**A Grammar of Tebul Ure (Dogon, Mali)**

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color coding (excluding section and chapter headings) as indicated below will permit fast searching; most color coding (especially brown, pink, red) can eventually be eliminated, but for electronically disseminated versions at least the blue and green may be visually helpful and worth keeping.

dark red text from the template, to be gradually replaced

black new material typed in for this language

*blue transcriptions for this language*

green transcriptions for other languages, reconstructions, and formulas

pink data to be incorporated later into the section

red comments to oneself (e.g. data to be elicited, section to be rewritten)

orange temporary cross-refs to examples in other sections

dk yellow Jamsay forms in sample index, to be replaced by new index

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# Introduction

## Dogon languages

The Dogon family consists of about 80-100 locally named varieties that linguists have tentatively grouped into approximately 20-25 languages. The languages are spoken is an essentially continuous geographical block comprising the Dogon plateau, the sandy plains that stretch out (especially to the north and east, and the cliffs and lower slopes that separate the plateau from the plains.

Dogon is generally considered to be a division of Niger-Congo, but much remains to be done to establish this firmly, much less determine the position of Dogon within the macro-family.

## Tebul Ure language

Within the larger Dogon family, TU has lexical and grammatical affinities to Yanda Dom, Najamba-Kindige, Tiranige, Dogulu, and probably Mombo and Ampari. It may be that these constitute a large “western” division of Dogon, perhaps along with Bunoge (about which little is currently known).

## Environment

Traditionally, TU was spoken natively only in a closely spaced set of villages on a relatively flat shelf at the summit of the cliffs above the Jamsay-speaking villages of Bamba. Sandy plains stretch out to the south and east, but the plains also cut into the plateau in the form of a narrow valley that reaches to the base of the cliffs near the main TU villages.

The two major zones are therefore the somewhat irregular rocky plateau and the sandy plains, which have quite different ecologies and flora-fauna.

## Geography

This language (abbreviation TU) is spoken in several closely spaced villages on a flat shelf at the edge of the plateau, overlooking a narrow extension of the sandy plains below. There are also a few TU-speaking villages at the base of the cliffs and slopes where the sandy plains begin. The TB-speaking villages are those in (1).

(1) name TU name N lat.//W long.

a. villages on flat shelf near edge of plateau

Bedié *bédé*

*cluster consisting of …*

Bedié Na *bèdè-dɛ́ŋgɛ́* 14 41.35//03 06.91

Didimgo *bèdè-dídìm(gò)* 14 41.77//03 06.92

Tabade *bèdè-tàbàdé:* 14 41.50//03 06.99

Bende *béndé* 14 40.29//03 06.62

Dianga *ʒǎ:ⁿ* 14 40.89//03 06.14

Endekandou *ɛ̀ndɛ̀gàndú* 14 40.57//03 05.74

Endelgo (abandoned) *èndèlgó* 14 40.78//03 05.97

Mande *màndé* 14 41.41//03 06.45

Pedouma *pɛ́dúmá* 14 40.98//03 06.13

Tombogo *tómbógó* 14 40.97//03 06.55

b. villages at base of cliffs (part of the larger Bamba village cluster)

Daga *dà:gá* 14 39.70//03 05.17

Hamdallaye *hámdàlày* 14 40.25//03 06.71

Saradine *sáràdí:nɛ̀* 14 40.43//03 04.64

Sarapondou sàrⁿàbòndú 14 40.90//03 03.91

Tene (*bàmbà-)tɛ̀ndɛ́* 14 41.18//03 03.74

Yreban *ùlò-bán* 14 40//03 06

As elsewhere in Dogon country, the trend has been for villages on the edge of the plateau, or on the middle slopes, to move down to the lower slopes or the sandy plains at the base of the cliffs and slopes. This movement has facilitated access to the weekly market at Bamba (Saturday), and to transportation routes and government services. Another motivation has been access to reliable water supplies.

Endelgo is abandoned, the residents having moved down to Sarapondou. Pedouma is largely abandoned, with a mere three families living there in 2011; the others have moved down to Sarapondou. Hamdallaye down below was settled by a group from Tombogo. The other villages down below contain people who moved from several upper villages. Yreban was settled recently. Bamba (*bàmá*) includes several Jamsay-speaking villages as well as the TU-speaking villages in (1b).

Dianga has two nearly adjacent sections, *jàŋà ná:* and *jàŋà sɛ́gɛ́*, but they have a single chief.

## People

The dominant **surname** throughout TU-speaking country is Guindo.

The main **productive activities** are farming and light herding. Millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*) is the staple wet-season crop. Secondary wet-season crops include sorghum, sesame, cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), peanut, and roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*). Dry-season gardening (onion, tobacco) is possible in a few low-lying areas or near small retaining dams. There is small-scale pottery, weaving, carpentry (manufacture of pounding mortars and other wooden objects), and traditional healing in most of the villages. Bedie Na is noted for bone healing.

**Neighboring languages** are other Dogon languages along with Fulfulde. Jamsay is the main language of the Bamba market, and of a a vast area in the plains stretching through Madougou and on to Koro. Yanda Dom is spoken in several villages on the lower slopes of the cliffs just to the south. On the plateau itself, the main contact language is Tommo-So, which is spoken in a wide area including the Kassa village cluster.

## Previous and contemporary study of Tebul Ure

### Previous scholarship

The existence of this language was noted in Calame-Griaule’s Dogon dialect survey (1956:67), and in the SIL Dogon languages survey (Hochstetler et al. 2004). Calame-Griaule gave Jamsay and Toro So names for the language but no endonym. The SIL report calls the language “Oru yille.”

Roger Blench visited the Tebul Ure area in 2005 as part of his campaign to identify and publicize the endangered languages of the region. His website (see References cited) has pages on the languages that he surveyed. The TU page has a wordlist, a list of TU-speaking villages with coordinates, and a discussion of the information in previous scholarship.

No previous work on the grammar has been done, to my knowledge.

### Fieldwork

By the time I began working on Tebul Ure in linguistics project, I was either done or well along with grammatical and lexical study of several other Dogon languages, and had developed a Dogon-specific reference grammar template and a substantial lexical spreadsheet.

As usual I began with a three-day trip in which I met with the assembled elders of the main villages, and went over flora-fauna vocabulary with several of them. This short visit was in 2010. In 2011 I began real grammatical and lexical study. An informant who speaks some French was recruited locally and I worked with him for about 8 days while staying in nearby Yanda. He later came to our Sevare base for two weeks. At that point I had written drafts of the morphology and some simple syntax sections of the grammar, and had a basic vocabulary of some 2000 lexemes (other than flora-fauna). After an interruption due in part to conflict in northern Mali, I resumed working with him in Sevare in 2013.

### Acknowledgements

The fieldwork on TgK is being carried out under grant BCS-0853364 from the National Science Foundation (NSF), Documenting Endangered Languages (DEL) program, 2009-12.

The larger work on Dogon languages began with grant PA-50643-04 from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for solo fieldwork on Jamsay. This led to the idea of a comparative Dogon linguistic project. The first phase thereof was funded by NSF, grant BCS 0537435, for the period 2006-08. The current grant (referenced above) is for the second phase. Completion of the overall project, i.e. detailed documentation of some 20-25 Dogon languages, will require a third funding phase.

My collaborators in the collective project have been Abbie Hantgan, Laura McPherson, Kirill Prokhorov, Steve Moran, Brian Cansler, Vadim Dyachkov, Jenia Gutova, and the late Stefan Elders. Our primary Malian assistant (and my Jamsay informant) is Minkailou Djiguiba.

# Sketch

## Phonology

### Segmental phonology

The consonantal and vocalic segments of TT are similar to those of other Dogon languages, especially those with conservative consonantism, such as Tommo So.

Voiceless obstruents occur chiefly stem-initially, but also initially in perfective suffixes (arguably still auxiliary verbs). Medial *NC* clusters like *mb* are generally preserved, and there are a few word-initial cases of these clusters. Nasalized {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*} are present, *rⁿ* intervocalically and *wⁿ* and *yⁿ* mostly syllable-finally. Both *s* and *z* occur in native vocabulary.

The usual Dogon 7-vowel qualities occur: short {*i e ɛ a ɔ o u*} and their long counterparts. Phonemic nasalization is possible for long vowels. -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*} and +ATR {*e o*} are usually, but not always, incompatible within stems.

### Prosody

TT has a normal Dogon tone system, not the pitch-accent-like system found in Donno So and Dogul Dom. Every stem (excluding expressive adverbials) has a lexical H-tone, either on one syllable or spread over two or more.

*lexical tone patterns*

*metrical structure (strong and weak positions)*

*tonosyntax (overriding lexical tones or adding to them)*

*intonation*

### Key phonological rules

*Nasalization-spreading*

*Consonantal rules (consonant clusters, metathesis, etc.)*

*Syncope and apocope of high vowels*

## Inflectable verbs

*main derivations (Reversive, Causative, Mediopassive)*

*inflectional categories (tense-aspect, polarity, modals)*

## Noun phrase (NP)

*linear and tonal relationships of nouns, modifying adjectives, numerals, non-numeral quantifiers, determiners, and possessors (summary)*

*morphosyntax of possessed NPs*

## Case-marking and PPs

*Marking of direct and indirect objects (NPs and pronouns)*

*Accusative morpheme present?*

*Postpositions*

*Prepositions (?)*

## Main clauses and constituent order

*structure of a normal main clause with a few examples*

*SOV order, usually verb-final (exception: Toro Tegu SOVX)*

*obligatory clause-initial subject position?*

*temporal adverbs (‘yesterday’) usually before or after subject NP?*

*pronominal-subject expressed by suffix on inflected verb, by prefix on inflected verb, or by clause-initial pronoun?*

## Nominalized clauses and constituent order

*verbal-noun (and any similar nominals) as complements*

*expression of direct object and subject of verbal noun*

## Relative clauses

*head NP (tone-dropping, Relative marker ?)*

*determiners and non-numeral quantifiers separated from core NP and numeral, displaced to post-participial position*

*verb replaced by participle (agreement in nominal features with head NP?)*

## Interclausal syntax

*most important clause and VP combinations*

*direct verb chaining (no special morpheme)*

*looser VP chains with chaining (subordinating) morpheme*

*same-subject and different-subject subordinators?*

*factive and other complement clauses*

# Phonology

## Internal phonological structure of stems and words

### Syllables

Basic syllable shapes are *Cv*, *Cv:*, and *CvL* and occasionally *Cv:L* with a final sonorant *L*. In word-initial syllables, the C position may be vacant.

Monosyllabic stems distinguish *Cv* from *Cv:*. See §10.1.3.1 for lists of *Cv* and *Cv:* verbs.

## Consonants

The regular consonants of TU are shown in (xx1) without parentheses. Marginal phonemes are enclosed in parentheses, very marginal ones in double parentheses

(xx1) Consonants

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

labial *p b m (f) ((v)) w wⁿ*

alveolar *t d n s z l r rⁿ*

alveopalatal *c j ɲ ((š)) ((ž)) y yⁿ*

velar *k g ŋ*

laryngeal *(h) ((ʔ))*

*c* is IPA [tʃ], *j* is [dʒ], *š* is [ʃ], *y* is [j].

key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (c is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3.nasals, 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives (including sibilants); 6. laterals; 7-8. unnasalized then nasalized sonorants; 9-10. laryngeals

### Alveopalatals (*c*, *j*)

There is some variation between *c* and *k*, and between *j* and *g*, before front vowels. However, for most items I was able to identify a primary pronunciation. Extensive bilingualism with Jamsay, where palatalization to *c* and *j* has tended to generalize before front vowels, is a likely factor on the speech of young Tebul people.

Examples of *k* versus *c* before front vowels are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *sálìkì* ‘ablutions’

*kì-kìndé* ‘ghost’

*kílɛ́-* ‘weave (leather strips)’

*kèré* ‘flute’

*kédé* ‘cut’

*bárkè* ‘blessing’

*kɛ́dɛ́* ‘four’

*kɛ́lbá* ‘African egplant’

*kɛ̀tɛ́* ‘runty’

*kɛ̀rɛ̀mbú* ‘(mouth) bit’

b. *cíné* ‘nose’

*cé-* ‘shout’

*cɛ́ndɛ̀y* ‘a little’

*cénd-í:* ‘turn out well’

*cèrgó* ‘stem’

*cɛ́* ‘thing’

*cɛ́ndí* ‘bury’

*cɛ̀mdɛ́* ‘cotton’

*cìndè* ‘shadow’

c. *kíllí* ~ *cíllí* ‘resolve (problem)’

*kílá* ~ *cílá* ‘horn’

*kɛ̀l-gɔ́* ~ *cɛ̀l-gɔ́* ‘crack, crevice’

Examples of *g* versus *j* before front vowels are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *gìré* ‘eyes’

*gàŋgíl-* ‘rub (eyes)’

*gíndílá* ‘mane’

*lìgìdú* ‘cooked leaves’

*dégé* ‘statuette’

*zìgé-* ‘take in hand’

*gèr-í:* ‘divide, share’

*-ge*, *-ŋge* (frozen inanimate Sg suffixes)

b. *jìná:* ‘soil, earth’

*bàrà:jí* ‘divine reward’

*-jé* characteristic derivational suffix (Pl *-jì-mbó*)

*jě-* ‘dance’ or ‘fart’

c. *jìgìlí-* ‘spin, rotate (sth)’

Some word-families have instructive alternations (xx3). Preservation of velars before *i* is common in a metrically weak medial syllable in trisyllabic stems, as in transitive derivatives of the form *CvCv‑rí-* and animate plurals of the shape *CvCv‑mbO*. In this weak position the distinction between *i* and *u* is blurry, which might explain why palatalization does not occur.

(xx3) a. *jɛ̀nj-í:-* ‘(sth) tilt’

*jɛ́ŋgà* ‘be tilted (stative)’

*jɛ̀ŋgì-rí-* ‘tilt (sth)’

b. *tájí-* ‘put on (one’s shoe)’

*tágí-rí-* ‘put on (sb else’s shoe)’

*táy* ‘shoe(s)’

c. *íjj-í:-* ‘(sb) stop, stand’

*ígí-rí-* ‘stop (sb)’

d. *tígí-rí-* ‘call out (names of ancestors)’

*tìgá* (cognate nominal of *tígí-rí-*)

g. *zégé* ‘fight (n.)’ (perhaps originally with *-gé* suffix)

*zèjí-* ‘fight (v.)’

e. *bɔ̀jɛ̌:* ‘slave-snatcher’ (sg)

*bɔ̀gù-mbɔ́* (plural)

g. *dùgé ~ dùjě:* ‘sorceror’

*dùgù-mbó* (plural)

*dùgó* ‘cast (spells)’

See also the Sg/Pl medial *nj* ~ *ŋ* alternations (‘chicken’, ‘griot/healer’) in (xx1) in §4.1.1.1.

### Voiced velar stop *g* and *g*-Spirantization (*g*→*γ*)

Spirantization of *g* to [ɣ] between {*a ɔ*} vowels is not systematic.

### Back nasals (*ŋ*, *ɲ*)

*ɲ* and *ŋ* are distinguishable before *i* and other front vowels. Examples of ɲi are *tɔ́:ɲí-* ‘pester’ and *(sǎⁿ) sáɲí-* ‘adorn oneself, dress up’. Examples of ŋi are *màŋí-* ‘raise (herd of livestock)’ and *píŋí-* ‘shut (door)’.

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

*p* is common especially stem-initially: *pâ:* ‘long’, *pɛ́lú* ‘ten’, *pɛ́gɛ́-* ‘attach (blade to shaft)’.

f occurs in a few loanwords: *márfá* ‘rifle’ (ultimately < Arabic), *fùrù-fùrú* ‘fritters’.

The ‘all’ quantifier, also regionally widespread, is pronounced *pú→*.

### Laryngeals (*h*, *ʔ*)

*h* occurs stem-initially in a few loanwords (it is a common consonant in Fulfulde): *hɔ́là:rù* ‘trust (n.)’, *hàrâm* ‘a Muslim holy day’, *háccɛ́* ‘sin’, *hátɛ́-* ‘forbid’.

A phonetic glottal stop can appear at the beginning of otherwise vowel-initial words. I have noticed it especially in 2Sg possessor *ú-wɔ̀*, which can be heard as [ʔ(ú)wɔ̀] after a vowel. No initial *Cv-* reduplications have been observed in verbal morphology, so the glottal stops that show up in reduplications of vowel-initial verbs in other Dogon languages are not present in TU.

### Sibilants (*s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*)

*s* is a regular phoneme in TU. Examples: *sá:-* ‘take off (garment)’, *ságú* ‘pounded millet’, *sɛ́rⁿɛ́-* ‘drain’, *sɔ́gɔ́* ‘pick-hoe’. In verbal suffixes *s* optionally and inconsistently weakens to *z*.

*z* is also a regular phoneme. Examples: *zɛ́-* ‘(man) marry (woman)’, *zégé zèjí-* ‘have a fight’, zègìrá zègǐr- ‘incite’, zùgɔ́- ‘know’.

*ž* (IPA [ʒ]) occurs in the ubiquitous ‘gendarme’ loanword ʒándárámá.

### Nasalized sonorants (*rⁿ*, *wⁿ*, *yⁿ*)

*rⁿ* is common intervocalically. In some cases it still alternates with *n*. Examples: *árⁿá* ‘man’, *sírⁿé-* ‘spit (in a jet)’, *gò:-bɔ̀rⁿɔ́* ‘ember’.

*wⁿ* and *yⁿ* occur very commonly in pronominal-subject suffixes on predicates (2Sg *-wⁿ*, 1Pl/2Pl *‑yⁿ*). *wⁿ* is otherwise unattested (\*m does not lenite). I have recorded *yⁿ* in *ɔ́yⁿ-* ‘spin (thread)’, *gɔ̌yⁿ-* ‘wait for’, *àn-táyⁿ* ‘hand span’, *ɛ́yⁿ* ‘tomorrow’, *dɛ́yⁿ→* ‘apart’, *áyⁿ* ‘how?’, and intervocalically or finally under the influence of a preceding nasal syllable as in *míyⁿɛ́-* ‘grind into powder’ and *sɔ́mɔ̀y*ⁿ ‘spices’.

None of these nasalized sonorants occurs word-initially.

### Consonant clusters

As in other Dogon languages, *CC* clusters are very restricted, except in loanwords.

#### Word- and morpheme-initial *CC* clusters

Initial *NC* including *NN* clusters are uncommon; I can cite *ńdì-* ‘give’, *ńdɛ́* ‘metal, iron’, *ńné* (3Sg pronoun), *m̀bá-* ‘want’, and *m̀bù-gɔ́* ‘mouth’.

*ínjé* ‘water’ was heard with and without the initial *i*, as was *íŋgílí* ‘get up’.

#### Medial geminated *CC* clusters

A search through the working lexicon produced the cases in (xx1).

(xx1) *bb* —

*cc háccɛ̀* ‘sin (n)’ (< Fulfulde)

*dd péddè* ‘sheep’ (plural *pédù-mbò*)

*ff* —

*gg ɔ́g-gɔ́* ‘rapid’

*ɔ́ggɔ̀:* ‘umbilical cord’

*péggè:* ‘hitching posts (plural)’

*díggɔ́* (~ *dígúgɔ́*) ‘joint’

*zòg-gɔ́* ‘shard’ (pl *zògɛ̌:*)

*hh* —

*jj íjj-í:-* ‘stop, stand’

*zòjj-í:-* ‘be sprained’

*pójj-í:-* ‘brush against’

*pɔ́jj-í:-* ‘die en masse’

*gɔ̀jj-í:-* ‘carry on shoulder’

*tòjjé* ‘grandchild’

*kk* —

*ll* *mìll-í:-* ‘go back’

*cíll-í:-* ‘fly (away)’

*cíllí-* ‘resolve (problem)’

*tállí-* ‘re-open (wound)’

*àrⁿà-[dúl-lé]* ‘thunder’

*sɛ́ll-í:-* ‘be healthy’ (< Fulfulde)

*tíllây* ‘sure to happen’ (< Fulfulde)

*gállú* ‘big city’ (< Fulfulde)

*bàl-lè:gó* ‘deadline’ (*lè:gó* ‘day’)

*mm sɛ́mmé* ‘rags, tatters’

*nn jínná:jè* ‘djinn, devil’ (< Fulfulde)

*ìn-nàmá* ‘gums’ (“tooth-flesh”)

*ɲɲ* —

*ŋŋ* —

*pp* —

*rr* —

*rⁿrⁿ* —

*ss* —

*tt séttâ:n* ‘devil (satan)’ (< Fulfulde)

*ww* —

*wⁿwⁿ* —

*yy bě-yyà-* ‘lay down’

(and other similar perfective-1a forms)

*yⁿyⁿ* —

*zz* —

Disregarding known loanwords, and clusters arising at morpheme boundaries, the following comments are germane.

*gg* may be limited to cases where an original inanimate Sg suffix *-go* ~ *-gɔ* has become more or less fused to a noun stem, perhaps after syncope of a medial-syllable short high vowel. This is most obvious in *díggɔ́* (~ *dígúgɔ́*).

*jj* occurs in original \*jy or \*gy clusters involving either mediopassive derivational suffix \*‑yv- (cf. TU *‑í:‑*) on verbs or \*‑(i)ye ‘child’ as compound final of nouns. For example, compare *gɔ̀jj-í:-* ‘carry on shoulder’ with Toro Tegu *gògìyó* (imperative) and Nanga *gɔ̀gíyí‑*, and compare *tòjjé* ‘grandchild’ with Nanga *tèsí‑yê*.

*ll* is the most popular medial geminate. Some examples are loanwords or involve boundary clusters. Some remaining cases (*mìll‑í:‑,* *cíll‑í:‑*) may reflect post-syncope \*ly clusters involving mediopassive \*‑yv-*. For example, compare cíll‑í:‑* ‘fly (away)’ with Yanda Dom *kílíyé‑*.

#### Medial non-geminate *CC* clusters

Homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters are fairly common intervocalically within stems. One example each is given in (xx1).

(xx1) *mb* *kùmbó* ‘great-great-grandparent’

*nd* *ùndó* ‘younger same-sex sibling’

*nj* *zònjé* ‘idol, fetish’

*ŋg* *bóŋgó* ‘spots on body’

Similar clusters with voiceless stop occur stem-medially only in (probable) loanwords and frozen compounds. I can cite *zɔ́ntɛ̀* ‘fever’ (< Fulfulde), *bàntɔ́ndɔ́-mbɔ́* ‘young men and women, (the) youth’, *àlmúncìl* ‘imam’s respondent’ (< Arabic), *málɛ́:ŋkɛ̀* ‘angel’ (< Arabic), *bùŋká:rⁿá* ‘reed flute’, *yóŋkù* ‘vital spirit’, and *táŋkà* ‘a colonial coin’. Inflectional suffixes like perfective-1b *‑tì‑* can follow various stem-final consonants after syncope.

ns occurs in *ánsárá* ‘white person’, cf. Jamsay *ànìsá:rá-n*. Underlying /ns/ may also be present in cases where a nasalized vowel is followed by *s*, as in *àndà sà:ⁿsó* ‘full outback’,

In addition to ŋg (see above), various sonorants occur before *g* in nouns and adjectives with (synchronic or frozen) inanimate Sg suffix \*-gO or the like: *mg* (*ómgó* ‘udder’), *ng* (*kón-gó-* ‘cough[n.]’), *lg* (*sàlgó* ‘diarrhoea’), *rg* (*cèrgó* ‘stem’), *tàygɔ́* ‘dancing ground’. I have no examples of *wg*, *wⁿg*, or *yⁿg*.

*mn* occurs in *ɛ́mnɛ́* ‘milk’ and *cɛ̀mnɛ́* ‘fun’. TU is the only Dogon language with *mn* in ‘milk’, but geminated *mm* in Bankan Tey *ɛ́mmɛ̀yⁿ* points to an original cluster.

lt is found in *bèltíyá:* ‘harvest pile’, probably an original compound.

yr occurs in Fulfulde loan *wáyrí-* ‘be a fairly long time’.

#### Medial triple *CCC* clusters

I know of no medial triple *CCC* clusters, though they could occur in Fulfulde loanwords.

#### Final *CC* clusters

I know of no word-final clusters.

## Vowels

The inventory is (xx1). Oral vowels are much more common than nasalized vowels. Nasalized vowels are normally long, but see §3.3.2 for discussion.

(xx1) short oral long oral nasalized (long)

*u u: u:ⁿ*

*o o:* —

*ɔ ɔ: ɔ:ⁿ*

*a a: a:ⁿ*

*ɛ ɛ: ɛ:ⁿ*

*e e:* —

*i i: i:ⁿ*

I occasionally use E to represent the set {*ɛ e*} and O to represent the set {*ɔ o*}.

### Short and (oral) long vowels

*Cv* and *Cv:* monosyllabic stems are distinguished. For verbs see §10.xxx.

In nonmonosyllabic stems, long vowels are fairly common in initial syllables in nouns and verbs: *gò:ndó* ‘river’, *è:lé:* ‘dew’. For nouns and adjectives, long vowels can occur finally as well, though often only in the singular or only in the plural: *lùgǎ:* ‘apiary’, *tìnɛ̌:* ‘firewood’, *tìyǎ:* ‘basket (from branch strips)’, *jìnǎ:* ‘loam’, *kàlɛ́:* ‘neighborhoods’ (Sg *kàl-gɔ́*), *gàbɛ̌:* ‘tall’ (inanimate *gàbù-gɔ́*). Verb stems do not have noninitial-syllable long vowels, but they do combine with some suffixes containing long vowels, e.g. perfective-1a allomorph *-à:-* and some participial (i.e. noun-like) endings. In trisyllabic and longer stems, medial syllables can have long vowels, but the examples are loanwords, as in *sàlá:tù* ‘pre-dawn prayer’ (< Arabic via Fulfulde).

### Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels are fairly uncommon. Examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) *u:ⁿ* *mǔ:ⁿ* ‘cut (wound)’

*o:ⁿ* —

*ɔ:ⁿ* *pɔ̌:ⁿ* ‘fonio (cultivated grain)’

*a:ⁿ* *gwá:ⁿ* ‘chest (body)’

*ɛ:ⁿ* *ɛ́:ⁿ-* ‘become tight’

*e:ⁿ* —

*iⁿ* *tíⁿ→* ‘long ago’

### Initial vowels

Stems may begin with a vowel, i.e. with a vacant initial *C* position. Some examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) *u údú* ‘air’

*o ób-í:* ‘sit’

*ɔ ɔ̂m* ‘hot’

*a àrⁿá* ‘rain’

*ɛ ɛ́mnɛ́ ‘milk’*

*e èré* ‘rivalry’

*i íjj-í:-* ‘stop, stand’

Since *Cv:* is an allowable initial syllable, so is *v:* with the *C* position vacant, though examples are rare: *á:-* ‘brew (beer)’. *ɛ́:* ‘this way’,

### Stem-final vowels

All vowel qualities can occur word- and stem-finally in nouns and adjectives.

### Vocalic harmony

The +ATR vowels are {*e o*}, the ‑ATR vowels are {*ɛ ɔ*}. Most bisyllabic and longer stems respect ATR harmony. An exception is *zòmɔ́* ‘hare’ (plural zòmɔ́-mbɔ̀. Nasal consonants are likely catalysts for ATR-disharmony within stems.

To some extent, ATR harmony extends to suffixes. In nominal and adjectival morphology, inanimate singular *‑gO* (§4.1.1.4) and animate plural *‑mbO* (§4.1.1.1) harmonize with stem vowels (“O” represents an alternation of *o* with *ɔ*). In verbal morphology, derivational suffixes harmonize, but those inflectional morphemes with syllabic shape behave more like chained verbs and do not harmonize (perfective-2, recent perfect, experiential perfect). Imperfective verbs do not harmonize beyond the basic *‑m* formative.

There are a number of cases where a word-family contains stems of different categories that fail to agree in ATR value. This is most conspicuous when a cognate nominal and a verb co-occur, as in *órú-gó ɔ́r-* ‘speak, talk’ and *zóbú-gó zɔ̀bɔ́-* ‘run (a race)’. In addtiion, agentive nominals (final vowel shifts to é:) do not respect harmony.

Within a stem, high vowels {*i u*} may co-occur with either +ATR or -ATR vowels. Verbal E-stem forms (3Sg simple perfective in defocalized contexts) have final *ɛ* rather than *e* after an *a*‑vowel, as in *bàɛ̀* ‘gathered’ and *bàrⁿɛ̀* ‘beat (tomtom)’. However, in nouns there is no prohibition on combining *a* with an +ATR vowel, as seen in *àdé* ‘bird’.

### Vocalism of verb-stem alternations

Although not lexically basic, the A/O-stem is the form of the verb found in the majority of inflectional categories. Other surface forms of verb stems are the bare stem (which I take as lexically primary), the E/I-stem (found in the 3Sg subject perfective), and the A-stem (stative).

(xx1) stem AN category (examples)

bare stem perfective (except 3Sg), perfective-1b and -2, past perfect

E/I-stem perfective (3Sg only)

A/O-stem imperfective, perfective negative, imperfective negative, imperative, etc.

A-stem stative

## Segmental phonological rules

### Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

#### Nasalization-Spreading

Some Dogon languages have Forward Nasalization-Spreading: /Nvrv/ → *Nvrⁿv*, /Nvwv/ → *Nvwⁿv*, and /Nvyv/ → *Nvyⁿv*. That is, sonorants {w y r} shift to their nasalized counterparts {*wⁿ yⁿ rⁿ*} when they are preceded by a nasal syllable (nasalized vowel or syllable like *nv*). This process is most conspicuous in languages like Jamsay, which has *-rv* and *-wv* verbal derivational suffixes, which appear with nasalized consonant only after stems that end in a nasal syllable.

TU is disadvantaged in this respect because most of its verbal derivational suffixes have shapes like *-lí*, *-mí*, *-gí*, and *-ndú*, whose consonants and consonant clusters are not candidates for nasalization. Furthermore, the mediopassive derivational suffix is vocalic *‑i:* (versus *‑yv* in several Dogon languages). This leaves transitive *‑rí* (§9.4.1) as the only hope in verbal derivational morphology. Inflectional morphology is no better; only *-yà‑* (perfective-1a variant) has an eligible sonorant and can follow a vowel.

I can cite no relevant example with transitive *-rí*. Based on perfective-1a *nú-yà-* ‘went in’ from nú, there is no synchronic Forward Nasalization-Spreading. There are many stems like *nà:rⁿá* ‘easy’ whose stem-internal consonantism is compatible with spreading. but in these cases there is no clear evidence that nasalization originates in one syllable and spreads to another. There are also some cases like *màrá* ‘get lost’ where spreading has not occurred (this stem likely reconstructs as \*mbàrá)

Backward Nasalization-Spreading of the type /yvNv/ → *yⁿvNv* or /wvNv/ → *wⁿvNv*, is absent as a synchronic process in TU. A possible vestige is ɲǎ: ‘take’ if from an immediate prototype \*yàŋá (from still earlier \*yàŋgá) via \*yⁿàŋá, cf. Jamsay *yàŋá* (Pergué dialect *yɛ̀ŋgɛ́*) Togo Kan *ɲàŋá*). However, yǎ ‘woman’ (simplified from \*yà-nú) is unnasalized (contrast Jamsay *ɲɛ̌‑n*, Toro Tegu *yⁿà‑rⁿú*.

#### Consonantal metathesis in suffixal derivatives of verbs

Metathesis as such has not been observed.

### Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs

#### Suffixal Vowel-Spreading

*Derivational suffixes on verbs, usually -Cv, often have underspecified vowels that acquire their quality by spreading of features from the left. Or they may be specified for height but not ATR. These processes usually reflect general constraints on the shape of multisyllabic verb stems (allowable vowel sequences).*

*e.g. taba-wv > taba-wa*

*what if only stem vowel is high {i u}?*

#### Presuffixal V2-Raising

*stem-final vowel of nonmonosyllabic verb stem shifts to high before suffix?*

*reflects metrically weak position*

*often leads to syncope*

*e.g. tama-lv > tam(i/u)-la*

### Other vocalic rules sensitive to syllabic or metrical structure

*Any tendency for first vowel in CvNCv to lengthen to Cv:NCv, as in Nanga?*

#### Epenthesis

I have not observed epenthesis processes in TU.

#### Syncope

Short high vowels {i u} are subject to syncope, often optional, in metrically weak medial positions when flanked by single consonants, as especially in suffixed forms like *CvCi/u-Cv*. The clearest cases are those where syncope triggers additional consonant cluster adjustments, as in *gìrí‑* ‘immobilize (sth)’ and its reversive *gìl-lí‑* ‘allow (immobilized object) to move again’, see (xx1e) in (§9.1) and /rl/ → *ll* (§3.4.xxx).

### Apocope

Word-final short high vowels can be deleted under conditions similar to those for word-internal syncope.

### Local consonant sequence rules

#### /rl/→*ll*

When /rl/ come together after syncope in reversive verbs (/Cvri-lí/), §9.1, the result is *ll*. Examples are *gìl-lí‑* ‘allow (sth) to move after being immobilized’ from *gìrí‑* ‘immobilize’, *tál‑l‑í:‑* ‘(affixed/posted item) come off’ from *tár‑í:‑* ‘be affixed’, and and *íl‑l‑í:‑* ‘remember’ from *írɛ́‑* ‘forget’.

#### Intervocalic *l*-Deletion

Original \*Cvlv (and perhaps \*Cvrv) stems generally appear as *Cv:* . See (xx1a-b) in §10.1.3.1 for *Cv:* verbs of this type. In many cases there is no synchronic evidence for a medial *l* in underlying (=lexical) representations. However, there are some archaic alternations that reflect the shift.

Most examples are agentive compound finals, like *-bà-lé:* ‘collector’ from *bǎ:-* ‘gather’. The agentive normally just changes the stem-final vowel to *é:*. The known cases of *-lé:* are in (xx2) in §5.1.4.

\*bɛ̀lɛ́ ‘get’ appears as *bɛ:-* or *beɛ-* in the absence of a derivational suffix. However, it has an archaic mediopassive is *bɛ̀l-í:* ‘be gotten’.

Recognizing underlying /Cvlv/ in all these cases and positing an intervocalic *l*-deletion rule probably would not capture the synchronic dynamics. Since the alternations are archaic and affect relatively few stems, one could reasonably speak of *Cvl-* allomorphs of the stems in question, required by certain suffixes.

### Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

*tautosyllabic vowel sequences may occur in perfective verbs that end in diphthong-like /o̪e/, /ɔ̪ɛ/, /a̪ɛ/, etc., arguably a stem-final vowel plus an ‑ɛ ~ ‑e perfective morpheme.*

*vowel sequences that arise in compounds may remain separately articulated (hiatus) or may contract into a long vowel.*

*vowel sequences may also arise in initial Cv- reduplications of verb stems that begin in a vowel. This seem to be always pronounced with hiatus*

#### Hiatus between adjacent vowels in reduplications

*Separate articulation of two vowels that come together at a boundary, e.g. in compounds and/or in initial reduplications. May involve a phonetic glottal stop as separator.*

#### *vv*-Contraction

*Cases where two vowels come together at a boundary and contract to a long or sometimes short vowel (indicate all relevant morphological contexts, with exx. or cross-refs to sections).*

*Perfectives ending in an e-vowel are difficult to model. They sometimes look like suffixation of -e ~ -ɛ to the stem, especially when a trace of the stem-final vowel is audible. When the stem-final vowel is absent, one could either think of them as suffixation as before (with VV-Contraction), or as an ablaut-like stem change. These perfectives behave quite unlike other clearly suffixal inflections.*

### Local vowel-consonant interactions

*Delete and add subsections below as needed.*

#### Vowel-Semivowel Assimilation

*examples:*

*/i/ > u before any labial (or just before /w/)*

*/u/ > i before alveopalatal (or just /y/)*

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

*occurs syllable-finally; may apply for ex. to verb stems ending with pronominal-subject (or participial) suffix -y or -w.*

## Cliticization

There are no second-position clitics. Certain suffix-like elements in verbal morphology can be considered to be phonological clitics, but the distinction between clitic and suffix is not sharp.

The ‘it is’ clitic is manifested as a final L-tone and vowel lengthening added to the NP: *péddè=:* ‘it’s a sheep’ (*péddè*), *tólê:=:* ‘it’s a pig’ (*tólé*). For 1st/2nd person subjects (topics) this is replaced by a regular pronominal-subject suffix (§11.2.1.1). The negative counterpart is *=là‑*, which is also conjugatable, e.g. 3Sg *=là:-∅* (§11.2.1.2).

The stative negative morpheme (*=ndà‑*, 3Sg *=ndà:-∅*) can also be considered to be a clitic, since it is added to an already well-formed predicate (§10.4.2).

Finally, the conjugatable past morpheme *=bì-* which is added to various aspect-negation forms of verbs may also be considered a clitic (§10.5.1).

*=* rather than *-* is used as the clitic boundary marker.

## Tones

### Lexical tone patterns

#### At least one H-tone in each stem

TU, like many (but not all) Dogon languages, requires that each noun (including spatiotemporal “adverbs”), verb, adjective, numeral, or demonstrative have an H-tone element in its basic form (before grammatical tone overlays). For example, *CvCv* may be *Cv́Cv́*, *Cv́Cv̀*, or *Cv̀Cv́*, but not #*Cv̀Cv̀*.

One could argue, however, whether this constraint applies to lexical representations or to a later stage. Specifically, one could argue whether *Cv̀Cv́* in some or all cases might be analysed as {L}-toned /Cv̀Cv̀/, which is then supplied with a final H-tone to satisfy a higher-level constraint.

*expressive adverbials can be {L}-toned in some but not all languages that otherwise require a H‑tone in each stem. Expressive adverbials are not subject to tone-dropping.*

#### Lexical tones of verbs

Verbs of all syllabic shapes are lexically {H} or {LH}. For Cv- verbs, the distinction is partially suppressed, since a complex <LH> tone cannot be expressed audibly on a single mora. However, a lexical distinction between *Cv́-* and *Cv̀-* is manifested in the perfective-2 (*Cv́-sɔ̀-* versus *Cv̀-sɔ́-*) and in the experiential perfect (*Cv́-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* versus *Cv̀-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-*). Verbs of two or more moras (*Cv:-*, *CvCv-*, etc.) audibly distinguish {H} from {LH} across a wider range of inflections, including positive perfectives, e.g perfective-1b *Cv́:-tì-* versus *Cv̌:-tì-*.

{H} lexical contour is obligatory for stems beginning with **voiceless obstruents**. {LH} contour is obligatory for stems beginning with **voiced obstruents**. Stems that begin with a **sonorant**, or with **no consonant**, divide into {H} and {LH} classes; the tone contour of each such stem must be learned.

For {LH} verbs, the **tone break** is at the right edge, e.g. LLH for trisyllabic stems, LH for bisyllabics (including *Cv̀CCv́-* and *Cv̀:Cv́-* as well as *Cv̀Cv́-*), and <LH> for bimoraic monosyllabics (*Cv̌:-*). These tone patterns are heard before the basic perfective positive forms (except perfective-2). Because trisyllabics are LLH rather than LHH (as in some Dogon languages), syncope of *CvCvCv-* to *CvCCv-* creates no tonal anomalies in TU of the type found in e.g. Yanda Dom (where *Cv̀Cv́Cv́-* can syncopate to *Cv̌CCv́-*, tonally distinct from inherited *Cv̀CCv́-*).

*zɛ̌:-* ‘bring’ has a tonally irregular quoted hortative *zɛ́-lù* for expected regular #*zɛ̀-lú*. Its antonym *zǎy-/zo-* ‘take, convey’ also has a tonally irregular quoted hortative *zây* for expected #*zǎy*. This verb also has an irregular imperative *zá-dà*. These forms are isolated vestiges of a **lexical {HL}** contour that may have once been more consistent for these two verbs. Cognates of these two verbs in other Dogon languages (e.g. Toro Tegu) show similar tonal (and other) irregularities.

Lexical tone contours of verbs are regularly overridden or modified in inflections other than basic positive perfectives.

#### Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

Lexical tones of uncompounded nouns are {H}, {HL}, {LH}, {L}+H, and {LHL}. The difference between {LH} and {L}+H is observable in stems that have a syllabic suffix (inanimate singular or animate plural), where the H-tone is carried by the suffix with {L}+H stems but remains on the stem-final in {LH} stems. One can argue that {L}+H stems are really {L}-toned but get a default H-tone on the word-final syllable.

Examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) Sg Pl gloss

a. {H} lexical tone contour

*zú zú-mbò* ‘neighbor’

*dɔ́gɔ́ dɔ́gɔ́-mbɔ̀* ‘Dogon’

*dégé* ‘statuette, idol’

*tólé tól-mbò* ‘pig’

*tálɛ́* ‘egg’

*árⁿá árⁿá-mbɔ̀* ‘man’

*púlá púlá-mbɔ̀* ‘Fulbe (person)’

*bón-gó bón-é:* ‘name’

*zɛ́mbɛ́ zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ̀* ‘blacksmith’

*cɛ́gɛ́rɛ́* ‘saddle’

*ámbírí ámbírí-mbò* ‘chief’

*wágádú* ‘time’

b. {HL} lexical tone contour

*bisyllabic*

*péddè pédù-mbò* ‘sheep’

*dí:nɛ̀* ‘religion’

*H.L.L*

*púdùrɔ̀* ‘twilight’

*tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀ tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀-mbɔ̀* ‘namesake’

*lá:sàrà* ‘4PM prayer’

*hɔ́là:rù* ‘trust’

*dúwà:gù* ‘blessing’

*HHL*

*kórósèl* ‘first rains’

*málɛ́:ŋkɛ̀* *málɛ́:ŋkɛ̀-mbɔ̀* ‘angel’

*jínná:jè jínná:jì-mbò* ‘djinn, genie’

c. {LH} lexical tone contour

*gɔ̀b-ŋgó gɔ̀bé:* ‘trigger’

*òmlé: òmlú-mbò* ‘parent-in-law’

*bǒn-gò bòné:* ‘tomtom’

*àngé àngé-mbò* ‘friend’

*ɛ̀njɛ́ ɛ̀ŋú-mbɔ̀* ‘chicken’

*mɔ̀:sú mɔ̀:sú-mbɔ̀* ‘Mossi (person)’

*L.H.H*

*làsúgɔ́*  ‘mask’

*gìŋgírú* ‘flute’

*àdúnó* ‘world’

*L.L.H.H*

*dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ́rɔ̀ dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ́rɔ̀-mbɔ̀* ‘doctor’

{LH} or {L}+H (indeterminate)

*<LH>*

*tǎ:* ‘taboo’

*gǒ:* ‘fire’

*L.H*

*dàbíl* ‘magical solution’

*L.L.H*

*màtàrá:s* ‘madrasa (Islamic school)’

*L.L.L.H*

*mɔ̀tìlàtɔ́m* ‘balm’ (< *mentholated* or similar)

{H} or {L}+H

*jé* ‘dance(n.)’

d. {LHL} lexical tone contour

*<HL>L*

*sǎ:gà* ‘alms’

*L.<HL>*

*àlmâ:m àlmâ:m-bɔ̀* ‘imam’

*àtɛ̂m* ‘traditions’

*L.H.L*

*àljɛ́nɛ̀* ‘heaven’

*làsá:sù* ‘modern rifle’

*sàlá:tù* ‘pre-dawn prayer’

*gùrá:nà* ‘koranic school’

*zàmdílè zàmdíl-mbò* ‘donkey’

*L.L.<HL>*

*yàgùrûm*  ‘quivering of biceps’

e. {L}+H

*L+H*

*yǎ yà-mbɔ́* ‘woman’

*nǎ: nà:-mbɔ́* ‘cow’

*L.L+H*

*àdé àdù-mbó* ‘bird’

*ɔ̀gɔ́ ɔ̀gɔ̀-mbɔ́* ‘Hogon (chief)’

*gùndɔ́ gùndɔ̀-mbɔ́* ‘slave’

*ìnjɛ̌: ìnjɛ̀-mbɔ́* ‘dog’

*zònjě: zòŋù-mbó* ‘healer; griot’

*L.L.L+H*

*àsɛ̀gɛ́ àsɛ̀gɛ̀-mbɔ́* ‘animal’

*L.L.L.L+H*

*ɔ̀gɔ̀ɲɔ̀ŋɔ́ ɔ̀gɔ̀ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀-mbɔ́* ‘camel’

#### Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

*Tone contours usually about the same as for nouns, but there are not many monosyllabic or trisyllabic stems.*

#### Tone contours or H‑tone accent?

*Given the constraint against stem-wide lexical {L} contour, one is tempted to think in terms of a H‑toned accent, with one syllable or mora marked for accent (with low-level rules then specifying the final output).*

*For non-verb words there is no obvious way to avoid having to specify that a L‑tone precedes and/or follows. If the moras (or syllables) are represented as x’s, and x́ is accented, the only possibilities for bimoraic CvCv stems with one accent are x́x and xx́. To account for the three outputs, {H}, {HL}, and {LH}, we would have to add another unaceented type xx. If the latter is realized as {H}, we can get the correct outputs, but how would anyone learn it?*

*For verbs, in languages where the two basic patterns are {H} and {LH}, an accentual analysis could work. For example, we could equate {H} with H‑tone accent, and {LH} with the absence thereof. Or we could equate {LH} with L‑tone accent, and {H} with the absence thereof. Either way, we would need rules to account for the remaining surface tones not directly equated with the accent.*

#### Possible lexically {L}-toned stems

*The constraint on {L} might be shifted from the lexicon to the surface. For example, we might take some {LH} stems to be {L}, with the H‑tone later surfacing to satisfy an output constraint. Evidence in favor of this possibility comes from Jamsay nouns where the H‑tone appears on the suffix -n (singular) or -m (plural), e.g. dɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ń ‘(a) Dogon’, compare dɔ̀ɣɔ́ without the suffix.*

#### Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

*For bi- and tritonal noun stems, where are the tone breaks in CvCv, Cv:Cv, CvCCv, CvCvC, etc. Before the last syllable (even if heavy) as in Cv̀Cv́: and Cv̀Cv́C ? Before the last mora as in Cv̀Cv̌: and Cv̀Cv̌C ? Or before the last vocalic mora as in Cv̀Cv̌: and Cv̀Cv́C? In any of these cases, as long as tone-break location is predictable, we could adopt an autosegmental model in which the tone contour and the segmental representation are ontologically separate.*

*Or is the choice lexically variable? In that case, the autosegmental model will not work cleanly, since we would have to stipulate which syllables/moras the tone elements are associated with.*

#### Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems

*Similar to the preceding, paying attention to syllabic structure especially of final syllable. Nouns usually prefer LLH rather than LHH, even in languages that have LHH as the {LH} contour for verbs.*

### Grammatical tone patterns

*Subsections below discuss how the morphology and syntax change the lexical tone contours of stems. Distinguish stem-wide tone overlays (which erase the underlying lexical tone contour) from partial modifications.*

#### Grammatical tones for verb stems

*The lexical tone contour of a verb stem, usually {H} or {LH}, is audible in the bare stem (used in chaining) and in the positive perfective forms.*

*Tone-dropping to {L} may occur before the perfective negative and/or the imperfective negative. The imperative and/or the positive imperfective may raise some or all {LH} toned verbs to {H}, in addition to any segmental changes.*

*The simple perfective, and possibly other inflected forms, may drop to {L} after other constituents, especially a focalized constituent. Tone-dropping here is an expression of defocalization of the verb.*

*In compound agentives, e.g. ‘millet-farmer’ or ‘gazelle-hunter’, the verb as compound final may have an overlaid {H} or {LH} contour in addition to any segmental changes.*

*Relative-clause forms of verbs, whether or not participial in suffixal morphology, involve additional tone-contour changes.*

*If the system is complex (as in Najamba and Yanda), a tabular summary would help.*

#### Grammatical tones for noun stems

*NPs are the site of the most systematic tonosyntactic processes, and nouns are the primary targets. Brief discussion here, full discussion in Chapter 6.*

*A noun is tone-dropped to {L} by a following adjective or demonstrative (in some languages also a definite suffix or an ‘each’ quantifier), or when it functions as head of a relative.*

*A noun is subject to a tone contour controlled by a preceding possessor. The contour may be {L}, {HL}, or (especially for prosodically light stems) {H}, rarely {LH} (for some kin terms). For conflicts between right-to-left and left-to-right contours, see Chapter 6.*

*Nouns are common compound initials and finals. There are several compound types defined by tone contours. Usually one involves tone-dropping the initial to {L} and keeping the regular tones on the final; another usually mimics possessor-possessed constructions. See Chapter 5 for details.*

#### Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

*Adjectives and numerals are subject to tone-dropping controlled by a following demonstrative (in some languages also a definite morpheme), or when the NP they are in is the head NP of a relative.*

*When a NP consisting of N-Adj or N-Num has a preceding possessor, the possessor-controlled tone contour affects the noun and may also extend to the adjective or numeral. Check both N-Adj and N-Num in combination with both alienable and inalienable possessors (which may differ tonosyntactically).*

### Tonal morphophonology

#### Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

*For non-verb stem-classes such as nouns, the existence of {H}, {HL}, {LH}, and {LHL} stems leaves us with little choice but to recognize these as separate contour types, rather than adopting an accentual model.*

*To the extent that the location of tone breaks is predictable (as opposed to lexically specified), we can isolate the contours from the segmental level, so that e.g. bàlǎ: could be represented as bala: combined with an {LH} autosegment.*

*For verbs, an autosegmental analysis may be attractive. This is because the same model can work for a verb and (some of?) its suffixal derivatives. For example, a Cv̀Cv́ verb stem might have a Cv̀Cv̀-Cv́ derivative, if the language prefers tone breaks near the right edge. If we analyse the stem as CvCv plus {LH}, we first add the -Cv suffix to the stem, then we associate {LH} to the trisyllabic result to get Cv̀Cv̀-Cv́. This analysis is less compelling for languages with tone breaks near the left edge.*

#### Phonology of {HL} tone contour

*summary of data presented in other sections as to how the {HL} contour is expressed in various word classes and morphological contexts, for example HLL or HHL on trisyllabics.*

*Consider:*

*{HL} as lexical contour for nouns, adjectives, numerals.*

*{HL} as possessed-noun contour.*

*any {HL} contours in verbal morphology.*

*{HL} on adjective or numeral as compound final in bahuvrihi compounds (‘Blackbeard’, ‘three-head[ed]’).*

*special tone contours in iterated (fully reduplicated) verbs, e.g. {HL}-{L}-{L}… iterations of verbs to emphasize prolongation of an activity (such as motion) in a story.*

*The different contexts may involve different ways of applying the H and L components, e.g. HLL versus HHL.*

#### Tonal changes in decimal numerals

*If there are unusual tonal changes in numerals in decimal terms (‘20’ to ‘90’), which begin with ‘ten’ and add a numeral ‘2’ to ‘9’ (often with phonological mutations), they can be briefly described here.*

#### Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

*Suffixes (with shapes like -C and -Cv) and clitics (including some postverbal subordinating particles like ‘if’) may be atonal (no intrinsic tone) and acquire tone by spreading from the final tone element of the preceding word.*

*Give a list of such morphemes.*

### Low-level tone rules

#### Rising-Tone (or: Contour-Tone) Mora-Addition

*Word-final /Cv̌/ with rising tone may require lengthening of the vowel (i.e. addition of one mora) to permit the contour tone to be articulated.*

*In some languages, this lengthening also applies to word-final /Cv̂/ with falling tone, i.e. it applies to all final-syllable contour tones*

#### Contour-Tone Stretching

*A contour tone (<HL> or <LH>) that occurs on a Cv:L syllable (L = a sonorant) is usually realized with the tone break at the L (i.e. as close as possible to the right edge of the syllable), even when an atonal ‑L suffix is added to Cv:‑ or Cv:‑.*

*This involves shifting the tone break slightly to the right, e.g. /Cv̂:-x/ > /Cv̂:-x̀/ (Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading) > Cv́:‑x̀ (Contour-Tone Stretching)*

#### Final-Tone Resyllabification

*If a word-final syllable with contour tone <LH> or <HL> is followed by a clitic that has =Cv shape, the contour tone may divide into an initial tone element that remains on the word-final syllable, and a second tone element that is realized on the clitic (or merges with the clitic’s tone if the two tones are identical).*

*Jamsay examples: ɛ̂m ‘milk’, with clitic ɛ́m=ì: ‘it is milk’, ɲɛ̌-n ‘woman’, with clitic ɲɛ̀-n=î: ‘it is a woman’.*

#### Rightward H‑Spreading

*A high tone may spread to the right within a word, perhaps across a morpheme boundary, e.g. Cv́Cv̀Cv̀ > Cv́Cv́Cv̀ and Cv́Cv̀C > Cv́Cv̂C.*

*In some languages (Nanga) we also get Cv́Cv̀ > Cv́Cv̂ , with falling tone on the final short vowel.*

#### Stranded-Tone Re-Linking

*If the vowel to which a tone was attached has disappeared due to Syncope or Apocope, the tone is usually reattached to the preceding (or, less often, following) syllable. Thus Cv̀Cv́Cv̀ > Cv̌CCv̀.*

#### Final <LH>‑to-H Flattening

Nonmonosyllabic nouns and adjectives that end in a *Cv̌:* syllable level the contour tone to H when phrased with a following word, for example a postposition or numeral. Thus *nùmǎ:* ‘hand’, *nùmá: nè* ‘in (the) hand’, *nùmá: ní:* ‘with (the) hand, by hand’, *nùmá: yí-llèy* ‘two hands’.

## Intonation contours

### Phrase and clause-final terminal contours (↑↓→)

*Phrases and clauses may have a marked terminal intonation, mainly on the final syllable. Typically the final pitch is higher than usual (*↑*) for nonfinal phrases/clauses in pairs or series, and the final phrase/clause in the series ends with a marked pitch drop (*↓*). The final syllable may also be prolonged (*→*), with or without a marked pitch rise or fall.*

### Expressive elements with lexically specified prolongation (→)

*This typically applies to expressive adverbials (other than reduplications), and perhaps to a few other forms in each language.*

*Jamsay expressive adverbials include dem→ ‘straight (trajectory)’ and deyⁿ→ ‘apart, separate’. fú→ ‘all’ is not an expressive adverbial syntactically but it has similar intonation.*

*The prolongation usually affects the final segment (vowel in Cv→, sonorant consonant in CvC→). If the prolongation is realized on a nonfinal vowel, put the symbol after the vowel: de→m*.

### Dying-quail intonational effect ∴

*The symbol ∴ is used to indicate dying-quail intonation, which is expressed as prolongation along with a slow fall in pitch (distinct from simple falling tone).*

*In Jamsay this is the way to conjoin two NPs (X∴ Y∴ meaning ‘X and Y’). When the underlying phonological tone is (already) low, languages differ as to whether the pitch falls or is steady-state low as the final segment is prolonged.*

# Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

## Nouns

The system of nominal morphology is similar to that in Najamba.

### Simple nouns

The grammatical categories relevant to nouns are animate/inanimate and singular/plural. While many adjectives are compatible with all four combined categories, nouns are typically either animate or inanimate.

Animate nouns regularly distinguish singular (unmarked) from plural (marked by a suffix). Inanimates denoting readily counted entities divide into those that distinguish singular from plural, and those that use the unmarked stem in both singular and plural contexts. For the latter, a covert number distinction is expressed when modifiers (including adjectives, demonstratives, and postposed pronominal possessors) are added. For example, the covert plurality of *úló* ‘house’ can be expressed by a modifying adjective (xx1a‑b). Nouns denoting **masses** (sand, salt, water, honey, ashes) are most often treated as plural in such concord (xx1c), suggesting that for inanimates the singular category is marked.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *jɛ́m-gɔ̀*

houseL black-InanSg

‘a black house’

b. *ùlò* L *jɛ́mɛ̀:*

houseL black.InanPl

‘black houses’

c. *sɔ̀lmɔ̀* L *jɛ́mɛ̀:*

sandL black.InanPl

‘black sand’

#### Animate nouns with plural *-mbò* ~ *-mbɔ̀*

For animate nouns (humans and most fauna), the singular is unmarked and the plural has Animate Plural (AnPl) suffix *-mbò* ~ *-mbɔ̀*, the vowel depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the stem. A stem-final vowel in the singular may be shortened before the suffix, and this short vowel may be raised, usually to *u*, which can then be syncopated (after an unclustered sonorant). The tone of *-mbò* ~ *-mbɔ̀* is usually low, but it is raised to H-tone after a {L}+H toned noun.

(xx1) Sg Pl gloss

a. no change in stem-final vowel

*àsɛ̀gɛ́ àsɛ̀gɛ̀-mbɔ́* ‘animal’

*ɔ̀gɔ̀ɲɔ̀ŋɔ́ ɔ̀gɔ̀ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀-mbɔ́* ‘camel’

*nǎ: nà:-mbɔ́* ‘cow’

b. stem-final vowel shortened but not raised

*ìnjɛ̌: ìnjɛ̀-mbɔ́* ‘dog’

c. stem-final vowel shortened and raised, but not syncopated

*raised to i*

*írⁿè: írⁿì-mbɔ̀* ‘goat’

*raised to u*

*péddè pédù-mbò* ‘sheep’

*àdé àdù-mbó* ‘bird’

d. already short stem-final vowel raised, but not syncopated

*àbɛ́ àbù-mbɔ́* ‘orphan’

e. stem-final short vowel syncopated

*after unclustered liquid*

*tólé tól-mbò* ‘pig’

*zàmdílè zàmdíl-mbò* ‘donkey’

*ɛ̀dɛ̀-làlé ɛ̀dɛ̀-[làl-mbó]* ‘midwife’

*after unclustered nasal*

*sòmé sòm-bó* ‘horse’

*yà-kúmè yà-kúm-bò* ‘unmarried woman’

*after nj reduced to unclustered nasal*

*ɛ̀njɛ́ ɛ̀ŋú-mbɔ̀* ‘chicken’

*zònjě: zòŋù-mbó* ‘griot’ or ‘healer’

*after mb that merges with suffixal mb*

*bòmbé: bòm-bó* ‘Bombo (person)’

For *j/g* and *c/k* alternations, see §3.2.1.

#### Inanimate nouns with no morphological number distinction

Many countable inanimate nouns fail to distinguish singular from plural within nominal morphology itself. In the lexicon, if no plural is given for a noun, it means that my assistant gave the unsuffixed form even in plural contexts. Some examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) stem gloss

*cɛ́gɛ́rɛ́* ‘saddle’

At the level of NP, such nouns can be marked as singular or plural by modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, pronominal possessives). That is, the number category is merely covert for such nouns. Singular/plural oppositions at NP level are illustrated for ‘saddle’ in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *cɛ̀gɛ̀rɛ̀* L *ògú / yí*

saddleL DemSg / DemPl

‘that saddle’ / ‘those saddles’

b. *cɛ̀gɛ̀rɛ̀* L *sɛ́-ŋgɛ̀ / sɛ́*

saddleL good-InanSg / good

‘(a) good saddle’ / ‘good saddles’

c. *cɛ́gɛ́rɛ́* L *kɔ᷉: / wɛ᷈:*

saddleL 1SgPoss.InanSg / 1SgPoss.InanPl

‘my saddle’ / ‘my saddles’

#### Inanimates with final-vowel mutations

Some inanimate nouns express plurality by final vowel mutations, involving front/back shifts (keeping ATR values intact), sometimes accompanied by vowel-length shifts.

(xx1) Sg Pl gloss

exx from lex

plurals with e:

#### Nouns with final *-go* ~ *-gɔ*

Quite a few inanimate nouns have Inanimate Sg *-go* ~ *-gɔ* (schematically *‑gO*), opposed to an unsuffixed plural with a final-vowel mutation to *e:* or *ɛ:* (schematically *E:*). The singular/plural opposition makes segmentation of *‑gO* transparent in the cases listed in (xx1).

(xx1) *‑gO* after vowel or nonnasal sonorant

Sg Pl gloss related form

a. singular *…u-gO*, plural *…E*:

*+ATR*

*kóbú-gó* *kóbé:* ‘shell’ etc.

*úndú-gó úndé:* ‘calabash’ *ùndù-zòg-gɔ́* ‘shard’

*órú-gó ór-é:* ‘language’ *ɔ́r ɔ́r-tì-* ‘speak’

*èdù-gó èdé:* ‘waterjar’

*bùdù-gó bùdé:* ‘hole (puncture)’

*-ATR*

*tádú-gɔ́ tádɛ́:* ‘straw basket’

*mɔ́ndú-gɔ́ mɔ́ndɛ́:* ‘association’

*mixed ATR*

*dɔ̀n-gó dòné:* ‘sale’ *dòrⁿɔ́-* ‘sell’

b. singular *…C-gO* (after syncope), plural *…E*:

*+ATR*

*pól-gó pólé:* ‘knife’

*bón-gó bóné:* ‘name’

*bǒn-gò bòné:* ‘tomtom’ *bòn-íyɛ́* ‘tapstick’’

*mòn-gó mòné:* ‘sticky sap (from karité tree)’

*tín-gò tínè:* ‘mortar (for pounding)’

*kólólém-gó kólólémé:* ‘bell’

*ùndúndùl-gò ùndúndùlè:* ‘watermelon’

*-ATR*

*kàl-gɔ́ kàlɛ́:* ‘neighborhood’

*kɛ̀l-gɔ́ kɛ̀lɛ́:* ‘ditch, crevice’

*cɛ́m-gɔ́ cɛ́mɛ́:* ‘spike, pointed object’

nìm-[[pú-púdú]-gò]

nìm-[pú-púdè:] ‘pod shell (of cow-pea)’

zòg-gɔ́ zògɛ́: ‘shard’

Some nouns ending in *-gO* have no marked singular/plural distinction as nouns, but belong to word-families that also include stems without *-gO*. In such cases the suffix is at least vaguely segmentable on the noun (xx2).

(xx2) noun gloss related form

*èm-gó* ‘conversation’ *émé-* ‘converse’ (verb)

*kón-gó* ‘cough(n.)’ *kónó-* ‘cough’ (verb)

*kú-gɔ́* ‘head’ *kù:-wóló* ‘headache’

*móndú-gó* ‘laughter’ *màndí-* ‘laugh’ (verb)

*nindù-gó* ‘breath’ *nìndí-* ‘breathe’

*órú-gó* ‘language’ *ɔ́r-* ‘speak’

*sògúr-gó* ‘gunshot’ *sɔ́gúr-í:* ‘(rifle) go off’

*zìm-gó* ‘pain’ *zìmɛ́-* ‘hurt, be painful’

ígúl-gó ‘height’

There are also some nouns ending in *-gO* for which no suffixless counterpart is known. Here the synchronic segmentation is fairly opaque, but one could argue for it based on the analogy of the more readily segmentable cases in semantically similar domains. In some cases (xx3a), but so far not in others (xx3b), there is comparative evidence that *-gO* was originally segmentable.

(xx3) noun gloss sample cognate

a. evidence for (original) segmentation

*àndùngó* ‘gap in teeth’ Yanda Dom *àndòl*

*cɛ̀lgɔ́* ‘crack (gap)’ Yanda Dom *cɛ̀l*

*cérgó* ‘side, end’ Yanda Dom *cédú*

*cèrgó* ‘stem’ Yanda Dom *kàdù*

*dùgó* ‘foundation’ Yanda Dom *dù*

*dùrúŋgó* ‘hooked pole’ Tommo So dùrú

*émbúgó* ‘drop-trap’ Yanda Dom *èmbù*

*gɔ̀ŋgɔ́* ‘courtyard’ Yorno So *gɔ̀nɔ́*

*gɔ̀ŋgɔ́* ‘thorn fence’ Jamsay *sì-sè:ŋ gɔ̌ŋ*

*gùdùgó* ‘skin’ Tommo-so *gùdú*

*gìrè-nòmgó* ‘face’ Yanda Dom *gìdè-nòm*

*gúndúgó* ‘stick’ "

*ìnjìrgó* ‘thirst’ Yanda Dom *ìŋgìnì:*

*kóbúgó* ‘apiary’ Yanda Dom *kòbù*

*kòmbùgó* ‘cave’ Yanda Dom *kòm*

*kóŋgúlúŋgó* ‘trigger guard’ Yanda Dom *kóŋòl*

*kúdúgó* ‘handle, shaft’ Yanda Dom *kúzá*

*kúndúgó* ‘(unsplit) log’ Yanda Dom *kúnú*

*kúndú-gó* ‘back (body)’ Tiranige *kùŋgù*

*lólgó* ‘labor pains’ Yanda Dom *làlú-ŋ òbò*

*mìnìyámgó* ‘fishhook’ Yanda Dom *mìrⁿàm*

*nɔ̀mbùgɔ́* ‘cavity’ Yanda Dom *nɔ̀mù*

*nùmà:-kúmbúgó* ‘fist; handful’ Yanda Dom *nùmà-kúmbò*

*péggó* ‘hitching post’ Yanda Dom pégù

*pòl-gàŋgó* ‘fighting knife’ Yanda Dom *pòl-gàŋ*

*pógúrúgó* ‘belt’ Togo Kan *pógùrù*

*sàlgó* ‘diarrhoea’ Yanda Dom *sàlìyɛ̀ŋ*

*sògó* ‘sweat(n.)’ Tommo So *sǒ:*

*tódúgó* ‘hernia’ Yanda Dom *tózú*

*túŋgúrgɔ́* ‘stool’ Tommo So *túŋgúrú*

*ùlò-mbùgó* ‘doorway’ Ben Tey *ùrò-mǒ:* (*mǒ:* ‘mouth’)

*wárgɔ́* ‘ceiling beam’ Togo Kan *wà:rú*

*yà-lòlgó* ‘co-wife’ Yanda Dom *yɛ̀-làl*

*yù-dúndúlúgó* ‘millet bundle’ Jamsay *ɲù:-dúnúrⁿúm*

*wòlgó* ‘field’ Togo Kan *wòrú*

*wòlùgó* ‘tendon’ Yanda Dom *wèl*

*zómgó* ‘private field’ Yanda Dom *zǒm*

b. no clear evidence known

*éndúgó* ‘threshold’

*kúndúgó* ‘back (body)’ Jamsay *gǔn* (?)

*ládúgɔ́* ‘roof’

*lè:gó* ‘day’

*ómgó* ‘post-partum seclusion’

*ómgó* ‘plain millet cakes’

*ómgó* ‘udder’

*cɛ̀lgɔ́* ‘ditch’

*díníŋgó* ‘stump’

*ùdù-gó* ‘sun’ matches Najamba *ùjú-ŋgó* (with a class suffix), and synchronic segmentation is supported by *ùdù-pílé-ŋgó* ‘sunset; west’. It and has possible cognates without the *-gO* (e.g. Ben Tey *ùsú*) but Yanda Dom *ìzùgè* suggests that the fusion of stem and suffix is older than in the other cases, since Yanda Dom does not usually preserve traces of \*-gO.

*àsògó* ‘splinter-like chaff’ superficially looks like another example, but in this case the comparative analysis goes the other way (Yanda Dom *àsògò*, Jamsay *cɛ̀m-sògó*, etc.).

The synchronic relationship between Inanimate Sg *-gO* and Instrument nominal suffix *‑ŋgó* (§4.xxx) is unclear.

*Basic affixal morphology of nouns*

*Suffixal categories (absent or vestigial in some languages): human/nonhuman or animate/inanimate; singular/plural distinction usual for the human or animate category, in some languages also for nonhuman or inanimate category.*

*More complex systems with two or three nonhuman or inanimate classes (especially Najamba).*

*Najamba -(ŋ)go, -(ŋ)ge singular inanimate suffixes may correspond to frozen syllables (no longer segmentable) in other languages (e.g. Mombo): try ‘sun’, ‘grain’.*

*Any Cv or Cv: nouns? List, please.*

#### Nouns with final *-ŋgó*

*-ŋgó* is used to derive instrument nominals from verbs, following {LH}-toned stem with final *u* (subject to syncope), see §4.xxx. For some such nominals it is specifically singular, opposed to an unsuffixed plural with stem-final *é:* .

For deverbal instrument nominals with suffix *-ŋgó* (in the singular), see §4.2.3. There is another deverbal nominalizer *-ŋgó*, with different stem vocalism, that can be used as a passive in predicative form with ‘it is’ or ‘it is not’ clitic (§9.3.2).

Some other nouns with final *ŋgó* (segmentable or not) that have been gleaned from the lexicon are in (xx1).

(xx1) noun gloss comment/related form

a. related verb exists

*twá:-ŋgó* ‘beginning’ *tɔ́:-* ‘begin’

*tò-ŋgó* ‘slashing’ phrase *tò-ŋgó tɔ́-* ‘slash (earth, with pick-hoe, to plant seeds)’, cf. *tǒ:* ‘seedstock’, *tòndì-gìré* ‘(a) slash in earth’

b. no related verb

*tíníŋgó* ‘mortar’ *tìn-íyɛ́* ‘pestle’

*kóŋgúlúŋgó* ‘trigger-guard’ Yanda Dom *kóŋùl*

*tíníŋgó* ‘mortar (for pounding with pestle)’ is not synchronically deverbal. Segmentation of the suffix is suggested by *tìn-íyɛ́* ‘pestle’ (originally ‘mortar-child’), but no semantically associated verb is known. Najamba has *tún-gó* ‘mortar’, plural *túni:*. The situation is complicated by the fact that TU *tíníŋgó* also means ‘ladder’, perhaps from an originally distinct etymon, cf. Jamsay and Toro Tegu *tìrú* ‘ladder’. Traditional ladders and mortars are both carved out of single blocks of wood, so secondary convergence may have been favored by a mix of semantic and phonological similarity.

#### Animate nouns with final *-jé*, *-njɛ́*

Three animate nouns have unusual singular-plural alternations (xx1). A francolin is a partridge-like wild bird.

(xx1) gloss singular plural

‘chicken’ *ɛ̀njɛ́ ɛ̀ŋú-mbɔ̀*

‘francolin’ *sújjɛ̀: súgú-mbɔ̀*

‘sorceror’ dùjé: dùgù-mbó

Animate plural *-mbɔ̀* is unmistakable, but one can also argue for a singular suffix *-jɛ(:)* especially for ‘francolin’. However, *ɛ̀njɛ́* is a good match for underived ‘chicken’ noun stems in other Dogon languages, e.g. Ben Tey *ɛ̀njɛ̂-m* (with animate singular suffix). ‘Sorceror’ is an agentive (§4.2.4) whose final é: in the singular has palatalized \*g, cf. verb and cognate nominal dùgó dùgó- ‘cast spells, perform black majic’. Cognates of ‘francolin’ generally derive from simple \*súgù, and the jj of *sújjɛ̀:* is geminated, so here a better case can be made for an original suffix (possibly diminutive) in the TT singular form.

#### Nouns with final *-ŋgé*, *-gé*, *-ŋgí*, *-ŋgɛ́*

There are only a few examples of these suffixal forms on noun stems, which may belong to the same etymological categories as *-go* and *-ŋgó*. They arguably diverged due to idiosyncratic assimilations to vowels in preceding syllables.

The cases involving *-ŋgé* in (xx1) are collocations of cognate noun and verb, where the noun has an apparent suffix *-ŋgé*. The two verbs are homophonous (cf. also *jé jě-* ‘dance, do a dance’).

(xx1) a. *jé-ŋgé jě-* ‘do the millet harvest’

b. *jì-ŋgé jě-* ‘fart, let out a fart’

Cf. Yanda Dom *jɛ̀l jɛ̀lɛ́* ‘do the millet harvest’ and *jìŋ jé-* ‘let out a fart’. Najamba has *gî: gǐy* ‘do the millet harvest’ and *gìyɛ̀-ŋgó gìyⁿɛ́* ‘let out a fart’.

A similar case involving *-gé* on the nominal is in (xx2). I know of no cognates in other Dogon languages.

(xx2) *cé-gé cé-* ‘yell, give out a shout’

Whether this is the same ending in *zégé* ‘fight(n)’, cf. verb *zèjí-* ‘fight’, is unclear.

For *-ŋgí* I can cite only *-ní-ŋgí* in *jìrè-[ní-ŋgí]* ‘sleep(n.)’, which occurs in collocation with verb *ní:-* ‘sleep’, as in *jìrè-[ní-ŋgí]* *ní:-yà-y* ‘he/she slept’.

For *-ŋgɛ́* we have *ɲɛ́-ŋgɛ́* ‘food’, cf. *ɲɛ́-* ‘eat, drink’.

*-ge* and *-ŋge* occur as markers of one inanimate class of nouns in Najamba, distinct from another inanimate class marked by *‑go* and *-ŋgo*. This makes me hesitate to declare that TU *-ŋge*, *-ge*, etc., are recent mutations of *-ŋgo* and *‑go*. However, I can find no direct connection between the TU stems in question and Najamba nouns of the *-(ŋ)ge-* class.

The alternation of geminated and simple *d* in *péddè* ‘sheep’, plural *pédù‑mbò* suggests that the singular might derive from \*péd‑gè, cf. Nanga *pɛ̀rgɛ́*.

### High-frequency nouns (‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’)

High-frequency TU nouns whose cognates are often irregular in Dogon languages are given in (xx1). ‘Woman’ (xx1a) and ‘man’ (xx1b) are regular. ‘Child’ (xx1c) and ‘person’ have (synchronically) suppletive plurals. ‘Thing’ has no overtly marked plural form.

(xx1) Sg Pl gloss

a. *yǎ yà-mbɔ́* ‘woman’

b. *árⁿá árⁿá-mbɔ̀* ‘man’

c. *ɛ̀dɛ́ ùlé:(-mbò)* ‘child’

d. *ɲě nù-mbɔ́* ‘person’

e. *cɛ́* — ‘thing(s)’

For ‘person’, *ɲě* is the independent form, and *ɲě-* occurs as a kind of human classifier with numerals ‘2’ to ‘10’. However, it is usually heard as *ɲì* before an adjective, as in *ɲì dɛ́mɛ̀* ‘noble, freeborn person’.

For compounds involving ‘man’ and ‘woman’, see §5.xxx. For compounds involving ‘child’, see §5.xxx.

### ‘So-and-so’ (*àmâ:n*, *dámbá ɲè*)

*àmâ:n* (perhaps segmentable as *à-mâ:n*, cf. §4.1.7) is used, as in Jamsay, to mean ‘So-and-so’ in generic contexts as a variable over personal names. Example: ‘if you meet someone in the field, you say “Hey So-and-so, come!” ’

*dámbá ɲè*, literally ‘village’s person’, can be used as a vocative instead of a real personal name when directed at a fellow villager. It is mainly used among friends.

### Initial *Cv‑* reduplication in nouns

*The languages often have nouns with apparent initial reduplication Cv‑ (animal names, etc.). The vowel may be fixed (Ci‑, perhaps Cu- before a back rounded vowel) or it may be a copy of the initial vowel of the stem.*

*Typical glosses: ‘grasshopper’ (generic), ‘beetle/bug’ (generic), ‘hyena’, ‘hawk (kite)’, perhaps ‘scorpion’.*

*List all examples, organizing them by tone contours.*

### Final reduplications in nouns

*Perhaps an occasional noun with an apparent final partial reduplicative segment. Usually the pattern is clear only when there are two or more exx. with similar reduplicative form in the language.*

*Nanga bɛgiri‑bɛ: ‘stone partridge’ and kɔrɔŋ‑kɔ: ‘louse’.*

*Nanga pɛtɛ‑pɛy ‘grasshopper sp. (Oedaleus)’ and sɛŋɛrnɛ‑sɛyn ‘grasshopper sp. (Kraussella)’.*

### Nouns with full-stem iteration

*Many nouns have (frozen) iterative (=full reduplicative) form, e.g. gadu-gadu or pikiri-pikiri, with segments that do not occur in simple (non-iterated) form.*

*List all examples, organized by tone pattern.*

*Separately, give all examples of iterations with vowel changes, e.g. piki-paka or three-part piki-paka-piki.*

### Frozen initial *a‑* or *aN‑* in nouns

For àmâ:n (à-mâ:n) see §4.1.3 above.

*Give a list of nouns beginning in a- or an- ~ aŋ- that may represent an archaic morpheme (animal and insect names, implements, etc.).*

*This (native Dogon) pattern may have been fortuitously amplified by Arabic loans, based on a) nouns with Arabic Definite prefix al‑, whose /l/ assimilates to following coronals, and b) nouns with initial a, e.g ansa:ra or variant ‘white person, European’ and ama:na ‘promise, vow’)*

## Derived nominals

### Characteristic derivative (*-jé*)

This derivative may be used as a noun or modifying adjective. The input is a noun denoting some attribute, such as a distinctive body part or a medical condition. The input noun drops its tones. It is usually uncompounded (xx1a) but may be a compound (xx1b). *-jé* does not harmonize with the ATR value of the stem. The (animate) plural form is *-jì-mbó*.

(xx1) noun gloss Characteristic gloss

a. input noun uncompounded

*bɛ̀rá:* ‘belly’ *bɛ̀rà:-jé* ‘pregnant’

*tɔ́m* ‘hump’ *tɔ̀m-jé* ‘hunchback’

*sé:* ‘fat(n.)’ *sè:-jé* ‘plump (animal)’

*pàŋgá* ‘power’ *pàŋgà-jé* ‘strong, powerful’

*dɔ̀rɔ́* ‘disease’ *dɔ̀rɔ̀-jé* ‘sick person, patient’

*némé* ‘leprosy’ *nèmè-jé* ‘leper’

*wàllá* ‘laziness’ *wàllà-jé* ‘lazy person’

b. input noun compounded

*bèyà:-kúlà* ‘beard’ *bèyà:-kùlà-jé* ‘bearded man’

### Verbal nouns (*-lé*, *-í*)

The fully productive verbal noun suffix is *-lé*, after {H}-toned stem. It is used after regular inflectable verb stems. For the tones, note *yáy-lé* ‘going’ (*yây*) and *zɔ́bú-lé* ‘running’ (*zɔ̀bɔ́-*), the latter normally with a cognate nominal as {L}-toned compound initial: *[zòb-gò]-[zɔ́bú-lé]* (§5.1.3). Further examples are given in the paradigms in chapter 10. This form with {H}‑toned stem is distinct from the purposive-clause verb form with *‑lé* following an {L}‑toned stem (§17.6.1).

The verbal noun in *-lé* often competes with another one in suffix *-í*. The suffixal vowel is subject to Apocope after unclustered sonorants. Examples are *zɔ́b‑í* ‘running’ and *yáy‑∅* ‘going’ (/yáy-í/). The *-í* verbal noun is not fully productive; I was unable to elicit it with monosyllabic *Cv* or *Cv:* verbs.

For verbal nouns added to adjectival predicates, as in ‘good to eat’, see §6.3.3.3.

### Deverbal instrument nominals (Sg *-ŋgó*, Pl stem-final *é:*)

Instrument nominals are produced by adding suffix *-ŋgó* to a {LH}-toned form of the verb stem with final *ù*. The corresponding plural, if elicitable, has stem-final *é:*, and this plural form is probably phonologically basic (the +ATR *é:* could account for the consistently +ATR *-ŋgò*). -ATR vowels in nonfinal syllables of the stem are not harmonized with the suffixal vowels.

(xx1) Instrument Nominals (*-ŋgò*, *é:*)

Sg Pl gloss related form

a. implements

*gɔ̀bú-ŋgó gɔ̀bé:* ‘trigger’ *gɔ̀bɔ́-* ‘pull (trigger)’

*sɔ̀gú-ŋgó* — ‘button’ *sɔ́gɔ́*- ‘button (up)’

(~ *sɔ̌:-ŋgó*)

*pà:dú-ŋgó* — ‘(cotton-)card’ *pá:dɛ́-* ‘card (cotton)’

b. location

*zɔ̀ŋgú-ŋgó* — ‘medical place’ *zɔ̀ŋgú zɔ̀ŋgú-* ‘treat (medically)’

*zɛ̀bù-gɔ́* (pl *zɛ̀bɛ́:*) ‘fan(n)’ probably belongs here in spite of the different suffixal allomorph. The verb is *zùbó* ‘fan (sth, sb)’.

These (inanimate) deverbal instrument nominals are morphologically similar to (animate) deverbal agentives, which have stem-final *é* ~ *ě:* in the singular, and stem-final *ù* followed by Animate Pl *-mbó*. However, the suffixed forms differ tonally in the two cases: instrument *gɔ̀bú-ŋgó* ‘trigger’ with LH-L tones versus (plural) agentive *ìnjè-[kɔ̀bù-mbó]* ‘water-carriers’ with LL-H tones (disregarding the compound initial).

Many instrument nominals have an additional compound initial; see §5.1.5.

For a distinct *-ŋgó* added to the A/O-stem, see §4.1.1.5.

### Uncompounded agentives

Agentives clearly related to a corresponding verb, but without compound initials, are in (xx1).

(xx1) agentive gloss verb gloss

*dùgé ~ dùjě:* ‘sorceror’ *dùgó-* ‘cast spells’

*gùɲé* ‘thief’ *gùɲɛ̀-* ‘steal’

Plurals: *dùgù-mbó*, *gùɲù-mbó*.

‘Hunter’ is uncompounded *dàndá*, plural *dàndá-mbɔ̀*. *dàndá* is also the noun ‘hunting, (a/the) hunt’.

The agentive form of a verb is {LH}-toned, with the final vowel usually mutating to +ATR *é* ~ *ě:* in the singular. Vowels in preceding syllables in the verb stem are unaffected; in particular, -ATR vowels do not harmonize with the +ATR final vowel. Before Animate Pl *‑mbó*, the *é* ~ *ě:* mutates to *ù*, and this *ù* is subject to syncope after an unclustered sonorant. ‘Herder’ has irregular -ATR final vowel *ɛ̌:* in the singular, but the plural has *-mbó*.

This deverbal agentive is morphologically the animate counterpart of instrument nominals with final *-ŋgó* in the singular (§4.xxx). For instrument nominals, *é:* appears in the (otherwise unsuffixed) plural. However, the two differ in the tones of the suffixed forms, since an unsyncopated stem-final *u* is H-toned before *-ŋgó* but L-toned before Animate Pl *‑mbó*.

Agentives are normally compounded, the initial being either a cognate nominal or a noun denoting a prototypical object. Examples are in §5.1.xxx. Simple intransitive agentives can also be produced, functioning as alternatives to imperfective positive participles (§14.xxx).

### Nominalizing suffix *-nɛ́*

This suffix is attested in a few cognate nominals (xx1).

(xx1) nominal gloss related verb

*ày-nɛ́* ‘fatigue’ *áy-* ‘become tired’

*zɛ̀bì-nɛ́* ‘curse(n.)’ *zɛ̀bɛ́-* ‘curse(v.)’

This formation is historically related to a nominal type with suffix *-n* in Yanda Dom and Najamba. Probable exact matches are TU *ày-nɛ́* with Yanda Dom *ɔ̀ɲì‑n* ‘fatigue’, and TU *zɛ̀bì-nɛ́* with Yanda Dom *zɛ̀bú‑n*. There are no exact correspondences with Najamba forms, but *sòŋgǎ‑n* ‘curse(n.)’ is at least a semantic match.

### Reduplicated deadjectival abstractive nouns

De-adjectival abstractives like ‘length’, denoting a scale, are formed by taking the segmental shape of the inanimate singular modifying adjective (often with -ŋgɔ suffix or variant), adding an initial *Cv‑* reduplication, and overlaying {LH} tones on the whole, with the final syllable H-toned.

(xx1) abstractive gloss adjective gloss

*pà-pà:-ŋgɔ́* ‘length’ *pá:-ŋgɔ̀* ‘long’

*tò-tò:-ŋgó* ‘depth’ *tó:-ŋgó* ‘deep’

*wà-wày-gɔ́* ‘width’ *wǎy-gɔ́* ‘wide’

*ɛ̀-ʔɛ̀dù-ŋgɔ́* ‘goodness, beauty’ *ɛ́dù-ŋgɔ̀* ‘good; pretty’

*bà-bàn-gɔ́* ‘redness’ *bán-gɔ̀* ‘red’

*gɔ̀-gɔ̀y-gɔ́* ‘shortness’ *gɔ̌y-gɔ̀* ‘short’

*nà-nà:rⁿá* ‘easiness, cheapness’ *nà:rⁿá* ‘easy, cheap’

These abstractives can be used in conjunction with predicates containing the verb *lɔ́gɔ́* ‘be extreme’, especially in perfective-1a form. An example in *ɛ̀-ʔɛ̀dù-ŋgɔ́ lɔ́g-à:-y* ‘he/she/it was extremely beautiful’.

## Pronouns

### Basic personal pronouns

Key forms of personal pronouns are in (xx1).

(xx1) Personal Pronouns

subject

indep. accusative preverbal suffixed

1Sg *mí* *mí-gì* *mí* *-m*

1Pl *í* *í-gì* *í* *-yⁿ*

2Sg *ú* *ú-gì* *ú* *-wⁿ*

2Pl *bí* *bí-gì* *bí* *-yⁿ*

3AnSg *ńné* *ńné-gì* *ńné* *‑∅*

3AnPl *bú* *bú-gì* *bú* [varies by AN category]

InanSg *kú* *kú-gì* *ńné* *‑∅*

InanPl *yí* *yí-gì* *ńné* *‑∅*

Logo/3Refl *á* *á-gì* *á* *-m*

Accusative *-gì* is often omitted. For example, *mí* can occur as an alternative to *mí-gì* in 1Sg object function. *-gì* optionally assimilates to a preceding *u*-vowel, e.g. 3Pl *bú-gì* ~ *bú-gù*. This is not surprising since the distinction between word-final u and i is often blurred.

*kú* and *yí* are generally confined to strongly discourse-definite contexts, and I usually gloss them as discourse-definite (“DiscDef”). In weakly discourse-definite contexts, *kú* and *yí* are usually just omitted.

There is no number distinction among logophoric and third person reflexive pronouns. For logophoric subject, *-m* suffixed to the verb is identical in form to the 1Sg subject suffix; see §18.3.1 for discussion and examples.

### Personal pronouns as possessors

Pronominal possessors are preposed with kin terms (*ú* L*bà* ‘your father’) and postposed for other nouns (*úló ú‑wɔ̀* ‘your-Sg house’). For 3Sg possessor there is a suffix *-n* for kin terms (*bà‑ń* ‘his/her father’). Most of the postposed forms were originally composite (‘housex your-thingx’, ‘dogx your-creaturex’), with a generic noun resuming the main noun, but this analysis is no longer transparent.

The postposed forms are given in (xx2) in §6.2.1.2. The preposed forms are identical to the independent pronouns in §4.3.1 above.

### Personal pronouns as complements of postpositions

Accusative forms are given in the preceding section. Accusative *gì* can be considered to be a postposition since it is added at the end of a NP. There is no dative postposition other than the accusative.

Most other postpositions that can occur with the full set of pronominals are of the type ‘at [the side of X]’, e.g. ‘at [my side]’. The pronoun therefore takes possessive form. However, the instrumental-comitative postposition ní: ‘with, in the presence of (someone)’ does take pronominal complements: *mí ní:* ‘with me’ (§8.1.2).

## Determiners

### Definite and demonstrative morphemes

#### Definite morpheme (*ǹ*)

Definite *ǹ* is exemplified in (xx1). It is a weak discourse-definite element. It follows other NP subconstituents, except the ‘all’ quantifier. It has no morphological similarity to any demonstrative. It has no tonal effect on the preceding word(s). Since it is nonsyllabic, it cliticizes phonetically to the preceding syllable; however, I write it as a separate word.

(xx1) *úló ǹ* ‘the house’

*nǎ: ǹ* ‘the cow’

*nà:-mbɔ́ ǹ* ‘the cows’

*nà: bínɛ́: ǹ* ‘the big cow’

*úló yí-tà:ndú ǹ* ‘the three houses’

*ùlò mà-gú ǹ* ‘that house’

*úló kɔ̌: ǹ* ‘my house’

*úló ǹ pú→* ‘all the houses’

In the absence of *ǹ*, a noun can (but need not) be interpreted as indefinite.

