgement between them cannot be understood (=determined). Some people
say, they settled and found the borassus palm there.’
[ndaⁿ-fuwò likely begins with ndàⁿ ‘gap between’, but fuwò is obscure]

(14:22) I [kémbère láá] yè [è fɔ̀-ná kwàtìyè wù]
certain.Pl QTop said [3Pl settle-Ppl behind Foc]
è yóó-ôn tí gà,
3Pl borassus.palm-DefSg plant(v)-Pfv Pfv,
‘Some (others) say, it was after they settled [focus] that they planted the borassus
palm.’

(14:25) I [à láá] gà [[jíim-pééntéⁿ]-sèbè wù] nì,
[3Sg QTop] be [[year-many]-issue Foc] it.is,
àà, nôⁿ anja [diyèmù pèndé wù] nì
ah, Dem.Def be [talk(n) two Foc] it.is
‘It’s a matter of many years (=distant history). Ah, that is two talks (=theories).’
[sèbè ‘issue, matter’ becomes -sèbè in compounds (§5.1.5.1)]

(14:32) M àà óké, [[báárá-túwò jááti-îⁿ] fwɔ̀-né-ëⁿ],
ah okay, [[B exactly-DefSg] be.settled-Ppl-DefSg]
[bé kìⁿyè sááwù pà],
[Seq arrive.Pfv now Comit],
‘Ah, okay. (From) the setting of Baratou itself, down to the present,’
(14:37) M [áⁿ náá] yá = à sé gà, áⁿ pé
[2Sg QTop] Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv Pfv, 2Sg said
[[nògù kèminè] nì],
[[village old] it.is],
[á fwò-ná] gà mànà-tíím-yà,
[3Sg be.settled-Ppl] be.long.time.Pfv Pfv well(adv),
‘You-Sg said it, you said that it’s an old village, its settlement happened a very long
 time ago.’

(14:40) M àà, [nògù-tù mà-lé-méé] fwó-fwò gà
ah, [village-owner Rel-Pl-PI] RdP-be.installed.Pfv Pfv
[bé kî’yè sàáwù pà],
[Seq arrive.Pfv now Comit],
‘Ah, the various village chiefs who have been installed, down to the present,’

(14:44) M áⁿ ñá = [à nògù-tù]-dòò tòwò rà,
2Sg Lpfv [3Sg village-owner]-number know.Lpfv Q,
‘Do you-Sg know the number of its (=Baratou’s) village chiefs?’
[Pfv fwó iterated to suggest multiplicity: [nògù-tù]-dòò tone-leveled compound (dòò
‘number’)]

(14:47) I ñó [nògù kèminè] nì, [báárá-tòwò bìyé-n-è]-è
uh.huh [village old] it.is, [B come-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc
[[kú-nùn tòwò-òj] kùmà], táántànà tá = á-ý dé?,
[[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on], T not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc Emph,
‘Uh-huh. It’s an old village. From the coming (of the population) of Baratou onto this
site, not including Tantana mind you!’
/bìyé-nà ’arrival here’ (§4.2.1.4)

(14:51) I [à bìyé-n-è]-è [[kú-nùn tòwò-òj] kùmà],
[3Sg come-Ppl-DefSg]-Loc [[Dem-Link site-DefSg] on],
[à nògù-tù [tám-péné-é-sìgé*n wù] kìyé gà,
[3Sg village-owner [ten-two-and-three Foc] pass.Pfv Pfv,
‘From its coming onto this site, its twenty-three village chiefs passed (=served in
succession).’

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I [ā nàgu-tù tá-m-pénè-é-sigà-àn-ê]-è,
[3Sg village-owner ten-two-and-three-Ord-DefSg]-Loc,
[bààdègè-èŋ kírì gá [yôⁿ wò]-yñ.
[noise-DefSg get.up.Pfv Pfv [there.Def Foc]-Loc,
‘During (the time of) the twenty-third village chief, the noise (=trouble) arose there
(=at that time) [focus].’

I [nàgu-tù]-sèbè njón tá bá-ná sùwòñi,
[village-owner]-matter Dem.Def IpfvNeg exit-Ipfv (not.)yet,
[nó-ò tê] [nàgu-tù tá-m-pénè-é-sigèn wú]
[Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [village-owner ten-two-and-three Foc]
[3Sg be.installed.Pfv Pfv [1Pl village-DefSg] inside]
‘The issue of the village chief(-hood), that (issue) is not resolved yet. Anyway, twenty-
three chiefs have sat (=served in office) in our village,’

bàárá-tùwò bòⁿ, ìjìà [nàgu-tù tá-m-pénè-é-sigà-àn-ê]-è
B here, but [village-owner ten-two-and-three-Ord-DefSg-Loc]
dsò-pá-n-è ê
[bí-yé [sááwù pà] làà,
count(n)-be.complete-Ppl-DefSg-Loc come-Ipfv [now Comit] QT óp,
‘… in Baratou here. But at (the time of) the twenty-third village chief, at its
completion, down to the present,’

áa, bààdègè gá nàgu-y-è,
[3Sg nàgu-tù]-sèbè-èn
ah, noise be.Loc village-DefSg-Loc. [village-owner]-matter-DefSg
tá ti-nà [bé sèèŋ kilàⁿ sùwòñi],
IpfvNeg be.able.Past-Ppl [Seq road get.Pfv (not.)yet],
‘Ah, noise (=trouble) is in the village. The matter of the chief(-hood) has not yet been
able to find a solution.’
[c.f. à ti-nê sèèŋ kilàⁿ ‘it has been able to find a solution’ (§10.3.6)]

kèjènè gá [[à dijèmû-yàⁿ] nìfⁿ]
controversy be.Loc [[3Sg talk(n)-DefSg] inside]
kìtí gá = [à kwàtìfè],
[dispute be.Loc [3Sg after],
‘There is a controversy in discussing it. There is a dispute behind it.’
(15:15) I [nɔ̃gù-tũ-ũ̃ ñũnum] té fɔ́ súwɔ̃nì, [village-owner-DefSg Top] PfvNeg be.installed.Pfv (not.)yet, [nɔ́-ɔ́ té] [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [(nɔ̃gù-tũ) tǎm-pénɛ̃-ɛ̃-sɪglẽ wɔ́] kiyé gã, [village-owner ten-two-and-three Foc] pass.Pfv Pfv (In other words) whoever owns (=status as the oldest man) has arrived. The (next) village chief hasn’t been installed yet. Anyway, twenty-three village chiefs have passed.’