#### ‘This/that’ (deictic demonstrative pronouns)

There are two deictic categories (proximate and distal), and a (strong) discourse-definite category (‘that same/aforementioned X’). These categories are cross-cut by animacy and number.

**Inanimate** demonstratives are in (xx1). *ò-* ~ *è-* is proximate, *mà-* is distal. *‑gú* is Inanimate Sg and is probably related etymologically to discourse-definite *kú*. Likewise, *-ý* is Inanimate Pl and is probably related to discourse-definite *yí*.

(xx1) a. *ò-gú* ‘this’

*è-ý* ‘these’

b. *mà-gú* ~ *mà-ẃ* ‘that (over there)’

*mà-ýⁿ* ‘those (over there)’

c. *kú* ‘that (definite)’

*yí* ‘those (definite)’

**Animate** demonstratives are in (xx2). *ɔ̀-* is proximate, and again *mà‑* is distal. *‑ḿ* is Animate Sg, and *‑bɔ́* is Animate Pl. *‑bɔ́* is probably related to *bú*. The definite forms *ńné* and *bú* are identical to the corresponding third person personal pronouns.

(xx1) a. *ɔ̀-ḿ* ‘this’

*ɔ̀-bɔ́* ‘these’

b. *mà-ḿ* ‘that (over there)’

*mà-bɔ́* ‘those (over there)’

c. *ńné* ‘that (definite)’

*bú* ‘those (definite)’

‘Which?’ interrogative adjectives, and related interrogative content words, have similar morphology (§13.2.8).

#### Prenominal discourse-definite *kú* ‘that (same)’

In form, *kú* is an inanimate pronoun (‘it’) that is most often used to resume a discourse-definite situation or entity. As a (pseudo-)possessor preceding a {L}-toned noun, it marks the referent as strongly discourse-definite ‘that same X’. An example is *kú* L*gàndà* ‘that (same) place’. My assistant, however, rejected the combination of *kú* with a human noun in discourse-definite sense (#*kú ɲè* ‘that same person’).

He did accept a combination with a real possessor. A preposed possessor keeps its regular tones, rather than being tone-dropped by *kú* (xx1a). Likewise, when a possessed noun is sandwiched between (pseudo-)possessor kú and a real pronominal possessor, the noun is not tone-dropped (xx1b). In other words, in the presence of a real possessor the pseudo-possessor *kú* loses its tonosyntactic control powers.

(xx1) a. *[kú ámádú* L*ùlò] ɛ̀dù=lá-∅*

[InanP Amadou Lhouse] good=not.be-3SgSbj

‘That house of Amadou’s is no good.’

b. *[kú úló ú-wɔ̀] ɛ̀dù=lá-∅*

[InanP house 2SgPoss-InanSg] good=not.be-3SgSbj

‘That house of yours is no good.’

### Demonstrative adverbs

#### Locative adverbs

The demonstrative adverbs in (xx1) are morphologically simple. Those in (xx2), with locative postposition bàrì, presupposes a spatial shift (cf. English *over here*, *over there*) as usual for this postposition. The phrases in (xx1c) include gándá ‘place’, tone-dropped like an adjectivally modified noun.

(xx1) form gloss

a. *ŋ̀gɔ́* ‘here’

*ŋ́gɔ̀* ~ úŋgɔ̀ ‘over there’

*mà-ŋgá* ‘over there’ (deictic)

*mǎ:* ‘over there’ (deictic)

*yé* ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

b. ɛ́:-bàrì‘over here, around here’

*yé-bàrì* ~ *yí-bàrì* ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

c. *gàndà*L *ŋ̀gɔ́* ‘around here’

*gàndà*L *mà-ŋgá* ‘around (over) there’

*gàndà*L *mǎ:* ‘around there (discourse-definite)’

A textual passage that contrasts ɛ́:-bàrì and *yí-bàrì* as nonspecific near and distant locations is T2015-06 at (00:33).

#### Emphatic and Approximative modifiers of adverbs

For emphatic ‘right here’ I recorded *ŋ̀gɔ́ té→* ‘exactly here’.

### Presentatives (‘here’s …!’)

The regular predicate forms (§11.2.3.2) of deictic demonstratives (§4.4.1.2) can be used as presentatives.

(xx1) a. *[èdù-gó ǹ] ò-gû:=∅*

[waterjar-InanSg Def] Prox-InanSg=it.is

‘Here’s the waterjar.’

b. *[èdé: ǹ] mà-ŷ=∅*

[waterjar.Pl Def] Dist-InanPl=it.is

‘There are the waterjars.’

Alternatively, the demonstrative may function as the focus of the clause, with the verb in defocalized form (§13.1.1.3)

(xx2) *mà-ḿ ńné / sé:dù wà:-m-ɛ̀:*

Dist-AnSg 3SgSbj / Seydou come-Ipfv-Prog-DFoc

‘There he / Seydou comes!’

## Adjectives

This section discusses modifying (i.e. attributive) adjectives that occur within NPs. For adjectival predicates, see §11.xxx. For inchoative and factitive (causative) verbs related to adjectives, see §9.xxx.

### Adjectival morphology

Those adjectives that are compatible with both inanimate and animate referents have a maximum of three distinct forms, corresponding to four categories as shown in (xx1). *O* represents {*o ɔ*} and *E* represents {*e ɛ*}, depending on the ATR harmonic class of the stem.

(xx1) category suffix

a. Inanimate Sg *-gO*, *-ŋgO*, *-ŋgE*

b. Inanimate Pl (none)

Animate Sg

c. Animate Pl *-mbO*

Although the categorially composite category in (xx1b) is listed as unmarked morphologically, it usually ends in a long *E:* (i.e. *e:* or *ɛ:*) which probably reflects contraction of an original class marker \*‑yɛ. The contraction itself is old, since it has close parallels in Najamba.

The adjectives in (xx2a) belong to this typical TU adjectival type. Those in (xx2b) are of the same type, but are attested only with inanimates, or only with animates, for good semantic reasons. The long *E:* in the unsuffixed forms strongly suggest inclusion in this productive adjective type. The same is true of (xx2c) since ‘undiluted’ is applied to nouns denoting liquids, which are treated as inanimate plural, so only that form is attested.

Animate Pl *-mbO* reduces to *-bO* after a nasal. Since both *-ŋgO* and *‑gO* are well-attested allomorphs of the Inanimate Sg suffix, when we get *-gO* after a nasal we cannot determine which underlying allomorph is involved. Clusters written *nb*, *ng*, and *mg* can be pronounced [nmb], [nŋg], and [mŋg], respectively, in careful speech. The vowels of *-mbO* and *-(ŋ)gO* appear as *o* when they correspond to *e:* in the unsuffixed form, otherwise they appear as *ɔ*.

(xx2) InanSg InanPl AnSg AnPl gloss

a. *bán-gɔ̀ bárⁿɛ̀: bárⁿɛ̀: bán-bɔ̀* ‘red; ripe (mango)’

[~ *bánɛ̀:*]

*cé:lù-gò cé:lè: cé:lè: cé:lù-mbò* ‘cold, cool’

*dúdù-ŋgɔ̀ dúdɛ̀: dúdɛ̀: dúdù-mbɔ̀* ‘heavy’

*ɛ́dù-ŋgɔ̀ ɛ́dɛ̀: ɛ́dɛ̀: ɛ́dù-mbɔ̀* ‘good’

*ɛ́l-ŋgɔ̀ ɛ́lɛ̀: ɛ́lɛ̀: ɛ́l-mbɔ̀* ‘sweet, delicious’

*ɛ́n-gɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ̀: ɛ́rⁿɛ̀: ɛ́n-bɔ̀* ‘lightweight; thin (wall)’

*gàbù-gɔ́ gàbɛ̌: gàbɛ̌: gàbù-mbɔ́* ‘tall’

*gɔ́m-gɔ̀ gɔ́mɛ̀: gɔ́mɛ̀: gɔ́m-bɔ̀* ‘rotten’

*jɛ́m-gɔ̀ jɛ́mɛ̀: jɛ́mɛ̀: jɛ́m-bɔ̀* ‘black (dark)’

*mán-gɔ̀ márⁿɛ̀: márⁿɛ̀: mán-bɔ̀* ‘hard, solid’

*mɛ̀ndú-ŋgɔ̀ mɛ̀ndɛ́: mɛ̀ndɛ́: mɛ̀ndú-mbɔ̀* ‘slender’

*nóm-gò nómè: nómè: nóm-bò* ‘difficult’

*ɔ̀l-gɔ́ ɔ̀lɛ̌: ɔ̀lɛ̌: ɔ̀l-mbɔ́* ‘wet’

*ɔ́m-gɔ̀* *ɔ́mɛ̀:* *ɔ́mɛ̀:* *ɔ́m-bɔ̀* ‘hot’

*ɔ́mɔ̀-ŋgɔ̀ ɔ́mɔ̀: ɔ́mɔ̀: ɔ́mɔ̀-mbɔ̀* ‘living, alive’

*ɔ́rⁿɔ́n-gɔ̀ ɔ́rⁿɔ́nɛ̀: ɔ́rⁿɔ́nɛ̀: ɔ́rⁿɔ́n-bɔ̀* ‘smooth, sleek’

*pá:-ŋgɔ̀ pâ:* ~ *páɛ̀ pâ:* ~ *páɛ̀ pá:-mbɔ̀* ‘long’

*píl-gɔ̀ pílɛ̀: pílɛ̀: píl-mbɔ̀* ‘white’

*sàm-gɔ́ sàmɛ̌: sàmɛ̌: sàm-bɔ́* ‘bad, ugly’

*yágúr-gɔ̀ yágírɛ̀: yágírɛ̀: yágúr-mbɔ̀* ‘coarse, rough’

*sɛ́-ŋgɛ̀ sɛ́ sɛ́ sɛ́-mbɔ̀* ‘good’

b. — — *bìnɛ́: bìní-mbɔ̀* ‘fat, stout’

(~ *bǐn-bɔ̀*)

— — *mɔ̀dɛ̌: mɔ̀dú-mbɔ̀* ‘evil, nasty’

*démbù-gò démbè:* — — ‘thick, massive’

*dùmbù-gó dùmbě:* — — ‘blunt (blade)’

*ɛ̀mbù-gɔ́ ɛ̀mbɛ̌:* — — ‘narrow’

*gál-ŋgɔ̀ gálɛ̀:* — —‘bitter’

*púrúgú-gò púrúgè:* — —‘tan, off-white’

*sí:-ŋgɔ̀ síyɛ̀:* — — ‘sharp (point, blade)’

*wɛ́r-gɔ̀ wɛ́rɛ̀:* — — ‘green, fresh (vegetation)’

*yɔ̀r-gɔ́ yɔ̀rɛ̌:* — — ‘soft’

c. — *kùrě:* — — ‘undiluted (milk)’

For ‘living, alive’, an informant tended to replace animate plural *ɔ́mɔ̀-mbɔ̀* with a quasi-reduplicative form *ɔ́mɔ̀-ɔ́m(b)ɔ̀*.

The adjectives in (xx3a) also belong to this general type, but unlike the *CvCE:-* and longer stems in (xx2) above they have *CvE:* in the unsuffixed form, becoming *Cvy-* before a suffix. The phonological alternations here are similar to those in verbal morpheme in the 3Sg form of the simple perfective (§10.xxx) and in Defocus forms of verbs in connection with subject focalization (§13.xxx). In *gɔ̯̀ɛ̌:* the first vowel is briefly articulated or desyllabified, approaching [gwɛ̌:]. In *wàɛ́* and *màɛ́ⁿ* there is no comparable desyllabification of the first vowel. ‘Long’ (xx3b) lengthens the *a*-vowel in the unsuffixed form. *pɛ̌:* ‘old’ can be analysd as *pɛ̀-ɛ̌:*, by analogy, but I do not hear a separate burst for the second vowel. The two adjectives in (xx3c) have a *Cv-* stem throughout. Of the defective adjectives in (xx3d), *wàɛ̌* and *sɛ̌:* belong with (xx3a), *ǹdɛ́* with (xx3c).

(xx3) InanSg InanPl AnSg AnPl gloss

a. *gɔ̌y-gɔ̀ gɔ̯̀ɛ̌: gɔ̯̀ɛ̌: gɔ̌y-mbɔ̀* ‘short’

*pɛ̀y-gɔ́ pɛ̌: pɛ̌: pɛ̀y-mbɔ́* ‘old’

(~ *pɛ̀:-mbɔ́*)

*màyⁿ-gɔ́ màɛ́ⁿ màɛ́ⁿ màyⁿ-bɔ́* ‘dry’

b. *pá:-ŋgɔ̀ pá: pá: pá:-mbɔ̀* ‘long’

c. *dɛ́-ŋgɛ̀ dɛ́ dɛ́ dɛ́-mbɔ̀* ‘big’

*sɛ́-ŋgɛ̀ sɛ́ sɛ́ sɛ́-mbɔ̀* ‘good’

d. *wǎy-gɔ̀ wàɛ́* — — ‘wide, spacious’

— *sě:* — — ‘diluted (milk)’

*ǹdɔ̀-ŋgɔ́ ǹdɛ́* — — ‘empty’’

There are also some adjectives that **do not distinguish number for inanimates**, i.e. they do not use Inanimate Sg *-(ŋ)gO* suffix. Those that can also be used with animate nouns do take Animate Pl *-mbO* (xx4a). This is similar to the situation with nouns, where some inanimates have only a single, unsuffixed form used both as singular and plural. The adjectives in (xx3b) probably belong here, but have defective paradigms. In (xx3c), ‘deep’ appears to have generalized the original Inanimate St form. ‘Blue’ (xx3d) is a regionally widespread loanword but has been nativized rather better in TU than in most other languages (note the long *ɛ̀:*), though speakers refrain from adding an Inanimate Sg suffix.

(xx3) InanSg InanPl AnSg AnPl gloss

a. *kàndá kàndá kàndá kàndà-mbɔ́* ‘new’

*nà:rⁿá nà:rⁿá nà:rⁿá nà:rⁿà-mbɔ́* ‘easy, cheap’

*sɛ̀gɛ́ sɛ̀gɛ́ sɛ̀gɛ́ sɛ̀gɛ́-mbɔ̀* ‘small (house)’

b. *bá bá* — —‘full (container)’

*bòdòró bòdòró* — — ‘half-ripe (fruit)’

*ìlɛ́* *ìlɛ́* — — ‘ripe; fermented’

*kǒ: kǒ:* — — ‘unripe, raw’

— — *kómbò kómbò-mbò* ‘lean, skinny’

— — *ná-này ná-này-mbɔ̀* ‘respectable’

c. *tó:-ŋgò tó:* — —‘deep’

d. *búlɛ̀: búlɛ̀:* — — ‘blue’

The forms in (xx5) function more or less like adjectival modifiers but have invariant form. ‘Yellow’ is really the word for ‘(bright yellow) flour from pods of néré tree (*Parkia biglobosa*), which is the exemplar for yellowness throughout the zone.

(xx5) a. *yòl-púrⁿɔ̀* ‘yellow’

b. *sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́* ‘spotted’

Many adjectives have a corresponding abstractive nominal denoting the relevant scale, e.g. ‘length’ or ‘redness’. The nominal is based on the inanimate singular form of the adjective, plus initial reduplication and an {LH} tone overlay. See §4.2.6 for the data.

## Numerals

### Cardinal numerals

#### ‘One’ (*túrɛ̀:*, *túr-gɔ̀*) and ‘other’ (*wàndá*)

Forms for ‘one’ are in (xx1). The animate/inanimate distinction and the long *ɛ:* are typical of adjectives. However, the noun X is not tone-dropped as one would expect before a true adjective: *nǎ: túrɛ̀*: ‘one cow’, *úló túr(ú)-gɔ̀* ‘one house’.

(xx1) a. modifying a noun (X)

*X túrɛ̀:* ‘one X (animate)’

*X túr(ú)-gɔ̀* ‘one X (inanimate)’

b. in counting sequence (‘1, 2, 3, …’), see §4.6.1.2 below

*tí:-rú*

A related form *tùrù* is used as an ‘only’ particle at the end of NPs (19.4.1).

‘Other’ as in ‘another/the other (sheep/house)’ is wàndá (invariant for animacy and number). The noun is tone-dropped: *nà:* L *wàndá* ‘an-/the other cow’, *ùlò* L *wàndá* ‘an-/the other house’, *[ùlò wàndà]* L *yí* ‘the other houses’.

#### ‘2’ to ‘10’

The numerals from ‘2’ to ‘10’ are shown in (xx1) in their postnominal forms. They are preceded by classifying prefixes (similar to those in Yanda Dom). For human reference, either the specifically human form (based on *ɲě* ‘person’) or the more general animate form may be used. Nonhuman animals use only the animate form.

The prefixes are H- or <LH>-toned. Numeral stems are of two tonal types. One type is {LH} or {LHL} and is tonally stable (‘3’, ‘5’, ‘8-9’). The other appears as {H}-toned after *ɲě-* and as {L}-toned after *bú-* and *yí-* (‘2’, ‘4’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘10’). ‘2’ and ‘5’ geminate their initial sonorant after animate and inanimate (but not human) prefixes.

(xx1) gloss human animate inanimate

‘2’ *ɲě-léy bú-llèy yí-llèy*

‘3’ *ɲě-tà:ndú bú-tà:ndú yí-tà:ndú*

‘4’ *ɲě-kɛ́dɛ́ bú-kɛ̀dɛ̀ yí-kɛ̀dɛ̀*

‘5’ *ɲě-nǔm bú-nnǔm yí-nnǔm*

‘6’ *ɲě-kúlé bú-kùlè yí-kùlè*

‘7’ *ɲě-sɔ́ bú-sɔ̀ yí-sɔ̀*

‘8’ *ɲě-[gà-gárà] bú-[gà-gárà] yí-[gà-gárà]*

‘9’ *ɲě-[gà-gárà]-bà bú-[gà-gárà]-bà yí-[gà-gárà]-bà*

‘10’ *ɲě-pɛ́lú bú-pɛ̀lù yí-pɛ̀lù*

The preceding noun (or noun-adjective combination) has its regular tones, as well as its regular plural marking. Numerals do not induce tone-dropping on these preceding words. For example, *yà-mbɔ́* ‘women’ occurs without change in *yà-mbɔ́ ɲě-léy* ‘two women’. *nù-mbɔ́* ‘people’ is grammatical before a human numeral, but it is normally omitted: *ɲě-léy* ‘two people’.

In **counting sequences**, there is no preceding noun and no classifying prefix, which allows us to glimpse lexical tones of the various stems. There are special forms for ‘1’ and ‘2’, both ending in *rú*. The numerals that shift between {H}- and {L}-toned forms after classifying prefixes are {H}-toned in the counting sequence. This suggests that they have lexical /H/ melodies.

(xx2) numeral in counting sequence

‘1’ *tí:-rú*

‘2’ *lé:-rú*

‘3’ *tà:ndú*

‘4’ *kɛ́dɛ́*

‘5’ *nǔm*

‘6’ *kúlé*

‘7’ *sɔ́*

‘8’ *gà-gárà*

‘9’ *[gà-gárà]-bà*

‘10’ *pɛ́lú*

#### Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, …)

Numerals denoting decimal multiples up to ‘70’ are in (xx1). They do not combine with classifying prefixes, so they are invariant across animacy categories. They consist of a rather chewed-up variant of *pɛ́lú* ‘10’, plus the relevant single-digit numeral. The ‘10’ initial has the segmental form *pɛ-*, *pɛ:-*, or *pɛga-*. Historically, the reduction to *pɛ́-* in ‘30’ probably reflects syncope and \*rt > *t*. The reduction to *pɛ:-*, presumably from \*pɛga-, occurs before velars but not before coronals. The ‘10’ element is L-toned (*pɛ̀gà-*, *pɛ̀:-*) before single-digit numerals that begin with a H-tone, but it ends with a H-tone (*pɛ́-*, *pɛ̀gá-*) before a L-tone.

(xx1) gloss form

‘20’ *pɛ̀gà-léy*

‘30’ *pɛ́-tà:ndú*

‘40’ *pɛ̀:-kɛ́dɛ́*

‘50’ *pɛ̀gá-nǔm*

‘60’ *pɛ̀:-kúlé*

‘70’ *pɛ̀gà-sɔ́*

Like the single-digit terms ‘2’ to ‘10’, decimal multiple terms follow nouns (or noun-adjective combination) that takes their regular plural form: *yà-mbɔ́ pɛ̀:-kɛ́dɛ́* ‘40 women’.

Composite numerals can be formed by adding a single-digit numeral (without a classifier) to a decimal-multiple term from ‘10’ to ‘70’. This combination is followed by a unique terminal morpheme *sàgà* (roughly ‘plus’). ‘10’ has yet another irregular variant in this construction. The other decimal-multiple terms through ‘70’ are regular, except that their final syllable is raised to H-tone if otherwise L or <HL> (‘20’, ‘40’, ‘60’), which is (again) arguably intonational.

(xx2) gloss with single-digit increment X

‘10’ *pɛ́:-nɛ̀ X sàgà*

‘20’ *pɛ̀gà-léy X sàgà*

‘30’ *pɛ́-tà:ndú* *X sàgà*

‘40’ *pɛ̀:-kɛ́dɛ́* *X sàgà*

‘50’ *pɛ̀gá-nǔm* *X sàgà*

‘60’ *pɛ̀:-kúlé* *X sàgà*

‘70’ *pɛ̀gà-sɔ́* *X sàgà*

The single-digit numeral, X in (xx2), is invariant and does not agree with the referent in animacy, but ɲě- optionally precedes the entire sequence (i.e. precedes the decimal term) if the referent is human. The forms of the single-digit numerals after these decimal-multiple terms are given in the right-hand column of (xx3). ‘1’ has no animacy suffixes. ‘3’ has a slightly contracted form. ‘5’ usually contracts the decimal term, so that *-m* appears to be a suffix (or clitic) on the noun.

(xx3) numeral regular form after decimal-multiple term

‘1’ *túr-ɛ̀:*, *túrù-gɔ̀ túr(ú) sàgà*

‘2’ *léy léy sàgà*

‘3’ *tà:ndú tǎ:n sàgà*

‘4’ *kɛ́dɛ́* *kɛ́dɛ́ sàgà*

‘5’ *nǔm -m sàgà* (less often: *nǔm sàgà*)

‘6’ *kúlé kúlé sàgà*

‘7’ *sɔ́ sɔ́ sàgà*

‘8’ *gà-gárà* *gà-gárà sàgà*

‘9’ *[gà-gárà]-bà [gà-gárà]-bà sàgà*

The reduced *-m* in ‘five’ triggers further constractions in the preceding numeral. ‘15’ is just *pɛ́-m sàgà*, ‘25’ is *pɛ̀gà-lê-m sàgà*, and ‘55’ is *pɛ̀gá-nǔm-∅ sàgà*, where only the final *sàgà* alerts a listener to the otherwise inaudible presence of *-m*. Raising of tones of final syllables in the decimal-multiple term does not occur before -m, hence *pɛ̀:-kɛ́dɛ̀-m sàgà* ‘45’ and *pɛ̀:-kúlè-m sàgà* ‘65’.

The decimal-multiple term for ‘80’ requires separate treatment. ‘90’ is expressed as ‘80’ plus ‘10’ (with inanimate prefix *yí-* in unmarked contexts, as in counting sequences).

(xx4) ‘80’ *sùŋgó* (or *dɔ̀gɔ̀-sùŋgó*)

‘90’ *sùŋgó yí-pɛ́lù*

‘80’ is the notorious “Dogon hundred” lexical item. It is more noun-like than the lower decimal-multiple terms, and it has a different microsyntax when it is combined with an incremental single-digit numeral. Here the decimal-multiple and single-digit numerals are rather independent of each other. When the single-digit is ‘1’, the noun appears twice, so ‘81 cows’ is ‘[cow 80] [cow 1]’ (xx5). When the single digit is ‘2’ to ‘9’, it takes the relevant classifying prefix. There is no *sàgà*. *sùŋgó* takes the form *súŋgô:* in such combinations.

(xx5) a. *[nà:-mbɔ́ sùŋgô:] [nǎ: túrɛ̀:]*

[cow-AnPl 80] [cow one.AnSg]

‘81 cows’

b. *[ìnjɛ̀-mbɔ́ sùŋgô:] bú-nǔm*

[dog-AnPl 80] AnPl-five

‘85 dogs’

As noted above, *sùŋgó yí-pɛ́lù* ‘90’ is already composite (‘80 10’). When it modifies a core NP, the ‘10’ portion shows animacy concord (xx6a). When a further single-digit term is added, the phrasing is of the type ‘80 cows, 11 (cows)’, i.e. with the single-digit term grouped with ‘10’. The noun (‘cows’) is optionally repeated (xx6b).

(xx6) a. *[nà:-mbɔ́ sùŋgô:] bú-pɛ́lú*

[cow-AnPl 80] AnPl-10

‘90 cows’

b. *[nà:-mbɔ́ súŋgô:] [(nà:-mbɔ́) pɛ́:-nɛ̀ túr sàgà]*

[cow-AnPl 80] [(cow-AnPl) 10 1 plus]

‘91 cows’

*sùŋgó* ‘80’, without a compound initial, can also be used in the sense ‘100’, especially in connection with currency. However, in this sense it is usually supplanted by *tɛ́:mdɛ̀rɛ̀*, see below.

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

The stems in (xx1) are somewhat noun-like morphosyntactically.

(xx1) gloss form

a. ‘hundred’ *tɛ́:mdɛ̀rɛ̀* (<Fulfulde)

b. ‘thousand’ *mùdó*

c. ‘million’ *mílyɔ́ⁿ* (<French)

These numerals generally omit ‘1’ (‘hundred’ = ‘100’, ‘thousand’ = ‘1,000’, ‘million’ = ‘1,000,000’). When multiplied by a higher numeral (as in ‘200’ or ‘2000’), ‘hundred’ and ‘million’ are treated like regular quantified-over nouns, so a following single-digit term has Inanimate *yí-* prefix, agreeing with ‘hundred’ or ‘million’, not with the referent (xx2a-b). ‘Thousand’ is followed by the bare numeral (xx2c).

(xx2) a. *nà:-mbɔ́ [tɛ́:mdɛ̀rɛ̀ yí-lèy] pɛ̀gá-nǔm*

cow-AnPl [hundred Inan-2] 10-5

‘250 cows’

b. *nà:-mbɔ́ [mílyɔ́ⁿ yí-nǔm*]

cow-AnPl [million Inan-5]

‘5,000,000 cows’

c. *nà:-mbɔ́ [mùdó tà:ndú] [tɛ́:mdɛ̀rɛ̀ yí-nǔm]*

cow-AnPl [thousand 3] [hundred Inan-5]

‘3,500 cows’

Since not many people have a hundred of anything, much less a thousand or a million, these higher numerals are mainly used in connection with currency.

#### Currency

The currency unit is *bú:dù*, equivalent to 5 francs CFA and originally equivalent to a long-defunct colonial coin (sometimes called the riyal). In the singular, this is pronounced *bù:dù túrú* ‘one riyal’, denoting the smallest coin (5 FCFA) in circulation. This form is unusual in that *túrú* ‘1’ is treated as an adjective, so it controls tone-dropping on *bú:dù*. The same tones are heard in *bù:dù léy* ‘2 riyals’, which denotes the 10 FCFA coin. Higher numerals combine regularly with *bú:dù*. For example, in *bú:dù yí-tà:ndú* ‘3 riyals’ (15 FCFA), *bú:dù* has its normal tone contour, and the numeral has an Inanimate classifying prefix agreeing with *bú:dù*.

For ‘million’ and its multiples, one does not multiply by 5 to get the conversion. So ‘two million *bú:dù* means ‘2,000,000 FCFA’.

### Ordinal adjectives

#### ‘First’ (*tí:rú*) and ‘last’ (*dùmdɔ́*)

Ordinal ‘first’ is *tí:rú*, and ‘last, final’ is *dùmdɔ́*. Both are adjectives and control tone-dropping on the noun.

(xx1) a. *cɛ̀* L */ dàmbà* L *tí:rú*

thingL / villageL first

‘the first thing / village’

b. *cɛ̀* L */ dàmbà* L *dùmdɔ́*

thingL / villageL last

‘the last thing / village’

For adverbial ‘firstly, at first’ see §8.4.6.2

#### Other ordinals (suffix *-nɛ́*)

The ordinal suffix for numerals higher than ‘1’ is *-nɛ́*, after {L}-toned stem. There are only slight segmental irregularities based on the cardinal forms (syncope of second syllable in ‘3rd’ and ‘10th’, monophthongization in ‘2nd’).

(xx1) form gloss

a. single-digit numeral

*lè:-nɛ́* ~ *nè:-rⁿɛ́* ‘second’

*tà:n-nɛ́* ‘third’

*kɛ̀dɛ̀-nɛ́* ‘fourth’

*nùm-nɛ́* ‘fifth’

*kùlò-nɛ́* ‘sixth’

*sɔ̀-nɛ́* ‘seventh’

*gàgàrà-nɛ́* ‘eighth’

*gàgàrà-bà-nɛ́* ‘ninth’

*pɛ̀l-nɛ́* ‘tenth’

b. decimal

*pɛ̀gà-lè:-nɛ́* ‘twentieth’

c. decimal plus single-digit numeral

*pɛ́:nɛ̀ tùrù sàgà-nɛ́* ‘eleventh’

*pɛ́:nɛ̀ lèy sàgà-nɛ́* ‘twelfth’

d. hundred

*tɛ̀:mdɛ̀rɛ̀-nɛ́* ‘hundredth’

e. hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels)

*tɛ́:mdɛ̀rɛ̀ pɛ̀gà-lè:-nɛ́* ‘hundred and twentieth’

f. interrogative

*àŋgà-nɛ́* ‘how many-eth?’ (Fr *quantième*)

Tone-dropping controlled by the suffx does not extend to the decimal term in (xx1c), or to ‘hundred’ in (xx1e). However, it does apply to the combination of the single-digit term plus *sàgà* in (xx1c).

### Fractions and portions

*pɛ́gɛ̀rɛ̀* ‘half’ is not mathematically precise. It really means ‘(substantial) part’, e.g. a third, a half, or the like.

# Nominal and adjectival compounds

The compound types in this chapter are distinguished by the word-classes of the initial and final, and by tone-contour. Using n for noun, a for adjective, num for numeral, v for verb, and x for a variable word class (noun, adjective, perhaps adverb), one can represent the types with notation like [x n], [n n], [n v], and (with a suffix) [n v-VblN], with diacritics to mark tones (x́ all high tone, x̂ = falling HL contour, x̌ = rising LH contour, x̀ = all-low tone, x̄ = regular lexical tone). Example: [ǹ n̄] is a noun-noun compound whose initial is dropped to {L} tone contour and whose final has its lexical tones.

## Nominal compounds

### Compounds of type [n̄ n̄]

*Both the initial and the final are nouns with their regular tones (no special tonal change in compound).*

*Not a common compound type. Found in Jamsay with ‘X-owner’ compounds.*

### Compounds of type [ǹ n̄]

*Initial is a noun (perhaps occasionally an adverb) that is tone-dropped, final is a noun with its regular tones. Common. Final is usually the head.*

*May compete with possessor-type compounds (see below), but if so this type is more typical of the fully lexicalized compounds.*

### Compounds with final verbal noun, type [ǹ v-VblN]

In this combination, the {L}-toned initial either denotes a characteristic object or is a cognate nominal. The final is a verbal noun or cognate nominal and has its usual tones

(xx1) a. *[zòb-gò]-[zɔ́b-í] nôm*

[run-InanSg]-[run-VblN] be.difficult

‘Running a race is hard.’

b. *[zòb-gò]-[zɔ́bí-lé] nôm*

[run-InanSg]-[run-VblN] be.difficult

[= (a)]

### Agentive compounds of type [ǹ v̌] or [ǹ v̂]

This is a special case of [ǹ n̄] compound. The initial is the {L}-toned form of a noun denoting a prototypical object, or a cognate nominal. The compound initial may be slightly reduced in form: the final vowel may be raised to high and perhaps syncopated, an old Inanimate suffix like *-go* is often omitted from the compound. The compound final a {LH}-toned deverbal agentive with the stem-final vowel mutating to *é:*, regardless of ATR class of the stem (the penult vowel quality is not affected). The vowel is reduced and raised before animate plural *‑mbO*, see later in this section.

One informant (out of two who were checked) fluctuates between {LH} and {HL} tones for the final in some cases (*wà:-wálè* alongside *wà:-wàlé* ‘farmer’, for example). The data given below show the predominant {LH} melody on the final.

(xx1) Compound deverbal agentives

noun plus verb agentive gloss

a. initial is cognate nominal

*zóbú-gó zɔ̀bɔ́-* ‘run’ *zòbù-zɔ̀bé:* ‘(fast) runner’

*dɔ̀n-gó dòrⁿɔ́-* ‘do a sale’ *dɔ̀n-dòné:* ‘seller’

*èbú-gó ɛ́bɛ́-* ‘do a buy’ *èbì-ɛ̀bé:* ‘buyer’

*sán sárⁿá-* ‘pray’ *sàn-sàrⁿé:* ~ *-sàné:* ‘Muslim’

*ím ímɛ́-* ‘stutter’ *ìm-ìmé* ~ *-ìmě:* ‘stutterer’

b. initial is noncognate noun

*ínjé kɔ́bɔ́-* ‘draw water’ *ìnjè-kɔ̀bé:* ‘water-carrier’

*kɔ́rⁿɔ́ màdá-* ‘toss cowry’ *kɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-màdé:* ‘cowry-tosser’

(also *sɛ̀bɛ́ màdé*, agentive *sɛ̀bɛ̀-màdé:*)

*úló ɔ́ndú-* ‘build house’ *ùlò-ɔ̀ndé:* ‘house-builder’

Most *Cv:-* verbs with nonhigh vowels derive from \*Cvlv- etyma. The old bisyllabic form is preserved in the agentive compound final *-Cv̀-lě:*. Synchronically, however, *-lě:* functions as a kind of filler syllable, cf. *-lú* with the same verbs in the quoted hortative (§10.6.3.1). The *‑Cv̀-lě:* pattern has extended to *ɲǎ:-* ‘pick up’, which originally had medial \*ŋ rather than \*l (xx2a), and I know of no *Cv:-* stem with nonhigh vowel that does not have the -lv extensions. The only high-voweled *Cv:-* stem in TU is *ni:-* ‘sleep’, which does not show the extension. Instead, it has an agentive of the shape *‑Cě:* (xx2b).

(xx2) noun plus verb agentive gloss

a. *-Cv̀-lé* from original *\**Cvlv- verb

*final is {HL}-toned*

*kà-kǎl ká:* ‘tell a lie’ *[kà-kàl]-[ká-lè:]* ‘liar’

*wá: wǎ:-* ‘do farm work’ *wà:-[wá-lè:]* ‘farmer’

*yù-wá: wǎ:-* ‘farm millet’ *[yù-wà:]-[wá-lè:]* ‘(millet) farmer’

*final is {LH}-toned*

*ɛ̀dɛ́ lǎ:-* ‘bear child’ *ɛ̀dɛ̀-[là-lé:]* ‘child-bearing woman’

*yǎ lǎ:-m-* ‘have (=help) *[yà-mbɔ̀]-[làl-é:]* ‘midwife’

women bear’

*nìmdé bǎ:-* ‘gather trash’ *nìmdè-[bà-lé:]* ‘trash collector’

*kɔ̀ndɔ́ á:-* ‘brew beer’ *kɔ̀ndɔ̀-[à-lé:]* ‘beer brewer’

*tól tó:-* ‘pound (grain)’ *tòl-[tò-lé:]* ‘pounder (of grain)’

*yɔ́ tó:-* ‘pound millet’ *yù-[tò-lé:]* ‘millet pounder’

b. *-Cv̀-lé* from original \*Cvŋv- *verb*

*from original \*Cvŋv- verb*

*gɔ̀nɛ̌: ɲǎ:-* ‘pick up gear’ *gɔ̀n-[ɲà-lé:]* ‘gear picker-upper’

c. *-Cě:* from *Cí:-*

*jìrè-[ní-ŋgí] ní:-* ‘sleep’ *[jìrè-[nì-ŋgì]]-ně:* ‘sleeper’

*pélú pé:-* ‘applaud’ *pèl-[pě:]* ‘applauder’

*Cv-* verbs with short vowels do not have bisyllabic etyma. Their agentive compound finals have various shapes depending on vowel quality. The only *Cu-* verb (*nú-* ‘go in’) does not have an agentive form in regular use. The other vowel qualities are represented (xx3). The type with *-Cwě:* (xx3b) reflects the neutralization of /-Co(y)é/ and /-Cɔ(y)é/, structurally parallel to *-Càyé* (xx3c) but desyllabifying the initial {*o ɔ*} to *w*. In slow pronunciations, an informant actually distinguishes them as *-Cò̯é* and *-Cɔ̯̀é*, and we will see (just below) that a different resyllabification in the plural also brings out the ATR distinction.

(xx3) noun plus verb agentive gloss

a. *-Cě:* from *Cɛ-*, *Ce-*, *Ci-*

*kɔ̀ndɔ́ ɲɛ́-* ‘drink beer’ *kɔ̀ndɔ̀-ɲě:* ‘beer drinker’

*jé jě-* ‘dance’ *jè-jě:* ‘dancer’

*yɔ́ dǐ-* ‘carry millet’ *yɔ̀-dě:* ‘millet carrier’

b. *-Cwě:* from *Cɔ-*, *Co-*

*dɔ̯á dɔ̌-* ‘insult’ *dɔ̯à-dwě:* ‘insulter’

*yɔ́ tɔ́-* ‘sow millet’ *yɔ̀-twě:* ‘millet planter’

*tó-ŋgó tɔ́-* ‘sow millet’ *[tò-ŋgò]-twě:* ‘millet planter’

*ɛ́mnɛ́ dǒ-* ‘suckle milk’ *ɛ̀mnɛ̀-dwě:* ‘nurseling (infant who suckles)’

c *-Càyě:* from *Ca-*

*kú-gɔ́ ká-* ‘shave head’ *kù-kàyé:* ‘one who shaves heads’

The final *ě:* in an agentive mutates to a high vowel {*i u*} before Animate Pl *‑mbó*. Monosyllabic *‑Cě:‑* becomes *-Cì-mbó* (xx4c), while all nonmonosyllabic agentives have *u*, which is syncopated after an unclustered medial sonorant. Nevertheless, *‑mbó* is always +ATR, harmonizing with the underlying *ě:* rather than with preceding stem vowels, as seen in ‘buyers’ and ‘water carriers’ with ‑ATR penults (xx4a). Singular agentives of type *-Cwě:* recover their underlying *ɔ* or *o* (xx4b).

(xx4) singular agentive plural agentive gloss

a. from bisyllabic final

*syncopating (medial unclustered sonorant)*

*wà:-wálè wà:-[wál-mbò]* ‘farmer(s)’

*[kà-kàl]-[ká-lè:] [kà-kàl]-[ká-l-m̀bò]* ‘liar’

*kù-kàyé kù-[kày-mbó]* ‘one who shaves heads’

*nonsyncopating*

*èbì-ɛ́bè èbì-[ɛ̀bù-mbó]* ‘buyer(s)’

*ìnjè-kɔ̀bé* *ìnjè-[kɔ̀bù-mbó]* ‘water carrier(s)’

*zòbù-zòbé* *zòbù-[zòbù-mbó]* ‘(fast) runner(s)’

*yùlùgù-bùmbé yùlùgù-[bùmbù-mbó]* ‘fortune-teller who reads fox tracks’

b. from *-Cwě:*

*yɔ̀-twě:* *yɔ̀-[tɔ̀y-mbó]* ‘millet planter(s)’

*ɛ̀mnɛ̀-dwě: ɛ̀mnɛ̀-[dòy-mbó]* ‘nurseling(s)’

c. from *-Cě:*

*kɔ̀ndɔ̀-ɲě: kɔ̀ndɔ̀-[ɲì-mbó]* ‘beer drinker(s)’

*jè-jě: jè-[jì-mbó]* ‘dancer’

Plurals with unsyncopated stem-final u after a cluster or an obstruent are *[zòbù-gò]-[zòbù-mbó]* ‘(fast) runners’, *ìnjè-[kɔ̀bù-mbó]* ‘water-carriers’, and *kɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-[màdù-mbó]* ‘cowry-tossers’. Plurals with syncopated stem-final /u/ after an unclustered sonorant are *sàn-[sàn-bó]* ‘Muslims’, *ìm-[ìm-bó]* ‘stutterers’, and *ɛ̀dɛ̀-[làl-mbó]* ‘midwives’.

### Compound deverbal instrument or locative nominals of type [ǹ v̌-ŋgó]

Instrument nominals without compound initials are covered in §4.2.3. The verb stem appears in {LH}-toned form with final *é:* in the plural (not always elicitable), becoming *ú* with suffix *-ŋgó* in the singular. There is no ATR harmony between these final and suffixal vowels on the one hand and any stem vowels in preceding syllables.

Most compounds of this type denotes instrument. A few denote locations associated with specific activities or body functions. A noun may be added as compound initial, denoting a **prototypical object** that the instrument or tool is applied to.

(xx1) Compound deverbal instrument nominals

noun plus verb instrument gloss

a. initial is noncognate noun

*nonsyncopating*

*ǐn bùbɔ́-* ‘brush teeth’ *ìn-[bùbú-ŋgó]* ‘toothbrush, chewstick’

*érⁿɛ́ tɛ́gírí-* ‘strain s. ash’ *èrⁿɛ̀-[tɛ̀gùrú-ŋgó]* ‘soda-ash filtering pot’

*káŋgá dàgá-* ‘lock door’ *kàŋgà-[dàgú-ŋgó]* ‘door lock(n.)’

*lǎ: gàgá-* ‘rub foot’ *cìn là:-[gàgú-ŋgó]* ‘stone (pumice) to rub scaly skin on the feet’

*syncopating after unclustered medial sonorant*

*gǒ: zìyɛ́-* ‘scoop embers’ *gò:-[zǐy-ŋgó]* ‘shard to carry embers’

*Cv- extended as Cv̌y-*

*ínjé dǐ-* ‘bathe’ *ìnjè-[dǐy-ŋgó]* ‘outhouse for bathing’

*àdé tá-* ‘shoot bird’ *màrⁿà àdì-[tǎy-ŋgó]* ‘slingshot’ (plastic bird-shooter)

*kɔ̀rɔ́ yǎy- ‘play b. game’ kòrò-[yǎy-ŋgó]* ‘board game’

*Cv:- extended as Cv̀-lú-*

*gǒ: pɛ́:-* ‘strike fire’ *gò:-[pɛ̀-lú-ŋgó]* ‘flint lighter’

b. initial is cognate nominal

*sùgǎ: súgɔ́-* ‘defecate’ *sùgà:-[sùgú-ŋgó]* ‘area for defecating’

‘Flint lighter’ is based on the original form of the verb *pɛ́:-*, namely \*pɛ́lɛ́- (several Dogon cognates *pɛ́rɛ́-* or *pɛ́lɛ́-*). See the comments on agentives of Cv:- verbs in §5.1.4 just above.

The compound type described in this section, with {LH}-toned final, differs from another with {H}-toned final and the same *-ŋgó* suffix, see just below.

### Initial-headed nominals of type [ǹ v́-ŋgó]

This type superficially resembles the one described in the preceding section. However, this time the final (with suffix *-ŋgó*) is {H}-toned. Semantically, the initial often denotes the logical head (rather than a prototypical object), so the final functions like an adjectival modifier.

Typical examples of this type are in (xx1a). Those in (xx1a) denote spatial configurations (fork or intersection in road) or times of day, but there is very little difference between e.g. ‘rising sun’ and ‘sunrise’ or between ‘forking road’ and ‘fork in road’. ‘Poisoned’ in (xx1c) has an additional morpheme *-sú-*.

(xx1) compound gloss verb

a. ordinary

*kɔ̀rɔ̀-[gáy-ŋgó]* ‘sickle’ *gǎ-* ‘cut w. sickle’

*ìnjè-[ɲá-ŋgó]* ‘water to drink’ *ɲɛ́-* ‘eat, drink’

*tàbà-[síndé-ŋgó]* ‘snuff tobacco’ *síndé-* ‘sniff (tobacco)’

b. positions

*òdùbà:-[zágíl-ɛ́:-ŋgó]* ‘fork, intersection’ *zàgíl-í:-* ‘(road) fork or form intersection’

*ùdù-[tùmbú-ŋgó]* ‘sunrise’ *túmbú-* ‘(sun) rise

*ùdù-[pìlí-ŋgó] ‘*sunset’ *pílé-* ‘(sun) set’

c. *-sú-ŋgó*

*wàrà ɲá-m-sú-ŋgó* ‘poisoned spear’ *ɲá-mí-* ‘cause to drink (i.e. apply liquid poison’)

àrⁿà-[ílá-ŋgó] ‘time of year when rains taper off’

ɔ̀bàm-nàygó (“sit-stay.up”) ‘night of 27th Ramadan’

ɔ̀bàm-[này-gó] (“sit-stay.up”)

### Possessive-type compounds [n̄ ǹ], [n̄ n̂], [n̄ ń], and/or [n̄ ň]

*This compound type may have the same tone contours as possessor-possessed combinations. Typically the initial has its regular tones, while the final has the tone contour of a possessed noun, i.e. {HL} or all-low depending on the language.*

*In lexical elicitation, this pattern may appear the first time the informant utters the compound. Sometimes the informant will later repeat it with the [ǹ n̄] pattern, which is typical of more lexicalized compounds.*

*It is possible that “possessive-type compound” and “possessor-possessed” are not always distinguishable. In the compound, aside from the fact that the “possessor” is usually fixed, it may be that (tono-)syntactic behavior is different from that of the true possessives. Try adding an adjective, or a “true” possessor. Same forms and tones as with possessor-possessed plus an adjective or a second possessor?*

### Compounds with *ŋŋŋ* ‘child’ (and *ŋŋŋ* ‘fruit’)

sàgàrà-íyɛ́\\-úlè ‘able-bodied man’

gárí:bù, gàrì:bù-ɛ̀dɛ́ ‘beggar child’

*Compounds whose final is the term for ‘child’.*

*In some languages, ‘child’ also used for ‘fruit of X’ and similar terms, where X is a tree or other plant sp., and for ‘small item associated with X’, where X is a (relatively large) implement. Other languages have a distinct term for ‘fruit’.*

*Flora-fauna (esp. bird) terms may include frozen ‘child’ ending.*

### Compounds with ‘man’ (*árⁿá*) and ‘woman’ (*yǎ*)

‘Boy’ and ‘girl’ terms are in (xx1). They are superficially similar but at least etymologically they are built up differently. *árⁿá-yɛ̀* ‘boy’ consists of ‘man’ plus a compound final originally meaning ‘child’ (§5.xxx), while ‘girl’ consists of ‘child’ plus ‘woman/female’. That is, *-yɛ̀* in ‘boy’ and -*yɛ́* in ‘girl’ are etymologically unrelated. However, the plurals of both ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ are (irregularly) related to the suppletive plural *ùlé:(-mbò)* ‘children’. The *-mb-* formative is related to Animate Pl *-mbo* ~ *-mbɔ*.

(xx1) Sg Pl gloss

*árⁿá-yɛ̀ árⁿá-mb-ùlè* ‘boy’

*ɛ̀dá-yɛ́ ùlà:-mb-ílé* ‘girl’

*Mention adjectives ‘male’ and ‘female’ (e.g. after animal terms).*

*‘woman’ noun often has irregular forms as a compound initial (try ‘young adult woman’, ‘old woman’, ‘woman who has just given birth’, ‘new bride’). This may be distinct from the form used in less lexicalized combinations like ‘pretty woman’ and ‘three women’.*

*comment on ‘man’ in similar combinations, even if regular.*

*Are ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ frozen compounds? Give sg and pl for them.*

### Compounds with *bàŋá* ‘owner’ ‘

The final and head is based on the noun *bàŋá* ‘owner, master’, plural *bàŋá-mbɔ̀*. The compound initial is treated as possessor. so ‘owner’ drops tones.

(xx1) a. *úló bàŋà-mbɔ̀*

house owner-AnPl

‘the house owner’

b. *ándá bàŋà*

*start with ‘homeowner’, ‘owner of shop’, etc.*

*may also apply to ‘master (of slave)’. Give uncompounded form as in ‘I do not have a master’.*

*May also compete with Characteristic derivative (Chapter 4). E.g. e.g. ‘hunchback’ = ‘owner of hump’.*

### Gentilic compounds with L*ɲè* ‘person’, plural L*bɔ̀:*

Village names can be followed by L*ɲè*, possessed form of *ɲě* ‘person’, to form a gentilic ‘resident of X’ or ‘person originally from X’. Compare English *New Yorker*, *Floridian*, *American*, etc. Thus *zǎ:ⁿ* (~ *ʒǎ:ⁿ*) ‘Dianga’, *zǎ:ⁿ* L*ɲè* ‘person of/from Dianga’. The plural is L*bɔ̀:*, perhaps derived from the possessed form of *nù-mbɔ́* ‘people’.

These forms can also be used in combinations like ‘top person/people’ and ‘bottom person/people’, e.g. defined by living on the high plateau above the cliffs versus living on the sandy plains that stretch out from the base of the cliffs. *tɛ́mbɛ́* L*bɔ̀:* ‘top people’, *dùgó* L*bɔ̀:* ‘bottom people’.

### Loose and tight compounds with *ŋŋŋ* (‘authentic’, ‘entire’)

*A term (e.g. ná:, dé:), perhaps transparently related to a term for ‘mother’, may be used as a compound final (or adjective?) in the sense ‘authentic (not false) X’, ‘principal, main X’ (e.g. for the main village of a cluster of villages), or ‘entire X (e.g. tree)’, especially with terms like ‘mango’ where the unmarked referent is a fruit. ‘Authentic’ is especially relevant to species that resemble a less useful or prototypical second species (‘jujube’, ‘indigo’). ‘Authentic’ or ‘primary, main’ may also apply to the main neighborhood of a dispersed village cluster.*

*Also indicate the term for ‘false (i.e. nonprototypical) X’, e.g. ‘false jujube’ or ‘false wild-grape’. A few cases of this should turn up in the flora-fauna terminology. Typical expressions are of the type ‘hyena’s jujube’, ‘squirrel’s peanut’, ‘herder’s (wild) grape’ on the one hand, and ‘hibiscus’ slave’ on the other.*

### Natural-species compounds (*X-m/na:-X*)

*A few flora-fauna terms (for fauna, mostly grasshoppers and other insects but also one or two herbs or grasses) may have a structure X-ma:-X or X-na:-X, with a linking element separating two iterations of an element X (which may or may not be identifiable with a regular lexical stem).*

*If this pattern is absent, say so.*

### Instrumental relative compounds (‘oil for rubbing’)

ínjé ‘water’

ìnjè ɲá-ŋgò ‘drinking water’

ìnjè dé-ŋgò ‘bathing water’

nùnó ‘oil’

nùnò ɲá-ŋgò ‘cooking oil’

nùnò párɛ̀:-ŋgò ‘rubbing oil’

pár-í:-tì ‘he/she rubbed (oil)’

### Other phrasal compounds

*any other complex, phrase-like compounds*

*e.g. ‘it sold its mother to buy a tail’ (for male whydah birds in breeding plumage)*

### Unclassified nominal compounds

*any that do not fit into the above categories*

## Adjectival compounds

### Bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds [n̄ â] or [n̄ nûm]

*Correspond to English compounds with -ed, like ‘big-bellied’ or ‘two-headed’. Final is either an adjective or a numeral. The whole compound describes a person or other entity that is characterized by the modified or quantified noun.*

*Often bahuvrihi compounds have an initial with its lexical tones, and a final with {HL} contour overlaid. This is tonally different from a noun-adjective combination with the same lexical items (‘big belly’, ‘two heads’).*

#### With adjectival compound final [n̄ â]

A simple noun-adjective combination is expressed as NL Adj, e.g. kú‑gɔ́ ‘head’ plus jɛ́m‑gɔ̀ ‘black’ (inanimate singular) combine as kù-gɔ̀L jɛ́m-gɔ̀ ‘(a) black head’. Here ‘black’ agrees in intrinsic features (animacy, number) with ‘head’. The corresponding bahuvrihi, functioning as an adjective modifying ‘cow’ (nǎ:), is (xx1). The compound initial ‘head’ takes its regular morphological and tonal form. The adjective is tone-dropped. Since the bahuvrihi as a whole modifies ‘cow’, the final adjective ‘black’ now agrees in animacy and number with animate ‘cow’, not with inanimate ‘head’. Compare nà:L jémɛ̀ ‘(a) black cow’.

(xx1) nà:L [kú‑gɔ́]-Ljèmɛ̀

cowL [head-InanSg]-Lblack

‘a black-headed cow’

Further examples are in (xx2), when the overall referent is animate singular.

(xx2) bahuvrihi gloss regular noun-adjective gloss

bɛ̀rá:-Lbìnè: ‘big-bellied’ bɛ̀rà:L bǐn-gɔ̀ ‘a big belly’

[m̀bù-gɔ́]-pà: ‘long-mouthed’ m̀bù-gɔ̀ pá:-ŋgɔ̀ ‘long mouth (snout)’

lǎ:-gwɛ̀: ‘short-footed’ là:L gwɛ̌: ‘a short foot’

#### With numeral compound final [n̄ nûm]

Basic numerals ‘2’ to ‘10’ in TT begin with an animacy classifier (§4.6.1.2). For inanimates, the numerals are mostly already L-toned after the classifier yí-, exceptions being yí-tà:ndú ‘3’, yí‑nnǔm ‘5’, and *yí‑[gà‑gárà]* ‘8’. In the corresponding bahuvrihis, the inanimate classifier remains (even when, as usual, the bahuvrihi modifies an animate or human referent). The classifier also keeps its H-tone, but the numeral (if not already L-toned) drops to {L}. With ‘1’, which has no classifier prefix, the bahuvrihi has the tonal form of a regular noun-adjective combination (tone-dropped noun, ‘1’ with lexical melody). ‘1’ takes the neutral form túrú, agreeing in animacy neither with the compound initial nor with the referent.

(xx2) bahuvrihi gloss regular noun-adjective gloss

a. numeral already L-toned

[kú‑gɔ́]-[yí-llèy] ‘two-headed’ kú‑gɔ́ yí-llèy ‘two heads’

lǎ:-[yí-kùlè] ‘six-footed’ lǎ: yí-kùlè ‘six feet’

b. numeral drops audibly to {L}

[kú‑gɔ́]-[yí-tà:ndù] ‘three-headed’ kú‑gɔ́ yí-tà:ndú ‘three heads’

lǎ:-[yí-gà-gàrà] ‘eight-footed’ lǎ: yí-gà-gárà ‘eight feet’

c. numeral ‘1’

jìrèL-túrú ‘one-eyed’ jìrèL túr-gɔ̀ ‘one head’

Compare nà:L jìrèL-túrú ‘one-eyed cow’ with nà:L túrɛ̀: ‘one cow’ and jìrèL túr-gɔ̀ ‘one eye’. nà:L jìrèL-túrú ‘one-eyed cow’ can be pluralized: nà:L jìrèL-túrú-mbɔ̀ ‘one-eyed cows’.

# Noun Phrase structure

## Organization of NP constituents

### Linear order

The basic linear order of words within NPs is (xx1), with the (head) noun in position zero.

(xx1) -1 preposed possessor, OR preposed demonstrative (*kú*)

0 (head) noun

+1 modifying adjective

+2, +3 possessor pronoun and/or cardinal numeral (in either order)

+4 demonstrative pronoun

+5 definite morpheme

+6 universal quantifier (‘all’)

Examples illustrating all pairwise orderings of adjacent elements are in (xx2).

(xx2) type

x. *kú írⁿì-mbɔ̀* [def-n]

Def goat-AnPl

‘those (same) goats’

x. *á:mádú* L*ìrⁿì-mbɔ̀* [poss-n]

A Lgoat-AnPl

‘Amadou’s goats’

x. *ìrⁿè:* L *jɛ́mɛ̀:* [n-a]

goatL black

‘a black goat’

x. *ìrⁿè:* L *jɛ́m-bɔ̀ bú-nǔm* [n-a-num]

goatL black-AnPl AnPl-five

‘five black goats’

x. *ìrⁿè:* L *jɛ́m-bɔ̀ wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀* [n-a-poss]

goatL black-AnPl 1SgPoss.AnPl-AnPl

‘my black goats’

x. *írⁿì-mbɔ̀ wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀ bú-nǔm* [n-poss-num]

goat-AnPl 1SgPoss.AnPl-AnPl AnPl-five

or:

*írⁿì-mbɔ̀ bú-nǔm wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀* [n-poss-num]

goat-AnPl AnPl-five 1SgPoss.AnPl-AnPl

‘my five goats’

x. *[ìrⁿì-mbɔ̀ bù-nùm]* L *ɔ̀-bɔ́* [n-num-dem]

[goat-AnPl AnPl-five]L Prox-AnPl

‘these five goats’

x. *ìrⁿì-mbɔ̀* L *ɔ̀-bɔ́ pú→* [n-dem-’all’]

goat-AnPlL Prox-AnPl all

‘all these goats’

x. gàndà L kú ǹ [n-dem-def]

placeL DiscDef Def

‘that (same) place’

For optional inversion of adjectives and numerals under certain conditions, see §6.4.2.

*‘each’ (distributive quantifier) usually combines with a simple noun (or noun plus adjective): ‘each person’, ‘each big house’. If it occurs later in the NP, it usually means ‘each of ...’, as in ‘each of the three women’*

### Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

*NPs without an overt noun. Which of the following are possible? Anything unusual about the form?*

*adjective (‘a red one’)*

*numeral (‘three’)*

*demonstrative (‘this’, ‘that’)*

*each’*

*‘all’*

*Give examples in sentences.*

*Independent Plural (bé) may be identical to a 3Pl (or 2Pl) pronoun, so the issue may be moot.*

### Bifurcation of relative-clause head NP

*If the head NP is clause-internal, the late-NP elements usually appear after the verb, perhaps well-separated from the internal part of the NP. This might perhaps be modeled syntactically by having a Rel node between the NumP and the determiner node, but this would require fairly strange deletions.*

*Internal portion usually Poss plus NumP, i.e. maximally Poss N-Adj-Num.*

*Postverbal part usually Dem-Plural-’all’/’each’*

*Can numerals sometimes appear after the verb?*

*If postnominal pronominal possessors present, where do they occur?*

*Cross-ref to fuller discussion, with examples, in chapter on Relativization*

### Internal bracketing and tone-dropping in unpossessed NP

Leaving possessors out for the time being, the relevant NP components are noun (N), adjective (Adj), numeral (Num), demonstrative (Dem), and ‘all’, in that (linear) order. Of these, adjectives and demonstratives control tone-dropping on preceding words within the NP. Numerals and ‘all’ do not interact tonosynactically with other words, except that numerals are targeted by a controller (a demonstrative) to their right. Representative outputs are given formulaically in (xx1), with superscripted L on the right edge indicating that the word or word-sequence in question has dropped all tones to {L} under the control of the following word. Words without L are tonally independent, i.e. show their lexical tones. The final word is always tonally free.

(xx1) N

NL Adj

[N Adj]L Adj

N Num

NL Adj Num

NL Dem

[N Adj]L Dem

[N Num]L Dem

[N Adj Num]L Dem

N ‘all’

NL Adj ‘all’

N Num ‘all’

NL Dem ‘all’

A few examples will be given here; others occur in the relevant sections below. In (xx2) we see that adjectives and demonstratives control tone-dropping on preceding words. The noun is the usual target, but an adjective is also tone-dropped before another adjective (xx2b) or before a demonstrative (xx2d). ‘Sheep’ is {H}-toned *pédé* lexically’.

(xx2) a. *pèddè*L *bìnɛ́:*

sheepL big.AnSg

‘a big sheep’

b. *[pèddè bìnɛ̀:]* L *jɛ́mɛ̀:*

[sheep big] black

‘a big black sheep’

c. *pèddè ɔ̀-ḿ*

sheepL Prox-AnSg

‘this sheep’

d. *[pèddè bìnɛ̀:]* L *ɔ̀-ḿ*

[sheep big]L Prox-AnSg

‘this big sheep’

Numerals and ‘all’ do not control tone-dropping on preceding words. A numeral is itself tone-dropped (along with preceding words) when followed by a demonstrative (xx3c). ‘All’ cannot be followed by a demonstrative.

(xx3) a. *pédù-mbò bú-tà:ndú*

sheep-AnPl AnPl-three

‘three sheep’

b. *pédù-mbò pú→*

sheep-AnPl all

‘all (the) sheep’

c. *[pèdù-mbò bù-tà:ndù]* L *ɔ̀-bɔ́*

[sheep-AnPl AnPl-three]L Prox-AnPl

‘these three sheep’

*If Adj-Num Inversion occurs in the language, does the N-Num-Adj order result in [N.L Num.L Adj]?*

*If there is an ‘each’ quantifier, does it control tone-dropping? What about ‘N Dem each’ ?*

## Possessives

Nonpronominal NP possessors are always preposed to the possessed NP, in both alienable and inalienable constructions. There is no genitive or possessive morpheme as such. Instead, the preposed possessor controls tone-dropping on the possessed NP.

A pronominal possessor also precedes the possessed NP in the inalienable construction used with kin terms. Otherwise the pronominal possessor is postposed to the core NP (noun plus adjective). Postposed pronominal possessors are still partially segmentable into a pronominal morpheme per se and a possessive classifier (animate/inanimate, singular/plural), but the combinations are not fully transparent.

*Inalienable possession: kin terms and a few similar relationship terms (‘friend’), which may differ in form from other possessed NPs (alienable).*

*When the possessor is nonpronominal, it precedes the possessed NP in both alienable and inalienable possession. Usually no Possessive morpheme (cf. English ‘of’) between possessor and possessed, but Jamsay alienables do have such a morpheme (possessor mà possessed).*

*When the possessor is pronominal, there may be differences between inalienable and alienable. Sometimes pronominal possessors are postnominal for alienable, but prenominal for inalienable possession. Or all pronominal possessors may be post- or prenominal, but differ in form.*

*are possessors ever controlloed tonosyntactically by other elements? Try the following:*

*a) ‘your wicked uncle’ (i.e. an inalienable with an adjective and with a preposed pronominal possessor that is otherwise H‑toned). In several languages a pronominal inalienable possessor is in the domain controlled by an adjective or other postnominal controller, resulting in [PronPoss.L N.L Adj]*

*b) ‘Seydou’s wicked uncle’; only Jamsay is known to include a nonpronominal inalienable possessor in the domain controlled by a postnominal controller, resulting in [Seydou.L uncle.L bad.*

*c) ‘your/Seydou’s big house’; no cases known where a preposed alienable possessor is in the domain controlled by a postnominal controller*

*d) various postnominal pronominal possessors (including at least one H‑tone element) followed by a demonstrative or relative operator. Here the domain of tone-dropping may include just the appositional or classifying element X like ‘thing’ in e.g. [house [my thing]], or it may be coextensive with the pronominal possessor (especially when ‘my thing’ is a fused, unsegmentable form), or it may extend farther left to the possessed noun (or its expansion). I.e. the options are [N [Pron X.L]], [N PronPoss.L], and [N.L PronPoss.L].*

### Alienable possession

#### Nonpronominal NP as preposed alienable possessor

A preposed possessor NP of an alienable noun (animal, house, etc.) controls **tone-dropping** to {L} on the possessed noun. This is true whether the possessor is a single word, such as a personal name or an undetermined noun, or is itself a multi-word NP (determined, possessed, quantified, etc.). In (xx1), the lexical form of the possessed noun is shown in parentheses.

(xx1) a. *á:mádù* L*pèddè*

A L**sheep**

‘Amadou’s sheep-Sg’ (*péddè*)

b. *[mí* L*bà]* L*ìnjɛ̀:*

[1SgPoss Lfather] L**dog**

‘my father’s dog’ (*ìnjɛ̌:*)

c. *[ɲɛ̀*L *ɔ̀-ḿ]* L*ùlò*

[personL Prox-AnSg] L**house**

‘this person’s house’ (*úló*)

#### Pronominal alienable possessors

A pronominal possessor for an alienable (i.e. anything but a kin term) is **postposed**, following any modifying adjective or numeral but preceding a demonstrative.

(xx1) a. *ùlò*L *bìnɛ́: wɛ̌:*

houseL fat.InanPl 1SgPoss.InanPl

‘my big houses’

b. *úló yí-tà:ndú wɛ̌:*

house InanPl-three 1SgPoss.InanPl

‘my three houses’

c. *nà:-mbɔ́ bú-tà:ndú wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀*

cow-AnPl AnPl-three 1SgPoss.AnPl-AnPl

‘my three cows’

The pronominal originally functioned as possessor of a light noun specified for animacy and number (‘critter’, ‘critters’, ‘thing’, ‘things’) in apposition to the possessed NP. These light nouns have long since evolved into possessive classifiers. The internal segmentation of the pronoun-classifier combination is now rather opaque. Inanimate plural and animate singular are identical for all pronominal possessors. A **K/W distinction** between Inanimate Sg (*k*-initial) and everything else (*w*-initial) subsists for 1Sg and 3Sg possessors (the two categories that have no pronominal prefix). Even this has been leveled in 1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, and 3Pl categories. However, animate plural possessed NPs may be followed by animate plural suffix *‑mbO* on the possessor: *pédù-mbò wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀* ‘my sheep-Pl’. The -mbO is redundant and is sometimes omitted from the possessor; see ín-bɔ̀ á-gá ‘his goats’ in text 2015-06 at 01:25. The 1Sg pronominal morpheme itself has disappeared segmentally, as in counterparts in some other Dogon languages (Ben Tey, Nanga). 3Sg possessor forms have *-ń* suffixed to the classifying element. (*-ń* occurs without the classifier in inalienable possession, §6.xxx below.) The paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2) category InanSg InanPl AnSg AnPl

1Sg *kɔ̌:* *wɛ̌: wɛ̌: wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀*

1Pl *í-gɛ̀* *í-gɛ̀* *í-gɛ̀ í-gɛ̀-mbɔ̀*

2Sg *ú-wɔ̀ ú-wɔ̀ ú-wɔ̀ ú-wɔ̀-mbɔ̀*

2Pl *bí-gɛ̀ bí-gɛ̀ bí-gɛ̀ bí-gɛ̀-mbɔ̀*

3AnSg *kɔ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń-bɔ̀*

3AnPl *bú-gɔ̀* *bú-gɔ̀* *bú-gɔ̀ bú-gɔ̀-mbɔ̀*

InanSg *kɔ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń-mbɔ̀*

InanPl *wɛ̀-ń* *wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń wɛ̀-ń-mbɔ̀*

Logo/3Refl *á-gá á-gá á-gá á-gá-mbɔ̀*

The third person *-ń* is expanded as *-ní* (subject to lengthening and further tonal changes) in the ‘it is’ form with final L-tone (*[úló kɔ̀-nî:]=∅* ‘it is his/her house’) and in conjunctions with final dying-quail intonation (*úló kɔ̀-ní∴* ‘his/her house and …’).

The K/W distinction in the 1Sg and 3Sg goes back to a distinction still made in some Dogon languages between \*kɔ ‘thing’ and \*yɛ ‘things; critter; critters’ (cf. *yí-* Inanimate Pl prefix with numerals), though some other data suggest an alternative reconstruction \*kɛ ‘things’. In forms with pronominal prefixes, it appears that the K and W forms have merged into one or the other of *-wɔ̀*, *-gɛ̀*, and *‑gɔ̀*, with the vowel adopting the back/front value of the prefixal vowel.

#### Tone contour of modifiers following an alienably possessed noun

The {L} overlay controlled by a preposed nonpronominal possessor on a possessed noun (‘Amadou’s house’) extends over a following modifying **adjective** as in ‘Amadou’s big house’ (xx1a). There is no clear indication that tone-dropping extends over a **numeral** following the noun. Most numerals have a H-toned classifying prefix and an already {L}-toned stem. The prefix is not tone-dropped due to a possessor. This does not necessarily mean that the numeral stem is not tone-dropped. In most cases it is difficult to tell whether the possessor tone-drops the numeral, since most numeral stems are already {L}-toned. However, if the optional animate plural *-mbO* is added to the numeral, the lexical tone is clearly audible, as in *tà:ndú-mbɔ̀* ‘three’ in (xx1b-c).

(xx1) a. *ámàdù* L*[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]*

A L[house big-InanSg]

‘Amadou’s big house’ (*úló*, *dɛ́-ŋgɛ́*)

b. *ámàdù* L*ùlè: ɲě-tà:ndú-mbɔ̀*

*ɲě-tà:ndù*

A Lchildren Human-six(-AnPl)

‘Amadou’s six children’ (*ùlé:*)

c. *ámàdù* L*[ùlè: mɔ̀dù-mbɔ̀] ɲě-tà:ndú-mbɔ̀*

*ɲě-tà:ndù*

A L[children nasty-AnPl] Human-three(-AnPl)

‘Amadou’s three nasty children’ (*mɔ̀dú-mbɔ̀*)

In the combination Poss-N-Dem, only the noun is tone-dropped. The tone-dropping could be attributed to either the possessor or the demonstrative (or both), so the formula is Poss-LNL-Dem.

(xx2) *ámàdù* L*ùlò* L *mà-ýⁿ*

A LhouseL Dist-InanPl

‘those houses of Amadou’ (deictic)

Postposed pronominal possessors (typical of alienable possession) do not control tone overlays, but are included in the domain targeted by a following demonstrative.

(xx3) *[ìrⁿì-mbɔ̀ wɛ̀:-mbɔ̀]* L *mà-bɔ́*

[goat-AnPl 1SgPoss-AnPl]L Dist-AnPl

‘those goats of mine’ (deictic) (*wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀*)

### Inalienable possession

#### Nonpronominal NP as preposed alienable possessor

Nonpronominal NP possessors are preposed, for inalienable as well as alienable nouns: *á:mádú bà* ‘Amadou’s father’, parallel to *á:mádú pèddè* ‘Amadou’s sheep’. The possessed noun is **tone-dropped** in both cases.

However, if the nonpronominal possessor of a kin term is animate (i.e. human) singular, it is often **resumed** by a suffixed 3Sg possessor form of the kin term: *á:mádú bǎ-n* ‘Amadou’s father’, literally “Amadou father-his.” Therefore the pure, unsuffixed, {L}-toned possessed noun is most reliably observed when the possessor is plural, as in *ùlé: bà* ‘the father of the children’, and its plural *ùlé: bà-mbɔ̀* ‘the fathers of the children’.

#### Pronominal inalienable possessors (mostly preposed)

Except for 3Sg, a pronominal possessor is **preposed** to inalienably possessed nouns, and takes the normal nonsuffixal form (independent, preverbal subject). 3Sg possessor, however, is expressed as a simple suffix *-ń* added directly to a {L}-toned noun.

Inalienable possessors are always animate and generally human. There are no classifying elements in the pronominal possessor agreeing with the possessed noun (animate/inanimate, singular/plural). A sample paradigm is that of ‘father’ in (xx1).

(xx1) Preposed pronominal possessors with inalienable nouns

category form example with ‘father’

1Sg *mí mí* L*bà*

1Pl *í í* L*bà*

2Sg *ú ú* L*bà*

2Pl *bí bí* L*bà*

3Sg *-ń* ~ *-ní* *bà-ń* ~ *bà-ní*

3Pl *bú bú* L*bà*

Logo/3Refl *á á bà*

3Sg *-ń* ~ *-ní* precedes Animate Pl *-mbO*, the only suffix that it co-occurs with: *bà-ń-bɔ̀* ‘his/her fathers’.

All nonpronominal possessors control the usual {L} overlay on the possessum. Preposed pronominal possessors control {H}, {HL}, or (apparent) {L} overlay on the possessum. The choice correlates with prosodic weight of the possessum. Monomoraic kin terms become LCv̀. Most bisyllabics become {H}-toned. The only trisyllabic (‘namesake’), and one of two vngv stems (with nonhomorganic ng) (‘husband’), have {HL} with the H-tone limited to the initial syllable. In (xx2), X stands for any nonpronominal NP possessor (‘Amadou’, ‘my father’, etc.).

(xx2) noun gloss X’s\_\_ my\_\_ your-Sg\_\_

a. *Cv* possessed noun

*bá* ‘father’ *X* L*bà mí* L*bà ú* L*bà*

*sá* ‘(man’s) sister’ *X* L*sà mí* L*sà ú* L*sà*

b. *CvCv* possessed noun

*nàrⁿá* ‘mother’ *X nàrⁿà mí* H*nárⁿá ú* H*nárⁿá*

*lèdú* ‘uncle (MoBr)’ *X lèdù mí* H*lédù ú* H*lédú*

c. heavy possessed noun (trimoraic)

*zɛ̀ŋgɛ́* ‘great-grandparent’ *X zɛ̀ŋgɛ̀ mí* H*zɛ́ŋgɛ́ ú* H*zɛ́ŋgɛ́*

*tòjjé* ‘grandchild’ *X tòjjè mí* HL*tójjè ú* HL*tójjè*

(plural tògù-mbó)

*tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀* ‘namesake’ *X tɔ̀gɔ̀rɔ̀ mí* HL*tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀ ú* HL*tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀*

d. composite possessed noun

*bà*L *dɛ́* ‘father’s elder brother’ *X* L*[bà dɛ̀] mí* HL*[bá dɛ̀] ú* HL*[bá dɛ̀]*

The apparent L-tone on monomoraic kin terms may really be a downstepped H-tone. This is suggested by singular/plural alternations like *mí* L*sà* ‘my sister’ and *mí sá-mbò* ‘my sisters’. If this analysis is adopted, we should transcribe the singular as *mí* ꜜH*sá*.

#### Kin terms and similar relationship terms

Kin terms and certain other relationship terms treated as inalienable are listed in (xx1). The 1Sg form is paralleled by the other categories with preposed possessors, while the suffixed 3Sg presents some irregularities.

(xx1) gloss noun after NP 1Sg 3Sg

a. NP possessor not resumed by 3Sg suffix

‘father’ *bá X* L*bà mí* L*bà bà-ń*

‘(man’s) sister’ *sá X* L*sà mí* L*sà sà-ń*

‘mother’ *nàrⁿá X* L*nàrⁿà mí* H*nárⁿá nà-ń*

‘uncle’ (MoBr) *lèdú* *X* L*lèdù mí* H*lédú lèdì-ń*

‘grandmother’ *tɛ̀rɛ́ X* L*tɛ̀rɛ̀ mí* H*tɛ́rɛ́ tɛ̀rɛ̀-ń*

‘(woman’s) brother’ *sàrⁿá X* L*sàrⁿà mí* H*sárⁿá sàrⁿà-ń*

‘same-sex elder sib’ *dèré X* L*dèrè mí* H*déré dèrè-ń*

‘same-sex younger sib’ *ǹdó X* L*ǹdò mí* H*ńdó ǹdò-ń*

‘husband’ *ɔ̀ngɔ́ X* L*ɔ̀ngɔ̀ mí* HL*ɔ́ngɔ̀ ɔ̀ngɔ̀-ń*

b. NP possessor resumed by 3Sg *-ń*

‘neighbor’ *zú X* L*zù-ń mí* L*zù zù-ń*

‘cross-cousin’ *té: X* L*tè:-ń mí* H*té: tè:-ń*

‘sib-in-law’ *gá: X* L*gà:-ń mí* H*gá: gà:-ń*

‘paternal grandfather’ *pàpá X* L*pàpà-ń mí* H*pápá pàpà-ń*

‘great grandfather’ *zɛ̀ŋgɛ́ X* L*zɛ̀ŋgɛ̀-ń mí* H*zɛ́ŋgɛ́ zɛ̀ŋgɛ̀-ń*

‘grandchild’ *tòjjé X* L*tòjjè-ń mí* H*tójjé tòjjè-ń*

‘parent-in-law’ *òmlé: X* L*òmlè:-ń mí* H*ómlé: òmlè:-ń*

‘namesake’ *tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀ X* L*tɔ̀gɔ̀rɔ̀-ń mí* HL*tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀ tɔ̀gɔ̀rɔ̀-ń*

‘friend’ *àngé X* L*àngè-ń mí* H*ángé àngè-ń*

‘great great grandfather’ *kùmbó X* L*kùmbò-ń mí* H*kúmbó kùmbò-ń*

‘nephew/nice’ (SiCh) sà-íyɛ́ X sà-ń yɛ̀ mí sá-ìyɛ̀ sà-ń yɛ̀

‘co-wife’ yà-lòwé X yà-lòwè-ń

mí yá-lòwè yà-lòwè-ń

‘Mo’s y. sister’ nà sɛ̌: X nà sɛ̀: mí nárⁿá sɛ̀gɛ̀

Animate plural *-mbo* ~ *-mbɔ* can be added. This suffix follows the 3Sg suffix.

(xx2) a. *mí lédú-mbò*

1SgPoss uncle-AnPl

‘my (maternal) uncles’

b. *lèdǐ-n-bò*

uncle-3SgPoss-AnPl

‘his/her uncles’

Treated as alienable, even in kinship contexts, are *ɛ̀dɛ́* ‘child’ and *yǎ* ‘woman, wife’,

*Present a full list of kin terms plus any other relationship terms like ‘friend’ that constitute a special set of “inalienable” nouns. Give both unpossessed and possessed forms, which should differ in tones. A few may also differ segmentally (final vowel shifts, or a human Sg or Pl suffix occurs only in one of the forms).*

*List “kinship” terms that are not grammatically inalienable: perhaps ‘child’, ‘wife’ (= ‘woman’), ‘agemate’, ‘friend’, ‘co-wife’, ‘stepmother (= mother’s co-wife)’.*

#### Tone contour of modifiers following an inalienably possessed noun

With an inalienably possessed noun, a following modifying adjective is not included in the target domain of a possessor-controlled overlay. Instead, the adjective controls tone-dropping on the noun, and if the possessor is a preposed pronoun, otherwise H-toned, the possessor is included in the target domain of the adjective. Contrast (xx1a) with unmodified *mí* HL*lédù* ‘my maternal uncle’. A nonpronominal possessor like ‘Amadou’ in (xx1a) is not tone-dropped, and in such combinations the noun could be analysed as being tone-dropped by either or both the possessor and the adjective.

(xx1) a. *[mì lèdù]* L *mɔ̀dɛ́: ǹ*

[1SgPoss uncle]L nasty Def

‘my nasty uncle’

b. *ámàdù* L*lèdù* L *mɔ̀dɛ́: ǹ*

A LuncleL nasty Def

‘Amadou’s nasty uncle’

Given that inalienable possessors have very limited control powers, confined to the noun at best, they certainly do not control tones on other postnominal modifiers. The numeral is (xx2a) is therefore tonally unaffected by the possessor. In (xx2b), we see that the special tone overlay controlled by pronominal possessors takes precedence over tone-dropping induced by the demonstrative. In (xx2c), the tonosyntax is subtle but it appears that the demonstrative tone-drops the immediately preceding numeral, which is outside of the domain targeted by the possessor

.

(xx2) a. *mí lédù-mbò ɲě-tà:ndù*

*ámàdù lèdù-mbò*  "

1SgPoss / A uncle-AnPl Human-three

‘my/Amadou’s three uncles’

b. *mí* HL*lédù mà-ḿ*

1SgPoss HLuncle Dist-AnPl

‘that uncle of mine’ (deictic)

c. *ámàdù* L*lèdù-mbò* L *ɲě-kùlè* L *mà-bɔ́*

A Luncle-AnPlL Human-sixL Dist-AnPl

‘those six uncles of Amadou’s’ (deictic)

The unusual suffixed 3Sg inalienable possessor *-ń* ~ *-ní* is always added to the noun directly, and it may be followed by modifiers (often with final definite *ǹ*). In (xx3a), the adjective controls tone-dropping on the possessed noun, elsewhere *lèdù-ń*. There is no tonal interaction between the possessed noun and the numeral in (xx3c).

(xx3) a. *lèdù-n* L *mɔ̀dɛ́: ǹ*

uncle-3SgPossL nasty Def

‘his/her nasty uncle’ (*lèdù-ń*)

b. *lèdù-n* L *mà-ḿ*

uncle-3SgPossL Dist-AnSg

‘that uncle of his/hers’ (*lèdù-ń*)

c. *lèdú-mbò-ń ɲě-kúlé*

uncle-AnPl-3SgPoss Human-six

‘his/her six uncles’

### Recursive possession

*usually straightforward*

*‘Seydou’s dog’s head’ e.g. [[S dog.(H)L] head.(H)L]*

*‘my dog’s head’ e.g. [[1SgPoss dog.(H)L] head.(H)L]*

*or [dog 1SgPoss] head.(H)L]*

*‘Seydou’s father’s uncle’ e.g. [S father.(H)L] uncle.(H)L]*

*‘my father’s uncle’ e.g. [1SgPoss father.(H)L] uncle.(H)L]*

*or [fath*

### Absent possessum

If the possessum is not expressed, a possessive classifier is sufficient. With pronominal possessors, the regular postnominal alienable possessor forms are used. Thus *péddè wɛ̌:* ‘my sheep-Sg’, with 1Sg possessor in animate singular form, can be simplified to *wɛ̌:* ‘mine’. Forms of this type can also be used for (unspoken) kin categories, e.g. ‘mine’ meaning ‘my sister’.

When the possessum is overt, a nonpronominal possessor is simply preposed, with no possessive morpheme. When the possessum is omitted, a classifier takes its place.

(xx1) singular plural

animate *X wɛ̀ wɛ̀-mbɔ̀*

inanimate *X kɔ̀ X wɛ̀*

An example is (xx2). The preceding discourse had been about teeth.

(xx2) *[[tǎ: wɛ̀] jɛ̀rí] jìn-∅*

[[hyena Poss.InanPl] look.at.Imprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He said, “look at hyena’s (=teeth)!’ (2015-02 01:12)

## Core NP (noun plus adjective)

### Noun plus regular adjective

The order is noun-adjective. The adjective agrees with the noun in animacy and number, though for some nouns (like *úló* ‘house’) and some adjectives (like *kàndá* ‘new’) the distinction between Inanimate Sg and Inanimate Pl is covert. The noun is tone-dropped before the adjective. Besides *úló*, the nouns used here are *úndú-gó* (plural *úndé:*) ‘calabash’ and *írⁿè:* (plural *írⁿì-mbɔ̀* ~ *ín-bɔ̀*) ‘goat’.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *dɛ́-ŋgɛ́* ‘big house’

*ùlò* L *dɛ́* ‘big houses’

b. *ùndù-gò*L *sɛ́-ŋgɛ́* ‘good calabash’

*ùndè:* L *sɛ́* ‘good calabashes’

c. *ìrⁿè:* L *kàndá* ‘new goat’

*ìn-bɔ̀* L *kàndà-mbɔ́* ‘new goats’

d. *ùlò* L *kàndá* ‘new house’

" " ‘new houses’

The end of the noun is optionally reduced before the adjective. This reduction can take the form of **omitting an Inanimate Sg or Animate Pl** suffix (*ìn* L *kàndà-mbɔ́*), or reducing e.g. final long *e:* to a short high vowel as though before a suffix (*ùndù* L *sɛ́*).

### Adjective *gàrá:* ‘certain (ones)’

*gàrá:* is used, often in two parallel phrases, to divide a group into subsets (or individuals), or to divide a mass into portions. The most common form is Animate Pl *gàrà-mbɔ́* (xx1a). Inanimate Pl gàrá: can be used with masses (‘water’, ‘sugar’) that are treated grammatically as plurals in TU (xx1b). Singular (animate or inanimate) *gàrá:* occurs in *ɲè*L *gàrá:* ‘a certain person’ and dàmbàL gàrá: ‘a certain village’ (note the tone-dropped noun). *gàrá:* can also be used as an adverb ‘sometimes’ (by extension ‘maybe’), presumably reduced from a noun-adjective phrase with a noun like ‘time’ (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *gàrà-mbɔ́ yé-yà-dà,*

**certain**-AnPl go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,

*gàrà-mbɔ́ yé b-ɛ̀:*

**certain**-AnPl Exist be-3PlSbj

‘Some (people) have left, some (others) are (still) around.’

b. *gàrá: yàm-â:-y, gàrá: síyɛ́-ẁ bù-∅*

**some** be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj, **some** good-xxx be-3SgSbj

‘Some (of it) is spoiled, some (the rest of it) is good.

c. *gàrá: ŋ̀gɔ́ bírà-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ, gàrá: má: bírà-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

**some** here work-Ipfv-1PlSbj, **some** there work-Ipfv-1PlSbj

‘Sometimes we work here, sometimes (=at other times) we work over there.’

### Expansions of adjective

#### Adjective sequences

In a sequence of noun plus two or more adjectives, the final word keeps its lexical tones and the noun and nonfinal adjectives are tone-dropped.

(xx1) a. *[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]* L *píl-gɔ̀*

[house big-InanSg]L white-InanSg

‘(a) big white house’ (*úló*, *dɛ́-ŋgɛ́*)

b. *[nà:(-mbɔ̀) bìn-bɔ̀]* L *jɛ́m-bɔ̀*

[cow(-AnPl) fat-AnPl]L black-AnPl

‘big (=fat) black cows’ (*nǎ:*, *nà:-mbɔ́*, *bǐn-bɔ̀*)

Unless a noun-adjective combination is more or less lexicalized, the order of adjectives is flexible. One could therefore switch ‘big’ and ‘white’ in (xx1a), and ‘fat’ and ‘black’ in (xx1b). As in (xx1a-b), only the final adjective would show its lexical tones.

#### Adjectival intensifiers

*Brief reference here; full coverage in Chapter 8 under expressive adverbials.*

#### ‘Good to eat’

A verbal noun may be added to an adjectival predicate (xx1).

(xx1) *[kà:* L *ɔ̀-ḿ] kúbú-lé ɛ̂l=∅*

[grasshopperL Prox-AnSg] eat.meat-VblN sweet=it.is

‘This grasshopper (species) is good to eat.’

## N(-Adj) plus numeral

### Ordinary numerals

A core NP (noun, or noun plus one or more adjectives) may combine with a following numeral. Numerals from ‘2’ to ‘10’ have a special set of prefixes to agree with the animacy (human, animate, inanimate) of the core NP (§4.7.1.2). The Human prefix is identical to *ɲě* ‘person’, and is optional after a plural-marked noun (xx1a). The Animate and Inanimate prefixes are used more systematically (xx1b-c). There is no tonal interaction between the numeral and the preceding core NP. Plural noun *nù-mbɔ́* ‘people’ is omitted in favor of the Human prefix (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *yà-mbɔ́ (ɲě-)nǔm*

woman-AnPl (Hum-)five

‘five women’

b. *cǐn yí-nǔm*

stone InanPl-five

‘five stones’

c. *nà:(-mbɔ̀) bǐn-bɔ̀ bú-nǔm*

cow(-AnPl) fat-AnPl AnPl-five

‘five fat cows’

d. *ɲě-nǔm*

Hum-five

‘five people’

When a NumP is itself in a tone-dropping position (as when followed by a demonstrative), tone-dropping applies simultaneously to the numeral and to the core NP.

*with following demonstrative (and Definite morpheme?), or as head of relative, the core NP and the numeral are (simultaneously, and independently) tone-dropped.*

*when NP is head of relative clause, numeral remains with head NP inside the clause rather than being shifted to post-participial position.*

*some languages allow numerals to have a “relay” function, allowing a post-NumP pronominal possessor to control {L} tones on the other words in the NumP. In this case, either the numeral itself appears with {LH} contour, analysable as a continuation of the broader {L} contour plus an extra final H‑tone, or it appears with its lexical tones.*

### Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In the presence of a determiner, possessor, or relative operator (i.e. as head of a relaive clause), an adjective and a numeral are optionally inverted. In the absence of such a reference-restricting element, (xx1a) has fixed N-Adj-Num order. When a demonstrative is added, either N-Adj-Num-Dem (xx1b) or N-Num-Adj-Dem (xx1c) is possible.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *dɛ́ yí-nǔm*

houseL big.InanPl InanPl-five

‘five big houses’

b. *[ùlò dɛ̀ yì-nùm]* L *yí*

[house big.InanPl InanPl-five]L DemDef.InanPl

‘those five big houses’

c. *[ùlò yì-nùm dɛ̀]* L *yí*

[house InanPl-five big.InanPl]L DemDef.InanPl

[= (b)]

The variant ordering of adjective and numeral in (xx1b-c) suggests that in the presence of a reference restrictor, a numeral is treated syntactically (at least for linearization purposes) as an adjective. It was noted above that in N-Adj-Adj combinations, there is no fixed order of the two adjectives (exept when a N-Adj phrase is lexicalized). When a second adjective is added to (xx1b-c), all six possible orders of the adjectives and the numeral are possible (xx2). The noun and all three following modifiers are tone-dropped.

(xx2) a. *[ùlò bìnɛ̀: yì-nùm pìlɛ̀:]* L *yí*

[house fat.InanPl InanPl-five white.InanPl]L DemDef.InanPl

‘those five big white houses’

b. *ùlò bìnɛ̀: pìlɛ̀: yì-nùm yí*

c. *ùlò pìlɛ̀: yì-nùm bìnɛ̀: yí*

d. *ùlò pìlɛ̀ bìnɛ̀: yì-nùm yí*

e. *ùlò yì-nùm pìlɛ̀: bìnɛ̀: yí*

f. *ùlò yì-nùm bìnɛ̀: pìlɛ̀: yí*

## NP with determiner

### Prenominal *ko* ‘the (afore-mentioned)’

*(Add tone, variably H or L)*

*ko (ku) before a noun is discourse-definite (‘that [same] ...’)*

*Is there a tonal distinction (on the following noun) between true Nonhuman or Inanimate possessor ko ‘its’ and this demonstrative-like ko ?*

*Can this (originally possessor) element now co-occur with an authentic possessor (NP or pronoun)? If so and if both are prenominal, in which order?*

*There is potentially a bracketing issue, since a NP-initial ko could have scope over either the immediately following possessor, or over the entire possessed NP. It may be possible to have double ko marking*

*definite ko plus possessor:*

*[ko [Seydou X.(H)L] ‘that X of Seydou’s*

*[ko [ko X.(H)L]] ‘that X of it(s)’ (inner ko is possessor)*

*recursive possession with two definite ko’s*

*[ko [[ko X(H)L] Y.(H)L]] ‘that (same) Y of that (same) X’*

### Postnominal demonstratives

A postnominal demonstrative pronoun (for the forms, see §4.4.1.2) follows a core NP, a NumP, or a possessed NP. In (xx1), it follows a core NP, i.e. a noun (xx1a) or a N-Adj combination (xx1b). The demonstrative **controls tone-dropping** on at least the final word of the core NP. In (xx1b) we cannot determine whether the adjective or the demonstrative controls tone-dropping on the noun. The forms without the demonstrative are given in parentheses.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *yí*

houseL DemDef.InanPl

‘those houses’ (*úló*)

b. *[ùlò dɛ̀]* L *yí*

[house big.InanPl]L DemDef.InanPl

‘those big houses’ (*ùlò* L *dɛ́*)

In (xx2), the demonstrative follows a NumP. Both the core NP (or at least its final word) and the numeral are tone-dropped under the control of the demonstrative.

(xx2) a. *[ùlò yì-nùm]* L *yí*

[house InanPl-five]L DemDef.InanPl

‘those five houses’ (*úló yí-nǔm*)

b. *[ùlò bìnɛ̀: yì-nùm]* L *yí*

[house fat.InanPl InanPl-five]L DemDef.InanPl

‘those five big houses’ (*ùlò bìnɛ́: yí-nǔm*)

See §6.4.2 above for optional reordering of the adjective and numeral in examples like (xx2b).

In (xx3), the demonstrative follows a possessed NP. In this combination, the demonstrative does not control tones on preceding words. Instead, **the demonstrative is itself tone-dropped**, e.g. *kù* for *kú*. This happens whether the possessor is pre- or postposed to the core NP.

(xx3) a. *úló kɔ̌:* L*kù*

house 1SgPoss.InanSg LDemDef.InanSg

‘that house of mine’

b. *[mí* H*bá]* L*ùlò* L*kù*

[1SgPoss Hfather] Lhouse LDemDef.InanSg

‘that house of my father’s’

c. *ùlò*L *bìnɛ́: wɛ̌:* L*yì*

houseL fat.InanPl 1SgPoss.InanPl LDemDef.InanPl

‘those big houses of mine’

d. *nà:-mbɔ́ bú-tà:ndú wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀* L*bù:*

cow-AnPl AnPl-three 1SgPoss.AnPl-AnPl LDemDef.AnPl

‘those three cows of mine’

For demonstratives following the verbal participle in a relative clause, see §14.xxx.

*When a NP functioing as head of a relative clause contains a demonstrative (‘this dog that you see’), after bifurcation the demonstrative is separated from the head NP within the clause, and appears (along with other late-NP elements) after the verbal participle. See chapter 14 on relativization.*

### Postnominal definite morpheme (*ǹ*)

Definite *ǹ* may follow a simple noun (xx1a), a N-Adj core NP (xx1b), a NumP (xx1c), a possessed NP (xx1d-e), or a demonstrative (xx1f). *ǹ* has a single invariant form, not agreeing with the NP in animacy or number. It has no effect on the tones of preceding words.

(xx1) a. *úló ǹ*

house Def

‘the house’, ‘the houses’

b. *ùlò*L *bǐn-gɔ̀ ǹ*

houseL fat-InanSg Def

‘the big house’

c. *úló yí-tà:ndú ǹ*

house InanPl-three Def

‘the three houses’

d. *mí* H*bá ǹ*

1SgPoss Hfather Def

‘my father (definite)’

e. *nǎ: wɛ̌: ǹ*

cow 1SgPoss.AnSg Def

‘my cow (definite)’

f. *nà: ńné ǹ*

cow DemDef.AnSg Def

‘that cow (definite)’

For *ǹ* after a participle in a relative clause, see §14.xxx.

*Head NPs of relative clauses are bifurcated. Definite morphemes, like demonstratives and other late-NP elements, occur after the verb(-participle), perhaps some distance from the clause-internal part of the head NP; see §14.6.*

## Universal and distributive quantifiers

### ‘All’ (*pú→*, *yàŋgù pú→*)

The common universal quantifier (‘all’) is *pú→*, a regional form (also in Fulfulde and many Dogon languages). The preceding word is normally tone-dropped, but it may be that this is really an intonational effect, lowering the pitch of the preceding word in order to emphasize *pú→*. In (xx1a), for example, ‘millet’ is separated from *pú→* by a modifier and is not tone-dropped. In (xx1b), ‘birds’ is tone-dropped (or pitch-lowered) directly before *pú→*.

(xx1) a. *[yɔ́ á-gá pú→] dɔ̀rⁿɔ́-tì-∅*

[millet 3Refl-Poss all] sell-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He has sold all his millet.’

b. *[àdù-mbò* L *pú→] kíll-í:-yà-dà*

[bird-AnPlL all] fly-MP-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘All the birds flew away.’ (*àdù-mbó*)

*pú→* can optionally be treated morphologically like a nonsingular numeral, with a numeral classifying prefix (xx2a-b). Following H-toned *yí‑* or *bú‑*, *pú→* is pronounced with somewhat lowered pitch, similar to downstep on tonal systems.

(xx2) a. *ùlò* L *yí-pú→*

houseL Inan-all

‘all the houses that you-Sg see’ (*úló*)

b. *ùlè:* L *bú-pú→*

childL An-all

‘all the children that you-Sg see’ (*úlé:*)

With simple pronouns, we get combinations like *bú pú→* ‘all of them’, and *í pú→* ‘all of us’. Because of the exaggerated pitch and prolongation of *pú→*, the pronoun has lower pitch, but it does not drop to L-tone. For emphasis, the pronominal combinations can be elaborated by adding *yàŋgù*, as in *bú yàŋgù pú→* ‘all of them’.

### ‘Each’ (*kámá*)

Distributive ‘each’ and universal ‘all, every’ are not consistently distinguished. In (xx1a), the first version has just the singular noun ‘child’ plus *pú→* ‘all, every’. In this combination, the usual pitch-lowering of the preceding word does not apply, possibly because ‘each child’ is less emphatic than ‘all the children’. The alternative, explicitly distributive version has {L}-toned ‘child’ followed by *kámá* ‘each’ plus *pú→*.

(xx1) a. *[ɛ̀dɛ́ pú→] sùŋgó lêy-lêy* L*ǹd-à:*

*[ɛ̀dɛ̀* L *kámá*  " *]*  " " "

[child(L) each all] hundred two-two Lgive.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They gave 200 (riyals, i.e. 1000 CFA) to each child.’

ɲì kámá (pú→) ‘each person’

*Some Dogon languages have no specifically distributive*

*there is not always a sharp semantic distinction between ‘each’ (distributive) and ‘all’ (universal)*

*the ‘each’ quantifier is most often directly combined with a core NP (noun plus any adjectives).*

*tone-dropping effect on final word in core NP?*

*partitive construction ‘each of us’, ‘each of those three sheep’*

### Interaction of quantifiers with negation

Negation normally scopes over a university quantifier in nonsubject function (xx1a). However, this is flipped when the universal quantifier is part of the subject (xx1b). My assistant gave unrelated paraphrases for ‘Not all of the children came’, e.g. ‘Some children came, some didn’t.’ For nonsubjects, ‘not any’ can be expressed as ‘one too’ (= ‘even one’) in connection with a negative predicate (xx1c).

(xx1) a. [pédú-mbɔ̀ pú→] sɛ́malè

[sheep-AnPl all] slaughter-Proh

‘Don’t slaughter all the sheep!’

b. [úlé: pú→] wà:-ndá

[children all] come-PfvNeg.3PlSbj

‘None of the children came.’

b. [pèddèL túrɛ̀: là] sɛ́má-lì

[sheepL one too] slaughter-Proh

‘Don’t slaughter even one (=any) sheep!’

The inanimate noun nàndùr-gɔ́ (plural nàndùrɛ́:) can function as a positive ‘really, completely, absolutely’ or as a negative ‘(not) at all’ adverb. In (xx1a) it looks like a direct object (theme) but its adverbial nature is clearer in (xx1b).

(xx2) a. nàndùr-gɔ́ mí ǹdǎ-l-∅

at all-InanSg 1Sg give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She didn’t give me anything.’

b. nàndùr-gɔ́ mí yí=bì-∅

really-InanSg 1Sg see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He/She really saw me.’

For interjection-like pɛ́y as an ‘at all’ negative emphatic, see §19.2.2.

## Accusative (*gì*)

Accusative *gì* can be added to NPs in object function. It is optional, even with pronouns, and is absent in most elicited utterances. It is NP-final, like a postposition, and so it follows any determiners or quantifiers. Objects of imperative verbs are treated like those of indicative verbs.

(xx1) a. *[ìnjɛ̀-mbɔ́ pú→ (gì)] yí=bù-m*

[dog-AnPl all (Acc)] see=Past-1SgSbj

‘I saw the dogs.’

b. *[mí (gì)] yí=bì-∅*

[1Sg (Acc)] see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He/She saw me.’

c. *[ìnjɛ̌: ǹ (gì)] búndó*

[dog Def (Acc)] hit.Imprt

‘Hit-2Sg the dog!’

d. *[ìnjɛ̌:-mbɔ́ pú→ (gì)] búndó*

[dog-AnPl all (Acc)] hit.Imprt

‘Hit-2Sg all the dogs!’

# Coordination

## NP coordination

### NP conjunction (‘X and Y’)

NP conjunction (not applicable to clauses) is expressed prosodically, by lengthening the word-final vowel (or sonorant) of each conjunct and dropping the pitch. This is indicated in transcriptions by adding *∴* (“dying quail” intonation) to the otherwise normally transcribed form. The gloss in interlinears is “.&”. The duration and pitch fall are most pronounced on the left conjunct, which is clearly distinct from the simple vowel length and final L-tone of the ‘it is’ clitic. Conjunctions may be extended by adding a third conjunct (xx1e).

(xx1) a. *ú∴ mí∴*

2Sg.& 1Sg.&

‘you-Sg and me’

(phonetic [úūù míì])

b. *yà-mbɔ́∴ árⁿá-mbɔ̀∴*

woman-AnPl.& man-AnPl.&

‘women and men’

(phonetic [jàmbɔ́ɔ̀árⁿàmbɔ̀ɔ̀])

c. *yǎ∴ árⁿà∴*

woman.& man.&

‘a woman and a man’

(phonetic [jàáàárⁿàà])

d. *yɔ̌∴ ɛ́yⁿ∴*

today.& tomorrow.&

‘today and tomorrow’ (*yɔ̌:*, *ɛ́yⁿ*)

(phonetic [jɔ̀ɔ́ɔ̀ɛ́j̄ⁿj̀ⁿ])

e. *yà-mbɔ́∴ árⁿá-mbɔ̀∴ ùlé∴*

woman-AnPl.& man-AnPl.& children.&

‘women and men and children’

(phonetic [jàmbɔ́ɔ̀árⁿàmbɔ̀ɔ̀ùléè])

#### Ordering of coordinands

The order of conjuncts is not fixed. For ‘you and I’ my assistant prefers the order 1Sg, 2Sg (*mí∴ ú∴*) but accepts the other order

#### ‘X and Y’ with a modifier or postposition

A conjoined NP is occasionally combined with a preceding or following possessor that is not repeated on each conjunct, though the repeat phrasing is usually preferred when it is logically possible.

When the unrepeated possessor precedes, my assistant did not apply the usual tone-dropping to the possessed nouns (xx1b). In other words, the conjoined NP constitutes a tonosyntactic island (shown in ⊂…⊃) that cannot be modified tonally. The issue is moot regarding postposed possessors, which do not affect the tones of possessed nouns (xx1a).

(xx1) a. *[pédù-mbò∴ írⁿù-mbɔ̀∴ wɛ̌:-mbɔ̀] yǎy-yà-dà*

[sheep-AnPl.& goat-AnPl.& 1SgPoss-AnPl] go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘My sheep and goats have gone.’

b. *[ámádú ⊂pédù-mbò∴ írⁿù-mbɔ̀∴⊃] yǎy-yà-dà*

[Amadou ⊂sheep-AnPl.& goat-AnPl.&⊃] go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘Amadou’s sheep and goats have gone.’

Similarly, when a conjoined NP functions as relative-clause head, it is not subject to tone-dropping. See §14.2.3 for this combination.

Other types of modifier (demonstrative, modifying adjective, ‘all’) were repeated by my assistant in conjunctions (‘the black sheep and the black goats’ rather than ‘the black [sheep and goats]’).

### “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s

There are no conjunctions of verbs, VPs, or clauses comparable to the NP conjunction type described above. Instead, various chaining and subordinating constructions occur (§15.1-2).

## Disjunction

### ‘Or’ (*mà*) with NPs

The disjunctive particle *mà* can follow both coordinands, so ‘X or Y’ is expressed as *[X mà] [Y mà]*. In elicited examples, mà is intonationally prolonged (*mà→*) with pronouns but not with other NPs.

The examples in (xx1) are constructed in such a way that the disjunction is clearly among NPs rather than clauses.

(xx1) a. *[lè:gé pú→] [pédé mà] [íné: mà] sɛ̀mà-m-nɔ̀-m*

[day all] [sheep or] [goat or] slaughter-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Every day I slaughter (either) a sheep or a goat.’

b. *[mí mà→] [ú mà→] ɛ́yⁿ mǎ: ò-m-dɔ̀-∅*

[1Sg or] [2Sg or] tomorrow there go-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘You-Sg or I will (i.e. should) go there tomorrow.’

c. *[pédé-mbò bú-tà:ndù mà] [bú-kɛ̀dɛ̀ mà] ɛ̀bà-m-nɔ̀-m̀*

*[*sheep-AnPl An-three or] [An-four or] buy-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will buy three or four sheep.’

### Clause-level disjunction

*mà* can also be used in clause-level disjunctions. However, in this case there is no clear difference between disjunction and polar interrogation. In elicited examples, *mà* is grouped prosodically with the preceding clause and is intonationally prolonged. It is usually not repeated after the second clause.

(xx1) *[ɛ́yⁿ wá:-m̀-nɔ̀-wⁿ mà→] [úló bè-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜛ]*

[tomorrow come-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj or] [house stay-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘Will you come tomorrow, or will you stay at home?’

# Postpositions and adverbials

The morphologically simple postpositions are instrumental-comitative *ni:* and locative *nè* ~ *rⁿè* and *bàrì*. One could add accusative *gì* (§6.7) which patterns as a postposition.

Some spatial relationships are expressed by intransitive or transitive verbs of position, especially in stative form, rather than by postpositions. Examples are *tárà* ‘be on (wall or similar vertical plane)’, *dúŋà* ‘be (placed) on’, *náŋgà* ‘be (put) up on’, and *túnà* ‘be (put) inside/underneath’. These can be combined with simple locative PPs, as in *[nìŋgé rⁿè] náŋgà* ‘be (put) on a mat’.

## Dative and instrumental

### Dative absent

There is no dedicated dative postposition. Ditransitive ‘give’ and ‘show’ treat the recipient as a direct object, with optional accusative *gì* (xx1ab).

(xx1) a. *[màŋgòró túr-gɔ̀] [séydù gì] ńdá*

[mango one-InanSg] [S Acc] give.Imprt

‘Give-2Sg Seydou one mango!’

b. *[úló kɔ̌:] [mí bà (gì)] tàgà-m*

[house 1SgPoss.InanSg] [1SgPoss father Acc] show.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I showed my house to my father.’

Wiith verbs of speaking, the indirect object (i.e. addressee or conversational partner) is expressed with *bènè* ‘chez’ (§8.2.4).

### Instrumental or comitative (*ni:*)

This postposition is used prototypically with tools and similar instruments. The postposition acquires its tone by spreading from the final tone of the complement NP. Instrumental function is illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[bé: ní:] ìnjɛ̌: púŋgó-tì-m*

[stick with] dog beat-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I beat the dog with a stick.’

b. *[pólgó ní:] nàmá kédé-tì-m*

[knife with] meat cut-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I cut (sliced) the meat with a knife.’

c. *[[àmàdú* L*pòlgò] nì:] nàmá kédé-tì-m*

[[A Lknife] with] meat cut-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I cut (sliced) the meat with Amadou’s knife.’

An alternative is to replace the instrumental postposition with a subordinated verb *ɲà:-gín*, literally ‘take (and then …).

With human (including pronominal) complements, *ni:* means ‘with, in the presence of’.

(xx2) a. *[mí ní:] bɛ̀rú: bù-∅*

[1Sg with] near be-3SgSbj

‘He/She is near/beside me.’

b. *[í ní:] bù-∅*

[1Pl with] be-3SgSbj

‘He/She is with us.’

The phrase ‘by force’ is *pàŋgá ní:*

## Locational postpositions

### Locative, allative, and ablative functions

As with other languages of the zone, directionality (‘to’ or ‘from’ as opposed to ‘in, at’) is expressed by verbs rather than by postpositions.

### Simple and complex PPs

There are a few simple postpositions. Complex postpositions are generally of the form ‘in/at [the X of Y]’ or a slight reduction thereof, cf. English *in front/back of* and *beside*. These complex postpositions generally end in locative *nè*.

### Basic locative postpositions

#### Locative (*nè* ~ *rⁿè*)

*nè* occurs in a wide range of locative contexts, and can be translated contextually as ‘in, at, on’ as well as allative and ablative counterparts. It is the most common locative marker. My assistant sometimes pronounces it as *rⁿè*.

(xx1) noun locative gloss

*dámbá dámbá nè* ‘in the village’

*sògó sògó nè* ‘at the well’

*úló úló nè* ‘in/at the house’

*ládúgɔ́ ládúgɔ́ nè* ‘on the roof’

With nouns denoting locations, like ‘village’ and ‘outback’, the locative postposition may be omitted, especially with a verb of stance or motion or with the ‘be’ quasi-verb.

An informant rejected the locative postposition with temporal NPs like ‘at night’ and ‘in/during the rainy season’ (xx2a).

(xx2) a. *dɛ̀ndɛ́ bírá: bírà-ŋù-m*

night work(n.) work-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I don’t work at night.’

b. *zìnɛ́ [nù-mbɔ́ pú→] ándà ò-m-d-ɛ̀*

rainy.season [person-AnPl all] field go-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘In/During the rainy season, everyone goes to the fields.’

#### Displaced locative (*bàr* ~ *bàrì*)

This postposition is similar in meaning to *nè*. It adds an extra nuance, namely displacement from the current deictic center. Compare English *over* as in *over in Boston*, spoken from a nearby city.

(xx1) a. *[dámbá nè / bàr] bù-m*

[village in / in] be-1SgSbj

‘I am in the village.’

b. *[dámbá nè / bàr] ó-ŋù-m*

[village in / in] be-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I am not going to the village.’

#### Locative postpositions with place names

Since place names are intrinsically locative, adding a postposition is usually unnecessary. In (xx1a), no postposition appears, but *bàr* occurs in (xx1b). The data were elicited in Sevare. *bàr* appears to be used when the location is displaced from the place of the speech event.

(xx1) a. *sèwà:ré bù-∅*

Sevare be-3SgSbj

‘He/She is in Sevare (city).’

b. *ìnjɛ̌: [mó:tù bàr] bù-∅*

dog [Mopti in] be-3SgSbj

‘The dog it in Mopti (city).’

### ‘Chez’ (*bènè* ~ *bìnɛ̀* ~ *bɛ̀rⁿɛ̀*)

This postposition could possibly be interpreted as containing locative *nè*. However, *bì* has no independent meaning, and an assistant rejected #*[X bì bàr]*. The sense is usually ‘chez X’, i.e. ‘at the house of X’ (xx1a) or ‘in the presence of X’. A slight extension of ‘in the presence of X’ is the use of *bìnɛ̀* to denote the interlocutor with a verb of speaking (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[ú bènè] ɲá-m sɔ̀-m*

[2Sg chez] eat-Ipfv have-1SgSbj

‘I am eating at your house.’

b. *ǹjé [ú bènè] ɔ̀rì:-∅ꜛ*

what? [2Sg chez] say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘What did he/she say to you-Sg?’

The 3Sg form is *ńné bènè* ‘chez him/her’.

### ‘Inside X’ or ‘between X and Y’ (*[X(Y)* L*bènà: ǹ] nè*)

This complex postposition is literally ‘in the interior of X’. It is based on the possessed form of *bènǎ:* ‘interior’ (compare bɛ̀rǎ: ‘belly’), followed by definite *ǹ* (not always audible) and locative postposition *nè*. The landmark is most often a structure (such as a house) or a container.

(xx1) *[úló kɔ̌:]* L*benà: ǹ] nè*

[house 1SgPoss.InanSg] Linterior Def] Loc

‘inside my house’

To indicate displacement from the current deictic center, *bàr* may be substituted for *nè*.

An alternative construction when the complement is a simple noun is a nominal compound XL-bènǎ:, which can be used adverbially by itself, without a postposition.

(xx2) *ùlò* L*-bènǎ: tùnà-m*

houseL-interior be.put.in.Stat-1SgSbj

‘I am inside the house.’

‘**Between** X and Y’ is phrased as ‘inside X and Y’, using the same L*bènà: ǹ] nè* sequence but this time with the complement (landmark) a nonsingular NP, for example a plural pronoun (xx3a) or a conjoined NP (xx3b).

(xx3) a. *cǐn [[bènǎ: í-gɛ̀] nè] dùŋà-∅*

stone [[interior 1PlPoss-InanSg] Loc] be.put.Stat-3SgSbj

‘The stone is (lying) between us’

b. *[[[dúmɔ́sán∴ sèwárá∴]* L*bènà:] nè] yé tùnà*

[[[D.& S.&] Linterior] Loc] Exist be.in.Stat-3SgSbj

‘It (a village) is between Douentza and Sevare’

### ‘On (the head of) X’ (*[X* HL*kú-gɔ̀] nè*)

This complex postposition seems to have a fairly literal sense, with a human landmark.

(xx1) *cǐn [[kú-gɔ́ kɔ̌:] nè]*

stone [[head-Inan 1SgPoss.InanSg] in]

*ɛ́llí-gín* L*sùgè-∅*

fall-and.SS Lgo.down.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘A stone fell on my head.’

The 3Sg form is *kú-gɔ́ kɔ̀-ń nè* ‘on his/her head’. With nonpronominal NP: *[ámádú* L*kù-gɔ̀] nè* ‘on Amadou’. Variants with *bàr* are elicitable (*[ámádú* L*kù-gɔ̀] bàr*) are elicitable.

### ‘On X’ (*[X* L*dànà] nè*)

‘On X’ where X denotes a surface is often expressed by the simple locative: *ládúgɔ́ nè* ‘on the roof’, *nìŋgé nè* ‘on the mat’. An alternative construction is *[X* L*dànà] nè*, used especially when X is a horizontally extended surface, such as a tabletop or a laid-out mat.

(xx1) a. *[[nìŋgé* L*dànà] nè] dùŋí*

[[mat Lflat.top] Loc] put.down.Imprt

‘Put-2Sg it down on the mat!’

b. *[dàná kɔ̌:] nè*

[flat.top 1SgPoss.InanSg] Loc

‘on (the top of) my head’

The noun *dáná*, and the compound *dànà-bándá*, mean specifically ‘crown of head’, in contrast to the more inclusive *kú-gɔ́* ‘head’. A hat is worn *[kú-gɔ́ kɔ̌:] nè* ‘on my head’, but a basket carried on my head, or (figuratively) a financial burden that I bear, is *[dáná kɔ̌:] nè* ‘on the crown of my head’.

### ‘Next to X; under X’ (*[X* L*dùgò] nè*), ‘next to X’ (*[X* L*àrà] nè*)

also àrá (àrá kɔ̌: nè ‘next to me’, ámádù árà nè)

sounds like X *dúgò nè*

The noun *dùgó* means primarily ‘area under or below’ (e.g. a mat), or ‘base, shoulder’ (e.g. of a mountain). The related compound postposition *[X* L*dùgò] nè* can therefore mean ‘under X, below X’. However, it can also mean ‘next to X’, where X is a person or animal. With a landmark like ‘tree’, there is no clear difference between ‘next to’ and ‘under’.

(xx1) a. *[dùgó kɔ̌:] nè*

[side 1SgPoss.InanSg] Loc

‘next to me, near me’

b. *[dùgó í-gɛ̀] nè*

[side 1PlPoss-InanSg] Loc

‘next to us’

c. *[ámádú* L*dùgò] nè*

[Amadou Lside] Loc

‘beside Amadou’

d. *cǐn [[nìŋgé* L*dùgò] nè] tùnà-∅*

stone [[mat Lunder] Loc] be.put.Stat-3SgSbj

‘The stone is under the mat’

Variants with *bàr(ì)* instead of *nè* are elicitable. The adverb is *dùgó nè* ‘to the side’ or ‘underneath’.

‘For ‘next to X, beside X’ there is another alternative based noun *àrá* ‘area to the side, proximity’: *[ámádú* L*àrà] nè* ‘next to Amadou’, *[àrá kɔ̌:] nè* ‘beside me’, *[nìŋgé* L*àrà] nè* ‘next to the mat’.

### ‘In front of’ (*[X* L*jìrè] nè*)

This complex postposition is based on possessed forms of *jíré* ‘front’.

(xx1) a. *[jíré kɔ̀-ń] nè*

[front InanSg-3SgPoss] Loc

in front of him’

b. *[jíré kɔ̌:] nè*

[front 1SgPoss.InanSg] Loc

‘in front of me’

c. *[ámádú* L*jìrè] nè*

[A Lfront] Loc

‘in front of Amadou’

Variants with *bàr(ì)* instead of *nè* are elicitable. The adverb is *jíré nè* ‘to the side’.

### ‘Behind/after X’ (*[X* L*kùndù-gò] nè*)

This complex postposition is based on possessed forms of the noun *kúndú-gó* ‘back’.

(xx1) a. *[kúndú-gó kɔ̀-ń] nè*

[back-InanSg InanSg-3SgPoss] Loc

‘behind him’

b. *[kúndú-gó kɔ̌:] nè*

[back-InanSg 1SgPoss.InanSg] Loc

‘behind me’

c. *[ámádú* L*kùndù-gò] nè*

[Amadou Lback-InanSg] Loc

‘behind Amadou’

This can also be used in the temporal sense ‘after X’, as in *[láyà* L*kùndù-gò] nè* ‘after the Feast of the Ram’. However, in this sense there are also competing subordinating constructions such as ‘when the Feast of the Ram has taken place’.

The noun *kúndú-gó* by itself can be used adverbially ‘in the rear’.

### ‘Over X’

Adverbial ‘overhead, up above (in the sky)’ can be expressed by any of the nouns *tɛ́mbɛ́*, *dárⁿá*, or *óngó* (the latter meaning ‘sky’), all of which can be directly followed by *bù-* ‘be’ or other predicate. ‘On top’ in the sense of ‘on the (high) plateau’ above the cliffs, as opposed to the plains that begin at the base of the cliffs, is *tɛ́mbɛ́*.

‘Above/over me’, for example referring to a bird or an airplane, also involves *tɛ́mbɛ́*.

(xx1) *àdé [mí ní:] dém→ tɛ́mbɛ́ bù-∅*

bird [1Sg with] straight **above** be-3SgSbj

‘The bird is directly above/over me.’

### ‘From X to Y’ (*pó→*, *bǎ→*)

Trajectories with starting and ending points can be described using verbs like ‘go out, leave’ and ‘arrive’ (or ‘come’ or ‘go’). In (xx1a), the ‘go out’ verb is chained to a main clause with ‘come’ (in the sense ‘arrive here’). The distance (in time or space) can be emphasized using either of two emphatic particles, the prospective *pó→* ‘all the way to, until’ (xx1b) or the retrospective *bǎ→* ‘since’ (xx1c). *pó→* is common in both spatial and temporal contexts, while *bǎ→* is essentially temporal.

(xx1) a. *[bàndàrá gò-gín] [lǎ: ní:] sèwárá wɔ̀:-m*

[Bandiagara **go.out**-then] [foot Inst] Sevare come.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I walked on foot from Bandiagara to Sevare.’

b. *pó→ bàndàrá yày-m*

**all.the.way** Bandiagara go.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I went as far as Bandiagara.’

c. *[[ódógón bǎ→] bírá: bírá-m̀]*

[[early.morning **since**] work(n) work(v)-Ipfv]

*[nán dɔ̀-m]*

[now arrive.Pfv-1SgSbj]

‘I have been working from early morning to now.’

## Purposive *dùgɔ̀* ‘for’

This postposition creates PPs that denote the goal of an activity.

(xx1) a. *[ìdé dùgɔ̀] w-à:*

[honey Purp] come.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They came for the honey.’

b. *[bírá: dùgɔ̀] wɔ̀ɛ̀-∅*

[work(n.) Purp] come.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He came for the work.’

For *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀]* ‘why?’ (for what?) see §13.2.3. For *X dùgɔ̀* ‘than X’ in comparatives, see Chapter 12 *passim*.

*dùgɔ̀* can also be used in a retrospective sense, denoting the cause of a subsequent eventuality (xx2a). It also appears in the phrase ‘for God’, in connection with a gift or service provided charitably without compensation (xx2b).

(xx2) a. *[àrⁿá dùgɔ̀] zɔ̀b-à*

[rain Purp] run.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They fled because of the rain.’

b. *[ámbà dùgɔ̀] zá mí ǹdì-∅*

[God Purp] meal 1SgO give.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She gave me food for (= in the name of) God.’

## Other adverbs (or equivalents)

### Similarity (‘like X’) construction with postposition *ni:*

Adverbial phrases specifying similarity to a landmark (reference object) often involve instrumental-comitative postposition *ni:* ‘with’ (§8.1.2), either alone (xx1a) or, more clearly, as part of a larger phrase such as a headless relative with ‘be’ (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[mí ní:] ŋ̀gó-∅*

[1Sg **with**] not.be-3SgSbj

‘He/She isn’t like me.’

b. *[[ńné bú-ŋgò] nì:] bù-m*

[[3SgSbj be-Ipfv.Ppl] **with**] be-1SgSbj

‘I am like (the way) he/she is.’

My assistant prefers to include the basis for comparison, which changes the syntax (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[yà-mbɔ́* L*òdùbà:] ò-m-dɔ̀*

[woman-AnPl Lroad] go-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘He walks like a woman.’

[lit. “he goes (with) women’s road (gait)”]

b. *[[yà-mbɔ́ òré: ɔ́rà-ŋgò] nì:]*

[[woman-AnPl word.Pl speak-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg] with]

*ɔ́rà-m-dɔ̀*

speak-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘He talks like a woman.’

[lit. “he speaks with (the way) women speak words”]

‘Like this/that, thus’ is *kú ní:* with inanimate pronoun *kú*, or a simple adverb *ɔ̂yⁿ*. These forms can resume fuller phrases (xx3).

(xx3) *[mí bù-ŋgò] ɔ̂yⁿ bù-∅*

[1SgSbj be-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg] thus be-3SgSbj

‘He is like me.’

[lit. “(the way) I am, thus he is.”]

### Extent (*mɛ̌m→* or *gǎy→* ‘a lot, greatly’, *kɛ́ndɛ̀yⁿ→* or *dágám→* ‘a little’)

Expressive adverbials are *mɛ̌m→* or *gǎy→* ‘a lot, greatly’ and *kɛ́ndɛ̀yⁿ→* or *dágám→* ‘a little, slightly’. Though adverbial syntactically, they can occur in sentences where ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’ translate as objects or other arguments, as with ‘give’ in (xx1c-d). They do not interact tonally with nouns.

(xx1) a. *bírá: mɛ̌m→ / gǎy→ bìrɛ́-tì-∅*

work(n) a.lot work(v)-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He/She worked a lot.’

b. *bírá: kɛ́ndɛ̀yⁿ→ bìrɛ́-tì-∅*

work(n) a.lot work(v)-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He/She worked a little.

c. *mɛ̌m→ mí(-gì) índì-tì-∅*

a.lot 1Sg(-Acc) give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He/She gave me a lot.’

d. *kɛ́ndɛ̀yⁿ→ mí(-gì) índì-tì-∅*

a.little 1Sg(-Acc) give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He/She gave me a little.’

### Specificity

The usual way of talking about exactness of a number or amount is to use the verb ‘arrive, reach’ in the sense ‘amount to, add up to’ (xx1).

(xx1) *[pèdù-mbò* L *ú sɔ̀-mbò]*

[sheep-AnPlL 2SgSbj have-Ppl.AnPl]

*pɛ̀gá-nǔm dɔ̀-s-ɛ́ mà→ dɔ̯à-ndá*

ten-five arrive-Pfv2-3PlSbj or arrive-PfvNeg.3PlSbj

‘The sheep that you-Sg have, do they amount to 50 or not?’

#### ‘Specifically’ (*pá→*)

This adverb can be added to a NP, especially a pronoun, in the sense ‘precisely X (not anybody else)’, ‘X in person’. There are no tonosyntactic interactions. In (xx1), ‘chief’ is resumed by a coindexed third person pronoun, but *ámbírú pá→* without the pronoun is also possible.

(xx1) *ámbírú ńné pá→ wá:-m̀-dɔ̀*

chief 3SgSbj specifically come-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘The chief is coming in person.’

### Evaluation

#### ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

The pure adjectives for ‘good’ are *sɛ́* and *ɛ́dɛ̀:* (§4.5.1). The latter is distinct from *ɛ́lɛ̀:* ‘sweet, delicious’. ‘Bad’ is *sàmɛ́*. There are no morphological adverbs corresponding to these adjectives. Instead, the adjectives are added to a NP in the clause, perhaps a pro forma cognate nominal.

(xx1) *[bìrà:* L *sɛ́-ŋgɛ́* / *sàm-gɔ́]* L*bìrà-m-dɔ̀*

[work(n)L good-InanSg / bad-InanSg] Lwork(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She does good/bad work.’ (i.e. works well/badly)

The verb *dàgá* means ‘turn out well, be well made’, among other senses.

### Manner adverbs

For ‘like this’ and ‘like X’, see §8.4.1. For manner adverbial relative clauses see §15.3.2.

For adverb-like predicative forms of adjectives, see §11.4.1.2. Aside from this, is no morphological process to derive adverbs from other stem classes.

### Spatiotemporal adverbials

#### Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (xx1). The major weekly market for the Tebul villages is Bamba, which is on Saturdays, based on the European seven-day week. The important Tommo So markets on the plateau (Kassa, Mori) are on the traditional five-day rotation, as is the minor market in Yanda.

(xx1) a. *yɔ̌:* ‘today’

yâ:, *yâ: là* ‘again’

*yéŋgì* ‘yesterday’

*yé dèmbè tà:ndú* ‘day before yesterday’

*nân, ná:* ‘now’

nân gày, *ná: gày* ‘now’ (topical, see §19.1.xxx)

*àsú→, àsú→ là* ‘always’

dùmó ‘later, afterwards’

b. *ɛ́yⁿ* ‘tomorrow; in the future’

*ɛ̀n mé dèrⁿɛ̀* ‘day after tomorrow’

*dèrⁿɛ̀ gín dèrⁿɛ̀* ‘second day after tomorrow’ (third from today)

*dèrⁿɛ̀ gín dèrⁿɛ̀ bàlàgà* ‘third day after tomorrow’ (fourth from today)

*[dèrⁿɛ̀ gín dèrⁿɛ̀] dèmbè tà:n-nɛ́* ‘fourth day after tomorrow’ (fifth from today)

*[dèrⁿɛ̀ gín dèrⁿɛ̀] dèmbè kɛ̀dɛ̀-nɛ́* ‘fifth day after tomorrow’ (sixth from tomorrow)

*zúgò* ‘week’

c. *jêl* ‘last year’

*nwǎ:* ‘next year’

*bágònè* ‘this year’

#### ‘First’ (*tíⁿ→*)

*tíⁿ→* means ‘formerly, in the past’.

(xx1) *tíⁿ→ nù-mbɔ̀ lábá kárⁿà-mbɔ̀*

first person-AnPl pass Pfv.Ppl-AnPl

‘the people who passed on long ago’

#### Spatial adverbs

The following are the main spatial adverbs.

(xx1) a. tɛ́mbɛ́ ‘above, top, summit’

dùgó ‘below, bottom, down’

b. tèŋè-dágá ‘east’

ùdù-[túmbú-gó] ‘west’ (< ‘sunset’)

dù-dágá ‘south’

tɔ̀mbɔ̀-dá: ‘north’

c. kúndú-gó ‘in the rear’

gíré ‘forward; in front’

Aside from ‘sunset’ = ‘west’, we see *-dágá* ~ *-dá:* in the cardinal direction terms in (xx1b). ‘East’ and ‘north’ include terms for Dogon ethnicities (Tengou, Tommo).

*gíré* ‘forward’ (xx1c) is tonally distinct from *gìré* ‘eye(s)’.

### Expressive adverbials (EAs)

For the syntax of EAs, see §11.1.3.1 below. Examples illustrating the syntax are also in §8.4.7.1 just below.

#### ‘Straight’ (*dém→*)

*dém→* ‘straight’, referring either to an object (such as a stick) or to a road or trajectory, is a typical EA. It can also mean ‘straight up’ or ‘towering, lofty’ with a vertical emphasis. Nonpredicative adverbial function is illustrated in (xx1a). Predicative forms are exemplified in (xx2b-d.

(xx1) a. *dém→* L*yà-dà*

straight Lgo.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They went straight (to the destination).’

b. *bé: dém→ bù-∅*

stick straight be-3SgSbj

‘The stick is straight.’

c. *dém→ ŋ̀gó-∅*

straight not.be-3SgSbj

‘It (stick, road) is not straight.’

d. *dém→ bé-m̀-dɔ̀-∅*

straight become-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘It will become straight.’

#### Forms of EAs

Some examples of EAs will be given here to indicate the range of phonological forms as well as typical meanings. First, there are many unreduplicated EAs of one (xx1a), two (xx1b), or three syllables (xx1c). The characteristic phonological feature is intonational prolongation of the final segment (vowel or sonorant).

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(xx1) a. *pá→* ‘(door) wide open, gaping’

*káⁿ→* ‘(mouth, hole) wide open, gaping’

*kéⁿ→* ‘(mouth) slightly open’

*sɛ́ⁿ→* ‘looking straight at, staring at’

*kǎyⁿ→* ‘(eyes) wide open, bulging’

*céw→* ‘motionless’

*démⁿ→* ‘straight’ or ‘straight up, towering’

*jɛ̌wⁿ→* ~ *jɛ̌yⁿ→* ‘(eyes) slightly open’

b. *pàyǎwⁿ→* ‘bright point of light in the distance (star, fire)’

*cè:ⁿlí→* ‘(door) ajar, open a crack’

c. *gògùlí→* ‘(door) rickety, poorly encased’

The shape CvC with final stop and no prolongation is uncommon. The examples in (xx2), which are followed by the verbs íjj-í: ‘stop, halt’ and tíbɛ́- ‘die’ respectively, convey abruptness or thoroughness of the action rather than depicting a stable process or situation as in the preceding examples.

(xx2) *jík* ‘(stop) still, dead in one’s tracks’

*kák* ‘(die) abruptly, drop dead’

Other EAs are have iterative or reduplicated form, though the base is in most cases not otherwise attested (cf. English *flim-flam*, *riff-raff*). A few do show some relationship to an uniterated stem elsewhere in the lexicon. The EAs in (xx3a) involve full iteration. Those in (xx3b) are similar but also show a vocalic change, with a high vowel in the first iteration shifting to a in the second; if there is a third, it repeats the first. The examples in (xx3c) show multiple final ‑Cv reduplication, the number of repetitions being somewhat flexible. Iterations and reduplications are partially iconic since these EAs denote sequences of repeated sub-events, repetitive sensory patterns, and the like.

(xx3) a. iterative

*ɲɛ́m-ɲɛ́m* ‘(rain) drizzle lightly’

*pírú-pírú* ‘(e.g. wounded bird) flop around’ (verb *pírígíy*)

*sì:dé-sì:dé* ‘striped’ (cf. *sì:lì-gó* ‘a stripe’)

*tágàlà-tágàlà* ‘blotched, having large spots’

*tɛ̂wⁿ-tɛ̂wⁿ* ‘spotted, having many small spots’

b. iterative plus shift to *a*

*bírìgù-bárùgù* ‘bric-à-brac, junk, miscellaneous items’

*díbù-dàbù-díbù* ‘groping (in the dark)’

*jìgí-jàgú* ‘swaying (like elephant, cow, fat woman)’

*yùgú-yàgú* ‘chubby, puffy’

*pìré-pàrá* ‘stumbling along’

c. multiple final *-Cv* reduplication

*wèdédé(dé)* ‘well-lit (place)’

*yègérédédé* ‘well-lit (place)’

*pàdádádá* ‘directed light (shining on one’s face)’

### Reduplicated (iterated) adverbials

#### Distributive adverbial iteration

Numerals are iterated to indicate distributivity (‘X as a time’, ‘X apiece’). The human and inanimate prefixes occur only once, at the beginning. Except for ‘1’, the numeral is {L}-toned in the second occurrence. Nonmonosyllabic numerals ending in *u* (‘3’, ‘10’) usually syncopate the final syllable in the first occurrence and in the case of ‘3’ this entails a further consonantal reduction. For ‘1’ we might have expected #*túr-tùrù*, pronounced [tút:ùɹù], but the actual form is *tú‑túrú*, looking more like a *Cv-* reduplication. Morphologically complex numerals iterate only the final element (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *ɲě-tú-túrú wɔ̂:-s-ɛ̀:*

person-**one-one** come-Pfv2-DFoc

‘They came one by one [focus].’

b. *ɲě-tǎ:n-tà:ndù jɛ̀-m*

person-**three-three** kill.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I killed them (people) three at a time.’

c. *pédù-mbò bú-lèy-lèy=là:*

sheep-AnPl An-**two-two**=it.is.not

‘The sheep are not two by two.’

d. *[pɛ́:-rⁿɛ̀]-túr-sàgà-sàgà w-à:*

[ten]-one-**plus-plus** come.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They came eleven at a time.’

e. *àŋgá-àŋgá dɔ́nà-m-nù-ẃⁿ*

**how.many?-how.many?** see-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘For how much each do you sell (them)?’

# Verbal derivation

## Reversive verbs (*-lí-*)

A reversive verb is derived from an input verb by adding suffix *-lí-*. The sense is to undo the action denoted by the input verb, restoring a prior state. Compare English *un-* in *untie*, *unfold*, etc.

The input verbs that have reversives are overwhelmingly bisyllabic. The presuffixal medial vowel is raised to *i* or (if a preceding vowel is rounded) to *u* if not already a high vowel (xx1b). Mediopassive *-í:* follows the reversive (xx1c). Aside from minor lexical irregularities, /Cvri-lí/ ends up as *Cvl-lí* after syncope and /rl/ *→ ll* (xx1e).

(xx1) input gloss reversive gloss

a. bisyllabic, input already ends in high vowel

*tímbí‑* ‘cover (with lid)’ *tímbí-lí‑* ‘remove lid from’

*píŋí‑* ‘shut (door)’ *píŋí-lí‑* ‘open (door)’

*gɔ̀ŋgú‑* ‘fence in’ *gɔ̀ŋgù-lí‑* ‘un-fence’

*kɔ́mbú‑* ‘tie’ *kɔ́mbú-lí‑* ‘untie’

*tɔ́mbú‑* ‘roll turban’ *tɔ́mbú-lí‑* ‘unroll turban’

*cɛ́ndí‑* ‘bury’ *cɛ́ndí-lí‑* ‘disinter’

*pɛ́ndí‑* ‘insert, slide in’ *pɛ́ndí-lí‑* ‘remove inserted item’

*tɔ́ŋgú‑* ‘hobble’ *tɔ́ŋgú-lí‑* ‘unhobble’

*námbí‑* ‘step on’ *námbí-lí‑* ‘remove foot from’

*mɛ̀ndí‑* ‘fold’ *mɛ̀ndì-lí‑* ‘unfold’

*tíndí‑* ‘prop up’ *tíndí‑lí-* ‘remove a prop from’

*gùbú‑* ‘hang (on hook)’ *gùbù-lí‑* ‘take off (hook)’

b. bisyllabic, input ends in mid or low vowel

*tóndó‑* ‘bend’ *tóndú-lí‑* ‘unbend’

*dàgá‑* ‘lock’ *dàgì-lí‑* ‘unlock’

*dìgɛ́‑* ‘tie (knot)’ *dìgì-lí‑* ‘untie (knot)’

*mìndé‑* ‘weave (rope)’ *mìndì-lí‑* ‘unweave (rope)’

*mùndó‑* ‘crumple’ *mùndù-lí‑* ‘uncrumple’

*pɛ́gɛ́‑* ‘drive in (nail)’ *pɛ́gí-lí‑* ‘remove (nail)’

*níndé‑* ‘tangle’ *níndí-lí‑* ‘untangle’

*mìndé‑* ‘roll up (mat)’ *mìndi-lí‑* ‘bounce back’

c. *mediopassive suffix follows reversive, see also (e) and (f)*

*gɔ̀nd-í:‑* ‘be caught in tree’ *gɔ̀ndì-l-í:‑* ‘be un-caught’

d. */*yí*/ dropped*

*dà:yí‑* ‘cover (object)’ *dà:-lí‑* ‘uncover (object)’

e*. /*rl*/ → ll*, see also (f)

*gìrí‑* ‘immobilize’ *gìl-lí‑* ‘allow to move’

*tár-í:‑* ‘be affixed’ *tál-l-í:‑* ‘(affixed item) come off’

f*. irregular*

*írɛ́‑* ‘forget’ *íl-l-í:‑* ‘remember’

g*. suppletive*

(various) *sɔ́ŋgú-lí‑* ‘unbraid, undo, untie’, etc.

(various) *gò-ndú-* ‘take out, remove’

Suppletive *sɔ́ŋgú-lí‑* is a rather general ‘undo’ verb. It is reversive in form but there is no semantically related input. ‘Take (sth) out’ is *gò-ndú*, irregular causative of *gǒ* ‘go out’.

## Deverbal causative verbs

### Productive causative with suffix *-mí*

The productive causative derivative has suffix *-mí*, which often reduced to *‑m*. The defocalized perfective ends in *‑mè*, and the imperative is *‑mò*, showing that the suffix is +ATR. Examples of input/causative relationships are in (xx1). Stem-final /ɛ/ becomes *a* before the suffix. Mediopassive *-í:-* becomes *-ɛ:-* or *-e:-* depending on the ATR harmonic status of the stem. {LH} lexical melody is reapplied to the entire causative stem, with only *‑mí-* H-toned. However, the suffixal /i/ is often syncopated, in which case e.g. *zùgà-mí* is heard as.[zùgǎm].

(xx1) input gloss causative gloss

a. monosyllabic, nonhigh vowel

*ɲɛ́* ‘drink; eat meal’ *ɲá-mí* ‘give drink/food to (sb)’

*yɛ̌* ‘weep’ *yà-mí* ‘cause (sb) to weep’

*jě* ‘dance’ *jè-mí* ‘cause (sb) to dance’

*sé:* ‘sneeze’ *sé:-mí* ‘cause (sb) to sneeze’

*wǎ:* ‘do farm work’ *wà:-mí* ‘make (sb) do farm work’

b. monoayllabic, high vowel

*nú* ‘enter’ *nú-mí* ‘make (sb) enter’

*ní:* ‘sleep’ *ní:-mí* ‘put (sb) to sleep’

c. nonmonomosyllabic, final nonhigh vowel

*zùgɔ́* ‘know’ *zùgà-mí* ‘inform (sb)’

*bàrá* ‘help’ *bàrà-mí* ‘make (sb) help (sb)’

d. nonmonomosyllabic, final high vowel

*tímbí* ‘shut’ *tímbí-mí* ‘make (sb) shut (sth)’

*ɔ́rú* ‘speak’ *ɔ́rú-mí* ‘make (sb) speak’

e. causative follows mediopassive

*bàmb-í:‑* ‘carry on back’ *bàmb-ɛ̀:‑mí* ‘make (sb) carry (sth)’

*ób-í:* ‘sit down’ *ób-é:-mí* ‘have sit, seat’

*example of conjugation (inflectable aspect-negation stems) of a regular causative verb*

### Minor causative suffixes (*-gv-*)

Causatives with minor derivational suffixes are listed in (xx1). See also “transitive” *-rí* in §9.3.

(xx1) Causatives with Other Suffixes

input gloss causative gloss

a. *-gí*

*péndé* ‘(sth) break’ *péndí-gí* ‘break (sth)’

*yùlɛ́* ‘wake up’ *yùlù-gú* ‘awaken (sb)’

*màrá* ‘be lost’ *màrì-gí* ‘cause (sth) to be lost’

b. *-ndú* ~ *-ndí*

*gǒ* ‘go out’ *gò-ndú* ‘take (sth) out’

*dɔ̌* ‘arrive’ *dɔ̀:-ndú* ‘deliver (sth)’

*ìlɛ́* ‘go up’ *ìlà:-ndí* ‘take (sth) up’

*súgó* ‘go down’ *sú:-ndú* ‘take (sth) down’

*táŋgí* ‘become (sth)’ *tá:-ndú* ‘transform (sth) into (sth)’

c. *-lí*

*yàmá* ‘malfunction’ *yàŋgì-lí* ‘ruin (sth)’

## Passives

### Passive suffix *-mí-*

A homophone of the causative suffix *-mí-* is found with a handful of verbs in agentless passive sense.

(xx1) Passive

input gloss passive gloss

a. *yí* ‘see’ *yɛ̀-mí* ‘be seen (see-able)’

*tɛ́mbí* ‘encounter’ *tɛ́mb-ɛ́:-mí* ‘be found (findable)’

*bɛ̌:* ‘get’ -- ‘be gotten (available)’

### Passive use of *-ŋgó* nominal

For nominalizations in *-ŋgó* see §4.1.1.5 and §4.2.3. When used as a predicate, with the ‘it is’ or ‘it is not’ clitic, a form with *-ŋgó* functions like an imperfective (present or future) passive (xx1a-b). For perfective aspect, the perfective-2 suffix is added and if the verb is lexically {LH} the L-tone spreads to the end of the stem but not into the suffixes (xx1c-d).

.

(xx1) a. *ɛ̀dɛ́ dɔ́ná-ŋgô=:*

cloth sell-Nom=it.is

‘The cloth (fabric) is for sale.’

b. *dɔ́ná-ŋgó=là:*

sell-Nom=it.is.not

‘It is not for sale.’

c. *dɔ̀nɔ̀-sú-ŋgô=:*

sell-Pfv2-Nom=it.is

‘It has been sold.’

d. *dɔ̀nɔ̀-sú-ŋgó=là:*

sell-Pfv2-Nom=it.is.not

‘It has not been sold.

Other examples are *gídɛ́-ŋgô=:* ‘it is to be thrown (away)’, *ɲá-ŋgô=:* ‘(meal) is to be eaten/drunk’*, kúbó-ŋgô=:* ‘(meat) is to be eaten’, *díyá-ŋgô=:* ‘it is to be carried (on the head)’. For the perfective version, see also *lábá-sú-ŋgô=:* ‘it was carved’.

## Mediopassive and Transitive

### Alternation of mediopassive *‑í:‑* and transitive *‑rv-*

A number of verb stems alternate between mediopassive and transitive (roughly causative) forms, both with derivational suffixes. The transitive form has suffix *-rí* (*-rú* after a stem with rounded vowels). The mediopassive has suffix *‑í:* (shifting to *‑ɛ́:* or *‑é:* in some aspect-negation inflections depending on the ATR category of the stem). The most common semantic domains are stance, wearing clothing, and carrying and holding. The mediopassive is intransitive or transitive depending on the stem and semantic domain. The transitive adds an object to the array already present in the mediopassive. Examples are in (xx1)

(xx1) MP gloss Tr gloss

a. stance

*íjj-í:* ‘stand up, stop’ *ígí-rí* ‘stop (sth)’

*túnj-í:* ‘kneel’ *túŋgú-rú* ‘cause to kneel’

*tónd-í:* ‘squat’ *tóndó* ‘cause to squat’

*jɛ̀nj-í:* ‘be tilted’ *jɛ̀ŋgì-rí* ‘tilt (sth)’

b. wearing clothes

*tɔ́b-í:* ‘roll on turban’ *tɔ́bí-rí* ‘put turban on (sb)’

*kób-í:* ‘put one’s hat on’ *kóbí-rí* ‘put hat on (sb)’

c. carrying/holding

*bàmb-í:‑* ‘carry on back’ *bàmbì-rí* ‘put on (sb’s) back’

d. other

*bànj-í:* ‘hide (oneself)’ *bàŋgì-rí* ‘hide (sb, sth)’

*dìmb-í:* ‘follow (sth)’ *dìmbì-rí* ‘cause to follow’

There are also a number of verbs that have the suffixed transitive form opposed to an unsuffixed simplex form that corresponds semantically to the mediopassive in the previous examples. Many of these verbs are monosyllabic, so it would be phonologically difficult to add mediopassive *-í:* to them. Examples are in (xx2). The semantic domains are similar to those in (xx1) above

(xx1) MP gloss Tr gloss

a. stance

*bě* ‘lie down’ *bì-rí* ‘put (sb) to sleep’

b. wearing clothes

*tájí* ~ *táy* ‘put one’s shoes on’ *tágí-rí* ‘put shoes on (sb)’

c. carrying/holding

*dǐ* ‘carry on head’ *dì‑rí* ‘put on (sb’s) head’

d. other

*dě* ‘bathe’ *dì-rí* ‘bathe (sb)’

On the other hand, some underived lexical transitives have a marked mediopassive. From *bɛ̂:* ‘get’ we have *bɛ̀l-í:* ‘be gotten’, preserving an original medial lateral (cf. Yanda Dom *bɛ̀lɛ́* ‘get’).

### Mediopassive *‑í:‑* versus unsuffixed transitive

The mediopassive suffix can also be added to ordinary underived transitive verbs. Here it functions as an ordinary passive. For example, *kán-* ‘do, make’ forms *kán-í:-* ‘be done’ (hence ‘happen’) or ‘be made’.

Old \*Cvlv stems that have lost their medial \*l elsewhere retain it before the mediopassive suffix. Thus *bɛ̌:-* ‘get’ has mediopassive *bɛ̀l-í:-* ‘be gotten’.

### Transitive *-ndv*

(xx1) MP gloss Tr gloss

a. motion

*dɔ̌* ‘arrive’ *dɔ̀:-ndú* ‘deliver’

*ír-í:* ‘be afraid’ *írá:-ndí* ‘scare (sb)’

*medial g*

*súgó* ‘go down’ *sú:-ndú* ‘take down’

*medial ŋg*

*táŋgí* ‘be lit’ *tá:-ndú* ‘turn on (light)’

*nóŋg-í:* ‘catch fire’ *nɔ́:-ndú* ‘light (fire)’

*no input stem*

*(none)* *ní:-ndú* ‘accompany (to the door)

## Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation

*Give a few exx. from the lexicon (if any are found) where a verb is used, without suffixal modification, both transitively and intransitively.*

*Two types based on semantics:*

*1. antipassive (unergative) type, with understood or vague direct object omitted*

*‘they ate’*

*‘it’s your turn to break (in pool)’*

*2. passive (unaccusative) type, with agent omitted (theme becomes subject):*

*cf. English ‘it reads well’*

*‘it broke’*

## Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

Most adjectives (§4.5.1) have a corresponding cognate inchoative verb (‘become ADJ’). Those in (xx1a) have no segmental derivational suffix. The stem-final vowel is predictable in most cases from the nonfinal vowel(s). In (xx1b) the inchoative is morphologically a mediopassive with suffix -í: added directly to the stem. In (xx1c), the mediopassive suffix follows a buffer suffix *‑nd-*. A few stems, chiefly those of extra-short shape *Cv*, either have no inchoative or have a suppletive inchoative (xx1d).

(xx1) adjective inchoative gloss

a. no segmental suffix

*bisyllabic stem*

*bárⁿɛ: bàrⁿá* ‘become red’

*gàbɛ̌: gàbá* ‘become tall’

*ìlɛ́ ílɛ́* ‘ripen’

*jɛ́mɛ̀: jɛ̀mɛ́* ‘become black’

*kómbò kómbó* ‘become skinny, lean’

*yɔ̀rɛ̌: yɔ̀rɔ́* ‘become soft’

*Cvy stem*

*mà̯ɛ́ⁿ mǎyⁿ* ‘dry out, become dry’

*Cv stem*

*bá bǎ* ‘become full’

*pɛ̌: pɛ́* ‘age, get old’

b. mediopassive *-í:-*

*cé:lè: cé:l-í:* ‘become cold’

*gɔ́mɛ̀: gɔ̀m-í:* ‘become rotten, rot’

*nà:rⁿá ná:n-í:* ‘become easy, cheap’

*ɔ́mɛ̀: ɔ́m-í:* ‘become hot’

*ɔ́rⁿɔ́nɛ̀: ɔ́rⁿɔ́n-í:* ‘become smooth’

c. *-nd-í:*

*démbè: dèmbè-nd-í:* ‘become massive’

*bìnɛ́: bìrⁿì-nd-í:* ‘become fat’

*dúdɛ̀: dùdɔ̀-nd-í:* ‘become heavy’

*dùmbě: dùmbù-nd-í:* ‘(blade) become blunt’

*ɛ́dɛ̀: ɛ́dɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become good, improve’

*ɛ́lɛ̀: ɛ́lɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become sweet’

*ɛ̀mbɛ̌: ɛ́mɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become narrow’

*ɛ́rⁿɛ̀: ɛ́rⁿɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become lightweight’

*gálɛ̀: gàlà-nd-í:* ‘become bitter’

*gɔ̯̀ɛ̌: gɔ̀:-nd-í:* ‘become short’

*márⁿɛ̀: márⁿá-nd-í:* ‘become hard, solid’

*mɛ̀ndɛ́: mɛ̀ndɛ̀-nd-í:* ‘become slender’

*mɔ̀dɛ̌: mɔ̀dɔ̀-nd-í:* ‘become nasty’

*ɔ̀lɛ̌: ɔ́lɔ́-nd-í:* ‘become wet’

cf. *témb-í:* ‘become wet’

*pá: pá:-nd-í:* ‘become long’

*pílɛ̀: pílɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become white’

*sɛ̀gɛ́ sɛ́gɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become small’

cf. *á:-nd-í:* ‘become small’

*sɛ̀gɛ́ sɛ́gɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become small’

*tó: tó:-nd-í:* ‘become deep’

*wɛ́rɛ̀: wɛ̀rɛ̀-nd-í:* ‘become green’

*contracted*

*ɛ̀mbɛ̌: ɛ́mɛ́-nd-í:* ‘become narrow’ (*m* < *mb*)

*nómè: nóm-d-í:* ‘become difficult’ (*md* < *mnd*)

d. suppletive from short *Cv* adjective

*sɛ́ dàgá* ‘become good, improve’

*dɛ́ bàr-í:, ɛ́gá-nd-í:* ‘become big, grow’

No inchoative was elicited from *sàmɛ̌:* ‘ugly’ or from *ǹdɛ́* ‘empty’.

Factitives (‘X make Y ADJ’) are morphologically causatives of the inchoative verbs.

(xx1) inchoative factitive gloss

a. no segmental suffix

*bisyllabic stem*

*bǎ bà:-ndí* ‘fill’

## Denominal verbs

*Verbs that arguably derive from, and in any case are related to, underived nouns. Glean from dictionary. Try the following (based on Nanga):*

*(xx1) noun gloss verb gloss*

*ŋŋŋ ‘load’ ŋŋŋ- ‘load (e.g. cart)’*

*ŋŋŋ ‘family name’ ŋŋŋ- ‘(griot) chant the ancestry of (sb)’*

*ŋŋŋ ‘forest’ ŋŋŋ- ‘(zone) become dense (e.g.after rains)’*

*ŋŋŋ ‘(a) share’ ŋŋŋ- ‘share, divide up’*

*ŋŋŋ (greeting) ŋŋŋ- ‘greet’*

*ŋŋŋ ‘filth’ ŋŋŋ- ‘soil, make dirty’*

*ŋŋŋ ‘injury’ ŋŋŋ- ‘injure, wound (someone)’*

## Obscure verb-verb relationships

*Listed any residual alternations that do not fit into preceding section, with or without comment.*

*(xx1) verb gloss related verb gloss*

*ŋŋŋ- ‘spend night’ ŋŋŋ- ‘greet in morning’*

# Verbal inflection

## Inflection of regular indicative verbs

*The normal structure of indicative (i.e. not imperative or hortative) verbs is*

*stem-AN-Subj or stem-AN*

*The stem is immediately followed by an aspect-negation (AN) suffix, the major divisions being perfective/imperfective crosscut by positive/negative. Categories are summarized in §10.1.2.*

*In most Dogon languages, the AN suffix is directly followed (except in relative clauses and some other subordinated clauses) by a pronominal-subject suffix. The 3Sg suffix is regularly zero. Some languages have reduced suffixal marking of pronominal subject (e.g. just Sg vs. Pl, or 3Pl versus everything else). A few languages have no pronominal-subject suffixes, instead clause-initial independent pronouns, perhaps along with postverbal 3rd person clitics. The structure of pronominal-suffix paradigms is summarized in §10.3.*

*In several languages the AN suffix may be directly followed by a past clitic (e.g. =bɛ-). The main pronominal-subject marking is on the past clitic, but there may also be some marking (e.g. for 3Pl) on the AN suffix. In other languages, the past morpheme is postposed to the entire inflected verb (Jamsay), or it is absent (Togo Kan).*

### AN suffixes or chained auxiliary verbs?

The categories in (xx1) are expressed by elements that often appear to be suffixed to the main verb but can be separated from it under some conditions. This suggests a possible analysis as auxiliary verbs.

(xx1) *dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*tɛ́rɛ́-* experiential perfect

*tì-* perfective-1b

The situation arises in nonsubject relatives with a pronominal subject. In such clauses, a proclitic subject pronoun appears before the verb. The issue is whether “the verb” for this purpose is the substantive verb plus the inflectional morpheme, or just the inflectional morpheme. For example, in a nonsubject relative involving recent perfect *dɛ̀*, the subject pronoun may precede the substantive verb ‘eat meal’ in (xx2a), or it may intervene between the substantive verb and the recent perfect morpheme. In (xx2a) one can argue that *dɛ̀* is suffixed to *ɲɛ́* or that the two are at least tightly chained. In (xx2b) *dɛ̀* looks more like an independent word, i.e. an auxiliary verb. The fact that both orderings occur suggests that the situation is unstable.

(xx2) a. *zà* L *mí ɲɛ́ dɛ̀* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

mealL **1SgSbj** eat.meal RecPrf L Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the meal that I have finished eating’

b. *zà* L *ɲɛ́ mí dɛ̀* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

mealL eat.meal **1SgSbj** RecPrf L Pfv.Ppl Def

[= (a)]

A similar choice exists with experiential perfect *tɛ́rɛ́-*, which occurs in main clauses in the combination *-tɛ́rɛ́‑bù-* or *-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-*, but takes the form tɛ̀rɛ̀ before *kárⁿà* in relative clauses.

(xx3) a. *gɔ̀nsà:rⁿà* L *mí yì* L *tɛ̀rɛ̀* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

elephantL **1SgSbj** seeL ExpPrf L Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the elephant that I once saw’

b. *gɔ̀nsà:rⁿà* L *yì* L *mí tɛ̀rɛ̀* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

elephantL seeL **1SgSbj** ExpPrf L Pfv.Ppl Def

[= (a)]

Perfective-1b *tì-* is normally omitted in relative clauses, where the simple form with *kárⁿà* generalizes. However, in the infrequent case where *tì-* is preserved in a relative, it behaves like the two perfect morphemes just described.

(xx4) a. *ìnjɛ̀:* L *mí bùndò* L *tì* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

xx dogL **1SgSbj** hitL Pfv1b L Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the dog that I hit-Past’

b. *ìnjɛ̀:* L *bùndò* L *mí tì* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

dogL hitL 1SgSbj Pfv1b L Pfv.Ppl Def

[= (a)]

Although the data are inconclusive, there is at least some evidence that *dɛ̀-*, *tɛ́rɛ́‑*, and *tì-* are separable auxiliaries. The cases where they are not separated from the preceding substantive verb, i.e. the (a) sentences in (xx2-4) above, are compatible either with suffixation or with tight chaining.

The auxiliary analysis might extend to perfective-2 *-sɔ̀-*, but it is not attested in this form in relatives.

### Overview of AN categories

Indicative categories can be organized into four subsystems as shown in (xx1).

(xx1) a. perfective positive system

perfective

perfective-1a

perfective-1b

perfective-2

experiential perfect

recent perfect

b. imperfective positive system

imperfective

Progressive

c. perfective negative system

perfective negative

experiential perfect negative

recent perfect negative

d. imperfective negative system

imperfective negative

Progressive negative

Evidence for the non-obvious groupings comes from the morphosyntax of relative clauses. For example, the two positive perfect categories join with the perfectives in having *kárⁿà* in relative clauses.

External to the aspect-negation system just summarized are stative verbs, whether derived from regular verbs (‘be sitting’) or lexical quasi-verbs (‘be’,’have’, ‘want’), which have only a positive/negative polarity opposition. However, statives have some affinities to the imperfective aspect, again seen most clearly in the form of relative clauses.

There is also a tense system of sorts. The aspect-negation and stative categories are implicitly connected to the time of speaking. The deictic center can be shifted to the past by adding a conjugatable past clitic to the relevant aspect-negation marker, resulting in e.g. past imperfective (‘used to eat’) and past stative (‘was sitting’). There is also a form with this clitic added to a verb without aspect-negation marking that competes to a limited extent with perfective positive verbs.

### Verb stem shapes

*Underived verbs have from one to three syllables. Derivational suffixes usually add one syllable each (chapter 9). Derived verbs (except perhaps causatives) are often treated for inflectional and phonological-constraint purposes like underived verbs.*

*The* ***bare stem*** *(or: chaining form) is used in nonfinal position in direct verb chains (§15.1). This can often be taken as the lexical form of the verb (and used as citation form), in the sense that the various AN stems can be predicted from it. However, in some languages, some or all bare stems must end in a high vowel, which can disguise the stems ATR-harmonic value. In this case, another form (e.g. imperative or simple perfective) might be used as citation form, but often these have their own inadequacies (neutralization of lexical tone contour, final-vowel neutralization). So for some languages, the citation form is a combination of the bare stem (= chaining form) and the imperative, e.g. Toro Tegu wùrǐy\\wùrìyó ‘bend over’.*

*Sections below describe verb-stem shapes, beginning with monosyllabics.*

#### Regular *Cv* and *Cv:* verb stems

There are a large number of *Cv-* and *Cv:-* stems with oral vowels. Nasalized vowels are rare in verbs, but I can cite *ɛ́ⁿ-* ‘(woman) marry (man)’ and homonym ‘become tight’. *Cv-* is the regular TU reflex of original \*Cv(:)- stems. *Cv:-* verbs are original bisyllabics that have contracted after the loss of a medial consonant (frequently a liquid) between identical nonhigh vowels. Some of them still have bisyllabic features, notably in the A/O-stem. Especially for *Cv-*, the stem vowel is usually non-high, but there are a few (somewhat problematic) *Cu-* and *Ci-* stems.

Parallel to the distinction between {H} and {LH} verbs stems of two or more syllables, there is a binary tonal distinction among monosyllabic stems. However, the distinction is partially submerged for *Cv-* stems, because a number of perfective inflections have generalized the H-toned form *Cv́-*. This is over and above the more general suppression of lexical stem tones in some other inflectional categories, which affects verbs of all shapes. To determine the lexical tone contour of a Cv- verb, we can observe the tones in the form with perfective-2 *-sɔ̀-*. If we get *Cv́-sɔ̀-*, we have a lexically {H}-toned verb *Cv́-*. If we get *Cv̀-sɔ́-*, we have a lexically {LH}-toned verb, whose citation form is *Cv̌-* even though the H-tone element in the {LH} contour is only realized on a suffixal syllable. *Cv́-* and *Cv̌-* are neutralized to *Cv́-* in perfective-1b *Cv́-tì-* and recent perfect *Cv́ dɛ̀-*, so these inflections are not diagnostic for lexical tones of *Cv-* stems. For example, *dɔ̌-* ‘insult’ has perfective-2 *dɔ̀-sɔ́-* (which reveals the lexical {LH} contour), but perfective-1b *dɔ́-tì-* and recent perfect *dɔ́ dɛ̀-*.

(xx1) organizes monosyllabic verb stems by **tone classes**. The perfective-2 indicates which are {H}-toned and which are {LH}-toned, based on the perfective-2. As with nonmonosyllabic verbs, monosyllabic stems beginning with voiceless obstruents are {H}-toned, those beginning with voiced obstruents are {LH}-toned, and those beginning with a sonorant or with no consonant can be either (lexical choice).

(xx1) Tone classes of *Cv-* and *Cv:-* verb stems

stem Pfv2 gloss comment

a. {H}-toned

*Cv́- with initial voiceless obstruent*

*cé‑* *cé-sɔ̀-* ‘shout’ with noun *cé-gé*

*ká‑* *ká-sɔ̀-* ‘shave’

*kɔ́‑* *kɔ́-sɔ̀-* ‘raise (a child)’

*pɛ́‑* *pɛ́‑sɔ̀-* ‘get old’

*sá‑* *sá-sɔ̀-* ‘reply’ (younger speakers)

*sá‑* *sá-sɔ̀-* ‘knock down (stem)’

*sɔ́‑* *sɔ́-sɔ̀-* ‘douse’

*tá‑* *tá‑sɔ̀-* ‘shoot’

*tá‑* *tá-sɔ̀-* ‘avoid taboo’ noun *tǎ:*

*tɛ́‑* *tɛ́-sɔ̀-* ‘sprout’

*tɛ́‑* *tɛ́-sɔ̀-* ‘weaver’

*tí- tí-sɔ̀-* ‘send’

*tɔ́‑* *tɔ́‑sɔ̀-* ‘sow, plant’ with noun *tò-ŋgó*

*tɔ́‑* *tɔ́‑sɔ̀-* ‘spit’ with noun *yò-ínjé*

*Cv́- with initial sonorant or zero*

*ɛ́ⁿ- ɛ́ⁿ-sɔ̀-* ‘(woman) marry (man)’

*ɛ́ⁿ- ɛ́ⁿ-sɔ̀-* ‘become tight’

*ná‑* *ná‑sɔ̀-* ‘spend night’

*nú‑* *nú-sɔ̀-* ‘go in’

*ɲɛ́‑* *ɲɛ́-sɔ̀-* ‘eat, drink’

*Cv́:- with initial voiceless obstruent*

*pɛ́:‑* *pɛ́:‑sɔ̀-* ‘strike (match)’ Yanda Dom *pɛ́lɛ́-*

*pé:‑* *pé:-sɔ̀-* ‘clap (hands)’ with noun *pélú* ‘applause’, Jamsay *péré-*

*sá:‑* *sá:-sɔ̀-* ‘coarsely grind’ Jamsay *sárá-*

*sá:‑* *sá:-sɔ̀-* ‘take off (garment)’

*tá:‑* *tá:-sɔ̀-* ‘lay (egg)’ *tálɛ́* ‘egg’, Jamsay verb *tárá‑*

*sé:‑* *sé:-sɔ̀-* ‘sneeze’ with noun *ìsé*, Yanda Dom *ísíyɛ́-*

*tɔ́:‑* *tɔ́:-sɔ̀-* ‘begin’ Yanda Dom *tɔ́lɔ́-*

*tó:‑* *tó:-sɔ̀-* ‘pound’ Yanda Dom *tóló-*

*Cv́:- with initial sonorant or zero*

*á:- á:-sɔ̀-* ‘brew (beer)’ Jamsay *árá-*

*ɛ́:- ɛ́:-sɔ̀-* ‘dispossess’ Yanda Dom *ɛ́lɛ́-*

*ní:‑* *ní:-sɔ̀-* ‘sleep’ with noun *jìrè-[ní-ŋgí]* ; Yanda Dom *nìyⁿé-*

b. {LH}-toned

*Cv̌- with initial voiced obstruent*

*bǎ‑* *bà-sɔ́-* ‘fill’

*bǎ‑* *bà-sɔ́-* ‘be enough’

*bě‑* *bè-sɔ́-* ‘lie down’

*dě‑* *dè-sɔ́-* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌‑* *dɔ̀-sɔ́-* ‘arrive, approach’

*dɔ̌‑* *dɔ̀-sɔ́-* ‘insult’

*dǒ- dò-sɔ́-* ‘bump’

*dǒ- dò-sɔ́-* ‘suckle’

*zǒ- zò-sɔ́-* ‘be many, abound’

*gǎ‑* *gà-sɔ́-* ‘cut (with sickle)’

*gǒ‑* *gò-sɔ́-* ‘go out’

*jɛ̌‑* *jɛ̀-sɔ́-* ‘kill’

*zɛ́‑* *zɛ̀‑sɔ̀-* ‘(man) marry (woman)'́

*jě‑* *jè-sɔ́-* ‘dance’ with noun *jé*

*jě‑* *jè-sɔ́-* ‘harvest (millet)’ with noun *jé-ŋgé*

*jě‑* *jè-sɔ́-* ‘fart’ with noun *jì-ŋgé*

*dǐ- dì-sɔ́-* ‘carry on head’

*Cv̌- with initial sonorant or zero*

*nɔ̌‑* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-* ‘hear’

*yɛ̌- yɛ̀-sɔ́-* ‘weep’ with noun *yàŋgá*

*yǐ‑* *yì-sɔ́-* ‘see’

*Cv̌:- with initial voiced obstruent*

*bǎ:‑* *bà:-sɔ́-* ‘gather’ Jamsay *bàrá*

*bǎ:‑* *bà:-sɔ́-* ‘be worth’ Jamsay *bǎ:*

*bɛ̌:‑* *bɛ̀:-sɔ́-* ‘get’ Yanda Dom *bɛ̀lɛ́*

*zɛ̌:‑* *zɛ̀:-sɔ́-* ‘bring’ Jamsay *jɛ̀:rɛ́*

*zɔ̌:‑* *zɔ̀:-sɔ́-* ‘look for’ Nanga *jɔ̀rɔ́*

*Cv̌:- with initial sonorant or zero*

*lǎ:‑* *là:-sɔ́-* ‘give birth’ Jamsay *nàrⁿá*

*ɲǎ:‑* *ɲà:-sɔ́-* ‘take, pick up’ Jamsay *yàŋá*

*wǎ:‑* *wà:-sɔ́-* ‘do farm work’ Jamsay *wàrá*

*wɔ̌:‑* *wɔ̀:-sɔ́-* ‘come’ Yorno So *wɛ̀lɛ́-*

*Cv:-* stems (except *ní:-* ‘sleep’) have a variant form *Cv-lv-* in agentive compound finals (§5.1.4), and in the quoted hortative (§10.xxx). Historically, the extended variant reflects the original bisyllabic \**Cvlv-* form of most of these verbs.

The **vowel quality** of *Cv-* verbs, including the A/O-stem and the E/I-stem, are shown in (xx2). Here, however, tones are removed, since they are often determined by the inflectional suffix independently of vocalsim.

(xx2) Vocalism of *Cv-* verb sems

basic A/O-stem E/I-stem gloss

a. -ATR *Cɛ-* stems

*initial palatal*

*jɛ‑ ja- jɛ̀-* ‘kill’

*ɲɛ‑ ɲa- ɲɛ-* ‘eat, drink’

*yɛ‑ ya- yɛ-* ‘weep’

*other initial C*

*ɛ́ⁿ- e̯a- ɛ̀ⁿ-* ‘(woman) marry (man)’

*ɛ́ⁿ- e̯a- ɛ̀ⁿ-* ‘become tight’

*pɛ‑ pe̯a- pɛ-* ‘get old’

*tɛ́‑* *te̯a-* *tɛ-* ‘sprout’

*tɛ́‑* *te̯a-* *tɛ-* ‘weave’

*zɛ‑ ze̯a- zɛ-* ‘weep’

b. -ATR *Cɔ́-* stems

*dɔ‑* *dɔ̯a- dɔ̯ɛ-* ‘arrive, approach’

*dɔ‑* *dɔ̯a-* *dɔ̯ɛ-* ‘insult’

*kɔ‑* *kɔ̯a-* *kɔ̯ɛ-* ‘raise (a child)’

*sɔ‑* *sɔ̯a-* *sɔ̯ɛ-* ‘douse’

*tɔ‑* *tɔ̯a-* *tɔ̯ɛ-* ‘sow, plant’

*tɔ‑* *tɔ̯a-* *tɔ̯ɛ-* ‘spit’

*nɔ‑* *nɔ̯a-* *nɔ̯ɛ-* ‘hear’

c. +ATR *Ce-* stems

*be‑* *be- be-* ‘lie down’

*ce‑* *cè- ce-* ‘shout’

*de‑* *de- de-* ‘bathe’

*je‑* *je- je-* ‘dance’

*je‑* *je- je-* ‘harvest’

*je‑* *je- je-* ‘fart’

d. +ATR *Co-* stems

*do‑ do- do̯e-* ‘bump’

*do‑ do- do̯e-* ‘suckle’

*go‑ go- go̯e-* ‘go out’

e. *Ca-* stems

*ga‑* *ga- ga̯ɛ-* ‘cut (with sickle)’

*ka‑* *ka- ka̯ɛ-* ‘shave’

*na‑* *na- na̯ɛ-* ‘spend night’

*sa‑* *sa- sa̯ɛ-* ‘reply’

*ta‑* *ta- ta̯ɛ-* ‘shoot’

*ta‑* *ta- ta̯ɛ-* ‘avoid taboo’

f. *Cu-* stems

*nu‑* *nu- nu̯i-* ‘go in’

g. *Ci-* stems

*initial palatal*

*yi‑* *ya- yi-* ‘see’

*other initial C*

*di- di̯a- di-* ‘carry on head’

*ti- ti̯a- ti-* ‘send’

The A/O-stem requires a shift from *Cɛ-* to *Ce̯a-* (xx2a) from *Cɔ-* to *Cɔ̯a-* (xx2b), and from *Ci-* to *Ci̯a-* (xx2g). Observe that *Cɛ-* but not *Cɔ-* shifts to a +ATR value; these pronunciations are clear in careful speech. The diphthongal forms *Ce̯a-* and *Ci̯a-* simplify to *Ca-* after a palatoalveolar (including *y*). Presumably *Cɔ̯a-* would similarly simplify to *Ca-* after *w*, but there are no relevant examples. There is no vocalic change in the A/O-stems for *Ce-* , *Co‑*,  *Ca-* , or *Cu-*.

In the E/I-stem, *Cɔ-* shifts to *Cɔ̯ɛ-*, *Co-* to *Co̯e-*, *Ca-* to *Ca̯ɛ-*, and *Cu-* to *nu̯i‑*. This reflects the structural distinction between final-nonhigh-vowel and final-high-vowel verb stems. There is no change in the vocalism of *Cɛ-*, *Ce-*, or *Ci-*, i.e. stems with a front vowel, but this may disguise an underlying difference between /Cɛ̯ɛ-/ and /Ce̯e-/ for the final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and /Ci̯i-/ for *Ci-*.

The vocalism of *Cv:-* verbs is illustrated in (xx3). There are no *Cu:-* stems.

(xx3) Vocalism of *Cv:-* verb sems

basic A/O-stem E/I-stem gloss

a. -ATR *Cɛ:-* stems

*bɛ:‑* *bea- bɛ:-* ‘get’ (but see §10.xxx below)

*ɛ:‑* *ea- ɛ:-* ‘dispossess’

*pɛ́:‑* *pea‑ pɛ:‑* ‘strike (match)’

*tɛ:‑ tea- tɛ:-* ‘make large pile’

*zɛ:‑* *zea- zɛ:-* ‘bring’

b. +ATR *Ce:-* stems

*pé:‑* *pe:- pe:-* ‘clap (hands)’

*sé:‑* *se:- se:-* ‘sneeze’

c. -ATR *Cɔ:-* stems

*initial w*

*wɔ:‑ wa:-* *wɔɛ-* ‘come’

*unrounded initial C*

*zɔ:‑* *zoa- zɔɛ-* ‘look for’

*tɔ́:- toa- tɔɛ-* ‘begin’

d. +ATR *Co:-* stems

*to:‑* *to:- toe-* ‘pound’

e. *Ca:-* stems

*ba:‑* *ba:- baɛ-* ‘gather’

*la:‑* *la:- laɛ-* ‘give birth’

*ɲa:‑* *ɲa:- ɲaɛ-* ‘take, pick up’

*sa:‑* *sa:- saɛ-* ‘take off (garment)’

*sa:‑* *sa:- saɛ-* ‘coarsely grind’

*ta:‑* *ta:- taɛ-* ‘lay (egg)’

*wa:‑* *wa:- waɛ-* ‘do farm work’

f. *Ci:-* stems (or *Ciy-* ?, see discussion below)

*ni:‑ ni:- ni:-* ‘sleep’

In the A/O-stem, *Cɛ:-* becomes *Cea-*, and *Ca:-* becomes *Caɛ-*, following the vowel-quality patterns seen with *Cv-* counterparts. *Cɔ:-* becomes *Cɔa-* (difficult to distinguish from *Coa-*) but in the case of *wɔ̌:-* ‘come’, the initial *w* “swallows” the *ɔ*, producing *wa:-*. This is homophonous with the A/O-stem of *wǎ:-* ‘do farm work’. The only *Ci:-* stem, *ní:-* ‘sleep’, does not break into #*nia-* in the A/O-stem. This suggests the possibility of a lexical representation *níy-* rather than *ní:-*.

In the E/I-stem of *Cv:-* verbs, there are no surprises; the vowel qualities match those for *Cv-* verbs.

My transcriptions recognize a phonological distinction between monomoraic *Co̯e-*, *Ce̯a-*, *Ca̯ɛ-*, etc., from *Cv-* verbs (e.g. *go̯e-*) and bimoraic *Coe‑*, *Cea-*, *Caɛ-*, etc., from *Cv:-* verbs (e.g. *toe-*). In careful pronunciation, an informant does make these distinctions. In allegro pronunciation, they are difficult to distinguish: *Coe‑* and *Cea-* may desyllabify to *Co̯e-* and *Ce̯a-*, and the timing distinction between *Ca̯ɛ-* and *Caɛ-* is subtle in the best of cases.

Furthermore, desyllabified mid-height vowels tend to reduce to semivowels {*w y*} in allegro speech, obscuring underlying ATR values, thus *sɔ̯a-* > [swa], *do̯e-* > [dwe], *te̯a-* > [tja].

#### *nú-* ‘go in’

This is the only *Cu-* verb. The paradigm is unremarkable except for the imperative form *nwí*.

(xx1) Paradigm of ‘go in’

*nú* bare stem

*nú-lé* verbal noun

*nu̯i-* simple perfective

*nú-yà-* perfective‑1b

*nú-sɔ̀-* perfective‑2

*nú dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*nú-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*nù-lí-* perfective negative

*nú-m̀-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*nú-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*nu̯í* imperative

*nú-lì* imperative negative

*nú-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

In some Dogon languages, ‘hear’ and ‘go in’ differ only in tones and merge in some inflectional categories where lexical tones are overridden. In TU, ‘hear’ is *nɔ̌-*, A/O-stem *nwa-*, so there is always a segmental difference between ‘hear’ and ‘go in’.

#### *yǐ-* ‘see’

This verb diverges in vocalism from the few other *Ci-* stems. The A/O-stem *ya-* is what we would expect from #*yɛ̌-* or #*yɔ̌-* rather than *yǐ-*, and several cognates in other Dogon languages have a -ATR vowel, e.g. Jamsay *ɛ̌:-* (Pergue dialect *yɛ̌:-*), Najamba *yɛ́-*, Yanda Dom and Toro Tegu *wɔ́-*.

(xx1) Paradigm of ‘see’

*yí* bare stem

*yí-lé* verbal noun

*yì:-* simple perfective

— perfective‑1b or 1a

*yì-sɔ́-* perfective‑2

*yí dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*yì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*yà-lí* perfective negative

*yá-m̀-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*yá-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

— imperative

— imperative negative

*yà-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

#### Other *Ci-* verbs (*tí-* ‘send’, *dǐ-* ‘carry on head’)

Given the irregularity of ‘see’, we can think of *tí-* ‘send’ and *dǐ-* ‘carry on head’ as regular for the shape *Ci-*. As expected from the voicing values of the initial stops, *tí-* is {H}-toned and *dǐ-* is {LH}-toned, the difference being audible in the perfective-2.

(xx1) Paradigms of ‘send’ and ‘carry on head’

‘send’ ‘carry on head’

*tí- dí* bare stem

*tí-lé dí-lé* verbal noun

*tì:- dì:-* simple perfective

*tí-tì- dí-tì-* perfective‑1b

*tí-sɔ̀- dì-sɔ́-* perfective‑2

*tí dɛ̀- dí dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*tí-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- dì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì* experiential perfect

*tìyà-lí- dìyà-lí-* perfective negative

*tíyà-m-dɔ̀- díyà-m-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*tíyá-ŋgò:- tíyá-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*ti̯á di̯á* imperative

*ti̯á-lì di̯á-lì* imperative negative

*ti̯á-mɔ́-ǹ di̯à-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

Several cognates of ‘carry on head’ are bisyllabic, including a Mediopassive suffix (Yanda Dom *dì-yɛ́-*, Togo Kan *dùw-î:-*, Yorno so *dùy-ɛ̂:-*). This probably accounts (historically) for the second syllable in A/O-stem *diya*. Cognates of ‘send’ are variably monosyllabic (e.g. Jamsay *tí:-*) or bisyllabic (e.g. Najamba *tíyɛ́-*).