[ŋɔ̃-ɔ́ té (§11.2.1.2)]


(15:24) M áà, ɔ́kè í nà [ñó̃m pɪyẽ̃] fàámũ n̄, ah, okay 1Sg Pfv.1Sg [Dem.Def all] understand.Pfv Pfv, mais [nɔ̃gù-tũ]-àmẽ-ẽ̃ dàà, but [[village-owner]-Abstr-DefSg QTop, ‘Ah, okay, I have understood that too. But regarding the chiefhood,’

(15:29) M [n̄amá̃n ɲ-kóõ̃ wɔ́] nĩ̃ nà, [ńtàà [house Link-one Foc] it.is Q, [or [báárá-tǔwɔ́ sáán wû] gã fɔ̃-rɔ́ nɔ̃gù-tũ-ũ̃ nĩ̃ nà] [B all Foc] Ipfv become-Ipfv village-chief-DefSg it.is Q] ‘Is it (for) one house(hold)? Or does anyone in Baratou become village chief?’

(15:33) M [né ñéëmíná-á̃má nà k’inye [màm pà] [iʃ old.person-Abstr if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [Rel Comit]] nɔ́n̄ nà fɔ̃-rɔ́ nɔ̃gù-tũ-ũ̃ nĩ́, Dem.Def Ipfv become-Ipfv village-owner-DefSg Inst, ‘(In other words) whoever old age (=status as the oldest man) has come to, that one [focus] becomes the village chief.’
[house Link-one] it.is.not, [house two] it.is.not
[kómótô gá [kà-yámâà mà-réé]-y] [K be [father-house Rel-Pl]-Loc]
'It isn’t that there is one house(-hold), it isn’t that there are two house(-holds). The extended (agnatic) families that Komoto (clan) is in,' [some three or four kà-yámâà make up the larger Komoto clan]

(15:40) I [à sáaⁿ] ḷ á fó-ró nàgú-tù ní], [3Sg all Ipfv become-Ipfv village-owner Inst], [kómótô-ŋ ñùnù sáaⁿ] ḷ kóóⁿ ní,
[K-DefSg Top all] be one it.is,
‘… anyone can become chief. All of Komoto (clan) is one.’

(15:43) I [bàrì è kúsà-má gá wò]
[because 3Pl become many.Pfv Pfv Foc]
(i) ñè = é(é) pé-é pé-é gá bà-rá bùwù-y, 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3RefPl Rdv-separate.Pfv Pfv exit-Ipfv Recip-Loc,
‘Because they have become many, they have split up from each other.’

(15:46) I áà, [nóⁿ ñùnù sé-yá-áⁿ] ḷ kóⁿ [kéémíné sáaⁿ—] ah, [Dem.Def Top] say-Agent-DefSg 3RefSg be many [old.person all—]
[nàgù-yáⁿ sáaⁿ] ḷ ñón tuwò, [village-Agent all] Ipfv Dem.Def know.Ipfv,
‘Ah, the people who have said that are many. The old men—. The whole village knows that.’

(15:49) I mais né siyëtáání nà bé,
but if devil if.Pfv come.Pfv, siyëtáání bé gá wù, devil come.Pfv Pfv Foc,
‘But when the devil has come, the devil has come.’ [i.e. there’s not much one can do about it]

(15:51) I [nó-ô tê] [kómótô-ô sáaⁿ] ḷ nàgù-tù]-ùmà], [Dem.Def-Foc it.is.not] [K all] be [village-owner]-Abstr,
[à ná kiyéⁿ [màñ pάl]] [à gá [nàgù-tù]-ùmà], [3Sg if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [Rel Comit]] [3Sg be [village-owner]-Abstr],
‘Anyway, all of Komoto (clan) is the chiefthood. Whoever it comes to, he is the chiefthood.’
(15:55) I [à ŋ’ sé-pánáán tí° ŋà] [è bé gà]
[3Sg 3ReflSg say.first do.Pfv Pfv] [3Pl come.Pfv Pfv]
[àràjò-ňámàa ńumà-réé] bé gà tíyé,
‘It was said the first time. They came, the radio (=media) people came and asked.’

(15:57) I à ŋ’ sé gà = á-ý,
3Sg 3ReflSg say.Pfv Pfv 3Sg-Loc,
[à dúwó-yé gà yáw°],
[3Sg paper-Pl be.Loc there.Def]
‘It was said (to them) about it. The documents are there.’

(16:00) I [sáà° ŋá à túwò]
[all Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv]
[kítí láá] nà bé, kítí bé gà wú
[dispute(n) QTop] if.Pfv come.Pfv, dispute(n) come.Pfv Pfv Foc
‘Everybody knows about it. If a dispute has come, a dispute has come.’

(16:05) M á, [nón dáa] [mùwó fá sí] ah!, [Dem.Def QTop] [what? thing any]
bé gà [[jó-ní kítí-i°] ní] sæáwù
come.Pfv Pfv [[Dem.Def-Link debate-DefSg] Inst] now,
‘Ah, what about that, what brought about that dispute now?’