#### ‘Be worm-eaten’ (*kɔ̯á-*)

The subject is usually ‘wood’ or stored dry crops (peanuts, cow-peas) that have become infested with insects. This is the only verb I know of with this diphthongal shape. The vowel is short. The perfective-1a is *kɔ̯á-(y)à-*. The perfective negative is *kɔ̯à-lí-*. The imperfective positive is *kɔ̯á-m̀-dɔ̀-*. The perfective subject-focus form is *kɔ̯á-ɛ̀:*.

#### Suppletive verb ‘go’ (*yǎy-*, *yà-dá*, *o-*)

This verb has two basic stems. On is *yǎ(y)-*, the other is *o-* (lexical tone indeterminate). ‘go’ and its transitive counterpart *zǎy-* ‘convey’ share a number of paradigmatic features. Imperative suffix *-da* is limited to these two verbs, but the tone contour diverges in the two cases (*yà-dá*, *zá-dà*). ‘Go’ also has a -d- increment in 3Pl perfective yá‑d‑à: ‘they went’. *zǎy-* is ablauted to *zo-* in the inflections where *o-* is the stem used for ‘go’, raising the possibility that *o-* as ‘go’ allostem is an ablauted (rather than suppletive) stem. Historically, however, *o-* may derive from an unrelated ‘go’ verb, cf. Toro Tegu *bò-* ‘go (to)’, Dogulu *bɔ̀lɛ́-* ‘go’.

(xx1) Paradigm of ‘go’

*yây* bare stem

*yáy-lé* verbal noun

*yày-* simple perfective (3Pl yà-d-à:)

*yǎ-yyà-* ~ *yé-yà-* perfective‑1a

*yày-sɔ́-* perfective‑2

*yǎy dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*yày-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*ò-lí-* perfective negative

*ó-m̀-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*ó-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*yà-dá* imperative

*ó-lì* imperative negative

*ḿbó-ǹ* [!] hortative

#### *bɛ̌:* ‘get’

This is a simple transitive meaning ‘get, obtain’. It is also used as the final verb in a chain in the sense ‘be able to’. The common perfective-positive system form is recent perfect *bɛ̌:‑dɛ̀-*.

The perfective negative is *bèà-lí*. The imperfective positive is *béà‑m‑dɔ̀*. The imperfective negative is *béá‑ŋgò‑*. The paradigm is therefore synchronically regular.

Cognates like Yanda Dom *bɛ̀lɛ́* and Jamsay *bɛ̀rɛ́* preserve the older bisyllabic form. A medial *l* is preserved in mediopassive *bɛ̀l-í:* ‘be gotten’.

#### Mostly regular verb *zɛ̂:* ‘bring’

This verb is synchronically regular for the most part, showing the same stem-alternations as other Cɛ: stems, see (xx3a) in §10.1.3.1. However, the anterior subordinated forms are past-time zɛ́-dɛ̀ gín and future-time zɛ́-dɛ̀ nɛ́, with a -dɛ̀ element that likely points back to a composite proto-form.

(xx1) Paradigm of *zɛ̂:-* ‘bring’

*zɛ̂:* bare stem

*zɛ́:-lé* verbal noun

*zɛ̀:-* simple perfective (3Sg)

*zɛ̌:-tì-* perfective‑1b

*zɛ̀:-sɔ́* perfective‑2

*zɛ̌: dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*zɛ̀:-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*zèà-lí-* perfective negative

*zéà-m̀-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*zéá-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*zéá* imperative

*zéá-lì* imperative negative

*zèà-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

The common perfective-positive system form is perfective-1b *zɛ̌:-tì-*.

In some other Dogon languages this verb, like ‘take away’ (next section), shows signs of having originated as a two-verb chain.

#### Irregular verb *zǎy-* ‘take away (convey)’

This verb functions roughly as the causative of *yǎy-* ‘go’, and the two verbs share some unutual paradigmatic features. In some other Dogon languages, ‘take away, convey’ is a more or less frozen chain including a ‘take’ verb and ‘go’.

The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) Paradigm of *zǎy-* ‘take away, convey’

*zây* bare stem

*záy-lé* verbal noun

*zày-* simple perfective (3Pl *zà-d-à:*)

*zǎy-tì-* perfective‑1b

*zày-sɔ́* perfective‑2

*zǎy dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*zày-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*zò-lí-* perfective negative

*zó-m̀-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*zó-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*zá-dà* imperative

*zó-lì* imperative negative

*zò-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

#### *CvC-* verb stems

There are a number of verb stems that often appear in the form *CvC-*, whether word-finally or presuffixally. Since *C2* is always a sonorant, and since there is no opposition between *CvC-* and *CvCi-* for a given sonorant *C2*, I am inclined to analyse these stems as *CvCi-*, with frequent syncope/apocope of the final short high vowel (§3.xxx). The full form *CvCi-* is elicitable, except when *C2* is *y*. Given the weak metrical position of the second syllable, the distinction between *Cvyi-* and *Cvy-* would be difficult to hear in any case.

The sample paradigm in (xx1) is that of *làyí-* (or *lǎy-*) ‘taste’

(xx1) Paradigm of ‘taste’

*lây* bare stem

*láy-lé* verbal noun

*lày-* simple perfective

*lǎy-tì-* perfective‑1b

*lày-sɔ́-* perfective‑2

*lǎy dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*lày-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*lày-lí-* perfective negative

*lây-m-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*láy-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*láy* imperative

*láy-lì* imperative negative

*lày-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

Certain inflected forms of *yǎy-* ‘go’ (§10.1.xxx) and *zǎy-* ‘take away, convey’ (§10.1.xxx) have *Cay-* segmental shape. Some *Cv-* verbs have an allomorph *Cvy-* in certain perfective-system inflections, see §10.xxx.

*ní:-* ‘sleep’ might alternatively be represented as *níy-*, which might account for the absence of a-vowels in its A/O-stem *niy-* (§10.xxx above).

Overall, a case can be made that *Cvy-* is a valid lexical shape for verbs, but it is not a clearcut call.

#### *nCv‑* verb (*ńdí-* ‘give’)

The only verb stem of this shape is *ńdí-* ‘give’. It is treated as bisyllabic, as seen by the tone contour in e.g. imperfective *ńdà-m-dɔ̀-*.

(xx1) Paradigm of ‘give’

*ńdí* bare stem

*ńdí-lé* verbal noun

*ǹdì-* simple perfective

*ńdí-tì-* perfective‑1b

*ńdí-sɔ̀-* perfective‑2

*ńdí dɛ̀-* recent perfect

*ńdí-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* experiential perfect

*ǹdà-lí-* perfective negative

*ńdà-m-dɔ̀-* imperfective

*ńdá-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

*ńdá* imperative

*ńdà-lì* imperative negative

*ńdá-mɔ́-ǹ* hortative

#### Underived bisyllabic stems

The majority of underived verb stems are bisyllabic. *CvCv-* is common, followed by *CvCCv-*, then *Cv:Cv-*, then *Cv:CCv-*. The initial C position may be vacant. Medial CC clusters are mostly homorganic nasal-stop clusters {*mb* *nd* *ŋg*}.

As with mono- and trisyllabic stems, there are two lexical tone classes, {H} and {LH}. Stems beginning with a voiceless obstruent are {H}, those beginning with a voiced obstruent are {LH}, and those beginning with sonorants or with no consonant can be either (lexical choice). Lexical tones are preserved in positive perfective forms, but are partially or fully overridden in some other inflectional categories. A few examples illustrating the syllabic shapes and tone classes are in (xx1).

(xx1) Syllabic Shapes and Lexical Tones of Bisyllabic Verbs

stem gloss

a. {H}-toned with initial voiceless obstruent

*CvCv-*

*kɔ́bɔ́-* ‘draw water’

*tábá-* ‘touch’

*CvCCv-*

*tómbó-* ‘jump’

*sɛ́mbí-* ‘sweep’

*Cv:Cv-*

*pá:mí-* ‘understand’

*sá:mí-* ‘reply’ (older speakers)

*Cv:CCv-*

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

b. {LH}-toned with initial voiced obstruent

*CvCv-*

*zòbɔ́-* ‘run’

*bàrⁿá-* ‘beat (tomtom)’

*CvCCv-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí-* ‘treat (medically)’

*dàmbí-* ‘push’

*Cv:Cv-*

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*Cv:CCv-*

*mà:ndí-* ‘think’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

c. {H}- or {LH}-toned with initial sonorant or no consonant

*CvCv-*, {H}-toned

*ɛ́bɛ́-* ‘buy’

*ɔ́bú-* ‘lay out’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*CvCv-*, {LH}-toned

*àbá-* ‘accept’

*ìrɛ́-* ‘forget’

*ìlɛ́-* ‘go up’

*ìbé-* ‘catch’

*ùrɔ́-* ‘skin and butcher’

*lùgɔ́-* ‘rinse (mouth)’

*nùŋú-* ‘sing’

*yàgá-* ‘fall’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*CvCCv-*, {H}-toned

*námbí-* ‘step on’

*ɔ́ndí-* ‘build’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*CvCCv-*, {LH}-toned

*màndí-* ‘laugh’ with noun *móndú-gó*

*nìndí-* ‘breathe’ with noun *nìndì-gó*

*nìŋgé-* ‘cook (sauce)’ with noun *nìŋgé* ‘sauce’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*Cv:Cv-*, {H}-toned

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*Cv:Cv-*, {LH}-toned

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*Cv:CCv*-, {H}-toned

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

*Cv:CCv-*, {LH}-toned

*nɔ́:ndú-* ‘ignite’

*ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx

Regarding vocalism, bisyllabic verbs can be divided into two major categories. In one, the **final vowel is nonhigh** {*e ɛ a ɔ o*} and is tightly constrained by the penult vowel. In the other, the **final vowel is high** (basically i, but easily shifting to u to assimilate to nearby segments), regardless of the penult vowel quality. In all underived bisyllabic verbs, the final vowel is short, but the penult vowel may be long.

In the final-nonhigh-vowel class, the possible lexical vowel sequences for CvCv verbs are those in (xx2).

mixed ATR

bèrⁿɛ́- ‘become giddy’

zògɔ́- ‘shatter’

dògɔ́- ‘abandon’

zòbɔ́- ‘run’

-ATR

kɔ́bɔ́- ‘draw (water)’

ɛ́bɛ́- ‘buy’

sɛ́mɛ́- ‘slaughter’

+ATR

kédé- ‘cut’ sɛmamnum

(xx2) Vowel sequences for final-nonhigh-vowel *CvCv-* verbs

a. identical non-high vowels

*CeCe*, *CɛCɛ*, *CaCa*, *CɔCɔ*, *CoCo*

b. +ATR followed by -ATR mid-height vowel

*CeCɛ*, *CoCɔ*

c. high vowel plus mid-height vowel agreeing in backness

*CiCe*, *CiCɛ*, *CuCɔ*, *CuCo*

The lexical vocalism changes in the A/O-stem for verbs of this major class that do not already end in {*a o*}. Examples of the various vowel patterns are given in (xx3).

(xx3) Final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

basic A/O-stem gloss

a. identical non-high vowels

*CaCa-*

*bàrá- bara-* ‘add’

+ATR *CeCe- and* *CoCo-*

*kédé- kede-* ‘cut’

*pógó- pogo-* ‘thresh’

-ATR *CɛCɛ- and CɔCɔ-*

*ɛ́bɛ́- ɛba-* ‘buy’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔba-* ‘draw water’

b. +ATR then -ATR mid-height vowel

*bèrⁿɛ́- berⁿa-* ‘become giddy’

*dòrⁿɔ́- dorⁿa-* ‘sell’

c. high vowel plus mid-height vowel

*CiCe- and CuCo- with final +ATR vowel*

*síré- sire-* ‘point at’

*súgó- sugo-* ‘go down’

*CiCɛ- and CuCɔ- with final -ATR vowel*

*ìlɛ́- ila-* ‘go up’

*gùɲɔ́- guɲa-* ‘steal’

Fuller lists of the two types of *CɛCɛ-* and *CɔCɔ-* stems are in (xx4).

(xx4) basic A/O-stem gloss

a. *CeCɛ-* and *CoCɔ-*

*CeCɛ-*

*bèrⁿɛ́- berⁿa-* ‘become giddy’

*CoCɔ-*

*dògɔ́- doga*- ‘abandon’

*dòrⁿɔ́- dorⁿa*- ‘sell’

*zògɔ́- zoga*- ‘shatter’

b. *CɔCɔ- and CɛCɛ-*

*CɛCɛ-*

*ɛ́bɛ́- ɛba-* ‘buy’

*sɛ́mɛ́- sɛma-* ‘slaughter’

*CɔCɔ-*

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔba-* ‘draw water’

*CvCCv-*, *Cv:Cv-*, and *Cv:CCv-* verbs favor the final-high-vowel pattern, see below. However, those vowel sequences illustrated above that end in a +ATR vowel are allowed for these heavier verbs (xx5).

(xx5) basic A/O-stem gloss

a. vowel sequence *e…e*

*émbé- embe-* ‘be stronger than’

*ŋ ŋ* ‘

b. vowel sequence *i…e*

*pídé- pide-* ‘spit in jet’

*ŋ ŋ* ‘

c. vowel sequence *o…o*

*tómbó- tombo-* ‘jump’

*ŋ ŋ* ‘

d. vowel sequence *u…o*

*púŋgó- puŋgo-* ‘hit’

*ŋ ŋ* ‘

This brings us to the final-high-vowel class. Here the penult can be of any vowel quality, but the final vowel is *i* (always so in the imperative), often shifting to u in the presence of a rounded vowel or a labial(ized) consonant. Some *CvCv* stems of these types are in (xx6).

(xx6) basic A/O-stem gloss

a. penult is -ATR

*ɔ́bú- ɔbu-* ‘lay out’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛra-* ‘look’

b. penult is +ATR

*tórí- toro-* ‘authorize’

c. penult is *a*

*gàní-* [gǎn] *gan(i)-* ‘put (in)’

*yàrí- yara-* ‘untie’

d. penult is a high vowel

*gùbú- gubu-* ‘hang up’

*sírí- sira-* ‘cook’

For some such stems, the A/O-stem shifts the final vowel to {a *o*}. Others keep the vocalism unchanged. Lists of stems of the two types are in (xx7).

(xx6) basic A/O-stem gloss

a. A/O-stem does not change vocalism

*penult has back rounded vowel*

*gùbú- gubu-* ‘hang up’

*dùŋú-* [dǔŋ] *duŋu-* ‘put down’

*ɔ́bú- ɔbu-* ‘lay out’

*túní-* [tún] *tun(i)-* ‘put (in)’

*penult has i (traces of CvCCv shape)*

*píŋí- piŋi-* ‘shut (door)’ (imperative *píŋgì*)

b. A/O-stem shifts to {a *o*}

*penult has front or low vowel*

*gàyí-* [gǎj] *gaya-* ‘bend over backwards’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛra-* ‘look’

*sírí- sira-* ‘cook’

*tórí- toro-* ‘authorize’

*yàrí- yara-* ‘untie’

For heavier bisyllabic stems (*CvCCv-*, *Cv:Cv-*, *Cv:CCv-*), the balance shifts more decisively in favor of the final-high-vowel class. Unless the penult has +ATR {*e o*}, the verb stem is of the final-high-vowel class. In the A/O-stem, the shift of final vowel to {*a o*} occurs in stems with a long vowel, but a long ‑ATR penult vowel does not then shift to +ATR. Examples are in (xx8).

(xx8) basic A/O-stem gloss

a. penult is -ATR

*CvCCv*

*sɛ́mbí- sɛmbi-* ‘sweep’

*yɛ̀mbí- yɛmbi-* ‘pick out’

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔŋgi-* ‘treat (medically)’

*sɔ́mbú- sɔmbu-* ‘congratulate’

*Cv:Cv*

*Cv:CCv*

*nɔ́:ndú- nɔ:nda-* ‘ignite’

b. penult is a

*CvCCv*

*dàmbí- dambi-* ‘push’

*Cv:Cv*

*pá:mú- pa:ma-* ‘understand’

*mà:ndí- ma:nda-* ‘think’

c. penult is high vowel {*i u*}

*tímbí- timbi-* ‘cover (with lid)’

*ŋ ŋ* ‘

*Fulfulde and French loans*

*try ‘bring’, ‘take away, convey’ if not monosyllabic*

#### *ŋŋŋ* ‘xxx’ *[one such section for each irregular bisyllabic stem]*

*(sections can be added, one for each irregular stem, showing representative AN forms)*

*try ‘bring’, ‘take away, convey’ if not monosyllabic*

#### Trisyllabic stems

All known trisyllabic stems end in a short high vowel.

*(xx2) Trisyllabics with final high vowel*

*stem gloss*

*a. initial nonhigh vowel (eii, etc.)*

*b. initial high vowel (iii, etc.)*

*If there is are CiCiCi and/or CuCuCu/i stems in (xx2b), they should divide into +ATR and -ATR in any AN forms (or the imperative) that require a final nonhigh vowel. If so, give lists here of stems with CiCiCe, CiCiCɛ, CuCuCo, and CuCuCɔ in these inflected forms. Each such stems should have a citation form showing both stems.*

*Briefly indicate conditions under which trisyllabic CvCvCv syncopates a medial high vowel or apocopates a final high vowel, with cross-refs to Chapter 3.*

*Except perhaps for causatives, trisyllabic derivatives from bisyllabic verbs should obey the same constraints as for lexical trisyllabics (which in many cases originated as suffixed derivatives).*

*Quadrisyllabic verbs are probably all suffixal derivatives, and presumably follow the rules for trisyllabics, with the medial vowel doubled.*

## Positive indicative AN categories

### Perfective positive system (including perfect)

*[modify as appropriate for the language]*

*The categories in this system are the simple perfective (with no syllabic AN suffix), the suffixally marked perfective‑1a, perfective‑1b, and perfective‑2 (or: Resultative), the recent perfect, and the experiential perfect. The two perfect categories are included in this system on the basis of morphology, notably in using the same perfective negative suffix.*

#### (Simple) perfective (E/I-stem in 3Sg)

The simple (or unsuffixed) perfective is used in three constructions, with slightly different forms.

The simple perfective is the regular perfective positive form when there is a preceding focalized nonsubject constituent. In other words, the verb is part of the defocalized background. Here “focalization” should be interpreted loosely, as almost any constituent preceding the verb can trigger verb defocalization, even when the free translation would not suggest any special focus. The (conjugated) simple perfective is not used when the subject is focalized. In this case, a special unconjugated subject-focus form with final *-ɛ̀:*, is required (§13.1.1.3).

Sample paradigms are in (xx1). For verbs like ‘abandon’ and ‘die’ that end in a non-high vowel, the lexical vowel quality is kept in the 1st/2nd person forms. The 3Sg form shifts final {*ɔ o*} to {*ɛ e*}, but keeps nonfinal vowels intact. I call this the **E-stem**. The final-vowel shift is audible with ‘abandon’ but not for ‘die’, which already ends in *ɛ*. For verbs that end in a high vowel, like ‘build’, the 3Sg form ends in *i*, which is probably the same stem underlying the 1st/2nd person forms (*i* or *u* before the suffix). In other words, for these verbs the **I-stem** is not confined to the 3Sg.

The 3Pl form ends in *-à:*, arguably the contraction of a suffix /-a/ with one or other of the stems of the verb. Since the difference between E/I-stems and other stems of a given verb is expressed by the stem-final vowel, contraction with the suffixal vowel in the 3Pl form makes it difficult to determine which stem is involved. The verbs ‘go’ (included here) and ‘take away, convey’ have a special 3Pl perfective form with a *‑d‑* extension (absent from the rest of the paradigm), followed by *‑à:*, see (xx5) below.

Paradigms of the defocalized simple perfective are in (xx1). In the absence of a preceding constituent, these forms are not used. Instead, one of the suffixally marked perfectives is used.

(xx1) Simple perfectives (defocalized)

category ‘abandon’ ‘die’ ‘build’

1Sg *dɔ̀gɔ̀-m* *tìbɛ̀-m* *ɔ̀ndù-m*

1Pl *dɔ̀gɔ̀-yⁿ* *tìbɛ̀-yⁿ* *ɔ̀ndì-yⁿ*

2Sg *dɔ̀gɔ̀-wⁿ* *tìbɛ̀-wⁿ* *ɔ̀ndù-wⁿ*

2Pl *dɔ̀gɔ̀-yⁿ* *tìbɛ̀-yⁿ* *ɔ̀ndì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *dɔ̀gɛ̀-∅* *tìbɛ̀-∅* *ɔ̀ndì-∅*

3Pl *dɔ̀g-à:* *tìb-à:* *ɔ̀nd-à:*

When used with content (WH) interrogatives, if no other overt question marker is present, the defocalized simple perfective can appear with a final rising pitch (arguably rising tone), and a final short vowel is lengthened to accommodate the contoured tone:

(xx2) *ǹjé ɔ̀ndǐ:-∅*

what build.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘What did he/she build?’

A different tonal form is used in isolation, and to a limited extent in a clause with preceding constituents (especially unfocalized setting adverbials). Here the simple perfective is allowed, though less common that suffixally marked perfectives. In these contexts, the verb is {HL}‑toned for all subject categories. The segmental form is as in (xx1) above. Thus *dɔ́gɛ̀-∅* ‘he/she abandoned’, *dɔ́gɔ̀-m* ‘I abandoned’, and so forth.

The third form of the simple perfective occurs in combination with with *dè* ‘if’ in conditional antecedents (xx3). The 1st/2nd person forms are now {LH}-toned, with the H-tone on the final syllable (or final monosyllabic mora). The third person forms are L-toned, but transfer a H-tone to the ‘if’ particle. The vocalism of the 3Sg form is now that of the bare stem, not the E-stem as in (xx1) above. The vocalic change is overt with 3Sg *dɔ̀gɔ̀-∅ dé* ‘if he/she abandons’, contrast *dɔ̀gɛ̀-∅* above. In addition,

(xx3) Simple perfectives (with *dè* ‘if’)

category ‘abandon’ ‘die’ ‘build’

1Sg *dɔ̀gɔ́-m dè* *tìbɛ́-m dè* *ɔ̀ndú-m dè*

1Pl *dɔ̀gɔ́-yⁿ dè* *tìbɛ́-yⁿ dè* *ɔ̀ndí-yⁿ dè*

2Sg *dɔ̀gɔ́-wⁿ dè* *tìbɛ́-wⁿ dè* *ɔ̀ndú-wⁿ dè*

2Pl *dɔ̀gɔ́-yⁿ dè* *tìbɛ́-yⁿ dè* *ɔ̀ndí-yⁿ dè*

3Sg/Inan *dɔ̀gɔ̀-∅ dé tìbɛ̀-∅ dé* *ɔ̀ndì-∅ dé*

3Pl *dɔ̀g-à: dé* *tìb-à: dé* *ɔ̀nd-à: dé*

In both the defocalized and conditional constructions, stem-final +ATR *o* optionally assimilate in frontness to a following 1Pl/2Pl suffix *‑yⁿ*. For example, *bùndò-yⁿ* ‘we hit’ is optionally pronounced *bùndè-yⁿ*, and intermediate pronunciations can be heard. This is unrelated to the systematic shift between lexical segmental form and the E-stem in the 3Sg.

Forms of 1Sg and 3Sg/Inan simple perfectives from monosyllabic stems are in (xx4). The 3Sg defocalized forms that show overt E-stems provides diphthongs that do not occur elsewhere in the language, including some due to devocalization of *o* and *ɔ*. Another new fact that can be gleaned is that the *-y* suffix with ‘enter’ and ‘see’ (Cv verbs of the final-high-vowel class) disappears before *dè*.

(xx4) gloss bare 1Sg Defoc 1Sg w *dè* 3Sg Defoc 3Sg w *dè* 3Pl

a. *Cv*

‘enter’ *nú* *nù-m* *nù-ḿ dè nù-y* *nù-∅ dé nw-à:*

*~ nw-ì*

‘see’ *yǐ: yì-m yì-ḿ dè yì-y yì-∅ dé y(y)-à:*

‘get old’ *pɛ́ pɛ̀-m pɛ̀-ḿ dè pɛ̀-∅ pɛ̀-∅ dé pe̯-à:*

‘shout’ *cé cè-m cè-ḿ dè cè-∅ cè-∅ dé* *ce̯-à:*

*overtly distinct E-stem (defocalized 3Sg)*

‘exit’ *gǒ gò-m gò-ḿ dè go̯è-∅ gò-∅ dé go̯-à:*

‘sow’ *tɔ́ tɔ̀-m tɔ̀-ḿ dè tɔ̯ɛ̀-∅ tɔ̀-∅ dé* *tɔ̯-à:*

‘shave’ *ká kà-m kà-ḿ dè kàɛ̀-∅* *kà-∅ dé* *k-à:*

([kà͜ɛ̀])

b. *Cv:*

‘bring’ *zé̯ɛ̀: zè̯ɛ̀:-m zè̯ɛ̀:-ḿ dè zè̯ɛ̀:-∅ zè̯ɛ̀:-∅ dé* *zè-à:*

‘sneeze’ *sé: sè:-m sè:-ḿ dè sè:-∅ sè:-∅ dé sè-à:*

‘sleep’ *ní: nì:-m nì:-ḿ dè nì:-∅ nì:-∅ dé nì-à:*

*overtly distinct E-stem (defocalized 3Sg)*

‘come’ *wɔ̌: wɔ̀:-m wɔ̀:-ḿ dè wɔ̯ɛ̀:-∅ wɔ̀:-∅ dé wɔ̀-à:*

‘pound’ *tó: tò:-m tò:-ḿ dè to̯è:-∅ tò:-∅ dé tò-à:*

‘gather’ *bǎ: bà:-m bà:-ḿ dè bàɛ̀-∅ bà:-∅ dé b-à:*

[bà͜ɛ̀]

With dè ‘if’, I could hear no distinction between 3Sg *bà:-∅ dé* ‘if he/she gathers’ and 3Pl *b-à: dé* ‘if they gather’. In the *aɛ* diphthong, neither vowel is desyllabified or lengthened.

The (clear and possible) *CvC-* stems in (xx3) must deal with how to pronounce the 1st/2nd person sonorant suffixes following a stem-final consonant (whether or not the stem is analysed as lexically *CvC-* or as derived from /CvCi-/). After *Cvy-*, the sonorant syllabifies, more clearly in the cases of *‑yⁿ* and *-wⁿ* than in that of *-m*. For example, *yày-ẃⁿ* is heard as [jàjúⁿ]. *Cvn-* stems, however, require a brief high vowel before *-ḿ*, *-ẃⁿ*, and *-ýⁿ*. It is easiest to hear this in the 1Sg forms shown for ‘put’ and ‘put in’ in (xx3b). In corresponding 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl forms (i.e. with a semivowel as suffix), I also hear a (homorganic) short high vowel, and therefore a <LH> tone on the final syllable, as in 2Sg *tùnù-wⁿ*, phonetic [tùnù:ⁿ], and in 1Pl/2Pl *tùn-ìỳⁿ*, phonetic [tùnì:ⁿ]. The analytical issue is whether underlying /túní-/ fails to delete the final short high vowel in this position, or whether underlying /tún-/ is supplied with a nonlexical epenthetic vowel, see §10.1.xxx. The forms in (xx5) are {L}-toned (defocalized), but there are no segmental changes in the conditional forms with *dè*.

(xx5) Simple perfective (defocalized), *CvC-* stems

stem 1Sg 3Sg 3Pl gloss

a. Cvy- motion verbs (with *-d-* augment in 3Pl)

*yǎy-/o-* *yày(ì)-m* *yày-∅ yà-d-à:* ‘go’

*zǎy-/zo- zày(ì)-m zày-∅ zà-d-à:* ‘take, convey’

b. *Cvy-* and *Cvn-* (arguably from bisyllabic /CvCi-/)

*lǎy-* (*làyí-*) *lày(ì)-m lày-∅ lày-à* ‘taste’

*tún-* (*túnú-*) *tùnù-m tùn-∅ tùn-à:* ‘put’

*gǎn-* (*gàní-*) *gànù-m gàn-∅ gàn-à:* ‘put in’

More nonmonosyllabic stems are illustrated in (xx6).

(xx6) Simple perfective (defocalized), nonmonosyllabic stems

stem 1Sg 3Sg 3Pl gloss

a. bisyllabic, final nonhigh vowel

*kédé- kèdè-m kèdè-∅ kèd-à:* ‘cut’

*tábá- tàbà-m tàbɛ̀-∅ tàb-à:* ‘touch’

*zɔ̀bɔ́- zɔ̀bɔ̀-m zɔ̀bɛ̀-∅ zɔ̀b-à:* ‘run’

b. bisyllabic, final high vowel

*dǔŋ- dùŋù-m dùŋì-∅ dùŋ-à:* ‘put down’

*gùbú- gùbù-m gùbì-∅ gùb-à:* ‘hang’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rù-m jɛ̀rì-∅ jɛ̀r-à:* ‘look’

c. trisyllabic, final nonhigh vowel

*zìgìbí- zìgìbì-m zìgìbì-∅ zi­gìb-à:* ‘shake’

#### Perfective-1a (*-yà-* ~ *-à:-*), perfective‑1b (*-tì-*)

Most verbs have a characteristic suffixed perfective, either perfective-1a *-yà-* ~ *-à:-* or perfective-1b *-tì-*. A few verbs occur with neither; in this case, the default perfective is the perfective-2 or a form with past clitic *=bì-*. Both the perfective-2 and the past can be used with any verb stem.

Perfective-1a is used with basic motion verbs (‘go’, ‘come’, ‘go in’, ‘go out’, arrive’, ‘pass by’), stance verbs (‘sit down’), deadjectival inchoatives (‘become big’), and and some other verbs of a nonkinetic nature (‘spend the night’, ‘die’, ‘be finished’). Most are intransitive, but a handful (‘forget’) are syntactically transitive. Perfective-1b is used with most transitive verbs and with some active intransitives, including verbs of thinking, speaking, and bodily function. Some morphologically mediopassive but syntactically transitive verbs (‘carry’, ‘hold’) take the perfective-1b. Basic perception verbs (‘see’, ‘hear’) and a few other non-impact transitives (‘understand’) do not accept either of these perfectives, and require the perfective-2 or the past clitic

**Ambi-valent** (labile) verbs that have can be either transitive and mediopassive are distinguishable in the perfective-1 but not elsewhere. For example, *zògɔ́-* ‘shatter’ can form perfective-1a *[Y zòg-â:-y]* ‘Y (e.g. glass, calabash) shattered’ and perfective-1b *[X Y zògɔ́-tì-∅]* ‘X (person) shattered Y’. In other inflectional categories, the two are not distinguished morphologically.

*yǎy-* ‘go’ has perfective-1a *yǎy-yà-* ‘went’ in its basic sense. However, in the collocation *íyɛ́ yǎy*- ‘play the board game’, which no longer has a clear motion component, it is optionally treated as active or transitive and we get perfective-1b *íyɛ́ yǎy-tì-* ‘played the board game’ as an alternative to perfective-1a *íyɛ́ yǎy‑yà-*.

The paradigms are in (xx1). The perfective-1a variant *-à:-* becomes *-â:-* when it contracts with a stem-final H-toned vowel in an {LH}-toned bisyllabic stem.

(xx1) category perfective-1a perfective-1b

1Sg *-à:-m* ~ *-yà-m* *-tì-m*

1Pl *-à:-yⁿ* ~ *-yà-yⁿ* *-tì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-à:-wⁿ* ~ *-yà-wⁿ* *-tì-wⁿ*

2Pl *-à:-yⁿ* ~ *-yà-yⁿ* *-tì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-à:-y* ~ *-yà-y* *-tì-∅*

3Pl *-yà-d-à:* *-tì-yà*

The suffixal allomorphs of the perfective-1a with various types of stem are illustrated in (xx2). There is some fluctuation in pronunciation with *Cv-* stems, only a few of which take the perfective-1a. *Cv-yà-* shifts to *Cv-yyà-* when the stem is {LH}-toned, allowing the complex tone to be fully articulated on the stem. This extra *y* occurs optionally in *tá‑(y)yà‑* from {H}-toned *tá-* ‘(trap) spring’, but was never heard with *nú-* ‘go in’. The variant forms *dw‑â:‑* (for /dɔ̯‑â:/) and *gw‑â:‑* (for /go̯‑â:/) in (xx2a) could be analysed as contractions of the fuller forms shown next to them, or else as extensions of the *-à:-* allomorph. The latter is regular with (non-mediopassive) bisyllabics whose stems end in a nonhigh vowel (xx2b), where it surfaces as *-à:-* with {H}-toned stems and as *‑â:-* with {LH}-toned stems, after contracting with the stem-final short vowel. Allomorph *-yà-* is also found after bisyllabics ending in *i* (xx2b), and after Mediopassive *-í:-* (xx2c). All trisyllabics known to me that take the perfective-1a are morphological mediopassives.

(xx2) Perfective‑1a *-yà-*, *-à:-*

stem perfective-1a gloss

a. *Cv‑*

*{H}-toned*

*nú- nú-yà-* ‘go in’

*tá- tá-(y)yà-* ‘(trap) spring’

*{LH}-toned*

*dɔ̌- dɔ̌-yyà-* ~ *dw-â:-* ‘arrive’

*gǒ- gǒ-yyà-* ~ *gw-â:-* ‘go out’

*bě- bě-yyà-* ‘lie down’ or ‘stay, remain’

*bǎ- bǎ-yyà-* ‘be enough’

b. *Cv:‑*

*ní:- ní:-yà-* ‘sleep’

*pé:- pé:-yà-* ‘(rifle) discharge’

*wɔ̌:- wɔ̌:-yà-* ‘come’

c. *Cvy‑*

*yǎy-/o- yǎy-yà-* ~ *yé-yà-* ‘go’

d. bisyllabic

*final nonhigh vowel, {LH}-toned*

*yàgá- yàg-â:-* ‘fall’

*ìlɛ́- ìl-â:-* ‘go up’

*wàdá- wàd-â:-* ‘be left over’

*final nonhigh vowel, {H}-toned*

*péndé- pénd-à:-* ‘(bone) break’

*pɔ́dɔ́- pɔ́d-à:-* ‘be bruised’

*lábá- láb-à:-* ‘go past’

*tíbɛ́- tíb-à:-* ‘die’

*final i*

*táŋgí- táŋgí-yà-* ‘become; cross’

e. mediopassive

*cíll-í:- cíll-í:-yà-* ‘be resolved’

*kábíl-í:- kábíl-í:-yà-* ‘be separated’

*bàrm-í:- bàrm-í:-yà-* ‘be wounded’

It is possible that at least the *-yà-* allomorph of the perfective-1a is historically related to *yǎy-* ‘go’. Prima facie evidence for this is that the 3Sg form ‑*yà‑y* and the 3Pl form *‑yà‑dà* are exact matches for the simple perfective of ‘go’ (§10.xxx). However, the perfective-1a is a fairly old formation (cognates in Jamsay and Ben Tey, for example).

The pronominal-suffix paradigm of perfective-1b *-tì-* is in (xx1) above. There are no special phonological interactions with the stem. *Cv̌-* monosyllabics have H-toned stems, as in the recent perfect (but not the perfective-2 or the experiential perfect). A few examples are in (xx3).

(xx3) Perfective‑1b *-tì-*

stem perfective-1b gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:‑*

*ká- ká-tì-* ‘shave’

*tí- tí-tì-* ‘send’

*jě- jé-tì-* ‘dance’

*jɛ̌- jɛ́-tì-* ‘kill’

*ɲɛ́- ɲɛ́-tì-* ‘eat, drink’

*tó:- tó:-tì-* ‘pound’

b. *Cvy‑*

*zǎy-/zo- zǎy-tì-* ‘take, convey’

*lǎy- lǎy-tì-* ‘taste’

*tún- tún-tì-* ‘put’

c. bisyllabic

*kédé- kédé-tì-* ‘cut’

*tábá-* *tábá-tì-* ‘touch’

*sɛ́mbí- sɛ́mbí-tì-* ‘sweep’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-tì-* ‘build’

d. trisyllabic

*péndí-gí- péndí-gí-tì-* ‘break’

*zìgìbí- zìgìbí-tì-* ‘shake’

The most likely source of perfective-1b *-tì-* is the verb *tí-* ‘send’. Like the perfective-1a, however, the formation is fairly old (cognates in Jamsay and Ben Tey).

#### Perfective‑2 (*-sɔ̀-*)

The perfective-2 (like past enclitic *=bì-*, see the following section) can be used with any verb. It is most common with perception and mental transitives (‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘understand’) that do not occur in collocations with a cognate nominal object. These verbs do not allow either perfective-1a or perfective-1b and so require perfective-2 or the past enclitic.

The basic form of the suffix is *-sɔ̀-*. Unlike perfective-1a/-1b and recent perfect suffixes, but like the experiential perfect, *-sɔ̀-* induces dropping of the tones of a preceding {LH}-toned verb stem to {L}, but the suffix itself becomes H-toned in the process. In other words, the lexical {LH} is realized over the verb plus suffix complex, with the H-toned component appearing on the suffix. Lexically {H}-toned verbs have their full {H}-toned form before the suffix. Since these generalizations apply even to *Cv-* stems, the perfective-2 is useful for determining the lexical tone of *Cv-* stems.

The synchronic relationship between the perfective-2 and the quasi-verb *sɔ̀-* ‘have’ is difficult to determine. The perfective-2 is probably ancient within Dogon, and counterparts occur in several (but not all) Dogon languages, e.g. Jamsay *-sà-*.

The paradigm is (xx1), with *nɔ̌-* ‘hear’ and *tó:-* ‘pound’ representing lexically {LH}- and {H}-toned verbs, respectively. The 3Pl subject form is *-s-ɛ̂:*, not #*-sɔ̯-ɛ̂:* .

(xx1) Perfective-2

category form ‘hear’ ‘pound’

1Sg *-sɔ́-m* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-m tó:-sɔ̀-m*

1Pl *-sɔ́-yⁿ* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-yⁿ tó:-sɔ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *-sɔ́-wⁿ* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-wⁿ tó:-sɔ̀-wⁿ*

2Pl *-sɔ́-wⁿ* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-wⁿ tó:-sɔ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-sɔ́-∅* *nɔ̀-sɔ́-∅ tó:-sɔ̀-∅*

3Pl *-s-ɛ̂:* *nɔ̀-s-ɛ̂: tó:-s-ɛ̀:*

Further examples, using the 3Sg form, are in (xx2). For *Cv-* and *Cv:-* stems, an extensive list is given in (xx1) in §10.1.3.1.

(xx1) verb perfective-2 gloss

a. {H}-toned stems

*síré- síré-sɔ̀-* ‘point at’

*súgó- súgó-sɔ̀-* ‘go down’

*tómbó- tómbó-sɔ̀-* ‘jump’

b. {LH}-toned stems

*ìbé- ìbè-sɔ́-* ‘catch’

*gùló- gùlò-sɔ́-* ‘dig’

*bàrá- bàrà-sɔ́-* ‘add’

*zɛ̀bɛ́- zɛ̀bɛ̀-sɔ́* curse’

*nùŋú- nùŋù-sɔ́-* ‘sing’

*zɔ̀ŋgú- zɔ̀ŋgù-sɔ́-* ‘treat’

#### Past perfect (*=bì-*) as a basic past form for some verbs

*=bì‑* is a conjugatable enclitic that is added to aspect/negation-marked verbs to shift the reference time from the moment of speaking to a past time, as in the past imperfective (‘was sweeping’) or past stative (‘was sitting’, ‘used to have’). See §10.5.1.1-6 for full coverage.

The simplest combination morphologically is the past perfect, which consists of the bare stem plus the conjugated enclitic (§10.5.1.3). In addition to the past perfect sense (‘had VPed’), this form is used as a basic past-time form (‘VPed’) for low-transitivity verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘hear’ that do not allow the perfective-1a or perfective-1b suffixes. For these verbs, the past perfect competes with perfective-2 *‑sà‑*, which has something of a present resultative or present perfect flavor (‘has VPed’, still relevant to the present) while *=bì-* can be used in clauses denoting events at any temporal distance from the present. For example, *nɔ́=bù-m* ‘I heard’ can report something heard some time ago (e.g. yesterday), while perfective-2 *nɔ̀-sɔ́-m* might be used to report a piece of just-heard news, cf. English *I have heard*.

(xx1) Past

category ‘say’

1Sg *=bù-m* *ɔ́r(ú)=bù-m*

1Pl *=bì-yⁿ* *ɔ́r(ú)=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *=bù-wⁿ* *ɔ́r(ú)=bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *=bì-yⁿ* *ɔ́r(ú)=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *=bì-∅* *ɔ́r(ú)=bì-∅*

3Pl *=b-à:* *ɔ́r(ú)=b-à:*

#### Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (*‑tɛ́rɛ́-bì-*, *-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-*)

The experiential perfect specifies that the event in question has occurred at least once in the lifetime of the subject. It generally occurs in connection with events that leave a permanent trace, such as a memory (‘have you ever gone to Paris?’). It is common with ‘see’ and ‘hear’ as well as ‘go’.

In positive clauses, one form of the experiential perfect is *‑tɛ́rɛ́=bì‑*, including past clitic *=bì‑*, whose vowel assimilates (*-bù-*) to a following labial(ized) consonant *-wⁿ* or *-m*. {LH}-toned verbs drop to {L} before the suffix. The other variant is *-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-*, with the perfective-2 suffix (and ‘have’ quasi-verb) *-sɔ̀-*. The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) Experiential perfect

category form ‘have ever seen’ ‘have ever seen’

1Sg *-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-m / -sɔ̀-m yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-m yì-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-m*

1Pl *-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-yⁿ / -sɛ̀-yⁿ* *yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-yⁿ yì-tɛ́rɛ́-sɛ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-wⁿ / -sɔ̀-wⁿ* *yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-wⁿ yì-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-wⁿ*

2Pl *-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-yⁿ / -sɛ̀-yⁿ* *yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-yⁿ*  *yì-tɛ́rɛ́-sɛ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-∅ / -sɔ̀-∅* *yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-∅ yì-tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-∅*

3Pl *-tɛ́rɛ́=b-à: / -s-ɛ̀:* *yì-tɛ́rɛ́=b-à: yì-tɛ́rɛ́-s-ɛ̀:*

Forms of *-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* from a sample of stems are in (xx2).

(xx2) Experiential perfect

verb ExpPrf gloss

a. {H}-toned

*ɲɛ́́- ɲɛ́-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘eat’

*tó:- tó:-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘pound’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bɔ́-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘draw (water)’

*péndí-gí péndí-gí-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘break’

b. {LH}-toned

*gǒ- gò-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘go out’

*wɔ̌:- wɔ̀:-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘come’

*yǎy-/o- yàgà-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘fall’

*yàgá- yày-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘go’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘think’

*zìgìbí- zí̀gìbì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-* ‘shake’

Sentence examples are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *gònsá:rⁿá yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-m*

elephant see-ExpPrf=Past-1SgSbj

‘I have (once) seen an elephant.’

b. *ú bàmàkɔ́ yày-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-wⁿ*

2SgSbj B go-ExpPrf=Past-2SgSbj

‘Have you-Sg ever been to Bamako?’

c. *ú pédé sɛ́mɛ́-tɛ́rɛ́=bù-wⁿ*

2SgSbj sheep slaughter-ExcPf=Past-2SgSbj

‘Have you-Sg ever slaughtered a sheep?’

The negative is common (‘have never VPed’). It is *‑tɛ̀rà‑lí-* with perfective negative *-lí-* but without past *=bì-*, see §10.2.3.2.

#### Recent perfect (*dɛ̀-*)

Another option in the perfective system is recent perfect *dɛ̀-*. This category specifies the (recent) completion of an activity. One typical context is ‘I have (already) eaten’ when declining an offer to join others at a meal. It can also specify the (recent) successful completion of an activity: ‘I have finished doing the job’.

The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) Recent perfect

category form ‘eat (meal)’

1Sg *dɛ̀-m* *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-m*

1Pl *dɛ̀-* *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *dɛ̀-* *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-wⁿ*

2Pl *dɛ̀-* *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *dɛ̀-∅* *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-∅*

3Pl *d-à* *ɲɛ́ d-à:*

A sample of verbs is in (xx2). Note that the {LH}-toned verbs in this inflection have a stem-final H-tone, unlike the case with the experiential perfect, where {LH}-toned stems drop all tones before the suffix.

(xx2) Recent perfect

verb recent perfect gloss

a. {H}-toned

*ɲɛ́- ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-* ‘eat’

*tó:- tó: dɛ̀-* ‘pound’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bɔ́ dɛ̀-* ‘draw (water)’

*péndí-gí péndí-gí dɛ̀-* ‘break’

b. {LH}-toned

*gǒ- gó dɛ̀-* ‘go out’

*wɔ̌:- wɔ̌: dɛ̀-* ‘come’

*yǎy-/o- yàgá dɛ̀-* ‘fall’

*yàgá- yǎy dɛ̀-* ‘go’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndí dɛ̀-* ‘think’

*zìgìbí- zìgìbí dɛ̀-* ‘shake’

The completive sense is exemplified by (xx2a), the recent perfect sense by (xx2b).

(xx2) a. *úló ɔ́ndú dɛ̀-m*

house build RecPrf-1SgSbj

‘I have (recently) finished building (a/the) house.’

b. *zá ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-yⁿ*

meal eat.meal RecPrf-1PlSbj

‘We have (already) eaten.’

Recent perfect negative *dà-lí-* is possible in completion-of-activity contexts like (xx2a), see §10.2.3.3, but in contexts like (xx2b) the regular perfective negative is normal.

#### Reduplicated perfective (absent)

No reduplicated perfective is attested.

### Imperfective positive system

#### Imperfective (*-m̀-dɔ̀*, *-m̀-nɛ̀*, *-m̀-nɔ̀*)

This is a broad imperfective. It can specify a future time frame for an eventuality, or it can specify recurrent or habitual repetitions. Its range is circumscribed by progressive constructions which are used to specify an activity in progress (‘I am working’), and by the stative (‘I am standing’).

The pronominal paradigm is in (xx1). The verb stem and the imperfective *‑m̀‑* formative are stable throughout. The *‑m̀‑* is followed by a second formative whose most basic form is *‑dɔ̀*, to judge by the otherwise unsuffixed 3Sg. After 1st/2nd person prefixes, the *d* is nasalized to *n*, and the vowel shifts forward to *ɛ* before *-yⁿ* and upward to *u* before *‑ŋ* and *‑wⁿ*. The 3Pl form ends in a short vowel, unlike 3Pl forms in most other paradigms. All suffixes are L-toned.

(xx1) Imperfective paradigm

category form ‘goes out’

1Sg *-m̀-nù-m gó-m̀-nù-m*

1Pl *-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ gó-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *-m̀-nù-wⁿ gó-m̀-nù-wⁿ*

2Pl *-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ gó-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ gó-m̀-dɔ̀-∅*

3Pl *-m̀-d-ɛ̀ gó-m̀-d-ɛ̀*

The verb takes the A/O-stem, and has {HL} tone contour, with only the first syllable H-toned. For monosyllabics, the *Cv-* or *Cv:-* stem combines with the suffixal *-m̀-* to form a <HL>-toned syllable. Examples with stems ending in a nonhigh vowel are in (xx2).

(xx2) Imperfective (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb imperfective gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*ká- ká-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘shave’

*á:- á:-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘brew (beer)’

*dě- dé-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯á-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘eat, drink’

b. *CvCv-*

*dɔ̀gɔ́- dɔ́gà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘draw (water)’

*kédé- kédè-m-dɔ̀-* ‘cut’

*yàgá- yágà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘fall

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tómbò-m-dɔ̀-* ‘jump’

*gùndó- gúndò-m-dɔ̀* ‘become sterile’

The form is similar with verbs that end in a high vowel (xx3).

(xx3) Imperfective (final-high-vowel class)

bare stem imperfective gloss

a. *Ci-, Ci:-*

*nú- nú-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘go in’

*tí- tí-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘send’

*ní: ní:-m̀-dɔ̀-* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi-*

*lǎy- lây-m-dɔ̀-* ‘taste’

*jɛ̀rí- jérà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘look’

*gùbú- gúbù-m-dɔ̀-* ‘hang up’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bù-m-dɔ̀-* ‘lay out’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ́ŋgì-m-dɔ̀-* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndù-m-dɔ̀-* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*pá:mú- pá:mà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘understand’

*mà:ndí- má:ndà-m-dɔ̀-* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic

*zìgìbí- zígìbè-m-dɔ̀-* ‘shake’

*péŋgíl- péŋgìlè-m-dɔ̀-* ‘xxx

#### Reduplicated imperfective (absent)

No reduplicated imperfective forms are attested.

#### Progressive (*-ḿ sɔ̀-*, *-ḿ jâ:-*, *-m̀ bù-*)

There are three (present) progressive constructions. All consist of an unconjugated imperfective verb form with suffix *‑m*, followed by an auxiliary verb (‘be’, ‘keep’, or ‘have’).

The most common combination (for my assistant) is *‑ḿ sɔ̀‑* including conjugated *sɔ̀-* ‘have’. The paradigm is (xx1). The 3Pl form is *sɔ̯̀-ɛ̀:* with the same diphthong as ‘have’ (contrast *‑s‑ɛ̀:* for perfective-2). The construction has analogues in other Dogon languages, e.g. Yanda Dom Progressive *‑ḿ zò‑*.

(xx1) Progressive *-ḿ sɔ̀-*

category form ‘be going out’ ‘be repairing’

1Sg *-ḿ sɔ̀-m gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m céndé-m sɔ̀-m*

1Pl *-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ céndé-m sɔ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ sɔ̀-wⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-wⁿ céndé-m sɔ̀-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ céndé-m sɔ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ sɔ̀-∅ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-∅ céndé-m sɔ̀-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ sɔ̯̀-ɛ̀: gó-ḿ sɔ̯̀-ɛ̀: céndé-m sɔ̯̀-ɛ̀:*

A second construction replaces *sɔ̀-* ‘have’ by *jâ:-* ‘keep, hold onto’. The paradigm is (xx2).

(xx2) category form ‘be going out’ ‘be repairing’

1Sg *-ḿ jâ:-m gó-ḿ jâ:-m céndé-m jâ:-m*

1Pl *-ḿ jâ:-yⁿ gó-ḿ jâ:-yⁿ céndé-m jâ:-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ jâ:-wⁿ gó-ḿ jâ:-wⁿ céndé-m jâ:-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ jâ:-yⁿ gó-ḿ jâ:-yⁿ céndé-m jâ:-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ jâ:-∅ gó-ḿ jâ:-∅ céndé-m jâ:-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ j-ɛ̂: gó-ḿ j-ɛ̂: céndé-m j-ɛ̂:*

The last type has *bù-* ‘be’ as auxiliary. Compare Yanda Dom Progressive *-ḿ bò-* and Najamba *mbò bò-*. The paradigm is (xx3).

(xx1) Progressive *-ḿ bù-*

category form ‘be taking out’

1Sg *-ḿ bù-m zó-ḿ bù-m*

1Pl *-ḿ bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ bù-wⁿ zó-ḿ bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ bù-∅ zó-ḿ bù-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ b-ɛ̀: zó-ḿ b-ɛ̀:*

#### Future absent

There is no specifically future inflected form like those in Najamba and Toro Tegu. The (simple) imperfective is used in future as well as in general present-time contexts.

### Negation of indicative verbs

#### Perfective negative (*-lí-* ~ *-dí-*)

This category negates the simple perfective, perfective-1a and -1b, and perfective-2, which are not distinguished in the negative. It is also part of the experiential perfect negative *-tɛ̀rà-lí-* (§10.2.3.2) and of the recent perfect negative *dà-lí-* (§10.2.3.3).

The paradigm is in (xx3). The basic form of the perfective negative suffix is *-lí-*. After *n*, it becomes *-dí-*. It frequently apocopates to just H-toned *-l* in the 3Sg form. The vowel backs to *u* before labial(ized) *-m* and *-wⁿ* suffixes. The 3Pl form is quite irregular and best considered a portmanteau.

(xx3) Paradigm of perfective negative

category PfvNeg form ‘go down’ ‘put’

1Sg *-lú-m sùgò-lú-m tùn-dú-m*

1Pl *-lí-yⁿ sùgò-lí-yⁿ tùn-dí-yⁿ*

2Sg *-lú-wⁿ sùgò-lú-wⁿ tùn-dú-wⁿ*

2Pl *-lí-yⁿ sùgò-lí-yⁿ tùn-dí-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-́l-∅* ~ *-lí-∅ sùgǒ-l-∅* ~ *sùgò-lí-∅ tùn-dí-∅*

3Pl *-ndá sùgò-ndá tùn-dá*

The verb stem is tone-dropped in all cases, as in e.g. Jamsay, but unlike the case in Yanda Dom or Najamba where at least some verbs are {H}-toned before the suffix. There is no phonological interaction between *-lí-* and the verb stem. The vocalism is that of the A/O-stem.

(xx2) Perfective negative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb perfective Neg gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*ká- kà-lí-* ‘shave’

*á:- à:-lí-* ‘brew (beer)’

*dě- dè-lí-* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯à-lí-* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*gǒ- gò-lí-* ‘go out’

*ɲɛ́- ɲà-lí-* ‘eat, drink’

*tó:- tò:-lí-* ‘pound’

*wɔ̌:- wà:-lí-* ‘come’

b. *CvCv-*

*dògɔ́- dògà-lí-* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ̀bà-lí-* ‘draw (water)’

*kédé- kèdè-lí-* ‘cut’

*yàgá- yàgà-lí-* ‘fall’

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tòmbò-lí-* ‘jump’

*gùndó- gùndò-lí-̀* ‘become sterile’

(xx3) gives examples involving verbs with final high vowel.

(xx3) perfective negative (final-high-vowel class)

verb perfective Neg gloss

a. *Ci-, Ci:-*

*nú- nù-lí-* ‘go in’

*tí- tìyà-lí-* ‘send’

*yǐ- yà-lí-* ‘see’

*ní: nì:-lí-* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi-*

*lǎy- lày-lí-* ‘taste’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rà-lí-* ‘look’

*gùbú- gùbù-lí-* ‘hang up’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ̀bù-lí-* ‘lay out’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ̀ŋgù-lí-* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ̀ndù-lí-* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*pá:mú- pà:mà-lí-* ‘understand’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndà-lí-* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic

*zìgìbí- zí̀gìbè-lí-* ‘shake’

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

#### Experiential perfect negative (*-tɛ̀rà-lí-*)

The experiential perfect (*-tɛ́rɛ́-bì-*) is negated as *-tɛ̀rà-lí-*, ending with the regular perfective negative suffix *-lí-*. Tone-dropping controlled by *-lí-* affects not only the experiential perfect suffix but also the preceding verb stem, unlike the case with the recent perfect negative. This is seen with tone-dropped ‘slaughter’ in (xx1c), compare positive *sɛ́mɛ́-tɛ́rɛ́-bù-m* ‘I have (once) slaughtered’.

(xx1) a. *gònsá:rⁿá yì-tɛ̀rà-lú-m*

elephant see-ExpPrf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I have never seen an elephant.’

b. *bàmàkɔ́ yày-tɛ̀rà-ndá*

B go-excPf-PfvNeg.3PlSbj

‘They have never gone to Bamako.’

c. *pédé sɛ̀mɛ̀-tɛ̀rà-lú-m*

sheep slaughter-ExpPrf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I have never slaughtered a sheep.’

The experiential perfect negative denies that the eventuality has occurred at any time during the lifetime of the subject, and can be translated freely as ‘have never VPed’.

#### Recent perfect negative (*dà-lí-*)

The recent perfect (*dɛ̀-*) is negated as *dà-lí-*, including the regular perfective negative suffix *‑lí‑*. The verb stem is not tone-dropped, unlike the case with the experiential perfect negative. The negative form is mainly used in the sense ‘have not (yet) finished VP-ing’.

(xx1) *úló ɔ́ndú dà-lú-m*

house build RecPrf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I have not (yet) finished building the house.’

#### Imperfective negative (*-ŋgò:-, -ŋù-, -ŋì-*)

This form negates the positive imperfective, denying that the eventuality occurs or will occur in the contextually relevant time span (present to future).

The paradigm is (xx3). The 3Sg points to a basic suffixal form *-ŋgò:-*, and the 3Pl is derived from this essentially by a vocalic mutation. The 1st/2nd person forms simplify *ŋg* to *ŋ* and shorten and raise the vowel, to *u* before labial(ized) *-m* and *-wⁿ* and to *i* before *yⁿ*. The most likely cognate for TU *‑ŋgò:-* is Nanga imperfective negative *-ŋɔ̀:-*.

(xx3) Paradigm of imperfective negative

category IpfvNeg ‘go up’

1Sg *-ŋù-m ílá-ŋù-m*

1Pl *-ŋì-yⁿ ílá-ŋì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ŋù-wⁿ ílá-ŋù-wⁿ*

2PL *-ŋì-yⁿ ílá-ŋì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ŋgò:-∅ ílá-ŋgò:-∅*

3Pl *-ŋg-ɛ̀:* *ílá-ŋg-ɛ̀:*

The verb takes the A/O-stem with {H} tone contour before the L-toned suffix. Stems with final nonhigh vowel are illustrated in (xx2).

(xx2) Imperfective negative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb IpfvNeg gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*ká- ká-ŋgò:-* ‘shave’

*á:- á:-ŋgò:-* ‘brew (beer)’

*dě- dé-ŋgò:-* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯á-ŋgò:-* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*gǒ- gó-ŋgò:-* ‘go out’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-ŋgò:-* ‘eat, drink’

*tó:- tó:-ŋgò:-* ‘pound’

*wɔ̌:- wá:-ŋgò:-* ‘come’

b. *CvCv-*

*dògɔ́- dógá-ŋgò:-* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bá-ŋgò:-* ‘draw (water)’

*kédé- kédé-ŋgò:-* ‘cut’

*yàgá- yágá-ŋgò:-* ‘fall

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tómbó-ŋgò:-* ‘jump’

*gùndó- gúndó-ŋgò:-* ‘become sterile’

Stems with final high vowels are in (xx3).

(xx3) Imperfective negative (final-high-vowel class)

verb IpfvNeg gloss

a. *Ci-, Ci:-*

*nú- nú-ŋgò:-* ‘go in’

*tí- tíyá-ŋgò:-* ‘send’

*yǐ- yá-ŋgò:-* ‘see’

*ní: ní:-ŋgò:-* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi-*

*lǎy- láy-ŋgò:-* ‘taste’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ́rá-ŋgò:-* ‘look’

*gùbú- gúbú-ŋgò:-* ‘hang up’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bú-ŋgò:-* ‘lay out’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ́ŋgú-ŋgò:-* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-ŋgò:-* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*pá:mú- pá:má-ŋgò:-* ‘understand’

*mà:ndí- má:ndá-ŋgò:-* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic

*zìgìbí- zí́gíbé-ŋgò:-* ‘shake’

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

#### Progressive negative (*-ḿ sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-*, *-m̀-gò-*)

The Progressive construction with *-ḿ sɔ̀-* is negated as *-ḿ sɔ́-ndɔ̀(:)-*. That is, *sɔ̀-* ‘have’ is replaced by its regular negative form *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-* ‘not have’ (xx1a). Likewise, the Progressive construction with *-ḿ bù-* is negated as *-m̀-gò-* (3Pl *‑m̀‑g‑ɛ̀:*) where *bù-* ‘be (somewhere)’ is replaced by a variant of *ŋ̀gó-* ‘not be’ (somewhere)’. An original combination like \*-ḿ ŋ̀gó- would have surfaced phonetically as \*-ḿ ꜜgó- with a downstepped high that could later be reinterpreted as L-tone.

(xx1) a. *bírá: bírá-m sɔ́-ndɔ̀-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv have-Neg-1SgSbj

‘I am not working.’

b. *bírá: bírà-m̀-gò-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv-not.be-1SgSbj

‘I am not working.’

## Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

### Subject pronominal suffixes

The pronominal-subject suffixes are those in (xx1). They are exemplified in the paradigms of the various AN inflections given in previous sections. For other pronoun forms, see §4.xxx.

(xx1) category suffix

1Sg *-m*

1Pl *-yⁿ*

2Sg *-wⁿ*

2Pl *-yⁿ*

3Sg ‑∅

3Pl [see below]

Except for 3Pl, these suffixes are quite stable with no allomorphy. However, the preceding AN suffix itself has allomorphy depending on the pronominal-subject category (imperfective, imperfective negative). In such cases, the 1st/2nd person suffixes have one allomorph, distinct from a third person form. Relatively low-level phonological assimilations involving AN and pronominal suffixes are summarized in §10.3.3 below.

*list of all 3Pl subject allomorphs in the various AN categories*

### Nonhuman (or inanimate) versus 3Sg subject

*any difference in pronominal-subject suffixes?*

*perhaps just in imperfective positive (or Progressive), where some languages use pronominal clitics human/animate wɔ̀ and nonhuman/inanimate kɔ̀ ?*

### Vowel-consonant interactions of AN and pronominal suffixes

*If 1Sg -m, 2Sg -w, and 1Pl -y suffixes are present, there may be some phonological interactions with preceding high vowels, e.g. /i-m/ > u-m, /i-w/ > u-w (heard as [u:]), and /u-y/ > i-y (heard as [i:]). Also, underived or derived u-w and i-y may monophthongize to [u:] and [i:] respectively. Give cross-refs to relevant sections in Chapter 3.*

### Tones of subject pronominal suffixes

*Are the pronominal-subject suffixes atonal, simply getting their tones by spreading from the preceding morpheme?*

*This is often the case, but there may be some instances where e.g. 1Sg and 2Sg suffixes have different tones in the same AN category.*

## Stative form of verbs (reduplicated and unreduplicated)

A stative stem, not marked for perfective/imperfective aspect, can be derived from many verbs that also have regular paradigms. For example, all verbs denoting stances (sitting, etc.) have stative forms that denote positions (‘be sitting, be seated’), while the active inflections (those including aspectual marking) denote acts of taking up positions (‘sit down’). Statives can also be formed from transitive verbs of carrying. This section covers such derived stative forms. Be aware of ambiguities (stative or progressive) in English glosses, e.g. ‘be sitting’. In this section the stative reading is relevant.

For defective stative quasi-verbs (‘have’, ‘be’, etc.) that do not correspond to active verbs, see Chapter 11.

### Stative positive

The suffixal paradigm is (xx1). The {HL} tone contour occurs when Existential *yé* (see below) is absent. There is no reduplication.

(xx2) category Stative ‘be squattng’

1Sg *-m* *tóndà-m*

1Pl *-yⁿ* *tóndà-yⁿ*

2Sg *-wⁿ* *tóndà-wⁿ*

2Pl *-yⁿ* *tóndà-yⁿ*

3Sg *‑∅ tóndà‑∅*

3Pl *-ɛ̀:* *tónd-ɛ̀:*

In some cases, the corresponding active verb is morphologically a mediopassive, with suffix *‑í:‑* (§9.xxx). In other cases, the corresponding active verb has transitive and (suffixed) mediopassive forms, e.g. *págí-* ‘tie’ and *pág-í:-* ‘be(come) tied’, and the stative has the valency of the mediopassive. The Mediopassive suffix is dropped in the stative. The stative stem is **always bisyllabic**, has {HL} tone contour, and ends in *a*.

This vocalism is that of the A-stem of active inflections. The A/O-stem is not indicated since there are no cases with final *o*, even with stems that have *o-*vocalism: *tóndà-* ‘be curled up’, *sómà-* ‘be carrying on both shoulders’. The presence of the Mediopassive suffix in the active inflections makes a direct comparison with statives impossible for those verbs. There are also various minor irregularities in stative forms that have no parallels in A/O-stems of active verbs of similar shape. *bě-* ‘lie down’, which does not have a Mediopassive suffix, has A/O-stem *be-* (*bè-lí-* ‘did not lie down’) but stative *bé-yà-* ‘is lying down’.

(xx2) gloss verb Stative

a. from unsegmentable *Cv(C)Cv-* stem

[none]

b. from Mediopassive *Cv(C)Cv‑yv‑* (*‑yv‑* omitted in stative)

*phonologically regular*

‘carry on back’ *bàmb-í:- bámbà-*

‘lie on belly’ *dàb-í:- dábà-*

‘lean against’ *dìd-í:- dídà-*

‘become hooked’ *gùb-í:- gúbà-*

‘become tied’ *kɔ́mb-í:- kɔ́mbà-*

‘become laid out’ *ɔ́b-í:- ɔ́bà-* [homonym below]

‘shut (door)’ *píŋ-í:- píŋà-*

‘carry on shoulders’ *sóm-í:- sómà-*

‘become linked’ *sɔ́b-í:- sɔ́bà-*

‘be on (wall)’ *tár-í:- tárà-*

‘squat, curl up’ *tónd-í:- tóndà-*

*j/g alternation after nasal*

‘kneel’ *túnj-í:- túŋgà-*

‘become tilted’ *jɛ̀nj-í:- jɛ́ŋgà-*

‘mount, be put up on’ *nánj-í:- náŋgà-*

*jj/g alternation after vowel*

‘stand’ *íjj-í:- ígà-*

‘carry on a shoulder’ *gɔ̀jj-í:- gɔ́gà-*

zégé zèjí- (zèjí-tì-) ‘ zégé zèjí- (zèjí-tì-) ‘have a fight’

have a fight’

*o/ɔ alternation in penult*

‘sit’ *ób-í:- ɔ́bà* [homonym above]

‘xxx *ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ*

‘xxx *ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ*

c *-yà* added to unsuffixed monosyllabic stem

‘lie down’ *bě- bé-yà-*

‘carry on head’ *dǐ- dí-yà-* [homonym in (d)]

‘(go to) sleep’ *ní:- ní-yà-*

‘xxx *ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ*

d. *‑l(v)‑* replaced by *-yà* in stative

‘hold’ *jɛ̀-l-í:- jí-yà-*

‘be put on (a stand)’ *dɛ̀-l-í:- dí-yà-* [homonym in (c)]

Existential *yé* is common but not obligatory with positive statives; see §11.xxx for its syntax. Stative verbs are {L}-toned when preceded by *yé*, thus *ɔ́bà-m* versus *yé ɔ̀bà-m* ‘I am sitting’.

For past statives (‘was sitting’ etc.) see c10.5.1.6.

### Stative negative (*=ndà‑*)

The derived stative is negated by adding a conjugated stative negative clitic*=ndà-* to the positive stem, which takes {H}-toned form. The paradigm is (xx1). Existential *yé* does not occur in negative contexts.

(xx1) category Stative Neg ‘not be squattng’

1Sg *=ndà-m* *tóndá=ndà-m*

1Pl *=ndà-yⁿ* *tóndá=ndà-yⁿ*

2Sg *=ndà-wⁿ* *tóndá=ndà-wⁿ*

2Pl *=ndà-yⁿ* *tóndá=ndà-yⁿ*

3Sg *=ndà:‑∅* *tóndá=ndà:-∅*

3Pl *=nd-ɛ̀:* *tóndá=nd-ɛ̀:*

Although the clitic is usually heard with low pitch, it is phonologically <LH>-toned. The rising tone can be heard when it is followed by a particle like emphatic kǒy, as in *tóndá=ndǎ:-∅ kǒy* ‘he/she sure isn’t squatting’. It can also be heard, in the long-voweled form *=ndǎ:-*, when the past clitic is added (§10.5.1.6).

Examples are in (xx2). Note especially (xx2b), which is the only way to express ‘(door) be open’.

(xx2) a. *ɔ́bá=ndà-m*

sit.Stat=StatNeg-1SgSbj

‘I am not sitting.’

b. *píŋá=ndà:‑∅*

be.shut.Stat=StatNeg-3SgSbj

‘It (door) is not shut (=is open).’

*=ndà:-* may be compared to *=là:-* ‘it is not’ with NPs (§11.2.1.2), and to lexically specialized negative endings with defective stative quasi-verbs: *sɔ́‑ndɔ̀:-* ‘not have’, *m̀bí‑là:-* ‘not want’.

## Temporal clitics and particles

### Past clitic (*=bì-*)

Past forms of regular aspect-negation inflections are created by adding a conjugated form of past clitic *=bì-* to the verb, with an intervening augment. Depending on the particular category, the augment may consist of just imperfective *-m*, or it may be a fuller augment *=bù-m-* that could be analysed as an encliticized *bù-* ‘be’ plus the imperfective augment *-m*. Since the morphology of the full augment is not fully transparent, I will gloss *=bù-m-* as just “Aug[ment].”

The paradigms are as follows (augment tones are subject to change in different aspect-negation categories). *=bù-m-* optionally assimilates to *=bì-m-* before a clitic with i-vowel, and intermediate articulations with front rounded vowel are also heard.

(xx1) Paradigm of conjugated past clitic

category Ipfv augment full augment

1Sg *-m=bù-m =bù-m=bù-m*

1Pl *-m=bì-yⁿ =bù-m=bì-yⁿ* ~ *=bì-m=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-m=bù-wⁿ =bù-m=bù-wⁿ*

2PL *-m=bì-yⁿ =bù-m=bì-yⁿ* ~ *=bì-m=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-m=bì-∅ =bù-m=bì-∅* ~ *=bì-m=bì-∅*

3Pl *-m=b-à: =bù-m=b-à:*

Addition of the past clitic to an aspect-negation category resets the temporal reference point from the moment of speaking into the past. The known past-time categories are in (xx2).

(xx2) category with past morpheme

positive

imperfective past imperfective (‘used to VP, was about to VP’, ‘was going to VP’

Progressive past Progressive (‘was VPing’)

perfective past Perfect (‘had VPed’)

experiential perfect past experiential perfect (‘had [ever] VP-ed’)

recent perfect past recent perfect (‘had just VPed’)

Stative past Stative

negative

imperfective Neg past imperfective negative (‘did not use to VP’, ‘was not going to VP’, etc.)

Progressive Neg past Progressive negative (‘was not VP‑ing’)

perfective Neg past Perfect negative (‘had not VP’ed’)

Exp Perfect Neg past experiential perfect negative (‘had never VP-ed’)

recent perfect Neg past recent perfect negative (‘had not just VP-ed’)

Stative Neg past Stative negative

#### Past imperfective (positive and negative)

The past imperfective can be used in past habitual (‘used to VP’) and future-in-past (‘was going to VP’) contexts. However, elicitation often produced past progressive rather than past imperfective forms. The context where past imperfectives were most reliably produced was consequent clauses in counterfactual conditionals (‘would have VPed’).

The positive paradigm is in the ‘would have gone out’ column of (xx1) and can be compared with the ‘goes out’ version in the central column. The verb takes imperfective suffix *-m-*, followed by the conjugated form of past clitic *=bì-*. The *-nù-/-nɛ̀-/dɔ̀-* formative in the regular imperfective positive is absent.

(xx1) Past imperfective positive paradigm

category form ‘goes out’ ‘would have gone out’

1Sg *-ḿ=bù-m gó-m̀-nɔ̀-m gó-ḿ=bù-m*

1Pl *-ḿ=bì-yⁿ gó-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ=bù-wⁿ gó-m̀-nɔ̀-wⁿ gó-ḿ=bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ=bì-yⁿ gó-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ=bì-∅ gó-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ gó-ḿ=bì-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ=b-à: gó-m̀-d-ɛ̀ gó-ḿ=b-à:*

The negative version is illustrated in (xx3).

(xx*2*) *tíⁿ→ nàmá kúbò-m-gò:=bú-m=bù-m*

at.first meat eat.meat-Ipfv-IpfvNeg=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘Formerly I didn’t use to eat meat.’

The negative paradigm is in the right column of (xx4). Corresponding to *‑ŋù‑/‑ŋì-/‑ŋgò:* in the ‘doesn’t go up’ column, the past version has *‑m‑gò‑* (< /‑m̀‑ŋgò‑/)

(xx4) Past imperfective negative paradigm

categ. PastIpfvNeg ‘doesn’t ‘didn’t use to go up’

go up’

1Sg *-m-gò:=bù-m=bù-m ílá-ŋù-m ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=bù-m*

1Pl *-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-yⁿ ílá-ŋì-yⁿ ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-m-gò:=bù-m=bù-wⁿ ílá-ŋù-wⁿ ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=bù-wⁿ*

2PL *-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-yⁿ ílá-ŋì-yⁿ ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg *-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-∅ ílá-ŋgò:-∅ ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=bì-∅*

3Pl *̀-m-gò:=bù-m=b-à:* *ílá-ŋg-ɛ̀: ílà-m-gò:=bù-m=b-à:*

#### Past Progressive (positive and negative)

Conjugated past clitic *=bì-* is added to the *bù-* or *sɔ̀-* of the progressive (§10.2.2.3) after the augment *-m-*.

(xx1) Past Progressive *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-*

category form ‘is going out’ ‘was going out’

1Sg *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bù-m gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bù-m*

1Pl *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bù-wⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-wⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-yⁿ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-∅ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-∅ gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=bì-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ sɔ̀-m=b-à: gó-ḿ s-ɛ̀: gó-ḿ sɔ̀-m=b-à:*

(xx2) Past Progressive *-ḿ bù-m=bì-*

category regular ‘is taking out’ ‘was taking out’

1Sg *-ḿ bù-m=bù-m zó-ḿ bù-m zó-ḿ bù-m=bù-m*

1Pl *-ḿ bù-m=bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bù-m=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *-ḿ bù-m=bù-wⁿ zó-ḿ bù-wⁿ zó-ḿ bù-m=bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *-ḿ bù-m=bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bì-yⁿ zó-ḿ bù-m=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *-ḿ bù-m=bì-∅ zó-ḿ bù-∅ zó-ḿ bù-m=bì-∅*

3Pl *-ḿ bù-m=b-à: zó-ḿ b-ɛ̀: zó-ḿ bù-m=b-à:*

In elicitation, there appeared to be much interchange between past imperfective with *-m=bì-* and past progressive with with *bù-m=bì-*. An example of the form of the past progressive in a context where one might expect the past imperfective is (xx3).

(xx3) *tíⁿ→ nàmá kúbò-m̀ bù-m=bù-m*

at.first meat eat.meat-Ipfv be-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘Formerly I used to eat meat.’

For the progressive negative (*-ḿ sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-*, *-m̀ gó-*) see §10.2.3.5. Past progressive negative examples are in (xx4). The full augment *=bù-m-* is used before the conjugated past *=bì-*.

(xx4) a. *bírá: bírá-m sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=bù-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv have-Neg=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘I was not working.’

b. *bírá: bírá-m̀ gó-m=bù-m=bù-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv not.be-Aug=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘I was not working.’

For additional detail on the morphology of past forms of ‘have’ and ‘be’ and their negations, see §10.5.1.6.

sɛ́mbí-ḿ bí-m-bì-∅ ‘he/she was sweeping’ (progressive)

sɛ́mbí-ḿ bí-m-b-à: ‘they were sweeping’ (progressive)

#### Past or past Perfect (positive and negative)

The past form of the perfective functions as past perfect (‘had VPed’) and is used in the antecedent clause of counterfactual conditionals (§16.4). It can also function much like a regular perfective verb (‘VPed’) specifying past time, particularly with verbs like ‘see’ and ‘hear’ that do not allow the perfective-1a or -1b (§10.xxx).

In the positive form, past clitic *=bì-* is added directly to the verb stem, with no overt perfective marking. This corresponds functionally to the various unmarked and suffixally marked perfectives (perfective-1a, -1b, 2). The corresponding negation is based on a syncopated version of perfective negative *‑lí‑*, plus the augment *=bú‑m*‑ in H-toned form.

(xx1) Past Perfect *=bì-*

category ‘had hit’ ‘had not hit’

1Sg *bùndó=bù-m bùndǒ-l=bú-m=bù-m*

1Pl *bùndó=bì-yⁿ bùndǒ-l=bú-m=bì-yⁿ*

2Sg *bùndó=bù-wⁿ bùndǒ-l=bú-m=bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *bùndó=bì-yⁿ bùndǒ-l=bú-m=bì-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *bùndó=bì-∅ bùndǒ-l=bú-m=bì-∅*

3Pl *bùndó=b-à: bùndǒ-l=bú-m=b-à:*

The verb preceding *=bì-* must end in an H-tone. /LH/-toned monosyllabics like gǒ- ‘exit’ are H-toned: *gó=bì-* ‘had gone/come out’.

#### Past experiential perfect

One of the experiential perfect forms, that in *-tɛ́rɛ́=bì-*, already contains past *=bì-* (§10.2.1.5). Nevertheless, an explicitly past version of the experiential perfect can be construction by using the augment *=bú-m=* (H-toned). The corresponding negative has the morphology of the past perfect negative (*-l=bú-m=bì-∅*).

(xx1) a. *gɔ̀nsá:rⁿá yì-tɛ́rɛ́=bú-m=bù-m*

elephant see-ExpPrf-PfvNeg=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘(At that time) I had never seen an elephant.’

b. *gɔ̀nsá:rⁿá yì-tɛ̀rɛ̌-l=bú-m=bù-m*

elephant see-ExpPrf-PfvNeg=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘(At that time) I had never seen an elephant.’

#### Past recent perfect (positive and negative)

An informant preferred a version with both recent perfect *dɛ̀-* and past clitic *=bì‑* conjugated.

(xx1) a. *úló ɔ́ndú dɛ̀-m=bú-m=bù-m*

house build RecPrf-1SgSbj=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘I had (recently) finished building (a/the) house.’

b. *zá ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-yⁿ=bú-m=bì-yⁿ*

meal eat.meal RecPrf-1PlSbj=Aug=Past-1PlSbj

‘We had (already) eaten.’

There were also variants with *dɛ̀-* unconjugated, e.g. *ɲɛ́ dɛ̀=bú-m=bì-yⁿ* ‘we had (already) eaten’.

A negative example is (xx2). It too is doubly conjugated.

(xx2) *úló ɔ́ndú dà-lù-m=bú-m=bù-m*

house build RecPrf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj=be-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘I have not (yet) finished building the house.’

#### Past Stative (positive and negative)

ɔ́bà-m-bì-∅ ‘he/she was sitting’

ɔ́bà-m-b-à: ‘they were sitting’

tíⁿ→ úló yé sɔ̀-m-bù-m ‘I used to have a house’

úló yé sɔ̀-m-b-à: ‘they had a house’

ɛ̀dɛ́ bì-m-bì-m ‘I was a child’

ùlé: bí-m-b-à: ‘they were children’

negative:

ɔ́bá-ndǎ: bí-m-bì-∅ ‘he/she was not sitting’

ɔ́bá-ndǎ: bí-m-b-à: ‘they were not sitting’

ú́ló sɔ́-ndɔ̀: bì-m-bì-m ‘I didn’t use to have a house’

ú́ló sɔ́-ndɔ̀: bí-m-b-à: ‘they didn’t use to have a house’

ɛ̀dɛ́=lǎ: bì-m-bì-m ‘I was not a child’

ùlé:=lǎ: bí-m-b-à: ‘they were notchildren’

Statives derived from regular verbs are described in §10.4.1 (positive) and §10.4.2 (negative).

(xx1) gloss regular Stative past Stative

positive

‘be sitting’ *yé ɔ̀bà- yé ɔ̀bà-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

*yé ɔ̀bà-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*yé ɔ̀bà-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

negative

‘not be sitting’ *ɔ́bá=ndǎ: ɔ́bá=ndǎ:=bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

*ɔ́bá=ndǎ:=bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*ɔ́bá=ndǎ:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

*ɔ́bá=ndɛ̌:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

In the combination *=bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg negative), the penult vowel may assimilate in frontness to the ultimate, hence *=bì-m=bì-∅*.

Stative quasi-verbs are exemplified in (xx2). Some of these are rather bulky, and the conjugated past clitic is subject to reduction. For example, *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=bì-∅* ‘he/she didn’t use to have’ can appear as *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-∅*.

(xx2) gloss regular 3Sg past

positive

‘be (somewhere)’ *yé bù-∅* *yé bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

*yé bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*yé bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

‘have’ *yé sɔ̀-∅* *yé sɔ̀-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

*yé sɔ̀-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*yé sɔ̀-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

‘want’ *m̀bá-∅* *mbá=bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

(3Pl *m̀b-ɛ̂:*) *mbá=bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*mbá=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

*mb-ɛ̂:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

negative

‘not be’ *ŋ̀gó-∅* *ŋ̀gó=bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

(3Pl *ŋ̀gw-ɛ̂:*) *ŋ̀gó=bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*ŋ̀gó=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

*ŋ̀gw-ɛ̂:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

‘not have’ *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-∅* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

(3Pl *sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:*) *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

*sɔ́-ndɛ̀:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

‘not want’ *m̀bí-là:-∅* *m̀bí-là:=bì-m=bì-∅* (3Sg)

(3Pl *m̀bí-l-ɛ̀:*) *m̀bí-là:=bù-m=bù-m* (1Sg)

*m̀bí-là:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

*m̀bí-lɛ̀:=bù-m=b-à:* (3Pl)

The conjugated past clitic *=bì-* is preceded in all of these stative forms by an unconjugated augment, either *-m-* (most of the positive forms) or *=bù-m-* (all of the negative forms, plus positive ‘want’). In ‘not be sitting’, ‘not have’, and ‘not want’, the past form for 1st/2nd persons, exemplified here by 1Sg, is clearly based on the 3Sg positive form; note the long *ɔ̀:* and *à:* in the third syllable of *ɔ́bá=ndà:=bù-m=bù-m* ‘I was not sitting’ and in the second syllables of *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-m=bù-m* ‘I didn’t have’ and *m̀bí-là:=bù-m=bù-m* ‘I didn’t want’. In the forms involving the full augment *=bu‑m‑* (‘want’ and all the negative forms), 3Pl subject is indexed optionally on the verb as well as obligatorily in the final conjugated past clitic. This indexing is seen in the *ɛ:* vowels in the third syllable of *ɔ́bá=ndɛ̀:=bù-m=b-à:* ‘they were not sitting’ and in the second syllables of *sɔ́-ndɛ̀:=bù-m=b-à:* ‘they didn’t have’. Variants without this 3Pl indexing were also observed. An informant rejected similar indexing in ‘was sitting’, ‘was (somewhere)’, and ‘had’, which have the short augment *‑m‑* rather than the full *=bu‑m‑* augment.

### ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, ‘(not) yet’

Expressions translatable as ‘still’ in the sense of ‘up to and including now’ are based on *yɔ̌:* ‘today’, namely *yɔ̌: ɔ̀tùmò* and in some contexts *yɔ̌: là*.

(xx1) a. [*yɔ̌: ɔ̀tùmò] bírá: bírá-ḿ sɔ̀-m*

[today still] work(n.) work-Ipfv have-1SgSbj

‘He still works.’ or ‘He is still working.’

b. *[yɔ̌: ɔ̀tùmò] ńné tɔ̀dǎ-l-∅*

[today still] 3SgSbj pay-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She still hasn’t paid.’

c. *[yɔ̌: là] zímá-ḿ sɔ̀-wⁿ mà*

[today also] be.sick-Ipfv have-2SgSbj Q

‘Are you still sick (today)?

‘Not yet’ is expressed with *nân* ‘now’ plus a negative predicate.

(xx2) *nân zá ɲà-lú-m*

now meal eat.meal-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I haven’t eaten yet.’

## Imperatives and hortatives

### Imperatives and Prohibitives

#### Imperative (unsuffixed A/O-stem, plural *-n*)

The imperative stem, which is used without further suffixation for singular addressee, is based on the A/O-stem.

For verbs ending lexically in a **nonhigh vowel**, the imperative stem **becomes {H}-toned**, erasing the lexical distinction between {LH} and {H} stems.

(xx1) Imperative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb imperative gloss

a. monosyllabic

*Cv-*

*ká- ká* ‘shave’

*dě- dé* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯á* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá* ‘eat, drink’

*Cv:-*

*á:- á:* ‘brew (beer)’

*pɛ́:‑* *péá* ‘strike (match)’

*sá:‑* *sá:* ‘take off (garment)’

*tó:‑* *tó:* ‘pound’

*tɔ́:‑* *tɔ́á* ‘begin’

*wɔ̌:‑* *wá:* ‘come’

b. *CvCv-*

*dɔ̀gɔ́- dɔ́gá* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bá* ‘draw (water)’

*kédé- kédé* ‘cut’

*yàgá- yágá* ‘fall’

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tómbó* ‘jump’

*nìŋgé- níŋgé* ‘cook (sauce)’

*irregular*

*gòndó- gòndó* ‘take out’

For verbs whose lexical form ends in a high vowel, the imperative ends in *i* rather than *u*, except for stems that shift to an *a*-final form in A/O-stem. Monosyllabics have H-toned imperatives. For nonmonosyllabics, the lexical tone contour appears. There is no merger of {LH} and {H} *CvCv-* stems.

(xx2) Imperative (final-high-vowel class)

verb imperative gloss

a. *Ci, Ci:*

*nú- nwí* ‘go in’

*tí- tíyá* ‘send’

*dǐ- díyá* ‘carry on head’

*ní: ní:* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi-*, *nCi-*

*final í*

*làyí- làyí* ‘taste’, phonetic [lǎj]

*gùbú- gùbí* ‘hang up’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bí* ‘lay out’

*final á*

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rá* ‘look’

*ńdí- ńdá* ‘give’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ̀ŋgí* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndí* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*pá:mú- pá:má* ‘understand’

*nɔ́:ndú- nɔ́:ndá* ‘ignite’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndá* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic *CvCvCi-*

*ɔ́dír ɔ́dúrá* ‘ask’

*mɔ̀gúl mɔ̀gùlá* ‘wash (grain)’

*zìgìbí- zìgìbé* ‘shake’

f. mediopassive

*jɛ̀l-í: jɛ̀l-y-á* ‘guard, watch over’

g. noncentripetal motion verbs with irregular increment *-da*

*yây yà-dá* ‘go’

*zây zá-dà* ‘take away, convey’

The plural-addressee suffix *-ǹ* is added to the simple imperative stem. For example, *jɛ̀rá* becomes *jɛ̀rá-ǹ* ‘look-2Pl!’. Allomorph *-(ǹ)dè* is used after *n*. *tún* becomes *tún-ǹdè* ‘put-2Pl in!’, pronounced [tûndè]. Other examples: *kédé-ǹ* ‘cut-2l!’, *ɔ́bí-ǹ* ‘lay out-2Pl!’, *ɔ́ndí-ǹ* ‘build-2Pl!’.

Transitivity is the same for imperatives as for indicative clauses. Accusative *gì* is optionally present on object NPs in both types of clause (§6.7). Reflexive objects of the type ‘your head’ also occur in both types of clause (18.1.1).

#### Prohibitive (*-lì*, plural *-̀l sèndèn*)

The prohibitive, or negative imperative, is expressed by suffix *-lì* for singular addressee. The suffix is added to the A/O-stem of the verb. For monosyllabics, the stem tone is high. Nonmonosyllabics show their lexical tones.

Stems with final nonhigh vowel are illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) Prohibitive (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

stem Prohibitive gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*ká- ká-lì* ‘shave’

*dě-* *dé-lì* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯á-lì* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-lì* ‘eat, drink’

b. *CvCv-*

*dɔ̀gɔ́- dɔ̀gá-lì* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bá-lì* ‘draw (water)’

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tómbó-lì* ‘jump’

*nìŋgé- nìŋgé-lì* ‘cook (sauce)’

*gòndó- gòndó-lì* ‘take out’

d. *Cv:Cv-*

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

e. trisyllabic

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

Verbs with final high vowel are illustrated in (xx2).