(16:08) M [hú mà°] ŋà kéé—
(false start)—
[hú mà°] ŋà bá-rá [kéémíná-ámá pà],
[thing Rel] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [old-Abstr Comit],
‘(Concerning) what emerges (=occurs) among the old people.’
boat building

Moussa (M) interviewing Mama Napo (N)

(16:14) M á [sááwù ṭùnù] ím bá gà [[histoire bàattiya’s] pà], bon ah, [now Top] 1Pl exit.Pfv Pfv [[history vicinity] Comit], well ím bé gà [[kíì-mééni fè-émi] bàattiya’s] pà], 1Pl come.Pfv Pfv [[skiff-build.Vbl share(n) vicinity] Comit], ‘Ah, at this point we have left (=are moving on from) the general area of history. We have come to the turn of the general area of boat-building.’

[here ‘skiff’ denotes a boat (French pirogue) similar to a gondola or large canoe, propelled with poles (in shallow water) or paddles]


(16:24) M bè kì’yè [sááwù pà]— dépi láwaré, kìì’-yè Seq arrive.Pfv [now Comit]—, since old.days, skiff-Pl bè kì’yè [sááwù pà], Seq arrive.PPfv [now Comit], ‘Down to nowadays— (Ever) since the old days, skiffs, down to nowadays.’

[French depuis]

   Pfv go.Pfv 3Sg Pfv Inst place Rel inside
   nfó njà [mòr-yé diyémù] ní,
Dem.Def be [holy.man-Pl talk.VblN] it.is,
   ‘Ah. The place (=subject) into which you-Sg have taken it (the conversation), that is
holy men’s talk.’
   [i.e. that is for religious scholars to talk about]

(16:38) N áⁿ njà= à fàámuⁿ njà rà,
   Pfv Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Q,
   bàrì ifi njà= à miyé gà, [nàbíí nühúⁿ wò] pà,
because 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv Pfv, [prophet Noah Foc] Comit,
   ‘Did you understand it? Because we heard it from the Prophet Noah,’

(16:42) N kíiⁿ-jíⁿ ñ sintíⁿ njà [nó-ó pà],
   skiff-DefSg 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [Dem.Def-Focus Comit]
   bon [kíiⁿ-làà] ñ sintíⁿ njà [nàbíí nühúm pà],
   okay [skiff-DefSg QTop] 3ReflSg begin.Pfv Pfv [[prophet Noah] Comit],
   ‘The skiff began with that one (=Noah). All right, as for the skiff, it began with Prophet
Noah,’

(16:46) N bê bê kiyéⁿ [wàý pà]
   Seq come.Pfv arrive.Pfv [today Comit]
   [[kíiⁿ nùnnú] dá] tè mí bay,
   [[skiff Top] custom] PfvNeg 3ReflSg leave.Pfv,
   ‘And all the way down to today, that practice hasn’t been given up.’
   [cf. dâbay (§9.3.3)]

(16:50) N ñyⁿ, [kééréⁿ-miyé-fá wò] ní,
   Sg [welfare-seek.VblN-thing Foc it.is, [Bozo Top] Comit,
   hârí tânânkubù,
   since ancient.times,
   ‘Ah, it (=skiff) is an instrument for seeking well-being, among the Bozo. Since ancient
times,’
   [< miyè verbal noun of màà/máá ‘seek’ (§4.2.1.2)]
A skiff, wherever it has arrived, a skiff is an instrument for seeking well-being.

It’s an instrument for being blessed (=successful) too. When you have assembled it, you park (=land) it on the riverside (=beach).

One who comes, he/she will get in it (=skiff), he/she will go and do his/her need (=job).

Then he/she will park (=land) it on the riverside. He/She certainly won’t bring any harm to you.

He/She will bring well-being on you-Sg. The skiff, it earns money.
2Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [3Sg give.Pfv] [skiff-work.VblN-Agent-DefSg Dat],
‘It’s you yourself [focus] who goes and buys your-Sg wood, (and) you-Sg come and give it to the boat-builder.’

(17:17) N áⁿ nà byá= [á dò] [è nà], bon,
2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg give.Pfv] [3Pl Dat], okay,
[à ŋ káⁿ [à ná [tìgé mà-rée] såⁿ]]
[3Sg 3ReflSg must [3Sg Sbjn [gear Rel-Pl] buy.Pfv]]
‘When you-Sg have come and given it to them, well, the materials that he should buy,’
[káⁿ (§15.2.14); relativization from a subordinated subjunctive clause (§14.4.6)]

(17:20) N áⁿ nà se-rá= [á tè]
2Sg Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]
à nà [kú-nù tìgé-yèⁿ] såⁿ,
3Sg Sbjn [Dem-Link gear-Pl] buy.Pfv,
‘You-Sg tell him to buy those materials.’ (< tìgè)

(17:23) N [á nà bë [tìgé-yè ní]]
[3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [gear-Pl Inst]
[áⁿ ná kíⁿ-yèŋ káyⁿ],
2Sg Ipfv skiff-DefSg work(v).Ipfv],
‘When he has brought the materials, you-Sg work (=make) the skiff.’

(17:25) N [áⁿ ná= à tá-ní] [áⁿ ná= à káyⁿ]
[2Sg Ipfv 3Sg stand-Caus.Ipfv] [2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]
M [fà sá [[ám bààdégè-èń] dáá] [thing add.Pfv [[2Sg sound-DefSg] loudness]
N: ‘You raise it up, (and) you work it.’
M: ‘Speak a bit louder!’
[for dáá see ráá ~ láá (§8.2.5.5)]
(17:30) N (in Bambara): [dúrúmà dè] bé  [ǹ ná]
    [snout  Foc] be  [1Sg Comit]
M án  njà  [sórgà-àmà wò] sé-ré,
    2Sg  Ipfv  [Bozo-Abstr  Foc] say-Ipfv,
N [in Bambara]: ‘I have snot (=stuffy nose).’
M: ‘You-Sg are (supposed to be) speaking Bozo.’
/dúrúmà (Bambara) = J-S of Djenné múrà or bòmbòn ‘snot (in nose)’

(17:36) M fà-fíyà  sá = [[ám bààdègè-èn] dàá] dêy,
    a.little  add.Pfv  [[2Sg sound-DefSg] loudness] Emph,
[án  diyèmù-kó-òn] dàá,  njà = á—
    [2Sg speak.VblN-sound-DefSg] loudness,  (hesitation)—
‘Speak a little louder there! Your speaking volume.’
[some overlap here as several people speak; dêy (§19.4.1.5)]

(17:39) N ñ  njá = à miyé kóy,  ñ  njá  [ñ  fàn-yàwâ],
    1Sg  Ipfv  3Sg  hear.Ipfv  1Sg  Ipfv  [1Sg share(n)-DefSg],
ñ  njá = à sé-ré  [sórgà-àmà wi]-yì,
    1Sg  Ipfv  3Sg  say-Ipfv  [Bozo-Abstr  Foc]-Loc,
‘I certainly hear it (=what you say). I will speak my turn in Bozo [focus].’
[clause restarted after heavy object ‘my share’, smoothed out in free translation; fàn
(sb’s) share(n), portion, turn’, here in the 1Sg possessor form; < wò ~ wù plus -y]

(17:44) N (in Bambara) à té  sunaço,  á  bá = à  mé
    3Sg  IpfvNeg sleep(v),  1Sg  Ipfv  3Sg  hear
5“hà,  [nó-à  wàáfè-è]  [kíí-n-yèn  sèbè  nà-n-yàwà],
uh.huh,  [Dem.Def-Foc time-DefSg-Loc] [skiff-DefSg issue form-DefSg],
N [in Bambara, to someone else]: ‘He isn’t asleep, he hears it. [resuming
the conversation:] Uh-huh, at this time, concerning the skiff (construction),’

(17:50) N à tá  siní  [ñ  sé-ré  [[bè dúwàn] wò]],
    3Sg  IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv  [3ReflSg say-Ipfv  [[Seq finish.Pfv  Foc]],
ñmàa  [à  nàfìyè-èn] tá  siní
whether  [3Sg value-DefSg] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv
[ñ  sé-ré  [[bè dúwàn]],
    [3ReflSg say-Ipfv  [Seq finish.Pfv]],
‘It can’t be totally [focus] said (=listed). That is, its value (=benefits) cannot be totally
said.’
[ñmàa (§13.2.1.5)]
(17:54) N [ā bòrōⁿ] yá = [ā miyé-gū],
[3Sg big] and [3Sg small-Adj],
'à tá sinî [į sè-ré [bé dûwôⁿ]],
3Sg Ipfv:Neg be.able.Ipfv [3ReflSg say-Ipfv [Seq finish.Pfv],
'Big (ones) and small (ones) of it, it (=they) can’t be totally said.’
[yè ‘and’ (§7.1.2)]

(17:58) N áⁿ ñá = à faâmûⁿ ñà rà,
2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
hàri [îⁿ ñûnû] kirî gà [bé à kày]
since [1Sg Top] get.up.Pfv Pfv [Seq 3Sg see.Pfv]
‘Did you-Sg understand it? Ever since we (=old generation) arose (as children) to see it,’
[‘since’ clause (§17.2.3)]

(18:00) N [îⁿ númà-réé-mé] gá = à kàyⁿ [nó-nì bââná wàà]-ây,
[1Pl people] Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc,
[îm pîyé] gá = à kàyⁿ [nó-nì bââná wàà]-ây,
[1Pl too] Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc,
‘That [focus] is how our people have been working (=building) it (=skiff), (and) that [focus] is how we too work it.’

(18:05) N [îm tûmó-yè pîyé] gá = bî-yè
[1Pl grandchild-Pl too] Ipfv come-Ipfv
[à kàyⁿ [nó-nì bââná wàà]-ây],
[3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem-Link manner Foc]-Loc],
‘That [focus] is how our grandchildren too will come and work it.’

(18:07) N háyà [bûwô tànàà] tá [[î ñûnû] pà] [nôñ kwàtíyè]
well [Recip other] not.be.Loc [[1Sg Top] Comit] [Dem.Def behind]
áⁿ ñá = à faâmûⁿ ñà rà,
2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q,
‘Well, I don’t have any more (to add) after that. Did you-Sg understand it?’
what kind of trees for boat-building?

(18:14) M ɔ́ɔⁿ, ƙin ɗà, ɗn à kîfⁿ—
ah, skiff QTop, (false start)—
è nà kîfⁿ-wásà-yé sàm [bé bá= [à nî]],
3Pl if.Pfv skiff-plank-Pl buy.Pfv [Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],
‘Ah, as for a skiff, when they have bought the wooden planks and brought it (=them),’
[wásà 'plank'; < sàⁿ]

(18:19) M kîfⁿ ŋà ŋ kóŋⁿ-nô [mùwô kóŋⁿ-bàànà sìí]-y,
skiff Ipfv 3ReflSg assemble-Ipfv [which assemble.VblN-manner any]-Loc,
yàrà, kîfⁿ-yàwⁿ, [à jùgú-yè lùwá] gá= [èè tó] rà,
whether, skiff-DefSg, [3Sg tree-Pl Foc.Pl] be.Loc [3ReflPl place] Q,
‘In what way is a skiff assembled (=built)? (I wonder) whether the skiff, its trees
(=wood types) are apart (=special)?’