(xx2) Prohibitive (final-high-vowel class)

stem Prohibitive gloss

a. *Ci, Ci:*

*nú- nú-lì* ‘go in’

*tí- tíyá-lì* ‘send’

*ní: ní:-lì* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi*

*làyí- làyí-lì* ‘taste’, phonetic [lǎj]

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rá-lì* ‘look’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bí-lì* ‘lay out’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ̀ŋgí-lì* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndí-lì* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*nɔ́:ndú- nɔ́:ndá-lì* ‘ignite’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndá-lì* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic *CvCvCi-*

*zìgìbí- zí̀gìbé-lì* ‘shake’

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

For nonsingular addressee, -li is reduced to *-̀l* (with L-tone) plus *sèndèn*. Example: *jɛ̀râ-l sèndèn*. For typographic reasons I write a falling tone on the stem-final vowel since the accent does not work on “l.”

*relationship of Prohibitive suffix to e.g. Stative negative?*

*syntax: same as imperative?*

### Hortatives

#### Hortative (*-mɔ́*, plural *-mɔ́-ǹ*)

The hortative (‘let’s VP!’) is expressed by a suffix *-mɔ́* for **singular addressee**, or *-mɔ́-ǹ* for **nonsingular addressee**. The form for nonsingular addressee is more common and is the normal response to elicitation cues; I will use it in the lists below. The suffix -n can be equated with imperative Plural suffix *‑ǹ*.

*-mɔ́* follows the A/O-stem of the verb. {H}-toned verbs appear with {H}-tone, while lexically {LH}-toned verbs are {L}-toned before the suffix. There is an irregular form for ‘let’s go’, *ḿbó* (plural *ḿbó-ǹ)* for expected #*ó-mɔ́*.

(xx1) Hortative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb hortative gloss

a. irregular

*yǎy-/o- ḿbó-ǹ* ‘go’

b. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*dě- dè-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘bathe’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̯à-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘arrive’ or ‘insult’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘eat, drink’

*wɔ̌:- wà:-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘come’

b. *CvCv-*

*dògɔ́- dògà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘abandon’

*kédé- kédé-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘cut’

*zɛ̌:- zìyà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘bring’

c. *CvCCv-*

*tómbó- tómbó-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘jump’

*gòndó- gòndò-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘take out’

d. *Cv:Cv-*

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

e. trisyllabic

*ŋŋŋ ŋŋŋ-* ‘xxx

Verbs with final high vowel are in (xx2).

(xx2) Hortative (final-high-vowel class)

verb hortative gloss

a. *Ci-*, *Ci:-*

*nú- nú-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘go in’

*yǐ- yà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘see’

*dǐ- dìyà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘carry on head’

*ní: ní:-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘sleep’

b. *CvCi-*, *nCi-*

*làyí- lày-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘taste’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘look’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bú-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘lay out’

*ńdí- ńdá-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘give’

c. *CvCCi-*

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ̀ŋgù-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘build’

d. *Cv:Ci-*

*mà:ndí- mà:ndà-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic *CvCvCi-*

*zìgìbí- zìgìbè-mɔ́-ǹ* ‘shake’

#### Hortative negative (*-mɔ̂-l*, plural *mɔ̂-l sèndèn*)

A hortative negative is produced by replacing (positive) *-mɔ́* with hortative negative *-mɔ̂-l* for singular addressee, and by replacing (positive) *-mɔ́-ǹ* with ‑*mɔ̂-l sèndèn* for nonsingular addressee. The irregular (positive) hortative *ḿboó* ‘let’s go!’ becomes *ḿbó-mɔ̂-l* ‘let’s not go!’. Other verbs add *‑mɔ̂‑l* to the same form of the stem used in the (positive) hortative.

Morphologically, the hortative negative is the prohibitive of the hortative positive. A few examples of the positive and negative hortative are in (xx1).

(xx1) verb hortative hortative Neg gloss

a. irregular

*yǎy-/o-* *ḿbó-ǹ ḿbó-mɔ̂-l* ‘go’

b. regular, {H}-toned

*nú- nú-mɔ́-ǹ nú-mɔ̂-l* ‘go in’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-mɔ́-ǹ ɔ́ndú-mɔ̂-l* ‘build’

*tómbó- tómbó-mɔ́-ǹ tómbó-mɔ̂-l* ‘jump’

add a Cv̀Cv́ stem

c. regular, {L}-toned

*gòndó- gòndò-mɔ́-ǹ gòndò-mɔ̂-l* ‘take out’

*zìgìbí- zí̀gìbè-mɔ́-ǹ zí̀gìbè-mɔ̂-l* ‘shake’

### Quoted imperatives and hortatives

#### Quoted imperative (*-y* ~ *-lú*)

The QuotImprt form of the verb is used in **quoted imperatives** (‘tell them to come!’, ‘he says for you/me/him to come’) and in **imprecations**, i.e. wishes, blessings, and curses (‘may God VERB you!’). Imprecations are arguably a defective type of quoted imperatives. The QuotImprt form is not conjugated and therefore has no plural/singular distinction. A pronominal subject may precede it.

The data in (xx1) reveal some morphophonemic complexity. The most unusual detail is the *-lu* suffix that shows up with *Cv:-* verbs (xx1e). Most of these verbs derive from \**Cvlv-* bisyllabics, so *-lú* reflects the original second syllable (compare agentive compound finals of the form *-Cv̀-lé* for the same stems, §5.1.4).

The remaining forms in (xx1) can be understood at least historically if we think of a suffix \*‑y that fused in many cases with a stem-final vowel as \*i. The occurrence of final *u* rather than *i* in nonmonosyllabic stems reflects the frequent shift from /i/ to *u* in a weak metrical position in the presence of a labial(ized) consonant. This is because the quoted imperative form is invariably followed by either Quotative *wa* or interrogative *ma*.

Monomoraic forms (*nú*, *dí,* etc.) are H-toned. Forms of two or more moras show the lexical tone of the stem. There is no point in segregating final-nonhigh-vowel from final-high-vowel stems for this inflectional category, so the data are presented in a single array in (xx1).

(xx1) Quoted imperative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

verb QuotImprt gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*, and *NCv-* with high vowel unchanged

*nú- nú* ‘go in’

*dǐ- dí* ‘carry on head’

*tí- tí* ‘send’

*yǐ- yí* ‘see’

*ní: ní:* ‘sleep’

*ńdí- ńdí* ‘give’

b. *Cv-* with mid-height front vowel becomes *Ci*

*dě- dí* ‘bathe’

*jé- jí* ‘dance’

*yɛ̌- yí* ‘weep’

*ɲɛ́- ɲí* ‘eat, drink’

c. *Cv-* with low or mid-height back vowel becomes *Cv-y*

*ká- ká-y* ‘shave’

*dɔ̌- dɔ̌-y* ‘insult’

*gǒ- gǒ-y* ‘go out’

*tɛ́- tɛ́-y* ‘weave’

*tɔ́- tɔ́-y* ‘sow, plant’

d. *Cvy-* unchanged

*lǎy- lǎy* ‘taste’, phonetic [lǎj]

*yǎy-/o- yǎy* ‘go’

*irregularly {HL}-toned*

*zǎy-/zo- zây* [!] ‘take away, convey’

e. *Cv:-* with nonhigh vowel to *Cv-lu* or *Cv-li*

*á:- á-lú* ‘brew (beer)’

*bǎ:- bà-lú* ‘gather’

*ɲǎ:- ɲà-lú* ‘take, pick up’

*tó:- tó-lú* ‘pound’

*wǎ:- wà-lú* ‘do farm work’

*wɔ̌:- wɔ̀-lú* ‘come’

*irregularly {HL}-toned*

*zɛ̌:- zɛ́-lù* [!] ‘bring’

f. *CvCv-* becomes *CvCu* or *CvCi*

*dògɔ́- dògú* ‘abandon’

*kɔ́bɔ́- kɔ́bú* ‘draw (water)’

*kédé- kédú* ‘cut’

*yàgá- yàgú* ‘fall’

*jɛ̀rí- jɛ̀rú* ‘look’

*ɔ́bú- ɔ́bú* ‘lay out’

c. *CvCCv-* becomes *CvCCu* or *CvCCi*

*tómbó- tómbú* ‘jump’

*nìŋgé- nìŋgí* ‘cook (sauce)’

*zɔ̀ŋgí- zɔ̀ŋgú* ‘treat (medically)’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndí* ‘build’

*gòndó- gòndú* ‘take out’

d. *Cv:Cv-* becomes *Cv:Cu* or *Cv:Ci*

*pá:mú- pá:mú* ‘understand’

*mà:ndí- mà:ndú* ‘think’

e. trisyllabic

*zìgìbí- zìgìbú* ‘shake’

f. mediopassive

*dìmb-í: dìmb-í* ‘follow’

For the nonmonosyllabics, the choice between final *u* and *i* depends on what follows. Quotative *wa* requires *u*, while conjugated verb *jìn(ì)* ‘said’ requires *i*.

#### Quoted prohibitive (*-lì*)

This form is used in quoted prohibitives (‘he says for me/you/her not to come’) and in negative wishes and imprecations (‘may God not VP!’). The form is identical to the main-clause prohibitive, but it is normally followed by Quotative *wà* (xx1). It may be preceded by a preverbal subject pronoun.

(xx1) Third-person hortative negative

stem prohibitive quoted gloss

a. irregular

*yǎy-/o- ó-lì ó-lì (wà)* ‘go’

b. regular

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-lì ɲá-lì (wà)* ‘eat, drink’

*tó:- tó:-lì tó:-lì (wà)* ‘pound’

*wɔ̌:- wǎ:-lì* *wǎ:-lì (wà)* ‘come’

*zɛ̌:- zìyá-lì* *zìyá-lì (wà)* ‘bring’

*ńdí- ńdá-lì ńdá-lì (wà)* ‘give’

*zòbɔ́- zòbá-lì zòbá-lì (wà)* ‘run’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndí-lì ɔ́ndí-lì (wà)* ‘build’

*zìgìbí- zí̀gìbé-lì zí̀gìbé-lì (wà)* ‘shake’

*syntax same as for positive forms?*

*examples:*

*‘may he/she not go out!’*

*‘may they not dig!’*

*‘may she not eat her mango!’*

### Quoted hortative (*-ḿ*) and hortative negative (*-mɔ́-lì* )

When the clause quoted represents an original hortative (‘let’s go!’) as opposed to an original imperative (or wish), the suffix *-ḿ* is used. The combination of *‑ḿ* plus quotative particle wà could be confused with logophoric subject *-m* plus the same *wà*, but the logophoric subject suffix follows aspect-negation suffixes on the verb while the quotative hortative does not.

The quoted hortative (QuotHort) suffix is added to the A/O-stem. The suffix is H-toned. A {H}-toned stem has its lexical tones. A {LH}-toned stem is realized with {L}-toned stem plus H-toned suffix. The stem phonology is therefore the same as for hortative *-mɔ́* itself. This suggests that quoted hortative (QuotHort) *-ḿ* can be represented phonologically as /-mi/ or /-mu/, i.e. as morphologically the quoted hortative (see the preceding section). This morphological analysis is supported by the (irregular) form for quoted ‘let’s go!’, namely *ḿbú*.

(xx1) gives representative forms of the original hortative and its quoted counterpart, the latter furnished with quotative particle *wà*.

(xx1) verb hortative QuotHort gloss

a. irregular

*yǎy-/o-* *ḿbó-ǹ ḿbú (wà)* ‘go’

b. regular, {H}-toned

*nú- nú-mɔ́-ǹ nú-ḿ (wà)* ‘go in’

*ɲɛ́- ɲá-mɔ́-ǹ ɲá-ḿ (wà)* ‘eat, drink’

*tó:- tó:-mɔ́-ǹ tó:-ḿ (wà)* ‘pound’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-mɔ́-ǹ ɔ́ndú-ḿ (wà)* ‘build’

*tómbó- tómbó-mɔ́-ǹ tómbó-ḿ (wà)* ‘jump’

c. regular, {L}-toned

*yǐ- yà-mɔ́-ǹ yà-ḿ (wà)* ‘see’

*wɔ̌:- wà:-mɔ́-ǹ wà:-ḿ (wà)* ‘come’

*wǎ:- wà:-mɔ́-ǹ wà:-ḿ (wà)* ‘do farm work’

*zɛ̌:- zɛ̀yà-mɔ́-ǹ zɛ̀yà-ḿ (wà)* ‘bring’

*gòndó- gòndò-mɔ́-ǹ gòndò-ḿ (wà)* ‘take out’

*zìgìbí- zìgìbè-mɔ́-ǹ zìgìbè-ḿ (wà)* ‘shake’

The **negative** counterpart is *-mɔ́-lì*, reduced to *-mɔ̂-l* before quotative *wà*. The form is morphemically identical to the original form of the hortative negative. Samples of the original and quoted forms are in (xx2).

(xx2) verb hortative Neg QuotHort Neg gloss

a. irregular

*yǎy-/o-* *ḿbó-mɔ̂-l ḿbó-mɔ̂-l (wà)* ‘go’

b. regular, {H}-toned

*nú- nú-mɔ̂-l* *nú-mɔ̂-l (wà)* ‘go in’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ́ndú-mɔ̂-l* *ɔ́ndú-mɔ̂-l (wà)* ‘build’

*tómbó- tómbó-mɔ̂-l tómbó-mɔ̂-l* *(wà)* ‘jump’

c. regular, {L}-toned

*gò-ndó- gò-ndò-mɔ̂-l gò-ndò-mɔ̂-l (wà)* ‘take out’

*zìgìbí- zìgìbè-mɔ̂-l zìgìbè-mɔ̂-l (wà)* ‘shake’

# Clause, VP, and predicate structure

## Clausal constituents

The basic constituent order is SOV where subject and object are nonpronominal NPs. Setting adverbials like ‘yesterday’ can occur in any preverbal position. Adverbial phrases that are more tightly embedded into the event scenario occur close to the verb.

### Subjects

#### Subjects in indicative main clauses

A subject is required in indicative clauses (but see §11.1.1.4 below). Minimally, the subject is represented by a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb or other predicate, but 3Sg subject is generally unmarked. Nonpronominal subject NPs require 3Sg or 3Pl agreement on the verb. There is no pronominal agreement for nonpronominal object NPs.

Within a clause, the subject functions as antecedent for any reflexive or reciprocal anaphors.

(xx1) a. *[nùmǎ: á-gá] póró-tì-∅*

[hand **3Refl**-Poss] cut-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘Hex cut hisx hand.’

b. *ùlé: [á tɛ̀mbɔ̀] púŋgó-tì-yà*

children [3Refl Recip] hit-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘The children hit each other.’

#### Subjects in subordinated clauses

In some subordinated clauses, including (nonsubject) relatives and some factive and quotative clauses, pronominal subjects are not expressed as suffixes on the verb, rather as preverbal proclitic pronominals. In the main clause (xx1a), the subject is expressed by a suffix on the verb. In the relative clause (xx1b), it is expressed as a 3Sg pronoun ńné.

(xx1) a. *péddè sɛ́mɛ́-tì-∅*

sheep slaughter-Pfv1b-**3SgSbj**

‘He/She slaughtered a sheep.’

b. *[pèddè* L *ńné sɛ́mɛ́ kárⁿà] àndí bù-∅*

[sheepL **3SgSbj** slaughter Pfv.Ppl] where? be-3SgSbj

‘Where is the sheep that he/she slaughtered?’

In quoted clauses, subjects are generally set off from the remainder of the quoted material. A referential subject is normally clause-initial and is followed by its own quotative subject marker wa→ (§17.1.3.1). The remainder of the quoted clause, i.e. the VP, is followed by its own quotative marker *wà* (§17.1.3.2).

Subjecthood is also relevant to switch-reference subordination, since same-subject and different-subject constructions are distinguished (§15.2).

#### Subjects and addressees of imperative and hortative verbs

With imperatives and hortatives, it is necessary to distinguish “subject” from “addressee.” Both imperative and hortative (‘let’s go!’) verbs have a plural suffix *‑ǹ* that is not found with any indicative verb category. For hortatives, *‑ǹ* specifically marks the plurality of the addressee, rather than the (always 1Pl) subject. The suffix is therefore absent from ‘let’s go!’ addressed to a single interlocutor. By extension, I assume that *‑ǹ* likewise marks addressee rather than subject number with imperatives.

In quoted hortatives, where the form of the verb changes to a special quoted hortative form (§10.6.4), if the quotative subject phrase is present it is limited to the relevant addressee category (2Sg or 2Pl).

(xx1) *ámádù [ú* / *bí wá→] ḿbú wà*

Amadou [2Sg / 2Pl QuotS] go.QuotHort Quot

‘Amadou said (to you-Sg / you-Pl), let’s go!’

By extension, I take the same quotative subject phrase in imperatives to refer to the addressee rather than subject category, though the two arguably converge in this case. (xx2) is an example, also showing the use of a special third-person (i.e. indirect) imperative verb form (§10.6.3.1).

(xx2) *ámádù [ú* / *bí wá→] yǎy wà*

Amadou [2Sg / 2Pl QuotS] go.QuotHort Quot

‘Amadou said (to you-Sg / you-Pl), go!’

TU lacks transpersonal reflexives of the sort found in Tomo Kan and Togo Kan (and Russian), so it is difficult to determine whether imperatives have covert, fully referential subjects (in addition to overtly marked addressees). The only reflexive forms that allow second person antecedents are those of the ‘your head’ type, which are not highly grammaticalized as pure reflexives (they can be interpreted as referring literally to the body part). For what it’s worth, ‘your head’ object imperatives are elicitable, see (xx2) in §18.1.1.

Reciprocal objects are also possible (xx3).

(xx3) *[bí tɛ̀mbɔ̀] púŋgó-ǹ*

[2PlPoss Recip] hit.Imprt-Pl.Addr

‘Hit-2Pl each other!’

Hortatives clearly have 1Pl subjects, including but distinct from the second person addressee. In (xx4), the reciprocal object phrase is overtly 1Pl, while the suffix *‑ǹ* on the verb marks addressee plurality

(xx4) *[í tɛ̀mbɔ̀] púŋgó-mɔ́-ǹ*

[**1PlPoss** Recip] hit-Hort-Pl.Addr

‘Let’s (me and you-Pl) hit each other!’

Imperatives (as well as hortatives) may also occur in same-subject (SS) multiclause constructions, which provides further evidence that imperatives have referential subjects.

(xx5) *[yày né] wá:*

[go and.Nonpast.SS] come.Imprt

‘Go and come-2Sg (back)!’

However, more work is needed on “same-subject” constructions to verify that they require coindexation of referential subjects, as opposed to the absence of clearly disjoint subjects.

#### Subjects of lexicalized subject-verb combinations

The subject-verb collocations in (xx1) denote meteorological, seasonal, and time-of-day events. *bá* is not attested except in the expressions in (xx1a), all of which denote transitions. The combinations in (xx1b) are also rather frozen. *mìrⁿɛ́* (variant *mìnɛ́*) elsewhere means ‘swallow’, and the other cases in (xx1b) show idiomatic specialization.

(xx1) a. *bá dɔ̌-* (~ *bà:-dɔ́: dɔ̌-*) ‘rainy weather arrive’ (June)

*bá gǒ-* (~ *bà:-gó: gǒ-*) ‘rainy weather go out’ (October)

*bá dèrⁿé* ‘night fall’

b. *àrⁿá mìrⁿɛ́* ‘rain fall’ (*àrⁿá* ‘rain’)

*gándá ɛ́dɛ́* ‘day break’ (*gándá* ‘place’, *ɛ́dɛ́* ‘become clean’)

*dɛ̀ndɛ́ dèrⁿé* ‘night fall’ (*dɛ̀ndɛ́* ‘night’, *dèrⁿé* ‘spend mid-day’)

The subjects in (xx1a-b) are low in referentiality and have few opportunities to exhibit full subject properties. In the senses indicated they do not take definite or other determiners. They do not lend themselves to reflexive or reciprocal anaphora. However, it is possible to construct same-subject (SS) clause sequences in a few cases (xx2).

(xx2) a. *bà:-dɔ́: [dɔ̀ gín] yǎy-yà-y*

rainy.weather [arrive **and.Past.SS**] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘Rainy weather (wet season) came and went.’

b. *àrⁿá [mìrⁿɛ̀ gín] íjj-í:-yà-y*

rain(n) [rain.fall **and.Past.SS**] stand-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘Rain fell and then stopped.’

‘Be angry’ (xx3a-b) looks at first as though ‘liver/heart’, i.e. the seat of the emotions, is the subject. However, the subject marked by verb suffixation is the human experiencer, e.g. 1Sg in (xx3a), and an overt nonpronominal subject NP denoting the experiencer may precede ‘liver/heart’ (xx3b). This is quite different from the possessive construction of the type ‘Amadou’s liver/heart’ which does in fact occur in some other emotional expressions, like ‘be happy’ in (xx3c-d).

(xx3) a. *cɛ́ndɛ́ bàrⁿ-â:-m*

liver/heart become.red-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘I became angry.’

b. *ámádù cɛ́ndɛ́ bàrⁿ-â:-y*

Amadou liver/heart become.red-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘Seydou became angry.’

c. *[cɛ́ndɛ́ kɔ̌:] ɛ́lù-∅*

[liver/heart 1SgPoss.InanSg] be.sweet-3SgSbj

‘I am happy.’

d. *[ámádù* L*cɛ̀ndɛ̀] ɛ́lù-∅*

[Amadou Lliver/heart] be.sweet-3SgSbj

‘Amadou is happy.’

Nevertheless, in the ‘be angry’ examples it presumably is ‘liver/heart’ that ‘turns red’, calling for the verb *bàrⁿá*, which means’become red’ and by extension ‘be hot, blaze’ (as well as ‘beat [tomtoms]’ and ‘[fruit] ripen’), cf. *ùdù-bárⁿà* ‘hot season’. So the verb selection is based on ‘liver/heart’ as logical subject, but the morphosyntax treats the human experiencer as subject.

A similar situation occurs in the ‘nosebleed’ examples (xx4a-b). *cìnè-tɛ́ŋɛ́rⁿɛ́* (including cíné ‘nose’ as compound initial) denotes the blood itself, and the verb ‘go out’ only makes sense with this as logical subject. But the pronominal-subject suffix, and all other syntactic subject properties, are based on the human experiencer.

(xx4) a. *cìnè-tɛ́ŋɛ́rⁿɛ́ gó-m̀ sɔ̀-m*

nosebleed go.out-Ipfv have-1SgSbj

‘I am having a bloody nose.’ (=‘My nose is bleeding.’)

b. *ámádù cìnè-tɛ́ŋɛ́rⁿɛ́ gó-m̀ sɔ̀:-∅*

Amadou nosebleed go.out-Ipfv have-3SgSbj

‘Amadou is having a bloody nose.’

### Simple transitives

#### Direct objects of simple transitives

*There is a fairly well-defined transitive clause type with a subject and a direct object. Order normally SOV (except perhaps for pronominal subjects).*

*does the language have an Accusative morpheme (§6.7)?*

*impact verbs (‘hit’, ‘cut’) should be simple [Subj Obj V]*

*perception verbs (‘see’, ‘hear’) likewise*

*verbs of holding/carrying likewise, but they also have a “middle” voice element expressed in some languages by the Mediopassive suffix, i.e. ‘I carry [the baby] (on myself)’. The “middle” element is disregarded by the clause-level syntax.*

*The distinction between transitive and intransitive is complicated by the existence of many verbs that have a cognate nominal as (apparent) object (§11.1.5.1) or other low-referentiality objects. These normally do not get Accusative marking (in lgs where such a morpheme exists).*

#### *ŋŋŋ* ‘do’ with onomatopoeias and loanwords

*The verb ŋŋŋ ‘do’ can combine with onomatopoiec forms and other low-referentiality noun-like elements. In effect, ‘do’ allows such elements to become predicates.*

*examples, e.g. with imitations of animal vocalizations*

*Dogon languages differ as to whether ‘do X’ is the productive way to nativize borrowed stems with verb-like meaning from Fulfulde, Bambara, French, etc.. Some languages have many such combinations, other languages generally allow borrowed verbs to be directly conjugated.*

*examples involving borrowed verbs, and brief discussion of how productive the pattern is.*

#### Lexicalized verb-object combinations with low-referentiality objects

Some examples of high-frequency combinations of verb and noncognate object or object-like adjunct are in (xx1). *dě-* and *úmbó-* are not otherwise attested.

(xx1) *ínjé dě-* ‘bathe (oneself)’ (*ínjé* ‘water’)

*kɔ̀mbɔ́ tá-* ‘wage war’ (*kɔ̀mbɔ́* ‘war’, *tá-* ‘shoot’)

*cíné úmbó-* ‘blow one’s nose’ (*cíné* ‘nose’)

*zá ɲɛ̌-* ‘eat (a meal)’ (*ɲɛ̌-* also ‘drink’)

#### Forms of cognate nominals associated with verbs

*lexicalized cognate nominal, sharing phonological material with the verb*

*verbs without a lexicalized cognate nominal can simply use their verbal noun*

*give all known exx. from the lexicon that occur together in phrases. Since verb stems are subject to tighter restrictions on phonological form, organize by the form (syllabic shape, tone) of the noun*

*(xx1) noun verb gloss of combination*

*a. monosyllabic*

*b. bisyllabic, noun {H}*

*c. bisyllabic, noun {LH}*

*d. bisyllabic, noun {HL}*

*e. bisyllabic, noun {LHL}*

*f. trisyllabic, noun {LH}*

*g. trisyllabic, noun {HL}*

*h. trisyllabic, noun {LHL}*

*separate table and discussion for cases where*

*a) there is a change in vocalism from verb to nominal, e.g. e versus E or o versus O*

*b) the nominal is only partially cognate to the verb (i.e. is a compound, one element of which is cognate; or the verb is based on a modifying adjective)*

*representative glosses*

*‘build a shed (shelter)’*

*‘avoid, respect (a taboo)’*

*‘give out a whistle’*

*‘tie a knot’*

*‘work, do a job’*

*‘harvest millet, do the millet harvest’*

*‘spend the mid-day’*

*‘roll turban (on head)’*

*‘think a thought’*

*‘(a) death occur’*

*‘make a heap’*

*‘be rivals, have a rivalry’*

*‘dance’*

*‘fart, let out a fart’*

*‘defecate, take a shit’*

*‘speak’*

*‘give a reprimand’*

*‘go search for firewood’*

*‘write, do some writing’*

*‘treat (medically), provide care to’*

*‘sing, perform a song’*

*‘compete, be in a race’*

*‘do the second round of weeding’*

*‘double up, have two’*

*‘give a description’*

*‘chew cud’*

*‘(dog) bark’*

*‘(lion, hyena, elephant) roar’*

*‘(plant stem) split into two’*

*‘be stronger (than)’*

*‘divide into halves’*

*‘sneeze’*

*‘speak’*

*‘belch, emit a belch’*

*‘vomit’*

*‘cook a dish including cottonseed’*

*‘gain, make a profit’*

*‘foam, be frothy’*

*‘foam up’*

*‘poke fun at’*

*‘stutter’*

*‘study, go to school’*

*‘pray, perform the Muslim prayer’*

*‘jump, take a jump’*

*‘make a profit’*

*‘preach a sermon’*

*‘spend a half-day (morning)’*

*‘swear an oath’ (<Fulfulde)*

*‘tell a story’*

*‘make a payment’*

*‘weep’*

*‘count (recite numbers)’*

*‘be deceptive, trick’*

*‘make an insult’*

*‘forge (tools)’*

*‘stand/ stop in a position’*

*‘clear one’s throat’*

*‘ask a question’*

*‘cook (dish with cow-peas, or millet mixed with roselle leaves)’*

*‘yawn, make a yawn’*

*‘let out a groan’*

*‘urinate’*

*‘spit, emit a spit’*

*‘make noise’*

*‘lay egg’*

*‘(woman) emit cry of joy’*

*‘have fun, stage festivities’*

*‘converse, chat’*

*‘utter a formal greeting’*

*‘take animals to pasture’*

*‘do wage labor (by the day)’*

*‘take cows out at night’*

*‘(beggar) sing koranic verses’*

*‘fight, engage in a fight’*

*‘dream a dream’*

*‘snore; (lion) roar’*

*‘have a discussion’*

*‘request, beg’*

*‘make loud noises’*

*‘(animal) bellow’*

*‘formally counsel (a young person)’*

*‘perfume with incense’*

*‘have a rest’*

*may have vocalic change:*

*‘sow (seeds); sow the seedstock’*

*‘run’*

*‘curse, utter a curse’*

*‘fall down, take a fall’*

*‘pay dues, make a contribution’*

*‘cover oneself with blanket’*

*‘laugh, let out a laugh’*

*‘make an addition (top-off)’*

*‘take a walk’*

*‘crawl, drag oneself’*

*‘hold on one’s back’*

*‘do (manual) farm work (in field)’*

*‘(sth unseen) make a noise’*

*may have partial cognate relationship:*

*‘perform black magic’*

*‘sleep’*

*‘provide assistance to’*

*‘scold’*

*‘take a step’*

*‘emit some slobber, drool’*

*‘build a conical roof’*

*‘clap, applaud’*

*‘draw a line (with the hand)’*

*‘cook ŋŋŋ (lit. “white meal,” a millet dish)*

*‘hunt, go on a hunt’*

*‘perform an individual prayer’*

*‘hiccup’*

*‘give out a shout’*

*irregular cases?*

*‘be afraid’*

*‘stand, be in a position’*

*‘cook sauce’*

*‘lie, tell a lie’*

#### HHGrammatical status of cognate nominal

*usually be pro forma, as in ‘dance (=‘do) some dancing’*

*however, some cognate nominals can be somewhat referential (denoting a bounded unit of activity), and therefore can be quantified over or adjectivally modified.*

*examples*

*‘I danced three dances.’*

*‘They dances a nice dance,’*

*try with more difficult cases: ‘hiccup’, ‘laugh’, ‘snore’, ‘rest’*

### Clauses with additional arguments and adjuncts

#### Syntax of expressive adverbials (EAs)

Expressive adverbials (EAs), see §8.4.7, may function as one-word adverbial phrases, with no additional morphemes, or they may be made predicative by the addition of an inflectable auxiliary verb. The auxiliaries relevant to EAs are those in (xx1). *bě‑* has a full set of positive and negative inflections.

(xx1) a. *bù-* stative positive (‘be X’)

b. *ŋ̀gó-* stative negative (‘not be X’)

c. *bě-* inchoative (‘become X’)

EAs therefore differ syntactically from NPs and from adjectives, which are made predicative in other ways (§xxx, §xxx). EAs are closest syntactically to adverbial phrases, especially locational expressions, which use *bù-* ‘be (somewhere), be present’ and *ŋ̀gó-* ‘not be (somewhere), be absent’. Elsewhere *bě-* means ‘stay, remain (somewhere)’, so it too is compatible with locationals, though the aspectual sense is different.

For examples of the adverbial and predicative functions see *dém→* ‘straight’ in §8.4.7.1 below.

#### Adverbial phrases with verbs of motion, being in, and putting

*Motion verbs are intransitive, with an optional locational AdvP as an adjunct. The AdvP may be overtly adverbial (e.g. with a locative postposition), but it may also take the (surface) form of a NP, such as a place name.*

*examples:*

*‘They went to my village.’*

*‘They went home.’*

*‘They went to Bamako.’*

*‘They came back from the well.’*

*There may be one or more verbs (perhaps defective stative quasi-verbs) with senses like ‘be (put) in(side)’ or ‘be (put) on’ (cross-ref to relevant section of Chapter 10 or 11). Although the specific locative relationship is baked into the verb’s sense, the complement may again be an AdvP, with the same qualifications as noted above for motion verbs. The default is the basic locational-existential quasi-verb ‘be (somewhere)’.*

*examples*

*‘The people are.in(side) the house.’ [with a specialized stative]*

*‘The tea kettle is.on the burner.’ [with another specialized stative]*

*‘I am in Douentza.’ [with locational-existenctial]*

*Verbs of putting take a direct object and a locational AdvP. They can be modeled semantically, roughly, as [X CAUSE [Y BE [IN/ON Z]]].*

*examples*

*‘I put the mangoes under the waterjar.’*

*‘I put the sugar in the box.’*

#### Ditransitives

‘Give’ takes two objects. The recipient, who is generally human, is optionally marked accusative. The theme (object given), normally nonhuman, is much less likely to take accusative marking. However, if the theme is referentially specific and is the only overt preverbal constituent, it sometimes gets the accusative marker (xx1c). In all of the examples of (xx1), my assistant spontaneously produced forms without accusative -gì, but accepted my repeats with -gì in the parenthesized positions.

(xx1) a. sé:dù péddè mí(-gì) ǹdì-∅

S sheep 1Sg(-Acc) give.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Seydou gave me a sheep.’

b. [péddè wɛ̌:] ɲě(-gì) ǹdì-m

[sheep 1SgPoss.AnSg] person(-Acc) give.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I gave my sheep-Sg to someone.’

c. [[péddè ǹ] gì] ńdì-tì-∅

[[sheep Def] Acc] give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He/She gave a sheep.’

tágá ‘show’ and ságírí ‘entrust’ have the same case frames.

*case frames for ‘give’, ‘show’, ‘say’ (‘give’ and ‘show’ may alternate between two distinct case frames, in one of which the recipient is treated as direct object, the other using dative forms)*

#### Valency of causatives

*case-frame for causative from intransitive base: ‘cause to come’, ‘cause to go in’ (= ‘take in’). Should be similar to a simple transitive.*

*case-frame for causative from transitive base: ‘X cause Y to VERB Z’. Often both Y and Z are marked as direct objects (e.g. with Accusative morpheme, or using pronoun-object clitics).*

*try with full NPs, pronouns, and one full NP and one pronoun*

### Verb Phrase

*The category VP (i.e. a clause stripped of its subject and of clause-level inflectional categories) is relevant to certain types of chains, notably direct chains (with no linking morpheme) and explicitly same-subject subordinated clauses. The nonfinal VP (minimally just a verb, but sometimes including non-subject complements) is chained to the final verb (direct chains), or is more loosely preposed to or inserted into the final clause (same-subject subordinated clause).*

*For details and examples, see Chapter 15.*

## ‘Be’, ‘become’, ‘have’, and other statives and inchoatives

### ‘It is’ clitics

The ‘it is’ clitic has identificational function. An entity whose existence (but not identity) is known is identified in this way. The clitic can be added to personal or place names, common nouns (denoting types of entities), more complex NPs, pronouns and demonstratives, and WH-interrogatives.

*The same clitic is often used to focalize a constituent; see Chapter 13.*

*Usually there are different constructions for making predicates out of adjectives (§11.4) and out of expressive adverbials (§8.4.7, §11.1.3.1)*

#### Positive ‘it is’ (*:̀=∅*)

The clitic is realized as lengthening of a word-final vowel (if not already long) and by a final L-tone element. Either the lengthening or the final pitch drop (or both) is audible on nearly all NPs. However, it is inaudible after a few nouns like ‘goat’ that already end lexically in a long, L-toned vowel. The relationship between simple nouns stems and the ‘it is’ form is illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) noun (X) ‘it’s (an) X’ gloss

a. final short vowel

*L-toned final vowel, lengthening audible*

*péddè péddè:=∅* ‘it’s a sheep’

*gùdù-kúlà gùdù-kúlà:=∅* ‘it’s (body) hair’

*pùdù-pá:dù pùdù-pá:dù:=∅* ‘it’s lungs’

*H-toned final vowel, lengthening and pitch drop audible*

*sòmé sòmê:=∅* ‘it’s a horse’

*tólé tólê:=∅* ‘it’s a pig’

*tálɛ́ tálɛ̂:=∅* ‘it’s an egg’

*yǎ ya᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a woman’

*árⁿá árⁿâ:=∅* ‘it’s a man’

*nù-mbɔ́ nù-mbɔ̂:=∅* ‘it’s people’

*gùndú gùndû:=∅* ‘it’s a calabash cover’

b. final long vowel

*H-toned final vowel, pitch drop audible*

*nǎ: na᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a cow’

*sɔ̀ŋɔ́: sɔ̀ŋɔ̂:=∅* ‘it’s a spinal cord’

*LH-toned final vowel, pitch drop audible (final <LHL> tone)*

*lǎ: la᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a foot’

*tò-tǒ: tò-to᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a hole (pit)’

*ìnjɛ̌: ìnjɛ᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a dog’

*cìnǎ: cìna᷈:=∅* ‘it’s a bone’

*L-toned final vowel, no audible change*

*írⁿè: írⁿè:=∅* ‘it’s a goat’

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *ò-gú ǹjê:=∅*

Prox--InanSg what?=it.is

‘What is this?’

b. *ɔ̌-m nâ:=∅ / ìnjɛ᷈:=∅ / sòmê:=∅*

Prox-AnSg cow=it.is / dog=it.is / horse=it.is

‘This is a cow / a dog / a horse.’ (*nǎ:*, *ìnjɛ̌:*, *sòmé*)

The clitic may be conjugated for 1st/2nd person subject. There is no special 3Pl conjugated form, but since the NP itself is usually marked for plurality there is no 3Sg/3Pl ambiguity. The 1st/2nd person forms are atonal, i.e. they get their surface tones by spreading from the final tone of the stem.

(xx1) category clitic with ‘blacksmith(s)’

1Sg *=m* *zɛ́mbɛ́=ḿ*

1Pl *=yⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ̀=ỳⁿ*

2Sg *=wⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́=ẃⁿ*

2Pl *=yⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ̀=ỳⁿ*

3Sg *=̀:* *zɛ́mbɛ̀:=∅*

3Pl *=̀:* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ̀:=∅*

There is no special inanimate form distinct from 3Sg: *ò-gú cínû:=∅* ‘this is a stone’ (*cínú*).

*tones: clitic may be atonal, getting its tones from the final tone of the preceding stem. Or it may be L‑toned, but subject to tone-spreading. Discuss, with cross-refs to Chapter 3, e.g. Final-Tone Resyllabification §3.7.4.3.*

*in Nanga, most such clitic forms are atonal, but 3Sg and Inanimate clitics are low-toned in some combinations (after 3rd person pronoun, interrogative ‘what?’ etc., and demonstrative pronoun) even if they end in a high vowel.*

*examples*

*expression of ‘it’s me/you!’ (clitic is 3Sg, or 1Sg/2Sg agreeing with pronoun?)*

*if a special Inanimate-subject form of the clitic is in use, is it also used in identificational predicates like ‘it’s (=that’s) it!’ or ‘it’s them?’*

#### ‘It is not’ (*=là‑*)

The negative counterpart of *= ̀:* ‘it is’ is *=là* ‘it is not’. There is no phonological indication that *=là* is added to *= ̀:* to form a clitic sequence. In particular, there is no lengthening of a short stem-final vowel before *=là* (xx1).

(xx1) a. *ɔ̌-m nǎ:=là:-∅ / ìnjɛ̌:=là:-∅ / sòmé=là:-∅*

Prox-AnSg cow / dog / horse=it.is.not-3SgSbj

‘This is a cow / a dog / a horse.’

b. *zɛ́mbɛ́=là-m*

blacksmith=it.is.not-1SgSbj

‘I am not a blacksmith.’

The paradigm is (xx2).

(xx1) category clitic with ‘blacksmith(s)’

1Sg *=là-m* *zɛ́mbɛ́=là-m*

1Pl *=là-yⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ́=là-yⁿ*

2Sg *=là-wⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́=là-wⁿ*

2Pl *=là-yⁿ* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ́=là-yⁿ*

3Sg *=là:-∅* *zɛ́mbɛ́=là:-∅*

3Pl *=là-ɛ̀* *zɛ́mbɛ́-mbɔ̀=là-ɛ̀*

As with stative negative *=ndà-*, which has a similar paradigm (§10.4.2), *=là-* is normally heard with low pitch, but the underlying phonological rising tone is manifested when an emphatic particle (*kǒy*) or the past clitic *=bì-* is added: *zɛ́mbɛ́=lǎ:-∅ kǒy* ‘he sure isn’t a blacksmith’, *zɛ́mbɛ́=lǎ:-∅=bì-m-bì-∅* ‘he wasn’t a blacksmith’.

### Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

#### Existential particle (*yé*)

Existential particle *yé* is immediately preverbal. The particle (and its cognates in the other languages) probably originated as a ‘there (definite)’ adverb. It is used with **statives** (derived statives from regular verbs, or defective stative quasi-verbs).

*yé* is very common with *bù-* ‘be’ and other predicates of location (‘be in’, ‘be up on’, etc.). These predicates can take a specific locational expression, but require *yé* as the default when no such expression is present. With *sɔ̀-* ‘have’, *yé* is required whether or not a locational expression is present (xx1b-c). *yé* is optional with derived statives such as ‘be sitting’ (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *yé bù-m*

Exist be-1SgSbj

‘I am present (here).’

b. *ìnjɛ̌: yé sɔ̀-m*

dog Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have a dog.’

c. *bàmbá úló yé sɔ̀-m*

B house Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have a house in Douentza (town).’

d. *ɔ́bà-∅*

*yé ɔ̀bà-∅*

Exist sit.Stat-3SgSbj

‘He/She is sitting (seated).’

*yé* is always H-toned. A following stative with initial H-tone drops to {L} after *yé*. Note *ɔ́bà-* versus *yé ɔ̀bà-* in (xx1d).

*yé* cannot occur in **negative** clauses, in **relative** clauses, or in positive main clauses that have a **focalized nonverbal constituent** (such as a WH-interrogative).

(xx2) a. (#*yé*) *ŋ̀gó-ḿ*

not.be-1SgSbj

‘I am not present.’

b. *úló* (#*yé*) *sɔ́-ndɔ̀-m*

house have-Neg-1SgSbj

‘I don’t have a house.’

c. *ǎm úló* (#*yé*) *s-ɔ̀:*

who? house have-DFoc

‘Who has a house?’

d. *àndí úló* (#*yé*) *sɔ̀-wⁿ*

where? house have-2SgSbj

‘Where do you-Sg have a house?’

e. *[ɲè* L *nǎ:* (#*yé*) *sɔ́-mɛ̀:] zúgà-m-nù-m*

[personL cow have-Ppl] know-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I know someone who has a cow.’

The Existential particle follows object pronominals (xx3). It is not possible to determine relative order versus preverbal subject pronominals, since the Existential particle does not occur in relative clauses.

(xx3) *kú yé sɔ̀-m*

Inan Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have it.’

#### Locational-existential ‘be (somewhere)’ (*bù-*, negative *ŋ̀gó-*)

This stative quasi-verb is used to specify where the subject is. It is often accompanied by a specific locational expression (‘I am in the house,’ ‘I am out in the bush’). In the absene of such a locational, the default locational is Existential *yé*, which in many contexts is understood to be equivalent to ‘here’ or ‘there’. When the location is vague, the construction approaches a pure existential predication ‘X exists, X is present (somewhere)’.

The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) ‘Be (present)’

category form

1Sg *bù-m*

1Pl *bù-yⁿ*

2Sg *bù-wⁿ*

2Pl *bù-yⁿ*

3Sg *bù-∅*

3Pl *b-ɛ̀:*

Examples are in (xx2). The subject may be human, animate, or inanimate.

(xx2) a. *[[dámbá kɔ̌:] nè] bù-m*

[[village 1SgPoss.InanSg] in] be-1SgSbj

‘I am in my village.’

b. *á:màdù yé bù-∅↑*

A Exist be-3SgSbj

‘Is Amadou there?’

c. *síkɔ̀rɔ̀ yé bù-∅*

sugar Exist be-3SgSbj

‘There is some sugar.’

For past time, *bù-* is replaced by a conjugated form of *bù-m=bì-* ‘was’ (§10.5.1.6). The participial form of *bù-* in relatives is *bù-m-ɛ̀:* (§14.4.2).

The corresponding **negative** forms are in (xx3). They do not allow Existential *yé*. They may therefore occur with a specific locational, or by themselves. In the latter case, there may be an understood location (‘here’, ‘there’), or the sense may be ‘not exist’.

(xx3) ‘Not be (present), be absent’

category form

1Sg *ŋ̀gó-m*

1Pl *ŋ̀gó-yⁿ*

2Sg *ŋ̀gó-wⁿ*

2Pl *ŋ̀gó-yⁿ*

3Sg *ŋ̀gó-∅*

3Pl *ŋ̀gw-ɛ̂:*

Examples are in (xx4).

(xx4) a. *[dámbá nè] ŋ̀gó-m*

[village in] not.be-1SgSbj

‘I am not in the village.’

b. *á:màdù ŋ̀gó-∅*

A not.be-3SgSbj

‘Amadou is not present (here/there).’

c. *síkɔ̀rɔ̀ ŋ̀gó-∅*

sugar not.be-3SgSbj

‘There is no sugar.’

For past time, the form is *ŋ̀gó=bù-m=bì-* ‘was not (somewhere)’, §10.5.1.6.

More specific verbs are used in senses like ‘be in (a container)’ or ‘be up on X’. See §11.2.3.1 just below.

### Other stative locational and positional quasi-verbs

#### ‘Be in/on’ (*gánà-*, *túnà-*, etc.)

Location with specific respect to a container, a well-defined enclosed space, a surface, or a landmark object, is normally expressed by a derived stative verb rather than by *bù-*.

(xx1) a. *ínjé [èdù-gó nè] yé gànà-∅*

water [waterjar-InanSg in] Exist be.put.in.Stat-3SgSbj

‘(The) water is in the waterjar.’

b. *yɔ́ [bɔ̀ríyɛ́ nè] yé gànà-∅*

millet [sack in] Exist be.put.in.Stat-3SgSbj

‘(The) millet (grain) is in the sack.’

c. *èdù-gó [úló nè] yé tùnà-∅*

waterjar-InanSg [house in] Exist be.put.Stat-3SgSbj

‘The waterjar is in the house.’

d. *pól-gó [bɛ̀ndɛ́ nè] yé tùnà-∅*

knife-InanSg [shoulderbag in] Exist be.put.Stat-3SgSbj

‘The knife is in the shoulderbag.’

e. *[úlò nè] túnà-∅*

[house Loc] be.put.Stat-3SgSbj

‘It’s inside the house.’

The stative verbs in question are summarized in (xx2). The {HL} tone overlay is heard in examples like (xx1e) with an overt locational but no existential *yé*. After *yé*, the forms have L-tones (xx1a-d). The existential proclitic is required when in unfocalized positive main clauses when no other locational is overt.

The stative form has the sense (except for aspect) and valency of the mediopassive if there is one, rather than those of the transitive. However, morphophonologically the stative is closer to the transitive than to the mediopassive.

(xx2) transitive gloss mediopassive stative gloss

*túnú-* ‘put in’ *tún-í:-* *túnà-* ‘(object) be in’

*gàní-* ‘put in’ *gàn-í:-* *gánà-* ‘(liquid, grain) be in (container)’

*dùŋú-* ‘lay down’ *dùŋ-í:- dúŋà* ‘(object) be laid down in’

*náŋgí-* ‘put up on’ *nánj-í:- náŋgà-* ‘(object) be up on’

*dɛ̀lí-* ‘set’ *dɛ̀l-í:-* *dèà-* ‘(calabash) be sitting’

*tárá-* ‘affix (on wall)’ *tár-í:- tárà-* ‘be on (wall)’

Negative stative forms are in (xx3), for 3Sg subject. The form in (xx3a) is an irregular contraction, cf. *túnà* above. For *=ndà:‑∅* see §10.4.2.

(xx3) a. *twá:-ndà:‑∅* ‘(object) not be in’

b. *dúŋá-ndà:‑∅* ‘not be laid down in’

*gán-dà:‑∅* ‘(liquid, grain) not be in (container)’

*déá-ndà:‑∅* ‘(calabash) not be sitting’

*náŋgá-ndà:‑∅* ‘not be up on’

*tárá-ndà:‑∅* ‘not be on (wall)’

#### Demonstrative-based ‘be here/there’ (*ɔ̌-m-nɛ̀* etc.)

‘Be here’ and ‘be there’ can be expressed by combining an existential-locational predicate, i.e. *bù-* ‘be (somewhere)’ with a demonstrative adverb. However, these senses can alternatively be expressed using demonstrative-based predicate forms. For regular demonstratives, see §4.4.1.2.

The demonstrative predicates are mostly identical to the ordinary demonstratives, plus the ‘it is’ clitic. However, the animate singular forms have an ending *-nɛ̀*. Forms for third person subject are in (xx1).

(xx1) demonstrative gloss ‘be (here/there)’

a. inanimate

*ò-gú* ‘this’ *ò-gû:=∅*

*è-ý* ‘these’ *è-ŷ=∅*

*mà-gú* ‘that (over there)’ *mà-gû:=*∅́

*mà-ýⁿ* ‘those (over there)’ *mà-ŷⁿ=∅*

b. animate

*ɔ̀-ḿ* ‘this’ *ɔ̀-ḿ-nɛ̀*

*ɔ̀-bɔ́* ‘these’ *ɔ̀-bɔ̂:=∅*

*mà-ḿ* ‘that (over there)’ *mà-ḿ-nɛ̀*

*mà-bɔ́* ‘those (over there)’ *mà-bɔ̂:=∅*

*bɛ̌:* is optionally added after the animate Sg predicative form in *-ḿ-nɛ̀* (xx2a), or after the nonpredicative forms (i.e. without the ‘it is’ clitic) of the other forms. For animate plural, *bɛ̌:* is replaced by *bù-mbɔ̌:* (xx2d).

(xx2) a. *ìnjɛ̌: ɔ̌-m-nɛ̀ bɛ̌:*

dog be.here.AnSg be

‘The dog is here’

b. *èdù-gó ò-gú bɛ̌:*

waterjar-InanSg Prox-InanSg be

‘The waterjar is here.’

c. *èdé: è-ý bɛ̌:*

waterjar.Pl Prox-InanPl be

‘The waterjars are here.’

d. *[ìnjɛ̀:-mbɔ́ ǹ] ɔ̀-bɔ́ bù-mbɔ̌:*

[dog-AnPl Def] Prox-AnPl be-AnPl1

‘The dogs are here.’

In the absence of *bɛ̌:* or *bù-mbɔ̌:*, the predicative forms tend to be presentational in function (§4.4.3).

For 1st/2nd person subjects, the forms in *-ḿ-nɛ̀* and *-bɔ́* take pronominal-subject suffixes: *ɔ̀-ḿ-nɛ̀-m* ‘I am here’, *ɔ̀-bɔ́-ỳⁿ* ‘we are here’.

For morphologically similar predicates for interrogative ‘be where?’, see §13.2.4.

#### ‘Resemble’ (*mùl-ɛ̂:*)

‘X resemble Y’ is expressed with ‘[X and Y]’ or similar plural NP as subject, and *mùlú* or *mùl-ɛ̂:* as predicate. That *-ɛ̂:* is segmentable is shown by the negation *mùl‑l‑ɛ̂:* (xx1b). The additional ‑l‑ is related to other negative morphemes with *l* or *nd*, such as stative negative *=ndà-* and perfective negative *-lí-*. The *-ɛ̂:* is somewhat obscure but may be an original nominal ending.

(xx1) a. *[ámádù∴ sé:dù∴] mùlú* / *mùl-ɛ̂:*

‘Amadou and Seydou resemble (each other).’

b. *[ámádù∴ sé:dù∴] mùl-l-ɛ̂:*

‘Amadou and Seydou don’t resemble (each other).’

Noun ‘resemblance’ is *mù-mùlù-gɔ́*.

### ‘Become’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

#### ‘Remain’ (*bě-*, *wàdá*-)

*bě-* and *wàdá-* have regular verb paradigms. *bě-* means ‘stay, remain (behind)’, i.e. not going anywhere else during the relevant time interval.

(xx1) *[dámbá nè] bě-yyà-m*

[village in] stay-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘I stayed in the village (while others traveled).’

*bě-* has an accidental homonym ‘lie down’ due to a secondary phonological convergence. Cf. Yanda Dom *bìyɛ́-* ‘remain’, *bìyó-* ‘lie down’.

*wàdá-* means ‘remain, be left (over)’.

(xx2) *zá wádá-ŋgò:-∅*

meal remain-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘There is nothing left of the meal.’

láyà yéŋgì bè-m-bì

‘the feast of the ram took place yesterday’

yéŋgì lá: bè-m-bì

‘it wasn’t yesterday’

*‘holiday take place’*

*expressive adverbials*

#### ‘Become, be transformed into’ (*táŋgí-*)

*táŋgí-* ‘X become Y’ takes a NP complement that is not marked for case.

(xx1) *àdé táŋgí-yà-y*

bird become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘He/She turned into a bird.’

*táŋgí-* can also mean ‘cross (road, river)’, ‘(fire) be lit’, and ‘(bride) be transferred (to husband’s house)’. These senses all involve a change in location and/or state.

The transitive (causative) counterpart is *tá:-ndú-* ‘Z transform (X into Y)’.

(xx2) *àdé ú tá:-ndà-m-nù-m*

bird 2SgO become-Caus-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will turn you-Sg into a bird.’

*tá:-ndú-* can also mean ‘take X across, cause X to go across’, ‘transfer (bride, to husband’s house)’, ‘turn on (light)’, and ‘contaminate, infect’.

For deadjectival inchoative verbs (‘become red/small’), see §9.6. For bě- ‘become’ with an expressive adverbial, see §11.1.3.1.

### Mental and emotional statives

#### ‘Know’ (*zùgɔ́-*)

*zùgɔ́-* ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be acquainted with (someone)’ is a regular verb with a full aspectual paradigm, rather than a defective stative as in some other Dogon languages. Thus perfective-1b *zùgɔ́-tì-* ‘knew, realized’, imperfective negative *zúgá-ŋgò:-* ‘does not know’.

#### ‘Want, like’ (*m̀bá-* or *nàmá-*, negative *m̀bí-là* or *nàmà-lá*)

‘Want, like’ is expressed most often by a defective stative quasi-verb *m̀bà-* (compare Nanga *m̀bá-*, Tommo So *ḿbɛ́-*). The negative counterpart ‘not want’ is *m̀bí-là*, containing a variant of the stative negative suffix.

(xx1) a. *ǹjé* L*mbà-wⁿ↑*

what? Lwant-2SgSbj

‘What do you-Sg want?’

b. *[cì kámá] m̀bí-là-m*

[anything] want-StatNeg-1SgSbj

‘I don’t want anything.’

The paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2) ‘Want’ and ‘not want’

category ‘want’ ‘not want’

1Sg *m̀bá-m m̀bí-là-m*

1Pl *m̀bá-yⁿ m̀bí-là-yⁿ*

2Sg *m̀bá-wⁿ m̀bí-là-wⁿ*

2Pl *m̀bá-yⁿ m̀bí-là-yⁿ*

3Sg *m̀bá-∅ m̀bí-là:-∅*

3Pl *m̀bá-ɛ̀ m̀bí-l-ɛ̀:*

There is also another ‘want’ quasi-verb *nàmá* (3Pl *nàmá-ɛ̀*), negative *nàmà-lá* with stative negative suffix.

These verbs may take NP objects: *nàmá m̀bí=là-m* ‘I don’t want (any) meat’. They also take verbal noun complements, on which see §17.xxx.

## Quotative verb

### Conjugatable ‘say’ verbs (*gǐn ~ jǐn*, *ɔ́rú*, *tágá*)

The most common conjugatable ‘say’ verb accompanying quoted material is *gǐn* ~ *jǐn,* imperfective *gínì‑m‑dɔ̀‑*. However, it gets some competion from *ɔ́rú* ‘say, speak’ and from *tágá* ‘say’. *ɔ́rú* does not require quoted material, since it also occurs in the collocation with cognate nominal *órú-gó ɔ́rú* ‘speak, talk, do some talking’.

All three ‘say’ verbs allow perfective-1b *-tì*- (*gǐn-tì-*, *ɔ́r-tì-*, *tágá-tì-*).

The indirect object (the original addressee) is expressed with postposition *bènè* (§8.xxx).

*gǐn ~ jǐn* is presumably related historically to *gín*, the past-time same-subject ‘and then’ subordinator (§15.xxx).

The conjugatable ‘say’ verbs compete with unconjugated quotative particle wà, and with a special form *ɲà* used with a preposed pronominal subject following the quotation (§17.xxx).

## Adjectival predicates

### Positive adjectival predicates

#### Final *u* (or apocopated zero)

One rather common adjectival predicate has a final *u* on the adjective. After an unclustered medial nasal or *y*, the *u* is deleted (by apocope). The lexical tones are preserved.

This construction is not attested for all adjectives. Those that I know of are in (xx1). The modifying form shown next to the predicate is the unsuffixed form (Inanimate Pl or Animate Sg).

(xx1) predicate modifying gloss

a. final *u* audible

*{HL} melody*

*cé:lù cé:lè:* ‘cold, cool’

*dúdù dúdɛ̀:* ‘heavy’

*ɛ́dù ɛ́dɛ̀:* ‘good’

*ɛ́lù ɛ́lɛ̀:* ‘sweet, delicious’

*gálù gálɛ̀:* ‘bitter’

*pílù pílɛ̀:* ‘white’

*yágùrù yágírɛ̀:* ‘coarse, rough’

*{LH} melody*

*gàbú gàbɛ̌:* ‘tall’

*mɔ̀dú mɔ̀dɛ̌:* ‘evil, nasty’

*yɔ̀rú yɔ̀rɛ̌:* ‘soft’

b. final *u* apocopated

*{HL} melody*

*gɔ̂m gɔ́mɛ̀:* ‘rotten’

*mân márⁿɛ̀:* ‘hard, solid’

*nôm nómè:* ‘difficult’

*ɔ̂m* *ɔ́mɛ̀:* ‘hot’

*ɔ́rⁿɔ̂n ɔ́rⁿɔ́nɛ̀:* ‘smooth, sleek’

Sample paradigms are in (xx2). 3Pl *-ɛ:* has parallels in various inflectional paradigms of verbs. The 3Pl predicative form is homophonous with the *ɛ:*-final form of modifying adjectives when its syllable is L-toned, but when it is H-toned it is usually distinct tonally from the modifying form (*mɔ̀d-ɛ́:* ‘they are nasty’, *mɔ̀dɛ̌:* ‘nasty’).

(xx1) category ‘is heavy’ ‘is nasty’ ‘is difficult’

1Sg *ɛ́lù-m mɔ̀dú-m nómù-m*

1Pl *ɛ́lì-yⁿ mɔ̀dí-yⁿ nómì-yⁿ*

2Sg *ɛ́lù-wⁿ mɔ̀dú-wⁿ nómù-wⁿ*

2Pl *ɛ́lì-yⁿ mɔ̀dí-yⁿ nómì-yⁿ*

3Sg *ɛ́lù-∅ mɔ̀dú-∅ nôm-∅*

3Pl *ɛ́lù-ɛ̀: mɔ̀d-ɛ́: nóm-è:*

#### {LH(L)} tone contour and final *i* ~ *y*

This type has an overlaid {LHL} tone contour. Those forms that are based on *Cv(C)CE*: adjectives also raise the final *E:* vowel to *i:*, resulting in *Cv̀(C)Cî:* (xx1a). Those based on *C(v)E:* appear as *Cvy* (xx1b). *Ci:* (xx1c) is probably of the same type, i.e. from /Ciy/.

(xx1) predicate modifying gloss

a. *Cv(C)Cî:*

*bìnî: bìnɛ́:* ‘fat, stout’

*dèmbî: démbè:* ‘thick, massive’

*ɛ̀mbî: ɛ̀mbɛ̌:* ‘narrow’

b. *Cv᷈y*

*gɔ᷈y gɔ̯ɛ̌:* ‘short’

*wa᷈y wàɛ́* ‘wide, spacious’

c. *Ci᷈:* (or *Ci᷈y*)

*si᷈: síyɛ̀:* ‘sharp (point, blade)’

With 1Sg subject: *bìnî:=m̀* I am fat’, *gɔ̌y=m̀* ‘I am short’ (the <LHL> tone is spread out with the final L on the clitic nasal).

Paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2) category ‘is fat’ ‘is short’

1Sg *bìnî:-m* *gɔ̌y=m̀*

1Pl *bìnî:-yⁿ* *gɔ̌y=ỳⁿ*

2Sg *bínî:-wⁿ* *gɔ̌y=ẁⁿ*

2Pl *bìnî:-yⁿ* *gɔ̌y=ỳⁿ*

3Sg *bìnî:-∅* *gɔ᷈y-∅*

3Pl *bìn-ɛ̂:* *gɔ́-ɛ̀:*

#### *pá:* ‘be long’

From *pá:* ‘long’ the predicative form is <LH>-toned, with no final high vowel or semivowel.

(xx1) predicate modifying gloss

*pá: pá:* ‘long’

The paradigm is (xx2).

(xx2) category ‘is long’

1Sg *pá:-m*

1Pl *pá:-yⁿ*

2Sg *pá:-wⁿ*

2Pl *pá:-yⁿ*

3Sg *pá:-∅*

3Pl *p-ǎ:*

#### Derived expressive adverbial plus *bù-* ‘be’

The attested example of a construction with *bù-* ‘be’ is in (xx1). The adjective takes a derived expressive adverbial (EA) form. *bù-* is regularly used to make EAs predicative (§xxx).

(xx1) predicate modifying gloss

*ɛ́rⁿɛ́-y→ bù- ɛ́rⁿɛ̀:* ‘lightweight; thin (wall)’

#### Copular predicate based on modifying adjective

For a number of adjectives, no specifically predicative form was elicitable. Instead, the regular modifying form, including animacy and number marking, is used as a predicate with the ‘it is’ clitic. A repetition of the noun (‘this mango is a red mango’) frequently occurs, and although the repeated noun is not required it suggests that the predicative element is syntactically a NP rather than an adjective as such.

In (xx1), just one representative predicative form is given (Inanimate Sg if possible), but other forms (i.e. for the various animacy and number categories) are also possible.

(xx1) predicate modifying gloss

a. sample predicative form is Inanimate Sg

*(C)Cv adjective stem*

*sɛ́-ŋgɛ̀:=∅ sɛ́* ‘good’

*dɛ́-ŋgɛ̀:=∅ dɛ́* ‘big’

*ǹdɔ̀-ŋgɔ̂:=∅ ǹdɛ́* ‘empty’’

*other stems*

*bán-gɔ̀:=∅ bárⁿɛ̀:* ‘red; ripe (mango)’

*dùmbù-gô:=∅ dùmbě:* ‘blunt (blade)’

*jɛ́m-gɔ̀=∅ jɛ́mɛ̀:* ‘black (dark)’

*màyⁿ-gɔ̂:=∅ màɛ̌ⁿ* ‘dry’

*ɔ̀l-gɔ̂:=∅ ɔ̀lɛ̌:* ‘wet; fresh (grass)’

*pɛ̀y-gɔ̂:=∅ pɛ̌:* ‘old’

*púrúgú-gò:=∅ púrúgè:* ‘tan, off-white’

*sàm-gɔ̂:=∅ sàmɛ̌:* ‘bad, ugly’

*wɛ́r-gɔ̀*:*=∅ wɛ́rɛ̀:* ‘green’

b. sample predicative form is Inanimate Pl (liquids)

*se᷈:=∅* *sě:* ‘diluted (milk)’

*kùre᷈:=∅* *kùrě:* ‘undiluted (milk)’

c. sample predicative form is Animate Sg

*ɔ́mɔ̂:=∅ ɔ́mɔ̀:* ‘living, alive’

This construction can be used with any adjective, including those that also have a specifically predicative form as described in preceding sections.

A sample paradigm is (xx2). The third person forms clearly involve the ‘it is’ clitic, which is manifested by lengthening and a final L-tone element.

(xx1) category ‘is old’

1Sg *pɛ̌:-m*

1Pl *pɛ̀y-mbɔ́-yⁿ*

2Sg *pɛ̌:-wⁿ*

2Pl *pɛ̀y-mbɔ́-yⁿ*

3rd person

InanSg *pɛ̀y-gɔ̂:=∅*

InanPl, AnSg *pɛ᷈:=∅*

AnPl *pɛ̀y-mbɔ̂:=∅*

*Does focalization of a constituent (so that the predicate is defocalized) affect the choice of adjectival predicate construction?*

*examples:*

*‘This house is big/small/red/black.’*

*‘The rope is short/long.’*

*‘The men are fat/slender/heavy/lightweight/good/bad.’*

*‘The meal is good/bad/sweet/bitter/sour.’*

*‘I am/you are/we are/... fat.’*

*‘Who is fat?’, ‘How is it good?’, ‘When is it good?’ [focalized]*

### Negative adjectival and stative predicates (*=lá*)

The various adjectival predicates described in the preceding sections are negated as follows. Simple adjectival predicates add a conjugated form of Stative negative *=lá-* (xx1a-c). Predicates based on deadjectival expressive adverbials (EAs) are negated by *ŋ̀gó-* ‘not be (somewhere)’, as usual for negative predicates of EAs (xx1d). Predicates based on (N-)Adj core NPs are negated by *=là:-* ‘it is not’, as usual with NP predicates.

(xx1) a. *[cìn* L *ò-gú] dùdù=lá-∅*

[stoneL Prox-InanSg] heavy=StatNeg-3Sg

‘That stone is not heavy.’ (cf. *dúdù-∅*, §11.4.1.1)

b. *[sùŋgò* L *ò-gú] gɔ̀y=lá-∅*

[ropeL Prox-InanSg] short=StatNeg-3Sg

‘That rope is not short.’ (cf. *gɔ᷈y-∅*, §11.4.1.2)

c. *[sùŋgò* L *ò-gú] pà:=lá-∅*

[ropeL Prox-InanSg] long=StatNeg-3Sg

‘That rope is not long.’ (cf. *pá:-∅*, §11.4.1.3)

d. *[cìn* L *ò-gú] ɛ́rⁿɛ́-y→ ŋ̀gó-∅*

[stoneL Prox-InanSg] lightweight-Adv not.be-3SgSbj

‘That stone is not light(-weight).’ (cf. *ɛ́rⁿɛ́y bù-*, §11.4.1.4)

e. *[ùlò* L *ò-gú] pɛ̀y-gɔ́=là:-∅*

[houseL Prox.InanSg] old-InanSg=it.is.not-3SgSbj

‘That house is not old.’ (cf. *pɛ̀y-gɔ̂:=∅*, §11.4.1.5)

The paradigms are the usual ones for these negative endings.

## Possessive predicates

### ‘X have Y’ (*sɔ̀-*)

*sɔ̀-* ‘have’ forms predicates of possession, primarily in the sense of ownership. The subject is frequently topical within the larger discourse. In positive main clauses, *sɔ̀-* requires Existential *yé* (xx1a) unless there is a focalized constituent (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[pédú-mbò bú-tà:ndú] yé sɔ̀-m*

[sheep-AnPl AnPl-three] Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have three sheep.’

b. *ǎm pédé sɔ̀-∅*

who? sheep have-3SgSbj

‘Who has a sheep?ʼ

There is an issue as to whether *sɔ̀-* is lexically L-toned, or is really /sɔ́-/ but subject to tone-dropping. Indeed, tone-dropping does occur on derived stative verbs after Existential *yé* (§10.xxx), and tone-dropping can occur in verbs following focalized constituents (§xxx).

The **negative** counterpart is *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-*, including a variant of Stative negative *=ndà:-* (§10.xxx). Existential *yé* is not allowed in negative clauses.

(xx2) *sòmé sɔ́-ndɔ̀-m*

horse have-StatNeg-1SgSbj

‘I don’t have a horse.’

The positive and negative paradigms are in (xx3). *yé* is included in the positive.

(xx3) category ‘have’ ‘do not have’

1Sg *yé sɔ̀-m* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀-m*

1Pl *yé sɔ̀-yⁿ* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀-yⁿ*

2Sg *yé sɔ̀-w* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀-wⁿ*

2Pl *yé sɔ̀-yⁿ* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀-yⁿ*

3Sg/Inan *yé sɔ̀-∅* *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-∅*

3Pl *yé sɔ̯-ɛ̀:* *sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:*

In careful speech, the 3Pl form of ‘have’ can be pronounced [sɔ̯̀ɛ̀].

For the past-time form (‘had X’, ‘used to have X’), see §10.5.1.6.

For ‘have’ in relative clauses, see §14.xxx.

*sɔ̀-* ‘have’ is presumably related at least historically to perfective-2 *-sɔ̀-* (§10.2.1.3). It also occurs more transparently as part of one of the progressive constructions, that with *-ḿ sɔ̀-* (§10.2.2.3), which is negated as *-ḿ sɔ́-ndɔ̀-* (§10.2.3.5).

### ‘Y belong to X’ predicates

In this construction, the subject (which may be topical in the larger discourse) denotes the possessed entity Y. The predicate identifies the owner X. The original construction was of the form “Y [X’s thing]=it.is,” with ‘thing’ (or, for animates, ‘critter’) in apposition to Y. For such possessive classifiers, see §6.xxx. Here as elsewhere, the ‘it is’ clitic is expressed by lengthening of a final short vowel and by a final L-tone (§11.xxx). In (xx1a), *kɔ̌:* becomes *kɔ᷈:=∅* with bell-shaped tone, and *í-gɛ̀* becomes *í-gɛ̀=:* with lengthened final vowel.

(xx1) a. *úló [ǎm kɔ᷈:]=∅*

house [who? Poss.InanSg]=it.is

‘The house is whose?’ (‘…belongs to whom?’), cf. §13.2.2

b. *úló í-gɛ̀=:*

house 1Pl-Poss]=it.is

‘(The) house is ours.’

‘(The) houses are ours.’

In the simple example (xx1b), ‘(the) house is ours’ is identical in form to ‘it’s our house’. However, in the former sense the subject can be determined (‘[that house over there] is ours’) or topicalized (‘as for that house, it’s ours’).

1Sg forms are *kɔ᷈:=∅* ‘it (inanimate) is mine’ and *wɛ᷈:=∅* ‘it (animate) is mine’.

As expected, the negative counterpart adds *=là-* ‘it is not’, which occurs generally with negative NP predicates (§11.xxx). The *-gɛ̀* or *-wɔ̀* possessive morpheme is H-toned before *=là:-* as in (xx2). 1Sg combinations are *kɔ̌:=là:-∅* ‘it (inanimate) is not mine’ and *wɛ̌:=là:-∅* ‘it (animate) is not mine’.

(xx2) *nǎ: [ú wɔ́]=là:-∅*

cow [2SgSbj Poss.An]=it.is.not

‘(The) cow is not yours-Sg.’

## Verb iteration

### Uninflected iteration of type [v1-v1(-v1 …)]

*If no such iterations have been observed (after transcribing a fair amount of narrative), indicate this here.*

*Some Dogon languages have a narrative construction where a verb stem is iterated two or more times. The iteration functions as a clause-like background durative segment, counterpoised to a following foregrounded event predication.*

*The iteration may be inflected or uninflected (bare stems iterated), and if uninflected may have unusual superimposed tone contours.*

*Jamsay:*

*a) a simple pattern v̄-v̄ (one iteration, both stems have lexical tone, final verb inflected (unless followed by another chained verb);*

*b) a pattern v̄-v̀-v̄ (two iterations, medial stems drops tones, final verb inflected (unless followed by another chained verb);*

*c) a pattern v̂-v̀-v̀, i.e. with {HL} tone overlaid on first occurrence, then {L}-toned forms of the verb, none of the stems with suffixal inflection*

*type (c) is also observed in Nanga.*

*if the v̂-v̀-v̀ is observed, how is the {HL} contour on the first occurrence realized when the stem is trisyllabic? HLL or HHL? Cross-ref. to §3.7.3.2.*

*cross-ref to backgrounded durative and imperfective clauses that involve an overt subordinating morpheme (§15.2 or a subsection thereof).*

# Comparatives

## Asymmetrical comparatives

### Verbal predicate with *sìgà* ‘more’ and *dùgɔ̀* ‘than’

The predicate is an ordinary inflected verb, e.g. perfective or imperfective. The comparandum is expressed as the PP [X *dùgɔ̀*], elsewhere a purposive PP (§8.3). The PP is followed by the adverb *sìgà* ‘more’.

mí dùgɔ̀ sìgà bírá: bírà-m-dɔ̀

‘he works more than I (do)’

nné dùgɔ̀ sìgà zá ɲá-m̀-nù-m

‘I eat more than he does.’

yù-wá: [ú dùgɔ̀] sìgà wá: wâ:-m-nù-m

I cultivate more fields that you-Sg (do).

### ‘Be better, be more’ (*ìrɛ́*)

*ìrɛ́* is a defective stative verb, cf. §11. Its basic sense is ‘be more’ but in the absence of an explicit basis of comparison the contextual sense is often ‘be better’. The comparandum is again expressed as a PP [X *dùgɔ̀*]. A basis for comparison may take the form of a chained verb or other predicate following *ìrɛ́* (xx1b,f), whereupon *ìrɛ́* looks superficially like an invariable adverb. Past clitic forms may be added (xx1e).

(xx1) a. *[ú dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́-m*

[2Sg Purp] be.more-1SgSbj

‘I am better than you-Sg (are).’

b. *[ú dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́ gàbú-m*

[2Sg Purp] be.more be.tall-1SgSbj

‘I am taller than you-Sg (are).’

c. *máŋkòrò [kùrá: dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́-∅*

mango [wild.grape Purp] be.more-3SgSbj

‘Mangoes are better than wild grapes.’

d. *yà-mbɔ́ [árⁿá-mbɔ̀ dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́-∅ ŋ̀gó zw-ɛ̀:*

woman-AnPl [man-AnPl Purp] be.ore here abound.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘There are more men than women here.’

e. *tíⁿ→ [ú dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́-bù-m=bù-m*

before [2Sg Purp] be.more -be-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘I was formerly better than you-Sg (are).’

f. *yɔ́ [ú dùgɔ̀] ìrɛ́ yé sɔ̀-m*

millet [2Sg Purp] be.more Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have more millet than you-Sg (are).’

### ‘Best’ (*ɛ́dɛ̀:*)

The adjective *ɛ́dɛ̀:* ‘good’ (and other animacy/number forms thereof) can be used in a kind of superlative construction (xx1a-b)

(xx1) a. *[bèrⁿá: í-gɛ̀ nè] [yɔ̀-wà:-wàlè:* L *ɛ́dɛ̀:] ámàdu*

[among 1Pl-Poss Loc] [farmerL good.AnSg] A

‘Amadou is the best farmer among us.’

b. *[ámàdù: hà:mí:dù:] [[yɔ̀-wà:-wàlù]-mbò* L *ɛ́dù-mbɔ̀]*

[A.& H.&] [[farmer]-AnPlL good-AnPl]

‘Amadou and Hamidou are the best farmers.’

### ‘Be bigger’ (*ègá*)

ègá is a rather emphatic ‘big’ adjective, and is mainly used as a predicate in comparatives.

(xx1) a. *mótì [bàndìrá dùgɔ̀] ègá*

M [B than] bigger

‘Mopti (city) is bigger than Bandiagara.’

b. *[ú dùgɔ̀] ègà=lá-m*

[2Sg than] bigger=Neg-1SgSbj

‘I am not bigger than you-Sg (are).’

## Symmetrical comparatives

### ‘Equal(ly)’ (*cáw-cáw*)

The iterated adverb *cáw-cáw* ‘equal(ly)’ can be combined with *bù-* to form symmetrical comparative predicates. The domain of comparison may be added as an adjunct noun (xx1a). For ‘same age’ a lexical item ‘agemate’ is preferred (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[í lèy] ígúr-gó cáw-cáw bù-∅*

[1Pl two] height equal be-3SgSbj

‘We two are (of) the same height.’

b. *[í lèy] kàràgá*

[1Pl two] agemate(s)

‘We two are (of) the same age.’

### *bǎ:* ‘be worth, be equal to’

This verb can be used in the imperfective (positive and negative) or in the perfective-2 to indicate equality on some measure.

(xx1) a. *ámàdù ígúr-gó sé:dù bá:-m̀-dɔ̀-∅* / *bà:-sɔ́-∅*

A height S be.worth-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj / -Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘Amadou is equal to Seydou in height.’

b. *ámàdù mí-gì bá:-ŋgò:-∅*

A 1Sg-Acc be.worth-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘Amadou is not equal (=as good as) me.’

My assistant sometimes distinguishes *bǎ:* ‘equal, be worth’ from *bǎ* ‘be enough, suffice’ by vowel length, but sometimes merges them as *bǎ*. The latter occurs, for example, in *mí‑gì bà‑sɔ́‑∅* ‘it’s enough for me’ (i.e. ‘I’m full [after eating]’).

## ‘A fortiori’ (*ŋŋŋ*)

*‘X, a fortiori Y’*

*(local French: ‘X, a plus forte raison Y’)*

*may be sákkò ~ sáŋkò etc. (regional form shared with e.g. Fulfulde)*

*or may be of the type represented by wê̂→y (Yorno So), yé∴ (Jamsay)*

*examples:*

*‘I don’t have money to buy a goat, much less (buy) a cow.’*

*‘I don’t have anything for myself to eat, never mind (anything) to give you.’*

*some languages like to include a ‘talk, speak’ verb:*

*‘I dont have money to buy a goat, much less talk of (buying) a cow’*

# Focalization and interrogation

## Focalization

Focalization occurs when a nonpredicative constituent is singled out for emphasis, against an otherwise presupposed or understood background. Typical examples are WH-interrogatives, and clauses that are (or could be) used to respond to such a question.

In TU, subject NP focalization is clearly marked by a special form of the verb. Focalization of nonsubject NPs and adverbs is less reliably marked by the use of the simple perfective (instead of a suffixally marked perfective), and/or by the omission of Existential *yé*. Focalized constituents are not moved.

### Basic syntax of focalization

#### Which constituents can and cannot be focalized?

NPs including pronouns and noun-like adverbs are readily focalized.

“Focalization” of the truth of a statement (‘I did see an elephant!’) is handled by an unrelated system of clause-final Emphatic particles (§19.xxx). There is no mechanism for focalizing a verb or VP.

*what constituents can be focalized?*

*NP (including pronoun)*

*noun-like adverb (e.g. ‘yesterday’)*

*entire PP, or just the NP complement of a postposition (?)*

*what constituents cannot be focalized using the primary focalization construction? (What construction is used to emphasize them?)*

*verb (?)*

*try: ‘I didn’t sell [focus] a goat, I bought a goat.’*

*VP, clause (?)*

*[truth can be emphasized using Emphatic particles, Chap. 19]*

*expressive adverbial (?)*

*[always highlighted, so outside the syntactic focalization system]*

#### Linear position and form of focalized constituent

A focalized constituent, such as a WH-interrogative, remains in its regular position within the clause. SOV order is maintained with focalized ‘who?’ as object (xx1a) or subject (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *ámàdù ǎm* L*yì-∅*

A who? Lsee.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Who(m) did Amadou see?’

b. *ǎm ámàdù* L*y(y)-ɛ̀:*

who? A Lsee.Pfv-SFoc

‘Who saw Amadou?’

*is the focalized constituent fronted to clause-initial position?*

*try direct objects and PPs in the presence of a nonzero clause-initial subject NP*

*‘It was me/It was Seydou [focus] that the women saw in the market.’*

*‘It was to you [focus] that I gave the money.’*

*Is there some morphological marking on the focalized constituent?*

*e.g. Focus particle after focalized NP*

*Focus particle usually just a special use of the ‘it is’ clitic*

#### Form of verb following a focalized constituent

When the **subject is focalized**, the usual pronominal-subject suffixes on the verb are replaced by a special **Defocus** (DFoc) suffix {*-ɛ̀: -ɔ̀: -à:}*. I interpret this to mark the defocalization of the (backgrounded) predicate. Some negative predicates do not allow such suffixation directly, but can be followed by *b-ɛ̀:*, the Defocus form of *bù-* ‘be’.

The relationship between regular and Defocus forms of verbs in various inflectional categories is summarized in (xx1). Except in the perfective positive, which is unrelated to the regular marked perfectives, the Defocus form is based on the same stem vocalism as the corresponding regular form. For example, the perfective negative, imperfective, and imperfective negative forms are based on the A/O-stem of the verb in the Defocus as well as regular form.

(xx1) regular Defocus category

a. *-yà-* ~ *-â: -ɛ̀:* perfective-1a

*-tì-*  " perfective-1b

*-sɔ̀-* *-s-ɔ̀:* perfective-2

*-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- -tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* experiential perfect

b. *-lí- -l-ɛ̀:* perfective negative

*-tɛ̀rà-lí- -tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̀:* experiential perfect negative

c. *-m̀-dɔ̀- -m-è:* imperfective

*-ḿ sɔ̀- -ḿ s-ɔ̀:* Progressive

d. *-ŋgò:- -ŋgò: b-ɛ̀:* imperfective negative

e. *…à- …-à:* derived Stative

*bù- b-ɛ̀:* ‘be (somewhere)’

*sɔ̀- s-ɔ̀:* ‘have’

*m̀bà- m̀b-à:* ‘want’

f. *=ndà:- =ndà: b-ɛ̀:* negative of derived Stative

*ŋ̀gó- ŋ̀gó b-ɛ̀:* ‘not be (somewhere)’

*sɔ́-ndɔ̀:- sɔ́-ndɔ̀: b-ɛ̀:* ‘not have’

*m̀bí-là:- m̀bí-là: bɛ̀:* ‘not want’

The *-ɛ̀:* suffix for **perfective** Defocus is clearly unrelated to the marked perfective-1a, -1b, and -2 suffixes. It has a phonological resemblance to the simple perfective, but the suffix is always *-ɛ̀:* (not #*-è:* or #*-ì:*). Representative forms are in (xx2). The stem is **dropped to {L}** tone contour.

(xx2) verb perfective Defocus gloss

a. *Cv-*, *Cv:-*

*nú- nù-ɛ̀:* ‘go in’

*yǐ- yì-ɛ̀:* ‘see’

*tí- tì-ɛ̀:* ‘send’

*jɛ̌- jì-ɛ̀:* ‘kill’

*jě- jì-ɛ̀:* ‘dance’

*gǒ- gɔ̀-ɛ̀:* ~ *gw-ɛ̀:* ‘go out’

*ká- kà-ɛ̀:* ‘shave’

*zɛ̌:- zì-ɛ̀:* ‘bring’

*wɔ̌:- wɔ̀-ɛ̀:* ‘come’

*tó:- tò-ɛ̀:* ‘pound’

b. *CvC-*

*yǎy-/o- yà-ɛ̀:* ‘go’

*zǎy-/zo- zà-ɛ̀:* ‘take, convey’

*lǎy-* *là-ɛ̀:* ‘taste’

*tún-* *tùn-ɛ̀:* ‘put’

c. bisyllabic

*tábá- tàb-ɛ̀:* ‘touch’

*púŋgó- pùŋg-ɛ̀:* ‘hit, beat’

*dògɔ́- dòg-ɛ̀:* ‘abandon’

*gùló- gùl-ɛ̀:* ‘dig’

*ɔ́ndú- ɔ̀nd-ɛ̀:* ‘build’

d. trisyllabic

*péndí-gí-* *pèndì-g-ɛ̀:* ‘break’

*zìgìbí- zìgìb-ɛ̀:* ‘shake’

The perfective-2 defocus form is *‑s‑ɛ̀:* after {HL}-toned verb stem. Examples are *wɔ̂:-s-ɛ̀:* ‘came’, *tíbɛ̀-s-ɛ̀:* ‘died’, and *gúlò-s-ɛ̀:* ‘dug’.

The other category in the perfective positive system that has a Defocus form is the **experiential perfect,** which changes from *‑tɛ́rɛ́‑bì*‑ to {L}-toned *‑tɛ̀r‑ɛ̀:*. A {LH}-toned verb that drops all of its tones before *‑tɛ́rɛ́‑bì*‑ **shifts to {H}** before *‑tɛ̀r‑ɛ̀:*. There is no change in {H}-toned verbs.

(xx2) verb experiential perfect gloss

regular Defocus

a. {LH}-toned verbs

*yǐ- yì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- yí-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘see’

*gùló-* *gùlò-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- gúló-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘dig’

*zìgìbí-* *zìgìbì-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- zígíbí-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘shake’

b. {H}-toned verbs

*ká- ká-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- ká-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘shave’

*púŋgó- púŋgó-tɛ́rɛ́-bì- púŋgó-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘hit, beat’

In the **perfective negative**, both the regular and Defocus forms have **{L}-toned A/O-stems** (xx3).

(xx3) verb perfective negative gloss

regular Defocus

a. {LH}-toned verbs

*wɔ̌:- wà:-lí- wà:-l-ɛ̀:*. ‘come’

*gùló-* *gùlò-lí- gùlò-l-ɛ̀:*. ‘dig’

b. {H}-toned verbs

*nú- nù-lí- nù-l-ɛ̀:* ‘go in’

*púŋgó- pùŋgò-lí- pùŋgò-l-ɛ̀:* ‘hit, beat’

For example, {H}-toned *nú-* ‘go in’ forms regular *nù-lí-∅* ‘he/she did not go in’ and Defocus form *nù-l-ɛ̀:*, while *wɔ̌:-* ‘come’ has regular *wà:-lí-∅* ‘he/she did not come’ and Defocus form *wà:-l-ɛ̀:*.

The **experiential perfect negative** has regular *-tɛ̀rà-lí-* (including the perfective negative suffix) and Defocus form *‑tɛ̀rà‑l‑ɛ̀:*. Whereas the stem is tone-dropped before *-tɛ̀rà-lí-*, it is raised to {H} before *‑tɛ̀rà‑l‑ɛ̀:* (xx4), just as it is before *-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* in (xx2) above.

(xx4) verb experiential perfect gloss

regular Defocus

a. {LH}-toned verbs

*yǐ- yì-tɛ̀rà-lí- yí-tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̀:* ‘see’

*gùló-* *gùlò-tɛ̀rà-lí- gúló-tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̀:* ‘dig’

*zìgìbí-* *zìgìbì-tɛ̀rà-lí- zígíbí-tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̀:* ‘shake’

b. {H}-toned verbs

*ká- kà-tɛ̀rà-lí- ká-tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̀:* ‘shave’

*púŋgó- pùŋgò-tɛ̀rà-lí- púŋgó-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀:* ‘hit, beat’

In the **imperfective**, the Defocus form is *-m-ɛ̀:*, i.e. *-ɛ̀:* added to the familiar imperfective suffix *-m*. The Defocus form **drops stem tones to {L}**, unlike the regular form, which has {HL} contour

(xx5) verb imperfective gloss

regular (3Sg) Defocus

a. {LH}-toned verbs

*yǐ- yá-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ yà-m-ɛ̀:* ‘see’

*wɔ̌:- wá:-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ wà:-m-ɛ̀:* ‘come’

*zòbɔ́-* *zóbà-m-dɔ̀-∅ zòbà-m-ɛ̀:* ‘run’

*zìgìbí-* *zígìbè-m-dɔ̀-∅ zìgìbè-m-ɛ̀:* ‘shake’

b. {H}-toned verbs

*ká- ká-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ kà-m-ɛ̀:* ‘shave’

*sɛ́mbí- sɛ́mbì-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ sɛ̀mbì-m-ɛ̀:* ‘sweep’

*púŋgó- púŋgò-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ pùŋgò-m-ɛ̀:* ‘hit, beat’

The periphrastic **Progressive** constructions, with *sɔ̀-* ‘have’ or *bù-* ‘be’ added to a pronominally uninflected imperfective main verb with *-ḿ*, keep the main verb unchanged and add the Defocus ending to the auxiliary. Thus *sɛ́mbú-ḿ sɔ̀-* ‘is sweeping’ has Defocus form *sɛ́mbú-m s-ɔ̀:*, and the alternative form *sɛ́mbú-ḿ bù-* ‘is sweeping’ has Defocus form *sɛ́mbú-m b-ɛ̀:*.

The **imperfective negative** does not add *-ɛ̀:* to its own suffix *-ŋgò:-*. Instead, *-ŋgò:* is followed by *b-ɛ̀:*. The verb has the same form, i.e. {H}-toned A/O-stem, as before inflected *-ŋgò:-*. For example, *wá:-ŋgò:-∅* ‘he/she does/will not go’ becomes Defocus *wá:-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀:*.