(18:24) M ou bien [jùgú-yè sááⁿ] ŋè = éé tíí-nì
or else [tree-Pl all] Ipfv 3ReflPl do-Ipfv
[bá= à kóŋ³],
[Seq 3Sg nail(v).Pfv],
‘Or are all trees (=any kind of wood) used to assemble it?’

(18:28) M yàrà [kîfⁿ-níyéⁿ míyè-gù]
whether [skiff-Dimin small-Adj]
àá gé= è kóŋⁿ-nô [[dós mèéⁿ] ní],
2Pl Ipfv 3Pl nail-Ipfv [[amount Rel] Inst],
‘(I wonder) whether a little skiff, for the (same) amount (=cost) for which you-Pl nail
it together (=assemble it),’

(18:31) M áá gá [kîm bóroⁿ-yè píyé] kóŋⁿ-nô
2Pl Ipfv [skiff big-Pl too] nail-Ipfv
[[nó-ń dós wà] nîⁿ] nà, wàràmà
[[Dem-Link amount Foc] Inst] Q, or
‘Do you-Pl assemble (=build) a large skiff too for that (same) amount? Or?’
(18:33) N á, áfì nà dò sò [[nó-nì gíyé] niì],
è tá kóhö-nò [[dó hì-kóì] niî],
3Pl IpfvNeg be.assembled-Ipfv [[amount Link-one] Inst],

‘Ah, if we go into that situation, they (=skiffs of different sizes) are not assembled for
the same cost.’
[IPfv ‘enter’ plus IPfv ‘go’ (§15.1.1.5)]

(18:38) N [júgù-yèm píyé sàá] ná siní fɔ-rá= [à ní],
[tree-DefSg too all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
fɔ màgò-mènì-júgù-yè;
until need-make-tree-PI,
‘Any tree can turn into it (=skiff), except one that is needed (for medicine).’

(18:43) N hàrì méë nà jù-ní táá-nà bàràn sàá-yàw,
even Rel Prsntv Dem-Link stand-PI balanzan-DefSg,
[è sàá] ná siní fɔ-rá= [à ní],
[3Pl all] Ipfv be.able become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
‘Even that which is here (=pointing), that standing balanzan (tree) here. They (=trees)
can all turn into it (=a skiff). They can all turn into it (=skiff).
[Presentative (§4.4.4)]

(18:45) N [yòò-kàá-yóó mà-réè] gáy nà= à ná fɔ [pèssë niî]
[neem Rel-Pl] Prsntv if 3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [split.VblN Inst]
[è sàá] ná sì-ní fɔ-rá= [à ní],
[3Pl all] Ipfv be.able become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
‘The neem trees right here. If it (=trunk) is split, they all (=any tree) can turn into it.’
[Neem tree, Azadirachta indica, now planted in towns everywhere in Mali]

(18:48) N án nà= à fààmù nà rà, júgú tá yò
2Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv Pfv Q, tree not.be.Loc there.Def
màlà [júgù màn] tá siní fɔ-rá= [à ní],
whether [tree Rel] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv become-Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
‘Did you-Sg understand it? There is no tree (species), that is, any tree that cannot turn
into it.’
(18:51) N kàrá = áⁿ ná = à sé
must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv
[án tá kú yàá [à ní],
[2Sg IpfvNeg Dem put.Ipfv [3Sg Inst],
‘You-Sg must say (=decide) that you won’t transform that (tree) into it (skiff).’
[i.e. you may personally prefer not to use a certain tree; kàrá (§17.4.7.3)]

(18:54) N à ná fɔ̀ [[wásà ṭù̀nù] ní] sááⁿ,
3Sg if.Pfv become.Pfv [[plank Top] Inst] all,
à gá siní ŋ́ káýⁿ
3Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3ReflSg work.Ipfv,
‘If it has turned into wooden planks, it can be worked.’
[final sááⁿ in conditional antecedents (§16.1.2)]

(18:57) N [kííj-káýⁿ-yé-è] gá siná = à mènní,
[skiff-work.VblN-Agent-Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg make.Ipfv,
[à miyé-gù-ùⁿ] sáná = [à bòró-òń]
[3Sg small-Adj-DefSg] and [3Sg big-DefSg]
tá [sòŋò ŋ-kóò] ní dè?,
not.be [price Link-one] it.is Emph,
‘The boat-builders can build it. A small one and a big one are not the same price!’
[‘one’ = ‘the same’ (§4.6.1.1)]

(19:01) Djiguiba (in Bambara): é yèrè, ìkò̀r̩̩-bá, é tōgò
2Sg exactly, old.man, 2Sg name
N (in Bambara): [ń tōgō] yè mààmà
[1Sg name] be M
Djiguiba (in Bambara): mààmà, mààmà bò́zó ou bien mààmà
Mama, Mama Bozo or M
N: mààmà nààpùwò
Mama N
Djiguiba: ‘You, old man, (what is) your name?’
N: ‘Mama.’
Djiguiba: ‘Mama. (Is that) Mama Bozo, or (just) Mama?’
N: ‘Mama Napo.’
(19:08) Djiguiba (in Bambara): \( nàpòò, \ é \ té \ kòmòtò \ yè \ dé, \)
N, 2Sg not.be K be Emph

N: mhm
uh.huh

Djiguiba (in Bambara): \( é \ yè \ nàpòò \ dé, \)
2Sg be N Emph,

[unintelligible]

Djiguiba (in Bambara): \( sì-sàⁿ \ á \ ká \ kùmà \)
2Sg be N Emph,

Djiguiba: ‘Napo. (So) you are not (a) Komoto?’
M: Uh-huh
Djiguiba: ‘You are (a) Napo.’
[unintelligible]
Djiguiba: ‘He may speak now.’
[Project manager Djiguiba, not a Bozo, was holding the microphone throughout the recording]