**Stative** stems derived from regular verbs have {HL} contour (dropping to {L} after Existential *yé*) and end in a, e.g. *ɔ́bà-* ‘be sitting (seated)’. The Defocus counterpart is {L}-toned and lengthens the stem-final vowel: *ɔ̀b-à:*. As for defective stative quasi-verbs, *bù-* ‘be (somewhere)’ becomes *b-ɛ̀:*, *sɔ̀-* ‘have’ becomes *s-ɔ̀:*, and *m̀bà-* ‘want’ becomes *m̀b-à:*.

*bù- b-ɛ̀:* ‘be (somewhere)’

*sɔ̀- s-ɔ̀:* ‘have’

*m̀bà- m̀b-à:* ‘want’

For all **stative negative** predicates, derived or underived, and for *ŋ̀gó-* ‘not be (somewhere)’, *b-ɛ̀:* is added to the pronominally unsuffixed (i.e. 3Sg) negative form: *ɔ́bá=ndà: b-ɛ̀:* ‘is not sitting (defocalized)’, *sɔ́-ndɔ̀: b-ɛ̀:* ‘does not have (defocalized)’, *ŋ̀gó b-ɛ̀:* ‘is not (somewhere) (defocalized)’.

#### Existential *yé* absent in focalized clauses

Existential particle *yé*, which is required with positive ‘be (somewhere)’, ‘have’, and other statives under some syntactic conditions, does not occur in clauses with a focalized nonpredicate constituent. (Likewise it is absent from relative clauses.) For example, *yé* is obligatory in (xx1a), but absent in (xx1b) where the subject is focalized. In (xx1c), the absence of *yé* indicates that something is focalized, and ‘dog’ the only candidate.

(xx1) a. *ínjɛ̌: yé sɔ̀-m*

dog Exist have-1SgSbj

‘I have a dog.’

b. *ìnjɛ̌: mí sɔ̀:*

dog 1Sg have.DFoc

‘It’s I [focus] who have a dog.’

c. *ìnjɛ̌: sɔ̀-m*

dog have-1SgSbj

‘It’s a dog [focus] that I have?’

### Subject focalization

Subject focalization is clearly signaled by the grammar. If the subject is pronominal, it must appear as an independent pronoun before the verb. The latter does not agree with the focused subject NP; instead, it has a fixed participial form ending in *-ɛ̀:* (or other long vowel) as described in §13.1.3.

If there is also at least one other nonpredicative constituent, a focalized subject NP (or pronoun) tends to occur in immediate preverbal position, though elicited examples sometimes keep the subject in clause-initial position. A focalized subject can even follow an object pronoun. (xx1ab) show the two ordering possibilities in a transitive clause with focalized subject.

(xx1) a. *ú-gì à-ḿ bùnd-ɛ̀:*

2Sg-Acc who? hit.Pfv-DFoc

‘Who [focus] hit-Past you-Sg?’

b. *à-ḿ ú-gì bùnd-ɛ̀:*

who? 2Sg-Acc hit.Pfv-DFoc

[= (a)]

ǎm wɔ̀-ɛ̀: ‘Who has come?’

mí wɔ̀-ɛ̀: ‘It is I [focus] who came.’

ǎm ìnjɛ̌: púŋg-ɛ̀: ‘who hit the dog?’

ǎm ìnjɛ̌: j-ɛ̀: ‘Who killed the dog?’

ǎm yà-ɛ̀: ‘Who went?’

ǎm gw-ɛ̀: ‘Who went out?’

ǎm nw-ɛ̀: ‘Who went in?’

ǎm gònsárⁿá yí-tɛ̀r-ɛ̀: ‘Who has ever seen an elephant?’

ǎm wà:-l-ɛ̀: ‘Who did not come?’

ǎm nù-l-ɛ̀: ‘Who has not gone in?’

ǎm wà:-m-ɛ̀: ‘Who will come?’

ǎm tò:-m-ɛ̀: ‘Who will pound?’

ǎm sɛ̀mbì-m-ɛ̀: ‘Who will sweep?’

ǎm ɲà-m-ɛ̀: ‘Who will eat?’

ǎm sɛ́mbú-ḿ sɔ̀: ‘Who is sweeping?’

ǎm bírá-ḿsɔ̀: ‘Who is working?’

ǎm zìgìbé-ḿ sɔ̀: ‘Who is shaking?’

ǎm wá:-ŋgò: ‘Who will not come?’

ǎm nàmá kúbó-ŋgò: bɛ̀: ‘Who does not eat meat?’

ǎm bɛ̀: ‘Who is there?’

ǎm ŋ̀gó bɛ̀: ‘Who is not there?’

ǎm ɲɛ́ bèyà-m-ɛ̀: ‘Who can eat?’

ǎm nàmá m̀b-à: ‘Who wants meat?’

ǎm nàmá m̀bí-là: b-ɛ̀: ‘Who doesn’t want meat?

ǎm sòmé sɔ̀: ‘Who has a horse?’

ǎm sòmé sɔ́-ndɔ̀: b-ɛ̀: ‘Who doesn’t have a horse?’

*Summarize features (mostly already briefly mentioned above)*

*position and any morphological marking of focalized subject*

*form of verb*

*several examples*

*‘It is we [focus] who will sweep.’*

### Object focalization

Unlike subject focalization, object focalization is not reliably indicated by the grammar. Since objects follow subjects anyway, a shift of the focalized object NP to preverbal position would usually not be noticed. The verb is {L}-toned, and suffixally marked perfectives are replaced by the simple perfective, but these forms are common after most nonpredicative constituents, without requiring any strong focus, so no clearcut verb defocalization is present. A textual corpora might find some asymmetries (focused, unfocused) in the use of accusative *gì*, but no correlation turned up in elicited material. There is no clear indication in (xx1) whether ‘sheep’ is focused or not.

(xx1) *pédé (gì) sɛ̀mà-m-nù-m*

sheep (Acc) slaughter-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will slaughter a sheep.’ [no focus]

‘It’s a sheep [focus] that I will slaughter.’

### Focalization of PP or other adverb

*is entire PP (or just the NP complement) focalized?*

*position of focalized adverb or PP*

*form of verb*

*examples (including spatial, dative, and instrumental)*

*‘It’s to the fields [focus] that I am going.’*

*‘It was with this [focus] that I worked.’*

*‘It’s to you-Sg [focus] that I said (it).’*

### Focalization of postpositional complement

*Can the NP complement of a postposition be focalized (without focalizing the whole PP)? [usually not, so PP focalization is used even when the postposition is part of the understood background]*

*example*

*‘I didn’t put it [in the house], I put it [in the granary] [focus]’*

### Focalization of verb or VP

*[usually the focalization system does not allow for verb or VP focalization, except to the extent that the verb is somewhat focal in sentences with no NP singled out for focus]*

*if there is a more overt verb or VP focus construction of some kind, discuss it here*

## Interrogatives

### Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

#### Clause-final *mà*

In yes/no interrogative clauses, a final *mà* may occur. However, some elicited examples have no overt interrogative morpheme. In addition, the ubiquitous clause-initial *ɛ́skə̀* (French *est-ce que*) is now very common in the speech of younger people.

(xx1) *ú ɛ́yⁿ wá:-m̀-nɔ̀-wⁿ mà*

2Sg tomorrow come-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj Q

‘Will you-Sg come tomorrow?’

*mà* may occur between two clauses representing a choice of mutually exclusive propositions. In cases like (xx2), I hear no prosodic grouping specifically with either the preceding or following verb.

(xx2) *ú wá:-m̀-nɔ̀-wⁿ mà wá:-ŋù-wⁿ*

2Sg come-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj Q/or come-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj

‘Are you-Sg coming or aren’t you?’

#### Clause-final pitch modification

Polar (and content) interrogatives can alternatively have a final pitch change. When the predicate ends in an L-toned syllable, as is the case with most perfective and imperfective positive verbs, the interrogative form has rising pitch (xx1a). If the relevant vowel is short, it is lengthened to accomodate the contour tone (xx1b). If the final syllable is already H-toned, as in some negative predicates, it is lengthened with no additional pitch modulation (xx1c). The pitch/tone change may be accompanied by morphological changes in perfective positive clauses. My assistant frequently shifted perfective-1a to either perfective-2 (*‑sɔ̀‑*) or past perfect (*=bì‑*) before applying the pitch/tone change (xx1a). He always made this change to *‑sɔ̀‑* or *=bì‑* when the declarative form was perfective-2 *‑ti‑* (xx1d).

(xx1) declarative polar interrogative gloss

a. *tíb-à:-y tíb-à:-ý→* ‘He/She died.’

*tíbɛ́-sɔ̌:-∅*

*súg-à:-y súgó=sɔ̌:-∅* ‘He/She went down’

*súgó=bǐ:-∅*

b. *nǎ: yé sɔ̀-∅* *nǎ: yé sɔ̌:-∅* ‘He/She has a cow’

c. *yàgà-lí-∅ yàgà-lí:-∅* ‘He/She did not fall.’

d. *tómbó-tì-∅ tómbó=bǐ:-∅* ‘He/She jumped’

The interrogative pitch/tone rise can also occur with content (WH) interrogatives. However, in this case a perfective positive verb is usually the unsuffixed defocalized form (xx2).

(xx2 *àndí yàgɛ̌:-∅*

where? fall.Pfv.Defoc-3SgSbj

‘Where did he/she fall?’

### Content (WH) interrogatives

Clauses with content interrogatives (syntactically NPs, adverbs, or adjectives as the case may be) usually end in a syllable with rising intonation, represented by *ꜛ*.

The preference is to place the interrogative word or phrase in immediate preverbal position.

#### ‘Who?’ (*à-ḿ*)

‘Who?’ is *à-ḿ*. Morphologically it is identical to the animate singular ‘which?’ interrogative (§13.2.8). It is a NP and may be followed by accusative *gì* (always optional) or by a postposition (xx1b,d). It may be a possessor (xx1e); for ‘X belongs to who(m)?’ see §11.5.2.

(xx1) a. *yéŋgì à-ḿ wɔ̀ɛ́-∅*

yesterday who? come.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Who came yesterday?’

b. *ɛ́bɛ́ [à-ḿ (gì)] yì-ẃ*

market [who? (Acc)] see.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘Who did you-Sg see in the market?’

c. *[àmàdí gì] à-ḿ jɛ̀:-∅*

[A Acc] who? kill.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Who killed Amadou?’

d. *[à-ḿ nì:] bírá: bìrà-m bù-wⁿ*

[who? Inst] work(n.) work-Ipfv be-2SgSbj

‘With who(m) are you-Sg working?’

e. *ò-gú [à-ḿ úlò:]=∅*

Prox-InanSg [who? house]=it.is

‘Whose house is this?’

Predicative ‘be who?’ can be expressed by the animate singular predicative form *à-ḿ-nɛ̀* also used in the sense ‘be where?’ (§13.2.4). Alternatively, *à-ḿ* can combine with the ‘it is’ clitic as *à-m̂:=∅* (the clitic lengthens the nasal and adds a final L-tone).

(xx2) a. *ú à-ḿ-nɛ̀-wⁿ*

2Sg be.who-2SgSbj

‘Who are you-Sg?’

b. *mà-ḿ à-m̂:=∅*

Dist-AnSg who?=it.is

‘Who is that?’

To make plurality explicit, *à-ḿ* can be conjoined with itself, i.e. ‘who and who?’; for conjunction of NPs (prolongation and final L-tone) see §7.1.1.

(xx3) *à-m̂: à-m̂: wɔ̀ɛ̀-∅ꜛ*

who?.& who?-& come.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Who and who came?’ (‘Who all came?’)

### ‘What?’ (*ìnjé* ~ *c-ìnjè*), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

‘What?’ is *ìnjé* or its extension *c-ìnjé*, probably from *cɛ̀ ìnjé* ‘what thing?’ (*cɛ́* ‘thing’ §4.1.2).

(xx1) a. *c-ìnjé zè-wⁿꜛ*

what? bring.Pfv-2Sg

‘What did you-Sg bring?’

b. *c-ìnjé ú s-ɔ̀:*

what? 2SgO have-DFoc

‘What has (= is the matter with) you-Sg?’

c. *c-ìnjé [[dúgò ú-wɔ̀] nè] bàg-ɛ̀:ꜛ*

what? [[beside 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] Loc] fall.out.Pfv-DFoc

‘What fell on you?’

d. *ò-gú ìnjê:=∅*

Prox-InanSg what?=it.is

‘What is that?’

‘With (by means of) what?’ is the regular instrumental PP of ‘what?’

(xx2) *[cìnjé nì:] yù-wá: wà:-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜛ*

[what? Inst] millet-farming(n.) do.farming-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘What do you farm millet with?’

‘Why?’ is *ìnjé dùgɔ̀*, with the purposive postposition (§8.3)

(xx3) *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] wɔ̀:-wⁿꜛ*

[what? Purp] come.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘Why did you-Sg come?’

### ‘Where?’ (*àndí*, *ǎ-m-nɛ̀:*, *à-bɔ̀:*)

The simple ‘where?’ adverb is *àndí*. ‘Where is/are X?’ can be expressed by adding *bù-* ‘be’ (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *àndí ò-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜛ*

where? go-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘Where are you-Sg going?

b. *í / ú àndí bù-yⁿ*

1Pl / 2Sg where? be-1PlSbj

‘Where are we / you-Sg?’

c. *[nǎ: ǹ] àndí dògɔ̀-wⁿꜛ*

[cow Def] where? leave.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘Where did you-Sg leave the cow?’

*àndí* can also function as a modifying adjective, similar to *à-gú* and variants ‘which?’ (§13.2.8). In (xx2), *àndí* is adjectival, and controls tone-dropping on the noun ‘village’.

(xx2) *[dàmbà* L *àndí] ò-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜛ*

[villageL where?] go-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘Which village are you-Sg going to?’

In addition to adverbial *àndí*, there is a set of conjugatable ‘be where?’ forms. These are similar in morphological structure to demonstrative-based predicates (§11.2.3.2). They are also identical to ‘which?’ adjectives (§13.2.8), except that animate singular *-nɛ̀* is present and final vowels and *y* are long. Arguably the core sense of these predicates is ‘be which (one)?’ rather than ‘be where?’.

(xx3) ‘Be where?’ predicates

a. inanimate

Sg *à-gû:=∅*

Pl *à-ŷ:=∅*

b. animate

Sg *à-ḿ-nɛ̀*

Pl *à-bɔ̂:=∅*

Examples are in (xx4). The final falling tones in the forms shown in (xx3) are often overridden by the final pitch rise typical of questions.

(xx4) a. *[ú bà] ǎ-m-nɛ̀-∅ꜛ*

[2SgPoss father] be.where?.Sg-3SgSbj

‘Where is your-Sg father?’

b. *ú ǎ-m-nɛ̀-wⁿꜛ*

2SgSbj be.where?.Sg-2SgSbj

‘Where are you-Sg?’

c. *[ú ángè-mbò] à-bɔ̂:=∅ꜛ*

[2SgPoss friend-AnPl] be.where?.Pl

‘Where are your-Sg friends?’

d. *bí à-bɔ́-yⁿꜛ*

2Pl be.where?.Pl

‘Where are you-Pl?

### ‘When?’ (*à:rⁿá*)

‘When?’ is *à:rⁿá*.

(xx1) a. *à:rⁿá wà:-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜜ*

when? come-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘When will you-Sg come?’

b. *à:rⁿá*

when?

‘When (is it)?’

### ‘How?’ (*áyⁿ*)

As simple adverb, the form is *áyⁿ*.

(xx1) *áyⁿ ìlà-m-d-ɛ̀:ꜛ*

how? go.up-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘How will they climb?’

‘How’ is often expanded with the ‘do’ verb, i.e. as ‘(by) doing how?’

(xx2) *[áyⁿ kàn-gìn] úl-à: / íl-ɛ̀: / ílɛ̀-m*

[how? do-and.SS] go.up-3PlSbj / -3SgSbj / 1SgSbj

‘How did they / he / I climb?’

### ‘How much/many?’ (*àŋgá*)

The usual sense of *àŋgá* is ‘how many?’, since currency is expressed as a countable noun, unlike the English mass noun *money*. Like ‘all’ quantifiers, *àŋgá* is somewhat adverb-like, but is still treated as part of the NP. For example, although accusative *gì* is not very common with *àŋgá*, when it does occur it folles *àŋgá* (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *pédú-mbò àŋgá ɛ̀bɔ̀-wⁿ*

sheep-AnPl how.many? buy.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘How many sheep did you buy?’

b. *[ú lédú-mbò àŋgá (gì)] yì-wⁿꜛ*

[2SgPoss uncle-AnPl how.many? (Acc)] see.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘How many of your uncles did you see?’

c. *[[dámbà àŋgá] nè] yày-wⁿꜛ*

[[village how.many?] Loc] go.Pfv-2SgSbj

‘You went to how many villages?’

d. *nà:-mbɔ́ àŋgá tìb-à:*

cow-AnPl how.many die.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘How many cows died?’

Questions about the unit price of items for sale use the distributive iteration *àŋgá-àŋgá* ‘how many (currency units) each?’.

For ordinal *àŋgà-nɛ́* ‘how many-eth?’ see §4.7.2.2.

### ‘Which?’ (*à-gú*, *à-ḿ*)

*à-gú* (inanimate) and *à-ḿ* (animate) are the main ‘which?’ forms. The morphology is closely related to that of demonstratives, e.g. proximate *ò-gú* (inanimate) and *ɔ̀‑ḿ* (animate) ‘this’ (§4.4.1.2). The forms are also identical or similar to predicative ‘be where?’ forms (§13.2.4), except that animate singular *‑nɛ̀* is absent and final vowels and *y* are short. Animate *à-ḿ* is also the ‘who?’ interrogative (§13.2.2.1).

(xx3) ‘Which?’ adjectives

a. inanimate

Sg *à-gú*

Pl *à-ý*

b. animate

Sg *à-ḿ*

Pl *à-bɔ́*

*à-gú* and are adjectives, and control tone-dropping on a preceding noun within the same NP: *ùlò à-gú* ‘which house?’ (*úló*), *pèddè â-m* ‘which sheep?’ (*péddè*).

(xx1) a. *[[mòtò: à-gú] nì:] ò-m-nɔ̀-wⁿꜛ*

[[motorcycle which?-InanSg] Inst] go-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘You are going with which motorcycle?’

b. *[úló ù-wɔ̀] à-gû:=∅*

[house 2Sg-Poss] which?-InanSg=it.is

‘Your-Sg house is which (one)?’

There appears to be some functional overlap between ‘where?’ and ‘which?’ interrogatives. (xx1b), for example, could easily be rephased with a ‘where?’ interrogative. See also comments on this in §13.2.4.

### Embedded interrogatives

[bà-ń tíb-à:y mà→] zúgɔ̀-ŋgò:

‘He doesn’t know that her father is dead.’

[[á bà] wɔ̀:-sɔ́ mà→] zúgɔ̀-ŋgò:

‘He doesn’t know that his (own) father has come.’

[ŋ̀gó bù-m mà→] zúgɔ̀-ŋgò:

‘He doesn’t know that I am here.’

from content interrogatives

with spatiotemporal noun and relative clause

[gàndà bú bú-ŋgò] yà-lú-m / zúgɔ̀-ŋù-m

‘I haven’t seen / I don’t know the place where they are.’

[wàgàdì ńnɛ́ wà:-ŋgò] ‘… when he/she will come’

with content (WH) interrogative

[à-ḿ wɔ̀ɛ̀-∅ mà→] ‘… who came’

[zà ǹjé ɲà-m-nɔ̀-mꜛ mà→] ‘… what meal I will eat’

[c-ìnjé yà-m-nɛ̀-ýⁿꜛ mà→] ‘… what we will see’

[âyⁿ kàn-nɛ́ ìlà-m-dɔ̀ mà→] ‘how he/she goes up’

[àŋgá ɛ́bɛ̀ mà→] ‘how much he paid’

[ìnjé kàn-lé yày mà→] ‘why he/she went’

# Relativization

## Basics of relative clauses

Relative clauses in TU are referentially restrictive. Their key typological features are these:

* the head NP is seemingly bifurcated into an internal head consisting maximally of Poss-N-Adj-Num, and a coda or tail that follows the verb-participle including determiners and non-numeral quantifiers;
* the internal head NP is subject to tone-dropping;
* there is no relative pronoun or other relative morpheme as such;
* the verb takes participial form, with no subject agreement; the participle is suffixed for animacy/number agreeing with the head NP (not the subject);
* in nonsubject relatives (e.g. object relatives), if the subject is a pronoun it is expressed by a subject pronoun immediately proclitic to the verb; if the subject is nonpronominal there is no resumptive third person clitic;
* there is no head-doubling in the form of a postposed noun synonymous to the internal head.

As in other Dogon languages, “internally-headed” relatives are really just complete NPs (DPs if you will) of the form Poss-N-Adj-Num-Rel-Det-’all’ or the like. The relative clause induces tone-dropping on the preceding word(s), after which the Poss-N-Adj-Num sequence slides into the relative clause, occupying the linear position of the coindexed NP within the relative

## Head NP

The head NP is bifurcated. The internal head is maximally Poss-[N-Adj-Num, and is subject to tone-dropping. The remaining late-NP elements, including determiners and non-numeral quantifiers, follow the verb-participle.

### Tone-dropping on final word(s) of head NP in relative clause

The examples in (xx1) show tone-dropping on the internal head NP. In (xx1a) the noun *úló* ‘house’ is tone-dropped to *ùlò* L. In (xx1b), the final word in *ùlò* L *dɛ́-ŋgɛ́* ‘big house’ is tone-dropped to *[[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]* L. In (xx1c), both words in *yà-mbɔ́ ɲǐ-kúlé* ‘six women’ are tone-dropped. In (xx1d), *ùlò* L *dɛ́ yí-kùlè* ‘six big houses’ is tone-dropped to *[ùlò dɛ̀ yí-kùlè]* L, with the classifying prefix spared.

.

(xx1) a. *[ùlò* L *yàgà-sú-ŋgó] àndí bù-∅*

[houseL fall-Pfv2.Ppl-InanSg] where? be-3SgSbj

‘Where is the house that fell?’ (*úló*)

b. *[[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]* L *yàgà-sú-ŋgó àndí bù-∅*

[[house big-InanSg] fall-Pfv2.Ppl-InanSg] where? be-3SgSbj

‘Where is the big house that fell?’ (*ùlò* L *dɛ́-ŋgɛ́*)

c. *[yà-mbɔ̀ ɲì-kùlè]* L *bàgà* L *kárⁿà-mbɔ̀ ǹ]*

[woman-AnPl person-six]L fall.offL Pfv.Ppl-AnPl Def]

*à bɔ́:*

where? be.Pl

‘Where are the six women who fell off?’ (*yà-mbɔ́ ɲǐ-kúlé*)

d. *[[ùlò dɛ̀ yí-kùlè]* L *yàgà kárⁿà]*

[[house big Inan-six]L fall PerfPpl.InanSg]

*àndí bù-∅*

where? be-3SgSbj

‘Where is the big house that fell?’ (*ùlò* L *dɛ́ yí-kùlè*)

The basic tonosyntactic formulae for the internal head NPs in the preceding examples are these: NL (xx1a), [N Adj]L (xx1b), [N Num]L (xx1c), and [N Adj Num]L (xx1d), allowing for preservation of the H-tone on a numeral classifying prefix. The weakest link in this analysis is the numeral. With the most common classifying prefixes, numeral stems are already {L}-toned, as in *yí-kùlè* ‘six (inanimate)’, so any further tone-dropping would not be audible. Only human forms with classifier *ɲǐ-* ~ *ɲě-* allow {H}-toned numerals. In examples like (xx1c), my informant includes the numeral in the tone-dropping domain in smooth, allegro speech, but in slowed-down “elicitation-ese” the H-toned of the numeral may appear.

Examples with a preposed possessor are in (xx2). Here the noun is tone-dropped, but this could be attributed either to the preceding possessor or to an immediately following modifier, whether the adjective in (xx2b,e) or the relative clause in (xx2a,c-d). In such cases I put the superscripted L on both sides of the affected target. (xx2e) shows the two possible linear orders of the Adj-Num segment.

(xx2) a. *[ámàdù* L*ùlò* L *yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] àndí bù-∅*

[A LhouseL fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] where be-3SgSbj

‘Where is Amadou’s house that fell?’ (*ámàdù* L*ùlò*)

b. *[ámàdù* L*[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]* L *yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ]*

[A L[house big-InanSg]L fallL Pfv.Ppl Def]

*àndí bù-∅*

where? be-3SgSbj

‘Where is Seydou’s big house that fell?’ (*ámàdù* L*[ùlò dɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀]*)

c. *[ámàdù* L*ùlò* L *yí-kùlè yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] àndí bù-∅*

[A LhouseL Inan-six fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] where be-3SgSbj

‘Where are Amadou’s six houses that fell?’ (*ámàdù* L*ùlò yí-kùlè*)

d. *[ámàdù* L*[ùlè:* L *ɲè-kùlè]* L *yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ]*

[A L[childrenL Hum-six]L fallL Pfv.Ppl Def]

*àndí b-ɛ̀:*

where be-3PlSbj

‘Where are Amadou’s six children who fell?’ (*ámàdù* L*ùlè: ɲě-kúlé*)

e. *[ámàdù* L*[ùlò yí-kùlè dɛ̀]* L *yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ]*

[A L[house Inan-six big]L fallL Pfv.Ppl Def]

or: *dɛ̀ yí-kùlè*

big Inan-six

*àndí bù-∅*

where be-3SgSbj

‘Where are Amadou’s six big houses that fell?’

(*ámàdù* L*ùlò yí-kùlè dɛ́*, or *ámàdù* L*ùlò dɛ́ yí-kùlè*)

### Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

The head NP may not be a pronoun (‘we who are here’ is expressed appositionally as ‘we [the people who are here]’), it may not be a determiner or other postparticipial coda element, and it may not be an expressive adverbial.

The head may be a subject, object, possessor, or postpositional complement (e.g. dative, spatial, instrumental) in the relative clause proper. The entire NP containing the relative may be definite or indefinite (definite and demonstrative markers may follow the participle).

### Conjoined NP as head

When a conjoined NP functions as relative head, the intonational marking of conjunction conflicts with the tone-dropping controlled by the relative clause. To judge by (xx3), the conjoined NP functions as a tonosyntactic island ⊂…⊃, retaining its lexical tones and intonational features (dying-quail *∴* on the final conjunct).

(xx3) *[⊂árⁿà-mbɔ̀→ yà-mbɔ́∴⊃*

[⊂man-AnPl.& woman-AnPl.&⊃

*zégé zèjì* L *kárⁿà-mbɔ̀ ǹ]*

fight(n) fight(v)L Pfv.Ppl-AnPl Def

*pùrǎ: ɲɛ́-tì-yà*

fine(n) eat-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘[the men and the women who squabbled] were punished.’

Where logically possible, such combinations can be expressed as conjunctions of two entire NPs (‘the men who went and the women who went’ as opposed to ‘[the men and women] who went’).

### Headless relative clause

*not very common, since semantically light ‘thing’, ‘person’, ‘critter’, ‘place’, etc. are commonly overt as relative heads*

*but examples do occur where the head NP, either a semantically vague element like ‘place/situation’ or an unspecified or obvious NP, is omitted*

*for headless relatives as adverbial clauses, see §15.5.3.*

### Head noun doubled after relative clause

At least for basic nouns like ‘place’, ‘time’ (‘day’), and ‘way, manner’, the relevant noun may be repeated after the entire NP containing the relative clause. Essentially this extra head noun resumes the NP and places it more squarely in the larger clause. The construction occurs in Jamsay and some other Dogon languages and Jamsay influence may be involved here.

My TU examples involve adverbial relatives where the doubling was not present in the utterances initially proposed by my informant, but where he accepted doubled versions that I proposed. The doubled head noun is shown as optional, in parentheses, in (xx1a-b). In (xx1a) both the relative-containing NP and the doubled head noun are marked as definite, further pointing to a resumptive relationship.

(xx1) a. *[gàndà* L *mí yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] (gándá ǹ)*

[placeL 1SgSbj fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] (**place Def**)

*ŋ̀gɔ́=là:*

here=it.is.not

‘The place where I fell is not here.’

b *[dèn* L *mí wɔ̀:* L *kárⁿà] (dén-gó ǹ)*

[dayL 1SgSbj comeL Pfv.Ppl] (day-InanSg Def)

*sɛ̀ll-ìyà-lí bì-m=bì-m*

be.healthy-MP-PfvNeg be-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘The day when I came, I was sick.’

## Preparticipial subject pronoun in non-subject relative

In nonsubject relatives, the subject is not coindexed with the participial (which agrees only with a distinct head NP). If the subject is pronominal, the pronoun appears in the form of an independent pronoun proclitic to the participle. If the subject is already expressed by a full NP, no resumptive proclitic third person pronoun is used.

The forms are those in (xx1). See also (xx1) in §4.3.1. The inanimate third-person pronouns do not seem to be used in this construction; they are replaced by generalizing third animate singular *ńné* to inanimates (singular and plural).

(xx1) Proclitic subject pronominals in nonsubject relatives

1Sg *mí*

1Pl *í*

2Sg *ú*

2Pl *bí*

3AnSg *ńné*

3AnPl *bú*

InanSg (*kú*)

InanPl (*yí*)

Logo/3Refl *á*

The linear position of the subject pronoun is useful as a test for some other syntactic issues. In particular, the fact that the subject pronoun can intervene between verb stems and certain suffix-like inflectional morphemes (notably marked perfectives such as the recent perfect and experiential perfect) suggests that these inflectional morphemes still have some characteristics of chained verbs, see §10.1.1.

There are many examples of proclitic subject pronouns in the nonsubject relatives presented in the sections below.

## Verbal participle in relative clause

The verb forms used in relative clauses are clearly participial, insofar as they show suffixal agreement with the animacy/number value of the head NP (not the subject). The four main indicative categories have the participial forms in (xx1). For the perfective positive, the forms are not based on the primary verb, rather on a kind of auxiliary *kárⁿà* (originally ‘do’). In the imperfective negative, the conjugated stative quasi-verb ‘be’ (*bù-*) is added to the imperfective negative verb. The animacy/number suffixes and endings are familiar from nominal and adjectival morphology, but inanimate singular *‑(ŋ)gO* is not used after *kárⁿà* in the perfective positive.

(xx1) a. perfective positive

*kárⁿà* Animate Sg, Inanimate Sg and Pl

*kárⁿà-mbɔ̀* Animate Pl

b. imperfective positive

*-m-ɛ̀:* Animate Sg, Inanimate Pl

*-m̀-bò* Animate Pl

*-ŋ̀gò* Inanimate Sg

c. perfective negative

*-l-ɛ̌:* Animate Sg, Inanimate Pl

*-l(ù)-mbó* Animate Pl

*-l-gó* Inanimate Sg

d. imperfective negative(xx1)

*-ŋ̀gò: b-ɛ̀:* (~ *bù-m-ɛ̀:*) Animate Sg, Inanimate Pl

*-ŋ̀gò: bù-m-bò* Animate Pl

*-ŋ̀gò: bù-ŋgò* Inanimate Sg

The marked inflectional categories (progressive, experiential perfect, etc.) are largely based on these core participial types. Fuller details are given in the next several sections below.

### Perfective positive system participles (*kárⁿà*)

The participial forms for the basic perfective positive are in (xx1). This construction probably developed from a verb-chain including a form of *kán-* ‘do’. There is a suffix for animate plural but none for inanimates. A lexically /LH/-toned verb before *kárⁿà* spreads its L-tone to the end of the stem, while a /H/-toned stem remains H-toned.

The basic participial forms are those in (xx1). There is no suffixally marked inanimate singular form.

(xx1) *kárⁿà* Animate Sg, Inanimate Sg and Pl

*kárⁿà-mbɔ̀* Animate Pl

Subject perfective positive relatives are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *mòmbò:* L *ú-gù támbú kárⁿà ǹ*

scorpionL 2Sg-Acc kick Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the scorpion that stung you-Sg’

b. *mòmbò:-mbò* L *mí-gì támbú kárⁿà-mbɔ̀ ǹ*

scorpion-AnPlL 1Sg-Acc kick Pfv.Ppl-AnPl Def

‘the scorpions that stung me’

c. *cìn* L *bàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ*

stoneL fallL Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the stone that fell off’

Nonsubject perfective positive relatives are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *ìnjɛ̀:* L *ú púŋgó kárⁿà ǹ*

dogL 2SgSbj beat Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the dog that you-Sg hit’

b. *[gàndà* L *mí yàgà* L *kárⁿà] wàgá*

[placeL 1SgSbj fallL Pfv.Ppl] far

‘The place where I fell is far away.’

c. *ámádù ìnjɛ̀:* L *púŋgó kárⁿà ǹ*

A dogL hit Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the dog that Amadou hit’

The full set of perfective positive system categories is displayed in (xx4). The marked perfectives, including the perfective-like use of past *=bì-∅*, are merged into the basic perfective relative-clause forms. However, the recent perfect and experiential perfect morphemes may occur before *kárⁿà*.

(xx4) category suffix(es)

in Rel clause in main clause (3Sg)

perfective *kárⁿà* (E/I-stem in 3Sg)

perfective-1a " *-yà-* ~ *-à:-*

perfective-1b " *tì-∅*

past " *=bì-∅*

recent perfect *dɛ̀* L *kárⁿà* *dɛ̀-*

experiential perfect *tɛ́rɛ́ kárⁿà* *tɛ́rɛ́‑bù-*, *tɛ́rɛ́-sɔ̀-*

The perfective-2 (*-sɔ̀-*) does have its own participial forms.

(xx5) *-sí-mè* Animate Sg, Inanimate Pl

*-sú-m̀-bò* Animate Pl

*-sú-ŋgò* Inanimate Sg

Infrequently, a variant of perfective-1b *-tì-* can occur in a relative, resulting in *-tí* *kárⁿà* (note the H-tone). This is related to the use of H-toned *tí* as a kind of medial verb in three-verb chains.

### Positive imperfective-system and stative participles

#### Regular imperfective and stative participles (-m-ɛ̀:, ‑ŋgò)

Subject imperfective positive relatives are in (xx1). *-m-* is an imperfective morpheme, and the verb stem has the A/O-stem vocalism as in the conjugatable main-clause imperfective. Animate Pl *-m̀-bò* is from /-m̀-mbò/ and could alternative be hyphenated as *‑∅‑mbò*. Inanimate Sg *‑ŋ́gó* could be derived from /‑ḿ‑ŋgó/ by deletion of the first of two nasals, or it could be segmented as *‑ŋ́‑gó* with *‑ŋ‑* functioning as an assimilated surface form (or a specialized allomorph) of imperfective *‑m‑*. Compare *‑l‑gò* in corresponding perfective negative participles (following section).

(xx1) *-m-ɛ̀:* Animate Sg, Inanimate Pl

*-m̀-bò* Animate Pl

*-ŋ́gó* Inanimate Sg

Subject imperfective relatives are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *ɛ́yⁿ ɲì* L *wá:-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

tomorrow personL come-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the person who is coming tomorrow’

b. *nù-mbɔ̀* L *wá:-m̀-∅-bò*

person-AnPlL come-Ipfv-Ppl-AnPl

‘people who come’

c. *cìn* L *bágá-ŋgó*

stoneL fall.off-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg

‘a stone that is falling (off)’

d. *cìn* L *bágà-m-ɛ̀:*

stoneL fall.off-Ipfv-Ppl.InanPl

‘stones that are falling (off)’

e. *ɲì* L *yàgà-m-ɛ̀:* L *ńné*

personL fall-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSgL DemDef.AnSg

‘that person who is falling’

f. *yà* L *mí zìgìbé-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

womanL 1SgO shake-Imf-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the woman who is shaking me’

Nonsubject imperfective relatives are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *nà:* L *ú dɔ́rⁿá-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

cowL 2SgSbj sell-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the cow that you-Sg will sell’

b. *nà:-mbò* L *ú dɔ́rⁿá-m-bò ǹ*

cow-AnPlL 2SgSbj sell-Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def

‘the cows that you-Sg will sell’

c. *gàndà* L *í ní:-ŋgò*

placeL 1SgSbj sleep-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg

‘the place where we sleep’

**Statives** have the same participial endings as imperfectives, but are normally distinguished by vocalism (final *a*) and/or by the absence of mediopassive suffixes. Compare stative (xx4a) with its imperfective counterpart *ób-è:-m-ɛ̀:* ‘who will sit’ (with mediopassive *‑è:‑*).

(xx4) a. *ɲì* L *ɔ́bà-m-ɛ̀:*

personL sit.Stat-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg

‘a person who is sitting’

b. *gàndà* L *mí ɔ́bà-ŋgò*

placeL 1SgSbj sit.Stat-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg

‘the place where I am sitting’

The full set of imperfective positive system categories is shown in (xx5). *‑m‑ɛ̀:* and *‑ŋ̀gò* participles are illustrated.

(xx5) category suffix(es)

in Rel clause in main clause (3Sg)

imperfective *-m-ɛ̀:*, *-ŋgò* *-m̀-dɔ̀-∅*

Progressive *-ḿ sɔ̀-m-ɛ̀:, -ḿ sɔ̀-ŋgò* *-ḿ sɔ̀-*, *-m̀ bù-*

Stative *-m-ɛ̀:*, *-ŋgò* (A-stem, no suffix)

‘be’ *bù-m-ɛ̀:*, *bù-ŋgò* *bù-*

‘have’ *sɔ̀-m-ɛ̀:*, *sɔ̀-ŋgò (yé) sɔ̀-*

‘want’ *m̀bá bù-m-ɛ̀:*, *m̀bá bù-ŋgò* *m̀bá-∅*

#### Agentives used as imperfective participles (final é:)

In habitual or general contexts, my assistant preferred to (re-)phrase imperfective subject relatives as **agentives**. The agentive takes a compound initial wherever appropriate (§5.xxx), but in participle-like function simple intransitives are possible. In (xx3a), ‘children-biter’ functions as a modifying adjective for ‘dog’, accounting for the latter’s {L} tone contour. (xx3b) is phrased as ‘my [meal-cooker woman]’, with ‘my’ possessing the woman rather than the meals.

(xx3) a. *[ìnjɛ̀:* L *ùlè:-cɛ̀ré:] m̀bí-là-yⁿ*

[dogL children-bite.Agent] want-StatNeg-1PlSbj

‘We don’t want a dog who bites children (children-biter).’

b. *[[yà* L *zà-sìré] wɛ᷈:] yǎy-yà-y*

[[womanL meal-cook.Agent] 1SgPoss.AnSg] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘The woman who cooks my meals (my meal-cooker) has gone.’ (*zá*)

c. ɲè L wɔ̀lé: ǹ

personL come.Agent Def

‘(a/the) person who comes/will come’

### Participles of negative perfective-system verbs (*-l-ɛ̌:*)

The participial forms are in (xx1).

(xx1) Animate Sg *-l-ɛ̌:* (same as Inanimate Pl)

Animate Pl *-l(ù)-mbó*

Inanimate Sg *-l-gó*

Inanimate Pl *-l-ɛ̌:* (same as Animate Sg)

The participles are based on perfective negative *-lí-*, and like it requires the {L}-toned A/O-stem of the verb.

Subject relatives are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[nì* L *wà:-l-ɛ̌: ǹ] sɛ̀ll-ìyà-lí-∅*

[personL come-PfvNeg-Ppl Def] be.healthy-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘The person who didn’t come is sick.’

b. *[nù-mbɔ̀* L *wà:-l-∅-mbó ǹ]*

[person-AnPlL come-PfvNeg-Ppl-AnPl Def]

*sɛ̀ll-ìyà-ndá*

be.healthy-MP-PfvNeg.3PlSbj

‘The people who didn’t come are sick.’

c. *[ùlò* L *yàgà-l-gó ǹ] àgú:*

[houseL fall-PfvNeg-Ppl-InanSg] Def] which?=it.is

‘Which (=where) is the house that didn’t fall?’

Nonsubject relatives are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *pɛ̀dɛ̀* L *mí dɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-l-ɛ̌: ǹ*

sheepL 1SgSbj sell-PfvNeg-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the sheep that I didn’t sell’

b. *lè:gò* L *bírá: í bìrà-l-gó ǹ*

dayL work(n.) 1PlSbj work-PfvNeg-Ppl.InanSg Def

‘the day when we didn’t work’

The full set of perfective negative system categories is given in (xx4). *‑l‑ɛ̌:* and *‑l‑gó* are the featured participles.

(xx4) category suffix(es)

relative clause

AnSg/InanPl InanSg main clause

perfective negative *-l-ɛ̌:* *-l-gó* *-lí-*

recent perfect negative *dà-l-ɛ̌:* *dà-l-gó* *dà-lí-*

experiential perfect Neg *-tɛ̀rà-l-ɛ̌:* *-tɛ̀rà-l-gó* *-tɛ̀rà-lí-*

### Imperfective and stative negative participles (*-ŋgò: b‑ɛ̀:*)

The participial endings are in (xx1). In this category, participial forms of *bù*- are added to *‑ŋgò:*, cf. 3Sg imperfective negative *-ŋgò:-∅* in the regular paradigm. The verb has the A/O-stem as in the regular paradigm.

(xx1) Animate Sg *-ŋ̀gò: b-ɛ̀: ~ bù-m-ɛ̀:*

Animate Pl *-ŋ̀gò: bù-m-bò*

Inanimate Sg *-ŋ̀gò: bù-ŋgò*

Inanimate Pl *-ŋ̀gò: b-ɛ̀: ~ bù-m-ɛ̀:*

Subject relatives are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[ɲì* L *bírá: bírà-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀: / bù-m-ɛ̀:]*

[personL work(n.) work-IpfvNeg be-Ppl.AnSg]

*m̀bí-là-yⁿ*

want-StatNeg-1PlSbj

‘We don’t want a person who doesn’t work.’

b. *[nù-mbɔ̀* L *bírá: bírà-ŋgò: bù-m-bò]*

[person-AnPlL work(n.) work-IpfvNeg be-Ppl-AnPl]

*m̀bí-là-yⁿ*

want-StatNeg-1PlSbj

‘We don’t want people who don’t work.’

c. *[zàmdìlè* L *áy-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀:] m̀bà-yⁿ*

[donkeyL be.tired-IpfvNeg be-Ppl.AnSg] want-1PlSbj

‘We want a donkey who doesn’t get tired.’

d. *[cìn* L *zɔ́gà-ŋgò: bù-ŋgò] m̀bà-yⁿ*

[stoneL shatter-IpfvNeg be-Ppl-InanSg] want-1PlSbj

‘We want a rock that doesn’t break.’

Nonsubject relatives are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *pɛ̀dɛ̀* L *mí dɔ́rⁿɔ̀-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀: ǹ*

sheepL 1SgSbj see-IpfvNeg be-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the sheep that I won’t sell’

b. *lè:gò* L *ú wá:-ŋ̀gò: bù-ŋgò*

dayL 2SgSbj come-IpfvNeg be-Ppl.InanSg

‘(a/the) day when you-Sg don’t come’

c. *kìn* L *ú dɔ́rⁿɔ̀-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀:*

stoneL 2SgSbj sell-IpfvNeg be-Ppl.InanPl

‘(a/the) stone that you-Sg won’t sell’

The same participial forms of *bù-* ‘be’ are used after Stative negative *=ndà:* (§10.4.2).

(xx4) a. *ɲì* L *ígà=ndà: b-ɛ̀:*

personL stand.Stat=StatNeg be-Ppl.AnSg

‘a person who isn’t standing’

*b. nù-mbɔ̀* L *ígà=ndà: bù-m-bò*

person-AnPlL stand.Stat=StatNeg be-Ppl.AnPl

‘people who aren’t standing’

The full set of imperfective and stative negative categories is in (xx5). Only the Animate Sg/Inanimate Pl participle is shown. In all cases *b‑ɛ̀:* varies with *bù‑m‑ɛ̀:*.

(xx5) category suffix(es)

in Rel clause in main clause (3Sg)

imperfective negative *-ŋgò: b-ɛ̀:* *-ŋgò:-∅*

Progressive negative *-m̀ gò: b-ɛ̀:*  *-m̀ gò-∅*

Stative negative *=ndà: b-ɛ̀:* *=ndà:‑∅*

‘not be’ *ŋ̀gó b-ɛ̀: ŋgó‑∅*

‘not have’ *sɔ̀-ndɔ̀ b-ɛ̀: sɔ̀-ndɔ̀‑∅*

‘not want’ *m̀bí-là b-ɛ̀: m̀bí-là‑∅*

### Participle of past clitic *=bì-*

In its perfective-like uncompounded form, e.g. *yí=bì-m* ‘I saw’ (§10.2.1.4), the past category is neutralized with other perfective positive forms into relative clauses with *kárⁿà* (§14.4.1). However, when *=bì-* is added to a verb form marked for its own aspect-negation category (§10.5.1), it can be participialized in that combination. An example is the past progressive relative clause (xx1).

(xx1) *tíⁿ→ nàmá ɲì* L *kúbò-m sɔ̀-m=b-ɛ̀:*

at.first meat personL eat.meat-Ipfv have-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg

‘a person who was eating (= used to eat) meat’

The participial forms are in (xx2).

(xx2) Animate Sg *=b-ɛ̀:*

Animate Pl *=∅-mbò*

Inanimate Sg *=bù-ŋgò*

Inanimate Pl *=b-ɛ̀:*

## Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

Direct chains, where noninitial verbs appear in bare form without an overt subordinator, are fairly restricted in TU (chapter 17). Where they do occur, they can be freely relativized, as with *yàgà súgó* ‘fall (and) go down’ in (xx1a-b). The final verb is the one that is participialized. In (xx1a) the perfective participial *kárⁿà* was also originally a chained verb (‘do’). In nonsubject relatives with pronominal subjects, the pronominal subject proclitic may appear either before both chained verbs or between them, but it cannot appear immediately before perfective participial *kárⁿà* (xx1c). For more examples involving pronominal proclitics in verb chains, see (xx2-3) in §15.1.

(xx1) a. *ɲì* L *yàgà súgó kárⁿà ǹ*

personL fall go.down Pfv.Ppl Def

‘(a/the) person who fell down’ (*yàgá*)

b. *ɲì* L *yàgà súgó-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

personL fall go.down-Ipfv.Ppl-AnSg Def

‘(a/the) person who will fall down’ (*yàgá*)

c. *lè:gò ú yàgà súgó kárⁿà ǹ*

dayL 2SgSbj fall go.down Pfv.Ppl Def

or: *… yàgà ú súgó …*

… fall 2SgSbj go.down …

‘the day (when) you-Sg fell down’

[but not #… *yàgà súgó ú kárⁿà …* ]

## Late-NP elements that follow the verb (or verbal participle)

### Determiners (demonstrative and definite)

Many of the relative clauses presented in this chapter show definite *ǹ* following the participle. Since this morpheme is not a tonosyntactic controller, its presence or absence has no effect on the form of the participle (xx1a). If instead of a definite we have a true demonstrative that controls tone-dropping, we get examples like (xx1b-c). In (xx1b), the participle and its proclitic subject pronoun are tone-dropped by the demonstrative. In this example one could even imagine including the head noun ‘house’ in the target domain. However, this is incorrect; ‘house’ is tone-dropped as relative head, not as part of the domain controlled by the demonstrative. This is shown by (xx1c), where a non-tone-dropped constituent (‘sheep’) intervenes between the tone-dropped head noun and the tone-dropped participle.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *ú yá-ŋgò (ǹ)*

houseL 2SgSbj see-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg (Def)

‘(a/the) house that you-Sg see’

b. *ùlò* L *[ù yà-ŋgò]* L *ò-gú*

houseL [2SgSbj see-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg]L Prox-InanSg

‘this house that you-Sg see’

c. *ɛ̀dɛ̀* L *pédé zìyà-m-ɛ̀:* L *mà-ḿ*

child sheep bring-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Dist-AnSg

‘that child (over there) who is bringing a sheep’

### Non-numeral quantifiers (‘each’, ‘all’)

*pú→* ‘all’ appears to control tone-dropping on the participle and even on the preceding proclitic. As usual with the emphatically pronounced *pú→*, it is difficult to distinguish true tonosyntactic control from intonational pitch dissimilation.

(xx1) a. *ùlò* L *[ù yà-m-ɛ̀:]* L *yí-pú→*

houseL [2SgSbj see-Ipfv-Ppl.InanPl]L Inan-all

‘all the houses that you-Sg see’

b *ùlè:* L *[ù yà-m-bɔ̀]* L *bú-pú→*

houseL [2SgSbj see-Ipfv-Ppl.InanPl]L An-all

‘all the children that you-Sg see’

I was not able to elicit a relative with the rather restricted distributive quantifier *kámá* ‘each’

## Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

### Subject relative clause

As with all relatives, the head NP (maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num) is internal to the relative clause and is tone-dropped. The distinctive feature of subject relatives is that there can be no proclitic subject pronoun. Instead, the participles animacy/number agreement with the NP functioning simultaneously as head NP and subject is sufficient. There is no difference in participial forms between subject and nonsubject relatives of the sort found in Najamba.

In addition to examples scattered in the sections above, some further examples are in (xx1). (xx1d-e) illustrate the alternative linear orders for subjects and setting adverbials (‘tomorrow’, ‘yesterday’)

(xx1) a. *[ɲì* L *yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] tíb-à:-y*

[personL fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] die-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘The man who fell has died.’

b. *[yà* L *nàmá zàndì* L *kárⁿà ǹ] ámnɛ̀:*

[woman meat cook Pfv.Ppl Def] where?

‘Where is the woman who cooked the meat?’

c. *[yà* L *yɔ́: tò:* L *kárⁿà ǹ] ámnɛ̀:*

[womanL millet poundL Pfv.Ppl Def] where?

‘Where is the woman who pounded the millet?’

d. *yà* L *ɛ́yⁿ wá:-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

womanL tomorrow come-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the woman who is coming tomorrow’

e. *yéŋgì yà* L *wɔ̀ kárⁿà ǹ*

yesterday womanL come Pfv.Ppl Def

‘the woman who came yesterday’

### Object relative clause

The clause-internal object is tone-dropped in its capacity as the head NP. If the subject is pronominal, it appears as a preverbal subject pronoun rather than as a suffix on the verb. The verb takes the participial form relevant to the AN category. (xx1c) shows that subject-object linear order is retained in object relatives

(xx1) a. *[pèddè* L *mí ɛ̀bɛ̀ kárⁿà] yì-sɔ́-m*

[sheepL 1SgPoss buy Pfv.Ppl] see-Pfv2-1SgSbj

‘I found a/the sheep that I (had) bought.’

b. *[ìnjɛ̀:* L *ú pùŋgò kárⁿà ǹ] ǎm-nɛ̀:*

[dogL 2SgSbj beat Pfv.Ppl Def] be.where?

‘Where is the dog that you-Sg beat?’

c. *úlé: pèdù-mbò* L *zɛ̀: kárⁿà-mbɔ̀ ǹ*

children sheep-AnPlL bring Pfv.Ppl-AnPl Def

‘the sheep-Pl that the children brought’

d. *[nàmà*L *ú kùbò-l-gó ǹ]*

[meatL 2SgSbj eat.meat-PfvNeg-Ppl.InanSg Def]

*àgú:*

be.where?Inan

‘Where is the meat that you-Sg didn’t eat?’

e. *pèddè í sɛ́má-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

sheep 1PlSbj slaughter-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def

‘the sheep-Sg that we will slaughter’

An informant denied that accusative marking on an object head NP is possible. For example, accusative *gì* (never more than optional anyway) is not allowed on ‘sheep’ or ‘dog’ in (xx1a-b). This is further evidence that the (partial) clause-internal head NP inside the relative originates outside it as part of the larger NP

.

### Possessor relative clause

The possessor NP is relativized on in (xx1a-b). As with other head NPs, the possessor is tone-dropped. The possessed noun takes its regular unpossessed form.

(xx1) a. *[ɲì* L *nǎ: tìbɛ̀ kárⁿà ǹ] ǎm̀:=∅*

[personL cow die Pfv.Ppl Def] who?=it.s

‘Who is the person whose cow died?’

b. *[yà* L *úló yàgà kárⁿà ǹ] ǎm̀:=∅*

[womanL house fall Pfv.Ppl Def] who?=it.s

‘Who is the woman whose house fell?’

### Relativization on the complement of a postposition

If the relativized NP functions as complement of a postposition within the relative clause, the postposition is deleted. In (xx1a), for example, ‘to (a/the) woman’ has a dative postposition. Corresponding relative clauses with ‘woman’ as head NP lost the postposition (xx1b). A similar pair of main clause and relative clause (xx1c-d) shows that the instrumental postposition is omitted in the relative.

(xx1) a. *ò-gú [yá bèrⁿè] jírⁿì-m-nù-m*

Dist-InanSg [woman Dat] say-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will say that to (a/the) woman.’

b. *ò-gú yà* L *ú jìní-m-ɛ̀: ǹ*

Dist-InanSg womanL 2SgSbj say-Ipfv-AnSg Def

‘the woman to whom you will say that’

[can also be ordered: *yà* L *ò-gú…*]

c. *[sɛ́y-gɔ́ nì:] tìmǎ: déŋgè-m-nù-m*

[ax-InanSg Inst] wood chop-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will chop the wood with an ax.’

d. *[sɛ̀y-gɔ̀* L *tìmǎ: ú déŋgè-ŋgò ǹ] à-gú:*

[axL wood 2SgSbj chop-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Def] where?-InanSg

‘Where is the ax with which you-Sg will chop the wood?’

Spatial, temporal, and manner adverbial clauses of the form ‘the time when/place where/way …’ are just special cases of the basic relative construction. See §15.3.1-2 for spatial and manner adverbial clauses, and §15.2.1.1 for temporal adverbial clauses.

# Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

A distinction is made between direct chains, where nonfinal verbs are effectively compounded with a final inflected verb without an overt subordinator, and looser combinations where a subordinated clause or VP is attached to another clause or VP.

## Direct chains (without chaining morpheme)

### Basics of direct chains

Direct chains are rather restricted in TU but occur in some combinations involving co-events, i.e. two aspects of the same event. The nonfinal verb is in bare-stem form. The inflection on the final verb has scope over the whole chain.

One fairly common combination is an intransitive action verb plus a motion verb that indicates directionality. Examples are *yàgà súgó* ‘fall down’ and *tómbó súgó* ‘jump down’, with *yàgá* ‘fall’ or *tómbó* ‘jump’ followed by motion verb *súgó* ‘descend’. Combinations like these are conceptualized as single events rather than as successions of two events. Because of the tight linking of the two verbs, in perfective positive contexts the final verb can occur either in a marked perfective form (xx1a) or in the simple perfective (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *yàgà* / *tómbó súg-à:-y*

fall / jump go.down-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘He/She fell/jumped down.’

b. *yàgá* / *tómbó sùgè-∅*

fall / jump go.down.Pfv-3SgSbj

[= (a)] (simple perfective)

c. *yàgá* / *tómbó sùgò-lú-m*

fall / jump go.down-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I didn’t fall/jump down.’

d. *yàgà* / *tómbó súgò-ŋù-wⁿ*

fall / jump go.down-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj

‘You-Sg will not fall/jump down.’

e. *yágà* / *tómbò sùgò-m-nù-m*

fall / jump go.down-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will fall/jump down.’ (*súgò-m-nù-m*)

### Tonal interactions between adjacent directly chained verbs

Several tonal interactions are illustrated in (xx1a-e) above. The nonfinal verb has its normal /H/ or /LH/ melody when the final verb begins with an L-tone, as in the perfective negative (xx1c). This can also happen in the simple perfective (positive) when the final verb loses its H-tone (by defocalization) (xx1b).

Except in the imperfective positive, when the final verb begins with an H-tone, the H of /LH/-melody nonfinal verbs like *yàgá* ‘fall’ disappears (most likely by amalgamation with the following H-tone), while /H/-melody nonfinal verbs like *tómbó* ‘jump’ keep their lexical melody. The most unexpected tonal pattern is that of the imperfective positive, where the {HL} overlay typical of single imperfective verbs is spread over the two-verb sequence, so the nonfinal verb is HL-toned and the final verb is L-toned (xx1e).

Monosyllabic verbs with lexical /H/ and /LH/ melodies are illustrated, as nonfinal verbs chained to ‘get’ (= ‘can’) in (xx1) below. They are subject to the same tonal processes as bisyllabic verbs, but monomoraic (*Cv*) verbs do not allow overt contour tones in these combinations, so they must appear as either *Cv́* or *Cv̀*.

(xx1) ‘can exit’ (/LH/) ‘can shoot’ (/H/) category

a. both tonal types appear with H-tone

*gó* < */*gǒ/, *tá* with lexical melody

*gó bɛ̀:- tá bɛ̀:-* perfective (positive)

*gó bèà-lí- tá bèà-lí-* perfective negative

*gó* < /gô/, *tá* < /tâ/

*gó bèà-m-dɔ̀- tá bèà-m-dɔ̀-* imperfective (positive)

b. *Cv̀* versus *Cv́*

*gò* < /gǒ/ with final H-tone amalgamated with H-tone of final verb

*gò béá-ŋgò:- tá béá-ŋgò:-* imperfective negative

Superficially, *gǒ* and *tá* have identical tones in the combinations in (xx1a), because /gǒ/ flattens to *gó* in two of the combinations.

### Syntax of direct chains

Typically the two (or more) verbs in a direct chain have a unified argument structure. For example, ‘fall’, ‘jump’, and ‘descend’ in the preceding examples are all intransitive. An example of a transitive counterpart is ‘throw down’, expressed as ‘throw’ plus ‘cause to descend, take down’ (xx2).

(xx2) *cǐn gìdé sù:-ndù-m*

stone throw descend-Caus.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I threw the stone down.’

The two verbs in a direct chain are normally directly adjacent, allowing us to view them as verbal analogues to nominal compounds. Most other Dogon languages that have compound-like direct chains allow the two verbs to be separated only by pronominal-subject proclitics, which occur in nonsubject relative clauses (§14.3). In TU, based on elicitation with my assistant, the proclitic can either intervene between the two verbs, or precede the two-verb sequence (§14.5). Therefore (xx3a) and (xx3b) are synonymous.

(xx3) a. *[gàndà mí yàgà súgó-ŋgó] wàgá*

[place 1SgSbj fall descend-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan] distant

‘The place where I will fall down is far away.’

b. *[gàndà yàgá mí súgó-ŋgó] wàgá*

[place fall 1SgSbj descend-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan] distant

[= (a)]

The two ordering possibilities are also possible for the ‘can VP’ construction (xx4a-b).

(xx4) a. *[cì*L *mí kán béá-ŋgó] à:ndà=lá*

[thingL 1SgSbj do get-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan] a.little=it.is.not

‘What I can do is not insignificant.’

b. *[cì*L *kán mí béá-ŋgó] à:ndà=lá*

[thingL do 1SgSbj get-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan] a.little=it.is.not

[= (a)]

### Direct chains including *bɛ̌:*- ‘get’

#### ‘Be able to, can VP’ with *bɛ̌:*- ‘get’ as final verb in chain

The verb *bɛ̌:* ‘get, obtain’ is directly chained (§15.xxx) to a preceding open-ended VP in the most common ‘can VP’ construction. The tones of the nonfinal verb follow the rules described above for the different inflectional categories of the final verb. Nonfinal verbs are *yàgá* and *súgó*, whose lexical melodies are overt in (xx1a-b). They merge as {HL} in (xx1c), and yàgá amalgamates its final H-tone with that of ‘get’ in (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *yàgá* / *súgó bɛ̀:-∅* / *bè-à:*

fall / descend get.Pfv-3SgSbj / -3PlSbj

‘He-or-she / They could (=were able to) fall/go down.’

b. *yàgá* / *súgó bèà-lí-∅*

fall / go.down get-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She couldn’t fall/go down.’

c. *yágà* / *súgò bèà-m-dɔ̀-∅*

fall / descend get-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She can fall/go down.’

d. *yàgà* / *súgó béà-ŋgò:-∅*

fall / descend get-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She cannot fall/go down.’

hà:jú wɔ̀ dímb-ì: bìyà-m-nù-wⁿ

#### ‘Have a chance to’ with *bèɛ́* ‘get’ as nonfinal verb

A textual example has *tǎ: bèɛ́ sɛ̀mà-ndá* ‘they didn’t have a chance to slaughter (*sɛ́mɛ́*) hyena (*tǎ:*). See T2015-02 at 03:46 for mark-up. Here *bɛ̌:* is the nonfinal verb, subject only to tonal modifications. The following main verb is conjugated. This construction is less common than the one with final conjugated *bɛ̌:‑*.

The context for this example suggests the translation ‘have a chance (opportunity) to VP’ or ‘be in a position to VP’ as opposed to simple ‘be able to VP’. In other words, the context involves an external situation rather than the subject’s capabilities.

## Temporal adverbial clauses with overt chaining or subordinating morpheme

Loose chains, as opposed to the direct chains just described, have some overt subordinating element on the nonfinal verb(s). The two verbs may be separated by other constituents, and may be set off prosodically (indicated by a comma).

### Adverbial clauses expressing temporal simultaneity or overlap

*Subsections in this section may be deleted, combined, split, or rearranged (and reorganized) to suit a particular language.*

*Indicate in each case (except the relative-clause type) whether the construction requires same subjects in the main and adverbial clauses. How is different subject expressed (‘while he was working, we ate’)?*

*If relevant, cross-refs to durative complements of ‘see’ and ‘find’ (§17.2.2.), and uninflected verb-stem iterations in narrative (§11.6.1).*

#### Noun-headed temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when …‘)

A regular relative clause with a temporal noun as tone-dropped head can function as a temporal adverbial clause, with no further postposition.

(xx1) sé:dù wàgàdù / lè:-gò / àrⁿà-gùdù (ńné) wɔ̀: kárⁿà

S timeL / dayL / yearL (3SgSbj) come Pfv.Ppl

‘at the time/on the day/in the year when Seydou came’

#### Imperfective subordinator *-m*

The imperfective suffix *-m*, without pronominal-subject conjugation, can be used as a same-subject imperfective background-clause subordinator, basically ‘while VP-ing’.

(xx1) a. *[zób-gó zɔ́bà-m] [nùŋá: nùŋù-m=bì-∅]*

[run-InanSg run(v)-Ipfv] [song sing-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj]

‘He was singing as he ran.’

b. *ùlé: [zób-gó zɔ́bà-m] [nùŋá: nùŋù-m=b-à:]*

children [run-InanSg run(v)-Ipfv] [song sing-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj]

‘The children were singing as they ran.’

alternative PP construction:

[zób-gó nì] [yé nùy-∅]

‘He/She ran in.’

[zób-gó nì] [yé nù-m]

‘I ran in.’

*same-subject requirement?*

*examples:*

*[combine with neighboring subsections if not formally distinct]*

#### Imperfective *-m* on activity verb plus time-of-day verb

Imperfective subordinator *-m* is common as a durative complement of verbs like ‘spend the night’ and ‘spend the (mid-)day’. Only the final verb is conjugated for pronominal subject. The two “clauses” are treated prosodically as a unit, and if the final verb is perfective it often appears in the simple perfective, as in defocalized position within a clause. The sense is ‘spend the day/night VP-ing’ or ‘VP all night/day’, i.e. where the nonfinal VP denotes an activity that was coextensive with the time interval.

(xx1) a. *[jé jé-m]* L*n-à:*

[dance(n) dance-Ipfv] Lspend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They danced all night.’

b. *[nùŋá: nùŋó-m]* L*nà-m*

[song sing-Ipfv] Lspend.night.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I spent the night singing.’

c. [*tól tó:-m]* L*dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-y*

[pounding pound-Ipfv] Lspend.day.Pfv-1PlSbj

‘We pounded (grain in mortars) all day.’

#### ‘Since …‘ clauses (perfective relatives)

‘Since …‘ clauses are expressed as (usually headless) perfective adverbial relative clauses, with ‘time’ as implied head NP (xx1a). Even ‘since X’ with a NP X is expressed with the same construction, using the verb *gǒ-* ‘go out, leave’ (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[[ŋ̀gɔ́ mí wɔ̀:* L *kárⁿà] nè]*

[[here 1SgSbj comeL Pfv.Ppl] Loc]

*[zá ɲà-lú-m]*

[meal eat.meal-PfvNeg-1SgSbj]

‘Since (the time when) I came here, I haven’t eaten.’

b. *[[yéŋgì gò* L *kárⁿà] nè]*

[[yesterday go.outL Pfv.Ppl] Loc]

*[ínjé dè-lú-m]*

[water bathe-PfvNeg-1SgSbj]

‘I haven’t bathed since yesterday.’

### Adverbial clauses expressing a chronological sequence

#### Chains including *mɔ̀:nd-í:* ‘assemble’ (‘do together’)

Some other Dogon languages such as Jamsay combine the ‘assemble [intr], come togehter’ verb with the other verb as a direct chain. This is not the case in TB, where mediopassive *mɔ̀:nd-í:* ‘gather together, assemble’ occurs in loose chains with *gín* (past) or *nɛ́* (nonpast). As construed in TU, the gathering together is an event that precedes the other event or activity.

(xx1) a. *nù-mbɔ́ [mɔ̀:nd-ì: gín]*

person-AnPl [**assemble**-MP and.Past.SS]

*úló ɔ́ndù-m-s-ɛ̀:*

house build-Ipfv-xxx-3PlSbj

‘The people got together and built a house.’

b. *nù-mbɔ́ [mɔ̀:nd-ì: nɛ́]*

person-AnPl [**assemble**-MP and.Nonpast.SS]

*úló ɔ́ndù-m-d-ɛ̀:*

house build-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘The people will get together and build a house.’

The following sections discuss the major chaining constructions involving sequenced events.

[í kàbú] bìrà: mɔ́ndú-gɔ́ bìrà-mɔ̂n

#### Clauses with *gín* ‘and then’ (same subject, anterior, past time)

*gín* ‘after, when’ indicates a chronological sequence vis-a-vis the following clause, though sometimes the two are tightly sequences co-events. The entire sequence has been completed. gín occurs only in same-subject clause sequences. The pronominal-subject category is not marked suffixally on the verb with *gín*, but is marked on the verb of the following main clause. Nonpronominal subjects, objects, and other complements shared by both verbs occur once, before the *gín* verb. If the verb of the main clause has no additional complements of its own, it often appears in simple perfective form and it may be tightly phrased with the *gín* clause.

Before *gín*, a verb with lexical /LH/ melody spreads its L-tone to the end of the stem. In effect, the H-tone is amalgamated with the prior H-tone of the subordinator. /H/-melody verbs remain high-toned. Other than this tone change, the subordinated verb normally occurs in bare-stem form, without inflectional suffixes. However, inflectional morphemes that behave like chained auxiliary verbs may occur between the primary verb and the subordinator. This is the case with recent perfect *dɛ̀* in (xx1e). In addition, corresponding to L-toned perfective-1b *‑tì‑* is a H-toned variant *tí* that behaves like an auxiliary verb, and this can occur between the main verb and gín (xx1f).

(xx1) a. *[yày gín] wɔ̀:-m*

[go **after**] come.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I went and came (back).’

b. *àdé [cíll-í: gín] yǎy-yà-y*

bird [fly-MP **after**] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘The bird flew away.’ (i.e. took off and went)

c. *ámádù [sùŋgó ǹ] bàdà gín] púllú-tì-∅*

Amadou [rope Def] pull after] snap-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘Amadou pulled the rope and snapped it.’

d. *[zɔ̀bɔ̀ gín] [yé nùy-∅]*

[run **after**] [there.Def go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She ran in.’ (i.e. ran and entered)

e. *[zá ɲɛ́ dɛ̀ gín]* L*ya-dà*

[meal eat RecPrf **after**] Lgo.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘They ate and (then) went.’

f. *zá zɛ̀: tí gín, yǎy-yà-y*

meal bring Pfv1b **after**, go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘He/She brought the meal and then went.’

More examples are (xx2a-b) in §18.3.1 (“You-Sg said that…”) and (xx1b) in §18.4.1 (“The children squabbled…”). There are also some examples in the texts.

*gín* is related to the ‘say’ verb (§xxx). Taken somewhat literally, we can gloss the construction as “saying (recognizing) that S1, S2.”

#### Clauses with *nɛ́* ~ *rⁿɛ́* ‘and then’ (same subject, anterior, future time)

In the examples in (xx1), the subordinated clause with *nɛ́* has the same subject as the following clause. The two clauses are chronologically sequenced as with gín clauses, but with *nɛ́* ~ *rⁿɛ́* the time frame for the entire sequence is future or generalized present, i.e. not perfective (completed). The verb in the first clause may be marked for recent perfect, especially in the sense ‘have finished VP-ing’ (xx1a), or it may be unmarked for aspect. If it is unmarked for aspect, it is tone-dropped (xx1b-c). The following main clause may be indicative (xx1a-b) or imperative (xx1c). When the second clause consists of just a verb, if it is phrased prosodically with the first clause (i.e. without a pause) it may drop tones as though preceded by other constituents within its clause (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[zá ɲɛ́ dɛ̀* L *nɛ́] ó-m-nù-m*

[meal eat RecPrf L and.NonpastSS] go-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will finish eating and (then) go.’

b. *[yày* L *nɛ́]* L*wà:-m̀-nù-m*

[goL and.NonpastSS] Lgo-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will go and come (back).’

c. *[ɲɛ̀* L *nɛ́] yà-dá*

[eatL and.NonpastSS] go-Imprt

‘Eat and go!’

d. *[yày* L *nɛ́] wâ:-m-nù-m*

[goL and.SS] come-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will go and come (back).’

e. *ɛ́yⁿ [wɔ̀:* L *nɛ́] [zá ɲɛ̀* L *nɛ́] óm-dɔ̀-∅*

tomorrow [comeL and.SS] [meal eatL and.SS] go-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘Tomorrow he/she will come and eat and (then) go (away).

If the second clause is **negative**, the scope of its negation does not extend to the first clause.

(xx2) a. *[bàmàkɔ́ yày* L *nɛ́] wá:-ŋù-m*

[B goL and.SS] come-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I will go to Bamako, and I won’t come back.’

b. *[yày* L *nɛ́] wá:-lì*

[goL and.SS] come-Prohib

‘Don’t go and come back!’

#### Clauses with *-à: dé* ‘after’ (same subject, anterior, future time)

This construction competes with the clause type with *nɛ́* ~ *rⁿɛ́* described in the preceding section (§15.2.2.2). Both constructions appear to be limited to clause sequences denoting future or generalized present events. Both also require that the subordinated and main clauses have coindexed subjects.

*-à: dé* is especially common with the recent perfect (*dɛ́*) in the sense ‘have (just) finished VPing’. The recent perfect form is therefore *d-à: dé* following a chained verb denoting the event type. There are several examples of this in Text 2 (“Cotton”). (xx1) in that text also includes *mɔ́:ndú-gɔ́ mɔ̀:ndì-y-à: dé* ‘after getting together’, showing that *-à: dé* does not only occur in the recent perfect form.

*dé* in *-à: dé* is presumably related to conditional *de* ‘if’ (§16.1). However, the textual examples of *-à: dé* involve simple event sequences with no special emphasis on contingency. The construction is therefore similar to what I have called “pseudo-conditional” constructions in some other Dogon languages.

#### ‘Worked until got tired’ = ‘worked for a very long time’

As in other Dogon languages, an emphatic way to emphasize the duration of an activity is to add a loosely chained final verb ‘(until) get tired’. Actual fatigue may or may not have occurred.

(xx1) a. *[òdùbá: yày* L *gín] áy-yà-dà*

[road goL and.Past.SS] get.tired-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘They walked (and walked) until they got tired.’

b. *[zá ɲɛ́ gín] áy-yà-yⁿ*

[meal eat and.Past.SS] get.tired-Pfv1a-1PlSbj

‘We ate (and ate) until we got tired.’

#### Clauses with *kárⁿà* (different-subject, anterior, past)

In this construction, the two events are chronologically sequenced (and normally have some relationship within the narrated situation). The entire sequence is completed (perfective), as with *gín*. However, the two clauses now have different subjects. *kárⁿà*, a form of *kán-* ‘do’ also used in perfective relative clauses (§14.xxx), is the crucial linking element. As with perfective relatives, a lexically /LH/-toned verb before *kárⁿà* spreads its L-tone to the end of the stem. In (xx1a-b), the verb of the first clause is marked for recent perfect. Since the first clause is syntactically a nonsubject relative clause, a pronominal subject is positioned between the main verb and the recent perfect morpheme.

(xx1) a. *[[ɛ̀dɛ́ ǹ] ɲɛ́ ńné dɛ̀ kárⁿà]*

[child Def] eat 3SgSbj RecPrf **after**]

*[mí* L*yày-m̀]*

[1SgSbj Lgo.Pfv-1SgSbj]

‘When the child had finished eating, I went.’

b. *[zá ɲɛ́ bú dɛ̀ kárⁿà] [mí* L*yày-m̀]*

[meal eat 3PlSbj RecPrf **after**] [1SgSbj Lgo.Pfv-1SgSbj]

‘When they had finished eating, I went.’

c. *[ùdù-gó ńné pílé kárⁿà] [í nù-yⁿ]*

[sun-InanSg 3SgSbj sun.set **after**] [1PlSbj go.in.Pfv-1PlSbj]

‘After the sun had set, we went in.’

d. *[ámádù [sùŋgó ǹ] ńné bàdà* L *kárⁿà]*

[Amadou [rope Def] 3SgSbj pullL **after**]

*[[nǎ: ǹ] yǎy-yà-y]*

[[cow Def] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘When Amadou had pulled the cord, the cow got away.’

e. *[zá ǹ] ńné zɛ̀: kárⁿà, yé ɲɛ̀-m*

[meal Def] 3SgSbj bring **after**, there.Def eat.meal.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘After he brought the meal, I ate.’

#### Clauses with *nɛ̀* (different-subject, anterior, future time)

In this construction, the verb is {HL}-toned, reduced to {H}-tone for monosyllabics, and it is followed by L-toned *nɛ̀*. The subjects of the two clauses are not coindexed. The event denoted by the *nɛ̀* clause must precede that denoted by the following main clause. The overall time frame is in the future. The subject is obligatorily represented by a proclitic pronoun, even when it resumes a nonpronominal subject (xx1a).

(xx1) a. *[ámàdù ńné wɔ́: nɛ̀] [zá ɲà-m-nɛ̀-ýⁿ]*

[A 3SgSbj come after.DS] [meal consume-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj]

‘After Amadou comes, we will eat.’

b. *[bírá: bú bìrɛ̀ dɛ́ nɛ̀] ó-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

[work(n) 3PlSbj work(v) RecPrf after.DS] go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj

‘After he/she finishes doing the work, we’ll go.’

Additional examples showing the form: *ńné dɔ́gɔ̀ nɛ̀* ‘after he/she leaves (abandons)’ (*dɔ̀gɔ́*), *ńné bírɛ̀ nɛ̀* ‘after he/she works’ (*bìrɛ́*), *ńné nú nɛ̀* ‘after he/she enters’, *ńné yí nɛ̀* ‘after he/she sees’, *zá ńné ɲɛ́ nɛ̀* ‘after he/she eats (a meal)’, *bú:dù mí bɛ́: nɛ̀* ‘after I get some money’ (*bɛ̌:*).

My assistant did not accept *nɛ̀* in past time contexts (‘after he/she finished doing the work, we went’). Instead, *nɛ̀* was replaced by a headless perfective relative clause with participial *kárⁿà*, as in (xx2).

(xx2) *yéŋgì [bírá: ńné bìrɛ̀ dɛ̀ kárⁿà]*

yesterday [work(n) 3SgSbj work(v) RecPrf Pfv.Ppl]

*[zá* L*ɲɛ̀-yⁿ]*

[meal Lconsume.Pfv-1PlSbj]

‘Yesterday when he/she finished doing the work, we ate.’

#### Clauses with *-ŋgó nì* (different-subject, anterior)

In this construction, the subordinated verb has suffix -ŋgó, followed by nì, possibly a variant of instrumental postposition nì: (§8.1.2). In future time contexts, this construction competes with the nɛ̀ construction described above. Unlike nɛ̀, this construction can be used in both future (xx1a) and past (xx1b) time frames.

(xx1) a. *[bírá: bú bírá-ŋgó nì] ó-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

[work(n) 3PlSbj work(v)-xx Loc] go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj

‘After he/she finishes doing the work, we’ll go.’

b. *[bírá: bú bírá-ŋgó nì] yǎ-yà-yⁿ*

[work(n) 3PlSbj work(v)-xx Loc] go-Pfv1a-1PlSbj

‘After he/she finished doing the work, we went.’

### Chronological reversal (‘before …‘ clauses)

‘Before…’ clauses are loosely chained clauses using *tí* as a kind of auxiliary verb specifying that the event in question was completed before the following event. The forms are *tì* L *nɛ́* for nonpast time frames and *tí gín* for past time frames. These forms are regular when the clauses have the same subject (xx1a-b).

(xx1) a. *[bírá: bìrɛ́ tì* L *nɛ́]*

[work(n) work(v) PerfL and.Nonpast.SS]

*[zá ɲá-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ]*

[meal eat-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj]

‘We’ll work before we eat.’

b. *[bírá: bìrɛ́ tí gín]*

[work(n) work(v) Pfv and.Past.SS]

*[zá* L*ɲɛ̀-yⁿ]*

[meal Leat.Pfv-1PlSbj]

‘We’ll work before we eat.’

When the subjects are different, the later event is construed as an imperfective adverbial clause. For example, in (xx1a-b) the first clause is literally something like “with my father being about to come.”

(xx1) a. *[[mí* H*bá] wá:-ŋgò nì,*

[[1SgPoss Hfather] come-IpfvPpl.InanSg Inst,

*[bírá: bìrɛ́-tì-m]*

[work(n) work(v)-Pfv1b-1SgSbj]

‘I worked (and finished) before my father came.’

b. *[[mí* H*bá] wá:-ŋgò nì,*

[[1SgPoss Hfather] come-IpfvPpl.InanSg Inst,

*[bírá: bírà-m-nù-m]*

[work(n) work(v)-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj]

‘I will work before my father comes.’

## Spatial and manner adverbials

### Spatial adverbial clause (‘where …‘)

Spatial adverbial clauses are relatives with *gándá* ‘place, country’ as head, hence in {L}-toned form. Such a clause can function as a NP argument (xx1a), or it can be adverbial (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[gàndà* L *mí yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] wàgá*

[placeL 1SgSbj fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] distant

‘The place where I fell is far away.’

b. *[[gàndà* L *mí yàgà* L *kárⁿà ǹ] nè] wàgá*

[[placeL 1SgSbj fallL Pfv.Ppl Def] Loc] distant

‘I’m going to the place where I fell.’

### Manner adverbial clause (‘how …‘)

*A relative clause with ŋŋŋ ‘manner’ as head NP may function as a NP (xx1.a).*

*With ŋŋŋ ‘like’ this can become a manner adverbial clause (xx1.b).*

[bìrà ínɛ́ bìrà-ŋgó ǹ nɛ́] mí kùnì: bíràmnam

‘I will work like he works’

nné zɔ̀bà-mɔ̀-ŋgò ɔ̂yⁿ dágá-ŋgò ‘if he drives like that it’s no good’

examples

‘I work (like) the (same) way he/she works.’

‘The way he drives, we can reach Bamako in one day.’

### ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

A somewhat specialized construction translatable as an ‘until’ phrase is based on the uninflected form *dɔ̌y*, related to the perfective-1a of *dɔ̌* ‘arrive (somewhere other than here’ (abstracted from perfective-1a forms like *dɔ̌-yyà-y* ‘he/she arrived’). It is tightly chained with a preceding *wɔ̀* (reduced from *wɔ̌:-* ‘come’) when the terminal point is in the past, and with a preceding *yà* (reduced from *yây* ‘go’, §10.1.3.5) when the terminal point is in the future.

The ‘until’ phrase may be paired with a preceding ‘since’ or ‘starting from’ phrase specifying the temporal point of departure. This may be a subordinated clause containing *gǒ-* ‘go out’ in the sense ‘begin(ning) with’, or a clause with a verb like *tɔ́:-* ‘begin’.

(xx1) a. *[jêl gò-gín] [yéŋgì wɔ̀* L *dɔ̌y]*

[last.year **go.out**-and.SS] [yesterday **come**L **arrive**]

*bírá: bírá-ḿ sɔ́-m=bù-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv have-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘I was working from last year until yesterday.’

b. *[nân tɔ̀:-ḿ dé]* [*ɛ́yⁿ yà* L *dɔ̌y]*

[now begin-xxx xxx] [tomorrow **go**L **arrive**]

*bírá: bírà-m-nɔ̀-m*

work(n.) work-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I will work starting now until tomorrow.’

nné-gì bú là: kárⁿà, mɔ̀-mɔ̀dù-gɔ́, kúnì→ tíbɛ̀

‘from the time he was born he is evil, until he dies’

# Conditional constructions

In classic conditionals, the eventuality denoted by the antecedent (‘if’ clause) is a sufficient condition for the eventuality denoted by the consequent. Typically the antecedent takes place before the consequent, and the relationship is more or less causal. However, antecedent clauses may drift from (causal) ‘if’ to a more purely temporal ‘when, after’.

## Hypothetical conditional with *de* ‘if’

In this construction, the antecedent eventuality is possible but uncertain. Both antecedent and consequent are normally in the future, or else denote recurrent events that may overlap the present.

When the antecedent denotes a bounded event, it is normally expressed in one of the perfective inflections (positive or negative). We see the perfective-1b in (xx1a), the perfective-1a in (xx1b), the simple perfective in (xx1c), and the perfective negative in (xx1d). The consequent is normally imperfective (xx1a-c), but can also be an imperative (xx1d) or hortative. The ‘if’ morpheme is clause-final *de*, which acquires its tone by spreading from the preceding word.

(xx1) a. *ú púŋgó-tì-∅ dè,*

2SgO hit-Pfv1b-3SgSbj if,

*mí ńné lál-ɛ̀:-m-dɔ̀*

1SgSbj 3SgO chase.away-MP-Ipfv

‘If he/she hits you-Sg, I’ll send him/her away.’

b. *ú bàmàkɔ́ yǎy-yà-wⁿ dè, ú yá-ŋù-m*

2SgSbj B go-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if, 2SgO see-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘If you-Sg go to Bamako, I won’t see you.’

c. *ɛ́bɛ́* L*yày-ẃⁿ dé, bɔ̀ríyɛ́* L*zìyà*

market Lgo.Pfv-2SgSbj if, sack Lbring.Imprt

‘If you-Sg go to the market, bring (back) a sack (of millet)!.’

d. *ú sɛ̀ll-èyà-lú-wⁿ dé,*

2SgSbj be.healthy-MP-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,

*ú zɔ́ŋgɔ̀-m-nù-m*

2SgO treat-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘If you-Sg get sick, I will treat you.’

[“not be healthy” = ‘get sick’]

e. [àrⁿá mìrᶰé-tì-∅ dè], ándá ó-ŋù-m

[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1b-3SgSb if], the.bush go-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘If it rains, I won’t go to the bush (=the fields).’

## Alternative ‘if’ particles

### ‘Even if …‘ (*dùgɔ̀*)

Elsewhere dùgɔ̀ is the purposive-causal postposition (‘for’ or ‘because of’), see §8.3. It can also be used in purposive clauses (§17.4.3). In the ‘even if’ construction, dùgɔ̀ follows the antecedent, which takes the form of a complete main clause. Most elicited examples of ‘even if’ were of this type.

(xx1) a. [àrⁿá mìrⁿà-lí-∅] dùgɔ̀, tɔ̯á-m̀-nù-m

[rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj] Purp, sow-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Even if it hasn’t rained, I’ll plant (seeds).’

b. [ú wà:-lú-wⁿ] dùgɔ̀, mí ándá ó-m̀-nù-m

[2Sg come-PfvNeg-2SgSbj] Purp, 1Sg the.bush go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Even if you-Sg don’t come, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’

An alternative construction is (xx2). Here the final verb of the antecedent is intonationally prolonged (→).

(xx2) a. [àrⁿá mírⁿà-m sɔ̀-∅→], ándá ó-m̀-nù-m

[rain(n) rain.fall-Ipfv have-3SgSbj], the.bush go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Even if it’s raining, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’

### ‘As soon as …’ (tán)

tán ‘only’ (< Fulfulde) can replace the usual dè ‘if’ to indicate that the consequent event will take place immediately on the completion of the antecedent event.

(xx1) [ŋ́gɔ̀ dw-â:-yⁿ tán] [zá ɲá-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ]

[over.there arrive-Pfv1a-1PlSbj only] [meal eat.meal-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj

‘As soon as we arrive there, we will eat.’

tán is specialized to occur in this construction. The simple ‘only’ particle, as in ‘only I (will go)’, is sày (§19.xxx).

## Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y …‘)

In this construction, the truth of the consequent is unrelated to the truth of either segment of the complex antecedent. The two mutually exclusive antecedent segments, usually positive and negative respectively, are expressed as main clauses plus the dying-quail intonational ending also used with NP conjunctions.

(xx1) [àrⁿá mìrⁿè-sɔ́-∅∴] [mìrⁿà-lí-∅∴] ó-m̀-nù-m

[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv2-3SgSbj] [rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Whether it rains or it doesn’t rain, I am going.’

Taking the connection with conjunction literally, this can be parsed as “[it has rained] and [it has not rained], I am going.”

My assistant rejected the use of a final ‘all’ quantifier at the end of the complex antecedent.

## Counterfactual conditional

In a counterfactual conditional, the time frame is the past, the antecedent eventuality did not occur, and it is claimed that had that eventuality occurred, the consequent event would also have occurred. The relationship is normally causal.

The predicate of the antecedent clause contains the past clitic in any of its combinations, plus *de* ‘if’. The predicate of the consequent clause is past imperfective. Either clause, or both, may be negative.

(xx1) a. *ôyⁿ zúgà-m=bú-m=bù-m dè,*

like.that know-Ipfv=Aug=Past-1SgSbj if,

*wá:-ŋgò:=bú-m=bù-m*

come-IpfvNeg=Aug=Past-1SgSbj

‘If I had known (it was) like that, I would not have come’

b. *mí púŋgó=bì-∅ dè, ńné já-m̀=bù-m*

1SgO beat=Past-3Sgs if, 3SgO kill-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj

‘If he had hit me, I would have killed him.’

A textual example is T2015-02 at 06:31.

# Complement and purposive clauses

## Quotative complements

There are several diagnostics to identify quoted material. Most obviously, the inflected ‘say’ verb *jìní* may occur, usually at the end of the quotation (xx1a). More often, an uninflected quotative particle *wà* occurs, and this particle may be repeated several times in a multi-clause quotation (xx1b-d). A prolonged variant *wà→* is also common after an independent pronoun representing the subject of the quoted sentences (xx1c). There is no verbal agreement with such overt clause-initial quotative subjects. Finally, any referent coindexed with a third-person author of the quotation (whether of speech or of thought) is represented by a logophoric pronoun. The logophoric takes the form *-m* (pseudo-1Sg, §18.2) suffixed to the verb when it functions as subject of the quoted clause (xx1a-b). Otherwise it takes the form *á*, a third-person anaphoric pronoun also used in reflexives (§18.2), as in (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *ámádù wâ:-m-nù-m jìní=bì-∅*

A come-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS say=Past-3SgSbj

‘Amadoux said hex will come.’

b. *ámádù wâ:-m-nù-m wà*

A come-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS Quot

‘Amadoux said/says hex will come.’

c. *ámàdù [ú wà→] [ńné-gì púŋgó=bù] wà*

A [2Sg QuotS] [3Sg-Acc hit=Past] Quot

‘Amadoux says that you hit him/hery.’

d. *ámàdù [ú wà→] [á-gì púŋgó=bù] wà*

A [2Sg QuotS] [3LogoSg-Acc hit=Past] Quot

‘Amadoux says that you hit himx.’

### Direct versus indirect in quotative complements

The aspect-negation category of an original indicative utterance is preserved in quoted speech. For imperatives and hortatives, some morphological substitutions are made. Other than the quotative particles, there is no ‘that’ complementizer.