(19:17) M án-dùwó túbé
2Sg-Indep name
D ndürísà, kòmòtò
D, K

Djiguiba: dirísà kòmòtò
D K

M: ‘Your name?’
D: ‘Drisa Komoto.’
Djiguiba: ‘Drisa Komoto.’

okay, [now Top] 1Pl lpfv Fut [2Sg too] ask.Pfv
[kíñ-káyⁿ-ýⁿ ní],
[skiff-work(n)-DefSg Inst],
[ám píyé] gà [kíñ-káyⁿ-yá]-wááné ni,
[2Sg too] be [skiff-work(n)-Agent]-master it.is,
‘Okay, now we will ask you-Sg too about skiff-building. You-Sg too are a master boat-builder.’
M: donc, áá gá júgú mà-lé-méé tíí-ní, so, 2Pl Ipfv tree Rel-Pl-Pl do-Ipfv, [bé kííɲ kóŋɔ́], [Seq skiff assemble.Pfv], ‘So, the trees that you-Pl use, to build a skiff.’

M: áá yè [[júgú-ùn sífỳ-èn sàá’n] ɲá síní 2Pl said [[tree-DefSg kind-DefSg all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [bé kííɲ kóŋɔ́]], [Seq skiff assemble.Pfv], ‘You-Pl have said that any kind of tree (=wood) can assemble (=make up) a skiff.’

M: mais, [[ŋ̀ ɲú nù] mà ángàjúgú-ùmà-lé-méé tìí-ní, but, [[1Sg Top] Comit] tree-Pl, be.Loc tree-Loc, áa nà kííɲ kóŋɔ́ [ɲú-méé ní] 2Sg if.Pfv skiff assemble.Pfv [Dem.Def-Pl Inst] ‘But, as far as I am concerned, trees are trees (that), if you have assembled (a skiff) with those (woods),’

M: è tá wií kilày mà-páá-tíí'-í'n, 3Pl IpfvNeg long.life get.Ipfv well(adv), áa ɲá bi-yè káṣà-má = [à tè] 2Sg Ipfv come-Ipfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat] ‘They (=skiffs) don’t last very long. You may come and happen to find (that …)’ (< wií/)

M: [kémbèrè píyè] gá yó'n] [certain.ones too] be.Loc there.Def] è gá wií kilàw'n, [3Pl Ipfv long.life get.Ipfv, ‘… there are some others (=tree species), (and) they last a long time.’


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D wùwò-yàwⁿ, gwéré-yàwⁿ, kòó-yàwⁿ, sìⁿyé-yàwⁿ;
Khaya-DefSg, tree.sp.-DefSg, Vitellaria-DefSg, Pterocarpus-DefSg,
kú-ỳè— kú-ỳè gà júgú-[táfání-nà]  ní
(hesitation)— Dem-Pl be tree-[become.good-Ppl] it.is
‘Khaya (càilcédrat), gwéré tree, Vitellaria (karité), Pterocarpus. Those are the good
trees.’

[these are large trees: Khaya senegalensis (a kind of mahogany), Vitellaria paradoxa
(she้า tree), Pterocarpus erinaceus; gwéré (unidentified) is now locally extinct]

D nmà ̃ nú-mée gà fò-rò— ŋkàá [ándámá-díyéⁿ làà]
whether Dem-Pl Ipfv become-Ipfv— but [Adam-child QTop]
[sú màⁿ] ná fò [[áⁿ híné-èⁿ]  ní]
[thing Rel] if.Pfv become.Pfv [[2Sg ability-DefSg] Inst]
‘That is, those turn into (skiffs)—. But a human being (=you), what comes to be in
your means (=what you can afford),’

D àⁿ ̃ ná wàá sà-nà bì-yé,
2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def.Foc buy-Ipfv come-Ipfv,
[áŋ káyⁿ] ̃ ná bì-yé [ń tīⁿ [á ní]],
[2Sg work(n)] Ipfv come-Ipfv [3ReflSg do.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],
‘That (wood) [focus] is what you-Sg buy and bring. Your job will come and be done
with it (=the chosen wood).’
[wàá dialectal for discourse-definite pó-ò ~ pó-gò ‘that (focus)’ (§13.1.1); ‘come’ plus
perfective VP (§15.1.2)]

D ná = áⁿ ná siní [bé à kúⁿ]
if 2Sg if.Pfv be.able.Ipfv [Seq 3Sg catch.Pfv]
[áⁿ nà [hágè-liyáⁿ mèéñ] tīⁿ [áⁿ síí]-í-ýⁿ]
[2Sg if.Pfv [extent-Dimin Rel] do.Pfv [2Sg hand-DefSg]-Loc]
‘If you-Sg are able to take good care of it, if the short period (of time) that you spend
with it in your hand(s),’
[< súú ‘hand’]

D póⁿ ̃ ná bì-yé kásà-má = [à tè]
Dem.Def Ipfv come-Ipfv coincide.Pfv [3Sg Dat]
[áⁿ màngó] màná gà,
[2Sg need(n)] become.good.Pfv Pfv,
‘That will come and find that your-Sg need has been well satisfied.’
For some (price),

'There is the position (=role) of each of them. If you-Sg build a big one for someone for some (price),'

[double-headed relative with postpositional complements (§14.1.2, §14.4.4)]
(20:32) D áⁿ ñá = à káÿⁿ [nóⁿ ní],
    2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Inst],
    miyé-gù-eⁿ ñá káÿⁿ [mèén tè] [mèéⁿ ní],
    small-Adj-DefSg Ipfv be.worked.Ipfv [Rel Dat] [Rel Inst],
    ‘… you-Sg build it (=skiff) for that (price). If a small one is built for someone for some (price),’