Any first person pronouns in the original utterance are replaced by logophorics in the quotation (‘Hex said that hex …’ comes out as “He said Logo …”). Logophoricity is expressed by a combination of the logophoric pronoun *á* and the logophoric-subject suffix *-m* on the verb (identical in form to 1Sg subject in indicatives).

### ‘Say that …‘ with inflectable ‘say’ verb

For the forms of ‘say’ verbs see §11.3.1. These verbs are possible, but generally omitted, when the unconjugated quotative particle *wa* is possible, i.e. in positive reports of past speech by third parties (‘he said’, etc.). However, in imperfective, imperative, and negative contexts the ‘say’ verb follows the quotation.

(xx1) *ɛ́yⁿ ó-m̀-nù-ḿ gìn-dí-∅*

tomorrow go-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS say-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He didn’t say that he will go tomorrow.’

The ‘say’ verb may take a NP complement subsuming an unspecified quotation.

(xx2) a. *ìnjé jìní-∅*

what? say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘What did he/she say?’

b. *cì-kámá jìn-dí-∅*

anything say-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She didn’t say anything.’

### Quotative clitics

#### Quotative subject clitic *wa→*

This clitic appears after independent pronouns functioning as subjects of a quoted clause. The usual pronominal-subject marking on the verb, as in main clauses, is blocked when such a clause-initial quotative subject is present (the verb takes the zero form, elsewhere marking 3Sg subject). Logophoric subject marking is redundant and optional, since there is a verbal suffix *-m* (pseudo-1Sg) for logophoric subject (xx1c). Nonpronominal subjects do not normally get the clitic *wa→* (except when they function as quoted vocatives), and if they are plural they trigger 3Pl subject agreement on the verb (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *[í wá→] gùɲù-mbó wà*

[1Pl QuotS] thief-AnPl Quot

‘(Hex) says we are thieves.’

b. *[ú wá→] á-gì zúgà-m-dɔ̀ wà*

[2Sg QuotS] 3LogoSg-Acc know-Ipfv-Ipfv Quot

‘(Hex) says that you know himx.’

c. *(á wá→) zímà-m-nù-m wà*

(LogoSg QuotS) be.sick-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS Quot

‘(Hex) says that hex is sick.’

d. *[ùlé: (wá→)] á-gì zúgà-m-d-ɛ̀ wà*

[children (QuotS)] 3LogoSg-Acc know-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot

‘(Hex) says that the children know himx.’

e. *[ínè: wà→] yǎy-yà-y wà*

[goat QuotS] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot

‘He/She said that the goat has gone.’

The tone of *wa→* is spread from the left. It is H-toned in (xx1a-d) after a H-tone, but L-toned in (xx1e) after a L-tone.

Logophoric *á wá→* frequently contracts to *á→*.

#### Clause-final quotative clitic *wà*

A quoted clause representing an actual reported speech event is most often followed by quotative clitic *wà* rather than by a conjugated ‘say’ verb. It is L-toned even after a H-tone, and it is not prolonged intonationally.

(xx1) a. *[ámádù (wà→)] sùgò-lú-∅ wà*

[Amadou (QuotS)] go.down-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

‘He/She said that Amadou didn’t come down.’

(usually pronounced [sùgǒlwà])

b. *ámádù (á wá→) wá:-m̀-nù-ḿ wà*

Amadou (LogoSg QuotS) come-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS Quot

‘Amadoux said that hex is coming.’

In (xx1b), the quoted logophoric subject *á wá→* is usually omitted since the verb is already marked for logophoric subject.

Clause-final *wà* is omitted when an overt, conjugated ‘say’ verb is present. It is also not used in negative, future, interrogative, or deontic frames (‘He didn’t say …’). It is not normally used when the quoted speaker is the current speaker (‘I said …’).

*wà* is also used in quoted fragments, for example to express surprise at what an interlocutor has said, or to sollicit confirmation (“Tomorrow?” [did you say?]).

When the quoted material ends in a clause-final emphatic, *wà* is positioned between the verb and the emphatic.

(xx2) a. *àrⁿá mìrⁿɛ́-tì-∅ wà kòy*

rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot Emph

‘(He) said, it sure did rain.’

b. *gùɲù-mbó yé b-ɛ̀: wà dè*

thief-AnPl Exist be-3PlSbj Quot Emph

‘(He) said (warned), there are thieves (there)!’

#### Post-quotation pronoun plus *ɲà*

Simple combinations like *ńné ɲà* ‘he/she said’, *bú ɲà* ‘they said’, and *ú ɲà* can follow quoted material, generally after a prosodic break. The pronoun is independent in form, as with pronominal subjects of nonsubject relatives.

### Jussive complement (reported imperative or hortative)

#### Quoted imperative

A quoted imperative normally has two parts. First, the subject of the imperative verb (arguably, the original addressee) is followed by subject quotative particle *wà→*, which is consistently prolonged intonationally. This could be analysed as a quoted vocative, but it is somewhat pro forma since the original command usually did not follow an overt vocative. It is also used even when the command is conveyed by someone else (‘Your father says for you to go see him’).

This subject/addressee phrase is followed by the main part of the quoted imperative, followed by the unprolonged quotative particle *wà*. The original imperative verb is converted into a third person hortative verb form with a suffix like *‑lú* (see §10.6.3.1 for the morphology). There is no marking of addressee plurality.

(xx1) a. *[mí wá→] [wɔ̀-lú wà]*

[1Sg QuotS] [come-QuotHort Quot]

‘He/She told me to come.’

b. *[ámádú wà→] [yǎy-∅ wà]*

[Amadou QuotS] [go-QuotHort Quot]

‘He/She said for Amadou to come.’

c. *[ùlé: wá→] [wɔ̀-lú wà]*

[children QuotS] [come-QuotHort Quot]

‘He/She said for the children to come.’

(xx2) is a quoted prohibitive. The same quotative subject phrase occurs at the beginning. The verb has prohibitive form. Before wà the usual prohibitive suffix *-lì* becomes *-lù*, and its vowel is frequently elided, with L-toned lateral followed directly by *wà*.

(xx2) *[mí wá→] [wǎ:-lù wà]*

[1Sg QuotS] [come-Prohib Quot]

‘He/She told me not to come.

#### Quoted hortative

The addressee (2Sg or 2Pl) is treated as the “subject” in the quotative-subject phrase, suggesting that it is really a quotative addressee (or a quoted vocative). The singular-addressee hortative *-mɔ́* is converted into the quoted hortative form *-mú*, whose *ú* is usually elided before *wà*. Irregular *ḿbó* ‘let’s-2Sg go!’ likewise becomes *ḿbú*, which is too short to allow elision of the *u* (xx1a). The plural-addressee hortative takes its regular form with *-mɔ́-ǹ* (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *ḿbú wà*

go.QuotHort Quot

‘He/She said, let’s go!’ (< *ḿbó*)

b. *nân (ú wá→) zá ɲá-m(ú) wà*

now (2Sg QuotS) meal eat-QuotHort Quot

‘He said, let’s eat now!’ (*ɲá-mɔ́*)

c. *nân (bí wá→) zá ɲá-mɔ́-ǹ wà*

now (2Pl QuotS) meal eat-Hort-PlAddr Quot

‘He said, let’s eat now!’ (*ɲá-mɔ́-ǹ*)

In the quoted hortative negative, the verb has the same hortative negative form as in main clauses (§10.6.4).

## Factive (propositional) complements

### ‘Know that …‘ complement clause

There is some variation in my data, likely due to the fact that ‘I know’ and the like can be parenthetical (unless negated or questioned).

In what appears to be the basic factive clause type, the subject is expressed preverbally (proclitic subject pronoun or full NP), in perfective contexts the verb takes perfective-2 form *‑s‑ɔ́* or *‑s‑ɔ̀*, and the only suffixal conjugation of the verb is 3Pl *‑s‑ɛ́* or *‑s‑ɛ̀* (short-voweled form). All other pronominal categories take the uninflected form *‑s‑ɔ́* or *‑s‑ɔ̀*.

.

(xx1) a. *ámádù [mí wɔ̀:-sɔ́] zúgà-m-dɔ̀-∅*

Amadou [1SgSbj come-Pfv2] know-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘Amadou knows that I have come.’

b. *[ùlé: wɔ̀:-s-ɛ́] zúgà-m-nù-m*

[children come-Pfv2-3PlSbj] know-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘I know that the children has come.’

In the imperfective positive, imperfective negative, and perfective negative, the verb has its full conjugated form (e.g. 1Sg or 2Pl subject suffix).

### ‘See (find, hear) that …‘

#### Direct-perception type (relative-clause complement)

In this construction, the subject of the complement optionally also appears as the direct object of ‘say’, with accusative marking (xx1a). The complement clause proper takes the form of an imperfective adverbial clause. Pronominal subjects take proclitic form. In (xx1b), the nonpronominal subject ‘children’ is resumed by a proclitic 3Pl subject pronoun.

(xx1) a. *[jé ú jé-m̀] ú-gì yí=bì-∅*

[dance(n) 2SgSbj dance(v)-Ipfv] 2Sg-Acc see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He/She saw you (as you were) dancing.’

b. *[ùlé: jé bú jé-m̀] yí=bì-∅*

[children dance(s) 3PlSbj dance(v)-Ipfv] see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He/She saw the children dancing.’

#### Recognition (inference, hearsay) construction

Since it is difficult in elicitation to distinguish ‘see that’ from the other ‘see’ construction (§17.2.2.1), where the ‘see’ expression could be taken as parenthetical, I elicited examples with negative clauses. Again, the data are somewhat messy. In (xx1a), the complement of ‘see’ has regular conjugated perfective negative form. However, in (xx1b-c) we have a preposed 1Sg pronominal subject, similar to the factive construction with ‘know’.

(xx1) a. *yàgà-ndá yí=bì-m*

fall-PfvNeg.3PlSbj see=Past-1SgSbj

‘I saw that they hadn’t fallen.’

b. *[mí yàgà-lí] yí=bì-∅*

[1SgSbj fall-PfvNeg] see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He/She saw that I had not fallen.’

c. *[mí péddè sèmà-lí] yí=bì-∅*

[1Sg sheep slaughter-PfvNeg] see=Past-3SgSbj

‘He saw that I had not slaughtered the sheep-Sg.’

## Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

Verbal noun complements generally construe the subordinated eventuality as an entity, with no commitment to its having been realized. The verbal noun is not determined or quantified over in any of my examples. Other nominals related to verbs, such as lexicalized cognate nominals (xx1a), may also be used instead of the actual verbal noun with *‑lé* (xx1b), though the specific senses may be slightly different. Cognate nominals also co-occur with verbal nouns for many verbs (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *zóbú-gó m̀bá-∅*

running-InanSg want-3SgSbj

‘He/She wants to run’, ‘He/She likes running.’

b. *[zóbú-gó zɔ́bú-lé] m̀bá-∅*

[running-InanSg run-VblN] want-3SgSbj

‘He wants to run (do some running).’

These nominal complements contrast most directly with those in ‑ŋgó, which are explicitly future-oriented and hypothetical.

### Structure of verbal noun complements

The verbal noun can take its usual nonsubject complements such as object NPs and adverbials. In constructions where the two clauses have coindexed subjects, there is no additional subject marking in the verbal noun complement per se. In those where the subjects are not coindexed, the subject of the complement appears as a possessor of the verbal noun. Examples occur in the sections below on specific main-clause verbs.

### ‘Prevent’ (*gá:ndí*) plus verbal noun

Initial attempts to elicit ‘X prevented Y from VP-ing’ produced circumlocutions like that in (xx1a). The real ‘prevent’ construction is seen in (xx1b), with verb *gá:ndí* taking a verbal noun complement including a possessor representing the complement’s subject.

(xx1) a. *[àrⁿá ńné wɔ̀: kárⁿà]*

[rain(n) 3SgSbj come Pfv.Ppl]

*[ír-í: gín] mìll-í:-yà-m*

[fear-MP and.Past.SS] go.back-MP-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘It rained, I was afraid, I turned back.’

a. *àrⁿá [yéŋgì wɔ́:-lé kɔ̌:] gà:ndì-∅*

rain(n) [yesterday come-VblN 1SgPoss.InanSg] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘The rain prevented me from coming yesterday.’

### ‘Dare’ (*dàrá*) plus verbal noun or *-ŋgó* complement

‘Dare to VP’, contextually also ‘have the nerve/effrontery to VP’, is expressed by *dàrá*, cf. Jamsay dà:rá and Yanda Dom dàdú. The subject of the complement is coindexed with that of the main clause. The complement may be a verbal noun (xx1a) or a *-ŋgó* complement (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[ŋ̀gɔ́ wɔ́:-lé] dàrá-ŋgò:-∅*

[here come-VblN] dare-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He doesn’t dare come here.’

b. *[mí-gì dɔ̯á-ŋgó] dárà-m-nù-wⁿ*

[1Sg-Acc insult-xxx] dare-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

‘You-Sg dare to insult me?’

### ‘Consent’ (*àb-í:*) plus *-ŋgó* complement

The transitive verb *àbá* ‘receipt, accept, take possession of (sth given)’ can be used with a complement in the sense ‘consent’. In this context it usually takes the mediopassive form *àb-í:*. Since the complement generally denotes a possible future event, the complement is with *-ŋgó*. In (xx1a), the subject of the complement is coindexed with that of the main clause. In (xx1b), the subjects are not coindexed and an overt subject pronoun appears in the complement.

(xx1) a. *ámbúrú [ŋ̀gɔ́ wá:-ŋgó] àb-ì:-sɔ́-m wà*

chief [here come-xxx] accept-MP-Pfv2-LogoS Quot

‘The chief said he agreed (consented) to come here.’

b. *[úló mí ɔ́ndú-ŋgó] àb-ɛ̀:-lí-∅*

[house 1SgSbj build-xxx] accept-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He didn’t consent to (=refused) my building a house.

### ‘Want’ (*m̀bá* or *nàmá*) plus verbal noun or *-ŋgó* complemennt

The two ‘want’ quasi-verbs (§11.2.5.xxx) can take verbal noun complements. When the two clauses have coindexed subjects, no subject marking appears in the verbal noun complement (xx1a-b). If the complement has a noncoindexed subject, it appears as a possessor on the verbal noun (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *[tól tó:-lé] m̀bá-ɛ̀*

[pounding pound-VblN] begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘They want to pound (grain in mortar).’

b. *[bàmàkɔ́ yáy-lé] nàmá-∅*

[B go-VblN] want-3SgSbj

‘He/She wants to go to Bamako.’

c. *[mí* H*bá] [bàmàkɔ́ yáy-lé kɔ̌:] m̀bá-∅*

[1SgPoss Hfather] [B go-VblN 1SgPoss.InanSg] want-3SgSbj

‘My father wants me to go to Bamako.’

(lit. “wants my going to Bamako”)

Alternatively, the *-ŋgó* complement for a different-subject combination (xx2a) or a same-subject *nɛ́* clause (xx2b) can be used.

(xx2) a. *[ŋ̀gɔ́ bírá: mí bírá-ŋgó] m̀bá-ɛ̀*

[here work(n) 1SgSbj work(v)-xxx] want-3PlSbj

‘They want me to work here.’

b. *[ŋ̀gɔ́ bírá: bìrɛ̀ nɛ́] m̀bá-ɛ̀*

[here work(n) work(v) and.Nonpast.SS] want-3PlSbj

‘They want to work here.

### ‘Forget’ (*ìrɛ́*) with *-ŋgó* complement

In the construction ‘forget to VP’ with coindexed subject, the complement takes ‑ŋgó. This is of course distinct from a factive complement (‘forget that…’).

(xx1) a. *[wá:-ŋgó] ìr-â:-y*

[come-xxx] forget-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘He/She forgot to come.’

b. *[ɛ́mnɛ́ ɛ́bá-ŋgó] ìr-â:-dà*

[B go-xxx] forget-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘They forgot to buy milk.’

c. *ɛ́yⁿ wá:-ŋgó írá-lì*

tomorrow come-xxx forget-Prohib

‘Don’t-2Sg forget to come tomorrow!’

### ‘Be afraid to/that’ (*ír-í:*) plus *-ŋgó* complement

The complement of ‘be afraid’ is with *-ŋgó*. If the subjects are coindexed there is no further subject marking in the complement (xx1a). If the subjects are not coindexed, the complement is extended by a minimal additional clause with *ɲà:* (xx1b). This future-oriented construction is distinct from the propositional complement in (xx1c), which takes the form of a regular main clause.

(xx1) a. *[ŋ̀gɔ́ wá:-ŋgó] ír-í:-yà-y*

[here come-xxx] fear-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘He/She is afraid to come here.’

b. *[[ńné-gì púŋgó-ŋgó] mí ɲà:] ír-í:-yà-y*

[[3Sg-Acc hit-xxx] 1SgSbj take] fear-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

‘Hex is afraid that I may hit himx.’

c. *[[ɛ̀dɛ́ wɛ̌:] bárm-í:-yà-y]*

[[child 1SgPoss.AnSg] be.wounded-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj]

*ír-í:-yà-m*

fear-MP-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘I’m afraid (=worried) that my child has been hurt.’

### ‘Begin’ (*tɔ́:*) plus verbal noun

The verb ‘begin’ is *tɔ́:*. In the perfective, the regular form is *tɔ́:-tì-* (perfective-1b) in intransitive clauses (as in ‘the movie has begun’) as well as transitive ones (as in ‘I began the work’).

With a VP as complement, the complement verb takes the verbal noun form with suffix ‑lé, see §4.2.2. The subjects of the two clauses are of course coindexed.

(xx1) a. *[tól tó:-lé] tɔ́:-ty-à:*

[pounding pound-VblN] begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘They started pounding (grain in mortar).’

b. *[yà-ŋgá yí-lé] twá:-lì*

[weeping(n) weep-VblN] begin-Prohib

‘Don’t-2Sg start to weep!’

### ‘Finish’ (*dùmɔ́*, *dùm-dí*, *dɛ̀*)

The verb ‘finish, end’ is intransitive *dùmɔ́* (as in ‘the movie is over’) or transitive *dùm‑dí* with a NP object (as in ‘I finished the work’). With a VP complement these verbs are pre-empted by the recent past construction with *dɛ̀* (§10.xxx).

### ‘Cease’ (*dɔ̀gɔ́*) plus verbal noun

‘Cease VP-ing’, especially in the sense of definitively abandoning an activity or behavior, is expressed by *dɔ̀gɔ́* ‘leave, abandon’. The complement is in verbal noun form.

(xx1) a. *[kɔ̀ndɔ́ ɲí-lé] dɔ̀gɔ́-tì-m*

[beer consume-VblN] leave-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I have stopped drinking beer.’

b. *[ùlé: púŋgú-lé] dɔ́gà-n*

[children hit-VblN] leave.Ipfv-Pl.Addr

‘Stop-2Pl beating children!’

### ‘Be worth’ (*bǎ:*) with *-ŋgó* complement

bǎ: ‘be worth, be equal to’ can be a simple transitive in comparatives (§12.2.2). It can also take an *‑ŋgo* complement. The subject of bǎ: in the main clause is an impersonal 3Sg. My assistant translates as *il vaut la peine de (…)*. It may also be rendered in context as ‘it would be a good idea to (…)’.

(xx1) a. *[bàmàkɔ́ ó-ŋgó] bà:-sɔ́-∅*

[B go-xxx] be.worth-Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘It’s worth going to Bamako.’

b. *[[pèddè*L *ɔ̀-ḿ] dɔ́ná-ŋgó] bà:-lí-∅*

[[sheepL Prox-AnSg] sell-xxx] be.worth-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘It isn’t worth selling this sheep.’

c. *[mí-gì búndó-ŋgó] bà:-lí-∅*

[1Sg-Acc hit-xxx] be.worth-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘It isn’t worth hitting me.’

As noted in §12.2.2, bǎ: ‘be worth’ is not reliably distinguished from bǎ ‘be enough’ in my assistant’s speech.

### ‘Help’ (*bàrá*) with *-ŋgó* complement

Simple transitive *bàrá* ‘add, increase’ is also common in the sense ‘help, assist (sb, in an undertaking)’. The recipient of the add is the direct object of *bàrá* in the main clause.

(xx1) a. *[úló ɔ́ndú-ŋgó] mí-gì* L*bàrà*

[house build-xxx] 1Sg-Acc Lhelp.Imprt

‘(Please) help me build a house!’

b. *[[bé: dì* L *nɛ́] wá:-ŋgó]*

[[wood carry.on.headL and.Nonpast.SS] come-xxx]

*mí-gì bàrá=bì-∅*

1Sg-Acc help=Past-3SgSbj

‘He helped me to carry the wood (and come) here.’

## Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

### Purposive clause with *-lé* after {L}-toned verb

In this construction, the verb of the purposive clause takes {L}-toned form. The stem-final vowel shifts to /i/ where phonologically possible. The stem is followed by suffix *‑lé*. If the consonantal environment permits, the stem-final /i/ is syncopated.

This is distinct tonally from the verbal noun with *‑lé* following a {H}-toned stem (§4.2.2).

This purposive construction is readily elicited with a motion verb in the main clause. The subjects of the two clauses are normally coindexed, so the purposive clause does not have its own dedicated subject. Other non-verb constituents such as object NPs have their regular form.

(xx1) a. *[yɔ́ tò:-lé] wɔ̀:-sɔ́-∅*

[millet pound-Purp come-Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘She has come in order to pound (the) millet.’ (*tó:*)

b. *[[pèddè*L *ɔ̌m] ɛ̀b-lé] wɔ̀:-sɔ́-∅1*

[[sheepL Prox.AnSg] buy-Purp] come-Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘He/She has come in order to buy this sheep.’ (*ɛ́bɛ́*)

c. *[zá ɲì-lé] wɔ̀:-s-ɛ̂:*

[meal consume-Purp] come-Pfv2-3PlSbj

‘They have come in order to eat.’ (*ɲɛ́*)

d. *[kɔ̀ndɔ́ ɲì-lé] wɔ̀:-sɔ́-m*

[millet.beer consume-Purp] come-Pfv2-1SgSbj

‘I have come in order to drink beer.’ (*ɲɛ́*)

e. *[èm-gó èm-lé] wɔ̀:-s-ɛ̂:*

[chat-InanSg chat(v)-Purp] come-Pfv2-3PlSbj

‘They have come in order to chat.’ (*émé*)

xx ‘I will go there to eat.’

‘I am working so that my children will eat.’

### Purposive clauses with *-ŋgo*

xx

‘They came to gather and take away the trash.’

[nìmdé bà: nɛ́] zó-ŋgó wɔ̀:-s-ɛ̂:

‘He came to seek money to go (away).’

[bú:dù zɔ̀: nɛ́] ó-ŋgó wɔ̀:-sɔ́-∅

‘let’s sit down to eat’

[ób-é: ǹ] zá ɲá-mɔ̂n

### Clauses with Purposive postposition *dùgɔ̀* ‘for’

The participial clause with -ŋgó may be followed by the purposive postposition *dùgɔ̀*.

(xx1) *[[[ámbírí bènè] óré: ɔ́rá-ŋgó] dùgɔ̀]*

[[[chief chez] words.InanPl speak-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg] Purp]

*wɔ̀:-y*

come.Pfv-1PlSbj

‘We have come to speak with the chief.’

### Causal (‘because’) clause (*dùgɔ̀*)

The purposive postposition dùgɔ̀ also has causal (‘because’) functions. With clausal complements, the verb may be a main-clause imperfective (xx1a), an imperfective subordinated clause (xx1b), or a headless perfective relative (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *[[àrⁿá mírⁿà-m-dɔ̀-∅] dùgɔ̀] nù-m*

[[rain(n) rain.fall-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj] because] go.in.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I went in because it was raining.’

b. *[[ùlé: yàŋgá bú yá-m̀] dùgɔ̀]*

[[children weeping 3PlSbj weep-Ipfv] because]

*nù-m*

go.in.Pfv-1SgSbj

c. *[[ú bòn kárⁿà] dùgɔ̀] nù-m*

[[2SgSbj call Pfv.Ppl] because] go.in.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I went in because you-Sg (had) called.’

# Anaphora

## Reflexive

The overt reflexives presented below compete with mediopassive verbs, e.g. *sɛ́m‑í:‑yà‑m* ‘I was cut’ or ‘I cut myself’.

### Reflexive object with *kúgɔ́* ‘head’

Reflexive objects of the form ‘my/your/his/her head’ were elicited from one informant. For third person, the 3Reflexive possessor form *á-gá* is used (xx1c), see §18.1.3 below.

(xx1) a. *[kúgɔ́ kɔ̌:] bùndò-m*

[head 1SgPoss.InanSg] hit.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I hit myself.’

b. *[kúgɔ́ í-gɛ̀] bùndè-yⁿ*

[head 1Pl-Poss.InanSg] hit.Pfv-1PlSbj

‘We hit ourselves.’

c. *[kúgɔ́ á-gá] bùndè-∅*

[head 3Refl-Poss.InanSg] hit.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He/She hit himself/herself.’

d. *[kúgɔ́ ú-wɔ̀] búndó*

[head 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] hit.Imprt

‘Hit yourself!’

My primary assistant interprets such examples as literally referring to the body part whenever a physical action is involved. He prefers mediopassive forms of transitive verbs for reflexive function, e.g. *púŋg‑í:‑yà‑m* ‘I was hit’ or ‘I hit myself.’ However, he did allow ‘head’ reflexives in abstract contexts (xx2).

(xx2) *[kúgɔ́ ú-wɔ̀] zúgá*

[head 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] know.Imprt

‘Know thyself!’

### Reflexive PP complement

The same construction with ‘head’ can be used as a postpositional complement. Examples are difficult to elicit but (xx1a-b) seem to work

(xx1) a. *bú:dù [[kúgɔ́ kɔ̌:] bɛ̀rⁿɛ̀] tì-m*

money [[head 1SgPoss.InanSg] Dat] send.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I sent money to myself.’

b. *bú:dù [[kúgɔ́ á-gá] bɛ̀rⁿɛ̀] tì-∅*

money [[head 3Refl-Poss] Dat] send.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘He sent money to himself.’

### 3Reflexive possessor (*á-gá* )

Third person reflexive possessor is expressed by *á-gá* (§6.2.1.2) postposed to alienably possessed nouns. Singular and plural possessors are not distinguished in this category (xx1b,d), which also extends to logophorics. If the possessed noun is animate plural, the form is *d* (xx1c). The antecedent is normally the clausemate subject. (xx1a) shows nonreflexive 3Sg possessor since it is not coindexed to the subject.

(xx1) a. *[pédé wɛ̀-ń] zɛ̌:-tù-m*

[sheep Poss.AnSg-3SgPoss] bring-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I brought his/her sheep-Sg.’

b. *[péddè á-gá] zɛ̌:-tì-∅*

[sheep 3Refl-Poss.AnSg] bring-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He brought his (own) sheep-Sg.’

c. *[pédú-mbò á-gá-mbɔ̀] zɛ̌:-tì-∅*

[sheep-AnPl 3Refl-Poss.AnPl] bring-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

‘He brought his (own) sheep-Pl.’

d. *ùlé:-mbò [péddè á-gá] zɛ̌:-tì-yà*

child-AnPl [sheep 3Refl-Poss.AnSg] bring-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘The children brought their (own) sheep-Sg.’

With an inalienably possessed noun, the 3Reflexive form is preposed *á* (§6.2.2.2).

(xx2) a. *[á* L*bà] yì-sɔ́-∅*

[3ReflP Lfather] see-Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘He has seen his (own) father.’

b. *ùlé: [á* L*bà] yì-s-ɛ́*

children [3ReflP Lfather] see-Pfv2-3PlSbj

‘The children have seen their (own) father.’

### No antecedent-reflexive relation between coordinands

There is no anaphoric possessor form in combinations of the type [X and X’s Y]. If X is a third person referent, the regular nonanaphoric third person pronominal possessor forms are used. In (xx1), therefore, it is indeterminate whether the ‘his’ in ‘his father’ is coindexed with Amadou

(xx1) *[ámàdù∴ bà-ní∴] yá-yà-dà*

[A.& father-3SgPoss.&] go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘Amadoux and hisx/y father have gone.’

## Emphatic pronouns

No special series of pronouns similar to English emphatic *myself* (as in *I did it myself*) was observed. Instead, combinations of independent pronouns with sày ‘only’, and simple focalization constructions, were produced.

## Logophoric and indexing pronouns

### Logophoric subject (*-m*)

When the logophoric is subject of its clause, it is expressed not by a clause-initial logophoric pronoun, rather by the suffix *-m* on the verb or other predicate. This is identical in form (including all details of allomorphy) to the 1Sg suffix *-m* used in nonquotative contexts. However, in this logophoric function it is can have a plural as well as singular antecedent, and for any pronominal person in the current speech setting. Note the multiple free translations of (xx1a-b). A clause-initial third-person logophoric pronoun can be added, provided that the referent is neither the current speaker nor current addressee (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[ú gì] pùŋgò-lú-m wà*

[2Sg Acc] beat-PfvNeg-**LogoS** say

‘Theyx say/said that theyx didn’t hit you-Sg.’

‘He/shex says/said that he/shex didn’t hit you-Sg.’

b. *(á gà) yé* L*wà:-m-nù-m wà*

(Logo Topic) Exist Lcome-Ipfv-LogoS say

‘Theyx say/said that, as for them, theyx are/were coming.’

‘He/shex says/said that, as for him/herx, he/shex is/was coming.’

The logophoric subject marked by *-m* may correspond to the current **addressee**. In this case, if there is an optional clause-initial subject pronoun, it is in the applicable 2Sg or 2Pl form.

(xx2) a. *[wá:-m̀-nù-ḿ jìnì gín] wà:-lú-wⁿ*

[come-Ipfv-**LogoS** say after] come-PfvNeg-2SgSbj

‘You-Sg said that you were coming, (but) you didn’t come.’

b. *[bí* *wá:-m̀-nù-ḿ jìnì gín] wà:-lí-yⁿ*

[2PlSbj come-Ipfv-**LogoS** say after] come-PfvNeg-2PlSbj

‘You-Pl said that you were coming, (but) you didn’t come.’

The quoted person(s) may also be (or include) the current **speaker**. Again, the quoted clause has invariant *-m* suffix. The optional clause-initial subject pronoun is for 1Sg or 1Pl as applicable.

(xx3) a. *wá:-m̀-nù-ḿ jìn-dí-m*

come-Ipfv-**LogoS** say-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I didn’t say that I would come.’

b. *(í)* *wá:-m̀-nù-ḿ jìn-dí-yⁿ*

(1PlSbj) come-Ipfv-**LogoS** say-PfvNeg-1PlSbj

‘We didn’t say that we would come.’

### Nonsubject logophoric (*á*)

In nonsubject position, the logophoric pronoun is á. The difference between logophoric and nonlogophoric third person pronouns is brought out in the jussive examples (xx1a-c). In (xx1a-b), the recipient of the money is not coindexed with the quoted speaker, and regular 3Sg and 3Pl pronouns, respectively, express the recipient (in accusative case). In (xx1c), the recipient is coindexed with the quoted speaker or speakers. There is no singular-plural distinction in this case.

(xx1) a. *[ńné gì] bú:dù ńdí wà*

[3Sg Acc] money give.Hort Quot

‘(He) says to give money to her.’

b. *[bú gì] bú:dù ńdí wà*

[3Sg Acc] money give.Hort Quot

‘(He) says to give money to them.’

c. *[á gì] bú:dù ńdí wà*

[Logo Acc] money give.Hort Quot

‘(Hex) says to give money to him(self)x.’

or: ‘(Theyx) say to give money to them(selves)x.’

Logophoric *á* can be the object as in (xx1c) above, with optional accusative marking. It can also be topic, possessor, or postpositional complement (xx2a-c).

(xx2) a. *[á gà] ŋ́gɔ̀ bé-m-nù-ḿ wà*

[Logo Topic] over.there stay-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS Quot

‘Hex says that as for himx, hex will stay there.

b. [á Lbà] wǎ:-l-∅ wà

[LogoP Lfather] come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

‘(Hex) says that hisx father has not come.’

c. *[mí wà→] zá [á bènè] ɲɛ̀ wà*

[1Sg QuotS meal [3Logo chez] eat.Pfv Quot

‘(Hex) says that I ate at hisx place (*chez lui*).’

Textual examples of logophoric *á* overwhelmingly involve third person quoted speakers, like ‘he’ in (xx3a) and in the preceding examples. My informant rejected logophoric *á* in self-quotations, so in (xx3b) the object is marked 1Sg rather than logophoric even though coindexed with the quoted speaker. He did use logophoric *á* with a second-person quoted speaker, but only as object (xx3c‑d). He did not extend this use of *á* to possessors or to postpositional complements. Therefore ‘your father’ is nonlogophoric in (xx3d-f), and ‘with you’ is nonlogophoric in (xx3e). In other words, second person is intermediate between third and first persons in allowing logophoric forms.

(xx3) a. *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] [í wá→]*

[what? Purp] [1PlSbj QuotS]

*[á gì]* L*pùŋgò mà→ wà*

[Logo Acc] Lhit.Pfv Q Quot

‘Why did (hex) say that we hit himx?’

b. *[[ú wá→] mí púŋgó=bì] jìn-dì-ḿ*

[[2Sg QuotS] 1SgO hit=Past] say-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘I didn’t say that you-Sg hit me.’

c. *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] [[í wá→]*

[what? Purp] [[1Pl QuotS]

*[á gì] púŋgò] jìnù-ẁⁿ mà*

[Logo Acc] hit.Pfv] say.Pfv-2SgSbj Q

‘Why did you-Sg say that we hit you-Sg?’

d. *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] [[ú* L*bà] wà→]*

[what? Purp] [[2SgPoss Lfather] QuotS]

*[á gì] púŋgò] jìnù-ẁⁿ mà*

[Logo Acc] hit.Pfv] say.Pfv-2SgSbj Q

‘Why did you-Sg say that your father hit you?’

e. *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] [[ú* L*bà] wà→] óré:*

[what? Purp] [[2SgPoss Lfather] QuotS]

*[ú ní:] ɔ̀rì] jìnù-ẁⁿ mà*

[2Sg with] speak.Pfv] say.Pfv-2SgSbj Q

‘Why did you-Sg say that your father spoke with you?’

f. *[ìnjé dùgɔ̀] [[[ú* L*bà] gì]*

[what? Purp] [[[2SgPoss Lfather] Acc]

*púŋgò-m] jìnù-ẁⁿ mà*

hit.Pfv-LogoS] say.Pfv-2SgSbj Q

‘Why did you-Sg say that you hit your father?’

### Logophorics in stacked quotations

In (xx1) there is just one quotation, with Amadou as author. The verb in the quoted clause has the usual logophoric subject suffix *-m*. In (xx1b), Amadou is quoted as quoting a threat by Seydou against Amadou. The quoted material attributed to Amadou is indented, and that attributed to Seydou is doubly indented. The sense is ‘A said [S said [S will kill A]]’. The verb ‘kill’ is in logophoric-subject form by virtue of coindexation of the subject with ‘Seydou’, the closest quotative antecedent. But the object of ‘kill’ is also logophoric in form, as accusative *á gì*, by coindexation with the highest quotative antecedent (Amadou). My assistant did not allow the higher antecedent to bind the logophoric subject suffix in the presence of the lower antecedent. Therefore in (xx1c) the subject of ‘die’ is regular 3Sg, not logophoric. If the logophoric subject suffix is used, the subject of ‘die’ is understood to be the doctor (xx1d).

(xx1) a. *ámádù a→ [sé:dù gì] já-m̀-nù-ḿ*

Amadou Logo.QuotS [Seydou Acc] kill-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS

*jìnì-∅*

say.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Amadou said that he would kill Seydou.’

b. *ámádù*

Amadou

*[sé:dù wà→]*

[Seydou QuotS

*[[á gì] já-m̀-nù-ḿ]*

[[**Logo** Acc] kill-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS]

*jìn-∅]*

say.Pfv-3SgSbj]

*wà*

Quot

‘Amadoux said that Seydouy said that hey would kill himx.’

c. *ámádù*

Amadou

*[dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ́rɔ́ wá→]*

[doctor QuotS]

*tíbà-m-dɔ̀-∅*

die-Ipfv-Ipfv-**3SgSbj**

*jìn-∅]*

say.Pfv-3SgSbj]

*wà*

Quot

‘Amadoux said that the doctor said that hex would die.’

d. *ámádù*

Amadou

*[dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ́rɔ́ wá→]*

[doctor QuotS]

*tíbà-m-nù-ḿ*

die-Ipfv-Ipfv-**LogoS**

*jìn-∅]*

say.Pfv-3SgSbj]

*wà*

Quot

‘Amadou said that the doctory said that hey would die.’

### Same-subject relative clauses

When a nonsubject relative has the same third-person subject as the associated main clause, some Dogon languages require that the subject be marked by a 3Reflexive pronoun. This is not the case in TU, where the regular 3Sg or 3Pl subject pronoun is used in this case. An example is (xx1).

(xx1) *[pèddè* L *ńné ɛ̀bɛ̀* L *kárⁿà ǹ] yì-sɔ́-∅*

[sheepL 3SgSbj buyL Pfv.Ppl.AnSg Def] see-Pfv2-3SgSbj

‘Hex saw (or: found) the sheep-Sg that hex had bought.’

## Reciprocal

### Simple reciprocals (*tɛ̀mbɔ̀*)

Reciprocals require a referentially nonsingular subject that is raggedly coindexed with a direct object, a postpositional complement, or the possessor of a nonsubject NP within the same clause. The Reciprocal morpheme is *tɛ̀mbɔ̀*, probably derived from an original plural noun meaning ‘companions’ or the like (cf. Jamsay *tɔ᷈:-m*, Najamba *tòmbó*). *tɛ̀mbɔ̀* is preceded by a pronoun in (xx1a‑b). For third person, the pronoun takes the 3Reflexive form *á* (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *í tɛ̀mbɔ̀ púŋgó-tì-yⁿ*

1PlSbj each.other beat-Pfv1b-1PlSbj

‘We hit each other.’

b. *ùlé: [zèjì* L *gíní]*

children [fight(v) L after]

*[á tɛ̀mbɔ̀ púŋgó-tì-yà*

[3Refl each.other beat-Pfv1b-3PlSbj

‘The children squabbled and hit each other.’

c. *[dɔ́gɔ́-mbɔ̀: púlá-mbɔ̀:]*

[Dogon-AnPl.& Fulbe-AnPl.&]

*[á tɛ̀mbɔ̀ pá:má-ŋg-ɛ̀:]*

[3Refl each.other understand-Ipfv-3PlSbj]

‘Dogon and Fulbe do not understand each other (=do not get along).’

### ‘Together’ (*kàbù*)

As an alternative to a construction with the verb *mɔ̀:nd-í:* ‘assemble, get together’, one can express adverbial ‘together’ with an inalienably possessed form of *kàbù*, which has {L} tones.

(xx1) a. *[í kàbù] nú-mɔ́-ǹ*

[1PlPoss together] go.in-Hort-Pl.Addr

‘Let’s go in together!’

b. *[á kàbù] nú-yà-dà*

[3ReflP together] go.in-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘They went in together.’

*á kàbù* is used for human and animate third persons. For inanimates the form elicited was *yí-kà pú→*, containing *pú→* ‘all’. The 2Pl form is *bí kàbù* ‘you together’.

# Grammatical pragmatics

## Topic

### Topic (*kɔ̀nì*, *gày* ~ *gà* ~ *kày* ~ *kà*)

The particles *kɔ̀nì* and *gày* ~ *gà* ~ *kày* ~ *kà* are interchangeable as Topic morphemes. The topicalized constituent is preposed to the clause and may be set off prosodically. *kɔ̀nì* is said to be used by old persons, while younger speakers have switched to the regionally widespread *gày* and variants.

(xx1) a. *[mí kɔ̀nì] wá:-ŋù-m*

[1Sg Topic] come-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘As for me, I’m not coming.’

b. *[á gà] wá:-ŋù-m wà*

[Logo Topic] come-IpfvNeg-LogoS say

‘He/shex says/said: as for him/herx, he/shex would/will not come.’

Topic phrases are often set off prosodically and can be considered preclausal, like English *as for X*. However, a topic phrase can occasionally be case-marked as accusative, suggesting that it can function as a constituent within the clause.

(xx2) *[mí-gì kày] cì-kámá* L*ǹdà-l-∅*

[1Sg-Acc Top] thing-any Lgive-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘Me [topic] he didn’t give anything to.’

### ‘Now’ as topic (*ná:*)

Pre-sentential *ná: gày*, consisting of *ná:* ‘now’ and topic particle *gày*, is common in texts. It is something of a paragraph opener, though not as strictly reserved for narrative shifts as English unstressed clause-initial *now*. This topical ‘now’ is distinct from the ordinary temporal adverb *nân* ‘now’ (as in ‘we are going to eat now’), see §8.4.6.1.

### ‘Also’ and ‘even’ (*là*)

This particle occurs phrase-finally, after a NP or adverbial. It is not attested after a verb or other predicate, but it can be added to a cognate nominal or other paired nominal to express the intended sense. The basic function is unemphatic ‘also’ but it is also used emphatically in the sense ‘even’.

(xx1) a. *[ɛ́yⁿ là] ò-gú* L*ɲà-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

[tomorrow too] Prox-InanSg Leat-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘Tomorrow too I will eat this.’

b. *[mí* HL*ángè] bàmàkɔ́* L*ɔ̀-m̀-dɔ̀,*

[1SgPoss HLfriend] Bamako Lgo-Ipfv-3SgSbj

*[mí là]* L*ò-m-nù-ḿ*

[1Sg also] go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj

‘My friend is going to Bamako, and I’m going (there) too!’

c. *ńné-gì ndì-ẃ dè, [mí-gì là] ńdá*

3Sg-Acc give.Pfv-2SgSbj if, [1Sg-Acc also] give.Imprt

‘If you give (some) to him/her, give (some) to me too!’

## Preclausal discourse markers

### ‘Well, …‘ (*hàyà*)

Preclausally, *hàyà* ~ *hà:* is a hesitation expression similar to ‘well, …’ This is a regionally widespread form.

With H-tones, *háyá kòy* means ‘OK, all right’. It is used for example as a positive response to a request or imperative.

### Preverbal emphatic particle (*pɛ́y→* ‘not at all’)

The emphatic element *pɛ́y→* ‘(not) at all’ or ‘nothing at all’ occurs in various positions, ranging from clause-initial to pre-VP to preverbal. It can be thought of as a specialized expressive adverbial. It combines with a following negative clause.

(xx1) a. *ámádù pɛ́y→ mí-gì* L*ǹdà-l-∅*

Amadou at.all 1Sg-Acc Lgive-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘Amadou didn’t give me a damn thing.’

[also *ámádù mí-gì pɛ́y→* L*ǹdà-l-∅*, *pɛ́y→ ámádù mí-gì* L*ǹdà-l-∅*]

b. *yéŋgì pɛ́y→ zá* L*ɲà-lù-m*

yesterday at.all meal eat-PfvNeg-1SgSbj

‘Yesterday I didn’t eat a thing.’

[also *yéŋgì zá pɛ́y→* L*ɲà-lù-m*, *pɛ́y→ yéŋgì zá* L*ɲà-lù-m*]

c. pɛ́y→ bàrà-lí-∅

at.all help-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She didn’t help me at all.’

For nàndùr-gɔ́, which has partially overlapping functions, see §6.6.3.

### ‘But …‘ (*mɛ̀:*, *kà:*)

‘But’ is either *mɛ̀:* (< French mais) or the regionally widespread *kà:* . In both cases, the particle may be grouped prosodically either clause-initially or at the end of the preceding clause. The latter seems to be preferred when the entire sequence is uttered fluently.

(xx1) *wɔ̌:=bì-∅ mɛ̀:* / *kà:, zá ɲǎ-l-∅*

come=Past-3SgSbj **but** / **but**, meal eat.meal-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She came but did not eat.’

### ‘Lo, …‘ (*zákà*)

This particle is used in narrative to highlight a following clause denoting a surprising or climactic event. This too is a widespread regional form (pronounced *jákà* or *jágà* in some other languages).

## Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

### ‘Again’ (yâ:), ‘not again’

‘Again’, asserting the repetition of an event, can be expressed directly by the adverbial particle yâ:, most often combined with là ‘too’ (yâ: là).

‘VP again’ can be expressed with a same-subject anterior subordinated form (*gín* for past time frame, *nɛ́* for future) of the verb *píndé* ‘go/come back, return’.

(xx1) a. *[píndé gín] zèjí-yà-dà*

[go.back and.Past.SS] fight(v)-Pfv1a-3PlSbj

‘They fought again.’

b. *[pìndè nɛ́] [zèjé-l sèndèn]*

[go.back and.Nonpast] [fight(v)-Prohib Pl.Addr]

‘Don’t-2Pl fight again!’

## ‘Only’ particles

### ‘Only’ (*sày*, *tùrù*)

There are two ‘only’ particles, *sày* and *tùrù*. The former is a locally widespread form also found in Jamsay. *tùrù* is probably a variant of the numeral ‘1’ (*túrɛ̀:*, *túr-gɔ̀*), see §4.6.1.1. As generally in Dogon languages, ‘only’ particles are phrased with NPs (including pronouns and adverbs) rather than with predicates. The pragmatic effect of predicative ‘only’ is in most cases easily expressed by adding the ‘only’ particle to a cognate nominal or other conventional object noun, as in (xx1).

(xx1) *jìrè-níŋgé tùrù / sày nî:-m-dɔ̀*

sleep(n) only sleep(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘He just sleeps.’

Another way to express ‘only’ is with a negated main clause plus an ‘if it is not …’ clause specifying the exception.

(xx1) *[zìné=là:-∅ dè] bírá: bírá-ŋŋì-yⁿ*

[rainy.season=it.is.not-3SgSbj if] work(n) work-IpfvNeg-1PlSbj

‘We don’t work unless it’s the rainy season.’

(= ‘We only work in the rainy season.’)

## Phrase-final emphatics

These emphatic particles are arguably postclausal. In particular, when they are included in quoted clauses, quotative particle *wà* occurs after the verb (i.e. after the VP) while the particle follows; see (xx2) in §17.1.3.1.

### Clause-final *kòy* ‘sure’ (firm agreement or answer)

The regionally widespread clause-final particle *kòy* emphasizes the truth of the proposition, confirming what the interlocutor has said or answering a polar interrogative with an answer more or less expected by the interlocutor. English adverbial *sure* captures the pragmatic nuance.

(xx1) A: *[bí gènè] àrⁿá mìnɛ́=bì-∅*

[2Pl chez] rain(n) rain.fall=Past-3SgSbj

B: *é→, mìnɛ́=bì-∅ kòy*

yes, rain.fall=Past-3SgSbj **Emph**

A: ‘Did it rain over by you-Pl?’

B: ‘Yes, it sure did (rain)!’

### Clause-final *dè* (admonitive)

This clause-final emphatic is used in warnings (cf. English clause-final low-pitched *now*) and in statements that may surprise or contradict what the addressee says or is thought to believe.

(xx1) *[gùɲù-mbó ní:] hákílè kán dè*

[thief-AnPl with] attention do.Imprt Emph

‘Watch out-2Sg for thieves now!’

## Greetings

The noun ‘greeting, salutation’ is *pǒ*: . The transitive verb ‘greet (sb)’ is *pór*. The two occur in the collocation *pǒ: pór* ‘say/give a greeting’.

The basic time-of-day greetings are in (xx1). The ‘good morning’ and ‘good evening’ greetings contain an element *mòyⁿ* ~ *môyⁿ* that is not recorded elsewhere. ná: is presumably related to *ná* ‘spend the night (somewhere)’, and *dèrⁿɛ̀* is similarly related to *dèrⁿé* ‘spend the mid-day’. Both greetings are therefore retrospective, roughly ‘Did you pass the night well?’ and ‘Did you pass the mid-day well?’ In the middle of the day, a non-time-specific ‘hello!’ expression is used. The reply is in all cases *ô→*, often with considerable intonational prolongation.

(xx1) A: *ná: mòyⁿ* ‘good morning!’ (to one or more people)

B: *ô→* [reply]

A: *pǒ→ỳ* ‘hello!’ (e.g. during the day)

B: *ô→* [reply]

A: *dèrⁿè môyⁿ* ‘good evening!’

B: *ô→* [reply]

In complete greeting sequences some additional elements may occur. Those I have heard are borrowed from Jamsay.

Some location- (rather than time-) specific greetings are in (xx2). Those in (xx2a) have some variant of the term ‘greet’ or ‘greeting’ preceded by the noun denoting the location. ‘Field’ as a regular noun is wòl-gó, plural wòlé:, so in this case there is an unexplained change in its form in the greeting. The cases in (xx2b) are of the form ‘you and X’, where *∴* (dying-quail intonation) applies to both conjuncts.

(xx2) a. *ǒl pò:* ‘hello in the field!’

*ɛ́bɛ́ pǒ→ỳ* ‘hello in the market!’

*tìbà: pǒ:* ‘condolences!’ (“death greeting!”)

b. *ú∴ bírá∴* ‘hello at work!’

*ú∴ ày-nɛ́∴* ‘hello with fatigue!’

Some additional greetings are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *úló dènd-é:* ‘approach the house!’ (welcome to a visitor)

*ámbá ú zɛ́rɛ̀* ‘God brought you (back)!’ (to a returning traveler)

*zám dènd-é:* ‘arrive (there) in peace!’ (to a departing traveler)

b. *ámbá bá-gò-né gìré tá:rè*

God next.year eye show

‘May God show next year to (your) eyes!’ (said on major holidays)

Formal Arabic greetings connected with Islam are also in use.

# Texts

Texts 2012-01 to -06 are brief and were taken by dictation from a single speaker (Oumar Guindo) at an early stage in fieldwork. Texts 2015-01 to -06 are more substantial two-speaker texts from a recording session conducted on market day in nearby Mori in August 2015. Some of the 2015 texts are presented here, others await transcription. In the 2015 texts, A = Mamoudou Guindo, B = Oumar Guindo. The 2012 texts are organized into numbered segments as in the grammar. Each 2015 text is divided into segments labeled by the starting time (minutes and seconds) in the relevant recording.

## Text 2012-01 Cows

*nà:-mbɔ́ bè:ŋgó yày-s-ɛ̂:,*

cow-Pl pasture go-Pfv2-3PlSbj,

*dèndè-òdú [séŋgé nè] wá:-m̀-dɛ̀,*

dusk [pen Loc] come-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

*nà:-ùlé: kɔ́mbò-m-dɛ̀,*

cow-children tie-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

*[[nàrⁿá nì] zàŋgè nɛ́]*

[[mother Def] bring.to.mother and.Nonpast.SS]

*[kɔ̀mbù nɛ́] ɛ́mnɛ́ ɛ́mà-m-dɛ̀*

[tie and.Nonpast.SS] milk(n) milk(v)-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘The cows go to pasture. At dusk, they come (back) to the pen (made with thorn branches). They (=people) tie the calves. They bring (a calf) to the mother’s side, and tie (it), and they draw the milk.’

## Text 2012-02 Cotton

(xx1) *yà-pɛ̀:-mbɔ́ mɔ́:ndú-gɔ́ mɔ̀:ndì-y-à: dé,*

woman-old-AnPl meeting-InanSg assemble-MP-xxx if,

*cɛ̀mdɛ́ pɛ́dà-m-d-ɛ̀,*

cotton gin(v)-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

*cɛ̀mdɛ́ pɛ́dɛ́ d-à: dé,*

cotton gin(v) RecPrf-3PlSbj if,

*pàndé pándù-m-dɛ̀,*

thick.thread make.thick.thread-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘When the old women have gotten together together, they gin the cotton. When they have finished ginning the cotton, they make the thick thread (warp).’

(xx2) *pàndé pàndù d-à: dé,*

thick.thread make.thick.thread RecPrf-3PlSbj if,

*[bé: nè] tɔ́mbɔ̀-m-dɛ̀,*

[stick Loc] roll.up-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

*[bé: nè] tɔ́mbù d-à: dé,*

[stick Loc] roll.up RecPrf-3PlSbj if,

*[ɛ̀dɛ̀-té: gì] ńdà-m-dɛ̀,*

[cloth-weave.Agent Acc] give-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘When they have finished making the thick thread, they roll it up on a stick. When they have rolled it up on the stick, they give it to a weaver.’

(xx3) *ɛ̀dɛ́ tɛ́yà-m-dɔ̀,*

cloth weave-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

*ɛ̀dɛ́ tɛ́ dɛ̀-∅ dè,*

cloth weave RecPrf-3SgSbj if,

*ɛ̀dɛ́ dɔ́ná-ŋgô=:*

cloth sell-Nom=it.is

‘He will weave it. When he has finished weaving the cloth, the cloth is for sale.’

animals: zɔ̀mɔ́-mbɔ̀, ámbárá-mbɔ̀ tá:-mbɔ̀, céŋúmbó, óy-mbò, tólù-mbò, ɔ́mɔ́:mbɔ̀, cé:

## Text 2012-03 Hare and Hyena

*[this version incomplete]*

(xx1) *zɔ̀mɔ̂-: ta᷈:-:*

hare-& hyena-&

*[ándá dàndá ḿbú] wá,*

[field hunt go.QuotHort] Quot,

Hare and hyena. (Hare said) “let’s go hunting.”

(xx2) *dàndá yày-gín,*

hunt(n) go-and.DS,

*tǎ: [sàlgí ìbè-m] wà,*

hyena [ablution take-QuotHort] Quot,

*zɔ̀mɔ́ [á: sàlgí íbè-ŋù-m wà,*

hare [LogoSg ablution take-IpfvNeg-LogoS] Quot,

*tǎ: íbè-m-nù-m wà,*

hyena take-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS Quot,

‘They went hunting, then hyena said: “let’s do our ablutions (for prayer).” Hare said he would not do ablutions. Hyena said he would do (them).’

(xx3) *[ínjé nè] tómbó-gín nwì,*

[water Loc] jump-then go.in.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*gò-gín [dwǎ-l kàn-dí-∅ dé]*

go.out-then [arrive-PfvNeg do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if]

*[lábà-l kàn-dì-∅],*

[pass-PfvNeg do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],

*(Fulfulde: búrà:y ɲáŋkà:y wà)*

‘(Hyena) jumped into the water (of a pond). When he came out, if it wasn’t not enough, it wasn’t not too much.’

*[Hyena didn’t carefully perform ablutions on his hands, feet, and face as usual in Muslim prayer. Instead, he jumped in the water so his entire body was wet.]*

(xx4) *ná: kày,*

now Topic,

*[[cìndé: nè] óbí-y-gín] [bàrí bàrà-gín]*

[[shade Loc] sit-MP-then] [meeting hold.meeting-then]

*ɛ́yⁿ sɛ́gírá-m wà,*

tomorrow meet-Hort Quot,

‘Now they (animals) sat down in the shade and held a meeting.’

## Text 2012-04 My trip

*[[dámbá kɔ̌:] nè] gò-gín]*

[[village 1SgPoss] Loc] go.out-then]

*[[[dàmbà wàndá] òdùbà:] nè] óm-sɔ̀-m,*

[[[village other] road] Loc] go-Pfv2-1SgSbj,

*[dámbá nè] sɛ́:w dɔ̀-m,*

[village Loc] in.health arrive.Pfv-1SgSbj,

*nù-mbɔ́ sɛ́:w tɛ̀mbù-m,*

person-AnPl in.health find.Pfv-1SgSbj,

*[[ùlò-sùgó wɛ̌:] bàŋà] sɛ́:w tɛ̀mbù-m*

[[house-go.down 1SgPoss] owner] in.health find.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘I left my village and went on the road to another village. I arrived safely. I found the people there in good health. I found my host in good health.

## Text 2012-05 Wooden spoon

*[kìlá kù:wɛ̀:rù] lábá-sú-ŋgô=:*

[prosopis spoon] carve-Pfv2-Pass

[[*ɲɛ̀ [hákílé wɛ̌:] yì-sí-m-ɛ̀:]*

[[person [mind 1SgPoss.AnSg] see-Pfv2-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg]

*ńdà-m-nù-m] jìnì-gín] zɛ̀:-m*

give-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoS] say-then] bring.Pfv-1SgSbj

‘A spoon of prosopis (wood) was carved. I brought it, saying (=intending) to give it to someone whom my mind sees (=whom I like).’

## Text 2012-06 Snakebit

*dɛ̀ndɛ́ dámbá mí ó-m̀,*

night village 1SgSbj go-Ipfv,

*nòndó mí-gì kúgó ńné kán kàrⁿà,*

snake 1Sg-Acc hiss 3SgSbj do do,

*[bé: ɲà:-m-nù-ḿ] mí jìn kárⁿà,*

[stick pick.up-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj] 1SgSbj say do,

*mí cɛ́rɛ́-tì-∅,*

1SgO bite-Pfv1b-3SgSbj

*[úló yày-gín] óé gàrⁿù-m,*

[house go-then] medication put.Pfv-1SgSbj,

*wàndá cì-kámá mí kàn-dí-∅,*

other thing-any 1SgO do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,

*ŋ́gò bàdɛ̀-∅*

right.there heal.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘As I was going along in the village, a snake hissed at me. I intended to pick up a stick, (but) it bit me. I went home and applied a remedy (powder). Nothing else happened to me, it healed right there.’

*[1Pl equivalent: [bé: ɲà:-m-nɛ̀-ýⁿ] í jìn kárⁿà]*

## Text 2015-01 Tales (duration 06:54)

(Only the initial greeting sequence has been transcribed to date)

(00:05) B: *mà:mùdí bí séó bì-yⁿ*

M 2Pl wellbeing be-2PlSbj

A: *séó bì-yⁿ*

wellbeing be-1PlSbj

B: *ì-gɛ̀-mbɔ̀ séó b-ɛ̀:*

1Pl-Poss-AnPl wellbeing be-3PlSbj

A: *bá:sù ŋ̀gó-∅*

trouble not.be-3SgSbj

B: *tà:ré*

okay

A: *séó bì-yⁿ*

wellbeing be-1PlSbj

B: *séó bì-yⁿ*

wellbeing be-1PlSbj

(00:10) A: *[dámbá í-gɛ̀] séó bù-∅*

[village 1Pl-Poss.InanSg] wellbeing be-3SgSbj

B: *tà:ré*

okay

A: *bá:sù ŋ̀gó-∅*

trouble not.be-3SgSbj

(00:12) B: *kórójù séó bù-∅*

family wellbeing be-3SgSbj

A: *bá:sù ŋ̀gó-∅*

trouble not.be-3SgSbj

B: *yà:wúr*

greeting

## Text 2015-02 Tales (duration 08:25)

(00:06) A: *yɔ̌: là, nân gày, tǎ:∴ zòmɔ́∴,*

today too, now Topic, hyena.& hare.&,

*[yɔ̌: là] kú zɛ́á-m̀-nù-m,*

[today too] DiscDef bring-Ipfv-Ipfv-1SgSbj,

A: ‘Today, now, hyena and hare, I will bring (the tale of) that today.

[NP conjunction, §7.1.1]

(00:17) A: *tǎ:∴ zòmɔ́∴, [á lèy] yày gín,*

hyena.& hare.&, [3Refl two] go Ant.Past.SS,

*á yày kárⁿà,*

3Refl go do,

*[gòné á gá] bà: gín,*

[gear 3Refl Poss] gather Ant.Past.SS,

*ándà bú yày kárⁿà,*

field 3PlSbj go do,

A: ‘Hyena and hare. The two of them went. They went. They gathered up their gear and went to the field.’

[

(00:28) A: *ándà bú bù-m=b-à:,*

field 3PlSbj be-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*[yàrà-ùlé:, bú bú-m̀] tɛ́mb-à: wà,*

[lion-children, 3PlSbj be-Ipfv] encounter.Pfv-3PlSbj Quot,

B: *yàrà-ùlé:*

lion-children

A: *ê:*

yes

A: ‘They were in the field(s). They found that some lion cubs were there.’

B: ‘Lion cubs.’

A: ‘Yes.’

[

(00:32) A: *[yàrà-wùlé: bú bú-m̀] yày tɛ́mbí gín,*

[lion-children 3PlSbj be-Ipfv] go encounter Ant.Past.SS,

*yàrà-wùlé: ɲà: gín,*

lion-children take Ant.Past.SS,

*[á lèy] [bɛ̀ndɛ́ nɛ̀] tún gín,*

[3Refl two] [shoulderbag Loc] put.in Ant.Past.SS,

*[cèndè nɛ́] jɛ̀l-iyà-ḿ wà,*

[hide.away Ant.Fut.SS] hold-MP-Hort Quot,

A: ‘When they had gone and found that the lion cubs were there, they took the lion cubs. The two of them put (the cubs) in their shoulderbags. (They said:) “let’s keep them hidden away.” ’

[*jɛ̀l-iyà-ḿ wà*, quoted form of hortative *jɛ̀l-iyà-mɔ́*]

(00:39) A: *céndé gín, bú sɔ́-m̀=b-à:,*

hide.away Ant.Past.SS, 3PlSbj have-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*[dàgǎ-l nné bú-m̀] zòmɔ́,*

[become.good-PfvNeg 3SgSbj be-Ipfv] hare,

*[á-gá ǹ] bàŋgì-rǎ-l kán gín] nné sɔ́-m̀,*

[3Refl-Poss Def] hide-PfvNeg do Ant.Past.SS 3SgSbj have-Ipfv,

*tǎ:, [á-gá bàŋgì-rì gín] nné sɔ́-m̀,*

hyena, [3Refl-Poss hide-Tr Ant.Past.SS] 3SgSbj have-Ipfv,

*[tǎ: wɛ́] tíb-à:-y,*

[hyena Poss.AnSg] die-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: ‘They had them, having hidden them away. Things were not going well. Hare had his (lion cub) unconcealed. As for hyena, he had his (cub) hidden away. Hyena’s (cub) died.’

[*dàgǎ-l-∅ nné bú-m̀* (unclear on tape due to noise)

(00:47) A: *nné tíb-à:-y kárⁿà,*

3Sg die-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Pfv.Ppl,,

*yàrá [kú ní:] wɛ̀:-∅,*

lion [DiscDef Inst] come.Pfv-3SbSbj,

*[yàrà-ùlé: á-gá-mbɔ̀] ɔ̀-bɔ́*

[lion-children Logo-Poss-AnPl] Prox-AnPl

*bú tàbà-sɔ̀: ná:*

3PlSbj touch-Pfv2.Defoc now

*[ɲì*L *wàndá] tàbà-lí-∅ wà*

[personL other] touch-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

*[wùlé: á-gá-mbɔ̀] ɔ̀-bɔ́*

[children Logo-Poss-AnPl] Prox-AnPl

A: ‘After it (=cub) died, at that point the lion came. It said “it was you (two) [focus] who touched my lion cubs; nobody else touched them; you (two) (touched) my cubs.” ’

[

(00:53) A: *á:, [wùlé: wɛ̀-ń-bɔ̀] tàbà-lú-m wà*

ah, [children Poss.An-3SgPoss-AnPl] touch-PfvNeg-LogoSbj Quot,

*[[kú ní:] jìn gín]*

[[DiscDef Inst] say Ant.Past.SS]

*[tǎ: wɛ́] tíb-à:-y wà,*

[hyena Poss.AnSg] die-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot,

*zòmɔ́ móndú-gó [kú ní:] mándì-∅ quoi,*

hare laughter [DiscDef Inst] laugh(v).Pfv-3SgSbj Emph,

A: ‘(They) said: “ah, we didn’t touch your children!” Then, having said (that), (hare) said: “hyena’s (cub) has died.” At that point hare laughed.’

[French clause-final *quoi*]

(00:58) A: *zòmɔ́, ńné màndì kárⁿà, …*

hare, 3SgSbj laugh(v).Pfv Pfv.Ppl, *…*

B: *zòmɔ́ màndì kárⁿà*

hare laugh(v).Pfv Pfv.Ppl

A *ê:, zòmɔ́ ńné màndì kárⁿà,*

yes, hare 3SgSbj laugh(v).Pfv Pfv.Ppl,

A: ‘Hare, when he laughed, …

B: ‘Hare laughed?’

A: ‘Yes. When hare laughed, …’

[

(01:02) A: *á-gì mándì-m-d-ɛ̀*

Logo-Acc laugh(v)-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

*[wùlé: á-gá-mbɔ̀] jɛ̀ tí gín,*

[children Logo-Poss-AnPl] kill Pfv1b Ant.Past.SS,

*á-gì lɔ́g-à:-y jìn gín*

Logo-Acc be.excessive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj say Ant.Past.SS,

*[[mòndù-màndé ǹ] à-ḿ mà→] nné*

[[laughter-laugh.Agent Def] who? Q] 3Sg

A: ‘lion said: “they are laughing at me. They killed my cubs, it’s too much for me. Who is the one laughing?”’

[

(01:06)A: *zòmɔ́, wî:, dúgúrú nné-gì jɛ̌-tì-∅ wà,*

hare, oh!, grief 3Sg-Acc kill-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot,

*[ɲè*L *mòndù-màndé] ɔ́dírá-ŋgó*

[personL laughter-laugh.Agent] inquire-Nom

*bà:-sɔ́-∅ mà→ wà,*

be.worth-Pfv2-3SgSbj Q Quot,

A: ‘Hare said: “Oh, grief is killing you (=lion). Would it be worth asking (who is) the one laughing?” ’

[

(01:12) A: *ìní jɛ̀rú jìn-∅,*

tooth look.at.Imprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*[[tǎ: wɛ̀] jɛ̀rí] jìn-∅,*

[[hyena Poss.InanPl] look.at.Imprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj

*nné-gì tǎ: dìmbà-∅ gìn,*

3Sg-Acc hyena follow.Stat-3SgSbj say

A: ‘(Hare) said, “look at (our) teeth! Look at hyena’s (teeth)! Hyena is following you!’

[i.e. hare suggests that he cannot laugh because of his large front teeth, while hyena can, so hyena has been laughing at lion]

(01: 16) A: *[tǎ: dàyⁿ*L *ńné bú-ŋgò]*

[hyena mannerL 3SgSbj be-Ppl]

*yá-ŋgò: mà→ wà,*

see-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Q Quot,

*àmâ:n dàyⁿ*L *ńné bú-ŋgò,*

so-and-so mannerL 3SgSbj be-Ppl

A: ‘(Hare to lion:) “Don’t you-Sg see how hyena is? How so-and-so is?” ’

[i.e., hare points out that hyena’s mouth is capable of laughter]

(01:17) A: *[tǎ: mà→] [ńné:=∅ ɲà] [á=lá wà dè],*

[hyena Q] [3Sg=it.is say] [Logo=it.is.not Quot Emph],

*dàgà-sɔ́-∅ wà,*

become.good-Pfv2-3SgSbj Quot,

A: ‘(Hare to lion:) “(Is it) hyena?” he said. “It isn’t me, mind you! It’s fine.’

[*ta᷈:=∅* ‘it’s hyena’, tone simplified from <LHL> to <LH> before *mà→* ; quotative *wà* inserted between predicate and following emphatic particle, §17.1.3.2]

(01:21) A: *tǎ: ŋ́gɔ̀ ìbè gín,*

hyena over.there catch Ant.Past.SS,

*[ày-mì gín] ńné kán kárⁿà,*

[be.tired-Caus Ant.Past.SS] 3SgSbj do Pfv.Ppl,

*[gòné bà: gín] ó-ḿ bú sɔ́-m̀=b-à:,*

[gear gather Ant.Past.SS] go-Ipfv 3PlSbj have-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj

A: ‘Hyena (went and) caught him (=hare) over there, and shook him up. They picked up (their) gear and were going.’

[

(01:26) A: *bú-gì ńné bòn kárⁿà, wó→ wà,*

3Pl-Acc 3SgSbj call(v) Pfv.Ppl, yes? Quot,

*[zòmɔ́ wá→] bà:,*

[hare QuotS] precisely,

*nân dàyⁿ*L *ńné bú-ŋgò ɔ̂yⁿ,*

now mannerL 3SgSbj be-Ppl.Inan like.that,

*[cɛ̀* L *ɔ̀-ḿ] dàyⁿ*L *ńné bù-ŋgò*L *ò-gú,*

[thingL Prox-AnSg] mannerL 3SgSbj be-Ppl.InanL Prox-Inan,

*[ńné dùgɔ̀] ègá,*

[3Sg Purp] bigger.

A: ‘He (=lion) called them. (They) said, “Yes?” Now the manner (=fact) of his (=hyena’s) being present like that, this way that this critter (=hyena) waspresent (there), it was bigger than him (=hare).’

[post-participial demonstrative *ò-gú* modified the head ‘manner’]

(01:35) A: *[á lèy] dímbú-gó ná: áyⁿ-àyⁿ bà*

[Logo two] follow-Nom now how?-how? ??

*[á lèy] dímb-ìyà-m̀-d-ɛ̀ mà→ wà,*

[Logo two] follow-MP-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj Q Quot,

*[hákílé á-gá] kú kárⁿì-m s-ɔ̀: wà,*

[intelligence Logo-Poss] DiscDef do-Ipfv have-SFoc Quot,

A: ‘(Hare was thinking:) “How do the two of us hang out (as friends) together? My cleverness, that [focus] is what is making (=causing) it.” ’

[

(01:38) A: *[[cì* L *wàndá]=là:] jìn-∅,*

[[thingL other]=it.is.not] say.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*hákílé kú kán-m-ɛ̀: là: dè,*

intelligence DisDef do-Ipfv-SFoc have-SFoc Quot,

*ɔ̀-ḿ [á dùgɔ̀] ègá wà dè,*

Prox-AnSg [Logo than] bigger Quot Emph,

*[hákílé á-gá] ègá wà dè,*

[intelligence Logo-Poss] bigger Quot Emph,

*[kɔ̀-ń dùgɔ̀],*

[InanSg-3SgPoss than]

A: ‘(Hare thinking:) “It’s nothing other than (the fact that) (my) cleverness [focus] is causing it. This one (=hyena) is bigger than me, (but) my cleverness is greater, than his (is)” ’

[

(01:45) A: *nárⁿá ɔ́rá-m j-ɛ̂: dè,*

truth speak-Ipfv keep-3PlSbj if,

*[gàndà kú ǹ] dùgɔ̀,*

[place DiscDef Def] than,

*[á lèy] yá:-ŋgò,*

[3Refl two] stroll-Ppl,

A: ‘If they were speaking the truth, he (=hare) was the most clever. They were taking a walk.’

*[-j-ɛ̂:, 3Pl form of -jâ:- auxiliary in one of the progressive constructions, §10.2.2.3]*

(01:49) A: *a→ ńné-gì, órú-gó nè, tûn bèà-m-nù-m,*

Logo.QuotS 3Sg-Acc, talk(n) Loc, put.in get-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj,

*góndè bèà-m-nù-m,*

take.out get-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj,

*[kú dùgɔ̀] [á lèy] yá:-m̀ wà,*

[DiscDef Purp] [Logo two] take.walk-Hort say,

A: ‘(Hare thought:) I can put (hyena) in a predicament, and I can extricate (him). He said (to hyena), “Let’s go for a walk!” ’

*[órú-gó ‘talk(n)’, hence ‘problem, matter (to discuss), issue (to resolve)’]*

(01:55) A: *[á lèy pú→] há:jú dágá-ḿ s-ɔ̀: wà,*

[Logo two all] need(n) become.good-Ipfv have-SFoc Quot,

*[kú gɔ̀ kày] súg-à:-y,*

[DiscDef Poss.InanSg Topic] descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: ‘(Hare to hyena:) “(for) both of us, (our) needs [focus] will be served well.” That (matter) has gone down (=is finished).’

[

(01:58) A: *[kú kúndùgò] nè, [nân kà] yày gín,*

[DiscDef behind] Loc, [now Topic] go Ant.Past.SS,

*mìdùgó, [ɔ̀gɔ́* L*mìdùgò] déŋgé-m sɔ̯-ɛ̀:,*

karité.tree, [Hogon Lkarité.tree] chop-Ipfv have-3PlSbj,

*[ɔ̀gɔ́* L*mìdùgò] [bú déŋgè-m] [bú déŋgè-m] [bú déŋgè-m],*

[Hogon Lkarité.tree] [3PlSbj cut-Ipfv] (iterations),

*[nân gà] [yày gín] [dèŋgè gín] pɔ́s→,*

[now Topic] [go Ant.Past.SS] [chop Ant.Past.SS completely,

A: ‘After that (story), now they (hare and hyena) went along. A karité tree. They were chopping (down) the Hogon’s karité tree. They were chopping and chopping and chopping the Hogon’s karité tree. Now they went and chopped it all the way (down).’

[tree is *Vitellaria paradoxa*; the oil from its fruit pits is the source of shea-butter]

(02:11) A: *[zòmɔ́ ńné déŋgè-m bà]*

[hare 3SgSbj chop-Ipfv xxx]

*mìdùgó ŋ̀gá súg-à:-y, ɛ̌l go̯-à:-y,*

karité.tree ??? descend-Pfv2-3SgSbj, secrecy exit-Ppf1a-3SgSbj,

*ná: gày, ɔ̀gɔ́ yày gín,*

now Topic, Hogon go Ant.Past.SS,

*sǒ: bèɛ́ dɛ̀-∅ dè,*

awareness get RecPrf-3SgSbj if,

*[zòmɔ́ gì] tágìrɛ̀ áy-mɔ̀-m-dɔ̀,*

[hare Acc] certainly be.tired-Caus-Ipfv-3SgSbj

A: ‘Hare was chopping, then the karité tree came down. The secret was discovered. Now, the Hogon went. If he were to have become aware of it, he would certainly give hare a hard time.’

[

(02:21) A: *[ná: gà] dàyⁿ kán-gò,*

[now Topic] manner do.Ipfv-Ppl.InanSg,

*[kú* L*dàlìrì] [òdùbà:-[ó-ŋgó] kà]*

[DiscDef Lsolution] [road-[go-Nom] Topic]

*zɔ̯á:-m sɔ̀-∅,*

look.for-Ipfv-3SgSbj have-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Now, he (=Hogon) was looking for a manner of action, a clever ruse for that (problem), a course to follow (to catch hare).’

[

(02:25) A: *[kú ní:] bě-yyà-y dè,*

[DiscDef Inst] stay-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*[zòmɔ́ ńné-gì á bǒn nè*

[hare 3Sg-Acc 3Refl call xxx]

*wó ńné ɲà,*

yes? 3Sg say,

A: ‘Having stayed like that (=in that situation), hare called out to him (=Hogon). “Yes?,” he said.” ’

(02:29) A: *ńné∴ á∴, nùŋǎ: cɛ̀gìlí-m dè,*

3Sg.& Logo.&, song carve.out-LogoSbj if,

*[[ɔ̀gɔ́ kɔ̀] nè] yɔ̌: pǒ: ḿbú wà,*

[[Hogon Poss.Inan] Loc] today greeting go.QuotHort Quot

A: ‘(Hare:) “you and me, let’s compose a song and go give greetings at the Hogon’s place today!”

[the hortative in ‘let’s go!’ has scope over the subordinated clause with ‘carve out (wood)’ = ‘compose (song)’; irregular quoted hortative *ḿbú wà*, §10.6.4]

(02:33) A: *zòmɔ́ ɔ́gù-ɔ́gù pú→,*

hare fast-fast all,

[song] *bɛ́ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-bɛ̀ŋú yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

cut.around ∅ 1Sg cut.around,

[*ɔ̀gɔ́* L*mìndùgò] mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

[Hogon Lkarite.tree] 1Sg cut.around 1Sg cut.around,

*[ɔ̀gɔ́* L*bɔ̀rɔ̀kà], pó→ wè→ wà*

[Hogon Lrear.end] wide.open ∅ Quot

A: ‘Hare ran fast (singing:)

[song] *It was I who chopped around (the trunk).*

*I chopped around the Hogon’s karité tree.*

*The Hogon’s rear end is wide open.*

[*ɔ́gù-ɔ́gù*, iteration converts adjective to adverb]

(02:41) A: *hà: núndi-∅*

∅ listen.Pfv-3SgSbj

[song] *bɛ́ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-bɛ̀ŋú yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

cut.around ∅ 1Sg cut.around,

[*ɔ̀gɔ́* L*mìndùgò] mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

[Hogon Lkarite.tree] 1Sg cut.around 1Sg cut.around,

*[ɔ̀gɔ́ bɔ̀rɔ̀kà], pó→ wè→ wà*

[Hogon rear.end] wide.open ∅ Quot

A: ‘He (=hyena) listened.’

[song] *It was I who chopped around (the trunk).*

*I chopped around the Hogon’s karité tree.*

*The Hogon’s rear end is wide open.*

(02:49) A: *[kú ní:] ńné ɲà,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3Sg say,

*tǎ: kú á nùndì kárⁿà,*

hyena DiscDef 3ReflSbj listen Pfv.Ppl,

*[zòmɔ́ wá→] [nùŋà:* L *ò-gú],*

[hare QuotS] [songL Prox-InanSg],

*[tǎ: wá→] á nùŋ jɛ̌l nɛ̀ wà*

[hyena QuotS] LogoSbj sing try Ant.Fut.DS Quot

*[ńnɛ́ wà→] wàndá cɛ́gìl wà dè*

[3Sg QuotS] other carve.out.QuotImprt Quot Emph,

A: ‘At that point, hyena listened to that. (Hyena) said: “Hare, that song, hyena (=I) have learned to sing (=memorized), (now) you compose another (song).’

[

(02:54) A: *zòmɔ́ [kú wà→] dàgà-sɔ́-∅ wà,*

hare [DiscDef QuotS] become.good-Pfv2-3SgSbj Quot,

*[ńné wà→] kú dìmb-í wà,*

[3Sg QuotS] DiscDef follow-MP.QuotImprt Quot,

*á→ wàndá béà-m-nù-m wà,*

Logo.QuotS other get-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj Quot,

A: ‘Hare said: “That’s okay. You follow (=keep singing) it. I will get another (song).’

[

(02:57) A: *yé→ [[úlò nè] yày tágá gín]*

∅ [[house Loc] go say Ant.Past.SS

[song] *bɛ́ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-bɛ̀ŋú yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

cut.around ∅ 1Sg cut.around,

[*ɔ̀gɔ́* L*mìndùgò] mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ yé→ mí bɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ̀,*

[Hogon Lkarite.tree] 1Sg cut.around 1Sg cut.around,

*[ɔ̀gɔ́ bɔ̀rɔ̀kà], pó→ wè→ wà*

[Hogon rear.end] wide.open ∅ Quot

A: ‘He (=hyena) went to the (Hogon’s) house and said (=sang):

[song] *It was I who chopped around (the trunk).*

*I chopped around the Hogon’s karité tree.*

*The Hogon’s rear end is wide open.*

[

(03:05) A: *[kú ní:] ńné ɲà,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3SgSbj say,

*ɔ̀gɔ́ [[gùndɔ̀-mbɔ́ á-gá-mbɔ̀] wà→]*

Hogon [[slave-AnPl 3Refl-Poss-AnPl] QuotS]

*ìbí jìn-∅,*

catch.QuotImprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj

*[mìdùgó á-gá] ńné dèŋg-ɛ̀: gà,*

[karité.tree Logo-Poss] 3SgSbj chop.down.Pfv-SFoc Emph,

*xxx,*

(unintelligible, 2 syllables),

A: ‘He (=hare) said that. The Hogon told his slaves: “Catch him! It was he [focus] who chopped down my karité tree.” ’

[

(03:10) A: *[tǎ: gì] ìbì gín,*

[hyena Acc] catch Ant.Past.SS,

*[ŋ́gɔ̀ lígɛ́ sú:-ndú gín] [kɔ́mbú gín],*

[over.there wrestle descend-Caus Ant.Past.SS] [tie Ant.Past.SS],

*[ná: gà] sɛ́mà-ŋgò wà,*

[now Topic] slaughter-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Quot,

A: ‘They caught him, wrestled him down there, and tied him up. (Hogon) said, “Now (it’s time) to slaughter (=cut his throat).’

[*sɛ́mà-ŋgò* here is apparently an inanimate singular imperfective positive participle, as in ‘(the time) when (sb) will slaughter (sb/sth)’, but cf. *sɛ́mà-ŋgò:‑∅* ‘he won’t slaughter’ at 03:21 below]

(03:14) A: *zòmɔ́ [ɔ́gù-ɔ́gù zɔ̀gɔ̀ gín] [ándá á yày kárⁿà],*

hare [fast-fast run Ant.Past.SS] [field 3ReflSbj go Pfv.Ppl],

*[mì:l-ì: gín] [á wɔ̀: kárⁿà],*

[go.back-MP Ant.Past.SS] [3ReflSbj come Pfv.Ppl],

*nárⁿá jìn-∅ dè,*

truth say.Pfv-3SgSbj Emph,

*[ɔ̀gɔ́ gì] á bòn kárⁿà,*

[Hogon Acc] 3ReflSbj call Pfv.Ppl,

A: ‘Hare went, running hard, and came back to the field. “It’s true,” he said. He called out to the Hogon.’

[

(03:18) A: *[tǎ: gì] , [á lèy] yá:-ḿ bù-m,*

[hyena Acc] , [Logo two] take.walk-Ipfv be-LogoSbj,

*[tǎ: gì] zúgà-m-nù-m wà,*

[hyena Acc] know-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj Quot,

A: ‘(Hare, to Hogon:) “hyena, the two of us (=he and I) go around together, I know hyena.”

[accusative *tǎ: gì*, here and in the following segment, appears to be a preclausal topic]

(03:21) A: *[tǎ: gì], [ńné wà→], yòndó∴,*

[hyena Acc], [3Sg QuotS], blind.&,

*dùmbé:=là: dè kú,*

fingerless(.&)=it.is.not if DiscDef,

*[ɲì*L *ndɛ́] tǎ: sɛ́mà-ŋgò:‑∅ wà,*

[personL sound] hyena slaughter-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot,

A: “Hyena, a sound (=normal) man shouldn’t cut his throat, only a blind man and a fingerless man (should cut his throat).’

[‘fingerless’, in the past chiefly due to leprosy]

(03:28) B: *yòndó∴ dùmbé:∴*

blind.& fingerless.&

A: *yòndó∴ dùmbé:∴*

blind.& fingerless.&

B: *là: dè*

it.is.not if

A: *ê→*

yes

B: *[ɲì*L *ndɛ́] sɛ́mà-ŋgò:‑∅*

[personL sound] slaughter-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

A: *[ɲì*L *ndɛ́] sɛ́mà-ŋgò:‑∅,*

[personL sound] slaughter-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

B: ‘A blind man and a fingerless man?’

A: ‘(Yes,) a blind man and a fingerless man.’

B: ‘Otherwise (not).’

A: ‘Yes.’

B: ‘A sound man won’t cut his throat.’

A: ‘A sound man won’t cut his throat.’

[B makes sure he understands the situation]

(03:32) A: *dùmbé: [lɛ̀dì nɛ́] ńné já:-m̀ dè,*

fingerless [wrestle Ant.Fut.DS] 3SgSbj hold-Ipfv if,

*[nân gà] yòndó ńné sɛ́mà-m-ɛ̀:*

[now Topic] blind 3SgSbj slaughter-Ipfv-SFoc

A: ‘When the fingerless man wrestles him and holds him down, then it’s the blind man [focus] who will cut his throat.’

[

(03:35) B: *dùmbé: [lɛ̀dì nɛ́] ńné já:-m̀ dè,*

fingerless [wrestle Ant.Fut.DS] 3SgSbj hold-Ipfv if,

*yòndó ńné sɛ́mà-m-ɛ̀:*

blind 3SgSbj slaughter-Ipfv-SFoc

A: *é→, [yòndó ǹ] sɛ́mà-m-ɛ̀:, pá:m-sɔ̀-wⁿ wà*

yes, [blind Def] slaughter-Ipfv-SFoc, understand-Pfv2-2SgSbj Q

B: ‘When the fingerless man wrestles him and holds him down, then it’s the blind man [focus] who will cut his throat.’

A: ‘Yes, it’s the blind man [focus] who will cut his throat. Have you understood?’

[

(03:38) A: *é→, [kú kà] dàgà-sɔ́-∅ wà,*

yes, [DiscDef Topic] become.good-Pfv2-3SgSbj Quot,

*dàgà-sɔ́-∅ jìnì gín,*

become.good-Pfv2-3SgSbj say Ant.Past.SS,

*kú ŋgílí gín,*

DiscDef get.up Ant.Past.SS

*dùmbé: xxx,*

fingerless (unintelligible, a few words),

*yòndó pòlgó zɔ̯á:-m ńné sɔ́-m̀ bà*

blind knife look.for-Ipfv 3SgSbj have-Ipfv xxx,

*tǎ: [púrkútú jìn gín] ɛ́ll-í:-yà-y,*

hyena [suddenly say Ant.Past.SS] escape-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

B: *ɔ́p!*

A: ‘(Hogon) said: “Yes, all right.” After he said “all right,” at that point he got up. The fingerless man … (unintelligible); the blind man was looking (=fumbling around for) a knife, and hyena broke away and escaped.’

B: ‘Wow!’

[clause beginning *dùmbé:* is unclear on tape]

(03:46) A: *wàndá, tǎ: bèɛ́ sɛ̀mà-ndá,*

other, hyena get slaughter-Pfv.3PlSbj,

*tǎ: [kúgɔ́ kɔ̀-ń] go̯-â:-y,*

hyena [head InanSg-3SgPoss] exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: ‘In any event, they didn’t have a chance to cut hyena’s throat. Hyena escaped with his head.’

[*bèɛ́* variant of *bɛ̌:* ‘get’ in the ‘have a chance to VP’ construction, here preceding the other chained verb, §15.1.4.2]

(03:48) A: *kú á yày kárⁿà,*

DiscDef 3ReflSbj go Pfv.Ppl,

*tǎ:, [zòmɔ́ wà→] té→ dè,*

hyena, [hare QuotS] clever Emph,

*[ɲé gì] [órú-gó nè],*

[person Acc] [talk(n) Loc]

*túnù-m-dɔ̀-∅ gó-ndò-m-dɔ̀-∅ wà,*

put.in-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj exit-Caus-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot,

A: ‘Then, when he (=hyena) had gone, hyena (said:). “Hare is clever. He puts someone in a predicament and gets him/her out.” ’

[*órú-gó* ‘talk(n)’, hence ‘issue’, ‘problem’, etc.]

(03:54) A: *[ńné wà→] kú [bírá: kɔ̀-ń] wà,*

[3Sg QuotS] DiscDef [work(n) Inan-3SgPoss] Quot,

*pá:m-sɔ̀-wⁿ dè,*

understand-Pfv2-2SgSbj Emph,

*[kú là] [kú ní:] kán-i:-∅ wà*

[DiscDef too] [DiscDef Inst] do-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘(Hyena:) “(As for) him (=hare), that is his work (=what he does).” Did you undersand? (Hyena:) “That too (=hare’s work), it was done like that.”

[

(04:01) A: *[ná: kày], [kú ní:] bé-à:-y dè]*

[now Topic], [DiscDef Inst] stay-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]

*ŋ́gɔ̀ gǒ-yà-yⁿ dè,*

over.there exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*[sěyⁿ gà] bé-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ wà,*

[lore Topic] remain-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot,

*[sěyⁿ gà] [dùmɔ̀* L *béà-ŋgò:=là: dè],*

[lore Topic] [end(n)L stay-IpfvNeg=it.is.not if],

A: ‘Now, if (that story) stays like that, if we move on (to another story), as for lore, there’s some left (to tell). As for lore, it doesn’t end.’

[lit. “if it is not [the end doesn’t stay(=exist)]”]

(04:08) A: *ê:, [sěyⁿ dàyⁿ ńné dùmɔ̀ béá-ŋgó] ŋ̀gó*

yes, [lore mannerL 3SgSbj end(n)L remain-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan] is.not

*sěyⁿ zúgà-m-nù-wⁿ dè,*

lore know-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj if,

*kú ŋ́gɔ̀ go̯-â:-y dè,*

DiscDef over.there exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*wàndá yé bù-∅ kòy,*

other Exist be-3SgSbj Emph,

*wàndá bé-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ já:tì,*

other remain-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj Emph,

A: ‘Yes. In no way does lore have an end, if you know lore. If that (lore) moves on from there (=what I have already narrated), there sure is another (story), there is definitely another.’