(20:34) D áⁿ ñá = à káÿⁿ [nóⁿ ní],
    2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Inst],
    [[jɔ̀-nà]-káyⁿ] ñá yáwⁿ, [tànàà káyⁿ] ñá yáwⁿ,
    [[kin]-work(n)] be.Loc there.Def, [other work(n)] be.Loc there.Def,
    ‘…you-Sg build it (=skiff) for that (price). There is work for kinsmen, and there is work for others.’

nails for skiff building

(20:40) M àa [kíŋ jàáti-yáwⁿ]
    ah [skiff exactly-DefSg]
    áá gá = à køjñ-nò [[mùwó fà sìí] ní],
    2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [[what? thing any] Inst],
    áá gá = à kójñ-nò [[póónti wú] níⁿ] nà,
    2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [[nail Foc] Inst] Q.
    ‘Ah, the skiff itself, what do you-Pl assemble it with? Do you-Pl assemble it with nails?’
    [< French pointe]

(20:45) M ou bien áá gá = à kójñ-nò [fà-síífà tànàà-yé dùwò] ní]
    or 2Pl Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv [thing-kind other-Pl Foc.Pl] Inst]
D [póónti-yàm piyê], kíŋ-káyⁿ-yà ñùnù,
    [nail(n)-DefSg too], skiff-work.VblN-Agent Top,
M: ‘Or do you-Pl assemble it with other kinds of thing [focus]?’
D: ‘Nail(s) too, as for the boat-builder,’
(20:51) D [màⁿ ná káyⁿ [hú màⁿ] ní]
[Rel if.Pfv work.Pfv [thing Rel] Inst]
[áⁿ ná káyⁿ [wâà ní]],
[2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]],
‘Whatever (materials) anyone (=you-Sg) has worked with, that [focus] is what you
will work with.’
/ < màⁿ nà with tone shifted; wâà dialectal for discourse-definite pó-ò ‘that (focus)’ as
@ 20:03]

(20:54) D [áⁿ ná = à ëwâⁿ] [áⁿ ná káyⁿ [kííŋ-kóŋ-míyáⁿ ní]],
[2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg like.Pfv] [2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [skiff-assemble-iron Inst]],
[áⁿ ná = à ëwâⁿ] [áⁿ ná káyⁿ [póóntí ní]],
[2Sg if.Pfv 3Sg like.Pfv] [2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [nail Inst]
‘If you-Sg like (it), you will work with (traditional) iron skiff-building nails. If you-
Sg like (it), you will work (=build) with (modern) nails.
/kííŋ-kóŋ-míyáⁿ is a nail forged by blacksmiths from melted down gas drums; póóntí
(French pointe) is a modern nail purchased in towns]

[person any] IpfvNeg work.Ipfv [[foot Link-one] Inst] Emph,
sâáⁿ yè [[í wâba wò] ní
all and [[3ReflSg foot Foc] it.is
‘No person works with (=on) one foot. Everyone has his foot (i.e. method).’

(21:03) M á, áⁿ ná síní [kííŋ jâáti-yəwⁿ],
ah, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [skiff exactly-DefSg],
áⁿ ná síní à kóŋ-nà,
2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv 3Sg assemble-Ipfv,
bé kíyë [[múwâ wâáti] pà],
Seq arrive.Pfv [[which? time] Comit],
‘Ah, how much time does it reach (=take) for you-Sg to be able to assemble a real
skiff?’
[clause restarted after heavy object NP (smoothed out in free translation)]
otherwise, 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [week how many?] do-Ipfv
[kííp-kóp]-ý, [kúm bóró]-yí
[skiff-assemble.VblN]-Loc, [skiff big]-Loc
ou bien [kíí-níyéⁿ-[míyé-gú]-ý
or [skiff-Dimin-[small-Adj]]-Loc
‘In other words, you-Sg can do (=spend) how many weeks in building a skiff, in (that of) a big skiff or in (that of) a small skiff?’
[sínáá < French sinon]

(21:12) M: áⁿ ñá siní [súbá-núúñ jèni] tíí-ná = á-ý,
2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [week how many?] do-Ipfv 3Sg-Loc,
D [súbá-núún]-dó skíí [piyé] tá = á-ý,
[week]-count(n) too] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc,
M: ‘How many weeks can you-Sg do (=spend) in it?
D: ‘There’s no (fixed) number of weeks in it.’

(21:17) D: kéntá-ámná gá yáwⁿ, gèyí gá yáwⁿ,
be.healthy-Abstr be.Loc there.Def, disease be.Loc there.Def,
[kúbë-ëñ kíyéⁿ]
[day-DefSg a.certain]
áⁿ ñá kíñ káyⁿ [[dó-ëñ kíyéⁿ] ní],
2Sg Ipfv skíí work(v).Ipfv [count(n)-DefSg a.certain] Inst,
‘There is good health and there is sickness. One time you do a certain (skiff) with a certain amount (of progress).’
[existential ‘be’ (§11.2.3.1); the speaker uses ‘a certain day’ to mean ‘a certain occasion’ (lasting multiple days)]

(21:21) D: án tá kíⁿyé [súbá-núú]-ý,
2Sg Ipfv Neg arrive.Ipfv [week]-Loc,
kúbë-ëñ kíyéⁿ] ñá kíⁿyé [kúbë cémé-ë-kúwóⁿ]-ýⁿ,
[day-DefSg a.certain] 2Sg Ipfv arrive.Ipfv [day fifteen]-Loc,
‘You-Sg don’t take (even) a week. Another time, you-Sg take fifteen days,’

(21:24) D: áⁿ ñá [kííⁿ ñ-kóòm] pá], [kíyéⁿ ñá yáwⁿ]
2Sg be.Loc [skiff Link-one] Comit], [a.certain be.Loc there.Def
káí ñá [kóó ñ-kóò]-ní [[kííⁿ-kó]-yí kíyém] pá
[even 2Sg Ipfv [month Link-one] do-Ipfv [skiff-DefSg a.certain] Comit]
‘… (while) you-Sg are with one skiff. There are some (times), you-Sg spend even a month with the particular skiff.’