[lit. “[a way that lore is an end that exists] does not exist”]

(04:16) A: *éwà, [[àndà-[nàmá-mbɔ̀] pú→] mɔ̀:nd-ì: gín]*

well, [[the.bush-[meat-AnPl] all] assemble-MP Ant.Past.SS]

*[súrⁿó cɛ̀gìlà: dè],*

[ear cut.off if],

*[nân gà] [bǒn-gò kó-ḿ] wà,*

[now Topic] [tomtom cover.with.hide-QuotHort] Quot,

A: ‘Well, all the wild animals gathered together. They said, “let’s cut off an ear and put a hide skin on a tomtom.” ’

[

(04:21) B: *súrⁿó cɛ̀gìl nɛ́, …*

ear cut.off Ant.Fut.DS, …

A: *ê→*

yes

B: *… bǒn-gò kó-ḿ] wà,*

… tomtom cover.with.hide-QuotHort] Quot

A: *ɔ̀ⁿhɔ̂:ⁿ, [[súrⁿó sày] cɛ́gíl gò-n nɛ́],*

uh-huh, [[ear only] cut.off exit-Caus Ant.Fut.DS],

*[bǒn-gò kó-ḿ] wà,*

[tomtom cover.with.hide-QuotHort] Quot

B: ‘They said “let’s cut off an ear …

A: ‘Yes.’

B: ‘… and put a hide skin on a tomtom.’

A: ‘Uh-huh. They said: “Let’s cut off only an ear, and put a hide skin on a tomtom.” ’

[B seeks clarification; *gò-n* < *gò-ndó* ‘remove, take out’]

(04:26) A: *á, dàgà-sɔ́-∅ wà,*

ah!, become.good-Pfv2-3SgSbj Quot,

*bú bù-m=b-à:, súrⁿó cɛ́gíl-cɛ́gíl-cɛ́gíl kán ŋín,*

3Pl be-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj, ear cut.off-(iterations) do Ant.Past.SS,

*[nân gà] bǒn-gò [kú ní:] kó-s-ɛ̀:,*

[now Topic] tomtom [DiscDef Inst] cover.with.hide-Pfv2-3PlSbj,

A: ‘(They said:) “Ah, all right.” They were there, cutting and cutting ears off, then they covered the tomtom with hide like that.’

[*ŋín* < *gín*]

(04:33) A: *bǒn-gò bú kò kárⁿà,*

tomtom 3PlSbj cover.with.hide Pfv.Ppl,

*[gándá ǹ] nè, [mòn-gó, tárá,*

[place Def] Loc, [sap, affix,

*tárá gín] [dɔ̀gɔ̀ gín],*

affix Ant.Past.SS] [leave Ant.Past.SS],

A: ‘When they had covered the tomtom with hide, they smeared some (sticky) tree sap (from karité tree) on the spot (wh.ere they had covered the tomtom), and they left it.’

[

(04:40) B: *[gándá ǹ] nè*

[place Def] Loc

A: *[kú ní:] dɔ̀gɔ̀-s-ɛ̂:, [gàndà túrù-gɔ̀] nè,*

[DiscDef Inst] leave-Pfv2-3PlSbj, [place one] Loc,

*ŋ́gɔ̀ [[gàndà kú] nè] mòn-gó tárá-s-ɛ̀:*

over.there [[place DiscDef] Loc] sap affix-Pfv2-3PlSbj

*[ú ŋ́gɔ̀ ób-í:-yà-wⁿ dè]*

[2Sg over.there sit-MP-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if]

*[dúmbó ù-wɔ̀] kú ŋ́gɔ̀ cɛ́ kán-gò,*

[rear(n) 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] DiscDef over.there thing do-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg

B: ‘On the spot?’

A: ‘They left it (there) like that, in one spot. They smeared some (sticky) tree sap on the spot. If you-Sg sat there, in such a way that your rear end would do something.’

[the sticky sap would pull off some skin when whoever sat on it tried to get up]

(04:44) B: *ŋ́gɔ̀ tár-ɛ̀:-m-dɔ̀-∅*

over.there affix-MP-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

A: *á→ zàgà, ándá yǎy-yà-d-à: dè,*

ah! lo!, the.bush go-Pfv1a-Pfv1a-3PlSbj if,

*mòn-gó [mù:ⁿ kú] go̯-â:-y dè,*

sap [cut(n) DiscDef] exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*zòmɔ́, kú [bǒn-gò ǹ] zàgà bárⁿá-m sɔ̀-∅,*

hare, DiscDef [tomtom Def] lo! beat-Impv have-3SgSbj,

B: ‘It (your rear end) would be glued there.’

A: ‘Lo! When they had gone (away) into the bush, if the sap (caused) a cut (=wound) to open up (on someone), lo! Hare would beat the tomtom (as a signal).’

[

(04;50) A: *zàgà, bú sǒ: bèa-ndá,*

Lo! 3Pl awareness stay-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,

*[kú ní:] bú kárⁿí-m sɔ̀-m̀=b-à:,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3PlSbj do-Ipfv have-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*[yɔ̌: tùrù] [wɔ̀: gín]*

[day one] [come Ant.Past.SS]

*[mòn-gó tárá gín] bú yǎy-yà-d-à:,*

[sap affix Ant.Past.SS] 3PlSbj go-Pfv1a-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,

A: ‘Lo! They (=hares) were not aware (of the animal’s meeting). They (went on) doing like that. One day, they (=animals) came, smeared the sap, and went away.’

[

(05:00) A: *[bú bárⁿá-m bú sɔ̀-m=b-à:]*

3Pl beat-Ipfv 3PlSbj have-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj

*àndà-[nàmá-mbɔ̀] [wù→ jìnì gín]*

the.bush-[meat-AnPl] [suddenly say Ant.Past.SS]

*bú wâ:-ŋgò,*

3PlSbj come-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg,

A: ‘They (=hares) were beating (the tomtom). The animals hurried to come.’

[

(05:03) A: *á ŋ́gìlà-m-nù-ḿ ńné jǐn-gò hɔ̂w!*

Logo get.up-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj 3SgSbj say-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg get.up

*[dúmbó [wɔ̀: gín] póró d-à:],*

[rear(n) [come Ant.Past.SS] cut.off RecPrf-3PlSbj],

A: ‘When someone (sitting on the sap) tried to get up, they (=animals) came and cut off his rear end.’

[*ŋ́gìlà-m-nù-ḿ* with final rising tone audible before *ńné* ; *wɔ̀: gín* ‘having come’ inserted between transitive verb *póró-* and its object; *póró-d-à:* variant of 3Pl perfective-1b *póró-tì-yà*]

(05:06) A: *[yɔ̌: gà] [nùmá: nè] nú-yà-y wà*

[today Topic] [hand Loc] enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot

*[ná: gày] ńné-gì [ná: gày] …*

[now Topic] 3Sg-Acc [now Topic] (unintelligible)

B: *[yɔ̌: gà] [nùmá: nè] nú-yà-y*

[today Topic] [hand Loc] enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: *[yɔ̌: gà] [nùmá: nè] nú-yà-y*

[today Topic] [hand Loc] enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: ‘On that day, he (=hare) was trapped (=could not escape). Now (they cut) him …’

B: ‘On that day, he was trapped.’

A: ‘On that day, he was trapped.’

[“enter in hand” = ‘be boxed in, trapped, unable to escape’, said of a hunted animal, a thief, etc.]

(05:10) A: *[ńné-gì dà:n nɛ́] já-ŋgò,*

[3Sg-Acc prepare Ant.Fut.DS] kill-Nom,

*áywà, [ńné wá→] ò-gú,*

well, [3Sg QuotS] Prox-InanSg,

*[[sé: cɛ́ kán-í:-yà-y] jìnì gín]*

[[fat(n) thing make-MP-Pfv2-3SgSbj] say Ant.Past.SS]

*bǒn-gò bárⁿá-m sɔ̯-ɛ̀:,*

tomtom beat-Ipfv have-3PlSbj,

A: ‘They got ready to kill him. They said, “some fat has formed (in his body).” They were beating the tomtom.’

[*dà:n nɛ́* shortened from *dà:ndì nɛ́*]

(05:16) A: *[kú ní:] kɔ̯á-ɛ̀:,*

[DiscDef Inst] be.worm.eaten.Pfv-SFoc,

*[[ńné wá→] ŋ́gɔ̀ twá:-ndà:‑∅] jìn,*

[[3Sg QuotS] over.there be.in.-StatNeg-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*[ńné wá→] [kú ní:] cɛ́ kán-sɔ̀-∅ mà→],*

[[3Sg QuotS] [DiscDef Inst] thing make-Pfv2-3SgSbj Q],

*jìn, [yɔ̌: gà] ńné já-ŋg-ɛ̀: wà,*

say.Pfv-3SgSbj, [today Topic] 3Sg kill-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj Quot,

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

A: ‘At that point he became insect-infested. They said, “he isn’t in it.” They said, “They won’t kill him today.”

[*twá:-ndà:‑*, negative of *yé tùnà* ‘be in’, (xx3a) in §11.2.3.1]

(05:21) A: *áywà, [kú ní:] kán-í:-yà-y dé gày,*

well, [DiscDef Inst] make-MP-Pfv2-3SgSbj if Topic,

*[nân gà] [ɔ̀-ḿ gì] ǹdɔ̀ŋgɔ́ jy-à: dé,*

[now Topic] [Prox-AnSg Acc] with.nothing kill.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

*nân dágá-ŋgò:- wà*

now become.good-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

B: *é→ dágá-ŋgò:- wà*

yes become.good-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘Well, if it happened like that (=in that case), if they kill this one (=hare) now, it won’t be good.’

B: ‘Yes, it won’t be good.’

[

(05:28) A: *bùrá gúlù-m-d-ɛ̀ wà,*

burrow dig-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot,

*bùrá táŋgá-táŋgá gùlò gín,*

burrow side-side dig Ant.Past.SS,

*pùdé mɛ́m→ dɔ́g-à: wà,*

exit.point a.lot leave.Pfv-3PlSbj Quot,

*[kú ní:] cɛ́ kán-s-ɛ̀:*

[DiscDef Inst] thing do-Pfv2-3PlSbj

A: ‘(They) said, “they’ll dig a burrow. They’ll dig on this way and that, they have left many exit points (from the burrow). They did like that.”

[

(05:32) A: *gǒ:, [nân gà],*

fire, [now Topic],

*[bùrá ǹ]* L*cìnè n] nè] gǒ: nɔ́:ndà-m-d-ɛ̀,*

[burrow Def] Lnose Def] Loc] fire ignite-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

*[gǒ: nɔ́:ndí gín] [bú dɔ̀gɔ̀ kárⁿà],*

[fire ignite Ant.Past.SS] [3PlSbj leave Pfv.Ppl],

A: ‘Fire, now. They were setting fires at the ends of the burrow. They set fire (to them), and they left (them).’

[

(05:36) A: *ùndúndùlè: bà: gín,*

watermelon.Pl gather Ant.Past.SS,

*[[gǒ: nè] gán-à: dè],*

[[fire Loc] put.on.Pfv-3PlSbj if],

*[dóy-dà:-dóy pód-à: dè] wálà:,*

[(sound) burst.Pfv-3PlSbj if] voilà,

A: ‘They gathered watermelons and put them on the fire, they made them (=watermelons) burst, doy-da-doy! (sound). Voilà!’

[

(05:40) A: *[yɔ̌: gà] bɛ̀l-í: dɛ̀-∅,*

[today Topic] get-MP RecPrf-3SgSbj,

*hé! [dé: jòmɔ́] sé: yé s-ɛ̀:,*

hey! [brother hare] fat(n) Exist have-3PlSbj,

B: *[mà-ẃ pódó-sú-ŋgò] ɔ́rà-m s-ɛ̀:*

[Dist-InanSg burst-Pfv2-Ppl.Inan] say-Ipfv have-3PlSbj

A: *é→, [pódó-sú-ŋgò ǹ] ɔ́rà-m s-ɛ̀:*

yes, [burst-Pfv2-Ppl.Inan Def]] say-Ipfv have-3PlSbj

A: ‘Today something has been gotten. Hey, brother hare, they have fat (=are plump).’

B: ‘They were talking (about) that (stuff) that that burst?’

A: ‘Yes, they were talking (about) what had burst.’

[

(05:44) A: *hé! [dé: jòmɔ́] sé: yé s-ɛ̀:,*

hey! [brother hare] fat(n) Exist have-3PlSbj

*zàgà á-gá [bèná: bàrì] yé tùnà,*

lo! 3Sg-Poss [interior in] Exist be.in.Stat,

*háyà, ŋ́gɔ̀ gó-ŋgò:-∅,*

well, over there exit(v)-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

*[ŋ́gɔ̀ gò-∅ dé] tìbǎ:*

[over.there exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if] death

A: ‘Hey, brother hare, they have fat (=are plump). Lo! He (himself) is inside. Well, he won’t come out over there. If he comes out over there, it’s death. Hare gathered up his things.’

[*bènǎ:* ‘interior’]

(05:48) A: *zòmɔ́ [gòné á-gá] bà: gín,*

hare [gear 3Refl-Poss] gather Ant.Past.SS,

*[kú là] [kú ní:] gò-∅ wà,*

[DiscDef too] [DiscDef Inst] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj Quot,

A: *é→,*

yes

A: ‘Hare gathered up his things, and then he came out. Yes.’

[

(05:50) B: *ná:, [dèbé* L*jèŋgùrgò] né, [cɛ́ dùgà-íyɛ̀, yá-ŋgì],*

now, [lake Ledge] Loc, [thing necklace, xxx]

*[ɛ̌: bàrì] [zòmɔ́ kɔ̀]*

[there Loc] [hare Poss.InanSg]

*yé bù-∅ jìn-dá mà→*

Exist be-3SgSbj say-PfvNeg.3PlSbj Q

B: ‘Now, on the shore of the pond, a necklace. Didn’t they say that hare’s (necklace) was there?’

[B is suggesting another tale to A, but A’s version it will turn out to involve a bracelet; *jéŋgúrgò* ‘shore (of pond or lake)’]

(05:55) A: *é→, [kú ní:] ńné kárⁿ-í:-yà-y kárⁿà,*

yes, [DiscDef Inst] 3SgSbj do-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Pfv.Ppl,

*[nân gà] donc [kú là],*

[now Topic] so [DiscDef too],

*ŋ́gɔ̀ [kú ní:] dɔ́g-à: wà, é→*

over.there [DiscDef Inst] leave.Pfv-3PlSbj Quot, yes

A: Yes. After it happened like that, now that too, they left it over there like that. Yes.’

(06:00) B: *ná:, zòmɔ́ [[ínjé jéŋgùrgò] nè]*

now, hare [[water shore] Loc]

*dùgà-íyɛ̀ ńné dùjì kárⁿà xxx*

necklace 3SgSbj wear.on.neck Pfv.Ppl [unintelligible]

A: *dùgà-íyɛ̀ ńné dùjì kárⁿà wà→,*

necklace 3SgSbj wear.on.neck Pfv.Ppl Quot,

*á: d’accord,*

ah! okay!

B: ‘Now, when hare wore a necklace on the shore of the water, …’

A: ‘He wore a necklace, you said?’ All right.’

[

(06:08) A: *zòmɔ́∴, tǎ:∴, [[dèbé* L*jèŋgùrgò] nè] yà-d-à: dé,*

hare.&, hyena.&, [[lake Lshore] Loc] go-Pfv-3PlSbj if,

*donc, [á lèy],*

so, [3Refl two],

*[[ìnjè*L *ɛ́lɛ̀-ɛ̀lɛ̀] ɲɛ́ sìn-à: dé]*

[[waterL sweet-sweet] consume be.sated.Pfv-3PlSbj if]

*yé bé-m̀-d-ɛ̀,*

there.DiscDef lie.down-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

A: ‘Hare and hyena. They went to the lake shore. So, the two of them drank their fill of sweet water, and they were going to lie down (to sleep) there.’

[

(06:17) A: *[kú ní:] bú bù-m=b-à:,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3PlSbj be-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*mɛ̀ndíyɛ̀ bàrⁿà gín,*

bracelet turn.red Ant.Past.SS,

*mɛ̀ndíyɛ̀ ɛ̀-ʔɛ̀dù-ŋgɔ́ lɔ́g-à:-y,*

bracelet Rdp-good-Inan be.extreme-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

*yé dùŋà-m̀=bì-∅,*

Exist be.put.Stat-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj,

A: ‘They were there like that. A bracelet that had become red, a bracelet that was very beautiful, was there (on the shore).’

[we learn later that the golden bracelet was really an avatar of the Dogon water god Nombo ~ Nommo]

(06:23) A: *ńné dúŋà-m bà,*

3SgSbj be.put-Ipfv xxx,

*zòmɔ́ [mɛ̀ndìyɛ̀*L *kú] [kú ní:] yì-∅,*

hare [braceletL DiscDef] [DiscDef Inst] see.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*âyⁿ kàn gín,*

how? do Ant.Past.SS,

*[mɛ̀ndìyɛ̀*L *ó(-g) gà] ɛ́dù wà→ dè,*

[braceletL Prox-InanSg Topic] good Quot Emph,

A: ‘As it was lying (there), hare saw that bracelet like that. (Hare:) “how is it? This thing is beautiful. ”

[/ò-gú gày/ pronounced [ógàj]]

(06:29) A: *[nùmá: nè] ńné tún kárⁿà,*

[hand Loc] 3SgSbj put Pfv.Ppl,

*[dágám→ sày] [[nùmá: á-gá] nè] nú-ŋgò:- ∅ wà,*

[a.little only] [[hand 3Refl-Poss] Loc] enter-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot,

A: ‘He (=hare) (tried to) put it on his hand. It didn’t quite go onto (=fit on) his hand.’

[the bracelet was a little bit too small for him to get it over his hand onto his wrist; ‘a little’ scopes over ‘does not enter’]

(06:31) A: *[[mɛ̀ndìyɛ̀*L *ò-gú] [[nùmá: á-gá] nè]*

[[braceletL Prox-InanSg] [[hand 3Refl-Poss] Loc]

*nú=bì-∅ dè] [dàgá=bù-∅ wà→ dè],*

enter=Past-3SgSbj if] [become.good=Past-3SgSbj Quot Emph]

A: ‘If the bracelet had gone onto his hand, it would have been nice.’

[counterfactual conditional with both verbs in past-time form; the first *dè* is conditional ‘if’, the second dè is probably the emphatic particle, as in 06:23 above]

(06:33) A: *[[nùmá: á-gá] nè] [ɲà: gín]*

[[hand 3Refl-Poss] Loc] [take Ant.Past.SS

*[kú ní:] tûn-∅,*

[DiscDef Inst] put.Pfv-3SgSbj,

A: ‘He took (it) and (tried to) put it on his hand like that.’

[*tûn-∅* < /túnì-∅/; ‘on the hand’ is logically connected with ‘put’ rather than the intervening ‘take’]

(06:34) A: *ńné tún kárⁿà→,*

3SgSbj put Pfv.Ppl,

*[[mɛ̀ndìyɛ̀*L *ó(-g) gày] [yɔ̌: té-tè]*

[[braceletL Prox-InanSg Topic] [today exactly]

*ɛ́dù-ŋgɔ̀ [ó(-g) gày]*

good-InanSg [Prox-InanSg Topic]

*[[nùmá: nè] gò nɛ́]*

[[hand Loc] exit(v) Ant.Fut.DS]

*[kwá: nè] gà:rà ɛ́dù bì-m=bì-∅ wà,*

[neck Loc] more good be-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj] Quot,

A: ‘After he (tried to) put it (on his hand), (he said:) “this bracelet, today this is beautiful. If it were to come off the hand, it would be better on the neck.” ’

[

(06:39) A: *gó=bì-∅ dè,*

exit(v)=Past-3SgSbj if,

*[kwá: nè] ɛ́dù bì-m=bì-∅ wà*

[neck Loc] good be-Ipfv=Pst-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘(Hare) said: “If it were to come off (the hand), it would be good on the neck.” ’

[

(06:40) A: *[kú ní:] jìn gín,*

[DiscDef Inst] say Ant.Past.SS,

*ńné gò-ndù kárⁿà,*

3SgSbj exit(v)-Caus Pfv.Ppl,

*mɛ̀ndíyɛ̀ [gìdè gín] gò-ndì-∅,*

bracelet [throw Ant.Past.SS] exit(v)-Caus-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Saying (=thinking) that, he took it off. He threw the bracelet away (into the water).’

[evidently the bracelet was also too small to be a necklace]

(06:45) A: *nɔ̀mbɔ́ wàndá [zòmɔ́ gì] bèɛ́ ɲà-lí-∅ wà,*

water.god other [hare Acc] get consume-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot,

*[dúmbó tì-∅ dé] órú-gó gó-ŋgò: wà*

[rear.end send.Pfv-3SgSbj if] talk(n) exit(v)-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘The water god did not have a chance to drink hare. If he sends (=shows) his rear end, there’s no talking (about that).’

[*nɔ̀mbɔ́* as the major Dogon god (associated with rainbows) is offered blood sacrifices in animist rites; ‘consume’ (‘eat’ or ‘drink’) here means ‘(god) drink the blood of (victim)’; other Dogon languages use ‘drink’ rather than ‘eat’ in this context; *bèɛ́* in ‘have a chance to VP’ construction, §15.1.4.2]

(06:49) A: *ê→, [kú ní:] kán-ì:-∅ wà [kú là],*

yes, [DiscDef Inst] do-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot [DiscDef too]

*é→, [ná: kày], ŋ́gɔ̀ gǒ-yyà-yⁿ dè,*

yes, [now Topic], over.there exit(v)-Pfv1a-1PlSbj if,

*[gàndà*L *kú] [kú ní:] bé-m̀-dɔ̀-∅,*

[placeL DiscDef] [DiscDef Inst] stay-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

*sěyⁿ bɛ́l-ɛ̀:-m-dɔ̀-∅,*

lore get-MP-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Yes. It happened like that, that too. Now, if we have left there (=that story), that place (=story) will stay like that. (More) lore will be gotten (=found).’

[mediopassive *bɛ̀l-í:-* ‘be gotten’]

(07:01) A: *é→*

yes

B: *ná:, [sěyⁿ túr-gɔ̀] túnú-wⁿ dè]*

now, [lore one-InanSg] put.Imprt if]

*ná: cɛ́ ká-ŋgò,*

now thing do-xxx,

A: ‘Yes.’

B: ‘Now, if you put (=tell) a (piece of) lore, we’ll do something.’

[

(07:06) A: *d’accord, ná: ŋ́gɔ̀ gǒ-yyà-y dè,*

all.right, now over.there exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*[nân gày], àŋgúŋgúrú∴, sújjɛ̀:∴, wálà:,*

[now Topic] turtle.&, francolin.&, voilà,

A: ‘Okay, if it (=conversation) has left there (=that story), now, turtle. There (you have it).’

[the huge terrestrial turtle, *Geochelone sulcata*, kept in some villages as a house pet; *Francolinus* spp., partridge-like wild birds]

(07:16) A: *donc, àŋgúŋgúrú yí-bàrì, sújjɛ̀: yí-bàrì,*

so, turtle there.DiscDef, francolin there,

*wòl-gó tún-s-ɛ̀:, àŋgúŋgúrú yé wɔ̀:-∅ dé*,

field put-Pfv2-3PlSbj, turtle there.DiscDef come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

*zàgà yámá tɛ́bà-m sɔ̀-∅,*

lo! damage(n) inflict-Ipfv have-3SgSbj,

A: ‘So, turtle was there, francolin was there. They (=turtle and francolin) put (=cleared) a field (for cultivation). When turtle went there (=to the field), lo, he was causing damage.’

[

(07:22) B: *[[wòl-gó ǹ] nè] sújjɛ̀:,*

[[field Def] Loc] francolin,

*[wágátú pú→] yámá tɛ́bà-m-dɔ̀,*

[time all] damage(n) inflict-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

B: ‘In the field francolin (too) was always causing damage.’

(07:24) A: *yámá ńné tɛ́bà-m bà,*

dama 3SgSbj inflect-Ipfv xxx,

*[kú ní:] ńné bù-m bà,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3SgSbj be-Ipfv xxx,

*[kú ní:] cɛ́ kárⁿì-m̀-d-ɛ̀ wà,*

[DiscDef Inst] thing do-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot

A: ‘He was inflecting damage. He was being like that. They were doing the thing like that.’

[

(07:28) A: *[kú ní:] ńné bù-m [yɔ̌: gày],*

[DiscDef Inst] 3SgSbj be-Ipfv [today Topic],

*támbárá, kúnó gín dɔ̀gɔ̀-s-ɛ̂: wà,*

trap, set Ant.Past-SS leave-Pfv2-3PlSbj Quot,

francolin there.DiscDef come Ant.Past.SS be.caught-Pfv2-3SgSbj

A: ‘He was like like on this day. They set a trap and left it.

[

(07:32) A: *támbárá bú kúnó dɔ̀gɔ̀ kárⁿà,*

trap 3PlSbj set leave Pfv.Ppl,

*sújjɛ̀: yé wɔ̀: gín dɛ̀b-â:-y,*

B: *[támbárá nè] sújjɛ̀: dɛ̀b-â:-y*

[trap Loc] francolin be.caught-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: *sújjɛ̀: dɛ̀b-â:-y*

francolin be.caught-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: ‘After they set the trap and left it, francolin came there and was caught (in the trap).’

B: ‘Francolin was caught in the trap?’

A: ‘Francolin was caught.’

[

(07:37) A: *háyà*

well

B: *gó-ndú-gó gándè*

exit-Caus-Nom paw(v).Pfv-3SgSbj

A: *gó-ndú-gó gándè*

exit-Caus-Nom paw(v).Pfv-3SgSbj

A: ‘All right.’

B: ‘He (=francolin) was pawing up (the planted millet grains)?’

A: ‘He was pawing (it) up.’

[the bird had been digging up millet grains where they had been sowed in the field]

(07:38) A: *ńné dèb-â:-y kárⁿà, í:yɔ̀,*

3SgSbj be.caught-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Pfv.Ppl, yes,

*ɲě dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ tɔ̀-sɔ̀,*

person crops sow-Pfv2-3SgSbj,

A: ‘He was caught. Yes. A person had planted crops (there).’

[

(07:40) A: *ú dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ gàndì nɛ́,*

2SgSbj crops paw Ant.Fut.DS,

*[bɛ̀rá: ú-wɔ́] bà:-ndì nɛ́,*

[belly 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] fill-Caus Ant.Fut.DS

*yámá tɛ́bà-m-nù-ẁⁿ,*

damage(n) inflict-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

*ɲě yàŋgì-lá-m sɔ́-ndɔ̀-ẃⁿ,*

person be.ruined-Caus-Ipfv have-Neg-2SgSbj,

A: ‘(If) you are pawing up the crops, and filling your belly, you’ll inflict damage. Won’t you be hurting the person?’

[

(07:44) A: *[kú ní:] ńné kán-í:-yà-y kárⁿà,*

[DiscDef Inst] 3SgSbje do-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Pfv.Ppl,

*ńné-gì sɛ́mɛ́ gín, ɲà: gín,*

3Sg-Acc slaughter Ant.Past-SS, take Ant.Past-SS,

A: ‘It happened like that. He (=person) cut his (=francolin’s) throat, took (him), and put (him) in something.

[

(07:48) A:  *[cɛ́ nè] tún gín,*

[thing Loc] put Ant.Past-SS,

*[bármá nè] tún gín, bú zàndá-m bà,*

[pot Loc] put Ant.Past-SS, 3PlSbj cook.in.pot-Ipfv xxx,

A: ‘He (=person) put him (=francolin) in something. He put him in a pot. They (=people) were cooking him.’

[

(07:52) A: *zàgà [àŋgúŋgúrú gày] ɔ́gù yì-sɔ́-wⁿ gà,*

lo! [turtle Topic] fast see-Pfv2-2SgSbj Emph,

*[ńné ìrɛ́-∅ mà→] jìn gín,*

[3SgSbj be.better-3SgSbj Q] say Ant.Past.SS,

*lǒy jɛ̀rà-m-nú-m jìn gín,*

peer.over look-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj say Ant.Past.SS,

*[ɛ̀dɛ́ túrɛ̀: á-gá]*

[child one.AnSg 3Refl-Poss]

*sùlǎm gìdé tûn-∅,*

throwing.down throw put.Pfv-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Lo, as for turtle, you-Sg have seen that he was fast. He said, “is he (=francolin) better(-tasting)? I’ll (raise my head and) look into (the pot). He tossed one of his children into (the pot).’

[

(07:57) A: *ɛ̀dɛ́ yé wàd-â:-y*

child there.DiscDef remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

B: *yé wàd-â:-y,*

there.DiscDef remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: *lè:-nɛ́ wàde-∅, yé wàdè-∅,*

two-Ordinal remain.Pfv-3SgSbj, there.DiscDef remain.Pfv-3SgSbj,

A: ‘A child remained there.’

B: ‘He remained there.’

A: ‘The second one remained. He stayed there.

[

(08:00) *[á→ là] [yé yày gín]*

[3Refl too] [there.DiscDef go Ant.Past.SS]

*[yé wàd-â:-y],*

[there.DiscDef remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: ‘He too (=turtle), having gone there, he remained there.’

[

(08:02) A: *ńné wàd-â:-y kárⁿà,*

3SgSbj remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbh Pfv.Ppl,

*tǎ: lábà-m,*

hyena pass-Ipfv,

*kú [kú ní:] tímbì-lì-∅,*

DiscDef [DiscDef Inst] cover-Rev.Pfv-3SgSbj

A: ‘As he remained there, hyena was passing by. He uncovered that (pot).’

[

(08: 06) A: *tǎ: tɛ́ndègìn,*

hyena by.luck,

*[nàmà*L *yí] kúbó síné gín,*

[meatL DiscDef.InanPl] eat.meat be.sated Ant.Past.SS,

*[[bármá ǹ] ńné dɛ́gà-m bà]*

[[pot Def] 3SgSbj lick-Ipfv xxx]

*bármá pɔ́s ló-yà-y,*

pot totally! be.punctured-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: ‘By pure luck, hyena gorged himself on the meat(s). He licked the (inside of) the pot, to the extent that holes were made in it.’

[‘meat’ is plural here since there were different kinds of meat in the pot]

(08:12) A: *hâ: [kú ní:} kán-ì:-∅ wà*

ah!, [DiscDef Inst] do-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot

*ê→, [ná: gà] cíll-í:-yà-y wà*

yes, [now Topic] be.finished-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘Ah, it happened like that. Yes, now it’s finished.’

[

## Text 2015-05 Water (duration 04:10)

(00:05) A: *dû:, dàyⁿ*L *bú: jìn kárⁿà ǹ dè,*

below, mannerL 3PlSbj say do Def if,

*ínjé ígɛ́ ò-gù,*

water 1PlPoss Prox-Sg,

B: *ínjé ígɛ́ ò-gù,*

water 1PlPoss Prox-Sg s,

A: *ínjé ígɛ́ ò-gù,*

water 1PlPoss Prox-Sg,

B: *ìnjè wàndá ŋgò*

water other not.be

B: *ínjè pɛ́y ŋ̀gó=bì-m=bì-∅, ìnjè sêl,*

water at.all not.be=be-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj, water a.little,

A: ‘Down below, if it’s how they (=old people) told it, this water of ours.

B: ‘This water of ours.’

A: ‘This water of ours.’

B: ‘There’s no other water.’

A: ‘There was no other water at all. Just a little water.’

*[kárⁿà ‘do’ as perfective positive verb-participle, §14.4.1]*

(00:15) A: *ótògón yà:-ẃⁿ dè,*

morning go.Pfv-2SgSbj if

*ú ɔ́bà-m dè, bà: dèŋgó,*

2SgSbj sit-Ipfv if, since daytime

*ìnjè [là túrú] bèyɔ́-wⁿ dé kù,*

water [time one] get-2SgSbj if DiscDef.Sg,

B: *ínjé bà: dèŋgó*

water since daytime

*[là túrú kɔ̀] bèyɔ́-wⁿ dé kù mà,*

[time one xxx] get-2SgSbj if xxx Q

A: *[là túrú kɔ̀]*

[time one xxx]

A: ‘If you-Sg went in the morning, you sit (=wait your turn) all day, you got water just once (a day).’

B: ‘You got water just once all day long?’

A: ‘Just once.’

[

(00:25) B: *… bɛ́lɛ̀m, gàrà-mbɔ́ ŋ̀gɔ́ gò nɛ́ fò→ díbè,*

… get, certain-Pl here exit Ant.Fut.SS until Dibe,

*àntógó*

Antogo

A: *wálà*

voilà

B: *[ɛ́: gà] [tí:ⁿ gày] ínjé ŋ̀gó=bì-m=bì-∅,*

[around.here Topic] [first Topic] water not.be=be-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj,

A: *ínjé ŋ̀gó=bì-m=bì-∅,,*

water not.be=be-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj,

B: ‘… get. Some people would go from here all the way to Dibe (pond), (or) Antogo (pond).

A: ‘There (you have it).’

B: ‘There used to be no water there in the old days?’

A: ‘There used to be no water.’

[Dibe is a year-round water spring on the high plateau on the way to Kasa. Antogo is a pond in the plains beyond Bamba; *é-gà*,

(00:32) B: *[nân gày] ínjé bɛ̀lí-y dɛ̀*

[now Topic] water get.Pfv-1PlSbj xxx

A: *[nân gày] bɛ̀lí-y dɛ̀,*

[now Topic] get.Pfv-1PlSbj xxx,

*ínjé ŋ̀gó nɛ̀ bú-m-b-à:,*

water not.be be-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*ínjé dìnɛ́-dìnɛ́ kɔ́bà-m=b-à:,*

water turn-turn draw.water-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

B: ‘(But) nowadays we have gotten water.’

A: ‘(But) nowadays we have gotten (it). There didn’t use to be (enough) water. They would take turns (=wait in line to) draw water (at the spring).

[

(00:39) A: *ínjé [dìnɛ́ ní:]*

water [turn Inst]

B: *ínjé [dìnɛ́ ní:] kɔ́bà-m=b-à:,*

water [turn Inst] draw.water-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj

A: *mí tí:ⁿ yà-ɛ̀:*

1Sg first go-Pfv.Defoc

B: *ú tí:ⁿ yà-ɛ̀:*

2Sg first go-Pfv.Defoc

A: *[mí kɔ̀bà-lí-m dè]*

[1Sg draw.water-PfvNeg-1SgSbj if]

*[ú bɛ́yá-ŋù-w]*

[2Sg get-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj]

A: ‘Water by turns.’

B: ‘They would draw water by turns.

A: ‘(Suppose) it’s I [focus] who have gone first.’

B: ‘It’s you-Sg [focus] who have gone first.’

A: ‘If I haven’t drawn water (yet), you don’t get (any).’

[

(00:44) A: *ú tí:ⁿ yà-ɛ̀: dè,*

2Sg first go-Pfv.Defoc if,

*[ú kɔ̀bà-lú-wⁿ dè] mí-gì táŋgò,*

[2Sg draw.water-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if] 1Sg-Acc inaccessible,

*bɛ̀yà-lú-wⁿ kɔ́bá-ŋù-ŋ,*

get-PfvNeg-2SgSbj draw.water-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj,

A: ‘If it’s you [focus] who has gone first, if you haven’t drawn water (yet), there’s none for me. If you haven’t gotten (yours), I don’t draw water.’

[*táŋgò*, unconjugated predicate (archaic) ‘inaccessible (to sb)’, negated as *táŋgò-là*]

(00:49) B: *[nân gà] [[kú* HL*bénà:] nè],*

[now Topic] [[Nonh HLinterior] Loc],

*[nân gà] ínjé kàlé sɔ́-ndɔ̀:-∅,*

[now Topic] water limit have-Neg-3SgSbj,

*[gàndà pú→] ɔ́ndɔ̀ bǐ:ⁿ-bà→ⁿ bɛ̀-∅,*

[country all] garden plenty be-3PlSbj,

X: ‘Nowadays, inside (=concerning) it (=water), the water has no limit (=is abundant), there are plenty of (vegetable) gardens in the whole country.’

[*sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-∅* trimmed from *sɔ́-ndɔ̀:=bù-mbi-∅*, §10.5.1.6]

(00:54) A: *nân, ínjé sám-à:-y, ɔ́ndɔ̀ sám-à:-y, díbè, zǎ:ⁿ∴ díbè∴,*

now, water abound-Pfv1a-3SgSbj, garden abundant, Dibe, Dianga Dibe,

*dàyⁿ*L *kánì súŋgó pú:, kìló: yí-kɛ̀dɛ̀*

mannerL xxx xxx all, kilometer Inan-four

B: *kìló: yí-kɛ̀dɛ̀*

kilometer Inan-four

A: *yí-nǔm, gó-m̀-dɔ̀-∅*

Inan-five, exit-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

A: ‘Nowadays, water is abundant, and (vegetable) gardens are abundant. Dibe (spring), (from) Dibe (to) Dianga, the distance is four kilometers.’

B: ‘Four kilometers.’

A: ‘(Four or) five, it comes out (=amounts to that).’

[negated as *sàmà-lí-* ‘not be abundant’; *zǎ:ⁿ∴* ‘Dianga and …’, pronounced [za᷈:ⁿ] with bell-shaped pitch]

(01:04) A: *nân àndú bù-wⁿ, kìló: yí-kɛ̀dɛ̀, yí-nǔm,*

now where? be-2SgSbj, kilometer Inan-four, Inan-five,

*bé-m̀-dɔ̀-∅ yày,*

stay-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj go,

*[èdùgó=là: dè], [[sô: là] ŋ̀gó]*

[waterjar=it.is.not if] [[pail too] not.be]

B: *[sô: là] ŋ̀gó, [bìtóⁿ là] ŋ̀gó]*

[[pail too] not.be], [[canister too] not.be]

A: *[bìtóⁿ là] ŋ̀gó*

[[canister too] not.be]

X: ‘Where are you-Sg now? Four or five kilometers, it will stay (=amounts to that). There were no pails, (nothing) other than (earthenware) waterjars.’

[*yày* here may be related to the ‘go’ verb but is invariant in form (unconjugated) and functions as a postverbal particle]

(01:13) A: *[dànà-bándá ní:],*

[top.of.head Inst],

*[yé yày nɛ́] díyà-m=b-à:*

[there.DiscDef go Ant.Fut.SS] carry.on.ead-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj

B: *èdùgó bú zɛ́yà-m dè,*

waterjar 3PlSbj bring-Ipfv if,

*[zɔ̀g-á:-ỳ dè] áyⁿ kà-m-dɛ̀ mà→*

[shatter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if] how? do-Ipfv-Ipfv.3PlSbj Q

A: ‘They would go there and carry (jars full of water) on their head (back to the village).’

B: ‘If they were bringing a waterjar, if it broke, what would they do?’

[

(01:17) A: *yâ:llà [[èdù*L *wàndá] kàn nɛ́]*

by.God [[waterjarL other] do Ant.Fut.SS]

*[[ú gò-ndó-ŋgò] gò-ndù nɛ́]*

[[2SgSbj exit-Caus-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan exit-Caus Ant.Fut.S]

*zéà-m-nù-wⁿ,*

bring-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

*ínjé sɔ́-ndɔ̀-wⁿ [[úló ú-wɔ̀] nè]*

water have-Neg-2SgSbj [[house 2Sg-Poss] Loc]

*ú bɔ́rà-ŋgò:-∅*

2SgSbj be.inhabitable-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

B: *ú-gì bɔ́rà-ŋgò:-∅ dè, àyí dè*

2Sg-Acc be.inhabitable-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj Emph, no Emph

A: ‘You will take out (=fetch) another waterjar where you (can) take one out, and bring it. (If) you have no water in your house, it’s uninhabitable for you.’

B: ‘It is uninhabitable for you. No.’

[

(01:23) A: *àyí [kú ní:] kɔ́bà-m=b-à:, nân,*

no [DiscDef Inst] draw.water-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj, now,

*àlhámdùllà:y, ínjé bɛ́l-ì:-∅, ínjé yɔ̀rɔ̀-sɔ́-∅,*

praise.God, water get-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj, water abound-Pfv2,

*dàgá, tɛ́mbɛ́ nàŋgà-m=bì-∅,*

Daga, above be.put.up.on-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj,

*nân, dùgó sùg-à:-y*

now below descend.Pfv1a-3SgSbj

*xxx*

yyy

X: ‘No. They used to (go and) draw water like that. Nowadays, praise God, water has been gotten. Water has become plentiful. Daga (village) used to be on top. Now, it (=village) has moved down below

[Douga village, formerly on the high plateau above the cliffs, relocated to a position at the base of the cliffs in the Bamba cluster.]

(01:36) A: *ínjé sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:*

water have-Neg-3PlSbj

B: *ínjé sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:*

water have-Neg-3PlSbj

a: *ínjé sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:,*

water have-Neg-3PlSbj,

*èndèlgó∴, pɛ́dùmà∴, ínjé sɔ́-nd-ɛ̀:,*

Endelgo, Pedouma, water have-Neg-3PlSbj,

*bú súgò-yà-da:,*

3Pl descend-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,

A: ‘They don’t have any water (in their former location on top).

B: ‘They don’t have any water.’

A: ‘They don’t have any water. Endelgo and Pedouma (villages), they don’t have any water. They moved down.’

[*-yà-dà* 3Pl perfective-1a, §10.2.1.2]

(01:44)A: *yâ: ámbà kán gín,*

xxx God do Ant.Past.SS,

*ínjé bɛ̌:-dɛ̀-y,*

water get-Pfv2-1PlSbj,

*[í là] [í wàdà sú-ŋgò] [ò-g kú],*

[1Pl too] [1Pl stay Pfv2-Ppl.Inan] [Prox-Inan DiscDef],

A: ‘God made good fortune (for us). We got water. We for our part, this is where we have stayed.’

(01:49) A: *ínjé dè* —

water if —

B: *[ínjé bɛ̌:-dɛ̀-y] [kú dùgɔ̀] wàd-â:-y*

[water get-Pfv2-1PlSbj] [DiscDef Purp] stay-Pfv1a-1PlSbj

A: *wàd-â:-y*

stay-Pfv1a-1PlSbj

B: *[ínjé bɛ̌:-dɛ̀-y] [sùgò nɛ́] ǹjé ká-m̀-nɛ̀-y*

[water get-Pfv2-1PlSbj] [descend Ant.Fut.SS] what? do-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj

A: ‘If it’s water—‘

B: ‘We got water, for that reason we stayed (above).’

A: ‘We stayed.’

B: ‘We got water, what would we do after going down?’

*[B’s question is rhetorical]*

(01:54) A: *òhô→, ínjé dímbà-y, ínjé bɛ̀l-í: dɛ̀-∅,*

Uh-huh, water follow.Stat-1PlSbj, water get-MP RecPrf-3SgSbj,

*[í gà] súgó-ŋì-y,*

[1Pl Topic] descend-IpfvNeg-1PlSbj,

*nân, zǎ:ⁿ, [dámbá yí-llèy],*

here, Dianga, [village Inan-two],

*ɛ̀ndɛ̀gàndú, yé bà:r-í:-∅ dè,*

Endekandou, Exist be.added-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if

*dámbá yí-tà:ndù,*

village Inan-four,

A: ‘Uh-huh. We went out after water, water was gotten. As for us, we won’t go down. Now, Dianga is two villages. If Endegandou is added (=counted), it’s three villages.’

[

(02:05) A: *tàgá túrú-kɔ̀, ínjé ɲá-m̀-nɛ̀-y,*

pond one-Inan, water drink-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj,

*ínjé dùmá-ŋgò, ínjè bɛ̌:-dɛ̀-y ínjé dùmá-ŋgò,*

water finish-Ipfv.Inan, water get-Pfv2-1PlSbj water finish-Ipfv.Inan,

*àlhámdùlìllà:y —*

praise.God—

A: ‘We drink from the same pond. The water doesn’t end (=run out). We got water and the water doesn’t end, praise God.’

(02:11) B: *[nùwá: là] [ámbà kán gín]*

[this.year too] [God do Ant.Past]

*yâ:llà bí ìnjè-ɲí jìnì gín],*

byGod 2Pl water-drink.VblN say Ant.Past.SS

*yâ:llà [gándá bàrà:ʒú kédé gín] bí ńdì-s-ɛ̀:,*

by.God [place dam cut Ant.Past.SS] 2PlObj give-Pfv2-3PlSbj

B: ‘This year, by God’s doing, for you-Pl drinking water, by God the place cut out a dam (in the rocks) and gave (it) to you-Pl.’

[*bàrà:ʒú* < French barrage ‘dam’]

(02:15) B: *bàrà:ʒú ná:, [íjj-í:-yà-y dìgɛ̀]*

dam now, [stop-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj tie]

*[ínjé ná:] ɔ̀ndɔ̀-ínjé gǎn-gò là:,*

[water xxx] garden-water put.in-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan xxx,

*ɔ́ndɔ́ gǎn-gò*

garden put.in-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan

A: *ɔ́ndɔ́ gǎn-gò*

garden put.in-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan

B: ‘The dam now, (when) it (=water) has been blocked, the water now, it puts (=provides) water for (vegetable) gardens. Gardens are planted.’

[

(02:20) B: *[ɔ́ndɔ́ gàn nɛ́]*

[garden put.in Ant.Fut.SS]

*[ná: nàfá í ɲà-m-è: mà→]*

now benefit 1Pl eat-Ipfv-Defoc Q

*[nù-mbɔ̀ kédé kàrⁿà-mbɔ̀]*

[person-Pl cut Pfv.Ppl-Pl]

*bú yà-m-è: mà→*

3Pl see-Ipfv-Defoc Q

B: ‘After the gardens are put, now is the benefit (that) it’s we [focus] who eat? Or is it the people who did the cutting out [focus] who will see (=receive) it?

[subject focalization with defocalized imperfective *-m-è:* ; the heavy focalized NP ‘the people who did the cutting out’ is resumed as a 3Pl pronoun]

(02:23) A: *nàfá í-gɛ̀=:, gándá í-gɛ̀=:,*

benefit 1Pl-Poss.InanSg, place 1Pl-Poss.InanSg,

*í-gì sàr-à:, nàfá í-gɛ̀=:*

1Pl-Acc pay.Pfv-3PlSbj,

B: *gándá nɛ̀:, bú yá-ŋgò pú→*

place now, 3Pl see-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan all

*túyⁿ→ bèdè gín yà-d-à:*

pile.up bury Ant.Past.SS go-Pfv.3PlSbj

A: ‘The benefit is ours. The country is ours. They paid us (for the work). The benefit is ours.’

B: ‘The land now, they piled up and left everything that they had been seeing (=getting) and went away?’

[*yá-ŋgò* is an imperfective participle; ‘bury’ in sense ‘leave behind’; *yà-d-à:* reduced from *yǎy-yà-d-à:* ‘they went’]

(02:29) A: *yé túyⁿ bèdè gín yà-dà, bú gày,*

there pile.up bury Ant.Past.SS go-Pfv.3PlSbj, 3Pl Topic,

*[í bèrⁿè] bú dɔ̀gɔ̀ kárⁿà ǹ gày,*

[1Pl chez] 3PlSbj leave Pfv.Ppl Def Topic

*í-gɛ̀ zò-ndá, í-gɛ̀ gàrà-ndá,*

1Pl-Poss take.away-PfvNeg.3PlSbj, 1Pl-Poss reduce-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,

A: ‘They piled it (=gear, tools) up there and left it, and they went away. As for what they left with us, they didn’t take ours away or reduce (=take anything away from) ours.’

[

(02:35) A: *í-gì wɔ̀: gín tɛ́mb-à:,*

1Pl-Acc come Ant.Past.SS encounter.Pfv-3PlSbj,

*[á-gá [í bènè] dɔ̀gɔ̀ tí gín] yà-dà,*

[3Refl-Poss [1Pl chez] leave Pfv1b Ant.Past.SS] go-Pfv1a.3PlSbj,

B: *[pú→ [á-gá ǹ] [í-gɛ̀ nɛ̀]*

[all [3Refl-Poss Def] [1Pl-Poss Loc]

*dɔ̀gɔ̀ tí gín] yà-dà,*

leave Pfv1b Ant.Past.SS] go-Pfv1a.3PlSbj,

A: ‘They came and encountered us. When they had left theirs (=tools) with us, they went away.’

B: ‘When they had left all of theirs with us, they went away.’

[

(02:43) B: *[[á-gá dɔ̀gɔ̀ tí gín] bú yày kárⁿà]*

[]3Refl-Poss leave Pfv1b Ant.Past.SS] 3PlSbj go Pfv.Ppl]

*[nân kày] [dàyⁿ*L *kárⁿí-sú-ŋgò]*

[now Topic] [mannerL do-Pfv2-Ppl.Inan]

*ínjé kàlé sɔ̀-ndɔ̀:-∅ bú-∅*

water limit have-Neg-3SgSbj be-3SgSbj

*[ínjé ǹ gày] nân séò bù-∅*

[water Def Topic] now fine be-3SgSbj

A: *séò bù-∅*

fine be-3SgSbj

B: ‘(Since) they had left theirs (=tools) and went away, now (after) what has been done, there is water without limit. As for the water, now it is fine..’

A: ‘It is fine.’

(02:47) B: *[kú gà] dág-à:-y*

[DiscDef Topic] become.good-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: *kú=là:-∅, [òrù wàndá]=là:,*

DiscDef=it.is.not, [talk(n) other]=it.is.not,

*bú s-ɔ̀:, bú émbè-m-è:,*

3Pl have-Defoc, 3Pl be.capable-Ipfv-Defoc,

B: ‘As for it, it has turned out well.’

A: ‘Is it not that? It’s no other thing (than that). It’s they [focus] who have (the means), it’s they [focus] who are capable (of heavy excavating).’

[I take *kú=là:-∅* as a rhetorical question, or (equivalently) as a truncation of *kú=là:‑∅ dè* ‘if it isn’t that’, i.e. ‘otherwise’, see 03:06 below]

(02:53) A: *bú bìrɛ́ bèà-m-è:,*

3Pl work(v) get-Ipfv-Defoc,

*[bú là] [kú dùgɔ̀] gárⁿ-ɛ̀:*

[3Pl too] [DiscDef Purp] be.involved.Pfv-Defoc

B: *[cɛ́ kán-í:-yà-y dè] órú-gó*

[thing do-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if] talk(n)

*[ínjé ìjj-ìyǎ-l-∅ dé]*

[water stop-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if]

*bírá: nèné wá:-m̀-d-ɛ̀*

work(n) second(adv) come-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

A: ‘It’s they [focus] who can work. It’s also they [focus] who are involved in that.’

B: ‘Talking about if something (bad) happens, if the water isn’t stopped (by the dam), will the work (party) come (back) again?’

(03:01) A: *[ɔ̂yⁿ céndé-m bú sɔ́-m̀] [àrⁿà-ínjé yí-tà:ndù],*

[like.that fix-Ipfv 3PlSbj have-Ipfv.Ppl] [year Inan-three],

*[céndé-m bú sɔ́-m̀ dè]*

[fix-Ipfv 3PlSbj have-Ipfv if]

*[[àrⁿà-ínjé yí-tà:ndù] dw-â:-y tàn],*

[[year Inan-three] arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj only],

*[gándá bí-gɛ̀]=:, bí-gɛ̀ gɛ̀l-yâ-n,*

[place 2Pl-Poss]=it.is, 2Pl-Poss guard-MP.Imprt-PlAddr

A: ‘When they will be repairing it like that (is in) three years. If it’s (=if we’re talking about) when they will be repairing it, (it will be) as soon as three years have elapsed.’

[

(03:06) A: *kú=là: dè, [bú là] [kú ní:] b-ɛ̀:,*

DiscDef=it.is.not if, [3Pl too] [DiscDef Inst] be-3PlSbj,

*[dɔ́gɔ̀ là] ú jàgà-ŋgò ò-gú,*

[Dogon too] 2SgSbj look.at-Ipfv.Inan Prox-Sg,

*[yɛ́:bɛ́ kɔ̀-ń] á:ndà=:,*

[neglect(n) Poss.Inan-3Sg] small=it.is,

*[kɛ̀ndɛ̀ màyⁿ-gɔ́ ǹ] ègá,*

[liver/heart dry Def] big

A: ‘Indeed (“if not that”). They too are like that. When you look at the (local) Dogon too, their negligence is small (=they are rarely lackadaisical at work). The dryness (hardness) of (their) hearts (=seriousness) is great.’

[*á:ndà=:* ‘be small’, negative *à:ndà=lá* ‘not be small’, takes relative-clause form as modifier]

(03:17) A: *[kú-n dùgɔ̀] tú:zùrù,*

[DiscDef Purp] always,

*bɔ̀rⁿɔ́ í gá:rá wɔ̀r-ì:-sɔ̀:*

fatigue 1Pl more become.accustomed-MP-Pfv2

A: ‘For that reason, always, we are more accustomed to fatigue (=hard work).’

[French *toujours*]

(03:20) B: *[kú-n dùgɔ̀] [nân gà] [wágádù pú→]*

[DiscDef Purp] [now Topic] [time all]

*[nân nìnè] ínjé yé bù-∅,*

[now xxx] water Exist be-3SgSbj,

*[kú gà ná:],*

[DiscDef Topic now],

*[ìnjè*L *è-ý gà ná:]*

[waterL Prox-Pl Topic now]

*[cɛ́ kán-ì:-yà-y dè]*

[thing do-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]

*í-gì bá-m̀-dɔ̀-∅,*

1Pl-Acc suffice-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

*[[dáná í-gɛ̀] nɛ̀] yé ɔ́bà-∅*

[[top.of.head 1Pl-Poss] Loc] Exist sit.Stat-3SgSbj

B: ‘For that reason, now, there is water as of now at all times. As for that, this water now, if something happens (=in a crisis), it’s enough for us, (so) it seems to us (“sits on our head”).’

[French *toujours*]

(03:28) A: *mhm→, [ínjé cɛ̀ndɛ̀-páy] ná: dùm-â:-y*

mhm, [water fear(n)] now finish-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

B: *ínjé ná: dàg-â:-y*

water now become.good-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: *[ínjé kɔ́ kà] dùm-â:-y,*

[water Poss Topic] finish-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Mhm. Fear about water has ended.’

B: ‘Water has become good now.’

A: ‘Water’s (problem) has ended.’

[

(03:35) A: *ínjé [hál yɛ̀rɛ́] [ínjé kándà],*

water [until come] [water even],

*ínjé í-gì bá-m̀-dɔ̀-∅*

water 1Pl-Acc suffice-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

*[ínjé kɔ́ gà] ná: dùm-â:-y*

[water Poss Topic] now finish-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: ‘Water, it has come to the point that even the water, the water is sufficient for us. As for the water (problem), it is finished now.’

[*hál yɛ̀rɛ́* ‘as of now’, perhaps borrowed (Jamsay *hâl* ‘until’, *yɛ̀rɛ́* ‘come’)]

(03:38) B: *[[[ɛ̀ndɛ̀gàndú kú ǹ]* HL*bénà:] nɛ̀]*

[[[Endekandou DiscDef Def HLinside Loc

*[[dàgá* L*bɔ̀:] súgó-sú-mbó ǹ] [bú yàŋgù pú→]*

[[Daga Lpeople] descend-Pfv2.Ppl-AnPl Def] [3Pl all all]

*[bú pú→] tɛ́mbɛ́ bì-m=b-à:,*

[3Pl all] above be-Ipfv=Past-3PlSbj,

*[ínjé ǹ] [[àynɛ́ ǹ] dùgɔ̀],*

[water Def] [[fatigue Def] Purp],

*pú→ [zɔ̀gɔ̀ gín] sùg-à:*

all [run Ant.Past.SS] descend.Pfv-3PlSbj

B: ‘Inside Endekandou (village), (and) all the Daga people who went down (=resettled on the plains), all of them were (previously) on top (=living on the high plateau). Because of difficulty with water, they all fled and went down.’

[can be rephrased as ‘people of Endekandou and (people of) Daga’; *dàgá* shortened from *dà:gá* (village name), likely under regional influence (French *Daga*); yàŋgù pú→ ‘all’ after a pronoun’, §6.6.1]

(03:45) B: *[[èdùgó ní:] yày nɛ́]*

[[waterjar Inst] go Ant.Fut.SS]

*[ínjé kɔ̀bɔ̀ nɛ́] wá:-m̀-nù-wⁿ,*

[water draw.water Ant.Fut.SS]] come-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

*[[lá: ú wɔ̀] dè,*

[[foot 2Sg Poss] stub.toe.Pfv-3SgSbj,

*ɛ́ll-í: sùgò-∅ dé]*

escape-MP descend.Pfv-3SgSbj if]

*ná: [ú wɔ̀] twá:-ndà:-∅,*

now [2Sg Poss] be.put.in-StatNeg-3SgSbj,

B: ‘When you-Sg go (on foot) with a waterjar, and you draw water (there) and are coming (back), suppose you stub your toe (on a rock) and it (=waterjar) comes down (off your head). Now yours (=waterjar) is not inside (=is absent).’

(03:49) B: *ná:, [[[kú ǹ]* HL*bénà:] nè]*

mow [[[DiscDef Def] HLinterior] Loc]

*ná:, [[[ìnjè*L *wɔ̀:-sí-mè ǹ] gày*

now, [[[waterL come-Pfv2-Ppl.InanPl Def] Topic

*nân wɛ̀-ń gày,*

now 3rd-Poss.Inan Topic

*ínjé, bú yí-bàrì súgò-yà-d-à:,*

water, 3PlSbj there.Disc.Def descend-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,

*ínjé sál-ìy-ɛ̀:*

water appear-MP-SFoc

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: ‘Now, in that (water), now, as for the water that has come, now as for its (water?). The water, they (=villagers) went down (=relocated below), (then) water [focus] appeared (on top).’

A: ‘There (you have it)!’

[

(03:54) B: *[í gà] ná:,*

[1Pl Topic] now,

*[ínjé gà] ná:, [í bènè]*

[water Topic] now [1Pl chez]

A: *í súgó bèà-lí-yⁿ, bú súgò-yà-d-à:,*

1Pl descend get-PfvNeg-1PlSbj, 3Pl descend-Pfv1a-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,

B: *ná:, ò-gú kû:=∅,*

now, Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is,

*[kú gà] dàg-â:-y*

[DiscDef Topic] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj

A: *[kú ní:] cì*L *kán-í:-sú-ŋgò*

[DiscDef Inst] thingL do-MP-Pfv2-Ppf.InanSg

B: ‘As for us now, as for water now, among us.’

A: ‘We couldn’t go down, (but) they went down.’

B: ‘Now, that’s it. As for that (subject), it’s finished.’

A: ‘What is done (regarding water) is like that.’

## Text 2015-06 Exodus (duration 04:10)

(00:06) A: *dɔ̀gɔ̀-úló bù-yⁿ, dɔ̀gɔ̀-úló gǒ-yⁿ dè,*

Dogon-house be-1PlSbj, Dogon-house exit(v).Pfv-1PlSbj if,

*í ándá jí-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ, ándá ó-m̀-nɛ̀-yⁿ*

1Pl the.bush say-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj , the.bush go-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj

*ándá, [[cì*L *wàndá] dùgɔ̀] ó-ŋg-ɛ̀:,*

the.bush, [[thingL other] Purp] go-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj,

A: ‘We are in Dogon country. If we leave Dogon country, we say “the bush, we’re going to the bush.” The bush, they don’t go (away) for anything else.’

[

(00:16) B: *[dɔ̀gɔ̀-úló jì-m-nɛ̌-yⁿ má→]*

[Dogon-house say-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj.Q Q]

*[ándá jì-m-nɛ̌-yⁿ má→]*

[the.bush say-Ipfv-Ipfv-1PlSbj.Q Q]

*[[ándá ǹ] yí-bàrì=∅ mà→] [[ándá ǹ] ŋ̀gɔ̂:=∅]*

[[the.bush Def] there.DiscDef=it.is Q] [[the.bush Def] here=it.is]

B: ‘Do we say (=intend) “Dogon country” or do we say “the bush”? The bush there (far away)? Or the bush here (=nearby)?’

[B seeks clarification, since ándá ‘the bush, outback’ can mean any location outside of the village: the millet fields nearby, the wilderness farther away, or distant cities]

(00:19) A: *[ándá ǹ] dè,*

[the.bush Def] Emph,

*[kú là] [dàyⁿ*L *jín-gó]*

[DiscDef too] [mannerL say-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg]

*[ɔ́dír-lé [ú là] [nárⁿà ú-wɔ̀] sɔ̀-wⁿ],*

[ask-VblN [2Sg too] [truth 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] have-2SgSbj]

A: ‘The bush. That too, the way it is said, you too are right to ask.

[

(00:23) A: *órú-gó kɔ́rɔ́ yé sɔ̀-∅*

talk(n) meaning Exist have-3SgSbj

*[yí-bàrì àndà*L *jín-gò ǹ]*

[there.DiscDef the.bushL say-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Def]

*[cì*L *wàndá]=lǎ:,*

[thingL other]=it.is.not,

A: ‘The words have meaning. What (they) call “the bush” there, it is nothing else.’

[

(00:28) A: *ú nân, [[úló ú-wɔ̀] nè] bù-wⁿ dè,*

2Sg now, [[house 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] Loc] be-2SgSbj if,

*[ɲè*L *yí-bàrì yàyé: ǹ],*

[personL there.DiscDef Acc Def,

*ándá yày-∅ jí-m̀-nù-wⁿ,*

the.bush go.Pfv-3SgSbj say-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

A: ‘You-Sg now, if you are in your own house (=country), (if there is) someone who goes there, you-Sg say “he has gone to the bush.” ’

[

(00:33) A: *[nárⁿá ú-wɔ̀] sɔ̀-wⁿ,*

[truth 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] have-2SgSbj

B: *[mí là] [kú dùgɔ̀]*

[1Sg too] [DiscDef Purp]

*[ándá ǹ] [yí-bàrì mà→]*

[the.bush Def] [there.DiscDef Q]

*[ándá ǹ] [ɛ́:-bàrì mà→]*

[the.bush Def] [around.here Q]

A: ‘You-Sg are right (to ask).’

B: ‘As for me too, for that reason, “the bush” means there (far away), or around here?’

[B is trying to get A to specify what general location A had meant by ‘the bush’ at the beginning]

(00:37) A: *[ándá ǹ], ú dɔ̀gɔ̀-úló bù-wⁿ dè,*

[the.bush Def], 2Sg Dogon-house be-2SgSbj if,

*[úló ú-wɔ̀] ŋ̀gɔ́ dè,*

[house 2Sg-Poss.InanSg] here if,

*[[ú* L*bà]* L*ùlò] ŋ̀gɔ́ dè,*

[[2SgPoss Lfather] Lhouse] here if,

*yí-bàrì ándá jín bèà-m-nù-wⁿ,*

there.DiscDef the.bush say get-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

A: ‘The bush. If you are in Dogon country, if your house is here, if your father’s house is here, you can call there “the bush”.’

[

(00:42) A: *yí-bàrì bɔ̂: ǹ là,*

there.DiscDef be.Ppl.Pl Def too,

*bú yé bɔ̂: ǹ,*

3Pl Exist be.Ppl.Pl Def,

*[bú là] ɛ́: ándá jîn bèà-m-d-ɛ̀,*

[3Pl too] here the.bush say get-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

A: ‘Those who are there, they who are there, they too can call this area “the bush.”’

[*bɔ̂: ǹ* ‘who are’ (Pl), Sg bɛ̂: ǹ); i.e. ‘the bush’ is any zone away from one’s home territory]

(00:46) A: *[kú ní:] cì*L *bú-ŋgò,*

[DiscDef Inst] thingL be-Ppl.InanSg

B: *[kú gày], [kú gà] ná:, [ándá gày,]*

[DiscDef Topic], [DiscDef Topic] now, [the.bush Topic],

*gàndà ú bú-ŋgò ǹ,*

place 2SgSbj be-Ppl.InanSg Def,

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: ú-wɔ̀ *quoi*

2Sg-Poss

A: òhôⁿ→

uh-huh!

A: ‘That’s the way it is.’

B: ‘That, that now, as for “the bush,” the place where you-Sg are, …

A: ‘Voilà!’

B: ‘… it’s yours.’

A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[lit. “[the thing that is] is like that”]

(00:52) B: *ná: [ándá òdùbǎ: ó-m̀ dè] [nân kà],*

now [the.bush path go-Ipfv if] [now Topic],

*ú-wɔ̀, dìbí nú-m-ɛ̀: mà→,*

2Sg-Poss.InanSg, disappearance enter-Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg or,

*dùgù-mbó mà→ sɛ̀gùrú-wⁿ dè,*

sorceror-AnPl or encounter.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

*púŋgó jɛ̌-wⁿ dè pû→, xxx*

hit kill.Pfv-2SgSbj if worthless, (unintelligible)

A: òⁿhô→

uh-huh!

B: ‘Now, going on the way to the bush, now, if you run into an invisible one (=magician), or sorcerors, and you strike and kill (them), it’s no good.’

[i.e., nobody in the villages will know that you did it; púŋgó jɛ̌- is a direct chain; dùgù-mbó ‘sorcerors’ (Sg dùjé:]

(00:58) A: *ê→*

yes

B: *[nân gà] [kú là]*

[now Topic] [DiscDef too]

A: *wálà: kû:=∅, wálà: [kú dùgɔ̀],*

voilà DiscDef=it.is, voilà [DiscDef Purp].

*[ú yé yày gín] [wɔ́-yà-wⁿ dé là],*

[2Sg there.DiscDef go Ant.Past.SS] [come-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if too],

*[ú wá→] gòné màrǎ-l-∅*

[2Sg QuotS] gear be.lost-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

*séó wɔ́:-ẁⁿ mà→,*

wellbeing come.Pfv-2SgSbj Q,

*bú jǐn-gò ǹ, [gándá ǹ] ò-gú kû:=∅,*

3Pl say.Pfv-Ppl.InanSg Def, [place Def] Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is,

ê→

yes

A: ‘Yes.

B: ‘Now, that too.’

A: ‘There (you have it), that’s it. There (you have it). Because of that, even if you go there and come back, and your baggage hasn’t been lost, and you have come (back) in good health? What they say, in (that) place, this is it. Yes.’

[dè ‘if’ → dé before là]

(01:08) B: *gòné màrǎ-l-∅ ú séó wɔ́:-ẁⁿ mà→,*

gear be.lost-PfvNeg-3SgSbj 2Sg wellbeing come.Pfv-2SgSbj Q,

*[kú ǹ gày], ú ɛ́:*

[DiscDef Def Topic], 2Sg around.here

*[gàndà-dàmbà*L *nàndùr-gɔ́ ǹ gà] ɛ́: gà,*

[place-villageL true-InanSg Def Topic] around.here Topic,

A: *òⁿhô→*

uh-huh

B: ‘The baggage hasn’t been lost, and you have come (back) in good health? Concerning that, concerning your real village (of residence), it’s around here.’

A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[inanimate plural nàndùrɛ́:]

(01:12) B: *[nân gà] [ú là]*

[now Topic] [2Sg too]

*[[ɲě kɔ́] nè] yày-sɔ́-wⁿ,*

[[person Poss.InanSg] Loc] go-Pfv2-2SgSbj,

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: ‘Now, you too, you have gone to a person’s (house).’

A: ‘There (you have it).’

(01:14) B: *[[ɲě kɔ́] nè] yày-sɔ́-wⁿ dé gày,*

[[person Poss.InanSg] Loc] go-Pfv2-2SgSbj if Topic,

*[[ɲě kɔ́] ǹ gà], ú-wɔ̀=lá: quoi*,

[[person Poss.InanSg] Def Topic], 2Sg-Poss.InanSg=it.is.not ∅,

A: *òⁿhô→*

uh-huh

B: ‘When you have gone to a person’s (house), as for the person’s house, it isn’t yours.’

A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[

(01:18) B: *[[[ɲě kɔ́] ǹ] dùgɔ̀],*

[[[person Poss.InanSg] Def] Purp],

*[[òrù-gò ɔ̀rà-ŋgò]* L *nàndùr-gɔ́ ǹ] ó(-g) kû:=∅,*

[[talk(n) say-Nom]L true-InanSg Def] Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is,

A: *wálà:, ó(-g) kû:=∅,*

voilà, Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is,

*ándá [[kɔ́rɔ́ kɔ̀-ń] nì:] ó(-g) kû:=∅,*

village [[meaning Poss.InanSg] Inst] Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is

B: ‘About the person’s (house), what (they) really say, that’s it.’

A: ‘There (you have it), that’s it. “The bush,” with its meaning, that’s it.’

[

(01:22) A: *[ándá ǹ], [[òrù* L *wàndá] bàr] twá:-ndà:‑∅,*

[the.bush Def], [[talk(n)L other] Loc] be.in-StatNeg-3SgSbj,

*[[gàndà ò-gú] dùgɔ̀] ɔ́rà-m-d-ɛ̀,*

[[place Prox-InanSg] Purp] speak-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj

A: ‘The bush, it isn’t in any other talk (=it has no other meaning). They speak about this place.’

[*òrù* L *wàndá* variant of *òrù-gò* L *wàndá*]

(01:25) B: *ná: [yù-wà:]-[wàl-mbó∴]*

now [millet-farming]-[cultivate.Agent-AnPl.&]

*[[àsɛ̀gɛ̀-mbɔ̀]-[bè:m-bó∴], zégé âyⁿ kàrⁿì-m-d-ɛ̌:*

[[animal-AnPl]-[tend.Agent-AnPl.&], fight(n) how? do-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj.Q

A: *[yù-wà:]-[wàlé:∴] gàsɛ̀gɛ̀-bè:mé:∴* *,*

[millet-farming]-cultivate.Agent.& animal-tend.Agent.&,

*bè:mé:, [á→ là] [ín-bɔ̀ á-gá] dìmbà,*

animal-tend.Agent, [3Refl too] [goat-AnPl 3Refl-Poss] follow.Stat-3SgSbj,

B: ‘Now, millet farmers and animal herders, how do they fight?’

A: ‘A millet farmer and an animal herder. A herder, he follows his goats.

[*kàrⁿì-m-d-ɛ̌:* with final interrogative intonation; àsɛ̀gɛ́ ~ gàsɛ̀gɛ́ ‘livestock animal’]

(01:34) A: *bè:m-bó [bírá: bù-gɔ̀ ǹ] kû:=∅,*

tend.Agent-AnPl [work(n) 3Pl-Poss.InanSg Def] DiscDef=it.is,

*yù-wá: bàŋà là, [yù-wà: kú]*

millet-farming owner too, [millet-farming DiscDef.InanSg]

*[[bírá: kɔ̀-ń] nè] kû:=∅,*

[[work(n) Poss.InanSg-3SgPoss] Loc] DiscDef=it.is,

A: ‘Herders, their work is that. A millet farmer, for his part, that millet farming, in his work, that’s it.’

[

(01:39) A: *mɛ̀: dɔ́gɔ̀-mbɔ̀, dàyⁿ*L *bú jìn kárⁿà,*

but Dogon-AnPl, mannerL 3PlSbj say Pfv.Ppl,

*gàsɛ̀gɛ́, [zà*L *wádà] jìn-à:*

animal, [mealL remaining] say.Pfv-3PlSbj

A: ‘But Dogon (farmers), the way they have said, a (livestock) animal, they call (it) an extra meal.’

[i.e. the staple for Dogon is millet grain, supplemented by meat]

(01:44) B: *àsɛ̀gɛ́ [àsú→ là] [zà*L *wádà] gìn-à:,*

animal [always too] [mealL remaining] say.Pfv-3PlSbj,

*mɛ̀: [zà*L *wádà sày]=là:,*

but [mealL remaining only]=it.is.not,

*àsɛ̀gɛ́ bé-ŋgò:-∅*

animal remain-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

A: wálà:

voilà

B: ‘They call an animal an extra meal. But it isn’t just an extra meal. There aren’t any animals left.’

A: ‘There (you have it).’

[

(01:49) B: *[zà*L *wádà sày] àsɛ̀gɛ́ bé-m̀-d-ɛ̀ mà→*

[mealL remaining only] animal remain-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj Q

A: *gàsɛ̀gɛ́ [zà*L *wádà ǹ], [kú là] [bú là]*

animal [meal remaining Def], [DiscDef too] [3Pl too]

*gàndà*L *ɔ́rá-m sɔ́-ŋ́gò ǹ,*

placeL speak-Ipfv have-Ppl.InanSg Def,

B: ‘Extra meals only. Are there any (livestock) animals left?’

A: ‘An animal, the extra meal. Ehere they (Dogon) too are saying that

[

(01:53) A: *[nân gà] [cì wàndá]=là: [órú-gó,*

[now Topic] [thing other]=it.is.not [talk(n),

*jǐn-gò ǹ] dìmb-ɛ̀:,*

[say-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Def] follow.Stat-3PlSbj

A: ‘Now, they follow the words that (people) say, it’s nothing else.’

[without the pause: òrù-gòL jǐn-gò ǹ]

(01:56) A: *[dùgó nè] ìbé jɛ̀lú-wⁿ dè,*

[bottom Loc] catch hold.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

*nárⁿà=∅, [nárⁿà ǹ] gàndà*L *yàmbú-ŋgò ǹ,*

truth=it.is, [truth Def] placeL pick.out-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Def,

A: ‘If you grasp it in low voice (and retain it, it’s the truth. It’s the place where one picks out the truth.

[‘at the bottom’, referring to low-pitched confidential talk from elders]

(02:02) A: *ìyò nân, jǎ: [ú jɛ̀:] téà-m-dɔ̀-∅,*

yes now, hunger [2SgObj afflict] sprout-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

*úló zá ú bá-ŋgò:-∅,*

house meal 2Sg suffice-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

A: ‘Yes, now. (Suppose) you are famished. At home, meals don’t satisfy you.’

(02:07) A: *á, kɔ́rⁿɔ́ bèɛ̀ nɛ́,*

ah!, money get Ant.Fut.SS,

*[isǎ: ǹ] ɛ̀bà-m-nú-wⁿ mà→,*

[millet.grain Def] buy-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj Q,

*[gàsɛ̀gɛ́ ǹ] tù-m-nù-wⁿ,*

[animal Def] put-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

A: ‘Ah, when you get some money, will you buy the millet grain, or will you put (=spend) it on the animal?’

[*téà-m-dɔ̀-* is connected by my assistant to tɛ́‑ ‘sprout(v)’, not tɛ́‑ ‘weave’ in this construction always imperfective, with jɛ̌: (perhaps originally ‘take’) obligatorily preceded by a pronoun]

(02:11) B: *[zá ǹ] [bɛ̀rá: ǹ] tíⁿ→*

[meal Def] [belly Def] first

A: *òⁿhô→,*

uh-huh,

*[zà* L *wádà] [[kɔ́rɔ́ kɔ̀-ń] nì] kû:=∅,*

[mealL remaining] [[meaning InanSg-3SgPoss] Inst] DiscDef=it.is,

*[gàndà*L *kú ǹ],*

[placeL DiscDef.InanSg Def],

*[gàndà*L *úŋgɔ̀ yì gín] ɔ́rá-m s-ɛ̀:,*

[placeL over.there see Ant.Past.SS] speak-Ipfv have-3PlSbj,

B: ‘A (grain-based) meal, (filling) the belly first.

A: ‘Uh-huh. An extra meal, by its meaning, that’s it. That place (=discourse), they have seen that place and speak (about it).’

[

(02:17) A: *tíⁿ→ [[tɔ́:-lè ǹ] nè],*

first [[begin-VblN Def] Loc],

*[ìbè gín] ɔ́rá-m sɔ́-ŋgò*

[catch Ant.Past.SS] speak-Ipv have-Ppl.InanSg

B: *[zá ɲǎ-l-∅ kàn nɛ́]*

[meal eat.meal-PerfNeg-3SgSbj do Ant.Fut.SS]

*àsɛ̀gɛ́ [úló bàrì] bè béá-ŋgò:-∅*

animal [house Loc] remain get-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

A: *òⁿhô→*

uh-huh

A: ‘At first, at the beginning, what they (=Dogon) have caught (noticed) and are saying, from the beginning.’

B: ‘If (someone) isn’t eating (grain-based) meals, animals cannot stay (for long) at the house.’

[

(02:23) B: *yâ:, ú ńné àsɛ̀gɛ́ ǹ,*

again, 2Sg 3Sg animal Def,

*ú yâ: ńné dɔ̀gɔ́-tì-wⁿ dè,*

2Sg again 3Sg leave-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if,

*[á→ gò-∅ dé] [ú bǔ-wⁿ dè]*

[3Refl exit.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [2Sg be-2SgSbj if]

*[ándá yày-∅ dé]*

[the.bush go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]

*yámá tɛ́bà-m-dɔ̀-∅*

damage(n) inflict-Ipfv-Ipfv-3SgSbj

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: ‘In addition, if you (abandon) livestock, if you abandon it, and (=a child) goes out, while you are there (at your house), and he goes to the bush (=fields), he will do a lot of damage.’

A: ‘There (you have it)!’

[scenario involves a young person taking a livestock animal who is not being fed at the house out to the cultivated fields to graze on the crop plants]

(02:28) A: *[[gàndà*L *kú ǹ] dùgɔ̀] [zà*L *wádà ǹ] kû:=∅,*

[[placeL DiscDef Def] Purp] [mealL remaining Def] DiscDef=it.is,

*[tíⁿ→ ú twá:-ŋgò ǹ] dìmb-ì: gín,*

[first 2SgSbj begin-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg Def] follow-MP Ant.Past.SS,

*[ɔ́rá-m sɔ́-ŋgò ǹ] kû:=∅,*

[speak-Ipfv have-Ppl.InanSg Def] DiscDef=it.is,

A: ‘Because of that (situation), the extra meal is that.’

[

(02:32) A: *órú-gó* L*kɔ̀rɔ̀, gàsɛ̀gɛ́ màŋgí-tù-wⁿ dè,*

talk(n) Lmeaning, animal accumulate-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if,

*[zá sìrà-lú-wⁿ dè]*

[meal cook-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if]

*àsɛ̀gɛ̀-máŋgí ú kán-gò:-∅,*

animalL-accumulation 2SgSbj be.done-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

*[[zá ǹ] ɛ̀bɛ̌-wⁿ dè] ɲà-m-nù-wⁿ,*

[[meal Def] buy.Pfv-2SgSbh if] eat-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj

A: ‘The meaning of the words (is), if you have accumulated (=raised) livestock, if you don’t cook (grain-based) meals, accumulation of animals isn’t possible for you. If you buy meals, you’ll eat.’

[kán-gò:- here (at at 02:55 below) is imperfective negative of kán in the sense ‘be possible for X’, with ú ‘you’ as object; variants with accusative *ú-gì* and/or with mediopassive *kán‑í:‑ŋgò:-∅* were accepted by my assistant]

(02:40) A: *[bɛ̀rá: ǹ] sín-à:-y dè,*

[belly Def] be.sated-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,

*[gàsɛ̀gɛ́ ǹ] [kú ní:] tú-m-nù-wⁿ,*

[animal Def] [DiscDef Inst] put-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

*[[gàndà kú] dùgɔ̀] [zà wádà]*

[place DiscDef] Purp] [mealL remaining]

*[jìrⁿí-m sɔ́-ŋgò ǹ] kû=∅,*

[say-Ipfv have-Ppl.Inan Def] DiscDef=it.is,

ê→

yes

A: ‘When the belly is sated (=full), then you will put livestock (there). Concerning that place (=discourse), the “extra meal” that (people) talk about, that’s it, they say. Yes.’

[]

(02:44) B: *kú [àsɛ̀gɛ́ gày] nàndùr-gɔ́ [àsú→ là]*

DiscDef [animal Topic] truly(?) [always too]

*[nù-mbɔ́ là] [dɛ́-mbɔ̀ ǹ là] ɔ́rú=b-à:,*

[person-AnPl too] [big-AnPl Def too] speak=Past-3PlSbj,

A: *m̀hm̂→*

m-hm!

B: ‘As for livestock, the old people too had always talked about it.’

[

(02:48) B: *[zà*L *wádà] [zà*L *wádà] jí-m̀-d-ɛ̀ mɛ̀:,*

[mealL remaining] [mealL remaining] say-Ipfv-Ipfv-3PlSbj but,

*dàyⁿ kán-í:-sú-ŋgò pú→,*

manner do-MP-Pfv2-Ppf.InanSg all,

*[ɛ́bɛ́ yày gín] ńné zɛ́-dɛ̀ gín wɔ̀:-sɔ́-wⁿ,*

[market go Ant.Past.SS] 3Sg bring Ant.Past.SS] come-Pfv2-2SgSbj

B: ‘They call the extra meal “(the) extra meal,” but any way it is done, you will go to the market and come and bring it (=animal).’

[*zɛ́-dɛ̀ gín* ‘having brought’, irregular form, see §10.1.3.8]

(02:53) B: *[ɛ́bɛ́ yày gín]*

[market go Ant.Past.SS]

*dàyⁿ*L *ú zèɛ̀-sú-ŋgò pú→,*

mannerL 2SgSbj bring-Pfv2-Ppl.InanSg all,

*[ùlò*L *yɔ́ ŋ̀gò:=∅ dé gày]*

[houseL millet not.be.Ppl=it.is if Topic]

*ńné-gì ú zèɛ̀-sú-ŋgò pú→,*

3Sg-Acc 2SgSbj bring-Prv2-Ppl.InanSg all,

B: ‘The way (=if) you-Sg go to the market and you bring (an animal), if it’s a house where there is no millet, (if) you bring (it), …’

[

(02:55) A: *wálà:, zéɛ́-lé ú kán-gò:-∅,*

voilà, bring-VblN 2SgSbj be.done-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

*háyà, ó(-g) kû:=∅*

well, Prox-InanSg DiscDef=it.is

A: ‘There (you have it)! Bringing it is impossible for you. Well, that’s it.’

(02:57)B: *mɛ̀: [zá ǹ] tíⁿ→ ɲɛ́ dɛ̀-wⁿ dè,*

but [meal Def] first eat RecPrf-2SgSbj if,

*[mà-ẃ gày] dùmó dégé-dégé*

[Dist-InanSg Topic] later gently

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: *dàyⁿ*L *ú kán-sú-ŋgò pú→,*

mannerL 2SgSbj do-Pfv2-Ppl.InanSg all,

*dùmó [solution kɔ̀-ń] béà-m-nù-wⁿ,*

later [solution Inan-3SgPoss] get-Ipfv-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

A: m̀hm̂→

M-hm!

B: ‘But if you have just eaten a (grain-based) meal first, as for that (animal), afterwards to some extent, …’

A: ‘There (you have it)!’

B: ‘…, (considering) the way (=what) you have done, afterwards you will get its solution (=a way to do it, i.e. eat meat).’

A: ‘M-hm!’

[French *solution*]

(03:04) B: *[nù-mbɔ̀ dɛ́-mbɔ̀ tíⁿ→ gà]*

[person-AnPl big-AnPl first Topic]

*[kú ní:] ɔ́r-à:*

[DiscDef Inst] speak.Pfv-3PlSbj

A: *[gàndà*L *kú ǹ] dè, —*

[placeL DiscDef Def] if, —

B: *nân [ùlè:*L *gàrà-mbɔ́ ǹ]*

now [childrenL certain-AnPl Def]

*bú [súrⁿɔ́ ǹ] gǎy→ sɔ̯-ɛ̀: quoi*

3Pl [ear Def] a.lot have-3PlSbj ∅

A: *wálà:*

voilà

B: ‘As for the old people in the past, they spoke like that.’

A: ‘If it’s (=speaking of) that place (=subject), —’

B: ‘Nowadays, some young people, they don’t pay attention (to old people).’

A: ‘There (you have it)!’

[elsewhere *gǎy→ sɔ̀-* means ‘have a lot’, but in combination with ‘ear’ it means ‘disregard, not listen’]

(03:08) B: *[[kú ǹ] dùgɔ̀],*

[[DiscDef Def] Purp],

*[dèn*L *gàrá:] bú wà:rⁿá-m s-ɔ̀:*

[dayL certain] 3PlSbj mix.up-Ipfv have-SFoc

A: *ê→*

yes

B: *kú=∅* quoi

DiscDef=it.is ∅

B: ‘For that reason, sometimes it’s they [focus] who are mixing (things) up.’

A: ‘Yes.’

B: ‘That’s it.’

[dén-gò ‘(a specific) day’ (synonym lè:-gó)]

(03:11) A: *[[gàndà*L *kú ǹ] dùgɔ̀],*

[[placeL DiscDef Def] Purp],

*[kɔ̀:là-m-nú-m jìn-s-ɛ̂:] kɔ́:l-ɛ́:-ŋgò:-∅*

[reject-Ipfv-Ipfv-LogoSbj say-Pfv2-3PlSbj] reject-MP-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj

B: *[dàyⁿ kɔ́:l-ɛ́:-ŋgó là] ŋ̀gó-∅ wà*

[mannerL reject-MP-Ipfv.Ppl.InanSg too] it.is.not-3SgSbj Quot

A: ‘On that basis, they have said they would reject (what the old people say), but it won’t be rejected.’

B: ‘There’s no way to reject (it), they say.’

[

(03:15) A: *bú [gándá ǹ] yà-ndá,*

3Pl [place Def] see-Pfv.3PlSbj,

*[gàndà*L *ò-gú] dùgɔ̀,* ɔ́r-sú-ŋgò

[placeL Prox-InanSg] Purp, speak-Pfv2-Ppl.InanSg

*ê→*

yes

A: ‘They (=young people) haven’t seen the place (=the way things were). They (ɒld people) spoke about that place (=situation). Yes.’

[

(03:19) B: *[[kú dùgɔ̀] wɔ̀: kárⁿà ǹ]*

[[DiscDef Purp] come Pfv.Ppl Def]

*àsɛ̀gɛ́ [kú ní:] wɔ̌:-wⁿ dè]*

animal [DiscDef Inst] come.Pfv-2SgSbj if]

*[mɔ̌:n-tù-wⁿ dè],*

[assemble-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if],

*[[ɛ̀dɛ̀*L *sɛ̀gɛ́] sɔ́-ndɔ̀-ẁⁿ dè]*

[[childL small] have-Neg-2SgSbj if]

*[kú là] yàmà-sú-ŋgò bɔ̀:=là:*

[DiscDef too] ruin-Pfv2-Ppl.InanSg be=it.is.not

B: ‘Because of that (the animals) came. If you come like that (with) livestock and you gather (=accumulate) it (at your house), unless you have a small child (to take care of it), it will go to ruin, won’t it?’

[invariant bɔ̀: seems to be a form of ‘be’ used in this construction with perfective-2 participle; the final =là: is a *n’est-ce pas?* tag question]

(xxx) X: *xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

X: ‘xxx’

[

(xxx) X: *xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

X: ‘xxx’

[

(xxx) X: *xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

*xxx*

yyy

X: ‘xxx’

[

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# Index

*model for index, from Jamsay grammar (additions/comments in pink). Jamsay forms (to be replaced) are here colored dark yellow. References should ultimately be to pages, but while drafting the grammar section references like §6.2.1 are all that one can do.*

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When he has eaten we will go.

[ɲɛ́ dɛ̀ dè] [í ó-m-nɛ̀-yⁿ]

*relative clauses (spatial adverbial relative)*

[(gàndà) gònsá:rⁿá mí yá-m=bú-gó gándá] wàgá

‘The place where I used to see elephants is far away.’

[gònsá:rⁿá mí yì-tɛ́rɛ́-bú-gó gándá] wàgá

‘The place where I once saw an elephant is far away.’