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boat races

(21:29) M áà, yárà áá gà [nó-nì kíî mô-ře-méë] káyⁿ,
ah, whether 2Pl Ipfv [Dem.Def-Link skiff Rel-Pl-Pl] work(v).Ipfv,
yárà [[sůyɛn-kwɛrɛ]-kíî ná [è nááⁿ] là]
‘Ah, (I wonder) whether those skiffs that you-Pl build, whether the racing skiff is
among them?’

[cf. (i) yě sůyɛn-kwɛrɛ gà ‘they boat-raced, they raced boats’]

(21:34) M ou bien [sůyɛn-kwɛrɛ-kiûn tá yôⁿ]
or [propel.VblN-hit.VblN-skiff not.be.Loc there.Def]
‘Or is there no racing skiff?’

(21:37) D [màⁿ ná = à sê]
[Rel if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv]
[ŋ̀ fàⁿ] ná fô [[hû màⁿ] nî],
[[LogoSg share(n)] if.Pfv become.Pfv [[thing Rel] Inst],
‘If whoever (=the buyer) says “mine must become whatever,”’
[double-headed relative (§14.1.2-3)]

(21:39) D áⁿ nà nóⁿ yàá [nó-ôⁿ nî]
2Sg Ipfv Dem.Def put.Ipfv [Dem.Def.Foc Inst]
kíyéⁿ ná = á sé-ré tì”yé-kíîⁿ,
a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv carry.on.head-skiff,
‘That [focus] is what you-Šg (=the boatmaker) put (=do with) that. Someone says
(=orders) a cargo skiff.’

(21:42) D kíyéⁿ ná = á sé-ré jááⁿ-mûndé-kíîⁿ,
a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv fishhook-check.VblN-skiff,
kíyéⁿ ná = á sé-ré
a.certain Ipfv 3Sg say-Ipfv
[ŋ̀ fàⁿ] môtééri gà bé dwá = á-ŷ,
[[LogoSg share(n)] motor Ipfv Fut enter.Pfv 3Sg-Loc],
‘Someone (else) says, a skiff for checking fishhook traps. Someone (else) says, “a
motor will go into mine.”’

[cf. jááⁿ mûndé ‘check a fishhook trap (to see what it has caught)’]
Ah, okay, I have understood it.

Ah, okay, I have understood it.

Ah, okay, I have understood it.
marriage customs

[not transcribed, begins 22:11]
References cited


https://zenodo.org/record/6637072#.YrA3J47P3DI

https://zenodo.org/record/6637063

SIL Bozo map.

https://llacan.cnrs.fr/PDF/Mandenkan30/bozoRapport.pdf

Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

Abstr abstractive nominal
Adj adjective
Agent agentive nominal
ATR advanced tongue root (vowel feature)
Bar Baratou village (near Djenné)
BCM bidirectional case marker (§11.1.2.1)
C consonant (in formulae like CvCv)
Caus causative
Comit comitative (‘with X’)
Counterf counterfactual conditional
Dat dative postposition
Def (discourse-)definite
Dem demonstrative
Dimin diminutive
DiscFunct discourse-functional
Emph emphatic (clause-final particle)
ExpPf experiential perfect
Foc focus
Fut future
H high (tone)
Hort hortative
Imprt imperative
Inch inchoative (deadjectival verb)
Inst instrumental postposition
Ipfv imperfective
Iter iteration (full reduplication)
L a) low (tone)
b) any sonorant (in formulae like CvL)
Loc locative
Logo logophoric
M mid tone
N a) noun (in e.g. “N-Adj”)
b) nasal consonant (in formulae like CvN)
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>noun, in glosses like ‘work (n)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>negative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
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<td>Num</td>
<td>numeral</td>
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<td>Obj</td>
<td>object</td>
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<td>Pf</td>
<td>perfect (in ExpPf)</td>
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<td>PfV</td>
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<td>possessive, possessor</td>
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<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
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<td>QTop</td>
<td>interrogative topic (‘what about X?’)</td>
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<td>Recip</td>
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<td>Rel</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sbj</td>
<td>subject (in e.g. “2PlSbj”)</td>
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<td>Stat</td>
<td>stative</td>
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<td>Tom</td>
<td>Tombona village (near Djenné)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Top</td>
<td>topic</td>
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</table>
| 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>, <LHL> contour-toned syllable, e.g. <HL>, <LH>, <LHL>

M.M.H, etc. syllable-by-syllable tone pattern of a word

→ gradient prolongation of final segment of a word

↗ higher-than modal final pitch

= clitic boundary

tone diacritics on vowels

á, etc. high tone (H)
à, etc. low tone (L)
ä, etc. mid tone (M)
â, etc. falling high-low tone (HL)
à, etc. falling mid-low tone (ML)
ä, etc. lexical low-high (LH) or sandhi-induced low-mid (LM) tone
ä, etc.       bell-shaped tone (LML)
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1. selected morphemes

notes:
in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;
alphabetization: e follows e, o follows o, nasals ordered n then ñ then ñ;
atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;
some pronunciation variants due to tone sandhi are shown in parentheses
perfective/imperfective pairings shown as e.g. bày/bàý or bá(-rá)

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  kù-nù  (see under kú)
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